The Journal of
SAN DIEGO HISTORY

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SUMMER 2022
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INSIDE: A SOLDIER'S LIFE | CHICANA AND CHICANO STUDIES AT SDSU
SAN DIEGO'S EARLY BREWING INDUSTRY | THE SAVING MARTHA PROJECT

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HISTORY
CENTER

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A SOLDIER'S LIFE IN THE NINETEENTH COAST ARTILLERY REGIMENT AT FORT ROSECRANS: FROM THE 1941 LETTERS OF SERGEANT GEORGE R. MORRISON[1]

PAUL NICKENS

Around midday on Monday, January 20, 1941, a Santa Fe double-locomotive tandem, pulling eleven Pullmans, a baggage car, and two "kitchen cars"—improvised from standard baggage cars—entered northern San Diego. At a "Y" just north of the Consolidated Aircraft Corporation plant, the train was cut off and a switch engine moved the cars on a spur track to the US Marine Corps base, located on the northern shoreline of San Diego Bay. There, a convoy of army trucks from nearby Fort Rosecrans waited at the ready to transport the travelers to just-completed barracks in the fort's "Upper Cantonment," sitting on top of the imposing Point Loma ridgeline.[2]

Slowly and wearily, some 392 army privates disembarked after a three-day rail journey from the US Army reception center at Fort Leavenworth in Kansas. Less than two weeks prior, most of these young men had been at their small-town homes or rural farmsteads scattered throughout Kansas and adjacent states. The morning the troop train left the Leavenworth depot, a plains-typical blizzard accompanied the soldiers' departure; the day the special

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(Opposite page) Soldiers from Fort Rosecrans parade down Broadway in downtown San Diego during World War II. ©UT #3279.

Midwestern contingent of men arriving in San Diego to serve in the 19th Coastal Artillery at Fort Rosecrans. Private George R. Morrison was part of this group of 392 soldiers. *San Diego Union*, January 24, 1941.

Department of Defense aerial photograph of Point Loma, taken in 1942, looking north. Ballast Point is the small projection into the harbor entrance at the right side of the point, with part of the Naval Air Station, North Island, at the right center. National Archives, courtesy Coast Defense Study Group.

train pulled into San Diego, the temperature reached sixty-three degrees. This contingent was the initial group of soldiers who would, in due course, man and operate the seacoast gun batteries of the Nineteenth Coast Artillery Regiment at Fort Rosecrans, fulfilling a harbor defense mission for the San Diego area in the coming war.[3]

The incoming trainload of men, all either volunteers or conscripted under the Selective Training and Service Act of 1940, included a slender twenty-seven-year-old from Pratt, Kansas: George Robert Morrison.[4] Born in Pratt on September 18, 1913, George was the only son of Hugh Robert and Leda (Smith) Morrison. His maternal grandfather, George Rockwell Smith (1856–1916), had been among the earliest settlers of the area, arriving from Huron County, Ohio in 1880 to homestead. In 1888, George Smith began accumulating farm- and ranchland in Pratt County, along with several properties in town. He soon became an active businessman in cattle, grain, and coal, a partner in building construction on the town's main street, and a prominent citizen of the municipality. He met with a premature demise on July 25, 1916 from injuries sustained when his vehicle turned over on a country road when returning from his ranchland, thus becoming the first automobile fatality in the county. George's father, Hugh, was born in 1887 in Ford County to parents of Scottish heritage who left the coal mining area of Cape Breton Island, Nova Scotia, for the coal fields of Ohio in the 1860s, eventually homesteading in western Kansas by the early 1880s.

Following his 1932 high school graduation and one semester in college, young George joined his father in the family grain and cattle operation, his father having taken over the business interests of his late father-in-law. Given

the debilitating ecological and economic effects of the Dust Bowl, buying and selling cattle was more profitable than wheat farming. George accompanied his father on trips to New Mexico, Texas, and Mexico, where they bought herds to sell at auction in Kansas stockyards.

With the prospect of war in Europe and the Pacific looming by the end of the decade, and with the advent of selective service requirements, George Morrison, along with thousands of other Midwestern young men, quickly faced life-changing decisions. Driven by patriotism as well as economic considerations—the once productive farmlands of the Great Plains still reeling from drought—the ultimate choice was whether to enlist or await a near-certain appearance before the local draft board in the coming weeks or months.[5]

While his personal situation may have been more dire than others, January 1941 enlistee, Hollis Gillespie, later spoke of the broader conditions facing Kansans at the time:

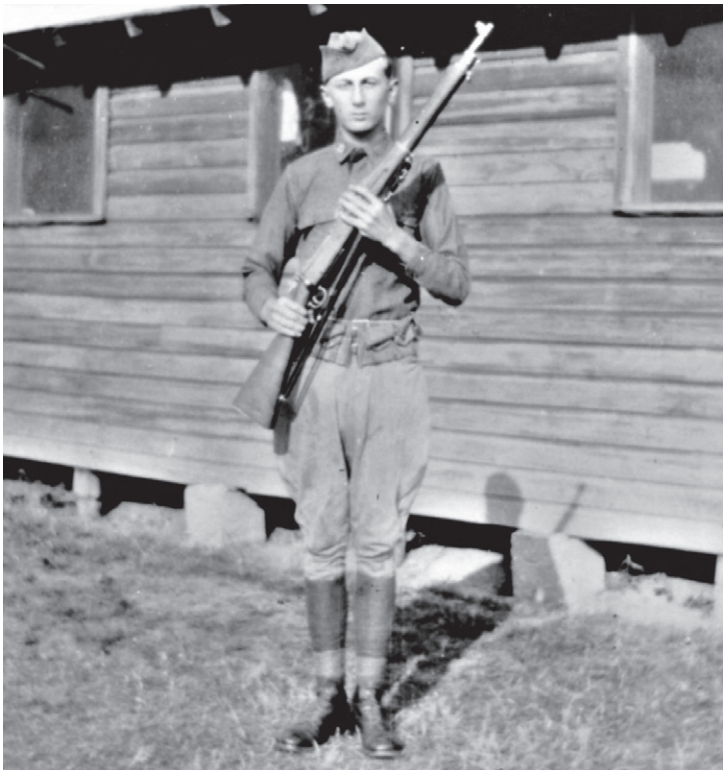
> I had just turned twenty-one, the second youngest of a fatherless family of seven children who had just come through the world's worst depression and eleven years of drought and dust storms on a farm in Kansas. I had no training except as a wheat farmer and no chance of getting a job because there were no jobs available. The Army's promise of three meals a day and a pay check ($21 a month) made me a very patriotic and proud citizen.[6]

Not unlike many of his Midwestern contemporaries, George Morrison had undergone training in his youth that would serve him well as a recruit in the US Army. In 1930,

Assembly of Midwestern enlistees and draftees at the US Army Reception Center, Fort Leavenworth, Kansas. Collection of the author.

he attended a week-long summer camp where, along with camping and survival skills, a significant part of the instruction involved National Rifle Association-sponsored rifle shooting. According to his memorandum notebook from the camp, he achieved proficiency in the first three levels of qualification: pro-marksman, marksman, and sharpshooter. The following summer, he attended and completed the month-long Basic Course of Instruction, Infantry Arm, at the War Department-sponsored Citizens' Military Training Camp at Fort Snelling, Minnesota, achieving marksman qualification at the rifle range, along with basic citizenship and military training, designed to bring young men "to realize their obligations to their country."[7]

George Morrison was the devoted son, dutifully writing his parents in Pratt the very day he arrived in San Diego and nearly every week throughout the following year. The few gaps in this regular schedule appear to be, in most cases, letters that did not survive.[8] George's mother, Leda



George Morrison at the Citizen's Military Training Camp, Camp Snelling, Fort Snelling, Minnesota, 1931. Morrison-Smith Family Papers.

Smith Morrison, saved 110 of these letters, 73 of which were written during the period her son was stationed at Fort Rosecrans (January 1941–March 1943). Nearly half of these letters were sent home prior to his February 1942 marriage in San Diego to Estelle Mae Graves, also from Kansas.[9] After that date, many of the letters to his parents in Pratt were written by her. On some occasions, both George and Estelle wrote in the letters, although often one of them simply added a brief note to the end of the other's letter.[10]

Several interesting storylines are found in the letters, ranging from the military experience at Fort Rosecrans, to employment in the civilian defense workforce, to the general difficulties of being a young married couple in wartime San Diego. With regard to the latter, we learn of hardships encountered due to homesickness for Kansas, the widespread housing shortage and high rents in San Diego, and coping with the rationing of essentials such as gasoline and certain food staples. If dealing with these issues was not enough, the couple faced an uncertain future with the war escalating in the Pacific and Europe.

The following military-related excerpts are from letters penned in 1941, extending from George's arrival at Fort Rosecrans in January to the end of the year, punctuated by the Japanese attack at Pearl Harbor on December 7. All soldiers then under arms could relate exactly where they were and what they were doing when the news from the Pacific crossed the wires. In George Morrison's case, he was on a weekend pass visiting Estelle at her father's house in the Venice neighborhood of Los Angeles and had to rush to catch the first available Santa Fe passenger train headed south toward his post and gun battery.

THE LETTERS OF GEORGE MORRISON[11]

January 20, 1941 – We arrived here about noon today and got located in our new barracks which are very nice, better than the ones at Leavenworth, the beds are much better.[12] Our camp is straight across the bay from town, it's on Point Loma, you remember where the people go to see the fleet come in. We are to receive 13 weeks training here before we get a leave, here we have the lights turned out at 9:30 and get up at 5:45. We must be in bed by 11:00.

I may want you to send me my suit and shoes and a couple of shirts one of these days, but will let you know later. My smallpox has sure taken, haven't been sick, but my arm has been pretty sore. We all feel good, they are very careful about our health, they make us shave every day—that should tickle you. Here's my new address: Pvt. George R. Morrison, 1st Platoon, Battery D, 19th C.A., Fort Rosecrans, San Diego, Cal.[13]

February 2 – Another week is gone and my head is so full of the names of guns and gun parts I don't know which end I'm standing on. This is the end of the first week of our thirteen weeks of training. That will make it the first

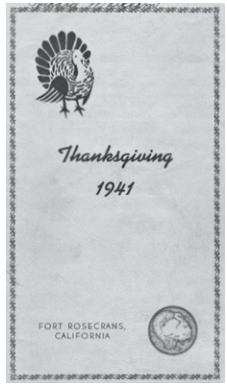
One of the thirty just-completed emergency enlisted barracks, Upper Cantonment, Fort Rosecrans, from the Quartermaster "Report of Completed Works," dated February 27, 1941. Each barracks had a capacity of sixty-three men. A gun battery occupied three of these barracks, each having its own separate mess hall. National Archives, courtesy Coast Defense Study Group.

Contemporary aerial view of the original 1941 Fort Rosecrans, Upper Cantonment, today the Naval Health Research Center at Naval Base Point Loma, San Diego. Courtesy US Naval Medical Research Center/public domain.

of May when we complete our training. I don't remember whether I told you or not but we take our tests for second class gunner in 3 weeks, if we pass it you take the test for first class and then expert. If you can make expert, you get a sixty dollar a year bonus. But if you make first class you are pretty good.[14]

Thanks for the stamps and the dollar, they come in handy since we haven't been paid yet and won't until the first of March, but they will probably issue us canteen checks; they are good at the P.X. for candy, tobacco, etc. Most of us are getting along good, the boys I run with—one from Wichita, Coldwater, and McPherson [all in Kansas]—and myself haven't been called down for anything yet, but we will probably slip sometime. We should get fat. There is a dairy truck comes around every day, morning and afternoon, that has pints of milk and chocolate milk, ice cream bars, 5-cent pies, cakes and sandwiches. We've been drinking from 1 to 4 pints of milk a day, plus cake or pie, ice cream or sandwiches, or some of everything. That's besides all we eat at our regular meals, we had pork chops for dinner today and I ate five and all the trimmings. It must have been Kansas pork because it sure was good.

Real photo postcard of the interior of a mess hall, assumed to be at Fort Rosecrans. Morrison-Smith Family Papers.



Battery D, Nineteenth Coastal Artillery Regiment, Thanksgiving menu, 1941. Courtesy Cabrillo National Monument.

February 16 – Here it is Sunday and it's our day to loaf. I went into town yesterday afternoon, they let us go in from one till six. The box [of clothes] came, but I haven't opened it yet as I have to rustle some hangers. We finished

shooting the other day and I made 150 out of a possible 200. I didn't do so well in the standing position because we hold a rifle a little different than I am used to. It was just a practice shoot and doesn't count. We may shoot again this week.[15]

I must be getting better, the sergeant had me drill my squad one day this week. I gave the commands, he said I did pretty well, my voice carries well, and they could understand what I said.

Since Dad is so interested in our big guns, I'll tell you some about them. The barrel is 20 ft. long, the whole gun weighs 14 tons, it takes a shell that weighs 95 lbs., and the powder weighs 25 1/4 lbs., the effective range is about 10 miles. Our battery is getting new 8-inch guns sometime this month, but I don't know much about them. We didn't take our second-class gunners tests last week, but I think we will this week.[16]

March 23 – Our training period ends the 1st of April, but nobody seems to know what they are going to do with us. That's the nice thing about this army, nobody knows anything for sure. I hope to get to stay right here. I've got a hunch I can make corporal pretty quick if I do.[17]

This observing and plotting is sure a mess. You've got to know everything, for instance, we have to be able to tell how much the rotation of the earth will affect the position of a target, maybe 30 or 40 seconds. That's just one of the minor details. We have to know the density of the air, the temperature of the powder at the time of firing, and how much it will affect the muzzle velocity, the direction and speed of all winds in the probable paths of the shell; I could fill a book, in fact it does but it's interesting.

We're going to have night drill tomorrow night. I don't know whether I'll be in the plotting room or an observing station.[18] We've also got a twenty-five-mile hike (full pack) coming up that I'm not going to enjoy. Maybe I can get on camp guard while the rest of them are gone.

March 30 – Well, I'm a soldier now and not a recruit. We start straight duty tomorrow. We had a big feed night before last. Turkey, ham, asparagus tips (really tips), sweet potatoes, mashed potatoes, peas, carrots, combination salad, cake, ice cream, cigars and cigs'. The officers and their wives, all very nice!

We had a compliment from the battalion commander and one from the colonel on being the best-looking battery on the post. You will notice in the picture that the flag is behind us, that's because we are the color guard battery, which is quite an honor.[19]

Friday, we started our expert exams and will finish tomorrow. I have one more officer to go before I'll be finished. We have to make 90 to pass and I'm a little worried about it.[20]

Starting the 21st of April, we are going on a war time basis for a week or so, sleep in pup tents and man the guns, and all stations for 24 hrs. a day. It takes 52 men for our guns, 2 of them, and 32 men in the 8 observing stations, and 16 in the plotting room.

April 3 – Our platoon had their pictures taken in a group the other day, as soon as I get one, I'll send it to you. I've seen the proofs and they are good. Things are beginning to happen around here. Some of the boys are being transferred to different batteries, a few to Riverside, Cal.,

Battery D, First Platoon photograph taken at the beginning of April 1941, marking the completion of the basic training course at Fort Rosecrans. With the exception of sergeants and corporals, who are wearing rank sleeve patches, the rest of the men are privates. Private George R. Morrison (inset) is in the front row, sixth man from the left. Morrison-Smith Family Papers.

and a couple to the Philippines. I think I get to stay here which suits me fine. Oh yes, I passed my expert test, made 99–high for this battery although 2 other fellows tied me.

The 20 bucks I wired for—I'm going to L.A. Saturday and Sunday. Thought I'd look "Pink" up and two or three more I know there. Also, I'm going to use ten of it to get my picture taken. One boy's folks sent him $20.00 in a letter, not registered, and [he] never did realize it.

I'm kind of proud of myself. I'm acting corporal in charge of a squad of 12 men–pretty good for a $21.00 a month man. I've been getting along so good, I sure hope somebody or something, doesn't mess me up.

April 8 – We haven't been able to find out anything about getting a leave to go home on so will have to wait on that. If you come out here, we have every week end off from Saturday noon till 6 AM Monday morning, unless we're on special duty. I don't know whether we'll be kept here

or not and nobody seems to know either. Well, I've got to get to work on my rifle over so I won't get gigged (extra duty) for it. I've been told about 2 or 3 places that take good pictures, so I'm going to look them over Saturday.

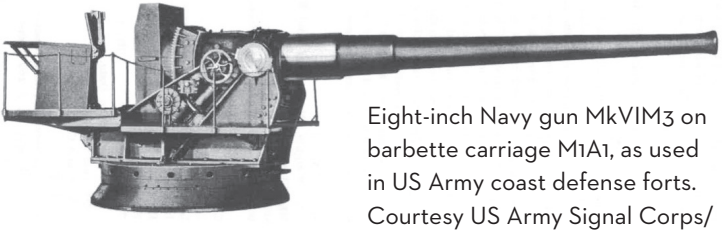
April 14 – Guess we are going to fire our cannon next week. We should be ready, we drill every day, all day.[21] I've tracked every boat the navy has. We look through a telescope with cross wires in it and put the vertical wire on the front smokestack and hold it there. There's a drum on one side with degrees marked on it and we read the number over a phone to the plotting room. It winds around in there and is sent to the guns, they fire and if no one has made a mistake, we get a hit.[22]

I shopped around for a place to have my picture taken, but can't make up my mind. Some of the boys had theirs' taken and I'm going to see theirs' before I do anything. Three of them get their proofs tomorrow.

This is rather funny, here we are in the army and as far as a topic of conversation, there isn't a war anywhere. Somebody will ask "How's the war going?" Someone will answer, "what war?" About all we read in the papers is the funnies and what is going on in some other camp. The only things that worry us is payday and what are we going to have for chow tomorrow? We scream when part of the food isn't good. We had part of the toast burned yesterday morning and you would have thought the world was coming to an end.

April 19 – Who's going to win the National League this year? Baseball is quite a topic of conversation here now. Our regiment has a team and a darn good one. One of

An unidentified sergeant standing beside one of the eight-inch guns at Battery Strong, most likely the gun commander for this piece. Courtesy Cabrillo National Monument.



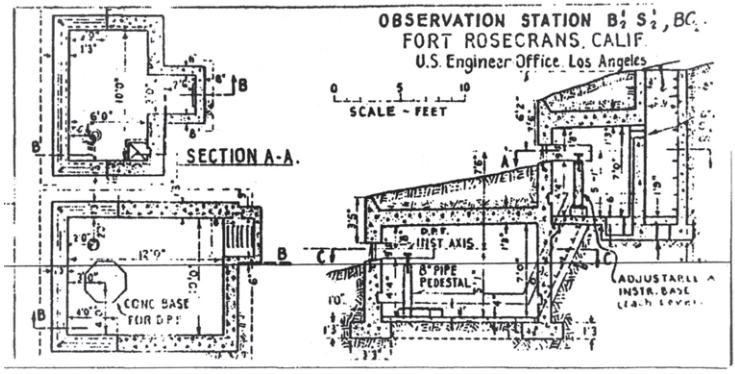
Eight-inch Navy gun MkVIM3 on barbette carriage M1A1, as used in US Army coast defense forts. Courtesy US Army Signal Corps/ public domain.

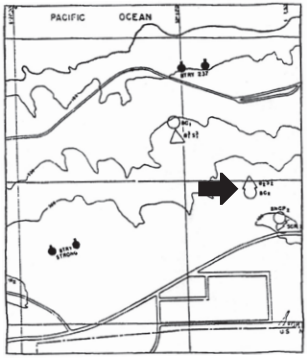
Battery Strong, photographed in January 1942 looking north, manned by Battery D of the Nineteenth Coast Artillery Regiment. The two eight-inch guns were mounted on barbette carriages, positioned in the open without protective shields. The subterranean ammunition was located between the guns. A portion of the Upper Cantonment is visible at the upper right, along with motor pool area just below the barracks. Courtesy Cabrillo National Monument.

Connie Mack's scouts looked them over two or three times and liked some of them real well. The Athletics trained just north of here about 50 miles. We saw them play the San Diego team a couple of times. Also, the Chicago Cubs they trained over at Catalina Island.

Well, we go on a 24-hour basis this week, starting Monday. We're going to run 3 eight-hour shifts for six days. Oh, oh. I just got some bad news. I think a guy just came in and wanted me to pull guard from 2 till six tonight, but I sent him to look for someone else.

I think they're going to pass out some ratings the first of next week. I sure hope I get one. I'm afraid maybe I didn't play the right politics.





George Morrison was an observer for Battery Strong, meaning he was positioned at one of the battery's observation stations away from the guns themselves. Battery Strong used seven different such observation structures. The plan and profile layout for one of these stations is shown above. This station was located about 1,650 feet north of the No. 1 gun (arrow). The cantonment is located at the lower right corner of this map (west to the top). National Archives, courtesy Coast Defense Study Group.

April 25 – Note the stationery? [American Red Cross letterhead.] I'm in the hospital, pretty soft. I twisted my ankle Wednesday aft., and they sent me down here, it hurt pretty bad at the time, but they took an x-ray and nothing was broken, just strained. I'll get out Sunday, I hope so anyway. It's nice here, but I lost all love for hospitals a long time ago. Most of the boys in this ward are in the calvary over at El Centro. They have a variety of injuries, broken arms, legs, shoulders, etc. They say they've got a mean bunch of horses over there. One of them is an Indian, his

horse fell with him and he rode back to camp, 12 miles with a dislocated back.

I'm missing most of our maneuvers because of my ankle, but wish I weren't, it was quite a bit of fun even if we did have to carry a pack everywhere I went. When I got hurt, I was scouting for my lieutenant, and they sent me here. Yesterday afternoon, they brought him down; he has the measles.[23]

The latest dope here is that we will go up into Washington in June for 30 days or 6 weeks of maneuvers. I hope not because that was when I was planning on trying to get a leave.

April 30 – Well, another payday—or that's what they call it—has come and gone. We get paid on the last day of the month, and I've been to town, gone to a show, gone to the zoo, and have about three bucks left. They got our pictures of the platoon out today but I didn't get one. I've had mine (personal) taken twice and didn't like either or any of them, but will try again. To tell the truth, I'm a little out of sorts. You sit around here for a month and then draw enough to go to a show and buy a sack of peanuts and then you sit around for another month. If you could send me fifteen dollars or so each month, it sure would help.

I got out of the hospital yesterday and am ok. They are sure particular before they let you out, they took two x-rays and made me stand for two or three different ways on my foot before I could leave. One of our boys was operated on for appendix and gets a 15-day furlough to recuperate on, he was in the hospital 15 days.

One of the other batteries fired their big guns last night and they really made a racket. It shook our barracks

and we are about two miles away from them.

We are going to try a diet they would use on us in war time starting tomorrow. That's the trouble with being here, we're the guinea pigs for the boys to come. I'll tell more about it when we know more. It is supposed to last 30 days.

There are supposed to be eleven hundred new men in here this month, so I guess business will pick up. Still don't know what the score is on ratings or leaves, and don't guess anyone else does either.

May 5 – Well, you can address your letters to Pfc. Morrison now, that's private first class. I made it the other day. I'm going to try to make corporal by the first of the month, but it's going to be hard because somebody is either going to have to get promoted or busted because there aren't any vacancies now.

Every so often, we are told not to tell anyone what we are doing here, or anything about the place. I don't quite get the idea because almost everything that goes on comes out in the papers. According to the dope, we're supposed to go on more maneuvers next month or did I tell you that before. I don't know when I'll be able to get a furlough. We've heard we weren't going to get any at all, but then we hear all kinds of things.

May 12 – I think something is getting ready to take place around here. We've been practicing loading our stuff into trucks and moving out of here. According to the papers, the whole army is going on maneuvers starting the 24th of May and lasting until fall. We expect to go to Washington or New Mexico, but of course we don't know anything about that either.

Ever since we got here, we've practiced riot duty. That is what we would do in case of a riot downtown that we were called to. Now there is talk (in the newspapers) of a strike here and we practice it every day. The Marine supply depot is right below us, it has oil tanks, etc. and they have doubled their guard for some reason. Their orders are to shoot first and ask questions later.

May 16 – We had quite a little excitement here yesterday. We were out here at the observing station and an army transport plane flew past. It looked like it was trailing the Monday wash, so I put a telescope on them and it was a man on a parachute. The Marines had been practicing jumping and this man's chute had caught on a cable on the plane and there he hung, upside down. They couldn't land and they couldn't pull him into the plane, so they flew over the navy air station and a little two-seated plane took off. They followed the big plane and both flew out over the ocean where the air is smoother than it is over land and the small plane flew up under the man and, after several tries, they got him into the cockpit of the small plane. All that lad had been holding were the shroud lines of the chute and just a few of them. The propeller of the small plane cut the lines when they went in under the man. The small plane came so close to the big one that its propeller scratched the tail surface of the big one. It seemed like an hour, to me, from the time we first saw them until they got the man off, but about 30 minutes the papers said. The fellow had a broken arm and lost a lot of blood, nose bleed I guess. He took a terrific beating; he was jerked around like a monkey on a stick. Some of our boys in the outfit have been saying they would like to be


Here is Staff Artist Fred Wilson's conception of the critical moment in yesterday's rescue of a ma- rine parachute officer; the shrouds of his foule parachute were cut by the rescue plane's propelle

PARACHUTIST TELLS OF RESCUE Planes to Guide

San Diego Union staff artist's depiction of the dramatic rescue of a Marine parachute officer's chute lines being cut by the propeller of the rescue plane. *San Diego Union*, May 16, 1941.

in the parachute troops, but that took it all out of them. He was conscious when they got him in the little plane, but when they landed, he went out.[24]

May 18 – We go on maneuvers again the second of June for a week or so, we don't know the particulars yet. I'm sitting in the battery office writing this, at the first sergeant's desk. He'd probably run me over the hill if he knew it. That expression, "run you over the hill" means you will make it so miserable for a person that they will desert. We got some new furniture for our "day room," a radio, easy

chairs, and five writing tables, so it's pretty nice now. It is a larger room with a smaller room attached for writing. We have newspapers—local—and magazines.

We have a pretty snappy baseball team. They are beating everything around here. Looks like the Cards are going good, hope they don't go into a slump.[25]

May 29–30 – The navy is painting their ships war colors, its real dark gray. We're on what we call "alert condition No. 1." It started at 6:00 this morning and will last until tomorrow evening at 6:00. We are ready to fall out at a moment's notice. We sleep with our clothes on. We just got back from a little jaunt, it took us 3 minutes to fall out, get ammunition, and get into trucks, ready to roll, so you see if anything was taking place, it wouldn't take us long to get there.

The 1st Battalion (we're in the 2nd) was part of a parade downtown today. They take up where we quit tomorrow.

We haven't heard why the navy is painting their ships, unless it's for convoy purposes. Four empty troops transports pulled in the other day. We understand they are going to transfer a lot of Marines.

June 4 – We've been unusually busy the last couple of weeks. We were kept in camp and on the alert all three days. When we go on alert, we are ready to go on a moment's notice. Had a sham battle this afternoon, our battery against 2 others, which we won. We were defending a position. We are going to have another one Friday and they may use parachute troops against us. That will be something different.

I've got a hunch that we will not be moved out of here.

For this reason, this post is not a training center, if they moved us out of here they would have to train a new bunch on these guns, and in case of war that would be folly because Uncle Sam has too much staff here at San Diego—Army, Navy and Marine bases, airplane factories, etc. Of course, that's just my opinion, the army does some funny things sometimes. It's only eight o'clock, but I'm going to hit the bag. One thing about the army, you don't have any trouble sleeping.

June 9 – Well, five months ago today I said "I do." That's quite a while but it doesn't seem so long. We got three new shavetails last week, all reserves and all young.

We thought we were going to get sent to Inglewood to break a strike, but they took troops from Fort McArthur. We sure wanted to go, we'd like to take a swing at some of these guys that are making good money and striking. We would like to know how they would like to work for 30 bucks a month. It makes me mad.[26]

I saw 4 sailors jump on a soldier last week, but they jumped on the wrong man. He licked them all. He was about a block away when we saw them and by the time we (three of us) got there, he had the situation well in hand. He didn't need any help.

June 14 – This has been a sorry day, one the chamber of commerce does not like to talk about, cloudy and damp, but no rain—very depressing. Did I tell you I've been made "acting corporal?" I have the same authority as a corporal and perform the same duties but don't draw the pay, all of which makes me very unhappy at times.

We heard yesterday that all the one-year men on this

post weren't going to get any furloughs. Just how much there is to this I don't know, but I about halfway believe it. Those things are up to the Post Commander and he has some funny ideas sometimes.

Well, I'm rather tired. We stood inspection today and I'd about as soon do a hard day's work. I've never been gigged yet, but I still don't like them much—spotless things have to be "spotlesser."

June 23 – I had to go on guard for a week, we are on 24 hours and off 48, so it's not bad. One private and myself (I'm the corporal) are on the gate to the post, checking cars and people going and coming. This post used to be open to the public, but it was closed a couple of weeks ago.

There's not much to write about. Two fellows from "C" Battery got furloughs to go [home to Kansas to] cut their wheat, but "C" has fired and we haven't. I don't know what the holdup is and no one else seem to know either. What do you think about Germany and Russia? Suppose it will ease the pressure on England? It looks to me like it should, at least I hope so.

June 26 – Well, now you can address your letters to Corporal Morrison. It became official today, but as far as this battery is concerned, I've been one ever since the 6th of June. Four of us made it today and we're afraid one of us is going to get busted because another Cpl. is coming back to this outfit and one of us is going to have to give up his rate. I've sure got my fingers crossed.

There is a boy here who has a radio he is going to sell. . . He is being transferred and can't take it with him. It is a new Zenith ($38.50) and he wants 15.00 for it and told me

he would give me time to write for the money. He leaves July 7th. How about it, it's really worth the money.

July 6 – We started another week's maneuvers today at noon, but since I'm in "charge of quarters," it didn't affect me much. Hope I can keep it all week, then I could sleep in my bunk instead of a pup tent.

We, five of us, went up to L.A. and spent the quietest "Fourth" I've spent in many a day, but we had a good time. Went to that cemetery and library that are so famous and out where the movie stars live and took in a couple of shows, slept late—a luxury—and just fooled around.

July 22 – It seems that the longer I stay here, the less there is to write about. Right now, there is quite an uproar over the bill to keep the draftees longer than their year. I don't know whether or not it is the right thing or not, some say that it will break down morale, but I don't think it will. The boys will yell their heads off, but I don't think they mind as much as they try to make you think.[27]

According to the dope, we are going to fire our big guns sometime next month. We just don't know the date yet.

July 23 – This is a fine kettle of fish. The Fourth Army, of which we are a part, starts its' maneuvers the 1st of August and they last until the 30th. The order came out today, also there will be no furloughs or passes given except in case of extreme emergency.

We don't know how strict they are going to be on passes. I had planned on asking for a weekend pass when you were here, but I don't know now whether it would go through or not and we can't find out anything yet. Our

officers don't know much about it yet. I know, if he can, my captain will let me off, he's good about those things, but it may be out of his hands. When I get some more dope, I'll let you know.

September 5 – Another day, another dollar. My arm is a lot better; I can comb my hair and shave with my right hand now. For a few days, I couldn't even do that.[28] Wednesday was Ft. Rosecrans day at Del Mar and we got in free. About 800 of us went up. We had a big time. I bet on two races, two dollars on each, and made 20 cents, so I bought a hot dog and a coke, and quit.

I'm going to a signaling school here on the post. We started last Tuesday. I'm taking up the blinker—like they use on ships at night—and key just like the railroads use. It's not so hard except learning to space your dots and dashes right; receiving is harder than sending, I think.

September 8 – My arm is about ok now. I drilled today and it didn't bother enough to talk about. The 2nd Battalion, four batteries including us, is to parade downtown tomorrow, along with the Marines and Sailors, but I don't have to make it. The "top kick" said it might be too much strain on my shoulder. The parade would be from Balboa Park to the pier on Broadway. In other words, about five miles and rifles on the right shoulder all the way. Your arm would be cramped at the elbow and be sore for a week.

September 17 – We are supposed to go out on maneuvers next Monday but they postponed them till some later date. I understand the Jewish boys had some kind of holiday coming up and so they called it off. Hurrah for the

Soldiers firing artillery piece at Fort Rosecrans, 1940s. ©UT #3280.

Jews—we don't like maneuvers.

Don't know whether I told you or not, but eighty boys here are getting out the thirtieth of this month. They were over 28 when they were inducted. There are 14 from this battery. If I were to get out now, I wouldn't know just what to do. It looks to me as if the short-timers, that is new employees in aircraft, would be the first to cut off when the bubble bursts.

September 23 – That darn book has got me snowed in just like "Oliver Wiswell." It started out a little dry, but soon warmed up. It is something on the order of "Anthony Adverse," that is, it is a story of one man's life. I'm liking it very much.[29]

We go on maneuvers Wednesday—tomorrow—but they won't be much, just three days. I guess we are going to fire the big guns at last. They have put it off three or four times now.

Our softball team won the post championship. They played the deciding game this afternoon and won, 4–2, and I won a dollar.

September 29 – The candy came and went, it was very good—all the boys said so. I've about finished the book, which I have enjoyed very much. I wish you would send me one of my book plates to put in it.

We just finished a supper given in honor of the boys that are leaving tomorrow and also the softball team, which won the post championship. Our battery is firing this week and next, so we are pretty busy.

Oh yes, the officers and their wives were at the supper and our battalion commander, Major Hiene, and his wife were there, quite an honor since there are three other batteries he could have gone to.

October 7 – Well, we are still waiting to fire our cannon. Up till this morning, we thought we were going to fire today, but now they say it will be Friday. I wish they would let us shoot and get it over. It's getting old. This is about the 7th or 8th time we have been told we were to fire and we are betting that we won't fire Friday. It wouldn't make

any difference except that it is holding up our furloughs. The way it is now, we can't yet get 15 days. If we can make a good shoot, we should be able to get 20 and maybe 30. I'm going to put in for one starting the 15th of December. That will let me be home for Xmas and you all can give me a dollar instead of a necktie, ahem!

The last few days have been fine, but last week the wind blew a gale–all the Kansas boys almost got homesick.

October 10 – Well, we finally shot our guns. The target was out thirty thousand yards and it was pretty hard to see on account of the haze. We did just fair, as far as the personnel were concerned. We never made a mistake, but most of our shots were short and they blamed it on the powder. So, we won't get to wear an E on our sleeve.[30]

It looks as if somebody is conspiring against us. About the time things quiet down and we begin to think we are going to get out at the end of this year, somebody takes a shot at a destroyer and the Japs start popping off again. Then, they cancelled all furloughs. Nuts! I put in for one to start December 15th, but of course I won't know about it for quite a while yet, a month anyway.

November 4 – Had something new this weekend. Fifty of us were sent downtown to guard a big freighter that was being loaded. It was a navy boat about like the one we saw when you were here and at the same dock too. We went down Saturday noon and didn't get back till this morning [Tuesday]. We don't know what they were loading, but there sure was a lot of it. Some of us had automatic rifles and some had sawed-off shotguns. Usually, on guard we do not have a shell in the barrel, just the magazine, but

this time we were loaded for bear. I was in charge of eight men and carried a pistol.

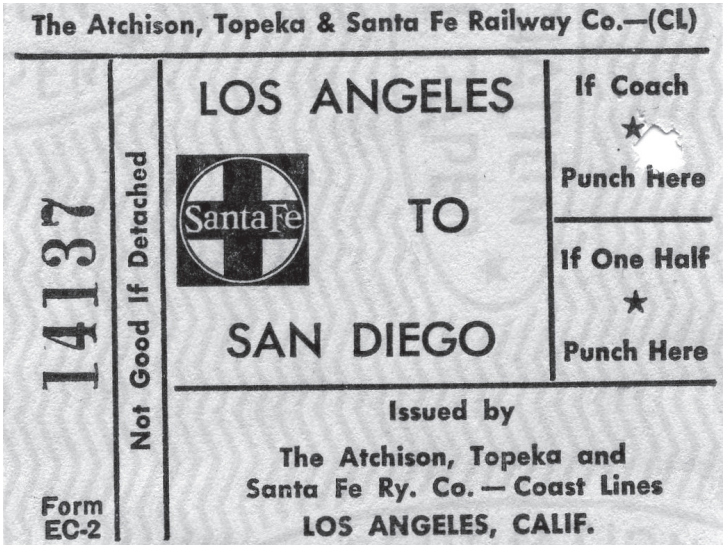
November 27 – Sure didn't take long to find out about my furlough—it has been denied. So, I don't guess I'll have Xmas dinner with you. Here's the way it is, they are giving 14 days leave for the holidays. I could get 14 days starting the 13th of Dec. to the 27th. That would mean my leaving on Xmas day to enable me to get back without being A.W.O.L. We can also get 14 days starting the 28th of Dec, to the 11th of Jan. Ten days of the 14 counts on furlough time. I don't know what to do. I wouldn't like leaving there on Xmas day so I think I'll take the New Year leave.[31]

December 4 – As you suggested, I'm going to take the New Year's leave, it starts on Dec. 28th. We heard today that they were going to cut the New Year's leaves to 10 days because there were so many men getting out in January. But I don't think there's anything to it.

December 10 – The best laid plans of mice and men oft go astray. Yea Verily. Guess I should have taken a furlough in November.

I was in L.A. when I heard the news, so I caught a train to camp—didn't need a ticket. The Santa Fe ran 4 sections, 2 at 5:00 P.M and 2 at 9:00 P.M. for service men only. If you had a ticket ok, if you didn't it was still alright. We came straight through, no stops and made it in 2 hours and 5 minutes—134 miles station to station.

Naturally, we are on 24-hour duty now, no passes or leaves. I'm on the night shift this week, next week I'll be on days. They are moving men into this post plenty fast now. I expect there are twice as many now as there were this time yesterday.[32]



On the day of the attack on Pearl Harbor, the Santa Fe postponed regular traffic between Los Angeles and San Diego, allowing exclusive, nonstop use by military personnel on weekend leaves, who were rushing to return to their posts. Collection of the author.


EXTRA

The San Diego Union

WIREPHOTO

JAPAN AT WAR WITH U. S.

American Island Bases Attacked

San Diego Union, December 8, 1941.

I don't think much will happen here or, if it does, it will come in the next week or 10 days. I'm putting a lot of confidence in our navy. We have the best anti-aircraft defense there is. Well, I'm going to try to catch some sleep. It's raining here and cold and miserable.

December 13 – This is the day Xmas leaves were supposed to start. Things are settling down here in good shape now, just a steady watching of sea and air. There are almost three times as many men here now as there were two weeks ago, and a whole lot of army planes moved in and navy planes moved out. There is a lot of activity but no jitters. We don't think we will be moved because we're a fixed battery (no wheels on our guns). I'm on the night shift this week. We're on our station 12 hours, 6 to 6. Monday, we switch to day duty. I think as soon as we get some more men in this battery, we will run it 12 on and 24 off, which won't be so bad.

December 23 – We aren't allowed off the post except 4 hours, so we don't have much time to do anything—an hour to get to town and another to get back, and there you are. Very dull here, even more so than before the war.

We are still on nights, 6 in the evening till 8 in the morning, 14 long hours.

As far as seeing any action here, I can't see how we will. There may be some submarine activity in places off this coast, but it won't be close. If they don't give us some time off pretty soon, we are going to be nutty as a fruitcake.

December 28, 1941 – Xmas day has come and gone and New Year's Eve is coming up, but it is a trifle different than ones I've spent before. Nothing happens here, we just stand by all the time. This whole coast is lousy with anti-aircraft stuff of all kinds.

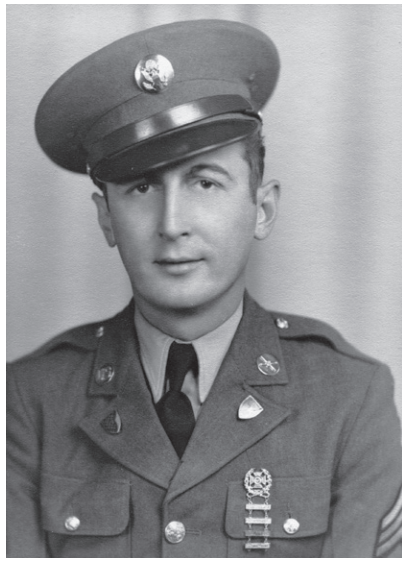
MORRISON IN SAN DIEGO AFTER 1941

George Morrison continued his military commitment at Fort Rosecrans through March 1943, at which point he transferred to the Field Artillery Officer Candidate School at Fort Sill, Oklahoma.[33] His total time with Battery D of the Nineteenth Coast Artillery covered twenty-seven months, during all of which he was assigned to Battery Strong, initially as an observer and then as a gun commander. Writing his parents on August 6, 1942, he proudly reported: "From now on, you can address your mail to Sgt. George R. Morrison [received promotion on August fourth]. I am gun commander on number one gun. If we should fire, I would see that the gun was properly loaded and aimed and I push the button that fires it. I'm the boss of the gun crew on that gun."[34]

His new wife, Estelle, joined him in San Diego in May of 1942, soon finding employment at the Consolidated Aircraft Corporation plant. She spent the next year as a riveter on the production line of the B-24 Liberator

Bomber, first working on the wing flaps and later on the wing spars. In an April 1998 interview, she recalled:

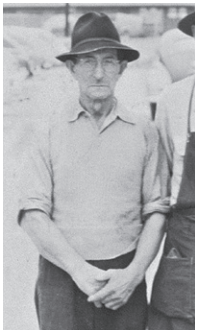
> We were going to get married around Xmas in 1941 at Pratt, Kansas in his parents' home, but the war was declared and he could not go anywhere but stay close to his base. So, we decided to get married on 2-21-1942 in San Diego at the Presbyterian church. His mother and dad came and my step-mother from Venice, and his cousin [Donald Kenneth Blucher] who was on the police force stood up with us. And his [Blucher's] girlfriend from Los Angeles came [as bridesmaid] and we got married. The 21st of February was on Saturday so I got to stay till Sunday evening and catch the train back to Los Angeles. I had a job in a [Van de Kamp's] Dutch Mill Bakery and I had to be back to work on Monday. George had to go back to his base. So, when he was off every other week in the daytime, he would come into San Diego and look for a place for me to live.
>
> He found me a room close to the base in a real nice house with kitchen privilege, and $25.00 a month. It was with an older man [Manuel Jose Tavares], could not speak much English, was Portuguese, and his son [Armundo] was in the navy. I was very frightened at first, but he turned out to be a very great friend. When mother and dad Morrison came out to see us, he made room for them and he slept out in a building in the back yard.
>
> I got a job immediately at the Consolidated Air Plane factory. I helped make the wings. I had to rivet the wings. I got real fast at my work and they called me "Rosie the Riveter." It was hard work.[35]



(Left) Sergeant George R. Morrison, Battery D, Second Battalion, Nineteenth Coast Artillery Regiment, Harbor Defense. The distinctive shield-shaped Unit Insignia of the Nineteenth Coast Artillery are clearly seen on his jacket lower lapels. Just above, on the upper lapel on his left chest side is the enlisted circular Branch Insignia of the Coast Artillery. On the right-side upper lapel is the US Insignia. At the left jacket pocket is the US Army Expert Marksman Qualification Badge, with four weapons qualification bars. The photo was taken in October 1942, while on furlough at home in Pratt, Kansas, the only one he was able to secure during his twenty-seven months at Fort Rosecrans. Morrison-Smith Family Papers. (Right) Estelle (Graves) Morrison in her Consolidated Aircraft work uniform, 1943. The Consolidated shoulder patch is visible, along with her employee badge on the left front of her jacket. An advertisement in the company's monthly *Consolidator* periodical by Walker's Department Store in downtown San Diego offered the "two-piece tailored suit with fitting jacket and loose-fitting comfortable slacks, with side zipper closing. Made of 'Strutter' cloth, complete with Consolidated emblem" for $8.50, under the advertising slogan "To The Women Who Make 'em Fly" (*Consolidator*, 7, no. 3 (March 1942), p. 2). Morrison-Smith Family Papers.

With the severe housing shortage throughout San Diego at the time, the Morrisons were fortunate to rent a bedroom in the Point Loma house of Azorean immigrant and tuna fisherman, Manuel Jose Tavares.[36] His house only having two bedrooms, Mr. Tavares, a widower at the time, soon moved his own bed into the dining area and rented the second bedroom to another Fort Rosecrans' officer and his wife. The two wives helped the landlord "keep" the house and paid $25 each a month for rent and kitchen privileges. The Tavares' house was about equidistant between the Point Loma army post and the Consolidated Aircraft plant, and only half a block from a main city bus route on Rosecrans Street.

George Morrison's real-time reporting of his thoughts and experiences as he spent the first year of his World War II service at Fort Rosecrans were unique to him. At



(Left) Manuel Jose Tavares as a worker at the High Seas Tuna Packing Company in Point Loma, early 1940s. Courtesy Jeffrey Madruga. (Right) The two-bedroom Manual Tavares house on Lowell Street (today Nimitz Street) where George and Estelle rented a bedroom beginning in June 1942. The Morrisons' rented room was at the far right in this photograph. Mr. Tavares soon moved his own bed to the dining room and rented out the second bedroom to another Fort Rosecrans' soldier and his wife. Photo by author, April 2012.

the same time, his reflections undoubtedly echoed in many respects those of hundreds of other men in the same situation, especially those who traveled from the Midwest to help in providing for defense of the San Diego harbor. These men found themselves living in a region dramatically different than the one they had left and dealing with the uncertainties of daily life in an army on the verge of war. Morrison's letters also reflect experiences common to the general population of San Diego during the Second World War, including housing shortages, women's expanded presence in the workforce, and other transformations brought to the region by the "blitz-boom."[37]

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NOTES

1 This essay is dedicated to the memory of the author's wife, Kathleen Morrison Nickens (1949–2019), the only child born to George R. and Estelle M. Morrison. In the eight years or so prior to her passing, we were able to piece together the story of her parents' wartime experience in San Diego, a subject of which she had learned very little in the way of specifics while growing up in their household. In the course of several trips to San Diego for research on Fort Rosecrans and the Consolidated Aircraft Corporation, we learned that the barracks and gun battery where George Morrison was stationed from January 1941 to March 1943 still exist, although both the original barracks buildings and the gun battery locale are today inaccessible due to military security restrictions. We also located the house on Lowell Street (today Nimitz Boulevard) in Point Loma where the couple rented a bedroom, toured the church where they were married in February 1942, and found that part of the former Consolidated plant where her mother was a "Rosie" still stands. We were able to meet with the daughter of their 1942–1943 landlord, Angelina Maria (Tavares) Madruga (1925–2018), who remembered the young couple from Kansas who rented the front bedroom from her father, and her son, Jeffrey Madruga, who provided additional information about his grandfather. We also enjoyed multiple conversations with Robert Munson, now retired ranger and historian at Cabrillo National Monument, who offered further background information on Fort Rosecrans.

In November 2021, the George Morrison World War II letters and associated photographs, ephemera, and documents were donated to the San Diego History Center (Accession No. 2021.46). Included in the gift are snapshots and several Consolidated Aircraft Corporations booklets and ephemera belonging to Estelle Morrison from her employment at the company.

2 "First Trainload of Draftees Arrives Here," *San Diego Union*, September 24, 1940.

3 Several excellent source documents referencing the World War II era at Fort Rosecrans and the harbor defense role of the Nineteenth Coast Artillery Regiment are available. These include: Cabrillo Historical Association, "The Military on Point

Loma." (San Diego, 1985); Callaghan, Paul M. "Fort Rosecrans, California." MA Thesis. (University of San Diego, 1980); Carey & Company. "Historic Structures Report for Harbor Defense Structures: Cabrillo National Monument." (San Francisco, 2000); Coast Defense Study Group. "Harbor Defenses of San Diego: Documents Collection." (McLean, Virginia: CDSG ePress, 2011); Department of the Navy. "Fifty Years of Research and Development on Point Loma, 1940-1990." (San Diego: Naval Ocean Systems Center, 1990); Fort Guijarros Museum Foundation "Defending San Diego: The Role of Fort Rosecrans and the U.S. Army Coast Artillery in World War Two." *Fort Guijarros Quarterly* (full issue), 2, no. 2 (Summer 1988); Glaze, Kenneth. "The Illustrated Fort Rosecrans: A Reference Guide to the Army's Coast Artillery Corps in San Diego." (San Diego: Kenneth Glaze/ Sharp Focus Books, 2015); Joyce, Barry A. "A Harbor Worth Defending: A Military History of Point Loma." (San Diego: Cabrillo Historical Association, 1995); Kelly, Roger E. and Ronald V. May. "Shadows of the Past at Cabrillo National Monument." (San Diego: Cabrillo National Monument, 2001); Lehmann, Susan. "An Embarrassment of Riches: The Administrative History of Cabrillo National Monument." (San Diego: Cabrillo National Monument, 1987); Overton, Howard B. Editor and compiler. "The 19th Coast Artillery and Fort Rosecrans: Remembrances." (San Diego: Cabrillo National Monument, 1993); and, Thompson, Erwin N. (Edited by Howard B. Overton). "The Guns of San Diego: San Diego Harbor Defenses, 1796-1947." Historic Resource Study, (San Diego: Cabrillo National Monument, 1991). Encyclopedic coverage of all facets of US coastal defenses in World War II is found in: Berhow, Mark A. Editor. "American Seacoast Defenses: A Reference Guide." 3rd ed. (McLean: CDSG Press, 2015).

4 Receiving an order to report for induction, dated January 3, 1941, George R. Morrison, age twenty-seven, waived the draft and volunteered, entering the US Army six days later for a period of one year. His initial commitment was extended by the outbreak of the Second World War; he served until August 14, 1945. On July 12, 1973 a disastrous fire at the National Personnel Records Center in St. Louis, Missouri, destroyed nearly 20 million records, including an estimated 80% of service records of US Army personnel who were discharged between 1912 and 1960. Among

the relatively small number of records that did survive was the file for George Morrison. That file, along with his medical records from the Department of Veterans Affairs, comprise over 500 pages of personnel records covering Morrison's World War II service.

5 "Morrison a Volunteer: Becomes 15th in Pratt County to Waive Draft," *Pratt Tribune*, November 8, 1940; "29 Youths Accepted at Induction Station," *Wichita Beacon*, January 9, 1941.

6 Overton, "The 19th Coast Artillery and Fort Rosecrans: Remembrances," p. 75. Upon reaching Fort Rosecrans on the same train as George Morrison, Hollis Gillespie (1919-1987) was assigned to Battery Wilkinson, a World War I emplacement with two ten-inch seacoast guns pointed toward the opening to San Diego Bay. Later assigned to Battery McGrath, Gillespie served at Fort Rosecrans until February 1943 when he transferred to the Air Corps.

7 Morrison-Smith Family Papers (hereafter MSFP), currently in the possession of the author, Tucson, AZ. Authorized by the National Defense Act of 1920, Citizens' Military Training Camps were military training programs of the United States. Held annually each summer during the years 1921 to 1940, the camps allowed male citizens to obtain basic military training without an obligation to call-up for active duty. The camps were a month in length and held at about fifty army posts nationally. The program established that participants could receive a reserve commission as a second lieutenant by completing four successive summer courses (titled Basic, White, Red, and Blue), but most participants only attended one or two summer camps. Of an estimated 400,000 attendees, only 5,000 achieved commissions. See Donald M. Kington, *Forgotten Summers: The Story of the Citizens' Military Training Camps*, 1921-1940 (San Francisco: Two Decades Publishing, 1995).

8 Corporal George Robert Morrison and Estelle Mae Graves were married on February 21, 1942 at the First Presbyterian Church, located between Third, Fourth, and Date Streets, near downtown San Diego. The ceremony was officiated by Reverend Thomas Coyle. The best man was Donald Kenneth Blucher, a cousin of George Morrison whose family had moved to southern California from western Kansas in 1924, settling in Lakeside where his father

operated the Lakeside General Store. A police patrolman at the time, "Kenneth" Blucher had a thirty-two-year career in the San Diego Police Department, rising to Assistant Chief in 1968. "California Girl Bride of George Morrison," *Pratt Tribune* (Kansas), March 5, 1942; "To Reside Here," *San Diego Union*, February 25, 1942. MSFP.

9 George Morrison's letters were kept by his mother in a shoebox on a closet shelf. Just prior to her death, Leda Morrison (1890–1978) passed the box of letters to her granddaughter, Kathleen Morrison Nickens, the only child of George and Estelle Morrison. Regrettably, none of the letters George Morrison received from his parents survived. MSFP.

10 Estelle Mae Graves, wife of George R. Morrison, was born in Texas County, Oklahoma on July 14, 1919 to Sidney Zachariah and Edna Mae (Beeth) Graves. In the late summer of 1941, Estelle Graves left Liberal, Kansas and joined her father in the Venice neighborhood of Los Angeles. Her father and brother were employed in the defense workforce at North American Aviation in Inglewood. She died in Tucson, Arizona on October 23, 2006.

11 Editors' note: letter excerpts are presented without corrections of grammar and language mechanics.

12 The advent of World War II and dramatic increase in military personnel required a massive construction program to house, feed, and provide for the general well-being of the troops. Nationwide, 30,000 "temporary" wooden buildings were built, often on an emergency construction schedule. To house the Nineteenth Coast Artillery Regiment at Fort Rosecrans, a cantonment was constructed over the winter of 1940–41 atop Point Loma, above the fort proper, located at the base of the eastern side of the point. A typical gun battery occupied three of the two-story barracks (capacity: sixty-three enlisted personnel each), along with a separate battery mess hall (capacity 170). Officers were housed in their own barracks and served by their own mess hall. According to the Quartermaster Record of Completed Works, construction of the Upper Cantonment barracks and supporting structures was completed on February 27, 1941. When the first recruits arrived from Fort Leavenworth on January twentieth of that year, they were able to move directly into some of the just-completed barrack buildings. "Draftees at Ft.

Rosecrans in Luxury Compared to 1917." *San Diego Union*, January 29, 1941. On the overall cantonment mobilization effort, See: Kriv, Arlen R., editor. "World War II and the U.S. Army Mobilization Program: A History of the 700 and 800 Series Cantonment Construction." (Department of Defense and Department of the Interior, Legacy Resources Management Program, 1992).

13 Upon arriving at Fort Rosecrans in January 1941, Private George Morrison was immediately assigned to 1st Platoon, Battery D, 2nd Battalion of the 19th Coast Artillery Regiment. Battery D had operational control of Battery Strong from the outset and throughout the WWII period at Fort Rosecrans. Before leaving Fort Rosecrans in March 1943, George Morrison received three promotions, eventually rising to the rank of sergeant in August 1942. The last promotion was accompanied by designation as Gun Commander for Gun No. 1 at Battery Strong until March 1943.

14 He qualified as an "Expert Gunner," with a score of 99 on the gunner's test in April 1941, requalifying at the same level in January 1942. For the Expert Gunner qualifications and test, see: War Department, "Coast Artillery Examinations for Gunners." Army Field Manual 4-19. (Washington DC: 1944), pp. 7-8, and War Department, "Coast Artillery Gunners" Instruction, Fixed Seacoast Artillery, Expert Gunners." Army Field Manual 4-310. (Washington DC: 1942).

15 The Coastal Artillery recruits at Fort Rosecrans were issued M1903 Springfield rifles (formally the US Rifle, Caliber .30-06, Model 1903) and completed the army's rifle range "Course D." On March 3, 1941, Private Morrison scored 178 out of 200 points, achieving a "Sharpshooter" rifle proficiency rating.

16 Here, Morrison is referring to the M1918 155 mm G.P.F. (*Grande Puissance Filloux*, as the gun was first manufactured in France), a mobile gun that could also be mounted for coastal defense. Eight of these pieces were available at Fort Rosecrans, four of which were actually placed on mounts as Battery Point Loma, completed in January 1942. While waiting for the two eight-inch guns to be mounted at Battery Strong (completed in April 1941), Battery D learned the basics of large guns on the available 155's, as well as engaging in initial seacoast artillery target practice.

17 Part of the Coast Artillery recruits' training apparently took place at Camp Roberts, about 300 miles northwest of Point Loma near

San Miguel, California. An entry in George Morrison's mother's address book, dated 1941, reads: "Pvt. G.R. Morrison, 2nd Platoon, Company C, 89th TNG Bn., Camp Roberts, Cal."

18 George Morrison passed the Observer's test on April 8, 1941, achieving a score of ninety-nine and qualifying as an "Expert Observer." Thus, his military specialty was Observation Station Operator, Coast Artillery (578), whose duties include: "Acts as a member of a team in a seacoast artillery observation station, performing such duties as instrument observing, tracking, spotting, reading, or recording. Tracks moving targets through an azimuth instrument, stopping momentarily when the timing bell rings to allow the reader to read the azimuth. Reports data to plotting room. Locates with an azimuth instrument the splash of the shells as they hit the water and informs the spotting board operator by telephone of the deviation from the target. When fire control is accomplished by gun data computers or directors, performs vertical or horizontal tracking by means of telescopes on machine in the same manner as tracking with azimuth instrument or turns hand wheels matching pointers on dials to ensure that smooth output of data is transmitted to gun." War Department. "Military Occupational Classification of Enlisted Personnel." Army Technical Manual 12-427. (Washington DC: 1944), p. 75.

19 Referring here to a parade photograph marking the end of the period of recruit training. While he apparently forwarded a copy of the image to his parents with this letter, a copy of it has not been located in family papers. It may have been a cutout from the post's weekly newspaper, the *Fort Rosecrans Cannon Report* (1941-1943). In place of Vol. and No., the paper's masthead incorporated "Volley" # and "Round" #.

20 Examinations for all levels of gunners took place before an Examination Board, comprised of at least three coast artillery officers, preferably selected from units other than those to which the candidates were assigned.

21 Final mounting of the Battery Strong guns was completed in April 1941. Here, Morrison is referring to the initial or "proof firing" of the guns, the firing of certain rounds for the purpose of testing the serviceability of a weapon or its mount. Firing of the guns to test full battery efficiency, including observation, plotting, and firing at targets, did not occur for another six months. While the

specific firing activities of the Battery Strong guns are not readily available, Morrison revealed in later army medical records that the guns were fired every two months for twenty rounds. MSFP.

22 He is alluding here to the Coast Artillery M1910A1 Azimuth Scope. These scopes could be mounted on steel columns or on tripods. This scope was served by a crew of two: one man to observe and another to read the resulting azimuths off the scale (on the left side of the instrument) and phone these in to the plotting room or gun battery. See War Department. "Azimuth Instruments M1910 and M1910A1 (Degrees)." Army Technical Manual 9-1675. (Washington DC: 1941).

23 His mention here of a general dislike of hospitals undoubtedly harkens back to an appendectomy procedure he experienced in 1928. His clinical records reflect that while serving as a scout during a "sham battle" (military maneuvers), he jumped into a ditch at the north end of the Fort Rosecrans National Cemetery on April 24, 1941, suffering a severe right ankle sprain. This "in the line of duty" injury necessitated a seven-day sojourn in the base hospital and a considerable amount of paperwork.

24 The event took place on May 15, 1941 and received front page coverage in the next day's *San Diego Union*, being referred to as "news of world-wide interest." Receiving word of the developing situation, a *Union* news crew rushed to the waterfront, with a paper cameraman using a telephoto lens scoring a photograph of the plane in the air with the Marine officer and attached parachute trailing below.

25 On May 18, 1941, the St. Louis Cardinals were a half game behind the Brooklyn Dodgers in the National League standings. The Cards would take over the league lead and hold it into September, before ending up two 1/2 games behind the Dodgers.

26 He is referring here to the June 7, 1941 strike at the North American Aviation plant in Inglewood, in which Army troops dispersed union activists and took over an essential American defense facility. See James R. Prickett, "Communist Conspiracy or Wage Dispute? The 1941 Strike at North American Aviation." *Pacific Historical Review* 50, no. 2: (May 1981): 215-233.

27 Morrison is here alluding to the Service Extension Bill of 1941. Supported by the army, which feared it would begin to lose substantial effectiveness beginning in October 1941 when the

initial draftees would be released from service, the bill would lengthen every draftee's service from one year to two and a half years. Such arguments became moot with Pearl Harbor, after which all one-year draftees and volunteers were required to serve for the duration of the war.

28 There is a lengthy gap in the saved letters, extending between July 23rd and September 5th. That there were letters sent home is evident in the topics discussed in later letters. The cause and extent of the arm injury mentioned are uncertain; there is nothing in his army medical records to indicate that any diagnosis or treatment took place.

29 Referencing Kenneth Roberts' novel of the American Revolution, *Oliver Wiswell* (New York: Doubleday, Doran & Co., 1940).

30 Battery D personnel finally got to fire the two guns of Battery Strong for an efficiency rating on October 9, 1941. A battery that achieved an Excellent rating for overall target practice proficiency were awarded a circular olive-drab colored patch with a red two-inch tall letter "E," to be worn two inches from the end of the sleeve on the service coat or on the left pocket of the shirt. The proficiency rating had to be renewed annually. In a letter dated December 3, 1942, George Morrison noted: "Our target practice came out very good. We may get to wear the "E" on our sleeve." MSFP.

31 There is another small gap in saved letters from November fourth to the twenty-eighth, which includes the Thanksgiving holiday on the twenty-sixth (a significant date when President Franklin D. Roosevelt signed into law a bill that officially established the fourth Thursday in November as Thanksgiving Day). On file at the Cabrillo National Monument is a copy of the Thanksgiving menu for Battery D, listing the names of all battery personnel. Included were five officers, a first sergeant, a staff sergeant, a mess sergeant, a supply sergeant, eight sergeants, fourteen corporals (including George R. Morrison), four acting corporals, thirty-one privates first class, and sixty-six privates—a total battery complement of 132 men on that date.

32 The Sunday, December 7, 1941 aerial attack by the Imperial Japanese Navy Air Service on Pearl Harbor in Honolulu commenced at 8:00 a.m., local time, or 11:00 a.m. on the US West Coast.

33 George R. Morrison graduated as a second lieutenant from the Officer Candidate School at the Army's Field Artillery School, located at Fort Sill, Oklahoma, in July 1943. He received orders to join the Sixty-Sixth Armored Field Artillery Battalion, part of the Fourth Armored Division, at Camp Bowie, Brownwood, Texas. The Division was sent to the European Theater in January of 1944, training first in England, then participating in the Normandy Invasion on French beaches in June of 1944. During the military advances in France and Germany over the next seven months, the Sixty-Sixth Armored Field Artillery supported the tank battalions of the Fourth Division, which played an integral role in General George Patton's Third Army advance toward Germany in 1944–45. As a forward observer for a firing battery of six 105 mm Howitzer Motor Carriage M7 (Priest) self-propelled artillery vehicles, Lt. Morrison participated in the combat mission until November eighteenth, 1944, when he was evacuated from his unit at Arracourt, Lorraine, France, due to an acute hearing issue.

Lieutenant Morrison later reported that he first experienced temporary hearing loss and tinnitus following gun firing while at San Diego, but that some hearing loss seemed ongoing by May 1943, at which time he was at Fort Sill. While in combat, the hearing loss became such that he had trouble hearing incoming enemy artillery fire, finally resorting to watching others begin to duck—a signal for him to follow suit. Fearing that the loss of hearing might have fatal consequences, especially in his performance of forward observer duties for his battalion where accurate communication is essential, he reported his disability to his battalion aid station, who referred him to the division's evacuation hospital for further evaluation. A combat incident in France probably did not help the situation, as detailed in his medical record. On August 1, 1944, while near Reims, France, a tank, located about eight feet from him, was blown up by an enemy bazooka. He was not knocked unconscious, but did experience almost complete lack of hearing for several hours following the blast.

First Lieutenant George Morrison returned to the US in March of 1945. In April of that year, he was assigned to the Army Service Forces, Borden General Hospital, Chickasha, Oklahoma, to receive aural rehabilitation for auditory damage and loss of

hearing. Following treatment, he was discharged from the Army in August of 1945. George R. Morrison passed away in Denver, Colorado on May 16, 1967 from the effects of cancer, and is interred at the Greenlawn Cemetery in his hometown of Pratt, Kansas MSFP.

34 "The [Coast Artillery] gun commander (noncommissioned officer) commands the gun section and is also chief of the gun squad. He directs and supervises the: 1) Training of the personnel of the gun section; 2) Maintenance of materiel; 3) Preparation of the piece for firing; 4) Firing the piece; 5) Cleaning the piece; and 6) Police of emplacement." War Department. "Coast Artillery: Firing Preparations, Safety Precautions, Care and Service of Materiel." Army Field Manual 4-20 (Washington, DC: 1944), pp. 14-17.

35 Davis, Estelle Morrison, "My Life During the Depression and World War II." (Hemet, CA: Interview, April 1998). MSFP.

36 Manuel Jose Tavares was a tuna fisherman born on January 12, 1886 in the small Portuguese fishing village of Santa Cruz das Ribeiras, located on Pico Island in the Archipelago of the Azores. He left Pico at the age of nineteen and immigrated to the US, first going to San Mateo County and then Siskiyou County, northern California for farm work. By 1915, he had moved to San Diego to be a fisherman in the area's growing tuna industry, first living in the community of La Playa at the base of Point Loma, then in the neighboring village of Roseville (today Point Loma). When the navy conscripted Point Loma's larger tuna boats as supply ships and minesweepers, along with some of their crewmen, for the war effort in January 1942, he went to work at the local High Seas cannery. Manuel J. Tavares returned to his native village on Pico Island in 1956 and passed away there five years later. Mr. Tavares is fondly mentioned in several of the letters from George and Estelle to George's parents. In one letter, dated November nineteenth, 1942, Estelle asks how the Morrison's in Pratt liked Mr. Tavares' tuna; apparently, he had had sent some canned tuna along with George, who went home alone for a week-long furlough at the end of October 1942. MSFP.

37 Editors' note: With the outbreak of the Second World War, San Diego experienced a massive population boom. Local military installations expanded their operations and new facilities were established, including the Marine Corps' Camp Pendleton in

north San Diego County. Tens of thousands of civilians came to the county to work in aircraft manufacturing plants, as did local women who sought new opportunities in occupations previously off-limits. By 1943, at least 40,000 women participated in the paid workforce. The city of San Diego's population rose from 192,000 in 1940 to nearly 277,000 in 1942. While the overall population swelled, about 1,200 Japanese Americans were removed from their San Diego homes and placed in internment camps. Yet the diversity of the county population generally increased during the war, as African Americans, Mexican Americans, and Mexican immigrants sought work in industry and agriculture. Housing, transportation systems, and water delivery infrastructure all felt the strain of the expanding population. A federal housing project at Linda Vista helped address the housing shortage with 3,000 units built in less than a year, but many found themselves living in makeshift quarters such as a trailer park in Mission Valley or abandoned streetcars repurposed as temporary housing. Population growth would continue in the postwar years, in part because of military personnel who chose to settle in San Diego after passing through during the war.

THE FIRST FIFTY YEARS OF CHICANA AND CHICANO STUDIES AT SAN DIEGO STATE UNIVERSITY, 1969–2019 | PART 2

RICHARD GRISWOLD DEL CASTILLO

The previous section of this two-part essay (*The Journal of San Diego History*, Fall 2021, 67 no. 2) examined the complex social and political forces that came together to create dynamic alliances of students, community, and faculty at San Diego State College. Propelled by radical changes in national and world events, Mexican American youth demanded that their voices be heard, and the college administration reluctantly listened to the demands for a Chicano Studies curriculum. The result was a burst of creative energy that challenged the traditional norms of the academy, ultimately leading to a backlash and the resignation of most of the full-time faculty involved with Chicano Studies. What followed was a slow and painful period of institutionalization and rebuilding.

1974–1984: FORMATION OF THE MEXICAN AMERICAN STUDIES DEPARTMENT AT SDSU

The change in faculty after the turbulent years was soon accompanied by a change in administration. Until 1974,

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(Opposite page) The many murals of Chicano Park (1970) reflect the vibrant culture and history of Mexico, Mexican Americans, and Chicanos. They have been preserved as a National Historic Landmark since 2016. Photo by David Miller.

the vice president's office directly administered Mexican American Studies (MAS) as a program, not as a department. In 1975, MAS became a department within the College of Professional Studies. Dr. Roberto Serros, the new department chair, was given the job of ensuring that university procedures were followed and that the chaos of the past few years would not continue.

Rita Sanchez came to SDSU with two master's degrees from Stanford University, one in English and the other in education, but was bent on teaching Chicana Studies. In 1956, she graduated from San Bernardino High School—where she was co-editor of the weekly school newspaper—then went to San Jose State University's School of Journalism. She left school after one year to marry, put her husband through law school, and eventually returned to college after ten years of marriage and as a mother of two young daughters. She was hired in 1974 at SDSU as the first full-time tenure-track professor to teach the many written and oral communications core courses for the department. Sanchez recalls that, as the lone full-time Chicana in the department, she was given all the official writing tasks, including drafting the first mission statement of the department. The poet and SDSU Chicano Studies teacher Alurista recruited her in 1973 when he gave a talk at Stanford in Professor Girard's modern literature class. As a graduate student at Stanford, Sanchez had been the first teacher of Chicana Studies and editor of the school's first Chicana journal.

At SDSU, she soon became a mentor to a generation of Chicanas who were seeking a voice. She oversaw the creation of the first Chicana journal in San Diego, *Visiones de la Mujer*, and served as editor. She also introduced

students to her philosophy, first summarized in her important essay in the *De Colores Journal* as "Chicana Writer Breaking Out of Silence" and later as "Writing as a Revolutionary Act." Sanchez brought major Chicana writers and activists to campus and later would co-edit with Sonia Lopez an important anthology, *Chicana Tributes: Women of the Civil Rights Era*.[1]

Recruited with Sanchez in 1974 was Fr. Victor Salandini, an activist priest who had worked with César Chávez and the United Farm Workers (UFW) . He came to be known as the "tortilla priest" because he sometimes celebrated mass using a tortilla instead of bread. Salandini had a doctorate and background in labor economics and a wide experience working with poor farmworkers. He became an important link between the department and *la causa* of the UFW.

Another faculty member recruited in 1974 was Richard Griswold del Castillo. Castillo had a PhD in history from UCLA and was committed to community history. Griswold del Castillo served the Chicana and Chicano Studies department for nearly forty years—over twenty years as chair (1983–2003)—and was instrumental in encouraging countless students to succeed. He published the pivotal work *The Treaty of Guadalupe Hidalgo* in 1990 and *César Chávez: Triumph of Spirit* (with Richard A. García) in 1995, introducing the public to the monumental history of Chicano Studies in the United States. He would eventually work with department faculty Isidro Ortiz, Rudy Jacobo, and María Ibarra to edit *Chicano San Diego: Cultural Space and the Struggle for Social Justice* (Arizona 2008). This publication was the first overview history of Chicanos and Mexicanos in San Diego.

These new full-time faculty—along with some very capable part-time faculty—worked to enable the department to continue to serve the needs of the larger community while struggling to overcome many obstacles that prevented its full-fledged membership in the academy. Griswold del Castillo recalls that a major problem was the lack of autonomy to make personnel decisions. For almost ten years, there were not enough tenured faculty members to constitute a personnel committee. Therefore, a faculty group outside the department made recommendations about new hires and promotions. Getting faculty members tenured was another struggle.

State College became a university in 1974 and, increasingly, administrators were concerned with faculty having neither PhDs nor quality publication records, which were criteria for retention. The university committee tended to devalue Chicano scholarship, considering it part of a passing fad. Sadly, the university lost opportunities to retain tenured faculty, most of whom were women, like Rosalinda Gonzalez, who had a PhD, or Rita Sanchez, who was teaching at SDSU and working on her doctorate at UCSD. They were expected to publish while saddled with full-time teaching, full-time studying, and full-time family responsibilities. All these factors contributed to the turnover of full-time faculty so that by 1984 only a few of the original 1974 hires were left.

1982–1990: ACADEMIC LEGITIMATION AND CONSOLIDATION

Over the next years, the university hired new faculty, most notably Bill Vega, a Berkeley-educated sociologist with a specialty in mental health; Jose Cuellar, "Dr. Loco,"

an anthropologist whose band, The Rocking Jalapeños, used music to raise social consciousness; and Rosalinda Gonzalez, a Marxist who had been involved in movement actions in Los Angeles and received her PhD from the Program for Comparative Culture at the University of California at Irvine. She was a serious, hard-working professor who along with Rita Sanchez were the only women tenure-track faculty members in the department.

In 1982, Bill Vega was hired as chair of the department with the mission to give it a stronger academic standing. He was hired as an adjunct professor of public health and soon became a superstar, securing a one-million-dollar grant from the National Institute of Mental Health (NIMH) to study the mental health of migrant women in San Ysidro. The grant also benefited the department by providing funds for cross-border research as well as stimulating publication. Vega's tenure as chair, and Cuellar's and Vega's scholarly credentials, brought a new level of respect for Chicano Studies.

"Dr. Loco" (Jose Cuellar) gave the department a needed spirit through his enthusiastic and challenging teaching. He made it a point to live in the barrio and to involve students with the community. He later teamed with David Carrasco, a noted Harvard anthropologist, on a project to remake the classic film *Alambrista*. This ultimately involved some of the MAS faculty in the planning process as well as the publication of a book.

Both Cuellar and Vega left the university after a few years, but the department was able to replace them with three new faculty: Isidro Ortiz, a Stanford PhD in political science who had been teaching at UC Santa Barbara; Larry Herzog, an urban planner with experience on

the US-Mexico border; and Adelaida R. Del Castillo, an anthropologist from UCLA widely known for her work on Malintzin Tenepal, the famous Aztec woman who became Hernán Cortés's guide and interpreter in the conquest of Mexico.[2] With these three new full-time faculty hired in the 1980s, the Chicano Studies Department strengthened its identity one that would be committed to student success, community involvement, border studies, and las Chicanas.

EL VALLE IMPERIAL

The Imperial Valley was an important recruiting ground for Chicanas and Chicanos coming to SDSU. Some students who lacked the finances or grades enrolled at Imperial Valley College in El Centro for the first two years of their education. Afterward, those who wanted to stay close to home had the option of attending their last two years of college at the SDSU campus in Calexico. They had a program in Chicano Studies there, including courses that were taught on the main San Diego campus. While the Imperial Valley campus enrolled large numbers of Mexican students that SDSU administrators were happy to count towards the university's diversity goals, many at the main campus regarded SDSU-Calexico as secondary in importance.

SDSU-Calexico was a few blocks from the border and had a large Mexican student body. Nevertheless, many of the faculty members were non-Mexican. One of the pioneer Chicano faculty at SDSU-Calexico was Reynaldo Ayala, who taught courses in Chicano Studies and then became the Calexico campus librarian. Ayala was Mexican-born—from Saltillo, Coahuila—and educated in Minnesota and Illinois, with a PhD in geography.[3]

(Left to right) Ricardo Griswold del Castillo, Norma Iglesias, and Rita Sanchez at a reception honoring Armando Rodriguez. Courtesy of Manuel Cavado.

For its small size, the Calexico campus had a lively cultural footprint, owing to the fact that the Autonomous University of Baja California's (*Universidad Autónoma de Baja California*–UABC) main campus was located just across the border in Mexicali. As a result, there were many opportunities for cross-border cooperation. For example, the SDSU Binational Press was founded in 1987 as a cooperative effort between SDSU-Calexico and UABC. The press published many bilingual works by new, emerging, and established Mexican and US writers, with Harry Polkinhorn and Rogelio Reyes serving as editors. In Calexico, SDSU Press also published a number of Baja California works in translation, aided by Gus Segade, Polkinhorn, and other faculty from the campus. In 1992, SDSU-Calexico hosted a binational symposium on language-use issues on the US-Mexico border. US and Mexican scholars were invited to present their ideas about bilingualism and its social and political consequences, and the proceedings of this symposium were published the following year.[4]

From 1972 to 1990, the SDSU-Calexico campus counted among its faculty one of the leading pioneers in Chicano

literature, Sergio Elizondo. He was born in Mexico in 1964 and received his PhD in literature from the University of North Carolina. Elizondo had been a professor, department chair, and dean at several universities including the University of Texas at Austin, Western Washington University, and New Mexico State University. In Calexico, where his title was "Distinguished Professor of Mexican American Studies," he taught Spanish as well as Chicano Studies classes.

David Ballesteros was the dean of the Calexico campus for fifteen years (1983 to 1997). He was one of two Chicanos who held higher administrative positions at SDSU. Ballesteros held a PhD in Latin American Studies from the University of Southern California and had served as a dean at the University of Colorado, Colorado Springs, and CSU Sacramento. In Calexico, he confronted a limited budget and infrastructure in need of repair.

A chronic shortage of professors led to a program that encouraged professors from the main campus to teach in Calexico. As it turned out, most of those willing to drive the two hours to e*l valle* were members of the Department of Mexican American Studies. Every week, a car with two or three professors from SDSU-San Diego drove to Calexico to teach classes; they then returned the same day. Professors Villarino, Griswold del Castillo, Arturo Ramirez, and Herzog were among those who took this opportunity. The program also allowed Calexico faculty to teach courses on the main campus. Reynaldo Ayala taught a course in the Mexican American Studies Department and Harry Polkinhorn taught in the English Department.

1992–2007: EXPANSION AND TRANSFORMATION

In 1998, the department changed its name from Mexican American Studies to Chicana and Chicano Studies (CCS), thereby reflecting national changes in the field of Chicana/o Studies. It slowly began to increase the classes offered dealing with gender issues and recruited several new professors.

Emily Hicks, a professor of English literature, transferred part-time to the department. She had developed experimental and creative approaches to Chicana and Mexican culture. Additionally, three full-time tenure-track women were recruited: Norma Iglesias Prieto, a professor from El Colegio de la Frontera Norte (COLEF), María Ibarra from UC Santa Barbara, and Victoria González-Rivera from the University of Indiana. Iglesias had an impressive research background in border women's issues and had published a book on the women working in Tijuana's *maquiladoras*.[5] She was a leader in developing border studies within SDSU's Chicana and Chicano Studies and became a vital link between CCS and Baja California's academic establishments. María Ibarra was raised in Escondido among farmworkers and had a passion for studying the lives of migrant women.[6] She had been a teaching assistant working with César Chávez when he taught a labor class at UC Santa Barbara. Nicaraguan-born Victoria González-Rivera brought a background in history and Latin American studies. She focused attention on the increasingly important role of Central Americans in the Latino struggle within the United States.[7] With this new core faculty, a more gender-conscious department was in place, and they developed and offered more Chicana studies classes.

Another academic change made possible by the shifting composition of the department took place in 2007 when Adelaida R. Del Castillo became the first woman chair of the department. She presided over the creation of additional Chicana courses and strengthened the department's alliance with Women's Studies. The following year, she also created CCS 340A: Mexican Women in Historical Perspective: Pre-Columbian to 1848 and 340B: Chicano Women's History: 1848–Present. These courses further integrated gender issues into the department's curriculum. González-Rivera developed a new course, Gender, Sex, and Politics in Colonial Mexico, and it became part of the new Lesbian, Gay, Bisexual, Transgender, and Queer (LGBTQ) Studies major. Other classes emerged in the curriculum, reflecting a gendered view of Chicana/o society, culture, and history. All department faculty were encouraged to include attention to gender within their classes.

Due to the quality of new and existing faculty, as well as growing interest among students, in 2005 the department was successful in developing and gaining approval for a graduate program in Chicana and Chicano Studies. This was the only program in the country to have a US-Mexico border emphasis. It enabled students to obtain higher level professional positions in social service and educational institutions, among others. It also stimulated the faculty to teach their specializations at a higher conceptual level.

That same year, Chicana/o Studies became a course requirement for the SDSU major. María Ibarra and Rita Sanchez, now the CCS chair at Mesa College, worked together on an articulation agreement between Mesa

College and SDSU. It was to ensure that the Chicana course articulated as a transfer course and that it would count for SDSU credit.

One of the early advisers for Chicana and Chicano students in the 1960s was Gracia Molina de Pick, a Mexican-born feminist activist who had great energy and a passion for social justice. In 2007, she created an endowment to fund students interested in conducting research on community issues. The endowment's stated purpose was "to support action research for the development of feminist, community-oriented, socially responsible, engaged scholars and leaders." Selected annually by the department, outstanding students received funding to support their higher education.

In 2006 René Núñez, one of the founders of the department, unexpectedly passed away. His widow Carol offered his papers to SDSU. They were the nucleus of what would become the Chicana/o Archive at Love Library. Rita Sanchez and Richard Griswold del Castillo, along with a committee of emeritus and active faculty and community members, took the lead in meeting with the Love Library head of Special Collections and University Archives, Rob Ray. Gradually, they assembled more than fifteen collections of personal papers, art, and other materials of civil rights activists from San Diego. Adelaida Del Castillo and Rita Sanchez wrote proposals to emphasize Chicana activists' collections. Meetings of CCS faculty and community members led to numerous fundraisers to get the resources to process the collection. Eventually, they acquired the papers of Gracia Molina de Pick, Mateo Camarillo, Armando Rodriguez, Enriqueta Chavez, and other activists of the Chicano movement in

San Diego. Efforts to build a strong Chicana Collection proved to be successful, adding to the SDSU Chicana/o Archives materials from more than a dozen notable women activists and participants.[8] The Chicana Archives collection became an invaluable resource for students and scholars who wanted to tell the story of Chicana/o activism for social change.

2008–PRESENT: INVIGORATION AND DECOLONIZATION

From the inception of Chicano Studies at State College, students have been as important as the faculty in creating the department. There have been thousands of students who have taken MAS and CCS classes as part of their general education and hundreds who have majored or minored in Chicano Studies. Many of them have gone on to be important leaders in our community, state, and nation, often citing their education at SDSU as crucial. A few of the most notable are Lalo Alcaraz, a nationally recognized syndicated political cartoonist; Thomas Carrasco, a professor at Santa Barbara City College and member of the comedy troupe Chicano Secret Service; Miguel Angel Castañeda, a graduate student in Latin American Studies at UCSD; Guadalupe Corona, Director of Student Equity Southwestern College; Elvia Estrella, President, Sweetwater Counseling and Guidance Association; Hugo Gonzalez, Helix High School counselor; Gibran Guido, doctoral graduate student at UCSD; Valentina Hernandez, teacher at San Diego Unified Schools; Ady Huertas, Reforma's Librarian of the Year; Ron Gochez, activist and high school history teacher in South Central LA; Jesus Mendez Carbajal,

human rights organizer and graduate student in SDSU's Community-Based Block program; Ricardo Lara, former assemblyman and current insurance commissioner of the state of California; Mara Osuna, teacher and activist; Gregorio Pantoja, professor at Palomar College; and Aurelio Salazar, Jr., Hartnell College Trustee and Director of Family Supportive Services at Catholic Charities of the Diocese of Monterey.

In 2000, Chicana/o Studies students, alongside Native American students, led a critical discussion about changing the Aztec mascot for San Diego State. Maria Butler served on several committees to research a more authentic representation of Montezuma. Students were not entirely unified in their views, including those who had first learned about the Aztecs in Chicana/o Studies classes. However, after seven months of debate, it was decided to change the cartoonish image of Montezuma but retain the name "Aztecs" for SDSU.[9]

In 2017, a discussion followed by a debate and then a fire-storm erupted over the continued use of the term "Chicano." Some students thought it had a sexist and limited meaning. The terminology issue reflected a changing demographic and generational basis for the Spanish-speaking and/or Spanish-surnamed student population. Some preferred variants of "Latino" (as opposed to "Chicana/o") to encompass more students than just those of Mexican origin. Meanwhile, the terms "Chicanx" and "Latinx" reflected a more inclusive worldview that accepted a wider range of gender identities, including non-binary individuals.[10]

Finally, a Movimiento Estudiantil Chicano de Aztlán (MEChA) national conference decided to change the

name of the organization, provisionally omitting the terms "Chicano" and "Aztlán" as "homophobic, anti-indigenous, and anti-black." Only UCLA's and San Diego State's MEChA chapters refused to adopt the change. The national group agreed to tentatively change the name and to revisit the issue in 2020. SDSU students continued the debate, but to date the department's name, "Chicana and Chicano Studies," has not been challenged.

The department reflected on the controversy about this issue of changing identities as it hired new faculty members. One new member was Roberto Hernández. He grew up in San Ysidro and completed his PhD in comparative ethnic studies (Black, Native, and Chicana/o studies) at UC Berkeley. His research interests were ideal for the new era that Chicana and Chicano Studies had entered, described on his department profile as "intersections of colonial and border violence, the geopolitics of knowledge and cultural production, decolonial political theory, social movements, hemispheric indigeneity, masculinity, and comparative border studies."[11] In addition, Hernández was an activist serving on the governing board of the National Association for Chicana and Chicano Studies (NACCS) and helped write an amicus brief to challenge Arizona's attempt to ban Mexican American Studies.

Another new faculty member was Michael Domínguez, a graduate of the University of Colorado in Boulder. He was hired to develop courses that reflect the younger generations' concerns. As described in the college introduction, his "current work employs social-design and critical-ethnographic research methodologies to explore the ways in which Latin@ youth are constructing new identities and navigating difficult affective experiences in

the diaspora of the rural southeast, and the implications of this for youth, communities, and schools nationwide."[12]

FACTORS CONTRIBUTING TO THE SURVIVAL AND GROWTH OF THE DEPARTMENT

There are several reasons why the Chicano Studies Department has managed not only to avoid extinction but to thrive. In addition to hard working full-time faculty, administrative coordinators, MEChA students, helpful administrators, and dedicated part-time faculty all played a role at different times in helping the CCS department. The success of the department was in many ways attributable to them as well.

Over the years, the many details involved in running the department were the responsibility of the chair who, in turn, relied on the administrative coordinator (AC), termed "secretary" until the 1980s, to process paperwork and keep track of deadlines, meetings, and so forth. The most important and complicated job involved constructing the class schedule. Over the years, the ACs helped the department meet the many bureaucratic requirements of academia and thereby deserve much credit for the successes.

Perhaps one of the most inspiring stories is of Evelyn Cruz, a Puerto Rican woman who came from the Bronx and who worked in the department as assistant to the first full-time secretary, Sandra Cruz. Evelyn was on a special minimum wage welfare program for single mothers in the 1970s. She remembers that she felt a real fear of not being accepted because she was not a Chicana and, besides, in her words "she had a colonized mentality" and wanted to be mainstreamed.[13] Within a few years, she became

the secretary and found that she was fully accepted. She married a Mexican, Saul Cruz, had two children, and was influenced by radical women in the Chicana Teatro at SDSU. Because she was an SDSU employee, she could take classes tuition free, which she did, slowly building her credits. Within a few years she graduated with a degree in theater. Then, influenced by Adelaida R. Del Castillo, a CCS faculty member, and other women in the department, she applied to UCLA's theater program. She graduated and today is a full professor of theater at the University of San Diego. A real success story, she gives the department full credit for shaping it. Other administrative coordinators who have played important roles at crucial times have been Laurel Dyke, Colette Gannaway, Eunice Estrada, and Prisca Bermudez. The most recent AC is Bertha Hernández, a tremendously talented woman who has bachelor's degrees in journalism and Chicana and Chicano Studies, as well as a master's degree in transborder public administration and governance. In addition to performing the AC's tasks, she contributes her professional skills in translating, editing, and proofing academic publications like *Chicana Tributes and Women Activists for Civil Rights*. She was the recipient of SDSU's 2018 Presidential Staff Excellence Award in Community Service, was president of the House of Mexico, and remains very active in community affairs. Most recently she is a member of the Rondalla Amerindia de Aztlán, SDSU's historic Chicana/o musical group led by Pepe Villarino.

Over its fifty years of existence at SDSU, the Chicana and Chicano Studies Department has relied on more than one hundred instructors who taught classes part time. They represented all facets of experience, bringing

energy and commitment to engage the students. A full listing of them appears in a table constructed by Bertha Hernández.[14] A wide range of community organizers have taught courses for students in the department: Irma Castro ('79), who would become the chair of the Chicano Federation; Mateo Camarillo ('89), co-founder of the Federation and an official in the National Council of La Raza; Al Velasco ('84), a community researcher and civil rights activist; Danny Martinez ('89), a former student who became a community activist; and Jeffery Garcilazo ('88), another former student and UFW volunteer who went on to earn a PhD in History. Beginning in 1981, René Núñez, who helped found the department, returned to teach part time (eventually securing a joint appointment in the department and the School of Education).

Three lecturers came to be long-term members of the department as full-time instructors: Leilani Grajeda-Higley, Maria Butler, and Rudy Jacobo. Grajeda-Higley was born in Mexico and grew up in East Los Angeles, earning a degree in nursing and then an MFA in English. She brought a sensitivity to the classroom that led to her organizing a student anthology *Raices y MAS*, which contained family and personal stories. Each year, she obtained the funds and organized the students to publish this journal that was then used in teaching classes. Eventually, the students invited her to be the MEChA advisor. Another committed teacher was Maria Butler, who was born in Panama and earned her college degrees at SDSU. She was one of those handful of lecturers, including Coral MacFarland-Thuet, who took classes in Chicana and Chicano Studies and then taught in the department after they graduated. In 1999, Butler,

Randal Jimenez, a San Jose State professor, along with Maria Chin and a CCS student organized a statewide Mexican American Studies conference held at SDSU and hosted by the department. Butler was instrumental in developing a very successful one-unit class on Aztec history and culture that was designed to introduce a larger student population to a more sophisticated image of Mexican Indian people.[15] Finally, Rudy Jacobo taught Chicano history and other subjects for many years. He could identify with many students since he grew up as a migrant worker in north San Diego County and struggled to get a college education, eventually earning a PhD in cross-cultural education. A popular educator, Jacobo loved to teach and understood the struggles of Mexicanos to survive in the US. After many years, he left SDSU to become the chair of the Multicultural Studies Department at Palomar College.

Other notable lecturers added to the department's Border Studies expertise. Coral MacFarland-Thuet, a US-born, Mexican-raised professional jazz and folk singer, has enjoyed an amazing career working with high level performers in Mexico and the US. She sings in Spanish, English, Portuguese, and Ladino (spoken by Jews in Spain), producing albums and children's books. Her amazing versatility enabled her to teach many different courses in the department, including the very popular Mexican and Chicano Music and Culture course. Grajeda-Higley, Butler, and MacFarland-Thuet have retired and are members of the CCS Department as lecturers emeriti.

Raúl Rodríguez, Mexican-born and living in Tijuana, commuted daily to SDSU to teach the US-Mexican Border class for many years. Rodríguez received his master's

A segment of the protest mural inspired by threats to abolish Chicano/a Studies in the 1990s. Courtesy of Isidro Ortiz.

degree in history from SDSU and worked on his PhD in History at UCSD. When he was not teaching, Rodríguez also had a career as the librarian at Tijuana's Centro de Enseñanza Técnica y Superior (CETYS Universidad). In that capacity, he invited many SDSU faculty to visit his university and lecture on Chicano Studies. His experience and contacts in Mexico benefited many students and faculty who wanted to explore the realities of the US-Mexican border.[16]

As has been noted, the MEChA student organization at SDSU played a key role in the founding and directions of the department, as faculty considered it part of the department's structure and given a voice in decisions. This involvement changed, especially after the conflicts of 1973–74 and the reconstitution of the department within the College of Professional Studies. The department continued to have MEChA representatives attend its meetings, but they did not have a formal vote in decisions; they attended to report on developments. Every year, MEChA held its high school conferences where thousands of Chicano high school students visited campus for a day to discuss current concerns, hear a keynote address usually by a community activist, and attend workshops,

some of them given by faculty from the department. It was a time for energizing the Chicano movement on campus. As the administration began moves to reduce or even abolish Chicano Studies as a department, students and their voices through MEChA were important.

There have been administrators who helped the department over the years. The president of the university in the 1960s, Malcolm Love, and his Vice President Ned Joy, were important in the early years of creation and transition. Once the department had been moved from the College of Professional Studies to the College of Arts and Letters, various key individuals were helpful, such as Pat Huckle and Kathy Jones, both of whom served as associate deans under Dean Paul Strand. They enthusiastically welcomed calls by the student organization Association of Chicana Activists (AChA) for more female faculty and endorsed the department's efforts to address gender imbalance and to expand Chicana Studies.

Beginning in 1981, the university allowed the department to recruit distinguished faculty for one academic year to enrich the academic environment. These visiting professorships required special funding and approval from the administration. The first one was James Cockcroft, a Stanford PhD who was a historian, sociologist, political analyst, poet, and bilingual award-winning author of fifty books on Latin America, Latin@s, US hidden history, culture, migration, and human rights. The next distinguished professorship was shared by Eli Bartra and her husband John Mraz. Mexican feminist author Bartra was a women's studies professor at Universidad Autónoma Metropolitana-Xochimilco, Mexico City. Mraz was a prolific and world-renowned author and writer on

the history of Mexican photography. A director and art curator, he was a professor at the Universidad de Puebla. The final distinguished visiting professor was David Maciel, a Chicano historian of film and culture who had wide experience working in Mexico but was based at the University of New Mexico. He brought with him copies of classics in Mexican cinema that he contributed to SDSU's library. While here, the visiting distinguished professors gave presentations outside the university, heightening SDSU and the department's visibility.

Another special program requiring administrative support was offering a college-level Chicano history class, for university credit, to high school students at SDSU's National City campus. Most of these students were low-income Latinos or Mexicans. The program was so popular that the students' parents also attended these classes, which were offered on Saturday mornings.

CONCLUSION: STATUS AND CHALLENGES

Institutions change slowly. It took almost eight years for State College to accept Chicano Studies as an academic department and another decade for it to have its own personnel committee. It narrowly escaped budget cuts and elimination at the hands of deans and committees. But things did change for the better as revealed in this brief history. Perhaps the most unexpected and momentous change for the department, as well as the entire community, was the appointment of Dr. Adela de la Torre as president of SDSU. De la Torre came to the university with a background in administration, having served as vice chancellor for Student Affairs and Campus Diversity at UC Davis. She had been chair of the Chicana

and Chicano Studies Department at UC Davis and, before that, director of the Mexican American Studies Center at the University of Arizona. She presented herself unapologetically as a bilingual Chicana who wanted the university to develop better relations with Chicano organizations and border communities in Mexico. This new direction for the university stood in stark contrast to previous presidents for whom Chicana and Chicano Studies was marginal at best to the university's mission. President de la Torre selected the department as her retreat department, to be her home when and if she left the presidency. Almost immediately, the faculty rallied around her to support her leadership. It seemed to many like a miraculous development, perhaps a happy ending to our story of the first fifty years. With some optimism based on surviving a long struggle, we look forward to the next fifty years of working to benefit our students, the university, and the community.

RIP/DEP RUTH ROBINSON, POLI GLORIA, ROBERT SERROS, RENÉ NÚÑEZ, ALFREDO VELASCO, JEFF GARCILAZO, VICTOR SALANDINI, SERGIO ELIZONDO, JUAN GOMEZ QUIÑONES

RICHARD GRISWOLD DEL CASTILLO IS PROFESSOR EMERITUS OF CHICANA AND CHICANO STUDIES AT SAN DIEGO STATE UNIVERSITY. HE HAS PUBLISHED A NUMBER OF BOOKS INCLUDING *THE TREATY OF GUADALUPE HIDALGO: A LEGACY OF CONFLICT* (1990), *LA FAMILIA: CHICANO FAMILIES IN THE URBAN SOUTHWEST, 1848 TO THE PRESENT* (1984), *THE LOS ANGELES BARRIO, 1850-1890: A SOCIAL HISTORY* (1980), *CHAVEZ: A TRIUMPH OF SPIRIT* (WITH RICHARD GARCIA) (1995), *NORTH TO AZTLAN: MEXICAN AMERICANS IN UNITED STATES HISTORY* (WITH ARNOLDO DE LEON) (1996), AND *CHICANO SAN DIEGO: CULTURAL SPACE AND THE STRUGGLE FOR SOCIAL JUSTICE* (2008).

NOTES

1 Rita Sanchez and Sonia Lopez, *Chicana Tributes: Activist Women of the Civil Rights Era* (San Diego: Montezuma Publishers, 2018). See Rita's oral history in SDSU Archives.

2 Adelaida R. Del Castillo, "Malintzin Tenepal: A Preliminary Look into a New Perspective," *Essays on la Mujer*, Rosaura Sanchez and Rosa Martinez Cruz eds. UCLA Chicano Studies Center Publications. January 1977.

3 See oral interview with Reynaldo Ayala in SDSU Archives.

4 Rogelio Reyes and Harry Polkinhorn, eds. *Open Signs: Language and Society on the U.S.-Mexico Border* (SDSU Press and UABC, 1993).

5 Norma Iglesias Prieto, *Beautiful Flowers of the Maquiladora: Life Histories of Women Workers in Tijuana* (Austin: University of Texas Press, 1985).

6 María de la Luz Ibarra, "Mexican Immigrant Women and the New Domestic Labor," *Human Organization* Vol. 59, No. 4 (Winter 2000), pp. 452-464.

7 Victoria González-Rivera, *Before the Revolution: Women's Rights and Right-Wing Politics in Nicaragua, 1821-1979* (University Park, PA: Penn State University, 2011).

8 See https://rgriswol.wixsite.com/chicanoarchive

9 See *Union-Tribune* article for discussion of the controversy. https://www.sandiegouniontribune.com/sports/aztecs/sd-sp-aztecs-mascot-nickname-task-force-0120-story.html

10 For a discussion see https://remezcla.com/features/culture/mecha-name-change-debates/

11 See https://aztlan.sdsu.edu/faculty/hernandez

12 See https://cal.sdsu.edu/our-faculty. "Latin@" has increasingly appeared as a common shorthand for "Latina/o," which itself emerged as a more gender inclusive alternative to the masculine term "Latino."

13 See oral interview with Evelyn Cruz in SDSU Archives.

14 "CCS Chairs, Professors, and Lecturers/Instructors 1970-2018" by Bertha Hernández (in Department archives).

15 See oral interview with Maria Butler in SDSU Archives.

16 See oral interview with Raúl Rodríguez in SDSU Archives.


B·C
BEER
N DRAUGHT

THE RISE AND FALL OF SAN DIEGO'S EARLY BREWING INDUSTRY, 1868–1953

JUDITH DOWNIE

California breweries in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries faced social, legislative, and economic challenges in their establishment and growth. Beer producers in the San Diego region confronted local challenges of a small consumer population and limited availability of ingredients for the wort.[1] As San Diego developed, these obstacles were overcome only to be replaced by challenges of a national scope. The difficulties presented by the advent of World War I were exacerbated by the temperance movement and the many women who espoused the ratification of the Eighteenth Amendment. Following the end of Prohibition, San Diego's brewing industry reestablished itself only to collapse under pressure from larger breweries with national distribution following World War II. The struggles and successes of early San Diego breweries are a story of determination and offer inspiration for the current brewing industry.

Researchers have produced very few scholarly studies of nineteenth- and early twentieth-century San Diego brewing history. What work does exist on the subject

(Opposite page) Bartender in saloon. No date. ©SDHC #6-524.

has typically come as prefatory material in articles devoted to the rise of craft brewing in the 1980s and beyond.[2] This article seeks to address this gap in the historiography by offering a sketch of some of the earliest commercial brewing operations in San Diego County and the obstacles they faced. In presenting this history, the author hopes to suggest some important lines of future research, including the role of geography (and particularly San Diego's proximity to the Mexican border) and demographics in commercial brewing operations, the significance of national developments such as the First World War and nationwide prohibition, and the role of women in both the brewing industry and the temperance movement.

During the California mission period, wine was the preferred beverage due to the Franciscans' sacramental needs and everyday use by the early colonists. Mission period agricultural introductions later found useful for brewing included wheat for bread and barley for limited medicinal use. Agricultural records from the mission period do not mention the cultivation of hops.[3]

The preference and demand for wine delayed the introduction of the European common hop plant and constituted an early agricultural barrier to beer brewing.[4] Beer requires hops as a key ingredient for both flavor qualities and preservative uses.[5] European hops agriculture was compatible with the local climate but not introduced until the late 1800s due to low demand. Once introduced, hops grew primarily in the more northern parts of the state. Sacramento established hops agriculture early, shipping to Southern California as well as other areas across the country.[6] The *San Diego Union*

reported in 1872 that California's hop production for 1870 totaled 558,118 pounds.[7] As with any agricultural product, hop quality suffered from long distance transport and unreliable storage environments. Early San Diego brewers relied on hops hauled overland by wagon from distant railroad depots or shipped by boat from eastern producers and Northern California. With the expansion of the national railroad system, Eastern hops arrived in better condition, while San Diego growers began cultivating hops, thus making a local supply increasingly available.

The rise in commercial brewing was also tied to California's shifting demography. Following the United States' acquisition of California in 1848 and the discovery of gold the same year, the number of European immigrants to California increased dramatically. Those born in the German states were the largest group of European immigrants. German and British immigrants brought brewing knowledge and experience, but German lagers became increasingly popular as a lighter alternative to stronger British ales and distilled spirits as a beverage that could be consumed throughout the day.[8] In comparison to English ales, German lagers used a smaller proportion of hops, reducing, but not eliminating, the quantity needed and allowed brewing to be less dependent on ingredients not produced locally. Unsurprisingly, given that gold rush-era population growth largely bypassed southern California, commercial beer production took root later in San Diego than in northern California. San Diego County's total 1850 population was only 2,817.[9] A decade later, the City of San Diego's population of 731 residents lagged behind Los Angeles's 4,385 and San Francisco's 56,892.

Nevertheless, San Diego grew in the following years, and in the 1870 census, San Diego County's population stood at 4,951.[10] Railroad development and San Diego's first transcontinental connection in 1885 set the stage for the boom of the 1880s.[11] The region' s expanding population provided a customer base for all businesses, including breweries.

By 1868, beer ingredients were available in San Diego and the population of the city had nearly reached its 1870 census count of 2,300. A city of this size could presumably support a commercial brewing enterprise, but what was needed was somebody with brewing expertise and the ability to produce sufficient quantities for retail. Christian Dobler, an Austrian immigrant listed as a "laborer" in the 1870 census, provided these attributes and established the area's first brewery in 1868.[12]

The brewery advertised under a variety of names, including Dobler's, Dobliers, Chollas Valley, and Chollas Valley Pioneer, as well as an occasional use of San Diego Brewery. Dobler established the brewery in the Chollas Valley Creek area, approximately five miles southeast from the center of San Diego on a road in constant need of repair. In spite of access issues, the brewery was sufficiently successful for Dobler to list his occupation as "brewer" in the 1880 census, although he continued other businesses on his property, including cattle raising.[13]

Phillip Wedel, a German immigrant, opened City Brewery & Depot in a location more central to the city's population in 1870.[14] Wedel purchased malt grinding equipment in 1871 to reduce his reliance on malt shipped from San Francisco for his Buck Beer (also advertised as Bock Beer). He established a beer garden next to the

San Diego Brewing Company employees, n.d. ©UT #1496.

brewing operation that the *Union* described as "one of the greenest spots in town."[15] A keg of City Brewery beer was opened "per Old World custom" to toast the completion of the masonry on Alonzo Horton's new bank building in 1873.[16]

The expansion of the commercial beer industry continued in the early 1870s. In 1871, Henry Heer advertised his business in the *San Diego Union* as "San Diego Brewery," a nomenclature that caused confusion, as Dobler's Chollas Valley brewery also occasionally advertised under this name.[17] Confusing names notwithstanding, Heer's operation was technically not a brewery as he did not brew beer. This was not uncommon practice as San Diego establishments Philadelphia Brewery, San Francisco Brewery, Chicago Brewery Depot, and U.S. Brewery all incorporated the word "brewery" in their

San Diego Brewery, 1897. ©SDHC #23452.

names but did not brew on premises, instead distributing or repackaging from kegs shipped from other locations. These businesses frequently carried hard liquors and foodstuffs in addition to beer.[18] Meanwhile, newspaper reports announced the plans for a new brewery focused on the production of ales and porters. These beers would be an alternative to the lagers brewed by Dobler and Wedel, but the brewery never materialized.[19]

Both Chollas Valley and City breweries suffered the loss of their founding brewers and eventually closed, but not without attempts to keep them open. Phillip Wedel died in 1875, and his widow, Magdalena, became the first woman to own a brewery in San Diego County. She partnered with Dobler in 1876 to operate the Depot portion and sold the brewery operation to Otto Walter. Dobler and Walter attempted to operate the brewery together,

but the partnership dissolved after four months.[20] After the dissolution, Walter continued City Brewery while Dobler ran the San Diego/Chollas Valley Brewery. Dobler expanded access to his brewery by building a hall under the name "San Diego Brewery" in the city proper. [21] Of the two breweries, San Diego/Chollas Valley advertised far more, with ads approximately every other day in the *San Diego Union* and *Daily Bee*. Street improvements along Fifth Street and road extensions towards Chollas Valley improved access to both businesses, but the road to Dobler's continued to be impassable for much of the rainy season. In December 1881, Dobler opened the San Diego Brewery Depot in downtown San Diego on Fourth and F Streets. He passed away in 1882 and his widow, Martha, briefly operated the depot and brewery before selling the depot to John Diehl in 1883. Diehl acquired City Brewery as well but began tearing down the brewery building at B and Sixth Streets in 1887.[22]

Martha Dobler revived the Chollas Valley brewing operation in 1884 with a new advertising campaign. She was the second female brewery owner in San Diego. As a widow with a family to maintain, combined with the challenges of running a business, continual poor road access, and an injury suffered by the brewery manager, she sold the brewery operation to William Kupperle in August 1885. Kupperle announced his intent to brew his own beers under the Chollas Valley Brewery name, but there is no evidence the brewery ever produced. The demise of the Chollas Valley Brewery brought an end to San Diego brewing for a decade. While rumors of the founding of breweries circulated between 1888 and 1890, no new operations materialized.[23] Brewing began

east of the city in Julian in connection with its growth. The mountain community experienced a modest gold rush after the discovery of the precious metal in 1870. Prospectors arrived in sufficient numbers to give Julian the second largest population—534 people—in the county.[24] A reduction in ore output by 1885 foreshadowed a population decline, but a sizeable population remained into the 1890s. The population and the distance from other breweries provided a sufficient reason to establish the short-lived Julian Brewing Company in 1891.

Commercial brewing operations in San Diego proper resumed in 1895, when a group of investors led by John G. Hinkle purchased waterfront land just inside San Diego city limits near National City. The founders announced plans to use local resources and noted that their primary reason for choosing San Diego was an excellent water supply, an input vital to the quality of the final product.[25] During the two years of construction additional funding came from sources such as John D. Spreckels and Jacob Gruendike, a former local banker who became the majority stockholder in June 1896. During construction, management changes brought Judge Henry Schaefer on as president and John Wunder as general manager while Hinkle continued construction oversight.

The San Diego Brewing Company opened April 17, 1897 to great fanfare as one of the largest businesses in the city. The opening celebration served fresh beer, but bottled product would not be available for sale until May. News coverage noted that San Diego spent $112,000 annually for beer produced elsewhere and claimed that the opening of the brewery would thus retain more of that money in local coffers.[26] The new brewery's featured

beers were "Prima" and "Pilsener" [sic] lagers, with ales and porter produced in smaller quantities.

The San Diego Brewing Company experienced growth during the first year of operation despite lawsuits, one from a distributorship dispute and another from a runaway wagon accident. The brewery did well enough in its first year for some of the board members to investigate a project to establish a brewery in Ensenada, Mexico.[27] The company expanded on its existing site with additional buildings as production quickly reached capacity, with sales throughout Southern California and Arizona. Brewery president Schaefer built out a block in downtown San Diego, part of which was planned as additional storage for the brewery. The Mexico brewery project did not materialize, but distribution expanded into Baja California. Meanwhile, changes in leadership did not hamper the growth of the brewery. Hinkle replaced Wunder as general manager, and in May 1901 Jacob Gruendike succeeded Schaefer as president.

With Gruendike's death in 1905, San Diego Brewing Company (SDBC) very nearly closed but was sold to J. H. Zitt and George Stadler. Zitt and Stadler were both first-generation German Americans with brewing experience in the Midwest. The partners divided the responsibilities, Zitt as president and business manager and Stadler as the brewmaster with equal stock holdings. Zitt originally worked from Los Angeles and established an aggressive and successful publicity campaign that emphasized the quality of the SDBC beers named Corona, San Diego Dark, and San Diego Light. San Diego Brewing also sponsored employee sports teams and various events for both civic and publicity purposes. The company changed its name


PLANS ADOPTED FOR BIG BREWING PLANT

Attractive Building Will Occupy Site In Middletown

Perspective of Principal Building of Large Brewery Plant to Be Erected at Harnetty and Hancock Streets, in the Middletown District, by the Bay City Brewing Company, From Plans Drawn by Architect Richard Schwarz of Chicago.

Architect's rendering of the Bay City brewery with signage noting the name "Bay City". (*San Diego Union*, March 21, 1912, 6.)

to San Diego Consolidated Brewing (SDCBC) in late 1907 with the addition of glassware, ice, and real estate to the business portfolio. George Stadler died in 1909 and his widow, Katherine Stadler, maintained control of Stadler's share of the company stock in spite of a lawsuit by Zitt to take voting control of her block. Nevertheless, SDCBC continued to prosper.

San Diego Consolidated Brewing Company remained the only San Diego brewery until 1913.[28] A group of San Francisco investors planned a venture named Bay City Brewing Company that would produce beer in San Diego for export out of the region. When the company finally started operations, it was under the name Mission Brewing. Led by F. C. Lang and August Lang, the father-in-law and brother-in-law of SDCBC's J. H. Zitt, Mission's purpose was to produce beer for San Diego Consolidated.[29]

Mission not only brewed lagers for San Diego Consolidated but also introduced a low-alcohol beer,

Hopski. Zitt had previously stated that SDCBC would only brew quality beer and refused to brew a lower-alcohol product. The Mission-San Diego Consolidated collaboration allowed the partner breweries to supply a perceived growing demand for lower or non-alcoholic beverages in response to the growing temperance movement without breaking Zitt's promise regarding his own product line. Mission's Hopski found an outlet in Arizona, but as Arizona passed statewide prohibition in 1914, five years before national prohibition, the market was short-lived. Arizona's law caused the Santa Fe Railroad to refuse Hopski shipments into the state. Mission and San Diego Consolidated sued the railway to force shipping while an additional lawsuit regarding the Hopski prohibition was heard in Arizona. The railroad won the case, which dealt a damaging blow to Mission Brewing. The Langs left the brewery and Zitt merged Mission with San Diego Consolidated. As the temperance movement gained strength and more people signed the non-consumption pledge, Mission's production was no longer needed, and Zitt closed the brewery in 1917 and sold its equipment, leaving the iconic building vacant. This closure left San Diego Consolidated Brewing as yet again the only San Diego brewery.

The attempt to regulate or prevent the manufacture and consumption of alcoholic beverages was not a sudden trend in early twentieth-century America. Maine passed the first statewide legislation against the manufacture, sale, and/or consumption of alcoholic beverages in 1846, and various communities had long-standing local "dry" ordinances. As the United States entered 1914, the temperance movement was gaining ground throughout

the nation state-by-state, with Arizona passing prohibition that year. Several California ballot initiatives to pass statewide prohibition appeared before voters but failed between 1914 and 1919. Some California communities were dry, although the California State Supreme Court had declared local-option statutes unconstitutional. One example of a work-around to the local-option ban was San Diego County's Ordinance No. 121, passed in 1901, requiring fifty percent of the voters in a community to approve a liquor license.[30] This supported local prohibition while observing the law.

Another means to discourage the manufacture of alcohol was to bring economic pressures through additional taxes and fees. Liquor licenses and taxes were not only means to generate revenue but had the potential to limit the affordability of alcohol or to pressure purveyors out of business. San Diego County Ordinance No. 121 also levied license fees on all liquor producers, wholesalers, and retailers.

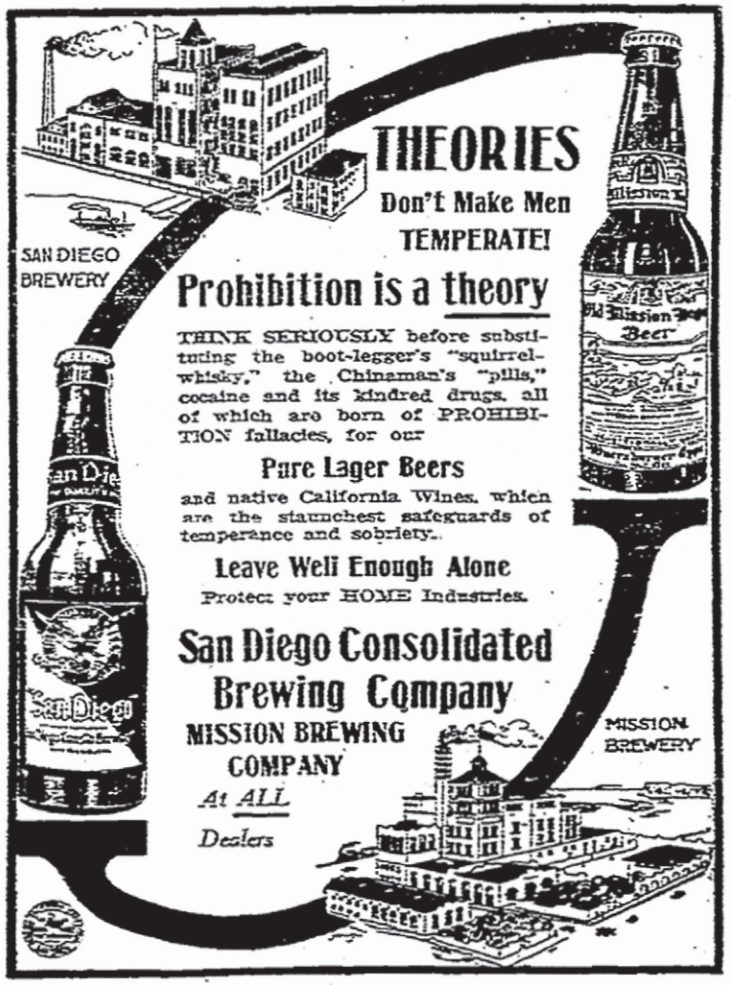
While it was men who pursued these legislative means, it was women who drove much of the action in the social realm for prohibition and temperance, exemplified by temperance activists such as Carry A. Nation.[31] Women could claim this role in part due to nineteenth-century American ideals that held women as the moral center of the family and community. Moreover, since temperance literature often highlighted the deleterious impacts of alcohol on wives and children, women naturally took on leadership roles in the movement against alcohol consumption. Techniques of moral suasion could work on an individual level, but many temperance advocates believed group action was necessary to accomplish large-scale

change. Thus women formed and maintained a range of advocacy groups. For example, the Protestant-based Woman's Christian Temperance Union (WCTU) focused not only on the liquor problem but also addressed additional issues of women's suffrage, women and children's welfare, and general morality. The national organization regarded alcohol as a primary social ill and factor in many of their causes but permitted different chapters to direct their own efforts as they saw fit.

Frances Willard founded the first San Diego WCTU chapter in 1883. The San Diego branch faced some of the same difficulties as other chapters, and it also appears to have suffered a closure for a time, further hampering organized efforts against alcohol manufacture and sale in the area.[32] The chapter made some effort on temperance but also addressed child welfare, education, and other projects. There is little evidence the San Diego WCTU had any effect on local saloons, and it did not have an apparent role in the closure of Mission Brewing or the eventual closure of San Diego Consolidated Brewing.[33]

Not all women supported the temperance cause and found this advocacy contrary to long-standing and popular practice. Some regarded beer as a healthy adjunct to food or as a substitute for questionable water supplies. Pre-prohibition San Diego Consolidated Brewing advertisements directed towards women addressed themes of good health, beauty, weight gain, and beer as a tonic for tiredness. Other advertising showed beer as a necessity to a happy home life and encouraged home delivery by the case for convenient availability.[34]

While the United States wrestled with the issues surrounding temperance and prohibition and various



San Diego Brewing beer as beauty aid. (*San Diego Union*, January 18, 1908, 11.)

states attempted or succeeded in passing local prohibition, the First World War erupted in Europe in 1914. While the United States initially stayed out of the conflict, coverage of the war in the national press frequently betrayed an anti-German bias.

In San Diego, German immigrants or the children of German immigrants had founded the four pre-prohibition breweries, a not uncommon pattern among American brewers. When the nation entered the war in April 1917, anti-German sentiment increased. Some called for boycotts of products seen as "German," and government officials investigated breweries for pro-German sentiment and activities.[35] In this wartime environment, brewers found themselves having to prove their loyalty to preserve their businesses.

San Diego Consolidated Brewing Company was the only brewery operating in San Diego when the United States entered the war. Owned and headed by a man with German immigrant parents and German surname, the brewery was vulnerable to growing anti-German sentiment. J. H. Zitt, from the beginning of his involvement with San Diego Brewing Company and as president of San Diego Consolidated Brewing, marketed SDCBC's beers with patriotic themes. He was an active civic promoter involved in a number of clubs and charities, including planning for the Panama-California Exposition. With the onset of war, he participated in war bond drives. Through the brewery business, he worked to prove his personal and business loyalty through 'buy local/American' advertising campaigns, including calls to drink American-made beer. It appears SDCBC escaped the anti-German sentiment seen in other regions. San Diego Consolidated's brewing operation complied with national and local ingredient rationing enforced by legislation such as the Food Control Act (1917) without protest as additional proof of loyalty.[36]

As men enlisted in the war effort, workforce shortages

occurred across the nation, including in breweries. The challenge to maintain production to meet demand was balanced by a reduced consumer population and the increasing influence of temperance. Per capita consumption grew until the entry of the United States into the war, when consumption rates slipped.[37] San Diego Consolidated was able to continue offering its diverse product line as the only local brewery in operation. With no local competition for customers, and with well-established distribution networks and reliable employees, the brewery faced no threat of closure during the war, although manpower and ingredient challenges existed.

Concerns over a reduced market and workforce were alleviated with war's end in 1918. Men returned home to their families and former employment. Brewing as well as other industries were released from government production controls. Brewing infrastructure benefited from technologies developed for war use and resulted in improved manufacture, storage, and transport. Expanded transportation infrastructure across the nation for military use now benefited the private sector for materials and product distribution as well as population redistribution. This was a double-edged sword, as transportation networks improved for not only for West Coast breweries; Eastern breweries now found it economically viable to expand distribution to regions formerly of limited value. As brewers celebrated the benefits of new technology, improved infrastructure, and greater access to consumers, they watched the temperance movement grow in strength. Brewers responded to the gathering momentum of the temperance movement with a range of efforts, including educational campaigns regarding two 1916 California

Advertising against prohibition. "Theories Don't Make Men Temperate," (*Evening Tribune* (San Diego, California), October 16, 1914, 9.)

prohibition propositions.[38] J. H. Zitt published editorials questioning the viability of prohibition as a means of promoting morally upright behavior. He also appealed to readers' emotions by relating the story of his Fresno sales representative, whose family was evicted from their home due to the landlord's objection to the employee's occupation.[39] These and similar efforts may have helped delay passage of state and local laws, but the ratification of the Eighteenth Amendment and the passage of the Volstead Act (providing for federal enforcement of the amendment) in 1919 overcame the best efforts of brewers, distillers, and their supporters. The national legislation did not outlaw the consumption of alcohol but its manufacture and sale. Private individuals with stocks such as wine cellars were free to continue to consume in their homes. An additional loophole existed in allowing limited production for religious use and medical need.

Interpretation and enforcement of the new law was mostly at the local level, and states and lower divisions

did have the authority to pass further legislation that did not countermand national law. For example, in 1922 the California legislature passed the Wright Act to create the means for state officials to enforce prohibition.[40] Nevertheless, many districts were known for either lenient or strict enforcement, and there were reports of graft and corruption. Furthermore, exceptions for religious use or medical need caused enforcement agents difficulty in determining at what point in the manufacture the product became illegal.

As well as the allowed religious and medical manufacture, some breweries reformulated or designed recipes for low-alcohol "near" beer (.5% ABV or less). Mission Brewing released Hopski well ahead of national prohibition but did not find a sustainable market for their product. An Escondido man claimed to develop a process to remove all alcohol from "real" beer.[41] Those breweries licensed for medicinal liquor manufacture found implementation involved restructuring and equipment retrofitting as well as finding new suppliers, wholesalers, and outlets. Faced with an expensive undertaking with no guarantee of a sustainable market, many chose to close. Zitt closed San Diego Consolidated Brewing, as he chose not to brew at all if SDCBC could not brew its famous "quality" beer. The waterfront brewery property sat vacant. This left San Diego County without legal access to beer, although there was illegal and sometimes dangerous product available as was the case across the nation.

While prohibition advocates counted on women to support the new legal regime, some women resorted to bootlegging for a variety of reasons, frequently as a means to support their family. Bootleggers favored trade

in hard liquor over beer due to the profit to volume ratio but sold beer when the opportunity presented. Male law enforcement and judges were reluctant to deal harshly with women offenders due to family needs and social norms. Juana Ruiz, a female bootlegger in San Diego, was arrested ten times for violation of California's Wright Act, but her arrests generally resulted in suspended sentences.[42]

An option for San Diegans and other Southern Californians was travel to Mexico for liquor and beer. Cervecería Azteca, financed by San Diego investors, opened in Mexicali in 1921. Those desiring alcohol could simply walk cross the border, drink what they wished, and walk back. Other breweries in Mexico also took advantage of this opportunity for cross-border business, and the press noted numerous celebrities traveling across the border to enjoy themselves.[43]

Soon, a growing number of Americans recognized that prohibitionwas unworkable. Some former temperance supporters admitted failure and worked to overturn the law. The Women's Organization for National Prohibition Reform, led by Pauline Sabin, a former "dry," grew to over a million members and worked to repeal the Eighteenth Amendment. Economic forces driven by the start of the Great Depression also worked against prohibition, as men thrown into unemployment saw breweries and dependent businesses as employment opportunities taken away from them. State governments experienced not only the reduction of revenue from liquor and beer taxes and licenses, but increased expense in law enforcement, court proceedings, and incarceration. These costs were not balanced by anticipated revenue increases from redirected spending on clothing and household goods.

Prohibition ended with the ratification of the Twenty-first Amendment in 1933. Congress had proposed the amendment in February, and on December 5, the requisite number of states approved the measure. Prior to the ratification, Congress had passed a law permitting the sale of low-alcohol beer (under 3.2% by weight) and wine. Thus the resumption of the production and sale of alcohol occurred incrementally over the course of 1933. The rush was on to establish breweries in San Diego before prohibition officially ended. As it became clear the states were certain to repeal the Eighteenth Amendment, in 1932 Cervecería Azteca announced plans to move into San Diego as soon as legally possible. Other breweries were not far behind in announcing their own plans.

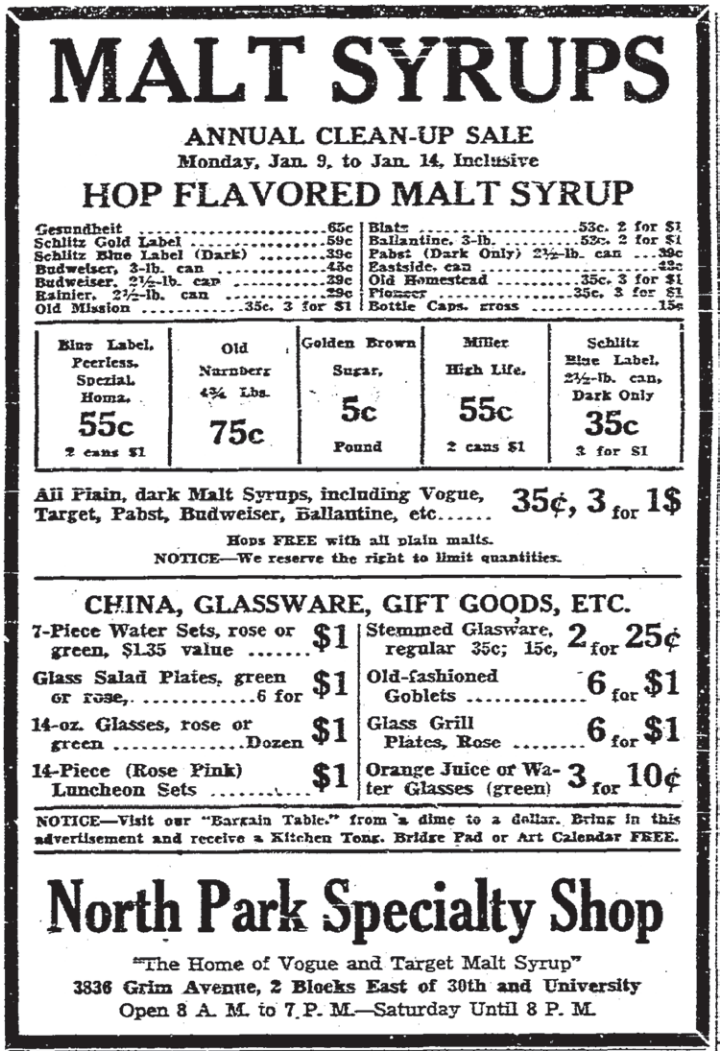
Ritz Brewing was the first to declare its intent to open in a vacant building south of the San Diego's city center with equipment purchased from a Mexican brewery. When the brewery opened in July 1933, it was not under the Ritz name but as Balboa Brewing, although newspaper coverage referred to the brewery by both names for some time. In its first year, Balboa was declared the top beer producer in Southern California and second largest in California. In 1934, Balboa purchased the former Mathie Brewing Company plant in Los Angeles to expand production capacity.

Cervecería Azteca moved from Mexico and changed its name to Aztec Brewing Company of America (ABC). The owners renovated the Savage Tire Company production plant south of the city center. Although Aztec was the first brewery to be granted a beer manufacturer's license in the city, renovations delayed the start of brewing operations until late summer 1933, making ABC the

second post-prohibition brewery opened in San Diego. By 1936, Aztec workers had unionized, a unique development among San Diego breweries. While early distribution was limited due to production capacity, Aztec eventually sold its product not only throughout southern California but as far west as Hawaii, as far east as Kansas, and north to Oregon. The brewery was also noted for its early use of cans rather than bottles.[44]

The speed with which these two breweries were able to open was due to the ready availability of supplies, infrastructure, and manpower. Local barley production was strong, and a plant in nearby Tecate, Mexico was capable of malting the barley for San Diego breweries. Large factory buildings left vacant from the Depression were available with ample room for brewing equipment, as Balboa and Aztec both demonstrated. The locations for both breweries near the San Diego port area boosted the economy and put men to work not only brewing but in transport, delivery, and storage of raw materials. According to the *San Diego Union*, in 1933 Aztec brought 120 jobs to the local economy, and the paper credited the brewery with attracting additional trade to the community.[45]

In 1935, Balboa moved its entire brewery operation to Los Angeles, began producing under the name Monarch Brewing, and sold its San Diego equipment. This left Aztec as the only operating local brewery. Not to be left out, J. H. Zitt had been working on plans to revive San Diego Brewing Company. He dropped "Consolidated" from the business name to focus on the brewery operation. Zitt struggled to launch as investors came and went but finally started brewing at the original



MALT SYRUPS

ANNUAL CLEAN-UP SALE

Monday, Jan. 9, to Jan. 14, Inclusive

HOP FLAVORED MALT SYRUP

Gesundheit	65c	Blatz	53c. 2 for $1
Schlitz Gold Label	59c	Ballantine, 3-lb.	53c. 2 for $1
Schlitz Blue Label (Dark)	39c	Pabst (Dark Only) 2½-lb. can	39c
Budweiser, 3-lb. can	45c	Eastside, can	42c
Budweiser, 2½-lb. can	29c	Old Homestead	35c. 3 for $1
Rainier, 2½-lb. can	29c	Pioneer	35c. 3 for $1
Old Mission	35c. 3 for $1	Bottle Caps, gross	15c

Blue Label, Peerless, Special, Homa.	Old Nurnberg 4¾ Lbs.	Golden Brown Sugar,	Miller High Life.	Schlitz Blue Label, 2½-lb. can, Dark Only
55c 2 cans $1	75c	5c Pound	55c 2 cans $1	35c 3 for $1

All Plain, dark Malt Syrups, including Vogue, Target, Pabst, Budweiser, Ballantine, etc..... 35¢, 3 for 1$

Hops FREE with all plain malts.
NOTICE—We reserve the right to limit quantities.

CHINA, GLASSWARE, GIFT GOODS, ETC.

7-Piece Water Sets, rose or green, $1.35 value	$1	Stemmed Glasware, regular 35c; 15c,	2 for 25¢
Glass Salad Plates, green or rose, 6 for	$1	Old-fashioned Goblets	6 for $1
14-oz. Glasses, rose or green Dozen	$1	Glass Grill Plates, Rose	6 for $1
14-Piece (Rose Pink) Luncheon Sets	$1	Orange Juice or Water Glasses (green)	3 for 10¢

NOTICE—Visit our "Bargain Table." from a dime to a dollar. Bring in this advertisement and receive a Kitchen Tong, Bridge Pad or Art Calendar FREE.

North Park Specialty Shop

"The Home of Vogue and Target Malt Syrup"
3836 Grim Avenue, 2 Blocks East of 30th and University
Open 8 A. M. to 7 P. M.—Saturday Until 8 P. M.

Prohibition-era Pabst malt advertisement. (*San Diego Union*, January 8, 1933, 4.)

site in 1935 and sold beer in 1936. Rumors circulated that Mission would re-open but that did not happen.[46]

There were non-local competitors to Aztec and San

Diego Brewing as distributors for eastern and European beers began operations along the California coast. Nationally distributed beers such as Pabst Blue Ribbon and Lucky Lager advertised extensively in the local newspapers and were available in San Diego even before the local breweries were open. In some cases, the malt syrup for these brands was openly sold during prohibition and established a brand loyalty that Aztec and San Diego beers did not have.[47]

San Diego Brewing operated until 1942 when the brewery's waterfront property was condemned by eminent domain for construction of a naval shipbuilding yard. Zitt, now eighty-two years old, did not pursue relocating or selling the brewery, and San Diego Brewing closed.

Aztec continued as the only San Diego brewery until its sale in 1948 to Altes Brewing of Detroit, Michigan. Altes intended to expand nationally and supply "eastern" beer at local prices by brewing at various locations. Aztec's ABC branding was retained, but the beer recipes and the brewing equipment were changed to fit Altes' established style and processes.[48] Even though the headquarters was in Michigan, the local brewery supported bowling and baseball teams as part of the community. Altes was not one of the largest national breweries and found itself unable to compete with other brands distributed nationally. Sales began to drop in 1951 and the brewery closed in 1953.[49] This closure ended commercial brewing in San Diego until 1987.

From its humble origins in the nineteenth century, the brewing industry in San Diego enjoyed some moderate success in the face of challenges stemming from both local conditions and nationwide developments. As

was the case in so much of San Diego's early economic history, the region's small population and lack of reliable transportation connections hindered the growth of local brewing. While local temperance forces did not succeed in suppressing San Diego's few early-twentieth century brewers, national prohibition killed the last remaining local producer. The end of prohibition brought a brief resurgence of local brewing, but the national trend of consolidation in the beer industry snuffed out commercial brewing by the 1950s. Ironically, increasingly sophisticated networks of transportation and distribution brought an end to the isolation that had hampered the growth of San Diego's brewing industry in the nineteenth century but that had also allowed small local producers to operate successfully. San Diego's market for beer was now thrown open, creating a situation in which smaller local producers could not compete against mass producers from outside the region. In a final coda, though, San Diego now enjoys a reputation as a craft-beer epicenter, and the county's leading breweries have penetrated markets across the nation.

NOTES

1 Wort is the liquid derived from boiling roasted barley to provide the sugars necessary for fermentation.

2 Ernie Liwag, "Craft Beer in San Diego Society," *The Journal of San Diego History* 53, 1-2 (2007): 24-36, https://sandiegohistory.org/journal/v53-1/pdf/2007-1_beer.pdf (accessed May 10, 2019); Ernie Liwag and Matthew Schiff, "San Diego's Craft Brew Culture," *The Journal of San Diego History* 59, 1-2 (2013): 5-22, https://sandiegohistory.org/journal/v59-1/v59-1schiff-liwag.pdf (accessed May 10, 2019).

3 Edith Webb, "Agriculture in the Days of the Early California Padres" *The Americas* 4, no.3 (1948): 325-344 http://www.jstor.org/stable/978604 (accessed May 20, 2018.)

4 The native California hoptree (*Ptelea crenulata*) is in a different taxonomic order from the European common hop (*Humulus lupulus*) and unsuitable for use in brewing.

5 Early fermented beverages without hops are considered 'gruit' and require herbs or other bittering agent.

6 Tiah Edmundson-Morton, "What's the Story of U.S. Hops and How do We Save It?" https://www.usahops.org/cabinet/data/Tiah_Edmunson_Morton_Friday_am.pdf (accessed December 15, 2019); Annette Kassis, *Prohibition in Sacramento: Moralizers & Bootleggers in the Wettest City in the Nation*. (Charleston, SC: The History Press, 2014).

7 "Hop Culture," *San Diego Union*, December 5, 1872. All articles from the *San Diego Union* and *Evening Tribune* are from the Readex/Newsbank America's Historical Newspapers database.

8 Kassis, *Prohibition in Sacramento*, 28.

9 1850 U.S. Census, "Table I: Whites, Colored, Indians Domesticated and Foreigners," in *Population and Industry of California by the State Census for the Year 1852* pg. 982, https://www2.census.gov/library/publications/decennial/1850/1850a/1850a-47.pdf. Of the county population, ninety-eight claimed foreign birth.

10 1870 U.S. Census, "Population by Counties, 1790-1870, Table II, State of California" p. 14-15, https://www2.census.gov/library/publications/decennial/1870/population/1870a-05.pdf and "Selected Nativities by Country" p. 346-347, https://www2.census.gov/library/publications/decennial/1870/population/1870a-34.pdf.

Of the county population 1,208 (24.3%) individuals identified as foreign born.

11 R. A Middlebrook and R. V. Dodge, "San Diego's First Railroad" *San Diego Historical Society* Quarterly 2, no. 1 (1956). http://sandiegohistory.org/journal/1956/january/railroad-2/ (accessed May 10, 2018).

12 *1870 U.S. Census, Schedule 1, San Diego, California, Page: 500A; dwelling 566, Christian Dobler*, digital image, HeritageQuest Online, accessed May 1, 2018, http://ancestryheritagequest.com/hqa. Dobler's name is frequently misspelled, and in one work, he is identified as Conrad Doblier, but his gravestone in Sorrento Valley renders his name as "Dobler."

13 *1880 U.S. Census, Schedule 1, San Diego, California, Page: 557; dwelling 452, Christian Dobler*, digital image, HeritageQuest Online, accessed May 1, 2018, http://ancestryheritagequest.com/hqa; "The California Reader Question" *San Diego Union*, August 31, 1878.

14 *1870 U.S. Census, Schedule 1, San Diego, California, Page: 612; dwelling 626, Phillip Wedel*, digital image, HeritageQuest Online, accessed May 1, 2018, http://ancestryheritagequest.com/hqa. His birthplace is noted as Germany.

15 "The Brewery Garden" *San Diego Union*, June 15, 1872.

16 "Chaparal A Housetop" *San Diego Daily World*, June 15, 1873.

17 "San Diego Brewery," *San Diego Union*, May 27, 1871.

18 "Depot" was a term used for a distributorship that may also serve beer and liquor.

19 "Ale Brewery," *San Diego Union*, February 16, 1872; "Something about Brewing," *San Diego Union*, December 26, 1872.

20 "Certificate of Copartnership," *San Diego Union*, September 15, 1878. Note Dobler's name is spelled "Dobliar." "Notice," *San Diego Union*, December 12, 1878.

21 "Latest News" [The new hall at the San Diego brewery], *San Diego Union*, May 4, 1878.

22 "House Moving," *Daily San Diegan*, December 20, 1887.

23 "Brief mention," *San Diego Union*, October 8, 1888.

24 1870 U.S. Census. "Population of Civil Divisions Less Than Counties, Table III-California," p. 91, https://www2.census.gov/library/publications/decennial/1870/population/1870a-12.pdf (accessed May 10, 2018). Richard Pourade, "The Glory Years:

1865-1899," *The History of San Diego*, https://www.sandiegohistory.org/archives/books/gloryyears/ch4/ (accessed May 30, 2018).

25 "Local Intelligence," *San Diego Union*, October 23, 1895; "Big Brewery Coming," *San Diego Union*, October 29, 1895; ["It is not generally known..."] *Evening Tribune (San Diego)*, February 27, 1896.

26 "Big Brewery Coming: The Plant will be Built on the Bayfront," *San Diego Union*, October 31, 1895.

27 "Brewery for Ensenada," *Evening Tribune (San Diego)*, September 23, 1897.

28 There were other attempts to open breweries in San Diego prior to national prohibition. Panama Brewing, named to capitalize on the upcoming Panama-California Exposition, announced plans in 1911 but did not open. The newspapers reported another unnamed enterprise that never materialized. There were at least two businesses (San Francisco Brewery operated by D. C. Hermann and Philadelphia Brewery) that were bottling operations for beer made outside the county and did not brew on site. Why these breweries do not become reality is unknown but in looking at the challenges experienced in leadership, funding, and construction by the predecessor breweries, it may be these attempts faced similar challenges too great to overcome.

29 "Plans Adopted for Big Brewing Plant: Attractive Building will Occupy Site in Middletown," *San Diego Weekly Union*, March 21, 1912. The original concept in the article's illustration showed signage reading 'Bay City Brewery" but opened as Mission Brewery.

30 "Ordinance No. 121," *Evening Tribune*, February 15, 1901.

31 The State Historical Society of Missouri. *Famous Missourian*s. Carry A. Nation changed the spelling of her name from the birth spelling of Carrie in 1903 as part of her anti-alcohol campaign. https://shsmo.org/historicmissourians/name/n/nation/ (accessed June 10, 2018).

32 Woman's Christian Temperance Union Records, MS 221, San Diego History Center Document Collection, San Diego, CA. Meeting minutes reflect a number of different initiatives with little mention of temperance. https://www.sandiegohistory.org/archives/archivalcollections/ms221/ (accessed May 10, 2018).

[33] From a review of the minutes of the San Diego WCTU. San Diego History Center, MS 211.

[34] From a survey of *San Diego Union & Daily Bee* newspaper issues for 1907.

[35] US Congress, Senate, Committee on the Judiciary, *Brewing and Liquor Interests and German Propaganda: Hearings before a Subcommittee*, 65th Cong. 2nd sess., 1918 https://archive.org/details/brewingandliquo03assogoog (accessed June 20, 2018)

[36] This act worked to redirect agricultural production to the war effort in tandem with voluntary self-deprivation encouraged by government agencies.

[37] "Distilled Spirits, Wines, and Malt Liquors: Quantities Consumed and Average Annual Consumption per Capita in the United States, 1850-1920" https://www2.census.gov/library/publications/1921/compendia/statab/43ed/1920-07.pdf#[5,{%22name%22:%22FitH%22},802] (accessed July 5, 2018)

[38] "Be Sure to Know What You Are Voting On," [display ad by the United California Industries], *Evening Tribune*, October 24, 1916.

[39] "Below Copy of Some Correspondence Between Mr. W. J. Simpson, Representative of Our Company at Fresno, California, and the Owner of the Residence Occupied by Mr. Simpson and His Family," *San Diego Union*, September 27, 1916. "Theories Don't Make Men Temperate'" *Evening Tribune* (San Diego, California), October 16, 1914.

[40] "Wright Enforcement Act Held Up Will be Submitted to Voters in November, 1922," *California Grape Grower*, August 1, 1921, 7. https://books.google.com/books (accessed July 5, 2018).

[41] The process for creating White Ribbon Beer was developed in 1915 by the Escondido Wine Company but required traditionally-brewed beer as a base. Union Brewing in Anaheim, CA used the process on beer from a Los Angeles brewer to create alcohol-free beer in 1917.

[42] "Woman Arrested 10th Time on Wright Act Charges," *Evening Tribune*, May 9, 1929; "Arrested 11th Time on Liquor Law Charge," *San Diego Union*, May 9, 1929.

[43] Lawrence D. Taylor, "The Wild Frontier Moves South: U.S. Entrepreneurs and the Growth of Tijuana's Vice Industry, 1908-1935" *The Journal of San Diego History* 48 no. 3 (Summer 2002).

[44] "Local A.B.C. Beer Shipments Heavy," *San Diego Union*,

October 4, 1933.

45 "Million Dollar Brewery Beckons Millions to City," *San Diego Union*, October 29, 1933.

46 "Brewing Concern Begins Work on San Diego Plant," *San Diego Union*, May 19, 1953.

47 "Malt Syrups Annual Clean-Up Sale," [display advertisement], *San Diego Union*, January 8, 1933.

48 "Altes Brewery, Former Aztec Entertains 5000 at Preview," *San Diego Union*, February 22, 1949.

49 "Altes' San Diego Brewery Closes," *San Diego Union*, March 19, 1953.

Martha Matthews, *Juggling Act / Vacations*, Artists Proof, 1979, print, 18"x15" SDHC 2018.56.1

IN THE ARCHIVES: THE SAVING MARTHA PROJECT

LEILANI ALONTAGA-CAITHNESS

We present here an installment of a regular feature of *The Journal* in which contributors 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.

In 1969, American artist Mierle Laderman Ukeles (b. 1939) wrote her manifesto, "Maintenance Art Manifesto 1969! Proposal for an Exhibition: 'CARE,'" which went on to influence generations of feminist artists.[1] In this seminal piece, Ukeles posited that the maintenance of objects, spaces, and people are poorly remunerated (often unpaid) and rarely acknowledged yet essential daily tasks crucial to the success of the family, home, and society at large. She wrote, "I am an artist. I am a woman. I am a wife. I am a mother (random order). I do a hell of a lot of washing, cleaning, cooking, renewing, supporting, preserving, etc. . . now I will simply do these maintenance everyday things, and flush them up to consciousness, exhibit them, as Art."[2]

Ukeles's manifesto had its greatest influence on art produced from the 1960s to the 1980s, when women artists freely explored the environment of the home,

domesticity, family, and the objects associated with those facets of life across a variety of media. One such creative, Martha Matthews (1935–2019), the subject of the Saving Martha Project, was a San Diego-based artist who was also influenced by the idea that daily rituals in the domestic space could serve as valid and important inspirations for artistic practice. Examples of this influence can be seen in her nearly 300 collages and silkscreen prints that were produced during the latter half of the 1970s, many of which drew inspiration from everyday domestic objects.[3]

Similar to other feminist artists of the time, Matthews appropriated the use of unconventional subjects and media that were traditionally linked to the femininity.[4] Matthews also aimed to expand the definition of fine art while incorporating her own social and political perspectives and ideas—a break from the formal training she received at art school where she was encouraged to draw from the theories that inspired the work of the abstract expressionists such as Jackson Pollock and Mark Rothko.[5]

THE ARTIST: MARTHA MATTHEWS (1935–2019)

Matthews was born in Rhode Island in 1935 and throughout her childhood enrolled in art classes at Rhode Island School of Design, where she later attended college and graduated in 1956 with a degree in illustration.[6] Soon after graduating, Matthews worked as a trainee artist for the New York advertising firm Carloni for nine months before she married Jerry Matthews and moved to Kansas.[7] In 1965, they settled in Del Mar when her husband accepted a position at the Scripps Institute of Oceanography.[8] In 1976, she graduated with a master's degree in fine art from San Diego State University and taught drawing for

several years there as a teaching assistant and at other local colleges in and around San Diego.[9] It was during this period that Matthews produced nearly 300 hand-pulled silkscreen prints that explored her fascination with perforated kitchen gadgets such as colanders, tea balls, and sink drains. She wrote in 1976, "the narrow rectangles that confine the tea ball, and the repetition of this shape in defining the borders that surround it, symbolize the frustrations of our lives."[10] Pivotal to her style were atmospheric narratives influenced by pop art, filled with symbolic motifs that have been sharply undercut with themes of irony, monotony, humor, and joy—all grounded within domesticity and inspired by the objects that are linked to the many important roles women must play in daily life.[11]

As a result, Matthews used textiles and other organic media as a basis for experimentation throughout her prints.[12] In *Juggling Acts/Vacation* (1977) a busy narrative is anchored by a large, blue doily serving as the central motif of the print. The days of the week, written out in order and repeated twice, sequentially around the doily, are separated by a finger pointing to the next day; they serve as a border to the doily that contains two hands within it that appear to be in motion, juggling a teapot (a kitchen object), a butterfly (a symbol of ephemerality, fragility, and salvation) and an auspicious pear (a symbol of fecundity).[13] In the lower right section of the print, the same finger that separates Saturday and Sunday points down to an illustration of a geographic region in southeast England, perhaps the destination of Matthews's vacation.

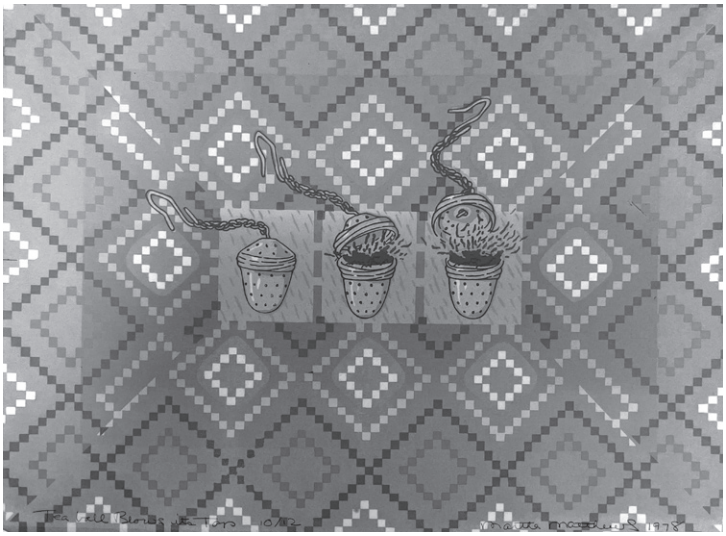
By combining text and images Matthews aimed to construct and highlight the complex definition of female

identity while highlighting the literal realities of juggling daily life and critiquing the stereotyped and fetishized depictions of women in art that, until then, largely ignored the female experience. Matthews also attempted to give symbolic value to overlooked sources of female creativity, while simultaneously acknowledging that a woman's value and relevance are heavily based on the idea of motherhood and the domestic space.

THE SAVING MARTHA PROJECT

In 2017, San Diego-based artist Lynn Schuette (b.1948) established the Saving Martha Project with the mission of preserving and archiving Matthews's artworks.[14] Schuette has stated the singular focus of the project was to "...preserve Martha Matthews [sic] print work from the 1970s by documenting and storing it in archival materials, working to get it accepted in appropriate institutional archives, arranging exhibitions, and preparing related historical documents. The Saving Martha Project can be used as a model for other San Diego women who have bodies of work that lack recognition."[15]

In 2018, the Saving Martha Project donated a small but very significant part of its collection to the San Diego History Center's Research Archives.[16] The donation consisted of eight silkscreen prints, some from the *Tea Ball* series (1976), in which Matthews aimed to "record the adventures of an animated tea ball," and artifacts such as the *Atomic Bomb Potholder* (circa 1970) and the *Jimmy and Rosalyn Carter Flyswatter* (1970).[17] The majority of the pieces donated to the History Center are from the period in which Matthews was almost exclusively engaged with the practice of making silkscreen prints, from 1973 to 1979.[18]



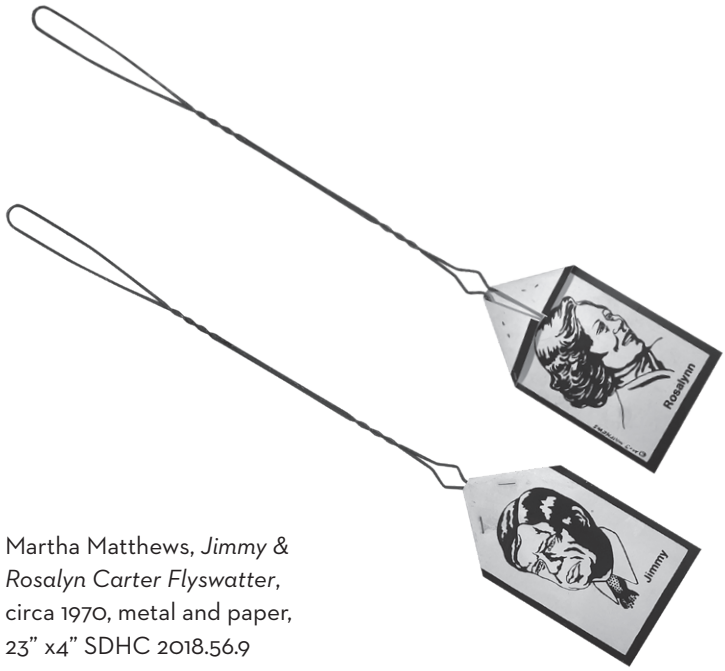
Martha Matthews, *Tea Ball Blows Its Top*, 10/12, 1978, print, 11"x15"
SDHC 2018.56.7

While Matthews's contemporaries such as Eleanor Antin (b.1935) and Martha Rossler (b.1943), both teachers at the University of California, San Diego in the 1970s, received international acclaim for their work, very little is publicly known about Matthews, despite her having exhibited work in dozens of important exhibits in the San Diego region.[19] Soon after Matthews's death in 2019, an exhibit, SASSY, curated by Lynn Schuette, sought to reinvigorate the work of the late artist and inadvertently established a basis for broader intellectual inquiry into the intersections of art and feminism in San Diego during the 1970s.[20]

Through Matthews's impressive body of work, we are also able to draw parallels to pivotal moments in feminist art history that Matthews was undoubtedly engaged with and felt compelled to explore in her work. The San Diego

Martha Matthews, *Atomic Bomb Potholder*, circa 1970, canvas in plastic, 11.5"x11" SDHC 2018.56.10

History Center's collection is also a display of Matthews's innate wit and talent as an illustrator and artist, seen in the intricate melding of various styles and influences used to tell her own personal and melancholic story. There are a few pressing questions that could be posed to pursue a deeper reading of Matthews's work. For example, her prints hint at some of the stylistic and didactic qualities seen in illuminated manuscripts from the early fifteenth century. We have learned that many were made by women, for a female audience, with the intent to provide positive examples of obedience and motherhood. Was Matthews drawing from these manuscripts for inspiration? Were her prints a critique of these instructional manuscripts that



Martha Matthews, *Jimmy & Rosalyn Carter Flyswatter*, circa 1970, metal and paper, 23" x4" SDHC 2018.56.9

were often seen in retrospect as misogynistic in nature? What were Matthews's experiences with and beliefs about the topic of motherhood and pursuing a career as an artist? Did Matthews long for motherhood? Did she feel confined to the home, or did she consider it a place of creativity?

While over forty years have passed since Matthews created some 300 prints and collages that explored feminist ideologies at the height of the women's rights movement during the 1970s, her work is still very relevant today and should serve as a foundation to discuss the complex personal and social issues women artists experience that are unknown to their male counterparts.

LEILANI ALONTAGA-CAITHNESS IS A COLLECTIONS SPECIALIST AT THE SAN DIEGO HISTORY CENTER AND OVERSEES THE RESEARCH, DEVELOPMENT, AND CARE OF THE FINE ART, 3-D OBJECT, AND HISTORIC TEXTILE COLLECTIONS. ALONTAGA-CAITHNESS HOLDS A MASTER'S DEGREE IN HISTORY OF ART FROM THE UNIVERSITY OF EDINBURGH, A GRADUATE CERTIFICATE IN MUSEUM STUDIES, ART HISTORY, AND CRITICISM FROM TUFTS UNIVERSITY, AND A BA IN HISTORY FROM COKER UNIVERSITY. SHE IS A MEMBER OF THE LEVERHULME INTERNATIONAL NETWORK OF TRANSNATIONAL PERSPECTIVES ON WOMEN'S ART, FEMINISM, AND CURATING.

NOTES

1 Hilary Robinson, Lucinda Gosling, Amy Tobin, *The Art of Feminism: Images that Shaped the Fight for Equality, 1857-2017*. (San Francisco: Chronicle Books LLC, 2018), 96.

2 Mierle Laderman Ukeles, Manifesto for Maintenance Art, 1969! Proposal for an Exhibition: "CARE," Philadelphia: Oct. 1969. Four typewritten pages, each 8 1/2 x 11 in. Courtesy of the artist and Ronald Feldman Gallery New York, 3. <.https://feldmangallery.com/exhibition/manifesto-for-maintenance-art-1969> April 1, 2022.

3 Understandably, this school of thought split into two theoretical branches: one that considered that women in the home were in "internal exile" and another that used motherhood and the domestic space as a source of reflection and believed the home could be considered a place of creativity. Hilary Robinson, Lucinda Gosling, Amy Tobin, *The Art of Feminism: Images that Shaped the Fight for Equality, 1857-2017* (San Francisco: Chronicle Books LLC, 2018), 96.

4 Martha Matthews, "The Tea Ball: Ironic and Decorative Images in Art," MFA thesis, (San Diego State University, 1976), 2.

5 Ibid.

6 Leah Ollman, "Show at Sushi is Artistic Alternative to a Diet of Fabergé Eggs," *Los Angeles Times*, Friday, October 27, 1989, F25.

7 Robert Perine, "Painter Martha Matthews Transcends the Light of the Upper World to the Mysteries of Catacombs, Cave and

Subway," *The Publication*, August 1998, 4. Correspondence with Lynn Schuette and Jerry Matthews, email message with author, March 10, 2022.

8 Email correspondence with Lynn Schuette, email message with author, March 10, 2022.

9 Perine, "Painter Martha Matthews," 4.

10 Matthews, "The Tea Ball," 2.

11 The term *radical domesticity* was coined by Bruce Kamerling Curator, Kaytie Johnson, who assisted in the 2018 donation of the accession 2018. Conversation with Lynn Schuette during studio visit, February 1, 2022.

12 Matthews was inspired by decorative art, indigenous art, naïve art, and other artistic practices that were traditionally associated with women as discussed in her MFA thesis. Matthews, "The Tea Ball," 2-3.

13 Lucia Impelluso, *Nature and Its Symbols*, Guide to Imagery Series (Los Angeles: Getty, 2004), 112, 154. The pear was associated with Venus because the broad lower part of the fruit bears semblance to the female womb.

14 Lynn Schuette met Martha during the 1970s and they remained close friends throughout their time in San Diego. Lynn Schuette was the executive director of Sushi Performance & Visual Art (1980-1995) which she founded. Sushi developed from the 1979 visual and performance series Artists Work Here, also organized by Schuette. The non-profit organization was created to be an alternative exhibition and performance space that would support both local and visiting contemporary artists.

15 Email correspondence with Lynn Schuette, April 1, 2022 with author.

16 San Diego History Center Accession number 2018.56, Gift of the Saving Martha Project and Jerry Matthews.

17 Matthews, "The Tea Ball: Ironic and Decorative Images in Art," 2.

18 Karen Kenyon, "Martha's World of Fantastic Irony," *North County Panorama* (San Marcos, CA), December 30, 1982. After 1980, Matthews went on to create a series of ominous paintings in which she critiqued industrialization and depicted barren industrial landscapes scarred by technology that was introduced under the guise of progress and advancing civilization. This shift in medium was due to the severe asthma-like symptoms that

resulted from Matthews's exposure to printing solvents. Hilary Robinson, Lucinda Gosling, and Amy Tobin, *The Art of Feminism: Images that Shaped the Fight for Equality, 1857-2017* (San Francisco: Chronicle Books, 2018), 7.

19 Lynn Schuette, "List of Group and Solo Exhibitions for Martha Matthews," (San Diego, 2019). Exhibition Prospectus.

20 Lynn Schuette, SASSY, *An Exhibition in Celebration of Her Art and Spirit* (San Diego, 2019),1. Exhibition Prospectus.

CORRECTION

In the Fall 2021 edition of *The Journal of San Diego History* (Vol. 67 no. 2), the article titled "Goodbody Mortuary: A Century of Service and How it Began" by Rev. James D. Smith III (pp. 155 to 158) included an editing and layout error. The photo on p. 156 overlaps the text and hides a significant portion from view. The editors did not deliberately remove this text, and we apologize to the author and our readers for the error. The full and correct text of the effected paragraph is as follows:

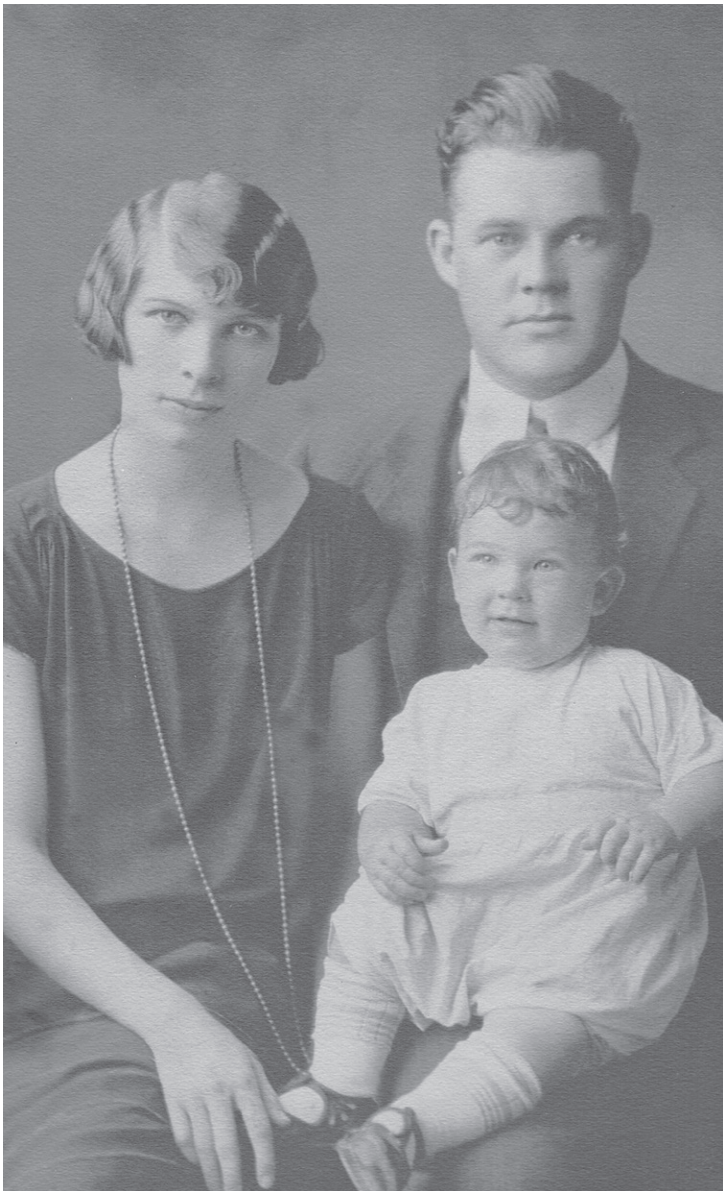
Yet just one year later James was writing on "Smith, Goodbody & Dunn" letterhead. What had happened? In part, the Smiths realized how much they loved San Diego. A recently revitalized Balboa Park and a new zoo gave life to the growing city. Children Ruth and James Jr. were born. The mortician was treasurer for the Boys & Girls Aid Society of San Diego, founded "for the care and protection of homeless children." He raised funds for the new YMCA building on Broadway, near Union Depot. Amid "growing pains," the family found a place of worship and service at First Methodist Episcopal Church, downtown.

These experiences opened the Smiths to creating a business partnership with two special families. First, there were the Dunns. Thomas F. (with wife Mary) also

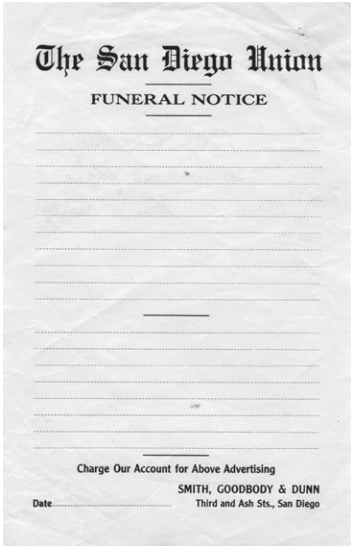
had Pennsylvania roots, came west to serve as undertaker in Esmeralda County, Nevada, and crossed paths with James D. (J. D.) during a San Diego stay. A new friendship blossomed, and they began to talk business. But twenty-year-old salesman Michael D. Goodbody—soon to marry Dorothy Payne in 1923—was the catalyst. In a 1988 conversation, their eldest son Bernie told how his father made deliveries for the Hardy Meat Company, called on the Smiths, and loved both the professional and spiritual values evident in the memorial services. Meanwhile, J. D. saw in him a bright, teachable mind, strong Catholic Christian ethic, and boundless energy.

THE AUTHOR, REV. JAMES D. SMITH III, WISHES TO INCLUDE THE FOLLOWING ADDITIONAL PHOTOS AS WELL.

James D. Smith (Michael Goodbody's mentor) with wife Lillian, circa 1926. Courtesy of the author.



Michael & Dorothy Goodbody, with firstborn Bernie, circa 1925. Courtesy of Anne Goodbody Ehrlich.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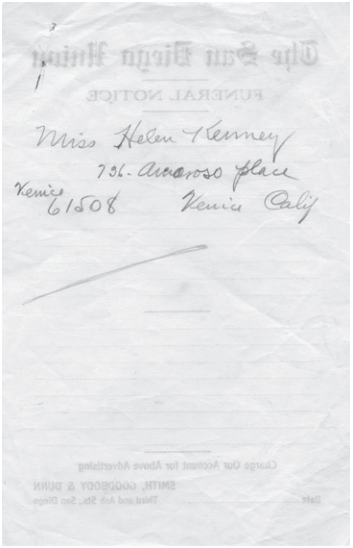
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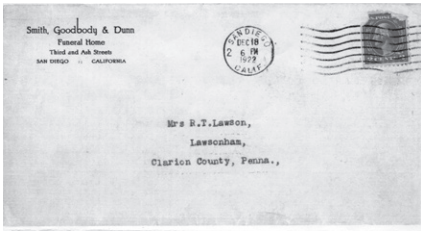
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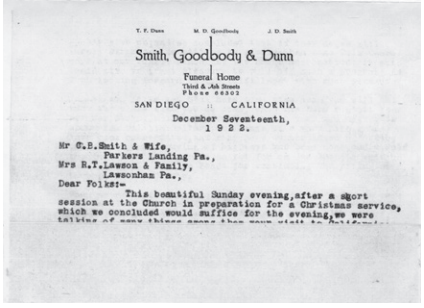
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December Seventeenth,

1922.

Mr C.B.Smith & Wife,

Parkers Landing Pa.,

Mrs R.T.Lawson & Family,

Lawsonham Pa.,

Dear Folks:-

This beautiful Sunday evening, after a short session at the Church in preparation for a Christmas service, which we concluded would suffice for the evening, we were

(Above) Note paper, circa 1930, used for memorial planning and publicity. Courtesy of the author. (Left) "Smith, Goodbody & Dunn" stationery, used by J. D. in 1922 letter to family in Pennsylvania. Courtesy of the author.

THE COMPLETE CORRECTED VERSION WITH ALL PHOTOS CAN BE FOUND ON THE SAN DIEGO HISTORY CENTER WEBSITE: HTTPS://SANDIEGOHISTORY.ORG/JOURNALS

BOOK REVIEWS

FOOTSTEPS FROM THE PAST INTO THE FUTURE: KUMEYAAY STORIES OF BAJA CALIFORNIA. BY MARGARET FIELD. SAN DIEGO: SAN DIEGO STATE UNIVERSITY PRESS, 2019. ILLUSTRATIONS AND NOTES. 71 PP. $14.95 PAPER.
Reviewed by Christine Jacobites, MA Candidate, Department of History, San Diego State University.

In *Footsteps from the Past into the Future: Kumeyaay Stories of Baja California*, Margaret Field uses oral interviews and recordings of Kumeyaay elders to document traditional stories of the Kumeyaay people. These stories include the voices of four women and one man. Traditionally, only the boys were sent to public school, where they were taught Spanish, and the girls stayed home to help with chores, leaving more women than men who are still fluent in the Kumeyaay language. While Native Kumeyaay land once stretched from north San Diego County to Baja California, all five oral interviews in this book come from people who live south of the US-Mexico border. The tales told here include a creation story, a biographical story, and tales that explain the relationships between animals and people. This book preserves narratives and traditions that are at risk of being lost to history as fluent speakers pass away.

The stories are written in Kumeyaay, Spanish, and English. The trilingual layout of the book provides an

immersive experience as well as a unique perspective for readers who have not seen or heard the Kumeyaay language. In Kumeyaay folklore, animals used to behave like people and shared the same characteristics. These stories are alive with humor, wisdom, and wit. They provide relatable experiences, comic relief, and moral teachings. The first chapter, "The Twins from the Sea" is the creation story that tells how the world and people were first made. The chapter titled "Quail Chick" tells of how the eponymous bird was able to outwit Coyote and not become his dinner. "Wildcat" explains why humans cut their hair short when in mourning, while "Lunar Eclipse" is a warning tale of what to do and what not to do during the celestial event. "The Fourth of October" describes a time when people would gather, often traveling great distances to be together, celebrate, feast, and honor the dead. "Broken Pots" is the harrowing yet resilient story of how despite being "broken," the Kumeyaay people are still here—just as the broken pots in the mountains remain because they are made of this land. Each story is an important cultural and spiritual link to the past and, thanks to Margaret Field, can now be handed down to future generations.

Footsteps From the Past into the Future has the power to captivate its readers and make them feel as if they are sitting with an elder listening to stories in a community, surrounded by love. It is a physical collection of stories that have been told for hundreds of years, reflecting voices full of strength, wisdom, and courage. Offering a look into Kumeyaay traditions that can be used for teaching along with a trilingual approach for a wide audience, this book is valuable to both academics and the public.

EMPIRE BUILDER: JOHN D. SPRECKELS AND THE MAKING OF SAN DIEGO. BY SANDRA E. BONURA. LINCOLN, NE: UNIVERSITY OF NEBRASKA PRESS, 2020. ILLUSTRATIONS, NOTES, BIBLIOGRAPHY, AND INDEX. XXVII + 407 PP. $34.95 CLOTH. $27.95 PAPER.
Reviewed by Alec Whitson, History MA, San Diego State University.

In *Empire Builder*, historian Sandra Bonura not only details the private and public life of the titular John D. Spreckels but also traces the rise and fall of what was once an expansive and domineering family empire. Beginning with the development of a series of San Francisco-based sugar refineries by entrepreneurial wunderkind Claus Spreckels, the family business interests grew to monopolistic proportions, due largely to the veritable conquest of the Hawaiian sugar industry. In short order, the Spreckels family's vast interests came to include sizeable holdings in the transportation, shipping, and real estate industries across the United States. The centerpiece of Bonura's biography is Claus's eldest son John, who not only went on to establish his own successful business empire outside of his father's control but, through investments in real estate and infrastructure, came to dominate the city of San Diego for nearly a generation. First arriving in San Diego in 1887, the hardworking yet soft-spoken Spreckels took immediate interest in the city, seeing opportunities for investment, regardless of the torturous boom and bust cycles that had thus far characterized the city's development. Between the 1880s and his death in 1926, John D. Spreckels maintained a titanic presence in San

Diego, owning much of the city's critical infrastructure and having a hand in nearly all aspects of its growth into a twentieth-century metropolis.

Yet, despite the massive impact that John D. Spreckels had on San Diego's development, as little has been written about him as there are remaining monuments to his former prowess still in existence—in San Diego or elsewhere. Prior to *Empire Builder*, one of the only sources on the life history of John D. Spreckels was the 1924 biography *The Man, John D. Spreckels*, commissioned and financed by Spreckels himself. Understandably, that biography, written by longtime Spreckels associate Henry Austin Adams, is less a substantive account of Spreckels's life as it is an exercise in propaganda. (Indeed, Adams was paid a monthly stipend as a reward for his work.) In light of such a limited historiography, *Empire Builder* is a tremendous leap forward. It offers an intimate portrait of a complicated and largely forgotten man who forced his way into the annals of San Diego's history with the sheer force of his will, a ruthless business acumen, a disdain for dissent or opposition, and an eye for opportunity.

As Bonura shows in great detail, John D. Spreckels was a man of many hats. He was an intense, monopolistic industrialist yet a loving father. He was also a generous investor in and patron of the arts yet a violent opponent of union activism and any form of dissent. Bonura certainly does not hide the less glamorous aspects of Spreckels's character from the reader, but at times her admiration of the man appears all too obvious. To be clear, Bonura is no Henry Austin Adams; she does not completely ignore Spreckels's ruthlessness in establishing and defending his empire, the industrialist's problematic history of

labor relations, and other less than glamorous aspects of a domineering yet complicated man. But by Bonura's account, such actions are largely justified by the impact he had on San Diego and the near evaporation of his legacy. Furthermore, more negative aspects of Spreckels's life and legacy are examined in far less detail, and provided far less attention, than the positive ones. Specifics of family outings, sailing adventures, and the love lives of John's family members receive far more attention than more sordid affairs such as the ruthless crushing of socialist agitators during the San Diego Free Speech Fight of 1912. To draw a more impartial portrait of a man whose domination was as total as John D. Spreckels, more credence should be paid to the cost of his "greatness" and the lives destroyed by one man's rise to the top than the architectural particulars of his mansions.

As a final judgment, however, Bonura's *Empire Builder* is worthy of mention as the most detailed, well-researched account of John D. Spreckels's life published thus far. Her painstaking compilation of archival materials and oral histories from across the country should be applauded, as should her dedication to telling the story of a man largely forgotten by the citizens of the city he worked so hard to develop.

MYSTERY AT THE BLUE SEA COTTAGE: A TRUE STORY OF MURDER IN SAN DIEGO'S JAZZ AGE. BY JAMES STEWART. DENVER: WILDBLUE PRESS, 2021. ILLUSTRATIONS, BIBLIOGRAPHY, AND ACKNOWLEDGMENTS. 296 PP. $17.49 PAPER.
Reviewed by Taryn Duffy, MA Candidate, Department of History, San Diego State University.

In *Mystery at the Blue Sea Cottage*, James Stewart breathes life back into a century-old unsolved homicide, enthralling readers with the scandal. In 1923, the body of a beautiful, pregnant twenty-year-old exotic dancer was found virtually nude on a San Diego beach under confusing circumstances. Stewart writes, "the Woman's body left an impression in the damp sand, a fleeting trace of her the surf would soon wash away" (p. 27). Like the sand, the story of Frieda "Fritzie" Mann was lost to the waves of time. While the book's focus is Mann's murder, Stewart gives readers a glimpse into how evolving social rules clashed with lingering Victorian moral codes.

With trial transcripts, newspaper accounts, maps, and interviews of relatives of people involved, Stewart aims to recreate the atmosphere surrounding the time in which Mann lived and died. He writes, "the shifting gender norms and rambunctious behavior of the younger set—the late-night drinking and dancing, the permissive attitudes towards sex—had come too far and too fast for traditionalists. There were no safeguards anymore" (p. 15). While Mann may have lived in an era of open mindedness and sexual freedom, the news of her premarital pregnancy caused quite a scandal. Investigators and

the public speculated about the identity of the unborn baby's father and whether he played a role in her death. The investigation led to Louis Jacobs (a physician in the US Public Health Service), whom Mann was dating. One theory was that Mann was killed during an abortion attempt in a beachside cottage. Jacobs was acquitted of murder after a trial.

It is unknown if Mann's death was an accident, but Stewart believes that Jacobs almost certainly played a direct role in her death. Pregnant by his hand, Mann was left with no option but abortion if he would not marry her. She and Jacobs were both responsible for their premarital actions and both should have suffered the consequences, but as Stewart makes clear, only Mann did. Jacobs, a man, exited the scandal unscathed. This further supports Stewart's point that "despite the apparent wave of liberalism and sexual freedom, the Victorian era moral code and associated laws lingered" (p. 58).

Stewart provides readers with a tale of sex, scandal, and murder while showcasing the complexities of evolving societal ideals. Readers and scholars alike will not be disappointed in *Mystery at the Blue Sea Cottage*.

THE RISE AND FALL OF CHARLES LINDBERGH. BY CANDACE FLEMING. NEW YORK: SCHWARTZ & WADE BOOKS OF PENGUIN RANDOM HOUSE LLC, 2020. ILLUSTRATIONS, NOTES, BIBLIOGRAPHY, AND INDEX. 372 PP. $18.99 CLOTH.
Reviewed by Donald H. Harrison, editor emeritus of *San Diego Jewish World* and member of the editorial advisory board of *The Journal of San Diego History*.

Written for high school students, this biography of Charles Lindbergh underscores the wisdom of the decision in 2003 to change the name of Lindbergh Field to San Diego International Airport. Lindbergh used his deserved fame as the first pilot to fly solo across the Atlantic to spread race hatred against many of the peoples who live, like San Diegans, around the Pacific Rim.

The Spirit of St. Louis, the plane in which he made the historic thirty-three 1/2-hour flight, was built in San Diego by thirty-five employees of Ryan Aircraft under the supervision of chief engineer Donald Hall. To carry as much fuel as possible, Ryan's standard aircraft design was altered with extra gas tanks put in front of the pilot. This meant that if Lindbergh wanted a better view of where he was going, he had to stick his head out the window. Everything Lindbergh considered nonessential was stripped from the plane to lessen the weight. So intent was Lindbergh on trading poundage for more fuel, he declined to pack a parachute. "That would cost almost twenty pounds," he told Hall (p. 70).

Hall and Lindbergh worked on the plane tirelessly, day and night, because to the aviator who could fly from New

York over the Atlantic to Paris would go a $25,000 Orteig Prize and a place in history. But however great was their camaraderie up to his May 20–21, 1927, flight, Lindbergh dropped Hall from his list of friends after financial success brought him into the company of millionaire hobbyists, European royalty, and others of a higher socio-economic class.

Charles Jr., the first child born to Lindbergh and his wife, the former Ann Morrow, was kidnapped March 1, 1932 at the age of twenty months and later found dead in a crime that riveted the nation. In 1935, Bruno Hauptmann was convicted and sentenced to death for the murder. Reporters and ordinary people surrounded the Lindbergh family home, climbed in trees, took photos, and tore off souvenirs, turning the family's tragedy into a circus, embittering Lindbergh against America's disorderliness.

Meanwhile, he worked with Nobel Prize-winning biologist Alexis Carrel to develop a perfusion pump by which human organs could be kept alive outside the body—a first step toward organ transplantation. Carrel's belief in the eugenics theory that humanity could be improved through selective breeding was imbibed by Lindbergh, who later became an admirer of the racist theories of Hitler and the Nazis. When Lindbergh toured Germany in connection with the 1936 Olympics, he was honored by that country and was impressed by the orderliness of the crowds who greeted him in contrast to the mobs that gave him no peace in his own country.

Lindbergh came to believe that rather than France and Britain fighting Germany, the three European countries should unite against the West's "true enemies," which he described as the "Asiatic hordes" of Russians, Chinese,

and Japanese (p. 251). In a radio speech, he elaborated: "It is the European race we must preserve: political progress will follow. Racial strength is vital—politics a luxury. If the white race is ever. . . threatened, it may then be time for us to take our part in its protection, to fight side by side with the English, French and Germans, but not with one against the other for our mutual destruction" (p. 256). As a leading spokesman for the America First Movement, which sought to keep the United States out of World War II, Lindbergh suggested President Franklin D. Roosevelt, the embattled British, and American Jews were manipulating the United States into war against the Germans, whom Lindbergh admired for their orderliness, precision, and racial identity.

"The Jewish races. . . for reasons which are not American, wish to involve us in this war," he said during a speech at the Des Moines Coliseum on September 11, 1941—about three months before the Japanese bombing of Pearl Harbor, which precipitated US entry into the war. "We cannot blame them [Jews] for looking out for what they believe to be their own interests, but we must also look out for ours. We cannot allow the natural passions and prejudices of other peoples to lead our country to destruction" (p. 275). At this point, author Candace Fleming inserts her own commentary. "Other peoples?" she questions. "Charles was saying that Jewish people living in this country were not Americans, but *others*—a group living within the United States with no allegiance to the nation" (p. 275).

After the US entered the war, Lindbergh tried to reactivate his commission as a colonel in the Army Air Corps, but he was blocked from doing so by the Roosevelt

administration, which considered Lindbergh to be dangerously pro-Nazi. Lindbergh was able, however, to fly escort missions as a civilian in the Pacific Theatre against the Japanese, which was more to his liking in any event.

This biography makes clear that while he was a great aviator, Lindbergh's racism disqualified him from being the face of multi-cultural, multi-ethnic San Diego.

HISTORY OF THE ATCHISON, TOPEKA AND SANTA FE RAILWAY, NEW EDITION. BY KEITH L. BRYANT JR. AND FRED W. FRAILEY. LINCOLN, NE: UNIVERSITY OF NEBRASKA PRESS, 2020. ILLUSTRATIONS, TABLES, NOTES, BIBLIOGRAPHIC ESSAY, AND INDEX. XVII + 411 PP. $49.95 CLOTH.
Reviewed by Patrick McColgan, MA Student, Department of History, San Diego State University.

For some, especially railway enthusiasts, the Santa Fe Railway is best known for its attractive red and silver diesel locomotives, which pulled glistening passenger trains across the desert at 100 miles per hour between 1937 and 1971. San Diego is no stranger to the Santa Fe's legacy: the Santa Fe Depot is the city's main transportation hub; the railroad's transcontinental line terminated at the National City Depot; and Amtrak Surfliners, Coasters, and freight trains run over the same rails on which those red and silver diesels once ran. The same legacy is all over Southern California: Santa Fe is a common street name; Amtrak and commuter trains stop at Santa Fe stations in Barstow, Los Angeles, and San Bernardino; and the preserved Santa Fe steam locomotive 3751 draws crowds whenever it operates out of Los Angeles.

No doubt, the railway has profoundly influenced Southern California's history and character, as Bryant and Frailey's book illustrates. Since its publication in 1974, Bryant's original work has been the definitive historical account of the Atchison, Topeka and Santa Fe Railway (ATSF), but the passage of time has called for an update. This newly revised edition, co-authored by

Frailey, continues where the original left off, bringing the railroad's story to its 1995 conclusion when it merged with the Burlington Northern Railroad to create the Burlington Northern Santa Fe Railway.

The book examines the Santa Fe's reputation and its social and economic impacts on areas through which it traveled. Bryant and Frailey trace the railroad's history through an array of primary and secondary sources from its 1859 beginning. Its founder, "Colonel" Cyrus K. Holliday, had an ambitious vision: capture trade on the Santa Fe trail and bring people across the Southwest through a railroad that reached the Pacific, the Gulf of Mexico, Mexico City, and the Mexican town of Santa Fe (pp. 1–2). In the end, the ATSF largely fulfilled that vision, although the Mexico plan failed and the railroad, ironically, never actually reached Santa Fe. Spurring agricultural, industrial, and commercial development while facilitating the movement of people west, the Santa Fe effectively created the economic boom that made Southern California and much of the Southwest the major population centers they are today. The company's emphasis on efficiency and conservative financial policies also made it one of America's most successful railroads.

The story of how the railroad reached San Diego is all too fascinating. The Southern Pacific Railroad, which effectively monopolized nineteenth-century railway transportation in California, bypassed San Diego in the 1870s, causing local outrage. The Santa Fe, needing direct access to the Pacific, saw a perfect opportunity to fulfill that goal and break its archrival's monopoly. Generous land and monetary donations from San Diegans helped start construction in 1881, but problems abounded.

Floods washed away the Temecula Canyon line. Money dried up, and only creative financial arm-twisting averted bankruptcy. Southern Pacific crews tried to prevent the ATSF from building across their tracks at Colton. Ultimately, the Santa Fe completed its transcontinental line in 1885, providing the foundation it needed for further California expansion. It entered Los Angeles in 1887 and the San Francisco Bay by the end of the nineteenth century.

Bryant and Frailey examined the owners' and managers' decisions in order to understand the motives behind the railroad's expansion, as well as its relations with its employees and customers. Financial and economic historians will find the management analysis fascinating, thanks to extensive insight into the railroad's accounts, business practices, and operations. Such information may be confusing to ordinary readers but is necessary for understanding the Santa Fe's expansion and influence.

The analysis of employee and customer relations, however, is slightly lacking. Fascinating details regarding the railroad's labor practices, services, and regional economic and demographic impacts make the ATSF's influence onMidwestern and Southwestern societies undeniable. Unfortunately, the authors' examinations of events on the ground tend to be vague or generalized, and limited perspectives from ordinary employees or citizens will leave social historians and those interested in histories "from below" wanting more. Nonetheless, these shortcomings do not diminish the fact that Bryant and Frailey's work is nicely written, well structured, and informative, proving the history of the Santa Fe "is indissolubly linked with the area it traverses" (p. xv).

THE SETTLER SEA: CALIFORNIA'S SALTON SEA AND THE CONSEQUENCES OF COLONIALISM. BY TRACI BRYNNE VOYLES. LINCOLN, NE: UNIVERSITY OF NEBRASKA PRESS, 2021. PHOTOS, ILLUSTRATIONS, MAPS, NOTES, BIBLIOGRAPHY, AND INDEX. XIV + 361 PP. $60 CLOTH. $30 PAPER.

Reviewed by Chris Costello, PhD Candidate, Department of History, University of California, San Diego.

Traci Brynne Voyles's *The Settler Sea: California's Salton Sea and the Consequences of Colonialism* reinterprets the cultural, ecological, economic, and political history of the saline basin in California's Imperial Valley known as the Salton Sea, analyzing how settler colonialism transformed the area. Voyles uses the history of the Salton Sea—which Indigenous inhabitants call Lake Cahuilla—to argue that colonial settlers in California attempted to control the physical landscapes of the North American West along three imperial vectors, including native dispossession, national enclosure, and racialized industrial capitalism. Settlers reshaped the physical landscape of the sea—including its creation in current form—and exerted power in ways that resulted in environmental destruction, racialized labor abuse, and property control that coincided with the ascent of a dominant white American nation-state. Voyles argues that racism, sexism, classism, heteropatriarchy, and ableism—all elements of settler colonialism—were ultimately environmentally destructive. In doing so, she upends the dominant perception that the sea was a manmade *accident* instead of a product of naturally occurring phenomena exacerbated by the

exploitative tendencies of colonialism itself.

The book is organized thematically and chronologically into three parts, each representing agents of change for the Salton Sea. Voyles begins by exploring the changing relationships between people and nature, the region's Indigenous history, its geological oscillation between a desert and floodplain, and the history of the area's flora and fauna. Subsequently, she looks at the relationships between the Colorado River, the creation of the sea through flooding in 1905, and the development of canals and dams that assisted settlement in the aptly named Imperial Valley. That hydraulic infrastructure accelerated Native dispossession of water resources and land at the same time it choked water flow to Mexico.

Next, Voyles explores the social meaning of relationships between entomological, bacteriological, and human bodies—such as outbreaks of disease, polluted water, and nativist anxieties over public health, race, and immigration. The development of the region into military bases and weapons testing areas during and after World War II aligned closely with the growth of the area as a carceral site for prisoners whose labor was used to clean up wildlife die-offs, maintain roads, dredge canals, and accomplish tasks that free workers refused to do. The building of desert prisons with electrified fences that killed scores of birds—including endangered species such as the burrowing owl—drew protest from environmentalists who remained mum to the overcrowded prisons disciplining violators of laws that subjugated the Indigenous inhabitants to the settler state.

Lastly, Voyles reinterprets the view many Californians have of the Salton Sea as an agricultural dream turned

into a pesticide-driven toxic wasteland that continues to disproportionately harm already dispossessed and exploited people. She asks readers to shift their understanding of environmentalism from the aesthetically based "Save Lake Tahoe" style, focused on a narrow view of environmental beauty, to a new perspective. As the author demonstrates, overlapping processes of industrial capitalism, militarization, and marginalization created a public health crisis and environmental nightmare. Fixing the devastating consequences of settlement therefore requires a systemic reinterpretation. Although Voyles cannot offer concrete solutions, *The Settler Sea* calls for decolonization—a process that entails returning the land to its Indigenous inhabitants, removing the hydraulic infrastructure along the Colorado River, and ending national border barriers that impede flows of people and animals.

Part environmental history, part colonial studies, part Indigenous history, and part prescriptive solution, Voyles' book advances the burgeoning academic field of environmental justice. It nuances older understandings of "ecological imperialism" by analyzing imperial processes through the lens of oppression, showing how power structures organized relationships between groups of people and the environment. Voyles' explanation of power relations provides a comprehensive understanding of the history of the Salton Sea unattainable within other interpretive frameworks. She offers a clearly articulated history of settler colonialism through evocative narration to casual readers and academics alike. To that end, *The Settler Sea* provides a fresh, compelling perspective of California history that is enlightening and useful to all.

BOOK NOTES

American Profit: The Life and Work of Carey McWilliams. By Peter Richardson. Oakland: University of California Press, 2019. Illustrations, notes, bibliography, and index. xx + 354 pp. $34.95 paper. This biography explores the life and career of California's leading public intellectual of the twentieth century. Drawing on a variety of sources, it traces McWilliams's childhood on a Colorado cattle ranch, the literary journalism of his early adult life in Los Angeles, his legal and political activism, his service as head of California's Division of Immigration and Housing, his popularity as an author between 1939 and 1950, and his editorial leadership at The Nation. The book also documents McWilliams's influence on a variety of writers, scholars, and activists, particularly in California.

California Greenin': How the Golden State Became an Environmental Leader. By David Vogel. Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 2019. Illustration, notes, and index. xi + 304 pp. $29.95 cloth. $21.95 paper. Political scientist David Vogel shows how California citizens and civic groups, often backed by business interests and strong regulatory authorities, have successfully mobilized to protect and restore the state's natural beauty, leading the United States in establishing new environmental standards. He also highlights some of California's environmental shortcomings, particularly regarding water management and continued dependence on automobile transportation.

Fighting Invisible Enemies: Health and Medical Transitions among Southern California Indians. By Clifford E. Trafzer. Norman, OK: University of Oklahoma Press, 2019. Illustrations, notes, bibliography,and index. xix + 392 pp. $34.95 cloth. Historian Clifford Trafzer examines how Indigenous people in the Mission Indian Agency of Southern California gradually incorporated Western medicine into their communities from the late nineteenth through the mid-twentieth century. Drawing on statistical information, federal government documents, and oral narratives (thanks to his close relationships with tribal elders), Trafzer bridges the Indigenous and medical histories of Southern California.

Marie Mason Potts: The Lettered Life of a California Indian Activist. By Terri A. Castaneda. Norman: Oklahoma University Press, 2020. Illustrations, notes, bibliography, and index. xvi + 367 pp. $45.00 cloth. $24.95 paper. Anthropologist Terri A. Castaneda examines the life of Marie Mason Potts (1895–1978), the Mountain Maidu woman who became one of the most influential California Indian activists of her generation. This biography chronicles the years of Potts's youth in off-reservation boarding schools, her marriage and motherhood, and her activities in American Indian politics. Documented in the activist's correspondence are her convictions that California Indians deserved compensation for the theft of their ancestral lands, decent living standards, rights to continue their traditional cultural practices, and agency in their political affairs.

A People's Guide to Orange County. Edited by Elaine Lewinnek, Gustavo Arellano, and Thuy Vo Dang. Oakland: University of California Press, 2022. Illustrations, acknowledgements, credits, and index. xiii + 240pp. $24.95 paper. While mainstream guidebooks of Orange County, California focus on amusement parks, shopping malls, and wealthy coastal communities, this latest in the series of People's Guides from the University of California Press documents sites of oppression, resistance, and struggle in the United States' sixth most populated county. It highlights the importance of Orange County and adjacent areas in the histories of American agriculture, suburbanization, conservative politics, labor disputes, resistance to segregation, the Cold War, global migrations, youth culture, and environmental justice.

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