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INSIDE: SAN DIEGO'S CHINESE MISSION SCHOOLS
MEMORY WARS OR CULTURE WARS? | SAN DIEGO WELCOMES A SOVEREIGN

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BACK COVER: Congregational Mission at 645 First Avenue, 1917. Margaret Fenton is included. © SDHC #80_1501.

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THE AH QUIN FAMILY AND THE RISE AND FALL OF SAN DIEGO'S CHINESE MISSION SCHOOLS, 1870–1946[1]

SUSIE LAN CASSEL

The well-known history of Catholic missions in California is taught to schoolchildren across the state, but few people know that 100 years after the Franciscans arrived in San Diego in 1769, Protestants followed in their footsteps and set up mission schools for Chinese immigrants who were living in California.[2] This case study of the development of San Diego's Chinese mission schools reflects the indefatigable efforts of these evangelists, including the collaboration, competition, diversification, and disappointment that was typical of the Chinese mission school movement.

Furthermore, an examination of the Chinese mission school movement in San Diego is particularly warranted due to the existence of a rare primary source document written by the patriarch of a local Chinese family that attended these mission schools. Before his arrival in San Diego, Ah Quin was converted to Christianity in the Presbyterian Chinese Mission School in San Francisco; he also worked for a time in the Congregational/Baptist Chinese Mission Home in Santa Barbara.[3] Between 1880

(Opposite page) Congregational Mission at 645 First Avenue, 1917. Margaret Fenton is included. © SDHC #80_1501.

Ah Quin diaries. Photo by Ronald Teague.

and his death in 1914, Ah Quin, his wife (Ah Sue), and their family of twelve children were not only associated with several mission schools, but their presence in San Diego likely shaped the course of development of Chinese mission schools in this city. To our benefit, Ah Quin left behind an eleven-volume diary that tells of his family's experiences with the Protestant church. His diary, when considered in conjunction with other primary sources, helps us to understand—through Chinese eyes—the strategic diversification, bustling success, and crushing disappointment of a local Christian evangelical enterprise.

The Chinese mission school movement began decades earlier when Protestant missionaries were given unusual permission to officially enter China as part of the "unequal treaties" that ended the Opium Wars in the mid-nineteenth century.[4] Protestant missionaries were undoubtedly energized by the prospect of spreading Christianity across the globe, but their real-world experiences in China proved sobering. There were few conversions and evangelists were often met with personal violence. Thus, missionaries turned their attentions to Chinese who had already made the voyage to America. In the long run, Protestants believed that Chinese who converted would return to China and faithfully share the good news, helping to turn the world towards Christianity. To realize this vision, Protestants organized a dynamic and multifaceted evangelical system across the American West.[5] Central to their success was what was called the Chinese mission school.

The main goal of Chinese mission schools was to convert Chinese to Christianity through the use of free English-language classes. Pastors—who were considered missionaries—were assigned to cities that had large populations of Chinese, such as San Francisco and Los Angeles, and they set up local churches. To recruit members, they organized large numbers of English-language classes throughout the surrounding communities. These classes were taught by church volunteers who relied on the help of paid, Christian-converted Chinese teachers or assistants. Chinese laborers were attracted to these English-language classes because they offered useful job skills and tuition was free. Sometimes the curriculum in these schools expanded to include subjects like math,

geography, and history. Class sizes usually remained small, between six and twenty students, and Protestants approached them with deftness and flexibility: that is, they immediately built or relocated classes as interest arose or declined. This meant that the schools were often ephemeral, rising and falling faster than official records, such as city directories, could follow.

Rev. William Pond, Superintendent of the California Congregational Missionary Association, was the most prolific builder of Chinese mission schools. He made clear that "We bait the Gospel hook with the English alphabet."[6] He went on to explain "...that the object of these schools is not the training of the intellect but the *salvation* of the soul."[7] The main targets for these classes were adult male laborers because they were by far the largest Chinese demographic group, but Chinese missions sometimes also served the needs of Chinese women and children. Occasionally, the schools offered dormitories or living quarters, most famously for Chinese women rescued from forced prostitution.[8] Sometimes missions also offered house visits, medical services, or political support to the Chinese community.[9] Still, they were always affiliated with a local Protestant church or chapel, and they were considered a first step in Biblical and Christian instruction. Depending on the interest, these English-language lessons were offered as many as six nights per week, and classes often opened and closed with Biblical readings or hymns. On weekends, students were encouraged to attend a Sunday school class that more directly focused on Christian teachings.

The scope of the Chinese mission school movement was grand: four Protestant denominations (Presbyterian,

First (Presbyterian) Chinese Mission School House, 1873.
© SDHC #OP 2906.

Baptist, Methodist Episcopalian, and Congregationalist) aggressively set up hundreds of mission schools attended by an estimated 5,000 Chinese all over California and the West in the second half of the nineteenth century.[10] Large Chinatowns, like those in San Francisco, Oakland, and Los Angeles, each hosted a handful of sectarian Chinese mission schools that alternated between cooperation and competition. It comes as a surprise, though, that even small Chinatowns—like the one in San Diego (always under 1,000 people)—also accommodated *five separate Chinese mission schools* by the end of the nineteenth century.[11]

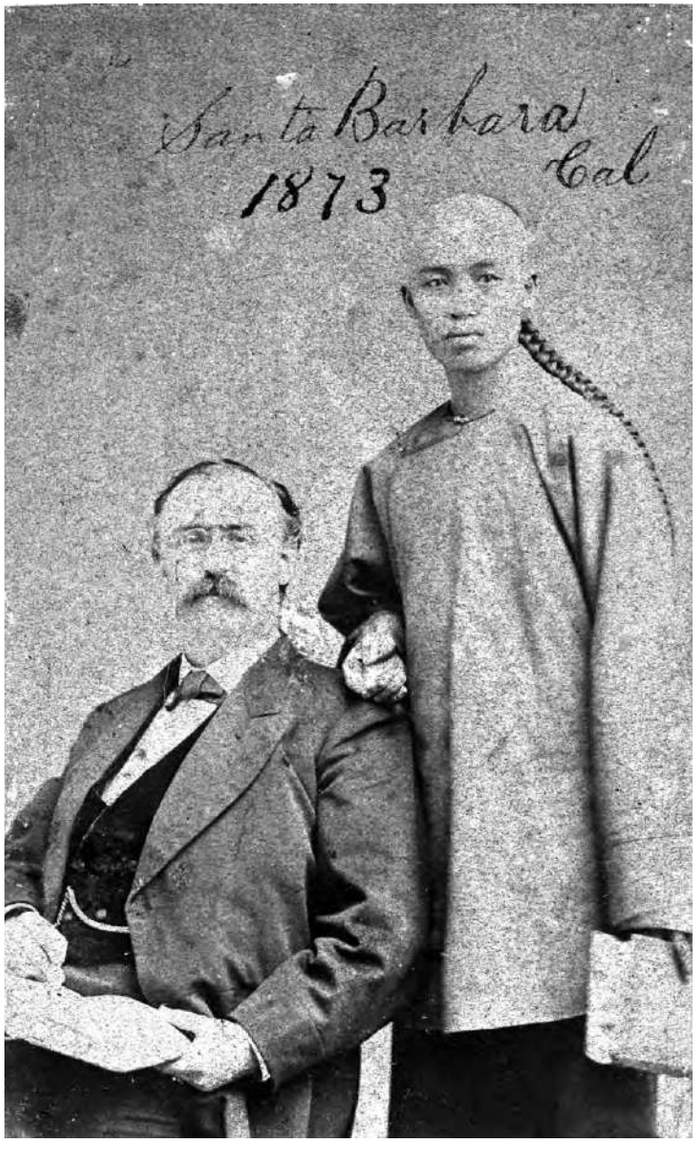
The early history of Chinese mission schools in San Diego is practically undocumented. What we know is that in 1870, about seventy Chinese fishermen, cooks, and house servants lived in San Diego's New Town.[12] There were four Protestant groups in proximity, of which the Presbyterians were the largest (though they were only half the size of the local Catholic congregation).[13] Coincidentally, the First Presbyterian Church grounds were only one mile away from Chinatown, and history was with the Presbyterians: they were the first Protestant denomination to set up missionizing efforts in China, and they were also the first to erect a Chinese mission school in San Francisco's historic Chinatown.[14] On May 1, 1870, they took the lead in San Diego too, and organized the first "pioneer Chinese school of Southern California."[15] There were seven pupils at this Sunday "school for the instruction of Chinese [students]."[16] Though local historian Elizabeth MacPhail claims that this school was "for a few Chinese children in 1870," it is far more likely that adult Chinese men attended these classes, given Protestant goals and immigrant demographics at the time.[17] Were it not for Ah Quin's diary, most of the rest of the early history of Chinese mission schools in San Diego would remain untold.

Before moving to San Diego permanently in 1880, Ah Quin visited in 1878 and kept a daily record of his activities.[18] It was a time when Ah Quin was between jobs, and this month-long visit suggested that he was considering moving to San Diego (though he ended up relocating to San Francisco, instead). He was accompanied by a certain Ah Tom, and he apparently stayed in a friend's laundry house where he helped to do the wash and hang up the clothes

Ah Quin family, 1896. © SDHC #OP354.

each day. In the evenings, we learn from the diary that Ah Quin unexpectedly met with a plethora of Americans, all of whom were leaders in the local Protestant community. What is most striking about Ah Quin's visit to San Diego is his exhaustive church involvement.

Preceding his San Diego visit, Ah Quin had just left his job as a cook for coal miners in Alaska, and he was living in the Chinese mission home in Santa Barbara that he had helped to manage a few years before. His diary tells us that on September 30, 1878, after a two-day steamship journey, he stepped off the ship in San Diego and walked directly to Chinatown where he had breakfast with friends and got a quick shave.[19] After a short rest, Ah Quin curiously sought out Episcopal Rev. H. J. Camp (Camp's predecessor had moved to Santa Barbara and had met with Ah Quin a few days earlier, presumably suggesting this meeting).[20] It was a pivotal encounter: Camp took Ah Quin and Ah Tom to meet pioneers in the Christian



Ah Quin and probably "Judge" Charles Huse in Santa Barbara, 1873.
© SDHC #79-346-1.

community, so that within a week of their arrival in San Diego, they had been personally introduced to the heads of four Protestant denominations.[21] Moreover, it seems as though Ah Quin and Ah Tom took pains on this monthlong trip to split their time equitably among the churches whose leaders they had just met. Over the course of the three Sundays following their arrival, they attended services at the Baptist, Presbyterian, and Episcopal churches in turn. In the evenings, they visited the homes of missionaries where the English language classes that were associated with Chinese mission schools were taught.[22] For example, Ah Quin tells us on October 4 that he joined up to thirteen "boys" and "go to Mr [George] Marston house for school 1 hour."[23]

Ah Quin and Ah Tom's itinerary suggests that local Protestant denominations had worked together to stagger the times when they offered classes for Chinese laborers, thereby maximizing each school's attendance.[24] On a typical school evening, Ah Quin says "...the sup[per] is at 5: and with boys go to Mr. Gate house for school and his wife teach us and his daugter, too, and sang 3 hyms dismised [sic]at 9:30."[25]

Not only did Ah Quin and Ah Tom attend Sunday services and evening classes, but Ah Quin immersed himself in a variety of related activities during this month in San Diego. At Rev. Gates' invitation, Ah Quin talked to the Baptist Church's prayer meeting "about our Chinese mission in Santa Barbara." He seemed to be so elated by his experiences that he wrote to Mrs. Stephenson, his mission school teacher in Santa Barbara,[26] presumably to share the news about his church activities in San Diego.[27] Furthermore, as a diligent student, he made the effort to

copy into his diary the exact verses from the Bible that he read every night (and those he read in the mornings and afternoons, too). On Monday, October 7, 1878 he wrote, "get up at 7:15. read the 8: Acts. the 17 [Acts 8:17]." After playing checkers for an hour, he "read the St. Mat. the 4: the 10," and in the evening before bed he "read the St. Mat. 5: the 29."[28] Perhaps he had stepped up his study in preparation for being called upon to teach the lesson that day, as happened on October 24, and in at least four of the ten or eleven Chinese mission school classes he attended. He wrote, "...supper at 6: and with 8 boys go to Mrs. Gates house for school because she want me to preach the word to our boys, and Mrs. Marston is there, and they please."[29]

Ah Quin's saturation in Protestant church activities, along with his unemployed status, suggest that he may have come to San Diego, in part, to seek formal church employment as a Chinese assistant or "native teacher." However, it is not clear who was interviewing whom. Was Ah Quin simply trying out the role of a mission school teacher, or helper, to see whether this was a job that he would like to pursue? Or was he making himself available in the event that God would call him to service?[30] Or were his efforts deliberate, intended as an audition for which he hoped to receive a job offer, though no such position was apparently extended?

We don't know Ah Quin's motivations while in San Diego, but we can be sure that the Protestants' dedication to working with Chinese during this time of anti-Chinese sentiment could not have been easy. Chinese were scapegoated for the economic downturn in the 1870s and widely stereotyped as "filthy" and "immoral" (such

stereotyping continues even today[31]). Locally, there was an attempt to raze San Diego's Chinatown in 1876 and an anti-Chinese league developed in 1885: "No Chinese" notices regularly appeared in the newspapers.[32] Those few Americans who sympathized with Chinese were publicly scorned and ridiculed: an effigy of a popular missionary in San Francisco was burned at the stake, and the Santa Rosa Chinese Mission in Northern California was burned to the ground.[33] Yet Protestants were so dedicated to their work that they were willing to bring these maligned immigrant male laborers—who were unfairly characterized as a "yellow peril"—into their private homes. It made many Americans uncomfortable, especially because missionaries enlisted their wives and daughters to teach English-language classes in an effort to Christianize and thereby "civilize" the Chinese.[34]

Around the peak of the local Chinese mission school movement, a story reprinted in the *San Diego Union* illustrated this widescale sense of threat when it portrayed Chinese students in a mission school class as "barbarian" while the white Victorian teachers were depicted in exaggerated, almost virginal fashion. Entitled "John and his Teacher: Good Chinamen and Pretty Girls at Sunday School," this anti-Chinese article described how the "Chinamen" "have an eye for beauty. . . .They like pretty girls and won't pay much attention to any others." The classroom scene, the article suggested, could be disturbing:

> The Chinaman's pigtail, rudely wound about the back of his head, apparently distorting its shape, often brushes against the flowers and feathers of that dream which the teacher calls her best hat. The most curious of all contrast is when the pretty features

> of the American girl, her peachy skin, eager, winning smile, and laughing, bright eyes, approach close to the yellow, wrinkled face, impassive gaze, almond eyes, and distorted grin of the Chinaman.[35]

The writer claims that Chinese students "don't like male teachers," emphasizing the potential threat to Victorian womanhood.[36] What is made clear to the scrutinizing reader is that the effectiveness of a Chinese mission school network can be seen not only through the eyes of its supporters, but also through the protests of its detractors. The fact that such a xenophobic depiction was published precisely at a time of substantial growth suggests both the threat—and promise—that Chinese missionizing in San Diego embodied.

The risks and efforts of Protestant teachers were not lost on Chinese students. Before he returned to Santa Barbara, Ah Quin visited with each teacher and leader he met that month and gave them his hallmark gift: Biblical scripture that he wrote in beautiful calligraphy and translated into both English and Chinese. He recorded on October 8, "go with Ah Tom to Mrs. O.W. Gates house 1 hour and give one scripture English and chinese word to them."[37]

In sum, the Chinese mission school movement in San Diego began in 1870—almost exactly 100 years after the Franciscans'—with a Presbyterian Sunday school class. The Baptists soon joined the Presbyterians in offering free English-language classes in the living rooms of Protestant leaders' homes. Ah Quin's personal experience of being ushered around to meet in-person with the heads of four Protestant churches suggests a warm affiliation among the denominations in the interest of their mutual goals.

In addition, Ah Quin and Ah Tom's ability to attend each organization's Chinese classes on different nights of the week reaffirms that a productive Christian culture was in place. By 1878, the Protestants had already formed in San Diego an energetic, cooperative, interdenominational network of early Chinese mission schools.

It bears mention that the growth and then decline of Chinese mission schools in San Diego naturally followed the boom-and-bust cycle of the city of San Diego, and both were based on the rise and fall of the California Southern Railroad. When the railroad finally linked San Diego, thru San Bernardino and present-day Barstow, to the East Coast in 1885, the population of San Diego grew by 312% in just one year.[38] According to William Smythe, an early twentieth-century San Diego resident and historian, the county population went from about 5,000 to its nineteenth-century zenith of 31,000 people.[39] The Chinese population grew, too: a local census in 1888 counted 909 Chinese, but the newspaper reported that as many as 2,500 Chinese were in the area at the height of the boom.[40] Chinatown accordingly expanded to include five Chinese stores and seventeen Chinese laundries.[41] More Protestant evangelists arrived, too. This local population growth took place in spite of a hostile social and legal environment. Congress had in 1882 passed the Chinese Exclusion Act, prohibiting the immigration of Chinese laborers. The overwhelming majority of Chinese migrants prior to passage of this law were men, and this demographic imbalance combined with anti-miscegenation statutes made family formation exceedingly difficult.

After fifteen years of offering "living-room" Chinese schools, San Diego's Chinese mission school movement

entered its next phase of development. Thanks to Congregational missionary Rev. William Pond, who was credited with building forty-nine Chinese mission schools in California during his fifty-year career, a formal Chinese mission school with a dedicated rental space, teacher, and schedule was formed in 1885.[42] It turns out that this much-admired church leader had been keeping an eye on San Diego, and he might have been inspired to build this Chinese mission school in San Diego in part because he knew Ah Quin had relocated there.

In a speech published in *American Missionary* magazine, Pond revealed that "A pleasant feature of the work at San Diego is the interest in it evinced by some of the Christian people there." He went on to name "Two Christian Chinese [who] had gone to reside at San Diego before our Mission was established."[43] Pond explained that one of these men, Quon Neuey, endured persecution at the hands of his "uncles" in San Francisco and was consequently forced to move to San Diego; his relatives believed that relocating would compel Quon Neuey to leave Christianity behind. In his retelling, Pond celebrated Quon Neuey's Christian perseverance and rejoiced in what would become his steadfast service as a volunteer to the San Diego Chinese Mission.[44] Quon Neuey's dedication also reflected well upon Pond's faith that these "Two Christian Chinese" would help to bring the San Diego Chinese Mission School to fruition.

Who was the second Chinese Christian in Pond's story of inspiration? Notably, this second person has been overlooked by historians.[45] Pond only says that this man was "converted in connection with our work in Santa Barbara."[46] Could this second man have been Ah Quin?

It is certainly possible. After all, Pond also founded the Chinese mission home in Santa Barbara that Ah Quin managed from 1874–1877, and Pond is likely the one who selected Ah Quin to work there. Since Pond made it a point to visit all the mission homes he established on an annual basis, he certainly knew when Ah Quin left Santa Barbara; he likely also knew that Ah Quin had relocated to San Diego. Second, the diary confirms that Ah Quin thought well of Pond, too, since Ah Quin went to visit this famous preacher at least three different times when both were in San Francisco.[47] Third, Pond's personal address appears in Ah Quin's Diary as late as 1902 in an indication of their long-term connection.[48] Finally, Ah Quin had written a letter in 1881 to one of Pond's colleagues, Rev. Loomis of the Presbyterian Chinese mission school in San Francisco, requesting that Loomis build a Chinese mission school in San Diego. Ah Quin wrote, "I want to ask you about to open the Chinese mission school for San Diego," and he went on to explain that "We are enough for boys and more to come."[49] Ah Quin's request for a Chinese mission school in his new hometown may have reached Pond's ears, but it would take a few years to find a path forward.

Perhaps the biggest problem Pond faced when he wanted to build a new Chinese mission school is that his Congregational Church had not yet established a sanctuary, or even a chapel, in San Diego.[50] Where would a Congregational Chinese mission school meet? For all one knows, Ah Quin's appeal to Loomis may have opened the door to collaboration with the Presbyterians. Pond was well aware that Presbyterian and Congregationalist missionaries had worked together

Chinese Mission Home at 645 First Avenue, 1914. © SDHC #88_16922.

since the early nineteenth century, and he (and perhaps George Marston, a San Diego leader who was affiliated with both churches) convinced the Presbyterians in San Diego to allow their church grounds to be used for Chinese mission school meetings. In exchange, "the converts to the mission [were] baptized and received into the membership" of the Presbyterian Church.[51] Thus the Chinese mission schools in San Diego moved out of missionaries' living rooms and into their own dedicated space.

This joint Congregational/Presbyterian Chinese mission school began in January 1885 in rented rooms and by July they had built a fifty-by-twenty-five-foot structure on a lot adjacent to the Presbyterian Church at the corner of Eighth and D Streets (now Broadway).[52] Pond hired Mrs. M. A. McKenzie[53] to teach the school six nights per week, with Quon Neuey as the native helper. George Marston volunteered to be the "local director," and when

Mrs. McKenzie was unavailable, he even taught English-language classes in a display of the elite level of community support the Chinese mission school enjoyed.[54]

Pond anticipated a long life for this new entity, as signaled by his invitation to the public to "the first annual meeting" of this landmark Chinese mission school.[55] The American Missionary Association's annual report says that by August 1885 there were an impressive forty-five students enrolled, although only eleven, on average, attended each evening.[56] Within two years, according to church records, the enrollment had more than doubled to 105 (however, only around twenty people attended regularly). Students ranged in age from twelve to twenty-five years old and most were cooks or house servants.[57] This first formal Chinese mission school was seemingly off to a good start.

Unfortunately, their plans were disrupted when the Presbyterian Church embarked upon its own on-site building campaign in 1887.[58] In hindsight, 1887 turned out to be the "year of church building" in early San Diego, a development linked to the boom of the 1880s and the arrival of thousands of new residents. Some eight different religious groups erected their first sanctuaries that year, most of them in downtown.[59] With so much commotion, the newly formed Chinese mission school had few places to move.[60] Pond was also concerned that the ten-block distance to Chinatown from both the Presbyterian and Congregational Churches was detrimental. As he looked towards the future, he seems to have reasoned that a mission *home* with inexpensive dorm rooms available for rent to single, Chinese men might be an attractive recruitment vehicle. He therefore began to dream about

expanding the Chinese mission *school* into a Chinese mission *home*. As the newspaper explained, "if the [Chinese] school should be moved, sleeping rooms will be built on for Christianized Chinese, as their association with their unconverted countrymen is not conducive to morality and steadfastness in the faith."[61] In addition to soliciting donations from the typical Congregational supporters, in order to gauge interest for this project among the Chinese, Pond took an unusual step and directly asked local Chinese to contribute to a building fund. Some Congregationalists were pleasantly surprised to see that the Chinese donated almost as much as the Americans.[62] The next year, Pond asked for funds to furnish the mission house and the annual report shows that Ah Quin generously contributed twenty dollars, the most of any Chinese and more than the majority of Americans.[63] Practicing what he preached, Pond used his personal funds to purchase a lot just three blocks from Chinatown at 631 First Avenue, and the fifty-by-twenty-five-foot Chinese Mission building that was erected next to the Presbyterian Church was physically moved to First Avenue, but it would not stay on First Avenue for long.[64] Given the proximity to Chinatown and the Stingaree, concern arose for the safety of the female teachers, so the Mission would soon move across town once again.

In January 1888 George Marston, Chinese mission director and San Diego philanthropist, donated land on Thirteenth Avenue near F Street, and the Chinese mission building was physically moved once again.[65] At this location the Congregational Church fulfilled its dream to expand its Chinese mission *school* into a Chinese mission *home*. In an article that reflected American assumptions about the (lack of) Chinese cleanliness, the *San Diego Union* observed that the mission home "consists of seven very neat bedrooms that are rented at $1 a month to Chinese boys who are out of employment. All the work around the home and school is done by the boys and the apartments are kept as neat and clean as the rooms of many white residences."[66]

This new Chinese school and home adjoined a church, but it was not the Congregational Church, which was located four blocks away on Ninth and F Streets; it was also not the Presbyterian Church. Instead, it was apparently a nondenominational institution, given its generic "Christian Church" listing in the San Diego City Directories.[67] A fundraiser this Christian Church hosted in 1895 "for the benefit of the Chinese Mission" provocatively suggests that, again, the Chinese mission school attracted mutual interest in—and collaboration with—yet another local Protestant church.[68]

More important historically, this new Chinese mission school and home on Thirteenth Street signaled a clear split from the Presbyterians. The Congregationalists would now pursue Chinese ministry in a residential direction. The Congregationalists hired a new superintendent, Miss M. M. Elliott, and Chin Toy took over as the native helper. A year later, the average attendance remained at a disappointing twenty students, suggesting that the dormitory expansion did not produce the desired enrollment growth.[69] Just as Pond had feared, the Chinese cooks, house servants, merchants, and other laborers may have considered the facility too far from Chinatown. This Congregationalist Chinese Mission would need to relocate again if it wanted to survive.

Southward view of Main Street in Chinatown from the intersection of Third Avenue and I Street (later renamed Island Street), circa 1912. The Presbyterian Chinese Mission School for Children was held in a rented house here, very close to the Ah Quin family residence. © SDHC #80_3731.

Separately, in 1889, the Presbyterians established their own Chinese mission school on the grounds of their main church. California Mission leader Rev. Ira Condit graciously acknowledged that *their* Chinese mission was founded with help from "the American Church."[70] Condit later rejoiced that in eleven years, it "has been the means of bringing thirty-seven Chinese into the church, and we trust into the kingdom of Christ."[71] The Presbyterians retained Mrs. McKenzie, the teacher from the joint Chinese mission school with the Congregationalists, as their own teacher.

Because San Diego's Chinatown was always small, it appears that the Presbyterians felt that they would also have to diversify to remain solvent. If the Congregationalists built a mission home and focused their efforts on male residential laborers, then the Presbyterians decided

to open a school for Chinese children and to focus on that rare demographic of nineteenth-century America: the Chinese family. According to the City Directory, this children's school met at "3d between I and J" in the very heart of Chinatown. Classes were held daily at ten o'clock in the morning, and Miss J. A. Johnson was the teacher.[72]

It is amazing to see that Ah Quin's diary recounts the day in 1889 when the Presbyterian School for Chinese Children opened. In fact, Ah Quin and Ah Sue brought two of their four young children to attend its first class. On Tuesday, July 16, 1889, this proud father wrote: "...to day mine George and Mami first go to Miss Johnston School. just at fourth St between I and J St San Diego Cal."[73] According to the diary, four-year-old George Quin and three-year-old Mamie Quin joined the students, while one-year-old Thomas stayed home with Ah Sue. Six-year-old Annie, the oldest Quin daughter, also attended the school, although it is not clear why she didn't accompany the children this morning.[74] There were six pupils in the school this year, which means that the Quin children made up *half* of the school's enrollment. Over the next three years, the school's age limits would expand so that all six Quin children, ages one to nine, would be attending classes there by 1892.

This *private* school was very attractive for the Quins and other Chinese families because California laws allowed local districts to operate segregated schools. In areas where most Americans objected to integration, districts were authorized to place Chinese students into "schools for colored." The harassment and vitriol leading up to these decisions were so intimidating that many Chinese children did not attend any type of school at all.[75]

Ah Quin had been following the developments of the 1885 Mamie Tape Supreme Court case where a Chinese student sued for the right to attend public schools (he even named his next daughter Mamie, perhaps in admiration). Due to the national attention on this issue, were the Presbyterians inspired to expand their services in the direction of a children's school due in part to the laws that discriminated against Chinese children? To what degree were they influenced or inspired by the growing size of the local Quin household? Given that the Presbyterian School for Chinese Children was located within a block of the Quin homestead,[76] and their student population was largely composed of Quin children, it seems likely that they customized their efforts to some degree to support the Quins, the largest Chinese family in San Diego.

As a devoted father and a Presbyterian, Ah Quin reciprocated by offering his involvement: he walked his children to school, taught or translated in their classroom, and often napped on the premises during the day (perhaps in a sign of his protection and support). For their part, the children received English-language lessons—as well as exposure to American culture and people—for free. They were even taken on field trips and invited to share in American holiday celebrations, such as Thanksgiving and Christmas. On December 24, 1891, for instance, Ah Quin wrote, "...this morning my Wife and all the Childrens and Wong Hin 旺喜 go J and 4th St. School house have Christmas. Dr. Noble and Mrs Tyler in meeting they gave my Childrens presents. the Childrens very happy..."[77] The Presbyterian School for Chinese Children therefore offered its students a safe option to begin the process of assimilation. In the comfort of unusually small classes

with siblings and even parents nearby, Chinese children learned English and prepared for their eventual integration into local public schools (San Diego apparently never instituted "colored schools" for Chinese). This Presbyterian school arguably also filled its charge by helping to "civilize and Americanize" Chinese children, to use religious studies scholar Wesley Woo's words, by encouraging a culture of Christian worship and devotion within the Chinese family.[78] Regardless, Chinese in America would find that conversion, education, and adoption of American customs would not lead to their acceptance by Anglo Americans, many of whom harbored racist views that held Chinese to be incapable of assimilation.

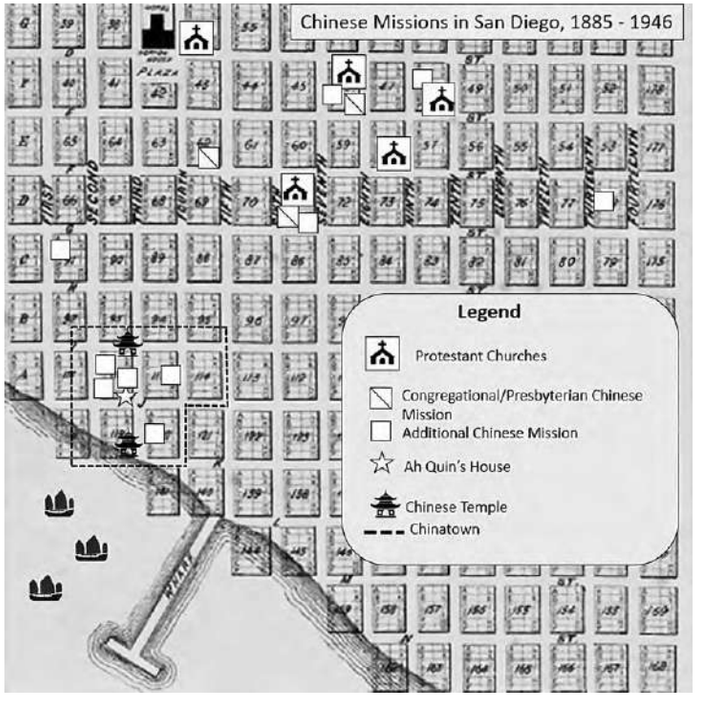
The Congregational and Presbyterian Chinese mission schools' growth and strategic diversification into a mission home and a children's school, respectively, were typical adjustments Protestants made to accommodate one another and the needs of the local Chinese population. In other cities their efforts also took the form of women's rescue homes, medical services, political advocacy, translation work, and the like. They were particularly attuned to the needs of their local constituents and, as a result, were motivated to create a variety of services for use as part of their missionizing "tool kits." In hindsight, the wide assortment of opportunities they offered reflects the intense energy and deep devotion they exerted to minister to the Chinese in America.

That said, in setting up two separate Chinese mission schools in San Diego, the Congregationalists and the Presbyterians became de facto competitors. Moreover, the development of these two separate Chinese mission schools beckoned a period of growth where at least

three more denominations would enter Chinese San Diego's spiritual marketplace. Altogether, Protestant denominations would build (and close) an astonishing *ten additiona*l Chinese mission schools over the next two decades as the various denominations jockeyed for attendance by constantly moving their locations. Many of these venues were short-lived and few appeared in the official records.

For example, during his annual pilgrimage to San Diego in 1894, Pond observed that there were now four Chinese mission schools in San Diego.[79] Only the Congregational and Presbyterian Chinese missions typically appeared in the documentary records, so Pond's insider knowledge affirms that active Chinese missions were likely lost to history. Moreover, assuming Pond was correct, his declaration that there were four simultaneous Chinese mission schools in the early 1890s would make this the height of the Chinese mission school period in San Diego. We must then ask: which two additional denominations were in service in San Diego, and where were they located?

The Baptists might have operated one of these "invisible" Chinese mission schools, since they had long expressed an interest in missionizing in San Diego. In 1878, they ran a "living room" Chinese school, as mentioned above. The Baptists also returned to San Diego in 1890 when missionary Rev. Hartwell, their superintendent of Chinese work, preached at the First Baptist Church to explore "how to evangelize the Chinese here." According to the newspaper's write-up, Hartwell "came to the city in the furtherance of his duties without knowing of the work being done among San Diego's population by the



Map by Michelle Kinzel.

Presbyterian and Congregational denominations." He then gave a sermon at Ah Quin's store, where he "stood under the awning on a table, and had all of Chinatown radiantly listening as he spoke to them in their explosive dialect." Miss Johnson, the Presbyterian Chinese children's school teacher, then escorted Hartwell "through the streets and showed him what mission efforts had already accomplished there."[80]

This visit from another Protestant minister whom Ah Quin may have become acquainted with in San Francisco seems supportive and collegial on the surface. However, the fact that a Presbyterian mission school teacher gave

Hartwell a tour of their "accomplishments," combined with the fact that a Baptist Chinese Mission does not appear afterwards in the newspapers or extant city directories, suggests that Hartwell and the Baptists did not have lasting success. Perhaps they attempted to organize a Chinese mission school, but Miss Johnson and the Presbyterian (and perhaps Congregationalist) achievements that she recounted ultimately dissuaded rather than inspired Hartwell to move forward. In any case, there is no clear evidence that the Baptists were able to sustain a Chinese mission school, but they apparently made efforts to do so over at least twelve years.

The archival record may be fuzzy about the Baptists, but the newspaper makes clear that the Methodist Episcopalians opened a Chinese mission on July 9, 1892 "on Second Street in Chinatown."[81] Just a few months later, Ah Quin tells us in his diary that they took a direct interest in his family and invited Ah Quin's children to come sing at the Methodist Episcopalian Church. Thinking it would be a brotherly gesture, Ah Quin wanted to support the request. However, word traveled back to the pastor of the Presbyterian Church. When Dr. Rev. Noble asked Ah Quin to come speak with him, Ah Quin immediately complied. Perhaps he felt a sense of urgency since his children were attending the Presbyterian children's school daily. Ah Quin reveals in his diary:

> ...so I ask Dr Noble and his wife about the childrens of mine. whatever he want the childrens go to ME church entertainment the evening or not. he and his wife no want me to let them go, because the Childrens of mine is belong our church Presbyterain. also I go see Mrs Tyler [the Children's School teacher][82]

Ah Quin informed the Methodist Episcopalian Church representative that his Presbyterian pastor frowned on the children's visit, but the former persisted: "Miss Dowing... want me very bad and ask me to let Anna and Geo to go to night." Feeling pressured, Ah Quin returned to Noble's home a second time, "but he refuse."[83] As Ah Quin's diary makes clear, he was caught between his goodwill and church rivalries; his family "belonged" to the Presbyterian Church, and visiting another church constituted a betrayal of that allegiance. Sadly, and understandably, Chinese parishioners were directly and negatively affected by the squeeze of competing evangelists.

Instead of the collaborative, interdenominational culture of Christian evangelism that had defined the early periods of Chinese mission school development, a competitive, even hostile culture of rivalry had arisen during the height of the movement. From a leadership perspective, Pond publicly lamented that the competition among denominations had grown harmful when he remarked that the "comity and courtesy which ought to be spontaneous in Christian work [was no longer] very carefully observed, but the sheep of one fold seem to be regarded as lawful prey for the Sheperds [sic] of another."[84] This tug-of-war for Chinese souls seems to have brought out the worst in even those with the best of Christian intentions.[85]

Adding insult and injury to Protestant missionaries, the Christian churches were also competing with two Chinese temples (often called "joss houses" by nineteenth-century Americans) for Chinese attention and devotion. These Cantonese temples honored ancestral deities and good-luck gods, and had long served as community meeting places for Chinese fraternal organizations. Naturally, they

were located in Chinatown: the Se Yeng Joss House was near the corner of Third and K Streets, and the Wa Hung Company Joss House was on Third Street between I and J Streets. The newspaper affirmed that Chinese men were often tempted to visit these traditional joss houses, lapsing into what the Christians considered "heathen" practices.[86]

The problem that unexpectedly arose for missionaries is that the "boom" suddenly went "bust" as all such speculative bubbles inevitably do. Almost overnight, San Diego's population shrank by more than half. By 1900, the (documented) Chinese population would also contract to only 414 residents.[87]

Christian evangelists who had ventured to San Diego with optimism were now caught between the elation that came with their new endeavors and the crushing disappointment of their meager Chinese attendance. Rather than easily succumb, they summoned their best energies and carefully strategized their next moves. The result was that missions opened, were taken over, closed, and relocated at breathtaking speed. After all, these missions were trying to survive—and thrive—in a region where the Chinese population was in decline, not only because of the collapse of the boom, but also because of the anti-Chinese statutes that were effectively propelling Chinese back to China.[88]

This era of "hostile relocation" among Chinese mission schools began in San Diego around 1900 when the Methodists apparently took over the Presbyterian Chinese Mission and erected a new Chinese mission school one block from Chinatown.[89] For the preceding decade, the Presbyterian and Congregational mission schools had

been alive but latent, at least according to the public record. These schools were no longer listed in the city directories, but they were at least minimally active, since on Chinese New Year or a Chinese school anniversary, the newspaper called attention to one or another's "odd" celebrations.[90] However, with the Methodists' presumed takeover of the long-standing Presbyterian Chinese Mission School, the Congregational Church felt that it needed to act or suffer the same consequences. Rev. Fung wrote, "Pond was afraid that the Methodists would get some of the students from the Chinese mission school because of their more convenient location."[91] In an effort to survive, Pond therefore moved the Congregational Chinese Mission School and dormitory building again, this time from Thirteenth Avenue back to First Avenue, to be closer to Chinatown.[92] The Chinese students were apparently so enthusiastic about this relocation that they helped to refit the new schoolhouse, including building a new bathroom and remodeling the kitchen.[93]

Just two years later, the Methodists moved again. In 1903 they rented a facility at 428 Third Avenue that was right in the heart of Chinatown (and across the street from Ah Quin's home).[94] Apparently, their takeover of the Presbyterian mission and their move within a block of Chinatown was not enough to stay afloat. Relocating directly into the middle of Chinatown wouldn't work, either: they would be gone within a couple of years.[95] In their place, and at the same address, would arise a new school: the Voy Ying Gong Sue Chinese Mission.[96] Did the Voy Ying Gong Sue Chinese Mission take over the Methodist location in a hostile bid? No matter: they folded after just two years, too.[97] In 1906, two mysteriously generic

"Chinese Missions" would appear in the City Directory. The first was on the same block as the First Presbyterian Church (942 Eighth Street), and the second was approximately where the Congregational Chinese Mission had been meeting "on the East side of First between G and H Streets."[98] Had the long absent Presbyterian and Congregational Chinese mission schools reemerged to find their way again into the city directories? Were they under new management or associated with new sponsors? Both would disappear by 1908, so it is hard to know. Like race cars jockeying for position, the final years of the Chinese mission school period in San Diego was marked by aggressive efforts and diminishing returns as the different denominations moved closer and closer to Chinatown, folded, opened new locations, and ultimately folded again.

Twenty-five years after Congress passed the Chinese Exclusion Act, the mere 400 Chinese who remained in San Diego were less and less interested in English-language classes and Christian evangelism. In contrast, Japanese migration to America was on the rise. Since Japanese travelers were generally young and aspired to learn English, the Protestants were excited about the prospect of transferring the missionizing strategies used for Chinese to this new group of East Asian immigrants. In a formalization of that interest, when the charter for the California Chinese Mission ended, Protestant leaders changed the name of this oversight committee to the Oriental Mission Committee in order to include the Japanese.[99] In 1909 and 1910, Chinese mission schools no longer appear in the San Diego City Directory. Instead, a sole "Japanese Mission at 527 Eighth" is listed.[100] As

promising as this may sound, the Japanese missionary enterprise was prematurely truncated by the Gentlemen's Agreement and eventually by passage of the 1924 immigration law that stopped Japanese immigration, as well as virtually all other Asian immigration, until the 1965 Immigration Act was passed. Just as with the Chinese, missionary activity among Japanese immigrants was in some ways doomed by the fact that populations were destined to remain small because of racist immigration laws.

One final point deserves mention. The Congregational Church's Chinese mission school suddenly reappeared in the San Diego City Directory from 1913–1915, suggesting that it had not stopped operating. This is confirmed in Congregational Church histories that explain that their Chinese mission school persevered because it benefitted from the closure of all the other Chinese Mission Schools.[101] By 1909, they expanded their property to include eighteen dormitories. The rooms were rented to Chinese laborers for a few dollars per month, and the income helped to pay the mortgage.[102] This financial stability apparently boosted their longevity. Almost twenty years later, they would again engage in a building campaign, and in 1927 they would build a new brick structure on the same site, also with eighteen dorm rooms.[103] Years later, the main part of this brick building would be moved to the corner of J Street and Third Avenue that marks the heart of Chinatown, where it now houses the San Diego Chinese Historical Museum.[104] By the 1920s, second-generation Chinese families were the main parishioners, and the Chinese mission school had transformed from a classroom for immigrants to a home for Chinese laborers, and finally to a self-sustaining Chinese church. In 1946, they

Congregational Chinese Mission, Easter Sunday, 1939. © SDHC #80_1507.

fulfilled their founders' goal: of the forty-nine Chinese mission schools that Pond erected, San Diego's was one of only three to achieve the ultimate goal of becoming an independent Chinese Congregationalist church (Bethany in San Francisco was a second and the Berkeley Mission was the third).[105]

The Congregational Church's historians ascribe San Diego's enduring success to its "superior organization," but it appears that Pond's and George Marston's inordinate devotion and resourcefulness were instrumental.[106] In the case of the former, Pond purchased the first mission school and home with his personal funds. Grant deeds show that he then sold this lot later the same year for three times what he had paid for it—a whopping $7,500. Pond then bought the property again six years later from the person he had sold it to for a pittance of his selling price, $175.[107] At minimum, the income must have

helped to finance the continual moving and remodeling of the Chinese mission building while the rental rooms generated positive cash flow.[108] Marston originally gifted the lot on Thirteenth Avenue; he then facilitated the buying and selling of both the First and Thirteenth Avenue properties until both were donated (again) to the church in 1903 and 1901, respectively.[109] These two individuals arguably provided the leadership and dexterity that helped the Congregational Chinese Mission to be the first to be built in San Diego and the last to remain.[110]

The idea that there was a single Chinese mission school in early San Diego, as some historians have implied, understates the complex and multi-pronged efforts of the Protestant establishment. Even in a city like San Diego where the early Chinese population never exceeded one thousand (documented), it is remarkable that at least

Chinese Mission Home at 645 First Avenue with dorm rooms visible in back, 1927. © SDHC #85_15349.

five different denominations made significant efforts to minister to local Chinese.[111] The amount of flexibility, energy, and perseverance the Protestants exerted is nothing short of impressive, but it often eludes typical documentary records. Thanks to Ah Quin's diary, we can better appreciate the vibrant Protestant network in San Diego that pulsed with both cooperation and then competition. The Chinese mission school movement in San Diego reflected the full force of Protestant proselytization efforts because they earnestly believed that Chinese immigrants would return to China and eventually help to convert the world to their faith. Pond's war metaphor speaks volumes when he asked:

> Was ever a battery better planted for shelling an enemy's fort, than our Chinese missions in California are, for sending shot, hot with Christ's love, into that stronghold of heathen wickedness and wretchedness just across our sea? Let the grand possibilities, the glad *probabilities* at this point of work be once fairly weighed, and how loud, how urgent the demand becomes! It is a *golden* opportunity.[112]

In support of these dreams of global pilgrimage, the Protestants developed Chinese Sunday Schools for worship in Cantonese, Chinese mission schools for the teaching of English to working men, Chinese mission homes where Chinese men could live among Christians, and schools for Chinese children where children as young as one could begin their assimilation journey. It was a multi-pronged, flexible enterprise that, like the itinerant nature of the immigrants they recruited, relocated often in the interest of attracting an ever-diminishing number of Chinese who were leaving the city of San Diego due to the collapsed boom and discriminatory legislation.

Still, San Diego's Congregational Chinese Mission School is a rare story of success. After reputedly inhabiting eight different locations, five of them requiring building campaigns, it perseveres today in its present incarnation as an independent and self-sustaining Chinese community church: in short, it triumphed. Ah Quin's rare personal diary helps us to understand the journey.[113]

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APPENDIX: SAN DIEGO CHINESE MISSION SCHOOLS TIMELINE

I. 1870–1884: Informal, "Living Room" Chinese Mission Schools (Presbyterian and Baptist)

Protestant pastors and volunteers began to evangelize to Chinese in San Diego by inviting these laborers into their private homes in the evenings to study the English language and Christian teachings. Presbyterians held the first known meeting in San Diego on Sunday, May 1, 1870. Soon the Baptists organized their own classes (Ah Quin tells of attending both Baptist and Presbyterian classes in 1878). These two Protestant denominations seemed to collaborate happily in the early days.

July 1873: Mrs. L. C. Gunn sought to organize a "Chinese home" through the Presbyterian Women's Organization. They apparently donated a dozen pamphlets to community members and had some interaction with Chinese children.

II. 1885–1886: Joint Congregational/Presbyterian Chinese Mission School

January 1885–May 1885: Located "in rooms in C.K. Smith's building on Sixth Street." Miss McKenzie is the teacher, Miss Noble is the assistant, and sixteen were present at the opening.

June 1885–June 1886: Located "on the second floor of Judge Luce's building, on Fifth street, near F" Street

July 1886–December 1886: A new, fifty-by-twenty-five-foot building (one story) was built on "a lot adjoining the Presbyterian Church" at Eighth and D Streets (now Broadway). Mrs. McKenzie continues as the teacher, Quon Newey is her Chinese assistant, and they meet six nights per week.

III. 1887–1946: Period of Growth, Diversification, and Decline

A. January 1887–1946: Congregational Chinese Mission School

January 1887–January 1888: Pond bought a lot (Block 91C, Horton's Addition) at 631 First Avenue near Chinatown. The fifty-by-twenty-five-foot Chinese mission building adjacent to the Presbyterian Church lot was physically moved here.

January 1888: George Marston donated a lot (Block 78C, Horton's Addition, possibly with a house) at 739 Thirteenth Avenue near F Street and moved the Chinese mission here. The building that originated next to the Presbyterian Church lot in 1886, and which was moved to 631 First Street, was apparently moved here. The Chinese mission now included a schoolroom and building with seven dormitory rentals that expanded this *school* into a Chinese mission *home*. There were twenty-three pupils ranging in age from twelve to twenty-five years old. Mrs. Noble and Mrs. James were the teachers. This is the only known denomination in early San Diego to sponsor a Chinese mission *home*.

March 1900: The Chinese mission returned to First Avenue (Block 91C, Horton's Addition) and a building from Thirteenth Avenue was physically moved to 663 First Avenue between G and H Streets to be closer to Chinatown. The Chinese students helped to refit the building, including remodeling the kitchen, windows, door, cellar, and bathroom.

1925: They offer free Chinese-language classes to the American-born children of Chinese immigrants who feared that their children were losing their cultural roots

1926: They undertook, once again, a building fund and raised $15,000 to replace the aged, wooden building. They hired Louis Gill, nephew and partner of the famous San Diego architect Irving Gill, to design the building in the California Mission Revival style and met at the Chinese Consolidated Benevolent Association during construction. The new brick building was dedicated on November 22, 1927. It had a sanctuary with an attached eighteen-room dormitory that was built on the 645 First Avenue site. Rooms were rented for a few dollars per month. After community outrage led by Dorothy Hom, Sally Wong, and Tom Hom, and several years of negotiations with the City of San Diego and interested parties, developer Charles Tyson in the early 1990s donated the main part of this building to the Chinese Historical Society of Greater San Diego and

Baja California. It was moved to the heart of old Chinatown at 404 Third Avenue, where it would later house the San Diego Chinese Historical Museum that remains open today.

1937: The church splits into two entities: one would continue a focus on Christianity and the other would take the name "The Chung Wah School"; its focus would be to continue to teach English-language classes to Chinese immigrants as per the Chinese mission school goals. The Chung Wah School will be sponsored by the Congregational Chinese Mission and the San Diego Chinese Benevolent Association. Classes would be held in a variety of locations. Eventually, in 1993, it would become the Chinese School of San Diego and is still in operation.

1946: The original Chinese mission becomes a self-sustaining "Chinese Congregational Church" with its own Constitution, thereby ending the period of Chinese mission schools.

B. 1889–1907: Presbyterian Chinese Mission School

After being held in living rooms and with the Congregationalists, an independent school is founded on the grounds of First Presbyterian Church at Eighth and D Streets (now Broadway). It was going strong in 1897 and 1898 when it hosted Chinese New Year celebrations. However, two regular teachers left in 1901, and by December 1902 the teacher was "very ill." It appears in the City Directory for the last time in 1905–1907.

1889 to circa 1892: Presbyterian Chinese Children's School located around Third Avenue between I and J Streets. The school started with six pupils, three of them Ah Quin's children. School met daily at ten o'clock in the morning.

C. 1881, 1890–1894: Baptist Chinese Mission School

January 28, 1881: After being held in living rooms in the 1870s, the newspaper recognized a "well attended Chinese Mission school, in connection with the Baptist Church" in its article celebrating Chinese New Year.

1890: Rev. Hartwell visits San Diego with intention to set up a Chinese mission school. Given the fits and starts of this mission school, when Pond tells us in 1894 that there are four Chinese mission schools in San Diego, he is probably including the Baptists' efforts (even though it does not show up in City Directories).

D. 1892, 1901–1905: Methodist Episcopal Chinese Mission School

July 9, 1892: On Second Street in Chinatown. Has fifty students.

1901: At 341 Third Avenue

1903–1905: At 428 Third between J and Island, in the middle of Chinatown and across the street from Ah Quin's house

E. 1907–1909: Voy Ying Gong Sue Chinese Mission

1907–1909: At 428 Third between J and Island. It took over the Methodist Episcopal location. The title suggests that this might have functioned as a joss house, a hybrid temple or community/fraternal society meeting place of some sort.

IV. 1946–Present: Chinese Community Church

1946: The Congregationalist Chinese Mission becomes a self-sustaining church with its own Constitution.

1950: They undergo a name change to "Chinese Community Church" to better reflect their mission

1960: With War Brides Acts that allowed more Chinese wives to immigrate, Chinese family expansions created the need for a larger facility that was no longer tied to old Chinatown. A new building campaign was undertaken, the 645 First Avenue property was sold, $31,000 was raised, and a new church was dedicated on September 11, 1960 at 1750 Forty-Seventh Street, San Diego, 92102. During construction, parishioners met at St. Paul's Episcopal Church.

2006: With growing numbers of Chinese immigrants following the 1965 Immigration Act, the church once again sought to expand, this time in the suburbs. They sold the Forty-Seventh Street property, raised $2.5 million, and dedicated their current church building on October 15, 2006 at 4998 Via Valarta, San Diego, 92124 in the suburb of Tierrasanta.

NOTES

1 For excellent feedback on an earlier version of this essay, my ardent thanks go to Michael Yee, Past-President of the San Diego Chinese Historical Society and Museum, and John LeeWong, alum of the Congregational Church's Chung Wah School in San Diego. I am particularly indebted to John for reviewing confusing references and evidence. Thanks, too, to Katy Phillips, Ronald Teague, and Natalie Fiocre from the San Diego History Center's research archive for their tremendous support, and to co-editors David Miller and Andy Strathman for helping to streamline this article. Any mistakes herein are my own.

2 Chinese Mission Schools were concentrated in California because Chinese laborers landed and largely remained in California. The Chinese mission movement followed Chinese as they moved to Oregon, Nevada, Colorado, Massachusetts, New York, etc. See Wesley S. Woo, "Protestant Work among the Chinese in the San Francisco Bay Area, 1850–1920" (PhD diss., University of Michigan, 1983), 46.

3 See my forthcoming historical biography on Ah Quin for a detailed account of their lives.

4 Though British Protestant missionary Robert Morrison was already working in China in the early 1800s, and American Protestants had followed him there, China was officially closed to missionaries until the 1842 Treaty of Nanjing that ended the First Opium War. At the time, the leading American missionary, Peter Parker, appealed directly to President Tyler and President Adams through his wife's family connections (she was a relative of Secretary of State Daniel Webster). Parker gained support for the unusual request to give missionaries official access to China, which the US successfully leveraged. Clifton Jackson Phillips, *Protestant America and the Pagan World: The First Half Century of the American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions, 1810–1860* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1969), 191–4, 202–3.

5 Again, a smattering of additional states was included, too, such as New York and Massachusetts. See Woo, "Protestant Work," 46.

6 This quote is often misattributed to Joseph Cook's *The Three Despised Races in the United States; or the Chinaman, the Indian, and the Freedman* (New York: American Missionary Association, 1878), but it appears first in Rev. W. C. Pond, "Missions Among the Chinese in America," *American Missionary*, vol. 20:12 (Dec. 1876), 307–310. See, for instance, Barbara Brown Zikmund, "Chinese Congregationalism," note 31. https://www.ucc.org/who-we-are/about/history/about-us_hidden-histories-2_chinese_congregationalism

7 Pond, "Missions among the Chinese," 308.

8 The Donaldina Cameron Occidental Mission Home for Girls in San Francisco is the best known example.

9 Presbyterian Rev. William Speer was famous for building the first Chinese Mission in San Francisco; he delivered medical treatment to Chinese and was a political advocate on their behalf. See Woo, "Protestant Work," 35–37.

10 Woo, "Protestant Work," Chapter 2. Otis O. Gibson, *The Chinese in America* (Cincinnati: Hitchcock & Walden, 1877), chart on 198–199. Zikmund, "Chinese Congregationalism," paragraph that contains note 30.

11 Only one or two missions were probably well attended at any given time, leading some historians to mistakenly discuss the Chinese Mission Schools in San Diego as a single entity. The title of MacPhail's article is a case in point: "San Diego's Chinese Mission." See also William Ellsworth Smythe, *History of San Diego, 1542–1908*, Part 6, Chapter 1: "Churches and Religious Life" (San Diego: The History Company, 1908). https://sandiegohistory.org/archives/books/smythe. These underassessments of the Chinese Mission School enterprise bely the enormous effort and dexterous organizing that the Protestant church exerted on behalf of Chinese. This article is meant, in part, as a corrective.

12 US Department of Commerce, Bureau of the Census, Manuscript Schedules, San Diego, 1870.

13 According to the first San Diego city directory, the Catholic Church had about 300 in its congregation, the Presbyterians had about 120, and the Methodists had seventy-five. *City of San Diego, California Business Directory* (San Diego: Office of the San Diego Daily Union, 1874).

14 First Presbyterian Church was organized in 1869 and built its first church in 1871 on a lot on Eighth and D Street (now Broadway). "Temples of God. Churches and Church Organizations in This City," *San Diego Union* (SDU), June 17, 1888. London-based Presbyterian

missionary Robert Morrison was the first to minister in China in 1807, and Presbyterian Rev. William Speer was the first to set up a Chinese Mission in San Francisco's Chinatown in 1853.

15 SDU May 5, 1870. See also Karl Fung, *The Dragon Pilgrims: A Historical Study of a Chinese-American Church* (San Diego: Providence Press, 1989), 24.

16 SDU May 5, 1870.

17 See Elizabeth MacPhail, "San Diego's Chinese Mission." *Journal of San Diego History 23*, no. 2 (1977), note 17. https://sandiegohistory.org/journal/1977/april/chinese

18 *Ah Quin Diary Collection*, MS 209 (San Diego History Center Document Collection, San Diego) (hereafter Diary), Sept. 28–Oct. 27, 1878.

19 Diary, Sept. 28–30, 1878.

20 Rev. H. J. Camp was the rector of the San Diego Episcopal Church at Fourth between C and D Streets. See SDU Aug. 5, 1877. He served from about May 1877 to Sept. 1881 when he left this position and moved to San Luis Rey. See also SDU May 25, 1877 and Sept. 24, 1881. Rev. Hobart Chetwood was the rector of the Holy Trinity Episcopal Church in San Diego from 1872 to 1876. According to the newspaper, he went to Santa Barbara after San Diego. See SDU July 9, 1876 and SDU Nov. 2, 1876. Ah Quin met with Rev. Chetwood (whom he calls "Chatwood") two and three days before his departure to San Diego, as well as shortly after his return to Santa Barbara. See Diary Sept. 25 & 26, 1878 and Oct. 27, 1878. I note that the 1874 San Diego City Directory lists Rev. Chetwood as the rector of the Episcopal Church of the Holy Trinity and that it has a different address than Camp's Methodist Episcopalian Church. However, Smythe makes the point that Rev. Camp succeeded Rev. Chetwood as Episcopal rector. See Smythe, *History of San Diego*, Part 6, Chapter 1, np.

21 Among those they met were Rev. James Woods of the Presbyterian Church; George Marston, the prominent merchant and philanthropist who had a life-long devotion to Chinese evangelism through both the Presbyterian and Congregationalist churches; and Rev. O. W. Gates, pastor at the First Baptist Church. SDU Aug. 31, 1878; SDU April 13, 1879; 1874 City of San Diego Directory; Smythe, *History of San Diego*, Part 6, Chapter 1, np; MacPhail, "San Diego's Chinese," np, and Fung, *Dragon Pilgrims*, 24.

22 For Sunday services, see Diary, Oct. 6, 13, and 20, 1878. For school, see Diary, Oct. 4, 13, and 20, 1878.

23 Diary, Oct. 4, 1878.

24 Presbyterian/Congregationalist school was at Marston's house on Fridays, see Diary Oct. 4, 11, and 18, 1878. Baptist school was at Gates' house on Sundays, see Diary Oct. 6, 13, and 20, 1878. Fung says that Ah Quin attended these two early Chinese Mission Schools in 1881 and that Ah Quin's son, George, also attended, but Fung has the dates incorrect: Ah Quin attended both in 1878. Ah Quin moved to San Diego at the end of 1880 and the next extant diary begins in 1884, so we do not have a record of his 1881 church attendance. In addition, George could not have attended in 1881 since he wasn't born until 1885. That said, the Quin children would attend the Presbyterian Mission School for Children when it opened in 1889. Fung, *Dragon Pilgrims*, 25.

25 Diary, Oct. 6, 1878.

26 Diary, Oct. 9, 1878.

27 Diary, Oct. 7, 1878.

28 Ibid.

29 Diary, Oct. 24, 1878.

30 I thank my sister, Angelica Fazio, for this interpretation.

31 Consider, for example, the rise in anti-Chinese hostility during the COVID-19 pandemic beginning in 2020. See "Stop AAPI Hate" for the latest reports of violence, which listed 11,500 incidents as of March 2022. https://stopaapihate.org

32 See SDU Jan. 6, 1876 for Chinatown's attempted burning, SDU Dec. 31, 1885 for Anti-Chinese Union, and SDU Jan. 27, 1894 for "Colorado House" ad with "No Chinese cooks."

33 The effigy was of Methodist Missionary Rev. Otis Gibson who wrote about this incident from 1876 in his own book. Gibson, *Chinese in America*, 381–384. See Wesley S. Woo, "Presbyterian Mission: Christianizing and Civilizing the Chinese in Nineteenth Century California" *American Presbyterians* 68, no. 3 (1990), 172.

34 See Woo's dissertation, "Protestant Work," for an excellent discussion of the ideological underpinnings that linked "Christianizing" to "civilizing" and thus "Americanizing" the Chinese in nineteenth-century America.

30 "John and his Teacher: Good Chinamen and Pretty Girls at Sunday School," SDU Aug. 21, 1889.

[36] SDU Aug. 21, 1889 reprinted from *New York Sun*.

[37] Diary, Oct. 8, 1878. With the exception of George Marston, these church leaders and teachers would all move on by the time Ah Quin returned to writing about the church in his diary a decade later. See Smythe, *History of San Diego*, Part 6, Chapter 1, np.

[38] 1887 San Diego City Directory, 19.

[39] Smythe. *History of San Diego*, Part Four Chapter 2, np.

[40] Many of these Chinese were undoubtedly tied to the building, repair, and maintenance of the railroad. See SDU June 3, 1888 for 1888 Chinese population of San Diego.

[41] Specifically, the 1887 San Diego City Directory says the city had five "Chinese and Japanese Fancy Goods" stores, including Ah Quin's (pg. 365), and seventeen Chinese laundries, all listed in the Classified Business Directory section, 379.

[42] For the growth of Chinese Mission Schools, as written by their California leaders, see Congregational Rev. William C. Pond, *Gospel Pioneering: Reminiscences of Early Congregationalism in California, 1833–1920* (Berkeley: News Printing Co., 1921) and Presbyterian leader Rev. Ira Condit, *The Chinaman as We See Him* (New York: Arno Press, 1978). For a good assessment of Pond's work, see fellow Congregational pastor Karl Fung's *Dragon Pilgrims*, 20–24.

[43] Rev. W. C. Pond, "The Chinese: The New Fields." *American Missionary* 39. no. 6 (June 1885), 176–7.

[44] See Pond, "The Chinese," 176–7. See also "Quon Newey Returns Thanks," SDU Aug. 4, 1885 and SDU July 21, 1886 for proof of his service.

[45] MacPhail, Fung, and Seid make no mention of this second person in their respective histories.

[46] See Pond, "The Chinese," 176. I note that Ah Quin was actually baptized in the San Francisco Presbyterian Church, but he had traveled there *after* he was assigned to the Santa Barbara Chinese Mission, therefore meeting Rev. Pond's description. See my historical biography.

[47] See Diary, Jan. 7–8, 1879 as an example.

[48] Rev. Pond's last personal address is in the back of the 1902 volume with the marginalia, "well known minister of previous years."

[49] "Ah Quin's Plea for San Diego." Letters from the Field. *Foreign Missionary*. vol. 40. (New York: Mission House, 1881–82), 291–2.

[50] The First Congregational Church would be finished in Dec. 1886. See *San Diego City and County Directory, 1886–7* (Los Angeles: A.A. Bynon & Co., 1886), 39–40.

[51] SDU Feb. 10, 1890. This assertion that the Congregationalists and Presbyterians had a "partnership" or "collaboration" during these early years is contrary to current historical accounts. Notably, the Congregationalist Church's "Centennial Booklet" does not acknowledge any type of partnership with the Presbyterians, even though it says the first location of its San Diego Chinese mission school was at Eighth and D Streets—the location of the Presbyterian Church. In fact, it doesn't even acknowledge that the photo of the edifice on the front cover of the "Centennial Booklet" as well as the address are actually of the First Presbyterian Church (it does say the Chinese mission school opened in "rented church facilities." See "Remembering," pg. 6). SDU Dec. 27, 1886 confirms that the Chinese Mission School met on Eighth Street. In addition, Pond celebrated the San Diego Chinese Mission School's first anniversary inside the First Presbyterian Church. See SDU Jan 23, 1886. Furthermore, the AMA Annual Report for 1886 reveals the unusual fact that the Mission School was "without cost to us in San Diego." See "Chinese in America," Fortieth Annual Report, AMA, 1886, pg. 59. (During the first year, Pond mentioned that the "rent of the Mission house has thus far been met by their contributions," so it is not clear who contributed and whether this support persisted into 1886–7. See Pond, "The Chinese," AM. 39:6, 176.) Importantly, George Marston and Mrs. McKenzie, the teacher/leaders of the Chinese School, were recruited by Rev. Pond for the Congregationalists, but they would become associated with the Presbyterian Church after the split in 1887; their work on behalf of both churches suggests interdenominationalism. Pond also said that "Christians of several denominations" were interested in the establishment of a Chinese Sunday school, perhaps reflecting upon mission school teachers McKenzie and Marston. See Pond, "The Chinese," AM. 39:6, 176. Taken together, these primary sources suggest that some arrangement was brokered between the two denominations in order to found this first Chinese mission school, and thus it is appropriate to acknowledge the first formal Chinese mission school as a joint or collaborative effort on

some level between the Presbyterians and Congregationalists. This is an important contrast to their later competition.

52 SDU May 31 and June 7, 1885 and SDU June 9, 1886. MacPhail implies that the mission started when Pond rented a house at Thirteenth and F, , but her date is too late; the mission would move to Thirteenth Ave. in 1888. See MacPhail, "San Diego Chinese" in paragraph with note 18. See Appendix.

53 Also "MacKenzie."

54 SDU June 3, 1888.

55 SDU Jan 23, 1886.

56 The local newspaper gave more modest numbers, estimating that twenty students were enrolled but it concurs that eleven attended on average. See thirty-ninth *Annual Report Annual Reports of the American Missionary Association.* "Chinese in America" reports, 1871–1905 (New York: AMA, 1885), 73 and SDU Dec. 27, 1886.

57 See Fung, *Dragon Pilgrims*, 27–28, who quotes from the *California Chinese Missionary Quarterly*. SDU June 3, 1888.

58 The "Centennial Booklet" tells us the Chinese Mission School was "given notice to vacate" in March 1887. See David Seid, Dorothy Hom and Rev. Karl Fung, "The History of the Chinese Community Church." in *100 Years of Leadership and Service, 1885–1985. Centennial Celebration Booklet* (Chinese Community Church, San Diego), 9–11.

59 The following churches were building or about to begin building in 1887: Baptist, Central Christian, Episcopal, German First Methodist, Methodist Episcopalian Northeast, Central, and Coronado branches, and Presbyterian. Again, the First Congregational Church had just been finished in Dec. 1886. See *Maxwell's Directory of San Diego City and County for 1887–1888* (San Diego: George W. Maxwell, Sun [Newspaper?] Building, 1887), 39–40. The following year, the newspaper carried a front-page article on the incredible church growth. See SDU June 17, 1888.

60 It is unclear why Pond could not relocate the Chinese Mission School to the newly built Congregational Church/Tabernacle at the NW corner of Ninth and F Street in San Diego at this time, except that perhaps the AMA or the Chinese Mission may have received only niche support within its own Congregational Church.

61 SDU Dec. 27, 1886. Fung, himself a Chinese Community Church (Congregational) preacher, seems critical of a mission home whose purpose was, in his words, to keep Christianized Chinese "away from bad influences from their countrymen." He argues that this suggested that "Chinese [had] to reject their own cultural values but also led them to believe that Christians belonged to an exclusive social class, and that the Mission, or the Church, was an exclusive institution." Fung, *Dragon Pilgrims*, 44.

62 Fung says $27 was donated by Americans and $20.50 by Chinese. See Fung, *Dragon Pilgrims*, 28 and note 61.

63 See "Receipts," *The American Missionary* 42 no. 6 (June 1888), 176.

64 On Jan. 20, 1887 William C Pond purchased Block 91C Horton's Addition (631 First Street) for $2,500 from E.W. Morse. San Diego County Assessor's Office Digital Reel Deed Book 78 pg. 127. The 1887–8 San Diego City Directory confirms that the Chinese Mission School is at 631 First; the next directory, in 1889, places it at 639 13th Street. See *Montieth's Directory of San Diego and Vicinity for 1889–1890* (San Diego: John C. Monteith, Press of Gould, Hutton & Co., 1889).

65 On Jan. 20, 1888 George Marston deeded to William Pond for the price of $1, Block 78C Horton's Addition. San Diego County Assessor's Office Digital Reel Deed Book 117 pg. 38. SDU Feb. 10, 1890 says the Chinese Mission on the Presbyterian lot in 1886 was moved "near Chinatown" (aka 631 First Avenue) and then moved again to Thirteenth Street.

66 SDU June 3, 1888. MacPhail says it is not until 1907 when the "Mission became a home as well as a school," but this newspaper article shows that it happened much earlier—in 1888. See MacPhail, "San Diego Chinese," np.

67 It was built in 1887 on the "East Side of Thirteenth near F" and is also sometimes called the "Christian, Central Church." See San Diego City Directories beginning in 1887.

68 SDU Aug. 30, 1895.

69 See 1889 San Diego City Directory.

70 Condit's nomenclature, "American Church," was shorthand for the American Missionary Association's Congregational Church. See Condit, *The Chinaman as We See Him*, 165.

71 Ibid.

72 See 1889 San Diego City Directory.

73 Diary, July 16, 1889. The exact address of the school is in dispute since four different references list four different addresses, all close to one another. To wit, Ah Quin says the school is on Fourth between I and J, Diary, July 16, 1889; the newspaper says it is on 4th between K and J, SDU Apr. 6, 1890; the 1889 San Diego City Directory under the church listing says it is on Third between I and J (p. 37); and the 1889 City Directory says it is at 527 Third (between H and I) in Miss J. A. Johnson's personal listing as "teacher, Chinese women and children" (p. 191).

74 From October to December 1889 Ah Sue managed a branch store, and Ah Quin noted he walked the "three of them," referring to Ah Sue, Thomas, and Wong Hai, to work each day. Therefore, it appears that Annie, George, and Mamie all went to the Chinese Children's School together. See Oct. 26–Dec. 20, 1889.

75 See Victor Low, *The Unimpressible Race: A Century of Educational Struggle by the Chinese in San Francisco* (San Francisco: East/West Publishing, 1982).

76 The Quins lived on the corner of Third and J Street at 1148 J Street at this time. See my historical biography for a fuller analysis.

77 Diary, Dec. 24, 1891. For another example, Miss Johnson and Rev. Noble, among others, took the Quins, Kim Lung (plus two kids) and Tom Ung and his daughter to Pacific Beach for a picnic and to one of their houses. See Diary, Sept. 11, 1889.

78 See Woo, "Protestant Work."

79 William C. Pond, *California Chinese Missionary Quarterly 18* (19 March 1894): 18, as quoted in Fung, *Dragon Pilgrims*, 29 note 66.

80 "Chinese Souls," SDU Sept. 29, 1890.

81 SDU Sept. 17, 1892.

82 Diary, Sept. 14–15, 1892.

83 Ibid.

84 Pond quoted in Fung, *Dragon Pilgrims*, 29 note 66.

85 Curiously, in 1890 the newspaper reported that Presbyterians and Congregationalists "worked along side by side, both intent upon the same beneficent mission." The writer may have been out of touch or the enmity started shortly thereafter as the San Diego population began to decline. See SDU Feb. 10, 1890.

86 SDU June 3, 1888.

87 U.S. Department of Commerce, Bureau of the Census, Manuscript Schedules, San Diego, 1900.

88 In addition to the 1882 Chinese Exclusion Law that prohibited Chinese laborers from immigrating, the 1888 Scott Act forbade Chinese who were visiting China to return to America, and the 1892 Geary Act humiliated Chinese by forcing them to carry registration papers, just to name a few.

89 Rev. Fung writes, "In 1901, the Methodist Episcopal Church took over the Presbyterian Chinese Mission and established a new one at 341 Third Avenue." Fung, *Dragon Pilgrims*, 25. The 1901 San Diego City Directory confirms that there was a (new) M. E. Chinese Mission at 341 Third Avenue. *San Diego City and County Directory, 1901* (San Diego: San Diego Directory Co., 1901).

90 Prior to 1900, they only appear once (in 1889) under their denominational sponsors. Beginning in 1913, after a long absence, the Congregationalist Chinese Mission School would be listed at 645 First for a few years. See 1913–1915 San Diego City Directories. In short, the City Directories do not appear to accurately reflect Chinese Mission School status. See, for example, SDU Jan. 29, 1895 and SDU Feb. 4–5, 1897 for Chinese New Year's celebrations by members of the Presbyterian Chinese Mission Home; incidentally, both programs include Quin children performances.

91 See Fung, *Dragon Pilgrims*, 30.

92 SDU June 29, 1900. They probably returned to the same lot they were at in 1887 (Block 91C) only the address was renumbered from 631 to 663. Sanborn Fire Insurance maps, San Diego City, 1887 and 1906 at Library of Congress website.

93 See Fung, *Dragon Pilgrims*, 30 and note 69.

94 Around 1901 or so the Quin family was living at 445 Third Avenue and the M. E. Chinese Mission was located at 428 Third Avenue. See Murray K. Lee, *In Search of Gold Mountain: A History of the Chinese in San Diego, California* (Virginia Beach: Donning Company, 2011), 69 and *San Diego City and County Directory, 1903* (San Diego: San Diego Directory Company, 1903).

95 The 1906 San Diego City Directory no longer lists them. *Dana Burk's San Diego City and County Directory, 1906* (San Diego: San Diego Directory Company, 1906).

96 The name of this Mission, its location in a building that was well known as the meeting place of subversive organizations, such as highbinders and Freemasons, and its absence in typical records warrants more research. Was it actually a joss house or fraternal

organization masquerading as a Protestant Mission School? Was it a hybrid spiritual organization of some sort?

97 See *San Diego City and County Directory, 1907* (San Diego: San Diego Directory Company, 1907) and *San Diego City and County Directory, 1908* (San Diego: San Diego Directory Company, 1908).

98 1906 San Diego City Directory.

99 Fung, *Dragon Pilgrims*, 23 and "Remembering" timeline in Chinese [Congregational] Community Church, *100 Years of Leadership and Service, 1885–1985. Centennial Celebration Booklet* (San Diego, California), 6.

100 See 1909 and 1910 San Diego City Directories.

101 Fung, *Dragon Pilgrims*, 30–31.

102 Church histories say the mission moved once again, this time next door to property donated by George Marston, but this seems unlikely: Sanborn 1906 and 1920 maps have the mission on the same lot at Block 91C Horton's Addition. Notably, Lot Books reveal that the property value doubled and doubled again between 1908–09, suggesting lot improvements. For church histories, see Fung, *Dragon Pilgrims*, 31 and Seid et. al, "History of CCC. Sanborn Fire Insurance maps, San Diego City, at Library of Congress website, and San Diego City On-line Archives, Lot Book 83 pg. 208 and book 90 pg. 21.

103 Fung, *Dragon Pilgrims*, 36. This is the time period when American women, such as Margaret Fanton and Delia Reinbold, served in important leadership roles as teachers, superintendents, and community social workers. See Murray K. Lee, "Taking Root–Sharing Faith: The Origins of the Chinese Community Church" in *Dedicating a New Century for Christ: Taking Root–Sharing Faith. New Church Celebration Booklet, Oct. 15, 2006* (Chinese Community Church, San Diego), 6 and especially MacPhail, "San Diego."

104 See Appendix for history.

105 Zikmund, "Chinese Congregationalism," paragraph after note 43.

106 Seid et al. write, "As our Mission was the oldest and best situated, we survived and flourished while the others ceased to exist." They give credit to the "missionaries and native workers…[who] recruited interested Christians in being tutors…" See Seid et al, "History of CCC," 13–14. Alonzo Horton also donated much land to local churches, so a land donation was not in itself unusual. See Smythe, *History of San Diego*, Part 6 Chapter 1.

107 On Dec. 15, 1887 William Pond sold Block 91C Horton's Addition to E.R. Higgins and on Feb. 1, 1893 Pond purchased it back from E.R. Higgins. San Diego County Assessor's Office Digital Reel Deed Book 112 pg. 20 and Book 209 pg. 167. This revelation invites more research.

108 Fung, *Dragon Pilgrims*, 28.

109 On Jun. 22, 1901 the Thirteenth Street property (Block 78C) was donated to William Pond by Clara M. Brown for $1 and on Aug. 23, 1903 the First Avenue property (Block 91C) was donated to the California Chinese Mission for $1. San Diego County Assessor's Office Digital Reel Deed Book 311 pg. 267 and Book 330 pg. 238.

110 In 1960 they would move away from the Old Chinatown area and build a sanctuary at 1750 Forty-Seventh Street that was more convenient for Chinese families. See "Remembering" in "Centennial Booklet," pg. 6. In 2006 they would move again, this time to the suburbs where they currently meet in the bedroom community of Tierrasanta. Church address is 4998 Via Valarta, San Diego, CA 92124.

111 Congregationalist, Presbyterian, Baptist, Methodist, and Voy Ying Gong Sue.

112 Pond, "Missions among the Chinese," 307.

113 While visiting the Chinese Community Church in Tierrasanta to gather material for this article, I last saw Murray K. Lee, whose memorial was also held at the Church recently. It was Murray who introduced me to Ah Quin's Diaries in 1996, and my research would not be possible without the groundwork he lay. Out of an abundance of gratitude and respect, I dedicate this article to the memory of San Diego's first Chinese American community historian, Murray K. Lee.

114 For a version with full references, photos, and illustrations, email the author at scassel@csusm.edu

MEMORY WARS OR CULTURE WARS? SHIFTING AND CONTESTED MEANINGS BEHIND ARTHUR PUTNAM'S *PADRE* AND *INDIAN* SCULPTURES

M. TINA ZARPOUR

This essay traces the life history of two art sculptures in the collection of the San Diego History Center, their placement in Presidio Park, their removal in 2021, and the subsequent visitor and audience responses. To the extent possible, I explore how the sculptures reflect the historical memory of the periods in which they were created, displayed, and ultimately moved. The sculptures themselves, aside from their occasional graffiti, have remained unchanging in form—yet what they represent and mean has shifted dramatically.

That the meaning of objects is layered and changes over time is illustrated clearly in the current debates around Confederate statues. Indeed, in his 1931 annual address to the American Historical Association, Carl Becker argued the following about history in his talk "Everyman His Own Historian":

> "Let us then admit that there are two histories: the actual series of events that once occurred; and the ideal series that we affirm and hold in memory.

(Opposite page) *Padre* in front of the Serra Museum, circa 1935. In 1937, the sculpture was moved to its "amphitheatre" location on the other side of Presidio Drive. SDHC Photo Collection": © UT #4598.

> The first is absolute and unchanged—it was what it was whatever we do or say about it; the second is relative, always changing in response to the increase or refinement of knowledge."[1]

Becker's argument that every person weaves their particular knowledge of history with the "memory of things said and done" continues to have utility to the practice of public history, and correlates nicely with constructivist approaches to learning theory and the understanding that most of the people visiting the San Diego History Center or encountering one of its programs bring their own historical narratives and memories.

In the case of Presidio Hill, where the sculptures in question stood for more than eight decades, the interplay between memory, history, and nostalgia is revealed in this 1940 passage from the *San Diego Union*: "As one civilization springs from the dust of another, so has the wheel of progress turned on Presidio Hill. Long before the first white man touched foot on the Western Hemisphere, the beauty and strategy of this site were recognized by primitive savages who built a village on its western slope that overlooks the sea."[2]

LIFE HISTORY OF THE *INDIAN* AND THE *PADRE*

The *Indian* and the *Padre* are two bronze sculptures conceived and created by Arthur Putnam (1873–1930). As a young man, Putnam encountered renowned western painter and sculptor Frederic Remington in 1893 when Remington was sketching the Putnam family ranch near La Mesa. Young Arthur was assigned to herd the horses for Remington. Potentially it was this encounter that inspired Putnam to endeavor to be an artist, and later to set up a

The *Indian* sculpture with a docent from San Diego Historical Society leading a school tour through Presidio Park, April 1981. Photo by Gail Madyun, San Diego Historical Society communications staff. © SDHC #82:13602-10.

studio at Seventh and A Streets. He was also purportedly encouraged by arts patron Alice Klauber (1871–1951), and studied in San Francisco, New York, and Chicago.[3] In 1896, Putnam offered at a city council meeting to sculpt Juan Rodriguez Cabrillo free of charge on condition that a laborer be supplied to him.[4] The city never took him up on this offer.

Newspaper publisher and magnate Edward Willis Scripps came across Arthur Putnam's works "scattered throughout several parks and buildings" in San Francisco and invited Putnam to his estate, Miramar, in northern San Diego County in 1901. Scripps was impressed with

both Putnam's work itself and the fact that the artist had virtually no technical training.

In 1903, Scripps commissioned Putnam to produce a history of California in monumental sculptures for display at Scripps's ranch, starting with the *Indian* and the *Padre*.[5] Putnam originally conceived of five granite sculptures but abandoned the idea in favor of casting in bronze. He was given a shed in the back of the house at the estate and spent most of his time between 1901 and 1905 at Miramar. Robert Paine Scripps, who was then a small boy, remembers carrying clay with his playmates for Putnam, and spent many hours watching him work.[6]

The *Indian* was completed in 1904 and represents a full standing figure of an Indigenous man with a cougar carcass draped across the rock behind him. The sculpture is proportionally larger than the *Padre* at 104 inches high. The figure of the *Indian* is partially sitting and leaning against a rock, with a prominent feather in his long hair. He is nude, except for a loosely draped loincloth around the midsection. The pose, with torso turned three-quarters, allows the viewer to see that the *Indian* is muscular throughout. The rear of the sculpture is signed with "A. Putnam, 1904, S.F." and stamped "Globe Brass and Bell F'dry S.F. Cal."[7]

The *San Diego Union* reported in April 1905 that the completed *Indian* was on display at the chamber of commerce, before being eventually placed at Scripps's ranch Miramar. "Easterners of note at the hotel are devoting considerable attention and much favorable comment to the splendid piece of sculpture, the American Indian, by Arthur Putnam, which has been on exhibition at the San Diego chamber of commerce for the past few days. That San Diego has produced a sculptor of Putnam's power is sure to draw the favorable attention of artists and sculptors of note to the city, say these visitors."[8] A November 1905 article in *The Craftsman* describes the *Indian* as unlike the popular theatrical representations of Indians at the time, but "...typifies, as unconsciously as a forest animal, the native poise and dignity of mind, as well as the grace and strength of body, of man untrammeled by civilization."[9]

In 1905, Putnam and Scripps discussed additional sculptures. Possible subjects included a Native woman at a grinding stone, a trapper, a prospector, a soldier, and a Spanish padre. After completing the *Indian*, Putnam traveled to England to work on another commission before returning to begin the proposed padre sculpture.

The *Padre*, completed in 1908, is a full pose, standing, larger-than-life depiction of a Franciscan priest with his head bowed and hands clasped behind the back. It is signed "A. Putnam 08" and stamped "Cast by L. de Rone's Bronze Foundry S.F. CALIF" and has a well-developed patina. It stands eighty-four inches high, and its base is approximately fifty inches in diameter.[10]

The *San Diego Union* reported in December 1908: "The bronze statue of the priest, Father Junípero Serra, whose name all California loves and honors, has recently been completed by sculptor Arthur Putnam for E.W. Scripps" and was on exhibit at Putnam's studio at 147 Presidio Avenue in San Francisco. The author described the sculpture as "powerful in limb and in pose" and highlighted its "impenetrable countenance, half-concealed" that wore "an expression of deep gentleness and solemnity." According to the article, Putnam's talent had been noted

by American painter John Singer Sargent, and Putnam had exhibited his animal figures in Rome and Paris, where he had received favorable criticism.[11]

Only three of the five intended sculptures were ever finished: the two described here and an additional one completed in 1910, titled the *Ploughman* (occasionally spelled "Plowman" as well), on display at the Scripps Institution of Oceanography. The other two planned were to be a Mexican ranchero on horseback and a soldier.[12] The reason they were never completed is that Putnam became critically ill in 1911 upon his return to San Francisco from Europe. Doctors diagnosed him with brain cancer and performed surgery but were unable to remove the entirety of the tumor. Putnam made a partial recovery, but in September 1915 his San Francisco studio burned to the ground. He escaped death by being rescued and carried to safety by a fellow artist, George Stanson.[13] In December of that year, Putnam filed for—and was granted—a divorce from his wife, Grace (Storey) Putnam, claiming that she had abandoned him in 1913.[14] Putnam continued to correspond with Scripps until 1915. Scripps invited Putnam to Miramar, encouraged the artist to visit the Panama-California Exposition, and asked about the progress on the *Ploughman*. Meanwhile, Scripps wrote to a San Francisco physician and inquired about Putnam's condition. "Even dying men," Scripps observed, "think they are on the highway to recovery." After a long convalescence, Putnam passed away in Paris in May 1930.

In 1933, Robert P. Scripps loaned the sculptures to the San Diego Historical Society (SDHS), the precursor to today's San Diego History Center (SDHC). Percy Broell, superintendent of Presidio Park, oversaw the removal of

The *Ploughman* in clay at Putnam's studio, early 1900s. The photo was taken by renowned American photographer and environmentalist Ansel Adams when he visited Putnam. © SDHC #OP 16164-51.

the sculptures from Miramar Ranch and their erection in the park. On March 29, 1937 in a special ceremony the *Padre* was removed to "a new location at the head of an earthen amphitheater that was the location of Father Serra's first chapel in California."[15] Later archaeology from the mid-1970s and the rediscovery of the Vallejo Plan showed this to be false. Percy Broell was master of ceremonies, and George Marston was one of the speakers. Remarks by Franciscan Father Turibius from Santa Barbara praised the unselfish and devoted works of Father Serra in establishing civilization in California. This preceded a simple ceremony to reconsecrate the statue of Serra by Bishop Charles Francis Buddy of the Roman Catholic diocese in San Diego.[16]

In April 1976, SDHS purchased the sculptures from the Edward W. Scripps Trust for a price of $121,500. On December 6, 1989, the City of San Diego Historical Site Board designated Presidio Park as Historic Site Number 240. Three features—the El Jupiter Cannon, the *Padre*, and the *Indian*—were included in the designation because they lie within the park boundaries. With the designation, these features came under the protection of the Historical Site Board. While the City of San Diego could not require that privately-owned movable objects remain in one location if the owner wished to move them, the Historical Site Board requested to be notified before designated historic objects are moved.[17]

Over the years, both the *Indian* and the *Padre* were repeatedly vandalized with graffiti. The SDHC's object records for the sculptures document many of these incidents, as well as the specific measures taken to clean and conserve the sculptures. The last two incidents of vandalism occurred on June 22, 2020 when spray paint damage was recorded on the *Padre* and on the cross behind it, and then on March 24, 2021, when lettering in an unknown white chalky substance was discovered on the base of the *Indian* sculpture.

Though the *Padre* and the *Indian* belong to SDHC and are not public property, in August 2020, President/CEO Bill Lawrence requested a "right of entry" permit for Presidio Park to allow for the relocation of the sculptures. The relocation was approved by various planning organizations, and the City of San Diego Commission for Arts & Culture Public Art Subcommittee granted the right of entry permit. The two pieces were removed from the Presidio to a local art moving company and controlled storage facility for a brief period while they were cleaned and waxed, and the bases and gallery were prepared for their arrival at the SDHC in Balboa Park.

CULTURAL MILIEU

It is critical to understand the creation and placement of the sculptures within the larger cultural milieu of historic preservation and the emergence of a specific California history and identity as distinct from any eastern counterparts. Almost from the moment of statehood, there was a concerted effort to accomplish this. The Society of California Pioneers organized themselves in 1850 and were the first identifiable preservation group in the state. This was only two years after the Treaty of Guadalupe Hidalgo, and predated the Mount Vernon Ladies' Association, one of the earliest site-specific preservation groups in the nation, by two years. The Society of California Pioneers initiated and set in motion

key trends that remain today in historic preservation and historical teaching: the romanticization of Spanish occupation with a key focus on the twenty-one Franciscan missions. Wrapped up in this were other efforts to glorify the rancho era, early pioneers, and fur trappers. Other similar organizations like the Native Sons and the Native Daughters of the Golden West came into being by the early 1900s. This particular construction of historical memory emphasized select Euro-American accomplishments.[18]

Kevin Starr's cultural history of California, *Inventing the Dream*, identifies additional forces that created the "mission cult." He draws attention to Charles Fletcher Lummis, a Massachusetts-born and -educated journalist who was city editor of the *Los Angeles Times* at the height of the 1880s boom and later editor of *Land of Sunshine*, a magazine published between 1894 and 1923. A general southern California booster, he helped foment an image and a brand that could be used by chambers of commerce throughout the region. Lummis founded the Southwest Museum and the Landmarks Club of Southern California, which led a successful effort to restore many of the Franciscan missions, calling them the "best capital southern California has" next to the climate.[19]

Two works of creative writing also served to develop the mission mythologizing. The first was Helen Hunt Jackson's 1884 runaway bestseller, the epic romance *Ramona*, which provided a sentimental and unironic portrayal of colonial life and brought heightened attention to the plight of mission Indians. The second came from another journalist, John Steven McGroarty, who wrote *The Mission Play*, an outdoor drama pageant that played to a purported 2.5 million people between 1912 and 1929

and became a veritable Southern California institution. So successful was this effort at creating a coherent narrative that "...McGroarty was named Poet Laureate of California, knighted by the pope and the King of Spain, and twice elected to Congress."[20]

The SDHS was not immune to this cultural milieu. In 1942, six years after the rededication ceremony of the sculptures, SDHS erected a plaque dedicated to the "first white child" in Alta California, Joseph Francisco Maria de Ortega, who was baptized near the Presidio in February 1775.[21] The plaque was removed at some point, probably around 1957 when a genealogy researcher turned up the baptismal record of another "white child," Juan Joseph Garcia, baptized in Mission San Luis Obispo on November 11, 1774.[22]

Newspaper articles and historical records related to the creation and display of the *Indian* and the *Padre* reveal that the latter has been labeled either as a direct representation of Father Serra or a generic Franciscan padre. Both interpretations have appeared in newspapers and within the SDHC's own documentation.[23] Putnam seemed to claim that it was not meant to represent Serra. However, another nearly identical sculpture of Putnam's is located at Mission Dolores and does represent Father Serra, seemingly even cast from the same mold funded by E. W. Scripps.[24]

MOVING THE SCULPTURES FROM OUTSIDE AT THE PRESIDIO TO INSIDE SAN DIEGO HISTORY CENTER: THE *HISTORY LAB* EXHIBITION

The acts of vandalism that contributed to the decision to remove the sculptures from Presidio Park were part of

longer pattern. The earliest verifiable incident occurred in September 1988, when the *Padre* was spray-painted in protest of the beatification of Father Serra. Subsequent acts of vandalism—recorded by museum registrars—ranged from pure tagging to more "political" episodes, such as a September 2015 incident that occurred after Serra's canonization.[25]

Indeed, targeted vandalism of Father Serra statues throughout California are not necessarily unique or new. For example, in 2017 a statue of Father Serra was decapitated and spray painted red at the Santa Barbara Mission.[26] Interestingly, in the spring of 2020, sculptural depictions of Father Serra once again became a target of vandalism, this time aligning with the nationwide protests against police brutality and the Black Lives Matter movement. A bronze Father Serra statue that stood over thirty feet high in San Francisco's Golden Gate Park was spray-painted red and toppled during Juneteenth protests on June 19, 2020. It had been there for over a century. One day later, a 1932 park monument to Serra was ripped off its pedestal in downtown Los Angeles. Finally, coinciding with the nation's Independence Day, another statue of Serra was torn down in Sacramento's Capitol Park by protestors after a day of peaceful marches.[27] Of the two Putnam sculptures on display in Presidio Park for nearly ninety years, the *Padre* statue has been the more fraught and contested. The obvious answer as to why has to do with the ways in which the padres themselves, as stand-ins and symbols for the entire colonial endeavor, have shifted in meaning. Those meanings, far from being uniform or monolithic, are continually contested by visitors and residents.

The *Padre* and the *Indian* sculptures *in situ* within the History Lab exhibit at the San Diego History Center, 2022. The array of visitor comments can be seen in the background. Photo courtesy of author.

By 2020, planning was well under way at the SDHC to remove the two Putnam sculptures from their outside location in Presidio Park to inside the museum in Balboa Park. The rationale for moving the sculptures was that doing so provided more effective preservation—from climate, bird and insect droppings, and vandalism—as well as a greater opportunity to interpret these objects and works of art from multiple perspectives. As President and CEO Bill Lawrence remarked in a June 2021 press release about the move, "This relocation comes at a time when monuments depicting United States history are under renewed scrutiny for commemorating and symbolizing problematic ideologies."[28] Furthermore, the placement of the sculptures in an outdoor public park no longer aligned with the ways the various and contested ideas about the Presidio, the park, and historical memory had evolved over the preceding eight decades. In other

words, Presidio Park as a cultural landscape had itself evolved different meanings, taking on more complexity. What is noteworthy is the way the sculptures themselves transformed from art objects to symbols of historical events in their trajectory from ideation, to creation, to statues with bird droppings in a public park.

Unlike the way in which the *Padre* switches back and forth from being and not being (representing and not representing) Junípero Serra, the *Indian's* path has been much more straightforward: it is no longer understood to be an accurate depiction of San Diego County's original residents: the Kumeyaay people. Yet what it does show is erasure through the profound lack of knowledge and information on the part of Putnam and those who supported and praised his work. The 250th anniversary and commemoration of San Diego's founding in 2019 coincided with a revamp of the Serra Museum's permanent exhibitions, funded in part by the San Diego River Conservancy. The exhibition development process, in partnership with the Kumeyaay-Diegueño Land Conservancy, as well as other stakeholders such as historians, archaeologists, and descendants of Californio families, revealed that the Presidio de San Diego—as an important historical landscape within our region—actually represents a "cultural palimpsest."

The term "palimpsest" was originally used to describe a medieval manuscript in which new text was written over previous text that had been erased. A unique feature of palimpsests is that any new layer does not fully erase predecessors, meaning that the reader can always perceive previous layers of the text.[29] This specific aspect makes the concept of "palimpsest" a useful metaphor to

describe the multiplicity of phenomena inscribed, and always partially visible, on a landscape like the Presidio. The various layers of reality, of historical events over time, have all left their accretions. Some have been erased by time and natural forces, and some have been erased on purpose.

In keeping with a revamp of the SDHC's exhibits, the Putnam sculptures became a focal point of a new exhibition at the Balboa Park museum. The exhibition layout is straightforward, with the physical presence of the two sculptures dominating the space. Simple vinyl wall text provides brief explanations of the intent and background of the sculptures. The text, printed on the walls in both Spanish and English, is open-ended rather than definitive, and asks visitors a set of questions for consideration, allowing multiple perspectives on the same pieces of objects.

The SDHC's exhibit planners also wanted visitors to consider these sculptures in conjunction with Belle Baranceanu's large Works Progress Administration (WPA) era murals, *Portola Expedition* and *Building Mission Dam*, located on the walls near the sculptures. Both sets of works are complex and layered with meanings—artistic and societal—that have evolved over time.

The instructional text for visitors is as follows:

Stop for a moment and study these sculptures. What do you notice? What does that tell you? Use a sticky note to answer any of the questions below. Then post it! What do you want to know about these sculptures? What questions do you have? How do you think these sculptures relate to San Diego's history?

Do you think these sculptures are?

a. Monuments
b. Myths
c. Symbols
d. Mascots
e. Representation of a memory
f. Something else

Do you think these sculptures relate to San Diego's history? How so?

The intent behind the multiple choice in the written text on the wall was not necessarily to tabulate how and whether people distinguished one category from another. Instead, the openness of the prompt and the various ways that the question was asked were an effort to gauge whether visitors (representing the general public) understood how the meaning of objects could shift, and how historical understanding itself could change.

VISITOR RESPONSES TO *HISTORY LAB* AND REINTERPRETATIONS OF THE PUTNAM SCULPTURES

There were 960 visitor responses tallied between October 29, 2021 when *History Lab* first opened and August 1, 2023. Visitor engagement staff maintained the space, removing comments that were blatantly hateful or vulgar, and gradually removing comments to make space for additional sticky notes. Visitor engagement associates also catalogued each of these responses in a shared spreadsheet. For the analysis presented here, I "cleaned" the data by removing irrelevant comments

(mainly consisting of illegible drawings, references to the video game *Among Us*, etc.) which left 486 individual comments. After preliminary analysis of all the remaining "clean" data, I developed a coding schema to group similar types of responses together, using the letters A through Q to represent the different categories of responses. As a whole, the comments either responded to the presented prompts directly or indirectly or referenced another political or social issue. Youth of all ages and adults participated in providing responses. A handful of responses were written in Spanish. About 35 percent of the comments had multiple codes associated with them. Completed content analysis of all 486 responses yielded the following categories and frequencies. Sample comments (which have been rendered here in their authors' original language) from each code/category are also included.

The first three categories (A, B, and C) are response types that directly address the exhibit prompts (58.8 percent). Codes D through H represent responses that express a particular sociopolitical viewpoint or stance (27.8 percent). Codes I and J offer some sort of exhibit or museum feedback, mostly positive (9.1 percent). Code K indicates a response related to expressing appreciation for the importance of history, or a suggestion of another historical topic to explore (9.7 percent). Finally, code L (3.3 percent) represents suggestions of things to add or improve the exhibits, a few directly related to the *History Lab* exhibition.

A. Answering prompt with additional related commentary: 28.4 percent (138 responses)

- I think that these sculptures are a representation of a memory. Memories can be skewed and inaccurate though.
- Representation of the original people or San Diego Kumeyaay Pawokawichon
- I think these sculptures are representation of a memory because there were actually Native Americans and priests who tried to convert the religion of Native Americans.
- Estás esculturas representan simbolas de la historia México Americana, la colonización que se dió hace muchos anos. La posición de la padre, mirando hacia abajo dice mucho sobre la opresión de hace en estos tiempos. (These sculptures represent symbols of Mexican American history, the colonization that went on for so many years. The position of the padre, looking down says a lot about the oppression done in these times.)
- A wall more of statues that represent a more antique way of thinking. But it's Beauty is unquestionable. A monument to San Diego History and all it entails. Uncensored and open to discussion.
- Why is colonialism still memorialized? [A separate response written on top: It's called History]
- Both statues represent a vital part of our history. They are vital influences from our past.
- The art is outstanding. I had never heard of Putnam.
- Representations means everything the misrepresentation depicted of "Indians" is the reasons why accurate depictions are not seen.

- The sculptures are out of their element. They should be outside, in historical context
- I notice first the impressive scale of the sculptures & detail. It helps remind us of how timeless art is
- Yes it represents bible time
- It would be meaningful to contextualize the historical erasure of indig. ppl in the shadows of the statues
- They show us what life use to be before technology & social media took over
- Sculptures are specific to their time in the UK statues are being reevaluated in the context of the negative sided colonial history.

B. Answering questions with one of the multiple-choice options: 22.6 percent (110 responses)

- E & A these represent what we think existed & what life use to be, I think the sculptures are A. Monuments E. Representation of a memory
- Symbols history has colorful memories!

C. Asked other question about the sculptures: 7.8 percent (thirty-eight responses)

- What are the sculptures made out of? Who made them? Monuments they represent important people.
- Is there a meaning behind why the Padre is depicted with a bowed head and hands clasped behind his back?
- Why aren't these sculptures in Presidio Park where they belong?
- Did the people native to San Diego (the Kumeyaay) actually look like that? Wondering if the statue is highly romanticized.

D. References "stolen land," either Native/indigenous or Mexico: 7.2 percent (thirty-five responses)

- White man stole land. [Native drawing]
- LAND BACK [Written using four sticky notes]
- Represent Mexican history because you stole our land
- The Spanish stole Native land and colonized them

E. Expresses an explicitly anti-colonial sentiment: 4.7 percent (twenty-three responses)

- Columbus was a fraud & was racist. He was just a stupid white dude. [Garfield drawing]
- They took the Land, They took ALOHA, They too other queen even though they didn't know her... BUT THEY COULDN'T TAKE THE MANA!
- The Catholic Church is mother. Mother of our land. Like mother she loves us and the Indians, not like the protestant church. They murder the Indians. I think we should also discuss the persecution of indigenous peoples on this land. The coexistence had not been as peaceful as advertised here.
- They represent colonization and the forced mix of one culture on to another

F. Expresses one of a series of unrelated political comments: 13 percent (sixty-three responses)

- BLACK LIVES MATTER [Drawing of a star and hand possibly?]
- Slava Ukraini
- Roe vs Wade should be left alone. Woman's rights basic health care should be available for all.
- Go Trump!
- Build that wall
- MAGA [With accompanying stars and drawings]

- All museums should be donation based–A highly taxed local
- What have enslaved brought us? Food? Rights?
- ACAB
- #russiaisaterrorist state
- ABOLISH BRITISH MONARCHY!!! GIVE US BACK OUR TREASURES.

G. Should have more diversity represented in exhibits (various groups): 1.6 percent (eight responses)

- Pls share more on the Japanese Americans pre & post war [camps]
- More representation of women :) [A separate post written on top: What is a woman tho?]
- More representation of Native Americans
- More LGBTQ+ Figure of representation for the community

H. Pro-LGBTQ+ support: 1.4 percent (six responses)

- Just say gay
- Gay People Exist

I. & J. Exhibit feedback and museum feedback: 9.1 percent (forty-four responses)

- We loved the exhibits and to learn about San Diego's history, thank you!
- Don't use too much Banner on Historical Building you destroyed Historical charm
- This is a great place for kids and adults!
- "San Diego grows up" & "A Place of Promise" Paternalistic narratives that implies the need to overdevelop when clearly the Kumeyaay had sustainable land practices pre-colonization

K. Importance/appreciation of history, suggestion of other historical topics to explore: 9.7 percent (forty-seven responses)

- What can we do to further inclusion with our media in 2022? How can we learn from this?
- I want to hear more about Hatfield and the flood he "caused"
- I think it is awesome to see things from the past that I'm old enough to remember
- Keep History Alive! Gracias...
- ALWAYS SHARE THE TRUTH! History isn't a crime but don't repeat mistakes and leave out the truth–CB
- We need to learn and grow from our history, not regress back into it–John, 28, Semper Fi
- When did San Diego discover the California Burrito? –Joey

L. Suggestions of things to add to improve: 3.3 percent (sixteen responses)

- Should be once space that link states all over the world with San Diego History. Fabio from Italy
- Include more historical artifacts of native Indians and immigrants
- Please show the history of the conquest of California by Colonel Stephen Kearny in 1846 [smiley face]

Do museum visitors understand these sculptures to be straight and accurate representations of history, or do they understand them to be something else? While the responses varied and demonstrated diverse orientations, in general, people felt that these sculptures were not accurate representations of history. Moreover,

the public display of visitor comments on the sculptures demonstrated to them that the meaning of the sculptures was itself contested among audiences.

Beyond the hundreds of thoughtful insights written on the sticky notes, the visitor feedback study showed just how politicized the interpretation and discussion of history, and representation of history, truly is. What is surprising is how there is very little neutrality evidenced in the comments. In fact, over a quarter of the responses invoked a sociopolitical comment or opinion that was outside of the exhibit prompt.

This paper has shown that the "life history" of the *Indian* and the *Padre* in their totality demonstrates shifting meanings over time. These sculptures were created and born as artistic objects, yet thirty years after their creation they were placed *in situ* in Presidio Park as monuments associated with a historical museum—they were taken to commemorate and represent the actual history of the site.[30] The role of commemoration is to "prod collective memory in some conspicuous way." Yet collective memory is itself constructed "amidst a perpetual political background."[31]

The sculptures' removal from Presidio Park to inside the museum in Balboa Park more than eight decades later coincided with a tumultuous time in our national discourse as it related to monuments. Finally, the *History Lab* exhibit as it is designed allows the sculptures to transition from being instruments for the construction of an accepted collective memory to being vehicles for visitors to share and form their own personal memories of the pieces, weaving together new understandings.

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SAN DIEGO WELCOMES A SOVEREIGN: SOUTHERN CALIFORNIA'S EAGER PORT CITY IS VISITED BY THE KING OF HAWAI'I, 1890

RONALD WILLIAMS JR., PHD

In the early afternoon of January 20, 1891, Mō'ī (King) David La'amea Kalākaua—seventh reigning sovereign of the Hawaiian Kingdom—drew his final breath inside a grand suite of the Palace Hotel in San Francisco, California. United States President Benjamin Harrison ordered a funeral with full military honors. Federal, state, and municipal offices in California's largest city were shuttered. Tens of thousands lined the streets for the memorial procession of this foreign head of state, and mournful headlines filled area newspapers.[1] The tragedy of Mō'ī Kalākaua's unexpected death in San Francisco has dominated histories of his final voyage, eliding many of the illustrative actions of this Hawaiian monarch during his final excursion abroad. A review of Kalākaua's intrastate trip, and specifically his time in San Diego, adds cogent material to an evolving understanding of this complex nineteenth-century ruler.

The historical narrative regarding the reign of Mō'ī David Kalākaua is undergoing significant revision as an ongoing revolution in Hawaiian historiography brings

(Opposite page) Mō'ī (King) David La'amea Kalākaua, 1880s. Hawai'i State Archives.

attention and focus to Kanaka ʻŌiwi (Native Hawaiian) action and agency through the inclusion of both native-language resources and perspective.[2] Recent publications such as Tiffany Lani Ing's 2019 *Reclaiming Kalākaua* have challenged the dissmisive, and heretofore dominant, characterization of this Kanaka ʻŌiwi ruler as simply a fun-loving and free-spending "Merrie Monarch."[3] These more inclusive historical analyses are bringing to the fore Kalākaua's purposeful actions that increased global awareness of the Hawaiian Kingdom and expanded its international relationships, thereby strengthening recognition of his nation's sovereignty as an independent state in the face of growing threats to that status.[4] The Native Hawaiian monarch's embrace of the most modern of technologies and tools, and concurrent grounding of their use in Native Hawaiian knowledges, earned him and the Hawaiian nation significant praise on the world stage.[5] A 2019 exhibition hosted by the Honolulu Museum of Art titled *Hoʻoulu Lāhui: The Kalākaua Era* focused on "The conception that during the mid-late nineteenth century, Cosmopolitanism—the idea that local politics share systematic parallels internationally as part of world citizenry—was a thriving philosophy in the Hawaiian Kingdom."[6]

Research for this article relied heavily on a voluminous cache of primary-source materials in both ʻōlelo Hawaiʻi (Hawaiian language) and English, including official diplomatic correspondence to and from the nineteenth-century Hawaiian Kingdom consulate in San Diego.[7] This essay is meant to add to our understanding of the relationship between these two geographically strategic Pacific ports, their nations, and their peoples. This new research into the details of the king's visit to California, and San Diego in particular, contributes to this new scholarship by highlighting the agency of Native Hawaiians and the king in the globalization process. Meanwhile, this story also illustrates the global, multicultural intersections of mid-to-late-nineteenth-century San Diego.

ARRIVAL

An unusually large crowd gathered at the Santa Fe Depot in anticipation of the arrival of the Monday evening train from Los Angeles.[8] Dozens outside of the main throng milled about, some having arrived hours earlier. Although nightfall had passed, the recently installed gas lamps on the picturesque Victorian building lit up the station with a potent clarity. A group of uniformed soldiers stood attentively near the tracks. Members of the military band, light bouncing off their brass instruments, nervously shuffled about while a municipal welcoming committee attempted to instruct the crowd. One block to the west lie the Pacific Ocean; to the east stood the town of San Diego. Suddenly, the shriek of a train whistle burst the collective tension and all eyes shot north, up the tracks to the approaching locamotive.

Just after nine o'clock on the evening of December 28, 1890, Mōʻī David Laʻamea Kamanakapuʻu Mahinulani Nalōiaʻehuokalani Lumialani Kalākaua descended the steps of the private car provided by A. N. Towne, general manager of the Southern Pacific Railroad. The tall, handsome, dark-skinned royal—who was said to be able to trace his genealogy back to the time of the creation of the world—dazzled the gathered crowd. Mōʻī Kalākaua was accompanied by his chamberlain, Colonel George

Santa Fe Depot, San Diego, circa 1887. © SDHC #3190.

Macfarlane; aide-de-camp Colonel Robert Hoapili Baker; Aide to the Commander in Chief, Pacific Station, US Naval Ensign George P. Blow; and US Senator George E. Whitney of Oakland. In an official account, Ensign Blow described the gathered crowd as "massive" and reported that, following formal greetings, Mayor Douglass Gunn had conducted the party to waiting carriages. Next, "A grand procession led by the State Militia [National Guard of California] and Brass band, escorted the King to the Coronado Hotel."[9]

A HISTORY OF INTERACTION

Mōʻī Kalākaua was not the first Kanaka ʻŌiwi to visit the West Coast of the United States.[10] Almost immediately after British explorer Captain James Cook brought the outside world to Hawaiʻi's shores more than a century prior in 1778, adventurous Hawaiians began boarding foreign ships and sailing to ports around the globe. Outmigration increased in the 1830s with the arrival of the North-Pacific whaling fleet as young Kanaka ʻŌiwi men, lauded for their skills at sea, were drafted to crew the numerous ships passing through the Islands. Native Hawaiian explorations expanded once again during the Northern California gold rush of the 1840s and 1850s. Kanaka ʻŌiwi scholar David A. Chang, in his 2016 publication *The World and All the Things Upon It*, characterizes Hawaiian seaman of this period as "active agents of global exploration."[11] "Kanakas" had settled up and down the California coast, swiftly learning trades that were in demand. In his 1840 narrative of pre-gold-rush California, *Two Years Before the Mast*, Richard Henry Dana noted the existence (as of his 1835 visit) of a "little colony" of "Sandwich Islanders" who had settled at San Diego and were doing business in the hide and tallow trade.[12]

Connections between the two Pacific ports were reciprocal. Ships leaving San Diego loaded with goods to be delivered to Boston ported in Honolulu along their way south towards Cape Horn. The Honolulu newspaper *Polynesian* regularly reported on ships arriving from the Southern California port. Its April 12, 1845 issue announced the arrival of the *Barnstabel*, which "left San Diego, for Boston, Dec. 17, with 32,600 hides, some furs, and gold in grains."[13] San Diego also appeared in Honolulu newspapers as part of their international news coverage. In Janaury 1847, readers were informed of ongoing battles in and around San Diego between "Americans" and "Californians" engaged in the Mexican-American War.[14] The opening of Japan to the outside world in the 1860s spurred an increase in global trade, which further expanded the number of ships routinely arriving in Honolulu from San Diego.

It was, however, the discovery of gold near San Diego in 1869 that most amplified ongoing interactions. Ka *Nupepa Kuokoa (The Independent Newspaper)* reported the rousing news—along with a Hawai'i connection—in its April 2, 1870 issue within a column titled, "Hu ke Gula ma Sana Diego" (Gold Rush in San Diego).[16] The paper explained, "O na maina Gula o Sana Diego i loaa mua mai nei ia Ioane T. Gower."[18] (The first to acquire gold mines near San Diego is Mr. John T. Gower.) Gower was a former resident of Maui who had departed the Islands less than a year prior to hunt for gold in California. The Native Hawaiian-language newspaper *Ke Au Okoa (The New Era)* reprinted, in translation, an article from the *Daily Alta California* of March 9 that read, in part, "Inehinei elua o lakou i hoi mai ua hele a kaumaha i na pohaku o kakau ana he gula. Eia ke kulanakauhale iloko o ka pioloke." (Yesterday, two of them returned heavily laden with their golden bounty. The town is in a state of great fervor.)[20] Days later, the paper followed up by reporting, "Ua nui ka uluoa o na kanaka e hele la i na lua eli gula o San Diego i loaa ai ia John T. Gower, ka mea laki i noho ai ma Makawao mamua." (There is great excitement among those men heading to the gold mines of San Diego owned by John T. Gower, the lucky man who used to live in Makawao.)[22]

The discovery of gold in Southern California cast a spotlight on the region that brought more attention to the port city of San Diego. On June 25, 1870, an article appeared in *Ka Nupepa Kuokoa* titled "Kekahi Mau Mea o Kaleponi: No Na Aina o ka Hema" (Certain Things About California: Concerning the Lands of the South).[23] The paper reported: "O ke awa kumoku o Sana Diego he awa nui no ia, a maikai no hoi no na moku o kekahi mau ano a

pau, a ua mahalo nui ia e na Kapena, a me na kanaka au kai. Ua aneane no e puni loa ka aina, a he hiki loa hoi ke hoomalu ia e na papu, i na enemi mai o ke kai ke kukulu ia." (The anchorage at San Diego is a large harbor that can accomaodate ships of all types and is appreciated by captains and sailors alike. It allows for protection from invasion and peace for the fort from enemies amassed at sea.)[25] Talk of linking "East" and "West" with telegraphic cables included San Diego as a possible communications hub. *Ka Lahui Hawai'i (The Hawaiian Nation/People)* argued for the rerouting of one proposed cable, declaring, "Ua ike makou ma ka nupepa o na aina e i kekahi itamu e pili ana i ka hoomoe ana i waea olelo mai Sana Diego a i Kina. Ke manao nei ka Lahui Hawai'i, o ke ala pololei mai San Diego mai a Honolulu nei, a mai a nei a i Ponia Ailana, a malaila aku a Iapana." (We saw in the foreign newspaper a certain item concerning a delay in the telegraph cable from San Diego to China. We, at the *Lāhui Hawai'i* think that the best path would be from San Diego to Honolulu and then Crown Islands and then Japan.)[27]

A FORMAL RELATIONSHIP

On February 27, 1890, San Diego resident James W. Girvin recieved an official correspondence from Jonathin Austin, minister of foreign affairs of the Hawaiian Islands. The communication contained a commission appointing Girvin as Hawaiian Kingdom diplomatic consul at San Diego.[28] Girvin, a Superior Court clerk in his latest residence, was well known to officials in Hawai'i. The Canadian-born adventurist had previoulsy made the Hawaiian Islands his home for two decades from 1865 to 1886. Eager to reconnect with business associates in Honolulu and improve his

status in his current home, Girvin replied to the Hawaiian Kingdom foreign minister in a letter of April 3, assuring his new supervisor, "I shall endeavor to comply with all the instructions applying to this consulate and protect the interests of His Majesty's subjects."[29] Weeks later, an exequator from the United States Department of State arrived, recognizing his appointment; the Hawaiian Islands-San Diego intergovernmental relationship was official.

James Walter Girvin was born the son of a district magistrate and the seventh of eight children at Port Burwell, Ontario, Canada in 1847. At the age of eighteen, eager to make a name for himself, the British subject traveled to the Hawaiian Islands, arriving in Honolulu in the summer of 1865. His initial attempts at finding employment as a luna (supervisor) on a sugar plantation were hampered by the fact that he did not speak the language common to most of the varied groups of field workers, ʻōlelo Hawaiʻi.[30] Girvin's job search turned successful when he was hired by the influential businessman Archibald Cleghorn. The Scotsman was married to Kamaliʻi Wahine (Princess) Likelike and later became the father of the heir apparent to the Hawaiian Kingdom throne, Kamaliʻi Wahine Kaʻiulani. Girvin worked his way up in the company, eventually running one of Cleghorn's mercantile shops in Lahaina, Maui. In 1873 he married Miss Willfong and the two settled in Honolulu and eventually had two children. The determined Canadian was advancing toward the success he had envisioned. On July 14, 1877, in front of a justice of Ka ʻAha Hoʻokolokolo Kiʻekiʻe o Ko Hawaiʻi Pae ʻĀina (Supreme Court of the Hawaiian Islands), he swore an oath upon the Holy Evangelists and declared he would "support the

Constitution and Laws of the Hawaiian Islands, and bear true Allegiance to His Majesty KALAKAUA, the King."[31] Girvin was now a naturalized Hawaiian Kingdom subject.

Things did not continue smoothly, however. Conflicts grew in relation to his expanding social, business, and political roles. The driven Girvin had been appointed to several different government positions including school agent, commissioner of private ways and water rights, clerk of the Second Circuit court, and member of the Tax Appeal Board. He invested in a sugar plantation near his home in Wailuku, Maui, and in early 1882 he purchased the store he had been managing. Three months later, the store was broken into and robbed; the loss was almost $500. Soon after, he sold his sugar interests at a loss. A seemingly frustrated Girvin took up the role of political gadfly, joining a group of men calling for the firing of the local sheriff and signing a public petition in support of his removal. Next, he published an exposé of the prison system, calling out those in charge at all levels. Yet it was likely his public criticism of one of the most powerful, and favored, advisors to King Kalākaua, Walter Murray Gibson, that assured his downfall.[32] On August 14, 1886, Girvin and his family boarded the *Zealandia* in Honolulu harbor, headed for California.

HAWAIIAN KINGDOM CONSULATE: SAN DIEGO

In San Diego, Girvin had an opportunity to make both a good first impression on those in his newest home, and a second chance among those of his previous. As the summer of 1890 began, Girvin attended to the practical matters of opening a foreign consulate. The site chosen was an office within a building at 1217 Third Street, near the

city's Chamber of Commerce.[33] On June 9, Girvin wrote the Hawaiian Kingdom foreign minister, "Enclosed please find facsimilie of the seal adopted for the consulate of San Diego Calif." He added, "I would like if you could furnish a [Hawaiian] flag for this consulate and would take pride in floating it to the breeze on holidays."[34] In another correspondence, Girvin offered an appraisal of the current relationship between the town of San Diego and the nation he now represented, saying, "At present there is no direct communication with Hawai'i, but many inquiries are made as to the facilities of trade with the Islands and the merchants and producers of this Southern part of the state are looking forward to opening a connection with Hawai'i."[35] The confident Girvin followed up, narrating the possibilities:

> I might state that the people of the immediate neighborhood of this city have raised a subsidy of $500,000 as a bonus to any company which will build a short line of railroad connecting this port with an overland route, thus making the time between San Diego and New York shorter than that between San Francisco, or any other Pacific port, and New York by one days travel and which it is argued will compel the carrying of the Hawaiian, New Zealand, and Australian mail through this port. I am informed that it is more than probable that a line of Trans-Pacific steamers will be put out in the near future which will carry freight and passengers from San Diego to China and Japan and Honolulu.[36]

The boisterous salesmanship of Girvin positing San Diego as a prosperous new opportunity for Hawai'i gained traction in the Islands. On July 30, 1890, the

respected legislator, Honorable Iosepa Kaho'oluhi Nāwahīokalani'ōpu'u, introduced a bill entitled, "He Kanawai e hoohoihoi ai i ke kukulu ana i kekahi Laina Mokumahu hou mawaena o na Kaleponi ma Amerika Huipuia a me na Mokupuni o ke aupuni Hawai'i" (An Act to encourage the establishing of a new Steamship Line between the western coasts of California in the United States of America and the Islands of the Hawaiian Kingdom).[38] The opening line explained the commercial and personal benefits:

> No ka mea, o ka hoala hou ana i kekahi Laina Mokumahu mawaena o San Diego ma ka Mokuaina o Kaleponi, Amerika Huipuia a me Hilo me Honolulu ma Ko Hawai'i Paeaina he mea ia e hoomahuahua ae ai i ka hooholo mua ana i na oihana kalepa a me ka lawe ana i na leta; a he mea no hoi ia e pakui hou mai ai i ke komo nui ana mai o na poe makaikai i keia paeaina. (Whereas, the establishing of a new steamship line between San Diego in the State of California, United States of America, and Hilo and Honolulu in the Hawaiian Islands would be a means of increasing the prosperity of agricultural industries and the carrying of mails; and would also be a means of again adding to the already large influx of visitors to this country.)[40]

While the bill garnered significant support in the Hawaiian Kingdom legislature, its opponents questioned the charcaterization of San Diego as a city on the rise, saying, "A year ago, San Diego was expected to be the New York of the Pacific. Now it is little better than Hilo itself."[41] On a vote of twenty-three to nineteen, the San Diego steamship line bill was indefinitely postponed.[42]

Girvin was not deterred. Other possibilities for connecting Hawai'i and San Diego were in the works. Days after the failed vote he wrote the foreign minister, "As His Hawaiian Majestys [sic] Consul for the Port of San Diego, I am requested to invite the cooperation of the Hawaiian Government in the establishment of The Southwest International Exposition to be opened in this city on the 15th day of January 1891."[43] The San Diego Chamber of Commerce would be hosting the event with an invitation list that included Hawai'i, Mexico, Australia, and "other states and territories adjacent to California."[44] Girvin explained, "In view of the close connection likely to be established between San Diego and the Hawaiian Kingdom in the near future, an exhibit from the Islands, well displayed, could not but have a salutary effect in bringing the inhabitants of the respective countries into a friendly relation commercially and otherwise."[45] The Kingdom's consul closed his report by writing, "This mail will probably be the first to carry you the final news in regard to the passage of the Tariff Act. One effect of this will be that sugar will, after the first of April 1891, go to every port on the Pacific Coast instead of to San Francisco alone."[46]

There was money to be made in handling the export goods of the Hawaiian Islands, and the city of San Diego was determined to claim as much of that business as it could. For Hawai'i's part, San Diego's future, while still unsure, was well worth investigating. Who better fit for the job than the world-experienced traveler, Mō'ī Kalākaua himself? In fact, after being sick off and on for several months, the king had decided to heed his doctor's advice to "go abroad for better air."

THE KING IN CALIFORNIA

On Thursday, December 4, 1890, after a speedy nine-day passage covering the nearly 2,400 miles between Honolulu and San Francisco, the USS *Charleston* arrived in San Francisco harbor with Mō'ī Kalākaua aboard. The Hae Kalaunu (Royal Standard) of Mō'ī Kalākaua flew from the ship's flagpole. Around four o'clock in the afternoon, the vessel was spotted from shore and a twenty-one-gun salute was fired from Fort Mason. A private barge met the *Charleston* and ferried the Hawaiian monarch toward the crowded Clay Street wharf where General Gibson, commander of the US Pacific Division, and a battalion of United States cavalrymen awaited. Setting foot on solid ground, Kalākaua acknowledged the massive crowd by bowing right and then left. Hearty cheers arose. The king was escorted to a nearby carriage, drawn by four horses, and driven to the city's finest accomodations: the Palace Hotel. The group's approach to the hotel was heralded by the clatter of two troops of US Cavalry and the blare of a brass band playing "Hail to the Chief." Once inside, a planned reception was hosted by California's governor, Robert W. Waterman, and attended by San Francisco Mayor Edward B. Pond along with various representatives of the city's commercial interests, prominent citizens, and the Hawaiian Kingdom counsul for San Francisco, D. A. McKinley.

On December 7, Mō'ī Kalākaua dined at the San Francisco home of John Diedrich Spreckels. John's father, Claus, was deeply invested in both Hawaiian sugar and land; "Spreckelsville" was founded in 1878 around a massive sugar mill on the island of Maui that in the 1890s became one the largest cane opertations in the world.

John had studied chemistry and mechanical engineering, working for his father in the Hawaiian sugar business before starting his own shipping company. Having recently moved to San Francisco, he visited the Southern California town of San Diego and was impressed enough to invest in real estate there. Spreckels became a partner in the Hotel Del Coronado.

While the "City by the Bay" was fawning over the presence of the Hawaiian monarch, municipal leaders to the south were working hard to entice a visit. At a meeting of the San Diego Chamber of Commerce, a resolution inviting King Kalākaua to visit was unanimously adopted. The December 10 issue of the *San Diego Union* announced the good news: "Within a few days, King Kalakaua of the Sandwich Islands will come to San Diego. He has announced through the San Francisco papers his intention to remain at Hotel Del Coronado until after Christmas."[47] The paper noted, "Advantage should be taken of his presence here to get his views on the subject of traffic between San Diego and the Islands. His visit will doubtless be fruitful in good results."[48]

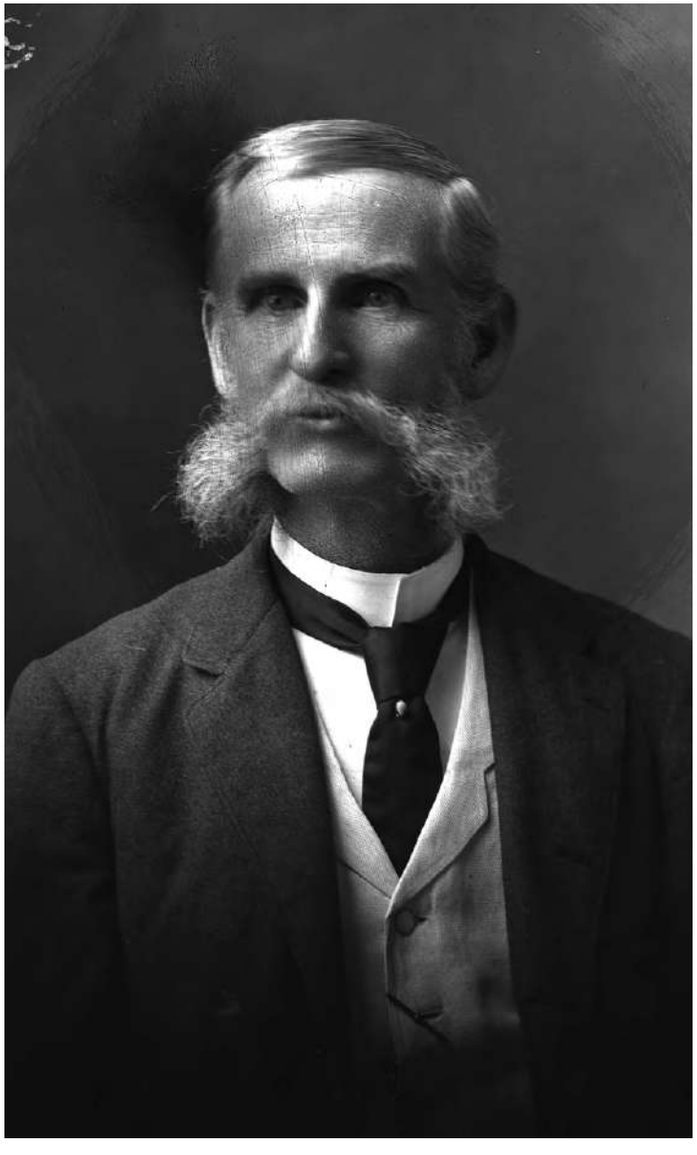
The Hotel Coronado sprang into action. Cofounder E. S. Babcock immediately wrote a San Francisco connection, asking, "Wish you would call on the King and see how many rooms he will want for his suite, and about how arranged."[49] Christmas week would be fully booked and management wished to "make ample arrangements for his comfort by reserving comfortable rooms in whatever part of the hotel he prefers."[50] Next, Babcock wrote Spreckles: "Dear Sir: As King Kalakaua is probably coming here for Christmas week, would like to borrow from you a Hawaiian flag, to be hoisted in honor of his visit."[51] Consul Girvin worked to lay some groundwork for the King's visit by scheduling a public lecture on Hawai'i.

MŌ'Ī KALĀKAUA HEADS SOUTH

The King departed San Francisco on the morning of December 27, 1890, setting out aboard the private car *Sacramento* that had been placed at his disposal by the owner of the Southern Pacific Railway. The *San Diego Union* prepared its readers for the arrival of the stately visitor, stating, "He is one of the most enlightend and thoroughbly able monarchs of modern times, a patron of arts, science and literature, a friend of liberal government and a wise and sagacious ruler."[52] The paper continued:

> During his reign the Hawaiian Kingdom has been exceedingly prosperous, for his policy has been most liberal to all interests. He has encouraged the development of the country, he has welcomed foreigners, and has surrounded himself with men of great intelligence and ability...Commercial and social intercourse between his Kingdom and the United States has been uninterrupted, and is yearly expanding. It will be wholly appropriate for our people to bestow some mark of especial respect upon this distinguished guest, because he is thoroughly a friend to all Americans, and because the time is fast approaching when the relations between his people and the people of San Diego will be far more intimate than at present.

Mō'ī Kalākaua rose early on December 29, 1890, his first full day in San Diego, reporting a good night's sleep aided by the familiar sounds of the shore break outside his ocean-front suite.[54] After dressing, the king went for

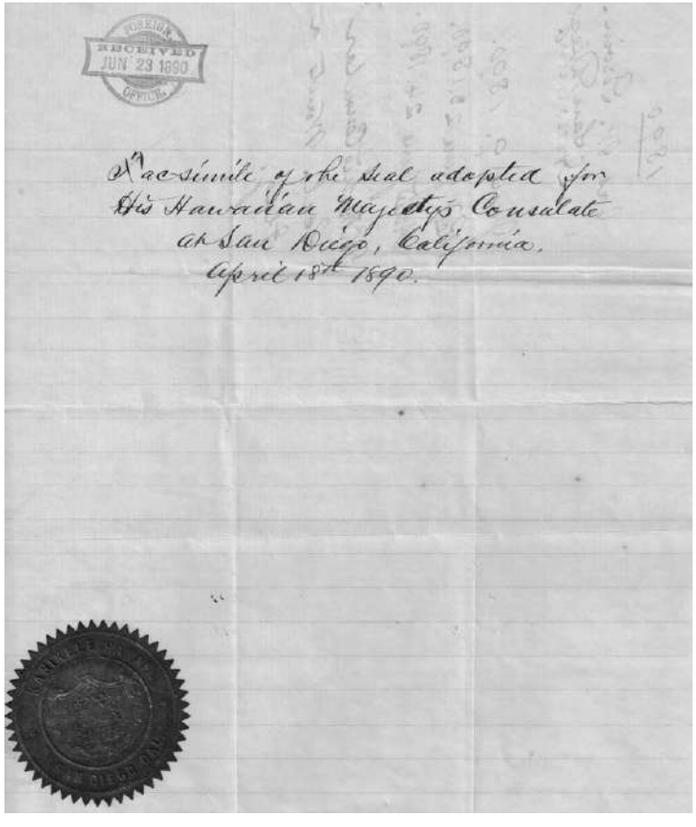


James Walter Girvin, Hawaiian Kingdom Consul in San Diego 1890–1893. Hawai'i State Archives.

a walk around the grand hotel and its grounds, admiring the impressive architecture and picturesque seascape. The Del had opened its doors to the world in January 1888 after its founders had spent more than $1 million in construction and outfitting costs.[55] The single largest hotel in the world, it contained a plethora of world-class luxuries, incluing an Olympic-sized salt water pool, tennis courts, bowling alleys, and billiard rooms. Verdant gardens, expansive veranadas, plentiful sunshine, and the crisp ocean air helped market the luxury hotel as a health resort.

Upon returning to his suite, Kalākaua engaged in the business of a ruling sovereign, writing to his cabinet ministers and the current regent, his sister Kamali'i Wahine Lili'uokalani, whom he had placed on the throne in his absence. Having completed this work, the gregarious monarch descended to the hotel parlor to host a late morning reception for US Army officers stationed in San Diego and excited guests of the hotel whom he had befriended. Interested parties who wandered by were encouraged to join in the dining and conversation. Mō'ī Kalākaua shared experiences from his prior world travels and expressed himself as much pleased with the climate in this Southern California locale.

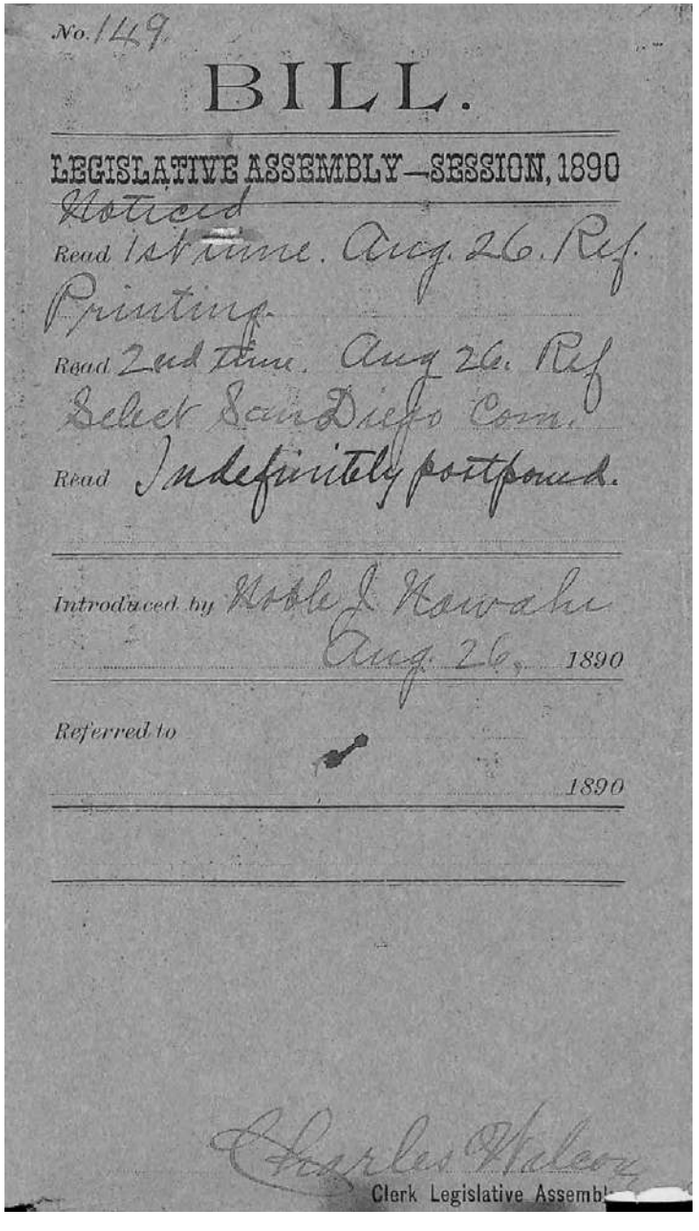
Mayor Gunn arrived at the hotel just after noon, accompanied by other dignitaries and prominent citizens. An invitation to visit the city's government buildings and Chamber of Commerce was extended and accepted. Colonel Olin Wellborn, a former US Congressman from Texas now living in San Diego, had brought along his favored horses "to give the King an opportunity to see the city behind spirited horse flesh."[56] Kalākaua, a horse



Official Seal, "Kanikele Hawai'i San Diego Cal. (Hawaiian Consulate San Diego California)," 1890.

owner and keen enthusiast himself, skillfully mounted the steed while the rest of those present climbed inside carriages. At just past one o'clock, the group left the hotel grounds. The procession traveled the principal streets of the city, initially heading up to Florence Heights and then returning through the public open space called "City Park." The final destination was the offices of the Chamber of Commerce downtown.

A great crowd had congregated outside the building, having correctly predicted that the distinguished visitor would be brought to this location. The San Diego Board of Trade and other city officials had worked with the Chamber of Commerce to craft a presentation of local products that might find an eager audience abroad. Mō'ī Kalākaua, being conducted through the hall, expressed a pronounced interest, asking questions about the specific capabilities of the harbor.[57] Wellborn later described the visiting sovereign as "enthusiastic" and reported that Kalākaua had characterized San Diego's climate and surroundings as "so attractive that he should like to have a residence here."[58] Kalākaua and his party returned to the Hotel Del Coronado where he dined quietly in a private room. Before retiring for the evening, the king expressed enthusiasm over what he had seen on his first day in the city. When asked about his health and how he was feeling after the long day, he denied being tired.[59] Nevertheless, soon after 10 p.m.—relatively early for him—Mō'ī Kalākaua retreated to his bed.[60] The Hawaiian monarch passed another restful night at the Del, and after enjoying a brief breakfast, once again returned to his suite to address the business of corresponding with officials back in Honolulu. Around mid-morning, he called for Ensign Blow. Upon arrival, the naval officer saw, spread out on the table, naval charts which he had obtained for the king from Washington. Mō'ī Kalākaua questioned the officer at length concerning the logistics of moving goods into and out of the port of San Diego and also of "the advantages to be derived from a cable and steamer line to this point [San Diego]."[61] The questioning continued until lunchtime. An extended meal was yet another opportunity for the



No. 149.

BILL.

LEGISLATIVE ASSEMBLY—SESSION, 1890

Noticed

Read 1st time. Aug. 26. Ref. Printing.

Read 2nd time. Aug 26. Ref Select San Diego Com.

Read Indefinitely postponed.

Introduced by Noble J. Kawahe

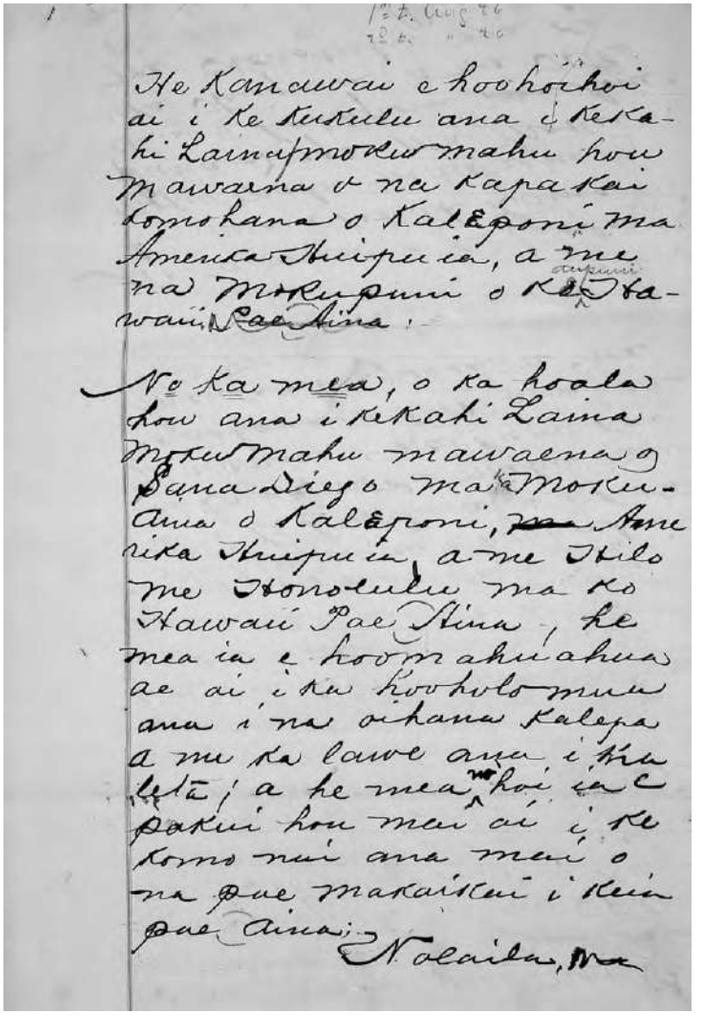
Aug. 26, 1890

Referred to

1890

Charles Watson

Clerk Legislative Assembl



He Kanawai e hoohoihoi ai i Ke Kukulu ana i kekahi Laina Mokumahu hou Mawaena o na kapakai komohana o Kaleponio ma Amerika Huipuia a me na Mokupuni o Ka Aupuni Hawai'i (An Act to encourage the establishing of a new Steamship Line between the western coasts of California in the United States of America and the Islands of the Hawaiian Kingdom).

Hotel Del Coronado Archives, www.hoteldel.com/timeline/del-debuts.

Hawaiian monarch to make connections, and new guests of the hotel—noticing the lively attention focused around the dining hall—were welcomed to the festivities.

Mōʻī Kalākaua was a high-ranking member of the Masonic order and he was welcomed around the world by his fellow masons whenever he traveled.[62] San Diego was no exception. An honorary dinner and ceremony in the king's honor had been arranged by the San Diego Commandery, No. 25, Knights Templar to be hosted at the home of L. S. McLure, a prominent local banker.[63] The formal event saw the king in his element, beginning with a nearly four-hour dinner and dialogue. Upon completion of the meal, the gathering adjourned to the San Diego asylum to attend a special meeting of the Commandery where E. T. Blackmer conferred a special order on one of the local members.[64] Mōʻī Kalākaua reurned to the Del at around ten thirty, reporting that he "had passed a most agreeable evening."[65] He retired to his room soon after.

The final day of the year, and the king's last in San Diego, was set aside for a special excursion outside the city. On invitation of both the National City & Otay Railroad Company and Land and Town Company, Mōʻī Kalākaua and suite were to take a tour of some of the

agricultural, architectural, and technological successes developed on lands adjacent to San Diego. The travel party was larger than planned as the Hawaiian monarch had quickly turned strangers into acquaintances and then into travel mates, inviting several parties from the hotel. At nine that morning, the eager clique clambered aboard the special car set out for the king.

The initial stop was National City, just south of San Diego. Frank Kimball—a wealthy real estate magnate from San Francisco—and his brothers had purcahsed a large tract of land there in 1868, founding National City as ranch land.[66] Mōʻī Kalākaua toured the Kimball's olive groves planted with trees obtained from Italy. Kimball explained the process of curing olives and showed off his oil presses. Kalākaua noted that there was much unutilized land in his country suitable for the growth of the olive and that it seemed a business in which small landholders could engage.[67] The special pulled out at ten thirty, headed to the stately residence of another local land owner and partner of Kimball, W. G. Dickenson."[68] Nearly 100 excited residents of National City had gathered at the Dickenson home awaiting the Hawaiian monarch's arrival. Once there, Mōʻī Kalākaua "held a recpetion in the parlors" filled with "full and boisterous conversation."[69] Too soon for many, it was time to move on. Next on the agenda was a display of new technology the king's hosts were perhaps most proud of.

Back home, the Honolulu-based *Ka Nupepa Kuokoa* shared with its readers the modern wonder visited that day by their mōʻī: "Ma ka la 31 ae, hele makou e maikaikai i ka mano-wai o Sweet Water Dam, nona na galani wai he 6,000,000,000. O ke awawa okoa no kai lilo o mano-wai, a

ua lawa hoi keia wai no ka hoolako ana i ke kulanakauhale o San Diego holookoa." (On the 31st past, they journeyed to Sweet Water Dam, which holds 6,000,000,000 gallons of water. Several different valleys supply the dam and this water is enough to supply the entire town of San Diego.) The massive gravity arch dam sent water through almost sixty miles of pipe to communities south of San Diego.[71] The dam "called forth his admiration" and Kalakaua was greatly interested in the method of its construction and the system of irrigation in use.[72]

Having taken in the impressive technology of Sweetwater Dam, the travel party was on the move again, further south. At just past noon, the company made the US-Mexico border. The Republic of Mexico was no diplomatic stranger to the visting soverign, as the Hawaiian Kingdom had diplomatic consulates on the nation's central pacific coast at Manzanillo and Colima, and in the heart of the nation at Mexico City. As a portion of this day trip, Tijuana would suffice. Mexican officials had been notified ahead of the visit and the king's party was welcomed with ceremony and cordiality.[73] Officer Montana guided the party to the customs house where they saluted the flag of the Republic of Mexico and enjoyed a brief lunch. Reports of the visit were concise, with one newspaper summarizing: "King Kalakaua visited the shops and smoked Mexican cigarettes with relish."[74] In late afternoon, the party began making their way back to San Diego. On the ride home, some of the ladies from the hotel began singing parts of the "pretty Hawaiian airs" previously taught to them by Mōʻī Kalākaua. He soon joined them "in fine voice" and "filling in the parts yet unlearned."[75]

Mōʻī Kalākaua arrived at the Coronado around five o'clock and soon after went to dinner in a private room. Even after this long day of activities, more was planned. Some of the hotel guests staged a "fine musical" for the entertainment of the king, after which "many gentlemen + ladies were formerly presented and dancing was indulged in."[76] Finally, around ten thirty that evening, he retired to his room.

By seven o'clock in the morning on New Year's Day 1891, Mōʻī Kalākaua and his party were heading north aboard their private train car. In a letter to Kamaliʻi Wahine Liliʻuokalani, Consul Girvin explained, "The citizens of San Diego were pleased at the opportunity of meeting His Majesty and hope that the acquaintance so agreeably made shall ripen into a clear connection commercially between Southern California and His Majesty's Kingdom."[77] All reports were that the Hawaiian sovereign had greatly enjoyed his time visiting San Diego, and his boisterous countenance fed hopes that his health might be improving. A letter from the monarch himself, however, offered a more troubling account of his "recuperation" in California:

> Not one moments rest. Travelling day and night. Receptions, Balls, Dinners, Masonic initiation. . . . Sunshine, Rain, Storm, &c. its all the same. Wonder that I am not half dead yet. Anyhow everything has its effect and I have learnt and have seen a great deal. Nice country Good People and all that but awfully damn cold. Whio!"[78]

Upon arrival in Los Angeles, Mōʻī Kalākaua told a reporter for the *Herald*, "I was much impressed with the spirit and enterprise displayed by the people there.

I predict a great future for both places, particularly San Diego."[79] He added, "I feel that I ought to recommend to our Legislature the propriety or wisdom of establishing trade relations with San Diego and Los Angeles."[80]

The taxing schedule took its toll. His stamina weakened noticably while in Los Angleles, and on January 4, in Santa Barbara, Mōʻī Kalākaua suffered a "slight" stroke.[81] The hard-driving monarch pressed on, offering an apologetic explanation to those who had been waiting to meet him: "In driving to 'Ellwood,' Mr. Cooper's olive ranch...I caught a bad cold, which developed into a bilious fever and in consequence I had to forego many pleasant excursions tendered to me."[82] As the train continued Mōʻī Kalākaua grew fragile. The party reached San Francisco on January 8 and Chamberlain MacFarlane reported, "His Majesty is still very weak, and by his physician's advice will cancel all engagemants until he is well again."[83] Within days, the King of Hawaiʻi would be dead.

EPILOGUE: SAN DIEGO AND HAWAIʻI POST KALĀKAUA

On January 24, 1891, Girvin wrote to Queen Liliʻuokalani, offering "not only my sympathy but also that of the community of San Diego in your bereavement."[84] He explained, "I feel as if I had lost a very close friend."[85] Consul Girvin wrote Kalākaua's sister again on February 11: "Personally I was acquainted with His Majesty for twenty-five years and must say that his unexpected death has grieved me more than any event of my life."[86] He closed the lengthy letter by wishing her "a long and prosperous reign."[87] However, as subsequent events would demonstrate, Girvin—and San Diego boosters generally—had more interest in commercial connections to Hawaiʻi than in abstract notions of Hawaiian sovereignty. Local citizens' interest in the pageantry of King Kalākaua did not outweigh their support for the eventual American annexation of the kingdom.

The death of Mōʻī Kalākaua had delivered his heir apparent Kamāliʻi Wahine (Princess) Liliʻuokalani to the throne amidst political turmoil in the Islands. The ongoing ascendancy of the white business class of the Islands during the reign of Kalākaua (1874–1891), and their imposition of a new constitution amidst a private-militia led coup in 1887, was met by widespread resistance by Kanaka ʻŌiwi. On January 14, 1893, responding to the voices of the great majority of her subjects, Mōʻīwahine Liliʻuokalani brought a new constitution that reasserted Native Hawaiian control to her cabinet for their approval. The men who had imposed the earlier governing document, backed by the US Consul to Hawaiʻi and marines from the USS *Boston*, responded with a January 17, 1893 coup toppling the Hawaiian monarchy.[88] The insurgents declared a provisional government to exist "until terms of union with the United States of America have been negotiated and agreed upon."[89] The vast diplomatic network begun by Mōʻī Kauikeaouli in the 1840s and significantly expanded throughout the reign of Kalākaua was now directed at the contrary purpose of promoting an end to the nation's independence and annexation as an American territory.

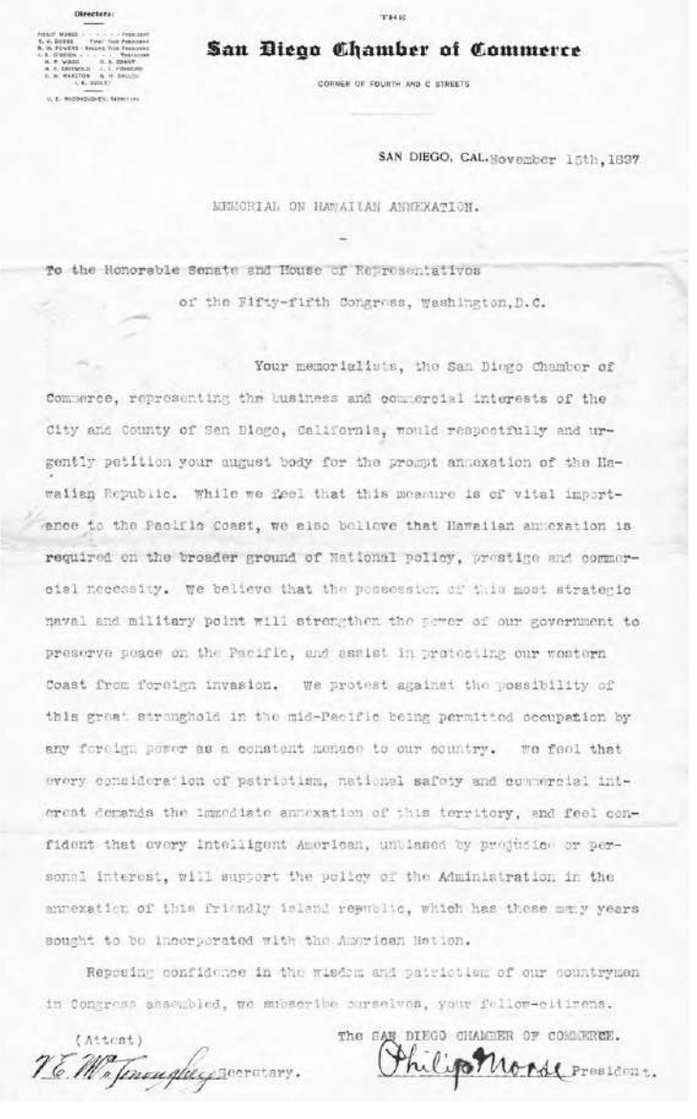
Following the January 17, 1893 coup, Hawaiian Kingdom consuls abroad were ordered to sign oaths of allegiance to the Provisional Government (PG) or resign their positions. In San Diego, Girvin swiftly revoked his sworn allegiance to king and constitution and offered his

services to the new government as a promotional agent of annexation. On January 30, Girvin wrote to the PG Consul in Washington DC, "I got a column in the evening paper and succeeded in squelching a dispatch which dubbed our party 'insurrectionists' etc. I will keep the matter to the front both here and in Los Angeles. I trust the Senate will go in for annextion. They will if the press of the country urge it..."[90]

Although initial efforts to seek annexation were rebuffed by President Cleveland—who called the involvement of US troops in the coup "an act of war"[91]—the 1898 outbreak of the Spanish-Filipino-American War brought the question of the annexation of the Hawaiian Islands back to the fore. The same San Diego businessmen that had enthusiastically rolled out the metaphoric red carpet for the king of Hawai'i now delivered to the US Congress a petition "urgently" supporting the end of Hawaiian independence. *The Hawaiian Gazette*, under the title "San Diego Men Want Hawai'i," reported, "Representative Castle today presented to the house a petition of the Chamber of Commerce of San Diego in favor of the annexation of the Hawaiian Islands."[92] That document, part of the record of the 52nd Congress of the United States, reads:

MEMORIAL ON HAWAIIAN ANNEXATION

Your memorialists, the San Diego Chamber of Commerce, representing the business and commercial interests of the City and County of San Diego, California, would respectfully and urgently petition your august body for the prompt annexation of the Hawaiian Republic. While we feel



Directors:

THE

San Diego Chamber of Commerce

CORNER OF FOURTH AND C STREETS

SAN DIEGO, CAL. November 15th, 1897

MEMORIAL ON HAWAIIAN ANNEXATION.

To the Honorable Senate and House of Representatives
of the Fifty-fifth Congress, Washington, D.C.

Your memorialists, the San Diego Chamber of Commerce, representing the business and commercial interests of the City and County of San Diego, California, would respectfully and urgently petition your august body for the prompt annexation of the Hawaiian Republic. While we feel that this measure is of vital importance to the Pacific Coast, we also believe that Hawaiian annexation is required on the broader ground of National policy, prestige and commercial necessity. We believe that the possession of this most strategic naval and military point will strengthen the power of our government to preserve peace on the Pacific, and assist in protecting our western Coast from foreign invasion. We protest against the possibility of this great stronghold in the mid-Pacific being permitted occupation by any foreign power as a constant menace to our country. We feel that every consideration of patriotism, national safety and commercial interest demands the immediate annexation of this territory, and feel confident that every intelligent American, unbiased by prejudice or personal interest, will support the policy of the Administration in the annexation of this friendly island republic, which has these many years sought to be incorporated with the American Nation.

Reposing confidence in the wisdom and patriotism of our countrymen in Congress assembled, we subscribe ourselves, your fellow-citizens.

The SAN DIEGO CHAMBER OF COMMERCE.

(Attest) T. E. McGonigle Secretary. Philip Morse President.

Memorial of the San Diego Chamber of Congress to the United States Congress supporting the annexation of Hawai'i, November 1897, US Library of Congress.

that this measure is of vital importance to the Pacific Coast, we also believe that Hawaiian annexation is required on the broader ground of National policy, prestige and commercial necessity. We believe that the possession of this most strategic naval and military point will strengthen the power of our government to preserve peace on the Pacific, and assist in protecting our western Coast from foreign invasion. We protest against the possibility of this great stronghold in the mid-Pacific being permitted occupation by any foreign power as a constant menace to our country. We feel that every cosideration of patriotism, national safety and commercial interest demands the immediate annexation of this territory, and feel confident that every intelligent American, unbiased by prejudice or personal interest, will support the policy of the Administration in the annexation of this friendly island republic, which has these many years sought to be incorporated with the American Nation.

Reposing confidence in the wisdom and patriotism of our countrymen in Congress assembled, we subscribe ourselves, your fellow-citizens.

The San Diego Chamber of Commerce
Philip Morse President

Oral histories record firsthand accounts of the somber cries and traditional wailing that erupted throughout Honolulu at noon on August 12, 1898 as the Hawaiian flag was ceremoniously lowered from its station at ʻIolani Palace, to be replaced by the US ensign. The Hawaiian nation was no more.

RONALD WILLIAMS JR., PHD, DR. RONALD WILLIAMS JR. HOLDS A PHD IN HISTORY WITH A SPECIALIZATION IN HAWAIʻI AND NATIVE-LANGUAGE RESOURCES. HE IS A FORMER FACULTY MEMBER AT THE HAWAIʻINUIĀKEA SCHOOL OF HAWAIIAN KNOWLEDGE AT UH MĀNOA AND WAS THE FOUNDING DIRECTOR OF THE UNIVERSITY'S LĀHUI HAWAIʻI RESEARCH CENTER. HE SERVED AS PAST PRESIDENT OF THE 131-YEAR OLD HAWAIIAN HISTORICAL SOCIETY AND HAS PUBLISHED IN A WIDE VARIETY OF ACADEMIC AND PUBLIC HISTORY VENUES INCLUDING THE *OXFORD ENCYCLOPEDIA OF RELIGION IN AMERICA*, *THE HAWAIIAN JOURNAL OF HISTORY*, AND *HANA HOU! MAGAZINE*.

NOTES

1 "King Kalakaua Dead," [SF] *Morning Call*, 21 January 1891, page 1; "With Kingly Honors," [SF] *Morning Call*, 22 January 1891, page 1; "The Dead Monarch," *Sacramento Daily Record Union*, 22 January 1891, page 1.

2 Examples stretch across a broad range of disciplines including history, political science, law, geography, religion, education and more. Some examples: Noenoe K. Silva, *Aloha Betrayed: Native Hawaiian Resistance to American Colonialism*. Duke University Press, 2018; David A. Chang, *The World and All the Things Upon It: Native Hawaiian Geographies of Exploration*. University of Minnesota Press, 2016; Kamanamaikalani Beamer, *No Mākou Ka Mana: Liberating the Nation*. Kamehameha Publishing, 2014; Lorenz Gonschor, *A Power in the World: The Hawaiian Kingdom as a Model of Hybrid Statecraft in Oceania and a Progenitor of Pan-Oceanianism*. University of Hawai'i Press, 2016. Marie-Alohalani Brown, *Facing the Spears of Change: The Life and Legacy of John Papa 'Ī'ī*. University of Hawai'i Press, 2016; Ronald Williams Jr., "Christianity in Hawai'i." in *The Oxford Encyclopedia of Religion in America. First edition*. Oxford University Press, 2018; Ronald Williams Jr., "'Ike Mōakaaka, Seeing a Path Forward: Historiography in Hawai'i," in *Hūlili: Multidisciplinary Research on Hawaiian Well-Being*, Vol. 7, 2011.

3 Tiffany Lani Ing, *Reclaiming Kalākaua: Nineteenth-Century Perspectives on a Hawaiian Sovereign*. University of Hawai'i Press, 2019.

4 On 28 November 1843, Her Majesty Queen Victoria of the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland, and King Louis-Phillipe of France formally recognized the Hawaiian Kingdom as a co-equal sovereign and independent nation with the signing of the 1843 Anglo-French Declaration. Hawai'i became the first non-European borne nation in the world to achieve this recognition. The day, Lā Kū'oko'a (Independence Day), was marked as a national holiday in Hawai'i.

5 Following a personal visit with Thomas Edison in his New York studio, Mō'ī Kalakaua had the 'Iolani Palace grounds lit with electric lights for his 50th birthday celebration in November 1886, and by June 1887 the Palace itself was lit with 325 incandescent lights. This pre-dated the use of electric lights at the US White House by four years. The editor of the *Los Angeles Herald* declared Kalākaua, "a man of culture and wide observation. He was liberal in his views, and pursued a steadfast policy in the interest and prosperity of his people. Measured by the mental calibre of the average European sovereiegn, the dead king of the Hawaiian Islands was a Hyperion to a satyr.[5] *Los Angels Herald*, 21 January 1891, page 4.

6 The exhibition catalogue, *Ho'oulu Hawai'i: The King Kalākaua Era*, contains essays that highlight this significant shift in the historiography of Hawai'i. The book was awarded the "Samuel Mānaiakalani Kamakau Book of the Year Award" by the Hawai'i Book Publishers' Association in 2019. *Ho'oulu Hawai'i: The King Kalākaua Era*, Healoha Johnston, Leah Caldeira, Ronald Williams Jr., Lorenz Gonschor, Stacey Kamehiro, Amy Ku'uleialoha Stillman, Alice Christophe, and Teresa Williams Valencia. *Ho'oulu Hawai'i: The King Kalākaua Era*. Honolulu Museum of Art, 2018.

7 Of particular support where the diplomatic correspondence contained in the Foreign Office and Executive, Foreign Officials Abroad Collection [Series 404] held by the Hawai'i State Archives.

8 George P. Blow, US Navy, Secretary and Aide to Commander in Chief, Pacific Station, "Notes of King Kalakaua's Trip Through Southern California." George P. Blow Collection, U.S. Navy Department Library.

9 George P. Blow, US Navy, Secretary and Aide to Commander in Chief, Pacific Station, "Notes of King Kalakaua's Trip Through Southern California." George P. Blow Collection, US Navy Department Library. The *Sacramento Daily Union* Record of 29 December 1890, page 1, reported the crowd to be 500 people.

10 Radio-carbon dating, pollen analysis, linguistic analysis, oral histories and more have revelaed that Kanaka 'Ōiwi/Polynesians traversed thousands of miles of the Pacific Ocean and landed at sites throughout the Americas centuries before Capt. Cook arrived in Hawai'i. Polynesian/Kanaka 'Ōiwi Oceanic travel generally halted sometime around 1300 a.d. and was re-ignited with this eighteenth-century arrival of foreign vessels. K. R Howe, *Vaka Moana: Voyages of the Ancestors—the discovery and settlement of the Pacific*, University of Hawai'i Press, 2006.

[11] David Chang, *The World and All the Things Upon It: Native Hawaiian Geographies of Exploration*, University of Minnesota Press, 2016, page vii.

[12] Richard Henry Dana, T*wo Years before the Mast: A Personal Narrative*, by Richard Henry Dana, Jr. Houghton, Mifflin, 1883, pages 165–166.

[13] "Shipping Intelligence for the Port of Honolulu," *Polynesian*, 12 April 1845, page 3.

[14] "Important News!" *Polynesian*, 16 January 1847, page 1.

[16] "Hu ke Gula ma Sana Diego," *Ka Nupepa Kuokoa*, 2 Aperila 1870, ʻaoʻao 2.

[18] "Hu ke Gula ma Sana Diego," *Ka Nupepa Kuokoa*, 2 Aperila 1870, ʻaoʻao 2.

[20] "Nu Hou O Na Aina E," *Ke Au Okoa*, 7 ʻAperila 1870, ʻaoʻao 3.

[22] "Nu Hou O Na Aina E," *Ke Au Okoa*, 7 ʻAperila 1870, ʻaoʻao 3.

[23] "Kekahi Mau Mea o Kaleponi: No Na Aina o ka Hema," *Ka Nupepa Kuokoa*, 25 Iune 1870, ʻaoʻao 4.

[25] "Kekahi Mau Mea o Kaleponi: No Na Aina o ka Hema," *Ka Nupepa Kuokoa*, 25 Iune 1870, ʻaoʻao 4.

[27] *Ka Lahui Hawaiʻi*, 21 Dekemaba 1876, ʻaoʻao 3.

[28] San Diego was one of 136 Hawaiian Kingdom consulates located on six continents around the globe during the 19th century. For a listing see: Ronald Williams Jr., "Ea mai Hawaiʻinuiakea": Marking the Global Diplomatic Presence of the Nineteenth-century Hawaiian Kingdom" in *Hawaiian Journal of History* vol. 53 [2019], pages 133–138.

[29] Girvin to Austin, 3 April 1890, FO&Ex 404-35-573, Hawaiʻi State Archives, Honolulu.

[30] While much has been written positing a Creole or Pidgen English as the "common language" that united the differing ethnicities in Hawaiʻi, government and legal records also indicate that many Chinese, Japanese, and Portuguese immigrant workers were fluent in Hawaiian and not English. For these people, ʻōlelo Hawaiʻi was the common language.

[31] Hawaiian Kingdom Naturalization, Series 234, Naturalization #35, 14 July 1877, Hawaiʻi State Archives.

[32] Gibson was one of Mōʻī Kalākaua's closest confidants and held numerous high-level positions in the Hawaiian Kingdom government during the 1880s including: Attorney General; Minister of Foreign Affairs; member, House of Representatives; member, House of Nobles; member, Privy Council; President, Board of Health; President, Board of Education; and Commissioner of Crown Lands.

[33] The address is taken from San Diego consulate letterhead. Sanborn Fire Insurance maps circa 1890s allow for location of the building. Today a building at the site houses a credit union.

[34] Girvin to Austin, 9 June 1890, FOEx 404-35-573, Hawaiʻi State Archives.

[35] Girvin to Austin, 3 April 1890, FOEx 404-35-573, Hawaiʻi State Archives.

[36] Girvin to Austin, 3 April 1890, FOEx 404-35-573, Hawaiʻi State Archives.

[38] Hawaiian Kingdom Legislature, 222-4-4, Hawaiʻi State Archives.

[40] Hawaiian Kingdom Legislature, 222-4-4, Hawaiʻi State Archives.

[41] *Hawaiian Gazette*, 30 September 1890, page 3.

[42] Hawaiian Kingdom, Journal of the Legislative Assembly, 1890, vol 40page 221, Hawaiʻi State Archives.

[43] Girvin to Cummins, 29 September 1890, FOEx 404-35-573, Hawaiʻi State Archives, Honolulu.

[44] Girvin to Cummins, 29 September 1890, FOEx 404-35-573, Hawaiʻi State Archives, Honolulu.

[45] Girvin to Cummins, 29 September 1890, FOEx 404-35-573, Hawaiʻi State Archives, Honolulu.

[46] Girvin to Cummins, 29 September 1890, FOEx 404-35-573, Hawaiʻi State Archives, Honolulu.

[47] *San Diego Union*, 14 December 1890, page 4. The Union newspaper was owned by John Speckles.

[48] *San Diego Union*, 14 December 1890, page 4.

[49] Babcock to Bridgman, 10 December 1890.

[50] Babcock to Bridgman, 10 December 1890.

[51] Babcock to Spreckles, 20 December 1890. On the same day, the hotelman also wrote Consul Girvin asking for instruction on protocol for flying the national ensign.

[52] "King Kalakaua," *San Diego Union*, 29 December 1890, 4.

[53] "King Kalakaua," *San Diego Union*, 29 December 1890, 4.

[54] George P. Blow, US Navy, Secretary and Aide to Commander in Chief, Pacific Station, "Notes of King Kalakaua's Trip Through Southern California."

[55] George P. Blow, US Navy, Secretary and Aide to Commander in Chief, Pacific Station, "Notes of King Kalakaua's Trip Through Southern California."

[56] "King Kalakaua.His Movements in Southern California," *Hawaiian Gazette*, 27 January 1891, page 9.

[57] "The Royal Progress," *Los Angeles Herald*, 1 January 1891, page 6.

[58] "King Kalakaua. His Movements in Southern California," *Hawaiian Gazette*, 27 January 1891, page 9.

[59] George P. Blow, US Navy, Secretary and Aide to Commander in Chief, Pacific Station, "Notes of King Kalakaua's Trip Through Southern California." George P. Blow Collection, US Navy Department Library.

[60] George P. Blow, US Navy, Secretary and Aide to Commander in Chief, Pacific Station, "Notes of King Kalakaua's Trip Through Southern California." George P. Blow Collection, US Navy Department Library.

[61] George P. Blow, US Navy, Secretary and Aide to Commander in Chief, Pacific Station, "Notes of King Kalakaua's Trip Through Southern California." George P. Blow Collection, US Navy Department Library.

[62] Kalākaua was a 33rd degree mason, named Master of *Lodge Le Progres de l'Oceanie* in 1876, an in 1880 was bestowed with the Grand Cross of the Court Honor, the highest individual honor that the Supreme Council of the Scottish Rite of Freemasonry can bestow.

[63] Girvin to Lili'uokalani, 24 Janauray 1891. FO+Ex 404-35-573, Hawai'i State Archives, Honolulu.

[64] Girvin to Lili'uokalani, 24 Janauray 1891. FO+Ex 404-35-573, Hawai'i State Archives, Honolulu.

[65] George P. Blow, US Navy, Secretary and Aide to Commander in Chief, Pacific Station, "Notes of King Kalakaua's Trip Through Southern California." George P. Blow Collection, US Navy Department Library.

[66] George P. Blow, US Navy, Secretary and Aide to Commander in Chief, Pacific Station, "Notes of King Kalakaua's Trip Through Southern California." George P. Blow Collection, US Navy Department Library. The land on which it stands was previously home of the Apusquele of the Hamacha peoples.

[67] George P. Blow, US Navy, Secretary and Aide to Commander in Chief, Pacific Station, "Notes of King Kalakaua's Trip Through Southern California." George P. Blow Collection, US Navy Department Library.

[68] "The King's Excursion," *San Diego Union*, 1 January 1891, page 5.

[69] "The King's Excursion," *San Diego Union*, 1 January 1891, page 5.

[71] "Palapala Mai Kaleponi," *Ka Nupepa Kuokoa*, 24 January 1891, 'ao'ao 2.

[72] "King Kalakaua. His Movements in Southern California," *Hawaiian Gazette*, 27 January 1891, page 9 and George P. Blow, US Navy, Secretary and Aide to Commander in Chief, Pacific Station, "Notes of King Kalakaua's Trip Through Southern California." George P. Blow Collection, US Navy Department Library.

[73] *Le Trait d'Union*, a French-language newspaper in Mexico City reported on "Le roi des isles Sandwhich va faire un cour voyage aux Etats-Unis. Kalakaua visiteraseulement l'Etat de Californie, et la partie Nord de la Republique Mexicaine." (The king of the Sandwich isles is going to take a short trip to the United States. Kalākaua will only visit the state of California and the northern part of the Republic of Mexico.)

[74] "The King's Excursion," *San Diego Union*, 1 January 1891, page 5.

[75] Girvin to Lili'uokalani, 24 Janauray 1891. FO+Ex 404-35-573, Hawai'i State Archives, Honolulu.

[76] Girvin to Lili'uokalani, 24 Janauray 1891. FO+Ex 404-35-573, Hawai'i State Archives, Honolulu.

[77] Girvin to Lili'uokalani, 24 Janauray 1891. FO+Ex 404-35-573, Hawai'i State Archives, Honolulu.

[78] Kalākaua to Robertson, 1 January 1891 A.G.M. Robertson Manuscript Collection, M-390, Hawai'i State Archives.

[79] "King Kalakaua," *Los Angeles Herald*, 9 January 1891, page 1.

[80] "King Kalakaua," *Los Angeles Herald*, 9 January 1891, page 1.

[81] Ralph Kuykendal, *The Hawaiian Kingdom*, Volume 3, University of Hawai'i Press, 1967, page 472.

[82] "The King's Movements," *Hawaiian Gazette*, 20 January 1891, page 4.

[83] "The King's Movements," *Hawaiian Gazette*, 20 January 1891, page 4.

[84] Girvin to Lili'uokalani, 24 January 1891. FO+Ex 404-35-573, Hawai'i State Archives, Honolulu. Official condolences from both mens and womens follow.

85 Girvin to Lili'uokalani, 24 January 1891. FO+Ex 404-35-573, Hawai'i State Archives, Honolulu.
86 Girvin to Cummins, 11 February 1891, FOEx 404 - State Archives, Honolulu.
87 Girvin to Lili'uokalani, 24 January 1891. FO+Ex 404-35-573, State Archives, Honolulu.
88 The original formal protest of Her Majesty Queen Lili'uokalani can be accessed online at: https://hmha.missionhouses.org/items/show/883.
89 FO+Ex Broadsides, 1893, Hawai'i State Archives.
90 Girvin to Thurston, 30 January 1893, Hawaiian Officials Abroad, San Diego, FO+Ex 404-35-573, Hawai'i State Archives, Honolulu.
92 "San Diego Men Want Hawai'i," *Hawaiian Gazette*, 28 December 1897, page 1.
93 San Diego Chamber of Commerce, "Memorial On Hawaiian Annexation," 15 November 1897, Petitions and Memorials Referred to the Foreign Affairs Committee, US House of Representatives, during the 55th Congress (HR55A-H6.4, Box 170), National Archives and Records Administration. The author would like to acknowledge and thank Dr. Tiffany Lani Ing for her research assitance and content expertise that added to this essay.

BOOK REVIEWS

WE ARE NOT ANIMALS: INDIGENOUS POLITICS OF SURVIVAL, REBELLION, AND RECONSTITUTION IN NINETEENTH-CENTURY CALIFORNIA. BY MARTIN RIZZO-MARTINEZ. LINCOLN, NE: UNIVERSITY OF NEBRASKA PRESS, 2022. ILLUSTRATIONS, NOTES, BIBLIOGRAPHY, AND INDEX. XX + 481 PP. $80 CLOTH. $40 PAPER.
Reviewed by Kelly Silva, PhD and lecturer, University of California, San Diego.

We Are Not Animals: Indigenous Politics of Survival, Rebellion, and Reconstitution in Nineteenth-Century California, by Martin Rizzo-Martinez, is an impressively researched and insightful examination of the Indigenous individuals and families whose lives intersected with Mission Santa Cruz over the course of the nineteenth century. Utilizing oral histories, census reports, and chancery records while building upon the work of prior historians and anthropologists, the author animates Indigenous experiences within the Spanish colonial mission system and during the Mexican and American periods. By centering Native perspectives and epistemologies throughout the book, Rizzo-Martinez presents a nuanced, rich, and complex examination of Indigenous experiences and survival in colonial California.

The initial chapters explore the ways Indigenous individuals and families exercised power and agency

within Mission Santa Cruz by drawing upon traditional cultural practices, kinship networks, and political alliances. From the time they founded the mission in 1791, Spanish Franciscan missionaries began influencing Indigenous California with the baptism of children from surrounding tribal communities, including the Uypi, Quiroste, and Cotoni. This intrusive practice expanded to parents and eastern tribal communities, including the Ausaima and Tomoi, through a mix of political, social, and economic motivations, coupled with aggressive proselytizing, violence, and intimidation by padres. Rizzo-Martinez examines political and cultural expressions within and outside of the geographical boundaries of the mission by tracing the formation of new alliances and kinship networks, analyzing the diverse tactics Indigenous peoples used to combat colonial violence, and detailing the loss of far too many individuals, especially children, within this brutal system.

Stories of resilience, resistance, and survival reside at the heart of this book. Each act of rebellion, ranging from moments of refusal and escape to the coordinated assassination of a particularly cruel and sadistic padre, gives testament to Indigenous agency within the mission system and the myriad of ways they subverted colonial control. One chapter, "The Mission of Padres Killers," stands apart for its telling of the assassination of Padre Andres Quintana in 1812 and the coordinated cover-up that followed. Rizzo-Martinez forensically retells the histories, stories, and kinship connections between the individuals who participated in the assassination. This coordinated response must be read not simply as a story of resistance, but also as Indigenous politics at work.

The final chapters examine Indigenous survivors of the Santa Cruz mission system from the 1830s onward. Chronicling the transitions from Spanish to Mexican and then American rule, Rizzo-Martinez provides readers with a more complete picture of life during these three periods of colonization and what these rapid changes meant for the Indigenous individuals, families, and communities who lived through them. As they had done under Spanish colonization, Indigenous people responded and adapted to changing circumstances by drawing upon traditional practices and cultural expressions to build community ties with other survivors, even under the threat of increasingly violent and deadly circumstances.

Rizzo-Martinez concludes with stories of Native survival and revitalization in the twentieth and twenty-first centuries, including the formation of larger reconstituted tribal groups by descendants of mission survivors. This includes the Amah Mutsun Tribal band whose chair, Valentin Lopez, provides an insightful and heartfelt foreword to the book. These stories demonstrate the continued resilience, strength, and ingenuity of Indigenous Californians in the face of ongoing challenges.

Readers, both general and academic, will agree that books like this one, which center Indigenous perspectives, epistemologies, and methodologies, offer an extremely valuable contribution to California history.

LABORATORY OF DEFICIENCY: STERILIZATION AND CONFINEMENT IN CALIFORNIA, 1900–1950S. BY NATALIE LIRA. OAKLAND, CA: UNIVERSITY OF CALIFORNIA, 2022. ILLUSTRATIONS, APPENDIX, NOTES, BIBLIOGRAPHY, AND INDEX. VII + 268 PP. $85.00 CLOTH. $29.95 PAPER AND EBOOK.

Reviewed by Kyle E. Ciani, Professor, Department of History, Illinois State University.

In 1927, the US Supreme Court decision in *Buck v. Bell* upheld the State of Virginia's right to control the fertility of people deemed intellectually, socially, or physically "unfit" by approving the institutional use of sterilization without consent. That same year, authorities in California opened Pacific Colony, the state's second institutional facility for people diagnosed as "feebleminded." Located about thirty miles east of Los Angeles in Pomona, Pacific Colony eased overcrowded conditions at Sonoma State Home by admitting people from Southern California. Legislators, criminal justice authorities, and medical experts had worked for over a decade to establish patient procedures, develop care programs, and secure funding for the new facility. Their collaborative response communicated to residents that poverty, crime, and immorality could be stemmed through restraining feebleminded individuals. Commitment to the facility was the first step, but the ultimate control came through the sterilization of "mentally deficient" patients. These decisions were not unique to California or Pacific Colony, but the demographic of confinements and subsequent sterilizations at the institution were specific to Southern California. It is this specificity that Natalie Lira expertly analyzes in *Laboratory of Deficiency: Sterilization and Confinement in California, 1900–1950s* by focusing on the commitments and sterilizations of Mexican-origin youth.

Authorities believed in the racialized, gendered, and classed origins of feeblemindedness promoted by their contemporaries—which included criminologists, psychologists, medical personnel, social workers, educators, and juvenile court officials—and those beliefs led them to target Mexican-origin youth from San Diego north to Ventura for commitments to Pacific Colony. Lira uses the lenses of feminist scholarship in reproductive justice and critical disability studies, Latina/Latino studies, and the history of juvenile delinquency to examine the vast archive of California Department of Institutions reports, correspondence, and expert analyses used to justify the staggering number of sterilization requests (over 2,000) processed by Pacific Colony between 1928 and 1951. Consent forms exist for some of these sterilizations, but Lira challenges the legitimacy of those forms by recognizing the problematic conditions surrounding one's ability to consent. Patients, parents, and guardians may have signed a consent form, but cases such as *Madrigal v. Quilligan* (1978) show that language barriers, cultural dissonance, and power differentials plagued the arena of sterilization consent throughout the twentieth century. Consents at Pacific Colony were no different. Lira's interrogation of these sources led her to make two critical assertions: 1) that "state workers targeted Mexican-origin youth in Southern California in practices of disability labeling, decisions about who needed to be committed to Pacific Colony, and determinations about which Pacific

Colony residents needed to be sterilized"; and 2) that "scientific research on feeblemindedness conducted and circulated by California professionals in fields like psychology and juvenile delinquency established 'mental defect' as a constitutive component of Mexican racial difference in ways that were gendered" (p. 3).

Chapter 1 examines the institutional history of Pacific Colony, including ideological beliefs surrounding "feebleminded" behaviors, the rationale used to order intellectual tests that confirmed a "feebleminded" diagnosis, and subsequent sterilizations of its many patients. California state authorities believed African American, Native American, and Mexican-origin youth embodied troubling characteristics that required years of institutional rehabilitation. Mexican-origin young women were viewed as inherently sexually promiscuous while criminality was seen as the culprit for Mexican-origin young men. The legal commitments to Pacific Colony of these young people resulted from behaviors common in adolescents, such as dating, but when certain youth missed curfew or loitered a bit too long on a street corner, they were seen as damaged and in need of training to alter their behaviors.

In the following three chapters, Lira centers the voices of Mexican-origin young people and their families who fell victim to Pacific Colony oppression. Chapters 2 and 3 show how generational poverty and immigration status signaled to authorities the need for a young patient to undergo intelligence testing to quantify training and fertility concerns, especially if that adolescent engaged in behaviors deemed delinquent, such as truancy and petty theft for young men, and out-of-wedlock pregnancy

for young women. Training at Pacific Colony consisted of gender-segregated labor cloaked in the name of vocational education. Lira explains, "the economic, reproductive, and social futures of the people committed to Pacific Colony were determined by institutional authorities who viewed them as fit for labor, fit to reproduce the institution, and potentially able to become self-supporting and productive citizens—but resolutely unfit for reproduction" (p. 71). Chapter 4 details how youth reacted to their forced confinements despite "extreme legal and physical constraint," and the ways in which their parents and guardians could intervene in their carceral situations (p. 149). Importantly, Lira's conclusion outlines the legacy of sterilization abuse and its continued state-sponsored and sanctioned use.

Laboratory of Deficiency is essential reading to understand California's history of surveilling specific communities in the name of societal protection. For historians of Southern California, Lira's focus on Mexican-origin youth highlights how authorities controlled a significant segment of the regional population in the first half of the twentieth century, and the incredible strength of those who resisted (and continue to resist) those controls.

THE SACRED ARCHITECTURE OF IRVING J. GILL. BY REV. DR. MARK HARGREAVES. SAN DIEGO: IRVING J. GILL FOUNDATION, 2023. ILLUSTRATIONS, NOTES, BIBLIOGRAPHY, AND INDEX. IX + 117 PP. $28.95 PAPER.

Reviewed by Molly McClain, Professor, Department of History, University of San Diego.

This book makes a valuable contribution to the field of modern American religious architecture by focusing on the churches built by Irving J. Gill (1870–1936), who introduced an austere, geometric style to California. A precursor to the European Modern Movement, he made innovative and expressive use of reinforced concrete. This is the first book to consider Gill's ecclesiastical architecture apart from his well-known projects such as the Walter L. Dodge residence (1914–1916) and the La Jolla Woman's Club (1914). It also reminds us that a significant number of Gill's churches are still standing; they are in good condition and accessible to the public.

The author, Rev. Dr. Mark Hargreaves, is rector of St. James-by-the-Sea Episcopal Church in La Jolla. He came to this project with a background in theology and a resistance to the functionalist approach to religious architecture. In his view, churches are not "machines for worshipping," meaning that they are not simply spaces for the enactment of religious ritual (p. 2). Instead, they are "sacred" because worshippers share "an experience of encountering the Divine presence" there (p. 1). It is worth pointing out that functionalism as practiced by Gill's contemporaries like Louis H. Sullivan ("form follows function") had its roots in Transcendentalism and emphasized the beauty of simplicity in nature. There is no dichotomy between Gill's engagement with spirituality and his modernism in the context of the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries.

Gill has intrigued—and frustrated—historians for decades because so little is known about his life. Hargreaves notes, "he left precious little on the subject of architecture, let alone spirituality" (p. 3). The architect produced a 1916 manifesto, articles, blueprints, architectural drawings, and buildings still in use today. University of California, Los Angeles (UCLA) historian Thomas S. Hines contextualized these materials to produce *Irving Gill and the Architecture of Reform* (2000). Hargreaves draws on this book; Esther McCoy's Five *Californian Architects* (1960), republished as *One California Architect* (2020); and archival materials, among other sources.

The book is organized chronologically and proceeds from the Congregational Church in Redlands (1899) to the Barona Chapel in Lakeside (1932) and includes unbuilt structures such as the Spanish Village Church in Carlsbad (1936). The author also considers Gill's early partnership with Cornell-trained architect William S. Hebbard.

Around 1900, the population of Southern California boomed, resulting in hundreds of new churches, many in the Romanesque Revival, Gothic Revival, and Mission Revival styles. Hargreaves finds it "puzzling that Protestant denominations acquired such a taste for the Gothic," which he associates with Roman Catholicism. In fact, Gothic Revival architecture was a product of the German and English Romantic Movement. An alternative to the Italian and Spanish Baroque, it emerged at the same time

as nationalism in Europe. The Norman Revival style was particularly popular in the American West as it recalled the primitive simplicity of the early English church. It was entirely appropriate for use by Congregationalists, Presbyterians, Methodists, and others.

Protestant churches in the evangelical tradition often had seating arrangements derived from the Akron Plan (1867), first used to organize children during Sunday School. Instead of sitting in pews facing a sanctuary, the congregation sat on benches arranged in a fan-shaped pattern (p. 10). At the front was a pulpit or, sometimes, just a raised platform. Architectural historian Jeanne Halgren Kilde calls this the "auditorium church." Gill used this configuration often. The seating arrangement emphasized a sense of community (one could more easily see one's neighbors) and put the laity and the clergy together in the same space (Martin Luther's "priesthood of all believers"). It made it easier for people to hear the Word, which replaced the Mass as the central drama in the Protestant liturgy. It also made more windows possible. The nave, bathed in light, signaled "the metaphorical light of God's written Word" (pp. 13–14).

Hargreaves argues that a turning point in Gill's career was the 1906 construction of the First Methodist Church. The exterior was Norman Revival (not, as the author suggests, "High Gothic"), while the interior recalled Methodism's history as an evangelical form of Protestantism. Worshippers sat in an auditorium facing a stage where the preacher delivered his sermons. Gill did something strange, however. He insisted that gargoyles be placed on the outside of the building, even though women in the congregation opposed the sculptures as

"idolatrous" (p. 33). Was he being playful? An architectural inside joke? Or was the reference to High Gothic ornament some kind of critique?

Hebbard and Gill ended their partnership soon after this. The former continued to respond to the needs of his clients, while Gill developed his unique architectural voice. His patrons were typically progressive, educated, and rich.

The First Church of Christ, Scientist (1909–1910) is an iconic building in Gill's mature style. Its clean lines and rationally ordered space reflected the teachings of Christian Science, according to Hargreaves. He writes, "In Christian Science, conventional symbols detract from the abstract and direct influence of thinking through the unmediated sacred Word" (p. 52). The white, light-filled space, meanwhile, "speaks of clarity and lucidity" (p. 53). Hargreaves argues that this church should be considered among the first modern American churches, along with Frank Lloyd Wright's Unity Chapel (1905–1908) and Bernard Maybeck's First Church of Christ, Scientist, in Berkeley (1910).

The First Church of Christ Scientist, Coronado (1929), meanwhile, was arguably Gill's most successful sacred building. It used the most basic architectural language: the straight line, the arch, the circle, and the square. Hargreaves writes, "Gill did not strip the church of ornament for the sake of 'functionalism.' He did it for the sake of beauty. He was aiming in this building to tap into the power of beauty and in so doing he points to an alternate way that Modern architecture might travel" (p. 83). Louis H. Sullivan and Frank Lloyd Wright did the same; in fact, this was a mainstream path for modern American architects.

One wonders what Gill's father, "a stern religious man," thought about his son's ecclesiastical architecture (p. 3). Quakers, who abhorred ritual in any form, had meeting houses with no altar, no pulpit, and no choir: only bare wooden pews. Some never lost their disdain for authority and hierarchy, even as the Society of Friends became respectable, often bourgeois, by the end of the nineteenth century.

Some historians attribute the development of Gill's austere and minimalist style to his Quaker upbringing. To Hargreaves' credit, he doesn't fall for that easy association. There is more to Gill's modernism than that. In any case, the architect left the Society of Friends to join the Episcopal Church. He was an early member of All Saints Church in Hillcrest and became "absorbed" in Theosophy, according to Esther McCoy. A contemporary described him as a "Point Loma Type" (p. 3).

If Gill were a Theosophist, he would have viewed all religions—Buddhism, Hinduism, Christianity, Islam—as manifestations of a single Truth. Hargreaves suggests, however, that Gill had issues with the sacramental requirements of the Roman Catholic Church. He makes much of the fact that Gill turned over the design of Sacred Heart Church, Coronado (1919–1920) to his nephew Louis Gill. He also tells us that Irving Gill's plans for Barona Chapel in Lakeside (1932) were rejected six times. A committee composed of women from the Barona Band of Mission Indians wanted a church with at least one stained glass window, an altar at the east end, and a traditional west door.

It would be interesting to know if Gill's resistance to ritual and ceremony affected his relationship with the Episcopal Church. The structure that Hargreaves identifies as "The Bishop's School Chapel" (1912–1913) was not, in fact, a chapel, even if that had been the original plan. A 1914 article in *The Craftsman* magazine made it clear that students worshipped at St. James Chapel. It looked very much like a church, however, with a rectangular assembly hall, a façade that mirrored St. James, and a prominent tower. It was intended to contain a residence and reception rooms for the bishop, together with classrooms. Perhaps Gill's nod to ecclesiastical architecture signaled respect for the bishop's authority? It was, after all, The Bishop's School. The result was confusing, however. Instead of designing the entire campus, Gill completed only one additional building. The commission for St. Mary's Chapel (1916–1917) went to Carleton M. Winslow, who created a recognizably Episcopalian sacred space.

It remains to be seen whether Gill's ecclesiastical architecture can tell us more about the origins of his path-breaking modernism than his secular buildings can, but this book is a start. Credit is due to the Irving J. Gill Foundation for publishing this lavishly illustrated history. Historical photographs, however, are not identified and credited as thoroughly as they should have been. It also would have been useful to have a list of the churches still standing.

The historian Kevin Starr wrote, "It is hard to write about Gill's buildings at any length because, like a very dry martini, they speak for themselves." This book, however, points out some features that are not self-evident. It will appeal to readers who wish to learn more about Gill's churches as well as those who enjoy the complex modernism of his work.

HEART OF THE ZOO: HOW SAN DIEGO ZOO DIRECTOR CHUCK BIELER EARNED HIS STRIPES. BY KATHI DIAMANT. SAN DIEGO: SAN DIEGO ZOO WILDLIFE ALLIANCE PRESS, 2022. PHOTOGRAPHS AND BIBLIOGRAPHY. 314 PP. $32.99 CLOTH. $18.99 PAPER.

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*.

Chuck Bieler served as the executive director of the San Diego Zoo and Wild Animal Park from 1973 to 1985 and thereafter as the Zoo's director of development. Counting the time prior to being named to the top job that he spent as a marketing executive and untitled assistant to longtime executive director Charles Schroeder and short-time executive director Donald Kintner, Bieler became the first person in the Zoo's history to be recognized as a fifty-year-employee.

Author Kathi Diamant, a former KFMB *Sun-Up San Diego* television anchor, brilliantly relates the histories of both the Bieler family and the Zoo and Wild Animal Park during his and his wife Judy's involvement. The two stories are inextricable. Judy grew up in San Diego's socially active and well-to-do Goodwin family, with a home in Mission Hills and an eleven-bedroom, ten-bathroom, seven-fireplace mansion at the Corte Madera Ranch near Pine Valley, whereas Chuck was an easygoing, friendly newcomer to San Diego, having been raised in modest circumstances in Pennsylvania.

To the advantage of the Zoo and the Wild Animal Park (later renamed the Safari Park), the Bielers entertained potential donors and other VIPs at both residences. The Goodwins, and hence the younger Bielers, moved easily in the same circles as many of the trustees of the San Diego Zoo, who over the years included Lucy Killea, Betty Jo Williams, Andy Borthwick, Lt. Gen. Victor Krulak, Robert "Bob" Smith, Dallas Clark, John Thornton, Ivor de Kirby, Eugene Trepte, John Scripps, Dr. Minton Fetter, George Gildred, and Sheldon Campbell. Among the Bielers' closest friends were Margie and Stephen Cushman, the latter of whom was active on the boards of the San Diego Convention Center and the Port of San Diego, among many other civic involvements.

The Beilers' social finesse not only won Chuck Bieler allies on the Zoo board, but also made it easy for him to develop relationships with such major Zoo patrons as Tom Warner, Helen Woodward, Joan Kroc, Mercedes Cambridge, Paul Harter, Arnold Beckman, Lottie Lundy, Ted and Audrey Geisel, and Florence Hord (the widow of sculptor Donal Hord). These relationships led to major gifts for the Zoo and Safari Park, as seen among the names of the various installations at the two facilities.

Obtaining rare animals for the Zoo, which spurred attendance, and developing a worldwide animal conservation program in concert with Dr. Kurt Benirschke were hallmarks of Chuck Bieler's long tenure. He was instrumental in persuading Australia to make a gift of koalas to the Zoo in celebration of the American bicentennial. He also helped develop sufficient trust with China for the Zoo to be rewarded loans of giant pandas. Backing Kurt Benirschke for the establishment of the Center for the Reproduction of Endangered Species,

Bieler basked in such accomplishments as new diets for rheas that protected their egg shells from becoming too thin; a breeding exchange program with the Soviet Union for endangered Przewalski horses; a much-celebrated program for the reproduction and reintroduction to the wild of California condors; and creation of a "frozen zoo" in which vials, kept at 321 degrees below zero Fahrenheit, stored genetic materials from over 600 animals. To help sustain the program, Benirschke's son, Rolf, a place kicker for the San Diego Chargers, inspired sponsors of the "Kicks for Critters" program to donate prespecified amounts of money to the Zoo every time he kicked a field goal.

Stresses on Bieler's job included such calamities as a train filled with 500 people stranded in excess of 100-degree heat at the Safari Park; a Komodo dragon disappearing temporarily; rain coming down on an outdoor party for 250 VIPs; a boy jumping into an exhibit and being attacked by a wolf that had to be shot (the boy, thankfully, surviving); and a giraffe, being transported to Mexico City in a goodwill gesture, dying en route. There were also personnel stresses. Sheldon Campbell, a board member, and Clyde Hill, a curator of mammals, both applied for the executive director job that was bestowed upon Bieler. Hill later won a suit against the Zoo for wrongful termination, and Campbell, while serving as the board's president, terminated Bieler's contract as executive director, in essence "kicking him upstairs" to serve as the Zoo's chief fundraiser.

Working with animals prompted some earthy humor that eased such stresses. Bieler's associate Joan Embery often appeared at events with different Zoo animals, perhaps never more memorably than an appearance on

Johnny Carson's late-night television show with a pygmy marmoset, which jumped from her hand to Carson's shoulder and urinated on his head. The actress Brooke Shields, while still in high school, interned at the Zoo, later telling interviewers, "I learned that you can push a monkey turd twenty-five feet with a high-pressure water spray." People were told that the Wgasa Bush Line at Safari Park was a Swahili-sounding acronym for "World's Greatest Animal Show Anywhere," but, in fact, the acronym was given by tired executives who asked themselves "Who Gives a Shit Anyway?" And when the Zoo embarked on breeding programs, it had to shed its embarrassment over animals copulating in front of visitors. As Bieler's longtime associate Jo Hammershoy put it, "That's the business we're in, folks." Bieler was remembered for a gaffe when he first started at the Zoo. Given the opportunity to pet a big cat, he commented, "I've never petted a lion before," only to be told that the big cats with stripes were tigers (the story behind the book's subtitle).

During Bieler's tenure the Zoo enunciated its five main missions: 1) Keep animals alive and in good health; 2) Conduct programs that achieve reproduction of endangered species; 3) Entertain visitors in high-value fashion; 4) Educate scientifically; 5) Advance human knowledge. These goals were partially realized when the Zoo board adopted its bioclimatic plan, in which plants and animals found in tropical rain forests in Africa, Asia, and South America were grouped together "so visitors would see the world as one interconnected organism." One part of this project was Tiger River, which Joan Kroc subsidized with a $3.3 million contribution on the stipulation that the Zoo allow children to visit for free

throughout Octobers.

Although Bieler came to the Zoo without any background in zoology—he used to quip that he couldn't even spell "zoology"—he became respected throughout the international zoo world. In 1983, after ten years as executive director, he was elected president of the American Association of Zoological Parks and Aquariums. Previously he had chaired that association's ethics commission and established its accreditation program.

Bieler was succeeded in 1985 by Doug Myers, who served in the post until 2019. They had a close relationship, Myers focusing on the administration of the Zoo as the "inside man" and Bieler on fundraising as the "outside man." Myers in turn was succeeded by Paul Baribault, a former Disney Studio executive. The Zoo has honored Bieler's legacy. Today, Bieler Plaza is located close to the koala enclosure.

BOOK NOTES

Alliance Rises in the West: Labor, Race, and Solidarity in Industrial California. By Charlotte K. Sunseri. Lincoln, NE: University of Nebraska Press, 2020. Illustrations, bibliography, and index. xxviii + 143 pp. $60.00 cloth. $60.00 eBook. Using archeological evidence, anthropologist Charlotte Sunseri examines the multi-ethnic mining frontier at Mono Mills, a company town at a crucial moment in the development of working-class consciousness in California. Here, Chinese immigrants and Kudzadika Paiutes faced exclusionary legislation and racial violence while building community with white laborers, managers, and merchants who were also on the periphery of the American economy.

Beyond Blue Skies: The Rocket Plane Programs That Led to the Space Age. By Chris Petty. Lincoln, NE: University of Nebraska Press, 2020. Illustrations and index. $36.95 cloth. $36.95 eBook. During the three decades following World War II, a series of rocket-powered research aircraft were built and tested in Rogers Dry Lake, an ancient dry lakebed in California's Mojave Desert. This site became the home of Edwards Air Force Base and NASA's Flight Research Center. Author Chris Petty tells this fascinating history, recounting the progress in aviation technology that ultimately took the the United States to outer space.

Charles C. Painter: The Life of an Indian Reform Advocate. By Valerie Sherer Mathes. Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 2020. Illustrations, notes, bibliography, and index. x + 294 pp. $39.95 cloth. $24.95 paper. Valerie Sherer Mathes's book is the first to fully consider the contributions of Charles Cornelius Coffin Painter, a clergyman turned reformer and one of the foremost advocates in the nineteenth-century movement for Indian policy reform. Mathes highlights Painter's activities as a negotiator with Indians and policymakers, a promoter of education, an advocate against Indian removal, and an investigator of reservation fraud.

Deportes: The Making of a Sporting Mexican Diaspora. By Jose M. Alamillo. New Brunswick: Rutgers University Press, 2020. Illustrations, notes, and index. x + 284. $150.00 cloth. $36.95 paper. Jose Alamillo, professor of Chicana/Chicano studies at Cal State University Channel Islands, shows that male and female Mexican-origin athletes in the United States empowered themselves through the transnational networks they forged across the US-Mexico border. Creating a "sporting Mexican diaspora" from Southern California to Texas, they developed new hybrid identities, challenged racial and gender assumptions, and overcame barriers while raising awareness about civil rights within and outside of the world of sports.

El Tercer País: San Diego & Tijuana: Two Countries, Two Cities, One Community. By Michael S. Malone. Saratoga, CA: Silicon Valley Press, 2020. Illustrations and bibliography. xvii + 386 pp. $29.95 cloth. $17.95 paper. The technology and business journalist Michael Malone tells a history of San Diego and Tijuana as an integrated binational urban region, highlighting cooperation between the two cities and various types of cross-border economic exchanges. The book features a foreword by Janet Napolitano, former secretary of homeland security, and Jose Antonio Meade, Mexico's minister of finance.

We Who Work the West: Class, Labor, and Space in Western American Literature. By Kiara Kharpertian. Lincoln, NE: University of Nebraska Press, 2020. Notes, bibliography, and index. xxix + 251 pp. $60.00 cloth. $60.00 eBook. Kiara Khapertian examines literary representations of class, labor, and space in the American West from 1885 to 2012. Some topics include María Amparo Ruiz de Burton's representations of dispossessed mid-nineteenth-century Californio ranchers, Frank Norris's depictions of early-twentieth-century San Francisco's urban grid in McTeague, and portraits of working and unemployed cowboys in the novels of Cormac McCarthy and Larry McMurtry.

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