THE JOURNAL OF

SAN DIEGO HISTORY

A Publication of the San Diego History Center

The San Diego History Center, founded as the San Diego Historical Society in 1928, has always been the catalyst for the preservation and promotion of the history of the San Diego region.

The San Diego History Center makes history interesting and fun and seeks to engage audiences of all ages in connecting the past to the present and to set the stage for where our community is headed in the future. The organization operates museums in two National Historic Districts, the San Diego History Center and Research Archives in Balboa Park, and the Junípero Serra Museum in Presidio Park. The History Center is a lifelong learning center for all members of the community, providing outstanding educational programs for schoolchildren and popular programs for families and adults. The Research Archives serves residents, scholars, students, and researchers onsite and online. With its rich historical content, archived material, and online photo gallery, the San Diego History Center's website is used by more than 1 million visitors annually.

The San Diego History Center is a Smithsonian Affiliate and one of the oldest and largest historical organizations on the West Coast.

Front Cover: Member of Student Army Training Corps and nurse during influenza pandemic, 1918. © SDHC #81_10699-8.

Back Cover: Replica of Juan Rodríguez Cabrillo's flagship *San Salvador* sails in San Diego bay. Construction began in 2011 and was completed in 2015. The ship is currently on public display at the Maritime Museum of San Diego.

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A Note from the CEO

This edition of the San Diego History Center's *The Journal of San Diego History* marks the one-year anniversary of the COVID-19 pandemic arriving in our region, state, and nation. To say it has changed our world fails to fully capture the loss, challenges, and opportunities that our community has faced in such a short time.

The last year has been one of great loss, and the statistics are staggering. As of this writing the death toll in the United States stands at more than a half million. In San Diego County, more than 3,000 people have died. What the statistics fail to reveal is the love and impact that each one of these mothers, fathers, sisters, and brothers have provided to our immediate families and greater community. The loss is incalculable.

In March 2020, California's shelter-at-home order was issued. The doors to our businesses and schools were closed. Within days at the San Diego History Center, we rapidly shifted our focus from a concentration on our physical museums to sharing our programs and offerings in the digital space. Meanwhile, we also began an effort to document these historic times through digital initiatives *History Happening Now*. We invited the community to share reflections through the *Share Your Story* campaign and were humbled at the response from hundreds of San Diegans impacted by the COVID-19 pandemic. This rapid response to collecting community stories of these historic times was the inspiration for similar efforts through our education partners at all levels including San Diego State University and California State University San Marcos. The Cal State San Marcos efforts are detailed in the lead article in this edition of the Journal. Our work to document, preserve, and present these historic times is more vital than ever as the impact of the virus on our way of life continues to evolve.

The last year has also provided rare opportunities and inspiration. At the History Center we have shifted to virtual learning and exhibitions, as well as working to make more of our highly prized collections available online. We meet virtually via Zoom and other online platforms. The first few months the technology at times caused many headaches—but business has carried on. We are grateful to our local health care heroes who put themselves on the line every day to care for those infected. We are in awe of San Diego's life sciences community, which has provided some of the critical breakthroughs in the fight against COVID-19. We at the History Center have also been strengthened by the financial and moral support we receive from our members, donors, and Trustees. We would not be here now, without you.

We don't yet have the luxury that the passing of time provides to fully understand and comprehend what we are living through. A decade from now—or perhaps a hundred years from now—historians will look back and we, and this time, will be the subject of history.

Bill Lawrence

Real Time Collecting and the COVID-19 Pandemic:
The *Together/Apart* Archive at California State University San Marcos

Sean Visintainer and Judith A. Downie

Introduction

When the number of coronavirus cases in the US expanded dramatically in spring 2020, it became apparent that the pandemic would be an event of momentous importance, with ramifications both unforeseen and long-lasting. In the near term, for those of us that work at the California State University San Marcos (CSUSM), a campus shutdown loomed. In Special Collections, the University Library department tasked with collecting, preserving, and making accessible North San Diego County's cultural heritage and history, our immediate responsibilities included preparing our storage spaces for our absences, pausing many active collection activities, rethinking and designing our work in light of its divorce from our workspaces—so integral to the day-to-day activities in special collections and archives—and most importantly, continuing the care and support of our departmental staff, faculty, and student workers.[1] While our energy was occupied with these immediate needs, documenting this extraordinary time was at the forefront of our thinking. However, it was only after our campus was closed that the seeds of our project, *Together/Apart: The COVID-19 Community Memory Archive*, began to sprout.[2]

Sean Visintainer is the University Library's Head of Special Collections at the California State University, San Marcos. Sean has worked in Special Collections for a little over ten years and possesses a great and abiding appreciation for the role of special collections and archives in the fabric of our public history. **Judith A. Downie** is the Special Collections and History Librarian at the California State University, San Marcos and Curator for the Brewchive® which focuses on the current 'third wave' of San Diego brewing (https://archives.csusm.edu/brewchive). The author thanks her CSUSM colleagues, students, and the San Diego brewing industry for their support and inspiration.

As we settled into our new reality, our nascent team began strategizing about the project and asking ourselves questions. Who would our audience be? How would our community collaborate? What technical needs did the project have? What would we collect? How would we collect? What were the legal and ethical considerations to collecting materials related to COVID? What was the purpose of *Together/Apart*, or at its essence, what is *Together/Apart*? To understand these questions, it is helpful to understand archives and their relationship with our society, especially regarding the discipline of history.

What is an archive? It's the little things

The Society of American Archivists defines an archive as "a physical or digital collection of historical records" and archives as "records created or received by a person, family, or organization and preserved because of their continuing value."[3] However, archives are much more complex and rich sources of information than described in such definitions. Some archival collections include the seemingly mundane evidence of everyday activities and events generated through daily life: documents such as letters and diaries, realia such as toys and family bibles, images in a variety of media, and recordings in a variety of formats. These historical records are as meaningful as formal proclamations, statistics, and published documents in understanding our history, and they are equally deserving of collection and preservation. As the Southern Oral History Program notes, "you don't have to be famous for your life to be history."[4]

This everyday evidence reveals the human side of history and carries emotional impact that a simple number or chart cannot. For example, numerical estimates of the death toll from the 1918-1919 influenza pandemic offer a different picture of that event compared to a young nurse's letter that describes caring for soldiers dying from the disease.[5] The death toll is an abstract estimation and does not speak to the impact of the disease on any individual, actions taken to combat the suffering, or how society continued to function. The letter, in turns offhand, unkind, and serious, brings home the physical and emotional toll on an individual and her attempt to cope with a traumatic experience, bringing history to life. If evidence such as this nurse's letter were not saved, the historical record is not only less rich, but distorted. When genealogist and historian Fran Carr attempted to research the 1918 pandemic for such personal stories to compare to the current pandemic, she "found very little on record except obituaries and a few published notices from the local health department."[6] As a result, Carr founded the initiative *History as it Happens* to preserve COVID-19 stories in her community.[7] Carr's experience with the dearth of personal accounts from the 1918-1919 pandemic is mirrored in the

University of Michigan's *Influenza Encyclopedia: The American Influenza Epidemic of 1918-19,* a collection of essays on the pandemic's spread through fifty US cities. Each entry relies not on personal diaries or recollections, instead using newspaper articles and a few government agency reports as the primary sources.[8]

Efforts to archive pandemics are nothing new. There are first-hand accounts of pandemics such as the Black Death preserved in a variety of archives and museums.[9] Modern pandemic archive collections document through text and tactile form, and through new technologies such as web pages, social media, and blogs, as seen in the National AIDS Memorial's Quilt Project.[10] These newer archival collections represent not only more recent events and responses, but also changes in tools and concepts of what constitutes historical evidence. Thus archivists, historians, genealogists, and student researchers must contend with evolving collection content while confronting barriers to access due to technology obsolescence, webpage "link rot," and a general lack of evidentiary stability as revealed in sites such as Wikipedia that are subject to continual change.

Of course, personal narratives of historical events are not without their own problems. Recounted memories change with each telling for a variety of reasons, from simple failure to remember the sequence of events to deliberate omission or alteration, in cases of shame or criminal intent.[11] As researchers understand the issues inherent in memory changes, they prefer to corroborate recollections with physical evidence such as documents or artifacts, but as events recede into the past physical evidence is more likely to be lost or damaged. Thus, best archival practice is for evidence produced by individuals to be collected at the time of creation. One of the great benefits of a project like *Together/Apart*, then, is that it gathers primary source material in real time and in an intentional manner that does not leave the preservation of evidence to chance.

One part of Special Collections's mission is to preserve student, staff, and faculty life and experience, thereby maintaining institutional history and providing insight into the human side of our institution. The University Archives, a subunit of our Special Collections department, gathers and preserves evidence of student activities, growth of the university, educational initiatives, and the institution's relationship with the local community. One rich resource for study of student life and campus development is the student newspaper. Founded in 1990, it has existed under a variety of names: *The Pioneer, The Pride*, (briefly) *You Name It,* and (currently) *The Cougar Chronicle*. The university has digitized the first twenty-five years of this newspaper, and the Archives is now working to preserve the newspaper as it relies more heavily on digital format. The final print issue of the paper for spring semester (April 29, 2020) reported on the known impacts on students and instruction due to the physical campus shutdown the previous month,

providing important documentation of our campus history during these times.[12] Unfortunately, the newspaper is not published during the summer, creating a gap in the record of the pandemic's impact on student life and education. *Together/Apart's* collecting activity attempts to fill this gap in the student (and campus) experience as the shutdown progresses and the university adapts to more virtual learning and limited physical instruction. We created this project not only to collect the emotions, memories, and activities of students, faculty, staff, and community members during the pandemic, but also to preserve evidence for scholars to study, extrapolate, and discuss in future academic and public forums.

The Characteristics of *Together/Apart*

Together/Apart is a rapid-response collecting effort. As archivists, we're especially attuned to the currents of history, how it envelops us, and how history is in danger of being lost if we don't collect and preserve it. "Collecting in the now," also called rapid-response collecting, "is a strategy where cultural institutions engage and collect content that document a current event in a timely manner."[13] This type of collecting often takes place in response to a specific crisis, disaster, or event. Rapid-response collecting has been instituted by historians, libraries, and archives in response to many recent events, including the 2013 bombing of the Boston Marathon, the 2013 Colorado floods, the 2014 Ferguson uprising, the 2015 police killing of Freddie Gray and subsequent unrest in Baltimore, and the 2016 Pulse nightclub massacre.[14] In our case the effort was undertaken with an eye towards the future. *Together/Apart* will develop into a research collection and a digital archive, and will provide the source material for future exhibitions, reflection, and commemoration.

Together/Apart is a community-based participatory archive. Given the socially isolating nature of the pandemic and its dispersed effect in comparison to more localized disasters such as fires or massacres, traditional means of collection development, such as onsite-collecting, donor development, and the use of professional middlemen such as antiquarian, book, and ephemera dealers would be ineffectual. We realized the imperative to reach out to our community directly, drawing on their lived experience to document the pandemic.

In this way, the collecting effort of *Together/Apart* is a "community-based participatory archive," where community members "shape the archival record with documentation of their personal experiences and relationships."[15] The contribution of people not professionally affiliated with collecting institutions is an important facet to participatory archives. Kate Theimer notes that the contribution of knowledge and/or resources by people other than professionals

Stacked chairs in a limited capacity restaurant to prevent people from sitting together, Carlsbad, CA. Photograph by James D. Phenicie. Courtesy of Together/Apart: The COVID-19 Community Memory Archive *at the University Library Special Collections, California State University San Marcos. ©2020 James David Phenicie. All rights reserved.*

results "in increased understanding about archival materials, usually in an online environment."[16] As community members participate in a community archive by contributing their documents, reflections, and oral histories, the professional staff of the stewarding institution does the work of preserving their contributions and making them accessible. Examples of contemporary community-based participatory archives include *Documenting Ferguson*, the *Harvey Memories Project*, *Our Marathon*, the *Mass. Memories Road Show*, and *VT Stories*.[17]

Together/Apart is a disaster archive and (possibly) a condolence archive. Disasters, as Patricia Rettig notes, are "sudden, unexpected, disruptive, disorientating, and complex. They cross political jurisdictions, geographical boundaries, and academic disciplines. No one "owns" a disaster, so there is no central source of documentation."[18] Disaster archives seek to document the disaster as well as its impact, while condolence archives are focused on the aftermath of a traumatic event.[19] While *Together/Apart* is currently collecting the disaster, what comes next is an important collecting consideration, and it is likely that in the future *Together/Apart* will serve as a condolence archive as well. In the role of a condolence archive, *Together/Apart* will be integral to helping our community process, grieve, and remember this period of our lives.

Implementation

Understanding that *Together/Apart* is a rapid-response collecting effort, a community-based participatory archive, and a disaster/condolence archive means that it has multiple purposes for multiple audiences, serving as a research archive, a seed for future exhibitions, and a community engagement project, providing means for our community to reflect and commemorate.[20] Our audiences, as befitting our purposes, are threefold: 1) future researchers of the pandemic, especially those interested in the lived experience of North County San Diegans; 2) onsite and digital visitors to exhibitions; and 3) members of our student and regional communities who wish to reflect on and commemorate this challenging time. To accommodate these purposes and audiences, we need a flexible approach to the website, the primary means by which we are collecting, and careful consideration of our collecting strategies and ethics.

In order to facilitate community participation in *Together/Apart*, a structure that engages collaborators while allowing them to do so at a safe distance and limit personal interactions is imperative. A digital submission process, whereby community participants remotely submit photographs, reflections, artwork, and other documents, is ideal for this purpose. This has an additional outcome of making *Together/Apart* a largely digital archive; though we will be accepting physical donations once it is safe and responsible to do so, the vast majority of *Together/Apart's* contributed content to date is digital and will likely remain so.

Thankfully, there are other participatory archives that we could use to model our approach, like the *Harvey Memories Project*, a multi-institution participatory digital archive created in the aftermath of Hurricane Harvey in 2017. One of the core considerations in the creation of the *Harvey Memories Project* was to make the barriers for entry into the project low.[21] With low barriers to participation, collaborators are "encouraged to create knowledge using extant resources and share this knowledge with others in order to achieve a common goal."[22] The site design of *Together/Apart* is intended to be simple, easy to navigate, and intuitive for the contributor.

Although the website's static nature is intended to make it easy to use, there is a downside. The web presence is difficult to see as a living, participatory archive which invites repeated and sustained contributions as the current submission process is one-way and opaque. A contributor submits something—an image or testimonial, perhaps—and is redirected to a "thank you for submitting" page. There's no way yet for the user to interact with their contribution, or others that have been submitted to the Archive. Joy Palmer's philosophy about archives, while predating terminology like "participatory archives," is grounded in a similar spirit, inviting participants to engage and collaborate with institutions and their

collections, especially through digital means. Palmer notes that when participants don't see the impact of their sharing, they won't feel much gratification for their contribution, and thus will feel some disconnect from the process.[23] Tools used to engender participation in community collecting projects should thus be easy to use *and engaging*. Going forward, *Together/Apart's* digital presence will need more contextualization and access to drive engagement, word of mouth, and repeat visitors.

Collecting Strategies

Given *Together/Apart's* purpose as research collection, digital archive, and vehicle for community reflection, collecting materials facilitating these usages was an important consideration in the Archive's formation. We would need to consider what types of materials (testimonials, ephemera, etc.) and what format of materials (digital formats especially) would best allow us to meet these purposes. We also needed to define what we *wouldn't* collect, an essential activity for any archive's collection development.

We started by laying out *Together/Apart's* collecting scope. We prioritized collecting digital and physical materials denoting the lived experiences of individuals who reside, work, or study in North San Diego County, leaving the

Helicopter shot of the Del Mar racetrack and fairgrounds parking lot repurposed as storage for hundreds of un-rented cars. Photograph by Gary Severt, with helicopter pilot John Grasberger, contributor. Courtesy of Together/Apart: The COVID-19 Community Memory Archive *at the University Library Special Collections, California State University San Marcos.*

documentation of the central and southern areas of the county to institutions that better represent those constituencies, such as the San Diego History Center and its *History Happening Now* initiative.[24] Anything submitted to *Together/Apart* which falls outside this geographic scope is not accepted, and instead referred to an appropriate institution. Items not related to the pandemic and preceding January 2020 are likewise not accepted. Resources not selected for *Together/Apart* that fit our institution's general collection policy can still be included in our collections, pursuant to further evaluation.

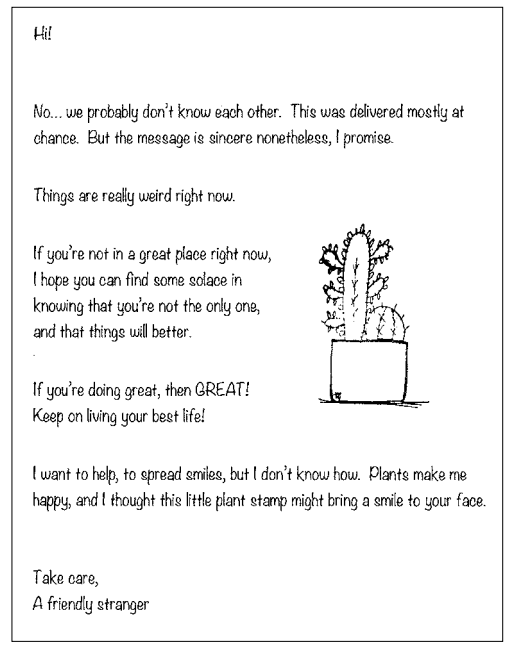
For the purposes of research, primary resources such as testimonials and documentary photography are of great value and are among materials traditionally sought and collected by archives. To this end, testimonials, both free-form and through a guided questionnaire, are solicited, and documentary photography and video collected. We've also preserved CSUSM's response to the pandemic, mostly in the form of emails to the campus community, which will be important documentary evidence for researchers in the future.

How has COVID-19 changed your life?

> *It has changed my view of life, and how short it really is. I was diagnoses [sic] with COVID and it was hard both physically and mentally. I must say the hardest part was watching my boyfriend who lives with me go through it. In the beginning, we had the same symptoms but when he became worse it was very challenging. It's hard trying to take care of yourself as well as someone else, it was very mentally draining to see him struggle to get a breath in. He is a healthy person, goes running, and practices Muay Thai, and seeing him be so weak and vulnerable broke my heart. After the third ER visit, they finally were able to help him and he started to get better. The other hard thing was having to send my daughter to my mother in order for me to concentrate on him. I missed her but it was for the best, we didn't want to expose her and we didn't want her seeing him get worse. I have always been aware of how precious life is, both I and my boyfriend are Iraqi War veterans and we know about appreciating life. This just made us a stronger couple and stronger individuals. I know how hard it is right now for everyone to be at home and stay safe, but it is necessary. I don't want anyone to go through what we are going through. Stay safe.*
>
> - University student

> *My son and I went from having a calendar full of work, school, family and social events to staying home. The first few weeks was rough, we had to adjust to school and work from home, restructuring ourselves to have some sort of schedule and stay productive. My very large Mexican-American family did not comprehend the concept of Stay at Home, until the elders in our family reached out to everyone and told us to stay put and stop acting dumb,* no sean pendejos por favor y hagan caso. *Anxiety became very real, but reaching out to family and friends through social media and video calls has been a saving grace. Work from home is finally normalizing, homeschooling has reaffirmed my decision to not become a teacher and it has forced us to prioritize the people in our lives that truly matter.*
>
> - Academic Advisor

However, given *Together/Apart's* potential for exhibition and reflection, materials facilitating these uses are important to collect as well. Ephemera, objects, and artwork—items less commonly collected for research purposes—still hold value for community archives. Such resources should be collected based upon pertinence, and artifactual value should not be ignored when collecting.[25] Contributors often submit items to community archives that have personal value to them, yet another reason to collect artifactual items.[26] To date, many submissions to *Together/Apart* have been of artifactual value: pinwheels given as morale boosters to neighbors; an anonymous note of support placed in a mailbox; clippings of newspaper comics addressing life during COVID, and artwork depicting emotion. Often, artifacts need additional context to decipher the intent behind their creation or use. Contributors to *Together/Apart* provide this context so that future interactions with those contributions can happen with a full understanding of their original purpose.


Hi!

No... we probably don't know each other. This was delivered mostly at chance. But the message is sincere nonetheless, I promise.

Things are really weird right now.

If you're not in a great place right now, I hope you can find some solace in knowing that you're not the only one, and that things will better.

If you're doing great, then GREAT! Keep on living your best life!

I want to help, to spread smiles, but I don't know how. Plants make me happy, and I thought this little plant stamp might bring a smile to your face.

Take care,
A friendly stranger

Items such as this flyer placed into a contributor's mailbox can hold great artifactual value for

Self-portrait by Jessica Blankemeier. "My friend who is an avid homebrewer in Colorado made me several masks to wear to work." Courtesy of A Glass Half Full Memory Project *at the University Library Special Collections, California State University San Marcos. Courtesy of* Together/Apart: The COVID-19 Community Memory Archive *at the University Library Special Collections, California State University San Marcos.*

use in exhibitions and similar endeavors geared towards remembrance and commemoration.

Collecting efforts originally focused on the campus and general community and have now expanded with the development of a specific initiative, *A Glass Half Full*. This subset of *Together/Apart* documents the pandemic's impact on the San Diego region's sizeable craft beer industry.[27] Not only is craft brewing an important economic activity in itself, but it also has multiplier impacts in the community, as brewers support a range of affiliated businesses. In addition, we decided to focus some of our collecting efforts on the craft beer industry because of the vibrant social interactions it spawns. Brewpubs serve as community public spaces and centers for socialization.[28] At festivals and smaller breweries, brewers frequently engage directly with consumers, and friendships sometimes form around a common interest in beer.[29]

The COVID-19 pandemic and resultant federal, state, and local government

regulations significantly restricted brewing operations, necessitating the closure of taprooms and cancellation of festivals and charity events and depriving owners and employees of income. These closures further rippled through affiliated businesses, causing additional income and employment loss. Restrictions on breweries and CSUSM's move to online instruction have placed the campus's Engibeering® credential program on hiatus and impacted other local brewing education programs. *A Glass Half Full* hopes to document not only the specific financial impact of the pandemic on craft brewing, but also its effects on the community networks and social interactions centered around craft beer.

The Ethics of Collecting

Great care and consideration were taken when designing *Together/Apart*, especially regarding potential ethical conundrums. Personal medical information and political speech would most certainly be contributed to the Archive. Contributors might share sensitive personal information (such as a contributor's immigration status) or engage in problematic speech, such as racist anti-Asian rhetoric.

Finally, project team members must be aware of potential FERPA and Title IX issues.[30] Internal workflows were designed in case the sharing of personal information triggered Title IX or FERPA concerns. To date, no such information has been shared, but we are confident in our ability to act quickly and responsibly in such cases should they appear.

At the time of *Together/Apart*'s development, other California State University (CSU) libraries and archives were undertaking kindred collecting projects and grappling with similar issues. The CSU system has a robust community of practice for archivists called the CSU Archives and Archivists Roundtable (CSUAAR), which meets virtually and communicates asynchronously. The CSUAAR was instrumental in providing a discussion space for CSU archivists designing COVID-19 collecting projects, and especially useful for discussions of terms and conditions.[31] Conversations through the CSUAAR and its archivists assisted us in ironing out language for our terms and conditions, including notification of the sharing of medical information. It was also useful in sharing language regarding Institutional Review Boards (IRBs) that we utilized in our website.[32]

Together/Apart's site design also takes into account privacy and ethical issues. In considering oral histories, Mary Larson asks a question pertinent to all digital initiatives: "What [are] the implications of placing materials online?"[33] This important question contains implications for the contributor, their communities, and stewarding institutions. Furthermore, Larson poses a related question: what

responsibility do we in archives have to those who are willing to put their thoughts online even when it has the potential to cause them or others harm in later years?[34] In today's political climate it is easy to imagine contributors' disclosure of political affiliations, government criticism, or immigration status being used to harm them or their communities. To counter this potential for abuse, we created an anonymous submission field in our guided testimonial form, allowing participants to share their thoughts without fear of it affecting them in the future. Additionally, our site was designed in-house by our Library Technology Initiatives Development (LTID) department. LTID's expertise afforded us the opportunity to collect community contributions without having to use a suite of "Big Tech" tools such as Google Forms, allowing us to keep our community's data private and free from monetization.

What do you think about the actions of government leaders in response to this crisis?

> *I think that government leaders haven't handled the situation as well as they should have. For example the number of death [sic] from Covid-19 is high yet they care more about the economy and want to open everything back up again. It's like they don't care about what the health care workers have been through so far. Another example of their poor leadership are the anti lockdown protest [sic] that have been going on. These people are being very hostile toward many people including police officers and nothing has been done about it. Yet [if] a minority group would have been the one to protest then it would have been shutdown [sic] quickly and if they resisted then they would have used violence against them. This is a perfect example of the white privilege that exists in America and is not being talked about on a large scale.*
>
> - University student

> *It's been a mess. The CDC first over-regulating and then under-regulating on testing measures, the response from the White House, the various representatives taking hardline stances as if health is a partisan issue... Deficiencies have really been brought to the surface due to the pandemic.*
>
> - University student

Outreach

As Palmer notes in her musings about participation-driven archives, just because you build it does not mean that participants will come. Outreach and communication are important to driving contributors to collaborative projects like *Together/Apart*. Equally so is understanding the motivations of those likely to participate. Chris Freeland and Kodjo Atiso studied engagement in the *Documenting Ferguson* digital archive, a project similar in purpose and execution to *Together/Apart*.[35] In their literature review, Freeland and Atiso found that "common themes of altruism, reciprocity, and personal fulfilment via community engagement emerge" regarding participation in community archives. Participants in the *Documenting Ferguson* study contributed to the digital archive because of (in order of importance): altruistic or humanitarian concerns; understanding, gaining, and sharing knowledge; building relationships; and enhancement and personal growth.[36]

The desire to archive is a basic human impulse, and "records are contributed and preserved often because of the emotional connections participants have to these records and the memories they represent."[37] For *Together/Apart's* initial outreach, we designed our call, press release, and related outreach to target this human impulse and to serve as a call to action focused on the motives of altruism, community engagement, knowledge acquisition, and remembrance.

We're fortunate at CSUSM to have a library dean that is engaged with and advocates for Special Collections, and this buy-in from our leadership made a broad outreach push possible. We cast a wide net with our initial outreach, using connections through our library administration, the in-house expertise of the Library's Public Affairs Communications Specialist, and the university's Communications Office to get the word out via social media, press releases, and supportive community members. Regional media, including *The San Diego Union-Tribune,* reported on *Together/Apart*, which further amplified our message. We also reached out to CSUSM's instructional faculty through the campus Faculty Center and our librarian subject liaisons, which paid dividends by getting the collecting project into classrooms where instructors could broadcast it and offer extra credit for participating. We made a similar effort for the *Glass Half Full* initiative with additional outreach via targeted email.

Collecting Outcomes

To date, 138 individuals have contributed 359 items to *Together/Apart*. Items submitted include eleven videos, six podcasts, 241 images, and 101 written testimonials, of which fifty-six have been submitted through our guided

"Nationwide Shortage." Installation and photograph by Grey Claire Brandt. Brandt reflected, "This work is a sculptural installation created in response to the COVID-19 Pandemic. A trip to the grocery store will never be the same. Walking down aisle after aisle of empty shelves is something we have never before experienced. Panic has caused people to buy up supplies in bulk and hoard them, leaving other community members without. If only you could enter a store without wondering, will they have what I need? The food, supplies, toilet paper my family is out of? If only the shelves could stay stocked. What would you buy to get you through this crisis? What our country needs, however, is something you can't find on the store shelves." Courtesy of Together/Apart: The COVID-19 Community Memory Archive *at the University Library Special Collections, California State University San Marcos.*

questionnaire. We have also been contacted about eight donations of physical items including ephemera, state and federal COVID-related documents, handmade masks and pinwheels, and a collection of newspaper clippings of COVID in newspaper comics. One hundred ten contributors have come from our campus community, with students and alumni making up ninety of those submissions. Twenty-eight community members have also contributed. We've had two "power contributors" who between them have submitted about 200 of the total items.

In submissions received so far, contributors have frequently expressed feelings of loss, anxiety, and isolation. Loss and isolation show in the disappearance of jobs, the pausing of romantic, familial, and friendly meetings, and in the missing of everyday activities like going to the movies, eating out, or shopping. Anxiety towards the future—and meditation about the far-ranging effects of the pandemic—is expressed through musings about the future of food and social interaction. In general, our contributors view the State of California's handling of the pandemic favorably and the federal government's less so. The university's

handling of the pandemic has been viewed positively, though students have expressed frustration at the rapid change of their college experience and with uncaring professors.

If you are a worker at CSUSM, how do you feel the university has responded to the crisis?

> *As a student I think CSUSM has done a fair job at responding to the crisis. Some professors have been more understanding than others. These are hard times and I have heard from classmates that they are struggling. Some don't have access to internet besides their phone but are still required to turn in 12-page research papers. Other [sic] are sheltering in place with 11 family members to a house but are being marked down because they don't have their video cameras on.*
>
> - University student

Contributors have expressed similar sentiments in our companion initiative *A Glass Half Full*. Social contacts are an intangible loss as taproom employees frequently describe their repeat customers as part of their community and in some cases close friends and sources of support. Many worry for the future of the industry. A positive note can be found in some respondents finding the opportunity to reinvent themselves, spend time on their education, or use social media to maintain their connections.

Do you think that COVID-19 is going to have permanent, long lasting effects on the craft brewing industry? If so, what effects do you think the pandemic will have?

> *Absolutely. I predict more closures and more layoffs, especially as breweries and taprooms adjust operations in a post-pandemic world. There will be more online ordering and fewer human interactions, as well as a bigger demand for packaged beer.*
>
> - Freelance writer and journalist

Perhaps surprisingly, to date only one submission has been from someone who contracted the virus. As the virus continues to spread, we expect that more personal experiences with sickness and loss will be contributed. Similarly, as the

Man sitting on a bench near Carlsbad, CA beach access with sign prohibiting entrance to beach due to pandemic. Photograph by James D. Phenicie. Courtesy of Together/Apart: The COVID-19 Community Memory Archive *at the University Library Special Collections, California State University San Marcos.*

pandemic wears on, we expect we'll be documenting changing stories, perspectives, and emotions, though we can't hazard a guess as to what these will look like.

Going Forward

The timeline for *Together/Apart's* completion is nebulous. Dr. Anthony Fauci noted last March that "the virus makes the timeline."[38] While Fauci was speaking in terms of relaxing public health measures, his statement has been an important guidepost for our project team in that we cannot plan for, predict, or force an end to *Together/Apart's* collecting phase. Instead of concrete deadlines, we're preparing a project timeline based on what Patricia Rettig notes is a typical disaster impact timeline: impact, response, reflection, and reconstruction.[39]

Impact and Response Phase

Together/Apart's "impact and response phase" is our current ongoing collecting initiative, and will be undertaken at least until campus reopens, and likely until a sense of normality returns to our lives. We'll be reinitiating our outreach push this upcoming semester, and are looking into ways to further integrate *Together/Apart* into our campus curricula, such as by partnering with faculty to offer

participation as extra credit or in the creation of a "life writing" assignment for writing and literature students. We're also exploring additional outreach through community organizations and are in discussion to create a collaborative collecting initiative instituted in partnership with other local cultural heritage organizations. Lastly, we're planning website enhancements to show some of the contributions our community has made to *Together/Apart*, which will build gratification into the contribution process, encourage new engagement, and foster return engagement.

Are you practicing social distancing? Why or why not? If yes, what are you doing? How do you stay in touch with family and friends?

> *Yes we are practicing social distancing. To help slow the spread and so health care professionals can catch up and scientists can have more time to develop testing and a vaccine. I do go out when I need to shop for groceries and supplies but I wear a mask and gloves. I stay in touch with my family and friends via social media, FaceTime and calls. I talk to my 90 year old father who lives in another city every night. He is already isolated as he gave up driving in February and feels alone. I hadn't seen him in 7 weeks and he kept saying he wished he could see me, so on the 8th week I went to visit him. We sat outside 6 feet apart and had lunch. It was worth it for both of us. It's been 10 weeks since we've seen my in-laws!*
>
> - Administrative coordinator

Reflection Phase

Once the CSUSM campus reopens, we'll start our "reflection phase," which will entail collecting oral histories from our campus community, the creation of a finding aid for the collection, and further contextualization of the collection. We will gather oral histories through selected targeted interviews and through community collection days, where we use guided questions to gather experiences through an open call for interviews.[40]

Our team will develop the research collection's finding aid by collating the information gathered to date and contextualizing it in standard ways for archival practice: arranging the collection, storing the digital and physical items in a manner that will preserve them and make them accessible for the future, and creating context in the form of notes that can provide researchers insight into the background of the collection as well as an inventory of the collection's contents.

Further contextualization will also be explored at this point, most likely

starting with an exhibition to commemorate what we have lost. Collecting condolence materials is not a new archival activity but offers additional challenges in choices regarding representation in the content captured, sensitivity to the creators, and preservation and storage issues.[41] Most important will be to treat our community with respect and care in regards to any contextualization, especially regarding public-facing activities like exhibitions.[42]

Reconstruction Phase

The "reconstruction phase" of *Together/Apart* will happen long after the collecting project is officially closed. Even though the project will be closed at this point, we anticipate there will be ongoing collecting and reflection long after the pandemic has passed. As the Orange County Regional History Center found in the aftermath of the Pulse nightclub mass shooting, "each day presents new information, new artifacts, and new appointments to collect oral histories. It is an ever-evolving story of impact on our community."[43] Similarly, we expect that the slowly unfolding nature of the pandemic will lead to a extended period of rebuilding lasting years, perhaps decades. We will need to maintain a long- term view of *Together/Apart*, mindful of the pandemic's ever-evolving impact.

What are you most looking forward to when the pandemic passes?

> *I look forward to a day when I know the virus is no longer a threat to our lives. I look forward to feeling free to hug my family and friends, and knowing that the world is alive again. I look forward to walking freely on the beach and in the parks and around the neighborhood. I look forward to eating out again occasionally at restaurants, and attending public events. I look forward to a world where entertainment has switched the lights back on, where I can once again feel free to attend a concert, or go to the theater or cinema. I look forward to again travelling [sic] by plane to visit distant family and friends, and to take a vacation. Most of all, I look forward to seeing a world without fear, finally free of COVID-19.*
>
> *Despite all the pain and suffering that COVID-19 is causing, people are thinking more about each other. We are realizing that we all need to come together and embrace our differences. My wish is that this pandemic brings more acts of kindness and leads to a more tolerant world.*
>
> - Retired artist

Conclusion

The COVID-19 pandemic is truly a global event, with its impact being felt across the world. While in many ways, the experiences of all of us living through this time are universal, there will be important distinctions to be found at local levels. Institutions collecting in their "backyard" can provide a regional perspective which can be compared against others to understand the differences and similarities of this experience. To date in North San Diego County, our community has embraced *Together/Apart* with robust and thoughtful participation, and we are hopeful that this will provide future researchers with important documentation of the pandemic and offer our community the means to process, commemorate, and grieve about this tumultuous time.

Living through this pandemic is scary, momentous, at times monotonous, and unlike anything that has happened in our lifetimes. Archives and other cultural heritage organizations play an essential societal role in collecting and preserving our history and culture. Looking towards future generations, providing them accounts of what is happening now, in as close to "real time" as possible, is critical for our descendants to understand what this history-making time has been like. And yet, as important as this is, without buy-in from our communities, participatory archives simply can't happen. You, reader, are our community. Please consider contributing your experience to *Together/Apart: The COVID-19 Community Memory Archive* (https://together-apart.csusm.edu/) and/or the San Diego History Center's initiative, *History Happening Now* (https://historyhappeningnow.org/). Together, we can build a record of this time, learn from each other, and console our communities.

NOTES

1. The words "special collections" and "archives" are often used interchangeably and can create confusion. Technically, archives are organizations based around stewarding an organization's output and history, such as a university's archives, or the archives of a major corporation. Their patron base is usually internal users, such as employees. A special collection is a collection of resources based around a specific topic or theme and is often more "public-facing" than an archive. However, the terms are used interchangeably by non-specialists and will be likewise in this article, with the intention to provide the best word for the context of the sentence or paragraph in which it appears. When capitalized, Special Collections refers to the department at CSUSM or other specific departments, and Archive is shorthand for the collected documentation of *Together/Apart: The COVID-19 Community Memory Archive*.
2. Campus closed officially on March 16th, 2020, and remains largely closed at the time of writing, with on-campus instruction limited to a few classes where equipment or space is mandatory for the fulfilment of degrees, such as lab, clinical, art studio, and performance-based courses. *Together/Apart* can be found at https://together-apart.csusm.edu/.
3. Society of American Archivists, "Archive" and "Archives," *Dictionary of Archives Terminology*, Last modified 2020, https://dictionary.archivists.org/entry/archive.html and https://dictionary.archivists.org/entry/archives.html.
4. Southern Oral History Project, https://sohp.org/.
5. Although the exact numbers of infection and death are not known, according to most sources approximately 50 million deaths occurred worldwide. Center for Disease Control and Prevention, "1918 Pandemic (H1N1 virus)," https://www.cdc.gov/flu/pandemic-resources/1918-pandemic-h1n1.html. United States, National Archives and Records Administration, "Letter from nurse to her friend at the Haskell Indian Nations University, Kansas, October 17, 1918. Bureau of Indian Affairs," *The Deadly Virus: The Influenza Epidemic of 1918*. https://www.archives.gov/exhibits/influenza-epidemic/records/volunteer-nurse-letter.pdf.
6. Fran Carr quoted in Erica Jaros, "In the Moment: Archiving Daily Life in a Pandemic How Historical Societies, Libraries, Archives, and Museums are Documenting the Effects of COVID-19, last modified May, 2020," https://www.imls.gov/blog/2020/05/moment-archiving-daily-life-pandemic.
7. Fran Carr, April 8, 2020, "Introducing the Pendleton County COVID-19 History As It Happens Writing Project," https://business.facebook.com/PCPlibrary/videos/575843693025089/.
8. University of Michigan, Center for the History of Medicine and Michigan Publishing, *Influenza Encyclopedia: The American Influenza Epidemic of 1918-1919: A Digital Encyclopedia*, https://www.influenzaarchive.org/.
9. British Library, *Chronicle of the Black Death*, https://www.bl.uk/learning/timeline/item103973.html.
10. National AIDS Memorial https://www.aidsmemorial.org/ and Interactive AIDS Memorial Quilt https://www.aidsmemorial.org/interactive-aids-quilt.
11. Best archival practice is for evidence produced by individuals to be collected at the time of creation as "the past does not exist as a hard, objective, or factual reality" and alteration of the evidence will occur over time. Zheng Wang, *Memory, Politics, Identity and Conflict: Historical Memory as a Variable* (Cham, Switzerland: Palgrave Macmillan/Springer Nature, 2018), 2.
12. *CSUSM Student Newspapers, 1990-2015: The First Twenty-five Years*, last modified 2015, https://archives.csusm.edu/student-newspapers/; *The Cougar Chronicle*, last modified April 29, 2020, https://csusmchronicle.com/category/news/.
13. Meredith Evans, "Modern Special Collections: Embracing the Future While Taking Care of the Past," *University Libraries Publications* 2 (2015): 12, https://doi.org/10.1080/13614533.2015.1040926.
14. Deborah Tulani Salahu-Din, "Documenting the Black Lives Matter Movement in Baltimore

through Contemporary Collecting: An Initiative of the National Museum of African American History and Culture," *Collections: A Journal for Museum and Archives Professionals* 15, no. 2-3 (2019): 102, https://doi.org/10.1007/s10502-019-09302-2.

15. Ana Roeschley and Jeonghyun Kim, "'Something that Feels Like a Community': The Role of Personal Stories in Building Community-based Participatory Archives," *Archival Science* 19 (March 2019): 28.

16. Kate Theimer, "The Future of Archives is Participatory: A New Mission for Archives," (presentation, Open Archives 2.1, Stuttgart, Germany, April 3, 2014), https://www.slideshare.net/ktheimer/the-future-of-archives-is-participatory-a-new-mission-for-archives.

17. *Documenting Ferguson*: http://digital.wustl.edu/ferguson/; *Harvey Memories*: https://harveymemories.org/; *Our Marathon*: https://marathon.library.northeastern.edu/; *The Mass. Memories Road Show*: https://openarchives.umb.edu/digital/collection/p15774coll6; *VT Stories*: http://vtstories.org/

18. Patricia J. Rettig, "Documenting Disasters: A Focus on Floods," *Journal of Western Archives* 10, no. 2 (2019):14, https://digitalcommons.usu.edu/westernarchives/vol10/iss2/2.

19. Other terminology for condolence archives includes tragedy archives and grief collections. Rettig, "Documenting Disasters: A Focus on Floods," 1.

20. Sean D. Visintainer, April W. Feldman, Pamela Nett Kruger, and Christopher B. Livingston. "Collecting COVID at the California State University: Shared Approaches, Divergent Implementations." *Collections* (December 2020): 7. https://doi.org/10.1177/1550190620980733.

21. Lisa Spiro, "Creating a Community-Driven Digital Archive: The Harvey Memories Project," (2018): 56. https://hdl.handle.net/1911/99805.

22. Rebecka Sheffield, "Community Archives." In *Currents of Archival Thinking*, ed. Heather MacNeil and Terry Eastwood (Santa Barbara: Libraries Unlimited, 2017), 363.

23. Palmer's philosophy, called "Archives 2.0," is "a philosophy that "privileges the user and promotes an ethos of sharing, collaboration, and openness." Joy Palmer, "Archives 2.0: If We Build It, Will They Come?" *Ariadne* 60 (July 2009). http://www.ariadne.ac.uk/issue/60/palmer/.

24. https://sandiegohistory.org/

25. Sheffield, "Community Archives," 360; Rettig, "Documenting Disasters: A Focus on Floods," 12.

26. Roeschley and Kim, "'Something that Feels Like a Community,'" 33.

27. California State University San Marcos and the San Diego Brewers Guild, *Economic Impact of Craft Breweries in San Diego County 2019*, https://www.csusm.edu/coba/obra/2019craftreport.pdf.

28. Eric Burns, *The Spirits of America: A Social History of Alcohol* (Philadelphia: Temple University Press, 2004); Steven M. Schnell and Joseph F. Reese, "Microbreweries as Tools of Local Identity," *Journal of Cultural*

29. *Geography* 21 no. 1 (2003): 45-69. https://doi.org/10.1080/08873630309478266; Dane Huckelbridge, *The United States of Beer: A Freewheeling History of the All-American Drink*, (New York: William Morrow, 2016). Industry workers and patrons develop a community based on specialized language, social rituals, and conventions. Members of such communities bond with one another based on loyalties to specific breweries and employees, further strengthening social ties and loyalties. E.S. Daniel, Jr., "Tapping into Identity: Social Balance Explained through Newcomers Identity and Socialization Processes in Craft Breweries," *Beer Culture in Theory and Practice: Understanding Craft Beer Culture in the United States* (Lanham, Maryland: Lexington Books, 2017): 81-96; Lezlie Ybarra, "Crafting Culture: Tapping into Identity and Place through the Craft Beer Movement in Oklahoma," (master's thesis, University of Oklahoma, 2019), https://shareok.org/handle/11244/319758.

30. FERPA is a federal law protecting the privacy of student records. Title IX is a federal law

protecting against discrimination based on sex, including sexual harassment and sexual misconduct, in educational settings that receive federal funding.

31. Visintainer et al., "Collecting COVID at the California State University: Shared Approaches, Divergent Implementations," 2-3.

32. "An IRB is a committee within a university or other organization receiving federal funds to conduct research that reviews research proposals. The IRB reviews the proposals before a project is submitted to a funding agency to determine if the research project follows the ethical principles and federal regulations for the protection of human subjects. The IRB has the authority to approve, disapprove or require modifications of these projects." "Frequently Asked Questions about Institutional Review Boards," American Psychological Association, https://www.apa.org/advocacy/research/defending-research/review-boards.

33. Mary Larson, "Steering Clear of the Rocks: A Look at the Current State of Oral History Ethics in the Digital Age," *The Oral History Review* 40, no. 1 (November 2019): 42, https://doi.org/10.1093/ohr/oht028.

34. Larson, "Steering Clear of the Rocks," 47.

35. *Documenting Ferguson* is a community-based, participatory archive that "seeks to preserve and make accessible community- and media-generated, original content that was captured and created following the killing of 18-year- old, Michael Brown by police officer Darren Wilson in Ferguson, Missouri on August 9, 2014." *Documenting Ferguson*, http://digital.wustl.edu/ferguson/purpose.html.

36. Kodjo Atiso and Chris Freeland, "Identifying the Social and Technical Barriers Affecting Engagement in Online Community Archives: A Preliminary Study of 'Documenting Ferguson' Archive," *Library Philosophy and Practice (e-journal)*, Paper 1377 (2016): 3-4, 14-15, http://digitalcommons.unl.edu/libphilprac/1377.

37. Roeschley and Kim, "'Something that Feels Like a Community,'" 33.

38. Paul Leblanc, "Fauci: 'You Don't Make the Timeline, the Virus Makes the Timeline' on Relaxing Public Health Measures." *CNN*, March 25, 2020, https://www.cnn.com/2020/03/25/politics/anthony-fauci-coronavirus-timeline-cnntv/index.html.

39. Rettig, "Documenting Disasters," 11. Rettig notes the impact and response phases as separate parts of the disaster impact timeline. For our purposes, we have consolidated them.

40. Targeted interviews would be geared towards collecting the university's response to the pandemic and documenting the perspectives of individuals involved in that response.

41. Kerri Milliken, "Documenting COVID-19: What We Can Learn from Condolence Collections," *Archival Outlook* (July/August 2020): 8, 22.https://mydigitalpublication.com/publication/?m=30305&i=667849&p=10&ver=html5.

42. Ashley Maynor, "Five Ways We Can Do Better to Respond to Crises in Our Communities," *NCPH History at Work* (blog), February 5, 2018, https://ncph.org/history-at-work/five-ways-we-can-do-better-crises-in-our-communities/.

43. Pam Schwartz, Whitney Broadway, Emile S. Arnold, Adam M. Ware, and Jessica Domingo, "Rapid-Response Collecting After the Pulse Nightclub Massacre," *The Public Historian* 40, no. 1 (February 2018): 106. https://doi.org/10.1525/tph.2018.40.1.105.

A British Health Seeker in Southern California: Beatrice Harraden (1864-1936)

Molly McClain

In the late 19th century, health tourists traveled the globe in search of relief from tuberculosis, rheumatoid arthritis, and other ailments for which the medical profession had no cure. Some sought the mountain air of the Swiss Alps while others headed to the French and Italian Rivieras. A smaller, more eclectic group made their way to San Diego, an up-and-coming tourist destination that promised plenty of sunshine, fresh air, and a mild, dry climate thought to be well-suited to damaged lungs and aching joints. Among them was the best-selling British novelist Beatrice Harraden, who wrote several books about Southern California, including *Two Health-Seekers in Southern California* (1897) co-authored with Dr. William A. Edwards.[1] She was quick to discourage those who sought civilized comforts, much less luxury, in the American southwest. But for those willing to take a risk, San Diego offered both a "climate cure" and a community of people who had rejected the materialism of British society and found in the West a simpler and more healthful way of living.[2]

The literature on health tourism fits into a variety of different narratives about the Victorian experience. It appears most often in social histories of medicine to illustrate how people dealt with illness—particularly tuberculosis—before the advent of the germ theory of disease and the development of antibiotics.[3] The subject is used to tell the story of the professionalization of health care in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, as health resorts often transformed into sanatoriums.[4] Analyses of health tourism also appear in histories of gender and

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Novelist Beatrice Harraden, c. 1895, signed her photograph, "Miss Scripps—With kindest greetings from Beatrice Harraden." She and Ellen Browning Scripps shared a mutual interest in the publishing business. Ellen Browning Scripps Collection, Ella Strong Denison Library, Scripps College.

sexuality. Travel narratives, for example, often reveal ways in which chronically ill men performed nineteenth-century ideals of masculinity by tackling the physical rigors of outdoor life.[5] Authors, however, were seldom female. As one historian has pointed out, "Middle-class domestic ideology seems to discourage women, if only indirectly, from pursuing health through travel."[6]

This article examines health tourism as a form of secular pilgrimage undertaken in the 1890s by a single woman who identified as a feminist.[7] It explores what ill health meant to Harraden, whose identity as a "New Woman" was bound up in her work as an author and activist.[8] This work also discusses her recommendations to like-minded women and considers her fictional characters, both invalids and caretakers. Finally, this study reveals how Harraden used her experience in Southern California to criticize the social conventions that kept British women, in particular, from achieving personal autonomy.

Beatrice Harraden, little known today, was a celebrated author at the start of the age of mass-market fiction. Born in 1864, she was the daughter of Samuel Harraden, a Cambridge-educated musician and entrepreneur who exported musical instruments to British India, including one of the first phonographs exhibited in Calcutta. Her mother Rosalie Lindstedt was born in India, the product of a mixed-race marriage between a Swedish man and a Kashmiri woman.[9] Around the time of the Indian Rebellion of 1857, the couple moved to England with their eldest son, Edwin.[10] As well-to-do members of the emerging middle class, the Harradens could afford to educate their children, entertain, and pursue leisure activities like travel.

The youngest of five children, Beatrice grew up in a comfortable house in St. John's Wood, not far from Hampstead Heath. Her sister Ethel became a well-known composer while Gertrude, only two years older, experimented with fiction and photography. Her brothers, meanwhile, had careers in British India. Beatrice was educated in Dresden, Germany, and at Cheltenham Ladies' College before going on to study at Queen's and Bedford Colleges at the University of London, graduating in 1884. It was still highly unusual for a woman to receive a university degree, so much so that novelist Eliza Lynn Linton, who had adopted Harraden as her protégé, referred her as "my little B.A."[11] Beatrice began writing short stories in the late 1880s, at first with only modest success, though she longed to follow in the footsteps of the popular novelist George Eliot.[12]

Physically slight, Harraden had a deep, low voice, cropped dark hair, and spectacles that gave her a scholarly air.[13] She had a "nervous energy" that strangers often mistook for physical strength, according to her sister, and could be "bright and cheerful" when in good health.[14] She was ambitious to succeed as a writer and made an effort to meet all the literary people in London.[15] Her artistic sensibilities,

Clavadel Kurhaus, Davos, 1911. Harraden's best-selling novel, Ships that Pass in the Night *(1893), was set in a* kurhaus*, or health resort, in Davos, Switzerland. ETH-Bibliothek Zürich #06284.*

together with her advanced education, endeared her to other free-spirited and intellectual men and women.

Harraden believed that her ill health was the product of "over-strain in writing and 'cello playing."[16] She wrote and practiced the violoncello until pain in her right hand forced her to stop both. Doctors diagnosed this as damage to the ulnar nerve. Although there is no evidence that she had tuberculosis, she was in poor overall health and suffered severe headaches, possibly migraines.[17] She also may have suffered from neurasthenia, a nervous disorder that caused fatigue, anxiety, headache, and depression. One contemporary described her as "one of those small, slight women who are consumed by their own intense nervous and mental force, which is far in excess of their delicate frames."[18]

Before coming to California, Harraden traveled to several European health resorts in search of rest and, possibly, a cure. British travel to the continent boomed after the 1870s as a result of advances in Europe's infrastructure, most notably railway lines that linked the Channel ports to Belgium, Germany, Switzerland, and France.[19] In 1890, Harraden traveled to Menton on the French Riviera, known for its mild climate, citrus groves, and sea air. There, however, Harraden contracted a severe case of diphtheria.[20] She then took the "Alpine Cure" that consisted of time spent in the pure mountain air. Her neurologist Dr. Thomas Buzzard told her that if she could recover her physical strength, her hands would soon heal themselves.

She and her sister Gertrude spent the winter of 1890-91 in Davos, Switzerland, at a *kurhaus* with heated floors and an advanced system of air circulation. She longed to go hiking but satisfied herself by resting in the open air, bundled in blankets, and taking occasional sleigh rides. It was in Switzerland that she met John and Agnes Kendall, who became close friends and, several years later, invited her to stay with them in California. This chance encounter would lead her halfway across the world and inspire her reflections on life in the West.[21]

On her return to England, Harraden began doing some writing again, having learned to use a typewriter with her left hand, but she gave this up when her doctor recommended that she try hydrotherapy, or the water cure. In 1891, she headed to Harrogate in the West Riding of Yorkshire, where health spas offered mineral water, hot and cold pools, showers, mud baths, and other state-of-the-art treatments. She found the place uncongenial but submitted to a month of therapy, writing, "I suppose the best thing after all is just to vegetate and get strong."[22]

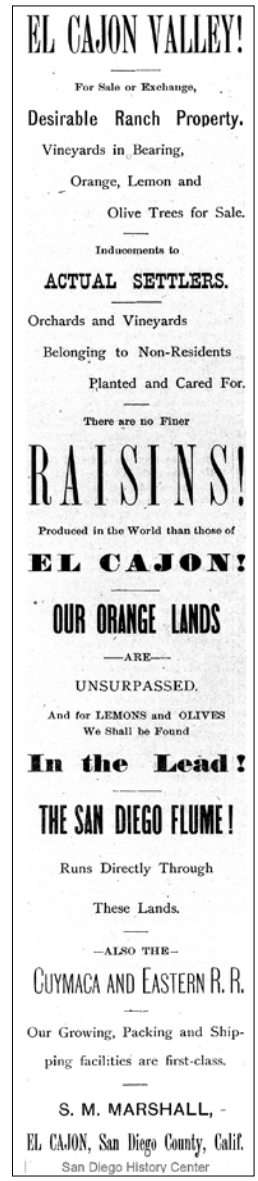
She fell ill again in the autumn of 1891, with the result that her neurologist recommended the "rest cure" pioneered by the American Dr. Silas Weir Mitchell, now known as the father of medical neurology, for the treatment of hysteria, neurasthenia, and other nervous illnesses. Harraden headed to Montreux, a health resort on Lake Geneva, where she spent her days in bed consuming a fatty, milk-based diet designed to boost her weight and increase her supply of red blood

Montreux and the Dents du Midi in Switzerland, 1880-1900. Montreux was a popular health resort on Lake Geneva where Harraden took the "rest cure." ETH-Bibliothek Zürich #01366.

cells. Dr. Buzzard, like his American colleague, believed that "all the nervous overstrain of this age comes in a great measure from want of nourishment."[23] Unlike Mitchell, however, he did not think that inactivity would benefit her in the long run, "He was a friend who comprehended her peculiar temperament," wrote one contemporary, and "urged her to resume work as quickly as possible, even with impaired faculties, telling her that nervous force was better out than in."[24]

In 1892, Harraden began writing in earnest, drawing on her own experience in the Alps. The result was *Ships that Pass in the Night* (1893), a tragic romance between two strangers who meet at a Swiss sanitarium.[25] Her attention to the emotional and psychological challenges faced by invalids and their caregivers made the book a phenomenal success. It went into eleven editions in the year of its publication and was later translated into numerous languages, including Japanese. Harraden profited only modestly from her success, as she had sold the copyright to publishers Lawrence and Bullen without asking for royalties.[26] Yet she was not unduly worried about money. She enjoyed her sudden fame and hoped that her subsequent books would prove to be just as popular.

In 1894, Harraden took up an invitation from her friends John and Agnes Kendall to "vegetate" on their new lemon ranch in San Diego, California. By the 1880s and 1890s, the transcontinental railroad had made it possible for health tourists to experiment with the "climate cure" in the Rocky Mountains and along the Pacific Coast. Southern California, in particular, offered a wide variety of microclimates—from salty and humid coastal fog, to dry desert air, to high altitude mountain dryness—all located within close reach of one another. Boosters promoted the attractiveness of the region to those with tuberculosis, neuralgia, and other illnesses, giving rise to medical climatologists, health resorts, and entire communities dedicated to wellness. Santa Barbara and Pasadena hosted some of the earliest and best-advertised health resorts on the West Coast, but San Diego was not far behind.[27]



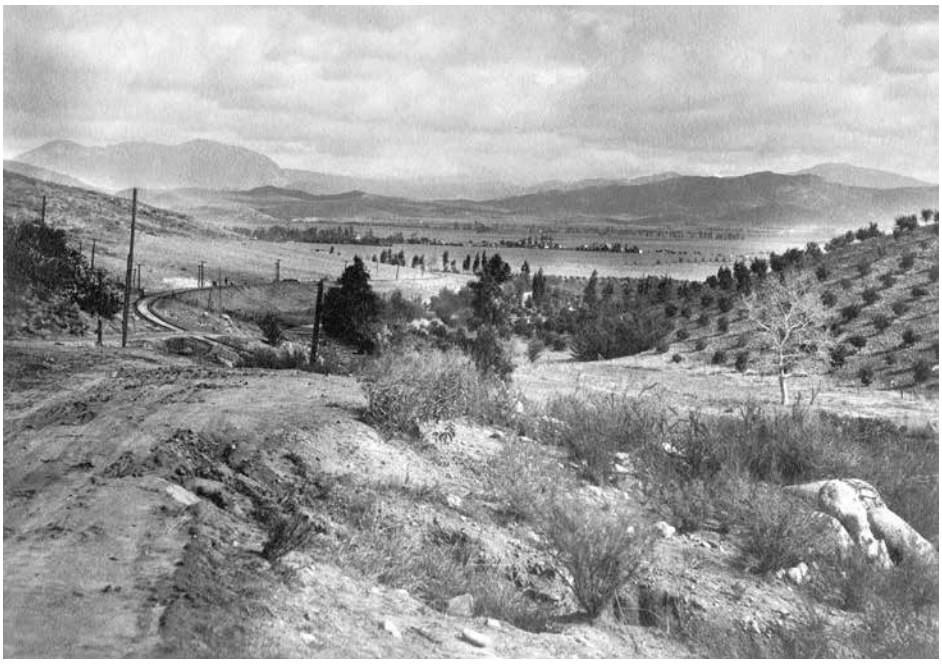
Advertisement for land, El Cajon, 1890. The end of free-range cattle grazing opened up new land for cultivation in the El Cajon Valley. The warm, dry climate attracted health seekers, including Harraden's friends the Kendalls. ©SDHC #90:18261-1.

A prominent visitor, Swiss-born scientist Alexander Agassiz, who first visited San Diego in 1872, encouraged locals to promote the region's climate. He told them, "You are here upon the thirty-second parallel, beyond the reach of the severe winters of the higher latitudes. This is your capital, and it is worth millions to you."[28] San Diego's Chamber of Commerce hopped on board, producing an informational pamphlet that touted the city as the ideal place for a health resort. It had a dry atmosphere, moderate temperatures throughout the year, sea breezes, cool nights, and "absolute freedom from miasmas."[29] Journalist Charles Nordhoff confirmed this in his *California: For Health, Pleasure, and Residence* (1873).[30] News spread as far as New Orleans, where one newspaper anticipated that San Diego "will be made famous beyond any on the Atlantic [sea]board" as a health resort.[31]

Drawn by the promise of cheap land and an ideal climate, people arrived in San Diego from all parts of the world, including Great Britain and Ireland. Samuel Storey, a member of Parliament and publisher of the *Sunderland Echo,* visited the region during the boom of the 1880s and sent back glowing reports, encouraging his countrymen to invest in what he was sure would be "the Liverpool of the Pacific." He added, "This is a land of promise for those threatened with, or suffering from consumption, asthma, throat diseases, dyspepsia, or physical prostration…Infectious diseases are scarcely known, the death-rate is extremely low, and life indeed worth living."[32] Immigrants from the British Isles included Joseph Jessop, a jeweler from a seaside town in Lancashire who arrived in 1890 seeking a cure for acute asthma. Together with another English family, the Surrs, he purchased ranchlands formerly belonging to the Argüello family and, in 1891, opened San Diego's first watch repair and jewelry shop.[33]

Harraden's friends, the Kendalls, came from Manchester, an industrial city in the north of England. John Kendall, a prosperous banker formerly with the Manchester and Salford Bank, retired after his wife Agnes was diagnosed with tuberculosis.[34] After seeking a cure in Switzerland, the Kendalls emigrated with their two young sons to the United States in 1892, bought land in San Diego, and proceeded to establish their lemon farm, Waverly Ranch, on a ridge of land overlooking the El Cajon Valley.[35] Formerly used for grazing cattle and sheep, El Cajon had been divided into farms cultivating wheat, barley, citrus fruit, raisins, and apricots. Its dry, warm climate made it "a popular resort for invalids," according to one visitor, many of whom boarded with J.O. Miner on his ranch.[36] In 1893, the Kendalls commissioned the young architect Irving J. Gill to build a one-story house in the East Indian bungalow style with "alcoves, nooks and odd gables, lending the residence an oriental air."[37] In anticipation of Harraden's arrival, the family built an additional room and bought a pony and cart so that their guest could take drives through the country. Harraden told her publisher

The Kendall family playing tennis in front of their home, Waverly Ranch, overlooking the El Cajon Valley. The East Indian bungalow was designed by the young architect Irving J. Gill. ©SDHC #21604.



El Cajon Valley, 1898. Harraden captured the raw beauty of San Diego's east county in several of her novels. ©SDHC #OP 362.

William Blackwood, "I trust that the quietness and peace will enable me to get really stronger and able to bring back a good piece of work."[38]

Arriving in the United States in May 1894, Harraden was met with enthusiasm by the New York press. Her novel, *Ships that Pass in the Night*, was a big success. "My popularity in [America] is astonishing," she wrote to her publisher, "I had no idea of the reception which awaited me in New York."[39] She was sought out by influential people in the literary world, including Richard W. Gilder, editor of *The Century Magazine*, and publisher George H. Putnam. After the "mad rush" of New York, she went to stay with publisher Frank H. Dodd and his wife Martha at their country house in Yonkers and visited Niagara Falls. She passed through Chicago before heading west on the Santa Fe Railroad.[40]

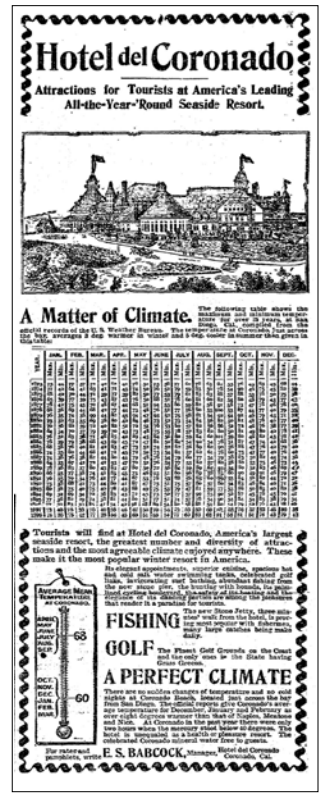
Harraden spent the summer of 1894 recovering from her journey. She told a friend, "I am thankful to do nothing but vegetate, make no plans, and think no thoughts but sleep and eat and water the lemon trees."[41] When the inland heat became too intense, she decamped to La Jolla where she stayed in a rustic bungalow belonging to Anna Held, a close friend of British actress Ellen Terry and governess to the children of Ulysses S. Grant, Jr. and his wife Fannie. Harraden reciprocated by offering the cottage a name, The Green Dragon, after the Shropshire Inn where she had set her most recent novel, *At the Green Dragon* (1894).[42]

Harraden, right, with a basket of lemons, poses with John and Agnes Kendall, their sons, and two friends at Waverly Ranch, El Cajon. "I never remember a time of my life when I had more ideas, more ambitious and broader, stronger and more eager ideas and interests," she wrote. ©SDHC #21607.

The Kendall family resting on the veranda of Waverly Ranch, El Cajon. Harraden wrote, "Southern California is the very land for outdoor life." ©SDHC #21606.

Hotel del Coronado, 1892. Harraden's co-author, Dr. William A. Edwards ran a large private hospital connected with the Hotel del Coronado, at that time the single largest resort hotel in the world. ©SDHC #20422.

When she did get back to work, Harraden co-authored a book, *Two Health Seekers in Southern California* (1897), with Dr. William A. Edwards.[43] The house physician at the luxurious Hotel del Coronado, Edwards ran a large private hospital connected with the resort. A graduate of the University of Pennsylvania's school of medicine, he was the brother-in-law of future president William Howard Taft.[44] *Two Health Seekers* was intended to promote tourism to the Hotel del Coronado, at that time the single largest resort hotel in the world, as well as to present recent scientific data about San Diego's climate.[45]


Hotel del Coronado

Attractions for Tourists at America's Leading All-the-Year-Round Seaside Resort.

A Matter of Climate.

Tourists will find at Hotel del Coronado, America's largest seaside resort, the greatest number and diversity of attractions and the most agreeable climate enjoyed anywhere. These make it the most popular winter resort in America.

FISHING

GOLF

A PERFECT CLIMATE

E. S. BABCOCK, Manager, Hotel del Coronado, Coronado, Cal.

An advertisement for the Hotel del Coronado included a table showing San Diego's minimum and maximum temperatures between 1873 and 1898. It promised "no sudden changes of temperature and no cold nights." San Diego Union, *March 3, 1899, page 6.* San Diego Union *1899-03-03_6.*

Edwards's chief concern in the book was to present the health benefits of Southern California. He recognized that "consumption" or tuberculosis was not the product of "miasma" or foul air but the result of infection by the tubercule bacillus, as German scientist Robert Koch had discovered in 1882.[46] The germ theory of disease, however, had yet to produce cures. Edwards argued that a healthful climate remained the most important form of palliative care available. Southern California's six distinct climate zones made it possible for the invalid or health-seeker to travel to the area best suited for his or her particular ailment in a matter of hours. Moreover, there was little seasonal change. Edwards's tables revealed twenty-two years of temperature data from San Diego, along with evidence from photographic and thermometric "sunshine recorders." In February 1893, for example, San Diego had seventy percent of the possible sunshine with only brief periods of fog or rain.[47] He concluded with the most recent scientific knowledge regarding tuberculosis together with his own findings. "When the existence of consumption is recognized early," he wrote, "and the patient is immediately sent to a proper climate, I see often some of the most remarkable restorations to health."[48] He also explained how sufferers from other diseases (rheumatism, dyspepsia, kidney stones) could expect to fare. Neurasthenics, he remarked, were better away from Southern California as "head pains may be aggravated by the dryness and constant sunshine…They always complain bitterly of the 'desert winds.'"[49]

Harraden's contribution to the book consisted of two chapters in which she

Coronado Tent City, c. 1900. San Diego's temperate climate made tent living popular, particularly in the summertime. Coronado and La Jolla had large "tent cities" filled with holiday makers who spent weeks, even months, enjoying the sunshine and sea air. ©SDHC #20811.

recommended the "nature cure" to women in particular.[50] Climate could help alleviate symptoms, but in her view, it was regular physical activity in the out-of-doors that was necessary to conquer disease, at least in its early stages. "Southern California is the very land for out-door life," she wrote, "and apart from riding and driving and bicycling and camping there are many occupations and interests which come well within the scope of even delicate women. In fact, a year of healthy country-life in Southern California would do far more to restore many ailing people to health than several seasons spent in sanitariums and cure-resorts."[51] She recommended her own experience of driving a horse-drawn cart along dusty, backcountry lanes. "Nothing could be more enjoyable than starting out on a typical Californian day, with a nice little team and all the dogs scampering along joyously, and plenty of provisions and a fierce determination not to return until you feel inclined." The sense of freedom was "delightful," and the exercise could be enjoyed even by the most delicate invalid who finds "that the more she drives the more she can drive, for there is some curious, life-giving power in the air which prevents over-exhaustion and aids quick recovery from ordinary fatigue." Harraden herself became accustomed to driving up to sixty miles in a day.[52]

Physical activity was not a unique suggestion to the problem of poor health. By the 1880s, numerous social commentators drew on Social Darwinism to promote the idea that physical struggle was necessary to the survival of the race. Theodore Roosevelt, who overcame illness through his adventures in the American West, referred to this as "the strenuous life."[53] Advocates of physical exertion encouraged men, in particular, to engage in competitive sports such as rowing, cycling, and hunting and to pursue strenuous agrarian activities like farming and gardening.[54] Physical activity and immersion in nature were thought to stave off the biological and moral "degeneracy" that was thought to be the result of advanced civilization. This was particularly true for invalid men, for whom physical activity, according to one scholar, "is represented as both exacting and fortifying; it is the key to a cure."[55]

Women, however, were less often encouraged to take up physical labor, particularly if they suffered from poor health. Harraden's doctors, for example, fully expected her to rest on the Kendalls' ranch, doing little more than was absolutely necessary. Harraden herself, though, seemed to reject these expectations, and instead she helped her hosts by pruning lemon trees and gathering fruit, activities that took physical strength. She learned how to build a fence, harness a horse, and undertake household chores. She tramped across the mesas and valleys looking for botanical specimens and created a small garden outside her study.[56] Most importantly, she wrote. In addition to *Two Health-Seekers*, she wrote

When the inland heat became too intense, Harraden decamped to La Jolla where she stayed in a rustic bungalow belonging to German-born governess Anna Held. The photo shows Held with another British guest, the Honorable Auberon Herbert, son of the third earl of Carnarvon in 1902. La Jolla Historical Society.

Harraden named Anna Held's cottage The Green Dragon after the inn where she had sent her most recent novel, At the Green Dragon (1894). This was the start of the famed Green Dragon Colony. ©SDHC #84:15150-1.

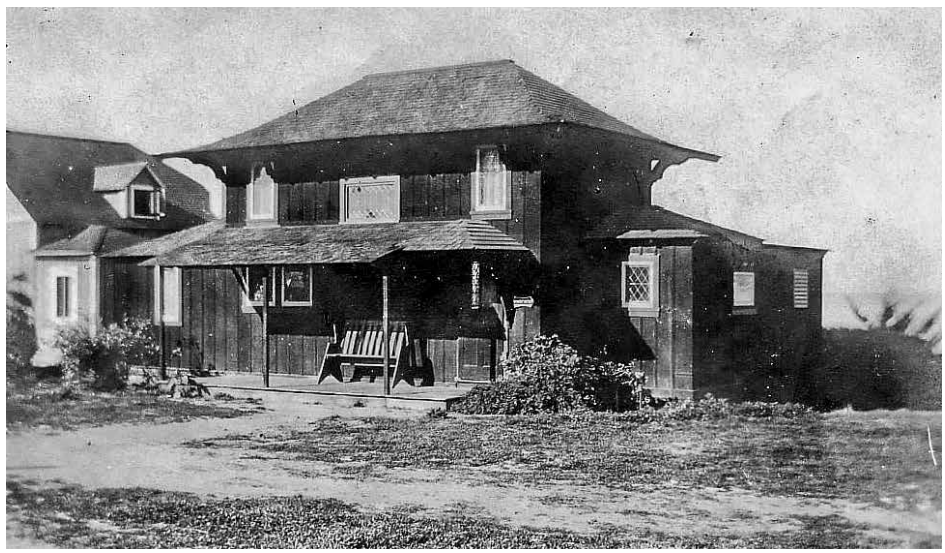
two books and outlined a third. She later recalled, "I never remember any period of my life when I had more ideas, more ambitious and broader, stronger and more eager ideas and interests."[57] Physical exercise, she found, enhanced her intellectual productivity.

Southern California promised to be a place where one could escape those doctors who advocated the so-called "rest cure." Like other women of her generation, Harraden was beginning to doubt the efficacy of forced inactivity. A few years earlier, American writer Charlotte Stetson (better known as Charlotte Perkins Gilman) had condemned the treatment as a form of psychological torture in her feminist short story, "The Yellow Wallpaper." In the story, a young wife who suffers from neurasthenia is driven slowly mad by being locked in the upstairs nursery of a rented house and forbidden to do any intellectual or creative work. She must even hide her diary from family members. Written by Stetson in her Pasadena, California bungalow, it was published in *The New England Magazine* in 1892.[58] There is no evidence that Harraden read this work, but she regularly encountered doctors who believed that her troubles stemmed from the fact that she pursued a professional life as a writer. "If I could be like a cabbage, I might recover quicker," she wrote drily.[59]

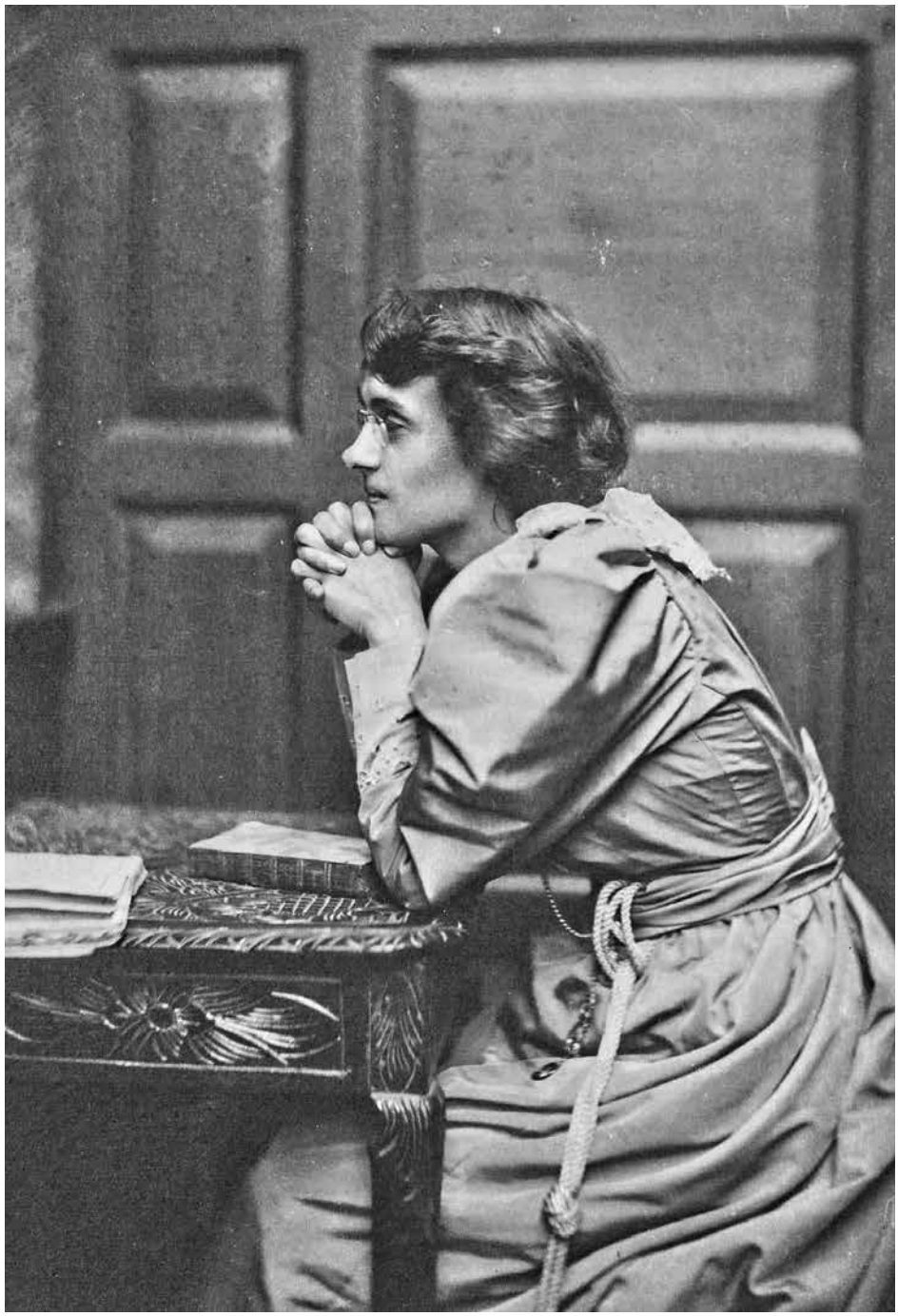
Harraden was careful to explain that women who were seriously ill should not come to a place where they would have to undertake household chores, servants

being scarce and unreliable. She came from London where the middle-class was spoiled for choice when it came to domestic labor.[60] In Southern California, however, servants were few and far between. Her co-author explained, "The wages for domestic service are absurdly high, and the service very inefficient; if we exclude the Chinese and Japanese, who are not acceptable to the majority, there is practically no servant class." A woman would need a husband who could disregard gender norms by working in the kitchen (as the men did on the Kendall ranch) or hire an Asian servant. Otherwise, "delicate women are likely to come back worse than they were when they started out."[61]

Relatively healthy women, however, would benefit from being forced "to do without hampering luxuries" and to engage in "satisfactory and useful work."[62] Harraden gave examples of women in Southern California who found that work helped them more than enforced leisure. One developed a highly successful strawberry ranch while another cultivated pampas-grass (the dried plumes were used in household decoration and to dress ladies' hats). Others took to nursery gardening, most notably Kate Sessions, an eighth-grade teacher who left her job after developing health problems. By the 1890s, Sessions had growing fields, a nursery, and a reputation for finding plants that would thrive in Southern California's arid climate.[63] Other examples could be drawn from an 1887 article in *Overland Monthly* that surveyed California women engaged in agriculture. The author noted that fruit culture, in particular, was "a very healthful and paying operation…there are no discouraging features in this almost perfect climate,



In 1895, Harraden stayed in La Jolla with the Kendalls at their newly built cottage, Windemere, designed by architect Irving J. Gill. La Jolla Historical Society #4777.



Beatrice Harraden, c. 1890. Harraden did not settle permanently in California, much as she enjoyed the freedoms it offered. She returned to London where she worked on behalf of the suffrage cause. ©Victoria and Albert Museum, London.

where one lives forever in the open air, eats wholesome food, and dresses solely for health and comfort."[64]

While the landscape of Southern California was capable of transformation, it required a great deal of "devoted and hard work."[65] Palm trees, for example, did not grow at random "as some of us may have feverishly fancied," Harraden wrote; instead, "man's hand must plant and tend them, and water them unceasingly."[66] Eucalyptus, pepper trees, and Norfolk Island pines grew with "breathless speed," but there were relatively few of them scattered over the barren land. It would take time and labor for the desert to bloom.[67] In the meanwhile, one had to contend with an environment that appeared untouched by human hands. Harraden warned her readers not to expect tree-lined streets and rose gardens. "One may drive for miles in some parts," she wrote, "and see nothing but stones and boulders and dried-up brush and shabby-looking cactus, and dust without beginning or end."[68] The dust was overwhelming, particularly in summertime: "it not only eats into one's clothes, but corrodes one's temperature as well, and gets into one's nose and throat and chest. It rises up into the buggy in great curling waves, thickly powdering every one from top to toe."[69]

Harraden and Edwards advised English visitors, particularly those unaccustomed to the dry heat of Southern California's inland valleys, to head to the coast where the breeze swept with "unfailing freshness" over the ocean.[70] Harraden preferred La Jolla, where she found that outdoor life rested her "nerves, brain, and frame."[71] She headed there again in 1895, this time with the Kendalls, who had built a cottage named Windemere along Prospect Street.[72] Harraden described it as "a Shakespearean cottage…with lattice-work windows, and near enough to the sea to enjoy boating and bathing."[73] By this time, La Jolla had a railway connection and a growing number of cottages scattered along the cliffs overlooking the sea. It had few, if any, cultural amenities, but it had some of the most spectacular coastal views in Southern California.

One had to be prepared to exchange intellectual and cultural stimulation for the raw beauty of the West. In her short novel, *Hilda Strafford: A Californian Story* (1896), Harraden described the reaction of a well-bred Englishwoman to life on a remote California ranch with her invalid husband: "Looking back now she wondered why in the name of heaven she had ever come out to this distant land…. There was no pulsation nor throb of life. There was nothing to stimulate,—nothing in the circumstances of everyday life, nor in the scenery." The character Hilda sinks into a deep depression, unable to see the landscape that surrounds her, the distant ranges of mountains and foothills with a shimmer of green on the slopes, a flight of wild ducks, and the carpets of flowers that emerged each spring.[74] Only by the end of the novel does she become "reconciled to the scenery" and able to

see what her husband had promised: "the foothills were powdered with gold… And the air was laden with the heavy fragrances of the flowers and the orange and lemon blossoms."[75] However, by this time it is too late: her husband is dead, and she returns to London to take up her old life.

It was the New Woman, then, and not her conventional contemporary, who was best suited to long-term residence in Southern California. One needed both courage and a healthy disregard for convention, as "the conditions of life in the West are so utterly different from those found in the Old World." According to Harraden, only those young enough to "uproot themselves" and leave behind old ways and traditional expectations could hope to be happy in the New World.[76]

Harraden saw many such women in Southern California. There was Anna Held, for example, the German-born nanny who hosted Harraden at The Green Dragon and was known to wear men's clothes "as an amusement" at parties that evoked the aesthetic decadence of the *fin-de-siècle*.[77] Harraden also befriended Tessa Kelso, the head librarian of the Los Angeles City Library, who went hatless, rode a bicycle, and scandalized patrons by putting *Le Cadet* ("The Younger Brother," 1890), by the bohemian French novelist Jean Richepin, on the shelves.[78] Other acquaintances were Ellen Browning Scripps, a pioneering newspaperwoman and philanthropist; Annie Scripps, an invalid, who identified herself as a reformer, even a radical; Fanny Bagby, a journalist at the *San Diego Sun*; and author Margaret Collier Graham, an active supporter of women's suffrage.[79]

It remained to be seen whether Britain could produce a woman sufficiently liberated to take up the challenge of life in the West. Harraden was not certain that it could. Invalid men like her friend John Addington Symonds might live unconventionally in the Swiss Alps, but women remained confined by tradition.[80] "Here in England we are handicapped by the hard and fast rules of the older civilization," she wrote in a 1900 article entitled "Woman's Capabilities and Limitations." What was needed were men willing to take on their share of domestic duties while women pursued education and employment. Until then, women would not be sufficiently confident to test their capabilities, to "try the untried and await the result."[81] She expressed this sentiment in a later novel, *Katharine Frensham* (1903), in which the title character says, "I begin to see why life is far easier to men than to women. The fight with the outer world braces men up. They go forth, and pass on strengthened. But women are chained to circumstance—or chain themselves."[82]

Harraden did not settle permanently in California, much as she enjoyed the freedoms it offered, nor did her friends the Kendalls, whose lemon ranch could not survive six years of drought. "So many English people fail in this way," Harraden wrote, "and die out there literally broken hearted."[83] After her visit in

1894-95, she made her last trip to California in 1899 and returned to London the following year. In 1901, the Kendalls sold their ranch to another British family and returned to London, though their sons remained in the United States until the outbreak of the first World War.[84] After her father's death, Harraden moved out of the family home to a flat in Hampstead, not far from the Kendalls.[85] She never completely solved the problem of her ill health, despite several operations to remove abscessed teeth, and she continued to rely on travel to relieve stress.[86] In the years between 1900 and 1914, she worked on behalf of the suffrage cause in England, writing and giving lectures for the Women's Social and Political Union (WSPU), and served on the committees of various women's organizations. During the war, she volunteered at Dr. Flora Murray's Endell Street Hospital for Soldiers and helped organize Belgian relief. She continued to write, publishing a total of seventeen novels before her death in 1936 at the age of 72.[87]

Southern California remained a destination for invalids through the early part of the twentieth century, though it is hard to know how many British women took up the challenge of western life. Few who read Harraden's *Hilda Strafford* could be inspired to do so, even if they identified themselves as New Women. On the other hand, her contribution to *Two Health-Seekers* recommended California as a place where women could recover their health and find the kind of happiness that results from hard work and the free use of one's creative powers. For those willing to "fight with the outer world," the possibilities were as endless as the Pacific horizon.[88]

NOTES

1. William A. Edwards and Beatrice Harraden, *Two Health-Seekers in Southern California* (Philadelphia: J.B. Lippincott Co., 1897).
2. For a discussion of *fin-de-siècle* utopian thinking, see Duncan Bell, "Dreaming of the Future: Anglo-America as Utopia, 1880-1914," in *The American Experiment and the Idea of Democracy in British Culture, 1776-1914* (Farnham, Surrey: Ashgate, 2013), 197-210.
3. Social histories of tuberculosis include Lynda Bryder, *Below the Magic Mountain: A Social History of Tuberculosis in Twentieth-Century Britain* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1988); Michael Teller, *The Tuberculosis Movement: A Public Health Campaign in the Progressive Era* (New York: Greenwood Press, 1988); Barbara Bates, *Bargaining for Life: A Social History of Tuberculosis, 1876-1938* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1992); Georgina D. Feldberg, *Disease and Class: Tuberculosis and the Shaping of Modern North American Society* (New Brunswick, NJ: Rutgers University Press, 1995); Katherine Ott, *Fevered Lives: Tuberculosis in American Culture since 1870* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1996); Helen Bynum, *Spitting Blood: The History of Tuberculosis* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2012).
4. Recent works on the sanatorium movement include Sheila Rothman, *Living in the Shadow of Death: Tuberculosis and the Social Experience of Illness in American History* (New York: Basic Books, 1994); Emily K. Abel, *Tuberculosis and the Politics of Exclusion: A History of Public Health*

and Migration to Los Angeles (New Brunswick, NJ: Rutgers University Press, 2007); Nancy Owen Lewis, *Chasing the Cure in New Mexico: Tuberculosis and the Quest for Health* (Santa Fe, NM: University of New Mexico Press, 2016).

5. Anne M. Windholz, "An Emigrant and a Gentleman: Imperial Masculinity, British Magazines, and the Colony That Got Away," *Victorian Studies* 42, no. 4 (Summer 1999–Summer 2000): 631-658; Maria H. Frawley, *Invalidism and Identity in Nineteenth-Century Britain* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2004), chap. 3 passim; Monica Rico, *Nature's Noblemen: Transatlantic Masculinities and the Nineteenth-Century American West* (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 2013).
6. Frawley, *Invalidism and Identity in Nineteenth-Century Britain,* 118.
7. For tourism as a form of secular pilgrimage, see: Nelson H.H. Graburn, "Tourism: The Sacred Journey," in *Hosts and Guests,* ed. Valene L. Smith (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania, 1989): 21-36 and "Secular Ritual: A General Theory of Tourism," in *Hosts and Guests Revisited: Tourism Issues of the 21st Century,* ed. Valene Smith and Maryann Brent (New York: Cognizant Communications, 2001): 42-50.
8. The term "New Woman" was first used by British novelist Sarah Grand in her "The New Aspect of the Woman Question," *The North American Review* 158, no. 448 (March 1894): 270-276. Works which consider the New Woman in her transatlantic context include Ann Ardis, *New Women, New Novels: Feminism and Early Modernism* (New Brunswick, NJ: Rutgers University Press, 1990); Gail Cunningham, *The New Woman and the Victorian Novel* (London and Basingstoke: Macmillan, 1978); Lloyd Fernando, *"New Women" in the Late Victorian Novel* (University Park, PA: Pennsylvania State University Press, 1977); Ann Heilmann and Bargaret Beetham, eds., *New Woman Hybridities: Femininity, Feminism, and International Consumer Culture, 1880-1930* (New York: Routledge, 2004); Sally Ledger, *The New Woman: Fiction and Feminism at the Fin de Siècle* (London and Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1997); and Angelique Richardson and Chris Willis, eds., *The New Woman in Fiction and Fact: Fine-de-Siècle Feminisms* (London and Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2002).
9. An 1897 article notes, "It is from her mother that Miss Harraden gets a mixture of races, of which she is very proud, Mrs. Harraden being of Swedish Cashmerian extraction." "Miss Beatrice Harraden," *Review of Reviews* (UK), 15, no. 6 (June 1897): 569.
10. He was appointed professor at the Hindu College of Music and later received his doctorate from the Bengal Royal Academy of Music. *Musical Times* 38, no. 655 (September 1, 1897): 626; "Obituary," *Bookseller* 40, no. 477 (August 6, 1897); Amlan Das Gupta, "Plates and Bangles: Early Recorded Music in India," in *Commodities and Culture in the Colonial World,* eds. Supriya Chaudhuri, Josephine McDonagh, Brian H. Murray, and Rajeswari Sunder Rajan (New York: Routledge, 2018).
11. Fred Hunter, "Harraden, Beatrice (1864-1936)," *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2004). See also, Alex Tankard, *Tuberculosis and Disabled Identity in Nineteenth Century Literature* (London: Palgrave Macmillan, 2018).
12. Beatrice Harraden to William Blackwood, December 31, [1896], Blackwood Papers, National Library of Scotland (hereafter NLS); "General Gossip of Authors and Writers," *Current Literature* 29, no. 1 (July 1900), 40.
13. Sarah Tooley, "Beatrice Harraden at Home," *Young Woman* (June 1897), 321.
14. Gertrude Harraden to William Blackwood, January 10, [ny], Blackwood Papers, National Library of Scotland.
15. Gilson Willets, "Beatrice Harraden: The Author," *Current Literature: A Magazine of Contemporary Record* 15, no. 6 (June 1894): 492. For additional biographical information, see Katherine Sutherland, "Beatrice Harraden," in *Dictionary of Literary Biography, Vol. 153: Late-Victorian and Edwardian British Novelists,* ed. George M. Johnson (Detroit: Gale, 1995), 100-105; Fred Hunter, "Harraden, Beatrice (1864-1936)," *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2004).

16. Ibid.

17. Beatrice Harraden to William Blackwood, Hampstead, 9 December [1896], Blackwood Papers, National Library of Scotland. In 1900, she had dental surgery that she hoped would cure the "head trouble" that she had endured for years. Beatrice Harraden to William Blackwood, Hampstead, June 21, [1900], Blackwood Papers, National Library of Scotland.

18. "How She Looks," *The Buffalo Commercial,* Buffalo, New York, May 3, 1894, 7.

19. Laurent Tissot, "How Did the British Conquer Switzerland? Guidebooks, Railways, Travel Agencies, 1850-1914" *Journal of Transport History* 16, no. 1 (March 1995): 21-54.

20. Beatrice Harraden to William Blackwood, 17 April [1890], Blackwood Papers, National Library of Scotland.

21. T. Clifford Allbutt, M.D., "Davos as a Health Resort," *The Lancet* (13 October 1888), 704-708. She also made the acquaintance of poet and literary critic John Addington Symonds, Jr. (1840-1893) who had written a book about Davos, his adopted town, *Our Life in the Swiss Highlands* (1891). Beatrice Harraden to William Blackwood, Davos-Platz, 14 October [1890], 1 April [1891], National Library of Scotland; "A Noted Writer," *San Diego Union,* May 31, 1894.

22. Beatrice Harraden to William Blackwood, Harrogate [1891], Blackwood Papers, National Library of Scotland; Jeremy Agnew, *Healing Waters: A History of Victorian Spas* (Jefferson, NC: McFarland and Co., 2019), 161-163; Jane M. Adams, *Healing with Water: English Spas and the Water Cure, 1840-1960* (Manchester: Manchester UP, 2015), passim.

23. Beatrice Harraden to William Blackwood, Hampstead, 27 January [1892], Blackwood Papers, National Library of Scotland.

24. "Climate Makes them Come," *Los Angeles Herald,* 3 June 1894, 4.

25. Beatrice Harraden, *Ships that Pass in the Night* (London: Lawrence and Bullen, 1893).

26. "Harraden, Beatrice," The Orlando Project, http://orlando.cambridge.org (accessed March 3, 2017); see also Tankard, *Tuberculosis and Disabled Identity,* 167-210. She wrote of her publishers, "I think I may say that I have never had anything but rudeness from them: rudeness and eighty pounds." Beatrice Harraden to William Blackwood, August 4, n.y., Blackwood Papers, National Library of Scotland.

27. Works on Southern California's health climate include John E. Bauer, *The Health Seekers of Southern California, 1870-1900* (San Marino, CA: Huntington Library, 1959); Emily K. Abel, *Suffering in the Land of Sunshine: A Los Angeles Illness Narrative* (New Brunswick, NJ: Rutgers University Press, 2006); William Deverell, "Convalescence and California: The Civil War Comes West," *Southern California Quarterly* 90, no. 1 (Spring 2008): 1-26; "The White Plague in the City of Angels," https://scalar.usc.edu/hc/tuberculosis-exhibit/index (accessed February 18, 2020).

28. Bauer, *Health Seekers,* 10.

29. Ibid, 11. David M. Wrobel's work explores boosters' efforts to sell the American West after the Civil War. David M. Wrobel, *Promised Lands: Promotion, Memory, and the Creation of the American West* (Lawrence, KS: University Press of Kansas, 2002).

30. Charles Nordhoff, *California: For Health, Pleasure, and Residence* (New York: Harper, 1873).

31. "A New Orleans View of San Diego," *San Diego Union,* March 28, 1873, 3.

32. Samuel Storey, *To the Golden Land: Sketches of a Trip to Southern California* (London: Walter Scott, 1889), 42, 50.

33. Patricia A. Schaelchlin/Scripps Family Research Collection, Denison Library, Scripps College, Drawer 39, Folder 110; Molly McClain, "The Scripps Family's San Diego Experiment," *The Journal of San Diego History* 56, nos. 1-2 (2010), 1-30. Other British immigrants included John and Matilda Manning, Harry S. Utley, Louis B. Matthews, and Charles J. Scott, all of whom arrived in San Diego around 1890. "Brief Mention," *San Diego Union,* March 13, 1888, 5; William

Ellsworth Smythe, *San Diego and Imperial Counties, California,* Vol. 2 (Chicago, S.J. Clarke, 1913), 224, 312, 374.

34. Agnes Kendall described "a bad hemorrhage from the lungs" in 1900, a typical symptom of tuberculosis. Agnes Kendall to Martha Dunn Corey, San Francisco, April 22, 1900, Martha Dunn Corey Professional Correspondence, Drexell Libraries; List of Passengers aboard the S.S. *Servia* arriving in the port of New York from Liverpool and Queenstown, September 26, 1892, National Archives microfilm no. 1557. The following members of the family arrived in 1892, bound for Los Angeles: John Kendall (age 42), his wife Agnes (40), his mother-in-law Agnes Murray (60), and children John M. (15) and Oswald Kendall (11). For Kendall's employment as a banker, see *The Tablet,* March 22, 1884, 470, and *St. James's Gazette,* October 26, 1888, 14.

35. Waverly Ranch was located in an area known as Hillsdale at the north end of the Sweetwater Valley.

36. "El Cajon! Good Accommodations at J.C. Miner's Cajon Valley Farm," *San Diego Union,* April 3, 1875, 1; "El Cajon," *San Diego Union,* June 20, 1875, 3.

37. Architect Irving J. Gill, later a pioneer in the modernist movement, was employed to draw up the plans soon after his arrival from Chicago in 1893. The house cost $6,000, a considerable sum at that time. "New Buildings," *San Diego Union,* August 6, 1893, 5; *Los Angeles Times,* January 2, 1894, 2.

38. Beatrice Harraden to William Blackwood, Hampstead, 3 January [1894], Blackwood Papers, National Library of Scotland. According to a newspaper account, Harraden had met the Kendalls years before while she was living abroad. "Beatrice Harraden Returns to America," *San Francisco Examiner,* November 19, 1899, 33.

39. Harraden to Blackwood, San Diego, [1894], Blackwood Papers, National Library of Scotland.

40. "Talks of Her 'Ships'," *Democrat and Chronicle,* Rochester, NY, June 5, 1894, 7. Harraden stayed with Dr. T.H. White and his wife. "Miss Beatrice Harraden," *The Sun* (New York), May 3, 1894, 9.

41. Beatrice Harraden to William Blackwood, El Cajon, CA [1894], Blackwood Papers, National Library of Scotland.

42. Havrah Hubbard, "The Joyous Child: A Personality Sketch of Anna Held Heinrich," n.d., San Diego History Center Research Archives, 77-79.

43. William A. Edwards and Beatrice Harraden, *Two Health-Seekers in Southern California* (Philadelphia: J.B. Lippincott Co., 1897). Harraden wrote, "I am amazed to find that I have spent a whole year most happily and profitably on a ranch…up to the present moment I have not been guilty of a single sentence about this land and its settlers." Beatrice Harraden, "Ranch Life in California, Being Some Impressions," *The Bookman* 1, no. 5 (June 1895): 326.

44. "Becomes Professor. San Diego Physician Is Honored. Will Occupy Chair in University. Dr. William A. Edwards, Brother-in-Law to Secretary of War Taft, to Reside in Los Angeles," *Los Angeles Herald,* August 7, 1904.

45. Data on humidity collected by Dr. Peter C. Remondino suggested that San Diego had a particularly good climate for consumptives. P.C. Remondino, *The Mediterranean Shores of America: Southern California: Its Climatic, Physical, and Meteorological Conditions* (Philadelphia: F.A. Davis, 1892).

46. Edwards and Harraden, *Two Health-Seekers*, 113-118.

47. *Ibid,* 44, 59.

48. *Ibid,* 121.

49. *Ibid,* 141.

50. She published a slightly revised version in *Blackwood's Edinburgh Magazine*. Beatrice Harraden, "Some Impressions of Southern California," *Blackwood's Edinburgh Magazine* 161, no. 976 (February 1897): 172-180.

51. Edwards and Harraden, *Two Health-Seekers,* 90.

52. Beatrice Harraden to William Blackwood, Hampstead, 10 November [1896], Blackwood Papers, National Library of Scotland. She may have been taking Scottish Deerhounds along on her rides, for Harold Murray, the brother-in-law of John Kendall, bred the dogs in El Cajon. "For Sale—Scotch Deerhound Pups," *The San Diego Union,* June 25, 1894, 8.

53. "The Strenuous Life" is the title of a speech given by Theodore Roosevelt, then governor of New York, in 1899.

54. Kathleen E. McCrone, *Playing the Game: Sports and the Physical Emancipation of English Women, 1870-1914* (Lexington, KY: University Press of Kentucky, 1988).

55. Frawley, *Invalidism and Identity in Nineteenth-Century Britain,* 150.

56. Sarah A. Tooley, "Beatrice Harraden at Home," *Young Woman* (June 1879), 325.

57. Beatrice Harraden to William Blackwood, Hampstead, 10 November [1896], Blackwood Papers, National Library of Scotland.

58. Julie Bates Dock, comp. and ed., *Charlotte Perkins Gilman's "The Yellow Wall-paper" and the History of Its Publication and Reception* (University Park, PA: Pennsylvania State University Press, 1998), 4.

59. Beatrice Harraden to William Blackwood, Hampstead, 10 November [1896], Blackwood Papers, National Library of Scotland.

60. The total of servants in England and Wales increased from 908,138 in 1851 to 1,549,502 in 1891. It is estimated that in 1861, in London, one in every three women between the ages of 15 and 24 was a servant. English household manuals estimated that for every £200 of income per year, a family could employ one female servant. A typical middle-class English family earned between £200-500 per year. The stabilization of wages after 1880 suggests that the supply of servants exceeded demand. Theresa M. McBride, *The Domestic Revolution: The Modernisation of Household Service in England and France, 1820-1920* (New York: Holmes and Meier, 1976), 14, 19, 50, 72.

61. Edwards and Harraden, *Two Health-Seekers,* 97; "Beatrice Harraden: Finding Health in Southern California," *San Francisco Chronicle,* September 23, 1894, 1. The journalist described Waverly Ranch as "a little socialist community" where men disregarded gender norms by working in the kitchen while women managed without servants to clean their rooms.

62. Edwards and Harraden, *Two Health-Seekers,* 90-91.

63. *Ibid,* 91-92. Harraden did not mention Sessions by name.

64. "Agriculture as an Occupation for Women in California," *Overland Monthly,* 2nd ser., vol 9 (1887), 656-657.

65. Edwards and Harraden, *Two Health-Seekers,* 10-11.

66. *Ibid,* 10.

67. *Ibid,* 26.

68. *Ibid,* 20. Harraden's observations fit a larger pattern of Europeans and Anglo Americans failing to perceive Indian alterations to the land.

69. *Ibid,* 20-21.

70. *Ibid,* 23.

71. Beatrice Harraden to William Blackwood, Hampstead, 21 November [1895], Blackwood Papers, National Library of Scotland.

72. In February 1895, Ellen Browning Scripps wrote to her sister, "There must be a number of cottages built since you were here…The Kendalls have also just put up one. It is very quaint. I went over it today (it is not much to 'go over'). The windows and doors are diamond paned.

There are two rooms on each floor. The Kendalls are the English people with whom Miss Harraden is stopping. They live, I believe, at Cajon." Ellen Browning Scripps to Virginia Scripps, Miramar, February 20, 1895, Drawer 3, Folder 15, Ellen Browning Scripps Collection, Denison Library, Scripps College. Florence Kellogg thought that Windemere looked much like the Green Dragon. Florence Kellogg to William Kellogg, Miramar, February 25, 1895, Binder 777, Kellogg Letters, Altadena Historical Society.

73. "Praises Santa Barbara," *San Francisco Call,* Aril 21, 1895, 2.

74. Harraden, *Hilda Strafford,* 125, 141.

75. *Ibid,* 176-177. See also, Windholz, "An Emigrant and a Gentleman," 643-645.

76. Edwards and Harraden, *Two Health-Seekers*, 30.

77. Olive Percival, Diary, November 9, 1911, Box 5 (5), Olive Percival Collection, The Huntington Library, San Marino, CA.

78. Beatrice Harraden to Margaret Graham, La Jolla, 16 July [1895], Box 16 (85), Margaret (Collier) Graham Papers, The Huntington Library, San Marino, CA; Beatrice Harraden to Margaret Graham, London, 10 January [1897], Box 16 (86) Margaret (Collier) Graham Papers, The Huntington Library, San Marino, CA; Robert Fernandez, "Tessa Kelso and the Los Angeles Book Burners," Intellectual Freedom Blog, https://www.oif.ala.org/oif/?p=10334 (accessed February 22, 2020).

79. Molly McClain, *Ellen Browning Scripps: New Money and American Philanthropy* (Lincoln, NE: University of Nebraska Press, 2017), 83; Florence Kellogg to William Kellogg, Miramar, February 25, 1895, Binder 777, Kellogg Letters, Altadena Historical Society. Harraden visited Graham in 1895. She also touted Graham's *Stories of the Foot-hills* in her "Ranch Life in California, Being Some Impressions," *The Bookman* 1, no. 5 (June 1895): 326-328. "Miss Beatrice Harraden," *Los Angeles Herald,* May 1, 1895, 6. Harraden, *Hilda Strafford,* 125, 141.

80. Frawley, *Invalidism and Identity in Nineteenth-Century Britain,* 154.

81. Beatrice Harraden, "Women's Capabilities and Limitations," *San Francisco Examiner,* October 7, 1900, editorial section.

82. Beatrice Harraden, *Katherine Frensham: A Novel* (Edinburgh: William Blackwood, 1903), 314; cited in Sutherland, "Beatrice Harraden," 105.

83. Beatrice Harraden to William Blackwood, Hampstead, 21 June [1900], 27 July [ny], Blackwood Papers, National Library of Scotland. Kendall's brother-in-law Harold Murray, who also owned land in El Cajon, blamed San Diego for failing to invest in a water distribution method that would benefit ranchers. "Outrage to Ranchers," *San Diego Union*, May 18, 1899, 3.

84. "John Kendall Ranch Sold," *San Diego Union,* 8 August 1901, 5. Agnes Kendall reported that they had to lower the price of the ranch several times before it finally sold. She advised her friend Dr. Martha Dunn Corey to sell her lemon ranch in Pacific Beach: "it is a heartbreaking business, this ranching, from beginning to end." Agnes Kendall to Martha Dunn Corey, San Francisco, June 12, 1901, Martha Dunn Corey Professional Correspondence, Drexel Libraries.

85. Harraden to Blackwood, July 27, [ny], Blackwood Papers, National Library of Scotland. John Murray Kendall (1876-1926) worked as an architectural draftsman and later a senior investigator of the Royal Commission on the Historical Monuments of England. His brother Oswald Kendall (1880-1957) became a popular novelist.

86. Harraden to Blackwood, June 21, [1900], Blackwood Papers, National Library of Scotland.

87. "Harraden, Beatrice," The Orlando Project, http://orlando.cambridge.org (accessed March 3, 2017).

88. Harraden, *Katherine Frensham*, 314; cited in Sutherland, "Beatrice Harraden," 105.

From Cabrillo's San Miguel to Vizcaíno's San Diego: Spanish Exploration in the Pacific from 1542 to 1602

W. Michael Mathes and Iris H. Engstrand

The period between the arrivals of Juan Rodríguez Cabrillo and Sebastián Vizcaíno, two famous Spanish explorers in San Diego's early history, is not well known. Historical narratives generally skip those sixty years with the exception of a short reference to the Manila Galleon trade beginning in 1565 and the visit of England's famous pirate Frances Drake from 1577 to 1579. Though lacking in coverage by historians, Spain's activities in the Pacific Ocean and along the coast of California continued without interruption.

Since the recent discovery of documents showing that Juan Rodríguez Cabrillo's birthplace was not in Portugal but in Palma del Rio, Spain, several new books have examined Cabrillo's voyage during which he gave the name San Miguel to the bay later known as San Diego.[1] The life of Sebastián Vizcaíno, the next explorer to reach San Diego and give the bay its present name, has not been updated in book form since 1968.[2] Even though summaries of his life and maps from his Pacific voyages appear in various recent works, his story needs to be retold.

W. Michael Mathes (1936 –2012) was an American historian and academic who focused on the histories of Mexico and Spain. Mathes was a leading expert on the history of Baja California. **Iris Engstrand** is Professor of History Emerita at the University of San Diego. A native Californian, she received her BA, MA, and PhD in history from the University of Southern California. She is the author of numerous books and articles on Spain, California, and the Spanish Southwest, especially during the era of Spanish exploration of the Pacific. She is the former co-editor of *The Journal of San Diego History*. Engstrand and Mathes collaborated on the topic of Spanish exploration in the Pacific as a conference presentation before his passing, and this article represents her effort to bring his final scholarly project to print.

Re-enactment of a typical landing party of 16th century Spaniards exploring the coastal areas of California. Image courtesy of Iris Engstrand.

Cabrillo's voyage began with the building of several ships in Guatemala under Cabrillo's direction during the early 1540s. Three were ordered to sail northward along the coast in search of a shorter route to China, later called by the Spaniards the Strait of Anián.[3] Four sailing vessels and two oared vessels were dispatched to the Moluccas in 1542 under the command of Ruy Lopez de Villalobos, a person well connected to New Spain's Viceroy Antonio Mendoza.[4] Although making some significant discoveries, Villalobos had trouble getting provisions from the natives. He was also challenged by the Portuguese for violating the Treaty of Zaragoza (1529) that had established this area as Portuguese territory. Villalobos ordered one of his ships, the *San Cristobal* to go as far as Leyte, the island that Garcia de Escalante Alvarado said "we were calling Felipinas, the name of our well-beloved Prince (Philip II), but again was unsuccessful.[5] Villalobos did not have much luck in the East Indies. He and his men cut down thousands of coco

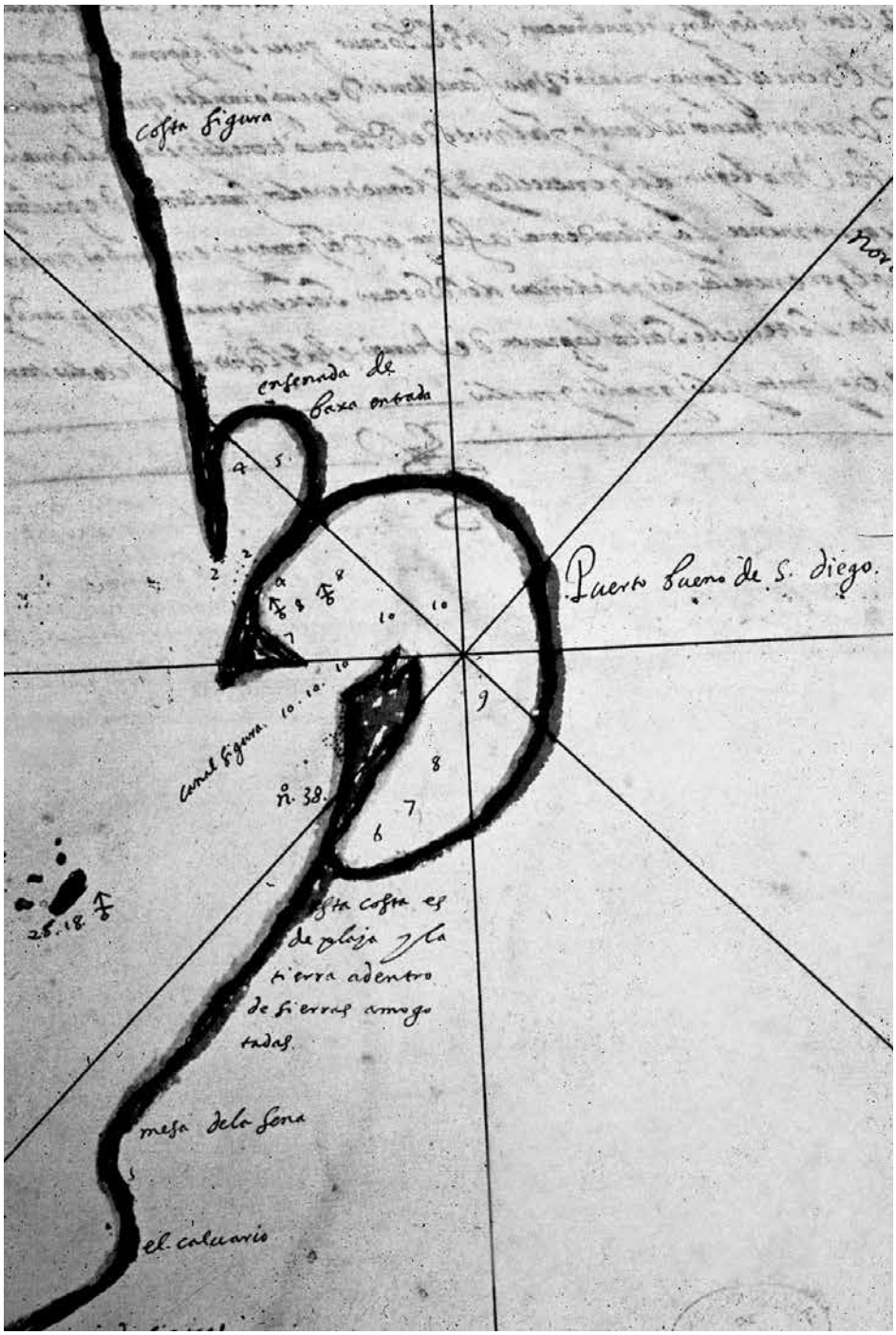
Plaque in the City Hall of Palma del Rio, Province of Córdoba, Spain, honoring native son Juan Rodríguez Cabrillo.

Cabrillo's ships landing at Ballast Point. Image courtesy of Iris Engstrand.

palms to harvest the fruit but found no real source of riches. He lost three of his four ships and eighty-six out of 213 men. He concluded an agreement with the Portuguese representative in India, whereby he received permission to remain, but died in 1546 before leaving the Spice Islands.[6]

Viceroy Antonio de Mendoza commissioned Cabrillo to sail three ships—the *San Salvador, La Victoria* and *San Miguel*—to explore the Pacific coast of California as far north as the legendary Strait of Anián. Sailing from the port of Navidad on the coast of Jalisco, Mexico, on June 27, 1542, Cabrillo's ultimate goal was a shorter route to China. The expedition reached Cabo San Lucas on July 2 and Isla de Cedros (Cedros Island) on August 5. Proceeding northward along the coast, Cabrillo took formal possession at Ensenada de Todos Santos on September 17 and reached present-day San Diego Bay on Thursday, September 28, the eve of the feast of Saint Michael Archangel.

Naming the bay San Miguel, after his smallest ship and the saint whose day they celebrated, Cabrillo and his men went ashore and presented gifts to the local Indians, first known as Tipai, later as Diegueños, and eventually Kumeyaay. The native peoples, by means of signs, informed the Spaniards of the presence of men with similar features, dress, and equipment in the interior—the expeditionaries were no doubt Melchior Díaz and Hernando de Alarcón who had entered California from the Colorado River Basin in 1540.



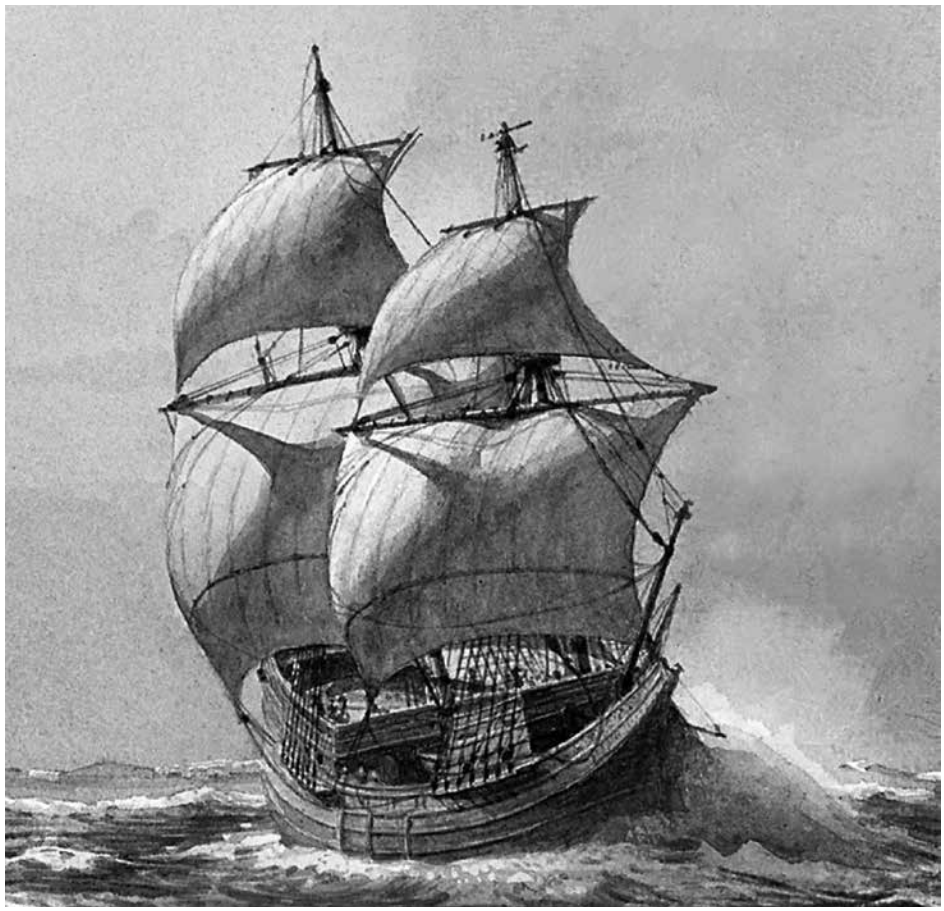
First Map of San Diego. Drawn by Enrico Martínez on the voyage of Sebastián Vizcaíno in 1602-1603. From W. Michael Mathes, Vizcaíno and Spanish Expansion in the Pacific Ocean, 1580-1630 *(1968).*

The Spaniards established a limited but successful trade with the Kumeyaay natives, and continued northward on October 3. They would stop at the Channel Islands, Carpenteria, and other possible anchorages. Cabrillo died on January 3, 1543, as a result of a fall and was buried on an island the Spaniards had named La Posesión a few months before and had renamed Isla de Juan Rodríguez in his honor.[7] Cabrillo's final words encouraged the crew to continue their reconnaissance of California's coastal waters before returning to New Spain.[8] They sailed perhaps as far north as Cape Mendocino, named after Viceroy Mendoza, before returning home.[9] They reached the port of Navidad on April 14, 1543, with the sad news of Cabrillo's death and a pessimistic report of their limited discoveries. Cabrillo's own journal, perhaps kept a secret, has yet to be found.[10]

The establishment of the Manila Galleon trade stands next in the line of Spanish enterprises in the Pacific. With the weakening of Portuguese defenses in the East Indies, plans were made by Philip II to establish trade between New Spain and the Philippines. Viceroy Luís de Velasco (1551-1564) initiated a campaign for Pacific conquest. Miguel López de Legazpi, with a military force of some 400 men, sailed from Acapulco and conquered the island of Luzon in 1565.[11] Andres de Urdaneta, an Augustinian priest, led the way to find a return route to New Spain by following the north-flowing Japanese current (*Kuroshio* or Black Current). For 150 years, Spain enjoyed almost uncontested occupation of the Pacific Ocean—so much so that its waters have been referred to as "the Spanish Lake" by later European historians. Nevertheless, the galleon trade was seriously interrupted twice by English pirates—first by Francis Drake on his voyage around the world from 1577 to 1579, and the second by Thomas Cavendish, capturing the galleon *Santa Ana* in 1587.[12] A regular trade between Asia and New Spain, however, began in the late seventeenth century and lasted until the early 1800s.[13]

Francisco Gali, Spanish sailor and cartographer from Sevilla, led the first expedition destined to carry out exploration for a safe port for the Manila galleon. Sailing from Manila in July 1584 with the galleon *San Juan Bautista*, Gali reached the California coast above Monterey and continued southward to Acapulco, reaching that port laden with cargo from the Philippines in January 1585. Planning to return on a second voyage, Gali's death in Manila in early 1586 prevented his return. It was not until mid-1587 that an expedition under Pedro de Unamuno was outfitted in the Philippines. Sailing in July 1587, Unamuno explored the central Pacific and did not reach the California coast until October 1587. Landing at Santa Cruz, Unamuno explored inland but Indian hostilities forced him to retreat. Even though the weather remained overcast and foggy, he reached Acapulco on November 22.

As Unamuno returned to Acapulco in the fog, he was passed by the second English intruder in the Pacific—Thomas Cavendish—who was en route to Cabo



Typical Manila Galleon by artist Gordon Miller.

San Lucas to lay in wait for the Manila galleon *Santa Ana*. On November 14, Cavendish attacked the *Santa Ana* and succeeded in taking a valuable cargo of silks, brocades, perfumes, and pearls, as well as over 600,000 pesos in gold—the greatest single loss in two centuries of Spanish trans-Pacific navigation. After looting the ship, Cavendish put the crew and passengers on the Baja California shore, set fire to the *Santa Ana*, and sailed for the Philippines. The survivors, under the leadership of the Portuguese pilot Sebastián Rodríguez Cermeño, succeeded in salvaging enough of the ship to return to Santiago in Colima on January 2, 1588, to report the disaster. One of the most important survivors of the fortunate group able to return to Mexico was the merchant Sebastián Vizcaíno, soon to plan an expedition to California on his own.

Spain's continued exploration of the Pacific coast of North America was in an attempt to find a suitable landing place for the Manila galleons to take on

The replica of the galleon San Salvador *under construction, c. 2013. She was assembled in full public view at Spanish Landing and joined the Maritime Museum of San Diego in 2015. Cabrillo and his crew in* San Salvador *were the first recorded Europeans to sail along Southern California and survey its coastline. Photo courtesy of Iris Engstrand.*

supplies prior to reaching Acapulco.[14] This plan failed and one galleon—the *San Agustín*—commanded by the veteran pilot Rodríguez Cermeño, was wrecked on the California coast in 1595.[15] The Spaniards elected not to use Manila galleons in exploring the coast any longer. They also had little interest in going ashore while sailing south except for water even though the natives were friendly.

A more positive outcome of the Manila Galleon trade involved Sebastián Vizcaíno, the passenger on the *Santa Ana* who had survived its capture by Cavendish and returned to New Spain with plans to settle California. Vizcaíno led a second voyage after Cabrillo in 1602-03 to explore the coast of Upper California with explicit instructions to find a usable port for the yearly galleons. Appointed by Viceroy Gaspar de Zúñiga, the Count of Monterrey, Vizcaino had considerable experience sailing in the Pacific. Born in 1548 in Extremadura, Vizcaíno had served in the campaigns against Portugal in 1580 and had traveled to New Spain in 1583. Three years later he had gone to Manila where he became a merchant and served in the port guard until his return to

Sebastían Vizcaíno 1548-1624 born in Extremadura, Spain. Image courtesy of Iris Engstrand.

Gaspar de Zúñiga, Conde de Monterrey, issued complete voyage instructions to Vizcaíno. Image courtesy of Iris Engstrand.

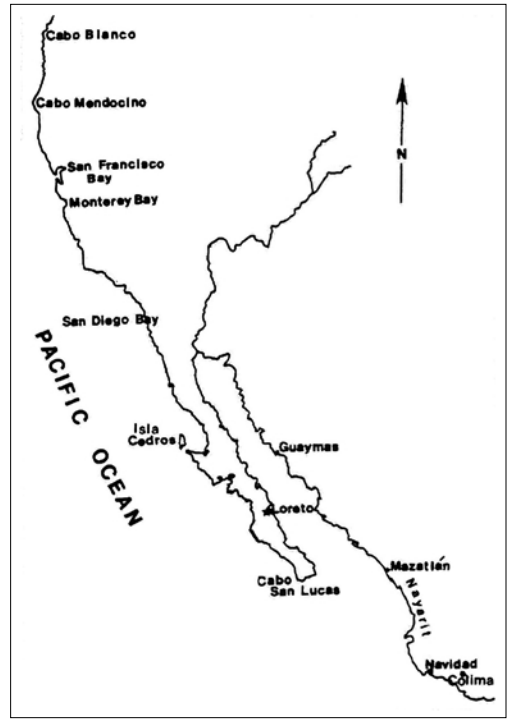
New Spain in 1589. Although successful as an investor, Vizcaíno was drawn to adventure and obtained a license to carry out pearl fishing in the Gulf of Calfiornia. Despite problems of mutiny and bad weather, Vizcaíno spent the months of June through November 1596 exploring the gulf and establishing a short-lived settlement at La Paz. He was no stranger to California.[16]

Two years in preparation at Acapulco, the Vizcaíno expedition, like that of Cabrillo, was composed of three ships—the *San Diego*, *Santo Tomás*, and *Tres Reyes*. Francisco de Bolaños, who had accompanied Cermeño on the captured *Santa Ana* galleon, served as chief pilot and Gerónimo Marín Palacios was appointed as chief cosmographer. To handle religious matters on the expedition, there were three Carmelite priests—Frailes Andres de la Asumpción, Antonio de la Ascención and Tomas de Aquino. On March 18, 1602, the departure drawing near, Vizcaíno received extensive instructions from the Count of Monterrey providing for the detailed charting of all bays, coves and points of land. Also included were the preparation of precise sailing instructions with annotations as to wood, water, ballast stone, wind directions, depths, and solar readings, and the granting of place names to all locations not accurately designated in earlier charts.[17]

On May 5, 1602, the Vizcaíno expedition sailed from Acapulco and proceeded northward along the coast, taking on supplies at Navidad and Mazatlán. On June 8, Vizcaíno crossed the Gulf of California and on June 11 anchored in the lee of Cabo San Lucas at a bay that he named San Bernabé. Because of contrary winds and currents, the expedition was not underway until July 5. Vizcaíno proceeded northward, carefully charting the coast and naming its bays and landmarks. They reached the Isla de Cedros on September 7. The three ships joined together, took on wood and water, and met in council to plan the second phase of the voyage.[18]

Setting sail on September 9, Vizcaíno continued up the coast and reached a large bay he named San Simón y Judas, today's Bahía Colnett. They spent time exploring the area in order to find enough water to head northward along the coast. They had been able to keep peace with the local natives while obtaining the necessary supply. The ships reached the Bay of San Quintín at the end of October

and by October 30, recorded that "The expedition sailed off the coast for several days and reported seeing a large bay on November 5 that was named Ensenada de Todos Santos… they anchored four days later at a small island offshore and proceeded northward, sighting a large bay on November 10 that they named San Diego." [19] Bolaños ordered the crew to sound the bay while wood and water supplies were replenished. They found an abundance of water, firewood, fish, rabbits, deer, quail, and ducks.



Map of Spanish Exploration of Baja and Alta California c. 1542 to 1602. Image courtesy of Iris Engstrand.

Because of the abundance of supplies, Vizcaíno decided to remain at anchor for several days. On November 12, the saint's day of San Diego de Alcalá, he went ashore with the entire crew of the flagship *San Diego*. A shelter was constructed on shore and after Mass was said, the feast of San Diego was celebrated by naming the bay in his honor.[20] After the ceremonies, work was begun but shortly afterwards a party of some one hundred Indians, shouting and armed with bows and arrows appeared on a nearby hill. Vizcaíno ordered his ensign and Fray Antonio de la Ascención to go forward, appease them, and bring them back. The ensign and soldiers returned shortly and Vizcaíno, with his son Juan and Captain Esteban Peguero, went forward to meet the Indians, who then proceeded down the hill. After an exchange of gifts, the Spaniards returned to the ship and the Indians to their *ranchería*.[21]

The following two days were spent in exploring the bay and on Friday, November 15, Vizcaíno, his son Juan, along with Bolaños, Fray Antonio and fifteen soldiers, rowed out on a shore boat to explore and take soundings of San Diego Bay. By afternoon the party had rowed and followed the tide some eighteen miles. The bay was found to have a capacity greater than that of El Ferrol on the northwest coast of Spain and the port of Acapulco on the Pacific. The party went ashore and walked some nine miles inland. They were met by a group of Indians armed with bows and arrows, but were fearful of coming forward. Shortly an old

woman "who appeared to be over one hundred and fifty years old," came forward crying. After Vizcaíno reassured her, the others joined them. The Indians had been gathering food and carried many containers. After Vizcaíno assured them of peace, he ordered the party back to the boat without entering the *ranchería*.[22]

On Saturday, November 16, the *Santo Tomas* reached San Diego and rejoined the expedition. The next three days were spent in repairing the disabled ship. As the Spaniards loaded wood and water, Indians came daily to give otter pelts to the visitors in exchange for beads. Finally on Wednesday, November 20, the expedition weighed anchor and sailed out to sea past the area described by Fray Antonio as the *loma* (hill) where a mile and one half further on was a point of ballast stone.

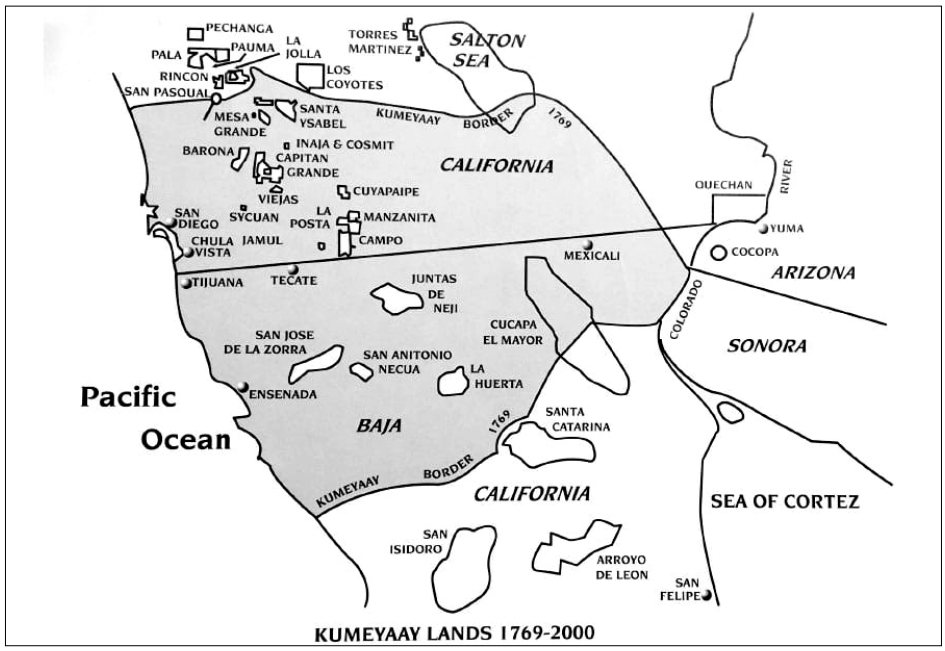
The same day (November 20) Vizcaino ordered Ensign Sebastián Melendes to go ahead with the frigate (*Tres Reyes*) to examine a bay that was to windward some four leagues He directed that the pilot should sound it, map it, and find out what was there. Melendes did so, and the next day ordered the return to the captain's ship. He reported to the general that they had entered a bay that was a good port, although it had at its entrance a bar of little more than two fathoms depth, and that there was a very large grove at an estuary that extended into the land, and many Indians. They had not gone ashore.

> Thereupon we continued our voyage, skirting along the coast until the 24th of the month, which was the eve of the feast of the glorious Sana Catalina, when we discovered three large islands. We approached them with difficulty because of a headwind, and arrived at the middle one, which is more than twenty-five leagues around.
>
> On the 27th of the month, and before casting anchor in a very good cove which was found, a multitude of Indians came out in canoes of cedar and pine made of planks very well joined and calked, each one with eight oars and with fourteen or fifteen Indians, who looked like galley-slaves. They came alongside without the least fear and came on board our ships, mooring their own. They showed great pleasure at seeing us, telling us by signs that we must land, and guiding us like pilots to the anchorage. The general received them kindly and gave them some presents, especially to the boys. We anchored, and the admiral, Ensign Alarcon, Father Fray Antonio, and captain Peguero, with some soldiers, went ashore. Many Indians were on the beach, and the women treated us to roasted sardines and a small fruit like sweet potatoes. Fresh water was found, although a long distance from the beach.[23]

Present-day Monterey Bay showing the San Salvador *at the dock. Photo by Iris Engstrand.*

On the next day Vizcaíno, Father Antonio de la Ascención, and a few men went ashore, built a hut and prepared an altar for Father Antonio to say mass. More that 150 Indian men and women were present, and

> … they marveled not a little at seeing the altar and the image of our Lord Jesus crucified and listened attentively to the saying of mass, asking by signs what it was about. They were told that it was about heaven, whereas they marveled more. When the divine service was ended, the general went to their houses, where the women took him by the hand and led him inside, giving him some of the goods that they had given before. He brought to the ship six Indian girls from eight to ten years old, whom their mothers willingly gave to him, an he clothed them with chemises, petticoats, and necklaces an sent them ashore. The rest of the women, seeing this, came with their daughters in canoes, asking for gifts. The result was that no one returned empty-handed. The people go dressed in seal skins, the women especially covering their loins, and their faces show them to be modest; but the men are thieves, for anything they saw unguarded they took. They are a people given to trade and traffic and are fond of barter for in return for old clothes they would give the soldiers skins, shells, nets, thread, and very well twisted ropes, these in great quantities and resembling linen. They have dogs like those of Castile…[24]



A present-day map showing historic Kumeyaay lands. Courtesy of the Sycuan Band of the Kumeyaay Nation.

Leaving Catalina Island and passing through the Santa Barbara Channel, Vizcaíno charted and named Point Conception, the coastal bays, landmarks, and various Channel Islands, arriving at a bay that he named in honor of the Viceroy, the Conde de Monterrey, on December 13. There the expedition again rested and Vizcaíno ordered the *Santo Tomas* to return to Acapulco with those crew members so ill from scurvy that they could not continue. On December 17, they went ashore and prepared a church tent where Father Antonio de la Ascensión said mass. Most of the sailors were seriously ill and sixteen had died on board or shortly after landing.[25] Nevertheless, this mass marked the first celebrated north of San Diego. "They pitched the church tent under the shade of an oak whose branches touched the tidewater 20 paces from springs of good water in a ravine. … Most of the sailors were suffering from scurvy."

After celebrating a Christmas day with the mountains near the port covered with snow and water holes frozen, The *Santo Tomas* left for Acapulco on December 29. with the reports and dispatches relative to discoveries made up to that point. The voyage was difficult and 25 men died on the way. The remainder of the group set up camp and remained in the area to carry out some limited reconnaissance tht included the discovery of another port into which flowed a river that became known as the Carmel. They described the Indians as "gentle and peaceable, docile, generous, and friendly.[26]

On January 4, 1603, Vizcaíno sailed northward with the *San Diego* and *Tres Reyes* to continue their exploration. As the expedition reached the area of Point Reyes, the weather worsened and seas became heavy, separating the two ships. Vizcaíno was forced northward to Cape Mendocino and with his crew so ill from scurvy, they could not continue. He returned southward on January 20 after the storm subsided.

On January 25, Vizcaíno passed Monterey; his crew was so weakened with scurvy that he feared anchoring as there would not be enough able bodied men to weigh anchor. Thus, the expedition bypassed the Channel Islands and San Diego, stopping only at Isla de Cedros to take on water, cutting the anchor lines to continue. They passed Cabo San Lucas on February 11 and seven days later anchored at the Islas de Mazatlán to rest his crew and attempt to cure them of scurvy. The final stage of the eleven-month voyage was completed with Vizcaino's arrival at Acapulco on March 21. On arrival, Vizcaíno received orders to present his reports, charts, logs, and sailing directions to the Conde de Monterrey, thus opening decades of debate over the projected site of settlement in California. Because of its higher latitude and greater availability of wood and game, Vizcaíno favored Monterey over San Diego as the projected site. Nevertheless, San Diego remained the second choice and was highly praised by Vizcaíno, Bolaños, and Fray Antonio, as well as the Conde de Monterrey in a letter to the king on March 26, 1603.[27]

Throughout mid-1603, the results of the expedition were analyzed, hearings held, and maps, prepared by Gerónimo Martín Palacios, were redrawn by the leading cartographer of New Spain, Enrico Martínez. For the first time accurate and complete charting of the California coast had been accomplished, place names had been firmly established, and sites for a safe port for Manila galleons had been located. But despite Vizcaíno's success, few immediate results of the expedition were felt. The succession to the Viceroyalty by the Marqués de Montesclaros in

The replica of the San Salvador *sailing off Point Loma in San Diego Bay. Photo by Iris Engstrand.*

Present-day Ballast Point showing buildings at the US Naval Submarine Base, San Diego. Photo by Iris Engstrand.

1604 resulted in a suspension of plans for the settlement of Monterey and even the hearings relative to California. The conclusion was to abandon plans for the settlement of California on the grounds that the area was so close in sailing time to Acapulco that it would be of little value to the Manila galleons. An area midway in the Pacific such as the islands of Rica de Oro y Rica de Plata would better serve the fleet.[28]

Although California was virtually abandoned and Vizcaíno's efforts to develop the area were curtailed by his other duties as Alcalde Mayor of Tehuantepec, Ambassador to Japan in 1611, and military commander in Jalisco, he continued to urge its settlement as did his fellow expeditionary Fray Antonio de la Ascención. The good friar began a series of memorials about the great value of California and placed San Diego among the most desirable sites for settlement. His memorial of October 12, 1620, described San Diego bay as "…very fine, appropriate and with fine conditions under which Spaniards could be settled." His descriptions of animal life and land were accuarate. Attempts were also made to settle California through the attraction of pearl fishing in the Gulf of California, but when that failed, interest waned. It was not until October 1697 with the founding of Nuestra Señora de Loreto by the Jesuit Father Juan Maria Salvatierra, at the urging of fellow Jesuit Eusebio Kino, that California began to enjoy the importance of earlier years.

Vizcaíno's California voyage marked the end of official Pacific exploration to the north of Mexico until the age of the British Captain James Cook—some 166 years later. Despite the friendly relations that the Spanish voyages of both Cabrillo and Vizcaíno had established with the native inhabitants, no forms of trade or settlement were achieved. The founding of Mission San Diego de Alcalá did not take place until July 16, 1769. Fortunately documents remain to tell the story of California's past during this pre-mission period.

NOTES

1. Wendy Kramer, *El Español que exploró California: Juan Rodríguez Cabrillo (14971543) De Palma del Rio a Guatemala*. Córdoba: Diputación, 2018; Harry Kelsey, *Juaan Rodríguez Cabrillo*. San Marino, California: Huntington Library, 1986; Maurice G. Holmes, *From New Spain by Sea to the Californias, 1519-1668*. Glendale: The Arthur H. Clark Company, 1963, was one of the earliest major works to criticize the Portuguese claim. This scholarly work was one of the first to cover Cabrillo's role in Guatemala prior to his expedition in 1542. There was no reference to his being Portuguese during the lengthy aftermath of the settlement of his estate among his Spanish widow and children.
2. W. Michael Mathes, ed., *Californians I: Documentos para la historia de la demarcación comercial de California, 1583–1632* (1965). W. Michael Mathes, *Vizcaíno and Spanish Expansion in the Pacific Ocean, 1580–1630* (San Francisco: Caifornia Historical Society, 1968).
3. A semi-mythical strait at the eastern end of Asia appearing first on a map drawn by Giacomo Gastaldi in 1562 and appeared on maps by Abraham Ortelius (1564), Bolognini Zaltieri (1567) and Gerardus Mercator (1567). The source of the word Ania or Anián is not known. Later maps (Herman Moll, 1719 and Johannes van Keulen, 1728) show the strait north of "an Island" of California. The strait, known commonly as the Northwest Passage is presently open due to global warming.
4. The four sailing vessels were the *Santiago, San Jorge, San Felipe* (also known as San *Cristobal*) and *San Juan de Letrán*. British Library Additional Ms 9944
5. Harry Kelsey, *The First Circumnavigators: Unsung Heroes of the Age of Discovery* (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 2016), p. 83. Quoting Pedro Ortiz.
6. The Portuguese, already established in the Moluccas, opposed any attempt by the Spaniards to settle in the neighboring islands and considered Lopez de Villalobos,as a representative of Spain through Viceroy Mendoza, as an intruder.
7. The manner of Cabrillo's death and his burial site are controversial. Several historians agree that La Posesión is present-day San Miguel in the southern Channel Islands. More likely is on Catalina Island. See Iris Engstrand and Harry Kelsey, "Juan Rodríguez Cabrillo and the Building of the San Salvador," *Mains'l Haul: A Journal of Pacific Maritime Exploration*, vols. 1 and 2 (Winter-Spring 2008): 36-51, for a discussion of Cabrillo's background and voyage to California.
8. See Herbert E. Bolton, ed., "A Summary Account of Juan Rodríguez Cabrillo's Voyage," in *Spanish Exploration in the Southwest, 1542-1706* (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1916), 23.
9. Cape Mendocino lies at 40° 26′ North Latitude
10. See Harry Kelsey, *Juan Rodriguez Cabrillo* (San Marino: Huntington Library, 1986) for a definitive treatment of Cabrillo's life, and Engstrand and Kelsey, "Juan Rodríguez Cabrillo and the Building of the San Salvador," 36-51. Several accounts of the journey were assembled after their return.
11. Lopez de Legazpi, who sailed well south of the Hawaiian Islands, established the capital city of Manila in 1571.
12. O.H.K. Spate, *The Spanish Lake. The Pacific since Magellan*, vol.1. (Minneapolis, 1979).
13. See William Lytle Schurz, *The Manila Galleon* (New York: E.P. Dutton, 1939). The route failed to take ships within sight of the Hawaiian Islands in either direction. Both English forays into the Pacific have been chronicled in a number of sources. See, for example, Amancio Landin Carrasco, et al., *Descubrimientos Españoles en el Mar del Sur* (Madrid: Editorial Naval, 1992) vol. II, chapter vii.
14. See Iris Engstrand, "Seekers of the 'Northern Mystery': European Exploration of California and the Pacific," in Ramon Gutierrez and Richard Orsi, eds., *Contested Eden* (Berkeley: University

of California Press, 1998); 86-87. Even though both Francisco de Gali in 1587 and Pedro de Unamuno visited the California coast near Morro Bay, they made no recommendations for about a suitable port. See Henry R. Wagner, *Cartography of the Northwest Coast of America*. Vol. I (Berkeley: Regents of the University of California, 1937 and 1965).

15. See Henry R. Wagner, "The Voyage to California of Sebastian Rodriguez Cermeño in 1595" *The California Historical Society Quarterly*, Vol. III, No 1 1924 The galleon went down near what became known as Drakes Bay in the lee of Pt. Reyes. Cermeño and his 80-man crew returned to Mexico in their launch *San Buenaventura*. Archeological remains thought to be left from Drake's voyage were later identified as belonging to Cermeño's *San Agustín*.

16. Mathes, *Documentos para la historia de la demarcación comercial de California: 1583-1632*. Madrid: Ediciones José Porrúa Turanzas, 1965, 2 vols.

17. The diary of Vizcaíno is quoted from Carrasco y Guisasola, *Documentos referentes al Reconocimiento de las Costas de las Californias*, pp 68-107, as included in Herbert Eugene Bolton, *Spanish Exploration in the Southwest, 1542-170,* New York: Barnes & Noble, Inc. 1908. A Brief Report of Father Antonio de la Ascensión is also included in Bolton, *Spanish Exploration*, pp. 104 – 133

18. Mathes, *Vizcaíno and Spanish Expansion in the Pacific Ocean, 1580-1630*, p. 89

19. Cabrillo's Bay of San Miguel (San Diego). The actual latitude is 32.67⊙. and Vizcaíno did not recognize it. Latitudes were not accurate in those days. One degree of latitude is equal to 69 miles. See also Mathes, *Vizcaíno and Spanish Expansion in the Pacific Ocean, 1580-1630*, p. 92George Davidson, "An Examination of some of the Early Voyages of Discovery and Exploration on the Northwest Coast of America, from 1539 to 1603," Washington, D.C., G.P.O., 1886, pp. 244-45. '

20. This is the first mass said in San Diego and the site presently within the grounds of the San Diego Submarine Base located on Point Loma. San Diego de Alcalá, canonized as Saint Didacus on November 12, 1588, was a Spanish Franciscan brother who had been credited with saving the life of Prince Carlos, son of Philip II in the mid-1500s in the town of Alcalá de Henares near Madrid. The full name of the city is San Diego de Alcalá when founded as well as the University of San Diego. Spanish playwright Lope de Vega wrote a play entitled San Diego de Alcalá first performed in 1653

21. The Indians of the area have been designated as Kumeyaay, the name by which they are known today. They claim to stretch from below the border to the Chumash territory near Santa Barbara. They belong to some 19 reservations in San Diego County, which territory they share with Luiseño, Coahuila, and those associating with different tribes.

22. Mathes, *Documentos para la historia de la demarcación comercial de California: 1583-1632*. Madrid: Ediciones José Porrúa Turanzas, 1965, 2 vols.

23. Mathes, *Vizcaíno and Spanish Expansion in the Pacific Ocean, 1580-1630*, pp. 89, 92. See also George Davidson, "An Examination of some of the Early Voyages of Discovery and Exploration on the Northwest Coast of America, from 1539 to 1603," Washington, D.C., G.P.O., 1886, pp. 244-45. '

24. Iris Engstrand, ed. "Vizcaíno Voyage to Catalina," *Document Sets for the History of California, and the West in U.S. History*, pp. 6 and 7. Lexington, Massachusetts, and Toronto: D.C. Heath and Company, 1993.

25. See Gary S. Breschini, "Sebastian Vizcaíno's Exploration of Monterey in 1601-1603." Monterey County Historical Society. Local History Pages, 1996. See also Mathes, *Vizcaíno and Spanish Expansion in the Pacific Ocean, 1580-1630*, pp. 94 98.

26. Ibid.

27. Mathes, *Documentos para la historia de la demarcación comercial de California: 1583-1632*.

28. Unfortunately these were fabled islands never actually located but often thought to be in the Hawaiian or Tahitian groups. On September 27, 1608, a Royal Order was issued providing for an expedition to discover the islands.

Participants' Perspective: Forty-Five Years of the San Diego Democratic Club and LGBTQ Politics

Douglas N. Case and Craig Roberts

The San Diego Democratic Club (SDDC) was formed in 1975 during challenging times for the LGBTQ community.[1] Despite its inauspicious start, the SDDC through its active membership would play an important role in shaping the growth of LGBTQ political power in San Diego. As members of the SDDC, in this article we reflect on the forty-five-year history of the club and its impact on LGBTQ politics in San Diego—and indeed in California as a whole.

The activism generated from the Stonewall uprising in New York City in 1969 had only just begun to impact San Diego, yet the community was ready for change. Three major LGBTQ organizations were established in quick succession: the Metropolitan Community Church, the Imperial Court de San Diego, and the Gay Center (officially known as the Center for Social Services) in 1970, 1972, and 1973, respectively. The first Gay Pride March was held downtown in 1974 with only about twenty-five brave activists. However, the following year 400 San Diegans participated in the first official Pride march with a city permit. Some of these marchers, perhaps risking their employment, family relationships, or religious affiliations, wore paper bags over their heads to conceal their identities. In Sacramento that year the legislature narrowly passed a bill decriminalizing homosexual activity between consenting adults. It was signed into law by Governor Jerry Brown and was an historic step in our LGBTQ history.

Pete Wilson was in his second term as mayor, epitomizing San Diego

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Douglas N. Case served as President of the San Diego Democratic Club from 1991-92 and again from 2011-14, when it changed its name to San Diego Democrats for Equality. He currently serves as the Political Affairs Director for California State Senate President pro Tempore Toni Atkins.
Craig Roberts served as President of the San Diego Democratic Club from 1998-2000. He has also served as Chair of the National Stonewall Democrats (in 2011) and Regional Director for Region 20 of the California Democratic Party (2015-2019).

politics' domination by the downtown, primarily Republican, business establishment. The local LGBTQ community had no mechanism to exercise political influence, so a local attorney, Robert "Bob" H. Lynn, decided to form an LGBTQ Democratic Club. He gathered twenty individuals, primarily lawyers, staffers from political offices, medical professionals, religious leaders, business owners, and political activists to sign a chartering petition for the San Diego County Democratic Central Committee's approval.[2] Given the cultural conservatism of San Diego at the time, the founders decided not to include an LGBTQ reference in the club name, instead going with the generic "San Diego Democratic Club." Meetings were held in members' homes with the club's early goals focused on creating visibility for the LGBTQ community and exercising political action locally and statewide. The club sent representatives to community organizations and submitted articles for publication in community newspapers and newsletters. The club's first endorsements came in 1976 and included Lucille Moore, Jack Walsh, and Roger Hedgecock for seats on the San Diego County Board of Supervisors and Larry Kapiloff for State Assembly. Walsh lost his race but the others were successful.

Founding president Bob Lynn in 2014. Courtesy of the San Diego LGBT Community Center website.

The following year the club endorsed Evonne Schulze and incumbents Floyd Morrow and Ed Millikan for the San Diego City Council in the Seventh, Fifth, and Third Districts respectively. Schulze came in first in the primary but was subsequently targeted by the religious right. Three days before the election, the *Church News* printed an article with the headline "Homosexual Groups Endorse Schulze." She lost to Larry Stirling by less than 800 votes. Morrow and Millikan were also unsuccessful in their races. Many pundits attributed Schulze's loss to the club's support. Fear about backlash may have caused Supervisors Jim Bates and Roger Hedgecock to renege on their private commitments to the club to support a county ordinance to prohibit employment discrimination based on sexual orientation. Only Lucille Moore supported the proposal, and she was defeated for re-election in 1980. The results of early campaigns demonstrated that candidates would have to weigh the potential political fallout from endorsements by the club, while club members would need to scrutinize candidates' support for LGBTQ equality.

A crucial moment in California's LGBTQ political history was the campaign against Proposition 6 in November 1978. Sponsored by ultra-conservative

Orange County state senator John Briggs, the measure would have prohibited homosexuals, as well as those who encouraged or promoted homosexual activity, from teaching in public schools. Club member Rev. David Farrell (pastor of the Metropolitan Community Church) and future club presidents Jeri Dilno and Larry Baza were among those leading the local campaign against the Briggs Initiative. Voters rejected the proposition by 58% to 42%; it even failed in Orange County. San Diego County outperformed the expectations of the statewide "No on 6" campaign. The defeat of the Prop 6 campaign was a pivotal political win for the community.

Also in 1978, club member Gloria Johnson became the first openly LGBTQ candidate to be elected to the San Diego County Democratic Party Central Committee. Johnson appointed Charles McKain as her alternate. The club also started making its presence known in statewide politics by joining the California Democratic Council, a federation of primarily liberal Democratic Clubs. The club hosted the 1978 CDC convention, which incidentally was attended by Harvey Milk.

In 1979 Dr. Al Best, founder of the San Diego Gay Alliance for Equal Rights, became the first openly LGBTQ person to run for public office in San Diego County, vying for San Diego City Council District Two. Part of his motivation to run was to oppose police raids on gay business establishments. He finished fifth out of eleven candidates in the primary (Republican Bill Cleator would eventually win the runoff with Democrat Joyce Beers). Best received death threats during the campaign, but his respectable showing demonstrated someone identified as LGBTQ could be a credible candidate in future San Diego races. In another 1979 City Council election, club-backed Mike Gotch won an upset victory against Steve Wittmen by a little over 200 votes in District Six. That same year, the club sent many members to participate in the National March on Washington for Lesbian and Gay Rights in Washington, DC.

In 1980, the club organized a successful campaign to elect delegates to the Democratic National Convention. The effort to get club members and friends to attend local delegate caucuses resulted in the election of five delegates (Gloria Johnson, Brad Truax, Yvonne King, Charles McKain, and Gilda Yazzle), edging out several longtime Democratic activists. Since then, the club has been successful in having multiple club members elected or appointed as delegates to every national convention, often with more delegates than any other Democratic club in the county and more than LGBTQ Democratic clubs in Los Angeles and San Francisco.

Also in 1980, Bob Lynn stepped down as president to focus on other activities, including working with club member Dr. A. Brad Truax on establishment of the LGBTQ nonpartisan United San Diego Elections Committee (USDEC), modeled after the Metropolitan Elections Committee of Los Angeles (MECLA). One of

USDEC's first events was a lunch with Governor Jerry Brown that raised over $7,500—equivalent to over $23,000 in 2020 dollars.

Gloria Johnson became the club's second president and served one term. Few women, other than Gloria and Jeri Dilno, were active in the club at the time.[3] Truax became president of the SDDC in 1981 and held that office until 1984. He had served as a physician in the Navy but was honorably discharged when his sexual orientation became known. Truax was also the founder of San Diego Physicians for Human Rights. A charismatic leader, he worked hard to expand the club, including bringing in more women, and to make the club more visible within the San Diego community. Truax worked to register LGBTQ voters and oversaw the club's purchase of its first computer to build and manage its "Gay Vote List." The innovative "Gay Vote List" became a hallmark of the club, and the club's endorsement of a candidate or ballot measure was sought by many local campaigns. The expansion of the club and its growing influence under Truax led it to move its monthly meetings from private homes to a community room of a Hillcrest bank.

Doug Scott, club vice president and Truax's successor as president, developed a database of potential supportive voters. After each election he would research the results from the Registrar of Voters for any campaign that involved progressive issues. Even if the candidate or issue did not prevail, he identified precincts that had a pattern of voting progressively, and this formed the basis of the "Gay Vote List." In addition, the club distributed petitions for various progressive causes and candidates at community events (including the LGBT Pride Festival, Adams Avenue Street Fair, and the CityFest in Hillcrest) and then added the names gathered to the "Gay Vote List."

Club presidents in 1993 including Jeri Dilno, Doug Case, Gloria Johnson, and founding president Bob Lynn. Photo by Rick Moore and courtesy of San Diego Democrats for Equality.

After Pete Wilson was elected as a United States Senator in 1982, the ensuing special mayoral race was significant for the club. Truax was a strong supporter of Roger Hedgecock, but Dilno, McKain, and others supported Maureen O'Connor. Hedgecock fell a little short of the required 60% for the club's endorsement, but many club members were active in his campaign and contributed financially. Hedgecock publicly courted LGBTQ support and won with 52% of the total vote. This sent a message to politicians that the LGBTQ community was an important voting bloc despite community division in this election. Hedgecock created a Mayor's Task Force on AIDS and appointed Truax to it. But disappointingly to the LGBTQ community, after Hedgecock was forced to resign from office in 1985 due to campaign finance violations, he became a homophobic right-wing local radio talk show host. For example, he organized the "Normal People Contingent," which unsuccessfully sued to be allowed to participate in the 1994 Pride Parade. Maureen O'Connor, who was elected in 1986 to succeed him, became the first mayor to participate in the Pride Parade.

In 1983, the first cases of AIDS were diagnosed in San Diego, and over the next few years the epidemic would have a devastating effect on the club. Both Truax and his successor, Doug Scott, would succumb to the disease, as would two club vice presidents, Mike Lloyd and Steven Pope, as well as many club members. The SDDC Women's Caucus, led by Barbara Vick, organized "Blood Sisters." This community initiative opened an account at the San Diego Blood Bank and organized numerous blood drives to assure that there was enough blood available for treatment of gay men and to supplant the loss of blood from gay male donors who were not allowed to donate blood.

Because of its tragic human toll, the AIDS pandemic focused the political aims of the LGBTQ movement and empowered greater political organizing at the local, state, and national levels. The community was forced to mobilize to defeat extreme discriminatory initiatives sponsored by Lyndon LaRouche (Proposition 64 in 1986 and Proposition 69 in 1988) that would have effectively quarantined AIDS patients. The flurry of state legislation regarding AIDS and LGBTQ issues led in 1986 to the creation of LIFE (Lobby for Individual Freedom and Equality), a statewide coalition of organizations and individuals, which included the San Diego Democratic Club as a charter member. The community also mobilized in 1987 with another National March on Washington for Lesbian and Gay Rights in Washington, DC and a March on Sacramento for Lesbian and Gay Rights in 1988, both well attended by club members. SDDC members also participated in subsequent DC marches in 1993 and 2000.

In 1987, openly gay Neil Good ran for City Council in District Eight. Good had served as an aide to State Senator Jim Mills and County Supervisor Leon Williams

Blood Sisters, c. 1983. Photo courtesy of San Diego Democrats for Equality.

and had been chair of the Central Committee from 1976 to 1978. Christine Kehoe served as Good's campaign manager. The club endorsed and strongly supported Good, but he fell less than 400 votes short of making it into the runoff election (Bob Filner beat Mike Aguirre in the general election). Neil Good's defeat was a surprise to some activists who then saw that community apathy could have severe consequences and that future campaigns had to be tightly organized.

One of the most successful local milestones was the passage of Measure E in 1988 which brought district elections to the city. SDDC volunteers were heavily involved in the campaign. Previous attempts had failed in 1969, 1973, 1980, and 1981. Prior to passage of Measure E, the top two candidates in the primary election were required to run citywide in the general election. Often, the first-place candidate in the district-only primary lost in the citywide runoff. District elections made it easier for grassroots and minority candidates to be successful. Future councilmembers would reflect the diversity of San Diego's neighborhoods. The first election under the new system was in 1989 when John Hartley (a leader in the district elections campaigns) knocked off incumbent Gloria McColl in the primary election by a mere 27 votes, shocking the political establishment. The club was very active in Hartley's campaign. After his election he appointed Christine Kehoe to his staff.

The passage of district elections was the first of a three-part strategy by the club. Step two was to redraw post-1990 census boundaries to create districts where LGBTQ candidates could more easily be elected. Step three was to identify viable

LGBTQ candidates and work for their election. The opportunity for the next step occurred in 1990 when the San Diego City Council redrew its districts for the next decade. The club, led by McKain and Mel Merrill, gathered data to determine the precincts where significant numbers of LGBTQ voters resided. The data included the club's 4,000 member "Gay Vote List" along with membership lists (with names redacted) from several local organizations and a subscriber list to *The Advocate*, a national LGBTQ magazine. The club proposed a revised District Three that included the neighborhoods of Hillcrest, North Park, University Heights, Bankers Hill, Normal Heights, Kensington, and Talmadge. After lobbying by the club, the City Council approved a map whose new District Three closely tracked the club's proposed "gay district."

Beginning in 1984, the Democratic-controlled state legislature sent bills prohibiting discrimination on the basis of sexual orientation in employment, housing, and public accommodations every session. And every session, Republican Governor George Deukmejian and his GOP successor Pete Wilson vetoed them. Because of this Republican barricade against state legislation, a bipartisan coalition of local advocates decided to push for a local nondiscrimination measure called the Human Dignity Ordinance. Doug Case represented SDDC on the HDO task force. After months of lobbying Mayor Maureen O'Connor and City Council members, the ordinance passed in April 1990 with Bruce Henderson the lone dissenter. That vote would come back to haunt him.

In 1990 club volunteers focused their energies on Democrat Dede Alpert's challenge to incumbent Republican Assembly member Sunny Mojonnier in the 75th District. The district was 52% Republican and 32% Democratic, and as Mojonnier was a four-term incumbent, few expected Alpert to win. After the club endorsed her, club members Dilno, Lloyd, and McKain became regulars in her campaign office. Alpert had an upset win (46% - 41%) and went on to serve a combined fourteen years in the State Assembly and Senate as a strong LGBGTQ advocate. Alpert noted, "The strength of the club was its large, active membership; strong leadership; active support with volunteers and money for SDDC-endorsed candidates; and the development of good candidates for the future...The club actually 'got' politics and made a huge difference."[4]

In 1991, the club provided strong support to Henderson's challenger Valerie Stallings, who won easily in the general election. Thus, the club had targeted and helped oust two Republican council incumbents in two successive council elections. Stallings appointed former club vice president Stan Lewis as her chief of staff.

The club implemented step three of their plan to elect local LGBTQ candidates when Hartley decided not to seek election in 1993. The LGBTQ community quickly coalesced around Kehoe as its candidate. In addition to having served on Hartley's

Christine Kehoe at Election Central on the night of her victory, 1993. Photo courtesy of San Diego Democrats for Equality.

staff, she had been the Executive Director of the Hillcrest Business Association and editor of the San Diego *Gayzette*. Her primary opponent was Evonne Schulze, a San Diego Community College District Trustee and a former mayoral staff member for Hedgecock. In addition, Kehoe possessed a steady, competent, non-threatening demeanor that belied the right wing's hysterical characterizations of the LGBTQ community as radical, family- and country-hating hedonists. Moreover, because of the ongoing AIDS crisis, savvy political leaders of both genders in the San Diego LGBTQ community recognized that a lesbian would have an easier time of breaking the "Lavender Ceiling" than a gay man, due to the dominant culture's incessant linking of gay men with the disease.

Volunteers flocked to Kehoe's campaign in record numbers, and thanks in large part to the tireless efforts of her finance chair, SDDC member Dr. Bill Beck, LGBTQ people who had never given more than a token amount to a candidate contributed the maximum to her campaign. Kehoe placed first out of eleven candidates in the primary with 28% of the vote and went on to defeat Schulze by 55% to 44% in the general.

Schulze later said in a post-election letter to her supporters that it became virtually impossible to win against a crusade. The "crusade" was successful in ways no one could have foreseen in 1993. For instance, since that year, San Diego's Third Council District has been represented by an LGBTQ person (Toni Atkins: 2000-2008; Todd Gloria: 2008-2016; Chris Ward: 2016-2020; Stephen Whitburn: 2020-present). Regionally, Kehoe's 1993 victory as San Diego County's first openly

LGBTQ elected official paved the way for LGBTQ people to be elected in all parts of the county.

Kehoe ran for Congress in the 49th District against incumbent Brian Bilbray in 1998, falling a little short (49% - 47%). But in 2000, she would go on to serve in the State Assembly (76th District) for four years and the State Senate (39th District) for eight years. In 2012, at the conclusion of her final Senate term, Kehoe retired from political life after nineteen years of elected service.

Kehoe's narrow loss to Bilbray showed that his hold on the 49th Congressional District was tenuous. This encouraged Assembly member Susan Davis to take on and defeat Bilbray in 2000, with strong club backing. Also in 2000, Kehoe staffer and mentee Atkins (a former club vice president) replaced her as the Third District Councilmember. During Atkins's eight years on the San Diego City Council she served (in 2005) as acting mayor after Mayor Dick Murphy's surprising mid-term resignation. In 2010, she followed in Kehoe's footsteps once again, winning a seat in the California State Assembly.

But Atkins went even further. In 2014, she was elected by her fellow Assembly members to serve as Speaker (the first lesbian Speaker and the first Speaker from San Diego). In 2016, Atkins was termed out of the Assembly but was elected to the State Senate seat formerly held by Kehoe. In recognition of her leadership skills, her Senate colleagues elected her as the President pro Tempore in 2018. Atkins is the first woman and first LGBTQ person to lead the Senate, and the first person in 150 years to have led both houses of the legislature. While Kehoe cracked the

Toni Atkins at Election Central with supporters and media the night of her campaign victory in 2000. Photo by Doug Case.

"Lavender Ceiling" in San Diego politics with her historic victory, Atkins has demolished the ceiling at the state level.

When Atkins termed out of the District Three council seat in 2008, she was replaced by Todd Gloria, a former Davis staffer. Gloria became the first openly gay man and first LGBTQ person of color to serve as councilmember. During his tenure, he became the city's first LGBTQ council president. In an echo of Atkins's council tenure, Gloria also became San Diego's acting mayor in 2013 upon the resignation of Bob Filner. Both Atkins and Gloria received bipartisan accolades for how they led the city through difficult transitions. With Atkins forced to leave her Assembly seat in 2016, Gloria ran to replace her and won. Gloria's 2016 move to the state legislature allowed openly LGBTQ (and former club treasurer) Chris Ward to replace him as the Third District Councilmember.

The LGBTQ community had another significant political victory in 2016, when community activist (and former club vice president) Georgette Gómez was elected to represent San Diego's Ninth District. Gómez became the first lesbian of color to be elected to office in San Diego County. More significantly, her victory demonstrated that San Diego had progressed to the point where a district without a sizeable LGBTQ population would elect an openly LGBTQ person to office.

This dynamic would repeat itself in 2018, with Dr. Jen Campbell winning the Second District council office. Campbell ousted incumbent Councilmember Lori Zapf, the first time a council incumbent had lost a bid for reelection since the club's hand in replacing Bruce Henderson with Valerie Stallings in 1991. Both Gómez and Campbell were considered underdogs in their races, and the club contributed substantially to their victories. Gómez became council president in 2018 and presided over a city council that was now one third LGBTQ (including Ward and Campbell).

In 2020, Gloria ran for mayor and won with 56% of the vote, making him the first LGBTQ individual and first person of color to become mayor. San Diego became the largest US city to have elected a gay man as mayor. Gómez ran for an open congressional seat. She made the runoff but lost in the general. She was succeeded as council president by Campbell – the third LGBTQ Council president.

Gloria's decision to run for San Diego mayor in 2020 opened up his Assembly seat to Ward, who ran for it and won. All four candidates running in 2020 for the San Diego Third District to replace Ward were LGBTQ (a first in San Diego political history). The runoff featured two LGBTQ club members, Toni Duran (an Atkins staff member) and Stephen Whitburn (a former club president), with Whitburn prevailing. Thus, as of 2024, the San Diego Third Council District will have been represented for 31 years by an openly LGBTQ person. This may be a record streak in US politics. In addition, beginning with Atkins's Assembly

victory in 2010, California's 78th Assembly District has been represented by an LGBTQ person for six consecutive terms to date.

When the club was founded it would have been inconceivable that a third of the San Diego City Council would be LGBTQ or that a gay man would be elected as mayor. Not only that, but as of 2020, most areas of the city's "gayborhood" (Hillcrest, North Park, and Normal Heights) are completely represented by LGBTQ elected officials both at the city level (Mayor Gloria and Councilmember Whitburn) and the state level (Senate President pro Tempore Atkins and Assembly member Ward). The forty-five-year arc of the club's work reflects the dynamic growth of the political power of the LGBTQ community from an ultra-grassroots organization to a political powerhouse that aligns with progressive organizations throughout the region.

Times have also changed dramatically since Johnson became the first openly LGBTQ person elected to the Central Committee in 1980. The club has continued its tradition of involvement at the local, state, and national level. Club members Maureen Steiner, Jess Durfee, and Will Rodriguez-Kennedy were elected as Central Committee chairs, in 1995, 2004, and 2019 respectively. Both Durfee and Rodriguez-Kennedy had served as SDDC president prior to their election, and Steiner had served as president of the Coronado Democratic Club. Durfee was elected as a member of the Democratic National Committee in (DNC) 2008, the first openly LGBTQ person from San Diego to serve on the DNC, and in 2017 he was elected as Chair of Western DNC States. Rodriguez-Kennedy was elected to the DNC in 2020. Within the California Democratic Party Johnson, Case, Durfee, and Craig Roberts have served as officers of the LGBT Caucus, with Roberts also serving two terms as the first LGBTQ CDP Regional Director representing the San Diego area (replaced in 2019 in this position by another LGBTQ person and club member, Michelle Krug). The club was also involved in the 1998 founding of the National Stonewall Democrats, a federation of LGBTQ Democratic Clubs, with Roberts elected chair of the organization in 2011.

At the time the club was founded, the founders deliberately chose a name without an LGBTQ reference because an LGBTQ political organization in that era was viewed by many, even within the Democratic Party, as radical. Today the club is the largest and most influential of the over sixty Democratic clubs chartered by the San Diego Democratic Party. During his second stint as club president, Case (who was also president in 1991-92) led the effort in 2011 for the club to step out of the closet with a new identity as the San Diego Democrats for Equality.

Today the club's mission remains to advocate for LGBTQ equality and to expand LGBTQ visibility and influence within the party and the electorate. The club's story is filled with many important victories over the years but the work continues and the fight for full equality is the goal.

1	Robert "Bob" Lynn	1975 - 1979
2	Gloria Johnson	1980 - 1981
3	A. Brad Truax	1981 - 1984
4	J. Douglas Scott	1985 - 1986
5	Jerelyn "Jeri" Dilno	1987 - 1991
6	Doug Case	1991 - 1993
7	Rick Moore	1993 - 1996
8	Paula Rosenstein	1996 - 1998
9	Craig Roberts	1998 - 2001
10	Jess Durfee	2001 - 2004
11	Stephen Whitburn	2004 - 2007
12	Andrea Villa	2007 - 2009
13	Larry Baza	2009 - 2011
14	Doug Case	2011 - 2014
15	David Warmoth	2014 - 2016
16	Will Rodriguez-Kennedy	2016 - 2019
17	Ryan Trabuco	2019 - present

List of San Diego Democratic Club presidents. Courtesy of San Diego Democrats for Equality.

NOTES

1. This article will use the current acronym used by the community: LGBTQ (lesbian, gay, bisexual, transgender and queer/questioning). Over the years different terms and acronyms have been used to identify the community. At the time of the founding of the San Diego Democratic Club, "gay" was the most common identifier.
2. The members who signed the charter petition were Robert Lynn, Douglas Simpson, Jerry White, Charles Mace, Richard Hunt, Al Smithson, Margaret Reynolds, David Farrell, Ken Miller, George Murphy, John Eberly, Frank Balisi, James Nolan, Robert Smith, Andrew Mattison, David McWhirter, Lee Sandy, Marvin Bush, Jerry Tharaldson and Gil Coldwell.
3. LGBTQ Republicans also organized in San Diego. The Log Cabin Club of San Diego formed on Lincoln's Birthday in 1981 with Meyers Jacobsen as president and James Walsh as vice president. This was a successor to the short-lived Teddy Roosevelt Republican Club formed by activist Nicole Murray (now known as Nicole Murray Ramirez) in 1977. The Log Cabin Republican Club remains active today, although it has never had the membership or the influence as the San Diego Democratic Club.
4. Dede Alpert, email message to Chris Kehoe, Sept. 9, 2019.

In the Archives: The Pandemic Diary of Dr. Charlotte Baker

Theodore Strathman

Editors' Note

We present here what we hope will be a regular feature of the Journal *in which contributors will compose brief essays about collections in the San Diego History Center's Research Archives. Our goal is to illustrate how the archival collections constitute a rich community resource that provide researchers the raw materials we need to interpret the history of our region.*

On October 3, 1918, Dr. Charlotte Baker noted in her diary, "Had letter from Anne R. Frances has influenza."[1] This was the diary's first mention of the influenza epidemic that would eventually claim the lives of 368 residents of the city of San Diego.[2] Over the following months, Baker would make similarly succinct entries about the impacts of the disease on friends and acquaintances. Her diary entries from 1918 and 1919 reveal a family whose professional interests and community engagement brought the epidemic to the center of their attention. From the vantage point of our own times, Baker's diary takes on added pathos, offering us a glimpse of how San Diegans of a century ago experienced their own pandemic.

Charlotte Johnson earned her MD from Michigan in 1881 and in the following year married Fred Baker, a physician from Ohio. The couple lived in New Mexico for several years after their marriage before relocating to San Diego in 1888. Charlotte became San Diego's first female physician, and she and Fred each

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served as president of the San Diego County Medical Association in the 1890s. In addition to maintaining her medical practice, Charlotte was active in civic and philanthropic organizations and was an important local leader in the women's suffrage movement.[3] By the time of the 1918-1919 pandemic, Charlotte's health had declined, and while she still remained active in the community, she was frequently confined to her bed, noting in her diary a range of afflictions, from headaches and nausea to fatigue and heart irregularities.[4]

The Charlotte Baker Diary Collection, housed at the San Diego History Center's Research Archives in Balboa Park, consists of forty-eight bound diaries from 1882 to 1934. Baker's entries tend towards the catalogic; she typically recorded her times of rising, journeys to and from the home, the receipt of letters and telephone calls, and the health of herself and family members. There is little in the way of extended commentary or musing. Nevertheless, these diaries are valuable primary sources in their own right, and in them the historian can find evidence of a household and a community anxious about the trajectory of an epidemic that threatened to run rampant.

After Baker's first reference to influenza, almost two weeks passed before she noted on October 16, "Epidemic increasing." Three days earlier the city board of health had ordered the closure of public amusements and the cessation of a range of public gatherings.[5] Baker made another entry about the course of the epidemic two days later and then noted several acquaintances who were suffering from the flu. The entry for October 20 observed that the Red Cross, an organization Charlotte and Fred supported, was "working every day on gauze masks for the public." Demand for the masks was likely increasing since the board of health had on October 18 recommended their use.[6]

For the remainder of 1918 the epidemic was never far from the Bakers' minds, judging by Charlotte's diary. Fred attended a Medical Society meeting about the flu on November 1, and several days later Charlotte wrote, "Fred Roberts died of 'Flu' at Imperial. Mr. Page telephoned[.] [H]e and Johnson both had 'flu'[.] Johnson pretty sick." In the first weeks of December Charlotte noted the illness and recovery of several family friends, but at least two close acquaintances died in this period, including Fred's friend Dr. Frederick Burnham, who with Fred Baker had played a significant role in the establishment of the Scripps Oceanographic Institute.[7]

While influenza cases in San Diego continued into 1919, the worst of the epidemic had passed before the end of December. Charlotte recorded two visits to movie theaters in the last week of the year, perhaps a sign of the resumption of normal rhythms of life in the city.[8] In January and February Charlotte monitored the progress of the nationwide women's suffrage amendment and returned to

Drs. Charlotte and Fred Baker with their children, Robert and Mary, 1905. © SDHC #80_8957.

her civic engagement, attending a lecture on the "social problem" (prostitution) and noting that Fred heard Max Eastman deliver a talk titled "Hands Off Russia."

Yet as a physician, wife, and mother, Charlotte undoubtedly continued to think about influenza, even if specific references to the epidemic disappeared from her diary in the first months of the new year. Her son Robert, who had enlisted in the Navy in 1917, returned to San Diego early in 1919, reuniting with his wife Anne and son Kenneth, who lived near Charlotte and Fred. Shortly after his homecoming, Charlotte recorded that Robert had a persistent cough. When he had a good night's sleep in late February, Charlotte admitted to her diary that she nevertheless worried about him. Two months later she noted Kenneth struggling with a high fever. Having experienced relief at her son returning safely from his wartime service, surely Charlotte now worried that Robert might contract a disease that hit young adults especially hard.

By the time the epidemic hit San Diego, Charlotte Baker had for thirty years dedicated herself to the public health of San Diego and to a range of social reform efforts. It is not unreasonable to conclude that her exertions on behalf of her adopted hometown contributed to her declining health. Thus at the moment of a major public health crisis, Baker herself was largely limited to the role of observer. Given her tendencies as a diarist, we are left with many questions. Was Baker

San Diego High School students during 1918 influenza epidemic. © SDHC #87_16328.

frustrated that she could not put her medical expertise to greater use during the epidemic? Did she believe public officials were doing enough to prevent the spread of the disease? Was she especially worried about Robert before he left the Navy, given the high rates of infection among enlisted personnel? Whatever the answers to these questions may be, Charlotte Baker's diary resonates with us today, for even in its terse and almost emotionless entries we glimpse the anxiety and grief of a civic-minded woman witnessing the ravages of the epidemic on the community she had served with great devotion.

NOTES

1. Charlotte Baker Diary Collection, MS 173, San Diego History Center Document Collection, San Diego, CA. Box 6: Folder 6.
2. Richard Pourade, *The History of San Diego: Gold in the Sun* (San Diego: Union-Tribune Publishing Company, 1965), 231.
3. For a discussion of Baker's role in the California women's suffrage campaign, see Marilyn Kneeland, "The Modern Boston Tea Party: The San Diego Suffrage Campaign of 1911," *The Journal of San Diego History* 23, no. 4 (Fall 1977): 35-42.
4. For a biographical sketch of Baker, see the description of the Charlotte Baker Diary Collection. https://sandiegohistory.org/archives/archivalcollections/ms173/
5. Richard H. Peterson, "The Spanish Influenza Epidemic in San Diego, 1918-1919," *Southern California Quarterly* 71, no. 1 (Spring 1989): 92.
6. Ibid., 94.
7. On Fred Baker's role in the founding of the Scripps Institute, see Abraham J. Shragge and Kay Dietze, "Character, Vision and Creativity: The Extraordinary Confluence of Forces that Gave Rise to the Scripps Institution of Oceanography," *The Journal of San Diego History* 49, no. 2 (Spring 2003): 71-86.
8. A statewide mandate had ordered the closure of theaters and other public places on December 4, and city officials extended the closure to all but essential services. These measures remained in place for only a few days, and the city council on December 9 ended the quarantine in favor of a general mask-wearing order. See Peterson, "Spanish Influenza," pp. 96-98.

BOOK REVIEWS

California Exposures: Envisioning Myth and History. By Richard White, with photographs by Jesse Amble White. New York: W.W. Norton & Company, 2020. Illustrations, maps, notes, bibliography, and index. xi + 326 pp. $45.00 cloth.

Reviewed by Jordan Mylet, PhD candidate, Department of History, University of California, San Diego.

I read *California Exposures: Envisioning Myth and History* while taking a road trip from Los Angeles to San Francisco. As I read chapters in between drives and walks, I began to see the sites around me through the lens of Jesse Amble White's camera and the filter of Richard White's analysis. On most pages, Richard starts from a snapshot taken by Jesse and unfurls histories from there. Their book imparts that skill onto the reader: a new way of seeing the past in the present. The Whites excavate the histories beneath modern sites and trace the paths of what has been built on them through various forms of conquest.

I started at the foothills of the San Gabriel Mountains on Tongva Indian land until the 1770s when Spanish Franciscan monks took it for the Misión de San Gabriel Arcángel, which at one point spanned 1.5 million acres on which the Tongva worked and died. I passed through the San Fernando Valley, a grid of suburban subdivisions that a group of well-connected men formed from another mission's land at the beginning of the twentieth century. I left old mission lands (though not old Tongva territory) when I got on Highway 101, built during California's post-World War II boom when military bases and defense industries brought millions of new residents and billions in federal dollars. With the Whites as my guides, each mile opened up a world of layered pasts and alternative futures.

The interweaving of past, present, and future is a fundamental part of the book. Though the chapters move forward chronologically, they also introduce multiple starting points, which then lead to multiple narratives with different key events and emphases. The book doubles back in time, then jumps ahead, according to paths taken by different people. The key thread that runs through each story is the meaning of particular origin myths—how powerful people have used history to serve their preferred political and economic projects, and how those myths, even when found to be full of partial truths, omissions, or lies, stick with us.

In the first section, we see Jesse's photographs of a foggy Drake's Bay at Point Reyes, a site about forty miles north of San Francisco on which the English privateer Sir Francis Drake was believed to have landed in 1579. Richard White traces the obsessive quests of historians during the nineteenth and twentieth

centuries to verify the exact location of Drake's landing, where Miwok Indians supposedly recognized the explorer as a god and bequeathed their land to him. Drake historians claimed to be searching for historical truth, but White argues that they were really searching for proof of a "beginning of California [that] was white, Anglo-Saxon, Protestant, and peaceful"—one in which the Indians had not been stripped of their homeland and the Gold Rush pioneers "were not invaders; they were just coming home" (p. 16-17).

The next sections take us to the Yokut and Tongva peoples devastated by missionaries and cattle ranchers, who then set about erasing Native history from the California origin story. The acts of these settlers laid the groundwork for subsequent power grabs: railroad companies and agribusiness executives ordering the San Joaquin Valley for their own profit and white "native" Californians excluding Mexican and Filipino farmworkers, their American-born children, and Black home seekers from the prosperity of postwar suburbia.

The book's other key theme emphasizes the contingency of conquest—specifically, how environmental transformation instigated by economic development has also thwarted the plans of the victors. The Tulare Lake basin temporarily flooded out Anglo farmers who displaced the Tongva; now, the San Joaquin Valley, home to many of America's largest and most prosperous farms, fights with the state's ever-expanding—and increasingly multiracial—suburbs for water. Climate change, which exacerbates wildfires and droughts, threatens to make things much worse. One of the book's final photographs shows a new housing development nestled in the San Gabriel Mountains. The same development appeared in the December 13, 2020 edition of *The New York Times* ringed by the flames of September's Bobcat Fire.

The Whites end their book with an implicit question: How can California's growth be sustained? When will its generations of inequalities be addressed? The way forward requires a clear-eyed look backwards—and *California Exposures* is an excellent place to begin.

Ruling the Waters: California's Kern River, the Environment, and the Making of Western Water Law. By Douglas R. Littlefield. Norman, OK: University of Oklahoma Press, 2020. Preface, illustrations, maps, notes, and bibliography. ix + 264 pp. $45.00 cloth.

Reviewed by Russell Peck, PhD Candidate, Department of History, University of California, San Diego.

Douglas R. Littlefield's *Ruling the Waters* shows that the environmental and economic transformation of areas in California's San Joaquin Valley watered by the Kern River had ecological, political, and legal consequences that resonated throughout the western United States. American settlers' efforts from the mid-nineteenth to the early twentieth century to convert a natural landscape rich in biodiversity into a space of agricultural productivity resulted in dramatic ecological changes along the Kern River. Legal disputes emerging from the river's development had far-reaching consequences. As Littlefield argues, California and the Kern River "are key to a historical understanding of major transformations of American water law and the relationships of those changes with the environment" (p. 11).

The book begins in the 1850s, shortly after California's state officials concluded that the southern San Joaquin Valley's vast swamps, wetlands, and grasslands were hazardous obstacles to economic development. At that time, the flood- and drought-prone Kern River fed several large bodies of water, including Kern Lake, Buena Vista Lake, and Tulare Lake, leading many to envision the construction of a vast canal system to transport goods and irrigate farms. Working alongside the federal government, the state legislature passed laws, including the 1868 Swamplands Act, to encourage the desired transformation of the region into productive farmland. Capitalists with financial connections in San Francisco, most notably James Ben Ali Haggin and the business partners Henry Miller and Charles Lux, took advantage of favorable legislation to monopolize the region's land and water resources. These early and often troubled efforts at reclamation and reconfiguration fundamentally altered the Kern River's flow, dividing its waters between riparian irrigators and appropriators who relied on diversion ditches and canals for irrigation. Littlefield demonstrates effectively how private capital, combined with favorable state policies and an ideology of conquest, transformed the environment and set the stage for further legal conflicts over the river's waters.

By the late 1870s, the Kern River basin was dominated by two competing interests, represented by the cattle barons Miller & Lux and the land and canal developer James Haggin. The clash between these two parties over water diversions

led to the important, years-long legal struggle ultimately decided in *Lux v. Haggin* (1886). Although *Lux v. Haggin* is best known as a contest of supremacy between the water rights doctrines of riparianism and prior appropriation, Littlefield's close examination of court records reveals a more nuanced picture of the case and its aftermath, including its environmental effects. The case established the controversial "California Doctrine," which recognized both riparian and appropriative claims to water. This resulted in important changes to water laws within the state and throughout the West. Littlefield highlights the ecological consequences of this and other court decisions over water rights, noting that all claimants, whether riparian or appropriator, "sought to manipulate the law to change the natural wilderness to a 'civilization' of well-managed farms, businesses, towns, and cities" (p. 73).

The second half of the book focuses largely on the activities of Miller & Lux and Haggin's Kern County Land Company, the two corporate entities that dominated the Kern River's development from the late nineteenth century into the 1930s. Despite their previous legal entanglements, by the early twentieth century these firms sometimes worked together to oppose hydroelectric power developers, oil producers, irrigation districts, municipal interests in Bakersfield, and others that threatened their control over the river. In the 1920s, both firms sought to expand their power by organizing districts under the 1921 California Water Storage District Act, designed to aid large land and water companies through provisions that tied voting power to the amount of land a property owner controlled. By the 1950s, after some initial setbacks, Miller & Lux's Buena Vista Water Storage District and the Kern County Land Company's North Kern Water Storage District successfully harnessed much of the Kern River for their own benefit. Littlefield convincingly shows how this corporate monopolization of the river helped establish the type of large-scale agribusiness that has dominated the San Joaquin Valley's landscape and political economy to this day.

Effectively incorporating a wide variety of archival sources—including local, state, federal, and corporate records—*Ruling the Waters* offers an in-depth history of the political, environmental, and legal implications of the Kern River's transformation. This history of an economically important section of California's Central Valley works as a fine companion piece to Philip Garone's *The Fall and Rise of the Wetlands of California's Great Central Valley.* Environmental historians, legal scholars, and anyone interested in the connection between water law and ecological change would do well to read *Ruling the Waters*.

Living the California Dream: African American Leisure Sites during the Jim Crow Era. By Alison Rose Jefferson. Lincoln, NE: University of Nebraska, 2020. Illustrations, notes, bibliography, and index. ix + 366 pp. $55.00 cloth.

Reviewed by Joy Miller, PhD Candidate, Department of History, University of California, San Diego.

In *Living the California Dream*, Alison Rose Jefferson shows that African American beachfront resorts and inland recreational spaces became contested sites in Jim Crow-era California. From the 1910s to the 1960s, Black entrepreneurs established resorts that catered to the state's growing African American community and became part of broader struggles for civil rights. Residents and tourists used these sites to counter racism, confront exclusionary practices, and promote racial solidarity. As Jefferson shows, however, Blacks' participation in this "frontier of leisure" ultimately faded from public memory.

The book is divided into six chapters, reconstructing the rise and decline of several African American resorts in the greater Los Angeles area. Beginning in the late nineteenth century and accelerating between the 1910s and the 1960s, Blacks moved to Southern California to pursue the "American dream" and leave behind policies that restricted their freedoms in the Jim Crow South. Once settled, Black entrepreneurs established beachfront and inland resorts that allowed African American tourists and residents to enjoy recreational activities. These leisure spaces allowed them to form community bonds and to find shelter from racial discrimination.

As these resorts became more popular during the twentieth century, white residents and local authorities harassed African American proprietors and guests and destroyed properties. White Californians further hindered African American community formation by using legal measures to exclude Black Angelenos from beaches and other recreational sites. But Black residents challenged this racial prejudice by protesting with the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People (NAACP) or directly confronting white citizens, often getting arrested. They also used Black resorts to organize. In this way, Jefferson argues, these leisure spaces were a part of the longer historical fight for African American civil rights.

However, as Jefferson also shows, by the twenty-first century these sites were largely erased from public memory. The closure of the resorts in the second half of the twentieth century and the failures of public officials to preserve or commemorate them have essentially worked to expunge African Americans from the history of leisure and recreational space in Southern California. Jefferson's book goes a long way toward recovering this history.

Ultimately, *Living the California Dream* helps us understand the relationship between race, public space, and historical memory. It reveals the exclusion of African American experiences in and contributions to Southern California's recreational landscapes. Drawing on a rich collection of archived records, newspapers, maps, and photographs, Jefferson produces a new image of the Black experience in the West and makes a valuable contribution to the scholarship on African Americans in California.

Arab Routes: Pathways to Syrian California. By Sarah A. Gualtieri. Stanford, CA: Stanford University Press, 2020. Illustrations, notes, bibliography, and index. 224 pp. $80.00 cloth. $24.00 paper.

Reviewed by Reuben Silverman, PhD Candidate, Department of History, University of California, San Diego.

Sarah Gualtieri is uncomfortable with historians' use of "the wave metaphor" to describe the "migration of Arabic-speaking peoples to the Americas" since the late nineteenth century. On the one hand, the idea of migrant "waves" is apt "because it conveys magnitude and movement;" on the other hand, "it is problematic because it prioritizes the part of the journey that ends at the edges of the Americas" (p. 145-146). In much of the scholarship on Syrian migrants, this is not just metaphorical: they are depicted as leaving their birthplaces and heading west until they arrive in New York or Buenos Aires. Once there, they become peddlers or dry goods merchants, pull themselves up by their bootstraps, and assimilate. In *Arab Routes*, Gualtieri shows that the pathway to the US was often less straight and the lives of travelers not so easily summarized. Instead, she highlights the "transnational dimensions of migrant experience" and the "cross-ethnic relations at the heart of those experiences" (p. 107).

Her focus on California brings the transnational aspects of the Syrian experience into stark relief. During the early twentieth century, many migrants from the Syrian region of the Ottoman Empire spent considerable time in Mexico and Argentina. These experiences inculcated in many Syrians a "sense of belonging to a panethnic Latin America, of *being* Latin American, and expressing this attachment in an Arabized register"—what Gualtieri calls "Arab *Latinidad*" (p. 5). She argues this point most directly in the first two chapters. Chapter 1 examines the "ambiguous racial position" of Syrian migrants arriving from Mexico (p. 39) and "the specificity of Syrian processes of racialization" (p. 34). Despite being from a region that US officials characterized as "Turkey in Asia" and therefore subject

to "Asian" immigrant bans, these migrants with Ottoman roots were increasingly categorized as "Syrians." In 1917, they were removed from the "Asian" category entirely (p. 34), but US officials and fellow citizens did not immediately accept Syrians as white. In fact, when descendants of these migrants took stands on issues like Palestinian rights, they often risked falling "out of whiteness" (p. 89).

The experience in Latin America stayed with many Syrians once they relocated to the US. As a result, the Syrian community in the western US possessed a degree of "intracommunal heterogeneity" that has gone largely unconsidered in the scholarship (p. 20). This familiarity encouraged interethnic solidarity, as exemplified in chapter 2, wherein Gualtieri reconsiders the 1942 Sleepy Lagoon trial in Los Angeles. This mass prosecution of twenty-two Mexican American men and one Anglo man for murder is infamous for its emphasis on the defendants' zoot suits and ethnicity. Whereas accounts of activism in defense of the accused have "systematically overlooked" the involvement of Arabs, Gualtieri focuses on one of the defendants' lawyers, George Shibley, the son of Lebanese immigrants (p. 53). Shibley's strategy was to "re-Americanize" the defendants, resisting the prosecution's attempts "to underscore their foreignness" (p. 42, 49). Several factors have obscured Shibley's role, but Gualtieri suggests that his later work challenging police entrapment of homosexual men and his advocacy for Robert Kennedy's assassin, Sirhan Sirhan, are crucial.

Chapters 3 and 4 examine how migrants' descendants shaped a distinctive identity in California. Chapter 3 focuses on the prominent Syrian-American entertainer Danny Thomas, whose television, film, and music career during the 1950s and '60s "navigated the pressure of assimilation in an entertainment industry that valued whiteness and Anglo middle-class ideals" (p. 70). Though Thomas often engaged in "self-Orientalizing" jokes, he also incorporated "Arab American expressive culture…anchored in the Southern California Syrian festival culture" (p. 72). These periodic festivals (*mahrajan*—or, as Anglo papers called them, "fiestas") were "spaces where participants renewed their Syrianness" (p. 76). After World War II, families with Syrian roots moved farther away from one another, and these events diminished in frequency. By the 1970s, the female activists whom Gualtieri profiles in chapter 4 found themselves in "a process of 'rearrival' through which short-term returns to original Arab homelands ultimately [led] to the reassessment and reclaiming of the *US* terrain" (p. 95). Indeed, encounters with their homelands, family archives, and grandmothers' stories led these women into activism.

Gualtieri is not content, however, to fall back on this simple narrative of arrival, assimilation, and "rearrival." As she observes in chapter 5, as early as 1960, activists had established the organization Women Concerned About the

Middle East (p. 118). Resisting familiar narratives, Gualtieri reconsiders moments "in California historiography, where the presence of Syrians in the flow of major cultural events goes unremarked upon, as if it does not exist" (p. 114). She also challenges Syrian historiography in which California is absent.

Arab Routes introduces a range of issues sure to generate discussion among students and scholars. It would make an excellent addition to college courses in history and ethnic studies.

Science Be Dammed: How Ignoring Inconvenient Science Drained the Colorado River. By Eric Kuhn and John Fleck. Tucson, AZ: University of Arizona Press, 2019. Illustrations, notes, bibliography, and index. 280 pp. $35.00 cloth.

Reviewed by Trisha Tschopp, PhD Candidate, Department of History and Science Studies Program, University of California, San Diego.

In their monograph, *Science Be Dammed: How Ignoring Inconvenient Science Drained the Colorado River,* Eric Kuhn and John Fleck dispute a popular narrative concerning Colorado River water management during the twentieth century. In seeking to understand why this river has continually failed to meet increasing demand, the traditional explanation posits that the framers of the Colorado River Compact of 1922 (an inter-state agreement between Arizona, California, Colorado, Nevada, New Mexico, Utah, and Wyoming that created a framework for apportioning the river's waters to individual states) simply relied on bad data. This generally accepted explanation assumes that earlier hydrologists employed inaccurate methods, relied on faulty gauges, and created projections from years with heavier-than-normal rainfall—ultimately embedding a far-too-optimistic "hydraulic reality" within the legal framework of the Colorado River Compact. Rather than simply attributing ignorance to experts of the past, Kuhn and Fleck advance a compelling argument that local, state, and federal stakeholders preferred to use less conservative estimates of the river's potential in order to promote political and personal interests.

The book is mostly organized chronologically, beginning with numerous hydrologic reports that provided politicians with necessary data to undertake development projects in their respective basins. In the first part, Kuhn and Fleck highlight the contributions of Herman Stabler (1924), E.C. LaRue (1925), William Sibert (1928), Northcutt Ely (1946), Royce Tipton (1965), and George E.P. Smith (1920s, 1953), who all noted potential shortages and criticized other reports calling for more liberal apportionments. The second part of the book explores the "iron triangle" of interests (local boosters including state water agencies, elected officials, and federal

agencies) and how they materially benefited from large-scale water projects. This section is particularly relevant to those interested in San Diego regional history, as it explores challenges to water right claims between Arizona and California, culminating in the Supreme Court case (*Arizona v. California*) that established how Lake Mead and waters below this point would be used. The last section discusses how climate change has reduced the flow of the Colorado River, especially evident through modern computer modelling processes. Kuhn and Fleck clearly believe that the historical myth of water abundance needs to be debunked before Colorado River policies can be improved. Toward the end of the book, they encourage adopting an outlook of humility—instead of arrogant reliance on scientific data or technology—and proceeding with caution regarding future decisions.

Given the authors' extensive backgrounds in water policy (Fleck) and management (Kuhn), it is easy to understand their method of analyzing hydraulic reports from the early twentieth century. Certainly, their collective expertise does much to elucidate the quantitative material presented in these reports. Kuhn and Fleck's skill in assessing the merits and/or limitations of different figures, and their analysis of how certain decisions foreshadowed today's water shortages in the American West should be acknowledged. However, Kuhn and Fleck seem to rely too much on the explanatory power of hydrologic data while failing to provide substantive detail on the historical actors, their personal motives, and how these interests contributed to inter-organizational conflicts. While the authors claim to present a sinister story of greed, they seem to speculate about possible connections rather than clearly establishing the Colorado River decision-makers' avarice and how these qualitative factors contributed to the politicization of these reports. Additionally, Fleck and Kuhn tend to rely on totalizing categories, including "reclamation," "science," and "expertise." Rather than treating these categories as static or homogenous, their account would have been nicely served by probing the contingencies of these terms, especially in relation to changing social movements and political contexts. Much of the material strays into overly technical territory for the casual reader, despite the authors providing a helpful glossary. Lastly, this volume could have benefited from more extensive editing, including omitting certain repetitive passages and correcting occasional typographical errors.

Despite these limitations, *Science Be Dammed* constitutes an important study of the Colorado River and its management. Within the next few years, there will be significant opportunities to revise Colorado River policies. In a perfect world, Kuhn and Fleck's work would serve as a long overdue corrective to inform this process. Indeed, this useful contribution serves as a timely reminder that when "inconvenient science" is ignored in favor of political agendas, future generations are left cleaning up the mess.

Skateboarding and the City: A Complete History. By Iain Borden. London: Bloomsbury Academic, 2019. Illustrations, references, bibliography, and index. 369 pp. $40.00 paper.

Reviewed by Joseph Bishop, MA Student, Department of History, New York University.

The proving ground for skateboarders once centered on trespassing into backyards with drained pools in drought-stricken Southern California. Today, skateboarding anticipates its 2021 Olympic Games debut in Tokyo, and elite skaters from all over the globe visit Southern California's high-performance skateparks. Iain Borden recounts the story of how the sport has grown and adapted between the 1960s and 2010s in *Skateboarding and the City: A Complete History*.

Borden describes skateboarding's waves of popularity over the past six decades and its international spread. He shows that the sport has challenged social norms while contributing to the art and design of urban culture, strengthening cities' economies with new markets, and shaping urban policy. While Borden delves into such primary sources as magazines, videos, and social media—and offers QR codes linking to YouTube videos that elaborate on the book's photographs—he also incorporates insights from urban scholars like Henri Lefebvre and David Harvey that uniquely connect skateboarding and the city.

In the first of three sections, Borden chronicles the early evolution of the materials and culture of skateboarding. In 1965, the United States had 15 million skaters who generated $100 million in annual sales. After the mid-60s, the sport dwindled until 1972, when Frank Nasworthy introduced polyurethane wheels, dramatically enhancing the experience. Yet, as skateboarding's technology improved, its media outlets pandered to young men and neglected female skaters. In the early '90s, magazines like *Thrasher* and *Big Brother* (a publication bought by pornographer Larry Flint in 1997) encouraged excessive masculinity through boozing, hardcore music, and dangerous stunts. With few exceptions—like Elissa Steamer in Toy Machine's video *Welcome to Hell* (1996)—men monopolized professional skateboarding in the '90s. However, women's opportunities expanded after the X Games introduced female vertical and street skating events in 2003 and 2004, respectively, and female skaters began receiving positive media coverage.

Yet, despite its anti-authoritarian spirit, skateboarding never became wholly countercultural. Its attitude in the twenty-first century shifted from one of socially-conscious rebellion to an individualistic focus on personal improvement—an apolitical and business-friendly perspective that opened the door to lucrative possibilities. In 2002, some professional skaters earned $60,000–$80,000 per month

in royalties from signature shoe deals. Marketing not only promoted the sport's global growth but also shaped its style. During the '90s and early 2000s, skateboard companies showcased the skill of their sponsored skaters by producing videos that collectively generated $50 million in annual sales. Eventually, new social media demolished DVD revenue, and companies began releasing free videos online, such as Nike SB's *Debacle* (2009).

Section 2 focuses on how the sport has reinterpreted city architecture and surveys the rise of skateparks, new construction methods, and neoliberal urban politics. Street skating in the '80s and '90s implicitly critiqued conventional functions of city spaces. Unlike snowboarding or outdoor recreation, for which devotees escaped from the city, skateboarding reimagined the surrounding urban terrain. In constructing formal skateparks, however, money was an essential ingredient, and investors viewed skateparks as one of the most lucrative business opportunities of the late '70s. Skatepark designs and construction methods extended from do-it-yourself projects to elaborate ventures. In some cases, local communities organized and constructed free parks, such as the award-winning Washington Street Skatepark in San Diego's Little Italy, whereas other spaces, such as the California Training Facility in Vista, prepared ambitious skateboarding athletes and charged membership fees as high as $850 per month.

Borden's final section examines the sport's artistic and social aspects. As social norms and city architecture have reified characteristics of unrestrained commercialism, skateboarding has reinterpreted city infrastructure to emphasize "meaning and pleasure over ownership and profit" (p. 225). For example, skaters have transformed standard safety features like handrails into platforms for daring, creative, and inspirational feats. Skateboarding culture has also played an important role in alleviating social problems like substance abuse and gender inequality.

Skateboarding has built and maintained communities, particularly for teenagers and young adults, and has enriched the culture of cities. Consider the benefits it provided Philadelphia's Love Park, a skateboarding mecca in the late '90s. The sport's reputation brought the X Games to Philadelphia in 2001 and 2002, generating around $80 million for the city. Yet, citing $60,000 in damaged ledges, the city has prohibited skateboarding there since 2000, despite a $1 million offer from DC Shoes and a 2003 *Philadelphia Daily News* poll indicating that 69 percent of respondents favored its return.

Skateboarding and the City offers researchers an accessible entry into this urban subculture. At times, Borden bogs down the text with lists—enumerating videos, locations, and skaters—that he could have tucked into endnotes. Still, the extensive sources he gathered and cataloged will be immensely helpful for future research. Borden's work is also an indispensable guide for skaters who wish to shape the sport's future and their cities.

BOOK NOTES

San Diego's Sunset Cliffs Park: A History. By Kathy Blavatt. Foreword by Karen Scanlon. Charleston, SC: The History Press, 2020. Illustrations and bibliography. 192 pp. $21.99 paper. San Diego sportsman A.G. Spalding established Sunset Cliffs Park in 1915 to preserve a public space along one of the most spectacular stretches of the city's shoreline. Prominent real estate developer John Mills made improvements in the park some years later, but it fell into neglect during the Great Depression and the Second World War. During San Diego's postwar boom, the coastal greenspace became a popular retreat for surfers, divers, artists, and children. Kathy Blavatt brings the park's history to life in this well-crafted account with 122 photographs.

Carleton Watkins: Making the West American. By Tyler Green. Oakland: University of California Press, 2018. Illustrations, notes, bibliography, and index. xviii + 536 pp. $34.95 cloth. $26.95 paper. $34.95 e-book. Carleton Watkins's 1861 photos of Yosemite Valley were exhibited in New York the following year during the US Civil War. His images helped tie the American West to the Union cause and motivated Congress to pass legislation that preserved Yosemite as the prototypical national park. In this engaging history, Tyler Green shows how Watkins's photos of California, Oregon, Nevada, Utah, Arizona, and Washington shaped Americans' ideas about the West, laid the groundwork for future transcontinental enterprise, and facilitated the region's assimilation into the national community.

Coloniality of the US/Mexico Border: Power, Violence, and the Decolonial Imperative. By Roberto D. Hernández. Tucson: University of Arizona Press, 2018. Illustrations, discography and filmography, notes, bibliography, and index. xiv + 245 pp. $35.95 paper. $35.95 e-book. Roberto D. Hernández sees international borders as manifestations of the racial and gendered violence of colonialism—a framework that shapes his interdisciplinary examination of the US-Mexico borderlands. Considering such topics as the 1984 San Ysidro McDonald's massacre, Minutemen vigilantism in recent decades, urban landscapes at the international divide, and femicide in Ciudad Juárez, Hernández makes a welcome contribution to the scholarly literature on the US-Mexico boundary and its adjacent communities.

Sea Otters: A History. By Richard Ravalli. Lincoln, NE: University of Nebraska Press, 2018. Illustrations, appendix, notes, bibliography, and index. xxiv + 216 pp. $45.00 cloth. $25.00 paper. $45.00 e-book. In this excellently researched monograph, Richard Ravalli examines the complex history of human interaction with sea otters

in the Pacific World. As early as the fifth century, the sea otter fur trade linked Imperial China, Japan, and indigenous Ainu peoples of the Kurile Islands. The trade later impacted Russian expansion in Alaska, British and American commerce in the Pacific Northwest, and Spanish colonial enterprises along the California coast. Considering such international phenomena as sea mammal conservation, Cold War nuclear testing, and environmental tourism, Ravalli shows how human consumption of this animal's furs shaped the modern world.

Esteban Cantú and the Mexican Revolution in Baja California Norte, 1910-1920. By Joseph Richard Werne. Fort Worth: Texas Christian University Press, 2020. Illustrations, notes, bibliography, and index. xiii + 186 pp. $29.95 cloth. Colonel Esteban Cantú was appointed governor of Mexico's sparsely populated Northern Federal Territory of Baja California in 1914, during the Mexican Revolution, and held power until 1920, when the regime of President Adolfo de la Huerta forced him into exile. During Cantú's reign, the colonel licensed gambling halls, saloons, and other vice dens to American, Mexican, and Chinese enterprisers in Tijuana and Mexicali. While profiting from these establishments, he also used them to raise revenue that funded highways and municipal infrastructure, establishing an economic development model that his successors would follow during the period of US Prohibition. In this compelling monograph, Joseph Richard Werne tells the first comprehensive history in English of this controversial figure and the unique borderland region he helped create.

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