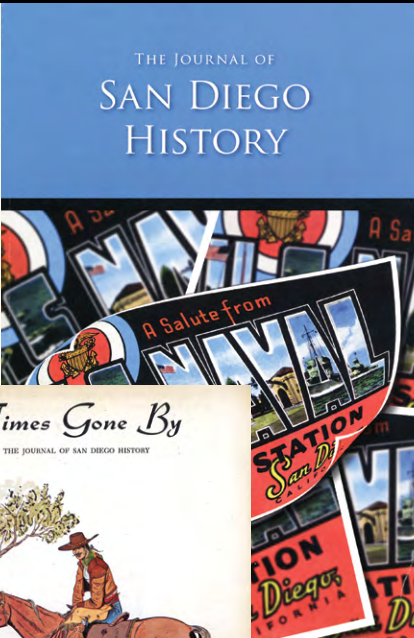
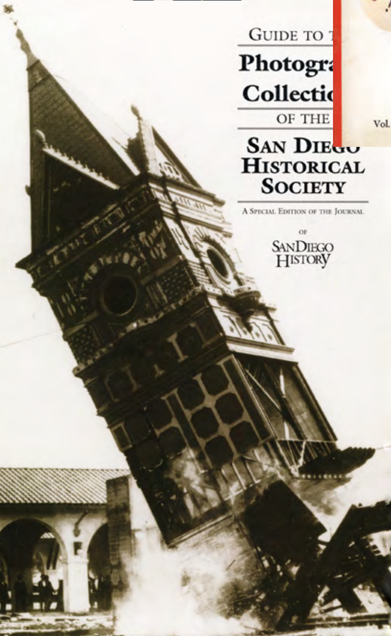
The Journal of
SAN DIEGO HISTORY

SPRING/
SUMMER 2025
VOLUME 71
NUMBER 1

INSIDE: C-3 AND THE SAN DIEGO DOWNTOWN COMMUNITY PLAN
SEVENTY YEARS IN SEVEN COVERS | EARLY FEMALE COMMUNITY SCIENTISTS





The San Diego History Center, founded as the San Diego Historical Society in 1928, has always been the catalyst for the preservation and promotion of the history of the San Diego region. The San Diego History Center makes history interesting and fun and seeks to engage audiences of all ages in connecting the past to the present and to set the stage for where our community is headed in the future. The organization operates museums in two National Historic Districts, the San Diego History Center and Research Archives in Balboa Park, and the Junípero Serra Museum in Presidio Park. The History Center is a lifelong learning center for all members of the community, providing outstanding educational programs for schoolchildren and popular programs for families and adults. The Research Archives serves residents, scholars, students, and researchers onsite and online. With its rich historical content, archived material, and online photo gallery, the San Diego History Center's website is used by more than one million visitors annually. The San Diego History Center is a Smithsonian Affiliate and one of the oldest and largest historical organizations on the West Coast.

FRONT COVER: Top left: Volume 24, No. 1 (Winter 1978).
Top center: Volume 54, No. 2 (Spring 2008).
Top right: Volume 33, Nos. 2 & 3 (Spring/Summer 1987).
Center: Volume 11, No. 1 (January 1965).
Bottom left: Volume 44, Nos. 2 & 3 (Spring/Summer 1998).
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BACK COVER: Aerial view of downtown San Diego, 1987.
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DAVID MILLER
THEODORE STRATHMAN

REVIEW EDITOR
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SEVENTY YEARS IN SEVEN COVERS: *THE JOURNAL OF SAN DIEGO HISTORY* SINCE 1955

DAVID MILLER
THEODORE STRATHMAN

The Journal of San Diego History made its debut (under a different name) in January 1955, and through variations of style, editorial leadership, and content, it has remained in publication to the present. In recognition of the seventieth anniversary of *The Journal*, we offer this reflection by highlighting seven issues that represent the evolution of the San Diego History Center's flagship publication.

(Opposite page) Top left: Volume 24, No. 1 (Winter 1978).
Top center: Volume 54, No. 2 (Spring 2008).
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Bottom center: Volume 1, No. 1 (January 1955).
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VOLUME 1, NO. 1 (JANUARY 1955)

The Journal started its run under the name *San Diego Historical Society Quarterly*, a moniker that would remain in place for a decade. Over that span *The Journal* relied on a standard cover format, with a monochrome image and a table of contents. The debut issue indicates the close connection between *The Journal* and the historical society that sponsored it: the cover featured a photograph of the society's original home, the Serra Museum on Presidio Hill. Furthermore, much of the content of the issue reflected the society's focus on historical preservation. “Casualties of 1954” lamented the demolition of three nineteenth-century San Diego homes, while “Information, Please” asked for readers' assistance in finding artifacts and providing details for a proposed historical marker.

SAN DIEGO HISTORICAL SOCIETY
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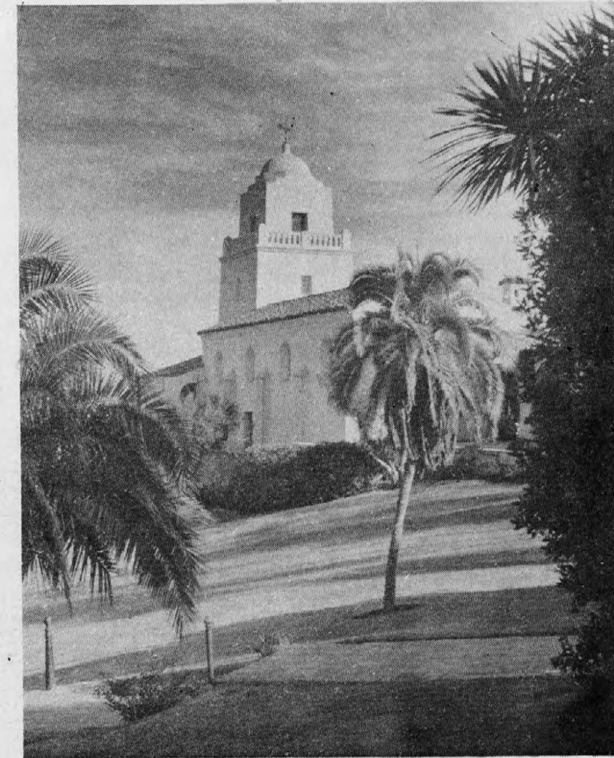

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Times Gone By

THE JOURNAL OF SAN DIEGO HISTORY

Vol. XI January 1965 No. 1

VOLUME 11, NO. 1 (JANUARY 1965)

The Journal opened its second decade with a new name and a new appearance. Now published as *Times Gone By*, the revised journal featured a color image on its cover. The new name and layout would last for only four issues, each of which included a full-color illustration and three of which could be construed as depicting an idealized vision of San Diego's Spanish and Mexican heritage. While the cover imagery and new title might have suggested a nostalgic orientation to *The Journal*, the contents pointed in the direction of scholarly, academic work. Issues published under the name *Times Gone By* included articles that increasingly featured endnotes and were written by historians with academic affiliations. *The Journal* was now under the editorial guidance of Ray Brandes, an archeologist and historian at the University of San Diego (USD).

VOLUME 24, NO. 1 (WINTER 1978)

The academic aspirations of *The Journal* developed further in the succeeding decades. The Winter 1978 issue was the product of a symposium centered around the seventeenth-century play *San Diego de Alcalá* and featured articles from historians, literary critics, and anthropologists. Guest edited by Professor David Ringrose of the University of California San Diego (UCSD), the issue explored the "cultural assumptions and impulses of the colonizing Spaniards." By this time, book reviews had become a standard feature of *The Journal*, and contributions increasingly reflected currents in American academic history. Other articles from 1978, for instance, explored the experiences of Japanese Americans, women in San Diego, and Native labor at the missions—all indicative of the New Social History's drive to incorporate previously marginalized voices and to write history "from the ground up."

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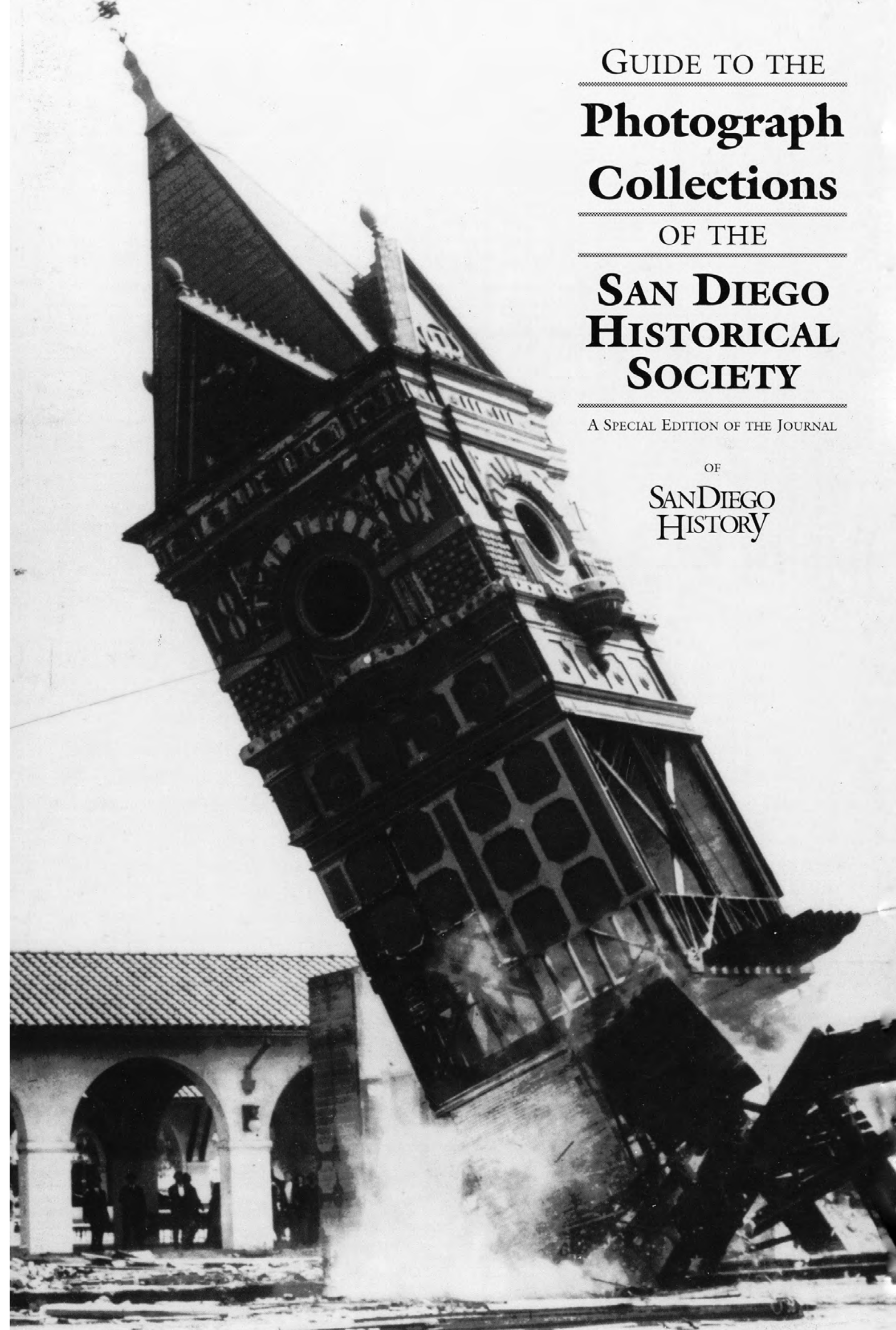
The Villa Montezuma

A Special Centennial Issue of
The Journal of San Diego History

VOLUME 33, NOS. 2 & 3 (SPRING/SUMMER 1987)
As its scholarly diversity, rigor, and reputation grew throughout the 1980s, *The Journal* also began to feature commemorative issues. This was in part a choice to highlight partnerships and historical preservation as much as it was the happenstance of time—enough of which had now passed to make the 1980s a period of significant anniversaries. Alongside articles about Black pioneers, the Jewish community, women's history, the Lemon Grove desegregation case, and Indigenous agency were entire issues dedicated to highlighting sites and institutions. Special issues included the one-hundredth anniversary of San Diego High School in Volume 28, No. 2 (Spring 1982), the Villa Montezuma centennial in Volume 33, Nos. 2 & 3 (Spring/Summer 1987) pictured on the left, and the San Diego Historical Society's campaign to preserve the Marston House in Vol. 36, Nos. 2 & 3 (Spring/Summer 1990).

VOLUME 44, NOS. 2 & 3 (SPRING/SUMMER 1998)

The dramatic Spring/Summer 1998 cover image of two railroad engines pulling the old Santa Fe station tower to earth on March 18, 1915 put the San Diego History Center's (SDHC) expansive photography collection on full display. In 1982, the San Diego Historical Society (SDHS) relocated its collections and research materials to their current location in the Casa de Balboa building. Between that time and when the society changed its name to the San Diego History Center in 2010, *The Journal* became an important public extension of the SDHC, appealing to the community as much as to scholars. The issue highlighted not just the scale and significance of SDHC's collection, but demystified the archives process—making the collection accessible to the community with a guide, selected images, collection and album descriptions, and index—all leading to the eventual availability of purchasing prints online.



VOLUME 54, NO. 2 (SPRING 2008)
By 2008, *The Journal* had cemented itself as the premiere scholarly publication of San Diego history under the editorship of USD history professors Dr. Iris Engstrand and Dr. Molly McClain. Bold images and vibrant colors invited broader readership, who found within the covers both popular histories and more obscure stories of the San Diego region. During their fourteen-year tenure (2004–2018), *The Journal* became a site for established, emerging, and community scholars alike. It also included their own work (this Spring 2008 issue includes a piece by both Dr. Engstrand and Dr. McClain, plus another that Dr. Engstrand coauthored) and themed issues celebrating, for example, the tuna industry in Volume 58, Nos. 1 & 2 (Winter/Spring 2012) and one-hundred years of civil engineering in Volume 62, No. 1 (Winter 2016).

VOLUME 68, NOS. 1 & 2 (SPRING/SUMMER 2022)

The Journal today is a blend of past strengths and modern initiatives, as suggested by the reimagined cover and design layout. Upon taking over in the spring of 2019, coeditors Dr. David Miller of USD and Dr. Theodore Strathman of California State University San Marcos (CSUSM) envisioned a journal that both built on the legacy established by Drs. Engstrand and McClain and expanded the content to include new ways of thinking about community contributions, the temporal definitions of history, and the geographic boundaries of the San Diego region. Their first issue drew inspiration from the award winning SDHC and Lambda Archives exhibit, "LGBTQ+ San Diego: Stories of Struggles and Triumphs" curated by Dr. Lillian Faderman. The summer of 2019 provided the opportunity to invite scholars representing a diversity of perspectives to comment on the contested legacies of the 250th anniversary of the founding of Spanish San Diego. Recurring features such as "In the Archives" highlight the connection between *The Journal*, the community, and the San Diego History Center (reflected as well in the SDHC logo appearing on the cover).

The Journal of
SAN DIEGO HISTORY
SPRING/
SUMMER 2022
VOLUME 68
NUMBERS 1&2

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

The Journal has undergone many changes since its inception in 1955, reflecting both the diverse visions of editorial leadership and shifting notions of writing and presenting history to a range of audiences. Through it all, *The Journal* has shaped how scholars and lay people alike conceive, produce, consume, and remember the history of the San Diego region. The editors look forward to another dynamic and influential seventy years.

To access the entire collection, visit:
www.sandiegohistory.org/journals

EARLY FEMALE COMMUNITY SCIENTISTS AT THE SAN DIEGO NATURAL HISTORY MUSEUM[1]

ANNALISA BERTA
ARIEL HAMMOND

The 150th anniversary of the founding of the San Diego Natural History Museum (SDNHM) in 2024 presented an opportunity to reflect upon the impact that several female community scientists have had on the museum and its collections. Women have made remarkable contributions to natural history museums for centuries, from collecting specimens to serving as scientific illustrators, to conducting and publishing research. They have overcome many social and cultural obstacles and gender barriers to further our understanding of the natural world.

Like many women of the age, the women highlighted here have not received the same level of recognition as their male peers. The permanent exhibit *Extraordinary Ideas from Ordinary People: A History of Citizen Science* at SDNHM is dedicated to the history and future of community science and inspired this article, which examines more fully the lives of important female community scientists. Here, we organized the biographies and contributions of three of these women chronologically

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(Opposite page) A young Rosa Smith with naturalist gear, 1881.
© San Diego Natural History Museum.

while also providing a brief context for the historic periods during which they lived and worked: Katherine "Kate" Brown Stephens, Rosa Smith Eigenmann, and Ethel Bailey Higgins. Knowledge of the lives, careers, and contributions of these extraordinary women provides context for understanding and recognizing the achievements of the many female community scientists who have followed them.

NATURAL HISTORY MUSEUM CURATION

The word museum—which comes from the Greek *mouseion*, meaning "the seat of the Muses"—is directly linked to the spaces, collections, and processes we associate with it; the Muses were the daughters of Zeus and Mnemosyne, and were revered as deities of art, science, and literature. A *mouseion* was a community center where the activities of resident scholars were housed, and *mouseion* soon became a widely accepted term for spaces filled with collected objects, as well as a term applied to encyclopedic-style books filled with descriptions.[2] What began as studies of materials from local sources soon broadened as explorers to the New World and traders returning from distant lands brought objects and specimens to Europe. Collections of *naturalia*, or objects of nature, were formed to support the investigative interests of scholars. By the late 1500s, these collections of objects and specimens were commonly arranged in cabinets, cases, and drawers, called "cabinets of curiosities," and often housed in specially designated rooms in the homes and workplaces of amateurs and scholars. Books that cataloged, classified, and illustrated the specimens and findings were also included in these displays.[3]

Natural history museums grew out of the development of these private collections assembled by the nobility and royalty of Europe during the eighteenth and early-nineteenth centuries. By the mid-nineteenth century, many of these collections were incorporated into the holdings of newly established public museums. Natural history museums, as we now know them, underwent continued development during the nineteenth century in America and the western world. However, it was mainly men who were employed as curators—from the Latin *cura* meaning "to take care"—and it was they who published on the material that they or their female colleagues collected.[4] In their early incarnations, natural history museums primarily appealed to scientific societies and specialists of various organismal groups. It was important at the time to learn about nature for various reasons, including national pride, scientific documentation, and the identification of plants and animals. Activity in the natural sciences at this time was not motivated by a wide public interest.[5] By contrast, twenty-first century natural history research is of increasing relevance to the general public, and museums today have incorporated into their facilities topics such as the conservation movement, climate change, the loss of biodiversity, and the rise of molecular technology. Contemporary natural history museums, while acknowledging the physical display of life and the natural world through exhibits, also provide opportunities for public engagement and education.[6]

The formation of natural history collections by scientific societies led to the founding of several important American museums, including the Museum of the Philadelphia Academy of Sciences in 1812 and the

Smithsonian Institution in 1846.[7] The San Diego Society of Natural History (SDSNH) was formed in 1874 by a group of male amateur naturalists.[8] These men lacked formal training in the study of nature, "but they were inspired to understand the world around them. They documented their findings and left us a valuable record of the past."[9] Early society meetings brought donations of natural history specimens that were initially housed at the members' homes and offices, then moved to a viewing room in the downtown Hotel Cecil in 1912, the first formal home of the San Diego Natural History Museum. The SDSNH later purchased and occupied several different buildings in Balboa Park. The permanent home of the museum was later built on the corner of El Prado and Village Place with a generous financial gift from local benefactress Ellen Browning Scripps; it opened to the public on January 14, 1933.[10] Although trained scientists play a vital role in museums today, volunteers, members, and the wider community continue to give their time and knowledge to make important scientific contributions around the world and at SDNHM. These citizen or community scientists recognize that one does not need to have formal scientific training to contribute to our understanding of the natural world.

It was not until the end of the nineteenth century that women began to take up posts—albeit initially unpaid ones— in museums. Although women had gained access to higher education, they remained essentially "locked out" of scientific spaces. Within natural history fields, women were also encouraged to pursue "feminine" disciplines such as botany, which could be done within the home, instead of "masculine" disciplines such as paleontology or mammalogy, which required dirty or bloody work. When women were employed in the major national or university museums, it was typically as preparators, illustrators, or assistants.[11] However, many strove to contribute to the scientific field beyond these traditional roles.

CONTEMPORARY FEMALE NATURALISTS IN THE SAN DIEGO REGION

As historian Barbara Gates notes, there were many Victorian women who "interrupted, revised, ignored, and sometimes disrupted masculine discourse as they participated in conceptualizing, describing, representing, and preserving the natural world of their time," and there were quite a few notable women in the San Diego region who participated in natural history.[12] Many of these women knew or interacted with Kate Stephens, Rosa Smith Eigenmann, and/or Ethel Bailey Higgins, and here we briefly touch on their scientific achievements to provide the cultural and scientific context in which Stephens, Eigenmann, and Higgins lived and worked.

Ellen Browning Scripps, a journalist and philanthropist, was also an amateur naturalist and supporter of women in science in the San Diego region. The life and many philanthropic accomplishments of Scripps are reviewed in the biography *Ellen Browning Scripps: New Money and American Philanthropy* by University of San Diego historian Molly McClain.[13]

Kate Olivia Sessions is often referred to as "The Mother of Balboa Park," the 1,200-acre park in the heart of downtown San Diego. Sessions and Eigenmann attended business school together in San Francisco, and Eigenmann urged Sessions to apply for the teaching position at Russ

School (now called San Diego High School) that brought Sessions to San Diego.[14] A biography of Sessions, *Kate Sessions: Pioneer Horticulturalist*, was published in 1976 by Elizabeth C. McPhail.[15] A collection of four decades of Sessions's writings on plants and plant care are found in an edited volume, *Complete Writings of Kate Sessions in California Garden 1909–1939*. A forthcoming website will also provide additional reference materials.[16]

Mary Katharine Brandegee was a botanical taxonomist who lived in San Diego from 1894 to 1906.[17] She earned a medical degree at the University of California in 1879; however, she found it difficult to establish a medical practice at the time and instead leaned into her interest in pharmacology to understand the botanic nature of medicines. She became the botany curator at the California Academy Museum of Sciences in 1883, making her the second woman in the country to be professionally employed in the field of botany. Brandegee and her husband Townshend Brandegee, an accomplished botanist in his own right, relocated to San Diego after she left the California Academy of Sciences to pursue their interests in "desert plants." Kate Sessions traveled in 1902 with Townshend Brandegee to San Jose de Cabo, Mexico where she collected seeds and plants.[18]

Mary Stodden Patchen Snyder was a marine algae collector who lived in La Jolla from 1903 to 1926.[19] Snyder was widely recognized as a knowledgeable figure within the marine algae community and is reported to have won gold medals for her beautiful "sea moss" pressings at the St. Louis Louisiana Purchase Exposition and the Lewis and Clark Exposition in Portland, Oregon. She was acquainted with Ellen Browning Scripps and her half-sister Virginia Scripps, and may have influenced them to partake in pressing algae specimens. Snyder is known to have identified marine algae and marine invertebrate specimens that Virginia Scripps collected. Snyder's collection of mounted specimens is housed within the SDNHM's herbarium. According to Bionomia, 285 of her specimens are in herbaria around the country.[20]

Viola S. Bristol initially started at the museum as a volunteer working with Kate Stephens but later was paid through the federal government's Works Progress Administration (WPA). With training from Kate Stephens and several local mollusk experts (e.g., Dr. Fred Baker, longtime trustee of the Scripps Institution of Oceanography), Viola eventually was promoted to Curator of Mollusks, a position she held until the mid-1940s. Although during her tenure Bristol primarily focused on curation of the modern mollusk collections, she also was responsible for organizing and cataloguing the large collection of Grant and Gale's type fossil mollusks when they arrived at the museum in 1936.[21]

EARLY FEMALE NATURALISTS OF THE SAN DIEGO NATURAL HISTORY MUSEUM

Katherine "Kate" Brown Stephens (1853–1954)

After her mother passed, British-born Katherine "Kate" Brown helped to raise her younger brother George while the family lived in the Kensington area of London. During that time, her interest in the natural world was cultivated by frequent visits to the museums of London, and she briefly worked at the Natural History Museum in London. She immigrated to the US in 1888 to live with a cousin in San Diego and worked as a dressmaker for a short

Kate Stephens in the field, c. 1925.
© San Diego Natural History Museum.

time. She later moved to the mountainous Witch Creek area (between Ramona and Julian), where she may have taught school.[22]

In San Diego, Kate met and fell in love with Frank Stephens—mammalogist, ornithologist, and active member of the SDSNH—and they obtained a marriage license in 1898.[23] She and her husband shared a deep interest in natural history, and Kate began working as a volunteer collector and naturalist with SDSNH, collecting butterflies in her early fieldwork. Her research interests soon turned to fossils and shells, and she became known as an authority on terrestrial and marine mollusks of the San Diego region. She accompanied her husband on many collecting trips in the early 1900s to San Diego's back country and Baja California. During these trips she would assist as his secretary, recording their travels and specimens collected, and also as his driver since her husband was notoriously terrible at it.[24] Some of her

notable field expeditions include one to the Colorado Desert for the US Biological Survey in 1902 and one to Alaska led by benefactress Annie Alexander of UC Berkeley. SDSNH hired her as Curator of Collections in 1910, and in accepting the position she became the first paid employee of the society. During this time, the collections were housed in various temporary buildings downtown, including Frank and Kate's home, as there was no permanent museum location yet for the society to house or exhibit specimens.

In 1920, Kate became Curator of Molluscs & Marine Invertebrates at SDSNH, as she had begun to specialize in this field.[25] From 1924 to 1928 she worked to identify the fossil shells of San Diego County in connection with a paleontologic study conducted by the SDSNH with her husband and the paleomalacologist Ulysses S. Grant IV, grandson of President Ulysses S. Grant.[26] She examined and identified more than several thousand shells. Among Stephens's contributions to the collections are approximately 589 contemporary marine invertebrate specimens—mostly from Alaska, California, and Baja California—and 192 species lots (3,376 specimens) of fossil invertebrates from the Plio-Pleistocene era of California and Baja California, Mexico.[27]

What is especially remarkable for the time is that numerous accounts attest to her vision and concern for the protection and conservation of native species from invasive nonnative species. For example, she wrote:

> I wish to speak very earnestly on the subject of imported mollusks. Four species of imported mollusks have been allowed to enter California. One, *Vivipara annulata*, has been acclimated several

> years. Nevertheless, in Japan and China this species is a great pest in the rice fields. If it should get started in the rice fields in Sacramento Valley, it probably would be as great a pest there. Another shell, *Planorbis corneus*, a European species, has been imported for the purpose of cleaning moss that grows on the glass inside aquariums. We have a native species that will do the work just as well, which can be picked up in almost any pond or stream. Another species, *Helix lacta* [*Otala lactea*], a European species, was through the promptness of the Horticultural Commissioner, immediately destroyed. I cannot speak too strongly as to the possible danger of these importations. Surely the loss, annoyance and expense to which the Country has been subjected in the introduction of *Helix pisana* at La Jolla should be sufficient reason for caution.[28]

In addition to serving as the society's Curator of Collections and Curator of Mollusks & Marine Invertebrates, Kate Stephens also served as assistant director, secretary, and librarian at various points throughout her tenure with SDSNH. According to a 1936 item in the Museum Bulletin, "In fact, it can be truly said that were it not for the devotion of Mrs. Stephens and her husband, Frank Stephens, there may be no Natural History Museum in San Diego today."[29]

Stephens also made important contributions to museum exhibits and education. In 1912, exhibits designed by Frank and Kate Stephens were set up in a room and adjoining alcove in the Hotel Cecil. In May 1925, Kate prepared an exhibit of the Chaney collection of very small shells collected near San Diego. In June of the same year she prepared a sponge exhibit with local specimens, and in December arranged the gorgonian "sea fan" exhibit. In 1928, she prepared an exhibit on fossil shells of the chambered nautilus group (also known as ammonites). Kate also taught natural history to local children, and her students included Laurence Huey, later SDNHM's Curator of Birds & Mammals, and Carl Hubbs, a prominent ichthyologist at Scripps Institute of Oceanography.

Yellowfin Fringehead (*Neoclinus stephensae*) © Helge Weissig.

In 1936, after thirty years of service to SDSNH, Stephens retired from her curatorial position. She remained active in research during her retirement until she was disabled by failing eyesight in her later years. She was 103 years old at the time of her death and was the seniormost member of SDSNH in both age and length of membership.[30] Five mollusks were named in her honor: *Amphithalamus stephensae* Bartsch, 1927; *Cerithiopsis stephensae* Bartsch, 1909; *Gafrarium stephensae* Jordan, 1936 (syn. *Gouldia californica* Dall, 1917); *Odostomia stephensonae* Dall and Bartsch, 1909 (syn. *O. tenuisculpta* Carpenter, 1864); and *Rissoina stephensae* Baker, Hanna, and Strong, 1930. Later, in 1953, Carl L. Hubbs named a fish in her honor, *Neoclinus stephensae*, with Stephens having collected the type specimen.[31]

Rosa Smith Eigenmann (1858–1947)

Rosa Smith Eigenmann had many firsts to her name: she was the first female full member of the SDSNH, the first SDSNH librarian, the first professional female ichthyologist in North America, and the first person to describe the blind goby (*Typhlogobius californiensis*) for science. But before all of that, she was just a young woman interested in fish.

As a child, Rosa Smith had severe tuberculosis, and her family moved from Illinois to San Diego hoping that a better climate would help her condition.[32] While in San Diego, she developed an interest in local fishes and joined the SDSNH while she was still a teenager. In 1879, Smith became the first female elected to full membership at SDSNH. That same year she described a species of fish that was new to the scientific record: the blind goby (*Typhlogobius californiensis*). Smith discovered this fish under the caves of Point Loma and presented a paper on it to the members of the society. She also took it upon herself to record the minutes of society meetings and publish these in the local newspaper, *The San Diego Union*, which her brother and brother-in-law co-owned.

Photograph of a blind goby (*Typhlogobius californiensis*), a species first described by Rosa Smith, 2022. Photo Credit: Mandy Mathews.

While working with SDSNH in 1880, Smith met David Starr Jordan, a famous ichthyologist and the first president of Stanford University. Jordan was teaching at Indiana University at the time but attended a SDSNH lecture while visiting San Diego. Of this, he wrote:

> In the town we found a thriving Natural History Society, of which Daniel Cleveland was the leading spirit. One of its most active members was Rosa Smith, who later married Eigenmann, my assistant and successor in Zoology at Indiana University. Miss Smith accompanied us on various scientific excursions, going, in fact, as far as Portland. She discovered and described a few species from San Diego; afterward she associated herself with her husband's work on the fishes of that region and, later, on those of Brazil.[33]

Indeed, after meeting Smith in San Diego, Jordan invited her to come study with him at Indiana University.[34] Before the academic school year began, Smith spent the summer touring Europe with Jordan and thirty-three other students. She wrote letters about these travels to SDSNH members and published reports of them in local San Diego newspapers.

Little is known of Smith's time attending Indiana University beyond some of the courses she took, though it is known that her schooling was cut short after two years due to family illness, and she did not complete her degree. However, leaving school did not stop Smith's intellectual pursuits. Upon returning to San Diego in 1882, she rejoined the SDSNH. She then moved to San Francisco in the fall of 1883, and became Curator of Ichthyology in 1884 at the age of twenty-five.[35] Smith was the second female curator at the academy, and the first in Ichthyology; she retained her title until 1891, even after moving back to San Diego in 1884.[36] After returning to San Diego, Smith continued her work with SDSNH and worked as a reporter for *The San Diego Union*. It was here she would develop her relationship with Carl Eigenmann.

Smith's partnership with Carl Eigenmann is one of legend. While Smith was known for having a warm and generous personality, her future husband appeared to have admired her intellect before ever having met her.[37] Eigenmann, a German doctoral candidate studying ichthyology, met Smith at Indiana University in 1882 through David Starr Jordan.[38] They corresponded in a friendly, scientific manner after Smith left Indiana, and Eigenmann cited her work in 1885, saying that he found himself "indebted to Miss Rosa Smith for the description of two specimens from La Paz, at San Diego."[39] A year later, Jordan encouraged Eigenmann to travel to San Diego and reconnect with Smith while there. Smith and Eigenmann married a year after that, in 1887. In her diary, Smith notes that her friend Kate Sessions decorated the house for the wedding.[40] Together they became Eigenmann & Eigenmann, a powerhouse couple in the field of ichthyology at the time.

Immediately after they wed, Rosa Smith and Carl Eigenmann went to Harvard University to study the ichthyology collection there. They were focused on the Thayer Expedition collection from Brazil and the Hassler Expedition collection from South America and studied jointly under Alexander Agassiz.[41] While at Harvard, Smith also gained special student status to study cryptogamic botany—spore-producing plants—under W. G. Farlow.

Before marrying, Smith published twenty papers on her own. As a couple, Smith and Eigenmann jointly published fifteen papers as Eigenmann and Eigenmann—including influential works on fishes of South America and western North America—"making 'the Eigenmann and Eigenmann authority' familiarly known on two continents."[42] One prominent paper was "Preliminary Notes on South American Nematognathi" (catfishes), published in 1888, which was "an impressive paper of 52 pages treating 296 species, 36 of which were described as new, belonging in 61 genera and 5 families."[43]

The couple also had five children together: Lucretia Margaretha (Margaret), Charlotte, Theodore Smith, Adele, and Thora. Smith dedicated the later years of her life to raising them.[44] Through it all, Smith was adamant that women had a place in science, expressing in 1895 her "dissatisfaction with the patronizing attitude toward women, assuming them to be popularizers of science rather than participants in the process."[45]

Ethel Phoebe Bailey Higgins (1866–1963)

Ethel Bailey was born on August 10, 1866 in Vassalboro, Maine, to Quaker father George Bailey and Presbyterian mother Mary E. Pearson. She developed an early interest in flowers following visits to her grandfather's farm and from her father, who was described by Higgins as having "10 green fingers" and a beautiful garden.[46] Ethel was educated in a Quaker boarding school and at Wesleyan Seminary & Female College (now Kents Hill School) in Redfield, Maine. At age twenty, she was the school's youngest graduate. Ethel then spent two years teaching high school in Massachusetts before moving to California

Ethel Bailey Higgins researching a specimen, 1939.
© San Diego Natural History Museum.

in 1900, having vacationed there the previous year. She wrote that since she was "always a flower lover" in her native New England, she was "almost overcome at the prodigality of the new and strange flowers of California."[47] In 1914, she met and married John C. Higgins, an inventor and machinist in Alhambra, a suburb of Los Angeles. Together they invested more than $40,000 in a foundry and machine shop which they lost in the stock market crash of 1929. Her husband died soon after of illness in 1931. At that point, she was sixty-seven years old, widowed, and had only fourteen cents to her name.

Fortunately, Higgins was able to fall back on her talent for flower photography. She had taken this up in 1900, working first in the studio of Frank G. Shumacher and later in her own studio in Hollywood. She specialized in botanical subjects, collecting wildflowers in the Hollywood Hills and San Fernando Valley in a horse-drawn buggy, and produced a series of 300 plant portraits. She also took up the study of botany to properly identify the specimens in her images.[48] The photographs that she produced and hand-tinted were so superb that they were purchased and displayed by many prominent organizations. The California State Library has 144 of Higgins's photographs from 1914, which were likely ordered directly from her for seventy-five cents apiece. Most of these prints were four inches by six inches and contained the following information: number, scientific name, common name, location, and date where the photograph was taken. These prints were exhibited in the State Library for many years, and Higgins also exhibited her hand-tinted photographs of wildflowers at the 1915 Panama-California Exposition in Balboa Park, as well as the Chicago Exposition in 1933.[49]

Higgins, like Kate Stephens, was also concerned about the loss of native species at the time. She stated that "The increasing use of desert areas in cultivation of crops, and residential building, is seriously depleting some of our characteristic desert vegetation," and "everything that we used to think of in the way of native plants is gone or is fast going."[50] In addition to development, she also feared the threat posed by the private collection of native species. One anecdote related by Higgins is of the chain fern, *Woodwardia*, which at the time grew in the hills near Monrovia. In her writings, Higgins laments its disappearance and blames herself for having mentioned its location to a friend in South Pasadena after later finding it growing in the friend's garden.[51]

Photograph of a fern (*Woodwardia*) by Ethel Bailey Higgins, date unknown. © San Diego Natural History Museum.

The First World War, the Great Depression, and the Second World War significantly affected natural history museums around the world, including SDNHM. During

the Second World War, the US Navy commandeered SDNHM for use as a hospital; exhibits and collections were moved to various locations around the county including San Diego State University, the San Diego Zoo, various storerooms, and the homes of volunteers. Thus, Higgins joined the San Diego Natural History Museum in a time of institutional disruption.

Botany photography had remained a profitable business for Higgins for many years, but she turned to botany full-time when she joined the SDNHM museum staff in 1933, where she remained for nearly thirty years. When she first joined, she worked under Botany Curator Frank F. Gander. Upon his retirement in 1943, Higgins became Curator of Botany herself, a position that she held until 1957. Higgins added a total of 196 plant specimens to the herbarium collections. Of these, seventy-nine were collected from Baja California and 112 were from California.[52] From her joint collecting trips with museum entomologist Charles F. Harbison, she is associated with an additional 300 accessions.[53] Higgins is believed to have initiated the first accession records for the plant collections, later replaced by a computerized database. Her brown spiral notebooks of numbered specimen lists are now part of the SDNHM archives. She also conducted professional correspondence with botanists from the University of California, New York Botanical Garden, and the Smithsonian.

Higgins authored *Our Native Cacti* in 1931 and other popular works on the plants of the southwestern US.[54] She is credited with compiling the first checklist of San Diego plants, publishing *Annotated Distributional List of Ferns and Flowering Plants of San Diego County* in

1949 and *Type Localities of Vascular Plants of San Diego County, California* in 1959. In her list, she noted that nearly 1,800 species and varieties, representing 600 genera and 121 families were included. Her lists include numbers for those specimens in the SDNHM herbarium, accompanied by a map which indicates plant localities and life zones and a gazetteer of localities. Her plant surveys have since been updated, first in 1986 by R. Mitchel Beauchamp's *A Flora of San Diego County, California* and more recently by Jon P. Rebman and Michael G. Simpson's *Checklist of the Vascular Plants of San Diego County*, which includes new species and revised nomenclature.[55] In the sixty-five years since Higgins's plant list for San Diego County, Rebman and Simpson have added nearly 650 species. Higgins was honored by having a plant species, barberry, named for her: *Berberis higginsiae* Munz (synonym for *Mahonia higginsiae* ((Munz)) Ahrendt).

Higgins offered practical education about plants and was especially enthusiastic about San Diego native plants. She was a frequent contributor to *California Garden* and an Honorary Life Member of the San Diego Floral Association. When the SDNHM expanded its public education program, Higgins met with classes and students at the museum and produced wall charts explaining roots, stems, leaves, flowers, and fruits.

Higgins was said to have a lively sense of humor and was a favorite with the local press. A 1953 *San Diego Evening Tribune* article reported her complaint that the police beat her to every specimen of marijuana she tried to collect for the herbarium. She stated, "So we made a bargain. He gave me some marijuana for our collection and I pressed some specimens for police identification

work."[56] Higgins was a "life-long learner," and *The San Diego Union* and the *San Diego Evening Tribune* wrote about the ways that she "ignored" her age to carry on an active life. At eighty-nine, she enrolled in evening German classes because some important botanical works appeared only in that language. She was working a regular forty-hour week when the museum staff surprised her with a ninetieth birthday luncheon. In that same year, she bought a loom and took up weaving.

Higgins elected to step down to Associate Curator from 1957–1963 and worked under botanist Reid Moran. In 1962, San Diego's "number one career girl" asked to retire from the Museum on her ninety-sixth birthday. She continued to work for a few days each week, laboring on a history of botanical exploration and plants of Baja California that was never finished. Higgins passed away on March 9, 1963. During her years in the botany department, the size of the herbarium grew from 6,000 specimens to a collection of 46,000.

CONCLUSION

Community scientists have made a huge impact on the San Diego Natural History Museum and our region since 1874. In many ways, female community scientists have led the development and research of SDNHM. The strength, knowledge, and impact of these incredible women has earned them a place in scientific history, and their stories deserve to be told. This is especially the case because, when it comes to encouraging women to pursue careers in science, we are not done: "According to UIS data, less than 30% of the world's researchers are women."[57] For those women who are working in science, they still rarely get the same level of recognition as their male peers: "Women in research teams are significantly less likely than men to be credited with authorship."[58] We celebrate the contributions of these women in science, and, as with Stephens, Eigenmann, and Higgins, we hope they continue to break the mold.

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NOTES

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THE 2006 SAN DIEGO DOWNTOWN COMMUNITY PLAN, C-3, AND LAND VALUE CAPTURE: A PARTICIPANT'S PERSPECTIVE

NICO CALAVITA

In 2006, the City of San Diego approved a plan for its downtown that drastically increased the land use densities allowed. The civic organization C-3 pointed out that granting higher densities, a public action, would increase land values and that through land value capture (LVC) the city should capture some of those value increases for public benefit.[1] From the perspective of a participant in debates over planning, this article shows how C-3 and other organizations were able to shape the political discourse in ways that led to a Bonus Benefit Program for open space acquisition that developers could opt into for additional densities.

THE CENTER CITY DEVELOPMENT CORPORATION

In the 1950s and 1960s, downtown San Diego deteriorated badly as freeway construction led to the decentralization of commercial activities. Mission Valley in particular—located only a few miles north of downtown and easily accessible by car with ample free parking—experienced

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(Opposite page) Opening day of Horton Plaza, 1985.
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Freeway clover-leaf interchange in Mission Valley, date unknown. © UT #84_32107.1.

substantial retail growth. Downtown landowners and businessmen fought back by forming San Diegans Inc., an organization dedicated to revitalizing downtown and remaking it as a strong administrative, financial, cultural, commercial, and entertainment center for the city and the region. Their efforts led to the creation of the Center City Development Corporation (CCDC) in 1975, a public-purpose corporation established to manage downtown redevelopment for the San Diego Redevelopment Agency, a body directed by the city council.

Under state redevelopment law to ameliorate blight, CCDC was able to use the power of eminent domain to buy private property, tear down dilapidated structures, provide the site with new infrastructure, assemble parcels, and sell or lease the land to private developers at a discount for new development under the authority and final approval of the San Diego Redevelopment Agency. The financing mechanism was tax increment financing (TIF). With TIF under California law at the time, the property tax revenues from base-year assessed

valuation in the district continued to flow to the city, the county, school districts, and special districts. Meanwhile, the incremental growth in assessed values, and therefore property tax revenue from economic regeneration (including new development, restoration of existing buildings, and general market growth over time), went to the Redevelopment Agency. This increase in tax revenue is known as tax increment. The more successful an area in growing property values, such as through high intensity buildings or other strategies, the more dollars can be reinvested.

Among CCDC's responsibilities were "to serve as the link between the public and private sectors and to stimulate and facilitate private investment and development of San Diego's central core."[2] The CCDC was very successful in attracting private investment downtown, initially with office buildings. Later development included the Horton Plaza Shopping Center in 1985, the revitalization of the adjacent Gaslamp Quarter and Historic District (the commercial and civic center of the city around 1900), hotels (made possible by a new convention center on the San Diego Bay), Petco Park, and over time, residential development in various subdistricts.

Residential development was initially more difficult and required large subsidies and suburban-style townhomes to attract buyers. At the turn of the century, however, the synergetic power of all these new developments, plus a burgeoning return-to-the-center movement, led to increasing demand for housing downtown and the first unsubsidized luxury condo tower, the Meridian. Redevelopment had been wildly successful, but CCDC was slow in realizing it.

THE NEED FOR A PARADIGM SHIFT

Downtown San Diego was a national financial center, containing the headquarters of three of the ten largest savings & loans (S&L) corporations. When the S&L crisis occurred in the late 1980s, these institutions and major downtown employers collapsed. Downtown's business community, led by the commercial shopping center developer Ernie Hahn, revisited downtown's development strategy and concluded that it should pivot towards more market rate and mixed-income housing given its central regional location, access to jobs, waterfront location, and proximity to major cultural destinations like Balboa Park.

When an area is developed, the need for public facilities—such as schools, parks, libraries, and fire stations—increases. While in the past governments would pay for those facilities with general and special tax revenues from property taxes, after Proposition 13 that capability was severely curtailed. Proposition 13 was the result of a "taxpayer revolt" that limited the taxation of real estate. Such drastic curtailing of government's taxing authority at the local level constrained the sources of revenue available to localities to pay for infrastructure and public facilities. The result was a search for sources of financing (i.e., fees and taxes that do not rely on ad valorem taxes constrained by Proposition 13). Beginning in the 1980s, San Diego and other California municipalities used development impact fees (DIFs) throughout California for urbanized areas. Benefit assessment and community facility special district financing was applied to greenfield development in the city's Planned Urbanizing Areas. DIFs were not applied in Downtown San Diego at that time to encourage reinvestment there and because it had TIF as a mechanism.

Downtown San Diego with Community Concourse at C Street and Civic Theatre on right, 1965. © SDHC #92_18835-2035.

In a situation in which a semi-public agency such as CCDC was providing incentives to developers to build downtown, some argued that it did not make sense to charge DIFs, especially if little residential development was taking place. Others took the position that DIFs should be calibrated, even if ultimately subsidized by tax increment, to provide more economic discipline in infrastructure and public facility standards, design, and engineering. Once it became clear that developers no longer needed incentives because downtown had become a desirable place to live, shop, and do business, it then became essential for developers to build public facilities; otherwise, the quality of life downtown would degrade, making it less attractive for development.

Land and real estate economists generally consider impact fees as affecting land or property acquisition value. The higher the fees, the less a developer is willing to pay for a parcel of land and its existing improvements, if any, to undertake a given development program. There is less flexibility to adjust if impact fees increase after a developer has already purchased the property. If the amount a developer is willing to pay for real estate falls too much, and no subsidy mechanism exists (such as tax increment), the existing property owner may not have the incentive to sell the property for its redevelopment. A paradigm shift was necessary, but after many years of subsidizing development, CCDC was not ready to shift to an approach that would require development to pay for the costs of growth. The first example of CCDC's reluctance was related to affordable housing.

State redevelopment law required that twenty percent of all tax-increment funds be spent on housing for low- and moderate-income individuals and families. It also stated that fifteen percent of all residential units developed in a redevelopment area were to be affordable to very low-, low-, and moderate-income buyers. CCDC had amply met state law requirements in the 1980s and 1990s. However, with the market-rate condo boom that was shaping up in the early 2000s, the number of market-rate units was growing so fast that CCDC was unable to build enough low- and moderate-income units to meet the mandated minimum of fifteen percent of subsidized units.

In 2001, when the city of San Diego was considering an inclusionary housing (IH) ordinance that required developers to provide ten percent of housing affordable to households at sixty-five percent of area median income, or pay in-lieu-fees, CCDC opposed the application of the IH ordinance to downtown. CCDC argued that it was currently meeting existing requirements and that the city should not interfere. While true at the time, it was clear that with market rate housing surging, the fifteen percent requirement for low- and moderate-income housing would not be met in the future. However, the real reason for CCDC's opposition to the IH ordinance was that developers predicted the new requirements would be so costly that development would come to a halt, a prospect that terrified CCDC.

That IH would slow down development was unlikely, especially because the IH in-lieu-fees were to be phased in over a three-year period, giving time for the land market to adjust to the new requirements. In fact, the developers' doomsday prediction never materialized. Development continued undeterred after the city council approved IH in a 2002 measure that included downtown.

THE DOWNTOWN COMMUNITY PLAN

The most egregious example of CCDC's inability to change course was the update of the Downtown Community Plan. A draft was released in June 2005 and the plan finally adopted in February 2006. The Downtown Community Plan proposed tripling the existing population and housing units and more than doubling its non-residential space. In a March 1, 2006, *Voice of San Diego* article, CCDC chair Jennifer LeSar, in trying to justify the staggering increases, was quoted as saying: "By taking the density downtown, we are helping preserve our rural lands and our-single family neighborhoods."[3] C-3, a sixty-year-old civic organization dedicated to good

planning and design in the San Diego region, had some influence on this linkage between regional open space land preservation and urbanization in targeted areas.[4] It also raised this linkage in its *Toward Permanent Paradise* program in the early 1990s.

The environmental impact report (EIR) was released in the Spring of 2005. In a letter commenting on the EIR dated September 12, 2005, C-3 pointed out that it was not against such densification of downtown, but that it felt strongly that all impacts should be measured and necessary mitigation measures identified.[5] That was true for transportation impacts and especially so for public services and housing. Additionally, the letter stated that "the EIR goes to great lengths not to evaluate those impacts, because it is said to be 'outside the scope of the EIR.' For example, there is no reference in the EIR to the required number of parks that the proposed population of 90,000 demands."[6] As we shall see, the parks issue was probably the most controversial throughout the approval process, partially resolved only a few weeks before the February approval.

Floor Area Ratios (FARs) Increases and Land Values

The C-3 September letter also regretted that the EIR had not addressed the impact of the proposed plan on real estate values, especially in the neighborhoods surrounding downtown. At issue here was floor area ratios (FARs), which measure the intensity of development on a lot. A FAR of ten would allow a ten-story building that covers the entire lot area or a twenty-story building that covers half of the lot area. The C-3 letter pointed out that "the proposed increases of base maximum and minimum FARs in the redevelopment project area has caused massive real estate speculation, causing land prices to jump from $300 per sq. ft. in 2004 to over $500 per sq. ft. in 2005."[7] Such an increase was based on the expectation that the proposed increase of two FARs over the previous plan would be approved.

The letter was pointing out something that planners in the US have not paid much attention to in the past: that public actions—such as plan changes—can increase the value of land, sometimes considerably, as happened downtown. The landowners downtown had done nothing to increase the value of that land. The increase was the result of the expectation that the proposed plan would be approved with huge density increases. Deleterious consequences of high land values can be many, including making the cost of housing much higher, and in the case of downtown, making affordable housing practically impossible. Extra entitlement doesn't necessarily generate higher land values if the market can't support them, but at the time, downtown was booming.

It should be mentioned that property values had been increasing even before the 2005 draft of the Downtown Community Plan, in large part the result of public efforts, especially CCDC's subsidizing private development through TIF and other sources of financing to the tune of $870 million, creating a positive investment climate.[8] In the eyes of some, it would be only fair to recapture some of those increases in land value created by the public for community benefits, such as more affordable housing or parkland. This approach—known as land value capture (LVC) or public benefit zoning—is widely used in other parts of the world but has been utilized in the US only recently.[9]

While certain public actions increase the value of land, other land use planning actions can decrease land values, namely imposing requirements such as development impact fees, inclusionary housing, and commercial linkage fees. By making development more expensive for the developer, these requirements, also known as exactions, will generally lead to lower land prices. For example, a study prepared by Keyser Marston Associates, Inc. (2019) found that "a number of California cities have adopted inclusionary requirements that were projected to generate reductions in residual land values as high as minus 30%."[10] Exactions, then, should lead to the partial flattening of the increase in the land values curve generated by public actions. While minus 30 percent seems like an outlier and could lead to the withdrawal of land from the market, the point is that market analysis is needed to create supportable IH requirements. Given my expertise in comparative planning and research on LVC, I was uniquely positioned to weigh in on the issue of how densification and incentives would affect the feasibility of the plan and the provision of public facilities, and to call for capturing at least a portion of the increases in land values for public benefit.[11]

PROBLEMS WITH THE INCENTIVES AND TRANSFER OF DEVELOPMENT RIGHTS PROGRAMS

The Downtown Plan proposed minimum, base maximum, and maximum FAR limits that varied depending on location. The minimum was a FAR of two at the fringes of downtown, and a maximum of twelve at its core. A project could earn additional FARs beyond the base maximum through a variety of bonus programs, including:

Downtown looking west from Ninth and B Streets, 1980. M. Jordan Photo Collection. © SDHC #80_8963.

affordable housing; urban open space; three-bedroom units; eco-roofs; green building; employment uses; and public parking. The bonus FAR varied from one to five depending on location.

In addition, a transfer of development rights (TDR) program was established to facilitate the creation of new public parks or open space. TDR works this way: it would be unconstitutional for properties designated as parkland to be given no development rights, when a nearby parcel would receive high-density designations. The city could buy the land, but at very high cost. With TDR, development rights from areas that need to be preserved ("sending" sites) are transferred to sites where the development rights can be used ("receiving" sites). The developers of the receiving sites will want the additional development rights badly enough to pay the owners of the sending sites for them, creating a development rights market if the market supports the additional density and its associated marginal increase in development costs on the receiving site. Two TDR programs were proposed: one for parks, and one for historic resources. For historic resources, eligible sending and receiving sites were to be located on the same block.

To work, both the incentive and TDR programs were based on the assumption that developers would need additional FARs to make their development work. Only then would they pay for additional development rights from the owners of eligible "sending" sites, or incur additional costs to provide green roofs or affordable housing. The city proposing to provide—for free—two FARs seemed to be counterintuitive, counterproductive, and unexplainable.

In a letter to the Planning Commission dated October 27, 2005, C-3 pointed out that "the proposed increase of base maximum FARs in the plan area has caused massive real estate speculation" and that developers were

pushing "to see this plan approved as soon as possible so that they can enjoy this added value—value created by government action without a quid pro quo!" The letter continued: "Although we support high density downtown, we do not support giving away value that rightly belongs to the community. High FARs are no longer needed as a development incentive. We believe that FARs in the current (1992) Plan should remain intact with Bonus FARs granted in return for needed community amenities, affordable housing and transfers of density from other sites for historic preservation…"[12]

In my personal letter to the Planning Commission dated November 22, I expanded on those themes:

> The plan proposes a system of TDRs and FAR incentives to provide parks, preserve historic sites and have developers build inclusionary units on site. …But the incentive for builders to buy development rights is directly related to how much they can build by right. If their Base Maximum FAR is high, there would not be as much incentive to buy development rights or to utilize bonus FARs as there would be if development rights were left at the (lower) levels of the 1992 Centre Community Plan. CCDC, presumably to help meet population targets, has proposed higher levels of base maximum FARs, for free… .If the plan is adopted as proposed, it would entitle property owners to huge windfalls in property values and we the taxpayers would get nothing in return.[13]

C-3 continued to send letters to the city through the end of 2005 (see Appendix 1: Citizens Coordinate for Century 3 – Statements on Policies and Projects)

Model of downtown, c. 2008. Buildings rendered in white represent structures built after the launch of the Center City Development Corporation in 1975. Photo by author.

about those issues and the inadequacies of the EIR, and objecting to the push to approve the plan quickly.

I gave a C-3 breakfast Dialogue PowerPoint Presentation on January 26, 2006, titled "Downtown Community Plan." I discussed the history of CCDC and its successes, but also its inability to change from its culture of incentivizing development to making development pay for its costs, outlining all the characteristics of the plan that reflected such a culture. These included the inadequacies of the EIR to address mitigation alternatives, including the unwillingness to establish DIFs for a branch library or police station, and not considering increasing the 20 percent of TIF to a higher percentage for more affordable—including transitional—housing (as a few redevelopment agencies in the state had done).

NANCY GRAHAM'S TALK TO DEVELOPERS AND LANDOWNERS

By January 2006, criticisms of the plan and the EIR were receiving increasing attention from city officials, council members, and the press. Especially troublesome was the problem of land prices skyrocketing because of the proposed density increases. High land prices would make acquisition of land for parks and other public facilities problematic, and the FAR and incentive programs more difficult to implement.

These criticisms led CCDC to reconsider the proposed FAR increases. At a January 2006 meeting with downtown landowners and developers, Nancy Graham, the Executive Director of CCDC, shared the bad news:

> There were some increases in the FAR proposed... but nobody had a right to them, they were just proposed, they weren't passed, they were just proposed, and you all know that until anything is passed it doesn't mean anything. So what the issue is now that out there, at the city level, the city... some folk at the city are of the opinion that we shouldn't give anything away for free, OK, they don't want to take away... [unintelligible] they want to have the same numbers, so they are not talking about reducing the amount of the intensity... they are just saying, wait a minute... these numbers down there, should be put in the bonus pool of the TDR, so you shouldn't give it away for free... it should be part of... [unintelligible]. They are not trying to say shorter buildings, not as much development, they are saying: put into the pool and let everybody get it that way.

> I don't know how it is going to play out; we can live with it either way, it is a policy decision at the city level. We will live and work with whatever you guys tell us to do. It is ultimately a policy decision by the city, on whether they want those FAR put into the pool or some people get them for free and some don't. It is a policy issue, a political issue. And we can do without it; and I don't think that it is going to make a huge difference one way or the other, by the way. If we do add the FAR automatically upfront, most of the time the ones who benefit from it the most, are the landowners who are selling the land, because the buyers... the developers buy based on the FAR that they are allowed to develop, to the extent that you add some, developers aren't getting it for free, they are paying the landowners for it, so the landowners are the ones who are pocketing most of the money on that transaction. We can find a way to make it work for the developer and if they are buying through the bonus, if they are getting it through the bonus they should be getting it cheaper than it is for what they are paying for the FARs. The city is worried about the standards issue... most of the time... some of you are landowners or who represent them I apologize; they are the ones making most of the money off it.[14]

What Nancy Graham laid bare was the connection between the granting of higher densities and land price increases and that those who benefit are the landowners rather than the developers. On the contrary, she pointed out, developers will suffer because they will have to pay more for the land. This is a connection that urban planners usually pay little attention to, let alone exploit.

As we shall see, clarifying such causality made it possible for some of the increases in land value to be recaptured for parkland and open space. Graham alludes to this when she mentions that "the city is worried about the standards issue." I assume that she is referring to the fact that, according to city standards, parkland would be inadequate downtown as many observers, in addition to C-3, were pointing out, especially Planning Commissioner Carolyn Chase.

THE FEBRUARY 28, 2006 C-3 LETTER TO CITY COUNCIL

In a four-page letter to the city council dated February 28, 2006, C-3 identified major areas of concern, which I will address in turn.

Infrastructure, Public Facilities, and Amenities

C-3 criticized CCDC for not taking responsibility for the transportation problems that the implementation of the plan would generate. According to C-3, it was only as a result of "pressure from the Planning Commission and the City Attorney's Office that CCDC has committed to provide fair-share funding through Development Impact Fees (DIF) or similar mechanisms" for transportation-related costs. C-3 contended that development should also "pay for the proposed freeway covers, for transitional housing, a police station, the downtown's fair share of library facilities costs and other amenities. Let's not forget that in other areas of the city, such as University City, developers have paid, and continue to pay, for all community-wide costs of growth, including the cost of the freeway interchange of Nobel Drive and I-805."[15] Why not

in downtown? C-3 also made a pitch for arts and culture. "As in other downtowns, developers should provide art works with their developments."[16]

Parks and Recreation

C-3 also addressed the question of whether existing standards for park acreage should apply downtown:

> Park acreage is far below the acceptable standard for a residential population of 90,000 not to mention the downtown worker, tourist, and others. Many of the areas shown on the plan update as parkland either are not available to the public at all times or no parkland at all. The recreational element of the general plan recommends 2.8 acres of parkland for every 1,000 residents including neighborhood and community parks, according to a letter from Deborah Sharpe of the City's Parks and Recreation Department commenting on the EIR.[17] The projected population of 89,100 in 2030 would justify nearly 250 acres of parkland, while the plan identifies only 76.88 acres. This is well below the recommended standard. Given the proposed tripling of population, the ratio of existing and proposed parkland to resident will be reduced with the proposed downtown community plan.
>
> While an argument has been made [that] the park standards (local, community and regional) should not apply to downtown, it is important to remember that downtown parks will be used by far more than the resident population and that currently large park acreage deficiencies exist in the communities surrounding downtown.[18]

Affordable Housing

This section reiterates points made before by C-3, including how proposed increased densities have led to skyrocketing land costs "... making [it] necessary to develop high-rises that require building technologies—so-called Type I construction—that makes [sic] housing construction extremely expensive. As a result, existing low-rise affordable housing will disappear... and no housing, especially rental, affordable to low and moderate-income families who work downtown, will be produced through the market."[19]

Historic Preservation Rehabilitation

Again, C-3 pointed out how the proposed TDR system for historic preservation would have little chance of success if TDRs were to be given for free. Accordingly, the letter recommended "[l]ower base maximum FARs to make the TDR program feasible not only for parks, but also for affordable housing and historic preservation. Otherwise, DIFs for parks and recreation must be increased."

The letter also pointed out the following:

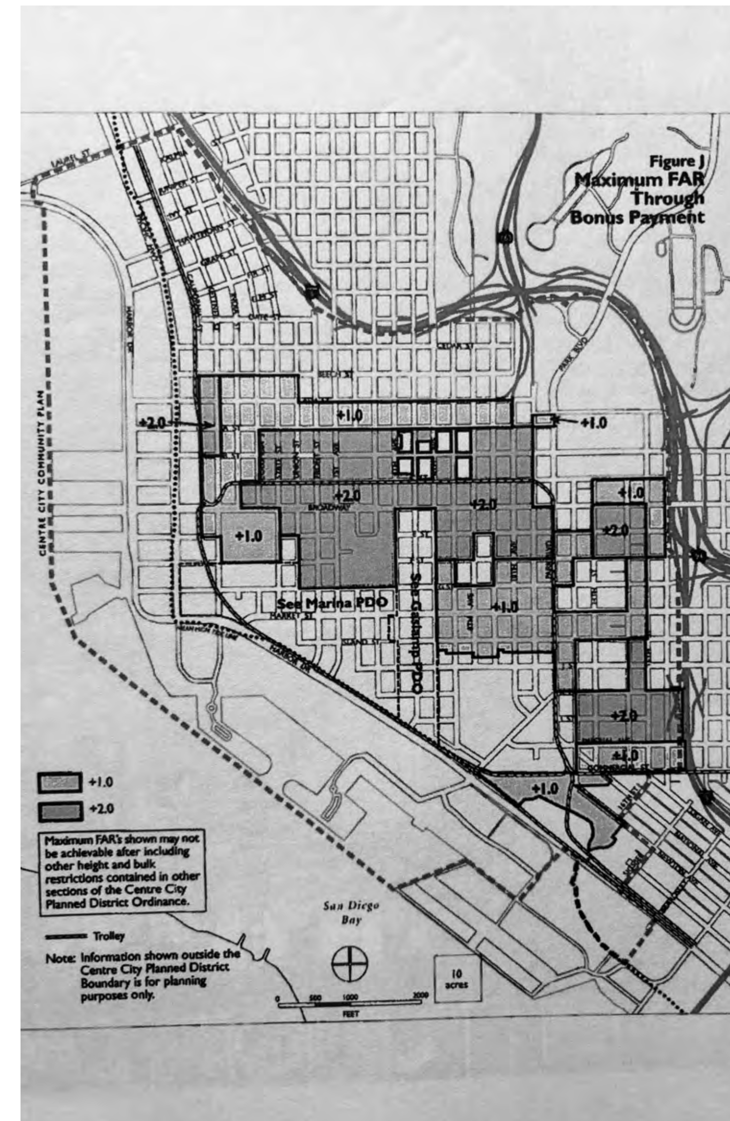
> TDRs and FAR incentives, however, are insufficient to ensure that public facilities and infrastructure will be provided to meet the needs of a growing downtown. CCDC has funded those needs in the past but it has now become clear that new development should pay its fair share, as it does in other parts of the city, especially in urbanizing communities. The recent establishment of impact fees for park and fire stations, is a good beginning, unfortunately too little, too late. The proposed DIFs for transportation facilities are welcomed, but they should be enacted for all public facility needs generated by new development.

C-3 then made a pitch for having TIF utilized for facilities that "development cannot be charged for, such as to meet unfunded central library costs, to meet existing park deficits, to mitigate the impact of freight trains… or any other amenity that would make downtown a great place to live and work. In addition the 20% TIF affordable housing set aside could be increased, as several cities and counties in California have already done. Utilizing both TIFs and DIFs would mark a truly public-private partnership at this stage of the redevelopment process and ensure a high quality of life in a burgeoning downtown."[20]

APPROVAL OF THE DOWNTOWN COMMUNITY PLAN

The San Diego City Council approved the Downtown Community Plan after a seven-hour hearing on February 28. As reported by *Voice of San Diego* writer Evan McLaughlin, the plan was "repeatedly challenged by a parade of critics, including council members who ultimately voted to approve it. These criticisms resulted in several compromises in the Centre City Development Corporation's proposal."[21]

Most importantly, Kevin Faulconer, the city council member representing downtown, announced that the idea of giving developers density rights for free had been scrapped and that a program that would sell FARs, the FAR Incentive and Bonus Payment Program, would be established to fund parks and open space. One reason for the change, Faulconer mentioned, was that it was discovered that TIFs and DIFs would not be sufficient.[22] The plan was approved by a six to two vote.[23]



Map of downtown San Diego displaying maximum FAR obtainable through the FAR Incentive and Bonus Payment Program. Image from San Diego Municipal Code, Chapter 15, Figure J. Reproduction by author.

THE FAR INCENTIVE AND BONUS PAYMENT PROGRAM

With the FAR Incentive and Bonus Payment Program, builders wishing to build above and beyond the levels allowed in the 1992 plan could do so at a cost of fifteen dollars per square foot.[24] CCDC approved this FAR bonus program in May 2007. The report included a statement that "Over time, the benefit could include up to 4 million square feet of development generating up to about $97,000,000 for parks and public facilities contained in the downtown plan."[25]

In 2011, the state of California eliminated redevelopment agencies—and with them TIF—increasing the need to identify additional funding sources in redevelopment areas. In downtown San Diego, the elimination of TIF funding for the implementation of the open space system especially worried city officials. In 2012, Civic San Diego (CCDC's successor organization) proposed—and the city council approved—an amendment to the FAR Incentive and Bonus Payment Program to expand the area where FARs could be purchased, as well as an increase of about 50 percent in the number of FARs that could be purchased through the program to help implement the open space and park system downtown.

By 2016, the fifteen dollar fee had increased to seventeen dollars and fifty cents per square foot based on the increases in the Consumer Price Index for San Diego. By that same year, the amount collected—approximately ten million dollars—was being utilized to finance a number of park and open space projects in downtown San Diego.[26] Councilmember Jim Madaffer had predicted disaster during the hearing because he declared the plan would penalize developers and stifle development.[27] This did not happen, and the additional development cost was not going to be borne by the developer, but by the landowner, through lower land prices.

CONCLUSIONS

C-3's website states that the sixty-year-old organization is "dedicated to preserving and improving our region's built and natural environments. Our objective is to influence critical policy, planning, and design through education, empowerment, and advocacy."[28] C-3 did exactly that in trying to influence the San Diego Downtown Community Plan in the mid-2000s. For example, in the January 10 letter, it reminded CCDC that C-3 "is a staunch supporter of downtown redevelopment and has been since the creation of CCDC in 1975." It then went on to praise CCDC for the renaissance of downtown, and that it agreed "with the goals and most policies of the update, but the goals of the plan, especially those related to public amenities, services, infrastructure and economic diversity, will not be achieved in concurrence with development, if at all."[29] C-3 said yes to densification, then, but with the appropriate infrastructure, public facilities, and amenities.

As we have seen, CCDC's reluctance to have development pay its own way had to do with its inability to affect a paradigm shift in its culture, to move from subsidizing and encouraging development to make it pay for its costs. That inability to switch course was especially grave given the amount of growth proposed in the new plan. Without having development contribute to the public realm, downtown's quality of life was certain to deteriorate, eventually leading to the loss of its attractiveness.

C-3 is a voluntary organization. It does not rely on paid staff as does—for example—SPUR (San Francisco Planning and Urban Research Association), a similar organization in the San Francisco Bay area, but on the expertise of its members. My expertise in land-use planning—not only its physical, but also political-economic aspects—was particularly appropriate in the context of downtown. It is in downtown that the intensity and potential influence of development is at its highest in the region, making landowners and developers particularly politically motivated actors. The intensity of the development proposed and insufficient implementation mechanisms can be attributed, at least in part, to the power of the downtown development industry at the time.

I had been, and continue to be, interested in the ways public benefits can be gained through the planning system.[30] Being a member of C-3 and sharing its goal of improving the built environment in downtown, it was only natural that I would contribute to C-3's positions on the plan. C-3's most important contribution was to show that CCDC's density bonuses and TDRs—their approach to get public benefits from development—would not work if FARs were granted for free and that DIFs and TIF needed to be increased to maintain downtown's quality of life in the face of massive growth. It was the existing and projected park deficit that especially worried C-3 (since DIFs for parks had been established only a few years earlier, "too little, too late," as C-3 wrote in a letter).

DIFs for parks were not raised, but the city came up with the FAR Incentive and Bonus Payment Program solution. Such an approach was fair in that it was likely to affect landowners, not developers, because the price of land would decline over a period of a few years to reflect the cost of fifteen dollars per square foot, as Nancy Graham hinted at in her comments and as economic analyses have shown.

In addition, eliminating the free FARs had made the bonus program more likely to be used by developers. According to a 2012 Civic San Diego document, the bonus programs "Have been attractive to developers and have been successful in increasing densities and have resulted in the provision of public amenities and benefits."[31] It is doubtful that the FAR Incentive and Bonus Payment Program would have happened, and that the bonus program would have become successful, without the well-reasoned, fair, technically sound, insistent, and consistent contribution and advocacy of C-3.

NICO CALAVITA IS PROFESSOR EMERITUS IN THE GRADUATE PROGRAM IN CITY PLANNING AT SAN DIEGO STATE UNIVERSITY. HIS AREAS OF INTEREST INCLUDE INCLUSIONARY HOUSING AND LAND VALUE CAPTURE. HE WAS RECIPIENT OF THE 2016 MARILYN-GITTELL ACTIVIST--SCHOLAR AWARD OF THE URBAN AFFAIRS ASSOCIATION. IN ADDITION TO ACADEMIC ARTICLES, OVER THE YEARS HE HAS PUBLISHED MORE THAN TWO DOZEN OP-EDS IN *THE SAN DIEGO UNION*, THE *LOS ANGELES TIMES* AND THE *SAN FRANCISCO CHRONICLE* IN SUPPORT OF PLANNING IN GENERAL AND AFFORDABLE HOUSING IN PARTICULAR. HE SERVED ON A NUMBER CITY OF SAN DIEGO COMMITTEES, INCLUDING THE HOUSING TRUST FUND BOARD OF TRUSTEES.

APPENDIX: CITIZENS COORDINATE FOR CENTURY 3 – STATEMENTS ON POLICIES AND PROJECTS[32]

9-12-05: C-3 Comments to CCDC on the Draft EIR for the San Diego Downtown Community Plan detailing several areas that C-3 considers deficient esp. as regards private & public transportation and parking. 2 pg. Details.

10-5-05: C-3 Letter to CCDC Board regarding the Downtown Community Plan Update, the Planned District Ordinance and the EIR expressing concern about the push to approve the Plan while the City lacks an elected Mayor and two vacant Council seats. Some details about continued concerns with specifics in the draft Plan. 2 pg. Details.

10-27-05: C-3 Letter to the SD Planning Commission detailing continuing concerns about many aspects of the Downtown CP Update, PDO and EIR, and asking what the rush is to get it through the approval process (see letter of 10-5-05, above). 3 pg. Details.

11-10-05: C-3 Letter to Planning Commission re Downtown Community Plan Update, the Planned District Ordinance and the EIR, expressing objections to the closing of public testimony at last meeting despite new documents passed out at the time of the meeting, without time to read and fully consider the content. C-3 urges delay in action, to ensure Council has all information including resolution(s) of unresolved issues of the previous meeting. 1 pg. Details.

11-25-05: C-3 cover letter to Mr. Don Bauder, SD Reader, sent along with a copy of C-3's communication to the Planning Commission on 10-27-05.

1-4-06: C-3 Letter to 3d District Council member regarding Downtown Community Plan Update, Planned District Ordinance and EIR thanking Councilmember Toni Atkins for her continued leadership and advocacy, and for delaying docketing of proposals to enable more time to address unresolved issues and their potential long-term impacts. 1 pg.

1-10-06: C-3 Letter to Planning Commission requesting a process to ensure infrastructure & public amenities availability concurrent with need arising from new development projects. 1 pg. Details.

2-3-06: C-3 letter acknowledging request from 3rd District Council Office for copies of 5 letters re the Downtown Community Plan Update written to CCDC and Planning Commission. 1 pg.

2-28-06: C-3 Letter to City Council detailing elements which C-3 considers essential to a process which assures availability of infrastructure and public amenities concurrent with need arising from new development. 5 pg. Details.

NOTES

1. C-3 is a sixty-four-year-old civic organization established by Esther Scott and Lloyd Ruocco to promote principles of good design and planning in the San Diego/Tijuana region. It has recently evolved its role to "Creating Civic Community."
2. Centre City Development Corporation, *Urban Design Program: Centre City San Diego* (San Diego, 1983), 61.
3. Evan McLaughlin, "Middle Ground Found Downtown," *Voice of San Diego*, March 1, 2006.
4. C-3 has recently evolved its role to "Creating Civic Community."
5. The letter was signed by Bruce H. Warren, President of C-3. Much of its content, however, was the product of Nico Calavita, a C-3 member at the time. This will be true of the other C-3 letters mentioned later. While I did write other letters commenting on the downtown plan with my signature, I chose to work with C-3 in certain cases because the repute of C-3 would provide more weight to my concerns, criticisms, and recommendations. This was not unusual, as other C-3 members have sought and still are seeking the support of, or choose to work with, C-3 to pursue the organization's mission "to address the highest standards of environmental quality in both the built and natural environment." C-3, letter to CCDC, September 12, 2005. C-3 does not rely on consultants or paid staff, but on the expertise of its members.
6. C-3, letter to CCDC, September 12, 2005.
7. Ibid.
8. Centre City Development Corporation, "Downtown Today: A Publication of Centre City Development Corporation-San Diego, CA," 2005.
9. Nico Calavita, "Development Obligations in the US," in *Public Infrastructure, Private Finance: Development Obligations and Responsibilities*, ed. Demetrio Munoz Gulen & Erwin Van Der Krabben (New York: Routledge, 2019).
10. Keyser Marston Associates, "Proposed Amendments to the City of San Diego Inclusionary Affordable Housing Ordinance: Economic Feasibility Analysis," (San Diego: City of San Diego Housing Commission, June 27, 2019).
11. Nico Calavita and Alan Mallach, eds., *Inclusionary Housing in International Perspective: Affordable Housing, Social Inclusion, and Land Value Recapture* (Cambridge, MA: Lincoln Institute, 2010).
12. C-3, letter to SD Planning Commission, October 27, 2005.
13. Nico Calavita, letter to Planning Commission, November 22, 2005.
14. Nancy Graham, remarks to downtown landowners and developers, c. January 2006. Audio recording in possession of author. The January recording date is an estimate based on the unfolding of events at the time.
15. C-3, letter to CCDC, February 28, 2006.
16. Ibid.
17. Recently, the city has eliminated acreage-based standards and replaced them with a point system based on amenities provided in existing parks, a reflection of the city's difficulties in buying land and a greater priority given to the enhancement and utilization of existing park land and facilities.
18. C-3, letter to CCDC, February 28, 2006.
19. Ibid.
20. Ibid.
21. Evan McLaughlin, "Middle Ground Found Downtown," *Voice of San Diego*, March 1, 2006.
22. The details of this program, to be described in the next section, were approved in 2007.
23. McLaughlin, "Middle Ground."
24. The $15 figure was based on an economic analysis prepared by Keyser Marston Associates. The study had found that the value of an FAR was as high as $30 per square foot. In a meeting of Mayor Jerry Sanders and Kevin Faulconer with developers the fee was reduced to $15.
25. Center City Development Corporation, Floor Area Ratio Bonus Payment Program, May 16, 2007.
26. Civic San Diego, "Proposed Allocation of Development Impact Fee Funds for Fiscal Year 2017/18," September 9, 2016.
27. McLaughlin, "Middle Ground."
28. C-3, "About Us." https://www.c3sandiego.org/page-1816500
29. C-3, letter to Planning Commission, January 10, 2006.
30. Calavita, "Development Obligations."
31. Civic San Diego, "Proposal to Amend the Downtown Community Plan to Expand the Existing FAR Payment Bonus Program," Report No. PC-17-046, April 5, 2012, 12.
32. These "statements" are extracted from a much longer document that summarized all C-3 statements, now in the hands of the San Diego Historical Society Archives. That important reference was prepared by Judy Swink.

BOOK REVIEWS

BURN SCARS: A DOCUMENTARY HISTORY OF FIRE SUPPRESSION, FROM COLONIAL ORIGINS TO THE RESURGENCE OF CULTURAL BURNING. EDITED BY CHAR MILLER. CORVALLIS: OREGON STATE UNIVERSITY PRESS, 2024. ILLUSTRATIONS, NOTES, AND INDEX. X + 223 PP. $34.95 PAPER.
Reviewed by Russell Peck, PhD, University of California, San Diego.

Since the publication in this journal (Fall/Winter 2022) of my book review of David Carle's *Introduction to Fire in California*, massive wildfires in California and throughout the North American West have continued to rampage across land and communities. The devastating losses suffered in the blazes that affected metropolitan Los Angeles in January 2025 received national attention, reigniting heated debates surrounding fire management policies and their implementation at local, state, and federal levels. In the wake of the Eaton and Palisades Fires, which rank among the deadliest and costliest fires in California's history, the public has shown increased concern regarding wildfires and how to limit their destructive power.

Responding to the growing desire by policymakers, government officials, and residents of fire-prone areas to address the root causes of wildfires, Char Miller's *Burn Scars*—a timely documentary history "born of and by fire" (p. 1)—offers a historical perspective on the contemporary debates surrounding wildfires and their mitigation. While the documents contained within the book range from national policy debates to local case studies, much of the focus is on events and voices from within California (including San Diego). Through a variety of essays and primary sources, Miller effectively explores California's historical record of fire management, from precolonial Indigenous burning practices to government-backed fire suppression regimes and the present, growing acceptance of the value of cultural and prescribed burns.

Burn Scars opens with an introduction by Miller, setting the historical context for the chronologically organized chapters of documents that follow. Part 1, "Colonial Suppression," covers the attempts by Spanish, Mexican, and American authorities to suppress Indigenous burning practices and impose their own land use regimes in California. By the end of the nineteenth century, settler-colonial efforts on this front had reached "genocidal" proportions (p. 5). With the creation of the US Forest Service at the turn of the twentieth century, fire suppression became national policy. Part 2, "Light Burning and Its Discontents," is focused on exploring the attempts by the Forest Service and its allies to silence critics of fire suppression and proponents of light burning methods. Government agents and many local businessmen viewed economic growth and community progress as incompatible with light burning and Indigenous burning practices, which they derogatorily labeled "Piute forestry" (p. 77). Although Gifford Pinchot's Forest Service was largely victorious in codifying suppression policies by the 1920s, the material

in Part 3, "Bringing Fire Back," reveals that, even at the height of this new fire regime, a wide spectrum of critics—including ranchers, loggers, Indigenous Californians, and those studying the fire-shaped longleaf pine forests of the American South—continued mounting ecologically-based arguments in favor of light burning. Part 4, "Return Cycle," takes us into the present century with texts that show the increased acceptance of prescribed burns as a form of forest management and the reassertion by tribal nations of their sovereign rights to practice cultural burns. After providing introductory notes for each chapter, Miller lets the documents speak for themselves, although he has arranged and selected these primary sources in such a way that the "narrative arc" of the collection highlights "the Forest Service's aggressive commitment to fire suppression, as policy and prescription, as idea and intention" (p. 2).

Throughout the book, Miller emphasizes the importance of Indigenous people in California as both historical practitioners of fire-based land management and contemporary advocates of the benefits of cultural burning. As Miller notes, "Fire never really left the land. For Indigenous Californians, that claim is at the heart of their oral histories, cultural memory, and contemporary practice" (p. 199). The collection begins with an essay by Michael Connolly Miskwish, a member of the Kumeyaay nation, presenting an overview of the beneficial role that "good fire" historically played in Kumeyaay cultural practices and ecosystem management through the creation of a "fire mosaic" in the San Diego area (p. 20). Dawn Blake, forestry director for the Yurok Tribal Council, delivers the final statement in this collection: "We must re-learn how to live with fire and use it to protect the land and all who depend on it" (p. 217). This conclusion is well established by the voices and perspectives presented in the historical documents in the book.

It is worth noting that a portion of *Burn Scars'* royalties are donated to the Tongva Taraxat Paxaavxa Conservancy, which stewards a recently acquired acre of land in the foothills of Altadena (p. ix). Despite being affected by the devastating Eaton Fire, the damage to this tribal land was less severe than that on surrounding parcels. This mitigation resulted from the historically informed land management practices of the Conservancy—an outcome that demonstrates the value of cultural burns and other traditional methods of reducing wildfire risks. Readers interested in a historical understanding of contemporary discussions surrounding wildfires and how to reduce their intensity, particularly those interested in the role that California has historically played in national debates over wildfire management policies, would benefit from exploring this book.

CALIFORNIA CATASTROPHES: THE NATURAL DISASTER HISTORY OF THE GOLDEN STATE.
BY GARY GRIGGS. OAKLAND: UNIVERSITY OF CALIFORNIA, 2024. ILLUSTRATIONS, NOTES, REFERENCES, AND INDEX. VII + 260 PP. $95.00 CLOTH. $26.95 PAPER.
Reviewed by Christian Filbrun, MA, Legislative Aide of Assembly Member Tasha Boerner.

California began 2025 with a harsh reminder of the disasters its residents contend with and the precariousness of the Golden State. As the state was grappling with the looming reality that an incoming Trump administration may cut Federal Emergency Management (FEMA) disaster relief funding, Los Angeles burned. More startlingly, these fires ravaged urban communities thought to be immune to wildfires, and firefighting efforts were hampered by the Santa Ana winds. Numerous lives and thousands of homes were lost. Unfortunately, catastrophes in many forms have battered the state in recent decades and, due in no small part to climate change, show no signs of slowing down. From the flooding in San Diego in January 2024, which left hundreds of lives upended, to the Camp Fire in Paradise in 2018, the Golden State has long contended with a history replete with fires, earthquakes, droughts, floods, mudslides, and storms.

Gary Griggs' monograph, *California Catastrophes: The Natural Disaster History of the Golden State*, takes a timely look at the geographic and historic reasons for the precariousness that makes California remarkable and dangerous. As he describes it, California is a hotbed of geological, atmospheric, and coastal hazards. This reality leads Griggs to ask, "Which parts of the state are most vulnerable to these hazards and how might we prepare for these inevitable and potentially catastrophic events and reduce their toll on human lives and our towns and cities?" (p. 8). Chapters 2–4 discuss the tectonic setting in the state, chapters 5–7 cover the climatic realities, chapter 8 addresses rockslides and mudslides, chapter 9 examines the looming impact of the rising sea level, and chapter 10 offers a guide to what can be done.

The book includes personal anecdotes from Griggs, a longtime Californian, that provide a sweeping view of the many landscapes and natural disasters that have made and unmade California. With impressive photos, diagrams, and charts, he provides an overwhelming tour of the numerous disasters that have shaped how Californians have interacted with their environments. While the reader is left keenly aware of the danger California faces, it is also clear that Griggs cares deeply for the Golden State and that much can be done to make California more resilient. He describes the challenges residents have faced in obtaining wildfire insurance, the vulnerability assessments that can better identify and reduce risks, the growing incorporation of controlled burns as a component of effective fire management, and the growth of technologies such as desalination plants. As Griggs notes, "[w]ith the effects of climate change altering the past assumptions… there is an even greater imperative to make decisions based on the best available science and risk analysis" (p. 244).

California Catastrophes offers an important retrospective for a state that has contended with a

diverse set of disasters and will likely continue to do so. Emergency preparedness and longterm planning for these future catastrophes will ensure that the most vulnerable populations do not bear the brunt of California's unique geographic location and climate. Recent apocalyptic scenes of Los Angeles on fire are a stark reminder of why understanding the natural disaster history of California is important, now more than ever. Griggs demonstrates that understanding the long arc of the state's history can provide answers to the questions of how to build back better and plan for the future.

BELLE BARANCEANU: LIFE, ART, AND THE NEW DEAL RENAISSANCE. BY JENNIFER PEOPLES HERNANDEZ. LANHAM, MD: LEXINGTON BOOKS, 2023. ILLUSTRATIONS, NOTES, BIBLIOGRAPHY, AND INDEX. XII + 346 PP. $108 CLOTH. $38.69 PAPER. Reviewed by Donald H. Harrison, editor and publisher, *San Diego Jewish World*.

Depression-era artist Belle Baranceanu's life (1902–1988) may be divided into periods before and after her arrival in San Diego in 1932. After coming here from the Midwest and Los Angeles, she jettisoned the surname of her father, Abram Goldschlager, and adopted the Baranceanu name of her mother Mary's Romanian Jewish ancestral line. A man of volatile temper, Abram had served a year in a North Dakota prison for assaulting his sister-in-law's husband. Additionally, he had strenuously objected to Baranceanu's love affair and anticipated marriage to her artistic mentor, Anthony Angarola, who died in 1929 of a heart attack at age thirty-six.

Author Jennifer Peoples Hernandez, an adjunct professor of history at San Diego Mesa College, reports that, in Baranceanu's early days, the artist's modernist painting style was reminiscent of the semi-abstract works of both Angarola and the French post-impressionist painter Paul Cézanne. Building on their influences, her painting style broadened in the sunshine and ambiance of San Diego. She deeply studied the area's Spanish colonial and Mexican periods.

Professor Hernandez provides extensive information about President Franklin D. Roosevelt's programs to put

people to work, including artists, at ninety-four dollars per month. Paltry as that sum seems today, it was enough for Baranceanu to scrape by. In fact, she appreciated the salary because it enabled the unmarried artist, who became well known for her murals, to support herself and do what she loved.

The book includes a sixteen-page photographic section documenting Baranceanu's works in public places as well as in the private collections of San Diegans. These photos include "Railroad Yards, Chicago," "Virginia" (an African American woman), "Elysian Hills" (Los Angeles), and "Lee" (a female nude at her toilette). All of these were painted before she moved to San Diego.

The San Diego History Center's collection of Baranceanu's works is also well represented: a cubist "Riverview Section, Chicago" (1926); a portrait of Baranceanu's grandmother (1927); "Reclining Nude" (1929); an illustration titled "Wither Now" (1931) of a long line of Jews carrying their possessions out of Ferdinand and Isabella's Spain; and a preliminary sketch of La Jolla from Mount Soledad's vantage point for a mural at the La Jolla Post Office, titled "Scenic View of the Village" (1936).

Baranceanu's other works in the San Diego History Center's collection include a sketch and mural for "Building Mission Dam" (1938), in which Kumeyaay men are pictured wearing pants instead of loincloths; its companion mural for Roosevelt Junior High School showing "Portola's Northern Exposition" (1938); a photograph of the now-demolished mural at La Jolla High School illustrating "The Seven Arts" (1940); and a stylized woodblock of a drill (a primate related to the baboon) which is part of an art series promoting the San Diego Zoo.

Other locally-displayed Baranceanu artworks include the San Diego Museum of Art's "The Yellow Robe" (1927), picturing her younger sister Teresa; the US General Services Administration's "San Diego" (1934), featuring Navy ships, orange trees, an avocado grove, and Mission San Diego; and a mural in the Balboa Park Club (formerly the Palace of Education in the 1935 California-Pacific International Exhibition) titled "The Progress of Man." About this mural, Baranceanu wrote the following to an acquaintance:

> "... I started with a caveman decorating the wall of his cave. From that I jumped to the Egyptian culture represented by the Sphinx and pyramids, the Greek temple, and so on down through the Middle Ages to today. To the left of the boy there is the development of writing, the hand lettering monk, the invention of the Guttenberg press, and finally a reaction to the modern press with the newspapers rolling out. Astronomy and Science and higher education are next. On the right there is law, the division of time, the development of agriculture (with the reapers, and then the tractor); art by sculpture, music by the section of the symphony orchestra (Stokowski conducting) and the crusades in the back. This all is flanked on either side in cool metallic colors of an iron age, by transportation by air, land and water, modern architecture and industry" (p. 202).

After the Depression and World War II, Baranceanu taught art at Francis Parker School, retiring in 1969 at age sixty-seven. She suffered from Alzheimer's Disease, spending her final years as an octogenarian at an assisted living facility.

BOOK NOTES

Barba, Lloyd Daniel. *Sowing the Sacred: Mexican Pentecostal Farmworkers in California*. New York: Oxford University Press, 2022. Illustrations, notes, bibliography, and index. xix + 370 pp. $130 cloth. $29.95 paper. Lloyd Barba, a historian of religion at Amherst College, examines the development of Pentecostalism among Mexican American migrant farmworkers in California from the 1910s to the 1960s. Drawing on oral histories, photographs, and materials in new archival collections, Barba shows that these working people built and maintained houses of worship in the fields, performed outdoor baptisms in grower-controlled waterways, and carved out their socio-religious existence despite their disadvantages.

Faragher, John Mack. *California: An American History*. New Haven: Yale University Press, 2022. Illustrations and index. ix + 466 pp. $24.00 paper. $24.00 ebook. John Mack Faragher—professor emeritus of history and American studies at Yale University—presents a history of multicultural California for non-academic readers. California's ethnic diversity may have set the stage for much conflict and violence, but this diversity also contributed to the formation of the state's multicultural democracy. The book includes the stories of Archy Lee, an African American man who sued for his freedom; Sally Bell, a Sinkyone Indian woman who survived genocide; and Marilyn Greene, a Jewish schoolgirl who defended her Japanese friends after Japan's attack on Pearl Harbor.

Hunt, N. Leigh. *I Don't Like Mondays: The True Story Behind America's First Modern School Shooting*. Denver: Wildblue Press, 2022. Illustrations. 358 pp. $22.24 cloth. $17.92 paper. In this work of creative nonfiction, author N. Leigh Hunt tells the story of Brenda Spencer, who entered San Diego's Cleveland Elementary School on Monday, January 29, 1979 at the age of sixteen with a rifle she received as a Christmas gift and opened fire, killing two people and injuring nine. When arrested and asked about her motive, Spencer replied, "I don't like Mondays." This utterance was the title and inspiration for a song by the Irish new wave band The Boomtown Rats later that year. The book is the product of years of research that included interviews with police investigators and the shooter herself.

Mathes, Valerie Sherer. *Amelia Stone Quinton and the Women's National Indian Association: A Legacy of Indian Reform*. Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 2022. Notes, bibliography, and index. 306 pp. $55.00 cloth. $45.00 ebook. Valerie Sherer Mathes, professor emerita of City College of San Francisco, offers the first in-depth historical account of the progressive reformer Amelia Stone Quinton (1833–1926) and her work in the Women's National Indian Association (WNIA) in California. Quinton was constrained by the assimilationist principles of her time. While pressing for a more just policy toward *indigenous* people, she also promoted their assimilation through Christianization and "civilization." Drawing on Quinton's writings—including her letters, speeches, and newspaper articles—along with literature of the WNIA, Mathes presents a history of gender, race, religion, and politics.

Moser, Patrick. *Surf and Rescue: George Freeth and the Birth of California Beach Culture*. Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 2022. Illustration, notes, bibliography, and index. 248 pp. $110 cloth. $24.95 paper. $14.95 ebook. In this combination of biography and sports history, Patrick Moser—a professor of creative writing and literature at Drury University and a native Californian—tells the story of George Freeth, the Hawaiian athlete who brought surfing to California in 1907. In the twelve years before his death in San Diego during the influenza pandemic in 1919, Freeth taught people to surf and swim, created a lifeguard service along Southern California beaches, founded the state's first surf club, and coached both male and female athletes, including Olympic swimming champion Duke Kahanamoku.

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