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INSIDE: PORTRAIT OF THE ARTIST'S WIFE | VENTURES ON THE BAY
CONSTANCE GODDARD DUBOIS | SAN DIEGO DEVELOPED

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FRONT & BACK COVER: Alfred R. Mitchell, *Morning on the Bay,* circa 1923–25. Oil on canvas, 50 x 58 1/4 in. The painting shows the view from the Mitchells' home on Seventh Avenue between Cedar and Date Streets. Its rejection by the jury of the 1925–26 Pan-American Exposition in Los Angeles caused Dorothea to complain about the growing popularity of modernism. SDHC 84.60.

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PORTRAIT OF THE ARTIST'S WIFE: DOROTHEA WEBSTER MITCHELL, 1894–1985

MOLLY MCCLAIN

The phrase, "Portrait of the Artist's Wife," is often used to describe untitled canvases produced by male artists. Examples include a seventeenth-century portrait by William Dobson showing a woman in a cream satin cap and an Expressionist rendering by Amedeo Modigliani. The subject is rendered nameless, her identity subsumed into that of her husband. We read into the image whatever assumptions we may have about the status of women in artistic marriages.[1]

A remarkable collection in the archives of the San Diego History Center allows us to go beyond the image and explore the life of an artist's wife. Dorothea Webster Mitchell, often depicted on canvas, left behind over 400 letters that chronicle her marriage to landscape painter Alfred R. "Fred" Mitchell. A college-educated woman from a wealthy Quaker family, Dorothea lived at a time when women had begun to reckon with "new ways of living" as feminism emerged out of the woman's suffrage movement.[2] In the 1920s, middle-class women voted, drove automobiles, ditched matronly gowns for knee-length

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(Opposite page) Dorothea W. Mitchell, 1925. A full-time partner in her husband's art business, Dorothea hung exhibits, monitored sales, and encouraged potential buyers. ©SDHC #88:16612.

Alfred R. "Fred" Mitchell, *Dorothea Sewing*, 1930. Oil on board, 16 x 20 in. ©SDHC #88:16620.

The Webster family home, "Treasure Trove," at 1028 Thirty-Second Street, 1913. Dorothea's father was a prominent San Diego physician while her mother was a Swarthmore College graduate. ©SDHC #88:166627.

dresses, and bobbed their hair. Marriage typically put an end to free-wheeling independence, however, and brought with it patterns of behavior that had changed little since the Victorian era. The challenge for Dorothea and other women of her generation was how to reconcile their desire for personal freedom and self-development with men's expectations.

This article reconstructs Dorothea's subjectivity or changing conceptions of herself as a creative and artistic woman who found herself enmeshed in her husband's career.[3] At times, she occupied a subordinate position in the marriage partnership; at others, she leveraged her social class and education to claim authority. Because she did not have children, Dorothea is not necessarily representative of early twentieth-century feminists.[4] Her life story, however, provides a fascinating account of a woman who managed to integrate marriage, life, and art at a time of changing gender norms.

FEMINISM AND MARRIAGE

Dorothea Webster was born on February 12, 1894, in Mankato, Michigan, to Quaker parents. Her father, Dr. Isaac Daniel Webster (1866–1924), graduated from the medical department of the University of Pennsylvania in 1890. Three years later, he married Anna M. Jenkins (1867–1956), a Swarthmore College graduate and the descendant of an old Bucks County, Pennsylvania family. Dr. Webster developed a large medical practice in Mankato. Suffering from overwork and the long-term effects of typhoid fever, Dr. Webster moved his family first to Dresden, Germany, and then to California in 1907.[5] In San Diego, Dr. Webster worked as a physician in the

Dorothea Webster, kneeling at center, with her friends at Pomona College, ca. 1913–14. She finished her education at UC Berkeley. ©SDHC Dorothea W. Mitchell Collection, #012.

County Hospital and as supervisor of the Department of Health and Development in the San Diego City Schools. Dorothea was their eldest daughter, followed by Agnes Elizabeth Webster (1897–1918), Alan King Webster (1899–1914), Philip Jenkins Webster (1900–1992), and Marianna Webster Robinson (1910–1976). In 1913, the family moved into a house on Thirty-Second Street called "Treasure Trove," designed by architects Frank Mead and Richard S. Requa.

The Websters were liberal minded and politically progressive.[6] They were long-time subscribers to the *San Diego Sun*, a left-leaning newspaper that served as a counterpoise to the conservative *Union*. Dr. Webster was known to vote "the straight socialist ticket" on occasion.[7] He also served on the board of directors of the Open Forum, founded in 1919 in response to efforts to regulate freedom of speech during World War I.[8]

An intelligent and articulate woman, Dorothea identified with feminism and socialism at an early age. As a teenager, she was a passionate advocate of dress reform, a movement that sought to liberate women from constrictive clothing.[9] At the time of the 1912 free-speech fight in San Diego, she wrote, "I am very radical myself and a socialist."[10] Valedictorian of her class at San Diego High School, she matriculated at Pomona College in 1912. Two years later, she transferred to the University of California, Berkeley, where she and her sister Elizabeth became involved in the anti-war movement. The latter wrote home from college, "You may be interested to know that Dorothea and I are both for absolute non-resistance," referring to the practice of nonviolent civil disobedience.[11]

Like many female college graduates of her generation, Dorothea became a teacher. Between 1918 and 1920, she taught English and history at the Arroyo Grande High School north of Los Angeles. Between 1920 and 1923, she taught at San Diego High School before quitting to focus on her husband's career.

Alfred R. "Fred" Mitchell was not a native Californian but had moved west early in life. He was born June 18, 1888, in York, Pennsylvania, to lower-middle-class parents. His father George Mitchell (circa 1855–1927) was a waiter, while his mother Carrie Swazey Mitchell (1858–1928) was a kindergarten teacher.[12] Fred had two siblings, George Rankin (1895–1986) and Carrie (1898–1968). The Mitchells migrated west in 1903. Fred's father worked as a cook in a logging camp in the mountains above Placerville before setting himself up in the hotel business in the gold country of west central Nevada. In 1907, the Mitchells moved to San Diego where they opened what would become a very successful cafeteria, "Mitchells," located downtown.[13]

Alfred R. "Fred" Mitchell, pictured in March 1920, studied at the Pennsylvania Academy of Fine Arts and served in World War I before returning to San Diego. ©SDHC #88:16622.

Fred had left home as a teenager. By age seventeen, he was making a living driving a stagecoach, working on the railroad in western Nevada, and "living in his romantic imaginings about the Wild West," Dorothea later wrote.[14] After a few years, however, he returned home to live with his family in San Diego. He worked in the cafeteria and began to make up for the years of education that he had lost. He studied mechanical drafting and took Latin and Spanish lessons from an Englishman, Professor Charles H. Sykes, who also introduced him to Theosophy, an ideology and way of life derived from the teachings of Christianity, Hinduism, and Buddhism.[15]

In 1913, Fred took up the serious study of art. Having discovered the work of landscape painter Maurice Braun in a display window on Fifth Street, he decided to approach San Diego's most distinguished artist and ask for lessons. Braun agreed, teaching him the craft of oil painting and introducing him to other artists.[16] Maurice Braun was an artist of "deep philosophical conviction" who painted landscapes, desert scenes, and coastal views that captured the brilliant sunlight of Southern California. A Theosophist, Braun was connected to "Lomaland," the Theosophical community in Point Loma.[17] After Fred won a silver medal at the Panama-California Exposition (1915), Braun recommended that he leave San Diego for the Pennsylvania Academy of Fine Arts in Philadelphia which, at that time, was educating a generation of remarkable landscape painters.

Fred and Dorothea met in the summer of 1920. Dr. Webster knew the artist from the young man's years working at the Mitchell Cafeteria in downtown San Diego; he also acted as the Mitchell family physician. Interested

in seeing Fred's paintings, Dorothea and her mother secured an invitation to visit.[18] After a brief courtship, Dorothea and Fred were engaged on the eve of the artist's departure for another year in Philadelphia. They were married in 1922 after Fred returned to San Diego following a Cresson European Travel and Study Scholarship. In that year, he sold a large oil painting of Mission Valley, *In the Valley*, to the Marston Company for $1,000 (approximately $16,200 in 2022 dollars), the most he had ever received for a work.[19]

Dorothea Webster Mitchell with her father, Dr. Isaac Daniel Webster, on her wedding day, July 1, 1922. ©SDHC #88:16621.

There was a certain romance in marrying an artist, not least of which was the prospect of living the bohemian life. Dorothea imagined traveling to Europe with him and setting up their home in a rustic French village.[20] The reality was far more prosaic. "I married an artist," she wrote, "and spent part of my honeymoon perched on a boulder in the middle of a creek with a stick in my hand to keep snakes off my husband while he painted."[21] Like many women before her, she had become an adjunct to another person's life.

With little opportunity to advance her own career, Dorothea used her years of schooling to educate her husband. Fred, who had attended neither high school nor college, proudly described his new wife as a "thoroughbred."[22] Together, the couple read history, literature, and Theosophical works; experimented with vegetarianism; explored Asian art and culture; and widened their horizons through regular attendance at the Open Forum, which brought world-class speakers to San Diego. Fred described the Open Forum as "my university."[23] They attended the First Unitarian Church.

MANAGER AND MUSE

Fred's career as an artist blossomed. In July 1923, he held his first one-man exhibition at the La Jolla Art Association's gallery adjacent to the La Jolla Library, now the Athenaeum. One critic wrote, "In each (painting) there is freshness of color, the power to see beauty in common things."[24] Three years later, he sold a major painting, *Mountains in Springtime*, to the philanthropist Ellen Browning Scripps for $900, an important boost to his income and his reputation.[25]

Fred's paintings had a feeling of rugged straightforwardness, and often depicted solid forms such as vast cliffs

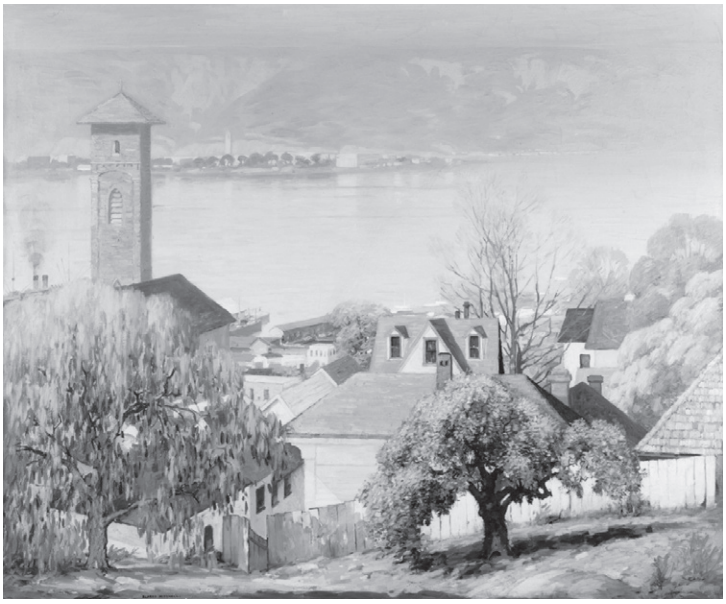
and mountains using great flat planes of color.[26] Reviewers described his work in gendered terms as "virile" and "wholesome."[27] According to art critic Guy Pène du Bois, Pennsylvania-trained artists like Fred often produced what he called "democratic painting": broad, vigorous, and "honest in feeling."[28] To some extent, these paintings were considered "modern" since they concerned themselves with realistic depictions of contemporary life. One example is *Summer Hills* (1929) that captured the beginning of San Diego's suburban sprawl. The scene was both beautiful and real, painted with a "sweeping brush that gives a sense of freedom and verve," according to one critic.[29] Dorothea described the painting as "the yellow hills east of the city, seen from 30th and G."[30]

In 1923, Dorothea became a full-time partner in Fred's art business. She quit her teaching job to travel with him, hang exhibits, monitor sales, and talk with potential buyers. She hung his first one-man show at the La Jolla Art Association's gallery in 1923. According to one biographer, "Thus develops a *modus operandi* that will remain intact throughout the forty-three years of annual shows in La Jolla."[31] Hanging an exhibit involved buying hooks and picture wire, steadying ladders, and deciding how to arrange art on the walls. Dorothea made cardboard tags that informed potential buyers of a picture's name and price. She also created typewritten catalogs listing the artworks and their prices that she placed in the exhibition space. This was considered quite novel: "in the past galleries have considered that any mention of filthy lucre would be 'gauche.'"[32] After a few shows in La Jolla, Dorothea realized that attendance was highest in February, when wealthy visitors arrived from cold climates, and ensured that Fred exhibited in that month.[33]

Male artists frequently relied on their wives to run both their personal and business lives. A well-known case was that of French artist Henri Matisse, whose wife Amélie managed his career around 1905 when he first burst into public consciousness. Dorothea was encouraged by the example of Hazel Boyer Braun who energetically promoted paintings by her husband and Fred's mentor, Maurice Braun. In 1922, Braun told Fred, "You will find particular joy if your wife can enter into your artistic life as well. Mrs. Braun does very completely and is a great help. Recently she took entire charge of an exhibit of my paintings and was so successful that she surprised everyone."[34] Dorothea and Fred occasionally "looked a little askance at Mrs. Braun, as lacking in tact and spoiling her husband's art by being too commercial," but they appreciated her determination to boost the San Diego art scene. Hazel Braun became a prominent West Coast art writer, with articles in the *American Magazine of Art* and a column in *The San Diego Evening Tribune*.[35]

In 1926, Dorothea and Fred traveled to Pennsylvania to visit Anna Webster, who returned to her family home in Bucks County following the death of her husband in 1924. Fred's paintings of the Pennsylvania landscape are among his most impressive works, and the ones that sell for the highest prices today.[36] His canvas entitled *Grandmother's House* was featured in conjunction with an article on the show in *The San Diego Union*. The San Diego Fine Arts Gallery purchased *The Delaware Valley* in 1927.[37]

After returning to California, Fred often longed for the East, but he told a friend that all the big pictures that he had in mind to paint were in San Diego. Dorothea noted, "I think he feels as I do that we belong to the future and not the past, and that this is the land of the future."[38]



Alfred R. Mitchell, *Morning on the Bay*, circa 1923–25. Oil on canvas, 50 x 58 1/4 in. The painting shows the view from the Mitchells' home on Seventh Avenue between Cedar and Date Streets. Its rejection by the jury of the 1925–26 Pan-American Exposition in Los Angeles caused Dorothea to complain about the growing popularity of modernism. SDHC 84.60.

Fred had mixed success exhibiting his landscapes in the late 1920s due to the growing popularity of modernism in Southern California. Like other artists, he submitted paintings to juried exhibitions and hoped to win a prize that would enhance his reputation. He successfully showed at the Art Guild, the La Jolla Art Association, the Pacific Southwest Exposition in Long Beach, the California Art Club, and the Laguna Beach Museum of Art. However, his landscapes were not accepted at some prestigious venues, including the First Pan-American Exhibition of Oil Paintings at the Los Angeles Museum of

Art (1925–26). Dorothea noted that the jury "let in a lot of perfectly rotten stuff. The South Americans seem to have thrown themselves headlong into modernism, and there is hardly a thing worth looking at in their section. The few good things were mostly done in Paris some time ago or else are imitations of the two great contemporary Spanish artists."[39]

Needing to exhibit his paintings, Fred collaborated with seven fellow professionals to promote the work of San Diego artists. In 1929, they formed the Contemporary Artists of San Diego. Founding members were Charles Reiffel, Maurice Braun, Charles A. Fries, Elliot Torrey, Otto Schneider, Leslie W. Lee, James T. Porter, and Alfred R. Mitchell. Everett Gee Jackson, Leon Bonnet, and Donal Hord joined later. The group held six major exhibitions at the Fine Arts Gallery with a final show in 1937.[40]

Fred and Dorothea organized other schemes to sell art. In the early years, they invited people to their home for "picture-showings." Fred taught painting and drawing both privately and through the Adult Education Program of the San Diego City Schools. Dorothea referred to the latter as "night school classes." The showings included Fred's work together with paintings made by students. Fred explained the pictures, while Dorothea answered the doorbell, got people seated, and answered questions.[41] Students often helped get Fred's work sold. For example, the wife of H. A. Malcolm, a real estate investor, offered to "dress up" the formal opening of her husband's business office with Fred's pictures. "We don't mind a chance to show off a bit," wrote Dorothea, "so we agreed with pleasure."[42]

To supplement their income, Fred and Dorothea made frames for use by his students, local museums, and artists. At first, Dorothea drew intricate designs to go along the

edges of the frames which Fred then carved. They soon switched to composition ornament ("compo"), a resin worked by hand or pressed into molds ("an awful job," Dorothea remarked). These were gilded with gold powder and gold leaf. They worked on anywhere from twenty to thirty frames at a time, most the size of portable sketch boxes but a few as large as 30 x 36 inches.[43] Dorothea had a good eye for color and helped Fred choose frames for his paintings. She also made carved frames for her own work.[44]

THE CREATIVE SELF

At the start of their marriage, Dorothea exercised her creative talents by writing long, detailed letters to family and friends. "I am sitting cross-legged on a sand dune and Fred is painting," she wrote to her cousin Mabel in 1922.[45] A former English major, she had an engaging narrative style, a sense of humor, and the ability to draw a quick character sketch. She remarked on "Mr. [Alfred D.] Robinson's whimsical, elf-like self"[46] and attended a lecture by horticulturalist Katherine "Kate" Sessions: "I don't care particularly for bottle brushes [Callistemon], but Katy is a circus in herself. At the end, I heard a woman behind us say, 'I come to these meetings just to hear her.'"[47]

She worked at her descriptive writing, trying to evoke in words the beauties of nature that her husband captured in paint, though she was not always successful. In 1931, she described a trip to Cuyamaca Lake to paint the poplar trees in autumn: "The mountains around the lake were exceptionally beautiful because of the groups of pinkish yellow oaks among the dark green pines and silvery green chaparral. Fred put a little of that in behind the poplars."[48] Another place that Fred painted near Alpine

Alfred R. "Fred" Mitchell painting *en plein air* in the Cuyamaca Mountains accompanied by Dorothea, March 1926. He "always wanted Dorothea to go with him everywhere," his niece recalled. ©SDHC #88:16610.

had "yellow cottonwoods and russet sycamores all up the grey, sandy riverbed and against the dark mountains."[49]

Having done a little drawing in her adolescent years, Dorothea took up her pencils and watercolors to have something to do while her husband painted and taught art classes. She practiced with his students. She claimed to find drawing "irksome," writing that "it is color that really interests me."[50] But she produced work that was good enough to be exhibited at the San Diego Public Library along with that of other students.[51] In 1926, she planned a decorative panel showing a maiden against a background of California wildflowers.[52]

Dorothea learned to work in oils, often painting alongside Fred when he worked out of doors. In April 1925, they painted flowering fruit trees on the Mitchell ranch in Lakeside, California. She described her oil sketch of a peach and plum tree with mountains low in the distance as "pretty good for me."[53] Her subjects were typically birds, plants, or flowers. At Lake Cuyamaca, she painted "two beautiful taupe toadstools with Venetian red tops and silky black undersides."[54] She rarely took on more ambitious projects because she also had to cook and do housework. She wrote, "My difficulty is to have time to paint well, so I have to choose the smallest, simplest subjects."[55]

In time, she grew more confident in her abilities, even rejecting her husband's advice on occasion. In 1929, she copied a painting that she referred to as "Grandma's picture" using oils rather than her usual watercolors or acrylics. "Fred did some work on it," she wrote, "but I took nearly all that off because it was too jazzy. His idea was to follow out some new fancies, while mine was to approximate the original as closely as possible."[56]

Dorothea felt that the creation of beauty was her vocation, but she did not call herself an artist: "It takes an extraordinary person to be a real artist."[57] In fact, she wasn't even sure what direction her visual imagination would take her. "I am counting on having forever to work out the vocation," she explained, as her own creative work had to be practiced in the intervals between "washing, ironing, sweeping, cooking, washing dishes, making picture frames, hanging exhibitions, taking them down, trying to entice the coy buyer to buy, and giving advice on every conceivable subject, from how to paint a picture to how to invest our savings." She added, "Perhaps as I become

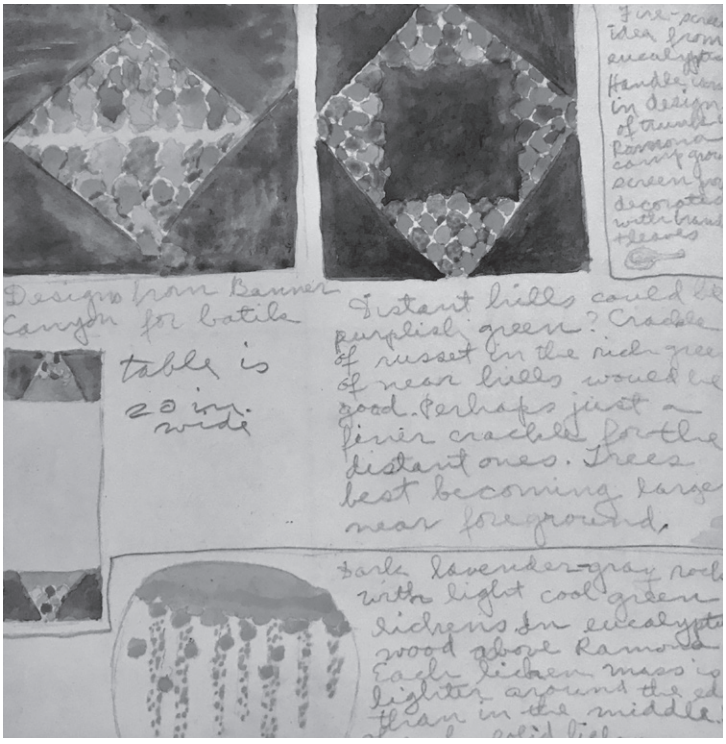
very wise, I shall develop into a different vocation, like lecturing or writing, and the other will be my hobby."[58]

THE HIDDEN ART OF HOMEMAKING

Many of Dorothea's early artistic efforts involved home décor. Like many women, she understood homemaking as an artistic project.[59] Her mother sent her a subscription to *House Beautiful* which, like *Good Housekeeping* and *Ladies' Home Journal*, encouraged middle-class women with modest household budgets to make their own furnishings and decorations. Writers spoke of this as "home art."[60] One of the most common do-it-yourself projects was the stenciling of textiles, which Dorothea tried in 1925 on bedroom curtains.[61]

In July 1927, the couple moved to a small Craftsman-style home in Golden Hill to welcome the arrival of their first child.[62] Tragically, a baby boy was born prematurely and died shortly afterwards. A second pregnancy ended in miscarriage. This had a "devastating effect on Dorothea," Fred later recalled, causing her to spend several weeks in a sanitarium in the winter of 1928. She told her doctor that she had always felt "different and separated" from other people, often superior, but now her failure to procreate caused her to feel like an oddity. Postpartum depression combined with a history of ovarian pain, probably endometriosis, led her to give up the idea of childbearing.[63]

Dorothea's artistic projects helped her refocus her emotional energies. Influenced by magazine articles promoting Colonial American crafts, she redecorated her spare bedroom with brass candlesticks and a handmade quilt.[64] She embroidered and tried her hand at dyeing textiles using homemade blue dye. She ground up varieties



Dorothea's abstract design for a batik table runner was inspired by autumn colors in Banner Canyon, near Julian. She wrote, "it is color that really interests me." SDHC #86.53.59.

of purslane, found in abundance in Southern California, "boiled them and tried dyeing some samples of cotton, linen, silk, and wool."[65]

Dorothea came from an old Pennsylvania family, but she was not using craft activities as a way of identifying with her colonial ancestors; instead, she was participating in the kind of middle-class domesticity promoted by women's magazines. She was highly critical of her Pennsylvania relatives and their obsession with "old houses, old families, old people." She told her brother, "I wanted to get up

Dorothea W. Mitchell, block prints on linen, n.d. SDHC #86.53.59.

and yell just to startle them out of their niceness."[66] What she liked about the crafts of Colonial America was the opportunity to get involved in projects that occupied the attention of women around the country during the Sesquicentennial. "Why Not Make Your Own Rugs?" read an article in the *Ladies' Home Journal*, "Everybody is Doing It."[67]

Do-it-yourself crafting gained renewed popularity during the Great Depression. As one scholar wrote, crafts served as "a kind of national therapy."[68] In the 1930s, Dorothea recycled her old dresses by adding collars, vests, and cross-stitched embroidery. She took a class in linoleum block printing and taught herself how to batik.[69] In 1933, she wrote, "My craft things are humming. I get so interested in so many at once that I almost feel all tied up in a ball with indecision which to do next. I have just finished an embroidery project that has been around for about a year, and now there are at least 4 others that I would like to begin at once. Besides, I am making a hand-fire-screen. "She sketched out ideas during Fred's night classes, noting, "The people in the class are always interested in my projects."[70]

It always pleased Dorothea when people shared her enthusiasm for art. She was close friends with partners Kathleen Harnett and Violet Hess, both teachers in Long Beach, California.[71] When Kathleen took up cross-stitch embroidery, Dorothea wrote, "I was awfully glad to have her get interested in something that means so much to me. It seems that she has an artistic streak that was damped for years by an unsympathetic art teacher in high school and now it is just beginning to assert itself again."[72]

Dorothea liked to sew, but she became particularly engaged in linoleum and wood block printing, a Japanese-

Dorothea W. Mitchell, untitled (Alligator Point, La Jolla), block print, n.d. SDHC 86.53.63.

Dorothea W. Mitchell, untitled, block print, n.d. She described printing as "an exacting process, but I have made up my mind to work at this craft till I have developed proficiency in it." SDHC 86.53.63.

inspired art form that became popular during the Arts and Crafts era. It involved a painstaking process, but one that required relatively little in the way of materials, just some cutting tools, ink, paper, and a wooden spoon. Dorothea had been designing and carving frames for over a decade; printmaking was a logical next step. By 1940, she was creating block prints using both linoleum and cherry wood. She wrote, "printing is an exacting process, but I have made up my mind to work at this craft till I have developed proficiency in it."[73]

She also undertook home improvements, from gardening to painting the floors and cabinetry. In one experiment, Dorothea painted her bedroom floor sage green. The effect was not what she expected, "but I am not disappointed because, as I tell Fred, I am really an interior decorator who has never had a chance to get practical experience, and now I am getting it on somebody else's house."[74]

SELLING ART

The Mitchells survived the Great Depression by taking advantage of every opportunity to sell art. They exhibited at the La Jolla Art Association and showed paintings at garden parties, hotels, and art markets sponsored by the Art Guild.[75] One Christmas, Fred and the Contemporary Artists rented a downtown store to display their works in a "selling atmosphere."[76] The couple tried selling paintings in an art store on Laurel Street and sent several to Dorothea's mother in Pennsylvania to be displayed at The Inn at Buck Hill Falls, a hotel frequented by "people with money and taste."[77] Fred's sales, together with his teaching job, meant that he did not need to work for the Works Progress Administration (WPA) Federal Art Project.[78] In

Alfred R. "Fred" Mitchell's painting classes, shown here at Torrey Pines, provided a steady source of income during the Great Depression. ©SDHC #88:16624-1.

the 1930s, Fred's paintings sold for between $15 and $350 ($300–$7,000), depending on the size, with most around $85 ($1,680).[79]

In the 1930s, Fred took up portraiture which was more lucrative than landscapes, practicing with Dorothea as his model. Works include "Dorothea Among the Amaryllis" (1932), a large painting of her sitting in the garden wearing a soft blue silk dress and a white summer hat.[80] In 1934, Dorothea sat for another portrait. She explained to her mother, "We have an ulterior motive in doing this last one, for as I may have told thee before, Fred would like to have some portrait commissions, but is known here only as a landscape painter."[81]

Fred often worried about money, but Dorothea was confident that they would ride out the crisis. She told her mother, "Our income has always been uncertain, irregular, and never large. But we've been married nine years now

and have not gone hungry nor cold once."[82] Fred took on additional teaching work which, together with frame making, put food on the table. Their religious life also helped to ground them. Every morning, they continued their practice of breakfast-time meditation and religious readings. As Fred's niece recalled, "They liked to think that the world could be in tune," and concentrated their thoughts on beauty, serenity, and human goodness.[83]

Other artists found it much harder to survive. Dorothea was dismayed to discover that Maurice Braun, whose paintings typically sold for between $200 and $500 ($4,000–10,000), allowed his work to sell at auction for as little as $55 ($1,000). She wrote, "He must be desperate."[84]

By the mid-1930s, the Mitchells were doing well enough to buy a used Ford sedan and a small lot at Thirty-First and Beech Streets where they hoped someday to build a house.[85] They paid in cash and paintings, a typical practice for them. They drove the automobile to scenic spots in San Diego, Los Angeles, and Riverside Counties so that Fred could find landscapes to paint. They also took road trips to Yosemite and Lake Tahoe. According to his niece, "Fred always wanted Dorothea to go with him everywhere," to his classes and painting expeditions.[86]

Dorothea contributed to the family income by teaching children about art, a project sponsored by the Art Appreciation Section of the San Diego branch of the American Association of University Women (AAUW). She referred to this as the University Women's Club.[87] The subjects ranged from Japanese lacquerware and Persian rugs to Pueblo Indian watercolors and Renaissance paintings. She enjoyed it so much that she thought it might become "a life work for me."[88]

ARTISTIC AUTHORITY

In 1935, Reginald Poland, director of the Fine Arts Gallery (now the San Diego Museum of Art), invited Dorothea to give weekly lectures to both children and adults. This was part of an effort to promote the arts during the California Pacific International Exposition in Balboa Park. She accepted with pleasure, hoping that this would be a chance to share the spotlight with Fred, who also lectured on painting. She earned only $4 a week, but she attracted enough publicity to ensure that she would be invited to speak at women's clubs and other venues. She told her cousin, "I'm stuffed to overflowing with information and opinions and causes, and I get a tremendous kick out of opportunities to get some of them off my chest. Of course, there are always harassed club program chairmen looking for someone to give a talk about art, and now everybody knows I do that sort of thing."[89]

To prepare her lectures, Dorothea drew on a class in art history that she had taken at Berkeley.[90] She also went through back issues of *International Studio* that had been given to her husband by the estate executors of philanthropist Ellen Browning Scripps, a longtime supporter of Fred's work.[91] The Bishop's School gave them photographs of paintings and sculptures that had been left to them by Scripps, "duplicates or too frank for an elegant young ladies' boarding school."[92]

In 1937, Fred and Dorothea began to build a house on their Thirty-First Street lot. Dorothea sketched out the plans and presented her ideas to architect Richard S. Requa, who had designed the Webster family home. At the time, Requa was working on the San Diego County Administration Center, but he told her that he liked jobs

"Deep Hearth" (1937) was designed by Dorothea and Alfred R. Mitchell with the help of Lloyd Ruocco at the office of architect Richard S. Requa. ©SDHC Dorothea W. Mitchell Collection #025.

"where you have to figure how to make the money go far... he doesn't care how small the job is, if it can be done right."[93] He accepted paintings in lieu of a fee and turned the project over to a young Lloyd Ruocco.[94] The Mitchells could not afford a contractor so Fred oversaw construction himself, making the house "sort of hand-made all the way through." They named it "Deep Hearth" because there was a block of cement under the chimney that went down to the hard pan. "It symbolizes to us the ideal of good workmanship...," Dorothea explained, "Not one house in 500 in San Diego is so carefully built."[95]

During the Second World War, Dorothea volunteered with the Office for Civilian Defense and carried out a private war with the snails and slugs in her garden. She organized her neighborhood in the event of invasion, made bandages, and created a victory garden by tucking vegetables into flower beds: "Cabbages and lettuce hobnob

Dorothea W. Mitchell painting the door of her Golden Hill home, 1937. ©SDHC Dorothea W. Mitchell Collection #002.

with forget-me-nots and chrysanthemums, celery with Matilija poppies, onions with regal lilies, and banana squashes are under the rose bushes."[96] She took a sewing class through the Adult Education program and, out of necessity, produced shirts and dresses, blackout curtains, and a winter coat. She cooked and washed for both Fred and her niece Mary Mitchell, who moved in with them while working at Ryan Aeronautical. She continued to write lengthy letters to her family describing San Diego during the war years: the growing number of aircraft workers, food shortages, barrage balloons, and the Navy's takeover of Balboa Park. The forced internment of her Japanese neighbors reduced her to tears.[97]

By the mid-1940s, the generation that had dominated San Diego's art scene had passed away, leaving Fred in charge of producing and promoting local painting. Three exceptionally talented artists died between 1940 and 1942: Charles A. Fries, Maurice Braun, and Charles Reiffel. Dorothea wrote, "There has been a curious mortality among San Diego artists that gives one a queer feeling even if one isn't superstitious. My own husband probably won't drop off too, but the art life of this town must necessarily be quite different."[98] Fred sold landscapes with increasing success through the 1940s. The war pumped cash into the San Diego economy, with the result that "people here are just reeking with money."[99] At a 1944 show, Dorothea relished the opportunity to refuse a bargain to a wealthy rancher who enjoyed making deals more than he liked art: "My dear relatives and friends, for 20 years I have wished for a chance to tell a rich man where to get off at, so you can imagine my continuing satisfaction."[100]

Dorothea W. Mitchell, 1937. A recognized expert on art history, she lectured to women's groups in San Diego. ©SDHC Dorothea W. Mitchell Collection #007.

Dorothea, meanwhile, became the go-to person for talks about art and art history. Over the next two decades, she lectured regularly at the AAUW and other women's clubs throughout San Diego. *The San Diego Union* described her as "a recognized art authority and artist."[101] Topics included, "An Artist's Wife to Intelligent Laymen," "Aesthetics for Everyone," "Can Bad Men Make Good Art?," "Nonsense About Art, Artists, and the Public," and "Is the Art of Today Sane?"[102] She also gave a weekly half-hour talk to Fred's night classes on the principles of design.[103] Dorothea often carried a suitcase full of illustrative material with her when she gave her educational talks.[104] The Mitchells collected reproductions of all the well-known modern painters, "whether we like them or not."[105]

Her lectures allowed her to express her reservations about modernism. By the 1940s and 1950s, abstract art had taken the country by storm, attracting the support of curators, patrons, and critics. In Southern California, modernists were in the saddle at the Los Angeles Museum of Art, the California Art Club, and the San Diego Fine Arts Gallery, among other institutions. Works by landscape painters were underrepresented in exhibits of contemporary art and labeled "conservative," a term the Mitchells rejected.[106] In her talks, Dorothea relished the opportunity to direct public attention to "sincere and beautiful works" often "hidden among a mass of smarty, supposed-to-be-clever-and-up-to-date modernist things."[107] She admired works by female artists such as Agnes Pelton, Georgia O'Keefe, and Jessie Arms Botke and welcomed experimentation.[108] She thought Stanton Macdonald-Wright had advanced color theory through "new techniques which may become the means of

undreamed-of heights of expression in the future." She explained, "What is objectionable, in my opinion, is to hail the experiments as masterpieces, and to ignore as though they did not exist, masterpieces which are not experiments."[109] Fred, who often produced unheralded masterpieces, managed to navigate the factionalism produced by modernism.[110] Dorothea, however, tended to be in the anti-modernist camp.[111]

Her frustration with modernism had much to do with the fact that she had devoted her life to promoting the career of her husband. She had listened to him, encouraged him, and "built his self-esteem," according to his niece.[112] When Fred's landscapes were overlooked by museum authorities and art juries, she felt personally slighted, as if her faith in his genius had gone unrewarded: "Modernism... affects my life in profound and elemental ways."[113] For a woman with her intelligence, education, and creative ability, this was hard to bear.

At age fifty, she experienced a form of depression that she attributed to menopause.[114] It was a time of life when people often reflected on choices made and roads not taken. Dorothea had pursued a career sanctioned by society, that of helpmate to her husband. While she had experimented with many different art forms, she did not feel that she had accomplished much. Even letter writing, once a source of great satisfaction, began to cause "resentment and frustration and discontent."[115] It didn't help that Fred, too, felt he had not done enough. In the 1960s he wrote, "In my next incarnation I'll try to get at it sooner, work at it harder, and hope to accomplish more."[116]

Fred retired from teaching in 1966 at the age of seventy-eight. After a series of small strokes, he was confined to a

Alfred R. "Fred" Mitchell at an outdoor art show in Balboa Park, circa 1950. ©SDHC #87:15232-4.

nursing home in National City in 1970 where he suffered without the daily presence of his "dearest friend." Dorothea, meanwhile, slowly separated herself from what had been a "close and confidential relationship."[117] The couple believed in reincarnation, however, and hoped to be reunited. When Fred died in November 1972, Dorothea declined to let their minister conduct the memorial service because he had once said that he did not believe in eternal life.[118]

In the last decades of her life, Dorothea worked to preserve her husband's legacy. She saved photographs and letters and helped curator Bruce A. Kamerling organize a major retrospective of Fred's work at the San Diego Historical Society. She also wrote short notes to Martin Peterson of the San Diego Museum of Art with information on artists whose careers had slipped into obscurity.[119] She retained her sharp and vital mind until her death on October 13, 1985.

Dorothea's extensive correspondence reveals a woman who developed an independent vision and voice within the structure of marriage. She was unceasingly loyal to her husband and a champion of his artistic genius. At the same time, she carved out space for herself to exercise her own creativity and developed a reputation as an authority on art. In her letters, she touched on issues that women continue to struggle with today: the need for visibility, a desire for legitimation, and the wish to be remembered after death. This article is a gift from one woman to another long dead, written to illuminate and historicize "the artist's wife."

MOLLY MCCLAIN, PhD IS A PROFESSOR OF HISTORY AT THE UNIVERSITY OF SAN DIEGO. SHE IS THE AUTHOR OF FOUR BOOKS AND NUMEROUS ARTICLES IN THE FIELDS OF BRITISH AND US HISTORY, INCLUDING *ELLEN BROWNING SCRIPPS: NEW MONEY AND AMERICAN PHILANTHROPY* (2017). A NINTH-GENERATION SAN DIEGAN, SHE IS ON THE BOARD OF THE LA JOLLA HISTORICAL SOCIETY.

NOTES

1 For example, the author of a recent article in *The New Yorker* used the phrase, "a lowly creature known as the artist's wife," to describe how Lee Krasner was perceived as the wife of Jackson Pollock. Claudia Roth Pierpont, "How New York's Postwar Female Painters Battled for Recognition," *The New Yorker*, October 1, 2018, https://www.newyorker.com/magazine/2018/10/08/how-new-yorks-postwar-female-painters-battled-for-recognition (accessed September 21, 2021). It is worth noting that Alfred R. Mitchell often used his wife's first name in the titles of his paintings, for example, "Dorothea on the Beach," oil on board, 16 x 20in, Bonhams, California and Western Art, March 17, 2020.

2 Walter Lippmann, *Drift and Mastery: An Attempt to Diagnose the Current Unrest* (New York: Mitchell Kennerley, 1914), 214. For early feminism and middle-class women, see Nancy Cott, *The Grounding of Modern Feminism* (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 1987); Maureen Honey, "Gotham's Daughters: Feminism in the 1920s," *American Studies* 31, no. 1 (Spring 1990): 25-40; Jennifer Scanlon, *Inarticulate Longings: The Ladies' Home Journal, Gender, and the Promises of Consumer Culture* (New York: Routledge, 1995).

3 For a discussion of subjectivity in women's history and gender studies, see Nancy F. Cott and Elizabeth H. Pleck, *A Heritage of Her Own: Toward a New Social History of American Women* (New York: Simon and Schuster, 1979).

4 For artistic partnerships in Greenwich Village during the early feminist era, see Judith Schwartz, *Radical Feminists of Heterodoxy: Greenwich Village 1912-1940* (Norwich, VT: New Victoria Publishers, 1986); Christine Stansell, *American Moderns: Bohemian New York and the Creation of a New Century* (New York: Henry Holt, 2000); Ellen Kay Trimberger, ed., *Intimate Warriors: Portraits of a Modern Marriage, 1899-1944* (New York: Feminist Press, 1991).

5 According to one of his colleagues, Dr. Webster introduced heliotherapy to San Diego doctors. Dorothea W. Mitchell (hereafter DWM) to Anna J. Webster, February 19, 1945, Box 3, Folder 2, Dorothea Webster Mitchell Papers, MS 316, San Diego History Center Research Archives (hereafter MS 316 SDHC).

6 According to Dorothea, her parents were born into a liberal branch of Quakers called the Hicksites. "Neither of my grandmothers wore the traditional costume nor respected the petty taboos against cards, dancing, or playing on Sunday. My father's mother studied medicine and wore trousers while she was doing it." DWM, "Thoughts to Violet Hess, unfinished and not sent," n.d., Box 3, Folder 9, MS 316 SDHC.

7 DWM to Anna J. Webster, SD, February 9, 1929, Box 2, Folder 3, MS 316 SDHC.

8 Trudie Casper, "San Diego's Open Forum—Birth and Death," *The Journal of San Diego History* 26, no. 2 (Spring 1980), https://sandiegohistory.org/journal/1980/april/forum/ (accessed August 23, 2021). Dorothea's letters contain considerable detail about the Open Forum lectures. In 1935, when anti-Communist rhetoric began to spread in the US, Dorothea recalled her father's attitude towards the repression of free speech in 1919: "I have often thought this winter of what papa said after the war—that he could never feel the same towards his country again—that he had always supposed before that our people really believed in freedom of speech." DWM to Anna J. Webster, May 1, 1935, Box 2, Folder 10, MS 316 SDHC.

9 Dorothea Webster (hereafter DW) to Elta Firestone, December 29, 1909, Box 3, Folder 8, MS 316 SDHC. For further information on the dress reform movement, see Patricia A. Cunningham, *Reforming Women's Fashion, 1850-1920: Politics, Health, and Art* (Kent, OH: Kent State University Press, 2003).

10 DW to Mabel Thomas, April 4, 1912, Box 3, Folder 4, MS 316 SDHC.

11 Elizabeth Mitchell to Family, April 1, 1917, Box 3, Folder 18, MS 316 SDHC. Elizabeth Webster, an undergraduate at UC Berkeley, died in the influenza epidemic of 1918.

12 Mary Mitchell Sadler, interviewed by Bobbie Kunath, July 10, 2002, OH SDHC.

13 Thomas R. Anderson, "Alfred R. Mitchell: The Making of an American Artist," in *Sunlight and Shadow: The Art of Alfred R. Mitchell, 1888-1972*, ed. Bruce Kamerling (San Diego: San Diego Historical Society, 1988), 1-4. See also Martin E. Petersen, "Alfred R. Mitchell," *The Journal of San Diego History* 19, no. 4 (Fall 1973), https://sandiegohistory.org/journal/1973/october/

mitchell/ (accessed August 22, 2021) and Martin E. Petersen, *Second Nature: Four Early San Diego Landscape Painters* (Munich: San Diego Museum of Art and Prestel-Verlag): 37-45.

14 DWM to Folks, January 21, 1952, Box 3, Folder 3, MS 316 SDHC.

15 Anderson, "Alfred R. Mitchell," 4-5.

16 Ibid, 5-6. In 1910, Braun organized the San Diego Academy of Art. He also became involved with the San Diego Art Guild, established in 1915. William H. Gerdts, "The Land of Sunshine," in *Masters of Light: Plein-Air Painting in California, 1890-1930* (Irvine, CA: The Irvine Museum, 2002), 54.

17 John F. Kienitz, exhibition catalog, 1954, M.H. de Young Memorial Museum, San Francisco, cited at http://www.mauricebraungallery.com/historicalarchives.html (accessed August 23, 2021); Maurice Braun, "Theosophy and the Artist," *The Theosophical Path* 14, no. 1 (January 1918): 5-13. See also, Cathy Springs, "The Influence of Theosophy on the Life and Works of Landscape Painter Maurice Braun," master's thesis, California State University Dominguez Hills, 2002.

18 DWM to Mabel Thomas, December 10, 18, 1920, Box 3, Folder 5, MS 316 SDHC; Mary Mitchell Sadler, "Memoirs of Alfred R. Mitchell," *The Journal of San Diego History* 47, no. 3 (Summer 2001), https://sandiegohistory.org/journal/2001/july/mitchell-3/ (accessed August 23, 2021).

19 Anderson, "Alfred R. Mitchell," 19; "Seven Ways to Compute the Relative Value of the US Dollar," https://www.measuringworth.com/calculators/uscompare/ (accessed September 17, 2022).

20 DWM, interviewed by Paul and Rita Cress, November 6, 1979, San Diego History Center, https://californiarevealed.org/islandora/object/cavpp%3A75958 (accessed August 23, 2021).

21 DWM, "Wisdom of the Wild," n.d., undated writings, Box 3, Folder 9, MS 316 SDHC.

22 Mary Mitchell Sadler, interviewed by Bobbie Kunath, October 23, 2002, OH SDHC; Anderson, "Alfred R. Mitchell,"15-16.

23 Anderson, "Alfred R. Mitchell," 21. Dorothea had long avoided meat, but she and Fred adopted an entirely vegetarian diet in 1927. DWM to Anna J. Webster, October 19, 1927, Box 2, Folder 1, MS 316 SDHC.

24 Anderson, "Alfred R. Mitchell," 20.

25 Ibid, 22. In 1931, Scripps bought two additional paintings that she

intended to give to friends. DWM to Anna Webster, March 21, 1931, Box 2, Folder 6, MS 316 SDHC.

26 Gerdts, "The Land of Sunshine," 56.

27 Bruce Kamerling, "Catalogue of Exhibition," *Sunlight and Shadow*, 51; "La Jolla Show of Mitchell's Work is Virile," *San Diego Union*, July 14, 1929, 29-2.

28 Guy Pène Du Bois, "The Boston Group of Painters: An Essay on Nationalism in Art," *Arts & Decoration* 5, no. 12 (October 1915), 457.

29 Helen Lewis, "Mitchell Work has Sun-Filled, Outdoor Spirit," *San Diego Union*, September 8, 1929, 41; Kamerling, "Catalogue of Exhibition," 59.

30 DWM to Anna Webster, July 17, 1929, Box 2, Folder 4, MS 316 SDHC. This painting is in The Fleischer Museum, Philadelphia.

31 Anderson, "Alfred R. Mitchell," 20.

32 DWM to Folks, September 13, 1929, Box 2, Folder 4, MS 316 SDHC.

33 DWM, interviewed by Paul and Rita Cress, November 6, 1979.

34 Maurice Braun to Alfred R. Mitchell, Norwalk, CT, December 20, 1922, Alfred R. Mitchell Correspondence, Box 1, Folder 1, Library, San Diego Museum of Art.

35 Petersen, *Second Nature: Four Early San Diego Landscape Painters*, 28, 34; DWM to Anna J. Webster and Mariana, February 8, 1929, Box 2, Folder 3, MS 316 SDHC. Hazel Braun's art column for *The San Diego Evening Tribune* helped the Brauns survive the Great Depression. DWM to Anna J. Webster, enclosed in a letter to Mabel Thomas, February 22, 1932, Box 3, Folder 6, MS 316 SDHC.

36 Anderson, "Alfred R. Mitchell," 23.

37 Ibid, 24-25.

38 DWM to Anna Webster, San Diego, February 9, 1926, Box 1, Folder 15, MS 316 SDHC. For the art scene in early Southern California, see Jasper G. Schad, "'A City of Picture Buyers': Art, Identity, and Aspiration in Los Angeles and Southern California, 1891-1914," *Southern California Quarterly* 92, no. 1 (Spring 2010): 19-50, and "An Art-Hungry People: The Impact of Progressivism, World War I, and the Panama-Pacific International Exposition on Art in Los Angeles, 1915-1930), *Southern California Quarterly* 97, no 4 (2015): 317-361.

39 DWM, "The Mitchell News," February 9, 1926, Box 2, Folder 3,

MS 316 SDHC.

40 DWM to Anna J. Webster, June 25, 1929, Box 2, Folder 3, MS 316 SDHC; Martin E. Petersen, "Contemporary Artists of San Diego," *The Journal of San Diego History* 16, no. 4 (Fall 1970), https://sandiegohistory.org/journal/1970/october/artists/ (accessed August 22, 2021). Several of Dorothea's letters describe the relationships among members of the Contemporary Artists. See also, Minute Book and Receipt Book, Contemporary Artists, San Diego Museum of Art Library.

41 DWM to Anna J. Webster, June 17, 1925, Box 1, Folder 13, MS 316 SDHC; DWM to Anna J. Webster, June 11, 1929, Box 2, Folder 3, MS 316 SDHC.

42 DWM to Family, SD, May 14, 1925, Box 1, Folder 13, MS 316, SDHC.

43 DMW to Family, May 24, 1925; DWM to Family, June 2, 1925, Box 1, Folder 13, MS 316, SDHC.

44 DWM to Anna J. Webster, San Diego, June 17, 1925, Box 1, Folder 13, MS 316, SDHC; DWM to Anna J. Webster, April 19, 1931, Box 2, Folder 6, MS 316, SDHC.

45 DWM to Mabel Thomas, SD, October 22, 1922, Box 3, Folder 5, MS 316, SDHC.

46 DWM to Anna J. Webster, September 1, 1931, Box 2, Folder 6, MS 316, SDHC.

47 DWM to Anna J. Webster, April 17, 1929, Box 2, Folder 3, MS 316, SDHC.

48 DWM to Anna J. Webster, November 2, 1931, Box 2, Folder 6, MS 316, SDHC.

49 DWM to Anna J. Webster, January 8, 1933, Box 2 Folder 8, MS 316, SDHC.

50 DWM to Mabel Thomas, San Diego, January 16, 1925, Box 3, Folder 5, MS 316, SDHC.

51 DWM to Anna J. Webster, January 24, 1925, Box 1, Folder 12, MS 316, SDHC; DWM, "The Mitchell News," October 12, 1925, Box 1, Folder 14, MS 316, SDHC.

52 DWM, "The Mitchell News," March 14, 1926, Box 1, Folder 15, MS 316, SDHC.

53 DWM to Family, April 14, 1925, Box 1, Folder 12, MS 316, SDHC.

54 DWM to Family, May 24, 1925, Box 1 Folder 13, MS 316, SDHC.

55 DWM to Family, May 24, 1925, Box 1, Folder 13, MS 316, SDHC.

56 DWM to Anna J. Webster, SD, January 24, 1929, Box 2, Folder 3,

MS 316, SDHC.

57 DWM to Anna J. Webster, SD, August 29, 1928, Box 2, Folder 4, MS 316, SDHC.

58 DWM to Mabel Thomas, San Diego, January 16, 1925, Box 3, Folder 5, MS 316, SDHC.

59 For women, homemaking, and aesthetic culture, see Beverly Gordon, *The Saturated World: Aesthetic Meaning, Intimate Objects, Women's Lives, 1890-1940* (Knoxville: University of Tennessee, 2006); Clive Edwards, "'Home is Where the Art Is': Women, Handicrafts and Home Improvements, 1750-1900," *Journal of Design History* 19, no. 1 (2006): 11-21; Fiona Hackney, "'Use Your Hands for Happiness': Home Craft and Make-do-and-Mend in British Women's Magazines in the 1920s and 1930s," *Journal of Design History* 19, no. 1 (2006): 23-38.

60 DWM to Anna J. Webster, SD, March 10, 1929, Box 2, Folder 3, MS 316, SDHC; Jean Gordon and Jan McArthur, "Popular Culture, Magazines and American Domestic Interiors, 1898-1940," *Journal of Popular Culture* 22, no. 4 (Spring 1989), 44.

61 DWM to Family, San Diego, April 23, 1925, Box 1, Folder 12, MS 316, SDHC.

62 They moved from a flat on Seventh Avenue to a rented house at 1035 29th Street that included a garden and garage on the corner of C Street.

63 Anderson, "Alfred R. Mitchell," 23; Alfred R. Mitchell to Anna Webster, January 21, 1928, Box 3, Folder 11, MS 316, SDHC; DWM to Philip, February 18, 1928, Box 2, Folder 2, MS 316, SDHC; DWM to Anna J. Webster, October 13, 1925, Box 1, Folder 14, MS 316, SDHC; DWM to Anna J. Webster, February 21, 1928, Box 2, Folder 2, MS 316, SDHC; DWM to Anna J. Webster, October 13, 1925, Box 1, Folder 14, MS 316, SDHC.

64 DWM to Anna J. Webster and Mariana, September 6, 1928, Box 2, Folder 2, MS 316, SDHC.

65 DWM to Anna J. Webster, October 19, 1927, Box 2, Folder 1, MS 316, SDHC. According to one scholar, "Women responded strongly to the Colonial Revival because they saw the colonial era as a time when women's work had been valued and respected." Beverly Gordon, "Cozy, Charming, and Artistic: Stitching Together the American Home," in *The Arts and the American Home, 1890-1930*, ed. Jessica H. Foy and Karal Ann Marling

(Knoxville: University of Tennessee Press, 1994), 137.

66 DWM to Philip, October 6, 1926, Box 1, Folder 15, MS 316, SDHC.

67 Mabel Foster Bainbridge, "Why Not Make Your Own Rugs? Everybody is Doing It," *Ladies' Home Journal* 40 (June 1923), 135, cited in Beverly Gordon, "Charmingly Quaint and Still Modern," 245. See also, Harvey Green, "Culture and Crisis: Americans and the Craft Revival," in *Revivals! Diverse Traditions*, 1920-1945, ed. Janet Kardon (New York: Harry N. Abrams, Inc., 1994): 31-40.

68 Hildren J. York, "New Deal Craft Programs and Their Social Implications," in *Revivals! Diverse Traditions*, 1920-1945, ed. Janet Kardon (New York: Harry N. Abrams, Inc., 1994), 55.

69 DWM to Anna J. Webster, October 19, 1931, Box 2, Folder 6, MS 316, SDHC; DWM to Anna J. Webster, December 27, 1934, Box 2, Folder 9, MS 316, SDHC. Her 1931 class in block printing was taught by Florence C. Hale.

70 DWM to Anna J. Webster, March 20, 1933, Box 2, Folder 8, MS 316, SDHC.

71 Dorothea and Violet Hess attended Pomona College together; she met Kathleen Harnett at UC Berkeley. DWM to Mabel Thomas, December 18, 1915, Box 3, Folder 4; DWM to Anna J. Webster, April 24, 1929, Box 2, Folder 3, MS 316, SDHC. See also, Kathleen Harnett interviewed by Ann Andriesse, October 27, 1981, http://hdl.handle.net/10211.3/218012 (accessed August 23, 2021).

72 DWM to Anna J. Webster, April 17, 1933, Box 2, Folder 8, MS 316, SDHC.

73 DWM to Anna J. Webster, January 25, 1939, Box 2, Folder 14, MS 316, SDHC; DWM to Folks, June 2, 1940, Box 2, Folder 15, MS 316, SDHC. Dorothea's linoleum blocks, prints, proofs and sketches—together with 5 block prints by Florence C. Hale—are in the collection of the San Diego History Center, Accession No. SDHC 86.53.

74 DWM to Anna J. Webster, September 5, 1932, Box 2, Folder 7, MS 316, SDHC.

75 DWM to Anna J. Webster, October 23, 1933, Box 2, Folder 8, MS 316, SDHC; DWM to Anna J. Webster, May 14, 1934, Box 2, Folder 9, MS 316, SDHC; DWM to Anna J. Webster, December 1, 1936, Box 2, Folder 11, MS 316, SDHC. See also, Susan Self, "The History of the La Jolla Art Association" (2002), https://www.lajollaartassociation.org/history (accessed August 22, 2021).

76 DWM to Anna J. Webster, SD, November 18, 1931. See also *Minutes*, Contemporary Artists of San Diego, October 8, 1932, Alfred R. Mitchell, Secretary, Library, San Diego Museum of Art.

77 DWM to Anna J. Webster, February 24, 1936, July 19, 1936, nd [1936].

78 DWM to Folks, November 16, 1939. Fred declined the job of painting murals for the San Diego County Administration Center because "there was no use in trying to compete with free labor" provided by artists employed by the WPA Federal Art Project.

79 "Seven Ways to Compute the Relative Value of the US Dollar," https://www.measuringworth.com/calculators/uscompare/ (accessed September 17, 2022).

80 DWM to Anna J. Webster, November 18, 1931, Box 2, Folder 6, MS 316, SDHC; DWM to Anna J. Webster, January 14, 18, 1932, Box 2, Folder 7, MS 316, SDHC. Portraits generally cost between $350 and $500 ($6,000-$9,000 in 2022 dollars).

81 DWM to Anna J. Webster, December 27, 1934, Box 2, Folder 9, MS 316, SDHC. In 1934, Dorothy Mills commissioned Mitchell a portrait of her deceased brother-in-law, Charles G. Blanden, founder of the Blanden Art Museum in Iowa. DWM to Anna J. Webster and Mariana, October 28, 1934, Box 2, Folder 9, MS 316, SDHC.

82 DWM to Anna J. Webster, November 18, 1931, Box 2, Folder 6, MS 316, SDHC. Dorothea sent her widowed mother $8 every month, as did her two siblings Mariana and Philip.

83 Mary Mitchell Sadler, interviewed by Bobbie Kunath, October 23, 2002, OH SDHC.

84 DWM to Anna J. Webster, January 18, 1933, Box 2, Folder 8, MS 316, SDHC. At a meeting of the Contemporary Artists in 1932, it was revealed that Braun was down to his last $5. Dorothea wrote, "We had heard before that if it wasn't for the money Mrs. Braun gets for her weekly art column in 'The Tribune' they would have lost their home." DWM to Anna J. Webster, February 22, 1932, Box 2, Folder 7, MS 316, SDHC; "Seven Ways to Compute the Relative Value of the US Dollar," https://www.measuringworth.com/calculators/uscompare/ (accessed September 17, 2022).

85 DWM to Anna J. Webster, March 1, 1932, Box 2, Folder 7, MS 316, SDHC; DWM to Anna J. Webster, November 23, 1933, Box 2, Folder 8, MS 316, SDHC.

86 Mary Mitchell Sadler, interviewed by Bobbie Kunath, October 23, 2002, OH SDHC.

87 DWM to Anna J. Webster, October 23, 1932, Box 2, Folder 7, MS 316, SDHC. Duke Lovell also worked as a docent as he needed money desperately.

88 DWM to Anna J. Webster, October 23, 1932, November 3, 1932, Box 2, Folder 7, MS 316, SDHC.

89 DWM to Mabel Thomas, December 27, 1935, Box 3, Folder 6, MS 316, SDHC.

90 Dorothea had taken art history classes from Dr. Eugen Neuhaus at Berkeley. DWM to Folks, January 19, 1943, Box 2, Folder 18, MS 316, SDHC.

91 DWM to Anna J. Webster, March 20, 1933, Box 2, Folder 8, MS 316, SDHC; Disbursement of Personal Items, 1933-41, Drawer 17, Folder 8, Ellen Browning Scripps Collection, Ella Strong Denison Library, Scripps College. The Mitchells also received photographs of Greek sculptures and a 2-foot-high cast of "Winged Victory."

92 DWM to Anna J. Webster, May 16, 1933, Box 2, Folder 8, MS 316, SDHC.

93 DWM to Folks, July 19, 1936, Box 2, Folder 11, MS 316, SDHC. Dorothea wrote that Requa told them, "'When I built the Webster house [in the 1500 block of 31st Street] nothing like that had been done before, and nothing like it was done for quite a while afterwards.' It appears that he considers it rather modern—a new idea to me. Its modernity consists in the 'large masses.' He thinks these are suited to a house which can be seen from a distance, but not to a city house which can be seen from no farther than across the street." DWM to Folks, July 20, 1936, Box 2, Folder 11, MS 316, SDHC.

94 Dorothea wrote that Ruocco "has plenty of training, intelligence, and good taste." DWM to Anna J. Webster, September 30, 1936, Box 2, Folder 11, MS 316, SDHC.

95 DWM to Mabel Thomas, May 26, 1937, November 17, 1937, Box 3, Folder 6, MS 316, SDHC.

96 DWM to Folks, April 20, 1942, Box 2, Folder 17, MS 316, SDHC; DWM to Folks, April 25, 1943, box 2, Folder 18, MS 316, SDHC.

97 She bought her fruits and vegetables from Harry Kaneyuki and his wife who had a grocery on Thirtieth and Beech Streets. On the eve of their departure for the Japanese-American internment

camp at Tule Lake, she talked to their son Chester, telling him, "I am a Quaker and a Theosophist, and they are people who believe very much in the Brotherhood of Man—the brotherhood of races—and so I hope that you will go through what you are going through without bitterness—and we must all work for a time when there won't be such dreadful things—and feelings." She signed a letter written by the Kaneyuki's customers "avowing faith in him and his wife" and, at the grocer's request, accepted a tiny ivory figure that had been given to him as a child together with some Japanese books. Years later, she offered to return them, but "he said his children don't appreciate such things and we do, so they had best stay here." DWM to Folks, February 8, 1942, Box 2, Folder 17, MS 316, SDHC; DWM to Folks, March 13, 1949, Box 3, Folder 3, MS 316, SDHC; "Persons of Japanese Ancestry at Tule Lake Segregation Center," National Parks Service, https://www.nps.gov/tule/learn/historyculture/upload/WDC_7-44_list_K.pdf (accessed September 17, 2022).

98 DWM to Folks, February 8, 1942, Box 2, Folder 17, MS 316, SDHC.

99 DWM to Anna J. Webster, October 14, 1943, Box 2, Folder 18, MS 316, SDHC.

100 DWM to Folks, September 25, 1944, Box 3, Folder 1, MS 316, SDHC.

101 "Associated Arts to Hear Program After Luncheon," *San Diego Union*, February 6, 1944, D8.

102 DWM, "The Artist's Wife to Intelligent Laymen," lecture, Woman's Alliance of the Unitarian Church, April 2, 1942, Box 4, Folder 18, MS 316, SDHC; "Sanity of Art Discussion Topic," *San Diego Union*, February 1, 1943, 6; "Club Schedules Full Week of Yule Activities," *San Diego Union*, December 12, 1943, D7; "A.A.U.W. Units List Full Week of Meetings," *San Diego Union*, March 12, 1944, D6; "A.A.U.W. Group Will Sponsor Globe Evening," *San Diego Union*, March 13, 1950, A6; "Club Calendar," *San Diego Union*, February 14, 1950, A10; "Associated Arts Joins Work of Music Merit Foundation," *San Diego Union*, February 5, 1946, A6;

103 DWM to Anna J. Webster, May 16, 1941, Box 2, Folder 16, MS 316, SDHC.

104 DWM to Anna J. Webster, April 3, 1936, Box 2, Folder 11, MS 316, SDHC.

105 DWM to Anna J. Webster, March 4, 1936, Box 2, Folder 11, MS 316, SDHC.

[106] DWM to Alice and Mabel Thomas, January 6, 1940, Box 3, Folder 7, MS 316, SDHC; DWM to Folks, October 31, 1949, Box 3, Folder 3, MS 316, SDHC. For a discussion of the

[107] DWM to Folks, May 31, 1942, Box 2, Folder 17, MS 316, SDHC. Dorothea almost certainly knew of The Society for Sanity in Art, founded in Chicago by Josephine Hancock Logan in 1936 as an artist's organization opposed to all forms of modernism. "Sane Boston," *Time Magazine*, 35, no. 23 (May 3, 1940).

[108] "Parlay Planned," *San Diego Union*, May 7, 1953, D1.

[109] DWM, "The Artist's Wife to Intelligent Laymen," lecture, Woman's Alliance of the Unitarian Church, April 2, 1942, Box 4, Folder 18, MS 316, SDHC. See also "Woman's Alliance to Meet Thursday," *San Diego Union*, March 29, 1942, C6.

[110] Alfred R. Mitchell, letter to the editor, *San Diego Union*, February 25, 1950, B2; Anderson, "Alfred R. Mitchell," 31.

[111] In a 1979 interview, Dorothea made statements that suggest she had become deeply anti-modernist. DWM, interviewed by Paul and Rita Cress, November 6, 1979, SDHC. For further information on the conflict between representational artists and modernists, see Victoria Dailey, "Naturally Modern," in *LA's Early Moderns: Art/Architecture/Photography* by Victoria Dailey, Natalie Shivers, and Michael Dawson (Los Angeles: Balcony Press, 2003), 25-41, 59; Sarah Schrank, *Art and the City: Civic Imagination and Cultural Authority in Los Angeles* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2011), chap. 3 passim.

[112] Mary Mitchell Sadler, interviewed by Bobbie Kunath, October 23, 2002, OH SDHC.

[113] DWM to Folks, April 25, 1943, Box 2, Folder 18, MS 316, SDHC.

[114] DWM to Anna J. Webster and Mariana, November 8, 1944, Box 3, Folder 1, MS 316, SDHC.

[115] DWM to [Mabel and Alice Thomas], October 19, 1952, Box 3, Folder 7, MS 316, SDHC.

[116] Anderson, "Alfred R. Mitchell," 32.

[117] Mary Mitchell Sadler, interviewed by Bobbie Kunath, October 23, 2002, OH SDHC.

[118] Ibid.

[119] DWM to Martin Peterson [1971], "Alfred R. Mitchell," Artist File, SDMA Library.

Sincerely yours
Constance Goddard Du Bois.

CONSTANCE GODDARD DUBOIS: INDIAN REFORMER

VALERIE SHERER MATHES

Constance Goddard DuBois, president of the Waterbury, Connecticut branch of the Women's National Indian Association (WNIA), was one of many reformers who participated in the late nineteenth-century Indian[1] reform movement described by historian Francis Paul Prucha as a "tight little group of dedicated men and women," convinced they had the solution "to the question of what to do about the Indians."[2] Separating into gender-specific organizations, middle-and-upper class female reformers joined branches of the WNIA while their male counterparts joined the Boston Indian Citizenship Committee or the Indian Rights Association or both. They came together, working harmoniously in "a common philanthropic and humanitarian outlook," using propaganda "to awaken and inform the national conscience," and bending "Congress and federal officials to their will."[3] A select few met annually at the Lake Mohonk Conference of Friends of the Indians to discuss and shape the government's Indian policy. Because conference founder Albert K. Smiley applied the Quaker principle of viewing women as equals, WNIA members were welcomed. DuBois would attend twice.

(Opposite page) Portrait of Constance Goddard DuBois, circa 1900. Courtesy of Autry Museum of the American West; P. 32203.

Although DuBois was primarily a writer, between 1893 and 1898 she served as general secretary of the Gray Botanical Association and the first editor of the Asa Gray Bulletin, writing an occasional short article for it.[4] Her first major article was published in 1884, her last in 1909. In between she wrote novels. Beginning with *A Soul in Bronze: A Novel of Southern California* (1898), her fifth, she wrote exclusively on California's Mission Indians.[5] This decision was prompted by family members moving in 1897 to Chula Vista, south of San Diego. For the next decade during her summer visits to Chula Vista, DuBois toured neighboring Mission Indian villages, collecting material for historical articles and, as a budding amateur ethnologist, information on Diegueño and Luiseño mythology and religion for anthropological articles. She was soon corresponding—and at times collaborating—with prominent anthropologists including Alfred L. Kroeber, Clark Wissler, Franz Boas, and Frederick W. Hodge. Witnessing the extreme poverty of some villagers, DuBois, with the support of local White residents, encouraged Indian women to develop a native lace industry and bought their baskets to sell in eastern markets to raise money.[6] During the winter months, she supervised the philanthropic work of the Waterbury auxiliary, lectured to Eastern audiences on the dire condition of these Mission villagers, and wrote articles. They appeared in such diverse publications as *The Land of Sunshine: The Magazine of California and the West*, a popular monthly; *the Journal of American Folk-Lore*, an academic journal; the WNIA's monthly periodical, *The Indian's Friend*; and the *Southern Workman*, Hampton Institute's school newspaper.[7]

Like many Indian reformers of the time, DuBois had been inspired by the writings of Helen Hunt Jackson, who exposed the government's perfidy towards the Indians in *A Century of Dishonor* (1881) and the plight of the Mission Indians in her novel, *Ramona* (1884). DuBois dedicated her own novel, *A Soul in Bronze*, to Jackson, "whose warm heart and enlightened sympathy [had] made her the Friend of the Indian."[8] But Jackson had also written a government report on the condition and needs of the Mission Indians in 1883, a copy of which DuBois supposedly carried around while touring Mission villages.[9] DuBois's summer trips to San Diego County enabled her not only to follow in Jackson's footsteps but to carve out her own unique contributions to the reform movement with actions that at times saved the lives of residents of small Mission Indian reservations such as Mesa Grande and Campo.

During a decade of reform work, DuBois corresponded with government officials and other reformers—letters which revealed her deep concern for the dire situation facing these Indians and the intensity that she brought to improving their lives. But she also carried on a cordial correspondence with Mary Watkins, the government schoolteacher at Mesa Grande, and Mamie Robinson, the field matron assigned to the Campo Reservation. They provided her with information on the condition of these villagers while she wintered in Waterbury and assisted her in encouraging basket making among Indian women as an income source. This small selection of letters serves as a brief window into DuBois's reform efforts, of which little has been written.

As president of a WNIA auxiliary DuBois stood squarely

within the ranks of the late nineteenth-century reform movement intent on implementing the government's policy of assimilation. However, she, like other WNIA members, was also focused on improving Indian lives. Therefore, in mid-July 1900, she wrote to Herbert Welsh, a founder and executive secretary of the influential Philadelphia-based Indian Rights Association (IRA).[10] Impressed by her writing, months later he would publish her article, "Our American Reconcentrados," on San Diego County's Mission Indians in his Philadelphia-based weekly reform journal, *City and State*, of which he was both managing editor and publisher.[11] Although a latecomer to the movement, DuBois had quickly acquainted herself with the movement's major power brokers.

In a letter from July 1900, DuBois informed Welsh that Samuel M. Brosius, the IRA's Washington, DC agent, had asked for money for a case he was working on. She had to explain that all Waterbury auxiliary funds were pledged to the national association in Philadelphia, and because "literature is not lucrative," she had no personal money. She, too, was trying to raise funds for the starving Mission Indians, many of whom were living on "Manzanita berries, [as] their only food." On August 1, she planned to go to San Diego County to visit Mesa Grande, Santa Ysabel, and Warner Ranch. Because residents of the latter were currently facing eviction, she inquired if there was any information she could gather while there that might aid the IRA in their legal defense of villagers' rights. DuBois also explained that she had recently returned from a visit to the Santa Ysabel Ranch, which Jackson, in her report, had recommended the government purchase "as a reservation for all the Indians." The current residents, all

Charles Fletcher Lummis took this photograph of Warner's Ranch Indians during the 1902 meeting of a commission to relocate them. SDHC #19101.

ninety-seven of them, had been driven to "an inaccessible barren mountain, an extinct volcano, where nothing will grow," DuBois informed Welsh, concluding her letter with "great faith" in his knowledge of government methods and in his "power to aid these needy people."[12]

The Warner Ranch case was already a *cause célèbre*. The current owner, former California governor John G. Downey, in 1892 had filed a suit of eviction in the Superior Court of San Diego against the residents of the ranch's five Indian villages. Four years later the court ruled against them, but their lawyers, supported by Welsh and the IRA, appealed to the California Supreme Court, which in October 1899 again ruled against the Indians. The case then went to the US Supreme Court. Arguments were presented in March 1901, and on May 13 the Court upheld the lower court's decision.[13] A commission, comprised of Charles Fletcher Lummis, editor of *The Land of Sunshine*, Charles L. Partridge of Redlands, and Russell C. Allen of the Sweetwater Fruit Company, was appointed to

locate a new home. Accompanied by William Collier, Special Attorney for the Mission Indians of Southern California, who served as their adviser on water rights, the commission spent a month inspecting over 100 ranches, concluding that they should be removed to the Pala Reservation, thirty-some miles to the northwest.[14]

Three days after writing Welsh, DuBois sent a letter to San Diego resident David P. Barrows to better learn the "exact needs" of the Mission Indians. During the last decade, he had done extensive research on various Southern California tribes, writing a doctoral dissertation in 1897 on the Cahuilla Indians. Explaining that he had not visited any of the Mission villages since the previous August, Barrows assured DuBois that even though their current crops had failed, in the past there had been varied and abundant native produce to serve "all their wants." He knew of only "one case of actual starvation among these Indians, and that was an instance of wanton abandonment." He also questioned how successful she would be in encouraging basket making and *costura* (needlework) for sale, since cheaper Mexican drawn work (a form of embroidery) had largely driven out Indian-made items. He did not mince words on the government's Indian policy, complaining that the Mission Indian Agency had never benefited them and could easily be spared. However, he recognized if that happened there would be "further dissolution of the social forces within the Indian communities themselves." He particularly disagreed with the current Indian policy of "breaking up what remains of the tribal relations," proposing instead that the Indians "look to themselves and to one another and be encouraged to preserve what is good in their own life and

methods of living." He was enjoying reading her articles in *The Land of Sunshine*, he concluded.[15]

In early August, DuBois wrote Mathew Sniffen, the IRA clerk and business manager for *City and State*, about the possibility of their sponsoring a congressional bill to purchase a new reservation for the Warner Ranch Indians and others facing eviction. Describing the Warner Ranch eviction as "too cruel for words," she wrote that many Mission Indians were living on "rats and acorns."[16] As a solution, she posed the purchase of the Santa Ysabel Ranch, which was large enough to build a boarding and day school with space for basket making and drawn work for the women and dairying and farming for the men. Explaining she was off on a four-day trip to "distant reservations where starvation reigns," she asked Sniffen to have IRA Agent Brosius confer with Mary Watkins—"a trustworthy Christian woman whose heart and soul are in her work"—the Mesa Grande school teacher. In conclusion, she described the IRA as "the one tower of strength, hope, and comfort in all this sad business."[17]

Following her return from "the most destitute reservations"—Volcan, La Posta, and Manzanita—she again wrote Sniffen. At present she did not view the Cupeño residents of Agua Caliente (Cupa or Warner Hot Springs) on Warner Ranch as destitute, "though they will be if evicted," but those around the ranch borders, such as Puerto Chiquito, San José, and Mataguay were "so poor." Upon learning that DuBois was attending the annual IRA meeting in Philadelphia, Sniffen would encourage Welsh to invite her to lecture on the Mission Indians during the meeting. In late December Welsh complimented her on her delivery and her work on behalf of the Indians. "I have

been greatly impressed with both for you have seemed to me to have not only great energy and enthusiasm, but a broad view of things and practical common sense. These are certainly most necessary if one wants to do good in the world," he concluded.[18]

In March of the following year, concerned about a reclamation project to irrigate desert lands which would certainly bring in an influx of White setters, from Waterbury DuBois wrote Indian Commissioner William A. Jones. He assured her that Indian lands were safe, and that "reservation trust patents in common" had been issued for many Mission reservations and that land allotments in severalty had already been made on several. Furthermore, patented reservations were "absolutely secured to the Indians." Those not patented had been withdrawn from "entry and settlement and set apart" as executive order reservations. Therefore, there was no way "by which such settlers can obtain title to land in said reservations under the public land laws."[19]

Not convinced, in early June 1901, DuBois wrote Welsh that ever since she had written *The Condition of the Mission Indians of Southern California* for the IRA, she had been urging Brosius and others to encourage the government to set aside "all the desert land now occupied by Indians, withdrawing it from [White] settlement." Only on the desert had the Indians been left alone, she explained, and that was because "no one wanted the land." However, the movement to irrigate desert lands, she feared, would result in the Indians being "turned out." Brosius had been successful in getting government instructions sent to the Los Angeles Land District office ordering them to respect Indian rights. She asked if Welsh

could have this order expanded to cover Indian-held lands in San Diego, Riverside, and San Bernardino counties. "Prevention is better than cure," DuBois wrote; "it would be very little trouble for the Government to make all the Mission Indians secure in such lands as they now have, poor enough at the best."[20]

In July DuBois was in Chula Vista, where on July 25 she sought advice from William Collier, who was in his third year as the Special Attorney for the Mission Indians. Responding four days later, he expressed pleasure that she was willing to sacrifice herself to visit remote villages, witnessing "some of the most pronounced horrors of the Indian service," which even some special agents "rarely see or know anything about." Her inquiry was correct: "no filings of any kind are permitted or accepted upon land known to be occupied by the Indians." He would be spending the next month looking over possible lands for government purchase for the Warner Ranch Indians and other groups for which eviction suits were pending. He was not convinced that trying to buy portions of the ranch and the hot springs at the village of Agua Caliente was "the most practicable scheme" because the area could not accommodate residents of the other four villages. Furthermore, "the benefits and advantages at the springs" were poorly distributed among current residents. He would be driving over to Mesa Grande to call on Mrs. Watkins and hoped to meet up with her there during her summer visit.[21]

In late May, DuBois had informed Welsh of her plans to come to Southern California around July 1. In the meantime, with the support of eastern philanthropists, she was organizing an effort to raise money to purchase

the Santa Ysabel ranch, which adjoined the Mesa Grande and Volcan reservations. She had already written Brosius to meet with her in California "as his experience as to Government conditions would be such a help to me in arranging the practical details of the scheme." Because he had responded only that "he might possible go to California," she asked Welsh to forward her letter to him and include his "opinion as to the advisability of his doing this."[22] It is unknown if Welsh forwarded the letter, but during the month of July, Brosius was in California and spent five days touring Mesa Grande, La Posta, and Manzanita with DuBois and Watkins. In a letter to Reverend William Henry Weinland, a Moravian minister supervising the WNIA missionary work among the Mission Indians, Brosius described La Posta and Manzanita as "in a sad plight—not over eight or ten acres available for farming for either band, the latter numbering about sixty souls." Last year they had been able to raise only a bag of beans on these lands, partially due to damaging frosts. He found Mesa Grande to be quite different, with suitable land for pasture for sheep, goats, and a few cattle. However, the residents' ability to "make a good living" was restricted by their lack of capital and inability of saving "from their meager earnings sufficient to invest in cattle." Brosius explained that during the journey to Manzanita, he tried to impress upon both DuBois and Watkins "that true charity consisted not in giving, and thus weaken[ing] the manhood of a people, but, to encourage them to self support, in all ways that would not have such a tendency." As a result of his visit, Brosius assured Weinland that he now had the "strength to fight for what is best much more intelligently than heretofore."[23]

Writing from Waterbury in February 1902, DuBois thanked Charles Lummis for sending three issues of his magazine, which the month before had been renamed *Out West*. She intended the coming summer to again look for land to purchase somewhere in the vicinity of Campo, with enough space for an industrial teacher and her work. But what the Indians really needed, she explained, was a resident missionary. There was an elderly blind woman who lived a mile from Manzanita. She had intended last summer to walk over the mountains to check on her but never found the time. A missionary would have done so. DuBois qualified her request: the missionary should not be one who simply tried to convert the Indians "when they are already good Catholics." These "poor things have nothing," she lamented; not even the local priest visited them. Although willing to cooperate with Lummis and his Sequoya League, DuBois explained that she preferred an independent course, "helping here and there," especially around the Campo region which "lies heaviest on" her heart.[24] Currently she was sending money to H. M. Johnson, a local Campo storekeeper, who in turn was purchasing provisions for the old and sick.[25]

Although the Campo Reservation did not get a missionary, it was assigned a government field matron, an appointment DuBois credited to the efforts of her Waterbury branch. However, Charles E. Shell, superintendent and special disbursing agent at Pala, took credit, claiming he had alerted the Indian Office. The field matron program, created by the Indian Appropriation Act of 1891, employed mature White women to instruct Indian women in food preparation, sewing, laundry work, the care of the sick and of domestic animals, child

rearing, and the proper observance of the Sabbath.[26] Sometime in 1904 Mamie Robinson was assigned to the San Diego County Kumeyaay reservations of Campo, La Posta, Manzanita, Laguna, and Cuyapipa (Cuyapaipe), commonly referred to as the five Campo reservations, supervised by Shell and located in the Laguna Mountains near the Mexican border. According to DuBois, these small reservations with little tillable land had a combined population of only 140, largely old and infirmed, with a few children, all in dire need of aid.[27] Robinson, who remained until 1909, was assisted by two young Mesa Grande Indians, Frances Lachappa and Rosalia Nejo, whom Lummis described as "educated, refined, of high character, and of clear intelligence." Supervised by Robinson, they started a school and taught the Indian women to sew, remake clothing, and cook. Nejo was an employee of Lummis' Sequoya League, which provided money for local supplies and school lunches. Agent Shell provided the women with a wagon and team to visit local Indian families.[28]

Another frequent DuBois correspondent was Edward H. Davis, artist, artifact collector, and photographer, who had moved to San Diego in 1885 for his health, eventually settling in Mesa Grande. His fascination with the local culture had led the Mesa Grande Indians to name him a ceremonial chief.[29] Davis described the good work of Lachappa and Nejo, concluding they were reaching "the people so much better than a white matron." The villagers had become dependent upon them because they served as "a constant object lesson & inspiration to those poor creatures, showing the possibilities that may be latent in themselves." In another letter, Davis reported that Shell

was also pleased with their work, as families were moving to Campo to take advantage of their school, currently with fourteen students.[30]

Davis, who often drew small illustrations on his letters, entertained DuBois with descriptions of his lengthy trips through Mission villages in search of archaeological finds, or his extensive photographic trips, as well as troubles with Lummis turning down his articles but not his photographs. At times Davis added interesting tidbits of news such as in a mid-September 1903 letter when he had learned that Inspector James E. Jenkins, who had supervised the removal of the Warner Ranch Indians to Pala, had allegedly bribed John Brown Jr., the Indians' attorney, and the newspaper man at Agua Caliente "to advise the Inds. [sic] to move and $1600 was paid to the principal Indians to have them go quietly." As soon as Jenkins left, wrote Davis, all promises went unfilled. However, the neighboring San Felipe Indians had been moved without any bribery, Davis noted.[31]

In mid-October 1903, he commiserated with DuBois about the rejection of a book proposal. "It is too bad when we had our mouths all ready for pie, to get nothing but sawdust," he wrote. He also noted that he would soon have the "most extensive collection of photos of the deserted villages [on Warner Ranch] showing condition of houses after Inds. [sic] left for Pala."[32] Because DuBois was far more interested in the current condition of the Warner Ranch Indians following their May 1903 removal to the Pala Reservation, she wrote Agent Shell, who responded in December that both they and the former residents of San Felipe were "getting along nicely." And because they appeared prosperous and happy, he had not

issued rations. Portable houses had been put up for them, and able-bodied men were hard at work, some on the ten acres that Shell had given to each head of a household for farming. He had found "destitution among the old" in several nearby reservations and had issued rations. Davis, also interested in seeing the conditions at Pala for himself, visited during the summer of 1904, reporting to DuBois that he found forty portable houses, arranged in rows and numbered, although many still lived in tents. "There seemed to be considerable govt. work at present," he informed her, "but when that fails—alas Poor Lo."[33]

During the summer of 1904, DuBois spent ten days at Campo becoming acquainted with Mamie Robinson, who like Watkins and Davis would become a frequent correspondent. You can "trust her to do anything in her power for the Indians," she informed Lummis in an October letter. But DuBois was also concerned about the situation at the five Campo reservations, coming to the realization that additional lands nearby would need to be purchased for their continued farming activities. However, she proposed that Campo residents be allowed to keep their present lands, believing they would not consent to a distant removal. A month later DuBois informed Lummis that she was pleased he was going to visit the reservations personally. She had heard from Collier, who also recommended buying small tracts for farming near present settlements, enabling them to "go back and forth to work their crops as a white man does on his farm." Now, however, he had written that Agent Shell wanted to move them to the desert, digging wells for their needs. Fortunately, while at the annual Lake Mohonk Conference of the Friends of the Indian that October, DuBois had

conferred with Commissioner Jones, who "heartily agreed that these Indians should not be moved from their present homes." Shell, she explained to Lummis, was new to the job and had no idea how "hopeless" the condition of the desert Indians was, explaining how costly it was to merely provide them with water. If the Indians were moved, then the industrial school she was planning could not be built and the basket work would come to an end. Fearful that the entire desert would eventually be irrigated by White homesteaders, DuBois believed it was less likely that they would "crowd in among those barren hills, and the Indians may very well keep what they have." It was far better to keep them in their homes, create industrial opportunities for the women and a school for the children, and provide small plots of land nearby for the men to farm, she concluded. This way the men could "stay at home and not have to travel as they do now so far for work that home life is practically broken up," she concluded to Lummis.[34]

On November 7, 1904, Lummis, accompanied by Wayland H. Smith, secretary of the Sequoya League, and Agent Shell, traveled by wagon to the five Campo reservations to investigate their condition. While there, Lummis took forty-four photographs to make slides for a future public presentation.[35] Upon his return he wrote DuBois describing Shell as "a first-rate fellow, honest and active, with good horse sense, and with a proper sentiment in most things." On the negative side, he and his companions had discovered that the only food available was acorns.[36] They had also discovered that several old people were "literally starving." To ease this situation, Lummis had convinced a number of prominent San Diego

citizens to raise money to deliver seed wheat and barley to them, and during his upcoming eastern visit, he would bring their condition to the attention of President Theodore Roosevelt, a friend from his Harvard days. Aware that DuBois was dealing with Campo storekeeper H. M. Johnson to distribute aid to the poorest residents, Lummis recommended instead E. H. Weegar, describing him as "the most painfully honest trader" that he knew of. Lummis was also pleased that DuBois had agreed to accept his assistance in marketing Indian baskets, claiming his wife and daughter could sell quite a few.[37]

On November 25, Right Rev. Joseph Horsfall Johnson, bishop of the Los Angeles Diocese of the Episcopal Church, presided over a large public gathering at the Simpson Auditorium in Los Angeles where Lummis lectured on the conditions at Campo with lantern pictures made from his photographs. Nearly $900 was raised for Indian relief. Shortly thereafter, Wayland Smith returned to organize a "systematic relief" through Weegar, with rations distributed to the sick and elderly every two weeks.[38]

The day before the public gathering, Lummis informed DuBois that he, Smith, and Shell had been unable to locate any land adjacent to the five Campo reservations fit to recommend for government purchase. Because the Indians had only lived in their present homes for a generation, he believed that they might consent to moving if some kind of mountain land could be found. He had held the same reasoning for the Warner Ranch Indians only to find that they cherished their desert home and fought hard to remain. He also informed her that Shell was no longer in favor of sending the Campo Reservation residents to the desert unless they wanted to go, and that

he had been able to get $200 worth of seed grain paid for by local San Diego residents. For his own part, Lummis had already raised over $130 for the old and sick for the coming winter.[39]

In December 1904, Smith again returned to Campo, accompanied by Mrs. C. B. Daggett of the Relief Committee of San Diego, which two days earlier had sent a large, six-horse-drawn freight wagon full of clothing and bedding. A call went out for the Indians to gather on Monday at Weegar's store, but by Sunday so many had arrived that clothing was distributed immediately, followed by staples such as flour, coffee, sugar, and beans. Weegar's wife loaned pots and pans so the women could prepare supper immediately. On Monday, another 100 Indians had gathered; they, too, were supplied with clothing.[40]

The following March, Edward Davis informed DuBois that he had sent Indian Commissioner Francis E. Leupp some photos of "old blind, half starved [sic] Indians" at Mesa Grande to alert him to their condition. "It reached the right spot," he concluded.[41] Two months later Davis acknowledged how difficult it must be for DuBois and others to continually struggle to secure funds for Indian aid. Because he expected to run a boarding house during the coming summer, he offered her accommodations in one of the floored tents he was constructing and use of a horse part time during her usual summer visit. He assured her that if she really wanted to give both her "brain & body [a] rest," she should stay at Mesa Grande "for every day is like Sunday." He only wished he could render more service than simple accommodations. Unfortunately, he had been unable to find any additional Indian artifacts for her as collectors and visitors were draining all of the

rancherias, except for items the Indians were currently using, which are "buried away or hidden and not to be bought at any price."[42]

DuBois's concern for the "destitute condition" of certain groups under the jurisdiction of Agent Shell prompted her to write Commissioner Leupp. On August 21, 1905, he responded that since Shell had recently requested aid, he had recommended to the Interior Department that the agent be allowed to spend "$500 from time to time" as needed for supplies and clothing. "I assure you the Office is alive to the situation and will do whatever the conditions will justify and its means will allow," he had written. Shell's version, however, differed. In early October he included a copy of the authority to which Leupp had referred. She could clearly see that the agent was not authorized to spend $500. Shell had also included copies of letters showing there was only $600 for doctor's services and relief of destitute Indians which had to be divided between his agency and the one at San Jacinto. He also revealed that he had been given "a rap over the knuckles" by the Indian Office for requesting outside aid last year, but he assured DuBois that he had "no intention of giving up this fight."[43]

On October 15 DuBois again wrote Leupp, who responded in early November that if he had "limitless resources of money," he could do many things, but he had to spread the money "between a quarter-million Indians as fairly as possible." Her proposal to send Shell $500 every two months was impossible, for his total appropriation was only $5000. He wrote that his only source of aid was "a small unexpended balance of an old appropriation for the 'Relief of Destitute Indians' which

has to be held subject to drafts of driblet sums to meet practically mortal emergencies."[44]

Giving Leupp little time to respond to her mid-October letter, DuBois wrote again ten days later, enclosing a letter from Robinson, with suggestions that whoever was appointed "to judge what land to buy for the Indians" needed to be acquainted with California soil. And despite Lummis's personal opinion of Weegar, DuBois was suspicious, informing Leupp that the man was "kind to the Indians when it involves no outlay of money." Weegar's suggestion to purchase a large ranch opposite his store, where the Indians were his best customers, was not a good choice. The land was alkaline and only produced a good crop the current year because there was adequate rain. She urged Leupp to choose William Collier of Riverside to be in the party to select the land, describing him as a "thoroughly honest man," who knew the Indians and California land. She also recommended Charles L. Partridge, who was "greatly interested in helping these Indians." And, finally, she wanted Leupp to consider Robinson's suggestion that she relocate to Manzanita, a move that would be "extremely desirable for the Indians," who were isolated, living at the end of eighteen miles of bad roads often impassable during winter storms. Describing Manzanita as "so utterly destitute," DuBois concluded that "a woman who is willing altogether to overlook her own personal comfort in zeal for her work is so rare that she should be helped, supported and co-operated with in every possible way by the Dept."[45]

Responding more quickly, Leupp explained he had "no money with which to purchase land for any of the California Indians." Thanking her for suggesting Collier,

he emphatically stated that until he had authority to purchase land, no one would be appointed. He assured her that she "need not be at all worried about [his] sending an Eastern person there, for nothing was further from [his] thought." Collier was under consideration "in any event." He would also "take up" Robinson's request "in light of the best data we have in the Office," he concluded.[46] Despite all of this correspondence on her behalf, Robinson remained at Campo. No explanation was given.

DuBois would soon broaden her correspondence to include C. E. Kelsey, general secretary of the Northern California Indian Association (NCIA), a WNIA affiliate headquartered in San Jose, California. In early 1904 the NCIA had launched a petition drive to secure federal funding for homeless Northern California Indians. Supported by Lummis, the IRA, the WNIA, and Lake Mohonk, the effort had resulted in Kelsey's appointment to conduct a census of Northern California Indians, a $100,000 congressional appropriation in 1906 for land purchase for Northern California Indians, and an additional $50,000 in 1908 for land for Mission Indians.[47] Learning that Kelsey may be visiting Southern California, in late October 1905 DuBois wrote to recommend he consult Robinson at Campo and include Collier in his tour group, explaining that the greatest need, especially around Campo, was a suitable land purchase. Kelsey responded that he did not know if he would be "detailed to investigate Campo," but as soon "as occasion offers" he would visit there. He was, however, indebted to her for her "information and especially for the practical suggestions as to remedial measures."[48]

In September 1906 Kelsey wrote DuBois in Waterbury that he had made "a fairly exhaustive examination" of the Campo reservation and could find no place he was pleased with. "It looks as if it were to be merely a choice between the less and the less fit." One problem was the presence of a very large "strip of alkali land at Campo." Furthermore, any arable land had the issue of a ready availability of liquor. Any purchase would "have this incubus," he concluded. He was beginning to doubt the wisdom of buying separate tracts adjoining each of the little reservations as was her suggestion.[49] He planned on returning to Campo in mid-November, he wrote. By this time his preference was to purchase "one of the many farms to the north and move the Indians there."[50]

While home in Waterbury during the fall and winter of 1906, DuBois was continually updated by Robinson and Watkins on conditions of the residents of the five Campo reservations. In a January 1907 letter, Robinson wrote that despite recent snows and extreme cold, the Indians were unusually well, possibly because she was continuing to issue rations. In the meantime, she and her assistants were busy making cotton flannel underwear for them. Thanking her for the ten-dollar check for Indian aid, Robinson wrote she would be getting two more baskets in the mail and informed her that Kelsey had been there in December taking bids on land. Robinson concluded with concern over DuBois's worsening health, mentions of which had begun to appear in DuBois's letters.[51]

Watkins, equally as concerned about her health, wrote in early February 1907, wishing her absolute winter rest like bears and squirrels. "You were not made for pain," she wrote—"Your tender hands do not callous, but

bleed," she noted. Watkins did request a new copy of *A Soul in Bronze*, for she had lent hers out so often that it is "almost past looking at." She would keep the new one for her grandchildren. "I am gathering things dear to me that they may know me," she explained. Robinson and Lachappa had been at Mesa Grande for a week, and they worked well together, noted Watkins. She was also pleased that the Weegars had left, describing him as filling his purse and his wife as "coarse and a dreadful example to even the poor Indians." To reassure DuBois of the value of her efforts, Watkins reminded her that seven years ago no one was even aware of the poor people of Campo. Because of her efforts, that had now changed, and soon new lands would be purchased. She asked DuBois if she could "have accomplished as much in any other work? You have given your very life, but strength will come again and you will live to see the results of the years of anxiety," Watkins concluded.[52]

Although DuBois apparently did not return to Southern California in 1907, her interest in the Indians' welfare and her correspondence on their behalf was not blunted by her undisclosed illness. In early March she learned from Robinson, who was sending her two more baskets, that the Indians had given up on any potential land purchases.[53] Then in early May, Acting Commissioner Charles F. Larrabee informed DuBois that based on Kelsey's recommendation, the Department of the Interior had been authorized on February 23, 1907, to purchase for $14,560 tracts of land with an abundance of running water for the Campo Indians. At the present time, he added, the department was not contemplating a removal from their current location. Instead, they were to retain both

tracts of land. The May 10 issue of the *San Diego Union and Daily Bee* quoted Kelsey as saying that now every tribe and band in Southern California had been provided with a parcel of good land.[54]

Meanwhile, Robinson kept up a steady correspondence with DuBois, thanking her in October for sending the twenty-five dollars raised from the sale of baskets and an additional ten dollars. The government had not sent the promised additional funding yet, noted Robinson: "We look every day for word saying it has been allowed." To fill the gap, the Indian women were busy making quilts but had run out of scraps, and Robinson inquired if DuBois could get friends to send some. In the meantime, the field matron and Lachappa were busy canning tomatoes and making chili sauce and preserves.[55] Responding to DuBois's November letter, Robinson thanked her for the subsistence check for the elderly, explaining there was little basket making but plenty of work for the men. She and Lachappa were well, enjoying their life and work.[56]

Then in late 1908 DuBois sent an open letter to the Waterbury Indian Association explaining that although not "well enough for active work," she could not forget the old pensioners in the mountains of San Diego County. With cold weather coming and their Indian fund low, she was obligated to make her annual appeal for those without relatives—"some of them blind, infirm and helpless." The $536 she sent the previous year had been divided between four different villages, leaving about ten cents a day for each. Because she knew every person receiving aid, she could vouch "for the great necessity of continuing this work." Government resources were limited, and there was no use looking to them for additional aid. She included an

undated letter from Edward Davis, who listed each of the individuals who received assistance, describing them as "desperately poor, lacking nearly everything to make them comfortable." He concluded that if the donors "could see these old people in their homes they would never grudge the money."[57]

DuBois never returned to Southern California. According to Don Laylander, a scholar of her ethnological writings, her public record ended around 1909—her final years spent as a mental patient. The 1930 census placed her in the Hartford Retreat Insane Asylum. It is unknown when she entered. According to her death certificate, she had suffered from senility for twenty years, cerebral arteriosclerosis for fifteen years, and chronic myocarditis for eighteen years. She suffered a cerebral hemorrhage the day before her death on August 18, 1934.[58]

Because only a small sampling of her correspondence was examined for this article, it is difficult to effectively evaluate the success of Constance Goddard DuBois's almost decade-long efforts as an Indian reformer. At the very least, she should be credited for the willingness to leave a comfortable home and travel and live in isolated, impoverished Indian villages for weeks on end. While she hoped to follow in Helen Hunt Jackson's footsteps, DuBois's novel never reached the success of Jackson's *Ramona*, which is still in print. Although she did write a number of Mission Indian-related articles, they were, with the exception of those in *The Land of Sunshine*, published in magazines with far less print circulation than Jackson enjoyed—*Atlantic Monthly, New York Independent, Christian Union,* and *Scribner's Monthly*, for example.[59]

Yet even the limited number of letters consulted reveal

DuBois's impact on the local level. It is easily apparent that she saved residents of the five Campo reservations from starvation by her personal intervention, direct monetary contributions, fund raising efforts, and sales of their baskets in eastern markers. Her lectures during the winters, letters to the Indian Office and reformers, and articles exposing their dire conditions all raised public interest and may well have played some role in enabling Kelsey to acquire land at Campo.

Her position as president of a WNIA auxiliary gave her the backing of the much larger parent association which early on had voiced displeasure with the government's dealings with the Indians, vowing to "awaken or strengthen that public sentiment which shall aid" the federal government in the "adoption of a just, protective and fostering Indian policy."[60] Because branch auxiliaries were free to engage in their own area of interest, DuBois was able to concentrate on certain Mission Indian villages, securing the appointment of a government field matron for Campo and thus providing immediate relief through in-home visits, a school, and other essential work. Furthermore, her correspondence with Herbert Welsh kept him current on the condition of some of the Mission Indians.

To understand DuBois's complete legacy, much more research is needed, not only to compare her efforts to those of Jackson, but to learn more about her marketing of Indian baskets and her encouragement of lace making. To understand the role that DuBois played in the reform movement, it is also necessary to look more deeply into the history of the Women's National Indian Association. Viewed primarily from within Indian history, it has been ignored by scholars of women's history. A contemporary

of the Woman's Christian Temperance Union, drawing from the same pool of middle- and upper-class women, the history of the WNIA would be well served with a comparison with the WCTU, and with the later General Federation of Women's Clubs. This recognition would elevate Indian reformers like DuBois to the same status as suffragists, moral reformists, and other prominent female reformers.

MORE FROM THE JOURNAL

Constance DuBois's reform efforts took place in the context of a broader history of colonization and dispossession in San Diego County. To find out more, please see the following, available online from the San Diego History Center:

Terri E. Jacques, "Serving San Diego County's Southern Indians? Campo Indian Agency Schools" *Journal of San Diego History* 28, no. 3 (Summer 1983).

Valerie Sherer Mathes and Phil Brigandi, "Charles C. Painter, Helen Hunt Jackson and the Mission Indians of Southern California" *Journal of San Diego History* 55, no. 3 (Summer 2009).

Tanis C. Thorne, "The Removal of the Indians of El Capitan to Viejas: Confrontation and Change in San Diego Indian Affairs in the 1930s" *Journal of San Diego History* 56, nos. 1 & 2 (Winter/Spring 2010).

Valerie Sherer Mathes and Phil Brigandi, "The Mischief Record of "La Gobernadora" Amelia Stone Quinton, Charles Fletcher Lummis and the Warner Ranch Indian Removal" *Journal of San Diego History* 57, no. 1 (Winter 2011).

Phil Brigandi, "A Plea for Justice: Cupeño Indians versus Homesteaders in 1880s San Diego County" *Journal of San Diego History* 63, no. 1 (Winter 2017).

Phil Brigandi, "In The Name Of The Law: The Cupeño Removal Of 1903" *Journal of San Diego History* 64, no. 1 (Winter 2018).

VALERIE SHERER MATHES, WHO TAUGHT US AND AMERICAN INDIAN HISTORY AT CITY COLLEGE OF SAN FRANCISCO FOR ALMOST FIFTY YEARS, HAS WRITTEN MORE THAN SIXTY ACADEMIC ARTICLES AND AUTHORED, CO-AUTHORED, OR EDITED TEN BOOKS. THEY INCLUDE *HELEN HUNT JACKSON AND HER INDIAN REFORM MOVEMENT* (1990); *DIVINELY GUIDED: THE CALIFORNIA WORK OF THE WOMEN'S NATIONAL INDIAN ASSOCIATION* (2012); *CHARLES C. PAINTER: THE LIFE OF AN INDIAN REFORM ADVOCATE* (2020); *AMELIA STONE QUINTON AND THE WOMEN'S NATIONAL INDIAN ASSOCIATION: A LEGACY OF INDIAN REFORM* (2022); *THE STANDING BEAR CONTROVERSY: PRELUDE TO INDIAN REFORM*—CO-AUTHORED WITH RICHARD LOWITT (2003); AND *RESERVATIONS, REMOVAL AND REFORM: THE MISSION INDIAN AGENTS OF SOUTHERN CALIFORNIA, 1878–1903*—CO-AUTHORED WITH PHIL BRIGANDI (2018).

NOTES

1 I have used "Indian" in this essay because my subjects, from whom I quote often, used that term in their correspondence.

2 Born in Zanesville, Ohio in the late 1850s to John Delafield DuBois and Alice C. Goddard DuBois, she attended the Female Seminary in nearby Putnam. The family lived in Charleston, West Virginia during the 1870s and 1880s, and for a time, DuBois lived in Watertown, New York before moving to Waterbury, Connecticut about 1889 to share a home with Dr. Caroline Root Conkey, a graduate of the Woman's Medical College of the New York Infirmary for Women and Children, who had opened a practice there. The 1900 federal census listed DuBois as Conkey's partner while the 1910 census listed her as a boarder. See, "Constance Goddard DuBois," *Listening to the Raven: The Southern California Ethnography of Constance Goddard DuBois*, ed. Don Laylander, (Salinas, CA: Coyote Press, 2004), 14-20, which includes two dozen of her historical and ethnographical articles; and "Caroline Root Conkey, MD., Waterbury," *Proceedings of the Connecticut State Medical Society*, 1918 (Published by the Society, 1918), 209-210. For more on the WNIA see, *The Women's*

National Indian Association: A History, ed. Valerie Sherer Mathes (Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 2015), and *Gender, Race, and Power in the Indian Reform Movement: Revisiting the History of the WNIA*, ed. Valerie Sherer Mathes (Albuquerque: University of New Mexico, 2020).

3 Francis Paul Prucha, "Indian Policy Reform and American Protestantism, 1880-1900," *Indian Policy in the United States* (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1981), 230-31. See also Valerie Sherer Mathes, "Boston, the Boston Indian Citizenship Committee, and the Poncas," *The Massachusetts Historical Review*, 14, (2012), 119-48; William T. Hagan, *The Indian Rights Association: The Herbert Welsh Years, 1882-1904* (Tucson: University of Arizona Press, 1985); and Larry E. Burgess, "The Lake Mohonk Conferences on the Indian, 1883-1916," (Ph.D. diss., Claremont, 1972).

4 See for example *Bulletin of the Gray Memorial Botanical Chapter of the Agassiz*, Number 1, (Second Quarter, 1893) 10 for her listing as general secretary; *The Asa Gray Bulletin*, Number 2, (Third Quarter, 1893) 1 as general secretary; *The Asa Gray Bulletin*, 3, no. 8 (January 1895), 2, 6, for a short article, 6 for associate editor; and *The Asa Gray Bulletin*, 4, no. 1 (January 1896), as publisher, 9. In their January 1897 issue, the *Bulletin*, 15, announced a change of management with the publisher's office moving from Waterbury to the Agricultural College in Michigan, no doubt prompting DuBois' decision to quit.

Asa Gray, a graduate of the Fairfield Medical School of New York, was a self-educated botanist, accepting a professorship of natural history at Harvard in 1842. He published and edited the *American Journal of Science*.

5 For a complete list, see, *Listening to the Raven*, 171-72.

6 According to Erik Trump, the marketing of Indian art was a double-edged sword seen either as reviving traditional Indian art or civilizing Indian women. See Erik Trump, "'The Idea of Help: White Women Reformers and the Commercialization of Native American Women's Arts," in *Selling the Indian: Commercializing & Appropriating American Indian Cultures*, ed. Carter Jones Meyer and Diana Royer (Tucson: The University of Arizona Press, 2001), 159-189; especially 173-89. For more detail, see Erik Krenzen Trump, "The Indian Industries League and its Support of

American Indian Arts, 1893-1922: A Study of Changing Attitudes Toward Indian Women and Assimilationist Policy," PhD diss., Boston University, 1996, 10, 95, 142-56, 196-209-18, 225, 303-33. According to Jane Simonson, lace making was viewed "literally and figuratively" as whitening Indian women for the production of "snow-white lace promoted cleanliness and good hygiene," for to do so it required clean hands and a clean house. Jane E. Simonsen, *Making Home Work: Domesticity and Native American Assimilation in the American West, 1860-1919* (Chapel Hill: The University of North Carolina Press, 2006), 105.

7 Founded to educate African Americans, Hampton enrolled Indians in 1878.

Articles included "Some Unknown Missions of California," (November 1899), 317-324, and "The Mission Indian Exiles," (October 1901), in *The Land of Sunshine*; "Mythology of the Mission Indians," (1904), 185-188 and "Ceremonies and Traditions of the Duegueño Indians," (1908), 228-236, in *Journal of American Folk-Lore*; Constance Goddard DuBois, "The Mission Indians Again," in *The Indian's Friend*, September 1901, 8; and "How to Help the Mission Indians," (December 1901), 673-76, and "Paths of Hope for the Mission Indians," (April 1903), 214-219, in *Southern Workman*.

8 Constance Goddard DuBois, *A Soul in Bronze, A Novel of Southern California* (Chicago: Herbert S. Stone and Company, 1900), dedication in the front, 220 for quote.

9 Helen Hunt Jackson," Report on the Condition and Needs of the Mission Indians of California, Made by Special Agents Helen Jackson and Abbot Kinney, to the Commissioner of Indian Affairs," [hereafter the Jackson/Kinney Report] in Helen Hunt Jackson, *A Century of Dishonor: A Sketch of the United States Government's Dealings with Some of the Indian Tribes* (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1995), 458-514; see also Valerie Sherer Mathes, *Helen Hunt Jackson and Her Indian Reform Legacy* (Austin: University of Texas Press, 1990) and *A Call for Reform: The Southern California Indian Writings of Helen Hunt Jackson*, ed. Valerie Sherer Mathes and Phil Brigandi, (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 2015).

10 Founded in late 1882, the IRA was a "non-partisan, non-sectarian organization" to secure civil rights, impartial justice, education,

and "a protected and individual title to land," see, IRA, "The Object of the Association," *The Fourth Annual Report of the Executive Committee of the IRA* (Philadelphia: Office of the IRA, 1887), 3.

11 Constance Goddard DuBois, "Our American 'Reconcentrados,'" *City and State* (November 8, 1900), 297-299. He later published Constance Goddard DuBois, *The Condition of the Mission Indians of Southern California* (Philadelphia: Office of the IRA, 1901), 3-16. Her November article quoted in a San Diego newspaper prompted Rev. H. B. Restarick of San Diego's St. Paul's Episcopal Cathedral and Bishop Johnson of the Los Angeles Diocese of the Episcopal Church to undertake a well-publicized ten-day, 300-mile tour of ten Mission Indian reservations. See "Some Aid Offered Starving Indians. Response to Appeal Made in their Behalf by Rev. Restarick," November 22, 1900, 8; and "Congress to Aid Needy Mission Indians," January 15, 1901, 5, both in *San Diego Union and Daily Bee*. To create work for Indian women, Bishop Johnson appointed a woman to teach lace-making and basket-weaving, see "Los Angeles," *The Churchman*, August 24, 1901, vii. *The Churchman* was an Episcopal Church publication.

12 DuBois to Welsh, July 15, 1900, *The Indian Rights Association Papers*, 1864-1973, Series 1-A, Incoming correspondence, 1864-1968, microfilm edition (hereafter *IRA Papers*), Reel 15. For Jackson's recommendation to purchase, see "The Jackson/Kinney Report," 472-73.

Because in 1888 Welsh and the IRA funded the legal work of Shirley C. Ward, a Special Assistant U.S. District Attorney for the California Mission Indians, who appealed the case of *Byrne v. the San Jacinto Indians*, and saved the Mission village of Soboba in Riverside County, the IRA hoped to be as successful at Warner. It was not. For Soboba, see Valerie Sherer Mathes and Phil Brigandi, *Reservations, Removals and Reform: The Mission Indian Agents of Southern California, 1878-1903*, (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 2018), 44, 58, 75-79, 93-94.

13 There were two cases: *John G. Downey v. Alejandro Barker, et al*, and *John G. Downey v. Jesus Quevas, et al*. (181 U.S. 481) covering residents of all five villages on the ranch: Agua Caliente, Puerta la Cruz, La Puerta, San José, and Matgaguay. Mathes and Brigandi, *Reservation, Removals and Reform*, 120, 144-48, 168-69, and

Mathes, *Divinely Guided*, 237, 243-45, 250-51.

14 Mathes, *Divinely Guided*, 257, for the commission. Partridge's sister, Henrietta, was secretary of the WNIA affiliated Redlands Indian Association. To DuBois he wrote that the J. Downey Harvey Estate, which now owned the ranch, had offered to sell 28,000 acres for $245,000—"impossible with our appropriate," which was only $70,000. See, Partridge to DuBois, August 12, 1902, Constance Goddard DuBois Papers, # 9167, Box 1, Folder 8, Division of Rare and Manuscript Collections, Cornell University Library, Ithaca, New York [hereafter DuBois Papers, Cornell]. See also "Collier to Knox, October 27, 1902," *Annual Report of the Attorney-General of the U.S. for the Year 1902* (Washington: GPO, 1902), 275, for his report.

15 Barrows to DuBois, July 18, 1900, DuBois Papers, Box 1, Folder 6, Cornell. He was referring to the breaking up of reservations under the 1887 General Allotment or Dawes Act. For more background on him see the finding aid for David P. Barrows Papers, 1890-1954, BANC MSS C-B 1005, The Bancroft Library, University of California, Berkeley, California.

16 According to C. Hart Merriam, "the acorn is, and always has been, the staff of life" for California natives. See. C. Hart Merriam, "The Acorn, a Possibly Neglected Source of Food," *Food in California Indian Culture*, ed. Ira Jacknis (Phoebe Hearst Museum of Anthropology, U. of California Berkeley, 2004), 144.

17 DuBois to Sniffen, August 3, 1900, *IRA Papers*, Reel 15. In Brosius to Welsh, July 25, 1901, *Ibid.*, he described DuBois as "rather extreme in her views of the Needs of the Mission Indians," a view shared by Watkins. Although DuBois had "not radically erred" in her IRA pamphlet, her "effect is overwrought." She was being criticized by other reformers "as tending to pauperize" the Indians, concluding it was "most unfortunate that the friends of the Indian should waste their efforts in criticism" when "their united effort was so badly needed.

18 DuBois to Sniffen, August 21, 1900, *IRA Papers*, Reel 15; and Sniffen to DuBois, December 4, 1900 and Welsh to DuBois, December 27, 1900, DuBois Papers, Box 1, Folder 6, Cornell.

19 Jones to DuBois, March 26, 1901, DuBois Papers, Box 1, Folder 7, Cornell. For allotment see, note 9.

20 DuBois to Welsh, June 8, 1901, *IRA Papers*, Reel 15. There is no

evidence that Welsh complied.

21 Collier to DuBois, July 29, 1901, DuBois Papers, Box 1, folder 7, Cornell.

The *Los Angeles Herald*, in "Getting Homes for the Indians," September 8, 1901, 5, reported Collier's recent return from Warner's Ranch, and that, at the suggestion of California Senator Thomas R. Bard, he was examining potential properties with Mission Agent Lucius A. Wright. The newspaper clarified that nothing could be done without congressional action. Wright and Collier returned with Bard to Warner's Ranch, see "Visiting Indians. Senator Bard at Warners," *San Diego Union and Daily Bee*, October 27, 1901, 5.

22 DuBois to Welsh, May 28, 1901, *IRA Papers*, Reel 15.

23 Brosius to Weinland, September 16, 1901, Box 6, Papers of William Henry Weinland, Huntington, Huntington Library, San Marino, California. See also Brosius to Welsh, July 25, 1901, *IRA Papers*, Reel 15. For Weinland's work see Valerie Sherer Mathes, *Amelia Stone Quinton and the Women's National Indian Association: A Legacy of Reform* (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 2022), numerous pages.

24 The League had been founded in 1901, see "To Make Better Indians," *Out West*, February 1902, 177-79. Years later Lummis informed President William Howard Taft he had founded it to "focus public sentiment locally to aid the Indian service," Lummis to Taft, March 7, 1909, Sequoya League Series (folder-Correspondence, 1909) Charles F. Lummis Manuscript Collection, Braun Research Library, Southwest Museum, Autry Museum of the American West, Los Angeles, California.

25 DuBois to Lummis, February 17, 1902, DuBois MS 1.1.1218B, Lummis Collection, SW Museum. For his work at La Posta and Manzanita see, "Indian Relief: How the Money is Being Spent," *San Diego Union and Daily Bee*, December 1, 1900, 5.

26 U.S. Department of the Interior, Office of Indian Affairs, "Field Matrons," *Annual Report of the Commissioner, 1892* (Washington: GPO, 1892), 101; Lisa E. Emmerich, "To Respect and Love and Seek the Ways of White Women: Field Matrons, the Office of Indian Affairs, and Civilization Policy, 1890-1938: (PhD. Diss., University of Maryland, College Park, 1987).

27 DuBois, *The Condition of the Mission Indians*, 12-13. These small

reservations were created in 1893 under the authority of the January 21, 1891, Mission Indian bill. For their survey and setting aside see Robert V. Belt to John Noble, December 19, 1891, LR #9299-1891 [#44477-1891], Record Group 75, Special Collections 31, Office of Indian Affairs, National Archives, Washington, D.C. For the commission created by the Mission Indian bill, see Valerie Sherer Mathes, "The California Mission Indian Commission of 1891: The Legacy of Helen Hunt Jackson," *California History*, 73: 4 (Winter 1993/94): 339-59, notes on 390-95.

28 For wagon see, "Mission Indians, California," *Annual Report of the Commissioner of Indian Affairs to the Secretary of the Interior, 1905* (Washington, D.C., 1905), 105. "Two Noble Girls," *Out West*, March-April 1905, 203-6, for Lummis quote. Lachappa had attended the Mesa Grande day school, Perris Boarding School, and the Phoenix Indian School. With her earnings she had a wooden house built for her grandfather. Nejo, who had attended San Diego Mission School, was also a matron at Mesa Grande School and later an assistant to Watkins.

29 Daisy Edith Kessler, "El Capitan Blanco—The White Chief of the Mesa Grandes," *The Southern Workman*, December 1909, 665-71, 671, described him as "a white man pledged to blood brotherhood, to hold the sacred traditions and faiths." See also Dana Ruth Hicks Dunn, "Strategies and Survival: Indian Transitions in the Mountains of San Diego County, 1846-1907," Ph.D. Diss., University of California, Riverside, 2013, see 213-16; 226-30. In 1916 Davis became the official field collector for the Museum of the American Indian.

30 Davis to DuBois, March 27, 1905, and May 18, 1905, both in DuBois Papers, Box 1, Folder 10, Cornell.

31 Davis to DuBois, September 22, 1903, DuBois Papers, Box 1, Folder 8, Cornell.

32 Davis to DuBois, October 12, 1903, DuBois Papers, Box 1, Folder 8, Cornell.

33 Shell to DuBois, December 27, 1903 Box 1, Folder 8; and Davis to DuBois, May 6, 1904, Box 1, Folder 9, DuBois Papers, Cornell. C. E. Kelsey described these portable houses as "far from satisfactory," made of three-quarter inch board that were "hot in summer and cold in winter," and "neither dust-proof, wind-proof, nor water-proof, and are far inferior to the despised adobes," see

C. E. Kelsey, *Report of the Special Agent for California Indians to the Commissioner of Indian Affairs, March 21, 1906* (San Jose: Cleveland Printing Company, 1906), 30-31.

34 DuBois to Lummis, October 21 [1904], and November 10, 1904, DuBois MS 1.1.1218C, Lummis Collection, SW Museum.

35 "Sequoya League," *Out West*, March-April, 1905, 230.

36 Although acorns were a staple for many California tribes prior to the arrival of the whiteman, to Lummis and other reformers, assimilated Indians no longer ate indigenous foods.

37 Lummis to DuBois, November 15, 1904, DuBois MS1.1.1218C, Lummis Collection, SW Museum.

38 "Sequoya League," *Out West*, March-April, 1905, 231.

39 Lummis to DuBois, November 24, 1904, DuBois MS1.1.1218C, Lummis Collection, SW Museum.

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47 Valerie Sherer Mathes, "C. E. Kelsey and California's Landless Indians," *Gender, Race, and Power in the Indian Reform Movement*, 163-81.

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50 Kelsey to DuBois, November 2, 1906, DuBois Papers, Box 1, Folder 11, Cornell.

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52 Watkins to DuBois, February 7, 1907, DuBois Papers, Box 1, Folder 12, Cornell.

53 Robinson to DuBois, March 1, 1907, in DuBois Papers, Box 1, Folder 12, Cornell.

54 Larrabee to DuBois, May 7, 1907, DuBois Papers, Box 1, Folder 12, Cornell. For the 1908 purchase of 1,200 acres at Campo see Charles E. Kelsey, "Indian Reservations in Southern California, and What Has Been Accomplished in the Last Three Years," in Wayland H. Smith, "In Re California Indians to Date," *Out West*, February-March 1909, 141-144. See also "County's Indians Well Provided with Land," *San Diego Union and Daily Bee*, May 10, 1908, 5; "From the Seventh-Sixty Annual Report of the Commissioner of Indian Affairs," *The Native American* [Phoenix Indian School], February 22, 1908; and "The Sequoya League," *Out West*, November 1908, 393.

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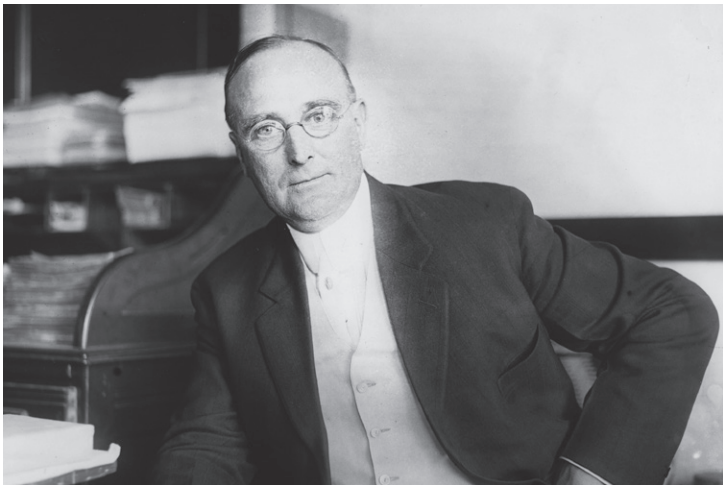
VENTURES ON THE BAY: PRE-1912 HARBOR ENTERPRISES & SAN DIEGO'S MILITARY FUTURE

JOHN MARTIN

"The establishment of Army and Navy units in San Diego between 1914 and 1920 will be cited as the starting point of San Diego's real permanent growth and stabilized prosperity."
Congressman William Kettner

San Diego historians generally link the arrival of the United States Navy and San Diego's ascension as a military-urban complex with the beginning of William Kettner's congressional career in 1912, and rightfully so. His experience with the Great White Fleet's stopover in San Diego in 1908 encouraged Kettner to frame his political career on the economic potential of the navy's presence in San Diego. After being elected as San Diego's first congressman, Kettner applied his considerable administrative and personal skills to make the arrival of the navy and the associated government amenities a reality by the end of the decade. But it is important to appreciate that Kettner was the beneficiary of a series of pre-1912 harbor improvement projects to create a

(Opposite page) The navy appreciated that hundreds of San Diegans attended the ceremony at the dedication of the USS *Bennington* memorial on Fort Rosecrans in 1908. U. S. Naval Historical Center Collection.



In 1912 the Chamber of Commerce selected William Ketter to run for the US Congress on a harbor-based platform designed to draw the military to San Diego. ©SDHC #8173.

functioning deepwater port that set the stage for his legislative success and eventually fulfilled his and the town's navy-based urbanization agenda.[1]

The foundational, pre-Kettner promotional efforts by San Diego boosters has been examined most fully by Abraham Shragge, who built on the earlier work of urban historian Roger Lotchin. While scholars had previously recognized the role of the national government in the development of the American West—particularly during the Second World War—Lotchin noted the role of local boosters in encouraging federal investment in cities. According to Lotchin, San Diego serves as a prime example of the "martial metropolis." In his doctoral dissertation and a number of articles, Shragge used Lotchin's interpretive framework and explored the role of the San Diego Chamber of Commerce in linking the

region's economic development to a substantial military presence. Shragge demonstrated how boosters regarded the navy in particular as a substitute for traditional industry, one that could help the city compete with rivals like Los Angeles and San Francisco. In the process of pursuing federal largesse, Shragge noted, San Diego's business leaders fostered the growth of a "civic culture of militarism" well before the Blitz Boom of the Second World War.[2]

From the town's earliest days, San Diego advocates grasped the harbor's potential but also recognized that the problematic physical status of the harbor neutralized much of its perceived value. In reality, the harbor required significant improvements before sizable vessels could safely navigate the interior waters. Nature provided an excellent landlocked harbor, but its utility was limited by a shallow bar at the harbor's portal and a troublesome, self-perpetuating shoal that constrained the entry channel and restricted access to the innermost waters. San Diego boosters accepted the port's limitations but fervently believed that transforming the harbor into a functional space was the lynchpin to the town's development. Indeed, as San Diego matured as a town in the 1870s, community leaders, specifically those in the San Diego Chamber of Commerce, made the town's natural landlocked harbor the centerpiece of their strategy to establish a military-based economy. They also recognized that the federal government had the financial and technical capacity the town lacked.

San Diego's transformation from a town into a small city paralleled the harbor campaign. In 1850, San Diego's existence was so obscure that several eastern newspapers

believed the town's name was "Santiago." But as far removed as San Diego was from mainstream America, accounts from the United States Coastal Survey Service gradually brought the existence of the town and its protected harbor to the attention of the federal government.[3] In the peace negotiations at the completion of the Mexican–American War in 1848, the United States government demanded the new international boundary make San Diego harbor an American possession.

The new American town experienced sluggish growth until the boom of the 1880s. Regardless of the region's excellent climate and the arrival of the railroad in 1885, the boom collapsed, taking many of the area's recent arrivals with it. San Diego's civic leaders had established the foundations of a comprehensive municipal water system, stabilized a business environment, and forged an eastern rail terminus, but Los Angeles's booming population, diversified economy, and railroad connections allowed it to dominate the rivalry between the two southland cities. By 1900, Los Angeles's 102,479 inhabitants overshadowed San Diego's 17,000 residents, a disparity that reached over 500,000 by 1920. Nevertheless, the potential of San Diego's natural harbor kept the town's aspirations alive.

While some local leaders had recognized the possibility of a navy-based economic strategy for decades, a confluence of events in the second decade of the twentieth century helped to confirm the primacy of this approach among San Diego boosters. On the one hand, in 1911, the city acquired from the state of California valuable bayside tidelands, a crucial asset for the harbor/navy economic gambit. On the other hand, the election of William Kettner to the US House of Representatives in 1912

signaled the arrival in Washington of an able San Diego advocate. Kettner could now apply his considerable administrative and personal skills to make the arrival of the United States Navy and the associated government amenities a reality. During Kettner's eight years in Congress—and in no small part because of his activities there—what was taking form in San Diego was a civic and political culture that accepted the navy as the most attractive avenue to prosperity and that would use federal appropriations to continue the conversion of the harbor into a viable facility that could meet naval requirements.

THE LEVEE PROJECT OF 1853

While the construction of a levee in 1853 preceded the implementation of the formalized civic strategy to use federal resources to grow the town, it was significant as the town's first federal connection and set the precedent of seeking federal aid. The project stemmed from locals' recognition that the San Diego River threatened the viability of the bay. The mercurial river generally discharged into False Bay (now known as Mission Bay), but during a flood event in the 1820s, the river forged a channel into San Diego Bay just west of Old Town and inundated the upper reaches of the bay with sand and sediment. Left unattended, the expanding alluvial delta threatened to destroy the harbor as a useful maritime space by 1850. While federal agencies reviewed survey reports, the impatient leaders of the new American town took unilateral action to save the harbor. In September 1850 the members of the San Diego Board of Trustees passed an ordinance that called for "turning" the San Diego River back into False Bay. The well-intended ordinance

In the 1820s, the San Diego River altered its westerly course and cut a series of channels into the northern edge of the harbor, inundating the upper reaches of the bay with tons of sediment. Detail from the Hensley Map of 1873, Courtesy of the San Diego Public Library, California Room Map Collection.

failed due to a lack of both funds and public interest, but the harbor's salvation appeared fulfilled in August 1852 when the Thirty-Second United States Congress approved the first federal project west of the Mississippi River. The $30,000 Rivers and Harbors Act appropriation approved the construction of a levee to redirect the San Diego River back into its traditional channel.

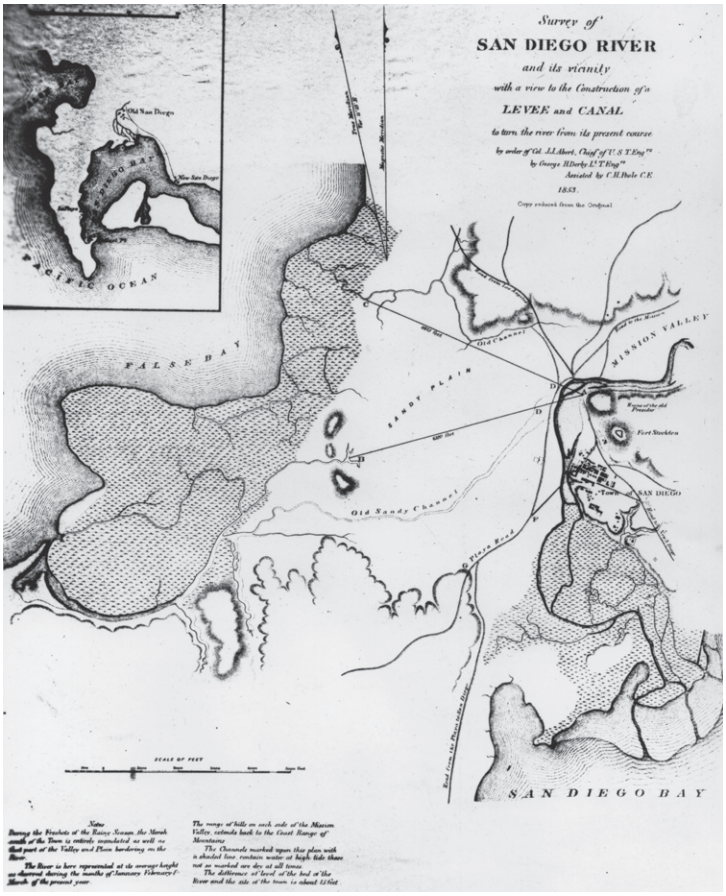
With the funding in hand, Chief of Engineers J. J. Abert ordered Lieutenant George H. Derby, a member of the Corps of Topographical Engineers (a federal construction organization separate from the Army Corps of Engineers) already in California on Army business, to San Diego to

In 1853 Lieutenant George Derby, shown here as a West Point graduate of 1846, arrived in San Diego to survey and construct a levee to stop the river from flowing into the bay. West Point Museum Collection, United States Military Academy.

investigate the river diversion project. Citizens of San Diego saw this as a sign of the latent importance the government placed on their harbor and celebrated the occasion.

In the summer of 1853, Derby concluded his duties in Sonoma and headed south. Given his somewhat controversial character, Derby's fellow officers wondered if the army sent him to San Diego because he was the best engineer for the job, the engineer closest to San Diego, or because his "superiors . . .couldn't stand him" and his incessant pranks.[4] Regardless, Derby settled in the Pendleton House in what is now Old Town and set about his task with the assistance of fellow engineer Charles. H. Poole, his former West Point roommate and the future San Diego County Surveyor. Derby examined the flow of the river and postulated that an appropriate solution was to construct a dam across Mission Valley. But he also realized that this was a more complex project than his superiors envisioned. The consequence of Derby's topographic study was a map entitled "The San Diego River and vicinity with a view to the construction of a Levee and Canal."[5]

Using the map as a reference, Derby dispatched a series of proposals to his superiors in Washington. The plans ranged from a simple bulkhead supported with piles running across the channel at Old Town to a more complex dam. Derby's final proposal, and the only one within his assigned budget at $23,253, called for a 1,600-foot levee with a twenty-foot-wide canal extending the length of the valley. To facilitate a decision, Derby explained that the slopes on the mesa near Presidio Hill contained an abundance of gravel, soil, and large and small stones suitable as construction materials.[6]



Derby created a survey map in 1853, which detailed the topography and channels of the river near Old Town, to illustrate his proposals to stem the river. San Diego State University Map Collection.

As Derby expected, the Board of Engineers approved the least expensive concept, essentially a bulkhead and a ditch, and he set to work in July 1853. Presciently, the *San Diego Herald* chided the Corps' unfortunate decision to ignore Derby's more extensive plan in favor of the simplest version.[7] In an attempt to open construction before the

onset of the winter rains, Derby eschewed the normal bidding and contract process, and simply gathered the requisite carts, shovels, and wheelbarrows, and hired a work force.

The *San Diego Union* reported years later that the construction began with around thirty White men and their two supervisors, and forty-seven Mission Indians working under the supervision of their own chiefs, Manuelito and Old Tomas. Derby paid the White laborers fifty dollars per month, but there is no record of the pay scale for the native workers. At least one African American worked on the job.[8]

As workers excavated the channel, Derby supervised the construction of the wooden bulkhead running from the foot of Presidio Hill to the bluff at Point Loma. According to the 1869 report of Lieutenant William H. Heuer, Derby constructed his levee on the highest land of the flat but situated the levee on a ridge with slopes falling away in both directions. As per his orders, the work crew constructed the levee with a loose soil base faced with rock.[9] And as Derby predicted, the levee was simply not of sufficient strength to survive a significant flood event. Over the next two years floods eroded away portions of Derby's work. Then, the major flood of 1862, which started in December 1861 and continued through the next summer, an event San Diego historian William Smythe called the "Noachian Deluge," swept away the remnants of the structure, and the river forged a new channel into the harbor.[10]

In the minds of San Diegans, the lack of government funding—more than the structure's deficiencies or the engineer's construction abilities—sealed the levee's failure.

With the levee's demise, the San Diego River again controlled the destiny of the harbor and the city. An 1857 Herald article expressed the shared hope of San Diego leaders and citizens that if the government would only recognize the harbor's importance and construct a new levee it would secure the town's maritime future.[11]

THE LEVEE PROJECT OF 1877

In the eight years following the destruction of the Derby levee the optimism of many San Diego citizens seemed to fade along with the government's interest in revitalizing the project. It was not until May 1869 that the government reconsidered and Secretary of War General John A. Rawlins authorized the Army Corps of Engineers to conduct a survey to recommend measures to redirect the river back into False Bay. As per Rawlins's instruction, Chief of Engineers General Andrew A. Humphreys ordered Major Robert S. Williamson, the commander of the San Francisco District, to expedite the task. Williamson directed Lieutenant William H. Heuer to San Diego in October 1869 to conduct a pre-construction survey.

Heuer's investigations confirmed that the most significant changes in the harbor had occurred in the flats near the mouth of San Diego River where the channel had increased in width almost 300 feet. Heuer proposed building a 4,000-foot-long dam, or bulkhead, near the mouth of Mission Valley and the excavation of a 300-foot long by five-foot deep canal which he estimated would cost the government $92,428.[12] Williamson considered Heuer's recommendations and in December 1869 delivered to Chief of Engineers Humphreys a report that shocked San Diegans. Williamson argued that because

The dike in January 1897, showing the work on the crest and the face of the revetment looking east into Mission Valley. Army Corps of Engineers, Los Angeles Division.

A view of the rock-faced levee looking west from Presidio Hill, January 1897. Army Corps of Engineers, Los Angeles Division.

there had been only a comparatively slight change in depth over the entry bar since 1856, which he believed had not impaired in the slightest degree the value of the harbor, he felt the proposed change to turn the river was not required. Williamson's report squelched the levee project at the national but not the local level.

In an act of perfect timing, a group of proactive businessmen organized the San Diego Chamber of Commerce in 1870. The organization's goal was to promote the city's best economic interests and advocate for civic development. As avidly as the group promoted agricultural and industrial aspects of regional development, from its inception the members of the Chamber viewed improving the harbor and luring in the navy as the most desirable way to grow the town. In one of the organization's first actions, the membership formed a Harbor Committee in December 1871 and took up the cudgels to improve the harbor. The committee drafted a memorandum to the government requesting an appropriation to reverse the course of the San Diego River and enlisted the assistance of California Congressman Sherman O. Houghton and California Senator Aaron A. Sargent to press the issue. However, reality stifled optimism and the pleas of the lawmakers and the Chamber fell on deaf legislative ears.[14]

But where San Diego boosters faltered, the pragmatic officers of the Pacific Division of the Corps of Engineers prevailed. The engineers within the Corps and the War Department were well aware of the hazards implicit in the harbor's degradation and finally reacted. In April 1871 Lieutenant John H. Weeden, in San Diego working on the fortifications at Fort Rosecrans, informed Los Angeles District supervisor General B. S. Alexander that the river delta formation process that destroyed False Bay, which Sebastián Vizcaíno thought to be a good harbor 270 years earlier, would exert the same effect on San Diego harbor.[15] Secretary of War William W. Belknap accepted the Pacific Division's recommendation and urged immediate approval of the levee project. Congress

concurred and in March 1875 River and Harbor legislation formally appropriated $80,000 for a project "to prevent the river in times of flood from seeking its present outlet into the harbor."[16]

The officers at the Pacific Division accepted bids and awarded the contract to Captain George A. Johnson, the first customs collector for the Port of San Diego and the owner of the Los Penasquitos Rancho north of San Diego, and Howard Schuyler, a local contractor. The Pacific Division planners scheduled the work to begin on May 15 but postponed the start when the War Department failed to secure title to the land on the sand flat the levee bisected. There were hundreds of individuals involved as well as a confusion of disputed titles, several still under the names of deceased persons, and more than a few lot owners ready to sue the United States if the project flooded their land. As government officials haggled with owners over the value of the land, Lieutenant Colonel C. Seaforth Stewart of the Pacific Division reluctantly conceded that condemnation offered the only solution. The Corps started condemnation proceedings in December 1875, and in May the government paid the claimants $1,524 in open court and took title to the property.[17]

On June 5, 1876 Weeden released contractors Johnson and Schuyler to commence work. Two crews started working from opposite ends. By the end of the month the crew working eastward from Point Loma had excavated the channel to a length of 890 feet and constructed the corresponding portion of the levee, while the gang starting in Old Town had built and faced about 350 feet of the levee. The builders decided to face the inside of the levee with smooth hard cobblestone gathered from the

adjacent slopes and face the trench beneath the slope with a one-foot layer of dry cobblestone. The contractors eventually excavated 4,356 cubic yards of earth and placed 3,434 cubic yards of stone.[18]

The levee project was the biggest show in town, and local newspapers produced a running commentary on the construction action. The opening salvo of construction was just that. On July 18, the *Union* reported a prodigious explosion near Old Town where Captain Johnson had planted forty kegs of powder out near Presidio Hill to blast and create 4,000 to 5,000 cubic yards of earth and stone for the embankment. Local legend has it that the blast not only loosened a mass of earth, but also essentially destroyed what was left of the original adobe walls of the old presidio.

The project was progressing smoothly until the contractors brought in thirty Chinese laborers to bolster the work crew and perform masonry work. The White laborers held several mass meetings to consider what they called the "Chinese cheap labor" question and selected a committee to meet Johnson and discuss the situation. Johnson quickly announced that the Chinese would work only jobs the White laborers did not want to perform. He also assured the White workers that the project would generate work for "all the laboring men in San Diego who wanted it at the rate he could afford." The mollified workers returned to work and Johnson and the subcontractors agreed to pay out $5,000 per month for labor, with $1,500 going to the Chinese workers. The *Union* characterized the stonework of the Chinese as "very precise" and described the finished wall as "exceedingly handsome" and built with the "substantial and durable

aspect" of a very heavy foundation.[19]

The engineers of the 1877 levee lacked Derby's colorful personality, but their collective skills proved worthy of the task. The contractors and their laborers completed the project two months ahead of schedule on November 6, 1876, and San Diego finally had a levee to deflect the river and protect the harbor. Now civic boosters could turn their attention to developing the harbor proper.[20]

THE ZUNIGA SHOALS JETTY

Creating the accessible and functioning harbor the townspeople's envisioned required increasing the water depth over the bar at the outer entry, removing the large, shallow sandy shoal in the channel just inside Ballast Point, and controlling the flow of the sand into the main channel that sustained that troublesome interior shoal.[21] To move the project forward and gain federal assistance, the aggressive Chamber lobbyists opened a national campaign based on the harbor's perceived military worth. Whether it was the cajoling from the Chamber or the government's recognition of the port's latent importance, in 1888 the Corps of Engineers dispatched Lieutenant William H. H. Benyaurd to San Diego to collate data from recent coastal surveys and formulate a plan. The engineer observed that dredging would solve these problems, but without a breakwater to control the flow of sand that sustained the bar, any result would be transitory. Colonel H. G. Mendall, Supervising Engineer on the West Coast and the Corps' jetty expert, agreed with Benyaurd's assessment and approved the jetty project. In 1890, the Fifty-First United States Congress approved the first incremental appropriation of $65,500. Accordingly,

A railroad steam engine is shown dropping rock from the trestle to extend the 7,500-foot-long jetty southward. Army Corps of Engineers, Los Angeles Division.

Benyaurd and the Corps staff designed a 7,500-foot stone jetty to extend south from the westernmost tip of North Island, Zuniga Point, parallel to the Point Loma Peninsula headland.

Over the course of eleven years, five government-selected private contractors constructed the mile-long rock breakwater. To combat the sandy, unstable floor and create a stable foundation for the structure, the Corps engineers placed large mats woven from willow branches weighted down with rock atop the bed of the watercourse. The rock the workers stacked on the mats formed the rubble mound jetty. Contractors brought in stone from inland quarries and the Coronado Islands in Mexico and willow for the mats from local riverbeds. Construction began in 1893 and ended in 1904, exceeding the original estimate. However, excluding time lost during

A double railroad track extended along the length of the wooden trestle to transport materials to build the rock mound jetty. Army Corps of Engineers, Los Angeles Division

the Spanish–American War, the time to replace storm-damaged and rotting trestles, and the gaps between construction contracts, the actual construction time consumed only four years. The cost of the project exceeded the original 1888 estimate of $394,400 with a final expenditure of $542,850. Throughout the project local boosters complained of the government's desultory approach, the small amounts appropriated, and the length between contracts. In 1900, the frustrated Chamber leadership lobbied Congress to pass a single bill to fund the completion of the work. Nevertheless, to remarkably little fanfare, the government officially completed what locals called the "federal jetty" on July 24, 1904.

Despite the best intentions, it quickly became apparent to the Corps engineers that the jetty as designed would not keep the channel clear or deepen it. The engineers

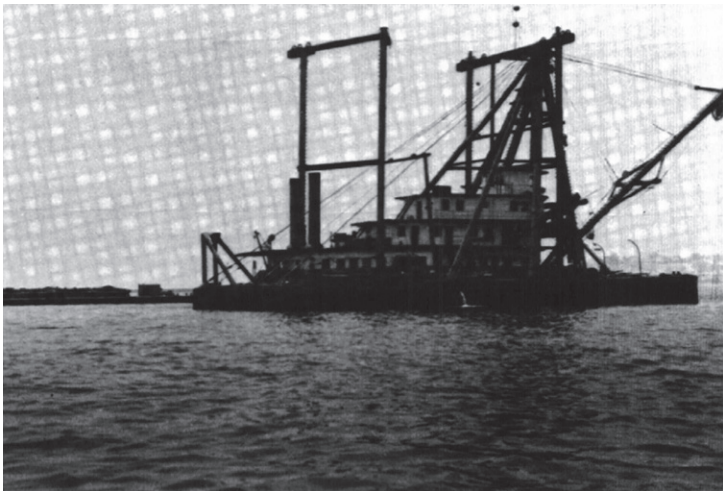
advised a continuous regime of dredging projects to maintain the desired thirty-five feet of depth and 1,000-foot width at the bar and to control the middle ground shoal.[22] Chamber leaders thus directed their attention to securing federal appropriations for harbor dredging projects, envisioning the day the US fleet would arrive.

THE HARBOR DREDGING PROGRAMS

Of all the ventures, the harbor dredging projects were the most mundane but the most significant. The completion of the Zuniga Jetty only slightly mitigated the problem of the water depth over the outer entry bar but significantly influenced the scenario where dredging programs could sustain a channel through the bar, eliminate the middle ground shoal, and establish and maintain a safe passageway for large vessels accessing the harbor.

Dredging the entry bar was not a new notion. In 1887, the city authorized San Diego's resident dredger Captain A. A. Polhamus to undertake the first private dredging project, which was limited in scope and results. Three years later the government funded the first official dredging of the outer bar as a part of the Rivers and Harbors Act that authorized the Zuniga Jetty project. Within that $394,400 appropriation, Congress budgeted $8,000 for the Corps to contract the dredging of a twenty-six deep cut over the outer bar and to clear a 400-foot-wide channel into the harbor.[23]

When the Spanish–American War erupted in 1898 and the government halted work on the jetty, the Chamber saw an opportunity for another privately-sponsored dredging. After consulting with the Corps engineers the Chamber hired Polhamus to dispel a local myth that the



The first suction dredge, shown here in the bay in 1889, arrived in southern California in 1888. SDHC #17514.

surface beneath the bar was so dense it could not be easily dredged. Polhamus and a local crew successfully used air blown through a high-pressure nozzle to "hydraulic" a 100-foot-long by five-foot-deep furrow across the bar floor. The experiment encouraged the Chamber to lobby Congress to pass the pending $219,000 Rivers and Harbors appropriation, which contained dredging funds for San Diego harbor. With the war concluded and Corps engineers free to return to civilian projects, in 1902 Congress funded a contract to construct a new dredger for the West Coast specifically to dredge and deepen the outer bar of San Diego harbor to twenty-six feet.[24]

In November 1903, the Chamber and the city inaugurated a series of public events to celebrate the first thirty-foot-deep cut, sufficient to allow the largest navy vessels to pass over the outer bar. The *Union* reported that the people of San Diego joined together in a "sort of love

fest and mutual congratulatory society" to celebrate the milestone. In Chamber headquarters speakers extolled the significance of the day, spoke optimistically about the future, and boasted that the government had finally "shown faith in our harbor."[25]

Flush with success, the Chamber peppered Congress with additional requests for dredging projects. Locally the Chamber directors issued a memorandum to Major Joseph H. Willard, the Corps director of the project. In it they thanked him for his efforts but also "respectfully" recommended the continued dredging of the middle ground to secure a "straight ship channel from the entrance to anchorage."[26] It now became a matter of maintaining the results of recent dredging projects.

From 1905 forward, federal dredging appropriations for San Diego harbor appeared in successive congressional budgeting cycles. The 1907 allotment was significant because for the first time the United States Navy's General Board expressed interest in a San Diego project. Admiral George Dewey, the Board President, noted that the removal of the middle ground was worthwhile because widening the channel opposite the new naval coal station would provide safe anchorage and create more maneuvering room for larger vessels at the coal pier. With the General Board's support, the Rivers and Harbors Committee approved the appropriation.[27]

Once implemented, dredging became an ongoing aspect of the government's harbor improvement agenda. As with most government projects the government performed the work incrementally and the program spanned decades. The successive pre-Kettner Rivers and Harbors Acts of 1905, 1907, 1909, and 1910 allocated

$20,000, $10,000, $20,000, and $125,000 respectively for harbor dredging projects. By 1911 the government had expended over $685,000 on San Diego Harbor projects, the bulk allocated to maintain the middle ground shoal and entry channel to assure the harbor's integrity.[28] Work on the middle ground shoal continued intermittently from 1891 through the 1930s, and the work on the entrance channel likewise progressed from 1903 to 1948.

The dredging dramatically altered the physical dimensions of the harbor. Where the navy deemed the harbor a shallow water port in 1900, by 1912 the dredging projects had created a channel into the bay that was 3,000 feet long, twenty to thirty feet deep, and ranged from 500 to 2,000 feet in width. The harbor now stood at nine miles in length and encompassed an area of twenty-one square miles.[29] San Diego harbor was finally on the verge of becoming a fleet-worthy facility.

FEDERAL QUARANTINE STATION

To complement the perceived maritime potential of San Diego's harbor, in 1871 the leaders of the newly organized Chamber of Commerce opened a campaign to convince the federal government to designate the town an official port of entry. The government responded in 1888 when the Fiftieth United States Congress named San Diego the location for a new Federal Quarantine Station to combat the spread of yellow fever on the West Coast.

The site committee settled on a location to the eastern shore of Point Loma Military Reservation, near La Playa. With the site approved, Surgeon General John B. Hamilton appointed Dr. Winfield W. McKay to manage the prospective station. In 1891 the Treasury acquired

Shown in 1900, the Quarantine Station sat at the northern end of the Rosecrans Military Reservation below Ballast Point and across the channel from Coronado Island. The Naval Information Warfare Center Pacific Collection.

the necessary lands, the government accepted bids, and Benyaurd crossed the channel from his jetty work and opened construction.

McKay arrived in San Diego and supervised the construction work through completion in July 1893. The station encompassed five acres with three buildings on land and two on the wharf. The wharf buildings included surgeon's quarters, men's quarters, cottage hospital, a warehouse, and a boathouse with boatman's quarters, while the main shore building included a dormitory, kitchen, and a small dining area, with two brick-lined cisterns for water storage. A telephone line connected the station to downtown San Diego and the city's distributing mains supplied the station with water. In the final years of construction, the station crew managed to maintain a formal inspection regime. McKay reported that between August 1890 and September 1891 the station staff had collectively inspected and passed 206 vessels and 9,105 persons.[30]

An unanticipated positive came in 1904 when the government opened construction of a naval coal station immediately adjacent to the quarantine facility. The location of the coal station limited any expansion of the quarantine grounds, but the dredging project the General Board sponsored to deepen the channel in front of the coal station tangentially improved the access to the quarantine wharf and immediately boosted the station's functionality.[31]

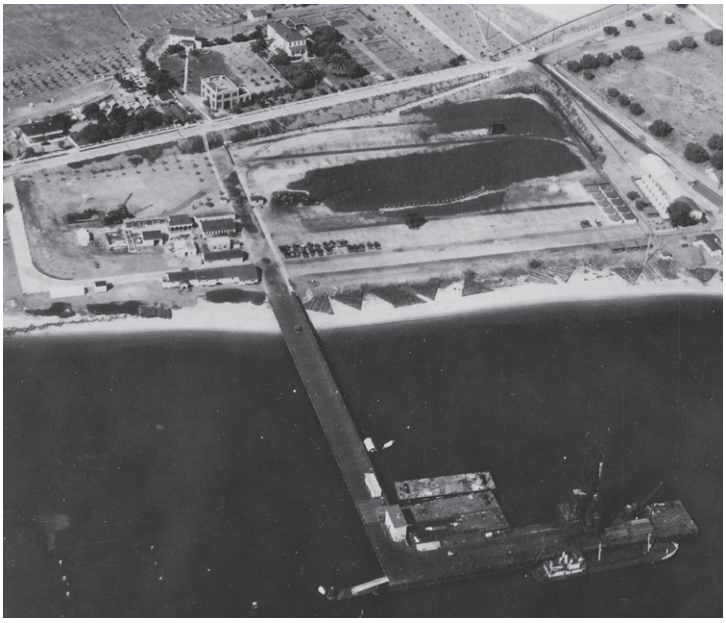
THE NAVAL COAL STATION

With the quarantine station in place, the jetty under construction, and the dredging programs engaged, the Chamber leadership turned its attention to a specific campaign to entice the navy to San Diego. The motivation stemmed from official naval reports that detailed the deficiencies the navy encountered in fueling their ships during the war with Spain. As a result, a Navy Bureau of Yards and Docks document recommended establishing a ship repair facility in San Diego.[32] Additional Navy Department reports issued between 1900 and 1901 noted the senior service's awareness of San Diego's strategic location and more importantly the intention of naval officials to negotiate with the War Department to secure land on the Point Loma Military reservation for a coal station.[33] With the navy considering expansion into the Pacific domain, local boosters believed that if the navy established one installation in San Diego others would surely follow.

In April 1900, as the Chamber staff worked to fund the completion of the Zuniga Jetty project, they opened the city's first truly coordinated campaign to bring the

Captain W. L. Field of the USS *Ranger* arrived in San Diego in 1900 to survey a site for a coal station near Ballast Point. The Naval History Headquarters Collection.

military to San Diego. While it became apparent the navy did not share the Chamber's urgency in the matter, naval officials continued to express interest, and by the summer of 1900 Congress was drawn to the project. That June Captain W. L. Field of the USS *Ranger* completed a survey and unofficially announced to the *San Diego Union* that the navy was ready to establish a coal station near Ballast Point. To add some clout to the pronouncement and stir community support, Admiral R. B. Bradford, Chief of the Bureau of Equipment, suggested to the Chamber that if the city could assist the navy in keeping the costs reasonable in acquiring a location, it would greatly facilitate the odds of the government placing a depot in San Diego.[34]



This view in the 1920s shows the coal storage area, the new steel pier, and loading tower. The Naval Information Warfare Center Pacific Collection.

As the parties haggled navy officials suddenly added the stipulation that the new fuel station should be located on the site the fully operational federal quarantine station currently occupied. The politically savvy Bradford used the coal station as a bargaining chip to pressure the Chamber to either secure the quarantine site or face the possibility the navy might cancel the coal station project.[35] Of course the ambitious Chamber directors were more than willing to heed the Admiral's council.

Amid the internecine politicking in September 1901, the navy acquired a 2,900-foot-wide section of land immediately south of the quarantine site for a coal station.[36] However, the project languished because of indecision

and the effects of the relocation dilemma. Indeed, the station was in jeopardy until early 1902, when Navy General Board President and hero of the Spanish–American War, Admiral George Dewey, issued a report that included an affirmation of San Diego harbor's geostrategic position on the extreme south of the American Pacific coast and recommended the project go forward.

Despite the interdepartmental bickering, the coal station stumbled forward and by 1908 became fully operational. The navy upgraded the steel wharf, installed a new trestle for transferring the coal from the wharf to ships, and added more onshore coalbunkers. In that same year the Bureau of Equipment Bureau selected retired Admiral Henry M. Manney as the next station custodian and authorized him to make recommendations to develop a more extensive coal station.[37] Manney prudently ignored the removal issue and concentrated on improving the coal depot.[38]

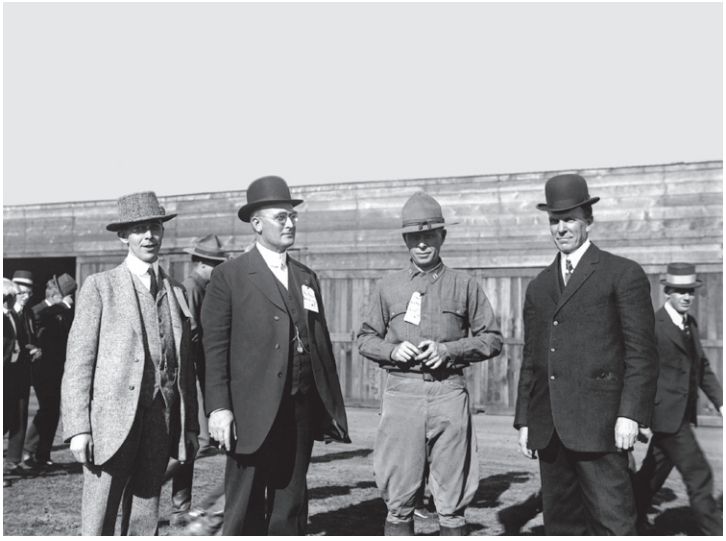
POSTSCRIPT: KETTNER, THE HARBOR, AND THE NAVY IN SAN DIEGO

William Kettner took his place in Congress on the heels not only of San Diego's success in gaining federal support for harbor improvements but also of other efforts by local boosters to make their town a place of importance. They explored divergent economic schemes ranging from olive groves to silkworms to steelmaking, they advertised the town's perfect climate, and they enhanced the town's image with a landscaping program that established public open space and wide boulevards as emigration inducements. Louis J. Wilde established four new banks and the Pickwick Theater and aided in the completion of the luxury U.S. Grant

Hotel. Local entrepreneur John D. Spreckels opened his new downtown theater, introduced the San Diego Electric Railway streetcar system, and initiated the construction of the San Diego & Arizona Railway, an overland rail route to El Centro. In 1912 the city purchased Spreckels's Southern California Mountain Water Company, a critical step in solving the town's growth-related water dilemma. The town had doubled its 1900 population to almost 40,000 inhabitants by 1900 and established the foundations of a stable municipal environment.

As the town matured, members of the Chamber of Commerce worked to instill public interest and local support for their urbanization schemes while they aggressively campaigned to muster the attention of the federal officials. The Chamber's influence cannot be overstated. The organization became experts in "wining and dining" as they hosted national legislators, government officials, and military officers. They issued memoranda, petitions, and resolutions, composed letters and telegrams, and dispatched representatives to Washington, DC to lobby Congress, all in an effort to create awareness of San Diego's national relevance and the town's capacity as a "great naval rendezvous." When the naval cruiser USS *California* crossed the outer bar and arrived in the harbor in 1911, President Rufus Choate unabashedly credited the event to the actions of the Chamber.

In addition to the harbor-specific ventures, the Chamber successfully campaigned for other federally funded projects. The pre-1912 project most closely related to the harbor ventures was the establishment of the United States Army's Fort Rosecrans on the Point Loma peninsula in the 1890s. The government designed the



Mr. G. A. Davidson, banker and Chamber leader, shown with Kettner, was instrumental in promoting the city's harbor agenda. ©SDHC #UT 9112.1.

installation to protect the harbor from foreign attack. The construction of Fort Rosecrans exerted only an ancillary physical effect on the harbor proper but was significant to the civic psyche. Local boosters saw the Rosecrans project as evidence of the government's tacit recognition of the value of San Diego harbor, a sentiment the *San Diego Union* echoed when it announced that the millions of dollars the War Department expended on the harbor fortifications were proof of port cities' importance to the government.[39]

To most municipal boosters the navy appeared as a benign compromise to rampant industrialism. But a clear divergence of commitment and vision existed between navy officials, who focused on strategic advantage and a functioning harbor, and the economic visions of local

The sailors from the Great White Fleet parading downtown during their stopover in 1908. ©SDHC #13013-1.

agents. Into the early twentieth century individual navy vessels periodically called in San Diego, but the fleet ignored the port. It was a matter of perception. Naval pontiffs had long accepted the geo-strategic location of San Diego harbor and its potential as a national asset. However, they were reticent to commit to indiscriminate expansion of an anchorage they considered a shallow-water port. The Spanish–American War awakened America's interest in the Pacific, and the Zuniga Jetty and dredging programs were steps in creating a deeper,

safer channel, but it was difficult for the local boosters to overcome the navy's hidebound, and generally accurate, impressions. The naval bureaucrats' reticence was also economic. Parsimonious navy decision-makers remained committed to operating from the confines of the existing West Coast facilities in Mare Island in San Francisco and Bremerton in Puget Sound. Naval comptrollers simply did not see the need to invest in any new facilities.

Local activists actually had reason to be confident in their belief that San Diego was destined to become a site for "naval purposes." Naval historian Bruce Linder noted that in concert with the civic efforts to improve the harbor, the navy had already bonded with the city. San Diegans' visceral response to the 1905 explosion of the gunboat USS *Bennington* and the deaths of sixty-four of its crew of created a genuine connection. Thousands of locals attended the ceremony at Fort Rosecrans, and even more appeared at the dedication of the granite obelisk that memorialized the event. Likewise, the arrival and four-day visit of the Great White Fleet in 1908 was a seminal event that solidified the link between the navy and the town. The fleet had not intended to layover in San Diego but Kettner and a delegation of civic leaders however managed to intercept the fleet while it conducted exercises off Baja California en route to San Francisco and negotiated a visit. The city's spontaneous embrace of the fleet's 16,000 sailors and the magnitude of the welcome, which included receptions, speeches, and parades before thousands of citizens, all organized on little notice, clearly impressed Rear Admiral Robert Evans and the men of his squadron. San Diego had the feel of a navy town.[40]

Even with the establishment of the coal station as San Diego's first permanent naval installation, by 1909 the General Board considered San Diego a potential site for a small naval installation. However, the navy appeared in San Diego on its own terms. Military pragmatism, not rhetoric and civic pressure, motivated navy officials. The Spanish–American War had redefined America's identity. The conflict revived a feeling of national assertiveness and prompted a foray into international imperialism and the projection of America's latent military strength into the Pacific Rim. More practically, when circumstances pressed Washington to cope with the infusion of vessels into the Pacific fleet, naval logicians realized the congested bases at San Francisco and Bremerton could not accommodate the influx, and the Navy General Board recommended Congress appropriate funds for additional West Coast naval installations. San Diego was the obvious choice.

San Diego officials forged the critical link in bringing the navy to San Diego in 1911 when city officials gained control of its harbor tidelands from the state of California. In exchange for title to the semi-submerged tidewater lands along the harbor, the state legislature exacted from the city a promise to invest $1,000,000 in waterfront improvements over the next three years.[41] The acquisition of the tidelands placed the city in control of assets the federal government valued. As Lotchin pointed out, this tactic, which commonly occurred in other California coastal towns, indicated that city leaders willingly ceded municipal resources in the effort to couple militarization with urbanization.[42] San Diego boosters now reframed the generic lure of the harbor into a campaign centered on a symbiotic arrangement whereby the city exchanged

The City exchanged the valuable yet underdeveloped tidelands on the harbor waterfront to the War Department to influence the Navy's arrival. ©SDHC #83-14421.

municipal properties for economic growth and the security the navy's presence represented.

After decades of harbor improvements, largely orchestrated by the Chamber of Commerce, in 1912 newly elected Congressman William Kettner became the national spokesman for the militarized urbanization in San Diego. Culturally the city had engendered a bond with the navy. Strategically, through federal projects the city had both established the foundations for a harbor capable of servicing the largest vessels afloat and gained control of harbor tidelands, which could be exchanged for sites for military installations. Politically the Chamber recognized the economic potential the navy offered and supported Kettner and his harbor-centric agenda. Once in office, he adroitly maneuvered through the legislative system, often

using information and tactics the Chamber suggested. Kettner was the right man at the right time. Thanks to the federal government's appreciation of San Diego's geo-strategic location on the Pacific Coast, decades of preparation to create a protected harbor now on the verge of meeting naval standards, and the existence of a stable, energized civic milieu, Congressman Kettner and the leaders of the Chamber of Commerce could orchestrate the arrival of federal assets and shape San Diego's future.

JOHN MARTIN, A NATIVE OF SAN DIEGO, IS AN INDEPENDENT SCHOLAR WITH BA AND MA DEGREES IN HISTORY FROM SAN DIEGO STATE UNIVERSITY. MARTIN IS THE AUTHOR OF NUMEROUS ARTICLES FOR *THE JOURNAL OF SAN DIEGO HISTORY* AND AUTHORED *THE DAMS OF WESTERN SAN DIEGO COUNTY* AND *THE SAN DIEGO RIVER: DAMS AND DIKES, FLOODS AND FIGHTS*.

NOTES

1 Iris H. W. Engstrand, "A Brief Sketch of San Diego's Military Presence: 1542-1945," *Journal of San Diego History* 60, nos. 3 and 4 (Winter/Summer 2014): 1-26.

2 See Roger Lotchin, *Fortress California, 1910–1961: From Warfare to Welfare* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1992); Lotchin, *The Bad City in the Good War: San Francisco, Los Angeles, Oakland, and San Diego* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 2003); Abraham J. Shragge, "Boosters and Bluejackets: The Civic Culture of Militarism in San Diego, California, 1900-1945," (PhD diss., University of California, San Diego, 1998). Shragge has presented some of the main themes of his dissertation in several journal articles. See Shragge, "'A New Federal City': San Diego During World War II," *Pacific Historical Review* 63 (August 1994): 331-361; Shragge, "Radio and Real Estate: The US Navy's First Real Estate Purchase in San Diego," *Journal of San Diego History* 42, no. 4 (Fall 1996): 240-259; Shragge, "'I Like the Cut of Your Jib': Cultures of Accommodation between the US Navy and Citizens of San Diego, California, 1900-1951," *Journal of San Diego History* 48, no. 3 (Summer 2002): 230-255.

3 For examples, see William H. Emory, Major, "Report of the United States and Mexico Boundary Survey of 1846" (Washington DC: Government Printing Office, 1846); "Sailing Directions for the West Coast of North America, compiled from Government Surveys from the United States, Great Britain, France and Spain," (London: James Imray, 1858), 81; The Bache Report reprinted in, "Turning the San Diego River," March 10, 1870, *San Diego Union*, 2. William Smythe, *History of San Diego*, 1542-1908 (San Diego: The History Company, 1908), 694. An oil painting of the harbor in the 1840s, located on the wall in Captain Fitch's Retail Store in Old Town, includes the artist's rendition of the river entering the bay's upper shore.

4 For examples, see William H. Emory, Major, "Report of the United States and Mexico Boundary Survey of 1846" (Washington DC: Government Printing Office, 1846); "Sailing Directions for the West Coast of North America, compiled from Government Surveys from the United States, Great Britain, France and Spain," (London: James Imray, 1858), 81; The Bache Report reprinted in,

"Turning the San Diego River," March 10, 1870, San Diego Union, 2. William Smythe, *History of San Diego*, 1542-1908 (San Diego: The History Company, 1908), 694. An oil painting of the harbor in the 1840s, located on the wall in Captain Fitch's Retail Store in Old Town, includes the artist's rendition of the river entering the bay's upper shore.

5 George Derby, "Memoir of the San Diego River," in House Executive Document, No. 1. Part III, 33rd Congress, 1st Session, December 1853. (Washington DC: Government Printing Office, 1853), 111. Hereinafter cited as Derby Memoir.

6 Derby Memoir, 112-115. Also see, Neil Harlow, *Maps of the Pueblo Lands of San Diego, 1602-1874* (Los Angeles: Dawson Book Shop, 1987), 122.

7 "San Diego River Improvement," *San Diego Herald*, October 22, 1853.

8 "Large Sums Spent on Local Harbor," *San Diego Union*, January 1, 1917; "Improvement of the San Diego River," *San Diego Herald*, September 24, 1853; "An Incident," *San Diego Herald*, October 1, 1853.

9 *Heuer Report,* included in a letter, Williamson to Humphreys, December 28, 1869, *Annual Report of the Chief of Engineers to the Secretary of War* (Washington: Government Printing Office, 1869), Vol. I, Appendix, Y 1, 512-513. Hereinafter cited as ARCE.

10 See Nan Taylor Papageorge, "Role of the San Diego River in the Development of Mission Valley," *Journal of San Diego History* 17, no. 2 (Spring 1971): 14-27. For a general view see, "The Great Flood of 1862 Left Devastation in its Path Across the State," *San Bernadino Sun*, November 12, 2018.

11 *Report of the Superintendent of the Coast Survey 1858* (Washington DC: Government Printing Office, 1858), 302. "The Southern Railroad," *San Diego Herald*, June 30, 1855.

12 *Heuer Report*. "Turning the San Diego River," *San Diego Union*, March 3, 1870.

13 Letter, Williamson to Humphreys, December 28, 1869, ARCE, Vol. I, Appendix, Y 1, 512. "Turning the San Diego River," *San Diego Union*.

14 *Annual Report of San Diego Chamber of Commerce of 1872*. Meeting, December 7, 1871, Official Minutes of the Chamber of Commerce, April 3, 1871 to March 1887, 6, 9.

15 *Report*, Weeden to B. S. Alexander, July 6, 1874, ARCE, 1874, Part II, 373-74.

16 *Annual Report of the War Department, 1875* (Washington DC: Government Printing Office, 1875), 622.

17 *Stewart Report*, ARCE, Vol. II. Appendix EE 1, 621. Report, Lieutenant Colonel C. S. Steward to General A. A. Humphreys, July 5, 1877, ARCE 1877, Part 2, 997-998. "Daily Union," *San Diego Union*, February 4, 1876; "Sacramento," *San Diego Union*, March 3, 1867; "Daily Union," *San Diego Union*, May 16, 1867.

18 "Daily Union," *San Diego Union*, July 8, 1876, "Daily Union," *San Diego Union*, September 1, 1876.

19 "Daily Union," *San Diego Union*, July 8, 1876, "Daily Union," *San Diego Union*, September 1, 1876.

20 The 7,734.64-feet long levee required the excavation of 91,628.503 cubic yards of earth, used 13,545.68 cubic yards of stone, and the final cost consumed $79,789.72 of the $80,000 appropriation. ARCE, 1877, Part 2, 998-999.

21 For a detailed account of the jetty project see, John Martin, "San Diego's Zuniga Shoals Jetty: Icon and Enigma," *Journal of San Diego History* 63, nos. 3 &4 (Summer/Fall 2017): 217-244.

22 Letter, Secretary of Navy, Paul Morton to J.S. Akerman, President, San Diego Chamber of Commerce, September 24, 1904, National Archive Records and Administration (Washington DC: Government Printing Office, 1904), Record Group 77, Document #10924-27. 71.

23 William Benyaurd, "Survey of the Entrance and Outer Bar, San Diego, Ca." (Washington DC: Government Printing Office, 1888), House of Representatives Document #177, 50th Congress, 1st Session, 1888.

24 "Navy To Use San Diego," *Los Angeles Times*, January 17, 1900.

25 "The Best Harbor Entrance In The World," *San Diego Union*, November 14, 1903.

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27 ARCE, 1910, Vol. I, 901; ARCE, 1911, Vol. I. 954.

28 ARCE, 1911, Vol. V, 954; ARCE, 1913, Vol. II, 1267-1268.

29 The harbor dredging projects of the 1900s dumped spoils in the

western side of the bay offshore from La Playa and gradually developed the sand bar that became Shelter Island. Joe Brenna, the director of the San Diego Harbor Department connected the fabricated island to the mainland in 1949. See Linda M. Pearce, "Yachting and Its History in San Diego" *Journal of San Diego History* 20, no. 4 (Fall 1974): 1-24.

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32 Letter, 1901, T.T. Crittenden to Admiral Bradford, *General Correspondence*, National Archives and Records Administration (Washington DC: Government Printing Office, Navy Department), RG 80, Box #484. Hereinafter cited as General Correspondence. *Annual Reports of the Secretary of Navy*, (Washington: Government Printing Office, 1898), Vol. XI, 26. "Summary of News," *San Diego Union*, April 28, 1895.

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34 Letter, May 12, 1900, Perkins to Wood, Journal 1900, 134, SDCCRMM. Letter, July 16, 1900, Bradford to Wood, Journal 1900, 174, SDCCRMM.

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36 Letter, February 8, 1901, H.P. Wood to SDCC Board, Journal 1901, 280-281, SDCCRMM. Meeting, May 17, 1901, Journal 1901, 302, SDCCRMM. "Ready To Build The Coal Station," *San Diego Union*, April 20, 1901. Letter, Frank W. Hackett, Navy to Secretary of Treasury, May 11, 1901, *General Correspondence*. "Chamber of Commerce the Past Two Years," *San Diego Union*, December 24, 1901. "Spending Much Money on Harbor," *San Diego Union*, January 1, 1903.

37 Letter, May 15, 1909, Manney to Bureau of Navigation, *General Correspondence*, Vol. 2, 8-15. "Soundings Will Be Verified By

Engineer," *San Diego Union*, December 3, 1907. "Figuring Bids For Big Work," *Los Angeles Times*, August 8, 1907; "Army and Navy Men," *Los Angeles Times*, January 26, 1908.

38 For a details on establishing the coal station see, John Martin, "The San Diego Chamber of Commerce Establishes the U. S. Naval Coal Station, 1900-1912," *The Journal of San Diego History* 56, no. 4 (Fall 2010): 217-232.

39 For a general treatment see, Erwin T. Thompson, *The Guns of San Diego: San Diego Harbor Defense 1796-1947* (San Diego: National Park Service, 1995). Other tangential federal projects included the inception of the U. S. Weather Bureau station in 1871, and the establishment of the Navy Wireless Radio Station on the Point Loma Military Reservation in 1906.

40 For the arrival of the navy, see Bruce R. Linder, *The Navy in San Diego* (Charleston: Arcadia Publishing, 2007) and *The Navy in San Diego: An Illustrated History* (Annapolis: The Naval Institute Press, 2001); Shragge, "Radio and Real Estate"; Samuel Carter III, *The Incredible Great White Fleet* (New York: Collier-MacMillian, 1971).

41 "Opportunity Awaited Forty Years Is Within the City's Grasp," *San Diego Union*, November 4, 1911.

42 Lotchin, *Fortress California*, 16-17. The land-for-services partnership was in fact a San Diego pattern that stretched back decades. City officials had condoned the condemnation of land for the Levee of 1877 and the base for the Zuniga Jetty, and they had ceded land on the Point Loma peninsula for Fort Rosecrans, the naval coal station, and the quarantine station. Gaining control of harbor tidelands, much in the hands of private owners, was a goal of the city since the mid-1890s. William Smythe, in his *History of San Diego*, wrote that a 1900 report from F. H. Conklin, the President of the Board of Harbor Commissioners, noted that past court decisions had brought a large portion of the land into city possession and believed future litigation would give the city possession of the remainder. William Smythe, *The History of San Diego, 1542-1908* (San Diego: The History Company, 1908), 691-692.


Flores Magon 6ª
RANCHO
TIJUANA
1982
GRANDE
MEXICO
1982
TIJUANA

SAN DIEGO DEVELOPED: THE PHOTOGRAPHY OF DAN RIOS

SEAN D. VISINTAINER,
LAURA L. NELSON

Dan Rios, former *Escondido Times-Advocate and North County Times* chief photographer, donated his collection to the California State University San Marcos (CSUSM) University Library in 2018. Since the donation, the library's Special Collections Department has been processing the collection's film negatives, photographic prints, and correspondence; it is expected to be open to researchers in the next year. Officially called the Dan Rios Papers, the collection is an unusually broad visual documentation of the San Diego region stretching over more than three decades. It includes not only news photography, but also photography of the people and places across San Diego which Dan explored during his more than thirty-year career.

Dan was born in the San Joaquin Valley town of Hanford, one of six children of a day laborer and a housekeeper, Theodore and Jennie Rios.[1] The family moved to Ocean Beach when Dan was thirteen. Dan dropped out of school in the eighth grade to work for a landscaping company and two years later, started his own landscaping business.[2]

(Opposite page) Downtown Tijuana, August 1982. Image courtesy of California State University San Marcos University Library Special Collections.

At twenty-one, Dan went back to school to get his high school degree and then enrolled at Mesa College, studying civil engineering.[3] One class assignment required Dan to find a hobby he'd enjoy when he retired, and so Dan bought his first camera.[4] Soon after, Dan found both his vocation and his avocation when, at age twenty-six, he enrolled in a photography class at City College. Dan soon changed schools to City College and took up a new major: photography.[5] He built a darkroom in his house and would buy film in 100-foot rolls. When Dan wasn't shooting photographs, he was developing them.[6]

Starting with a job at an advertising agency, Dan learned to shoot and develop color photos, a skill that helped him land a job with the *Escondido Times-Advocate*, which in 1968 was looking to hire a photographer to manage the paper's transition from all black-and-white photography to color.[7] During his time at the paper, Dan also saw the *Times-Advocate* shift from an afternoon to a morning paper in 1990, managed the paper's adoption of digital photography in the 1990s, and witnessed the merger of the *Times-Advocate* with the *North County Blade-Citizen* in 1995, which created *The North County Times*.[8]

During his time as Chief Photographer for the *Escondido Times-Advocate* and *The North County Times*, Dan had over 6,000 of his images published in the newspapers.[9] In addition to his news assignments, Dan and the paper's other photographers were encouraged to create "grab art," traveling the area and photographing what caught their attention. To facilitate this, the paper did not limit photographers' film and processing supplies.[10] Though his work ranged all over San Diego County, and at times farther afield, most of Dan's work was focused on the

Ron Packard, Congressman (R) Forty-Third District, speaks at the ribbon cutting ceremony for the Highway 78 expansion, April 14, 1989. Image courtesy of California State University San Marcos University Library Special Collections.

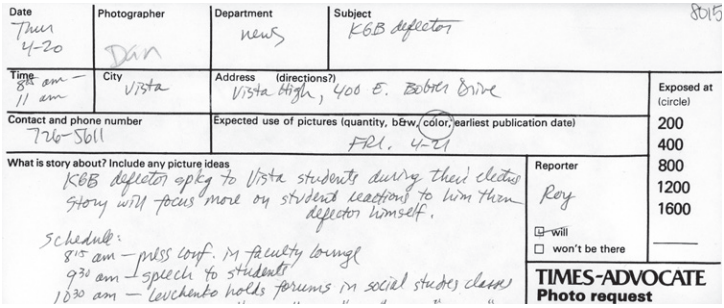
Beginning of Easter Egg Hunt at Kit Carson Park in Escondido, April 14, 1995. Image courtesy of California State University San Marcos University Library Special Collections.

people, places, and events of Escondido and North County more broadly.

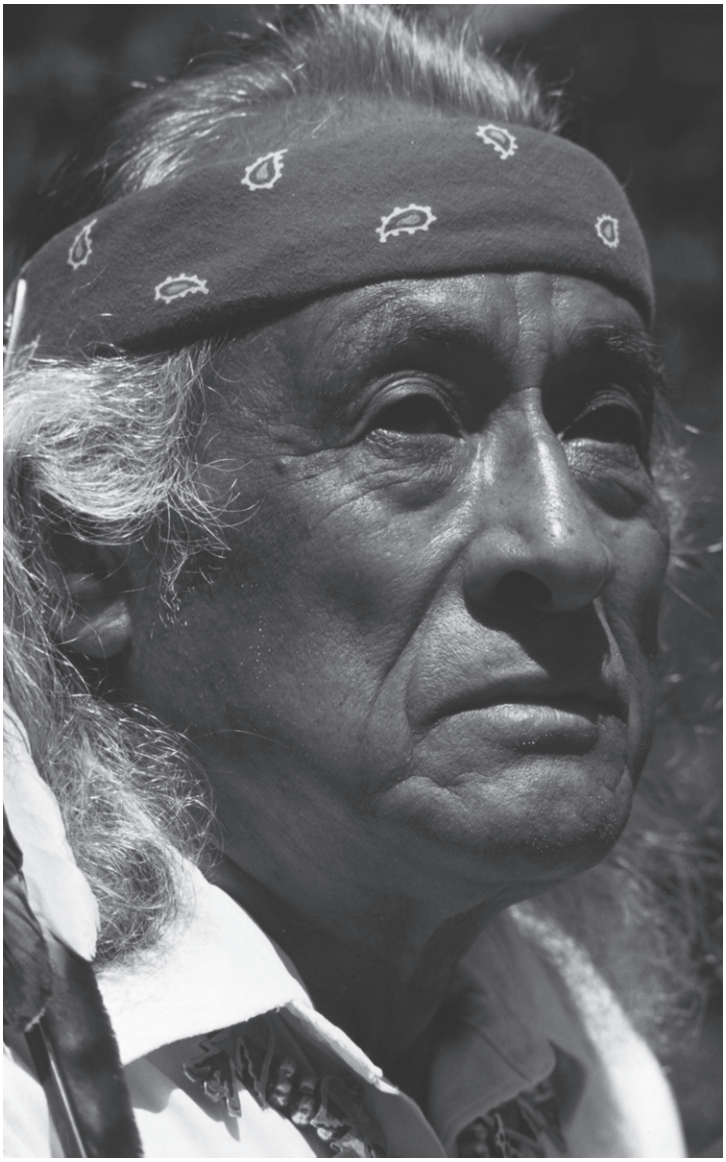
NEWS PHOTOGRAPHY

When Dan arrived at the *Times-Advocate* in the morning, typed assignments from reporters or editors would be waiting, and Dan would divvy up the assignments to the photography staff.[11] Assignments contained detailed logistical information: the people and places to shoot, locations and times of photography, background context on the article, and the article's anticipated publication date.[12]

Once assignments were handed out, the photographers would hit the road.[13] Reporters and photographers would often arrive separately for a story as dictated by their scheduled assignments.[14] When on the scene of a shoot, Dan was able to picture the image in his mind's eye; Dan often knew what the result would be before the film was developed.[15] When the photography for the day was finished, photographers would drop the film off for processing; early on it was Dan who did the processing,


Date: Thurs 4-20 | Photographer: Dan | Department: news | Subject: KGB defector
Time: 8:15 am – 11 am | City: Vista | Address (directions?): Vista High, 400 E. Bobier Drive | Exposed at (circle): 200 400 800 1200 1600
Contact and phone number: 726-5611 | Expected use of pictures (quantity, b&w, color, earliest publication date): FRI. 4-21
What is story about? Include any picture ideas: KGB defector spkg to Vista students during their elective. Story will focus more on students reactions to him than defector himself.
Schedule: 8:15 am – press conf. in faculty lounge; 9:30 am – speech to students; 10:30 am – Levchenko holds forums in social studies classes
Reporter: Roy
☑ will ☐ won't be there
TIMES-ADVOCATE Photo request

Photography assignments were often parsed out to photographers in envelopes like this one. Image from the Dan Rios papers, courtesy of California State University San Marcos University Library Special Collections.



Portrait of Henry Rodriguez, activist and respected elder of the Luiseño Tribe, La Jolla Reservation. Image courtesy of California State University San Marcos University Library Special Collections.

but the *Times-Advocate* eventually hired a lab technician, which freed Dan up to take more assignments and allowed him to shoot grab art.[16]

Once the photographs were developed, the photographers would write the important information on the back of the prints and drop them off with the paper's reporters and editors, who would create image captions and handle the layout.[17] About half of Dan's assignments were for publication the next day, and the other half for longer-running stories. Dan also had the duty to shoot the color cover image for the paper's Sunday supplement.[18]

The *Times-Advocate* made the jump to digital photography around 1997, most likely due to finances, as digital cameras would save the paper substantially on film and processing.[19] Still, early digital cameras were cumbersome, expensive, and did not contain much memory, and Dan found them much more constricting to work with than cameras from the film era.[20] Dan retired from the *North County Times* in 2001 at the age of sixty.[21]

THE COLLECTION

The Dan Rios Papers consist of roughly 200 boxes (holding over 40,000 envelopes) of photographic negatives, prints, and correspondence showcasing the history of San Diego and its surrounding environs. The papers provide a visual documentation of San Diego's North County region in particular, highlighting its communities, places, and happenings. The negatives are large, medium, and 35mm formats, in both color and black and white.

The collection showcases a pivotal time in San Diego and North County history and from people who were in the right place to record that history. During his time

A man mops near the entrance to the courtesy car pick up, San Diego International Airport, September 1970. Image courtesy of California State University San Marcos University Library Special Collections.

Larry Mulligan, brakeman, works alongside a train running between Oceanside and San Marcos, September 1987. Image courtesy of California State University San Marcos University Library Special Collections.

Margaret Thatcher, former Prime Minister of Great Britain, visits Camp Pendleton, March 1991. Image courtesy of California State University San Marcos University Library Special Collections.

with the newspaper, Dan had the freedom to photograph whatever and whoever he found interesting, alongside regular newspaper assignments.[22] Thus, this collection spans thirty-three years of life during a time when San Diego County's population more than doubled from roughly 1.3 million people in 1969 to over 2.8 million people in 2000.[23] This population growth fundamentally changed San Diego County overall and North County in particular. Prior to 1968, most of the county outside of the city of San Diego and a few other coastal communities was agricultural in nature and sparsely populated. By 2000, much of the county's economy had shifted from agriculture and associated activities to education, manufacturing, and the tech sector. Many of North County's rural communities changed, becoming bedroom suburbs for the quickly expanding San Diego region. Given their positions, Dan and the newspaper's other photographers were able to capture this growth and change in real time, documenting pivotal decades of San Diego's history.

San Diego-Coronado Bridge construction, circa 1968. Image courtesy of California State University San Marcos University Library Special Collections.

Salvado Sanchez watering poinsettias at Ecke Ranch, Encinitas. December 1983. Image courtesy of California State University San Marcos University Library Special Collections.

Baile folklorico performance at the opening of the California Center for the Arts, Escondido, October 1, 1994. Image courtesy of California State University San Marcos University Library Special Collections.

Within the Dan Rios papers, there are images of a wide swath of San Diego County history: celebrities and regular individuals, politicians and average citizens, tragedies and celebrations. This collection contains images of famous events chronicled in newspapers across the country as well as slice-of-life images, mundane moments that usually live in people's memories but few other places. Due to the sheer amount of material, Dan's papers are one of the largest freely available, public photographic collections dedicated to twentieth-century San Diego history.

The collection also serves as a reflection of transformations in photography and news media. Many of the early photographs are black and white images, but colored photos soon became the norm. Likewise, most of the collection consists of film images, but by the end of Dan's career, digital photography had become commonplace and digital newspapers increasingly took the place of physical dailies.

Bilingual (Spanish/English) classroom with teachers and students, September 1970. Image courtesy of California State University San Marcos University Library Special Collections.

COLLECTION MANAGEMENT

Processing archival collections is often a daunting task, with numerous steps to both organize and preserve materials. The Dan Rios Papers are no different. Since the collection is primarily negatives, processing it is different from many other types of archival collections. Once the collection was moved to the library, Special Collections began inventorying and organizing it. Inventorying the

Firefighter in foreground, with burning vegetation from the Lake Wohlford fire ablaze behind them. This is likely an image from the August 1997 arson, which burned over 500 acres and twenty-six structures. Image courtesy of California State University San Marcos University Library Special Collections.

Agricultural workers harvest flowers in Carlbad's Flower Fields, with the replica Danish windmill in the background. Image courtesy of California State University San Marcos University Library Special Collections.

Officers of the Asociación de Charros de Escondido, formed in 1970 to revive the charros tradition. From left: Gonzalo Palacios, president; Juan Diaz, vice president; David Miranda, treasurer, Mary Cruz, secretary; Peter Cruz, parade inspector; and Vicente Morales, sergeant-at-arms. Image courtesy of California State University San Marcos University Library Special Collections.

Rios papers has taken just over four years. There are roughly 43,000 envelopes containing an estimated one million negatives, so much of that time has been assessing and diligently recording what is contained in those envelopes. Now that inventorying is wrapping up, we are rehousing the negatives and photographs into archival materials. This involves both significant labor and money for supplies to ensure that the negatives will be preserved for future use.

After the rehousing is finished, we'll create our first iteration of a finding aid for the collection, allowing researchers to understand the breadth and depth of Dan's photography and making it officially accessible to the public.[24] The finding aid will be keyword searchable, and information to the envelope level will be described, essentially making the roughly 43,000 subjects including people, events, and places available to researchers.

About half of the envelopes in the collection currently have some context such as names, events, and places of photography. The other envelopes have little information, often nothing more than a file number by which we can derive the month and year of the images' photographing. To gather more context, CSUSM Special Collections partnered with the Escondido History Center to write a successful seed grant. Funded by CSUSM's department for Community Engaged Scholarship, we are digitizing 11,000 negatives which lack names, places, and other similar contextual information. Scanned images are uploaded to Flickr, where community members can identify people, places, and events that they know.[25] We started last July and have scanned roughly 2,500 images and uploaded 1,565 of them to Flickr. As of October 1, 2022, community members had commented on 453 images. Once the seed grant is finished, we will update our finding aid and determine whether additional funding should be pursued for a larger-scale project.

The old adage states: "A picture is worth a thousand words." If that is the case, then the Dan Rios Papers contain a large library's worth of words. Dan's papers are a unique collection and a treasure trove of information for those studying and exploring San Diego history during a time

of massive development as well as cultural, demographic, and technological shifts. The collection is breathtaking in the breadth and depth of the history it contains, with a diversity and multifaceted nature reflective of the region it embodies. Those wanting to learn about and explore San Diego County's history, large and small, would be remiss to pass by the negatives and photographs that are the legacy of Dan Rios.

SEAN D. VISINTAINER HAS WORKED IN SPECIAL COLLECTIONS SINCE 2010. HE MOVED TO SAN DIEGO IN 2019 TO TAKE THE ROLE OF HEAD OF SPECIAL COLLECTIONS AT CALIFORNIA STATE UNIVERSITY SAN MARCOS UNIVERSITY LIBRARY. SEAN THANKS DAN AND THERESA RIOS AND ALEXA CLAUSEN FOR THEIR CONTRIBUTIONS TO DOCUMENTING AND PRESERVING SAN DIEGO HISTORY VIA DAN'S PAPERS.

LAURA L. NELSON IS A LIBRARY SERVICES SPECIALIST FOR SPECIAL COLLECTIONS AT CALIFORNIA STATE UNIVERSITY SAN MARCOS. SHE HAS WORKED IN SPECIAL COLLECTIONS SINCE 2006, WHEN SHE WAS AN UNDERGRADUATE PURSUING HER DEGREE IN HISTORY. SINCE THEN, SHE'S WORKED ON VARIOUS PROJECTS FOR PLACES AND PEOPLE SUCH AS THE SMITHSONIAN AND COKIE ROBERTS. IN 2013, SHE BEGAN WORKING AT CALIFORNIA STATE UNIVERSITY, SAN MARCOS AND HAS BEEN WORKING ON THE DAN RIOS PAPERS SINCE 2018. SHE IS GRATEFUL FOR THE OPPORTUNITY TO DIVE DEEPLY INTO SAN DIEGO HISTORY THROUGH HER WORK ON THE COLLECTION.

NOTES

1 Pam Kragan, "Newspaper Photographer's 35-year archive now in the hands of Cal State San Marcos," *San Diego Union-Tribune*, March 8, 2020, https://www.sandiegouniontribune.com/communities/north-county/san-marcos/story/2020-03-08/newspaper-photographers-35-year-archive-now-in-the-hands-of-cal-state-san-marcos.

2 Kragan, "Newspaper Photographer's Archive."

3 Dan Rios, interview by Sean Visintainer, July 15, 2022; Kragan, "Newspaper Photographer's Archive."

4 Kragan, "Newspaper Photographer's Archive."

5 Linda McIntosh, "Newspaper Photographer Donates 1 Million Photographic Images," *San Diego Union-Tribune*, July 14, 2022, https://www.sandiegouniontribune.com/north-county-community-news/story/2022-07-14/newspaper-photographer-recognized-for-donating-1-million-photos.

6 Dan Rios, interview.

7 Dan Rios, interview; Kragan, "Newspaper Photographer's Archive."

8 Kragan, "Newspaper Photographer's Archive."

9 A search conducted of the digitized *Escondido Times-Advocate* (paywall) October 6, 2022 turned up 6484 "hits." This number does not include images published from 1996 to 2001, which are not available via the database.

10 Rios, interview.

11 Ibid.

12 Ibid.

13 Ibid.

14 Ibid.

15 Ibid.

16 Ibid.

17 Ibid.

18 Ibid.

19 Ibid.

20 Ibid.

21 Kragan, "Newspaper Photographer's Archive."

22 The newspaper that employed Dan changed name and ownership several times. The *Escondido Times-Advocate* (1909 – 1995) was created with a merger of the *Escondido Times* (established 1886) and the *Escondido Advocate* (1891). The *Times-Advocate* then merged with Oceanside's *North County Blade-Citizen* on December 3, 1995, creating the *North County Times*. In 2012, the *North County Times* was bought by The *San Diego Union-Tribune*. Dan Rios papers, University Library Special Collections, California State University San Marcos, https://archivessearch.csusm.edu/repositories/3/resources/8.

23 "San Diego County vs. California: Population Trends over 1969-2020," California Regional Economic Analysis Project, November 2021, https://california.reaproject.org/analysis/comparative-trends-analysis/population/tools/60073/60000/; "Census 2000 California Profile – California Department of Finance," Census 2000, Summary File, California Department of Finance, August 2, 2001, https://dof.ca.gov/wp-content/uploads/Reports/Demographic_Reports/documents/Census2000CA_profile.pdf.

24 Even though the finding aid is not complete, the Rios papers are open for research now. Researchers are welcome to email CSUSM Special Collections at archives@csusm.edu to discuss if Special Collections can assist with their research needs.

25 To view uploaded images, go to https://www.flickr.com/photos/186066876@N08/collections/72157720790605016/

BOOK REVIEWS

MAKING AND UNMAKING OF SAN DIEGO BAY. BY MATTHEW R. KASER AND GARY C. HOWARD. BOCA RATON: CBC PRESS, 2022. ILLUSTRATIONS AND INDEX. X + 202 PP. $96.00 CLOTH. $59.95 PAPER. $59.95 E-BOOK.

Reviewed by Donald H. Harrison, editor emeritus of *San Diego Jewish World* and a member of the editorial advisory board of *The Journal of San Diego History*. He may be contacted at donald.harrison@sdjewishworld.com.

Although the title of this book specifically references the San Diego Bay, its subject is more wide ranging, covering most of coastal San Diego County. Essentially, the book is a compilation of known facts about the physical area, with chapters covering the geological forces that built the region, the influences of water, the early biology of the San Diego Bay, the arrival of humans, the present bay biology, efforts to restore the bay, and its likely future.

The book does not cover the politics of the bay. For example, there is no discussion of policies adopted by the San Diego Unified Port Commission, nor of the decision-making processes of the United States Navy and Marine Corps concerning their facilities impacting the bay. Nevertheless, I found in every chapter interesting facts about the region. Other readers, of course, might pick out different tidbits to mull. Those that stimulated my interest include the following:

Chapter 1: There was no California about 150 million years ago; Arizona essentially was the West Coast (p. 2). However, over millions of years the shifting movements of the Pacific and North American Tectonic Plates produced the landmass that we know as California. When Native Americans arrived in the area about 10,000 years ago, sea levels were lower than today, and the coast was between fifteen and fifty kilometers farther west than it is today (p. 5).

Chapter 2: When the Rose Canyon Fault and the Point Loma Fault pulled away from each other, the area stretching between them was lowered into a depression known to geologists as a "nested graben." San Diego Bay is such a nested graben (p. 15).

Chapter 3: A large aquifer, with an estimated 960,000 acre-feet of brackish water, lies about thirty meters under an area that includes portions of Chula Vista, Imperial Beach, National City, and San Diego (p. 27).

Chapter 4: Sediment from the Tijuana River built up Coronado from a sand spit, and when the land-tied island got bigger, it helped form San Diego Bay (p. 37).

Chapter 5: Different animals lived here during different epochs. In the Eocene Epoch, from 56 to 33.9 million years ago, there were brontotheres (a mammal resembling something between a horse and a rhinoceros), camel-like merycobunodons, elephant shrews, and a large rodent called a rapamys. In the Miocene (23 to 5.3 million years ago), there was a whale similar to the humpback, a sea cow resembling a manatee, and an eared seal. In the early Pliocene Epoch (5.3 to 2.6 million years ago), there were camels, ground sloths, mastodons, primitive horses, saber tooth cats, American lions, and canids, which were ancestors to wolves and coyotes. In the middle Pliocene,

San Diego had beardogs, hyenas, flamingos, pronghorn antelope, and rhinoceroses. In the late Pliocene period, bison, horses, and elk roamed these parts (p. 45).

Chapter 6: Native Americans initially hunted with an atlatl and spear but switched to bow and arrow before arriving in this area, approximately 10,000 years ago (p. 57). Spaniards disrupted the ecology of the area, cutting down oak trees for houses and burning off native vegetation to provide grazing land for cattle and sheep, which they introduced to the area (p. 62).

Chapter 7: In Mission Bay Park, there is a 115-acre landfill that operated in the 1950s and accepted any kind of waste, including the aerospace industry's industrial waste. It was closed in 1959, and "there has been no cleanup of the site since." In fact, "no one knows what is actually buried there" (pp. 72–73). Another abandoned dump, once used by the navy, is located near the airport, only 150 meters from San Diego Bay (p. 77). A forty-mile sewage line built in 1888 emptied into the Bay off Market Street. "For much of the 20th Century, San Diego Bay was polluted by raw sewage. . . .Fortunately in 1963 the Point Loma Treatment Plant came on line, and the Bay began to recover" (p. 77).

Chapter 8: Cougars and coyotes are the predator animals most often spotted in San Diego County today. The red fox is rarer. Bobcats, which grow to twice the size of domestic cats, are nocturnal and thereby able to avoid humans (pp. 101–104). Common prey in San Diego County include the Columbian black-tailed deer, European wild boar, ground squirrel, dusky-footed woodrat, brown rat, black rat, California vole, rabbit, and pocket gopher (p. 104).

Chapter 9: Some 200 plant and animal species are at risk in San Diego County, among them the least Bell's

vireo, California gnatcatcher, arroyo southwestern toad, Stephens' kangaroo rats, and San Diego fairy shrimp (p. 144). The Western Salt Ponds, Chula Vista Wildlife Reserve, Sweetwater Marsh, and Otay River all are undergoing restoration, which will improve the ecology of San Diego Bay (pp. 149–152). The ballast water of ships visiting San Diego sometimes introduces invasive species to the bay. Among such species are "the green crab, a native of Europe, which preys on native clams, oysters, and mussels, and Asian kelp from Japan, China, and Korea that arrive via hull fouling" (p. 152).

Chapter 10: Global warming threatens one-third of all amphibians around the world. Birds are also threatened (p. 168). The US Geological Survey, studying the movement of the Pacific and North American Plates at the San Andreas Fault, issued a paper by American geophysicist Robert Dietz predicting that in ten million years Los Angeles will move up to the present site of San Francisco, and in fifty million years it will move up to present-day Alaska. San Diego will maintain its relative position south of Los Angeles (p. 173).

Overall, the slim book provides a well-researched overview of the San Diego region's geology, biology, and long-term environmental prospects.

THE ESTRADA PLOT: HOW THE FBI CAPTURED A SECRET ARMY AND STOPPED THE INVASION OF MEXICO. BY BILL MILLS. LINCOLN POTOMAC BOOKS, 2020. ILLUSTRATIONS, NOTES, BIBLIOGRAPHY, AND INDEX. IX + 248 PP. $29.95 CLOTH. $29.95 E-BOOK.
Reviewed by Dante Alvin Garcia, PhD Student, Department of History, University of California, Irvine.

In *The Estrada Plot: How the FBI Captured a Secret Army and Stopped the Invasion of Mexico*, Bill Mills tells the story of how the exiled former Mexican general Enrique Estrada plotted to invade Mexico from the United States from the early- to mid-1920s and how the FBI stopped him. Estrada's attempt to overthrow the government of President Plutarco Elias Calles has generally been overlooked by historians until now. Mills's significant contribution to this history is not narrating the life of Estrada but demonstrating how decisions made by US authorities affected the course of Mexican history. In other words, Mills has done an excellent job telling a transnational history through the intertwined stories of an exiled former Mexican general and US federal law enforcement.

The book is organized chronologically, beginning with a detailed explanation of the Mexican Revolution of the 1910s and Estrada's participation in the Sonora rebellion that led to the ousting of President Carranza and the establishment of the Alvaro Obregón government in 1920. Under President Obregón, Estrada held positions as Mexico's secretary of war and navy and secretary of

agriculture. In the latter post, Estrada—who came from a wealthy, land-owning family—opposed the president's policies on land redistribution. Mills details Estrada's revolt against the Obregón government in 1924 for supporting General Calles's presidential campaign instead of De La Huerta's.

Most of the book explores Estrada's subsequent life in exile in Los Angeles, where he was watched and interrogated by the FBI for suspicions of violating the Neutrality Act. Estrada studied civil engineering at UCLA and, for some time, managed to convince FBI agents that he was living a passive life as a student. During this time, however, he was secretly rounding up followers and making deals with local business owners to provide him with planes, trucks, guns, and ammunition. The later chapters of the book discuss the FBI's capture of Estrada and his followers and the trial that found him and twelve members of his senior staff guilty of violating the Neutrality Act. The convicted plotters received over a year in federal prison at McNeil's Island, southwest of Tacoma, Washington. The general was released in 1928 after a year and nine months of incarceration and resettled in Los Angeles, where he resumed his civil engineering studies at UCLA.

Incorporating a variety of sources, including FBI and court documents, Mills tells an extremely detailed story that would be a welcome addition to college classes on US-Mexico relations while also entertaining casual readers of history. The book also makes a valuable contribution to the historiographies of US immigration, refugee resettlement, and foreign policy. While the Neutrality Act ended in the 1940s, scholars can still ask why the US government insisted on stopping Mexican

refugees and exiles from invading Mexico in the 1920s but, in the 1960s, supported the counterrevolutionary actions of anti-communist Cuban refugees and exiles in Florida.

A few critiques of Mills's book are warranted. At times, the author's lack of specificity in periodization can leave the reader unable to follow the order of events. In addition, there are instances in which Mills proposes unprovable counterfactuals. For example, recounting the trial against Estrada and his followers in Chapter 6, Mills concludes that had the exiled general been successful, he would have had immediate access to extreme wealth and the Mexican presidency. Because there is no way to prove such assumptions, they add very little value to the story.

Nonetheless, *The Estrada Plot* is a well-written book that tells a history that both scholars and casual readers of history will enjoy.

STEALING HOME: LOS ANGELES, THE DODGERS, AND THE LIVES CAUGHT IN BETWEEN. BY ERIC NUSBAUM. NEW YORK: PUBLICAFFAIRS/HACHETTE BOOK GROUP, 2020. ILLUSTRATION, NOTES, AND INDEX. XI + 331 PP. $29.00 CLOTH. $17.99 PAPER. $11.99 E-BOOK.

Reviewed by Robert Chung, Undergraduate Student, Department of History, University of California, San Diego.

While many hold the iconic landmark of Dodger Stadium in high esteem, the history of Chavez Ravine—the site on which it was built—complicates that reverence. In *Stealing Home*, Eric Nusbaum tells the story of the late-1950s displacement of the Mexican American communities of Palo Verde, La Loma, and Bishop in Chavez Ravine to make way for the stadium's construction. Although the book focuses on these specific communities, Nusbaum shows that this story was part of a pattern of forced displacement of Mexican Americans in Los Angeles. He paints Dodger Stadium as "the source of pain to so many people" (p. 6), given the loss of livelihoods of people who already had so little to begin with.

Nusbaum's ability to weave together the narratives of working-class Mexican Americans and those of corporate leaders is critical to the book's portrayal of Los Angeles—a city whose growth was often based on injustices committed by capitalists who placed their own interests over those of marginalized communities. The pursuit of profit by figures such as Dodgers owner Walter O'Malley and *Los Angeles Times* publisher Norman Chandler fueled the forced eviction of Mexican American families from their homes.

The book also explores how the intertwining of the US economy and Americans' perceptions of communities of color created a breeding ground for the discrimination that Mexican Americans faced in their daily lives. Such experiences reflected White Americans' Cold War-era fears that certain people (sometimes defined along racial lines) threatened the Unites States' national security and its stability as a world power. The book's depiction of constant paranoia and social tension highlights the values and beliefs that many Americans once held and, to a certain extent, continue to hold.

Nusbaum thoroughly details the hardships faced by Mexican American communities in Los Angeles. In response to these hardships, Mexican Americans formed coalitions to "defend their rights" and "make their voices heard" during an era in which their rights were continually denied and their perspectives were ignored (p. 159). The battles they waged against the American legal system and political institutions are a testament to the resilience of families within a tension-filled Los Angeles.

The stories in *Stealing Home* force us to confront America's history with a more critical lens and recognize past injustices. Although Dodger Stadium may represent for some a sports paradise and a second home of sorts, it also came as a result of the destruction of homes and livelihoods for the communities of Palo Verde, La Loma, and Bishop in Chavez Ravine. Nusbaum paints an intriguing picture of the history behind "Blue Heaven on Earth" and reminds readers that the ballpark came at the expense of Angelenos and Angelenas whose stories we must not forget.

INTRODUCTION TO FIRE IN CALIFORNIA, 2ND ED. BY DAVID CARLE. OAKLAND: UNIVERSITY OF CALIFORNIA PRESS, 2021. ILLUSTRATIONS, MAPS, BIBLIOGRAPHY, AND INDEX. XX + 223 PP. $85.00 CLOTH. $24.95 PAPER. $24.95 E-BOOK.
Reviewed by Russell Peck, PhD, University of California, San Diego.

In the last decade, wildfires in California have become more extreme in terms of scale, property destruction, and loss of human life. Across the state—from the parched forests of the Sierra Nevada to the Santa Ana wind-blown chaparral shrublands—Californians have had increasingly direct experiences with catastrophic fires. In fact, five of the six largest fires in California's history happened in 2020 alone (p. 130). In the vicinity of San Diego, burn scars from the deadly Cedar Fire of 2003 and other recent blazes are visible reminders of the lasting destruction wrought by wildfires. The release of a new edition of David Carle's *Introduction to Fire in California*, first published in 2008, is therefore timely. The book offers an important contribution to the historical literature on wildfires and to ongoing conversations about how to deal with them in an era of extreme drought and climate change.

Introduction to Fire in California begins by explaining the basic elements of fire and how wind, weather, topography, and humans can trigger blazes and influence fire behavior. Carle provides overviews of California's most common vegetation types—including chaparral and sagebrush shrublands, conifer forests, oak woodlands, and grasslands—and details how fires have interacted with

and shaped these ecoregions. Fire, as part of a natural and regular ecological process, has long transformed California's environment, and many species of plants and animals have adapted to it. Giant sequoias and closed-cone pines are notably dependent on fire for their survival and reproduction. However, Carle argues in an updated section that "global climate change is magnifying the effects of weather and is now a major driving force" behind "extreme fire behavior" and deadly "megafires" in recent years (p. 107).

The book offers an informative environmental history of the changing human activities, policy decisions, and management practices that have significantly contributed to extreme wildfires in recent decades. Humans have long been a major source of fire in California. Indigenous people harnessed fire as a transforming agent for thousands of years to shape and manage landscapes for their own purposes. Indeed, the sustained and intentional application of fire to California's environment meant that some ecosystems—including mountain meadows, desert fan palm oases, and coastal prairies—"became anthropogenic types, dependent on burning by humans to persist" (p. 18). By the mid-nineteenth century, Indigenous burning activity had practically ended after decades of violent and disruptive colonization by Spanish and Euro-American settlers, who imposed different fire management practices on the landscape.

Just as the human-influenced global climate crisis has increased the intensity of wildfires, federal and state fire suppression management policies since the late nineteenth century have contributed to fire dangers by allowing forest fuels that would otherwise have burned

in natural fire cycles to build up to extreme levels. From the creation of the US Forest Service in 1905 through the latter half of the twentieth century, the official doctrine of federal and state agencies was to control and suppress wildfires as soon as they started. A system of "light burning" (now known as "prescribed" burning)—an alternative form of management that reflected established Indigenous practices and involved the intentional and strategic use of fires to control forest growth—was not officially adopted by forestry officials until the 1970s. Carle's historical overview demonstrates the consequential legacies of past policies for fire management in California and across the American West. Today prescribed burning is widely recognized as an important tool to help prevent and reduce the impacts of extreme wildfires, but effective and widespread application of the practice continues to face challenges.

Two of the book's chapters—"Burning Issues" and "Getting Ready: Life on the Edge"—focus on contemporary wildfire management strategies and how to prepare for and mitigate the effects of wildfires on human life and property, especially for those living in the wildland-urban interface. In a timely new section, Carle discusses the increased risk of utility-caused wildfires, noting that most of California's recent massive and deadly blazes were linked to sparks from electrical equipment. For instance, the Camp Fire that killed eighty-eight and destroyed the town of Paradise in 2018 was caused by a PG&E transmission line failure (p. 159). Public Safety Power Shutoffs (PSPS), recently implemented by liability-averse power companies, have been controversial attempts to avoid such fires. The establishment of a "fire-safe power

grid" will be a costly but necessary endeavor involving equipment upgrades and more proactive management of transmission corridors. As Carle concludes, "Life in California must adapt to fire. And that includes us" (p. 189).

True to its title, *Introduction to Fire in California* provides a clear and informative overview of fire and its wide-ranging influences on California's landscapes, history, and contemporary management policies. Readers interested in becoming fire-adapted Californians should check this book out.

BOOK NOTES

Boosting a New West: Pacific Coast Expositions, 1905–1916. By John C. Putman. Pullman: Washington State University Press, 2020. Illustrations, notes, bibliography, and index. ix + 306 pp. $34.95 paper. John Putman, historian and professor at San Diego State University, explores the social and cultural significance of early-twentieth-century expositions in San Diego, San Francisco, Portland, and Seattle. Focusing on marketing campaigns and vendor choices, he shows how these fairs reflected Americans' values and beliefs—including their attitudes about race, cities, and their own identities.

Edward Oliver Tilburn: Profile of a Con-Artist. By Donald K. Hartman. Buffalo: Themes & Settings in Fiction Press, 2022. Illustrations and bibliography. vi + 114 pp. $10.95 paper. Edward Oliver Tilburn was an author, a preacher, a realtor, a medicine salesman, and—perhaps most importantly—a con-artist who moved from town to town in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, swindling those who fell for his pitches. Much of his scheming took place in Southern California, including San Diego and the greater Los Angeles area. He was also an organizer for the Order of Panama, a body whose chief purpose was to assist in promoting the city of San Diego for the Panama-California Exposition of 1915. In this brief but fascinating biography, Donald K. Hartman unearths the story of this largely forgotten scammer.

From Back Alley to the Border: Criminal Abortion in California, 1920–1969. By Alicia Gutierrez-Romine. Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 2020. Illustrations, notes, bibliography, and index. xx. + 246 pp. $55.00 cloth. $55.00 e-book. Historian Alicia Gutierrez-Romine examines illegal abortion in California from the 1920s to the 1960s, showing how providers of this medical service exposed the faults of the state's anti-abortion statute. In the 1930s, law enforcement targeted the Pacific Coast Abortion Ring—a large and relatively safe syndicate. This forced women seeking to terminate their pregnancies to cross the US-Mexico border, leading to Tijuana's "abortion tourism" in the early 1950s. The practice of abortion for American women south of the border ultimately compelled the California Supreme Court to void the state's anti-abortion statute, four years before the US Supreme Court's landmark ruling in Roe v. Wade.

The Great Quake Debate: The Crusader, The Skeptic, and the Rise of Modern Seismology. By Susan Hough. Seattle: University of Washington Press, 2020. Illustrations, notes, bibliography, and index. x + 319 pp. $29.95 cloth. $19.95 paper. This history covers the biographies of geologist Baily Willis and scientist Robert T. Hill, recounting the development of seismology in early-twentieth-century California. Seismologist and author Susan Hough shows that the earthquakes in Santa Barbara (1925) and Long Beach (1933) marked turning points for scientific knowledge of the subject and the development of earthquake safety as a mainstream idea in California and the United States.

Postcards from the Baja California Border: Portraying Townscapes and Place, 1900–1950s. By Daniel Arreola. Tucson: University of Arizona Press, 2021. Illustrations, notes, bibliography, and index. xiii + 365 pp. $50.00 cloth. $50.00 e-book. Geographer Daniel Arreola is reputed to have the largest known collection of postcards from Mexico's northern border states. He has used these as the primary sources for his books about the history of landscapes in the Mexican states of Sonora and Chihuahua and along the Rio Bravo. In this fourth and latest of his postcard histories, Arreola shows the evolution of the Baja California towns of Tijuana, Mexicali, Tecate, and Algodones during the first half of the twentieth century.

The US-Mexico Border Today: Conflict and Cooperation in Historical Perspective, 4th ed. By Paul Ganster and Kimberly Collins. London: Rowman & Littlefield, 2021. Illustrations, notes, bibliography, and index. xxx + 334 pp. $99.00 cloth. $34.00 paper. $32.00 e-book. This is the fourth and latest edition of what is perhaps the most comprehensive survey of the social and economic histories of the binational urban areas along the US-Mexico border, from San Diego-Tijuana to Brownsville-Matamoros. Covering the period from the 1880s through the 2010s, this updated volume also includes an analysis of such contemporary issues as industrialization, manufacturing, trade, urbanization, environmental crisis, drug trafficking, the United States-Mexico-Canada Agreement, the COVID-19 pandemic, and more.

SAN DIEGO HISTORY CENTER
WWW.SANDIEGOHISTORY.ORG
1649 EL PRADO, SUITE 3, SAN DIEGO, CA 92101
619.232.6203 | DEVELOPMENT@SANDIEGOHISTORY.ORG