

History and Historic Preservation in San Diego Since 1945:

Civic Identity in America's Finest City

by

Judith Comer-Schultz

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Graduate Supervisory Committee:

Philip Vandermeer, Chair
Peter Iverson
Matthew Whitaker

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ABSTRACT

Civic identity in San Diego emerged first from a complex set of Native, Spanish and Mexican traditions. However, after 1850 Americans from the East coast and Midwest arrived and brought with them to San Diego a strong sense of how to both build and manage towns. These regional influences from other parts of the country carried over into the early twentieth century, and began to reshape civic identity and the first historic preservation movements in San Diego. This dissertation establishes San Diego's place in the scholarly literature of the urban West and historic preservation.

After a brief background of San Diego history, this study begins with an explanation of the dual efforts at work in San Diego after 1945 to build for the future while preserving the past. Next, this study examines the partnerships formed and conflicts between promoters for development and advocates of preservation. The progression of historic preservation efforts in San Diego since WWII includes missed opportunities, lapses in historic authenticity, and divisions about what buildings or stories to preserve. This study describes how conflicts were resolved and explains the impact of those outcomes on historic preservation and authenticity.

San Diego's history has much in common with many cities in the American West, but the historic narrative of San Diego also differs from other Western cities in several compelling ways. First, San Diego bears distinction as the oldest city in California and one of the oldest cities in the West. Second, historic preservation in San Diego has yet to be fully explored by scholars. Third,

some of preservation conflicts explored in this study reveal distinct differences from preservation debates in other urban areas.

Using government, organizational, and archival records, secondary sources, interviews, and personal observation, this dissertation explains how historic preservation in San Diego became an integral part of city planning, an expectation of residents and visitors, and a key feature of the city's civic identity. This study contributes to Western scholarship by bringing San Diego into the literature of historic preservation and the urban West.

For my remarkable children: Ellen, Shelley, TJ, Terrence and Megan,

And all of my grandchildren;

For my extraordinary Mother and all of my siblings and family;

And Dad and Tom: I feel your spirits every day.

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TABLE OF CONTENTS

	Page
LIST OF TABLES.....	viii
LIST OF FIGURES.....	ix
INTRODUCTION.....	1
CHAPTER	
1 TRANSFORMATIONS THROUGH 1941.....	31
Pre-European Arrival and the Mission Years through 1821.....	32
1821 to 1848: Mexican Control in San Diego.....	40
1848 to 1890: American Control and the Horton Years.....	47
1890 to 1915: Post-Boom and Starting Over Again.....	63
1915: The Panama California Exposition.....	81
1918 to 1941: San Diego Comes of Age.....	88
2 POST WAR TRANSFORMATIONS.....	93
WWII and the Military in San Diego.....	95
Physical Growth and Annexation.....	99
A New Kind of Demographic in the City, 1950-2000.....	109
A New Economy, 1945-1970.....	131
The Economy After 1970: Falters and Revives Again.....	141
City Planning in San Diego, 1945-1970.....	148
City Planning in San Diego, 1970-2000.....	150
Historic Preservation in San Diego through WWI.....	165
Historic Preservation in San Diego since 1950.....	168

CHAPTER	Page
	Civic Identity and Heritage173
3	OLD TOWN SAN DIEGO.....181
	Old Town: 1900 - 1968.....184
	Old Town Becomes a State Historic Park.....197
	Old Town in the 1970s199
	Old Town in the 1980s.....206
	Old Town After 1990.....211
	2001 – 2009: Crises at Old Town214
	Lessons From Old Town San Diego.....239
4	GASLAMP QUARTER, HORTON PLAZA AND LITTLE ITALY.....245
	The Gaslamp Quarter249
	Horton Plaza is Added to the Gaslamp Quarter.....259
	The Gaslamp Quarter Comes Alive275
	Little Italy292
	Redevelopment, Historic Preservation, and Authenticity.....313
5	OPENING "WINDOWS TO THE PAST": PRESERVING RACE AND ETHNICITY IN THE GASLAMP.....316
	Asian American Activism in Preservation Battles.....319
	African American Activism in Preservation Battles.....328
	The Legacy of Race in the History of the Gaslamp.....355

CHAPTER	Page
6 NTC CLOSES AND PETCO PARK OPENS.....	360
Naval Training Center in San Diego.....	367
No Homeless at NTC.....	371
No Indians at NTC.....	378
NTC Becomes Liberty Station.....	383
Historic Preservation and Public History at Liberty Station.....	387
While NTC Becomes Liberty Station, Let’s Build a Downtown Ballpark.....	399
Measuring Success at NTC/Liberty Station and Petco Park.....	420
EPILOGUE: THE FUTURE OF THE PAST IN SAN DIEGO.....	426
BIBLIOGRAPHY.....	434
APPENDIX	
A COPYRIGHT RELEASE FROM ELLEN SCHULTZ-ARIGO....	456
B COPYRIGHT RELEASE FROM MARYLOU COMER.....	458
C COPYRIGHT RELEASE FROM SOHO.....	460
D COPYRIGHT RELEASE FROM SDHC.....	462
E COPYRIGHT RELEASE FROM DAN SODERBERG.....	464

LIST OF TABLES

Table	Page
2.1	Population of Los Angeles, San Diego and San Francisco, 1950 – 2000.....110
2.2	Percent White, Mexican, Asian, Black Populations in San Diego 1930 -2000.....112
2.3	Breakdown of Asian Population in San Diego, 1930 – 2000.....117
2.4	Educational Attainment among those 25 years or older in San Diego, 1950 -2000.....123
2.5	Median Household Income, San Diego, Los Angeles, and Phoenix, 1950 – 2000.....124
2.6	Urban Poverty: U.S., San Diego, Los Angeles, and Phoenix.....127
2.7	Median Family Income by Race, San Diego County, 2000.....127
2.8	Civilian Employment in San Diego, 1962.....133
3.1	Revenue & Lease Fees Old Town State Historic Park, Fiscal Years 2001, 2004-2009.....229

LIST OF FIGURES

Figure		Page
1.1	Map of Kumeyaay Lands, 1769.....	34
1.2	Location of Mission 1789 and 1794.....	38
1.3	Illustration of Plaza Mayor as defined by Ordinances.....	44
1.4	William H. Emory's "Notes of a Military Reconnaissance from Fort Leavenworth in Missouri to San Diego in California, 1846".....	45
1.5	Powell Sketch of San Diego, 1850.....	47
1.6	San Diego circa 1855.....	48
1.7	Map New Town San Diego	51
1.8	Bronze statue of Alonzo Horton.....	53
2.1	Map San Diego, 1928.....	101
2.2	Map of Urban Development Pattern, San Diego, 1967.....	102
2.3	Size in Square Miles of Selected Sunbelt Cities.....	103
2.4	Neighborhood Map Central San Diego.....	113
2.5	1970 Census, Low Income Neighborhoods of San Diego.....	125
2.6	United States Census Tract Map, San Diego, 2000.....	130
3.1	Old Town San Diego.....	185
3.2	Ramona's Marriage Place, 1923.....	188
3.3	Old Adobe Chapel with Bells, 1870s.....	191
3.4	Bazaar del Mundo as it looked 1971-2004.....	200

Figure	Page
3.5 10 X 12 foot Diorama of 1860s Old Town.....	205
3.6 “Historic Development Context”.....	209
3.7 Plaza del Pasado, 2005.....	219
3.8 Fiesta de Reyes, 2009.....	228
3.9 Map of Old Town State Historic Park, 2010.....	231
3.10 Sign at Old Town: “San Diegans Enjoyed a Menu Rich in Beef”.....	232
3.11 Sign at Old Town: “Californians Cooked Outdoors in the Early 1800s”.....	233
3.12 Sign at Old Town: “Old Town Was a Cultural Mosaic”.....	234
3.13 Whaley House, 1874.....	235
3.14 Whaley House, 1890.....	236
3.15 Whaley House, 2010.....	236
3.16 Cosmopolitan Hotel, 1872.....	237
3.17 Cosmopolitan Hotel Renovation, 2009.....	237
3.18 Cosmopolitan Hotel, 2010.....	238
4.1 Map of Downtown San Diego showing the Gaslamp and Little Italy.....	246
4.2 Gaslamp Quarter Neon Sign, put in place in 1988.....	250

Figure	Page
4.3 Gaslamp Quarter Planned District, 1976.....	256
4.4 Sixteen Block Gaslamp Quarter.....	257
4.5 Horton Plaza Park, 1910, Old Postcard.....	260
4.6 Broadway Fountain at Horton Plaza.....	262
4.7 Logo adopted by Save Our Heritage Organisation.....	263
4.8 SOHO Plaque at Horton Plaza.....	266
4.9 Horton Plaza.....	268
4.10 Proximity of Horton Plaza to Seaport Village.....	273
4.11 Centre City Community Planning Area, 1992.....	282
4.12 Yuma Building, 1888.....	284
4.13 Yuma Building Today.....	285
4.14 Map of Little Italy.....	291
4.15 Little Italy Sign.....	292
4.16 Map showing original location of Italian neighborhood, c. 1900 to the 1930s.....	293
4.17 “Slice of Pizza” Plan for Little Italy, 1989.....	296
4.18 Boundary Map showing original 16-block size and current size of Little Italy.....	300
4.19 Little Italy Sign on Sidewalk Chairs.....	302
4.20 Tribute Banner to Italian Americans in Baseball.....	302

Figure	Page
4.21 Little Italy Landmark Sign.....	303
4.22 Italian Fisherman Sign.....	303
4.23 Tourist Walking Map of Little Italy.....	304
4.24 Our Lady of the Rosary Church.....	305
4.25 Piazza Basilone in Little Italy.....	306
4.26 Condominium in Little Italy.....	307
4.27 Buon Appetito Restaurant.....	308
5.1 Chinese Mission, 1920s.....	320
5.2 Chinese Mission Today.....	326
5.3 San Diego Chinese Historical Museum.....	327
5.4 Hotel Douglas, 1930s	332
5.5 Creole Palace Advertisement.....	332
5.6 Black Historical Society and Museum.....	333
5.7 1956-57 San Diego Telephone Directory.....	335
5.8 Clermont Hotel, “A Hotel for Colored People”.....	336
5.9 Historical Landmark Plaque, Clermont/Coast Hotel.....	337
5.10 Clermont Hotel, 2010.....	337
5.11 Lillian Grant resident before demolition.....	339
5.12 Lillian Place, opened 2007.....	342
5.13 Lillian Place.....	342

Figure	Page
5.14 Heritage Wall at Lillian Place.....	346
5.15 Close-Up Mural at Lillian Place.....	347
5.16 Lillian Place Mural Reference to African American Businesses.....	348
5.17 Lillian Place Mural Reference to “Entrepreneurial Spirit”.....	348
5.18 Lillian Place Mural Reference to Jazz in San Diego.....	349
5.19 Lillian Place Mural Reference to WWII Pacific Parachute Co...349	
5.20 Lillian Place Mural Reference to African American Churches...350	
5.21 Lillian Place Mural Reference to Lillian Grant.....	350
5.22 African American Heritage Survey Study Area.....	351
5.23 Asian Pacific Thematic District and Black Historical Sites.....	356
6.1 Naval Training Center (Liberty Station).....	367
6.2 North Chapel at NTC.....	370
6.3 Map Kumeyaay Lands, 1769 and location of NTC.....	379
6.4 Approved NTC Reuse Plan.....	384
6.5 Home at Liberty Station.....	386
6.6 Map Liberty Station.....	388
6.7 Command Center and Visitor’s Center.....	389

Figure		Page
6.8	Renovated historic building at Liberty Station.....	390
6.9	Interior Promenade.....	390
6.10	Trader Joe's at Liberty Station.....	391
6.11	NTC Historic Walking Map.....	392
6.12	NTC Historic Walking Map Legend.....	393
6.13	USS Recruit.....	394
6.14	Lane Field, circa 1936.....	400
6.15	Westgate Park, San Diego Mission Valley, c. 1960.....	401
6.16	Qualcomm Stadium.....	401
6.17	Map Petco Park and surrounding area.....	405
6.18	Original Ballpark Settlement Agreement, 1999.....	409
6.19	Map Warehouse Thematic Historic District.....	411
6.20	Moving Showley Brothers Candy Factory, 2003.....	413
6.21	Showley Brothers Candy Factory after 2003 move.....	414
6.22	Simon Levi Building.....	414
6.23	Rosario Hall, 2000.....	415
6.24	Rosario Hall today.....	416
6.25	Exterior PetCo Park.....	417
6.26	Interior Petco Park.....	418

Figure	Page
6.27 Camden Yard and B & O Warehouse Wall.....	418
6.28 Western Metal Supply Wall, Interior Petco Park.....	420

INTRODUCTION

San Diego emerged from a succession of communities and peoples, producing a rich and complex history. This process began with the activities of Native peoples before 1769, and was followed by Spanish and Mexican influences until 1848. However, after the Mexican-American War, Americans began arriving from the east and brought a strong sense of how to build and manage towns. These regional influences carried into the early twentieth century and shaped both the early nature of Western communities as well as first historic preservation movements in the West. The processes of city building and early efforts at historic preservation in San Diego reveal the selectivity and values of those persons -- the tendency to favor Spanish tradition and minimize the histories and contributions of Mexican, Indian, and other racial and ethnic groups. Over many decades, this selective history developed a near legitimacy, and the line between reality and myth became increasingly obscure. By 1945 San Diego was both an old and a new city, but determining one from the other proved very challenging. Urban development in the 1950s and 1960s focused on the new, but redevelopment after 1970 shifted the focus back to the historic. These transformations created an urban historic landscape that contains many contradictions.

San Diego initially developed as a tourist destination in the late 19th century, and it continued expanding as a tourist economy through the 1940s. After WWI the Navy selected San Diego as the home for the Navy's Pacific Fleet,

adding a new dimension to the city and leading to its identity as a “Navy Town.” Tourism maintained its vital role in the city’s economy, but population growth, annexation, and urban redevelopment after WWII brought new industries, introducing new elements into the economy of the city such as defense contractors, and high tech research firms. Over the next fifty years, the city grew, becoming the eighth-largest city in the United States. But, by century’s end, San Diegans were stunned when the Base Realignment and Closure Committee (BRAC) announced the closure of Naval Training Center (NTC), threatening a fundamental feature of the city’s civic identity.

Because the post-World War II period fueled so much growth in San Diego, planners and politicians focused on the future of the city. Historic preservationists, armed with new legislation by the mid-1960’s, also looked to the future and advocated for preservation to become an integral part of planning and city-building. Politicians, city planners, developers, preservationists, and residents needed to find ways to work and live together, knowing that the city’s economic success depended on them doing so.

Collaboration did not define the initial efforts of planners, developers, and preservationists in San Diego, but guided by their collective self-image created in 1972 as “America’s Finest City,” they began improving upon their abilities to work as a team. This study examines the progression of those collaborative efforts and explores the advancement of historic preservation in becoming an essential part of city planning and urban redevelopment in San Diego. San Diego has not yet figured prominently in scholarship, and as such this dissertation contributes to

placing the city into the literature of urban history, the urban West, and historic preservation.

Like any community, San Diego is unique in some respects, but it also shares characteristics with other cities. Thus, a study of this community offers the basis for fruitful comparisons. Some of the patterns in post war growth and historic preservation in San Diego do not differ greatly from other Western cities, but San Diego is the oldest city in California and one of the oldest cities in the West, and therefore merits greater presence in the literature. Also, the ubiquitous references to San Diego as *paradise*, for over 100 years, in the language of the city's planners, developers, residents, and among some preservationists, adds another distinctive feature to the study of San Diego that no researcher can either miss or ignore. What I call the *persistence of paradise paradigm* characterizes one of the most significant ways in which the historic narrative of San Diego differs from other Western cities.

Historiography

The broad field of urban history provides historical context and background on city building in the United States during the twentieth century. A number of prominent studies are central to any analysis of urban development and civic identity. Samuel Hay's views on the urbanized society are of particular value in this study. San Diego dominates the decision-making process for a vast geographical area that includes a number of smaller communities and an international border. As such, complex relationships exist between towns in and

around San Diego and a simple boundary between city and suburb is difficult to find. Hays suggested expanding the study of urban history to include areas located outside the traditional definition of a city and for the inclusion of the surrounding region in urban narratives.¹ In San Diego, many of the growth and redevelopment projects, as well as the historic sites fit well with what Hays described as a surrounding region.

This study also relies upon the foundational works in urban history such as the late Jane Jacobs, *The Death and Life of Great American Cities* as well as *The Metropolitan Revolution: The Rise of Post-Urban America*, by Jon Teaford, Lewis Mumford's *The Culture of Cities*, and Sam Bass Warner's *The Urban Wilderness: A History of the American City*. These studies represent the complex and ever-changing theoretical frameworks of 20th century urban development in the United States. Because this dissertation presents San Diego over a span of seventy years, urban studies over a long period of time added dimension as this study considered the transformations in San Diego since 1945.

Bernard Frieden's work on urban redevelopment proved an invaluable perspective on this vital transformation. In my analyses of the Gaslamp Quarter and of the reuse of Naval Training Center, Frieden's comparative studies of cities

¹ Samuel P. Hays, "From the History of the City to the History of the Urbanized Society," *Journal of Urban History* 19 no. 4 (Aug., 1993): 3-25.

and military bases during the same time period offered many suggestions for elements to be considered in my study of San Diego.²

This study also considered “New Urban” literature which brings together traditional thoughts about urban spaces with modern views of what city living means today. San Diego provides a useful model for consideration of the New Urban concepts because many of the planners and developers in San Diego self-identify as “New Urbanists.” Planning in San Diego has placed a priority on sustainability and on mixed-use, pedestrian-friendly, and transportation-oriented urban designs. The literature in New Urbanism has been evolving rapidly over the last fifteen years and falls into many categories: planning history, urban history, and even environmental studies. *Place Making* by Charles Bohl and John Dutton’s *New American Urbanism* each offered in-depth background on the development of New Urbanist designs in city planning.

San Diego is a Western city and this study places substantial value on positioning the city’s narrative into the historiography of the urban west. In *The American West in the Twentieth Century: A Short History of an Urban Oasis*, Gerald Nash posited that the potential for success for cities in the West depended upon how well the city maximized its choice of region. For many decades, San Diego was a city with no major water supply of its own and had no connection to major transportation, which is why the city struggled to grow and could not

² Bernard J. Frieden and Lynne B. Sagalyn, *Downtown, Inc.: How America Rebuilds Cities* (Cambridge: MIT Press, 1991) and Bernard Frieden and Christine Baxter, “From Barracks to Business: The M.I.T. Report on Base Redevelopment,” (Cambridge, MA.: M.I.T. Press, 2000).

compete effectively with other western urban areas. In addition, with difficult terrain on three sides and the ocean on the other, the city had geographical challenges to growth. Further, San Diego did not even begin to get its small share of Colorado River Compact water until 1947. Historian Roger Lotchin argued that cities in the arid west deserve different kinds of study that pay attention to how technology informed and influenced the urban development process.³ In San Diego, technology became a vital tool for urban growth, first with Navy after WWI, then the military and defense industries after WWII, and finally with high tech and research businesses that have evolved since the 1970s.

San Diego also lacked a major presence in the literature that explored urban growth of the western Sunbelt cities. In a pivotal 1990 compilation of essays, *Searching for the Sunbelt: Historical Perspectives on a Region*, San Diego's defense and military history, along with its Progressive Era politics, received serious consideration.⁴ David Goldfield and Howard Rabinowitz referred to the volume as an "epitaph" of sorts for regional scholarship, and argued that the "lifespan of the Sunbelt, at least its reality, was relatively brief," lasting from

³ Lotchin, Roger W., *Fortress California, 1910-1961*, (New York: Oxford University Press, 1992), 12.

⁴ Roger Lotchin includes San Diego in "The Origins of the Sunbelt-Frostbite Struggle: Defense Spending and City Building," and Amy Bridges explores Progressive Era influences on San Diego politics in "Politics and Growth in Sunbelt Cities," in *Searching for the Sunbelt: Historical Perspectives on a Region*, ed. Richard Mohl, (Knoxville: University of Tennessee Press, 1990). Bridges expanded her study in *Morning Glories: Municipal Reform in the Southwest* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1997).

about 1970 through 1990.⁵ Goldfield and Rabinowitz argued that the notion of the Sunbelt as a viable research tool in linking the South and West no longer proved useful.

Yet in the same year, another anthology appeared, *Essays on Sunbelt Cities and Recent Urban America*, which added case studies of Sunbelt cities to the broader discussion of the Sunbelt, not as waning cities but more effectively analyzed as a region. In *Crabgrass Frontier*, Kenneth T. Jackson argued in the Introduction that WWII so dramatically changed the West that the definition of Sunbelt changed along with it, causing a “southwestward tilt.”⁶ The influx of defense industries, along with the technological advancement of air conditioning and the arrival of immigrants to the West during the 1960s, produced cities that Jackson identifies as less provincial and increasingly sophisticated than they were before 1945.⁷ Although not studied as extensively as Phoenix, Los Angeles, and other Sunbelt cities, the post war pattern described by Jackson aptly illustrates post war transformations in San Diego through 1990.

More specific studies of Western cities with relevance to San Diego include examinations of historic and civic identity in Santa Fe and San Antonio, providing useful models for the incorporation of race, class and gender as

⁵ David Goldfield and Harold Rabinowitz. “Epilogue: The Vanishing Sunbelt,” in *Searching for the Sunbelt: Historical Perspectives on a Region*, ed. Richard Mohl (Knoxville: University of Tennessee Press, 1990), 224.

⁶ Kenneth Jackson, *Essays on Sunbelt Cities and Recent Urban America* (College Station: Texas A & M Press, 1990), 5.

⁷Ibid., 6.

categories of analyses. In *The Myth of Santa Fe: Creating a Modern Regional Tradition*, Chris Wilson examined the intersections of tourism and local ethnic identity. Wilson asserts that local businesses and museums, in their enthusiasm to promote Santa Fe, appropriated those aspects of culture deemed marketable. Over time, Wilson found that ethnic groups often “reclaimed” these images as “weapons of resistance,” a process that occurred in San Diego as well for Asian American and African Americans during the 1990’s.⁸ Focusing on architecture, public ceremonies and celebrations, Wilson concluded that describing how myths come to exist, while important, is not as vital as suggesting ways in which mythmaking can be “un-made.” Wilson argues that “historical amnesia can be overcome” by making the challenging of ethnic stereotypes an important part of the urban planning process.⁹ I submit that a similar kind of the “un-making” of myths is being accomplished in San Diego as well.

In 2006, Judith Mattivi Morley published *Historic Preservation and the Imagined West: Albuquerque, Denver, and Seattle*. Morley’s study broke new ground in the fields of historic preservation and the urban West. This study of San Diego adds to and reinforces many of Morley’s findings. First, Morley identified the post-WWII era as a period in which Western cities “created historic districts” in order to “exaggerate regional difference, as there was a market for anything

⁸ Chris Wilson, *The Myth of Santa Fe: Creating a Modern Regional Tradition* (Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 1997), 3.

⁹ *Ibid.*, 29.

attached to a certain city or region.”¹⁰ In Denver, Seattle and Albuquerque, Morley discovered that architecture, adaptive reuse planning, and an array of personalities from municipal departments, private planning firms and local historic preservation agencies, “used political rhetoric to claim control of the physical and symbolic landscape.”¹¹ She found that the result of the contradictory process demonstrated that “identity is a created concept, based on negotiations about heritage, the economic climate and political realities.”¹²

In Morley’s view, some of the flaws of modern and created historic landscapes, such as the displacement of Hispanics in Albuquerque, or the complete erasure of the skid row past in Denver’s Larimer Square, makes way for a reconciliation of the past with the present. To some extent, Morley’s conclusions are mirrored in San Diego, but “reconciliation” might be too generous a word to describe the outcomes for Chinese and African American heritage. Instead, certain ethnic groups needed to vigorously advocate for inclusion and did not gain entry wholly by way of reconciliation.

On the Border: An Environmental History of San Antonio, edited by Char Miller, raised important questions about the relationship between the environment, historic preservation and the broader social ecology of a city. The variety of essays in this book establish the complexity of defining and explaining

¹⁰ Judith Morley, *Historic Preservation and the Imagined West: Albuquerque, Denver, and Seattle* (Lawrence: University of Kansas Press, 2006), 261.

¹¹ *Ibid.*, 259.

¹² *Ibid.*, 262.

any city's urban history because to do so requires attention to past and present, and to business and technical issues such as water supply, transportation, and race relations. Inquiry about the built environment and the resulting effect on minority groups shapes the primary contribution of Char Miller's work and describe its relevance to a study of San Diego.

San Diego rarely appears in the body of work devoted specifically to California history. However, many of the notions developed in studies on California can be applied to San Diego. Unlike San Francisco, San Diego never served as the state's economic center, did not have a direct railroad connection or industry as early as Los Angeles, and the city never successfully built a mining economy similar to Sacramento. But the city of San Diego surpassed all three cities on many fronts by 1945. The arrival of the Navy followed by the post war defense industry boom combined to shape the primary means of economic growth in San Diego, along with the city's long successful reliance on tourism. Nevertheless, aside from California's mission era history and some broader studies on military presence in the West after WWII, San Diego remained largely absent in the scholarship of the Golden State.

Kevin Starr, author of a dozen or more books on California history, argued that until the completion of the University of California campus at La Jolla in the 1960's, San Diego was but a "Lisbon-like enclave, a garrison resort," and that the UC campus "completed the de-provincialization of California's southernmost

metropolis.”¹³ Starr also argued that the UC campus, devoted to biotechnology and other scientific fields, foreshadowed San Diego’s later choices to favor clean industries such as computer chip manufacturing. The transition from military to a high tech-based economy, according to Starr, helped position San Diego today as a national center for scientific research. In a recent interview, Starr admitted that San Diego merited more scholarly attention because “San Diego created its destiny, however reluctantly.”¹⁴

Based on the number of books about San Diego that adorn the shelves in every tourist destination in the city, one might conclude that a wealth of literature chronicles San Diego’s rich history. However, several of the books found in these locations are intended for a general audience of residents and tourists. Many of these narratives lack bibliographies and rarely use primary sources. Nevertheless these popular volumes, while a bit celebratory in nature, offer a great deal of historical background. Consideration of some of this literature is also useful for this study, since it deepens the understanding of how San Diego markets itself.

Among the local histories, *San Diego: California’s Cornerstone* by Iris Engstrand has enjoyed healthy sales in San Diego. First published in 1980 and re-edited for publication in 2005, Engstrand’s narrative contains no footnotes and the bibliography includes mostly secondary sources. However, Engstrand is a published scholar, and her book offers major contribution in San Diego’s history despite its limitations or its omission of explorations of gender, race, class or

¹³ Kevin Starr, *California: A History* (New York: A Modern Library, 2005), 269.

¹⁴ Roger Showley, “Kevin Starr Has a Soft Spot for “Golden Dreamers,” *San Diego Union Tribune*, July 19, 2009.

ethnicity.¹⁵ In much of her work, Engstrand insightfully argues that civic identity, real or imagined, continues to influence how San Diego markets itself to outsiders as well as in defining a sense of place for residents. In San Diego, image is everything.

Similarly, both *The Story of San Diego and of its Founder Alonzo P. Horton* by Elizabeth C. MacPhail and *A Short History of San Diego* by Michael McKeever, each figure prominently on local history book shelves. In 2004, journalist Jack Scheffler Innis published another locally popular book, *San Diego Legends: The Events, People, and Places that Made History*. MacPhail and McKeever each focused on widely known stories and historical figures in San Diego's history, while Innis created an anecdotal-style mixture of celebrated figures and events with other lesser known strange-but-true kinds of stories. All three authors devote the majority of their work to the period after 1880 and like Engstrand, do not include discussions of gender, class, race or ethnicity.

The best known of the popular local histories is *The History of San Diego*, a seven volume opus written between 1960 and 1977 by Richard F. Pourade, then editor of the San Diego Union Tribune. James Copley and Helen Copley, owners of the same newspaper, commissioned the series. Pourade's narrative, though lacking notes or a bibliography, includes references to many primary sources within the text, as well as scores of historic photographs. Pourade began his work

¹⁵ Iris Engstrand has several journal articles published on San Diego, is a former President of the Western Historical Association, and is active locally in numerous historic preservation organizations. See "Perception and Perfection: Picturing the Spanish and Mexican Coastal West," *Western Historical Quarterly* 36 (Spring 2005): 4--21.

with the pre-Anglo era and the series ends in 1970. Pourade recognized, although he did not fully explore, the significance of city planner John Nolen's suggestion that San Diego should be a harbor city designed for recreation and tourism, and that businesses, if strategically placed, had every chance of co-existing with and profiting from a visitor-based economy.

Neil Morgan also wrote about the West and about San Diego. Like Pourade, he was also employed by Copley newspapers. Morgan offered some new arguments about the West in *Westward Tilt: The American West Today* published in 1961.¹⁶ In San Diego, and across the West, Morgan posited that the influence of newcomers from across the nation and the world transformed the West into an identity tied to opportunity and as pacesetters. For more than forty decades Morgan continued to write about the West in the San Diego Union Tribune and in many published books and monographs.¹⁷ Throughout his career, Morgan presented San Diego as the most "hospitable" city in the West but one in which laid back attitudes did not always help the city avoid problems.¹⁸

Grace Miller's *San Diego Progressive Movement, 1900-1920* (1976), was one of the first to posit that modern San Diego was most deeply connected in politics and ideology to the years of the 1915 Panama-California Exposition.

¹⁶ Neil Morgan, *Westward Tilt: The American West Today* (New York, Random House, 1961), 137.

¹⁷ For more on Neil Morgan see The Neil Morgan Papers. MSS 0038. University of California at San Diego, Mandeville Special Collections Library.

¹⁸ Neil Morgan, "San Diego's Provincial Hospitality," *San Diego Union Tribune*, December 3, 2008.

Richard Amero's extensive work on the Panama-California Exposition significantly expanded on that idea and explained how San Diego took on the role of hosting a global event in spite of the city's small size in 1915. Even though the Exposition was intended to attract business, the success of the fair also fueled continued interest in the city as a destination for tourism, and eventually attracted the United States Navy as well.

Older studies of San Diego made important contributions to San Diego because they often preserved sources and when they were written so little existed in terms of historical narrative. In 1908, journalist William Smythe penned *A History of San Diego* and in it he attempts to cover 1542 to 1900. Smythe's work placed most of its emphasis on organizations and individuals, and contains detailed information on how municipal decisions were made after 1870.

Just a few years later, Samuel Black, the first President of San Diego State University, compiled all the work he could find on San Diego into one large volume called *San Diego County: A Record of Settlement, Organization, Progress and Achievement*. Written and arranged by topic rather than chronologically, Black's work is a valuable reference book of some 430 pages. Black also devoted many pages to charts, graphs, and quantitative history that included expenditures and revenue in the city through 1900.

Banker Ed Davidson wrote *The Country of Joyous Aspect: San Diego, A Brief History 1542-1888*, a small book that presented the financial past of San Diego and offered some predictions for the future as Davidson saw it in 1929. A San Diego bank published the book, so it was most likely intended to attract

investors and business to the city. Yet, like others before him and since, Davidson's triumphant tone reflected the overall optimism in San Diego during the 1920s that the city's economic future was bright.

Within the last few decades scholars have begun turning their attention to San Diego. Larry Ford, a cultural geographer at San Diego State University, has written many books about San Diego which blend historical analyses with social and political narrative. By focusing on landscape, the built environment, architecture and physical spaces, Ford makes many connections between people and the spaces around them. Ford examines the way public space is developed and used in San Diego in *The Spaces Between Buildings* (2000) and in *America's New Downtown*, published three years later. More recently, in *Metropolitan San Diego: How Geography And Lifestyle Shape A New Urban Environment*, Ford analyzes lifestyle and diversity in San Diego, and includes the role of mass transit in his study of neighborhoods throughout the region.

San Diego has attracted some scholarly attention in the literature of city planning and in municipal politics in two recent books. In the first of these, *The Failure of Planning: Permitting Sprawl in San Diego Suburbs, 1970-1999*, sociologist Richard Hogan argues that San Diego demonstrated a lack of foresight in allowing uncontrolled growth after 1970.¹⁹ Hogan makes compelling

¹⁹ Hogan replaces all persons and names of towns in San Diego county with fictional ones and even though he offers an extensive bibliography, only a few of the sources can be verified or replicated, but even without knowing exactly which neighborhoods/cities he is describing, the overall argument about city planning in San Diego is clear.

arguments about the effects of urban growth on the natural environment and about the frenzied pattern of sprawl in San Diego. Many of Hogan's points and his description of the failure of "big picture planning" offered much to this study.²⁰ It is in part due to that failure that politicians and planners in San Diego redirect their efforts inward, on the downtown, by the mid-1970s.

Under the Perfect Sun: The San Diego Tourists Never See, by Mike Davis, Kelly Mayhew and Jim Miller, published in 2003, presents a narrative of class and power in San Diego politics during the 20th century. The book is divided into three major sections, each penned by one of the authors. They introduce the book as "a first step" in reversing the "deficiency of published social criticism of a city so many conservatives extol as a utopia of patriotism and free enterprise."²¹ The authors claim that their book is a call to arms in which they argue that their book is not an "expose for exposes sake," but instead they hope that their book will "be a useful tool for activists and stimulate further explorations of San Diego's controversial past, especially the neglected histories of labor and communities of color."²² San Diego has never lacked a positive self-image or a strong sense of municipal self-esteem, and as such *Under the Perfect Sun* was met with mixed reviews, and even some hostility in San Diego. However, the book does mark a

²⁰ Richard Hogan, *The Failure of Planning: Permitting Sprawl in San Diego Suburbs, 1970-1999* (Columbus: University of Ohio Press, 2003), 8.

²¹ Mike Davis, *Under the Perfect Sun: The San Diego Tourists Never See* (New York City, NY: The New Press, 1990), 3.

²² Davis, *Under the Perfect Sun*, 4.

turning point in the literature in that *Under the Perfect Sun* is one of the very few decidedly non-celebratory narratives written about the city.²³

In 2005, Matthew Bokovoy published a significant study of San Diego, and although his analysis does not include the post-World War II years, he nonetheless raised a topic that this dissertation considers as well. In *The San Diego World's Fairs and Southwestern Memory, 1880-1940*, Bokovoy explored San Diego's public heritage and celebrations. He connected them to broader themes of regional and national identity in the urban West. Favoring European "Spanish fantasy heritage," and almost completely discarding the recognition of contributions by Indian and Mexican cultures, Bokovoy argued that the 1915 and 1935 expositions in San Diego redefined the city's past and set the stage for World War II and the years to follow.²⁴

Bokovoy further argues that the 1935 fair in San Diego set the foundation for the military-industrial model of the city that soon fueled suburban growth and intensified racial, ethnic, and class divisions. Together, on a more positive note, the legacies of the 1915 and 1935 fairs left a rich geographical and cultural

²³ Author's observation and based on the fact that *Under the Perfect Sun* is rarely found on the "local history" shelves in many bookstores in San Diego, and this author has never seen it at any of book racks in popular tourist destinations. This omission is not because *Under the Perfect Sun* was written by academics because Engstrand's, Ford's, and even Roger Lotchin's books are highly visible and available in these locations.

²⁴ Matthew Bokovoy, *The San Diego World's Fairs and Southwestern Memory, 1880-1940* (Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 2005), xvii. Bokovoy expands upon the notion of the Spanish fantasy heritage first described by Carey McWilliams in *North from Mexico: The Spanish-Speaking People of the United States* (1949; New York: Greenwood Press Reprint, 1968).

heritage in Balboa Park, and formed the foundation for San Diego to become a science-based research community. Bokovoy also concluded that by 1940 the fantasy of an imagined past became embedded in the history and culture of Southern California, and particularly in San Diego.

This dissertation basically begins examining San Diego's use of the past where Bokovoy ended his study, at World War II, and examines how San Diego continued to grapple with its past, both real and imaginary, after 1945. Although there are important continuities between these two eras, there is also an important shift, as during the post war years the Spanish fantasy heritage as part of San Diego's civic identity was gradually overshadowed by a vision of the city as a paradise. The notion of San Diego as an urban nirvana, although still imaginary, was no longer completely defined by any particular part of the city's ethnic past.

Even works of fiction figure prominently in the development of San Diego's popularity and in its formation of civic identity and history. Published in 1884, Helen Hunt Jackson's *Ramona* came to symbolize race relations in California, and the "marriage place" described in the book became a tourist destination in San Diego's Old Town even though the site being visited was completely mythical. Some forty years later journalist Max Miller penned a bestseller called *I Cover the Waterfront*, which was set in San Diego in the 1930s. Made into a successful feature film in 1933, it followed the story of a journalist investigating crime in San Diego's fishing industry. Fictional or not, the book and film brought attention and visitors to San Diego. Miller followed that success with *Harbor of the Sun* in 1940, again about the fishing industry in San Diego.

Today his work, along with *Ramona*, can be found on the shelves of many local bookstores and in the tourism venues. In addition to the novels, a number of biographies have appeared that focused on San Diego figures such as Alonzo Horton, George Marston, and Ellen Browning Scripps.²⁵

Finally, in the past ten years, nearly a dozen dissertations and master's theses have placed San Diego at the center of analysis on a variety of topics. In 2002, Barbara Casey focused her master's thesis on the contributions of the Asian community in the creation of *San Diego's Asian Pacific Thematic Historic District*. Geographers continue to contribute to the history of San Diego and most recently, Ervin Jordan's dissertation, *Re-Inventing Downtown San Diego: A Spatial and Cultural Analysis of the Gaslamp Quarter and Horton Plaza*, builds upon the path breaking work of Larry Ford. While these studies are not focused on formation of civic identity or historic preservation, they demonstrate an increasing interest in building the scholarship on San Diego.

Finally, this study demonstrates historic preservation and city planning for urban redevelopment followed similar paths of progression since 1970 which empowered the two fields to intersect and work together. The advancement of public history as its own field also evolved during these same years, and public historians worked to develop studies, models, and the tools to bring authentic

²⁵ Mary Marston, *George White Marston: A Family Chronicle* (Los Angeles: W. Ritchie Press, 1956). She used many of Marston's own letters to recount and describe how he became a major figure in San Diego 1890-1930; Charles Preece wrote about Edward Scripps and Ellen Browning Scripps in *Edward Willis and Ellen Browning Scripps: An Unmatched Pair* (Chelsea, MI: Bookcrafters, 1990).

history into public spaces and to a wider audience. The scholarship from the field of public history profoundly influenced this study.

I heard the term “public history” for the first time many years ago in my first semester of post-Baccalaureate study at the University of Arizona. In an introductory historiography class, we read *That Noble Dream: The Objectivity Question and the American Historical Profession* by Peter Novick. I had no idea what public history was all about, and I had no plan yet as to what I intended to do with a master’s degree in History. A Doctoral degree was not even in my mind at the time. But *That Noble Dream* became pivotal for me in a number of ways. First, after reading and re-reading the book, I knew I was a public historian. Second, I developed a strong sense of how history is used in public places such as museums, cities, and even theme parks.²⁶ Third, *That Noble Dream*, followed by more research and reading about public history, ultimately led me to the Doctoral program in public history at Arizona State University. I came to know that I cared deeply about how people established personal connections to history. The “revival of narrative” and the winning back of the “lost popular audience” matter

²⁶ My interest resulted in a seminar paper in 2000 called “Searching for Common Ground on Sacred Soil: Historians and Disney’s America.” Princeton historian James McPherson sent me a box of his collected communications, memos, and articles he had accumulated from his own work on the *Disney’s America* debates of 1994 when Disney attempted to build a “historical theme park” on the edge of the Manassas Battlefield. Though books and articles all claimed it possible, McPherson’s generosity and his involvement with *Disney’s America* showed me firsthand that one could be both an academic and a public historian.

to me.²⁷ Much of what faces preservationists and planners in San Diego has do with just those issues: reviving lost narratives, recovering the social past of San Diego, and bringing those narratives to a popular audience.

The language of public history, historic preservation, and urban redevelopment often includes words such as “heritage,” and “tradition,” and “historic,” and combines them with “adaptive reuse,” “livability,” and “mixed use.” This study shows that reconciling these terms to function together in redevelopment or at historic sites does not happen easily. The conflicts between historic preservation advocates and urban development leaders in San Diego after 1945, produced a shared past that they could all agree upon or at least live with, but the results did not always produce a public presentation of an authentic past.

In addition, new scholarship that explores the economic benefits of historic preservation to urban redevelopment contributed to this study. In *Historic Preservation and the Livable City*, Eric Allison and Lauren Peters present case studies and examples of the ways that historic preservation improved the urban environment for visitors and residents, something that planners and preservationists in San Diego sought to accomplish.²⁸

Historians such as David Lowenthal, Dolores Hayden and David Glassberg also provide frameworks for understanding how over time San Diego

²⁷ Peter Novick, *That Noble Dream: The Objectivity Question and the American Historical Profession* (Cambridge, U.K.: Cambridge University Press, 1988), 622.

²⁸ Eric Allison and Lauren Peters, *Historic Preservation and the Livable City*, (Hoboken, N.J., 2011), 9.

shaped and reshaped and understood its own history and civic identity.

Lowenthal's work examined how the past and heritage are used by modern society, thus shaping how people and organizations make decisions about what to preserve. These decisions can produce deep and contentious conflict and many of the historic preservation battles in San Diego became divisive as well. As Lowenthal has pointed out in his studies, the obsession to a cause in turn produces the crusade.²⁹ In San Diego some of these crusades went on for years, with some still going on today.

The Power of Place: Urban Landscapes as Public History, by Dolores Hayden, established a basis for examining the roles of gender, race, and ethnicity in the study of urban landscapes. By looking at urban spaces for their social contexts, Hayden explained how people connect to a landscape in differing ways over time.³⁰ Hayden's work also demonstrated planners, politicians, and preservationists can work together in effective and creative ways. This study offers several examples from San Diego that substantiate Hayden's argument that collaborations can be successful. In contrast, I describe several instances in which attempts at collaboration failed, and opportunities were missed to truly understand

²⁹ Lowenthal, David, "The Heritage Crusade and Its Contradictions," in *Giving Preservation a History: Histories of Historic Preservation in the United States*, eds. Max Page and Randall Mason (New York: Routledge, Taylor & Francis Group, 2004), 19-20. This essay, according to Lowenthal, expands upon arguments he offered first in *The Heritage Crusade and the Spoils of History* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 1998).

³⁰ Dolores Hayden, *The Power of Place: Urban Landscapes in Public History* (Cambridge, MA.: Massachusetts Institute of Technology Press, 1995), 13.

the connectedness that people felt to particular parts of San Diego. Nowhere will this void be more evident than in the dramatic fight to save the structures and stories of a once vibrant Black culture in downtown San Diego.

In *Sense of History: The Place of the Past in American Life*, David Glassberg explores the reasons for the public's interest in history and historic places. With regard to California, Glassberg illustrates how the state did not even begin to think about historic places until the early 20th century.³¹ As a result, an Anglo European version of the past was produced and reproduced until the 1960's when a combination of immigration and social unrest converged to give challenge to the predominant history being told. My study shows, just as Glassberg discovered elsewhere in California, that several ethnic groups built communities of their own in San Diego, and eventually these groups demanded that their memory sites be recognized by the larger preservation organizations and by city planning agencies.

Andrew Hurley's recent book, *Beyond Preservation: Using Public History to Revitalize Inner Cities* provided valuable insight to this study. Hurley's treatise does not only present examples of successful historic preservation projects and argue for collaboration, but also offers a framework and methodology for how to preserve both buildings and their associated stories.³²

³¹ David Glassberg, *Sense of History: The Place of the Past in American Life* (Amherst: University of Massachusetts Press, 2001), 193.

³² Andrew Hurley, *Beyond Preservation: Using Public History to Revitalize Inner Cities* (Philadelphia: Temple University Press, 2010), 198. Also see "Narrating

Scope & Methodology of this Study

This dissertation uses both traditional and applied history research techniques. In addition to the framework provided by secondary scholarship from a variety of disciplines, many journal articles, particularly from the *Journal of San Diego History*, informed this study. Municipal and organizational records, published minutes, newsletters, and memos of various groups such as the Centre City Development Corporation (CCDC), Save Our Heritage Organisation (SOHO), and the San Diego Historical Society (SDHS) all proved useful as well. In addition, the documents from several planning, redevelopment and government agencies proved vital along with newspapers, archival records, photographs, and other historical ephemera.

Finally, first hand observation at certain locations provided the opportunity to compare published goals for the site with the actual experiences being offered to visitors. While these personal observations are not intended to be wholly scientific data gathering, they will help to experience a historic site as much as possible from the standpoint of a wider audience.

Although this study focuses on the years following WW II, some basic historical background provides context and foundation for San Diego's pre-war history. Not intended to be a complete history of the city before 1945, Chapter one offers an overview of San Diego through 1941. The first part of chapter one

the Urban Waterfront: The Role of Public History in Community Revitalization," *The Public Historian* 28 (Fall 2006), 19-50.

examines the period through 1867 and includes Native peoples, a broad summary of the Spanish and Mexican eras, and finally the twenty years under American jurisdiction after 1848. The second section of chapter one begins with the arrival of Wisconsin native Alonzo Horton who created the business center in San Diego known today as the Gaslamp Quarter. The first chapter presents a broad background of San Diego through 1941, and includes those events and individuals that hold particular significance in city building and historic preservation decisions made before World War II.

Chapter two explores the development of San Diego after WWII in broad fashion and describes the city's growth and demographic changes that resulted from the war years. In addition, this chapter explains the impact of WWII on the evolution of city planning in San Diego. Chapter two introduces many of the key people, organizations, and municipal agencies that become important in the preservation debates and battles that are chronicled later in this study.³³ This chapter also examines the role of Pete Wilson as Mayor of San Diego in the 1970s, the emergence of the "America's Finest City" slogan, the initial plans to clean up the blighted downtown area, and the creation of the non-profit Centre

³³ For the purposes of this study, I use the term "preservationist" in relation to those people who work for or with agencies and organizations devoted specifically to historic preservation. This is not to say that a planner or other city official cannot also be preservation-minded because, in fact, this is not only possible but it often the case. However, in their roles professionally as planners for the city or through contracted agencies, their primary function can best be defined as "planners."

City Development Corporation (CCDC) contracted by the city to redevelopment the downtown.

Chapter three shifts to specific analyses of historic sites in San Diego. Beginning with the city's oldest historic site, Old Town, Chapter three examines historic preservation at the site over a period of 110 years. Over time a complicated mix of authentic and mythical historical presentations developed at Old Town. In 1968 when the site became a state historic park, new objectives were developed for improving authenticity but those goals did not get implemented. Thirty years elapsed before serious attempts were made to fulfill the 1968 mission statement. When changes began at Old Town in 2000, San Diegans had formed strong attachments to commercial elements of Old Town and many felt that the site was "*historic enough*" just the way it was.³⁴ Fiery debate fueled by media attention led to public boycotts, lost revenue, and an example of missed opportunities and a failure of those involved to collaborate effectively.

Chapter four considers authenticity issues also, but instead of established sites such as Old Town, the analysis moves to historic districts created as elements of urban revitalization. The Gaslamp Quarter, with Horton Plaza as its centerpiece, and Little Italy are both economically successful, tourist-driven parts of downtown San Diego and both are located in areas that were vibrant neighborhoods of the city decades ago. Analyses of the Gaslamp Quarter and Little Italy demonstrate how history and historic preservation become vital

³⁴ The term "historic enough" was used by residents in letters to the editors and opinion pieces in local newspapers and is explained more fully in Chapter three.

elements of planning and economic redevelopment, but can also be misused if preservation advocates are not involved in the process. This chapter also introduces important preservation organizations that formed in response to vigorous redevelopment and demolition of historic sites. As much as the 1970s and 1980s were decades of dramatic urban transformation in downtown San Diego, it was also during these years that preservationists assumed leadership roles in the city and became formidable stewards of its history.

Chapter five continues with discussions of historic authenticity but expands the analysis to reveal how ethnicity and race raised additional concerns that conflicted with the goals of politicians, planners and developers. This chapter shows how both Chinese and African American history in downtown San Diego was nearly obliterated in the planning and creation of the Gaslamp Quarter. While the Gaslamp Quarter was economically successful and visually stunning with its many beautifully restored buildings, developing a social landscape, a narrative of those who once lived in the neighborhood proved to be challenging. Through a combination of grassroots efforts and strong legal challenges, some of those histories and historic sites were saved while others fell to the wrecking ball. Further, chapter four exposes the ways in which class and power, in this case among Asian Americans, served to strengthen their quest for inclusion and to be successful in their negotiations with planners and developers. In contrast, the African American population found it far more difficult to be heard and they were frustrated in their attempts to save some of their historic buildings in the Gaslamp Quarter.

Chapter six brings the study to the present and to two of the most recent projects involving historic preservation in San Diego: the reuse of Naval Training Center (NTC) and the completion of Petco Park which in turn created another downtown historic district, the Warehouse District. The news, in 1993, announcing the closure of NTC left most San Diegans astonished. Although it took another six years to approve a plan for reuse, and three more years before work began, the issues that became contentious had nothing to do with whether NTC was a historic site.

Tensions arose over who and what kinds of people could be allowed to have space or land at the historic NTC. This chapter examines the debates that ensued over the appropriateness of allowing agencies that served the homeless or those representing the various Indian nations to have parts of NTC for their organizations. Preserving buildings and history at NTC became interwoven with also preserving a particular kind of status by keeping some kinds of people away from the historic Navy base. Unfortunately, amidst all the arguing over who can be allowed to use NTC, some of the history of NTC got lost, and to date none of the promised formal public history program, tours, or construction of a Navy history museum have begun at NTC.

While the fights went on over at NTC, the city of San Diego also went forward with its second major downtown redevelopment, the construction of a new stadium for the San Diego Padres. A project based on economic revitalization and a sports-oriented design, Petco Park did not start out as an undertaking in historic preservation. But, as Chapter Six demonstrates, it soon

came to be just that, and in the end, Petco Park and the Warehouse District around it came to exemplify what is possible when planners, developers, and preservationists can do when they collaborate from the beginning.

Because many of the debates and historic preservation projects presented in this study remain ongoing, the Epilogue functions to contemplate what the future may hold for San Diego and to raise questions that will encourage further research and analyses of San Diego. The epilogue summarizes the ways in which San Diegans have wrestled with the challenge of trying to be “America’s Finest City.”

In a UCSD-produced documentary series called “Path to Paradise,” first aired in 1999, planners, historians, and developers sang the praises of the “boom” of the 1990s and predicted that “America’s Finest City” would also be a 21st century historic *urban paradise* attracting millions of new residents and visitors.³⁵ The ubiquitous references to *paradise* in the shaping and reshaping of civic identity in San Diego, beginning in the late 19th century and particularly after 1945, represents one the most significant ways in which the historic narrative of the city differs from other Western cities. In order to understand San Diego, it is imperative to also understand the role that *paradise* has played in the past, present, and future, in shaping the city’s civic identity. “Navy Town,” “America’s Finest City,” historic preservation, and historic sites all exist within the broader landscape that San Diegans call *paradise*.

³⁵ UCTV – University of California Television: “Path to Paradise” Series, 1998-2000: <http://www.ucsd.tv/series/?seriesnumber=143> (accessed March 3, 2011)

The Epilogue includes my suggestion that the notion of Spanish heritage is less influential today than the persistent belief in San Diego as paradise. The *persistence of paradise paradigm* in the language of planning, redevelopment, and even in historic preservation projects in San Diego going back over one hundred years, helps to explain the omissions of particular groups, the resistance to authenticity at times, and the avoidance of histories that present any elements of an unsavory past.³⁶ After all, in San Diego image is everything.

The Epilogue also asks about the future and what lies ahead in historic preservation in San Diego? The city plans a year-long “Expo Centennial” celebration in 2015 to commemorate the event that brought San Diego into the 20th century, the 1915 Panama-California Exposition.³⁷ San Diego preservationists and planners also hope to take the lead in planning a statewide commemoration in 2019 of the 250th anniversary of the European founding of California.³⁸ Given how far the historic preservation community in San Diego has come since 1970, what they have learned from both failure and success, and given their ability to work effectively with city planners, developers, and the public, the plans for 2015 and for 2019 seem to be in capable hands.

³⁶ The phrase “persistence of paradise” is author’s own description.

³⁷ San Diego Tourism Marketing District, “2015 Centennial Celebration of San Diego’s 1915 Panama-California Exposition,” 3.

³⁸ Janet LaVelle, “Heritage Group has Party Plan, *San Diego Union Tribune*, July 4, 2010.

CHAPTER 1

TRANSFORMATIONS THROUGH 1941

The arrival of the Spanish in 1769 positioned San Diego as the European “birthplace” of modern California, and as the “Jamestown of the West.”¹ Unlike other Spanish settlements such as Santa Fe, the overall development of San Diego as a Spanish colony progressed slowly, and for decades the outpost remained under the control of the Franciscan friars. By 1821, the Spanish lost their grip on the region entirely, and Mexico became the controlling power. Just twenty-seven years later, as a consequence of the Mexican-American War, California became a territory of the United States. During all of these years, San Diego existed as little more than a village.

Beginning with American jurisdiction in 1848, the legacies of the Indian, Spanish and Mexican periods in San Diego underwent various interpretations and reinterpretations. When some civic-minded San Diegans took a serious interest in the city’s history in the early 1900s, they discovered a mixture of fact, lore, myth and overlapping heritage. The choices made in these first attempts to record and preserve San Diego’s history, while altruistic, resulted in a celebratory tale that reflected the contemporary values and perspectives of their time. Preservation projects focused on Spanish heritage with selective inclusion of some Mexican legacy. Indian history, while not omitted, appeared as sanitized parts of a mission past. Further, decisions made by

¹ “Jamestown of the West” appears on the main website of the Presidio in San Diego. “Birthplace of California” appears prominently in the public literature for the Mission Basilica San Diego de Alcalá as well as for that of Old Town San Diego. Many sources, going back over a century, use the terms “birthplace” and “Jamestown of the West.” It is impossible to attribute the terms to a single source. Native Americans resist the use of these terms but the use of them can be found prominently at historic sites and in books.

early 20th century preservationists went on to shape the stories of San Diego's past for most of the twentieth century.

Because historic preservation depends upon an understanding of the past, an analysis of historic preservation in San Diego must begin by clarifying the city's early history. This chapter explores fundamental change points in San Diego history through WWII. In addition, this chapter introduces some noteworthy individuals who initiated the first preservation projects in San Diego. Finally, this section concludes by explaining how growth, WWI, two international expositions hosted by San Diego, the Navy, and the New Deal each reshaped interpretations of the city's past. This background establishes the origins of many inaccuracies and misconstructions of San Diego's past.

Pre-European Arrival and the Mission years through 1821

The Spanish exploration of America began when Vasco Nunez de Balboa reached the Pacific Ocean near Panama in 1513, and just six years later Hernan Cortez landed at Vera Cruz in Mexico. The arrival of the Spanish marked the beginning of three centuries of control over vast amounts of land in the New World. Conquest brought Spain enormous wealth extracted from resources in the Americas. Their presence also led to the subjugation of millions of indigenous peoples. For nearly two hundred years after Cortez, the Spanish established settlements in Mexico and in other parts of Latin America, but they did not do so in California. Spanish explorers journeyed the Pacific coastline without establishing permanent colonies and they stopped only briefly at various points along the way, including in San Diego.

The first Spaniard, Juan Cabrillo, reached San Diego in 1542. Cabrillo came as a skilled conquistador with experience serving under Hernan Cortez. Although Cabrillo claimed the land for Spain, he stayed only six days. His contact with the Kumeyaay Indians involved minimal interaction and no conflict occurred. A second explorer, Sebastian Vizcaino, came to San Diego in 1602. Like Cabrillo, he stayed only a few days. As they had done with Cabrillo, the Kumeyaay greeted Vizcaino without tension. The fact that Vizcaino assigned the name San Diego to the harbor represents the primary significance of his visit.

Indians lived in the region for thousands of years before Cabrillo's and Vizcaino's brief visits, and flourished, with little interference from explorers, for another 67 years. In addition to the Kumeyaay, the Cahuilla, Cupeno and Luiseno tribes lived in the area. Most Indians subsisted as hunter-gatherers, established winter and summer villages, and created many trade routes that extended hundreds of miles. Because the region's climate and topography provided for both farming and fishing year round, the Indians prospered and did so without significant internal conflicts. (Figure 1.1)

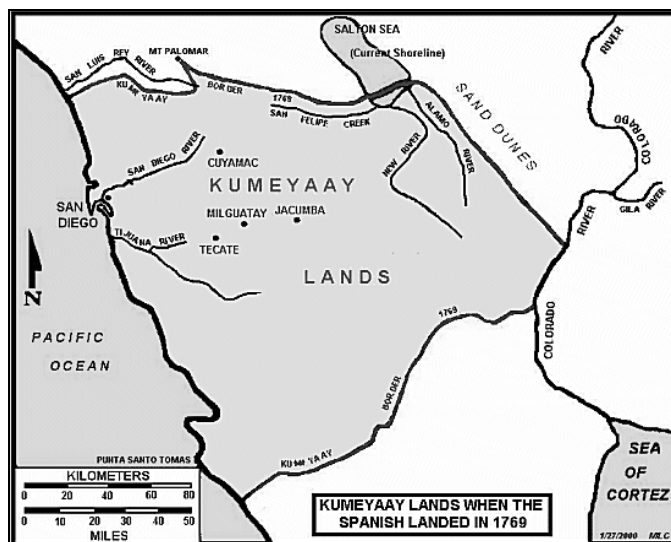


Figure 1.1: Kumeyaay Lands, 1769.
Map courtesy Kumeyaay Nation.

The earliest written description of the Kumeyaay and their neighbors came from the accounts of Catholic missionaries. Valuable as primary sources, these initial accounts reveal the limited ways in which the Spanish attempted to comprehend Native culture prior to their efforts to convert the Indians to Catholicism. However, over one hundred years after they were written, the first hand narratives left by missionaries deeply influenced the portrayal of Indian life presented in written histories of San Diego, and in the historic preservation projects. Those writing about or working on preservation in San Diego often quoted one missionary in particular, Jesuit Johann Jakob Baegert.

Baegert resided at Mission San Luis Gonzaga in Baja California, south of San Diego, between 1749 and 1762.² Baegert, a record-keeper and letter-writer, published

² Johann Jakob Baegart, S.J., *Observations in Lower California* (Mannheim: Churfürstl. Hof- und Academie-Buchdruckerey, 1772) Reprint: Baegert, Johann Jakob, S.J. *Observations in Lower California*. Berkeley: University of California Press, 1979, c1952 1979.

some of his own letters in 1771.³ He began his treatise with a single line: “Everything concerning California is of such little importance that it is hardly worth the trouble to take a pen and write about it.”⁴ In his Introduction, he warned his readers “In these reports the reader must not expect to find great wonders of nature or other extraordinary occurrences and events. California is not the land to produce the latter, nor has it pleased the Creator to bestow any of the former.”⁵ Yet he went on to write one hundred and seventy two pages and a total of ten chapters. Baegert reported on flora, fauna, geography and other kinds of scientific data and also gave an accounting of soldier’s daily lives, and expenditures. Even after seventeen years in residence, Baegert believed that California had nothing of significance to explore much less write about and this belief included the lack of importance he felt about the Indians.

Writing from a very remote location and with the Jesuits free to control Indian life at the mission, Baegert’s journals, letter, and reports did not recommend or encourage further settlement of Baja California. Like many Jesuits of his time, Baegert resented Spanish authority and his writings can be better understood as exposing his desire to discourage any additional Spanish presence. The expulsion of the Jesuits from all of their colonies occurred in concert with the retribution against the Jesuit Order going on in

³ Baegert’s letters appeared in print in 1771 as “*Nachrichten von de Amerikanischen Halbinsel Californien,*” or “*Observations in Lower California.*”

⁴ Baegert, *Observations in Lower California*, 5.

⁵ *Ibid*, 7.

Europe at the same time.⁶ In addition to his objections to the treatment of the Jesuits by the Spanish government, Baegert had also developed a fervent belief that only the Jesuits knew how to care for or deal with the Indians. In one of his last accounts, he argued that without the Jesuits, the future for the Indians of California would be bleak.

“Much could be told of the lamentations and tears of the Indians when the missionaries left their missions. They considered this departure a penalty (as it was meant to be), but knew of no previous crimes and had heard of none committed at any of the missions. They, like millions of others, did not know what to think or say. Among other causes for their alarm and distress was the fear that in the future they would no longer be provided with food and clothing.”⁷

The assertions made by Baegert demonstrate that the political and religious disputes of 18th century going on in Europe shaped the earliest historical narratives about Indians in the New World. The Jesuits enjoyed relative autonomy in the first century of Spanish presence in the Americas, and they came to believe that they knew best how to deal with Indians. Missionary reports, like those of Baegert, depict the isolated conditions of the first missions but they also describe an increasing level of self-sufficiency and self-rule. Despite the possibility that political disagreements with Spanish

⁶ Popular belief and rumor held that the Jesuits were planning revolutions against the Catholic Church and monarchies across Europe. In *Observations in Lower California*, Baegert describes the arrest and removal of Jesuits in California as harsh and cruel, “During the months of June and July, 1767, all the Jesuits of the many Mexican colleges and the not-too-distant missions were suddenly seized at night by armed forces, made prisoners, and led by dragoons to the port of Vera Cruz. It happened just as it did in Europe; at times entire regiments were used as though the Moors had to be faced in battle.”

⁷ Baegert, *Observations in Lower California*, 170.

authority impelled much of what Baegert wrote, his journals became trusted sources for mission and Indian history.

With the Jesuits gone, King Carlos III next sent Franciscan friars to the colonies to oversee the missions and Indians. An understanding of why the king selected the Franciscans can be found in the personal preference that Carlos III long felt for the Franciscans over the Jesuits.⁸ Further, he believed that the Franciscans, even in disagreement, would acquiesce to Spanish authority.⁹ The arrival of Father Junipero Serra and a small Spanish military force in 1769 significantly changed life for the Kumeyaay and for nearby tribes.

The founding of the mission and Presidio at San Diego marked the first permanent site of Spanish occupation in the region. Located on a hill near the harbor, the mission at San Diego operated with dual goals of conversion and of developing a self-sustaining community, and its structural organization included an armed military Presidio.¹⁰ The thinking at the time focused on the hill as a safe place from which the entire valley and movements of both the Native peoples and ships entering the harbor could be closely monitored.¹¹ Relations with local Indians during the first five years

⁸ Iris H.W. Engstrand, "The Enlightenment in Spain: Influences Upon New World Policy, in *The Americas* 41, no 4 (April, 1985): 441.

⁹ Ibid.

¹⁰ Hennessey, Gregg R., "Creating a Monument, Re-Creating History: Junipero Serra Museum and Presidio Park," *The Journal of San Diego History* 45, no. 3 (Summer 1999): <https://www.sandiegohistory.org/journal/99summer/serra.htm> (accessed November 10, 2010).

¹¹ Ibid.

remained peaceful due in large part to the proximity of the military post. While the location made strategic sense, after a few years it became clear that the soil on the hill did not support crops and, in 1774, the mission was moved about five miles east of the Presidio. (Figure 1.2)

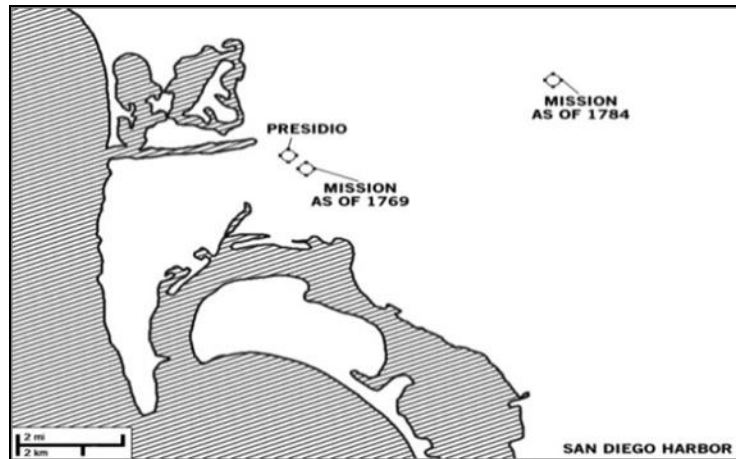


Figure 1.2: Locations of Mission 1789 and 1794. Map by Author.

Separated from the immediate protection of the Presidio, the friars experienced several insurrections during the first years after the move. One such revolt resulted in the death of Father Luis Jayme, who came to be called “California’s first Christian martyr.”¹² The mission did become agriculturally successful and produced lush vineyards, olives, dates, and pears along with raising herds of livestock. One historian described life at the

¹² Mills, James, *San Diego: “Where California Began,” The Journal of San Diego History 6, no. 1* (January 1960): <https://www.sandiegohistory.org/books/wcb/wcb.htm> (accessed September 25, 2010).

mission as “leisurely and undisturbed by the rest of the world until 1793.”¹³ The agricultural triumphs came because of the land management skills of the Spanish, but also as a result of the forced labor of Indians.

Adhering to Spanish authority more uniformly than did the Jesuits before them, the Franciscans enforced a more regimented set of rules upon themselves and on the Indians. This devotion to order influenced the ideas of historian Herbert Bolton, who saw the interactions between missionaries and Indians as both a blending and exploitation of cultures. Comparing Spanish colonies to those created by the English, Bolton argued that at least many Indians under Spanish mission control survived. Further he believed the Spanish system to be at times “benevolent”.¹⁴

Later studies that focused on the effects of mission life on native culture, family structure, and marriage challenged many of Bolton’s ideas. For example, the work of Albert Hurtado demonstrated that Indians in California and particularly within the mission system existed within complex labor systems, first under the Spanish followed by Mexican and ultimately American control. Hurtado found that looking at demographic and cultural changes in Indian groups revealed how “Indians tried to mold their lives according to the revolutionary forces that overtook them.”¹⁵ As such, the

¹³ Mills, James, *San Diego: “Where California Began,”* Mills points to 1793 as a turning point due to the arrival of English explorer George Vancouver, the first non-Spanish explorer to visit the harbor.

¹⁴ Bolton, Herbert, “The Mission as a Frontier Institution in the Spanish-American Colonies,” *The American Historical Review* 23, no. 1 (Oct., 1917): 44.

¹⁵ Hurtado, Albert, *Indian Survival on the California Frontier* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1988), 13.

Indians that survived did so not simply because of how they were treated, but also because of their own agency and decision-making.

The era of explorers, Spanish rule, and mission life left legacies that developed out of European institutions and religious orders. During the 18th century, as a remote mission and military outpost, San Diego existed in virtual isolation from the rest of the Spanish empire. The ideals of the American and French revolutions resonated in the Spanish colonies, and faced with numerous insurrections in most of its own Latin American territories, Spain afforded little attention to San Diego after 1800. Outright revolution against Spain erupted in many of its colonies throughout Latin America. By 1821, Spain capitulated and officially granted independence to most of its colonies in Latin America, and to Mexico. Within months, and without much direct involvement in the revolution itself, San Diego entered a new era when the flag of Mexico replaced that of Spain at the presidio.

1821 to 1848: Mexican Control in San Diego

The twenty seven-years following the end of Spanish rule in San Diego proved to be ones of considerable transition and frequent upheaval. Inconsistency and discord defined the Mexican period in San Diego because of conflicting political ideas, ineffective government, Indian insurrections, and disputes over the role of religion in Mexican rule. Several outbreaks of disease in the 1820s also ravaged the area, killing many colonists and Indians.¹⁶ Finally, Mexico became increasingly anxious about Texas

¹⁶ Robert H. Jackson, *From Savages to Subjects: Missions in the History of the Southwest* (Armonk, N.Y.: M.E. Sharpe, Inc., 2000), 104.

because they believed that American encroachment into Texas posed a significant threat to their authority. As such, while the newly-established Mexican government focused on Texas, those living in San Diego wrestled with local problems largely on their own. Early scholarship of the Mexican period in San Diego established many of these weaknesses as reasons for the political and social instability in San Diego after 1821.¹⁷

After a series of local governors and several skirmishes with Indians, one issue did invite the consternation of Mexican authority. Local officials from several parts of California, including San Diego, upset with the amount of power retained by mission friars, submitted official reports arguing that, “the padres had influence, and used it unscrupulously to disseminate Spanish ideas.”¹⁸ Eventually convinced that Spain retained too much influence through the mission friars, Mexico formally disestablished the mission system with the Secularization Act of 1833.¹⁹ The policy of secularization intended to place missions, and Indians, under civil authority, and eventually, to

¹⁷ William Smythe, *The History of San Diego, 1542-1907* (San Diego: The History Co., 1908): <http://www.sandiegohistory.org/books/smythe/2-3.htm> (accessed February 3, 2011),

¹⁸ Herbert Bancroft, *The History of California, 1823-1840*, Volume III, (San Francisco: A.L. Bancroft Publishing, 1885), 313. Bancroft theorizes that many of these complaints might have been exaggerated but notes the lack of recorded responses by mission friars to the allegations against them.

¹⁹ W. Campbell and J. R. Moriarty, “The Struggle Over Secularization of the Missions on the Alta California Frontier,” in *The Journal of San Diego History* 15, no.4 (Fall 1969): <http://www.sandiegohistory.org/journal/69fall/struggle.htm>. James Mills added that a population in the hundreds and an increasing presence of Americans influenced the secularization decision in *San Diego: Where California Began*, originally published in the *San Diego Historical Society Quarterly* 6, n1 (January 1960): <http://www.sandiegohistory.org/books/wcb/wcb3.htm> (accessed February 2, 2011).

emancipate the native population.²⁰ Further, secularization allowed for the redistribution of the land and livestock of the missions.²¹ The new colonial structure encouraged the development of ranching through the distribution of land grants individuals and families loyal to Mexico. Although still functioning, but in a state of disrepair, the mission at San Diego declined even further once the land around it became home to dozens of land grant ranches.²²

Lucy Lytle Killea expanded the analysis of the Mexican period in San Diego, and her study also showed that residents also became interested in American politics, trade, and ideologies.²³ Killea posited, “their own government provided little direction and assistance, and the individual Americans who came into the southern part of the territory had been well-liked and had been accepted into the California families.”²⁴ Killea argued that ineffective and constantly changing local authority along with exposure of the small population to the increased influence of Americans, contributed further to the destabilization of an already fragile local government. Over time, many in San Diego came to support American occupation over that of Mexico.²⁵

²⁰ Jackson, 120.

²¹ Ibid.

²² Matthew Bokovoy, 12.

²³ Lucy Lytle Killea, “A Political History of a Mexican Pueblo: San Diego from 1825 to 1845, Part II,” in *The Journal of San Diego History* 12, no. 4 (October, 1966): <http://www.sandiegohistory.org/journal/66october/political.htm> (accessed September 24, 2010).

²⁴ Ibid.

²⁵ Ibid.

The Mexican period not only demonstrated problems with politics and governance in San Diego, but also conflict in how its physical space and layout developed.²⁶ Spanish colonial settlements were built according to a set of legally-prescribed definitions, instituted in 1573, called “The Ordinances of Discovery, New Population, and the Pacification of the Indies.”²⁷ The Spanish believed that the Ordinances created order in their colonies and, by replicating the layout of cities in Spain, also reinforced Spanish authority.²⁸ According to the precepts of the Ordinances, colonial settlements grew in three explicit phases: discovery, new settlements, and finally, pacification.²⁹ Further, the Ordinances distinguished the discovery phase from that of settlement by the establishment of permanent colonial residents.³⁰ In San Diego, even after fifty years of Spanish rule, the planning for an actual town, or pueblo, with permanent residents, did not advance beyond the discovery phase. With only the Presidio and mission in place before 1821, an actual colonial community did not develop before Spanish rule ended.

²⁶ Spanish versus Mexican design eventually become a key factor in historic preservation and a brief understanding of what Old Town looked like before 1848 will help to explain why groups became so divided on how Old Town *should* look and trace the origins of the differing opinions on what parts of the past in Old Town should be presented to the public today as an authentic version of the past.

²⁷ Rodriguez, Roberto, “The Foundational Process of Cities in Spanish America,” *Focus* 2, (April 2005): 47.

²⁸ *Ibid.*, 49.

²⁹ *Ibid.*, 48.

³⁰ *Ibid.*

The initial settlement of San Diego began in the early 1820s when soldiers began abandoning the Presidio.³¹ The tiny enclave developed in the valley below the deteriorating Presidio. San Diego started with the most significant feature of the Spanish design, the Plaza Mayor.³² For the Spanish, and in San Diego, the Plaza Mayor served as the center of social, economic and political life. (Figure 1.3)

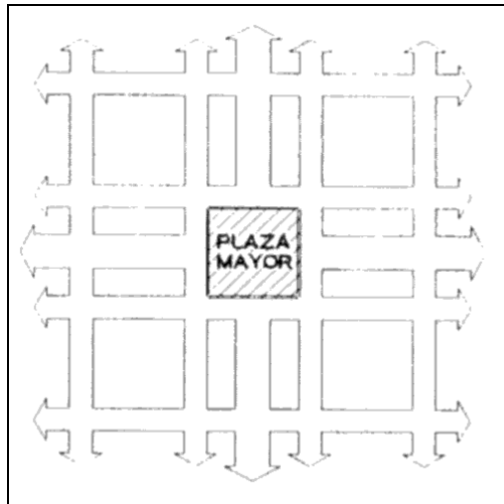


Figure 1.3: Illustration Plaza Mayor as defined by Ordinances³³

However, two other principal characteristics of the Spanish Ordinances, a military garrison and a Church, did not become part of the permanent plan in San Diego between 1821 and 1848. First, by the 1830s, the Presidio sat vacant except for a few retired

³¹ Antonio Padilla-Corona, “The Urban Layout of Old Town San Diego,” *The Journal of San Diego History* 43, no. 3 (Summer 1997): <http://www.sandiegohistory.org/journal/97summer/index.htm> (accessed October 20, 2010).

³² Ibid.

³³ Ibid. Map by Antonio Padilla-Corona and from article: “The Urban Layout of Old Town San Diego.”

soldiers who chose to live there and no other significant military presence existed in San Diego.³⁴ Next, without a church located prominently in the central plaza, as outlined in the Ordinances, San Diego lacked the physical representation of any religious authority. With no church, the deteriorating mission some five miles away, and secularization policies underway by 1833, any manifestation of religious authority in San Diego completely disappeared.³⁵ These deviations from the guidelines of the Spanish Ordinances demonstrated fundamental transitions away from Spanish influence.³⁶

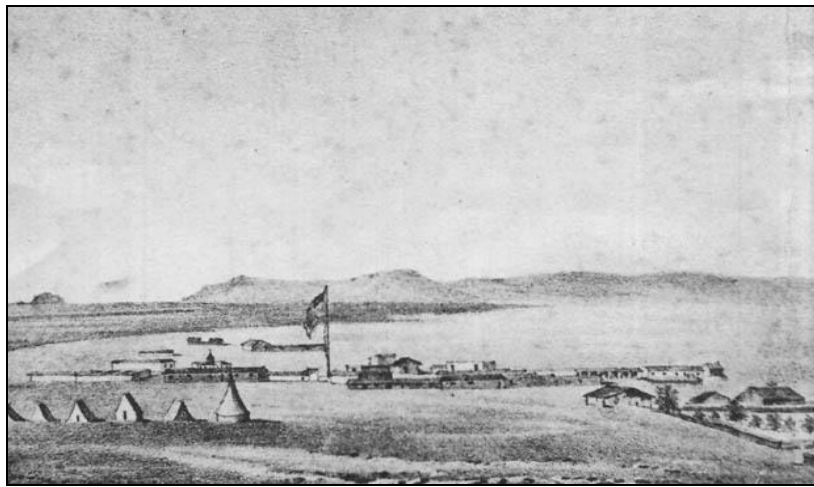


Figure 1.4: William H. Emory's *Notes of a Military Reconnaissance from Fort Leavenworth in Missouri to San Diego in California, 1846*.

³⁴ Paul Ezell, "A Landscape of the Past, the Story of the Royal Presidio Excavations," *Journal of San Diego History* 14 (October 1968): 12.

³⁵ Antonio Padilla-Corona, "The Urban Layout of Old Town San Diego."

³⁶ According to the National Register of Historic Places, the Plaza in Santa Fe, NM, best represents the urban center plan that best signified the 1753 Ordinances in the American Southwest. National Register Number 66000491. The Santa Fe Plaza was built in 1609. After 1848, the Santa Fe Plaza also deteriorated, becoming a cow grazing pasture for many decades.

So by 1848, San Diego displayed some Spanish colonial design primarily because of the plaza located in the middle of town. However, variations derived from Mexican influence surrounded the plaza, and the town even exhibited hints of American town and community building ideas.³⁷ (Figure 1.4) Moreover, the area surrounding the Plaza did not have an orderly system of four streets extending outward from the plaza as defined in the Ordinances. Finally, in contrast to the Ordinances, private homes bordered the Plaza instead of public buildings.³⁸ By mid-century, a grid formed the basic payout of San Diego. The plaza remained in the middle, but streets did not function to connect all parts of the growing village back to the center.

A final factor that shaped early San Diego involved the presence of Americans. Many Americans came to San Diego for business, and to live. Their influence on commerce, with ships arriving regularly, helped to build business and attract new residents. In addition, American participation in the local political discussions served to enhance notions of independence already on the minds of many in San Diego by the mid-1840s.³⁹ When war between Mexico and the United States ended in 1848 and the Treaty of Guadalupe Hidalgo was signed, San Diego entered yet another new era as an American territorial town.

³⁷ Padilla-Corona.

³⁸ Ibid.

³⁹ Ibid.

1848 - 1890: American Control and the Horton Years

Becoming part of an American territory did not bring dramatic changes to San Diego right away. The discovery of gold at Sutter's Mill near Sacramento shifted the majority of interest in California to areas far north of San Diego. However, 1850, the County of San Diego was officially created and the city of San Diego incorporated.

(Figure 1.5)

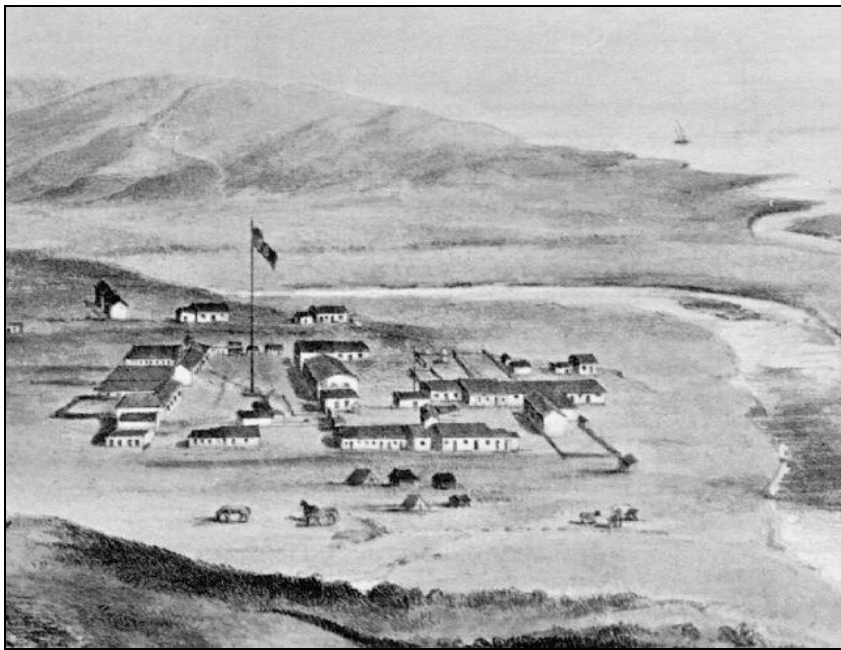


Figure 1.5: Powell Sketch of San Diego, 1850. Original copy at SDHC.

The County population numbered just under 800 and of that, 650 resided in town.⁴⁰ The acquisition of statehood for California later that year only increased the amount of attention, and financial investment, paid to Sacramento and San Francisco.

⁴⁰ Population schedule of the 7th Census of the United States, 1850. Population figures did not include Indians. Originally, San Diego County extended from the Pacific Ocean to the Colorado River on the border with the Arizona territory.

Change in San Diego after 1850 came to be defined not so much by what happened but by who arrived, and by the ideas that particular individuals brought with them that profoundly altered the future for the tiny town. (Figure 1.6)

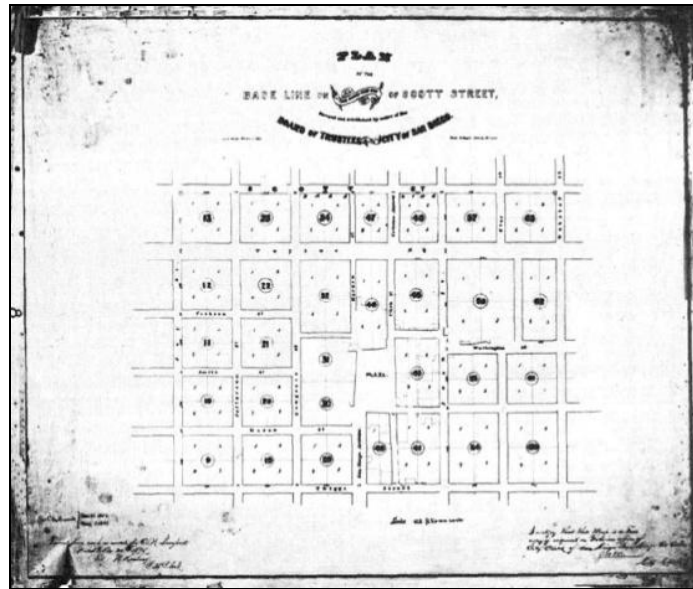


Figure 1.6: San Diego circa 1855. Board of Trustees, City of San Diego, 1855.

Though he had visited San Diego many times, William Heath Davis took up residence in the late 1840s when he married into the Estudillo family, the most prominent of San Diego families. Davis brought with him years of business experience, extensive travel, and many successful investment ventures. He believed that the harbor, with roads leading inland offered the best plan for San Diego to grow. By 1851, he secured 160 acres of land and completed the construction of several homes and a wharf. Locating all of his efforts in an area just south of San Diego, his project came to be called “New

Town.”⁴¹ Somewhat of an innovator, Heath shipped in prefabricated kinds of homes since few trees close to the harbor were suitable for building. In addition, he personally oversaw the construction of a few of these homes, a small hotel, and a store along with a small park and military quarters.⁴² He believed that residents and businesses would thrive by obtaining goods and trading directly with incoming ships.

One obstacle to Heath’s vision of New Town as the best place to build San Diego into a city involved the lack of fresh water for those residents and businesses. Wells provided the only source of fresh water at the time and water had to be carried and distributed to residents and businesses.⁴³ The lack of an organized system for the delivery of safe water and the unwillingness of local officials to move government offices to New Town combined to thwart Davis’ plans. In addition, fears of Indian attacks kept many townspeople and merchants from considering a move to New Town.⁴⁴

Within a couple of years, Davis’ plans for New Town failed. Although he did not remain in San Diego long, Davis laid the groundwork for significant changes that came

⁴¹ Davis, William Heath, *Sixty Years in California: Personal, Political and Military; under the Mexican regime; during the Quasi-military government of the territory by the United States, and after the admission of the state to the Union, Being a Compilation by a Witness of the Events Described* (San Francisco, A. J. Leary Publishers, 1889), 551.

⁴² Gaslamp Quarter Historical Association. William Heath Davis House. 2005.

⁴³ Sholders, Mike, Water Supply Development in San Diego and a Review of Related Outstanding Projects,” *The Journal of San Diego History* 48, no 1 (Winter 2002): <https://www.sandiegohistory.org/journal/2002-1/sholders.htm> (accessed October 16, 2010).

⁴⁴ Smythe, William, *A History of San Diego 1542-1907, An Account of the Rise and Progress of the Pioneer Settlement on the Pacific*, Part Two: Chapter Fourteen, “Abortive Attempt to Establish New San Diego,” (San Diego: The History Co., 1908), 316-322.

after he left. In 1889, he wrote of his own contributions to San Diego “Of the new town of San Diego, now the city of San Diego, I can say that I was its founder.”⁴⁵

Unfortunately for Davis, the accolade of being named the “founder” of San Diego never went to him. Instead, another man ended up earning the distinction of being called the “founder” of modern San Diego. This other man, like Davis before him, also believed that New Town was the best location for San Diego to grow into a thriving harbor city. But in contrast to Davis, Alonzo Horton succeeded in translating that vision into reality.

Alonzo Horton arrived to San Diego just six years after Davis’ plans failed.

Horton came to San Diego with experience as a town-builder after founding a community he named Hortonville about 20 miles from Oshkosh, Wisconsin in 1848. Horton proved to be a savvy land manager, and he sold his lots in a way that produced more corner lots than in most cities of the day. Shorter blocks produced more corner lots, and more corner lots produced more money, by allowing for the higher purchase or lease of corner lots. Throughout the 1860s, Horton focused his efforts in the New Town area, attracting new businesses, and slowly building up the financial strength of New Town.

Like Davis before him, Horton believed that city and county government needed to be in New Town. He was able to make use of local politics and the friction between Old Town and New Town in order to get the center of government, the court and its records relocated to New Town. (Figure 1.7)

⁴⁵ Davis, William Heath, 552.

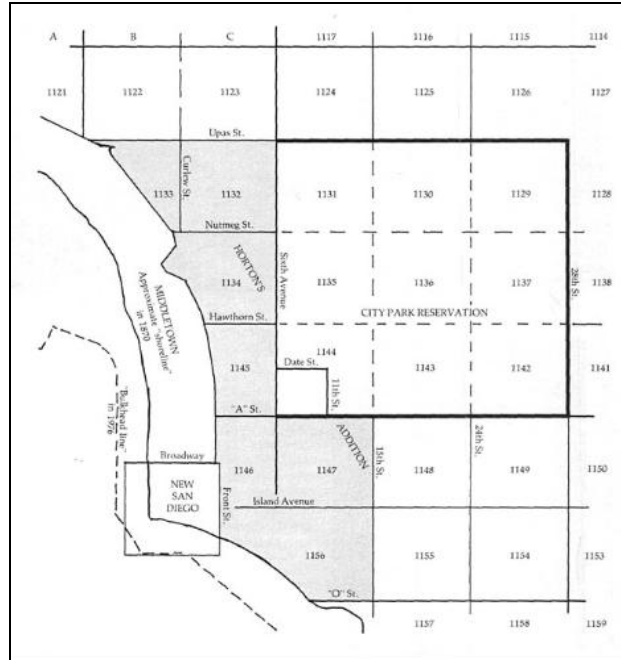


Figure 1.7: Map of New Town San Diego. James Pascoe, 1870

Horton first donated land for the construction of a new courthouse. With his support in the 1869 elections the candidates from New Town won seats on the Board of Supervisors. One of their primary platforms had been to move the courthouse to New Town, and despite objections raised by some Old Town residents. Tensions between Old Town and New Town escalated and reached a peak in 1871. By then the county Court, still in Old Town, occupied the first floor of a home owned by influential merchant Thomas Whaley, and the home also provided storage space for county records. Although frequently gone on travels, Thomas Whaley maintained a financial hold by leasing of part of his home to the county. One night, when Whaley was out of town, advocates of moving the county center to New Town came to Whaley's home and seized the boxes of

county records, and brought them to New Town. Infuriated, Thomas Whaley expected the Board of Supervisors to continue making the lease payments for the courthouse still located in his home, but he was never successful with his complaints to the Board.⁴⁶

Even Whaley eventually relocated his store to New Town, but the store did not succeed, and Whaley ended up leaving San Diego for several years.⁴⁷ In 1872, a fire in Old Town destroyed many of its remaining principal structures and sealed the fate of the tiny community. From that point forward, New Town comprised the civic center of San Diego. Though it took him over four years, Horton succeeded where Davis had failed in relocating the county government, the courts and all city operations to New Town. As such, Horton's entrance into San Diego business and politics became the benchmark in marking the beginning of modern San Diego and Horton became etched in history as the "Father of Modern San Diego" on markers and plaques throughout downtown San Diego.⁴⁸ (Figure 1.8)

⁴⁶ Strudwick, June A., "The Whaley House," *San Diego Journal of History*, Special Issue, San Diego Historical Society Quarterly 6, no. 2 (April 1960): <https://www.sandiegohistory.org/journal/60april/april60.htm> (accessed October 2, 2010).

⁴⁷ Many sources tell the story of the seizing of the County records from Whaley House in 1871. Some of these articles and books even claim that in Thomas Whaley's absence that his wife Anna was held at knifepoint while the records were physically carried out of the lower floor that housed the courthouse. June A. Strudwick offered one of the first journal articles devoted solely to the Old Town-New Town transition in "The Whaley House," in *San Diego Journal of History* 6, no 2 (April 1960) but makes no mention of the knife-wielding incident. William Smythe did not even discuss this transition in any detail in his 1908 multi-volume history. The significance of the 1871 story, true or not, becomes relevant later in this study in the discussion of the preservation and popularity of Whaley House in Old Town today.

⁴⁸ In actuality, Horton does not bear this name officially and Father Junipero Serra and Juan Cabrillo have also been called the "Father of San Diego," but at least in downtown



Figure 1.8: Bronze statue of Alonzo Horton. Photo by Author.

The transition of government to New Town in 1871 ushered in an important decade of gradual change that included the restructuring of city government, the election of mayor and, the building of more businesses and homes. But many of the problems first encountered by William Heath Davis remained. First, the absence of a direct connection to a railroad worried many merchants. Second, the lack of an efficient system for water delivery to New Town continued to a primary concern. But before dealing with either of those difficulties, San Diego officials decided to create a 1400-acre city park.

Ephraim Morse, a member of the newly formed San Diego Board of Trustees, formally submitted a resolution to set aside land for a city park in San Diego in 1868.⁴⁹

San Diego and in many tourist venues, this title, with the additional word “modern” is most often attached to Horton.

⁴⁹ Gregory Montes, “San Diego’s City Park, 1868-1902: An Early Debate on Environment and Profit,” *The Journal of San Diego History* 23 no 2 (1977), 43.

The idea to set aside a city park got its inspiration from stories about New York City's Central Park project, already near 1000 acres in size by 1863.⁵⁰ Morse believed that San Diego needed such a park in order to be comparable in culture and design to larger American cities.⁵¹ In stark contrast to those larger cities, by the late 1860s the population in San Diego countywide was nearing only 5,000 and city residents numbered near 2,300.⁵² Another notable feature distinguished the city park plan in San Diego from larger parks such as Central Park and this difference was in how they determined various uses of the park. Whereas New York's Central Park began as a park intended almost exclusively as a respite for "elites," San Diego's park planners intentionally developed a multi-use approach that included projects to improve public services such as water wells for expanding water delivery to the city.

But from the beginning, advocates for a park in San Diego also envisioned their park as a place for everyone.⁵³ In a city so small, and one without a significantly high population of indigent persons, and without neighborhoods similar to the tenements of New York, these idealistic views of park planners in San Diego seem inconsequential.

⁵⁰ Roy Rosenzweig and Elizabeth Blackmar, *The Park and the People: A History of Central Park* (New York: Cornell University Press, 1992), 59.

⁵¹ Montes, 43.

⁵² Population schedules of the Eighth (1860) and Ninth (1870) Census of the United States. Based on comparison of 1860 and 1870 census years; the 1870 Census reported 4,951 County non-Indian population and 2,300 non-Indian population in the city of San Diego.

⁵³ Rosenzweig, 9. Rosenzweig and Blackmar devote two chapters to describe the gradual transition of Central Park from a 1860s park for "elites" to a more democratic public space by the 1890s.

However, they did envision growth in San Diego, and believed that the park uses set in place in 1868 required forethought, and they wished to prevent the park from becoming anything other than a park for all to enjoy.⁵⁴ Further, the park in San Diego grew to include an Orphan's Home, a school and eventually home to many other philanthropic endeavors.⁵⁵

Even though the creation of a 1400-acre City Park, as it was called for more than three decades, can be viewed as premature in a city with serious water delivery problems, no railroad, and with barely a few thousand residents, the establishment of City Park in 1868 best characterizes the emerging tenacity of late 19th century San Diegans. Park proponents desired to create a public space that showed San Diego to be like other great cities. Opponents argued that the city faced more urgent obstacles to development than fulfilling the pastoral needs of its residents. City Park, as it was called for the next three decades, became a point of both contention and compromise, and eventually a common ground. Politicians, land speculators, and residents worked to solve other pressing issues without having to sacrifice this one large public space.

While City Park in its early years, primarily functioned as a place almost entirely designed for locals, more than a few people in San Diego predicted the park's eventual prominence. In 1874, the San Diego Union published an editorial espousing the value of the park to the city, even suggesting that the city think about planning a world's fair:

⁵⁴ Montes, 47.

⁵⁵ Ibid.

“It is time that a movement in this direction was made in San Diego. We have every natural advantage that could be desired and nothing is needed to make a start but the will. Once begun, there is enough of the live spirit of enterprise to make the exposition a permanent institution in San Diego --- an institution of steady growing prosperity and usefulness.”⁵⁶

While a few imagined hosting an exposition someday, the need for a railroad connection became paramount to most people in San Diego in the 1870s.⁵⁷ Seen as a stimulus for growth, new business, transportation of goods, and as a means to expand tourism, railroad advocates in San Diego believed that without a direct connection, San Diego existed on the perimeter of modern transportation. Travel writers applauded many other attributes of San Diego, such as climate and the harbor but they also identified the lack of a railroad as a major drawback to the city’s future. One travel writer from Ohio, Mary Cone, wrote about her visit to San Diego in 1873, “At present there is but little to attract persons to the place except its rarely fine climate. In this respect, it is thought by those who have tried other places in California, together with the principal health-resorts in Europe, to be nearly or quite without a rival.”⁵⁸ Cone included in her remarks the potential that she thought San Diego possessed to “rival” Europe as a resort location. In addition, Cone described San Diegans in general to be an optimistic group, “it has been said of the San Diegans that they live on a hope and a reality, and all their great expectations for the future on based on these two. They hope for a railroad, and they have

⁵⁶ *San Diego Union*, November 12, 1874.

⁵⁷ Lowell, Douglas L., “The California Southern Railroad and the Growth of San Diego, Part I,” *San Diego Journal of History* 31, no 4 (Fall 1985): <http://www.sandiegohistory.org/journal/85fall/index.htm> (accessed October 15, 2010).

⁵⁸ Mary Cone, *Two Years in California* (Chicago: S.C Griggs, & Company, 1876), 56.

a harbor.”⁵⁹ No one in San Diego in the 1870s disagreed on the need for a railroad, and it became the biggest priority.

Frank Kimball, San Diego business leader and founder of the *San Diego Union* newspaper in 1868, spearheaded the drive for a railroad beginning in 1873. Initially, Kimball appealed directly to railroad baron Jay Gould for financial support, but Gould declined. Kimball next negotiated with the Directors of the Santa Fe Railroad and garnered their interest and investment by 1873.⁶⁰ Kimball donated thousands of acres of his own land hoping to influence the deals that he made with Santa Fe.⁶¹ By 1881, construction began on the California Southern railroad with the intention of connecting to San Bernardino. Several obstacles came along in the years that followed, and the biggest of these barriers came from the “Big Four” of the railroad industry at that time, Collis Huntington, Leland Stanford, Charles Crocker and Mark Hopkins. The “Big Four” had thrown their financial interests into making Colton, near Los Angeles, the primary railroad hub in southern California and fiercely opposed San Diego’s goals.⁶² The ‘Big

⁵⁹ Ibid, 57.

⁶⁰ Lowell, Douglas, “The California Southern Railroad and the Growth of San Diego,” *The San Diego Journal of History* 31, no 4 (Fall 1985): <https://www.sandiegohistory.org/journal/85fall/railroad.htm> (accessed October 2, 2010) Douglas’ narrative represents one of the most detailed but other excellent articles include “The Railroad Stations of San Diego: Then and Now” by James Price in *The Journal of San Diego History* 34, no 2 (Spring 1988) and also “San Diego’s First Railroad” by R.A. Middlebrook and R.V. Dodge in *The Journal of San Diego History & San Diego Historical Society Quarterly* 2, no 1 (January 1956).

⁶¹ Ibid.

⁶² Price, James, “The Railroad Stations of San Diego: Then and Now” in *The Journal of San Diego History* 34, no 2 (Spring 1988):

Four” limited San Diego’s railroad by keeping the Santa Fe railroad out of southern California.

Without the Santa Fe railroad, San Diego’s railroad could only connect to Colton and no farther for several years.⁶³ Throughout the early 1880s, the harbor’s business continued to grow, and the railroad expanded, but Colton remained the nearest endpoint to San Diego until 1884. In that year, growth of the Santa Fe railroad and its acquisition of the San Diego-based California Southern railroad, led to the breakup of the monopoly of the “Big Four.”⁶⁴ In November of 1885, the Santa Fe-built tracks from San Diego to San Bernardino were complete, and with considerable fanfare, the first transcontinental train arrived in San Diego. What Mary Cone had called the “hope for a railroad” in 1873 became reality for San Diegans in November of 1885 and with the railroad came what San Diegans today still refer to as the “first Boom Time.”⁶⁵

<https://www.sandiegohistory.org/journal/88spring/railroad.htm> (accessed October 10, 2010).

⁶³ Ibid.

⁶⁴ Lowell, “The California Southern Railroad and the Growth of San Diego,” Lowell offers an account of the competition between the “Big Four” and the Santa Fe railroads but concludes that a variety of possibilities exist as to why the Santa Fe ultimately succeeded against the “Big Four” and an exact reason for their backing down in 1884 “remains unclear.”

⁶⁵ The “Boom Time” as a term to describe the 1880s land boom in San Diego appears in a multitude of sources. Attributing its first use to a single author would be impossible. Historian William Smythe called it “The Great Boom” in one of his chapter headings in *History of San Diego 1542-1908* (San Diego: The History Company, 1908). Kevin Starr called this period “The Boom of the Eighties” in *California: A History* (New York: Random House, 2005), 146. Starr applies the term to all of California but mentions San Diego specifically along with Los Angeles and San Francisco. Dozens of authors in *The San Diego Journal of History* over the last fifty years also use terms similar to “boom time.”

Beginning in 1885 and ending by 1888, San Diego experienced a boom of land speculation and inflated real estate prices. Climate attracted health-seekers and tourists, the promise of cheap land and get-rich-quick stories appealed to investors and the completion of the railroad connection convinced thousands to come to San Diego. Historian Kevin Starr described the 1880s boom decade as one that completed the “Americanization of Southern California” and argued that it was in large part due to a “middle-class and upper-middle-class migration, whether for reasons of health, tourism, winter sojourn or permanent residence.”⁶⁶

Theodore S. Van Dyke, hired to promote San Diego by the San Diego Chamber of Commerce, became the first to record population figures to describe the land boom years. “At the close of 1885, it had probably 5000 people,” he wrote, “but at the close of 1887, the time of writing this sketch, it has fully 30,000 with a more rapid rate of increasing as ever.”⁶⁷ Boosterism such as that of Van Dyke attracted even more attention to the city. The Los Angeles Times ran a headline in 1887 that proclaimed “Fortunes at San Diego: How a Portland Newspaper Reporter Stuck It in Real Estate.”⁶⁸ The article recounted the

⁶⁶ Starr, Kevin, *California: A History* (New York: Random House, 2005), 146. Starr specifically mentions Los Angeles, San Francisco and San Diego as experiencing big population shifts during the 1880s, most of which turned out to be temporary.

⁶⁷ Van Dyke, Theodore S., *City and County of San Diego and containing Biographical Sketches of Prominent Men and Pioneers* (San Diego: Leberthon & Taylor, 1888), 28.

⁶⁸ “Fortunes at San Diego: How a Portland Newspaper Reporter Stuck It in Real Estate,” *Los Angeles Times*, February 6, 1887, p. 6.

experiences of a Portland man who arrived to San Diego with \$10 in gold and within two months of buying and selling land he claimed to have accumulated \$60,000.⁶⁹

William Gifford Smith wrote about the boom years shortly after they ended and stated, “the business district traversed three miles of streets, and the population, at the close of 1887, numbered 35,000. At one time 50,000 people, from every State and Territory of the Union and from many foreign lands, were in the bay country, trying to get rich in a week.”⁷⁰ Most of the population figures for the years 1886 to 1888 come from municipal documents such as business and building permits, the records of land sales, hotel receipts, and passenger arrival records of ships and trains.

Exactly how many people arrived to, bought land or ever intended to take up permanent residence in San Diego between 1886 and 1888 is not proven. The stories of the “boom time,” and how much the population actually increased during those few years, became a kind of urban legend. Census records reveal that the city of San Diego increased in population between 1880 and 1890 from 2,637 to 15,700 but the 1890 census came under scrutiny from officials in San Diego who believed that census-takers in 1890 had miscounted. The Los Angeles Times reported “mass meetings” of San Diegans, headed by their mayor, were demanding a recount by the Census Bureau.⁷¹ After the

⁶⁹ Ibid.

⁷⁰ Smith, William Gifford, *The Story of San Diego* (San Diego, CA: City Printing Company, 1892), 156.

⁷¹ “Census Squabbling: San Diego Thinks She is in the Soup,” *Los Angeles Times*, June 19, 1890.

recount, the official number of residents in San Diego in 1890 became final at 16,037.⁷² Even though the 1890 census demonstrated a population six times that of 1880, city leaders felt that the boom years brought more permanent residents to the city than the 1890 census indicated.⁷³

Without ever knowing the actual numbers of the boom time, the 1870s and 1880s became a defining decades in San Diego history. First, the creation of City Park laid the foundation for Balboa Park, a public space destined to be one of San Diego's most well-known and historic places. Second, the boom brought a considerable amount of notoriety and attention to San Diego, particularly among elites who could travel to or invest in the city. The boom also fueled the construction of many buildings and homes and the completion of the Hotel del Coronado which promoted San Diego and attracted visitors long past the boom years. Further, city leadership succeeded in making measurable

⁷² Tenth (1880) and Eleventh (1890) Population Schedules of the United States Bureau of the Census.

⁷³ Ibid. City population in 1880 was 8,618 and in 1890 had grown to 34,987. Specific data for the 1880s land boom years in San Diego comes from writers of the time and newspaper accounts. Scholars have also relied on these same sources and upon land sale records, hotel receipts, building permits and other kinds of municipal records but because the boom occurred between the census years of 1880 and 1890, absolute population figures for 1886-1888 remain estimates. William Smythe offers an exhaustive list of business permits, land sales and other quantitative historical data to support the boom era population estimates in *A History of San Diego 1542-1907* (San Diego: The History Co., 1908): 413-434. Larry Booth, Richard Pourade and Roger Olmsted co-authored one of the first scholarly articles on the boom years in *California Historical Quarterly* 50, no 4 (December 1971), "Portrait of a Boom Town: San Diego in the 1880s," and reported the population in 1887 as 35,000 but the article is not footnoted so their sources cannot be validated either. Exactly how many people arrived to, bought land or took up permanent residence in San Diego in the years between 1886 and 1888 may never be able to be proven however the City of San Diego, the San Diego History Center, and countless journal articles since 1971 report the same basic data for the land boom years of the 1880s in San Diego

progress in addressing infrastructure problems with improvements to the system of water delivery and by bringing a connection to western railroads to San Diego.

For those who remained in or arrived to San Diego after 1890, the failed boom served as evidence that a bright future and a strong economy were possible, but they recognized that San Diego needed a stronger municipal base, effective local government, and a different kind of self-promotion to ensure the sustainability of civic achievements. In addition, the post boom years demonstrate the value generated by human and social capital in San Diego when a diverse group of citizens assumed leadership roles, often without financial compensation, across a wide range of public projects.⁷⁴ After 1890, the decisions made by elected city officials, grassroots leadership, and by voters, led to events, and outcomes, that profoundly shaped San Diego history. Over the next fifteen years, collaborative civic management by city officials and enthusiastic citizens laid the groundwork for the development of municipal planning, the eventual prosperity of a tourism and military-based economy, and for the first historic preservation efforts in San Diego.

⁷⁴ Robert D. Putnam, *Bowling Alone: The Collapse and Revival of American Community* (New York: Simon & Schuster, 2000), 20. Putnam defines “social capital” to include both “private good” and “public good,” which he argues better describes the ways in which the philanthropic or community work of individuals can benefit both the community and the “person making the investment” of their time or money. Previous scholars, according to Putnam, did not consider the connectedness of a community and in those settings, even the most socially-driven individual working alone, could not impact their society as profoundly as they could when groups of individuals acted together, hence creating a network.

1890 to 1915: Post-Boom and Starting Over Again

Between 1890 and 1900, the population in San Diego increased only slightly from 16,037 to 17,700.⁷⁵ However by 1910, the population in San Diego doubled to 35,978.⁷⁶ In contrast, Los Angeles had grown to 319,198 in 1910, and San Francisco remained the largest city in California with a population of 416,912.⁷⁷ In terms of numbers then, San Diego ranked as one of the smallest towns in the state and in the West.⁷⁸ Yet during these years, leadership in San Diego developed projects and set civic goals that mirrored those of cities many times their size. The formation of efficient organizational networks and the impact of creative leadership made these goals into reality, culminating with hosting the Panama-California Exposition in 1915. It had to seem unlikely if not unbelievable that such a small city would have the infrastructure, fund-raising capacity, or even enough people to host such a massive event in 1915. A closer examination of those who assumed leadership roles in San Diego after 1890 explains how their collaborations positioned the city between 1890 and 1915 to being ready to host a large Exposition, and for growth that came after the fair.

⁷⁵ Twelfth Census of the United States, 1900.

⁷⁶ Thirteenth Census of the United States, 1910.

⁷⁷ Ibid. Data for multiple years available at: <http://www.census.gov/population/www/documentation/twps0027/twps0027.html> (accessed April 1, 2011).

⁷⁸ Ibid. Of the 100 largest cities in the United States on the 1910 Census, other Western cities, from largest to smallest, included Denver, Portland, Oakland, Spokane, Dallas, Tacoma and Houston. Houston had a population of 78,800. Closer to San Diego, Phoenix numbered 11,134 and Tucson's population was 13,193.

Almost all of the people who assumed leadership roles in San Diego after 1890 came from middle-class and upper-middle class backgrounds. The majority of them had college degrees. Although the demographic of the city-building elites in San Diego was not necessarily different from their counterparts in larger cities, San Diego's relatively small size provided them with more opportunities to exert influence, produce change and achieve results. In his study of city-building in Phoenix, G. Wesley Johnson found a similar dynamic in how civic leadership developed in small towns. As in San Diego, Johnson found that "in the 1880s and 1890s, Phoenix was able to attract a remarkable group of actors, both men of means, and men of vision."⁷⁹ Further, Johnson attributed the growth and progress in Phoenix specifically to the efforts of elected officials working in concert with grassroots and volunteer organizations.⁸⁰ Johnson's study offers a useful model for describing the leadership in San Diego during those same years. In his breakdown of leadership roles, Johnson constructs categories of analysis based on biographical backgrounds of individuals. These categories include "the Town Elite" to describe the broader period of 1870 to 1910, and within that time frame, he further delineates the "Founding Elite" through 1885, and finally the "Town Elite Entrepreneurs" for the period of 1885 through 1910.⁸¹

⁷⁹ G. Wesley Johnson, "Chapter Two: Directing Elites: Catalysts for Social Change," in *Phoenix in the Twentieth Century: Essays in Community History*, ed. G. Wesley Johnson (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1993), 17.

⁸⁰ Ibid.

⁸¹ Ibid, 15. Applied to San Diego, the "Founding Elite" included William Heath Davis, Thomas Whaley, and Alonzo Horton. Johnson presents the urban biography of Phoenix using what he calls "five period cohorts" and only the 'Founding Elite' and the "Town Elite Entrepreneurs" sections provide direct relevance to San Diego during the period

The “Town Elite Entrepreneurs” of San Diego embody the optimistic and aggressive civic leadership described by Johnson. Their efforts laid the foundation for the 1915 Panama-California Exposition, and for post-Exposition growth. This group included businessmen, developers, and several other men and women who also “inherited a frontier village” and were able to build a city.⁸² This consortium of personalities included George White Marston, Ed Fletcher, John D. Spreckels, and William Kettner. Women also located many entry points in the public sphere in San Diego, and made lasting contributions and include horticulturalist Kate Sessions, Dr. Charlotte Baker, Alice Klauber, Lydia Knapp Horton, and Ellen Browning Scripps. Finally, architects Irving Gill and Hazel Wood Waterman transformed physical space in San Diego resulting in architectural forms that came to be identified with San Diego, and created some of the historic sites discussed in this study.

Later in this study, all of these persons figure prominently in one, or more, of the analyses of historic preservation sites and issues. However, the collective nature of their work and the interconnectedness of their activities drove the success for all of them. As Robert Putnam describes the collectivism of social and civic engagement, this network of important San Diegans formed a team, a league of sorts, and as such, they did not “bowl

1890-1915. However, in terms of rapid growth during the twentieth century there are numerous other comparisons possible between Phoenix and San Diego. Johnson also credits Glen Elder’s work on life stories and life course methodology as influential in the use of cohorts in his Phoenix study and in particular cites Glen Elder, “History and the Life Course,” in *Biography and Society: The Life History Approach to the Social Sciences*, ed. Daniel Bertaux (Beverly Hills: Sage Publications, 1981), 88-89.

⁸² Johnson, 17. Johnson also refers to Phoenix as a “frontier village” in the early 1880s.

alone.”⁸³ Further, they could be stubborn, intolerant, and at times even patronizing.⁸⁴ This cadre of upper middle class and elite San Diegans exuded self-confidence and, at times, self-righteousness.⁸⁵ Yet the organizations and institutions that they created together changed the city that they lived in, and more importantly transformed the history and civic identity of San Diego for the next century.

George White Marston

George Marston, a Wisconsin native, arrived in 1870 and quickly became involved in the city’s growth, politics, and public projects. Marston worked for Alonzo Horton for a short time before opening his own successful department store in San Diego. Marston’s significance to San Diego history emerged from his many civic activities. He quickly established himself publicly as having a liberal spirit both politically and socially. For example, in 1873, he traveled to Los Angeles to rescue a young Chinese woman, Sing Yee, who had reportedly been abducted.⁸⁶ Marston’s actions and praise from local papers reveal that San Diego had a somewhat different attitude towards the Chinese that

⁸³ Putnam, 504. In this book, Putnam expands his first presentation of “Bowling Alone,” published as an article in 1992, by including less formalized social networks than those described in 1992.

⁸⁴ Ibid, 400. Putnam argues against seeing the Progressive Era as a time of altruistic reform and instead acknowledges the “misdeeds,” “social control,” and “social exclusion.”

⁸⁵ Ibid, 401. Putnam’s central thesis applies well to San Diego; his thesis argues that collective work, social and civic networks, between 1880 and 1920, led to greater participation of citizens in politics and democracy, and “created institutions and organizations that lasted the 20th century.”

⁸⁶ Marston, *George White Marston*, 182.

prevailed elsewhere in the West and especially in California. Marston befriended the Chinese in San Diego, and in the 1880s, he supported the election of their own mayor in the Chinese section of San Diego. Marston's influence in the years before 1900 helped to shape how San Diego interacted with the Chinese community along with an atmosphere in which the Chinese population did not any significant competition or conflict for San Diegans.⁸⁷

Marston hold took on significant roles in the planning of Balboa Park, the Panama-California Exposition and for the planning of the San Diego as a city. His contributions were always in the form of money, donated land and also enormous amounts of his time serving on committees and in organizations. In 1903, he personally funded the hiring of George Parsons, a student of Frederick Law Olmstead, to design Balboa Park and a few years later Marston provided the financing to bring city planner John Nolen to develop a plan for San Diego.⁸⁸

Marston took on two significant historic preservation projects and largely financed these endeavors from his own pocket. These two projects were the first major

⁸⁷ Arthur McEvoy, "In Places Men Reject Chinese Fishermen at San Diego, 1870-1893," in *The Journal of San Diego History* 12 no 4 (Fall, 1977), 16. McEvoy argued that while other cities saw the Chinese as competition San Diegans felt no threat, "Such complaints were heard at San Diego from time to time but, partly because there were at first no other fishermen competing with them, San Diegans did not feel that the Chinese were unfairly exploiting the city's natural wealth. That would come later, when the completion of a rail connection to the outside world brought large numbers of new settlers to the area and finally integrated San Diego into a California-wide economy."

⁸⁸ George Marston is probably the most written about of San Diego's citizens and there are over forty journal articles, almost entirely devoted to Marston, that have appeared in *The Journal of San History* since the early 1950s. The hiring of John Nolen by Marston in 1908 and then again in 1926 becomes important later in this study.

restoration of the San Diego Mission and also that of the Presidio. Both of these projects took over twenty years and were not fully completed until 1930 so for Marston they were not just civic projects, they became lifelong works to him. Marston was also the founder of and served as the first President of the San Diego Historical Society beginning in 1928.⁸⁹ The founding of the San Diego Historical Society came as the completion of those two projects neared their end. By that time, Marston had established himself not only as a civic and political leader but as a leader in preserving San Diego's history.

Ed Fletcher

Ed Fletcher arrived to San Diego in 1888 when he was sixteen years old. Despite his youth, Fletcher succeeded in selling and delivering produce, and by 1897 he had organized his own company. Fletcher's real passion was real estate development and the building of roads, and he designed many of the highways and roads in and around San Diego. Fletcher also helped to design water systems and this expanded the agricultural potential in San Diego. His civic activism included his service as a director for the 1915 Panama-California Exposition and as a key member of a group that raised financing for land that later became Naval Training Center.⁹⁰

⁸⁹ San Diego History Center (formerly called The San Diego Historical Society), all publications of the SDHC attribute George Marston as their Founder in 1928.

⁹⁰ Geoffrey Wexler, "A Few More Pieces of the Puzzle: Collections Documenting San Diego History at the University of California, San Diego" in *The Journal of San Diego History* 37, no. 1 (Winter 1991): <https://www.sandiegohistory.org/journal/91winter/ucsd.htm> (accessed September 25, 2010).

Like Marston, Ed Fletcher's civic leadership began in the fifteen years after 1890 and his career and contributions spanned well into the mid-twentieth century. He oversaw fund raising to save some buildings from the 1915 exposition, and served as a director when, in 1935, San Diego hosted the California-Pacific International Exposition. Fletcher won election to the State Senate and served for twelve years.

John D. Spreckels

John D. Spreckels first arrived to San Diego in 1887. His interest in San Diego stemmed from the potential for profit that the land boom advertised. Unlike thousands of other land speculators, Spreckel's interest in San Diego did not wane when the bust came in 1888. Instead, he took control of the Hotel del Coronado and established the first street railway system in the city, changing it from horsepower to electricity. A man of many interests, Spreckels also invested in the local newspaper and at one point or another he owned a vast number of properties and buildings in the city, many of which still stand today.

Spreckels did not limit himself to buildings tied only to profit such as hotels and other kinds of business endeavors. He also believed in the importance of cultural interests in a growing city and funded the construction of the Spreckels Theater which remains a cultural icon in San Diego. The most noticeable physical structure dedicated to Spreckel's legacy is the Spreckels Organ Pavilion in Balboa Park. Spreckels personally

financed the pavilion, and the organ, and declared that the organ was a gift to “the people of San Diego” and “to the people of all the world.”⁹¹

William Kettner

William Kettner first arrived to San Diego in 1907 and opened an insurance business. He quickly immersed himself in a variety of other activities. Within five years, he transitioned from business to politics. Kettner first served on the Chamber of Commerce, and in 1912, he won election to the United States Congress. It was in this federal role that Kettner’s talents for forming alliances began to shine.

His friendship with Franklin D. Roosevelt, then Assistant Secretary of the Navy, and his own savvy in obtaining federal appropriations for San Diego resulted in the development of the Marine Corps Recruit Depot and Naval Training Center.⁹² He had a particular interest in the harbor and its suitability for a Navy base and succeeded in raising funds for the dredging and development of the harbor in San Diego. Kettner’s efforts demonstrated the attractiveness and suitability of San Diego to the Navy, and as historian Joan Jensen argued, “Without Kettner, the Navy would not be in San Diego.”⁹³

⁹¹ Richard Amero. “The Spreckels Organ Pavilion in Balboa Park,” in *A History of the Exposition*: <http://www.sandiegohistory.org/bpbbuildings/organ.htm> (accessed October 20, 2010).

⁹² Joan M. Jensen, “The Politics and History of William Kettner,” in *The Journal of San Diego History* 11, no. 3 (June 1965): <https://www.sandiegohistory.org/journal/65june/kettner.htm> (accessed October 21, 2010).

⁹³ *Ibid.*

Kate Sessions

Horticulturalist Kate Sessions graduated from the University of California at Berkeley in 1881 and arrived to San Diego to take a teaching position in 1885. She also gathered up some financial partners and opened the San Diego Nursery that same year. Sessions published scholarly articles in horticultural journals while building her nursery business. She combined both of those activities with civic participation in public projects. She joined several women's organizations and advocated for the causes of women and children on issues of health and poverty and many of the women's groups contributed in furthering Session's efforts in horticulture education. Throughout all her work and volunteerism, Sessions continued to teach classes in botany and horticulture to school children and oversee the planting of gardens at many San Diego schools.

Her involvement in the plans to develop City Park began in 1892 when she leased some land from the city for her nursery, and in return, the city asked Sessions to plant trees, and to donate the cost of landscape. Thus, early on the physical development of the City Park was under her direction. Sessions next formed an alliance with George Marston based on their shared interest in the importance of City Park and their partnership led to the success of bringing Frederick Law Olmstead's student George Parsons to San Diego to finish the design for the park in 1903.⁹⁴ Session's land donations, horticultural skill, her alliances with city leaders such as Marston, and her work with several women's

⁹⁴ Gregory E. Montes, "San Diego's City Park, 1868-1902 An Early Debate on Environment and Profit," *The Journal of San Diego History* 23, no. 2 (Spring 1977): <https://www.sandiegohistory.org/journal/77spring/balboapark.htm> (accessed October 25, 2010). City Park was renamed Balboa Park in 1910.

organizations successfully brought the park to completion.⁹⁵ Along with so many others, Sessions and the San Diego Floral Association played a significant role in the 1915 Panama-California Exposition by planning the gardens, landscaping and floral designs.⁹⁶

Dr. Charlotte Baker

Drs. Charlotte and Fred Baker were prominent physicians in San Diego during the Horton era and her diaries, kept from 1882 to 1933, provide a window into issues that were important in San Diego after 1888. The diaries also reveal Baker's own politics and values over a long period of time.⁹⁷ She had earned her undergraduate degree at Vassar and her medical degree from the University of Michigan in 1881. She took up a specialty in obstetrics and served a residency in a women's prison. She her husband Fred, also a physician, arrived to San Diego in 1888, making her San Diego's first female physician.

Charlotte was a suffragette, active on women's intellectual clubs and was deeply in charitable work.⁹⁸ She organized the opening of the Young Women's Christian Association (YWCA) in San Diego, and became the first woman elected president of the San Diego Medical Society.⁹⁹ Vigorous in her political activity, she led the movement for

⁹⁵ Elizabeth MacPhail. *Kate Sessions: Pioneer Horticulturalist* (San Diego: San Diego Historical Society, 1976), 49.

⁹⁶ The San Diego Floral Association was formed in 1907 specifically to prepare for the Exposition and Sessions served as an Advisor. The Association remains in operation today as the oldest garden club in southern California.

⁹⁷ Dr. Charlotte Baker Papers, Box 2, MS173. San Diego History Center Archives.

⁹⁸ Ibid.

⁹⁹ In 2009, Charlotte Baker was inducted into the San Diego Women's Hall of Fame. The full list and previous inductees is available online at: <http://www.whmec.org/whof/2009inductees.html> (accessed October 10, 2010).

women's suffrage, and in 1896, San Diego's male voters actually passed women's suffrage. The measure failed at the state level, and statewide approval would wait until 1912.

Baker helped in the preparations for the 1915 Panama-California Exposition, but her assistance fell more into the realm of cleaning up the city. Baker's sympathy for women and children in poverty was sincere, but it did not extend to those involved in prostitution or vice. By 1912, the "Stingaree" area of the Gaslamp posed grave concerns for Exposition planners. Along with the Women's Christian Temperance Union (WCTU), and her alliances with several women's clubs and organizations, Baker led the drive to forcibly rid the Stingaree of prostitutes.¹⁰⁰ In her efforts to rid San Diego of vice and prostitution before the Exposition, Baker saw her actions as both acting to reform women and as a means to improve the moral character of those men who frequented the Stingaree.

Alice Klauber

In addition to municipal growth, infrastructure projects, politics, charity and civic organizations, these 30 or so years also saw vigorous surges in the arts, architecture, and the city's first formal city planning designs. Born in 1871, Alice Klauber came from a

¹⁰⁰ McPhail, Elizabeth C., "When the Red Lights Went Out in San Diego," *The Journal of San Diego History* 20, no 2 (Spring 1974): <https://www.sandiegohistory.org/journal/74spring/index.htm> (accessed October 10, 2010) and Clare V. McKanna in "Prostitutes, Progressives, and Police: The Viability of Vice in San Diego 1900-1930," in *The Journal of San Diego History* 35, no 1 (Winter 1989): <https://www.sandiegohistory.org/journal/89winter/index.htm> (accessed October 15, 2010).

well-to-do and educated family. She studied art and painting with Robert Henri in Spain and dedicated her civic contributions in San Diego to the development of cultural and arts organizations while still producing paintings of her own.¹⁰¹ As the 1915 Panama California Exposition approached, Klauber was instrumental in demanding a role for women in planning the fair and publicly threatened a media blitz of negative press if the women were not accommodated. The Exposition planners quickly complied, and Miss Klauber earned the position of chairperson of the Exposition's art division.¹⁰²

In full support of the selected overall theme of Spanish Colonial, Klauber's extensive travels to Spain reinforced her artistic interpretations that became iconic in the 1915 Exposition's adherence to Spanish Colonial themes. Klauber also visited Indian reservations in New Mexico and Arizona. These trips resulted in Klauber bringing Indian potter Maria Martinez back to San Diego for the exposition. Essentially putting the Indians on public display, the Exposition planners viewed themselves as quite modern in their overall approach. Regardless of authenticity, the mythological Spanish Colonial

¹⁰¹ SDHS has many biographical pieces and articles about her and they maintain her papers and records. In 2007 an online book appeared, *San Diego's First Lady of the Arts: Alice Ellen Klauber and Friends*, by Martin E. Peterson. The work was written with the permission of the Klauber family and offers many of the personal letters of Alice Klauber. Available only online at: <http://www.aliceklauber.museumartistsfoundation.org/index.htm> (accessed December 1, 2010).

¹⁰² Richard Amero, "The Southwest on Display at the Panama-California Exposition, 1915," *The San Diego Journal of History* 36, no. 4 (Fall 1990): <https://www.sandiegohistory.org/journal/90winter/expo.htm> (accessed December 2, 2010).

presentations coupled with the public display of Native peoples sold well to several million visitors during the Exposition's two-year run.¹⁰³

Lydia Knapp Horton

Lydia and her first husband, William Knapp, first arrived in San Diego in 1869. They lived in San Diego until 1873 when William accepted a transfer to San Francisco. Soon after, Lydia and her two small sons returned to Massachusetts for a visit to her mother. The visit became permanent when William, who had opposed Lydia's trip, did not send financial support. Their marriage failed, but no formal separation or divorce was ever filed and Lydia remained in Massachusetts. Lydia spent the next decade going back to school to study art and became active in the suffrage movement and women's clubs. She supported herself by teaching and with her painting.

Upon receiving word of William Knapp's death in 1885, Lydia asked friends in San Diego to oversee the selling of some land that William had never sold. She decided to return to San Diego in 1888 for what she thought at the time would simply be a matter of wrapping up of William's financial affairs. Once in the city, she renewed acquaintances that included many women and also Alonzo and Sarah Horton. Within a short time, Lydia returned to teaching and she began taking on leadership roles in women's clubs and organizations. After Sarah Horton died in a carriage accident, Lydia's friendship with Alonzo Horton grew, and in November 1890, they married. At the time of their marriage, Lydia was 47 years old, and Horton was 77 years old.

¹⁰³ Matthew Bokovoy explored the creation of Spanish heritage mythology in *The San Diego World's Fairs and Southwestern Memory, 1880-1940* (Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 2005).

During the 1890s, Lydia's myriad activities included launching the women's club movement in San Diego, serving with the Red Cross, and she was an avid suffragette. She is best known for writing to Andrew Carnegie to request support for a library in San Diego. In 1899, the city received \$50,000 from Carnegie to start the San Diego library, and became the first city West of the Mississippi River to earn a Carnegie library grant.¹⁰⁴ Alonzo Horton was penniless by the time he died in 1909, and Lydia returned to teaching while actively continuing to build women's and charitable organizations. She served on the Women's Board for the 1915 Panama California Exposition, and worked to bring a children's section to the library that she had brought to San Diego.

Ellen Browning Scripps

Ellen Browning Scripps arrived to San Diego in the 1890s and was already wealthy through her family's newspaper fortune. Ms. Scripps had never married and dedicated her life, and her wealth to suffrage causes, scientific and educational organizations and to charity. The Scripps Institute of Oceanography, the Natural History Museum and the San Diego Zoo all grew out of her donations and bequests.¹⁰⁵ The most elite of San Diego's wealthy women, Ms. Scripps was unlike many her civic counterparts

¹⁰⁴ MacPhail, "Lydia Knapp Horton: A "Liberated" Woman in Early San Diego," in *The Journal of San Diego History* 27, no. 1 (Winter, 1981): <https://www.sandiegohistory.org/journal/81winter/knapp.htm> (accessed November 20, 2010).

¹⁰⁵ Ironically, when asked, many people assume that the Scripps Institute of Oceanography and the Scripps Medical facilities were named after the "newspaper guys," and are quite surprised to learn that they were in fact named for a woman, Ellen Browning Scripps.

in other cities. She was not flamboyant with her wealth, and she did not lead a high-society life. In fact, one biographer wrote that, “she abhorred both discrimination and privilege.”¹⁰⁶ Not wishing her actual donation amounts to be publicly known or applauded, Scripps often worked with Dr. Charlotte Baker, who supplied her with information that identified needs in San Diego, which Scripps then quietly funded.¹⁰⁷

In an era well known for prominent women supporting suffrage, women’s and children’s causes, and helping to build cities, Ellen Browning Scripps differed from what much of the women’s history scholarship shows in other cities. Perhaps due to San Diego’s smaller size or perhaps just by the serendipity of like minds happening to reside in the same place at the same time, city-building women in San Diego did not publicly display the high-profile accoutrements of their personal wealth in ways similar, for example, to Bertha Palmer in Chicago or Phoebe Hearst in San Francisco. Ellen Browning Scripps used her wealth quietly in bringing to San Diego a variety of scientific, cultural, educational and charitable organizations and institutions.

The contributions of two other people between 1890 and 1915 came in the form of buildings and architectural design. Their work resulted in transforming the physical spaces of San Diego in a variety of ways. Many planners and architects in San Diego look to the early twentieth century for inspiration. They find it in the legacies of Irving Gill, and one of his students, Hazel Wood Waterman. Not only did Gill bring the Arts

¹⁰⁶ Deborah Day, “Ellen Browning Scripps: Her Life and Philanthropy,” lecture given on October 18, 2000 at the Birch Aquarium in San Diego. Transcript author’s possession.

¹⁰⁷ The work of this trio of women, Scripps, Baker and Ritter, is well documented separately in archival sources but to date a full study of their efforts and contributions has not been written.

and Craft era to San Diego but he also pioneered the blending of Arts and Crafts design with Spanish Colonial. In addition, much of Gill and Waterman's became integral to the historic preservation movement in San Diego throughout the last one hundred years.

Irving Gill and Hazel Wood Waterman

Irving John Gill arrived to San Diego in 1893 after working for a while under both Frank Lloyd Wright and Louis Sullivan. Unlike some other notable San Diegans who have received moderate amounts of scholarly attention beyond local literature, Gill appears in many scholarly works and across a number of disciplines. Gill arrived to San Diego at a particularly remarkable moment, just a few years after the land bust had all but wiped out the town financially, and the population was low. Unlike cities in the Midwest or East or even to some extent Los Angeles and San Francisco, Gill could enjoy a relatively blank slate when he came to San Diego. He did not have hundreds of years of development already in place in San Diego or thousands of residents and civic leaders to interact with or try to please. As such, he enjoyed the autonomy that allowed him to experiment with new designs and leave a unique and indelible mark on the San Diego landscape.

Gill's interest in augmenting the era's popular Arts and Crafts movement with a distinctly Spanish motif, is well documented.¹⁰⁸ His designs ranged from private homes for San Diego's wealthier citizens including George Marston and Ellen Browning Scripps

¹⁰⁸ Sarah Schaffer, "A Significant Sentence Upon the Earth: Irving J. Gill, Progressive Architect," in *The San Diego Journal of History* 44, no. 1 (Winter 1998): <https://www.sandiegohistory.org/journal/98winter/gill2.htm> (accessed November 18, 2010).

to churches, schools, organizational buildings and apartments. His interests and goals expanded beyond projects that simply paid a good commission and over the years he became an advocate of designing homes and projects that would be technologically innovative for the average workers and residents.¹⁰⁹

Hazel Wood Waterman did not begin her study of architecture until 1903 when her husband died. Left alone to raise three children, Waterman took a position as an employee in Irving Gill's firm. Recognizing her talent, Gill mentored her, and within three years, she had opened her own architectural firm.¹¹⁰ Waterman's most notable undertaking, financed by John D. Spreckels, came in 1910 and involved the renovation of Casa de Estudillo in Old Town. The Casa de Estudillo, completed in 1829, was the oldest and most important of the adobe structures in Old Town.¹¹¹ Popularized by the 1884 novel *Ramona*, rumors spread that the Casa de Estudillo served as Helen Hunt's Jackson's inspiration for the marriage of the fictional Ramona. Spreckels believed that the desirability to see the marriage site of Ramona far outweighed the importance of every detail in the renovation itself, so even though Waterman was painstaking in her overall approach, the Casa de Estudillo became mired in myth. The 1915 Panama California Exposition provided the chance to take advantage of the *Ramona* mythology,

¹⁰⁹ Ibid.

¹¹⁰ Walsh, Victor A., "Una Casa del Pueblo – A Town Home of Old San Diego," *The Journal of San Diego History* 50, no. 1 & 2 (Winter/Spring 2004): 6.

¹¹¹ Ibid., 2. Built in 1829, eight years after Spanish rule ended, the Casa was the home of Mexican-born Lieutenant Jose Antonio Estudillo. In the early years of his position at San Diego, Estudillo backed the Mexican government's policy of secularization, and he openly advocated for stronger control of the area by Mexico.

and Exposition planners even advertised the Casa de Estudillo to visitors as “*Ramona’s Marriage Place*.”¹¹² Spreckel’s plan worked well and visitor’s to *Ramona’s Marriage Place* did add tourist revenue during the Exposition. Further, the Casa de Estudillo renovation, along with the *Ramona* stories, shaped the identity of Old Town in ways that served to authenticate myth and downplayed Mexican heritage.

Waterman never became a licensed architect, but the restoration of the Casa empowered her to continue working, and she designed several more buildings and homes throughout San Diego. More importantly she became a significant member of a creative and imaginative group of civic leaders and city-builders who collectively acted to transform San Diego from a frontier town to a twentieth-century city.

The individuals presented here formed the nucleus of a civic network, and they embody the core of social and human capital in San Diego after 1890. Although their names appear individually at many of the historic sites, and within the discussions of specific historic preservation issues in this study, the vitality of their combined efforts guided their individual accomplishments. In turn, their efforts inspired the participation of thousands of other citizens. Collectively, they also found ways to attract businesses, new residents, and visitors, and they began the process of preserving San Diego’s history. The aggregate strength of this group working together as they did, created the environment for San Diego to succeed. In a town the size of San Diego, the endeavors of any of these persons on their own stood little chance of transforming the city. The culmination of their work set in motion the success borne of a seemingly foolish idea

¹¹² Thornton, Sally, “Hazel Wood Waterman,” in *Toward a Simpler Way of Life: The Arts and Crafts Architects of California*, ed. Robert Winter (Berkeley, CA.: University of California Press, 1997), 221.

that, despite a population of 35, 978, San Diego was ready to host millions of visitors to an international exposition¹¹³.

1915: The Panama California Exposition

The importance of the 1915 Panama California Exposition to San Diego history is well documented.¹¹⁴ The opening of the Panama Canal fueled the initial impulse to plan an exposition because of the geographic benefit that San Diego had in being the closest American port on the Pacific side of the canal. Hosting an exposition to correlate with the opening of the canal was a remarkably ambitious idea, and San Diego would be the smallest city to host an international exposition.¹¹⁵ San Diegans did not lack self-confidence, and proponents of the exposition idea demonstrated their willingness to take significant risks in order to promote their city. They hinged their hopes on the belief that San Diego stood to gain recognition, and attract both new business and residents. Further, they were convinced that could use the exposition to fuel growth, and build their economy across many fronts.

San Francisco, with a population of over 400,000, was planning to host the Panama-Pacific International Exposition in 1915, and also hoping to reap financial benefits from the completion of the Panama Canal. Outraged with the upstart San

¹¹³ Thirteenth Census of the United States, 1910.

¹¹⁴ Richard Amero Collection. MS76. San Diego History Center. Amero produced the bulk of research and scholarship of the Panama-California Exposition.

¹¹⁵ David Marshall, *San Diego's Balboa Park* (San Francisco: Arcadia Publishing, 2007), 7.

Diegans, San Francisco planners fought all the way to Congress to prevent the San Diego exposition.¹¹⁶ Congress refused to approve the plans in San Diego in 1911, and President Taft showed his personal preference for the San Francisco exposition when he authorized exposition invitations to go out to all foreign nations, but inviting them only to the San Francisco fair.¹¹⁷ Without Congressional approval, international exhibition planners did not have the permission to invite foreign nations so for a while the San Diego plans appeared destined for failure.

William Kettner's election to Congress in 1912 gave San Diego a strong voice in Washington, D.C. In the years leading up to 1912, Kettner's work in San Diego as head of the reception committees to the Navy, had positioned him well to advocate for San Diego's suitability to be the home port for the Pacific Fleet.¹¹⁸ In addition to Kettner's reputation with the Navy, he had also cultivated a friendship with Secretary of the Navy Franklin Roosevelt.¹¹⁹ Further, Kettner, a Democrat and freshmen Congressman, distinguished himself to the newly-elected Democratic Woodrow Wilson by delivering

¹¹⁶ Richard Amero, "The Making of Panama-California Exposition, 1909-1912," *The Journal of San Diego History* 36, no 1 (Winter 1990): <http://www.sandiegohistory.org/journal/90winter/index.htm> (accessed November 18, 2010).

¹¹⁷ *Ibid.* Amero argues that despite several voter-approved bonds, the personal commitment of John Spreckels to finance part of the fair, and a \$1 million bond approved by voters to prepare Balboa Park, politics and the upcoming 1912 election caused Taft to throw his support to San Francisco as a means of securing the support of the heavily populated city in the Presidential election.

¹¹⁸ Kevin Starr, *The Dream Endures: California Enters the 1940s* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1997), 111.

¹¹⁹ Amero, "The Making of the Panama-California Exposition, 1909-1912."

San Diego County's votes to Wilson in the 1912 presidential election.¹²⁰ In fact, most of the southernmost counties in the state were carried by Roosevelt, leaving San Diego surrounded by counties won by Roosevelt.¹²¹ Although a close race in California, Roosevelt carried the state and California's 13 electoral votes went to Roosevelt.¹²² Successful in bringing San Diego first to the attention of the Navy, and then to the new President of the United States, William Kettner next set his sights on winning approval for the exposition being planned in San Diego. Within months of taking office, Kettner had Woodrow Wilson's signature approving the San Diego's exposition plans.¹²³

San Diego had just three years to prepare for the opening of the exposition. Their plans included a run of the fair for two years, and they hoped to attract millions of visitors.¹²⁴ In their development of the exposition, San Diegans departed from the themes and exhibits seen in previous world's fairs, and also made sure that their plans differed from the fair in San Francisco. They departed from Greek, Roman or classical inspired buildings and instead prioritized Mission era, Spanish baroque and pueblo styles to the

¹²⁰ Ibid. In the complex election of 1912, Teddy Roosevelt, the Bull Moose candidate, carried the state of California and won the state's 13 electoral votes.

¹²¹ U.S. Electoral College. 1912 Election for the Thirty-Second Term. National Archives and Records Administration. http://www.archives.gov/federalregister/electoralcollege/votes/1905_1909.html#1912. (accessed Dec 2, 2010) Roosevelt and Wilson were separated by less than 1% of the total vote in California

¹²² Ibid.

¹²³ Ibid.

¹²⁴ Amero, Chapter Six. The first year of the exposition boasted 2,050,030 paid admissions and the second year recorded 1,697,886 paid admissions.

fair.¹²⁵ Further, they focused on opportunity and believed that their exposition highlighted the opportunities available in California but more importantly in San Diego. Finally, as tensions in Europe escalated after 1911, the emphasis on the American Southwest, and its Spanish and native heritage, played well in a political and social climate that was increasingly becoming anti-European. Since WWI began in Europe less than a year before the exposition opened, the forethought in shifting away from the exhibit designs of earlier expositions proved prophetic. The expositions in both San Francisco and San Diego benefited from the “See America First” campaign that had popularized the notion of Americans spending their recreational dollars and time in the United States.¹²⁶

Although the exposition barely made a profit, the Panama-California Exposition proved valuable to San Diego in a number of other important areas.¹²⁷ First, the city attracted attention worldwide than even San Diegans had hoped for in the beginning. Next, coupled with the influence of Kettner in Congress, the exposition served as a critical first step in the Navy’s consideration of San Diego as an important base for military operations. In 1919, the Pacific Fleet became a reality. Third, between 1920 and

¹²⁵ Bokovoy, 82.

¹²⁶ *Railway Age Gazette*, Quarterly Volume, 53, no 15 (Jul 1, 1912 – December 31, 1912), 682. The “See America First” slogan is most often attributed to Colorado Governor Adams who resented elite Americans spending money on tours of Europe, saying “See Europe if you will, but see America First.” Later the slogan was seized upon by promoters of the West and by 1906 a See America First League formed in Salt Lake City; soon after Western railways began using the slogan for advertising. European tensions, increased attacks on ships en route to Europe increased the fervor of Western promoters to encourage American s to come west.

¹²⁷ Amero, Richard, *Panama California Exposition: A History of the Exposition*, Chapter Seven. <http://www.sandiegohistory.org/pancal/sdexpo99.htm#people> (accessed November 15, 2010).

1930, the city's population doubled from 74,683 to 147,995.¹²⁸ Next, unlike other expositions, many of the buildings constructed for the exposition in San Diego were intentionally designed to be permanent. The combination of planning for a single exposition while also thinking about how the space fit into the future of San Diego demonstrated the desire to maintain Balboa Park as a focal point in the landscape of San Diego, just as the original planners of the park intended forty decades earlier.

In terms of actual fiscal impact, the exposition produced physical changes to the city in dramatic ways. Amero found the post-exhibition civic enhancements demonstrated a long term reward to the city. He found that "the Exposition cost about \$3,000,000 but also left San Diego with about \$2,000,000 in physical improvements -- buildings, landscaping, roadways and infrastructure. Visitors became acquainted with the resources of the Southwest, and the exposition stimulated investment and settlement. In addition, the exposition brought famous people to San Diego, and it also set new standards in architecture and city planning. Further, the exposition promoted San Diego as a center for archaeological and anthropological exhibits."¹²⁹

Matthew Bokovoy points to the creation of cultural institutions in Balboa Park as the exposition's greatest legacy.¹³⁰ Along with the preservation of the buildings and the

¹²⁸ Population Schedules of the Fourteenth (1920) and Fifteenth (1930) Census of the United States..

¹²⁹ Amero, Richard, *Panama California Exposition: A History of the Exposition*, Chapter Seven: <http://www.sandiegohistory.org/pancal/sdexpo99.htm#people> (accessed November 18, 2010).

¹³⁰ Bokovoy, Matthew. *The San Diego World's Fairs and Southwestern Memory, 1880-1940* (Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 2005), 143.

development of museums post-Exposition, these efforts also marked important moments in the historic significance and preservation of Balboa Park. Bokovoy argued that “the blend of regionalism and nationalism during the Progressive Era gave egalitarian substance to the modern Spanish heritage. Historic commemoration and preservation became public expressions of the social imagination, the wishful thinking to envision a democratic future.”¹³¹ As an example, the anthropology exhibits of the exposition evolved into the Museum of Man, an institution that has developed into a highly respected center for research and education. However, the “wishful thinking” intensified as well because the attachment to Spanish heritage in San Diego also survived the exposition.

The exposition planners planned to portray a myth of unity in its representations of Indian, Mexican and, Spanish history in the Southwest and in particular, in San Diego. The resulting presentations and exhibits at the fair instead reinforced and re-imagined Spanish colonial past in California. Bokovoy argued that the creation of this myth may not have been a product of intentional omission or racism but rather from the lofty goals of fair promoters who believed that their ideals represented the social ideals of the time.¹³² The celebration of Spanish heritage appeared in the planning and writing about the exposition as opening day approached. Whatever the convictions of the planners might have been, the 1915 Panama-California Exposition laid the foundation for the prioritizing of Spanish heritage over both Mexican and Indian narratives. A second fair,

¹³¹ *Ibid.*, 225.

¹³² *Ibid.*, xviii.

the California-Pacific International Exposition of 1935 reaffirmed the mythical Spanish heritage created by the first exposition. By WWII, the history of San Diego presented publicly began to display problems with authenticity, highlighted the Spanish past, and this selectivity also led to historical omissions.

Another key outcome of the 1915 Panama California Exposition had to do with the city's political future. Divisions already existed among civic leaders over whether San Diego ought to build itself into an industrial city similar to Los Angeles or focus on its tourist and recreational potential. After the exposition, these rifts found their way to the ballot box. The 1917 'Smokestacks and Geraniums' election for Mayor pitted George Marston, labeled by his opponent as "Geranium George," against Louis Wilde, a believer in "smokestacks" and industry as the best investments for San Diego's economic future. Although Wilde won, he failed to achieve most of his industry-related goals during either of his two terms. Wilde eventually left San Diego altogether. Kevin Starr described Wilde's demise this way: "for a mayor of San Diego to move to Los Angeles was like Benedict Arnold going over to the British," because "by the 1920's, San Diego had developed a full-blown obsession with Los Angeles as a city representing everything it did not want to become."¹³³

Because San Diego's beauty and aesthetic features competed with industrialization, growth, and economic issues, the term "smokestacks and geraniums" took on a life of its own. The reference to "smokestacks and geraniums" reappears frequently when planners, preservationists and residents disagree over redevelopment or

¹³³ Kevin Starr, *The Dream Endures*, 109.

historic preservation projects. Richard Amero concluded, “the 1917 mayoralty campaign, therefore, anticipated future struggles between the advocates of growth and those of quality control.”¹³⁴

The years between 1867 and 1917, and particularly after 1890, were crucial in the development of San Diego. The events, and people, of these important decades continue to inspire city planners, architects and designers in San Diego. As shown in later chapters, those persons involved in historic preservation projects after World War II also looked back to this time in San Diego’s history for answers and for inspiration. Of course, questions of authenticity and the emergence of fantasized notions of San Diego’s history formed early on and dramatically affected the presentation of the past to the public. Later chapters in this study explore how those differences eventually led to debate and discord in San Diego.

1918 to 1941: San Diego Begins to Come of Age

Local and international events added fuel to the growth in San Diego begun by the 1915 Exposition. Kevin Starr humorously summed up San Diego’s response to the “smokestacks and geraniums” debate, and argued that in 1918 “to prevent such Los Angelesization, and yet ensure a proper balance of smokestacks and geraniums, and hence to experience growth while remaining a privileged urban enclave, San Diego up

¹³⁴ Richard Amero, “Geraniums vs. Smokestacks San Diego's Mayoralty Campaign of 1917,” *The San Diego Journal of History* 21, no 3 (Summer 1975): <https://www.sandiegohistory.org/journal/75summer/geraniums.htm> (accessed November 15, 2010).

and joined the Navy.”¹³⁵ True enough, by 1919 the Pacific Fleet had begun operations and in 1922 Naval Hospital opened. By 1923, construction of both Naval Training Center (NTC) and the Marine Corps Recruit Depot (MCRD) got underway. Defense contractors such as Reuben H. Fleet and his company Convair, known then as Consolidated Aircraft, began operating in the 1930s and by the end of the decade, construction started on Miramar Naval Air Station a few miles north of downtown San Diego.

Opportunities to promote the city came by way of other kinds of nationally important events as well. For example, San Diego also drew attention when Charles Lindbergh began his historic flight in the *Spirit of St. Louis* from San Diego in 1927. A year later, a new airport opened and honored the solo flier by dedicating the airport with the name Lindbergh Field. The naming of the airport had as much to do with honoring Lindbergh as it did in establishing San Diego’s place in the historic moment of Lindbergh’s flight.

By 1930, the city’s population exploded to 147,995, and the downtown area included businesses, many theaters, and hotels.¹³⁶ A distinct African American culture developed in the downtown area which came to be called the “Harlem of the West.”¹³⁷ Also during the 1930s, the Natural History Museum opened in Balboa Park, the Civic Center opened along Harbor Drive, and professional sports came to San Diego with the

¹³⁵ Starr, *The Dream Endures*, 109.

¹³⁶ Population growth before WWII occurred without the expansion of the geographical boundaries of the city. Physical annexation did not occur in San Diego until after WWII.

¹³⁷ Some disagreement exists as to whether San Diego or San Francisco – or even Chicago – first adopted the term “Harlem of the West.” For this study, I use the term as it used and presented by the Black Historical of San Diego who also acknowledge that the term does not seem to belong to only city. A website devoted to this era in San Diego can be found at: <http://www.harlemofthewest.com/> (accessed November 15, 2010).

San Diego Padres in 1936. The New Deal years created jobs and added important structures. For example, New Deal programs and funds from the Works Progress Administration (WPA) helped to build the Old Globe Theater, the Del Mar Fairgrounds and San Diego State College (today called San Diego State University). The WPA also helped to fund and expand the San Diego Zoo that had been steadily growing since the 1915 Exposition. Another benefit to San Diego, and again by way of chance, was the timing of the New Deal programs. WPA money became available when decisions needed to be made about which buildings left from the 1915 exposition would be preserved or demolished. New Deal support helped to make civic improvements, and to prepare Balboa Park for a second fair in 1935, the California Pacific Exposition.

Scheduled to run for only one year, the 1935 California-Pacific Exposition planners divided the year into two seasons. Like the 1915 exposition, the fair in 1935 produced millions of dollars in physical improvements to the park and attracted seven million visitors, over twice the number from 1915. Fair planners sought to increase the visibility and boast the potential of San Diego for business, overall lifestyle and to highlight the city's benefits to the military and for tourism. The Spanish Revival theme adorned the buildings and planners selected a wider theme of "progress" in order to demonstrate their belief in a strong future in San Diego and throughout the Southwest.¹³⁸ Since the exposition planners made us of two short seasons, they used the time between seasons to make adjustments and changes.

¹³⁸ Bokovoy, 165.

Notable differences distinguished the 1915 and 1935 exposition. For one, the 1935 fair placed its greatest emphasis on the future of San Diego and Southwest heritage, while prominent, took a back seat. Matthew Bokovoy argued that “the 1915 exposition had created national fascination for the memory and heritage of the Greater Southwest” whereas in the 1935 fair, “visitors would be treated to visions of the consumer social order fashioned by corporate America and the New Deal.”¹³⁹ Both fairs contributed to the mythical presentations of a “fantasy Spanish heritage,” but the 1935 fair focused on the future of the San Diego in ways that the 1915 fair did not. While the 1915 exposition hoped for and encouraged visitors to consider California as a place to live, the second fair promoted California as the future of the nation economically and in technology.

The 1935 exposition also resulted in the development of a moral and social agenda that defined San Diego for decades to come. The bawdy and controversial exhibits offered in the 1935 fair sparked outrage and fueled a moral debate. Finally, anti-Mexican sentiments were more pronounced, and preference to European, particularly Spanish, heritage became even more noticeable than they had been in 1915. Ultimately, as disputes over the moral and social messages in exhibits came to an end, the conservative voices prevailed, and “middle-class values, white entitlement, and Protestant piety defined the culture of abundance in California.”¹⁴⁰

The New Deal projects in San Diego, and the 1935 fair transformed San Diego into a predominantly white and politically conservative region, and helped to create jobs

¹³⁹ Ibid., 164.

¹⁴⁰ Ibid., 221.

in the military, public and private sectors. Another surge in population defined the 1930s and, by 1940, the city's population more than doubled from 74,000 to just over 200,000 people.¹⁴¹ The New Deal and the 1935 California-Pacific Exposition further reinforced San Diego's mythical Spanish heritage and more importantly, the decade left San Diego with social divisions based on ethnicity, race, and class.

By 1940, public interest began to wane from hosting fairs or dealing solely with local issues. The war in Europe and the rapidly expanding military operations in San Diego foreshadowed the possibility of the United States entering into the European war. During 1940 alone the population in San Diego grew by 100,000 people due to the influx of military service members and the requisite civilian support personnel.¹⁴² Throughout 1941, the population continued to grow as the military installations grew, and city services strained to accommodate them all. When the morning of December 7, 1941 came, San Diego was as ready as it could reasonably be for what lay ahead.

¹⁴¹ Population Schedule from the Sixteenth Census of the United States Census, 1940.

¹⁴² *Ibid.* The population in summer, 1941 was near 300,000 and the population would stay above 300,000 throughout the war. Some estimate that along with temporary residents during 1943 and 1944 there were at times up to one-half million living in San Diego.

CHAPTER 2

WORLD WAR II AND POST WAR TRANSFORMATIONS

WWII fueled growth and economic gains in San Diego. Between 1941 and 1970, the city's population more than tripled. In the three decades following 1970 the population doubled from 696,769 to just over 1.2 million by century's end when San Diego became the seventh largest city in the United States, and by 1980 was the second largest city in California.¹

However, population growth alone does not tell the story of a city's development. Along with population, the actual municipal land size in post war San Diego more than tripled from 99 square miles in 1950 to 342 square miles by 2000.² The post war patterns of growth in San Diego were similar to those of other Sunbelt cities such as Phoenix and Houston where populations soared after WWII, and vigorous annexation programs also resulted in dramatic increases in land size.³ Also, as in some other Sunbelt

¹ United States Census. Historical Census Browser. University of Virginia, Geospatial and Statistical Data Center: <http://fisher.lib.virginia.edu/collections/stats/histcensus/index.html>. In 1960 the county population in San Diego surpassed a million people for the first time with a population at that time of 1,033,011. Los Angeles had been in the top five largest cities in the United States since 1930 but in terms of percentage growth post-WWII, San Diego surged while Los Angeles demonstrated a steadier pattern of growth over time. In the 1930 census, San Francisco fell behind Los Angeles for the first time and dropped below the population of San Diego by 1980. Unlike Los Angeles and San Diego, the population in San Francisco remained relatively constant after 1940, increasing by less than 25 percent over 60 years.

² Historical Census Browser. University of Virginia, Geospatial and Statistical Data Center: <http://fisher.lib.virginia.edu/collections/stats/histcensus/index.html>.

³ Raymond Mohl, *The Making of Urban America*, 2nd edition (Lanham, MD.: Rowe & Littlefield, 1997), 347.

cities, the economy in San Diego developed from the presence of the military and defense contractors, and from concerted efforts to build large-scale tourist venues. Finally, like many cities in the United States after the war, city leaders in San Diego hoped to attract big retail operations and shopping malls.⁴

These dramatic increases in both population and land size raise several questions about the causes and consequences of this shift. Who came to San Diego after the war and why? How did the characteristics of the city change? Besides the military's expanded presence in the area, what factors account for the substantial increase in population? Finally, what was the connection between population and physical expansion of the city? How did growth pressures change the nature of the city, and affect the decisions of government officials, planners, developers, and residents? These questions must be answered in order to understand how post war transformations influenced the evolution of city planning, civic identity, and historic preservation in San Diego through the 1990s.

This chapter explores how World War Two started significant changes in the physical size, population, demographics, and economy of San Diego. In addition, with more people and a larger city to manage, the post war era forced city leaders, planners, and developers to make hard decisions about the value of growth and to what extent it should be shaped and or controlled. Finally, state and federal legislation in historic preservation created a move towards professional management of historic sites and more active roles for preservationists in urban redevelopment. Growth outward, redevelopment, and downtown revitalization programs redefined civic identity in San

⁴ Ibid.

Diego, and as that identity changed so, too, did the city's relationship with its own heritage and with the past.

WWII and the Military in San Diego

WWII did not introduce a new military presence in San Diego because the city already existed as a Navy town twenty years before the war. Between 1920 and 1939 in San Diego, "the press, city government, Harbor Commission, civic clubs, labor unions, political parties, and public stood solidly behind the courting of the Navy" and "seldom did the civilian San Diego seriously question the outsized presence of the Navy in their community."⁵ San Diego's relationship with the military during the interwar years developed primarily from optimistic civic boosters and effective politicians who successfully advocated for the city.⁶ The two most important achievements came in the late 1930s. First, the federally-financed dredging and preparation of the harbor was underway, and second Reuben H. Fleet relocated his company, Consolidated Aircraft to San Diego.⁷ Even before the war began, Consolidated Aircraft, working almost exclusively on military contracts, became the largest manufacturer, and civilian

⁵ Lotchin, Roger, *Fortress California 1910-1961: From Warfare to Welfare* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1992), 35.

⁶ *Ibid.*, 41.

⁷ Abraham Shragge, "A New Federal City: San Diego during WWII," *Pacific Historical Review* 63, no 3 (August, 1994), 341.

employer, in San Diego.⁸ Thus, WWII represented the continuation of civic efforts after 1920 designed specifically to win the favor of the federal government and the Navy.

Roger Lotchin described the relationship between many California cities and the military during, and after WWII as being far more complex than simply a “military-industrial” partnership. Instead, he posited that the cities themselves saw federal money and resources as tools. Cities competed for federal benefits first and foremost to advance their own growth, politics, and agendas, and San Diego received more federal war contract dollars per capita than any other California city.⁹ The focus for most of these dollars remained along the harbor in support of ships, and to build military training facilities. Federal monies also fueled civilian jobs, and contributed to the funding of some expanded municipal services.

As new jobs drew thousands of new residents to the city after 1941, a lack of housing quickly became one of the most pressing issues in San Diego. City leaders chose not to prioritize the building of low-income or new housing for incoming military personnel.¹⁰ So, the federal government acted on its own to address the housing shortage in San Diego.¹¹ Linda Vista, just north of the city, was the largest of the wartime housing

⁸ Ibid., 342.

⁹ Lotchin, Roger, *The Bad City in the Good War: San Francisco, Los Angeles, Oakland and San Diego* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 2003), 156.

¹⁰ Abraham Shragge, “A New Federal City: San Diego during WWII,” *Pacific Historical Review* 63, no 3 (August, 1994), 345.

¹¹ Ibid.

projects.¹² Costing over 9 million dollars, Linda Vista opened in 1941 with a goal to house over 13,000 residents.¹³ However efficient in its ability to house service personnel, the federal government failed to consider the need for stores, services, and schools, and in the rush to finish the project, the durability of the units was not considered.¹⁴ Also, the construction process did not even invite the input of city leaders or planners, ignored the municipal permit process, and did not make reimbursements to the city for services or schools.¹⁵ Linda Vista produced tension, for the first time, between city leaders and the military over the roles and responsibilities they each played in military and wartime projects.

Despite the complications of housing during the war, post war San Diegans embraced what Lotchin calls the “metropolitan military” complex.¹⁶ At its core, the cities characteristic of the “metropolitan-military” complex “were vigorously metropolitan rather than national, and they competed with each other impetuously for the spoils of

¹² Christine Killory, “Temporary Suburbs: The Lost Opportunity of San Diego’s National Defense Housing Projects,” in *The Journal of San Diego History* 39, no 1 & 2 (Spring, 1993): <http://www.sandiegohistory.org/journal/93spring/index.htm> (accessed January 6, 2011).

¹³ Ibid.

¹⁴ Ibid. Killory describes the regulations set in the Lanham Defense Housing Act of 1940 that mandated that housing units post war be sold or demolished. Therefore, post war uses of these housing projects by the military, or by local municipalities, were not typically a part of the construction planning.

¹⁵ Abraham Shragge, 345.

¹⁶ Lotchin, *Fortress California*, 298.

war.”¹⁷ The “metropolitan-military” complex always involved the elites of business, politics, science, and labor unions but also required the participation of non-elites and “nowhere did this support of the ‘little people’ reveal itself more dramatically than in San Diego.”¹⁸

Support of military expansion in the city, begun long before WWII, continued after the war, and with increasing numbers of new residents, and land annexed for military use, the city of San Diego began to physically grow beyond its 99 square mile perimeter for the first time in the 20th century. Public backing of the military continued throughout the post war year, even embedding itself into the historical consciousness of the city, as evidenced by citizen letters to the government, written by ordinary citizens, any time a threat of military cutbacks occurred in San Diego.¹⁹ In passionate pleas for continuation of programs or the awarding of contracts, citizens writing these letters pointed to their personal ties to both San Diego and the military as relationships that defined their lives. Lotchin concluded that San Diegans “were not manipulated by some greedy elite, but rather were willing participants in the creation of a fortress city.”²⁰

Yet, the relationship between city leaders, the military, and residents did not exist without tension. A complex interdependence developed between the city, the military, and residents. And the voting patterns of the residents did not always show them to be

¹⁷ Ibid., 2.

¹⁸ Ibid, 298.

¹⁹ Ibid., 297-299.

²⁰ Ibid., 300.

consistent “willing participants.”²¹ Immediately after the war, city leaders and planners returned to tourism and recreation as equally important economic sectors, and undertook entirely new ventures into knowledge and research-based economic possibilities. One historian found San Diegans to be “baffling,” and even “schizophrenic,” when it came to how much, or how little, they really wanted to be a military town.²² Yet the military, and other federal projects, remained primary factors in the economy, and the physical growth of San Diego during the post war years.

Physical Growth, 1950-2000

The actual land size of San Diego throughout the first half of the twentieth century did not change. In spite of the land boom of the 1880s, the expansion of Balboa Park for the 1915 Exposition, and WWI military gains with the Navy, the city of San Diego existed as a municipality of just 99 square miles in 1917, and remained so through WWII. Instead of growth on the periphery, civic developments between 1900 and 1945 focused around the expansion of the harbor, the business district in downtown, and in supporting the increased presence of the Navy. The majority of government, business, and retail operations concentrated in the center city area located adjacent to the harbor, stretching east on Broadway Blvd.

²¹ Ibid.

²² Anthony M. Corso, “San Diego: The Anti-City,” in *Sunbelt Cities: Politics and Growth Since World War II*, eds. Richard Bernard and Bradley Rice (Austin: University of Texas Press, 1983), 334.

By 1928, even though the size of the city had not changed, development along the harbor by the Navy was well underway. (Figure 2.1) The additions of the Naval Training Center site, a Marine base, a few more major roads, and the plans for more Navy installations on Coronado, changed the physical layout of the marina, parts of the surrounding area, and created jobs

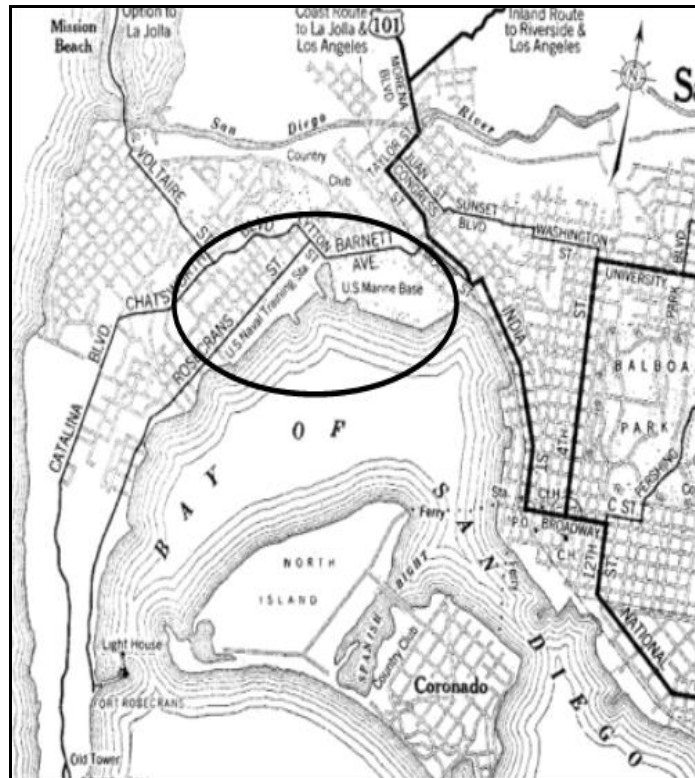


Figure 2.1: San Diego, 1928. Modified by author to indicate Naval Training Center site & U.S. Marine Base (California State Map)

Between 1928 and the WWII years, military presence expanded in San Diego and Naval Training Center and other military installations began operations. The war years in San Diego also produced factory and manufacturing jobs, primarily in the downtown area, but no extension of the city limits occurred during the war.

The physical expansion of San Diego began in the late 1940s, and by the mid-1960s, the corporate limits of the city expanded from 99 square miles to just over 300 square miles. (Figure 2.2)

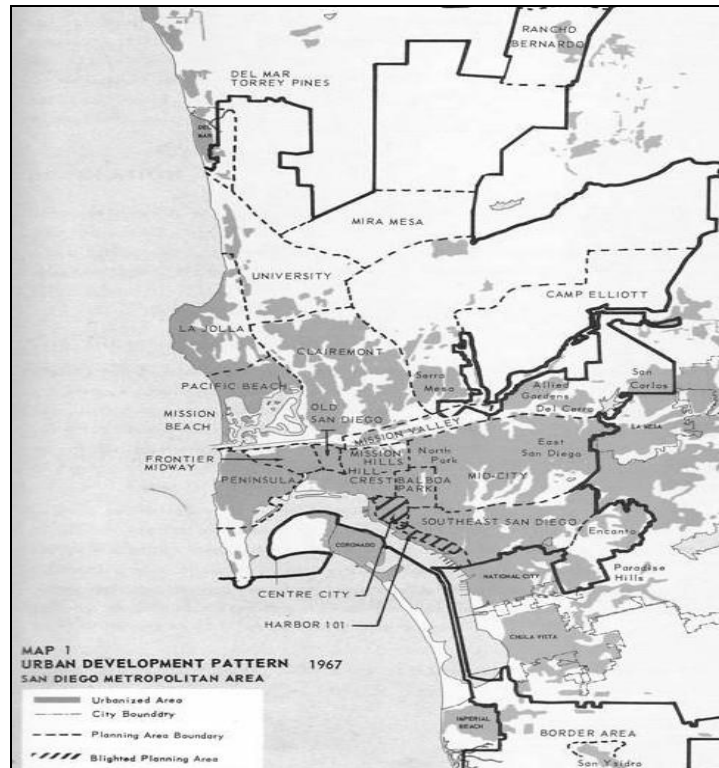


Figure 2.2: Map 1, Urban Development Pattern, San Diego, 1967 (*Progress Guide and General Plan for the City of San Diego, 1967*)

The rapid increase in physical size in San Diego after the war was quite different from that of Los Angeles which had already spread out to over 450 square miles by 1950.¹ San Diego experienced the majority of its physical expansion outwards after 1950. Until 1970, the pace of physical expansion in San Diego did bear similarity to other Sunbelt cities in west. (Figure 2.3)

¹ Post war growth in San Diego had more similarity to Phoenix than it did to any California city. The population in Phoenix also surged from 106,818 in 1950 to just over 1.3 million in 2000 and like San Diego, the Phoenix metropolitan area expanded from 17 square miles in 1950 to 473 square miles in 2000. United States Census Bureau. Historical Census Browser. University of Virginia, Geospatial and Statistical Data Center and Census Bureau 2000 Quick Facts.

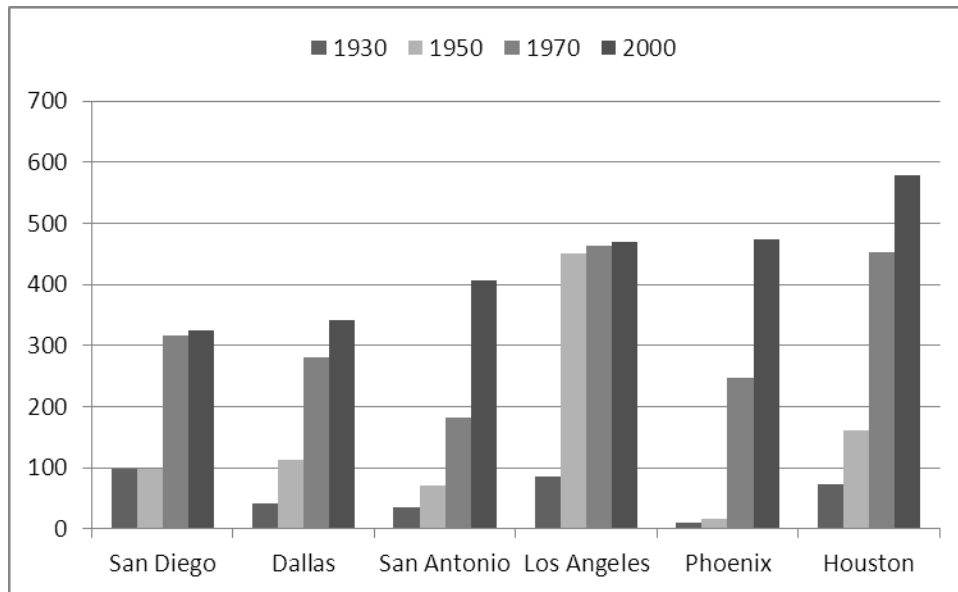


Figure 2.3: Size in Square Miles of Selected Sunbelt Cities.²

However, unlike many Sunbelt cities, physical expansion by annexation in San Diego reached its peak by 1970, adding only a few square miles after that point. As early as 1964, the framers of the first post war city planning guide for San Diego, recognized the disparities in how land was being annexed and, more importantly, how the land was being used. They noted that after so much annexation, less than 45 percent of the land was in development.³ Moreover, the planners were concerned that military bases and installations occupied the other

² For comparative and verification purposes, several sources used for this data: United States Census. Also, Kenneth Jackson, *Crabgrass Frontier: Suburbanization of the United States* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1987), 139. Also, “Annexation Policy Study”, City of Phoenix Planning Department (1988), 92-94.

³ *Progress Guide and General Plan for the City of San Diego*, 11.

half of annexed land that was in development, categorized as “public and semi-public land.”⁴ Planners found the land use by military bases and installations to be “enormously disproportionate” with other kinds of development such as residential and commercial.⁵

The final recommendations of the city planners called for an avoidance of further sprawl and “scatteration” of neighborhoods around the city’s periphery so as to avoid the “creation of isolated, noncontiguous communities dependent upon the uneconomical and premature extension of governmental facilities and services for great distances.”⁶ When the Progress Guide and General Plan for the City of San Diego finally appeared in print in 1967, a few “isolated and noncontiguous communities” already existed, and the discontent of residents in those communities impacted politics, and planning, in San Diego for the next decade.

The existence of wetlands and coastal areas surrounding San Diego, and new environmental legislation of the 1970s protected some of the annexed land from development.⁷ Highway construction and the expansion of transportation systems, begun in the 1960s, continued over the next ten years, but many of those projects also ran into legal problems with environmental protection limitations, and drew opposition from residents who became increasingly sensitive to

⁴ Ibid.

⁵ Ibid.

⁶ Ibid., 72.

⁷ Richard Hogan, *The Failure of Planning*, 55.

environmental concerns.⁸ Despite the environmental obstacles, the lion's share of new suburbs began forming in the 1970s, only adding to the list of "isolated and noncontiguous communities" that had worried planners nearly a decade before.⁹

As each new suburban community grew, differing levels of highway access, shopping centers, support for schools, and impacts of environmental limitations also emerged. Although population growth in San Diego continued in the 1970s, the pace slowed, and housing-unit growth began to exceed the rate of population growth.¹⁰ In addition, a wide range of median incomes separated these suburbs. Income disparities resulted in significant differences in how much each new community, even those with active civic boosters, could support their own interests and programs.

In all, following the land annexation of the 1950s and 1960s in San Diego, suburban growth occurred unevenly and produced a cluster of small neighborhoods and towns around the city that had little in common with each other, and even less in common with residents in city center. Further, planners had emphasized the building of adequate highways into the area first, before other kinds of commercial and residential services. Thus, citizen dissatisfaction grew

⁸ Ibid.

⁹ Ibid.

¹⁰ Ibid., 56.

along with the demand for services.¹¹ By the early 1970s, a strong anti-growth sentiment developed among San Diegans.

This explosive suburban growth in SD was matched, in a manner similar to what occurred throughout the country, by a significant decline in the downtown. The increase in automobile ownership and the improvement of highways empowered those with middle and upper incomes to live farther from the city centers. Also, the decline of downtown areas across the country in the 1960s was often linked to the migration of southern Blacks, along with other minorities, into a city, and the subsequent moving out by whites.¹² The suburbs around most major cities offered services and retail stores, reducing the need and desire of suburbanites to go downtown.¹³ In addition, federal housing programs across the nation, along with banking and mortgage practices, favored the expansion of suburbs and home-building in the suburbs.¹⁴ With regard to automobiles, highways, and income levels, the reasons for the decline of downtown San Diego in the 1950s mirrored those in major American cities. But there were differences as well.

¹¹ Ibid., 41.

¹² Robert Fogelson, *Downtown: Its Rise and Fall, 1880-1950* (New Haven, CT.: Yale University Press, 2001), 396.

¹³ Ibid.

¹⁴ Kenneth Jackson, *Crabgrass Frontier: Suburbanization of the United States* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1987), 216-217.

In 1950, downtown San Diego consisted of just two square miles, and had a residential population of only 20,333 people.¹⁵ Most of those residents already lived on the edges of the downtown perimeter and not in the central core.¹⁶ Further, with very few single family housing units in the downtown in the post war era, as the population in San Diego grew, few options existed to live in downtown.¹⁷ As new residents arrived, the areas outside downtown grew and income level had a direct impact on how far from the downtown new residents could live.

So in post war San Diego, the suburbs did not emerge primarily as products of white flight or as a response to an influx of minorities. However, despite that difference from other major cities, a similar outcome resulted, as racial and class disparities widened between downtown San Diego and outlying areas. Between 1950 and 1970, as occurred in metropolitan regions nationwide, San Diego followed a residential pattern in which the lower income neighborhoods and towns grew closest to downtown, and as the distance from downtown increased, so did the median household incomes.¹⁸

Downtown merchants in San Diego, many of them with longtime family-owned businesses, began organizing in an effort to keep the downtown retail

¹⁵ Larry Ford, *Metropolitan San Diego* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2005), 111.

¹⁶ Ibid.

¹⁷ Ibid.

¹⁸ Jackson, *Crabgrass Frontier*, 6.

presence vibrant. “San Diegans, Inc.,” a nonprofit organization formed in 1959, consisted of many of these downtown businessmen who believed that redevelopment of the downtown was just as vital to the future of the city as highways, shopping malls, and physical growth by way of land annexation.¹⁹ The work done by San Diegans, Inc. resulted in several successful projects even though, in the long run, the actual redevelopment of downtown did not begin until more than a decade later.

After securing private funding and investors, San Diegans, Inc. oversaw the construction of several new buildings, and the addition of a community concourse in downtown.²⁰ Able to attract investors, and adept at fundraising, San Diegans, Inc. also played a key role in helping the city to earn an “All American City” award, given for urban renewal programs, from the National Municipal League in 1963.²¹ Not all of the ideas of San Diegans, Inc. were implemented, but their advocacy for downtown did encourage many businesses to remain in center city area.²² The efforts of San Diegans, Inc. laid the groundwork for the eventual

¹⁹ Reiner M. Hof, “San Diegans, Inc.: The Formative Years, 1958-63 The Redevelopment of Downtown San Diego,” *The San Diego Journal of History* 36, no1 (Winter 1990): <http://www.sandiegohistory.org/journal/90winter/index.htm> (accessed March 30, 2011).

²⁰ Ibid.

²¹ Ibid.

²² Ibid.

passage of a formalized city planning document in 1967, and for the downtown renewal programs that began in earnest in 1972.²³

Post-war growth in San Diego, as in so many other Sunbelt cities, relied upon the military and a wide variety of federal programs that helped to attract new businesses to the city. But by the 1970s, the overall attitude towards further expansion of the city's boundaries had changed. San Diegans shifted inward with increased emphases on improving the quality of life and on receiving better residential services. City leadership and planners redirected their efforts as well, hoping to meet the demands of residents, make more effective land-use decisions, and to begin revitalizing the downtown. With problems in water delivery and transportation, and increased concerns about air and water pollution, the general sentiment in San Diego was that "bigger was not better."²⁴ The 1970s marked the end of an era of land annexation in San Diego.

A New Kind of Demographic in the City, 1950-2000

The expansion of military projects, employment opportunities with defense contractors, new business ventures, and warmer climates attracted a wide array of new residents to Sunbelt cities across the country. In addition, exposure to the cities like San Diego during the war prompted interest in relocation after the war. Between 1950 and 1960, the population in San Diego nearly doubled, from

²³ Bernard J. Frieden and Lynne B. Sagalyn, *Downtown, Inc.: How America Rebuilds Cities* (Cambridge: MIT Press, 1991), 124.

²⁴ Engstrand, *San Diego: California's Cornerstone*, 166.

334,387 to 573,224, a figure nearly three times that of the population in 1940, making it the fastest growing city in California.²⁵ By 2000, when the city numbered 1.2 million people, San Diego was a strikingly different place than it had been in 1950.²⁶ (Table 2.1) New residents of all ages and backgrounds came to San Diego, but retirees and those with high levels of technical skills or advanced degrees were particularly attracted to the city and to the Sunbelt in general.²⁷

Table 2.1: Population of Los Angeles, San Diego and San Francisco, 1950 - 2000

	1950	1960	1970	1980	1990	2000
<i>Los Angeles</i>	1,970,358	2,479,015	2,816,061	2,966,850	3,485,398	3,694,820
<i>San</i>	334,387	573,224	696,769	875,538	1,110,549	1,223,400
<i>San Francisco</i>	775,357	740,316	715,674	678,974	723,959	776,773

Source: United States Census, 1950-2000.

The significant growth experienced by San Diego had numerous consequences. Local newspaperman Richard Pourade observed that “of the 490,000 residents in San Diego in 1956, less than half of them might have been in

²⁵ Population Schedules of the Seventeenth (1950) and Eighteenth (1960) Census of the United States Census.

²⁶ Ibid.

²⁷ Carl Abbott, *The New Urban America: Growth and Politics in Sunbelt Cities* (Chapel Hill, N.C.: University of North Carolina Press, 1987), 8.

San Diego in 1940. It was now a city of strangers.”²⁸ Recalling the spirit of those who hosted the expositions of 1915 and 1935, Pourade argued that the “city of strangers” lacked the “civic cohesiveness” that once defined San Diego.²⁹ Pourade’s nostalgia for pre-war San Diego emerged from population statistics and from witnessing rapid changes in his city. But a determination of post war San Diegans as a “city of strangers” cannot be made without first examining the overall demographic shift of the city after WWII. Shifts in racial and ethnic makeup, educational attainment levels, and a consideration of increasing class division during those decades will better describe the people of post war San Diego.

As in other Sunbelt cities, the post war military and defense jobs in San Diego expanded the white middle class. For at least twenty years following WWII, San Diego remained overwhelmingly white. As the post war population grew and newcomers outnumbered long term and native San Diegans, racial and class divisions became more evident. Racial divisions became more pronounced, and ethnic minorities were increasingly restricted to particular areas by way of racial covenants.³⁰ Even though restrictive racial covenants were illegal by 1948, the practice continued throughout the 1960s, and was reinforced by mortgage

²⁸ Pourade, *City of the Dream*, Volume Seven, 107.

²⁹ Ibid.

³⁰ Larry Ford and Ernst Griffin, “The Ghettoization of Paradise,” *Geographical Review* 69, no 2 (April, 1979), 142.

lenders that “red lined” neighborhoods of color and often refused to make home loans in those areas.³¹

The 1970s became a benchmark decade of demographic change just as the decade had been with overall attitudes towards physical growth in San Diego. The population increased from 696,769 to 875,538 and the racial balance changed during the decade. The white population in San Diego dropped from 88.5 percent in 1970 to 73.83 percent in 1980, marking the first time in the city’s modern history that the white population fell below 90 percent.³² Though the percentage of the Black population grew slowly, marked increases in Asian and Mexican populations accounted for the racial shifts. (Table 2.2)

Table 2.2: Percent White, Mexican, Asian, Black Populations in San Diego 1930 - 2000

	1930	1940	1950	1960	1970	1980	1990	2000
White	96.8%	96.9%	92%	92.2%	88.9%	73.83%	65.38%	60.2%
Mexican	6.3%	n/a	4.6%	6.6%	13%	14.9%	20.5%	25.4%
“Asian alone” or Asian in Combination	.9%	1.1 %	<1%	1%	2%	4.83%	7.9%	13.4%
Black	1.8%	2.03%	3.46%	6.0%	7.6%	8.9%	6.0%	7.9%

Source: United States Census, 1930-2000.

³¹ Ibid., 143.

³² Population Schedules of the Bureau of the United States Census, 1950-1970. Some of the definitions of white, nonwhite, Hispanic, and Latino changed during the census years of 1950, 1960, and 1970, accounting for some of the shift in population identified as white.

Despite their increasing numbers, Mexicans, Asians, and Blacks did not benefit equally with whites from the post war economic gains that came into San Diego. All three first established ethnic communities downtown, and in Barrio Logan and Logan Heights, areas immediately adjacent to downtown. And each one of these groups, over time, expanded their political voices in San Diego in very different ways. (Figure 2.4)

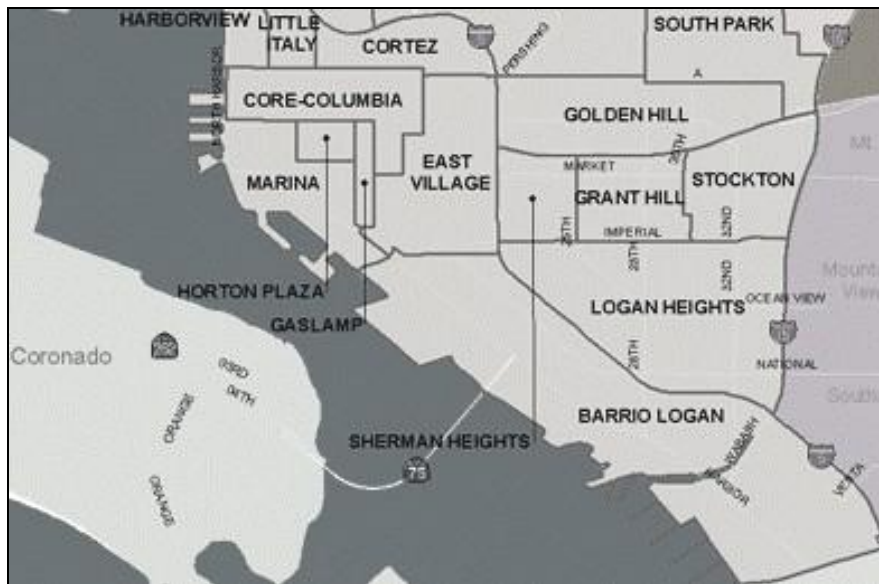


Figure 2.4: Neighborhood Map Central San Diego. San Diego City Planning Division.

Mexican Americans

Despite economic and job losses, the Mexican American population grew steadily after 1950 but they became what Kevin Starr referred to as “self-contained,” meaning that aside from activities within their own communities and the Catholic Church, they largely avoided active participation in many civic

affairs.³³ Settling mostly in Barrio Logan, east of downtown, and also in San Ysidro to the south, these neighborhoods had ready access to the shipyards and factories and provided many wartime jobs, but after the war those jobs disappeared.³⁴

Further, for the Mexican American community the memories of repatriation policies in the 1930s and discrimination in the 1940s were still fresh.³⁵ In a climate that did not necessarily overtly oppress minorities, Starr argues that minority groups in San Diego were simply “not favored.” While it is true that the city leadership did not “overtly” oppress minorities in San Diego after the war, a surge in Ku Klux Klan activity during the 1950s gave way to overt attacks on minorities and particularly on the Mexican American and immigrant communities.³⁶ Mexican Americans in particular worked to resist the KKK and attempted to prevent violence. A group of Mexican activists formed their own protective organization, the *Hermanidad Mexicana Nacional* (Mexican National Brotherhood).³⁷ The *Hermanidad* focused their efforts within the Mexican

³³ Starr, *Golden Dreams*, 74.

³⁴ Ibid. At one time Logan Heights and Barrio Logan were considered one neighborhood but the completion of Interstate 5 in 1963 divided Logan Heights from Barrio Logan.

³⁵ Ibid.

³⁶ Carlos Larralde and Richard Griswold del Castillo, “San Diego's Ku Klux Klan, 1920-1980,” *The San Diego Journal of History* 46 no 2-3 (Summer 2000): <https://www.sandiegohistory.org/journal/00summer/klan.htm> (accessed April 5, 2011).

³⁷ Ibid.

community and worked to protect civil rights in areas of immigration, housing and employment. Further, they maintained vigilance on the activities of the Klan.³⁸

Remaining somewhat isolated and forming organizations intended primarily to serve and protect their own communities, residents of Mexican heritage in post war San Diego did not take active roles in civic affairs or gain positions in city leadership. However, the Mexican population grew steadily in the post war years. By 1980, the Mexican community accounted for 14.9 percent of San Diego's population and on the 2000 census, 26.69 percent of the city's population identified themselves as Hispanic.³⁹ By virtue of vigorous population growth, effective organizing within their communities, and because of civil rights legislation, by 1980 the Mexican population of San Diego possessed the tools to become a force in shaping the city, and began to live in areas throughout San Diego in addition to maintaining a strong presence in Barrio Logan.

³⁸ Ibid. The *Hermandad Mexicana Nacional*, founded in 1951 in San Diego, and still exists today. The Hermandad was one of the first organizations formed in the United States to organize and protect undocumented workers and Mexican immigrants. The origins of the *Hermandad* are chronicled by Mario Garcia in *Memories of Chicano History: The Life and Narrative of Bert Corona* (Berkeley: UC Press, 1995), 290-291.

³⁹ The Hispanic Population, Census 2000 Brief. (May 2001): 2. By 2000, the term Hispanic had been added to the Census data collection questionnaires. According to Census Bureau, of all those reporting as Hispanic in the 2000 Census, 58.5 percent further identified themselves as Mexican.

Asian Americans

Although small in number, Chinese, Japanese, and Filipino communities existed in San Diego before WWII, and lived primarily in the downtown area. Along with the Black population downtown, they were unable to overcome segregation and real estate covenant restrictions and did not move away from the downtown in large numbers until after WWII.⁴⁰ Further, Asian populations remained small in San Diego until after federal immigration law was dramatically changed by the Hart-Cellar Immigration Reform Act of 1965.⁴¹ For Asian immigrants in particular, the family reunification preferences in the Act led to a higher number of immigrants than the United States government had expected.⁴² Within ten years the influx of refugees from Southeast Asia began to add to the overall Asian population throughout California and particularly in San Diego.⁴³ Asian immigrants arrived in their highest numbers in the 1960s, and did not become a significant force in economic and sociopolitical sectors in San Diego until the 1980s.

⁴⁰ Rudy Guevarra, Jr., “Skid Row: Filipinos, Race, and the Social Construction of Space in San Diego,” *Journal of San Diego History* 54, no 1(Winter 2008): 27.

⁴¹ P.L. 89 236; 79 Stat. 911. Hart-Cellar relaxed restrictions on Asian populations first put in place by the 1924 National Origins Act; it also abolished the 1924 quota system and gave preference to relatives of American systems.

⁴² Linda Trinh Vo, *Mobilizing an Asian American Community* (Philadelphia: Temple University Press, 2004), 23.

⁴³ *Ibid.*, 24.

But a comparison of the three largest Asian groups, Chinese, Japanese and Filipino, reveals different patterns between them. The Chinese were present in San Diego much earlier than any other Asian groups but, after 1920, the Chinese lost and never regained the position as the most numerous Asian faction in San Diego. (Table 2.3

Table 2.3: Breakdown of Asian Population in San Diego, 1930 - 2000

	1930	1940	1950	1960	1970	1980	1990	2000
Chinese	.3%	.2%	n/a	.2%	.4%	.4%	.8%	1.86%
Japanese	.6%	.4%	n/a	.4%	.6%	.5%	.7%	.78%
Filipino	n/a	n/a	n/a	1%	1.3%	3%	3.8%	6.15%

Source: United States Census Bureau, 1930-2000.

Filipinos became the first to supplant the Chinese as the largest group of Asian residents.⁴⁴ Because the Philippines had been a protectorate of the United States after 1899, Filipinos possessed special status as U.S. Nationals until 1934 when the Tydings-McDuffie Act reclassified them as immigrant aliens.⁴⁵ Throughout the 1920s and 1930s, Filipinos migrated to the United States, and particularly to California, and worked most often as either farm laborers or non-farm laborers.⁴⁶ The latter group worked in a variety of retail, hotel, and service

⁴⁴ Rudy Guevarra, Jr., “Skid Row: Filipinos, Race, and the Social Construction of Space in San Diego.”

⁴⁵ Ibid., 20. The Tydings-McDuffie Act, Philippines Independence Act of 1934, P.L. 73-127, guaranteed the Philippines independence after ten years.

⁴⁶ Adelaida Castillo, “Filipino Migrants in San Diego, 1900-1946,” *The Journal of San Diego History* 22, no 3 (Summer 1976), <http://www.sandiegohistory.org/journal/76summer/index.htm> (accessed January 16, 2011).

sector positions, or sometimes attended college.⁴⁷ Efforts began in 1935 to repatriate Filipinos back to the Philippines, but these attempts largely failed, with very few Filipinos opting to leave the United States.⁴⁸

By WWII, opportunities for Filipinos to earn American citizenship came through service in the U.S. Navy, and many became American citizens and chose to live in the United States after their service was complete.⁴⁹ Also, after 1970, thousands of Filipino nurses, doctors, and other medical and scientific professionals utilized the professional provisions of the 1965 Immigration Act to relocate to the United States. So even though the Chinese had a longer history in San Diego, their post war population in the city did not grow as steadily as that of the Filipinos, and after 1990 even the Vietnamese outnumbered the Chinese. However, many Chinese-owned businesses in San Diego had been in operation for decades, and the outreach programs of the Chinese Mission, begun in 1927, also continued uninterrupted throughout the century.⁵⁰ So, being the least numerous of the Asian groups in the city did not diminish the capacity of the Chinese to exert a strong presence, particularly in the downtown area.

⁴⁷ Ibid.

⁴⁸ Castillo, "Filipino Migrants in San Diego, 1900-1946."

⁴⁹ Some of the citizenship promises, and other WWII-related benefits promised to Filipinos did not all materialize. Citizenship was not earned equally and even today Filipino Veteran organizations continue to fight for WWII, 1950s and 1960s Filipino veterans who did not get citizenship and other military benefits. In 2009, the Filipino Veterans Equity Compensation Fund was passed and one-time payments authorized by Congress.

⁵⁰ Leland Saito, "Reclamation and Preservation: The San Diego Chinese Mission, 1927-1996," *The Journal of San Diego History* 49, no 1 (Winter 2003), 3.

The Asian population began surging by 1980 and by 2000, the total combined percentage of all Asian groups in San Diego accounted for 15 percent of the total population.⁵¹ Unlike the Mexican and Black populations, the Asian immigrants were successful more quickly in areas of income, housing, and financial strength, often because they arrived to the United States with collegiate degrees and professional skills already in hand.⁵² Because of their overall financial stability, the Asian population became more geographically dispersed, and many settled in upscale neighborhoods located to the north and south of downtown.

Another significant factor that became important for Asians in San Diego can be found in their ability “to build alliances with one another and with other communities of color.”⁵³ The partnerships formed between Asian groups effectively positioned them for their eventual activism in historic preservation, and particularly in preserving Chinese history in San Diego.

Blacks

The post war growth patterns of Mexicans and Asians in San Diego did not materialize for the Black population. Long before WWII, most Blacks began

⁵¹ Population Schedule from the Bureau of the United States Census, 2000.

⁵² Trinh Vo, 42.

⁵³ Ibid., 33

settling in an area southeast of downtown called Logan Heights.⁵⁴ Although a vibrant downtown Black community existed during the 1920s and 1930s that included hotels, music clubs, and dance halls, the majority of Blacks did not actually live in the downtown.⁵⁵ The numbers of Black residences in the downtown gradually declined during those decades and, by 1940, less than 2 percent of all Blacks in San Diego lived there.⁵⁶ Logan Heights, the central hub of African American community before the war, continued to be so during and after the war as well.

In 1940, there were only 4,143 Blacks in the city but because of military service and wartime jobs in San Diego, their numbers increased to 14,904 by 1950.⁵⁷ Patterns of growth for Blacks in San Diego differed greatly from Los Angeles and San Francisco where wartime and post war Black populations increased at significantly higher rates.⁵⁸ More opportunities for post war jobs and more efficient public transportation systems existed in those cities.⁵⁹ Although the

⁵⁴ Leroy E. Harris, *The Other Side of the Freeway: A Study of Settlement Patterns of Negroes and Mexican-Americans in San Diego, California* (Doctor of Arts dissertation, Carnegie-Mellon University, 1974), 100. Harris used city phone directories and the locations of Black Churches to bolster much of his study along with census tract data from 1920.

⁵⁵ *Ibid.*, 101.

⁵⁶ *Ibid.*, 102.

⁵⁷ U.S. Bureau of the Census, 16th Census of the United States, 1940 and Census of the Population, 1950.

⁵⁸ *Ibid.*, 66.

⁵⁹ *Ibid.*, 69

Black population in San Diego did not drop after the war, the rate of growth significantly slowed. The one part of downtown San Diego that had been home to many successful Black-owned businesses through the 1940s also entered a period of rapid decline after the war and by the end of the 1950s those establishments became “flophouses.”⁶⁰ The loss of the vibrant Black downtown businesses did not have immediate implications, but they came to play an important role in historic preservation years later.

During the post war years, leadership within the Black community did emerge and notable gains in civil rights were achieved. But restrictive real estate covenants, along with a small population, resulted in an overall inability for Blacks to assume positions of leadership beyond their own neighborhoods. The urban Black population of San Diego did not reach its highest point, 8.9 percent until 1980.⁶¹ And even that was short-lived. Soon after, the urban presence of Blacks began to decline and by 2000, Blacks accounted for only 8 percent of San Diego’s total population.⁶²

⁶⁰ Leland Saito, *The Politics of Exclusion: The Failure of Race-Neutral Policies in Urban America* (Stanford, CA.: Stanford University Press, 2009), 73.

⁶¹ Population Schedule from the Bureau of the United States Census, 1980.

⁶² Population Schedule from the Bureau of the United States Census, 2000.

Educational Attainment in San Diego, 1950-2000

Demographic change in San Diego was also connected to the changing levels of educational attainment in the city. In San Diego, the educated segment of the population had long been the agents of change. However, before WWII that elite group was much smaller, well known to each other, and they functioned in a much smaller city.

Post-war, even though the percentage of college-educated residents remained small through the 1960s, their influence showed early signs of remaining strong. In 1948, San Diego became the first in the United States to publish its own city-based magazine, *San Diego*. In an initial survey of its readership, 68 percent reported being college graduates and 30 percent stated that they held graduate degrees.⁶³ Over time, *San Diego Magazine* became a voice of liberalism in an increasingly conservative city and provided the counterpoint to traditional newspapers in the city.⁶⁴ Thus, despite small numbers in the late 1940s, the educated elites in San Diego began the post war era having found a new kind of stage from which their voices and ideas would be heard.

The overall percentage of San Diego residents with a Bachelor's degree or higher began to increase considerably a few years after WWII. (Table 2.4) Beginning with an overall average of 5 percent of the residents that held college degrees in 1950, which mirrored the national norms in groups over the age of 25

⁶³ Kevin Starr, *Golden Dreams*, 77.

⁶⁴ Thomas K. Arnold, "San Diego Magazine at 60," *San Diego Magazine* (October, 2008), 106.

years old, San Diego, along with the state of California began to surpass national figures in the 1960s. In the last three decades of the century, San Diego remained well above the national average in educational attainment.

Table 2.4: Educational Attainment among those 25 years or older in San Diego, 1950 -2000

	National Average:25 years or older with a Bachelor's degree or higher	25 years or older in CA with a Bachelor's degree or higher	25 years or older in SD with a Bachelor's degree or higher
1950	6%	6.2%	5%
1960*	8%	8.4%	10%
1970	11%	13.4%	15.6%
1980	16%	19.6%	24%
1990	20%	23.4%	29.8%
2000	27%	26.6%	35.9%

Source: United States Bureau of the Census.⁶⁵

While high school completion increased steadily in all racial categories in San Diego after WWII, the rates of college completion for Mexicans, Blacks and other minority groups did not. In 2000, 36.1 percent of both white and Asian populations held Bachelor's degrees.⁶⁶ Also by 2000, 10.4 percent of the white population, and 13.9 percent of Asian residents, held graduate/professional

⁶⁵ The 1960 Census question for Educational Attainment did not specify the acquisition of a degree & asked only years of education completed, so 1960 figures for Educational Attainment are considered to be skewed slightly upward.

⁶⁶ United States Census. *Overview of Race and Hispanic Origin*. Census 2000 Brief, C2KBR/01-1.

degrees.⁶⁷ In contrast, less than 15 percent of Mexicans and Blacks held Bachelor degrees, and fewer than 6 percent of those two groups held graduate/professional degrees.⁶⁸ Disproportionate levels of education, in turn, led to less earning power and lower median household incomes for Mexicans and Black families.

Median Household Incomes in San Diego, 1950-2000

Along with the increased educational levels, median household incomes for many in San Diego increased with every decade following the war. (Table 2.5)

Table 2.5: Median Household Income, San Diego, Los Angeles & Phoenix, 1950 - 2000

	1950	1960	1970	1980	1990	2000
San	\$3,456	\$6,614	\$10,166	\$20,133	\$35,022	\$45,733
Los	\$3,575	\$6,896	\$10,535	\$15,394	\$30,925	\$36,687
Phoenix	\$3,195	\$6,117	\$9,953	\$17,419	\$29,251	\$41,207

Source: United States Bureau of the Census.

Reflecting the racial and ethnic disparities, the location of the most low income neighborhoods did not change in the twenty years following the war, and continued to be just east of downtown and in Barrio Logan and Logan Heights.

(Figure 2.5)

⁶⁷ Ibid.

⁶⁸ United States Census. *Overview of Race and Hispanic Origin*. Census 2000 Brief, C2KBR/01-1.



Figure 2.5: 1970 Census, Low Income Neighborhoods of San Diego; Modified by author⁶⁹

The 1980 Census, in particular, revealed the most extensive amount of data collected since 1950. City leaders and planners at the time thought that the 1980 figures held great promise for managing growth and services. “It adds a new dimension to our knowledge of San Diego” and “should help us in our planning and providing public services for individual communities,” said city planner

⁶⁹ United States Census. Supplementary Report: Low Income Neighborhoods in Large Cities, 1970 (June 1974), 12.

George Orman.⁷⁰ Over one-half of San Diegans in 1980 reported being from another state, and only 38 percent stated they were living in the same house for over five years.⁷¹ The 1980 census mirrored the 1956 observation of Richard Pourade that over half of San Diegans came from another state thus the population in the city maintained a significant amount of coming and leaving by residents.

Overall, planners in San Diego believed that the 1980 data demonstrated healthy growth and a bright future. Yet, 60 percent of San Diegans earned under \$20,000 a year in 1980 and 35 percent reported earnings between \$20,000 and \$49,000 per year. Only 5 percent of the total population in 1980 had annual earnings over \$50,000.⁷² Subsequent census data began to show a pattern that those applauding the 1980 census did not expect. As median household incomes increased in the 1970s and 1980s, the percentage of San Diegans living under the poverty level held constant. But after 1980, that number began to change and by 2000, 14.6 percent in San Diego lived below the poverty line. (Table 2.6)

⁷⁰ John Farina, "Census Tells us Who We Are." *San Diego Union Tribune*, December 9, 1983.

⁷¹ Ibid.

⁷² United States Census, Population and Housing San Diego, 1980.

Table 2.6: Urban Poverty: U.S., San Diego, Los Angeles & Phoenix

	1970	1980	1990	2000
United States	13.7%	12.4%	13.1%	12.4%
San Diego	12%	12.4%	13.4%	14.6%
Los Angeles	14%	16.4%	18.9%	22.1%
Phoenix	11.6%	11.1%	14.2%	15.8%

Source: United States Bureau of the Census.⁷³

Also by 2000, nonwhites in San Diego metro region were earning well under the median household income.⁷⁴ Asian earners, as they did in educational attainment, kept pace with the white population. (Table 2.7)

Table 2.7: Median Family Income by Race, San Diego County, 2000

	Overall Median Income	Latino	American Indian	Black	Two or more races	Pacific Islander	Asian	White, not Latino
SD County	\$53,438	\$33,993	\$38,868	\$39,913	\$40,951	\$49,631	\$56,764	\$63,330

Source: Center on Policy Initiatives

The diminishing size of the middle class, particularly since the 1980s, represents the most significant change in income distribution throughout the San

⁷³ The United States government began uniformly tracking and calculating poverty rate in 1959.

⁷⁴ United States Census. 2009 American Community Survey.

Diego region. (Table 2.8) A recent report by the Center on Policy Initiatives found that “The middle class is shrinking, a shift in income distribution is swelling the size of San Diego’s working class (under \$50K annually) to 44.4 percent while the middle class (\$50K – \$100K) has now shrunk to less than one-third (31.9 percent). The upper class (over \$100K) has grown to 23.7 percent”.⁷⁵ Further, Hispanics and African Americans made up most of the “working class.”⁷⁶

Finally, a more recent study revealed a 19.7 percent overall poverty rate for Hispanics and 17.0 percent for African Americans, in the broader San Diego County region. The percentage of Hispanics and African Americans living in poverty exceeds the overall poverty rates for the county, 12.4 percent, and exceeds the 14.3 percent poverty rate in city of San Diego.⁷⁷

Throughout the fifty years following WWII, the demographics of San Diego’s changed and the population increased, with residents moving away, and arriving, on a regular basis. The percentage of whites decreased over fifty years, from near 90 percent in the 1950s to less than 50 percent of the total population in 2000. The Mexican, Black, and Asian populations increased at differing rates, with the Mexican population expanding the most. Among non-white groups, the

⁷⁵ Center on Policy Initiatives. “Poverty, Income and Employment for Hispanics in San Diego County,” Issue Brief (September 2006), 2.

⁷⁶ Ibid.

⁷⁷ Center on Policy Initiatives. “Earnings, Poverty and Income Inequality in San Diego County,” Issue Brief (September, 2010), 4.

Asian population achieved the most financial strength in both income and housing.

While high school completion rates increased across all races and ethnicities, the proportion of college and graduate/professional education was markedly higher in white and Asian groups. As happened in most American cities in the post war era, the majority of residents with middle and upper incomes moved away from city center, with the greatest growth in areas to the north of San Diego, and to the far southern areas near the U.S.-Mexican border.

Though the middle class in San Diego expanded significantly through 1970, the percentage of San Diegans in the middle class dropped steadily during the 1970s, and by 2000, the middle class represented only a third of the population in the San Diego metro area. One income statistic did not change between 1950 and 2000: the lowest income residents, mostly nonwhite, remained in and around downtown San Diego. (Figure 2.6)

As recently as 2004, a survey study of downtown workers showed that 84 percent of low wage workers employed in the downtown area did not live downtown, but instead lived in adjacent neighborhoods within the city limits.⁷⁸ Over one-half of these workers lacked health insurance, and the majority were earning less than a livable wage.⁷⁹

⁷⁸ Center on Policy Initiatives. "Left Behind: A Survey of Low-Wage Workers in Downtown San Diego," (December, 2004), 2.

⁷⁹ Ibid., 3. Specifically, 42 percent lacked health insurance and while 58 percent reported that their employers offered insurance, only 34 percent stated that they could afford it.

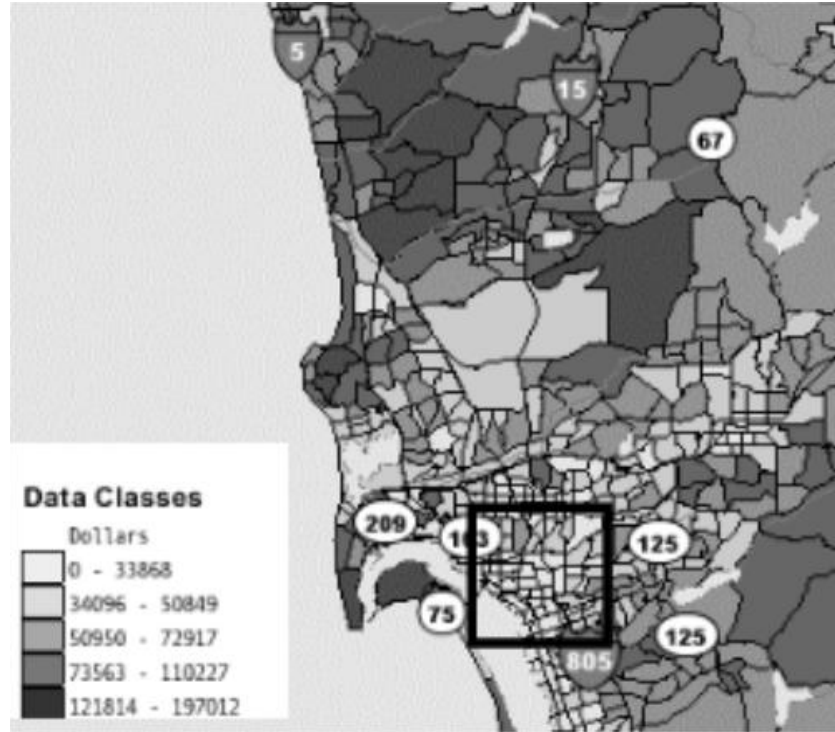


Figure 2.6: United States Census Tract Map, San Diego, 2000.

During the first twenty-five years of post war growth in San Diego the disparities in income and living conditions in the downtown area drew little attention. The 1970s became a turning point, not only in the racial and ethnic composition of San Diego, but also because the downtown became a center of attention for planners, developers, and for preservationists. Consequently, over the last twenty-five years of the century, issues that involved race and ethnicity in downtown San Diego, past and present, also became center stage.

A New Economy, 1945-1970

Economic history in San Diego, like that growth history, demonstrates that long before WWII, the city's residents and leadership often changed their minds about the goals for their city. Early in the century, San Diego went through periods of building a city based upon tourism and leisure-based economy, and then shifted to another model after WWI that focused on an industrial economy. By the mid-1920s, the focus shifted away from industrialization to a Navy and military-based economy. Kevin Starr explained that for decades before WWII, "San Diegans had been struggling with the problem of wanting both ways: wanting San Diego to remain an unchanging enclave resort while enjoying the prosperity that comes only from growth."⁸⁰ Further, Starr argues that "San Diego joined the Navy" to avoid what San Diegans considered the "disorderliness of industrialization" and in doing so the city began to build a "safe and stable economy."⁸¹

Because of the enormous amount of financial investment in San Diego by the military and federal government during WWII, all indications pointed to San Diego becoming a federal city, or "fortress" city.⁸² However, the military-based economy did not prove to be quite as stable in the post war years. Over the next fifty years, a pattern of vacillation emerged during which San Diegans sometimes

⁸⁰ Starr, *Golden Dreams*, 60.

⁸¹ Ibid.

⁸² Roger Lotchin, *Fortress California*, 175.

welcomed, and at other times resisted, federal and military dependence. Military projects came and went in San Diego during the post war years as well. However, San Diego's residents and leaders did not hinge all of their economic hopes on the military, and throughout the 1950s and 1960s, the city expanded the economic sectors of non-military manufacturing, retail, tourism, and in education.

Of all the industries in San Diego after WWII, those that had ties to the military and to national defense fueled the economy first, and for many years. But military and Department of Defense (DoD) spending proved to be inconsistent, at times booming and at other times diminishing in its impact on the overall economy in San Diego. According to Kevin Starr, "by the late 1950s, three fourths of the seventy-five thousand San Diegans employed in manufacturing were working in defense industries, two of the largest being Ryan and Consolidated Vultee, later Convair, owned by General Dynamics, where such Cold War necessities as the 80-foot Atlas intercontinental ballistic missile and, later, the all-purpose Tomahawk were being assembled."⁸³ Before 1960, all signs pointed to a healthy military and defense industry-based economy.

By 1962, 22.4 percent of employed civilians worked in manufacturing, and 14 percent of those jobs were in the aircraft building fields.⁸⁴ (Table 2.8) In the same year, 19.7 percent worked in government jobs, another 19.2 percent

⁸³ Starr, *Golden Dreams*, 227-228.

⁸⁴ *Progress Guide and General Plan for the City of San Diego* (July 1967), 21.

worked in services related to hotels and tourism, and 17.5 percent worked in retail.⁸⁵

Table 2.8: Civilian Employment in San Diego, 1962

Total Manufacturing	22.4
Percent of Total Manufacturing jobs in aircraft building	14.0
Government	19.7
Services related to hotels & tourism	19.2
Retail	17.7

Source: Progress Guide and General Plan, July 1967

The first major disappointment also came in 1962 when the military began the switch from aircraft to missile-building, and for San Diego this meant major job losses. *Time Magazine* ran a story that year calling San Diego a “Bust Town,” and predicted high unemployment and population drain.⁸⁶ In general, the Vietnam era continued to produce military and civilian jobs and projects in San Diego, but not at the rates they had been in the past. By the early 1970s, the retail and service sector jobs exceeded manufacturing jobs, with the majority of these in low wage

⁸⁵ Ibid.

⁸⁶ *Time Magazine*, August 17, 1962.

positions.⁸⁷ The military and government sector thus entered a long period of being among the slowest economic growth sectors in San Diego.⁸⁸

While the military and governments sectors grew in the initial post war years, and the population increased, civic leaders in San Diego took new interest in expanding retail stores and, in particular, large shopping malls. In 1958, the first large post war retail expansion began in Mission Valley, a few miles north of downtown. Because the new Interstate 8 intersected the area, they believed access would be convenient for residents and tourists. The developers of the project had a two-fold agenda in mind. First, they hoped to grow San Diego's retail economy by way of a big shopping mall that housed both big name and smaller stores. Second, they believed that along with the shopping center, that constructing hotels on both sides of Interstate 8 and calling the area Hotel Circle, ensured an increase in tourism dollars. Although debates did go on over the efficacy of the Mission Valley retail and hotels projects, most of the opposition came from downtown merchants and not from residents. The development of a large scale project in the middle of a flood plain also drew some criticism, but those objections, too, did not deter nor even delay construction.

Kevin Starr described the development of Mission Valley as a "commercial concrete sprawl," and concluded that "huge interstate freeway

⁸⁷ Ibid., 47.

⁸⁸ Hogan, *The Failure of Planning*, 46.

exchanges engulfed the greenest parts of the valley.”⁸⁹ Further, on the completed mall, Starr adds that the Mission Valley Mall represented “the mother of all shopping centers surrounded by the mother of all parking lots.”⁹⁰ When the Mission Valley shopping center opened in 1961, San Diego was changed, and “although San Diegans would be loath to have put that way, San Diego had been recast into the Sunbelt prototype first established by the City of Angels.”⁹¹ The Mission Valley Mall became successful immediately, with residents filling its stores daily, so whether or not San Diego became more like Los Angeles once the sprawling shopping center opened did not appear to concern San Diegans.

The construction of the Mission Valley shopping center and Hotel Circle did spell disaster for downtown San Diego. The area had become a “failing business center,” not so much because those businesses failed, but because new residents, the construction of interstate highways and the future of retail in particular, had settled and expanded outward, and far north of downtown.⁹² With no plans in place yet for a public transit system, and without downtown housing for young professionals or for families, downtown San Diego had little chance of

⁸⁹ Davis, *Under the Perfect Sun*, 77.

⁹⁰ Starr, Kevin. *Golden Dreams: California in an Age of Abundance, 1950-1963* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2009), 72.

⁹¹ Starr, *Golden Dreams*, 73.

⁹² Abbott, Carl. “Five Strategies for Downtown: Policy Discourse and Planning since 1943,” in *Planning the Twentieth Century American City*, eds. Mary Corbin Sies and Christopher Silver (Baltimore: John Hopkins Press, 1996), 412.

competing for either new businesses or residents.⁹³ The economic center of San Diego had moved north, and major efforts to revive it were years away.

Post war ventures that sought to expand the tourism economy, like those in retail, moved forward with relative ease during the 1950s. Furthering the ability to build a stronger tourism-based economy, the Convention and Tourism Bureau began functioning independently in the mid-1950s, and launched a vigorous agenda of leisure-based projects. One of the first, and largest, of post war expansions to recreation in the city, Mission Bay, enjoyed widespread support politically, and among residents.⁹⁴ In 1958 plans for Mission Bay began, and though disagreements did begin to surface, the disputes had more to do with priorities than with the plan itself. The debated issues involved questions of whether the Mission Bay project would be geared first to tourism or instead for locals, and there were environmental concerns as well.⁹⁵ But with \$10 million in

⁹³ As Abbott points out in “Five Strategies for Downtown”, 421, downtown San Diego did not begin to recover until the construction of Horton Plaza in the 1980s. What they lost to retail growth in 1961, they regained, also by retail, 25 years later, a story told in more depth later in this study. Further, Abbott’s summary of “Downtown as Command Post” after 1985, also aptly describes San Diego in many ways, as I show in Chapters 3 and 5 in this study, the revitalization of downtown San Diego after 1985 took a complex approach beyond office space, financial centers and historic districts and combined all of those with New Urban planning, Pedestrian-Oriented Design, Transportation-Oriented Design and Sports-Oriented Design and returned to the harbor-side garden visions of John Nolen as well.

⁹⁴ First approved by voters in 1945 with a \$2 million bond, Mission Bay Park opened in 1949.

⁹⁵ Engstrand, 173.

federal money, another \$19 million from the city of San Diego, and \$3.5 million in state funds, the expansion of Mission Bay Park moved forward easily.

Within a few years, Mission Bay Park also had its focal point when the center of the project, a marine-life park called Sea World, opened in 1964 with “an exotic fish collection and educational displays depicting man’s relationship with the sea.”⁹⁶ The leisure economy of San Diego expanded exponentially with the addition of Sea World. Along with the altruistic goals of oceanic research and marine life education, Sea World had an esoteric side. Comparing the designs and designers of Sea World to the exposition planners of 1915 and 1935, Susan Davis argued that Sea World “offered an extrapolitical garden paradise of leisure and consumption.”⁹⁷ Sea World, like the 1915 and 1935 Expositions before it, depended on paying audiences and as such, the atmosphere and visitor experience needed to incorporate the sense of being transported to exotic places. Mission Bay and Sea World were created through a partnership of business, recreation and scientific research working together to expand the local tourism and leisure economies. In addition, the commitment to marine life research at Sea World positioned San Diego into another economic sector, one of science, within a knowledge-based economy.

Furthering the city’s entry into the knowledge-based economy, Roger Revelle, a professor and the director of the Scripps Institution of Oceanography,

⁹⁶ Ibid.

⁹⁷ Susan Davis, *Spectacular Nature: Corporate Culture and the Sea World Experience* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1997), 51.

envisioned a university campus that would be a leader in technology, research and the sciences and worked for over seven years to get the UCSD campus approved by the Board of Regents. During those years Revelle gathered together a coalition of national, state and local politicians, prominent scientists, and San Diego residents.

One additional partner helping to create UCSD came with the financial strength of John Jay Hopkins, the chairman of Convair and General Dynamics Corporation. He offered a grant of \$1 million, and pledged another \$10 million of his own money, to build a research center.⁹⁸ Hopkins intended to expand General Dynamics to include a research center called General Atomic. To do so, he believed that a nearby research university was vital to “serve as a resource for his nuclear scientists.”⁹⁹ For its part, the San Diego City Council put a measure on the ballot to provide the land and the voters approved it in November of 1958.

Because the UCSD campus was located outside San Diego city limits, the involvement of city planners and politicians was indirect. However, San Diego was home to growing educated elite, and as such had widespread support.¹⁰⁰ The University of California at San Diego (UCSD) located just north of the city in La Jolla, opened in 1964. When it opened, UCSD already “had two Nobel laureates

⁹⁸ Engstrand, *San Diego: California's Cornerstone*, 176.

⁹⁹ Lotchin, Roger, *Fortress California*, 314.

¹⁰⁰ Deborah Day, “Roger Randall Dougan Revelle Biography,” Scripps Institution of Oceanography Archives, 1985.

and thirteen Academy of Science members on its faculty.”¹⁰¹ Within a short time, UCSD brought in Jonas Salk, creator of the polio vaccine, who then created the Salk Institute, marking the beginning of biotechnology research in San Diego.

Roger Lotchin noted that no one should “entertain any illusions that this campus was designed for the general educational needs of the community.”¹⁰² San Diego already had the San Diego State Teacher’s College and the Catholic-founded University of San Diego. The mission of UCSD, from the beginning, was rooted in research science and new technologies through its relationship with General Dynamics. At its core, UCSD was to be knowledge factory and training ground for undergraduate and graduate students in an atomic age. UCSD also filled an economic void left by the loss of military manufacturing because of its role in defense and biotech research, and in 1985 the opening of the Super Computer Center.

UCSD, and its transformation of La Jolla and San Diego, was not unique in its relationship with the atomic age, or with companies such as General Dynamics. Margaret O’Mara described Stanford University’s role in the Cold War, and its impact on the Silicon Valley in the early 1960s as a model for a “city of knowledge.”¹⁰³ According to O’Mara, a “city of knowledge” must meet some

¹⁰¹ Starr, *Golden Dreams*, 86.

¹⁰² Lotchin, *Fortress California*, 314.

¹⁰³ Margaret Pugh O’Meara, *Cities of Knowledge: Cold War Science and the Search for the Next Silicon Valley* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2005), n5, 237.

basic criteria.¹⁰⁴ These factors include a community that is outside city limits, predominantly Caucasian and white collar, with a higher than average per capita income, and an area that was mostly residential prior to the arrival of high tech industry.¹⁰⁵ La Jolla in the 1950s certainly met all of these conditions. Further, O'Mara argued that "cities of knowledge" are "creations of the Cold War," "make scientists into elites," are the "products of local action," and "rose up amid the larger landscape of the affluent postwar suburbs."¹⁰⁶ Once again, UCSD met or exceeded all of these features even to the point of La Jolla discontinuing its anti-Semitic covenant restrictions that prevented Jews from buying property. The elimination of these restrictions ensured that elite scientists of Jewish descent would not be discouraged from coming to UCSD.¹⁰⁷

But the creation of UCSD and its relationship to transformations in both La Jolla and San Diego bears one striking difference from Stanford. Unlike Stanford, which was founded in 1891, UCSD did not expand as part of the Cold War, but rather it was intentionally created to serve as a part of the Cold War. O'Mara listed four required elements to become a "city of knowledge,"¹⁰⁸ The four components included a powerful university, a lot of money, control over the

¹⁰⁴ Ibid.

¹⁰⁵ Ibid.

¹⁰⁶ Ibid, 2.

¹⁰⁷ Starr, *Golden Dreams*, 86.

¹⁰⁸ O'Mara, *Cities of Knowledge*, 228.

land in the right place, and finally, “high tech development must be made the end, not the means.”¹⁰⁹ In the case of UCSD, university designers had the money, the land, and their end-goal was high tech. However, they did not have a “powerful university.” So, in San Diego, they simply built one.

Between 1945 and 1970, the economy in San Diego grew in several sectors and became more diversified. Rapid annexation of land, population growth, and an expanded tourist economy in the 1960s fueled interest in large retail projects, the expansion of recreational parks, and the construction of large-scale destination venues for locals and tourists. The completion of Interstate 8, the development of retail malls and hotels, and the creation of big venues such as Sea World, pulled resources and investments away from the downtown. By 1970, the downtown no longer served as the city’s economic center. Finally, San Diego began creating a knowledge-based economy with the completion of Sea World, and with the establishment of UCSD. Dependence on the federal government and the military continued throughout these decades, but with the addition of new economic interests and the expansion of old ones, San Diego’s financial stability did not depend entirely on the Navy.

San Diego’s Economy after 1970: Falters and Revives Once Again

Between 1970 and 2000, the economy in San Diego underwent several more transitions. As in decades prior, the impact of military and government investing in San Diego remained unpredictable. No one sector of the economy

¹⁰⁹ Ibid., 228-230.

maintained an unbroken continuum of expansion during these years, but in general, tourism, retail, and service sectors demonstrated the most consistency. Stability in those areas fueled economic investment in public transportation projects such as the San Diego Trolley, expanding the emphasis on professional sports, and in revitalizing the downtown. The population continued to grow over the three decades, physical growth and annexation came to an end, and home-building boomed. Finally, a new sector entered the economy in the 1980s, when bio and high tech research investment began in San Diego. What did remain constant was the unwillingness of residents and city leadership to place all, or even most, of their faith in to any one, or two, economic areas.

The national economic recession and oil crisis of the 1970s did not spare California or San Diego, however, the overall impact in San Diego remained less than that felt at either the nation or the state levels.¹¹⁰ But two issues did have significant effects on San Diego. The first of these, the national oil crisis, led to long lines at gas stations. Further, citizens had to deal with “odd-even” days, meaning residents could only purchase gas on odd days if their license plate ended with an odd number and on even days if the plate ended with an even number.

The second major economic problem affecting the city came from state-level financial problems. By 1978 California residents were dissatisfied with rising property taxes, and the collective anger resulted in the statewide passage of

¹¹⁰ Engstrand, *San Diego: California's Cornerstone*, 187.

Proposition 13, also called the “taxpayer revolt initiative.”¹¹¹ Because of Proposition 13, municipal governments, including San Diego, stood to lose millions of dollars in tax revenues. Prop 13 tax revenue losses in San Diego threatened many of the municipal programs and downtown revitalization planned by the city, and ultimately led to the creation of non-governmental agencies and nonprofit organizations that operated to fund and develop those projects.

As a result of the renewed interest in revitalizing the downtown in the 1970s, several major transportation, retail, and tourism-related projects got underway, and reached completion within ten years. The San Diego Trolley began operation in 1981, and the completion of Horton Plaza in 1985 brought shoppers back downtown. With the opening of the San Diego Convention Center in 1989, the investments in downtown began to pay off. Even professional sports was finally bringing national attention, and tourism dollars, into San Diego when both the Padres and the Chargers made it into the playoffs, the city hosted a Super Bowl, and local Denis Connor won the America’s Cup three times.

In many ways, the 1970s and 1980s demonstrated economic growth, and the expansion of sectors of the city’s economy. But most of the economic gains occurred in the downtown, and specifically in the retail, service, and tourism sectors. The young suburbs just outside the city center were not faring as well. Annexation had ceased, but home-building boomed, and combined with a lack of

¹¹¹ Prop 13 was formally known as the “People’s Initiative to Limit Property Taxation.” It became an Amendment to the California Constitution through the initiative process in the 1978 elections.

municipal services, enormous tension was building between residents and the city. The housing boom, along with wide differences in overall income levels out in the suburbs, led to a new burden on the economy of San Diego, that of speculation.

Speculation “produced paper profits” as a result of the housing boom and produced more construction jobs but, these paper profits also expanded the low wage sectors in the service industry.¹¹² Speculation did not produce enough materials goods to survive a downturn in the economy.¹¹³ Further, without the higher paying manufacturing jobs that paid enough for workers to buy homes and participate in the economy, the shifts in the 1970s produced lower paying jobs and increased the number of workers unable to share in the profits being made.¹¹⁴ The gap between the rich and poor expanded, and the post war middle class of the 1950s began to shrink.

For its part, the military still played an important in economy of San Diego between 1970 and 2000, but was no longer growing rapidly, and demonstrated a pattern of peaks and valleys in terms of military-related economic impact. Further, because large installations such as Camp Pendleton are located outside city limits, the largest impact of military spending remained at the county level and not specifically within city limits.¹¹⁵ At the city level, the 32nd Street Naval

¹¹² Hogan, *The Failure of Planning*, 46.

¹¹³ *Ibid.*, 47.

¹¹⁴ *Ibid.*, 48.

¹¹⁵ San Diego Military Advisory Council, “San Diego Military Impact Study, 2007,” 3.

Base, Naval Training Center (NTC), and the Marine Corps Recruit Depot (MCRD) had the greatest economic impacts through military and civilian employment and visitor spending related these facilities. Ships coming in and out of the harbor added to economic benefits to the city.¹¹⁶

The 1980s brought a downturn in military and defense spending throughout the San Diego region, culminating with the closure of NTC in the early 1990s.¹¹⁷ Contributing nearly \$80 million in civilian and military payroll, \$7 million in visitor spending, and another \$10 million in base support spent by the Navy, the closure of NTC represented the single largest military economic loss to the city of San Diego in the post WWII era.¹¹⁸ Within months of the announcement of NTC's closure by the Department of Defense, city leaders began planning the reuse of the land at NTC, but it would take years to get those plans underway.

Although military spending in and the economic impact of the Navy in the San Diego was not consistent after 1970, and shifted significantly downwards in the 1980s, a reversal of those trends began in the mid-1990s.¹¹⁹ Even with the loss of NTC still fresh, changes in American foreign policy began producing

¹¹⁶ Ibid.

¹¹⁷ Defense Base Closure and Realignment Act of 1990, Public Law 101-510.

¹¹⁸ "History of Naval Training Center," <http://www.sandiego.gov/ntc/overview/history.shtml>, (accessed January 14th, 2011).

¹¹⁹ San Diego Regional Chamber of Commerce Report, "The Impact of the U.S. Military on the San Diego Region, 2007," 8.

beneficial changes for the San Diego region. Overall defense spending reached \$8 billion in San Diego County in 1994, and by 2000 started gradually increasing.¹²⁰

In terms of overall economic impact of the military on the San Diego metropolitan region, the 1990s was period of no additional major economic losses after the closure of NTC, but no major gains were made either. The expansion of military activities by the United States after the attacks on the World Trade Center in 2001, led to an upturn in military and defense spending in San Diego, and by 2004, nearly \$12 billion in defense dollars was being spent across the county.¹²¹ Plans are currently in place for billions of dollars to be spent on future military projects in San Diego, particularly along the harbor near downtown.¹²² After a thirty-year period of ups and downs, the Navy currently plans a big return to the San Diego economy.

The recent upswing in Navy presence and military spending is welcomed by most in San Diego, but the previous decades of uncertainty had changed the city. Because of the ambiguity created by the economic slump of the 1980s, some business leaders in San Diego did not hope for a bright military economy to ever return. In 1985, to counteract some of the economic downturn, they formed a coalition called CONNECT.¹²³ The founders of CONNECT, along with UCSD,

¹²⁰ Ibid.

¹²¹ Ibid.

¹²² Ibid., 37.

¹²³ San Diego CONNECT, “Annual Report, 2010,” 9.

the city of San Diego, and private sector investors, hoped to commercialize the research sector by bringing entrepreneurs and investors together, and campaigned to convince high tech companies to relocate to San Diego.¹²⁴ They built a “collaboration of cultures” across many disciplines that successfully positioned the city of San Diego to become a research and high tech center even before NTC was closed and before military spending hit a plateau in the 1990s.¹²⁵ The development of the research and high tech sector in the 1980s represented the kind of economic diversification that kept San Diego from being wholly dependent on the military for its economic stability.

The 1970s had begun with a national recession and although San Diego was not spared its effects, the economic decisions made in San Diego in the early 1970s became foundational for the failures, and the successes, that lay ahead for the city. Economic gains occurred in retail, service, and tourism. Shifts up and down in military spending in the city led to losses of higher paying jobs through the 1990s before some recovery in the military sector appeared imminent. Construction and home-building boomed but often in areas not yet provided with city services or schools. Throughout the last thirty years of the century, city leaders continued the pattern of economic diversification and reinventing itself that had defined the city since the late 19th century. However, the post war years,

¹²⁴ Ibid.

¹²⁵ San Diego CONNECT, History of CONNECT, <http://www.connect.org/about/> (accessed January 11th, 2011).

more so than before WWII, demonstrated a critical need for effective and organized management of the city.

City Planning: 1945-1970

Post war planners in San Diego had to deal with a rapidly increasing population, annexation of additional land by the city, the need for housing which in turn led to a demand for city services, and with developers eager to bring an array of projects to the city. But for three decades before the war, the city had been operating under and guided by the Nolen Community Plan that landscape architect John Nolen prepared for the city in 1908. Even though the 1908 plan was adopted, and remained in place for over forty years, it would be the 1945 plan that lingered on the minds of planners. It is important to understand the significance of the two Nolen plans in order to understand city planning in San Diego after WWII. Both of the Nolen plans are referenced in detail by every post WWII city planning document in San Diego.¹²⁶

Nolen had first come to the city in 1908 at the invitation of George Marston and the San Diego Civic Improvement Committee and he did submit a lengthy plan to the city. The 1908 plan placed its emphasis on parks, gardens, and

¹²⁶ John Nolen, *San Diego: A Comprehensive Plan for its Improvement* (Boston: George Ellis Printers, 1908), 89. The 1908 plan reflected an emphasis on a “city of parks” and the importance of a central plaza for city government. The report suggests improvements in transportation, railroads but in the 108-page report they seem secondary. Of his ten listed Recommendations in the Summary, eight of the points have to do parks, playgrounds, plazas and beautification projects and only two of the ten points highlight the need for a sea wall, a railroad, and better water delivery.

public spaces inspired by Italian cities on Mediterranean Sea and briefly touched upon transportation and water needs. The plan was never adopted and became part of a political struggle between George Marston and Lewis Wilde in their mayoral race of 1917. Marston's faith in the 1908 plan and his vision for the city led Wilde to call his opponent "Geranium George." In the post-war climate, the 1908 plan echoed a more innocent time untouched by world war and many of the elements of the 1908 plan no doubt seemed altruistic by 1926 when Nolen returned to update the plan.

Nolen's 1926 plan focused on the harbor, including the construction and location of a civic center, and on transportation issues with particular attention to improving access to Balboa Park, and the creation of recreational areas along the harbor.¹²⁷ Further, the 1926 plan provided for military and industrial growth that San Diego had experienced in the early 1920s, and contained suggestions for roads, the outlined best locations for industry and an airport.

Throughout the 1950s and early 1960s, planning, growth and most decisions were made by the City Council and most were put to the voters. There was an increasing need for a planning guide that acknowledged the changes in population, industry, employment, and the expansion in the city's physical size. It took several tries at the ballot box to win the approval of San Diego voters, but a city plan did finally pass. The Progress Guide and General Plan became the first major statement of city planning goals in San Diego since Nolen's time. The

¹²⁷ Ibid. In most sources this report is referred to as the "Nolen Community Plan".

finished document, only 77 pages long, was a watered-down version of the earlier initiatives rejected by voters, and placed most of its focus on industry, land use, and jobs.

The plan did not intend to set guidelines for providing services to new neighborhoods or communities because the primary intent was to serve as a regional planning guide and to outline land use development, and to set guidelines for the resolution of conflicts between “business, industry and residences.”¹²⁸ The 1967 plan did not address race, poverty, the environment, or historic structures. However, the 1967 plan did call for partnerships and collaborations between the city, business community, developers and residents. The 1967 plan also laid important groundwork for city planning, and for the urban revitalization programs of the 1970s and 1980s.

City Planning: 1970-2000

Within just a few years of its publication, the issues not dealt with in 1967 Progress Guide and General Plan became glaringly apparent. The most significant problem was the lack of planning for the rapidly growing suburbs and the need for municipal services for the residents living in them. Environmental concerns also emerged by the early 1970s, and a variety of groups became vocal about providing for open space around the city, and protecting wetlands and the coastline. The city faced more challenges with the demand for better highways

¹²⁸ Author’s observation after examining post WWII City Planning documents.

and public transportation. In addition, the continuing deterioration of the downtown presented obstacles to the expansion of tourism, and to the hope of city planners to build a convention center.

To make matters worse, the decade began with signs of an impending economic recession across both the state of California and the nation. Although San Diego, and the state of California, had just celebrated their Bicentennial in 1969, the celebratory mood of that event faded by 1970. San Diego needed a cohesive and organized plan for the future, and the city needed it quickly.

The first two years of the 1970s proved to be pivotal ones for San Diego, politically and in city planning. While the city prepared to be the host site of the 1972 GOP Convention, it was also an election period for residents to choose a new mayor. Democrat Frank Curran, mayor since 1967, had been indicted in bribery charges that stemmed from his financial interests in the Yellow Cab Company, but was acquitted just in time for the election.¹²⁹ Curran lost his chance to remain mayor of San Diego when he lost in the primary to Democrat Ed Butler.¹³⁰ But it took a regular election, and a runoff election a few weeks later,

¹²⁹ Dennis Walsh and Tom Flaherty, "Tampering with Justice in San Diego," *Life Magazine*, March 24, 1972, 29.

¹³⁰ History of Mayoral Results for the City of San Diego. Office of the City Clerk. <http://www.sandiego.gov/city-clerk/pdf/mayorresults.pdf> (accessed January 19, 2011).

before in late November, 1971, the city had a new mayor, Republican Pete Wilson.¹³¹ Wilson became the first Republican mayor of San Diego since 1955.¹³²

With the election out of the way, and a new mayor sworn in, the preparations for the GOP Convention became the next issue for city leaders and residents. The convention was scheduled for August, 1972. Throughout the early months of 1972, debate and scandal ensued with allegations of secret negotiations between GOP officials and convention planners in San Diego.¹³³ In addition, the lack of adequate convention space, and the GOP's belief that San Diego did not have sufficient law enforcement manpower, added to a growing list of concerns. In May, just months ahead of the planned convention, the GOP announced that they would move the event to Florida.¹³⁴ Though residents never expressed widespread support for the GOP convention in the first place, the months of tension about it did produce some positive change for the city.¹³⁵ The most significant of these changes was renewed interest in the city's ability to attract

¹³¹ Ibid. The first ballot had 14 candidates and Wilson gained only 36 percent of the votes, so the top two, Wilson and Democrat Ed Butler faced each other in a run-off election two weeks later. Wilson then garnered 61.73 percent of the vote to Butler's 38.27 percent.

¹³² Ibid.

¹³³ Vincent Ancona, "When the Elephants Marched Out of San Diego: The 1972 Republican Convention Fiasco," *Journal of San Diego History* 38, no 4 (Fall, 1992): <http://www.sandiegohistory.org/journal/92fall/index.htm> (accessed January 13th, 2011).

¹³⁴ Ibid.

¹³⁵ Ibid.

large meetings, conventions, and business travelers, and it generated fresh interest in the downtown.

Wilson's first reaction to the pullout of the GOP was a visceral one. In hopes of sending a positive message to residents about their city, he announced a city-wide celebration to be held during the week in August that would have been the convention week. Calling for residents to think of their city as "America's Finest City," Wilson sponsored a week of free events throughout the city in August, and "America's Finest City" became a permanent part of San Diego's civic identity.¹³⁶

Pete Wilson also took the loss of the GOP convention as an opportunity to act on his election promises to better manage growth in the suburbs, to provide better services to those residents, and to reinvigorate the downtown. Having run on a slogan of "no more Miramesas," Wilson assured San Diegans that annexation was over, suburbs would not be developed without more effective planning, and that no other neighborhoods would be left isolated, without services or schools, as had happened in Miramesa, just north of the city.¹³⁷ Wilson called for a moratorium on new development and also wanted a new general plan to be written for the city.¹³⁸

¹³⁶ Mike Granberry, "Who Decided to name San Diego 'America's Finest City'?" *Los Angeles Times*, December 25, 1985.

¹³⁷ Eileen Zimmerman, "From Bust to Boom," *San Diego Magazine* (March, 2005), 84.

¹³⁸ *Ibid.*, 86.

A full new general plan did not happen right away, but Wilson did succeed in sponsoring a study of other cities, and ultimately they selected Baltimore as a model for redevelopment in San Diego.¹³⁹ Wilson and his city council believed that the civic sponsoring of a nonprofit organization to be run privately, like the Greater Baltimore Committee (GBC), offered the best chance of revitalizing the downtown in particular, and without a drain on taxpayers.¹⁴⁰ Like San Diego, the city of Baltimore had focused their revitalization efforts on downtown, and on their harbor. These early plans in San Diego eventually created Centre City Development Corporation (CCDC), a nonprofit organization that began overseeing the redevelopment of downtown by the mid-1970s. The primary goal of CCDC was to ease some of the burden on the city council and planning department, and to implement improvements, beginning in the downtown.

Throughout the next two years, while the new mayor and city council studied nonprofit redevelopment, and worked on writing a new general plan for the city, Kevin Lynch and Donald Appleyard completed a conceptual planning study that they called “Temporary Paradise?” The study was funded by the Marston family and had Mayor Wilson’s enthusiastic support. The Lynch/Appleyard study combined elements of science, ecology, and the environment with a more pastoral side deeply influenced by the legacies of George Marston and John Nolen. Their findings added research about the city’s

¹³⁹ Zimmerman, 87.

¹⁴⁰ Ibid.

problems of unmanaged growth, made suggestions regarding natural resources, and attempted to define a quality of life in San Diego.¹⁴¹ Further, “Temporary Paradise” offered ideas never previously suggested, such as the construction of a commuter railway between downtown San Diego and the international border with Mexico, and included an argument for San Diego to be planned not just as a city, but as an international region with Tijuana included in those plans.¹⁴²

The “Temporary Paradise?” study resulted in several important shifts in city planning in San Diego. First, many of the findings published in the report were cited and included in the “Progress Guide and General Plan of 1979,” adopted by the city a few years later. Also, “Temporary Paradise?” brought back the use of the adjective “paradise” to describe San Diego, after first being used by John Nolen in 1908, and again in his 1926 plan for the city. Planners and developers have used the word *paradise* ever since in every San Diego planning document. Finally, the inclusion of a section devoted entirely to the environment influenced the city planning department to also create a division within its own agency specifically in charge of environmental issues.¹⁴³

¹⁴¹ David Lynch and Donald Appleyard, “Temporary Paradise?: A Look at the Special Landscape of the San Diego Region,” A Report to the City (Cambridge : Dept. of Urban Studies and Planning, Massachusetts Institute of Technology, 1974), 3.

¹⁴² *Ibid.*, 38.

¹⁴³ City of San Diego, “Community Orientation Workshop Handbook,” (2007), 10.

Six years after the “Temporary Paradise?” report was published the “Progress Guide and General Plan of 1979” was adopted and its 12-page preface ended with “John Nolen’s dreams live on.”¹⁴⁴ The 1979 plan, over 300 pages in length, expanded well beyond the 1967 plan in setting specific policies and goals for transportation and for protecting the environment, and it also mandated clear criteria for developers in order to manage growth. The plan required developers of housing tracts to pay fees that covered the cost of installing services and for the building of schools.¹⁴⁵ With three primary categories: urbanized, planned urbanized, and future urbanized, the 1979 plan intended to set timelines for development.¹⁴⁶ The General Plan of 1979 remained in place, with few major changes, for over twenty years and became the first post-WWII city planning document in San Diego that specifically addressed the problems of unmanaged growth, outlined short and long term goals for the city, and redirected the focus of city leadership to the needs of downtown.¹⁴⁷

Centre City Development Corporation (CCDC) was in its fourth year of existence when the 1979 plan was completed. In the mission statement of the CCDC, the goals and strategies seemed clear:

¹⁴⁴ City of San Diego. “Progress Guide and General Plan of 1979,” (April 1, 1979), 10.

¹⁴⁵ *Ibid.*, 36.

¹⁴⁶ *Ibid.*, 50.

¹⁴⁷ *Ibid.*, 17.

“CCDC is the public, non-profit corporation created by the City of San Diego to staff and implement Downtown redevelopment projects and programs. Formed in 1975, the corporation serves on behalf of the San Diego Redevelopment Agency as the catalyst for public-private partnerships to facilitate redevelopment projects adopted pursuant to redevelopment law. Through an operating agreement, CCDC is the Agency's representative in the development of retail, residential, office, hotel, cultural and educational projects and public improvement projects. Each of CCDC's nine-member board of directors is appointed by the Mayor and City Council to three year terms.”¹⁴⁸

CCDC quickly became a major force in redevelopment in San Diego. Over time, planners, business leaders, architectural firms, and historic preservation organizations all became key players in the coalitions formed by CCDC.

Additional efforts were made in the 1980s to manage San Diego at both the city and regional levels. The San Diego Association of Governments (SANDAG), approved by voters in 1988, functioned to organize the eighteen suburban communities around the city, and to make recommendations regarding housing, transportation, environmental issues, and public service needs.¹⁴⁹

Although SANDAG operates as a part of planning in San Diego, in 1993 the primary efforts of SANDAG shifted to working specifically on the economic goals of the region, and became most active in water and transit issues, and in cross-border development with Mexico.¹⁵⁰

¹⁴⁸ Centre City Development Corporation. “Mission Statement,” <http://www.ccdc.com/planning/regulatory-documents.html> (accessed March 1, 2011).

¹⁴⁹ City of San Diego, “Community Orientation Workshop Handbook,” (2007), 21.

¹⁵⁰ *Ibid.*

The 1967 and 1979 General Plans, like the two Nolen Plans, the “Temporary Paradise?” study, and even the creation of SANDAG, represented a continuation of the big picture thinking that city planning in San Diego had always been. But, population change, demographic shifts, the expansion of city boundaries, disparities across racial and class lines, and differing levels of public participation existed in San Diego. These transformations created a metropolitan area that was far too complex for big picture planning strategies to be effective.¹⁵¹ By the end of the 1980s, big picture planning began to show many weaknesses.

The 1990s proved to be challenging ones for city planners in San Diego. A sex scandal involving the Director of Planning ultimately led to the Planning Department no longer reporting to the City Council, and was reassigned to the City Manager’s office, and for several years the name “planning” itself was no longer used.¹⁵² Instead, the department became known as “Community and Neighborhood Services,” and its staff reported to City Manager Jack McGrory.¹⁵³

For the next seven years, morale was low among city planners, and the division was downsized. During McGrory’s tenure, without a planning department, attempts were made to revitalize deteriorating neighborhoods through public-private partnerships. In one example, City Heights, located on the eastern

¹⁵¹ Hogan, 11.

¹⁵² “Path to Paradise,” UCSD-TV Production, first aired September 21, 1998, available online: <http://www.ucsd.tv/series/?seriesnumber=143> (accessed January 20, 2011).

¹⁵³ *Ibid.*

edge of downtown San Diego, benefited from the personal investment of Price Club founder Sol Price, and over the next several years underwent a complete restoration with buildings renovated, new businesses brought in, and a business center created.¹⁵⁴ In the beginning, the City Heights project was successful, and welcomed by residents who were mostly low income, and represented a wide array of immigrant cultures from several continents. After a few years, the physical and economic changes, along with the renovations and new construction, led to increased property values, higher rents, and eventually to gentrification and displacement of many of those same residents.¹⁵⁵ If revitalization was to succeed, the strategy of one neighborhood at a time, each needing its own financial investors, seemed ineffective.

McGrory also shifted the priorities of city planning to economic development, and to easing the restrictions and regulations on developers with the hope that streamlining the process for developers would lead to jobs and financial investment in San Diego.¹⁵⁶ By the late 1990s, McGrory's ideas came under fire as "ignoring long term consequences, and unfairly eliminating competition."¹⁵⁷ The Planning Department was officially restored in 1998 by a newly-elected

¹⁵⁴ *The Price of Renewal, California and the American Dream Series*, (Beyond the Dream LLC, 2005), Paul Espinosa, Producer.

¹⁵⁵ Ibid.

¹⁵⁶ Ibid.

¹⁵⁷ Lucy Killea, interview, "Path to Paradise," UCSD-TV Production, first aired September 21, 1998, available online: <http://www.ucsd.tv/series/?seriesnumber=143> (accessed January 20, 2011).

Mayor, and McGrory resigned. No consensus exists on the impact, positive or negative, of many in San Diego refer to as “the McGrory years.”¹⁵⁸ But specific to city planning in San Diego, the brief interlude of time when there was not a “planning division,” convinced city leaders, and residents, of the need and value of having one.¹⁵⁹

Upon the return of an official City Planner in 1997, the revived Planning Division set about identifying the needs of the city going into the 21st century, and called for new General Plan to be developed within ten years. Further, they advocated public outreach and more direct involvement of the general public in planning decisions. By 2002, a new conceptual plan, called the “City of Villages,” was adopted by the planning department. The “City of Villages” element identified specific communities, defined by neighborhood boundaries, and allowed each of those urban villages to be developed, improved, and supported based on the individual needs and interests of that community’s residents.¹⁶⁰

“The City of Villages Strategy allows San Diego to evolve harmoniously with its natural beauty and the unique character of its neighborhoods. It links people to what is important to them: housing, shopping, jobs, education/civic uses, and open space. The strategy provides opportunities for all San Diegans to improve their quality of life.”¹⁶¹

¹⁵⁸ Gerry Braun, “The Smooth Operator: Jack McGrory led City Hall before the storm hit. Did he lead it into trouble?” *San Diego Union Tribune*, December 18, 2005.

¹⁵⁹ “Path to Paradise,” UCSD-TV Production.

¹⁶⁰ City of San Diego General Plan, “Strategic Framework,” (2008), SF1.

¹⁶¹ *Ibid.*

The concept of urban villages was not new, and had already been developed in other cities in California.¹⁶² In some cases, the urban village model has been applied to older neighborhoods in an effort to revitalize, and in other cases the urban village creates a neighborhood that did not exist before.¹⁶³ Phoenix planners had also implemented an urban village model in the early 1980s, as a means to “create self-contained urban sub-areas for housing, jobs, stores, recreational and educational facilities,” and to garner tax revenues by way of regional shopping centers.”¹⁶⁴ Each village in Phoenix also had its own Planning Committee that works with the City of Phoenix in developing the overall plans for the city as well.¹⁶⁵

The “city of villages” plan did not go over well at first with residents and the press in San Diego. Many believed that the idea would benefit only the developers and the wealthy, and that contrary to arguments supporting the idea, there were fears that traffic and smog problems would only worsen.¹⁶⁶ The city of

¹⁶² Thomas Tseng, “Growing Urban Villages: Cultivating a New Paradigm for Growth and Development in California,” (Malibu, CA.: Davenport Institute of Pepperdine University, 2006), 4.

¹⁶³ Ibid.

¹⁶⁴ Carol Heim, “Border Wars: Tax Revenue, Annexation, and Urban Growth in Phoenix,” (Amherst, MA.: Political Economy Research Institute, University of Massachusetts, 2006), 28.

¹⁶⁵ City of Phoenix, Planning Department, “Village Planning Handbook,” (1986, updated 2002), 2.

¹⁶⁶ Randy Berkman, “City of Villages: Pros and Cons: Weighing in on San Diego’s Land Use Plan,” *San Diego City Beat*, September 18, 2002.

villages project was approved by city council, and by 2004, they had selected five neighborhoods to be developed as “pilot villages.”¹⁶⁷ But progress was slow, and over the next few years, budgetary limitations, investors and partnerships did not materialize, and the success of the program was in doubt.¹⁶⁸

It became clear that the “City of Villages” element alone could not address the urban problems facing San Diego in the 21st century with the city was still functioning under the 1979 General Plan. Provisions for the villages idea did not exist in the older plan, so as the pilot villages were being developed, so, too, was a new city plan being drafted. When it was completed, the 2008 General Plan, like the planning documents before it, began with John Nolen’s words and history. The 2008 plan clearly defines the city by population by race, class, employment, and income levels, and specifically shifts the focus of planning to investment and infrastructure. Beginning with a statement that “only 4 percent of land in the San Diego region remains vacant,” the 2008 plan promised to:

“shift in focus from how to develop vacant land to how to reinvest in existing communities. Therefore, new policies have been created to support changes in development patterns to emphasize combining housing, shopping, employment uses, schools, and civic uses, at different scales, in village centers. By directing growth primarily toward village centers, the strategy works to preserve established residential neighborhoods and open space, and to manage the City’s continued growth over the long term.”¹⁶⁹

¹⁶⁷ City of San Diego, Planning Department, “Pilot Villages”: <http://www.sandiego.gov/planning/genplan/pilotvillage/index.shtml> (accessed January 23, 2011).

¹⁶⁸ Kelly Bennett, “Taking Years to Raise a Village,” *San Diego Voice*, September 17, 2007.

¹⁶⁹ City of San Diego General Plan, “Strategic Framework,” (2008), SF 6.

By directing efforts inward, and in specifically targeting the diversity between village centers, the 2008 plan represents a change in city planning in San Diego. Even though the 1979 General Plan also refocused on the downtown, the 2008 General Plan defined more clearly the goals for downtown, and for its perimeter, and allowed each of its “villages” to develop a central core of their own as well:

“The City of Villages strategy identifies a village as a mixed-use center of a community where residential, commercial, employment, and civic uses are present. The intent is that a high quality of urban design will achieve the maximum possible integration of uses and activities connected to the surrounding community fabric and the transit system. Villages will be compact and walkable, with inviting streets and public spaces for community events. Villages will serve as focal points for public gatherings as a result of their outstanding public spaces. In addition to compact residences and retail establishments, villages will contain public spaces that include plazas, public art, cultural amenities, transit centers, enhanced streetscapes, urban trailheads, parks and pocket parks. Publicly-oriented buildings including civic buildings and monuments, public facilities, and social services will also contribute to villages as activity centers.”¹⁷⁰

With the 2008 General Plan barely two years old, it is too soon to tell or predict the effectiveness of the planning department’s “village centers” approach. The 2008 Plan met with positive responses by residents, and was passed unanimously by city council and received the Daniel Burnham National Award for Comprehensive Planning.¹⁷¹ The 2008 Plan was also honored as an Orchid

¹⁷⁰ City of San Diego General Plan, “Urban Design Element,” (2008), UD-20.

¹⁷¹ American Planning Association, “Daniel Burham Award Presentation Video: San Diego General Plan (2008): http://wn.com/APA_Awards_2010_City_of_San_Diego_General_Plan (accessed January24, 2011).

Recipient from the San Diego Architectural Foundation for its “citywide long-range vision and provides a comprehensive policy framework for how the City should plan for projected growth and development, provide public services, address sustainability, and maintain the qualities that define San Diego over the next 20 to 30 years.”¹⁷² Finally, for the first time in city planning in San Diego, the 2008 General Plan also devoted a substantial section devoted to historic preservation and heritage. What did not change was the introduction to the plan utilized the vision and quotations of John Nolen, the use of the word *paradise* to describe San Diego, and the emphasis on quality of life as the cornerstone of planning in the city.

City planning in San Diego after WWII did not progress quickly. Population increases, physical growth outward produced by annexation, and dramatic shifts in racial diversity, income levels, and varying interests of the residents outpaced the efforts of city leaders to effectively plan and manage the changes in San Diego. Voters, too, played a part in the slow development of efficient city planning after WWII due to their frequent unwillingness to approve planning initiatives put before them at the ballot box.

The overall approach to planning in San Diego was a “big picture” kind of strategy.¹⁷³ But for San Diego, this did not represent a change or anything new.

¹⁷² San Diego Architectural Foundation, “Orchids and Onions,” <http://www.orchidsandonions.org/2008/08/4/city-san-diego-general-plan-2008> (accessed January 24, 21011).

¹⁷³ Hogan, 10.

Since the late nineteenth century, city leaders, and residents, demonstrated a “big picture” kind of thinking that resulted in the successes of the 1915 Exposition, in bringing the Navy to its harbor, and to the city’s phenomenal growth after WWII. Despite the planning documents of 1967, 1979, and 2008 that each sought to reframe civic goals, and to reinvigorate downtown while better serving outlying areas, the reality is that “big picture” planning in San Diego will never die. As long as each planner, developer, and residents continue to quote and be inspired by John Nolen, and the “Temporary Paradise?” study, “big picture” planning will remain a strong influence in San Diego.

Historic Preservation in San Diego before WWII

Historic preservation in San Diego, like city planning, began in the early twentieth century, and holds a distinct connection to the 1915 Panama-California Exposition. Many of the same people who worked to bring the exposition to the city also took the first formal steps in preserving the past in San Diego. After the exposition, the conservation of the exposition buildings, and the desire to keep expanding the tourism economy, fueled public interest for the development of historic sites. Because San Diego is the oldest city in California, and among the oldest of Sunbelt cities, how the past is understood, and presented, raises questions about how historic preservation in older cities presents challenges that are different from those in younger cities.

Beginning with the physical restoration of the Casa de Estudillo in Old Town in 1908, a civic commitment to historic preservation in San Diego took

hold. Financier John D. Spreckels commissioned Hazel Wood Waterman to restore the Casa de Estudillo in preparation for the 1915 Panama California Exposition. The goal of the project was to influence exposition visitors to also come to Old Town. Waterman's interpretation and painstaking attention to detail resulted in an authentic presentation of Mexican era adobe style brick-making and building.¹⁷⁴

Around the same time, George Marston purchased land to preserve the legacy of Junipero Serra, and within twenty years his efforts created Presidio Park and the Serra Museum.¹⁷⁵ In 1928, Marston started the San Diego Historical Society as part of the overall vision he had to preserve the history and heritage of San Diego. Often called "San Diego's First Citizen," Marston took the first official steps in preserving history in San Diego.¹⁷⁶

Along with Marston, small groups of citizens oversaw historic preservation efforts in San Diego and their work laid important groundwork in the

¹⁷⁴ Hazel Wood Waterman Collection. MS42. The Estudillo Series. Box Two. File Nine. San Diego History Center.

¹⁷⁵ George Marston, "Presidio Park: A Statement of George W. Marston, 1942," *The San Diego Journal of History* 32, no 2 (Spring, 1986): <http://www.sandiegohistory.org/journal/86spring/index.htm> (accessed January 21, 2011).

¹⁷⁶ "First Citizen of San Diego" is most used to describe George Marston that attributing the first use of the term to a single person or source would be impossible. Most agree that "first citizen" was first used in a publication by Etta Adair of the *San Diego Union* in a June 6, 1942 newspaper article but that the description had already been used to describe Marston as he aged and remained a prominent part of San Diego social and political life well into the 1930s and 1940s. He died in 1946 at 97 years old.

1920s by maintaining historic structures, and in the formation of several grassroots preservation organizations. These groups did what they could to protect the Mission and many structures in Old Town. Their efforts also resulted in the acquisition of external funding for preservation in Old Town from the Works Progress Administration (WPA) during the 1930s. A second exposition in San Diego in 1935, the California Pacific Exposition, further expanded Balboa Park, and produced income for the city to continue the preservation of buildings from the 1915 exposition.

The WWII years in San Diego shifted the focus in the city to more immediate issues that supported the war effort. The war years brought an influx of new people, a need for housing and services, and an increased interest in building a military-based economy. The decade marked another turning point when civic pioneer George Marston died in 1946. Marston's activism in the city spanned nearly eight decades, and had produced the foundation for historic preservation in the city through restoration projects, the donation of land for historic sites and museums, his contributions to Balboa Park, and in creating the city's first historical society. Marston's legacy in historic preservation in San Diego can be found in the number of times his name gets recalled by preservationists, developers, and planners long after WWII.

Historic Preservation in San Diego Since 1950

In 1955, the SDHS published the first issue of *The Journal of San Diego History*. Winifred Davidson offered a summary of the city's history in "San Diego in One Easy Lesson:"

"A century ago Spanish-speaking Old Town and the newly created County of San Diego were best known for the Franciscan establishments including Mission San Luis Rey and sub-stations at Pala and Santa Isabel. Though originals have melted away and structures at the old sites are either restorations or replicas, it is true that many visitors to these pioneer "reminders" feel, even now, something of our romantic Spanish past still lingering."¹⁷⁷

Historical authenticity and the conflict between the "romantic Spanish past" and the realities of Mexican influence in the area remained yet unresolved issues in the 1950s, but the San Diego Historical Society (SDHS) acted as an anchor for all things historic in the city by funding renovations, coordinating efforts on a wide variety of projects, and in serving as the voice of preservation.¹⁷⁸ Balboa Park expanded during the 1950s, and the San Diego Zoo, the San Diego Museum of Art, the Natural History Museum, and the Museum of Man were successfully attracting visitors and growing. Overall, preservation projects in the city continued to be overseen and managed by small groups of people, and usually

¹⁷⁷ Winifred Davidson, "San Diego in One Easy Lesson," in *Journal of San Diego History* 1 no. 1 (January, 1955): <http://www.sandiegohistory.org/journal/55january/index.htm> (accessed April 1, 2011).

¹⁷⁸ San Diego Historical Society formally changed their name to the San Diego History Center in December 2009. They believed that the new name would offer consistency in that they oversee so many projects that often "SDHS" did not always rightly identify them and was even confused with San Diego High School.

volunteers. Tourism was keeping Old Town alive through the 1950s, primarily through the work of volunteers, but tourist dollars did not produce enough income for large restoration projects. San Diego, like most American cities, did not have the funds on their own to sponsor large scale preservation or restoration plans.

The most organized movement to directly address historic preservation efforts in Balboa Park came in the 1960s. Again emerging from grassroots citizen-run groups, Bea Evenson and the “Committee of One Hundred,” formed in 1967, focused on renovating, and recreating if necessary, the Spanish Colonial Revival architecture of the 1915 Exposition.¹⁷⁹ Bea Evenson was particularly skilled in fundraising, and the group’s first project, the recreation of the Casa del Prado, garnered over 3 million dollars in funding from grassroots fundraising and municipal bonds.¹⁸⁰ But the unusual successes of groups like the “Committee of One Hundred” were not easily replicated on the local level.

A major change point came with federal legislation in the 1960s. The National Historic Preservation Act of 1966 (NHPA) created opportunities and support for the identification and management of historic sites and structures.¹⁸¹ The new law also provided for the defining of historic districts, established historic preservation offices at the state level, and encouraged financial incentives

¹⁷⁹ Bea Evenson Balboa Park Preservation Collection. Collection Number C047. San Diego History Center Research Archives.

¹⁸⁰ Ibid.

¹⁸¹ National Historic Preservation Act of 1966, Public Law 89-665, 89th Cong., 2d sess. (October 15, 1966).

for restoration of historic buildings.¹⁸² The Act went further in creating the National Register of Historic Places, and a federal Advisory Council.¹⁸³ The NHPA empowered state and local governments, and grassroots organizations, to identify historic sites, and to locate funding for the maintenance and restoration needed.

The state of California already had a state parks system, and within two years the state made use of the provisions in the NHPA to bring the California Historical Landmarks Advisory Committee in alignment with federal requirements. On the state level, interest was high in creating state historic parks, and in the preservation of the twenty-one California missions. The passage of the Cameron-Unruh Beach, Parks, Recreational and Historical Facilities Bond Act of 1965 made funding available in a variety of categories, but its inclusion of “historical facilities” laid the groundwork for the transference of the Old San Diego to the state parks service.¹⁸⁴ The state first studied Old Town in San Diego in 1966, and made recommendations that the park be brought into the state park system.¹⁸⁵

¹⁸² Ibid.

¹⁸³ Ibid.

¹⁸⁴ Cameron-Unruh Beach, Parks, Recreational and Historical Facilities Bond Act of 1965, Section 2.4a.

¹⁸⁵ “San Diego Old Town Study.” State of California Department of Parks and Recreation Report, 1966. Administrative Files, Box 3, Folder 3. San Diego State University Special Collections.

In San Diego, along with a new General Plan in 1967, the city acted quickly to participate in new historic preservation legislation by creating the Historical Resources Board (HRB).¹⁸⁶ The early efforts, and the limited authority of the HRB, remained primarily focused on downtown historic buildings, residential homes, and on Balboa Park.¹⁸⁷ But there was concern at the city level with the deteriorating conditions at Old Town and the need to repair and restore some of the 19th century buildings before they were lost. Community action committees, mostly made up of volunteers, worked with the city to try to find solutions for Old Town.¹⁸⁸ Through a series of applications and community support meetings, Old Town San Diego was transferred to the state parks system, becoming Old Town State Historic Park in 1968.¹⁸⁹

In addition to new federal, state, and local legislation, a new historic preservation group got organized, the first since the San Diego Historical Society was formed in 1928. The Save Our Heritage Organisation (SOHO) formed initially to save a single structure, the Sherman-Gilbert house, a Victorian built in

¹⁸⁶ San Diego City Planning Division. "Old Town San Diego Community Plan," (July, 1987), 4.

¹⁸⁷ Ibid.

¹⁸⁸ San Diego City Planning Division. "Old Town San Diego Community Plan," (July, 1987), 4.

¹⁸⁹ California State Parks. "Strategic Plan for Old Town San Diego," (2005), 2.

1887.¹⁹⁰ Slated for demolition, grassroots organizers set about gathering public support and donations to raise the money to move the Victorian to another location in Old Town. They had envisioned a “Victorian Preserve” as they called it, and this “preserve” to be constructed in Old Town, would serve as a new home for as many historic homes as they could save.¹⁹¹ SOHO members, numbering less than forty at the time, did the physical work on the house, barraged local newspapers with letters, campaigned their cause to local politicians, and worked with the Historic Resources Board of San Diego. The Sherman-Gilbert was saved, and then moved from near downtown San Diego to Old Town.

More than a singular success of saving one old Victorian house, the furor created by SOHO in every form of local media they could access, brought historic preservation into the public discourse in San Diego. Further, their actions and activism joined the debates already underway in the city about uncontrolled growth, revitalization ideas for the downtown, and in overall quality of life in San Diego. Throughout the next thirty years, SOHO expanded and their philosophies about preservation, renovation, and authenticity evolved over time and they grew to be a major political force in San Diego. Chapters three and four in this study include additional consideration of SOHO’s work in tourism, education, public outreach, and historic preservation.

¹⁹⁰ Kathleen Flanigan, Save Our Heritage Organisation, “Twenty Years of Preservation History in San Diego,” October 1989, available at: <http://sohosandiego.org/main/twenty.htm> (accessed March 10, 2011).

¹⁹¹ *Ibid.*

City planning and historic preservation both evolved gradually after WWII. Throughout the 1950s, as the population grew, and the city set about annexing new land, no formal documents of long term planning were written, and, with the exception of Balboa Park, no major advances were made in historic preservation. But by the mid-1960s, new legislation had passed and formalized city plans were approved by voters, and new preservation organizations began to form. During the next thirty years, preservation groups specific to race and ethnicity also grew in number, demonstrating the city's diversity, past and present.

After 1970, planners, developers, and preservationists needed to work together in order for the historic sites in San Diego to be maintained, for revitalization of the downtown to succeed, and eventually to decide together how to re-use Naval Training Center when it closed in 1992. Chapter Three examines the participants, conflicts, compromises, and outcomes of those collaborative endeavors.

Civic Identity & Heritage

Matt Bokovoy argued that the groundbreaking ceremonies in 1911, held in preparation for the 1915 exposition, represented a benchmark moment in the shaping of civic identity in San Diego. The fanfare surrounding the groundbreaking included a four-day *Pageant of the Missions* presentation that celebrated the city's mission era and Spanish history. Bokovoy concluded that it was in 1911 that San Diego "began an engagement in history and memory with its

Spanish colonial past.”¹⁹² However, as benchmark as the 1911 groundbreaking ceremony was, the foundation of civic identity in San Diego began in the late 19th century.

The 1911 groundbreaking, and the 1915 exposition, can be better described as the culmination of three decades of development of civic identity in San Diego that began with the idea, in 1868, to create a 1400 acre park in city that had fewer than 2,300 residents.¹⁹³ Further, in an era when the City Beautiful movement emerged primarily as a response to industrialization and urbanization, the creation of such a large scale park in a town with no industry at all, best marks the moment when a definable civic identity in San Diego began to take shape.¹⁹⁴ The nature of civic identity in San Diego, over time, demonstrates tenacity, optimism, struggles with Spanish versus Mexican heritage, and most importantly, an unwavering certainty that San Diego is a historic city, located in paradise.

During the twenty years that followed the creation of Balboa Park, San Diego experienced a boom and bust of land speculation. By the 1890s, efforts to rebuild public and investor interest in the city, expand on tourism, and develop the harbor for ships, became the incentives to consider using the 1400 acre park to host a world event and entertain millions of visitors. With a population under

¹⁹² Bokovoy, 38.

¹⁹³ United States Census, based on comparison of 1860 and 1870 census years; the 1870 Census reported a countywide population of 4,951, not including Indians, and 2,300 non-Indian residents in the city of San Diego.

¹⁹⁴ Michele H. Bogart, *Public Sculpture and the Civic Ideal in New York City, 1890-1930* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1994), 56.

30,000, the resolve that such an idea was perfectly logical speaks volumes about the big picture kind of thinking in the minds of San Diegans before 1910.

Around the same time, city planner John Nolen submitted his first plan for San Diego, using the word paradise in his finished presentation to describe the pastoral environment in San Diego. John Nolen's first plan, and the Panama-California Exposition of 1915, did foster an early attachment to Spanish colonial heritage; however that bond weakened over time. Nolen's 1908 visit and the exposition hold greater significance in those features of San Diego that went to shape the city for over 100 years, because they marked the beginning of city planning and historic preservation in San Diego.

The success of the exposition sparked the population growth in San Diego that continued, without pause, for over eighty years. Also, the exposition resulted in the Navy choosing San Diego as its home port on the Pacific, and groomed the city into a Navy town long before WWII. A second Nolen plan, in 1926, became the city's primary guide for civic development for over forty years. The first formalized historic preservation project, the restoration of Casa de Estudillo in Old Town for the exposition, fueled interest in the history of the city, eventually leading to the creation of the San Diego Historical Society in 1928. A second exposition in 1935 expanded on all of these outcomes, leading to greater investment and public interest in San Diego.

So, long before WWII, the civic identity of San Diego became one of blending past with present in hopes of economic return by increasing the visibility of the city. The concept that city planning and historic preservation could be

mutually beneficial to each other was apparent in San Diego years before such collaborations became common in cities across the United States after WWII.¹⁹⁵

After the war, with population growth, physical expansion of the city boundaries, demographic shifts, and several period of economic upswings and downturns, civic identity in San Diego became much more difficult to define. For nearly twenty years after WWII, city planning and historic preservation in San Diego evolved alongside each other with few projects in common along the way. While small groups of city leaders worked to convince residents of the need to draw up an updated city plan for San Diego, even smaller groups of preservationists struggled on their own, with little money, to maintain historic sites such as the Mission, Old Town, and the Presidio. Only Balboa Park remained stable in the post war years, a center of activity, open to all, well-supported financially, and constantly expanding. San Diegans had least one physical space in their rapidly changing post war city, Balboa Park, that did not fuel much debate and that consistently remained enormously popular and well supported by visitors as well as locals.

A second problem in the post war years came as a direct result of explosive population growth. Through the 1930s, the population remained small enough that developing a sense of a common past, or at a least a recent one, was possible. After WWII, with the population doubling and tripling over twenty

¹⁹⁵ Judith Mattivi Morley, "Historic Preservation and the Creation of Western Civic Identity," in *Preserving Western History*, Andrew Gullilford, ed (Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 2005), 329. Morley points to historic preservation and urban revitalization after WWII as a major turning point in the use of historic preservation as an economic motivator.

years, notions of a shared past disappeared. What was missing in post war San Diego was the “power of place,” as Hayden called it, “the power of ordinary urban landscapes to nurture citizens’ public memory, to encompass shared time in the form of shared territory.”¹⁹⁶ The “social meaning” of San Diego needed to be more fully developed for a new set of residents before they would be able to acquire an understanding of the historic landscape around them.¹⁹⁷

For planners, even though three city plans were approved by voters in 1967, 1979, and again in 2008, the self-image of the city as a paradise, first posited by John Nolen, and reinforced by Lynch-Appleyard’s “Temporary Paradise?” report, proved to be a resilient vision. Despite urgent civic problems that included uncontrolled growth, mismanaged suburbs, economic boom-bust cycles, lack of adequate water delivery systems, and poor transportation, San Diego remained a *paradise* in the imaginations of many, and in planning documents, throughout the post war period.

By 1970, planners and preservationists, along with city leaders, private developers, and nonprofit organizations, found themselves working in common spaces. Planners had become a little more adept at predicting voters in San Diego by this time, and historic preservation as a field had matured, becoming more professional with sets of standards and legislation to guide the work. Through a process of conflict and compromise, and over many years, the participants in

¹⁹⁶ Dolores Hayden, *The Power of Place: Urban Landscapes in Public History*, 9.

¹⁹⁷ *Ibid.*, 13.

planning and in preservation confronted challenges produced by the economics, and politics, of civic memory.¹⁹⁸ An examination of San Diego during these years offers a compelling example of how the fields of planning and historic preservation both evolved, and changed, as they sought to create a usable and meaningful past in a modern, livable city.¹⁹⁹ More specifically, by looking at individual historic preservation projects in San Diego after 1970, it is possible to see the transformation in preservation efforts from goals of saving history and historic places to contributing to and shaping the urban environment. Further, the partnerships formed, and the decisions made at each of these sites served to redefine civic identity in ways that helped to create a shared past.

The management of historic Old Town, transferred to the state parks system, needed to consider economic issues and revenue, but also authenticity as well as practical problems such as Old Town's proximity to downtown San Diego and the airport. The urban revitalization project that sought to revive San Diego's downtown crossed paths with preservationists hoping to protect the city's early New Town era history. Minority groups spoke out when they felt omitted from the public presentation of the past in downtown San Diego. Downtown merchants

¹⁹⁸ Max Page and Randall Mason, "Rethinking the Roots of the Historic Preservation Movement," in *Giving Preservation a History: Histories of Historic Preservation in the United States* (New York: Routledge Press, 2004), 10.

¹⁹⁹ Van Wyck Brooks, "On Creating a Usable Past," *The Dial* (April 11, 1918), 337. Brooks first used the term "usable past," referring to literature and writers; since then the term has been used across many disciplines; historian Michael Frisch offered an in-depth discussion of how usable pasts are created in public spaces in *A Shared Authority: Essays on the Craft and Meaning of Oral and Public History* (Albany: State University of New York Press, 1990).

who feared losing customers to the revitalized Gaslamp District and Horton Plaza, used history to their favor by creating a Little Italy that they could market and use to increase interest in their neighborhood. Finally, with the closing of Naval Training Center (NTC), nearly a century of the city's Navy past came to an end and much sooner than anyone had ever expected.

David Lowenthal argued that "heritage's potential for both good and evil is huge."²⁰⁰ In San Diego, both good and evil appeared along the way as each project brought with it an array of participants who held strikingly different goals and notions of authenticity. Most came to into projects and debates believing that they brought virtuous goals, the best plan, and a deep sincerity. "Benign and baneful consequences are intertwined," Lowenthal warns, "heritage vice is inseparable from heritage virtue. Yet heritage is customarily either admired or reviled in toto. Devotees ignore or slight its threats; detractors simply damn its ills and deny its virtues."²⁰¹

Chapters three and four offer examples of devotees and detractors in San Diego. The examination of specific projects and developments involving historic preservation in Chapters three and four also reveals that from conflict came some of San Diego's best and occasionally worst, historic preservation milestones. Along the way, and despite many changes, certain aspects of civic identity and

²⁰⁰ David Lowenthal, "The Heritage Crusade and its Contradictions," in *Giving Preservation a History: Histories of Historic Preservation in the United States*, ed. Max Page and Randall Mason (New York: Routledge, 2004), 21.

²⁰¹ *Ibid.*

heritage in San Diegans remained: the tenacity, optimism, and most importantly, the unwavering certainty that San Diego is a historic city, located in paradise.

CHAPTER 3

OLD TOWN SAN DIEGO

In the decades after WWII, longtime San Diegans rediscovered their city's past while newer residents began embracing their new city's history. Balboa Park and Old Town served as the two most important historic public spaces that blended the city's past and present for everyone. Balboa Park and Old Town became places where old and new residents interacted in the early post war years, and both sites helped to cultivate public interest in local history. Balboa Park expanded regularly during these years and did so because of consistent work by well-funded groups devoted solely to the preservation of the park. Old Town presented a different picture: it struggled to maintain buildings, and it presented a confusing mixture of Spanish, Mexican, and Anglo heritage. Yet, longtime and new residents consistently supported and enjoyed Old Town throughout the post-WWII years because of the many popular festivities held at the site.

City leaders, developers, and preservationists began forming complex partnerships in the late 1960s in order to preserve and present San Diego's historic past. They faced many challenges as they worked to develop formalized and organized approaches to historic preservation, but these obstacles were not unique to San Diego. It took time for preservationists in the United States to assume

leadership roles in the facilitation of “a constructive dialogue between past and present and to unify people around a shared civic vision.”¹

After 1970, historic preservation advocates throughout the United States gradually began to benefit from partnerships between public and private sectors, and from federal, state, and local tax credits and legislation that supported the identification and protection of historic sites.² Also after 1970, historic preservation across the country “gained currency as an alternative to urban renewal,” with “its effectiveness being measured by economic criteria.”³ Eventually, urban renewal in San Diego also opened the door for historic preservationists to become active partners in urban revitalization. But historic preservation in post-WWII San Diego began first in 1968, when the oldest historic site, Old Town San Diego, became a State Historic Park.

Many historically inaccurate and fantasized restorations had occurred after 1900 at Old Town, so preservationists faced the challenge of un-doing previous historical presentations. Next, they began developing more authentic narratives, but state parks acted slowly and inconsistently, letting decades go by with needed changes being documented in reports, but not acting on those mandates. Between 1971 and 2001, and despite hints and occasional news stories about possible

¹ Andrew Hurley, *Beyond Preservation: Using Public History to Revitalize Inner Cities* (Philadelphia: Temple University Press, 2010), xii.

² William Murtagh, *Keeping Time: The History and Theory of Preservation in the United States* (Hoboken, N.J., 2005), 61.

³ Andrew Hurley, *Beyond Preservation*, xii.

changes at Old Town, the lack of action by state parks allowed local residents to become accustomed to informal activities and festivities that merely “referenced the past.”⁴ Over time, the experiences that many people expected from a visit to Old Town became comfortable and widely perceived to be historical...or at least *historical enough*. The interruption of those traditions came in 2001, bringing an abrupt end to a set of retail stores and restaurants that the public loved. Public outcry became emotionally charged, resulting in an eight-year battle over tradition and historical authenticity at Old Town.

The significance of Old Town to historic preservation is also in how effectively the site mirrors the transformations in the field of historic preservation during the 20th century. Old Town’s place as a historic site began first with preservation projects steeped in literary mythology, and was followed by others in the 1930s inspired by a preference for Spanish over Mexican heritage. In the late 1960s when historical authenticity began to be a driving force, Old Town became a State Historic Park but it took another forty years beyond that and a great deal of tension and grassroots activism before anything close to agreement was reached on how best to present the historical narrative of Old Town.

Understanding historic preservation at Old Town involves an examination of the site over a long period of time, and through several change points that occurred at the site. The first of these major changes came with the 1907 restoration of Casa de Estudillo which fueled, and solidified the *Ramona* myth at

⁴ Ibid.

Old Town. A few decades later the reconstruction of the Old Adobe Chapel provides an example of how one structure, and its replica, became state historic landmarks. A broader and more complex narrative begins in 1968 when California State Parks system began management of Old Town. Operating under financial constraints, and often at odds with the public in San Diego, park managers and planners needed to undo many commercialized kinds of history and find ways to bring historically authentic interpretations and physical designs back into Old Town. In all, Old Town represents some of the most successful historic preservation outcomes but also some that failed miserably and sent preservationists, developers, and state park managers scrambling back to the drawing board.

Many features of the broader evolution of the field of historic preservation in the United States can be identified in the analyses of specific historic sites in San Diego in chapters three and four. The development of historic sites in San Diego, beginning with Old Town San Diego, also provides useful examples of how economics, city planning, political influence, local opinion, and urban revitalization intersected with historic preservation goals in very distinctive ways in California's oldest city.

Old Town: 1900 to 1968

Old Town San Diego is located just north of downtown San Diego, and was founded in 1769, making it the oldest European settled site in the state of California. (Figure 3.1)

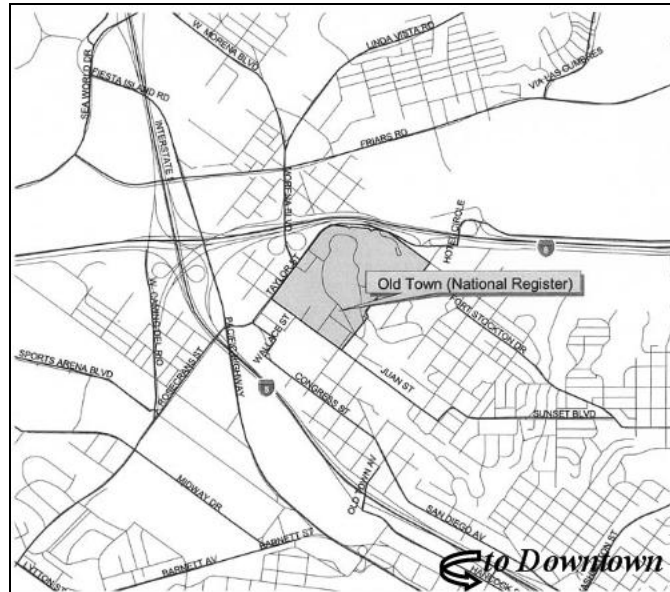


Figure 3.1: Old Town San Diego; Map courtesy Centre City Development Corporation and modified by author

The historic and cultural significance of the site includes Indian heritage, the Spanish colonial period and Mexican era, and, after 1848, American history. Old Town served as the social and economic center of San Diego until the 1870s, when Alonzo Horton successfully led the effort to relocate all government offices and records to New Town. During the next century, Old Town largely declined, although interest in and restorations of particular buildings occurred from time to time.

The first major restoration to a structure in Old Town came in 1907, when John D. Spreckels commissioned Hazel Wood Waterman to restore the Casa de Estudillo in preparation for the 1915 Panama California Exposition. A businessman who was well-established in San Diego by 1907, Spreckels held a substantial amount of authority in exposition preparations. In contrast, Waterman

came into the Casa de Estudillo restoration project at thirty-eight years old, and with only three years of experience as an architect. Further, her architectural education, and experience, came after being widowed, leaving her a single mother, in 1903.⁵ As a middle aged woman in a largely male-dominated field, Waterman was a nontraditional architect in every sense of the word when Spreckels commissioned her for the Casa de Estudillo restoration project. Despite Waterman's credentials, Spreckels made many of the decisions as the project evolved, and this becomes important later when certain aspects of the project were criticized, particularly the inclusion of the *Ramona* stories.⁶

Waterman's interpretation and painstaking attention to detail resulted in an authentic presentation of Mexican era adobe style brick-making.⁷ But there were also fictional ties and references made to characters in Helen Hunt Jackson's best-selling novel *Ramona*.⁸ After the book was published, stories began circulating in San Diego that Old Town served as the real life inspiration for the fictional Ramona's marriage ceremony, and the tales endured throughout the late 19th

⁵ Dydia DeLyser. *Ramona Memories: Tourism and the Shaping of Southern California* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 2005), 106.

⁶ Hazel Wood Waterman Collection. MS 42. The Estudillo Series. Box Two. File Nine. San Diego History Center. "Restoration of a Landmark," 9.

⁷ Ibid.

⁸ Helen Hunt Jackson. *Ramona*. First published in 1884 and a bestseller in its time, *Ramona* told the fictional tale of a half-Indian woman who grew unaware of her Indian ancestry until she falls in love with an Indian man. Together they endure hardships and discrimination and witness the treatment of Native peoples by the federal government. Jackson's intent was to highlight these atrocities.

century.⁹ The focus on *Ramona* during the restoration was due in large part to Spreckel's marketing of Old Town to exposition attendees specifically as "Ramona's Marriage Place."¹⁰ Although Waterman later disputed that she played any part in fueling the *Ramona* myth, her notes kept during the restoration, and her recollections of the experience decades later indicate otherwise.¹¹ In her notes, Waterman quoted the novel *Ramona* and refers to them as influential in her design.¹² Nevertheless, she became furious that signs noting *Ramona* overshadowed the real and historical Estudillo family.¹³ (Figure 3.3)

⁹ Jackson did travel throughout California and visited San Diego while writing her book and did claim that all of her characters were based on real people though no clear documentation exists that Old Town or any of its residents specifically inspired her local descriptions.

¹⁰ *Ramona's Marriage Place* brochure. Circa 1910. Hazel Wood Waterman Collection. MS 42. Box One. File Ten. San Diego History Center. Spreckels ordered signs and brochures all touting "Ramona's Marriage Place" and these were distributed throughout the run of the 1915 Panama-California Exposition.

¹¹ Hazel Wood Waterman Collection. "Specifications for Restoration of Typical Spanish California Dwelling Popularly Known as "Marriage Place of Ramona." MS 42. The Estudillo Series. Box Two. File Nine. San Diego History Center. In *Daring to Dream: The Life of Hazel Wood Waterman* (San Diego: San Diego Historical Society, 1987) biographer Sally Thornton interpreted Waterman's notes to be a reflection of how Spreckels had drawn up the contract with Waterman and not necessarily Waterman's own beliefs. More recently, Dydia DeLyser explored the *Ramona* myth in greater detail in *Ramona Memories: Tourism and the Shaping of California* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 2005).

¹² Hazel Wood Waterman Collection. "Restoration of a Landmark," 9.

¹³ *Ibid.*



Figure 3.2: Ramona's Marriage Place, 1923. Photo Courtesy San Diego History Center

Waterman's role during the restoration of Case de Estudillo was limited by the power of John Spreckels as head of the project, and by the professional limitations inherent on women working in the male-dominated field of architecture in the early 1900s.¹⁴ Most of her aggravation with the signage and her repudiation of the reliance on *Ramona* as an advertising ploy came after 1930.¹⁵ By that time, Waterman enjoyed influence and power of her own having opened her own firm by then, and spoke out in ways that she probably felt in 1907 but

¹⁴ Sally Allaback, *The First American Women Architects* (Champaign-Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 2008), 34. Allaback lists Waterman among the first 50 American women architects between 1880 and 1915 (234), and points out that no professional organization for women architects existed until 1920 when the Association of Women Architects (AWA) was founded.

¹⁵ Hazel Wood Waterman, "Restoration of a Landmark," 10.

lacked the authority to direct the outcome.¹⁶ The use of the *Ramona* mythology to attract tourists does not minimize Waterman's achievement in historic preservation in her dedication to authentic adobe brick making, and its incorporation into the restoration of Casa de Estudillo.

The significance of *Ramona* in the history of Old Town is best characterized by how firmly the literary mythology took hold, and for how long it endured. The *Ramona* myth represents an important example of how reality can become blurred by historical inaccuracy at historic sites, and demonstrates the influence that popular culture of one era can have for decades to follow. The signage identifying Casa de Estudillo as the "Ramona's Marriage Place" was not removed until 1969, and even then with some public discontent over its removal.¹⁷

As recently as 2005, the "Strategic Plan for Interpretation" for Old Town State Park identified the fact that because of the *Ramona* myth, the "Waterman restoration has itself become historic," making their preservation task two-fold.¹⁸ First, they hope to shift the focus at the Casa de Estudillo away from *Ramona*, and back to Mexican era history, and specifically to the Estudillo family. Second, the report concluded that the goal needs to be to start all over with new research on

¹⁶ Allaback, 224.

¹⁷ Dydia DeLyser, 113.

¹⁸ Strategic Plan for Interpretation at Old Town State Park, 2005. 38.

adobe-style architecture, and period furnishings, and to eventually produce a more authentic narrative.¹⁹

Although the *Ramona* mythology represents the best known of the fictional stories designed to fuel tourism at San Diego's Old Town, it is not the only kind of history that preservationists after 1970 needed to unravel. Another obstacle emerged from nearly a century of emphasizing the Spanish colonial period before 1821 over the Mexican era, or the American period after 1848. Even though the Presidio, on a hill above Old Town, served as a Spanish military outpost through 1821, those years did not produce many physical structures in Old Town.²⁰ While these early decades hold historical significance to the Mission era, the development of a community, or pueblo, came during the Mexican era after 1821.²¹ Despite the community-building history of the Mexican era, the sentimental preference for Spanish colonial history, because of its connection to the Mission era, gained strength over time.²² The 1915 Exposition added to the creation of a Spanish colonial atmosphere in San Diego when planners employed Spanish colonial architecture in the design for exposition buildings.

By the 1930s, both Balboa Park and Old Town celebrated and projected a Spanish past. During the 1930s, the Works Progress Administration (WPA)

¹⁹ Ibid.

²⁰ For a more extensive history of the Presidio, see Chapter One.

²¹ Strategic Plan for Interpretation at Old Town State Park, 2005. 38.

²² Bokovoy, xvii.

financed some preservation projects in Old Town, and these projects became the first major historic preservation undertakings in Old Town since 1907. The WPA projects only further reinforced the Spanish past. In its most prominent effort at Old Town the WPA funded the rebuilding of the Old Adobe Chapel, built in 1850.²³



Figure 3.3: Old Adobe Chapel with Bells, 1870s,
Photo Courtesy SDHC.

²³ Eugene Chamberlin. “Adobe Chapel of the Immaculate Conception,” booklet prepared for the 1988 dedication of the Old Adobe Chapel as California Registered Landmark #49, 11. The chapel earned designation as a California State Historic Landmark and the plaque identified it as a WPA rebuild of the original chapel. The inscription on the historic marker includes the reference to the chapel as the inspiration for Helen Hunt Jackson’s *Ramona*. The San Diego Historical Days Association continued the physical maintenance of the chapel for another sixteen years.

The Old Adobe Chapel began as a house, built by Old Town resident Don Jose Aguirre for his family, and was converted into a chapel in 1858.²⁴ (Figure 3.3) The original chapel was bulldozed by the WPA in order to realign the streets in Old Town, and because an entire wall of the chapel had fallen.²⁵ In constructing a replica of the chapel, the WPA designers made use of authentic adobe materials, and included some of the original interior furniture that had survived the demolition.²⁶ In the 1930s, constructing replicas of historic adobe structures in the American southwest was a common feature of the WPA programs, particularly if the history of the structure was well-documented.²⁷ In addition, the process of building a replica provided jobs and training in adobe brick-making by the WPA.²⁸

But the chapel, too, soon became tied to the *Ramona* myth. Advertised as the true site of Ramona's fictional marriage ceremony, the Old Adobe Chapel replica served many uses after 1937 that included its use as a school, a church, a storage facility, and a retreat for priests.²⁹ For the next fifty years, the chapel was maintained by a group of Catholic priests, and then by the San Diego Historical

²⁴ Ibid., 11.

²⁵ Ibid.

²⁶ Ibid.

²⁷ James Fitch, *Historic Preservation: Curatorial Management of the Built World* (Charlottesville, Va.: University of Virginia Press, 1990), 187.

²⁸ Chamberlin, 11.

²⁹ Ibid.

Days Association, but no further improvements or renovations were made, and only minimal maintenance was financially feasible.³⁰

Neither the 1937 restoration nor the chapel's many uses since prioritized the Mexican era. So, along with the *Ramona* myth, the chapel became a confusing representation of Spanish colonial, mission era, and literary mythology, and remained so for many decades. The chapel bells came from the mission, and much of the interior artwork in the Old Adobe Chapel also reflected the mission era of San Diego even though the chapel building did not exist until 1850. The reason for this is that even in its early years, the chapel served as a storage site for mission artifacts, so the bells were readily available. However, the public display of pre-1821 artifacts in the chapel mistakenly implied a connection to the Spanish mission past.

The care of the Old Adobe Chapel after 1937 was limited to basic maintenance, and not much else was possible for 50 years. Preservation issues at Old Town after 1937 were handled individually for each structure, and by a variety of dedicated groups and organizations. The inconsistencies such as those described for Casa de Estudillo and the Old Adobe Chapel, continued throughout Old Town for many years.

Residents referred to Old Town as "Old San Diego" before 1968, and despite the overall decay of many structures, Old San Diego enjoyed widespread popularity with locals and tourists. Largely focusing on a Spanish themed heritage, the brochures and information distributed or sold to the public included

³⁰ Ibid., 12.

the Ramona stories, and touted the various festivals, foods, and retail vendors that occupied the site after WWII. One such brochure advertised “the fiesta spirit of the early Spanish Dons and their ebullient families, their love of beauty, their inherent generous courtesy and almost overwhelming hospitality still constitute the dominating note in this section which so strongly breathes of the historic past.”³¹

Brochures for visitors included references to the Mexican influences, yet the overall celebratory nature of the Spanish influence remained dominant. In addition, these materials were prepared by small groups of individuals whose loved Old Town San Diego but their bibliography reflected little reliance on historians, and did not even reference the San Diego Historical Society.³² The brochures had been written for tourists, and intended to inform and entertain as well as encourage people to return again to visit Old Town San Diego. Presenting accurate history did not constitute the primary goal.

The introduction told the reader that “the purpose of this book is to pass along to others a measure of the happiness experienced in Old San Diego.”³³ With little else being published, the stories contained in the brochures, including

³¹ Mary Lloyd, “Old San Diego: The Birthplace of California, Founded 1769,” (San Diego: Neyenesch Printers, 1950), 6. This fifty page brochure sold for 75 cents throughout the 1950s.

³² The bibliography for the brochure published by Neyenesch Printers contains 45 individuals and only two organizations, the San Diego County Historical Days Association and the Native Daughters of the West.

³³ Mary Lloyd, 7.

numerous pages devoted to *Ramona*, had the effect of perpetuating some flawed history. Despite the celebratory and flawed information given to visitors, the efforts of the individuals and small organizations who worked at Old Town contributed to the survival of Old Town for locals and tourists after World War Two, but they were never able to generate enough revenue to do more than very minimal maintenance or preservation of historic structures. The level of funds needed to maintain a site as aged as Old Town needed to come from larger agencies, and ultimately from legislative protections and opportunities, which began to materialize in 1965.

The passage of the Cameron-Unruh Beach, Parks, Recreational and Historical Facilities Bond Act of 1965 signaled the first wave of change in historic preservation in California. This legislation made funding available in a variety of categories but its inclusion of “historical facilities” laid the groundwork for the transference of the Old San Diego to the state parks service.³⁴ That same year, the city of San Diego formed its first Historical Sites Board, and in 1966 the State Department of Recreation and Parks conducted studies across the state. Their study included Old San Diego. Their findings concluded that Old San Diego possessed good potential for development as an historic site, and they supported its eventual acquisition into the state parks system.³⁵

³⁴ Cameron-Unruh Beach, Parks, Recreational and Historical Facilities Bond Act of 1965, Section 2.4a.

³⁵ “San Diego Old Town Study.” State of California Department of Parks and Recreation Report, 1966. Administrative Files, Box 3, Folder 3. San Diego State University Special Collections. Much of the credit for early identification of Old

The San Diego City Council adopted a formalized policy of its own in 1967 to begin addressing historic authenticity in Old Town. When the city council passed the Old San Diego Architectural Control District Ordinance, it mandated that “all forms, materials, textures and colors shall be in general accord with the appearance of the structures built in Old San Diego prior to 1871.”³⁶ The following year, the city adopted the Community Plan for Old San Diego that set guidelines for structural issues and for the location of signage and advertising. The Community Plan also required advertisers and retail vendors to be sensitive with regard to the “unique historic character of the community.”³⁷ The strides in state and local legislation, along with the passage of the federal National Historic Preservation Act in 1966, marked the beginning of a new era for Old Town, and set the stage for an even more significant change at Old Town, becoming a State Historic Park.

Town’s potential as a state park is often credited to James Mills, State Assemblymen for San Diego, who in 1964 first suggested the idea. More about Mill’s early contributions as Director of San Diego Historical Society, and as Curator of the Serra Museum can be found in Richard Pourade, *City of the Dream*, 1940-1970, Chapter 12, “The Future: Renewing the ‘City Beautiful.’”

³⁶ San Diego City Council. “Criteria – Old San Diego Architectural Control District,” Adopted September 12, 1967, Resolution # 191556. Administrative Files, Box 1, Folder 8. San Diego State University Special Collections.

³⁷ City of San Diego Planning Department, “Old San Diego Community Plan,” (1968). 2. Administrative Files, Box 1, Folder 6. San Diego State University Special Collections.

Old Town Becomes a State Historic Park

The acquisition of Old Town by the State Park system in 1968 came as part of the overall planning for the Bicentennial of the state California in 1969. State park managers promised to bring uniformity so that decisions and changes affected every structure instead of each structure being managed and maintained by different groups. All vendors within the park also became subject to state parks regulations. There was strong local support for Old Town to become a State Historic park site because along with expected attendance as part of the 1969 state Centennial celebrations, the change meant additional funding for planned archaeological excavations and building restoration.³⁸ Also, San Diegan James Mills, the leading legislative advocate for Old Town to become a state historic park, was well-liked in the city, and his advocacy for the idea helped to secure public support.³⁹

During the first three years after becoming a state historic park, the site did not experience any major changes. Park managers did succeed in earning designation for Old Town on the National Register of Historic Places by 1971. The three categories of historic areas of significance awarded to Old Town were social, military and government/politics, and the three historic time periods identified by both the state and national registers as historically significant were

³⁸ Iris Engstrand, *San Diego: California's Cornerstone* (San Diego: Sunbelt Publications, 2005), 185.

³⁹ *Ibid.*, 200.

1800-1824, 1825-1849 and 1850-1874.⁴⁰ Finally, the primary historic function identified for Old Town's became categorized as domestic and as a historic landscape with its historic sub-function to be as a plaza and village site.⁴¹ The overall goal intended to shift Old Town away from functioning only as recreational and cultural which had been the case before 1968.⁴²

Both the state and national registers made it clear that the historic status designations came with criteria identifying short and long term changes needed to be made at Old Town. No timelines were mandated because until 1968 only a few research historical and architectural reports had been prepared and published.⁴³ The newly defined categories of historic significance and delineation of historic time periods, and functions provided a foundation for future planning, and for decision-making in Old Town, but implementing change occurred slowly, mostly due to fluctuations in the state parks budget.⁴⁴

Over the next thirty-five years, several buildings at Old Town were repaired and restored, and attendance, along with revenue generated by the park,

⁴⁰ Old Town San Diego Historic District aka Pueblo de San Diego. National Register of Historic Places, added 1971. District # 71000182.

⁴¹ Ibid.

⁴² Ibid.

⁴³ The Old San Diego Community Plan of 1966 and the San Diego "Old Town" Study prepared by California State Parks and Recreation, also in 1966, both contained nomination criteria, and lists of necessary changes to be made at Old Town after becoming a state park, but until the mid-1970s, no deadlines or timelines were published for any changes.

⁴⁴ Engstrand, 215.

steadily and consistently increased.⁴⁵ Old Town had become a favorite destination for locals and tourists alike, but it seemed to be less clear why people enjoyed coming to the state historic park. Eventually, dissatisfaction with changes made at the site led to disputes, public protest, and even a boycott of Old Town by some local residents. These conflicts demonstrate the importance of understanding how visitors interpret a historic site, and their reasons for visiting, and further reveal the difficulty in undoing commercialized, yet very popular presentations of local history.

Old Town in the 1970s

Within a few years of becoming a state historic park, change came to Old Town. However, the first of these changes had nothing to do with history or preservation. In 1971, local entrepreneur Dian Powers opened the Bazaar del Mundo, or “marketplace of the world.” The Bazaar offered an array of shops and restaurants, featuring items and food from around the world, and it quickly became enormously popular with local residents and tourists.⁴⁶ (Figure 3.4)

⁴⁵ Ibid., 216.

⁴⁶ Ibid.



Figure 3.4: Bazaar del Mundo as it looked 1971-2004,
Photo by Author.

The Bazaar del Mundo exemplifies the bookends of an extraordinary thirty-year period in Old Town history. The Bazaar eventually became the cornerstone of the debate between those who felt that Old Town needed to be more historically authentic and others who argued that Old Town had to be economically successful, and loved by the public. But in the beginning, and throughout the 1970s, the Bazaar del Mundo did what no other effort in Old Town to date had done on a regular basis, and year-round, and that was to bring the public and tourists to the site, and they came in droves.⁴⁷

Researchers and professionals also undertook new endeavors in the early 1970s, and began by producing detailed architectural research reports at Old

⁴⁷ Ibid., 215.

Town in preparation for restorations, and to set rules for any new buildings. The first of these reports, “Old San Diego: Architectural and Site Development Standards and Criteria,” in 1972, outlined detailed rules and guidelines for landscaping, lighting, street design, parking, and for all structures in Old Town.⁴⁸ The researchers compared Old Town to historic preservation at other 19th century Spanish districts, including Santa Barbara, Monterey, and Olvera Street in Los Angeles, and stated a primary goal of preserving the “unique historic character of the community” of Old San Diego.⁴⁹ The report acknowledged that Old Town “lacks an overall appearance reflective of its historical background,” and that historic structures were being “lost amidst incompatible commercial, industrial, or residential developments.”⁵⁰

This report recommended that restoration and repairs at Old Town be focused most on the historic period “prior to 1871.”⁵¹ And the report acknowledged their intent to remain “in general accord with the designs prevailing during the principal recognized historical periods of Old San Diego commonly known as the Spanish Period, Mexican Period, and American

⁴⁸ Old San Diego Planned District Review Board and the City of San Diego. “Old San Diego: Architectural and Site Development Standards and Criteria,” (September, 1972), 2.

⁴⁹ Ibid.

⁵⁰ Ibid., 8.

⁵¹ Ibid., 21.

Period.”⁵² However, a contradictory statement followed, “the Spanish and Mexican periods are covered together, due to underlying similarities and extensive overlapping of details which make it virtually impossible in most cases to adopt an either-or approach.”⁵³ Throughout the rest of the report, the term “Spanish-Mexican” replaced most references to either Mexican or Spanish. This report became the primary guide for preservation and restoration at Old Town for the next five years.

The frustration of finding it “virtually impossible” to identify the differences between Spanish from Mexican suggests that there was a sincere commitment to doing things right at Old Town, and to following criteria set by state parks and the federal registers in producing authentic restorations. But there was a lack of research, and not yet enough input from history professionals, skilled in period restoration, for those involved in the early work at Old Town to be confident in exactly how to achieve those goals.

Throughout the 1970s, the impact and provisions of the 1966 National Historic Preservation Act began to be acted upon in California, and new agencies and legislation were still evolving. Historic preservation became an integral part of annual state planning in 1975, when the “California Historic Preservation Plan”

⁵² Ibid.

⁵³ Ibid.

replaced the “California History Plan.”⁵⁴ More than a change in wording, this Preservation Plan expanded the definition of historic preservation to include cultural diversity, and it provided for the creation of public awareness programs, state matching grants to local groups, and the development of tax incentives for protection of historic properties.⁵⁵

This decade also brought changes in historic preservation at the local level. First, the state of California created new financial incentives, to be managed at the city level. Second, the Mills Act, created by San Diego state Assemblyman James Mills, passed the California legislature in 1972, empowering city governments to voluntarily offer property tax discounts for owners of historic properties.⁵⁶ The Mills Act did not have a direct or immediate impact on Old Town, its passage and statewide approval of the program by voters in 1976 ushered in a new era in preservation in California and in San Diego.⁵⁷ The Mills Act opened doors of opportunity for cities, organizations, and individuals, to have a powerful role in the identification and protection of historic properties. Finally, new preservation organizations, begun as grass roots efforts in San Diego, became

⁵⁴ Nadine Ishitani Hata, *The Historic Preservation Movement in California, 1940-1976* (Sacramento: California Department of Parks and Recreation, Office of Historic Preservation, 1992), 161.

⁵⁵ *Ibid.*, 162.

⁵⁶ The Mills Act, sponsored by San Diegan and State Senator James Mills, was originally drafted to provide assistance for the restoration and maintenance of the Hotel del Coronado.

⁵⁷ Hata, 123.

increasingly vocal in preservation debates, and prevailed in many of them. The Save Our Heritage Organisation (SOHO) emerged as the most important of these groups.

The historic preservation advocacy work of SOHO began with the saving of one historic house in 1969. By the early 1970s, SOHO secured a presence in Old Town when it created Heritage Park as a site for the preservation of old Victorian homes that they had saved and moved.⁵⁸ Within a few years, SOHO succeeded in also saving the historic Santa Fe Depot in San Diego from demolition, and they successfully battled city hall, and downtown developers, to save Horton Park and the Broadway Fountain.⁵⁹ The expanded public role of SOHO in San Diego, and their physical presence in Old Town, foreshadowed their eventual influence in historic preservation decisions made for Old Town.

The direct involvement of state and local history professionals at Old Town began in earnest in 1977 with the publication of the “Old Town State Historic Park Resource Management and General Development Plan (GDP).” The plan directed Old Town managers “to recreate the total authentic atmosphere of the interpretative period so that visitors can experience all dimensions of that

⁵⁸ Details about SOHO’s first project, the Sherman-Gilbert House, see Chapter Two of this study.

⁵⁹ Kathleen Flanigan, “Twenty Years of Preservation Efforts in San Diego, 1969-1989,” (SOHO, 1989), <http://sohosandiego.org/main/twenty.htm> (accessed January 21, 2011), and for more discussion of SOHO involvement with Horton Park and the Broadway Fountain see the Gaslamp Quarter section of this chapter.

historic era.”⁶⁰ The 1977 the General Development Plan mandated that follow-up studies be done every five years to monitor authenticity, but no update was ever drafted by state parks until 2005.⁶¹ The failure to update the 1977 GDP reflected budgetary priorities at the state level. In addition to scholarly and city planning research reports, Old Town booster and historian Joe Toigo completed a detailed and well-researched diorama of Old Town as it looked in the 1860s and 1870s.

(Figure 3.5)



Figure 3.5: 10 X 12 foot Diorama of 1860s Old Town, built by Joe Toigo in 1972, Photo by author.

⁶⁰ California State Parks, “Old Town State Historic Park Resource Management and General Development Plan,” (Sacramento: California Department of Parks and Recreation, 1977), 3.

⁶¹ California State Parks, “Old Town State Historic Park Resource Management and General Development Plan,” 2. The 2005 GDP pointed to the 1977 GDP for its lack of establishing formalized steps towards the stated mission and goals.

Old Town in the 1980s

Throughout the 1980s, city planners and some local Old Town groups produced a few more reports, and state park management developed some new interpretative guidelines for docents. Local newspapers regularly followed all decisions regarding Old Town very closely. In 1984, aware that city planners had begun a new study about Old Town, the *San Diego Union Tribune* ran a lengthy feature article about upcoming changes at the historic site.⁶² “Some of the things you see now, you won’t see 25 years from now,” claimed James Neal, a former manager at Old Town.⁶³ Neal’s prediction was a specific reference to the Bazaar del Mundo, considered by state parks to be nothing more than a commercial vendor with no historical ties to 19th century San Diego in its public presentations.⁶⁴

By 1983, the Bazaar del Mundo was grossing an average of \$11 million dollars per year, and paid \$543,661 in space rent to the state. However, the eventual demise of the Bazaar appeared inevitable, according to state Senator James Mills who called the Bazaar “a Zorro myth,” and argued that state historic parks were not about “theme shopping centers.”⁶⁵ Historian Iris Engstrand pointed out that the Bazaar had already won the hearts of locals and tourists, and even

⁶² Gina Lubrano, “Old Town: Park Planners Eye More History, less Theme,” *San Diego Union Tribune*, June 25, 1984.

⁶³ Ibid.

⁶⁴ Ibid.

⁶⁵ Ibid.

though she “would like to have more buildings representing Old Town as they were in the 1850s,” she did not believe it was too late for Old Town to survive as a historic park.⁶⁶ Stephen Lusk, head of the task force planning the new study, offered an ominous prediction in response to those hoping to shut down the Bazaar del Mundo, “I think the citizens of the community would rise up in arms if they tried to tear it down.”⁶⁷

But other than a few newspaper articles, no major public criticism of the Bazaar surfaced after 1984, and no serious steps were taken by state parks to deal with the commercial nature of the Bazaar del Mundo over the next eighteen years. Instead, the focus remained on working with the city of San Diego to build up the neighborhood around Old Town, including the construction of hotels, and better accessibility to the site through public transportation.

In 1987, the city planning department published “The Old Town Community Plan,” updating its own 1968 “Old Town Community Plan.” The city planners offered several alternatives for better land use in and around Old Town, and concluded that the best approach combined “tourist and residential development.”⁶⁸ In addition, the 1987 planners focused on the impact of nearby freeways, the construction of hotels, parking, and in working with developers to

⁶⁶ Ibid.

⁶⁷ Ibid.

⁶⁸ City of San Diego Planning Department. “Old San Diego Community Plan” (1987), 16. Administrative Files, Box 1, Folder 6. San Diego State University Special Collections.

design residential neighborhoods around the perimeter of Old Town.⁶⁹ The report not only sought to enhance existing retail stores in Old Town, but add new ones as well.⁷⁰ The planners who wrote this report also explored ways that Old Town created jobs and generated revenue. Beyond this point, however, the report significantly affected Old Town by specifically identifying structures at Old Town as being Spanish-created or Mexican-built. The report listed only two sites as being created in the Spanish era: the Presidio and the Casa de Carrillo in Old Town, fifteen structures as from the Mexican era, and only five more added in the American period, 1848 to 1872.⁷¹ The attention to separating structures by historic period marked a notable advance from earlier claims that making such distinctions was “virtually impossible.”⁷²

City planners in 1987 also suggested a perimeter plan with a design reflective of how the landscape looked in the 1850s.⁷³ The planners believed that the development around the historic center, Old Town, should be “fortress-like,”

⁶⁹ Ibid., 22.

⁷⁰ Bill Cleator, City Councilman, letter to Mayor and City Council, October 29, 1987, contained within the Introduction to “Old San Diego Community Plan” (1987), 16. Administrative Files, Box 1, Folder 6. San Diego State University Special Collections.

⁷¹ Ibid.

⁷² Old San Diego Planned District Review Board and the City of San Diego. “Old San Diego: Architectural and Site Development Standards and Criteria,” (September, 1972), 2.

⁷³ City of San Diego Planning Department. “Old San Diego Community Plan” (1987), 99. Administrative Files, Box 1, Folder 6. San Diego State University Special Collections.

and that the natural landscape of hills around Old Town be preserved.⁷⁴ (Figure 3.6)

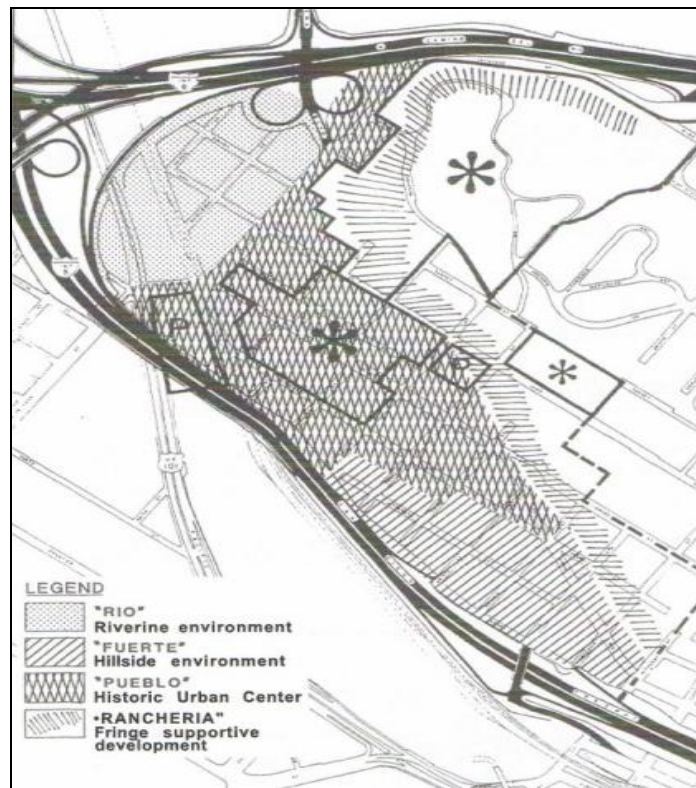


Figure 3.6: “Historic Development Context,” City of San Diego Planning Department, 1987.

New construction of homes, hotels, and other businesses would be allowed in the perimeter but height limits, and period-specific exteriors would be required.⁷⁵ The 1987 Community Plan could only make recommendations to the city council, and

⁷⁴ Ibid.

⁷⁵ Ibid., 97.

had no enforcement or mandating powers.⁷⁶ But this report remained at the local level, with only parts of it adopted by the city of San Diego, and because the perimeter of Old Town was outside the control of state parks, the ideas contained in the report did not become a part of planning at the state parks level either.

In addition to large-scale planning in and around Old Town, public interest in particular historic structures within Old Town increased during the 1980s. In 1988, the Old Adobe Chapel earned national designation as an historic landmark. The booklet prepared for the 1988 dedication ceremony attempted to put the *Ramona* myth to rest.⁷⁷ The author, Eugene Chamberlin, argued that in a 1905 interview with the *San Diego Union Tribune*, Father Ubach, by then over 80 years old, claimed to be the actual inspiration for the fictional “Father Gaspara” in the 1884 novel, thus adding fuel to the *Ramona* myth.⁷⁸ But, according to Chamberlin, Father Ubach did not even meet Jackson until a few years after the book was published.⁷⁹ Despite this evidence, “Ramona’s Marriage Place,” continued to appear in public presentations at Old Town, and in tourist literature, well past 1988. And because the Old Adobe Chapel went on to become a focal point in Old Town, the *Ramona* myth went right along with it.

⁷⁶ City of San Diego Planning Department. “Old San Diego Community Plan” (1987), 5.

⁷⁷ *Ibid.*, 8.

⁷⁸ *Ibid.*

⁷⁹ *Ibid.*

As the decade came to a close, Old Town had been economically successful in terms of attendance and revenue, with several buildings restored, and with some improvements made for parking and transportation around the site. Historic authenticity in and around Old Town remained a problem, particularly among vendors and concessionaires, and other retail businesses on the perimeter of the site. State parks began to address issues of historic authenticity in the 1990s, but their efforts proved to be inconsistent.

Old Town after 1990

Although rumors floated for years that long time vendors would eventually be pushed out of Old Town if they did not make their stores more historically authentic, only one vendor had actually been evicted. The owner of Manlo's General Store, open since 1946, was warned to "de-modernize" her store to a more historically authentic presentation, or be evicted.⁸⁰ The leases awarded to most Old Town merchants after 1990 became month-to-month once their long term leases, many of them begun in the 1970s, expired.⁸¹ Without multi-year leases, the merchants feared spending money on major renovations to favor authenticity, and believed they were losing investors in their businesses because investors required more stability than month-to-month leases provided.

⁸⁰ Jeffrey Miller, "De-Modernization Threaten San Diego Shop," *Los Angeles Times*, May 18, 1986.

⁸¹ Angela Lau, "Old Town Concessionaires Voice Worries," *San Diego Union Tribune*, May 18, 2002.

Concessionaires and vendors, including the Bazaar del Mundo, operated under a cloud of uncertainty.

Concessions run by a single, large corporate firm such as Marriott were attractive to state parks because it allowed them to deal with one contract as opposed to managing dozens of contracts and leases with smaller, individual merchants and retailers.⁸² In 1990, a single attempt to bring in large scale concessions failed when Host International, a division of Marriott, began and ended a lease with state parks within two years.⁸³ The winning bid by Host International had edged out a few local merchants, some of them in business in Old Town for over 25 years.⁸⁴ But problems developed when Marriott changed the longtime name of Old Town's central plaza from "Squibob Square," to "Dodson's Corner", and when they offered a primarily American cuisine which critics called "airport food."⁸⁵ Whether or not Marriott guaranteed eventual historic authenticity never became an issue because the corporation voluntarily pulled out of Old Town after two years.⁸⁶

⁸² Gene Yasuda, "State Lease Award Angers Merchants," *Los Angeles Times*, March 27, 1990.

⁸³ Ibid.

⁸⁴ Ibid.

⁸⁵ Don Bauder, "Will Bazaar del Mundo Become Another Squibob Square?" *San Diego Reader*, May 27, 2004.

⁸⁶ Ibid.

Once again, the topic of historic authenticity in some of the most visible places within Old Town, the shops, restaurants, and retail spaces, came and went, as it had done in 1984, with no permanent decisions or changes made. Bazaar del Mundo had been unaffected directly by the Marriott years because the Marriott contract was for the central plaza portion of Old Town only. So the Bazaar kept going and increasing revenue for state parks every year, and helping Old Town to become to highest revenue-generating park within the state parks system throughout the 1990s.⁸⁷

For their part, state parks management shifted their focus back into historical interpretation at Old Town, publishing several pamphlets that made recommendations for docent presentations and for retailers as well. One of these publications, in 1992, laid out specific proposals for improvements to retail stores so that vendor operations reflected a 19th century atmosphere, but none of the guidelines were made mandatory, and no financial support, grants, or extended leases were offered.⁸⁸ The pamphlets also suggested new kinds of history education activities, and ideas for future development.⁸⁹ State park officials acknowledged that, “the 1992 Interpretative Program identified what needed to happen in the park, but not the mechanisms for how they were to be

⁸⁷ Editorial, “Sacramento stench; Shady politics pulled on Bazaar del Mundo,” San Diego Union Tribune, July 10, 2001.

⁸⁸ California State Parks, “Old Town State Historic Park Resource Management and General Development Plan,” (Sacramento: California Department of Parks and Recreation, 2005), 3.

⁸⁹ Ibid.

accomplished.”⁹⁰ By 2001, few of the ideas and suggestions had been implemented. The stagnation, however, would soon change.

2001 - 2009: Crises at Old Town

The “Old Towns Action Plan” of 2001 represented a state-level initiative intended to redesign and update several historic sites in California. Old Town San Diego was selected as the first site to undergo the changes outlined in the plan.⁹¹ The plan included putting out a public call for bids for the concessions contract at Old Town. Diane Powers, owner of the Bazaar del Mundo, due to renew her lease, was notified by state parks that she must sign a labor union contract for employees, and make improvements to address historic authenticity, or the lease would not be renewed.⁹² No concessionaire in Old Town San Diego, or in any other California state park, had ever been mandated to unionize.⁹³ In addition to those warnings, Powers needed to submit a bid in order to stay at Old Town.

Power’s main competitor, Delaware North Company Parks and Resorts, was already unionized, and already held a lucrative contract at Asilomar State

⁹⁰ Ibid.

⁹¹ California State Parks, “Old Town State Historic Park Resource Management and General Development Plan,” 6.

⁹² Editorial, “Sacramento stench; Shady politics pulled on Bazaar del Mundo,” San Diego Union Tribune, July 10, 2001.

⁹³ Ibid.

Beach in California.⁹⁴ Further, Delaware North offered very specific plans as to how they would make adjustments to Old Town that conformed to historic authenticity in exhibits and presentations which was a requirement set forth by state parks in the Request for Proposals (RFP).⁹⁵

When contract competition began, the sixteen shops and four restaurants in the Bazaar generated \$25 million dollars per year, and over \$1.8 million dollars had been paid to the state in lease fees, but the transition to a new overseer of concessions was not only about revenue alone.⁹⁶ Delaware North agreed to pay \$2 million dollars a year in rent, and make an additional \$13.6 million dollars in improvements over 10 years. In addition, the company agreed to pay 8.5 percent of gross sales to state parks up to \$18 million dollars in revenue, and 9 percent after that.⁹⁷

Diane Power's bid offered \$1.5 million a year for rent, and \$9.9 million in improvements. Powers also offered 7.3 percent of gross sales without any increase if revenue exceeded \$18 million dollars in a year.⁹⁸ Delaware North had

⁹⁴ Ibid.

⁹⁵ Ronilee Clark, Chief Southern Division, California State Parks. Email to Author, February 10, 2011.

⁹⁶ Angela Lau, "Old Town Merchants fear Trouble," *San Diego Union Tribune*, July 28, 2001.

⁹⁷ Michael Gardner, "Bazaar del Mundo's Long Run in Old Town to End: Concessionaire is Out after 32 Years," *San Diego Union Tribune*, October 18, 2003.

⁹⁸ Ibid.

also agreed to opening a history and cultural center, train all employees to act as park docents, and they promised to create an atmosphere reflective of the period from 1821 to 1872 in San Diego.⁹⁹ In the end, “Delaware North’s proposal was significantly more responsive to the RFP and thus won the concession contract.”¹⁰⁰

While the legal challenges and court arguments focused on the issue of labor unions, state parks tried to explain the benefits of Delaware North in terms of historic authenticity, and the restoration of deteriorating structures that Delaware North agreed to do in their winning bid.¹⁰¹ Between July 2001 and May 2005, no changeover to Delaware Company Parks and Resorts occurred. Instead there was four years of lawsuits, public outcry that included a grassroots petition drive to keep Bazaar del Mundo, scores of newspaper articles, letters to the editors, and threats to boycott Old Town.

Letter to the Editor flooded the local papers throughout the four years of legal challenges.¹⁰² A common theme in most of the letters was the disapproval of historic authenticity being prioritized over public sentiment towards Old Town as

⁹⁹ Ronilee Clark in Michael Gardner, “Bazaar del Mundo’s Long Run in Old Town to End: Concessionaire is Out after 32 Years, *San Diego Union Tribune*, October 18, 2003.

¹⁰⁰ Ronilee Clark, Email to Author, February 10, 2011.

¹⁰¹ Ibid.

¹⁰² In reviewing the Union Tribune between 2001 and 2006, author found hundreds of letters to the Editors on the issue of Bazaar del Mundo, with just a few dozen that supported the change to Delaware North.

place to spend time, enjoy family and friends, good food. Many letter writers also displayed strong concerns about “outsiders” taking over concessions that had been locally-owned for more than three decades.

“San Diego does not need another "attraction" geared to earn the state more money. San Diego does not need another created atmosphere full of trained puppets selling trinkets to tourists. I personally don't care to be accosted by period garbed actors while I stroll through sage brush and manzanita.”¹⁰³

“Boring, boring, boring. The people of San Diego prefer a vapid mock-up of the late 1800s to the vibrant, vital Bazaar del Mundo? We want period tours? No, we do not. We want our eyes popped open to the energy of the cultures south of our border. We want the music and the dance.”¹⁰⁴

“To make it historically accurate will not draw a crowd, and without a crowd you don't make money.”¹⁰⁵

Despite the insistence of state parks that decisions at Old Town had to do with historic authenticity, and following through with their “25 year plan for Old Town set back in 1977,” the local media continued to press the financial losses of Bazaar del Mundo. In 2004, in one of the most scathing of articles in the San Diego Reader proclaimed that “the state still has a hang-up on historical authenticity - - or its own narrow vision of authenticity.”¹⁰⁶ Noting the failed

¹⁰³ Jill McDaniel, Letter to the Editor, *San Diego Union Tribune*, October 22, 2003.

¹⁰⁴ Barbara Crawford, Letter to the Editor, *San Diego Union Tribune*, October 22, 2003.

¹⁰⁵ Carolyn Dougharty, Letter to the Editor, *San Diego Union Tribune*, October 22, 2003.

¹⁰⁶ Don Bauder, “Will Bazaar del Mundo Become Squibob Square?”

attempt by state parks to bring Marriott International into Old Town in 1990, Don Bauder believed that the plan to award the new contract to Delaware North risked another financial and historic authenticity failure.¹⁰⁷ Further, Bauder accused SOHO director Bruce Coons of collusion with Delaware North when Coons accepted a consultant position with the incoming contractor.¹⁰⁸ Completely legitimate in the role, Coons had extensive knowledge and experience with adobe style architecture, historic paint color, and with the Mexican period in California history.

The next month, the San Diego Reader ran a follow-up article accusing SOHO of “being on the wrong side of development battles,” and argued that Bruce Coons and SOHO, along with Delaware North, really planned to “emphasize the American period” in Old Town.¹⁰⁹ The article offered no evidence to back up these claims. In general, other than consulting on 19th century adobe style buildings, and Mexican era history, SOHO remained out of the public fray over Old Town. Their time and efforts at Old Town were primarily in their acquisition of the Whaley House and the Old Adobe Chapel, in 2000 and 2004

¹⁰⁷ Ibid. Bauder admits that in 1990, Marriott International did receive a contract as a retail operation with no mandates or requirements for historic authenticity or contracted work for renovation or restoration. Marriott left in less than two years.

¹⁰⁸ Ibid.

¹⁰⁹ Don Bauder, “Wallet Preservationists,” *San Diego Reader*, June 10, 2004.

respectively, and renovating those two structures independent of Delaware North, or state parks.¹¹⁰

Throughout the remainder of 2004 and all of 2005, the battles waged on, in court and in the local media. But the public outcry and legal challenges all failed, and in May of 2005 the contract for concessions and entertainment transferred to Delaware North Company Parks and Resorts, and Diane Powers, and the Bazaar del Mundo merchants, were gone.¹¹¹ (Figure 3.7)



Figure 3.7: Plaza del Pasado, 2005, Photo by author

Local superintendent for Old Town, Ronilee Clark, insisted that the contract change was not about money, and that “the interpretative and historical

¹¹⁰ Save Our Heritage Organisation Newsletter, Fall, 2004, <http://sohosandiego.org/> (accessed January 24, 2011)

¹¹¹ Rachel Laing, “Old Town Ready to Turn Back the Clock: Bazaar del Mundo Changes Hands Next Week,” *San Diego Union Tribune*, May 26, 2005.

expertise we have now is more sophisticated, and we tried to have our programs reflect that additional knowledge.”¹¹² Clark also believed that Delaware North Company Parks and Resorts was simply more “responsive,” and that their winning bid proposal demonstrated them to be better prepared to meet the goals of historic authenticity in all areas of Old Town, including stores and restaurants.¹¹³

Outsourcing some parts of the management of public parks and historic sites to private companies through a competitive bid process was not something unique to California State Parks. Throughout the 1990s, other states had successfully done so.¹¹⁴ Several studies in the 1990s offered advice and warnings about to how handle this outsourcing process.¹¹⁵ Many researchers worried about how privatization might affect the mission of a state or national park, and whether privatization might alienate the public.¹¹⁶ Most of these studies used financial concerns to measure the success of privatization or public-private partnerships.¹¹⁷

¹¹² Ibid.

¹¹³ Ibid.

¹¹⁴ Peter Harnik, “Paying for Urban Parks Without Raising Taxes,” (Trust for Public Land, 1998), 8.

¹¹⁵ Charles Brewton, “A National Survey Assessing the Success of Privatization Policies in State Park Agencies,” Dissertation. Tennessee State University. May 2001, p. 41-5.

¹¹⁶ John L. Crompton, “Forces Underlying the Emergence of Privatization in Parks and Recreation,” *Journal of Parks and Recreation Administration* 16, no. 2 (1998), 88.

¹¹⁷ Brewton.

Even the National Park Service (NPS) was exploring the possible outsourcing of some NPS jobs and of privatizing certain activities within the NPS system. In 2003, Fran Mainella, Director of NPS, testified before Congress about the economic and cultural benefits of outsourcing NPS projects to the private sector through the competitive bid process.¹¹⁸ Charles Brewton found that California was the second most successful state park service in privatization through open public bid, and that the process had saved the state millions of dollars.¹¹⁹ Thus, the economic benefits of privatization to federal and state parks were well known. But, Mainella did not mention historic preservation and historic authenticity in her testimony, and Brewton's national study of privatization in state parks did not include historic preservation or public opinion in his data collection either.¹²⁰ Further, before opening the concessions contract out to public bid for Old Town San Diego, the California Department of Parks and Recreation had only privatized state parks and beaches that were not specifically historic sites.¹²¹ So, in 2001, the benefits and possible pitfalls of privatizing state *historic* parks were less clear, particularly with contracts that mandated adherence to

¹¹⁸ Fran Mainella. "Oversight on Competitive Sourcing," Testimony before U.S. Senate Committee on Energy and Natural Resources, July 24, 2003.

¹¹⁹ *Ibid.*

¹²⁰ Brewton.

¹²¹ State of California. Department of Parks and Recreations. *Concessions Annual Report, 2001/2002*, 4.

historic authenticity. Old Town San Diego was the first state park in California to be privatized with both economic and historic preservation criteria mandated.

Delaware North Company Parks and Resorts came with eighty years of experience in hospitality and concessions management to Old Town, and having worked at sites such as Niagara Falls, Yosemite, and the Kennedy Space Center.¹²² Their plan for Old Town began with the development of the “Plaza del Pasado,” (translated to the “Plaza of the Past”), which would contain merchants, restaurants, and educational signage and activities reflecting the designated time period. Their plans were guided by the state parks’ thematic plan for 1821-1872, and furnishings, décor, costuming of employees, and items sold would be reminiscent of the Mexican, and transitional American eras in Old Town. Yet every time a new activity prompted complaints.

“Recently I went to Old Town for lunch. What a disappointment, compared to the previous management of what was then called Bazaar del Mundo. I studied menus at three restaurants and, with only a couple of exceptions, the offerings were identical. Overall, it was very bland, substandard Mexican fare. This is what happens when we parcel out our heritage to the highest bidder, in this case, some corporation from back East. Millions of tourists coming to San Diego go to Old Town to eat "authentic Mexican" food. We have failed them. I, for one, will not be returning.”¹²³

¹²² Delaware North Company Parks and Resorts. Company Profile. <http://www.delawarenorth.com/Park-and-Resort-Locations.aspx> (accessed February 1, 2011).

¹²³ Pat Klausen, Letter to the Editor, *San Diego Union Tribune*, October 5, 2005.

Within two years of Delaware North Company Parks and Resorts taking over concessions at Old Town, some of their contracted promises were underway and making good progress. But attendance had fallen off, and revenue had decreased significantly. And the complaints and letters to the editor continued a regular basis.

“Then the powers that be sold out to a New York company. Waving dollars and promises of buckets of money, our local people were stabbed in the back. And for what? The Cosmopolitan restaurant instead of Casa de Bandini? The Jolly Boy Saloon instead of Rancho el Nopal? Puleeze! And we so miss the ambience, food and drink of the Casa de Pico. Never will we patronize the "Plaza del Pasado." It's that simple. Local pride, local history done by and for local people -- not a New York corporation! Delaware North, get a clue, go home. Let San Diego have its wonderful park and Bazaar back the way it should be.”¹²⁴

In August, 2007, Diane Powers agreed to a radio interview on the local PBS affiliate KPBS with Donna Renner, Concession Specialist for state parks. KPBS wanted the radio program to address the growing public concerns about Old Town. Officials from Delaware North Parks and Resorts were invited to participate in the interview, but they declined.¹²⁵

Throughout the KPBS interview, the radio host took incoming calls from listeners, all of whom expressed anger and frustration with the changes at Old Town. Renner acknowledged that as early as 2002, state parks had determined

¹²⁴ Cynthia Porter, Letter to the Editor, *San Diego Union Tribune*, June 25, 2006.

¹²⁵ Maureen Cavanaugh, Host. KPBS Broadcasting, “Bazaar del Mundo vs. Plaza del Pasado: Two Years Since Old Town’s Operations Changed Hands,” August 14, 2007.

that 40 percent of visitors at Old Town were local residents.¹²⁶ Host Maureen Cavanaugh, after remarking the 40 percent represented a substantial amount of public interest and support of Old Town, asked Renner if and why state parks officials were “surprised at the reaction of San Diegans and the public outcry.”¹²⁷ Renner responded that, “yes, it is a surprise that we didn’t understand what a close knit and loyal community San Diego was, and how cherished Diane Powers was, and is, in her Bazaar del Mundo operation.”¹²⁸

Renner also acknowledged that since Delaware North took over at Old Town that revenue was down 36 percent, and explained that regardless of local opinion, that state parks had a “responsibility to put business opportunities out to public bid.”¹²⁹ Renner also argued that state parks primary responsibility needed to be in “education, and then in inspiration and recreation for the public.”¹³⁰

Asked about her own historical interpretation goals, Diane Powers insisted that the suggestions she put forth in her bid for the state contract described the best approach as a “moving history,” starting from the mid-19th century and going

¹²⁶ Donna Renner, Concession Specialist, California State Parks , San Diego Coastal District, Radio Interview, KPBS Broadcasting, “Bazaar del Mundo vs. Plaza del Pasado: Two Years Since Old Town’s Operations Changed Hands,” August 14, 2007.

¹²⁷ Maureen Cavanaugh.

¹²⁸ Donna Renner.

¹²⁹ Ibid.

¹³⁰ Ibid..

through the 20th century.¹³¹ She envisioned the public presentation as a “then and now” style, with signage and displays to present how people “lived back then.”¹³² However, she believed that “keeping favorites of the public” was as important as the history presentations.¹³³ One caller, agreeing with Powers, called the new work being at Old Town as “history shoved down our throats.”¹³⁴

Renner described a different vision that state parks set for Old Town. “If it didn’t exist in the interpretative time period, then it cannot exist in Old Town today.”¹³⁵ She explained that exteriors of structures, furniture, the attire of employees, menu items, and even plants and vegetation needed to reflect the era of 1821-1872.¹³⁶ She pointed out that much of the vegetation that they removed was non-indigenous, required large amounts of moisture, and the watering even threatened historic structures. In addition, the music could no longer be “brass trumpet mariachi” because string mariachi is what actually existed in the 19

¹³¹ Diane Powers, Radio Interview, KPBS Broadcasting, “Bazaar del Mundo vs. Plaza del Pasado: Two Years Since Old Town’s Operations Changed Hands,” August 14, 2007.

¹³² Ibid.

¹³³ Ibid.

¹³⁴ “Paul,” call-in listener. Radio Interview, KPBS Broadcasting, “Bazaar del Mundo vs. Plaza del Pasado: Two Years Since Old Town’s Operations Changed Hands,” August 14, 2007.

¹³⁵ Donna Renner.

¹³⁶ Ibid.

century.¹³⁷ Diane Powers disagreed with most of those changes, and believed that “Old Town is different from other state parks,” and “locally supported,” and therefore she felt that state parks should have “treated Old Town differently.”¹³⁸ It was clear by 2007, in the local press, media, and among many San Diegans, that historic authenticity itself had become the most divisive issue at the oldest historic site in the state of California.

Throughout the debates in the press over the loss of the Bazaar del Mundo and those about historic authenticity, Delaware North representatives and staff at Old Town responded to press questions but they believed that the local press presented the views and plans of DNC unfairly.¹³⁹ Steve Casad, a longtime San Diego resident hired by DNC to oversee Old Town, recalls that “Diane Powers was very strong with the newspaper and we could never get our side of the story told. It made it impossible for us to be anything but the big company who pushed Diane out.”¹⁴⁰ Casad also believed that what Powers told the press and the public did not mesh with what actually happened in the bidding process, “I had many conversations and meetings with Dianne, who stated that she told the State Parks that the change would not work. She refused to bid on all components of the

¹³⁷ Ibid.

¹³⁸ Diane Powers.

¹³⁹ Steve Casad, Director DNC Operations at Old Town, Email with author, February 10, 2011.

¹⁴⁰ Ibid.

proposal, as she felt the new directive would not work. So with that in mind she did not win the contract and lost the operations.”¹⁴¹

In November 2008, frustrated with the local press coverage and after a year of declining attendance and revenues at Old Town, DNC issued a press release reiterating their promises and mission for Old Town, and outlined their progress.¹⁴² They wanted the public to know that all of their plans were following the 1977 mission and plan of California State Parks, and that they had “embraced all of the state’s requirements, from instituting educational programs for schoolchildren to placing a fulltime interpretative manager on staff who developed the interpretative program now delivered through the state park.¹⁴³ In addition, they outlined the progress on restaurants, the renovation of the Cosmopolitan Hotel due to open in 2009, and even pointed out the availability of absinthe as well as margaritas in the venues.”¹⁴⁴

But just a month later, the California Department of Parks and Recreation announced the transfer of the Delaware North contract to San Diego businessman

¹⁴¹ Ibid.

¹⁴² Lance Wellwood, “Delaware North Responding to Resident’s Feedback,” *San Diego Union Tribune*, November 30, 2008.

¹⁴³ Ibid.

¹⁴⁴ Ibid.

Chuck Ross, effective March 1, 2009.¹⁴⁵ Ross agreed to take assignment of the DNC contract with no changes to the terms. (Figure 3.8)

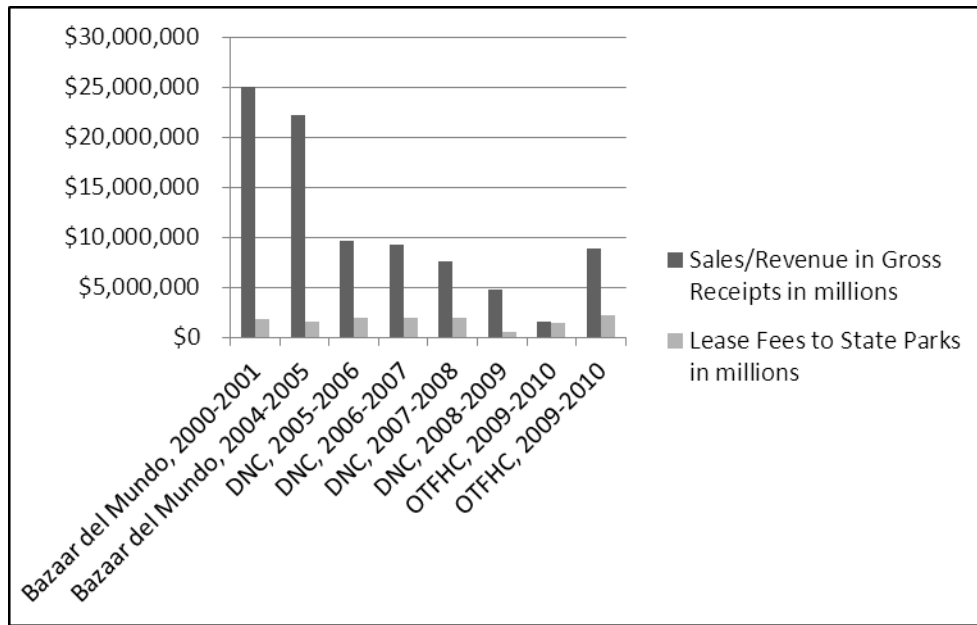


Figure 3.8: Fiesta de Reyes, 2009. Photo by Ellen Schultz-Arigo.

While the financial losses to the state, and city because of the ordeal that had begun in 2001 were serious, important structural improvements to the park had been made. (Table 3.1) However, renovations of 19th century buildings did get started, and archaeological studies of adobe structure sites were underway.

¹⁴⁵ California Department of Parks and Recreation, ‘New Concession Agreement for Old Town San Diego State Historic Park under Review by State Agencies,’ December 30, 2008.

Table 3.1: Revenue & Lease Fees Old Town State Historic Park, Fiscal Years 2001, 2004-2009



Source: California State Parks, Concessions Annual Reports 2001 and 2004-2009.¹⁴⁶

Chuck Ross immediately sought to regain public support. He began holding public forums, published a blog of plans and progress at Old Town, and renamed Plaza del Pasado, calling it the Fiesta de Reyes (translation as Feast of Kings) based on the votes of San Diegans.¹⁴⁷ In March 2009, the San Diego Union Tribune proclaimed it was “Like Old Times in Old Town,” and announced

¹⁴⁶ The contract with Bazaar del Mundo ended May 31, 2005 and DNC began on June 1, 2005. Old Town Family Hospitality Corporation (OTFHC) was assigned the DNC concessions contract on March 1, 2009.

¹⁴⁷ Chuck Ross, “Thanks for your Input, We Want More,” Fiesta de Reyes Blog, January 22, 2009.

that “everything old is new again.”¹⁴⁸ Ross brought back the popular and colorful 20th century patio umbrellas that state parks specifically wanted out.¹⁴⁹ Ross also reversed the controversial state parks personnel decision to unionize, firing the DNC union workers, although he did re-hire many of them under non-union arrangements.¹⁵⁰ By December, 2009, retail sales at Old Town increased 35% from the previous year under DNC management, and Ross was being called the “turnaround specialist.”¹⁵¹ Although Ross reversed a number of actions, he could not completely reverse what had happened. Even though some old retailers did return, Diane Powers had opened a new and smaller, Bazaar del Mundo, located just a block outside Old Town. (Figure 3.9) Ross continues to be proactive in asking for public input via comment cards in the park, and on the Facebook page that he created for Fiesta de Reyes.¹⁵²

¹⁴⁸ Penni Crabtree, “Like Old Times in Old Town,” *San Diego Union Tribune*, March 29, 2009.

¹⁴⁹ *Ibid.*

¹⁵⁰ Preston Turegano, “Old Town Story,” *San Diego Union Tribune*, October 26, 2009.

¹⁵¹ Lori Weisberg, “Old Town Park’s Turnaround Specialist,” *San Diego Union Tribune*, December 14, 2009.

¹⁵² Fiesta de Reyes, Facebook: <http://www.facebook.com/#!/fiestadereyes> (accessed February 1, 2010).



Figure 3.9: Map of Old Town State Historic Park, 2010.
Map Courtesy Old Town State Historic Park

Roy Stearns, a spokesman for state parks, observed in 2010 that the California Department and Parks and Recreation management, in an attempt to win back public support, is also “relenting a bit on the historical accuracy.”¹⁵³ Around the park, much of the 19th century educational information, for the time being, is limited to signage located along the walkways while allowing 20th century décor and ambience to remain. Ronilee Clark, Chief of the Southern Division of State Parks, explains that “the department recognizes the need to

¹⁵³ Michael Stetz, “Cause for Celebration: Old Town Lightens Up,” *San Diego Union Tribune*, May 2, 2010.

make changes slowly and we continue to move in the direction of enhancing the historic ambience of the park.”¹⁵⁴

Although the historical information on the signs is accurate, some of the signs still have an oddly modern twist. For example, the sign meant to explain the importance of beef in 19th century diets, also uses the 20th century advertising slogan, “beef: it’s what for dinner” in the middle of its educational message. (Figure 3.10) Most of the signs ask a question, such as “without grocery stores, how do you think people got fruits and vegetables?” But, the signs provide little information to answer such questions.

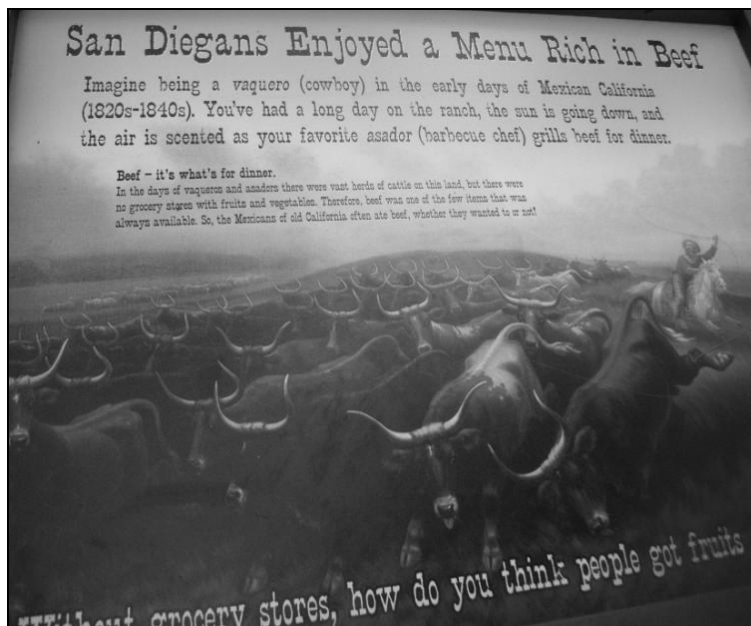


Figure 3.10: Sign at Old Town: “San Diegans Enjoyed a Menu Rich in Beef.” Photo by Ellen Schultz-Arigo.

¹⁵⁴ Ronilee Clark, Email with Author, February 10, 2011.

Another problem with the signage is that one sign presents information about the late 1800s, but the next sign displays information about the early 1800s, so the chronology becomes confusing for visitors. (Figure 3.11)

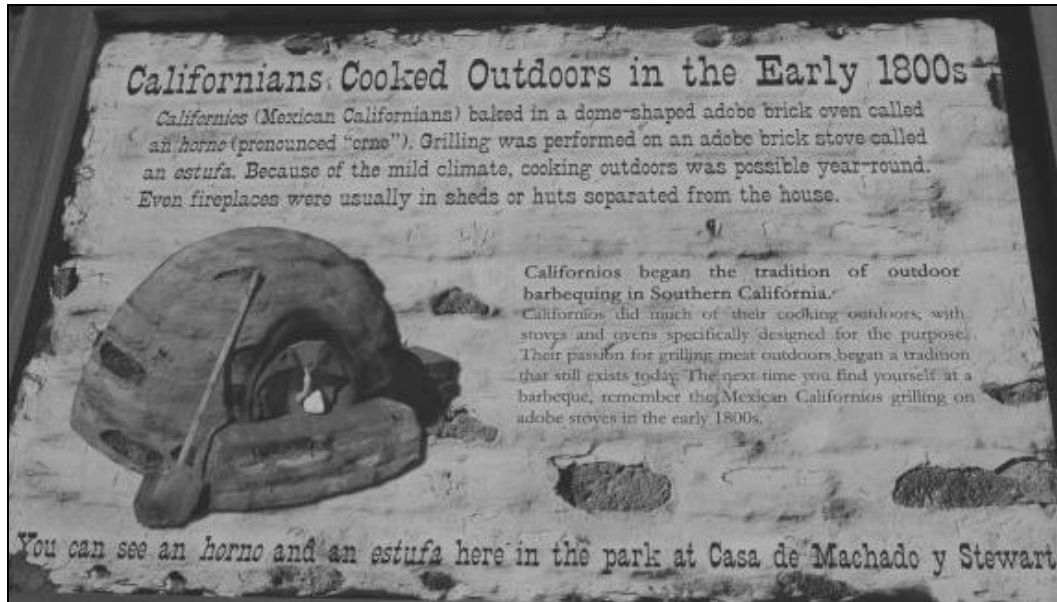


Figure 3.11: Sign at Old Town: “Californians Cooked Outdoors in the Early 1800s,” Photo by Ellen Schultz-Arigo.

Another sign contains biographical information about an important San Diegan, Pio Pico, and describe his multicultural ancestry. But the sign also implies that Old Town’s residents were diverse as well. But the sign does not explain in what ways 19th century San Diego was a “cultural mosaic.” (Figure 3.12)



Figure 3.12: Sign at Old Town: "Old Town Was a Cultural Mosaic," Photo by Ellen Schultz-Arigo.

Even more confusing, the sign asks the visitor, "Is California Still a Cultural Mosaic?" and "What can we learn from cultural conflict?" With only a portrait of one 19th century San Diegan, surrounded by a number of international flags, questions that ask about present day California and cultural conflict of the past simply become too broad, and most visitors just keep walking.¹⁵⁵ A final problem with the educational signs is one of logistics. The signs are placed along the main walkways, and if the park is crowded, anyone who stops to read the signs will also be blocking the sidewalk.

¹⁵⁵ Author spent two afternoons walking around Old Town, taking these pictures, and observing in 2009 and again in 2010.

While the DNC era saw major controversy and financial loss, it also produced major improvements to the physical structures of Old Town. A number of structures were renovated and reopened. The Thomas Whaley House, built in 1857, and the first two-story brick home built in California, was restored by SOHO and reopened in 2009.¹⁵⁶ (Figures 3.13 and 3.14 and 3.15) The Whaley House attracts more visitors than any single site in or around Old Town, largely because of its frequent appearances in television shows about haunted houses in the United States. The docent program at Whaley House, and the events held by SOHO throughout the year, while they include the ghost stories, focus most on well-researched and interactive educational programs about Thomas Whaley, and life in San Diego in the 1870s.¹⁵⁷



Figure 3.13: Whaley House, 1874, Photo Courtesy SDHC.

¹⁵⁶ Dean Glass, “The Whaley House Porch Returns,” *Reflections*, V 40, no2 (2009), http://sohosandiego.org/reflections/2009_12/index.htm (accessed January 28, 2011).

¹⁵⁷ Save Our Heritage Organization. The Whaley House Museum. <http://whaleyhouse.org/visit.htm> (accessed February 1, 2011).



Figure 3.14: Whaley House, 1890, Photo Courtesy SDHC.



Figure 3.15: Whaley House, 2010, Photo by Author

The Cosmopolitan Restaurant and Hotel opened in 2010 after a multi-million dollar restoration to its 1872 appearance. (Figure 3.16 and Figure 3.17) Built in the 1827 as a private residence by Don Juan Bandini, the structure was later turned into a hotel and stage stop.¹⁵⁸

¹⁵⁸ Victoria Walsh, "The Cosmopolitan Hotel: A Resurrection of the Past," *Reflections*, V 41, no 1 (Spring 2010), 1.



Figure 3.16: Cosmopolitan Hotel, 1872. Photo Courtesy SDHC.



Figure 2.17: Cosmopolitan Hotel Renovation, 2009. Photo by Author.



Figure 3.18: Cosmopolitan Hotel, 2010. Photo by Author.

The opening of the Cosmopolitan Hotel represented the work of SOHO, but also of Delaware North Parks and Resorts which had paid for the bulk of the work, and their replacement, Chuck Ross' Old Town Hospitality Corporation (OTHHC) added another \$280,000.¹⁵⁹ Period furniture, paint color studies, and architectural work maintained the 1870s details, and the second story included ten hotel rooms, just as it had in 1872.¹⁶⁰ The project has met with professional accolades, preservation awards, and public approval.

When the Cosmopolitan Hotel opened, the difficulties, tensions, and rancor that had begun in 2001 with the contract disputes, seemed to come to an end. Attendance, revenue, and sales are all up at Old Town, even if historic

¹⁵⁹ Lori Weisberg, "San Diego's Frontier Past Recaptured," *San Diego Union Tribune*, May 5, 2010.

¹⁶⁰ *Ibid.*

authenticity still seems lacking in some parts of the park. One newspaper reporter, reflecting back on the North Delaware Company Parks and Resorts tenure at Old Town wrote, “Not long ago, Old Town went through a weird transformation, going from a money-making, tourist-attracting mecca to depressingly authentic, drab early California settlement of the mid-1800s. You drank margaritas just to get over the gloom of the place.”¹⁶¹

Lessons from Old Town San Diego

It is unlikely that the press, or residents, of San Diego will find anything positive to say about the contract dispute years at Old Town. But the seven year saga offers an opportunity to ask questions about historic authenticity, public input, and the roles of historians and preservationists at historic sites. When is it important to hold steadfast on the side of authenticity, and when is it more prudent to compromise, or at least to negotiate? And how much should financial concerns weigh into these kinds of decisions and negotiations?

With Old Town San Diego State Historic Park, the California Parks and Recreation Department missed several opportunities to avoid acrimony over the concessions contract. In 1968 when Old Town became a state historic park, and again in 1977 when California State Parks published the “Old Town State Historic Park Resource Management and General Development Plan,” the intention to renovate and present the site with an emphasis on the period 1821-1872 was

¹⁶¹ Michael Stetz, “Cause for Celebration: Old Town Lightens Up.”

explicit.¹⁶² In 1984, as an updated “Old Town Community Plan” was being written and prepared, a very public discourse played out in the press, with public reaction, about the necessary improvements in historical authenticity at Old Town.¹⁶³ At that time, historians and park officials publicly warned at that time that there could be a public “uprising” if Bazaar del Mundo was ever evicted from Old Town.¹⁶⁴ However, no changes were made at Old Town following any of these reports or news stories.

State park officials later acknowledged that, while “the 1992 Interpretative Program also identified what needed to happen in the park”, it never clarified or established “the mechanisms for how they were to be accomplished.”¹⁶⁵ By 2001 when state parks officials were ready to make changes at Old Town, including historic preservation and renovation in the minimum public bid requirements, thirty years had gone by. San Diegans had “invented” their own sense of history and “traditions” at Old Town.¹⁶⁶ During the thirty years after 1971, and despite

¹⁶² California State Parks. “Old Town State Historic Park Resource Management and General Development Plan,” (Sacramento: California Department of Parks and Recreation, 1977), 3.

¹⁶³ Gina Lubrano, “Old Town: Park Planners Eye More History, less Theme,” *San Diego Union Tribune*, June 25, 1984.

¹⁶⁴ *Ibid.*

¹⁶⁵ California State Parks, “Old Town State Historic Park Resource Management and General Development Plan,” (Sacramento: California Department of Parks and Recreation, 2005), 3.

¹⁶⁶ Eric Hobshawn and Terence Ranger, eds., *The Invention of Tradition* (London: Cambridge University Press, Canto Edition, 1992), 4

hints and occasional news stories about possible changes at Old Town, the lack of action by state parks allowed local residents to become accustomed to informal activities and festivities that merely “referenced the past,” including those at Bazaar del Mundo.¹⁶⁷ In other words, visitors misinterpreted the experiences at Old Town and over time came to believe the site to be authentic. Thus, the experiences that many people expected from a visit to Old Town became comfortable and widely perceived to be historical...or at least *historical enough*. So much time had gone by that given a choice between authenticity and the possible loss of a longtime vendor, the public seemed to be choosing Bazaar del Mundo. The interruption of those traditions in 2001 came across to the locals as not just an end to a set of retail stores and restaurants that they loved, but instead as a cultural loss, one that became emotionally charged, for the San Diego community.¹⁶⁸

Public hostility to the park plan increased because of limited directed involvement of the public before 2001. The parks system had already put out the call for concession bids in 2001 before their own attendance study at Old Town was completed in 2002, a study that revealed that 40% of visitors annually at the park were San Diego locals.¹⁶⁹ Successful history projects must be “constructed at

¹⁶⁷ Ibid.

¹⁶⁸ Ibid., 11.

¹⁶⁹ Donna Renner, Radio Interview, KPBS Broadcasting, “Bazaar del Mundo vs. Plaza del Pasado: Two Years Since Old Town’s Operations Changed Hands,” August 14, 2007.

the grass roots.”¹⁷⁰ History professionals do not make and guide major decisions, but a proactive search for “agreement on matters of interpretation can help communities surmount factional hostilities.”¹⁷¹ For Old Town San Diego, “factional hostilities” to describe what happened between 2001 and 2009, almost seems an understatement.

Finally, because state park officials asked vendors and concessionaires at Old Town to make renovations in their establishments to better match a 19th century time period, but did not offer them longer leases, the vendors were placed in a difficult predicament because short term leases did not help them to attract investors or to obtain small business loans.¹⁷² In Old Town, the state park making the most revenue among all of California’s parks throughout the 1980s and 1990s, longer leases would have demonstrated good faith on the part of state parks and might have empowered vendors to make the financial investment necessary to incorporate historic authenticity.¹⁷³ Historic preservation by its very nature is not a short term undertaking, and state park officials were short-sighted in not working harder, and sooner, to engage successful and longtime vendors into more secure positions as stakeholders in the future of preservation Old Town.

¹⁷⁰ Andrew Hurley, 181.

¹⁷¹ *Ibid.*, 180.

¹⁷² California State Parks, “Old Town State Historic Park Resource Management and General Development Plan,” (Sacramento: California Department of Parks and Recreation, 2005), 3.

¹⁷³ *Ibid.*

Old Town San Diego State Historic Park survived the ordeal, and will recover financially, and continue to thrive. The experiences of those involved in the problems at Old Town over the past decade make valuable and instructive contributions to the discourse of historic preservation. The problems encountered by state parks at Old Town demonstrate that successful preservation projects, particularly at sites already established and loved by the general public, need to be inclusive, interdisciplinary, and most of all, mindful of the different ways that people come to care deeply about historic spaces.

A completely different set of challenges surfaces when dealing with historic places have been long ignored or left unchanged by the agencies in charge of them. The goal of preservation becomes the identification and re-establishing of the history in a particular area. In these cases, the public is rarely engaged at the onset, but they are no less important in the process. At some point their support will be integral to the economic success of a historic preservation project as end-users. In San Diego, several historic preservation projects emerged from economic planning for the city, but each had major intersections with the city's history, and their success depended entirely on garnering public support. The revitalization of downtown in the 1970s, the creation of the Gaslamp Quarter, along with the construction of Horton Plaza, and the eventual development of Little Italy, are excellent examples of these kinds of urban planning and historic preservation projects.

The Gaslamp Quarter, Horton Plaza, and Little Italy make up three of the most identifiable and most visited places in San Diego. Each of these sites offers a

compelling case study in how historic preservation became a vital part of economic development and urban planning in San Diego. In addition, the preservation work at these sites expanded tourism, and contributed to the livability in San Diego for residents.¹⁷⁴

¹⁷⁴ The term livability refers to current research and scholarship in the relationship between the urban environment, residential quality of life and the role of historic preservation. See H. McNulty, *The Return of the Livable City: Learning from America's Best* (New York: Acropolis Books, 1986) and more recently, Eric Allison and Lauren Peters in *Historic Preservation and the Livable City* (Hoboken, N.J.: Wiley and Sons, 2011), 9.

CHAPTER 4

GASLAMP QUARTER, HORTON PLAZA AND LITTLE ITALY

The Gaslamp Quarter, Horton Plaza, and Little Italy make up three of the most identifiable and most visited places in San Diego. (Figure 4.1) The Gaslamp Quarter, Horton Plaza, and Little Italy provide compelling case studies in how historic preservation became a vital part of economic development and urban planning in San Diego after 1970, and make useful additions to the scholarship of city planning and historic preservation. In addition, the preservation work at these sites expanded tourism, and contributed to the livability in San Diego for residents.¹

¹ The term livability refers to current research and scholarship in the relationship between the urban environment and residential quality of life criteria that include an emphasis on the role of historic preservation. The first in depth work on livability appeared in Robert H. McNulty, *The Return of the Livable City: Learning from America's Best* (New York: Acropolis Books, 1986). More recently, Eric Allison and Lauren Peters make direct connections in *Historic Preservation and the Livable City* (Hoboken, N.J.: Wiley and Sons, 2011), 9.



Figure 4.1: Map of Downtown San Diego showing the Gaslamp and Little Italy. Map Courtesy CCDC and modified by Author.

The development of the Gaslamp Quarter, the building of Horton Plaza, and the creation of Little Italy, each demonstrate the transformation of historic preservationists from protectors of history and historic places to becoming influential participants and shapers of the modern urban environment. The partnerships formed, and the decisions made at each of these sites also redefined civic identity in San Diego in ways that created a shared past.

During the twenty years following WWII, planners and preservationists rarely worked together on any particular project or historic site in San Diego. Developers and city planners spent much of that time expanding the city's boundaries through annexation, and striving to build an economy for the city's

future. Historical organizations and preservationists, operating with limited funds and often dependent upon volunteers, did what they could to preserve historic sites and the past in San Diego.

By the 1970s, urban renewal ideas shifted the interest of planners and city leaders back to the downtown with the goal of creating a consumptive center that attracted shoppers, tourists, investors.² If successful, the newly created downtown could generate enough revenue to eventually build a convention center, securing a strong position for San Diego as a destination for large meetings and events. They hoped to attract residents and tourists into the 16-block Gaslamp district that had been the business center of San Diego from 1870 to WWII.

Their plans also included the construction of a large scale shopping mall, eventually called Horton Plaza, to serve as the retail anchor for downtown. From the beginning, Gaslamp District planners paid close attention to historic architecture, but they soon came under fire for presenting a sanitized version of early San Diego, and for omitting several ethnic groups that each had significant histories of their own in the Gaslamp.

Preservation advocates agreed that historic buildings, districts, and neighborhoods could also generate revenue, attract tourists, and also become popular places to live.³ In addition, preservationists, like planners, knew that in order for a downtown historic district to be economically successful, the historical

² Judy Mattivi Morley, 7. Also, for more on the shift back to the downtown in San Diego, see Chapter two of this study.

³ Ibid.

environment created needed to appeal to both old and new residents, and to tourists.⁴ But preservationists also believed that the stories of the people who once lived in these historic districts needed to be explored and presented. As layers of human history were peeled back in the Gaslamp, problems with authenticity, historical omissions, and sanitized stories, began to produce tension and conflict.

Business owners a few blocks north of the Gaslamp District and Horton Plaza, hoped to revitalize their neighborhood, and to benefit from the economic potential of downtown redevelopment going on around them. They created an ethnic neighborhood that they called Little Italy. The merchants, many of them Italian, wanted to create an ethnic neighborhood devoted to retail and restaurants, getting their inspiration from the Italian fishing industry in San Diego in the early 20th century. In Little Italy, historical authenticity became interchangeable with anything Italian, and the stories of those early 20th century Italian fisherman became something that few visitors to Little Italy would ever hear.

When historic places, like the Gaslamp and Little Italy, fall victim to decades of decline and neglect, the goals of preservation include the identification and presentation of an authentic past. In downtown San Diego, unlike Old Town, the public was not engaged at the onset of revitalization, but public support was integral to the economic success of redevelopment as end-users of the site. The

⁴ John Findlay, *Magic Lands: Western Cityscapes and American Culture After 1940* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1993), 12. Findley argues that western cities were planned and organized in a way that produced order, creating urban environments that could “live up to the hopes that both newcomers and old-timers had for the region.”

Gaslamp Quarter, Horton Plaza, and Little Italy each had major intersections with the city's history, and the success of each of them, economically and in developing a history that was both educational and enjoyable, depended entirely on garnering public support.

As historic preservation in San Diego began to intersect with city planning after 1970, some parts of the city's civic identity were preserved, even strengthened, and new features of civic identity, some of them mythical, were created. City planners, developers, and preservationists worked together at each of these sites with varying levels of cooperation, and conflict, as they tried to strike a balance between economic goals and historic authenticity. The revitalization of downtown San Diego, the Gaslamp Quarter and construction of Horton Plaza, and the creation of Little Italy, chronicle the first, and earliest, of the post war collaborations between planners, developers, and preservationists. This chapter examines the political and planning processes that created the Gaslamp Quarter, Horton Plaza, and Little Italy. Chapter five explores the ways in which minority groups, feeling left out of the historical presentations, particularly in the Gaslamp Quarter, became advocates for inclusion of their group's legacies in San Diego.

The Gaslamp Quarter

The Gaslamp Quarter in downtown San Diego, referred to as "the historic heart" of the city, is the most visible part of San Diego today. (Figure 4.2) Few visitors leave the city without a stroll through the Gaslamp Quarter or stopping by the Horton Plaza shopping center located within the Gaslamp Quarter. The

Gaslamp Quarter was created as part of the downtown urban renewal project in the 1970s and has become a symbol for the intersection of urban revitalization, economic development, and historic preservation in San Diego. The Gaslamp Quarter also provides an excellent case study of how historic preservation became a major part of urban revitalization, economic development, and city planning in San Diego after 1970, and makes a useful addition to the scholarship of both historic preservation and city planning.



Figure 4.2: Gaslamp Quarter Neon Sign, put in place in 1988.
Photo by Author.

The Gaslamp Quarter developed out of economic necessity in the 1970s. Residents and Mayor Pete Wilson were already exasperated with the negative outcomes of uncontrolled growth in San Diego, and by the loss of the GOP

Convention in 1972.⁵ Although the lack of a convention center was a major reason for San Diego's inability to host large scale events, Mayor Wilson believed that the deterioration of the downtown also affected why San Diego failed to attract the GOP Convention.⁶ Describing his perception of downtown San Diego when he came into office, Wilson says, "When I came to office you could fire a cannon down Broadway at five minutes past 5, and the old gag was you wouldn't hit anybody who wasn't staggering."⁷ In the 1970s, many of the downtown businesses catered to what most in society considered to be vice.

Thus, a major goal in targeting the downtown also had to do with cleaning up what Mayor Wilson, and others in his administration, referred to as an area full of vice. During WWII and in the decades that followed, the downtown area had in fact become home to a variety of shops and businesses that many described as vice industries. Tattoo parlors, bars with topless dancers, and a variety of theatres showing pornographic movies were located throughout the downtown.⁸ But many

⁵ For more on the loss of the GOP Convention, see Chapter Two of this study.

⁶ Vincent Ancona, "When the Elephants Marched Out of San Diego: The 1972 Republican Convention Fiasco," *Journal of San Diego History* 38, no 4 (Fall, 1992): <http://www.sandiegohistory.org/journal/92fall/index.htm> (accessed January 13th, 2011).

⁷ Wilson, Pete. This quote is reprinted in many articles about San Diego and has been used by Pete Wilson himself in multiple interviews. Most recently, Wilson used the phrase in an interview with San Diego Magazine, S.D. Liddick, "Cynicism, Criticism and San Diego's Redevelopment," (November, 2008).

⁸ Jordan Ervin, "Reinventing Downtown San Diego: A Spatial and Cultural Analysis of the Gaslamp Quarter," *The Journal of San Diego History* 53, no 4 (Fall 2007): 194.

longstanding stores remained along Broadway Blvd as well, including San Diego Hardware which had been in business on the same site since 1892.⁹ So, by the 1970s, downtown San Diego was a mixture of both “legitimate” businesses and some that the city considered fairly seedy in nature.

San Diego’s downtown, like most cities, also had a large homeless population, and also a large number of low income residents who were attracted to the many single-resident-occupancy hotels (SROs) located downtown. The San Diego Rescue Mission was located downtown and had been providing services to the homeless and low income populations since 1955, and did so with little interest or support from the city of San Diego.¹⁰ When interest did come from the Mayor, city council, and downtown redevelopment planners it came in the form of wanting the nonprofit agencies, along with the undesirable populations that they served, and many of the SRO’s to relocate away the Gaslamp Quarter planning area.¹¹

⁹ Martin Stolz, “San Diego Hardware Takes Down its Gaslamp Shingle,” *San Diego Union Tribune*, February 24, 2006. San Diego Hardware was the most known of the longtime family-owned stores in the Gaslamp and even in 2006 when they finally pulled out, it was because the lack of parking for deliveries and customers had become untenable with the growth of the Gaslamp Quarter. CCDC, planners, and residents (including this author) wanted them to stay in downtown, but to no avail, and they moved to Kearny Mesa: <http://www.sandiegohardware.com/> (accessed March 1, 2011).

¹⁰ Ibid.

¹¹ Powell, Ronald. “Rescue Mission Turns 50.” *San Diego Union Tribune*, September 18, 2005. The San Diego Rescue Mission, opened in 1955, was forced to move in 1975 and then again three more times as the Gaslamp Quarter and downtown renovations continued. The fourth and last move was as recently as

By labeling parts of downtown and individual buildings as “slums” or “blighted,” the early work in the Gaslamp Quarter commenced as a two-fold process. First, there was a priority in identifying historic buildings suitable for rehabilitation and reuse. New federal and state tax incentives specifically for historic buildings made historic preservation economically viable, even profitable.¹² Second, downtown planners went about the task of driving out vice-related businesses, and forcing the closure or relocation of SRO’s and agencies serving the homeless so that people that did not fit a socially correct model might not be so visible.¹³

In considering how to accomplish their goals as quickly as possible, Mayor Wilson and the city council concluded that Baltimore offered the best model for how best to revitalize downtown San Diego.¹⁴ They believed that creating an organization similar to the Greater Baltimore Committee (GBC), offered the best chance of improving the downtown without a drain on

2004, once again a few blocks farther from the areas set aside for shopping and tourists.

¹² The federal and state tax incentives assisted owners in rehabilitating or restoring their buildings for reuse and primarily focused on the exterior facades with few if any rules for the interiors. In the early 1970s, a set of absolute guidelines for historic interiors was not fully developed. In recent years, many of these same buildings have come under fire for the complete destruction and loss of historic interiors.

¹³ Jordan Ervin, 195.

¹⁴ Eileen Zimmerman, “From Bust to Boom,” *San Diego Magazine* (March, 2005), 84.

taxpayers.¹⁵ Baltimore had focused its revitalization efforts on downtown and on their harbor.¹⁶ The GBC, a public-private partnership, formed in 1957, functioned independently of Baltimore's city planning department, and did not depend on city property taxes. All of these features of the GBC were attractive to Mayor Wilson in the 1970s when San Diego's economy was fragile as well.

In 1975 the Centre City Development Corporation (CCDC), modeled on the GBC, was created.¹⁷ CCDC, working for the city's Redevelopment Agency, was put in charge of the Gaslamp and other downtown projects.¹⁸ CCDC received its authority directly from city council, and as a delegated partnership from city council, CCDC did not require voter approval.¹⁹ Not only did CCDC have the ability to proceed without voter approval, but the usual contract process

¹⁵ Ibid.

¹⁶ Roberto Brambilla and Gianni Longo, *What Makes Cities Livable: Learning from Baltimore*, (Institute for Environmental Action, 1979), 43-45.

¹⁷ Steven Erie, Vladimir Kogan and Scott McKenzie, "Redevelopment San Diego Style: The Limits of Public-Private Partnerships," *Urban Affairs Review* 45, no. 5 (May 2010): 654.

¹⁸ CCDC worked alone until 1981 when a second nonprofit Southeastern Economic Development (SEDA) was established, but SEDA's development planning area was much smaller, east of downtown, so for many years CCDC maintained the most influence and decision-making power on its own. For in-depth explanations of CCDC and SEDA see: Steven Erie, Vladimir Kogan and Scott McKenzie, "Redevelopment San Diego Style: The Limits of Public-Private Partnerships," *Urban Affairs Review* 45, no. 5 (May 2010).

¹⁹ Ibid., 655.

utilizing public bids for any additional work needed in downtown was also legally bypassed.²⁰

Downtown merchants who operated longstanding and legitimate family-owned businesses were pleased with redevelopment plans, but also acted on their own to form alliances in hopes of reinvigorating the area sooner and faster. By 1976, they adopted a formalized Planned District Ordinance for the Gaslamp to clearly define geographical boundaries and to outline architectural and historic preservation goals.²¹ The Ordinance established a sixteen block part of downtown San Diego, from Broadway Blvd to Harbor Drive, and identified Harbor Drive as the future location of a convention center. (Figure 4.3)

²⁰ Ibid.

²¹ A year before CCDC was created, the Gaslamp merchants had already asked city council for help and received \$100K to begin renovations of a few buildings.

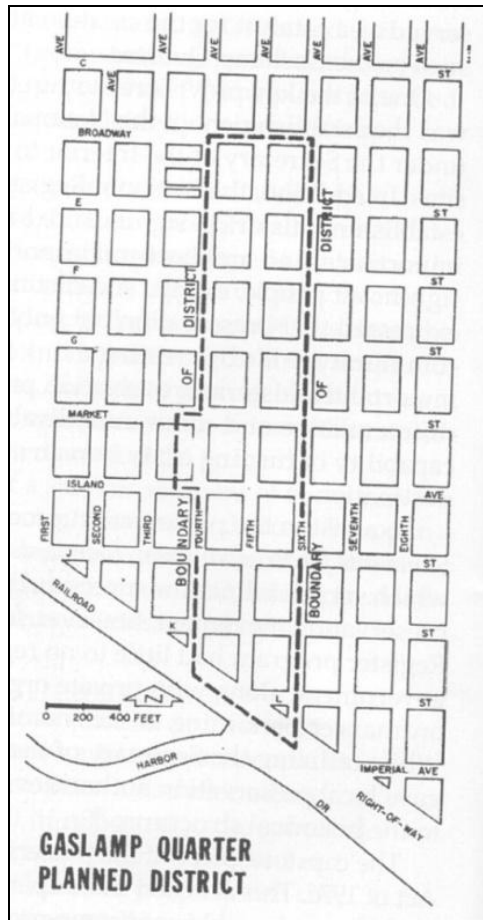


Figure 4.3: Gaslamp Quarter Planned District, 1976.
 Courtesy San Diego State University Library

Initial success came quickly. In 1980, the 16-block area defined as the Gaslamp Historic District was listed on the National Register of Historic Places. (Figure 4.4) Within the 16 blocks, 93 buildings gained protected status and plans to restore the exteriors of many of them got underway almost immediately.²²

²² Gaslamp Quarter Historical Foundation. In 1996, the GQF changed its name to Gaslamp Quarter Historical Foundation as part of its overall focus of public education, and “to help promote its role in preserving the historical integrity of the district.” <http://www.gaslampquarter.org/about/> (accessed February 5, 2011).

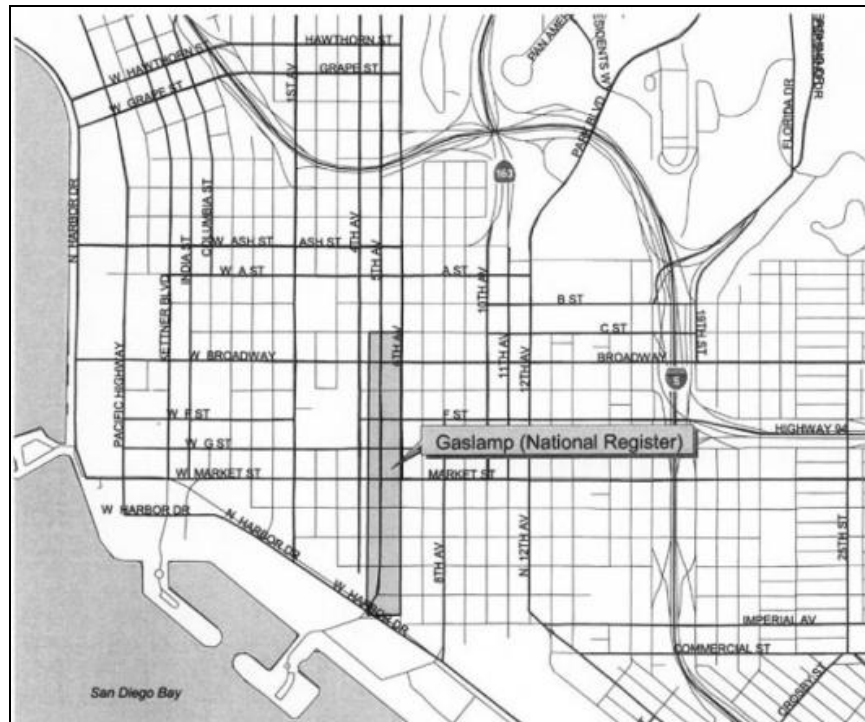


Figure 4.4: Sixteen Block Gaslamp Quarter, Map courtesy CCDC.

A year later the Gaslamp Quarter Foundation (GQF), a nonprofit organization, was formed. The mission of the GQF was to identify historic structures, assist with the paperwork for additional designations, and to educate the public about Gaslamp Quarter history.²³ Around the same time, yet another Gaslamp Quarter coalition formed, the Gaslamp Quarter Association (GQA), establishing a Business Improvement District (BID).²⁴ The GQA focused their

²³ Ibid.

²⁴ Gaslamp Quarter Association. The BID was formed by merchants and property owners to insure their input in decisions made about historic buildings and to promote retail, dining, and entertainment efforts. <http://www.gaslamp.org/history> (accessed February 3, 2011).

work on business-related matters such as supporting businesses already in the Gaslamp, maintaining the historical flavor of the buildings, and attracting new businesses.²⁵

Many groups and individuals were either removed or forced out of the area in order to proceed with plans in the Gaslamp Quarter. In his study of displacement and gentrification in downtown San Diego during the development of the Gaslamp Quarter, Jordan Ervin found that not only physical blight of buildings but also the presence of “deviants” and undesirable populations led planners from CCDC, the city council and even Mayor Wilson to become indifferent to the impact of their decisions on ordinary or down-on-their-lucks kinds of people.²⁶

Press coverage supported the downtown cleanup and local merchants argued their cases through the media. One frustrated business owner argued “vagrants, bums and businesses that are a public nuisance can go anywhere, but we can't move downtown.”²⁷ One Gaslamp planning executive clearly stated, “My

²⁵ Ibid.

²⁶ Jordan Ervin, 196. In addition, in 2007 when a bronze statue of Pete Wilson was unveiled at Horton Plaza as a tribute to his role in developing the Gaslamp Quarter, protestors objected to honoring a legacy that resulted in lost ethnic landscapes and the forced removal of many residents. However, most of those protestors were objecting to policies Wilson supported as Governor and as a Senator, long after the 1970s renovation of the Gaslamp Quarter and the building of Horton Plaza.

²⁷ Uvaldo Martinez, “Taking Back Downtown,” *San Diego Union Tribune*, August 19, 1984.

goal is to see all the undesirable uses out of Gaslamp no later than 1987.”²⁸ More specifically, the Gaslamp area business leaders wanted all nuisance businesses out of the neighborhood before Horton Plaza was scheduled to open in the summer of 1985.²⁹ Using eminent domain and lease increases throughout the early 1980s, many changes in the Gaslamp Quarter went forward without a lot of public interest since very few San Diegans went downtown anyway.³⁰

Horton Plaza is added to the Gaslamp Quarter

The revitalization of Gaslamp area businesses and buildings made steady progress during the first five years, but the Horton Plaza project did not materialize as quickly. The idea for a large shopping center to serve as the anchor of downtown revitalization was on the table as early as 1974. The shopping center, like the Gaslamp Quarter around it, was under CCDC authority which allowed CCDC to choose the designers and architects of the mall. After a process of design submissions and architectural bids, CCDC chose the designs of architect Jon Jerde and contractor Ernest Hahn.³¹ During the early stages of planning for the shopping center, to be named Horton Plaza, there was only a moderate amount

²⁸ Sharon Spivak, “New Laws Sought to Attack Blight in the Gaslamp Area,” *San Diego Union Tribune*, August 17, 1984.

²⁹ Ibid.

³⁰ Ibid., 197.

³¹ Richard Amero, “Horton Plaza Park: Where People Meet and Opposites Collide,” (January 1998): <http://www.balboaparkhistory.net/glimpses/horton-plaza-park.htm> (accessed October 24, 2010).

of press coverage or public interest. However, the project attracted the attention of historic preservationists almost immediately, when the shopping center plans called for the possible demolition of Horton Plaza Park which had existed for six decades with Horton Plaza fountain as its centerpiece.³²

The land for Horton Plaza Park, originally owned by Alonzo Horton, was sold to the city in the 1890s. The Horton fountain, the first electric water fountain in San Diego, was part of the overall park design by architect Irving Gill in the years just prior to the 1915 Exposition.³³ (Figure 4.5)



Figure 4.5: Horton Plaza Park, 1910, Old Postcard.
Courtesy San Diego History Center

³² Ibid.

³³ Ibid. The actual name of the fountain, etched on its side, is “Broadway Fountain for the People,” but it is most often referred to as the Horton Plaza Fountain.

The early plans called for demolition of the park and the fountain. The city council had proposed Horton Park and the fountain for designation by the National Register of Historic Places just a few years before. But pressure from CCDC eventually caused the council withdrew their nomination.³⁴ The plans next attracted the attention of Save Our Heritage Organisation (SOHO), by then in their sixth year of existence in San Diego. Since 1969, SOHO won a number of significant victories in historic preservation, including the prevention of demolition of San Diego's Santa Fe railroad depot.³⁵

Throughout the 1970s, SOHO had cultivated good relationships with the San Diego Historical Society and with the city's Historic Resources Board. CCDC was unprepared for the persistence of SOHO, and did not foresee that SOHO was going to influence the city council into returning to their original position to save the Horton Park and the fountain.³⁶

Once SOHO and the city council were aligned together, CCDC backed down and agreed to leave the park, and the fountain, in place. SOHO went on to successfully oversee the preservation of the fountain in its place, assuring an adherence to authenticity, and to maintaining its 1910 Irving Gill design.³⁷ (Figure 4.6)

³⁴ Ibid.

³⁵ Ibid.

³⁶ Alana Coons, "The Broadway Fountain and how it came to be SOHO's Logo," *SOHO Magazine* 38, no 2 (Spring 2007): 2.

³⁷ Ibid.



Figure 4.6: Broadway Fountain at Horton Plaza,
Photo by Author.

The ability of SOHO to intervene, convince the council to reverse itself, and to successfully pressure CCDC to alter the plans for Horton Plaza represented a turning point in historic preservation in San Diego. The success of SOHO at Horton Plaza set a precedent also in how to stand against, and in how to negotiate with CCDC when issues of historic properties were involved. The Horton fountain campaign gained SOHO a powerful voice in preservation and redevelopment in San Diego, and it changed the organization's ability to preserve

not just structures, but structures in context. In recognition of this, SOHO officially adopted the fountain as part of its logo.³⁸ (Figure 4.7)



Figure 4.7: Logo adopted by Save Our Heritage Organisation.
Logo courtesy SOHO.

A second fight over the Horton Fountain erupted in 1984 when landscape architect Lawrence Halprin, hired by CCDC to design the exteriors at Horton Plaza, wanted to move the Horton Plaza fountain to yet another corner of the shopping center.³⁹ Halprin, came to San Diego with a portfolio of published books on public design, and nationally-known designs that included Ghiradelli Square in San Francisco, and Seattle's Freeway Park.⁴⁰

³⁸ Alana Coons.

³⁹ Alison de Rosa, "Wanted: Design Ideas for Horton Plaza Park," *San Diego Union Tribune*, January 19, 1984.

⁴⁰ *Ibid.*

The initial criticism of his design plan, to move the Horton Fountain, came from the San Diego Historical Society (SDHS). SDHS then approached CCDC and the city council with their argument against Halprin's idea. SDHS argued that to "modernize or in any way alter the park's historical elements would be a terrible loss to the community."⁴¹ SOHO, already committed by 1984 to keeping historic structures in their original location, joined SDHS in the fray over the fountain, fought CCDC one more time, and won again.⁴²

Halprin became frustrated with the city's Historic Resources Board and what he believed was the city's unreasonable favoring of historic preservation groups. At one point Halprin stated "I am fed up. I don't want anything to do with San Diego ever again."⁴³ Halprin did complete his landscape work around Horton Plaza, but he never believed that leaving the Horton Fountain in place was the right decision by city council and the Historic Resources Board.⁴⁴

Other groups also did battle with CCDC. Gaslamp merchants and business owners, fearful of the amount of power given to CCDC by city council, had been resisting any efforts by CCDC to control decisions outside of the

⁴¹ Harry Fuentes, "Historical Groups Rap Plan to Alter Downtown Parks," *San Diego Union Tribune*, January 10, 1984.

⁴² Maria Puente, "Preservationists Win Fight Against Architect's Plan to Overhaul San Diego's Oldest Park," *San Diego Union Tribune*, July 7, 1984.

⁴³ Ibid.

⁴⁴ Ibid.

physical perimeter of the Horton Plaza project.⁴⁵ By the early 1980s, downtown merchants began to reconsider their stance. In 1983, when San Diego voters overwhelmingly approved \$164 million to build a convention center, the first major voter-approved city bond issue in over a decade, Gaslamp merchants felt even more isolated from the changes going on around them.⁴⁶ Voter approval of the convention center, after years of rejecting the project, swayed downtown merchants into working more directly with CCDC because they were more convinced of the potential benefits of CCDC support by the mid-1980s.⁴⁷ By aligning with CCDC, they could solve several problems that they had been unable to resolve on their own.

Without the funding available through CCDC, the merchants had not been successful on their own in removing businesses that they believed deterred shoppers from returning back downtown.⁴⁸ Protecting historic buildings without the financial support of CCDC proved difficult as well, so by 1984, reaching an agreement with CCDC was necessary.⁴⁹ Within a few months of their reconciliation with CCDC, most of the remaining vice-related businesses in the

⁴⁵ Roger Showley, "Horton Accord Between CCDC, Gaslamp Ends Long Dispute," *San Diego Union Tribune*, July 21, 1984.

⁴⁶ Pamela Hamilton, "The Metamorphosis of Downtown San Diego," *Urban Land Institute* (April, 1994), 9.

⁴⁷ *Ibid.*

⁴⁸ Roger Showley, "Horton Accord Between CCDC, Gaslamp Ends Long Dispute."

⁴⁹ *Ibid.*

Gaslamp were forced out, either by CCDC requirements to renovate historic buildings they were in, or by lease increases.⁵⁰ By the time Horton Plaza was ready to open, most downtown merchants were working with CCDC, most of the businesses considered “seedy” were gone, and historic preservationists had won a place in the development and decision-making processes in the Gaslamp and at Horton Plaza.

As part of the opening ceremonies for Horton Plaza, held in August and September of 1985, SOHO shared the honors with CCDC with a plaque at the Horton Plaza Fountain to acknowledge their part in keeping the small Horton Plaza Park, and the Horton Plaza Fountain, in their original locations. (Figure 4.8)



Figure 4.8: SOHO Plaque at Horton Plaza, Photo by Author.

⁵⁰ Ibid.

Not every individual or group that followed SOHO, or the Gaslamp merchants, succeeded in disputes with CCDC. Very few major disagreements occurred after 1985 between Gaslamp merchants and the CCDC. For historic preservation, SOHO laid important groundwork during their fights with CCDC over the Horton Plaza Fountain. Through the work of SOHO, historic preservation had joined the conversation in city planning and redevelopment in San Diego. Even though public attention was on the shopping center itself, the preservation of the Horton Fountain and SOHO's fights with CCDC marked an important turning point in historic preservation in San Diego. Their preservation advocacy also bolstered the efforts of the San Diego Historical Society (SDHS) by bringing a separate and increasingly well-funded organization on to the scene in San Diego, for the time since SDHS was founded in 1928.

With the Horton Fountain saved, and preservation battles over, Horton Plaza opened and was met with a resounding approval by most San Diegans.⁵¹ Built like a fortress and designed by architect Jon Jerde, Horton Plaza offered shoppers the insular experience of driving into downtown San Diego, entering an underground parking garage and continuing on into the stores without ever having to step foot on the still unimproved surrounding area.⁵² (Figure 4.9)

⁵¹ Lori Weisberg and Roger Showley, "6,500 Attend Unveiling of New Downtown," *San Diego Union Tribune*, August 9, 1985.

⁵² *Ibid.* Horton Plaza's overall design has not changed since 1985.



Figure 4.9: Horton Plaza (2009) Photo by Author.

Horton Plaza was advertised to be a completely safe place to come, shop, and leave, all without actually having to walk in or be exposed to the downtown area around Horton Plaza.⁵³ Developers, city officials, and planners all agreed that Horton Plaza needed to succeed financially if downtown was to become “the urban heart of San Diego.”⁵⁴

Other cities had made use of large scale shopping centers as part of downtown renewal efforts, but many of these were still fairly new in the 1970s.

⁵³ Janette Steele. “Horton Plaza Makeover.” *San Diego Union Tribune*, October 1, 2008. Today, Horton Plaza is currently be redesigned to open it up, with exterior walkways and to undo the insular nature of the original design. Westfield Group, in charge of the project, believes that the insular design is no longer needed and is not aesthetically pleasing.

⁵⁴ Lori Weisberg. “Horton Plaza’s Promise: A Revitalized Downtown,” *San Diego Union Tribune*, August 8, 1985.

For example, the Faneuil Marketplace in Boston, opened in 1976, was the first of the “festival marketplaces,” and a major part of downtown economic revitalization by bringing high end specialty food and retail shops into the area.⁵⁵ But Boston had some unique features that helped Faneuil Hall Marketplace to succeed. Faneuil Hall was already historic, dating back to Revolutionary War times and it operated as a market place through the 19th and most of the 20th centuries.⁵⁶ The renewal project of 1976 adapted historic buildings and coincided with the American Bi-Centennial of the United States which also promised increased tourism to Boston’s city center.⁵⁷

In contrast, in San Diego, no historic buildings were adapted in creating Horton Plaza, and although the Alonzo Horton legacy was extremely important to residents, the founding of modern San Diego was not nearly as appealing for tourists in comparison to the founding of a nation. Thus, a festival marketplace in

⁵⁵ Malachy Kavanagh, “A Brief History of Shopping Centers,” *ICSC News*, June, 2000. A themed marketplace, such as “festival” is defined as a mall with unifying features but designed for tourism and local shoppers, make use of entertainment such as theaters, love plays, public art, museums and galleries. For more see: ICSC Shopping Center Definitions, http://www.icsc.org/srch/about/impactofshoppingcenters/03_Definitions.pdf (accessed March 3, 2011).

⁵⁶ Robert Fanuzzi, *Abolition’s Public Sphere* (Minneapolis, MN.: University of Minnesota Press, 2003), 146. Fanuzzi offers a chapter on the history and legacy of Faneuil Hall.

⁵⁷ John Morris Dixon, “New Life, Old Fabric: Benjamin Thompson's Winning Scheme for the Historic Faneuil Hall Marketplace gave a Huge Boost to Downtown Boston and to Adaptive Reuse,” *Architect Magazine* (July 2009): <http://www.architectmagazine.com/adaptive-reuse/new-life-old-fabric.aspx> (accessed March 9, 2011).

San Diego was going to have to attract shoppers on its own merits and the Gaslamp Quarter, while historic, was still early in its redevelopment, so historic preservation did not become a key element in planning for Horton Plaza.

Planners in San Diego did look to Baltimore for some inspiration because a large urban shopping center, Harborplace, was under construction at the same time along its historic harbor.⁵⁸ Although similar to San Diego in terms of revitalization goals for the downtown, Baltimore planners focused on the harbor at the edge of downtown Baltimore where tourism already existed because of the Civil War ship, the USS Constellation, and with professional baseball and football were nearby in the old Memorial Stadium.⁵⁹ In San Diego, the largest tourist venues, Sea World and the San Diego Zoo were miles from downtown, and there were no professional sports venues close to downtown either. For San Diego, financial success at Horton Plaza, and in the Gaslamp Quarter, depended entirely on the appeal of the completed projects to draw interest from local residents and from tourists.

Competition locally also posed obstacles to a downtown shopping center in San Diego. By the time Horton Plaza was under construction, there were already 13 large scale shopping centers in San Diego County, so Horton Plaza

⁵⁸ Brennen Jensen, "Baltimore's Playground," *Baltimore Magazine* (July 2010): <http://www.baltimoremagazine.net/this-month/2010/07/baltimores-playground> (accessed March 9, 2011).

⁵⁹ *Ibid.*

needed to offer more than another retail option.⁶⁰ With no shortage of shopping centers in the San Diego area, the plan for a downtown mall was risky, but focusing on retail success carried even greater risk. Instead, the designer of Horton Plaza focused on the experience possible for shoppers and once drawn in, the experience would encourage the willingness to spend money.⁶¹ Jerde explained “we composed the project out of fragments of buildings already existing in San Diego; it was composed of the city that was pre-existent. The initial thing was to decode the language of the city to discover its fantasy.”⁶² Thus, while Horton Plaza seemed eclectic and even futuristic to shoppers, the Spanish archways and other elements reflecting bits of San Diego architecture also provided a sense of familiarity.

Designer Jon Jerde referred to the completed Horton Plaza as “urban theatre.”⁶³ Horton Plaza combined retail with a movie theatre, a live theatre called the Lyceum, art galleries, large public art and sculpture displays, and all of it presented within a design that included 49 different colors on the walls and

⁶⁰ Ibid.

⁶¹ Jon Goss, “The “Magic of the Mall”: An Analysis of Form, Function, and Meaning in the Contemporary Retail Built Environment,” *Annals of the Association of American Geographers* 83, no 1 (March, 1993): 39.

⁶² Anastasia Loukaitou-Sideris and Tridib Banerjee, *Urban Design Downtown: Poetics and Politics of Form* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1998), 227.

⁶³ Ibid.

walkways.⁶⁴ Horton Plaza became a colorful and visually interesting place, “saturated by visual imagery quoting from a diversity of sources and is designed to purposefully confuse and literally lose the shopper in its multidimensional programming.”⁶⁵ Many of the public displays and décor could be changed so that no two visits to Horton Plaza would ever seem exactly the same, and as such encourage repeat visitors and better revenue.⁶⁶

During the first week after Horton Plaza opened, a quarter of a million people showed up to see it.⁶⁷ While this attendance was encouraging, the surrounding Gaslamp still had a ways to go before the overall vision of pedestrians strolling around day and night, enjoying the historic architecture, and a variety of shops and restaurants, could be a reality.⁶⁸ Bernard Frieden warned San Diegans in 1985, “There's an expression in the business: The only place where Main Street works is Disneyland. Most cities have not been able to get people back downtown.”⁶⁹

⁶⁴ Ibid., 262.

⁶⁵ Jon Goss, “The “Magic of the Mall: An Analysis of Form, Function, and Meaning in the Contemporary Retail Built Environment,” *Annals of the Association of American Geographers* 83, no 1 (March, 1993): 39.

⁶⁶ Ibid.

⁶⁷ Anastasia Loukaitou-Sideris and Tridib Banerjee, 225.

⁶⁸ Ibid.

⁶⁹ Lori Weisberg, “Horton Plaza’s Promise: A Revitalized Downtown.” Frieden, already researching his book *Downtown, Inc.*, responded to the opening of Horton Plaza in comments he offered to the San Diego Union Tribune. By the time *Downtown, Inc.* was published in 1989, Frieden acknowledged that four years

Frieden’s message was not lost on anyone in San Diego, and developers and city leaders knew that Horton Plaza would either lead the city to enormous success, or to dismal failure.⁷⁰ As the anchor of the entire Gaslamp Quarter district, Horton Plaza represented a place from which residents and tourists eventually could walk several blocks to Seaport Village, which had opened in 1980, and also walk safely throughout the Gaslamp District and downtown.⁷¹ In 1985, those possibilities did seem fairly optimistic. (Figure 4.10)



Figure 4.10: Proximity of Horton Plaza to Seaport Village, Map courtesy San Diego ConVis and modified by Author.

later, Horton Plaza, and the surrounding Gaslamp seemed to be on the way to being successful, (*Downtown Inc.*, 197).

⁷⁰ Roger Showley, “City, Citizens Bet Millions on Downtown Success,” San Diego Union Tribune, August 8, 1985.

⁷¹ Ibid. Seaport Village, about 6 blocks from Horton Plaza, opened by private developers, in 1980 had private parking, and access from the harbor without a direct link to downtown or the Gaslamp.

Horton Plaza continued to be successful in its first several years and had brought people back downtown.⁷² Despite nearly ten years of obstacles, in-fighting between local merchants, preservationists, the CCDC, and city leaders, Horton Plaza seemed to win over San Diegans.⁷³ Over the next few years, the Gaslamp Quarter began to transform, as new businesses came in, the few remaining questionable businesses were driven out, crime rates went down, and walking around Horton Plaza and the Gaslamp for entertainment, dining, and recreation, began to be increasingly popular.⁷⁴

By 1987, Horton Plaza was receiving national attention for its effect on downtown San Diego, “Since opening in 1985 it has sparked the development of other downtown projects. Now under way: several first-class hotels, six office towers, and a major convention center on the embarcadero beside North San

⁷² Lucinda Eddy, “Visions of Paradise: The Selling of San Diego,” *The Journal of San Diego History* 41, no. 3 (Summer 1995): <http://www.sandiegohistory.org/journal/95summer/index.htm> (accessed January 29, 2011).

⁷³ Ibid. For analysis and critique specific to the nature of public-private partnerships that created Horton Plaza, and downtown revitalization during the period 1976-1990 see Steven Erie and Scott McKenzie, “Redeveloping Downtown San Diego: Millennial Dreams or Nightmares?,” Paper prepared for delivery at the 2008 meetings of the Western Political Science Association, in San Diego, CA., March, 2008. http://www.allacademic.com/meta/p_mla_apa_research_citation/2/3/8/4/8/pages238488/p238488-1.php (accessed January 27, 2011) and Pamela Hamilton, “Metamorphosis of Downtown San Diego,” (Urban Land Institute, 1994).

⁷⁴ Roger Showley, “19 Other Projects Completed Since Horton Opening,” *San Diego Union Tribune*, August 10, 1986.

Diego Bay.”⁷⁵ A Downtown San Diego realtor acknowledged that,” having strengthened its core, San Diego's biggest task is to sustain its splendid economic success.”⁷⁶ The Gaslamp Quarter businesses and merchants had depended upon the success of Horton Plaza through 1987, and after 1987, these roles reversed and Horton Plaza needed to depend on sustained success around its perimeter, particularly in the Gaslamp Quarter, in order for the revitalization of downtown San Diego to succeed long term. Also after 1987, historic preservationists became force to be reckoned with when some buildings in the Gaslamp Quarter were demolished, and others were rehabilitated to house new hotels, restaurants, bars, and retail stores. Hanging the street sign in 1988 that proclaimed the Gaslamp Quarter to be the “historic heart of San Diego” did not mark the culmination of redevelopment in the area... but it was a turning point, and marked the beginning of the next era in the Gaslamp Quarter.

The Gaslamp Quarter Comes Alive

Once Horton Plaza opened, the physical transformation of the Gaslamp Quarter escalated. Many of the buildings in the 16-block Gaslamp underwent exterior renovations, and the majority took great care to adhere to their original architecture. All renovation and reuse was still being regulated by the Gaslamp

⁷⁵ Ford S. Worthy, “Booming American Cities, From coast to coast and in between, communities are spiffing up their downtowns, creating jobs, and making their own prosperity. Business is leading the charge,” *Fortune Magazine*, August 17, 1987.

⁷⁶ *Ibid.*

Quarter Planned District Ordinance of 1977 (GQPDO).⁷⁷ The GQPDO set in place rules for exteriors, height limits, and specifically what kinds of businesses can lease or own the historic structures within Gaslamp boundaries.⁷⁸ In addition, the GQPDO stipulated safety and earthquake standards, and kinds of building materials that could be used.⁷⁹

The 1977 Ordinance did not specify or make requirements regarding the historic interiors, and did not include any references to the histories of the buildings or who occupied at any point in time. But the GQPDO was a start, and in the 1980s, focusing on the exteriors of buildings in historic preservation was not uncommon. Also, when interior renovations were done, they usually focused on furniture, utilitarian elements of the past, and the decorative arts as these were all features that the public readily expected to see and generally recognized.⁸⁰ Government and architectural publications with guidelines and standards for the rehabilitation of historic interiors were only beginning to become available in the late 1980s.⁸¹ Also, the National Historic Preservation Act of 1966 had mandated that all decisions made for structures within a designated historic district were to

⁷⁷ San Diego Municipal Code. "Gaslamp Quarter Planned District Ordinance," (adopted July, 14, 1976).

⁷⁸ *Ibid.*, 3.

⁷⁹ *Ibid.*, 7.

⁸⁰ Murtagh, *Keeping Time*, 71.

⁸¹ *Ibid.*

be made at the local level.⁸² So in the Gaslamp Quarter, as in many other cities, historic preservation began first with saving old buildings and questions about who lived in those buildings, or about the Gaslamp as a cultural place in where many kinds of people lived, worked, and interacted with each other, came later. The history of those who had ever lived in the Gaslamp evolved slowly.

Throughout the 1980s, decisions about renovation and re-use of the historic buildings in the Gaslamp were being made by architects and planners, while the cultural history and heritage of the Gaslamp was left to historians and local history organizations. Eventually the paths of planners and local historians crossed, and disputes arose over the histories of people, and about the cultural significance of the Gaslamp Quarter.⁸³ But in 1987, those disputes were still in the future, and instead celebrating two years of Horton Plaza success, and back-patting as stewards of Gaslamp architectural history played well in the press: “San Diego Becoming a Site for Historic Eyes,” one headline proclaimed.⁸⁴ The downtown and Gaslamp planners and developers believed that their efforts had woken up San Diegans to the fact that “San Diego had a history.”⁸⁵

⁸² Norman Tyler, *Historic Preservation: An Introduction to Its History, Principles, and Practice* (New York: Norton & Company, 2009), 59.

⁸³ Chapter Four of this study deals with ethnicity and historical omission in the Gaslamp Quarter.

⁸⁴ Carol Olten, “San Diego Becoming a Site for Historic Eyes,” *San Diego Union Tribune*, May 9, 1987.

⁸⁵ *Ibid.*

Beginning in 1988, the same year the “historic heart of San Diego” sign went up in the Gaslamp, tourists could pay \$2 dollars for a “walking tour” of the Gaslamp. On the tour they would hear all about the “Wild West” years when Wyatt Earp, following his famed gunfight at the O.K. Corral in Tombstone, came to live in the neighborhood, and they could also learn about the “red light district full of brothels” that defined the Gaslamp until 1912.⁸⁶ Although the juicier histories about brothels and vice drew people to the tour, they did also hear about William Heath Davis, the first founder of San Diego, and they were able to tour his house, built in 1850, and which sits in the middle of the Gaslamp Quarter.⁸⁷

So, historical presentations developed specifically for the public gradually became a part of the Gaslamp Quarter. Ironically, the history presented first, and most often, to the public, was the seedier history of the Gaslamp that involved much the same kinds of activities and establishments that had caused planners and developers to consider the Gaslamp as a “sexual Disneyland” before they arrived to “clean it up.”⁸⁸ “What was once known as the sleaze capital of San Diego has slowly evolved into an eclectic neighborhood of homes and fledgling businesses, an area besieged by transition,” a reporter wrote, but without that “sleaze” history, one is left to wonder how many tourists would have paid the \$2 dollars for the

⁸⁶ Robin Kleven, “Gaslamp Tour Full of History, Surprises,” *San Diego Union Tribune*, February 12, 1988.

⁸⁷ Ibid.

⁸⁸ Steve Schmidt, “Gaslamp Saloon Keeper has Seen the Light,” *San Diego Union Tribune*, November 29, 1987.

tour.⁸⁹ One San Diego official later pointed out, “the reason that the historic buildings are still intact at all is that it was such a terrible neighborhood everyone abandoned it, and let these X-rated movies move in.”⁹⁰ Thus, the X-rated movie houses, and vice-ridden businesses, through the 1970s, had actually saved the historic structures simply by occupying them.

In many ways, the seedier side of the Gaslamp had moved up in status, at least in terms of public memory in the years since the downtown clean-up project began in the 1970s. The era of vice in San Diego had gone from something to be driven out, to being an important historical time period to show to tourists, and finally to being credited with occupying, and as such saving, the very historic buildings that were home to eclectic and upscale businesses by 1990. Making use of, and sometimes embellishing the so-called seedier past of the Gaslamp, or the “Wild West” days of Wyatt Earp, in historical tours marked the beginning of a cultural landscape in the Gaslamp Quarter.⁹¹

⁸⁹ Ibid.

⁹⁰ Terry Rodgers, “Little of City’s Tawdry Past Left in Rehabilitated Gaslamp,” *San Diego Union Tribune*, August 24, 1992. The quote was from Pam Hamilton, chief of urban renewal in San Diego in 1992.

⁹¹ Carl O. Sauer, “The Morphology of Landscape”, in *Land and Life: A Selection from the Writings of Carl Ortwin Sauer*, ed. by J. Leighly (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1963), 343. Cultural geographer Carl Sauer is most often credited with the first use and definition of a cultural landscape as the result of change produced by humans on a natural landscape. The National Park Service further defines a cultural landscape as a place “associated with a historic event, activity, or person or exhibiting other cultural or aesthetic values,” NPS-28, in *Cultural Resource Management Guidelines*, (NPS, June, 1998) 7.

The cultural landscape of brothels, saloons, and aging gunslingers described some of those who lived in the Gaslamp, and as tourists heard about them, a heritage landscape also developed that helped to make the Gaslamp an appealing place, so that visitors learned about the past in an “enjoyable and informative way.”⁹² Cultural and heritage landscapes cannot be created with singular programs or with legislation. Cultural and heritage landscapes develop over time, as they did in the Gaslamp Quarter.⁹³

The tawdry tales of brothels and gunslingers represent a necessary first step in the Gaslamp Quarter becoming a cultural and heritage landscape because these tales, with their wide appeal, laid the foundation for the eventual inclusion of more complex stories of ethnic groups that once lived in the area. Once the Gaslamp Quarter acquired popular appeal, with successful tours and public interest, the historical stories of other groups in Gaslamp history, that forced a modern audience to confront the “undesirable past” of discrimination and segregation in San Diego, eventually could be told as well.⁹⁴

⁹² Richard Francaviglia, “Selling Heritage Landscapes,” in *Preserving Cultural Landscapes in America*, eds. Arnold Alanen and Robert Melnick (Baltimore: John Hopkins Press, 2000), 45.

⁹³ *Ibid.*, 69.

⁹⁴ Max Page and Randall Mason, Editors, *Giving Preservation a History: Histories of Historic Preservation in the United States* (New York: Routledge, 2004), 15. Page and Randall also argue that until the 1990s, historic preservation in the United States in general avoided “undesirable aspects” of the past. Chapter four of this study explores this topic further.

The 1990s also ushered in much more direct involvement of historic preservation advocates, developers, and the public in the Gaslamp. Historians and organizations such as SOHO became active participants, along with architects who were becoming more interested in the interiors of historic buildings. City leaders, CCDC, and developers were committed to increasing hotel space in the Gaslamp to support the Convention Center that had opened in 1989, and was walking distance to the Gaslamp.⁹⁵

Merchants and business leaders from a neighborhood very near the Gaslamp Quarter began to develop their own ideas for an Italian-inspired urban retail district that they wanted to call Little Italy. Public interest in downtown revitalization, pretty much nonexistent before Horton Plaza, became a major factor after 1990, particularly when historic theaters, and San Diego landmarks such as the El Cortez Hotel, were threatened.⁹⁶ All of these groups also wanted to see residential space increase throughout the downtown, and they envisioned single and married professionals living downtown, and eventually families as well.⁹⁷ By 1992, the clean-up and economic recovery of the Gaslamp Quarter, enhanced by the success of Horton Plaza, allowed CCDC, city leaders, and

⁹⁵ Roger Showley, "On Beyond Horton: Five Years Later, Plaza One Phase to Area's Renewal," *San Diego Union Tribune*, August 12, 1990.

⁹⁶ Ibid. The Balboa and California Theaters, and the El Cortez Hotel, were all built in the 1920s. The Balboa Theater is located next to Horton Plaza, and the California Theater and the El Cortez Hotel are located a few blocks from the Gaslamp Quarter.

⁹⁷ George Flynn, "City Now Targets Most of Downtown for Redevelopment," *San Diego Union Tribune*, September 4, 1990.

developers to begin expanding their plans to include the entire downtown area, approximately 1,435 acres in all.⁹⁸ (Figure 4.11)

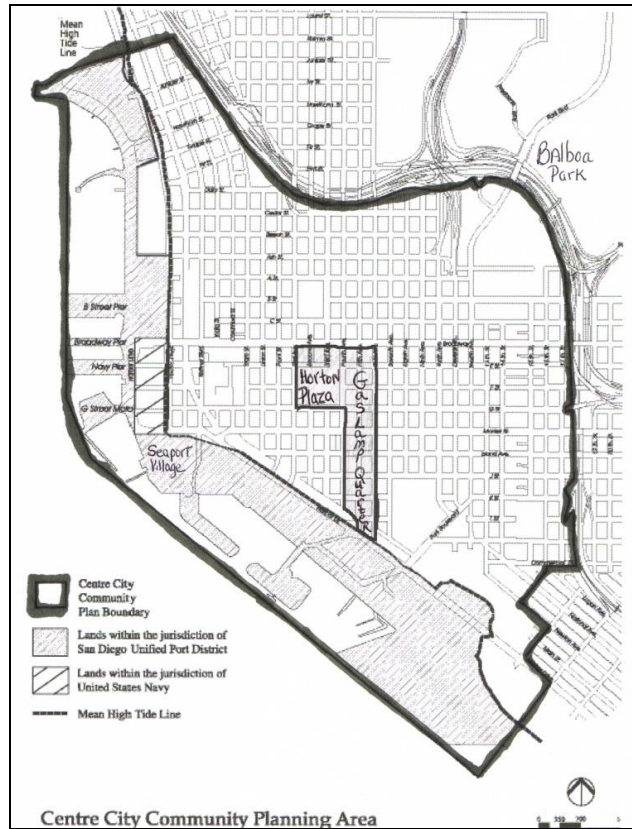


Figure 4.11: Centre City Community Planning Area, 1992.
Courtesy CCDC and modified by author

The boundaries that defined the area under the direction of CCDC in downtown San Diego had been in place since the agency was created seventeen years earlier. But CCDC waited until the Convention Center was built, and for the Gaslamp

⁹⁸ Ibid.

Quarter and Horton Plaza to both demonstrate positive financial returns, before starting redevelopment projects in the rest of downtown.⁹⁹

As plans got underway to start on redevelopment beyond the 16-block boundary of the Gaslamp Quarter, the plans integrated historic preservation from the beginning. Inclusion of specific historic preservation guidelines in the 1992 CCDC Community Plan marked a significant change from the mid-1970s when preservation concerns arose only after, or in response to objections to development projects.¹⁰⁰ A commitment to the protection and preservation of historic structures, as part of “urban conservation,” was included in the mission statement of the 1992 Community Plan.¹⁰¹

So the experience that merchants, and CCDC, gained within the Gaslamp Quarter in identifying and working to designate historic structures, and in keeping the exterior facades as historically accurate as possible, had a direct impact on planning and development beyond the Gaslamp Quarter. In addition, throughout the 1990s, closer attention was paid to the historic preservation of more than just exterior facades. Although too late for many buildings that had already been gutted and the interiors modernized, some building owners decided to set new trends in focusing on historic interiors and making them usable in a modern way. One of the most important buildings in the Gaslamp Quarter, the Yuma Building,

⁹⁹ Ibid.

¹⁰⁰ Centre City Development Corporation, “Community Plan of 1992,” (San Diego: CCDC, 1992), 5.

¹⁰¹ Ibid.,7.

built in 1882, became the first structure in the Gaslamp Quarter to be historically renovated inside and out. In its lifetime, the Yuma had been one of Wyatt Earp's saloon hangouts, and the Yuma served as a brothel for a short time in the early 1900s.¹⁰² Interior designer and architect Marsha Sewell completed the Yuma restoration project by 1992.¹⁰³ (Figures 4.12 and 4.13)



Figure 4.12: Yuma Building, 1888.
Photo Courtesy SDHC.

¹⁰² Gaslamp Quarter Historical Foundation. <http://www.gaslampquarter.org> (accessed January 25, 2011).

¹⁰³ Marsha Sewell, Interview by author, by email, February 2, 2011.



Figure 4.13: Yuma Building today.
Photo by Author.

A two-story townhome, available for weekly rental takes up the upper floors of the restored Yuma, and the lowest floor serves as an interior design office.¹⁰⁴

Although renovating historic interiors proves to be too costly for many owners of historic structures, and the need for modern amenities frequently interferes with their ability to be historically authentic, the renovation of the Yuma Building set an important standard in the Gaslamp, demonstrating that interior renovation can be done and still be comfortable for modern visitors.¹⁰⁵

¹⁰⁴ Marsha Sewell.

¹⁰⁵ Ibid.

When Horton Plaza turned ten years old in 1995, parties and celebrations were held throughout the Gaslamp and downtown. Generating over \$5 million dollars into the local economy every year since it opened, Horton Plaza became the lynchpin of the success of urban revitalization in San Diego.¹⁰⁶ But even ten years later, the merchants in the surrounding Gaslamp Quarter still worked to catch up. In spite of the preservation of many older buildings, and the efforts of the Gaslamp Historical Foundation to generate interest in tours and history-related events, the best retail stores and parking remained inside Horton Plaza.¹⁰⁷ Most of the successful businesses in the Gaslamp Quarter were restaurants and hotels, and these primarily benefited from a night time crowd.¹⁰⁸ The Gaslamp Quarter needed to have new kinds of businesses, open during the day, and attracting a wider audience.¹⁰⁹ The second decade of post-Horton Plaza success in the Gaslamp Quarter depended upon it.

Between 1995 and 2005, most of the goals designed to bring life and visitors into the downtown and the Gaslamp Quarter during the day, and seven days a week, became realities. Some of the projects completed during these years were strictly economic, and involved new retail stores, a large grocery store which the downtown had been lacking, and the construction of several new hotels and

¹⁰⁶ Roger Showley, "Ten Years Later: Horton Plaza is Universal Success Story," *San Diego Union Tribune*, August 13, 1995.

¹⁰⁷ Ibid.

¹⁰⁸ Ibid.

¹⁰⁹ Ibid.

condominiums.¹¹⁰ In 1996, twenty four years after losing a GOP Convention, San Diego hosted the GOP in the six-year-old San Diego Convention Center.¹¹¹ The Gaslamp Quarter also benefited enormously from the success of the convention center because of the short walk for conventioners to come into the Gaslamp for shopping and dining.

Other projects in the Gaslamp prioritized history and preservation, such as the planning for an Asian Pacific Thematic Historic District adjacent to the Gaslamp Quarter, and the publication of an African American Heritage Survey study by the CCDC, were steeped in history and historic preservation issues, and not just economics.¹¹² Although it took several years, the historic Balboa Theater, built in 1924 for live shows, and next to Horton Plaza at its east entrance, was saved, and acquired by CCDC in 1985.¹¹³ The vacant theatre was listed on the National Register of Historic Places in 1996, and finally sold to a developer who renovated the exterior and interior, for live Broadway shows and events.¹¹⁴

¹¹⁰ Ibid.

¹¹¹ Joel Kotkin, "San Diego is among those cities setting the pace for 21st century success," *San Diego Union Tribune*, March 9, 1997.

¹¹² The Asian Pacific Thematic District and the African American Heritage Study are described in detail in Chapter Four of this study.

¹¹³ Elizabeth McNamara, "It's Showtime," *Preservation Magazine*, November/December, 2009, <http://www.preservationnation.org/magazine/2009/november-december/november-december-2009-table-of-contents.html> (accessed January 24, 2011).

¹¹⁴ Ibid. The Balboa Theatre renovation took nearly eight years in its painstaking detail to paint, fabrics, seats, the organ, and other interior features.

(Figure 4.15) Many other success stories of historic architecture, mostly with exteriors, continued throughout the 1990s in the Gaslamp Quarter.

The one constant in the development of the Gaslamp Quarter over time is economics. The project began out of economic needs and goals in the late 1970s that involved all of the downtown area. A National Historic District since 1980, the Gaslamp Quarter boasted many positive achievements in the saving of buildings and in historic architecture. The preservation of the Horton Fountain, and an evolving commitment to preservation among planners, developers, and the eventual enthusiastic support of the public and tourists, reinforce the significance of the Gaslamp Quarter in urban and historic preservation history.

But, the Gaslamp Quarter, even with regard to historic preservation, is still best understood in the context of economics, and specifically in the relationship of the Gaslamp to the broader goals of the city. The revitalization of downtown San Diego, the building of Horton Plaza, and the creation of the Gaslamp Quarter Historic District, like the 1915 Exposition decades before, emerged out of failure and disappointment.¹¹⁵ The failure of the 1880s land boom and the subsequent dramatic drop in population, motivated city boosters to start anew, and to build something to bring people back to their city. Similarly, city leaders in the 1970s, frustrated by the loss of the GOP Convention, and by the decline of downtown,

¹¹⁵ The Exposition in 1915 followed the bust of the 1880s land boom and a dramatic drop in population, and downtown redevelopment in the 1970s began as an immediate response to the loss of the GOP Convention in 1972.

also believed that building something entirely new, held the only promise for the city's future.¹¹⁶

The success of the 1915 Exposition depended entirely on people from outside San Diego coming to the fair. Similarly, redevelopment and historic preservation in downtown San Diego, the construction of Horton Plaza, and the designation of the Gaslamp Quarter Historic District, all of them at costs in the multi millions of dollars, depended on businesses, conventions, and tourists taking notice and coming to San Diego. Residents spending time and money in downtown San Diego was never the primary goal but, became a welcomed part of the success.

The building of Horton Plaza, and the development of the Gaslamp Quarter as the city's "historic heart," were not about "bringing people back downtown."¹¹⁷ The building of Horton Plaza, and developing the Gaslamp Quarter as the city's "historic heart," in ways very much like the 1915 Exposition, were borne of disappointment and failure, and focused upon economic recovery, and about bringing attention, accolades, and the world to San Diego.

Historic preservation, at first, played a secondary role in the revitalization of the Gaslamp Quarter, and mainly through external facades, and the saving of

¹¹⁶ For more on the 1880s land boom, the 1915 Exposition see Chapter One of this study, and for more on the loss of the 1972 GOP Convention, see Chapter Two of this study.

¹¹⁷ Lori Weisberg, "Horton Plaza's Promise: A Revitalized Downtown." Frieden, already researching his book *Downtown, Inc.*, responded to the opening of Horton Plaza in comments he offered to the San Diego Union Tribune, "Most cities have not been able to get people back downtown."

an historic fountain and some buildings. But despite a few setbacks, and the losses of some historic structures, historic preservation became a driving force by 1990, in the Gaslamp Quarter, and in redevelopment throughout downtown San Diego. Preservation expanded beyond bricks and mortar by 1990, and included the stories, over time, of place and people. As new neighborhoods were developed within the downtown area, many of them also designated as historic districts, the lessons learned about historic preservation in the Gaslamp Quarter provided a framework and some guidance for how to blend past and present in a modern urban setting.

Little Italy became the first urban neighborhood to build off the success of the Gaslamp Quarter. Located just a few blocks from the Gaslamp Quarter, the concept for Little Italy, like the Gaslamp Quarter, began as an economic idea to stimulate interest in local businesses. (Figure 4.14)

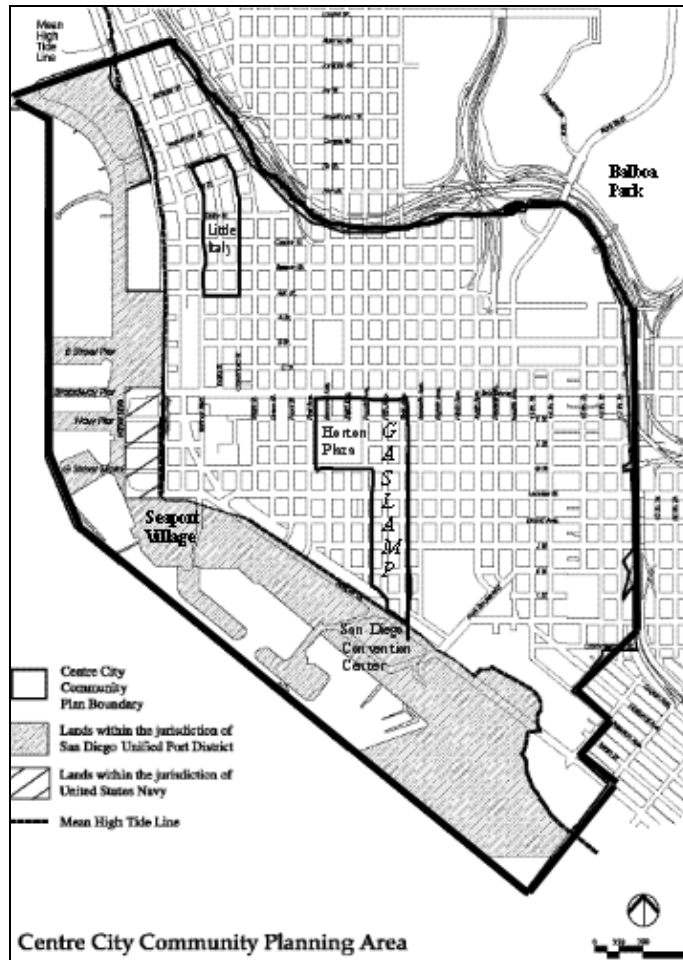


Figure 4.14: Map of Little Italy.
 Map Courtesy Centre City Development Corporation and Modified by author.

The merchants involved in creating Little Italy wanted to build upon the history of Italians in San Diego. Their intention was to present an authentic landscape that generated tourism and revenue, and one that also embraced the legacies of real people. Achieving those goals did not prove to be easy at all.

Little Italy

Referred to as “hip and historic” in most of the San Diego Convention and Visitor’s Bureau brochures, Little Italy was specifically designed to be hip first and historic second, and a distant second at that.¹¹⁸ In ways similar to the development of the Gaslamp District, an analysis of San Diego’s Little Italy reveals how the re-imagination of an egalitarian past, in this case that of an Italian fishing enclave, can become romanticized, and ultimately mythic in its public presentation. (Figure 4.15)



Figure 4.15: Little Italy Sign. Photo by Ellen Schultz-Arigo.

¹¹⁸ San Diego Convention and Visitor Bureau brochures. These terms “hip and historic” can also be found in most of the online descriptions of Little Italy by a variety of tourism and advertising sites meant to draw attention and visitors to Little Italy.

In the early 20th century, the Italian fishing neighborhood encompassed many blocks along the harbor and inward towards downtown. (Figure 4.16) The local fishing industry began to decline in the 1930s, and again in the 1950s when competition from the Japanese fishing industry. Foreign competition and corporate canning interests made it impossible for small family-owned fishing boats to survive.¹¹⁹ The completion of Interstate 5 in 1965 divided what was left of the Italian neighborhood, leaving two blocks of Italian-owned businesses along India Street.¹²⁰

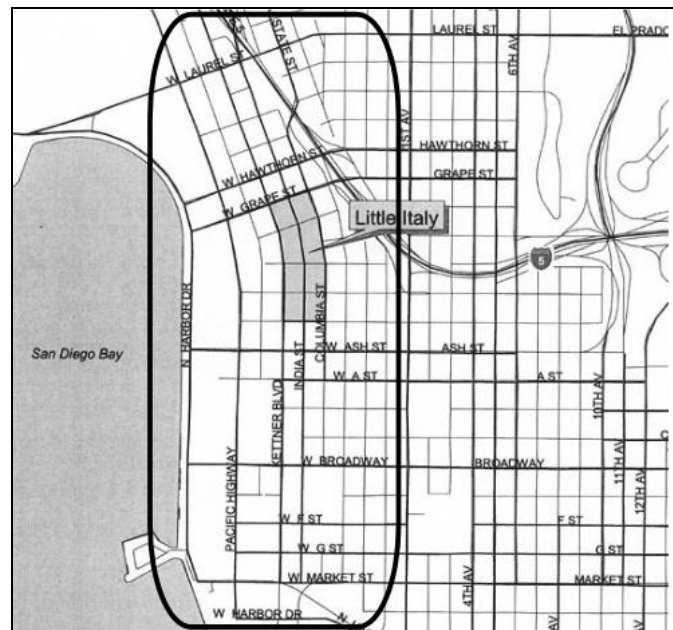


Figure 4.16: Map showing original location of Italian neighborhood, c. 1900-1930s. Map courtesy Centre City Development Corporation. Modified by Author.

¹¹⁹ Kimber Quinney and Thomas Cesarini, *San Diego's Fishing Industry* (Charleston, S.C.: Arcadia Publishing, 2009), 8.

¹²⁰ Kay Kaiser, "Little Italy's Rich Past holds Future Promise," *San Diego Union Tribune*, March 10, 1985.

As early as 1985, residents and business owners along India Street had asked the city of San Diego to provide some funding for the protection and development of what was left of the original Italian neighborhood.¹²¹ In their proposal, the merchants modeled their plans after Little Italy in New York City, with sidewalk cafes, Italian bakeries, and multi-colored awnings and umbrellas.¹²² The city turned them down and, at the time, local merchants did not want to become involved with Centre City Development Corporation (CCDC) because they were not yet convinced that the unusual design of the newly-opened Horton Plaza reflected the goals they had for an ethnic enclave.¹²³ Fearing that CCDC would create an “Italian Disneyland,” local businessmen decided to wait a bit longer before approaching CCDC, for additional support.¹²⁴ Over the next few years, the city and CCDC attempted to bring the Little Italy area into larger plans for the expansion of redevelopment around the Gaslamp, but the local businessmen resisted these efforts.¹²⁵

By 1989, the San Diego Convention Center was open and ready to host large scale meetings, and both Horton Plaza and the Gaslamp Quarter were demonstrating good financial returns. That same year, business owners in Little

¹²¹ Ibid..

¹²² Ibid.

¹²³ Ibid.

¹²⁴ Ibid.

¹²⁵ Steve Schmidt, “Harborview Wants Funky Flavor Intact,” *San Diego Union Tribune*, September 26, 1988.

Italy made their next big move towards developing what they thought was a solid plan to bring residents and tourism into their neighborhood. The local merchants called their plan “a slice of pizza,” and their idea was to define the boundaries of the neighborhood using a wedge, limiting Little Italy to just a few blocks.¹²⁶

(Figure 4.17) Within a year though, the city and CCDC, working with the Little Italy merchants, expanded the “pizza slice” boundaries as part of the city’s overall plan to redevelopment the rest of downtown.¹²⁷ From that point forward, the boundaries of Little Italy were redrawn and included the area from Beech Street to Grape Street and east to west from Columbia Street to Kettner Boulevard. With boundaries set, and the city and CCDC both involved, major planning for Little Italy got underway in 1991.

¹²⁶ Steve Schmidt, “For Little Italy Planners, A “Slice of Pizza,” *San Diego Union Tribune*, March 2, 1989.

¹²⁷ George Flynn, “City Now Targets Most of Downtown for Redevelopment,” *San Diego Union Tribune*, September 4, 1990. At the time, the city and CCDC referred to the geographical area as “HarborView-Little Italy,” and stretched to Harbor Blvd., but the Little Italy portion was the shaded area in Figure 3.33, today “HarborView” is a separate neighborhood from Kettner Blvd to Harbor Blvd.

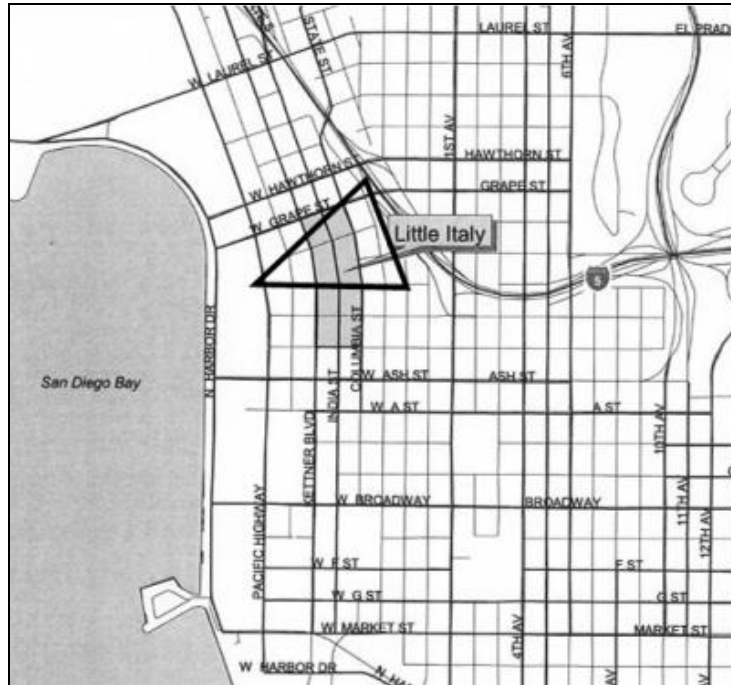


Figure 4.17: “Slice of Pizza” Plan for Little Italy, 1989, and finalized boundaries in gray. Map courtesy CCDC. Modified by Author.

Not all of the merchants supported the ideas that the city and CCDC had for Little Italy. Some of the second and third generation Italians who owned business along India Street, believed that many of the plans for Little Italy were nothing more tourism-building gone awry.¹²⁸ One longtime business owner stated, “They aren't doing it for the Italians, they're doing it for tourists. That's all they really care about -- promoting tourism; it's too late for Little Italy.”¹²⁹ Since most

¹²⁸ Karen Wilson, “History Gets Lost in Little Italy: Debate Takes its Toll on Neighborhood,” *San Diego Union Tribune*, July 19, 1992.

¹²⁹ *Ibid.* Quote is from Mario Cefalu, of Sicilian heritage, and longtime resident and owner of Solunto’s Bakery, which is still in operation today in Little Italy.

of the homes owned by fisherman were razed for Interstate 5, some local business owners remained skeptical, and believed that only the local fire station and Our Lady of Rosary Church, built in 1925, were even worth saving or calling “historic” in Little Italy.¹³⁰ Unlike the Gaslamp Quarter, where many old buildings actually remained and were sturdy enough for adaptive reuse, Little Italy had few such structures, so the neighborhood would need to be created around a dozen or so small one-story Italian-owned restaurants and bakeries.

Along with tourism, the concept for Little Italy was driven by the desire of local merchants and business owners to attract investors, developers, and more businesses, preferably ones owned by Italians.¹³¹ As one member of the Little Italy Association insisted, “We want Italian businesses, - - when you go to New York or Chicago and go to the Italian area, you see Italian coffee shops, Italian restaurants, Italian businesses.”¹³²

Another, more long term goal in Little Italy, was to build modern and eclectic condominiums to bring in young upwardly mobile professionals seeking an urban lifestyle. Finally, they wanted to reimagine their neighborhood in way that recalled an earlier time, that of the Italian industry, in San Diego. Throughout the 1990s, Little Italy developed with support from the city of San Diego and CCDC, and the area was designated as a Business Improvement District (BID),

¹³⁰ Ibid.

¹³¹ Ronald Powell, “Little Italy Group Neutral on Rival Plans, *San Diego Union Tribune*, October 6, 1995.

¹³² Ibid.

which allowed for local taxes to be used for continuing improvements in the neighborhood.¹³³

Some Italian-owned businesses were driven out by increasingly high lease costs, while new businesses, not all of them Italian, moved in.¹³⁴ The Little Italy Association (LIA) worked to bring an Italian ambience to the neighborhood by celebrating Columbus Day every year, hosting annual Italian and Sicilian festivals, organizing stickball tournaments, and by building a bocce ball court.¹³⁵ Their intent was to pay homage to how they believed Italians in the neighborhood decades before spent their leisure time.¹³⁶

Along with festivals and games, LIA members began lobbying for an Italian history museum and for a central plaza to be constructed.¹³⁷ A new group, the Little Italy Neighborhood Developers (LIND), approved by CCDC and the city, began working in Little Italy to construct new buildings and adapt older ones, and the LIND developers expressed a commitment to the idea of an Italian

¹³³ Larry Ford, Florinda Klevisser, and Francesca Carli, "Ethnic Neighborhoods and Urban Revitalization: Can Europe Use the American Model?," *Geographical Review* 98, no 1 (January 2008), 85.

¹³⁴ Ibid.

¹³⁵ Ronald Powell, "Little Italy Group Neutral on Rival Plans." Bocce is a game, originated in the Roman Empire, popular in Italy, it is often called "lawn bowling" and is played with wooden balls.

¹³⁶ Ibid.

¹³⁷ Ibid.

cultural center.¹³⁸ Once again, several Little Italy merchants remained skeptical, already worried that Little Italy was becoming “less Italian,” the offers of developers to have “cafes sprinkled around” the new developments, did not reassure them.¹³⁹

By 1997, Amici Park opened and provided the first green space in Little Italy, with playgrounds, a dog run, an amphitheater, and dozens of benches and tables.¹⁴⁰ Just two years later, CCDC set in motion the plans for 300-room hotels on the perimeter of Little Italy, and also approved plans for condominiums and loft-style apartments.¹⁴¹ Many new buildings received Italian names, and some of them incorporated designs using Mediterranean color palettes and Tuscany-inspired features.¹⁴² During these years, the CCDC planning area called “Harborview-Little Italy,” became Little Italy, dropping “Harborview” from the name, and the boundaries expanded from a few blocks to a 48-block area.¹⁴³

(Figure 4.18)

¹³⁸ Ann Jarmusch, “Imaginative Project Could be Little Italy's Big Moment,” *San Diego Union Tribune*, October 15, 1995.

¹³⁹ Ibid.

¹⁴⁰ Ronald Powell, “Park Fosters Friendship in Little Italy,” *San Diego Union Tribune*, January 21, 1997. “Amici” means friendship in Italian.

¹⁴¹ Ronald Powell, “Little Italy Gets Boost from CCDC,” *San Diego Union Tribune*, October 4, 1997.

¹⁴² Larry Ford, Florinda Klevisser, and Francesca Carli, “Ethnic Neighborhoods and Urban Revitalization: Can Europe Use the American Model?.”

¹⁴³ Christopher Gomez. District Manager, Little Italy Association. Email with author, February 21, 2011.

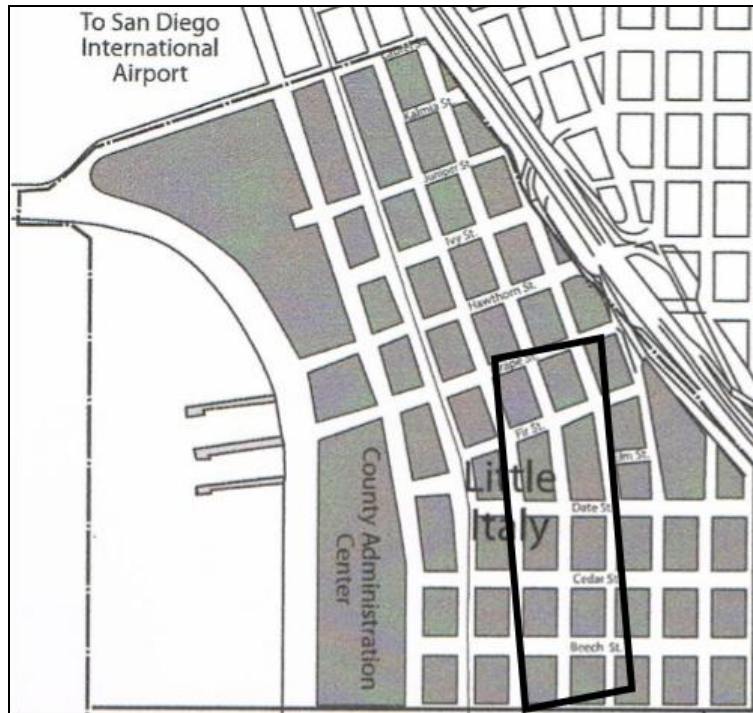


Figure 4.18: Boundary Map showing original 16-block size and current size of Little Italy. Courtesy Centre City Development Corporation.

The original 5 block center of the neighborhood makes up the heart of Little Italy that most visitors see. Dropping “Harborview” from the name and the expansion of the boundaries were economic decisions by planners and developers.¹⁴⁴ They believed that the Little Italy name and location enhanced the appeal of condos and lofts being built, and would appeal as well to new businesses.¹⁴⁵

It was not long before their predictions proved to be true. As commercial buildings went up, occupancy rates soared, condos and lofts sold quickly, and

¹⁴⁴ Ibid.

¹⁴⁵ Ibid.

apartments rented easily, too.¹⁴⁶ Rents ranged from \$1000 to \$3000 dollars per month, and condo prices reached \$300,000 dollars.¹⁴⁷ Some developers kept their focus on Italian-inspired designs, but by 2000 many builders no longer had any interest in the incorporation of Italian or Mediterranean colors or architectural styles.¹⁴⁸ Over the next several years, new 3,000 residents moved in, along with many new businesses, most of them retail and gift shops geared to tourists.¹⁴⁹ But the fastest-growing businesses along India Street, the spine and heart of Little Italy, are real estate offices.¹⁵⁰

Tourists coming to Little Italy are greeted by “Little Italy” signs everywhere, on chairs and trash cans, and others that pay tribute to prominent Italian Americans, along with banners flying the colors of Italy, and the neighborhood is engulfed with aromas from cafes and restaurants. (Figures 4.19 and 4.20 and 4.21) There is one lamp post banner that appears in several places that does have an Italian holding a fish, meant to recall the fishing industry days of the early 20th century. (Figure 4.22)

¹⁴⁶ Roger Showley, “Residents Try to Bring Back Soul to Little Italy,” *San Diego Union Tribune*, March 26, 2000.

¹⁴⁷ *Ibid.*

¹⁴⁸ *Ibid.*

¹⁴⁹ Larry Ford, Florinda Klevisser, and Francesca Carli, “Ethnic Neighborhoods and Urban Revitalization: Can Europe Use the American Model?,” 86.

¹⁵⁰ *Ibid.*



Figure 4.19: Little Italy Sign on Sidewalk Chairs.
Photo by Ellen Schultz-Arigo.



Figure 4.20: Tribute Banner to Italian Americans in Baseball.
Photo by Author.



Figure 4.21: Little Italy Landmark Sign. Photo by Author.



Figure 4.22: Italian Fisherman Sign. Photo by Author.

Upon picking up the Little Italy walking maps placed all around the area, it does not take long to note that most locations are retail locations, businesses, and restaurants. (Figure 4.23)

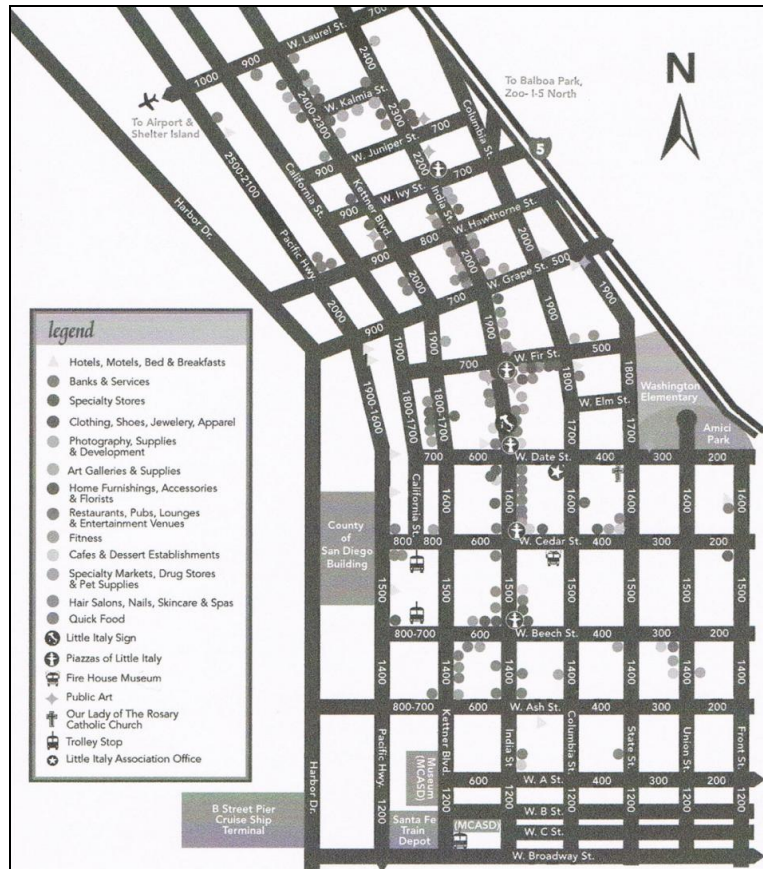


Figure 4.23: Tourist Walking Map of Little Italy.
Map Courtesy Little Italy Association

Our Lady of the Rosary Catholic Church, built in 1925 and still an active Parish, is historic and can be visited, and in 2007 the Piazza Basilone, named for

an Italian American U.S. Marine and dedicated to local WWI and Korean War veterans, opened for visitors as well. (Figures 4.24 and 4.25)



Figure 4.24: Our Lady of the Rosary Church. Photo by Author.



Figure 4.25: Piazza Basilone in Little Italy, Photo by Author.

The addition of the Piazza Basilone marked an important change point for Little Italy, despite the fact that no public fountain ever existed in the neighborhood during the fishing industry days. (Figure 4.26) In fact, the central gathering place in the neighborhood until the mid-1960s was the local barber shop.¹⁵¹ The idea of original local merchants, in the late 1980s, to eventually have a central piazza as a focal point and gathering spot for the public in Little Italy pre-dated the involvement of CCDC or funding from the city of San Diego.¹⁵² The Little Italy merchants knew that recreating the barber shop was impractical, so the piazza idea, they believed, would maintain some authenticity in terms of the importance

¹⁵¹ Karen Wilson, "Debate Takes its Toll on Neighborhood," *San Diego Union Tribune*, July 19, 1992.

¹⁵² Steve Schmidt, "For Little Italy Planners, A 'Slice of Pizza.'"

of fountains and piazza's throughout Italy.¹⁵³ So, for the Little Italy Association, the completion of the Piazza Basilone, nearly 20 years after first proposing the idea, brought something to the neighborhood, a central public gathering place, that Little Italy lacked.

Little Italy has become an economically successful, ethnic-inspired urban neighborhood, and a very successful business district, despite the number of non-Italian businesses, and regardless of how many new developments did or did not make use of Italian-inspired designs. (Figure 4.26)



Figure 4.26: Condominium in Little Italy. Photo by Author.

As of 2004, and adding to its economic success, San Diego's Little Italy neighborhood became the second largest "Little Italy" in the United States even though San Diego never had an Italian population anywhere near as numerous as

¹⁵³ Ibid.

New York or Chicago.¹⁵⁴ But how many Italians ever lived there has nothing to do with the success of Little Italy, or explain why people come to Little Italy by the thousands every day.¹⁵⁵ Visitors are not drawn to Little Italy for its history, but rather for the atmosphere and for the food. (Figure 4.27)



Figure 4.27: Buon Appetito Restaurant. Photo by Author.

Yet no visitor to Little Italy can possibly miss seeing the many signs that proclaim Little Italy to be a “hip and *historic* urban neighborhood.”¹⁵⁶ But, there is no local history museum and no cultural center with a visitor’s center in Little

¹⁵⁴ Dorothy O’Donnell, “Little Italy Makes Mark as Model of Urban Redevelopment,” *The San Diego Daily Transcript*, August 12, 2004.

¹⁵⁵ *Ibid.*

¹⁵⁶ The logo “A hip and historic urban neighborhood” is the registered trademark of the Little Italy Association.

Italy, so where do visitors look for or see the history of Little Italy?¹⁵⁷ And how did Little Italy become an urban neighborhood with all kinds of Italian influence, but not quite the “historic” neighborhood the signs claim it to be? When they first began planning to revitalize their neighborhood in the 1980s, local merchants hoped to recapture and pay homage to the lives and experiences of Italian fishing families that once lived in the area. Many of those merchants were the sons and daughters of those very families.¹⁵⁸ So what happened? Where did the history go?

In order to understand how history is used, or not, in Little Italy in San Diego, it is necessary to put Little Italy in context to how Little Italy neighborhoods in cities across the United States developed in the first place. Donna Gabaccia, in her analysis of Little Italy neighborhoods in the United States, found that the term “Little Italy” did not even come in wide use until the 1970s.¹⁵⁹ In addition, “Little Italys” were most often an urban creation that came long after a neighborhood was no longer primarily occupied by any one ethnic

¹⁵⁷ The San Diego Firehouse Museum is located in a very small former fire station and within the boundaries of Little Italy, but was built in 1962, and presents the history of firefighting in San Diego, not just in Little Italy. <http://www.sandiegofirehousemuseum.com/> (accessed February 28, 2011). The Italian Cultural Center of San Diego, a nonprofit founded in 1981, offers Italian classes and sponsors fiestas, but has no visitor’s center or museum. http://www.icc-sd.org/about_us0.aspx (accessed February 28, 2011).

¹⁵⁸ Kay Kaiser, “Little Italy’s Rich Past Holds Future Promise.”

¹⁵⁹ Donna Gabaccia, “Inventing Little Italy,” *The Journal of the Gilded Age and Progressive Era* 6, no 7 (January 2007), 35.

group.¹⁶⁰ When combined with retail, restaurants, urban revitalization, and some local lore, these neighborhoods often become “ethnic urban theme parks.”¹⁶¹

Further, the ambience of the ethnic-inspired neighborhood encourages visitors to create mental pictures of immigrants living and supporting each other in close-knit and loving enclaves in the New World.¹⁶² Even though no tenement-style immigrant buildings full of Italians ever existed, a small Italian enclave, held together by Church and family, did exist in San Diego from the early 20th century through the early 1960s.¹⁶³ Life for the Italian fishermen in the city was harsh, and incomes were low.¹⁶⁴ Of course, visitors are not encouraged to conjure up mental images of a harsh life or difficult living conditions in any Little Italy in the United States, and the same is true in San Diego’s Little Italy.¹⁶⁵ In fact, quite the opposite happens: a day spent in Little Italy is more like a “daily festival of banners and lights.”¹⁶⁶ It allows visitors to Little Italy to connect to another

¹⁶⁰ Ibid.

¹⁶¹ Ibid., 41.

¹⁶² Ibid. Gabaccia argues that by accepting immigrant culture today in imaginary ethnic neighborhoods that visitors can avoid the unpleasantness of confronting the true nature of the immigrant experience in the early 20th century.

¹⁶³ Larry Ford, Florinda Klevisser, and Francesca Carli, “Ethnic Neighborhoods and Urban Revitalization: Can Europe Use the American Model?,” 86. Larry Ford found that in 1950, only 371 of the total population of 2,052 in what is now Little Italy were actually Italian.

¹⁶⁴ Kay Kaiser, “Little Italy’s Rich Past Holds Future Promise.”

¹⁶⁵ Gabaccia, 41.

¹⁶⁶ Ibid.

culture, at least through the aromas and food, and in the process believe that they understand something of themselves and the nature of human struggle.¹⁶⁷

So does all this mean that Little Italy is not “hip and historic”? Little Italy is most certainly “hip,” and has the high rent prices to prove it. Further, unlike other parts of downtown San Diego where many new condos and apartments remain vacant, the opposite is true in Little Italy where new condominiums have waiting lists before construction is complete.¹⁶⁸ People, mostly young and single, want to live in Little Italy, and local San Diegans, and tourists, love visiting. As former CCDC President explained, Little Italy “has a cache. By building great places that people want to embrace, you create great cities.”¹⁶⁹ If Little Italy has “cache,” it implies that Little Italy is an urban gem, a little place within a large city that is helping to build economic success in downtown San Diego. Hall is probably correct.

But what about “historic”? Calling Little Italy “historic” probably stretches the definition of the word, but that said, Little Italy’s planners never promised a history lesson. They sought, and achieved, an ethnic experience for visitors. And, in the dozen or so remaining Italian-owned bakeries and restaurants that are run by descendants of the original owners, visitors can find a few pictures

¹⁶⁷ Ibid.

¹⁶⁸ Dorothy O’Donnell, “Little Italy Makes Mark as Model of Urban Redevelopment.” One of the goals of CCDC for downtown was to increase the resident population, particularly families.. This has not come to be and is explained in more detail in Chapter five of this study.

¹⁶⁹ Ibid.

and memorabilia on the walls that do show the neighborhood as it looked decades ago. The Little Italy Association still hopes to one day have a small museum or cultural center devoted to the actual history of the area.¹⁷⁰

In the meantime, Little Italy can best be described as a “themed experience” that has been socially constructed in a place that celebrates Italian heritage.¹⁷¹ The Director of the Little Italy Association said it most clearly, “I want people to walk down the Little Italy streets and have every step be an experience.”¹⁷²

Amid a “hip” and upscale neighborhood full of Italian ambience, the real-life experiences of the “working class who once lived there” have been replaced by a “new gentry” of young, upwardly mobile residents, and thousands of tourists.¹⁷³ History in Little Italy, as in the Gaslamp Quarter, is used as a backdrop, and as a vital part of the décor. History contributes to the experience for residents and visitors, but only in indirect ways such as colors, banners, signs, aromas, and the piazza.

¹⁷⁰ Roger Showley, “Residents Try to Bring Back Soul to Little Italy,” *San Diego Union Tribune*, March 26, 2000.

¹⁷¹ Mark Gottdiener, *The Theming of America: Dreams, Visions, and Commercial Spaces* (Boulder, Co.: Westview Press, 1997), 5.

¹⁷² Marty Graham, “Downtown Living,” *San Diego Metropolitan Magazine*, August, 2006: <http://sandiegometro.archives.whsites.net/2006/aug/living.php> (accessed March 2, 2011).

¹⁷³ Mike Wallace, *Mickey Mouse History and Other Essays on American Memory* (Philadelphia: Temple University Press, 1996), 208.

It would be unfair to say that Little Italy in San Diego has become an “ethnic theme park” because unlike many other Little Italys there are no vendors selling “*Kiss me, I’m Italian*” buttons.¹⁷⁴ However, Little Italy in San Diego is a socially constructed and representational space that politely downplays the reality that at one time the Italians who really lived in the neighborhood did so in a world surrounded by “Italophobia” and marginalized from the society around them.¹⁷⁵ Even so, there is an ethnic past, and present, in Little Italy. Despite the challenge in finding the real history of Italians in Little Italy, if one looks hard enough, or talks to local merchants, there is some history to be found there.

Redevelopment, Historic Preservation and Historical Authenticity

After 1975, while historic authenticity did not get completely ignored or intentionally discarded, the priorities in the Gaslamp Quarter and in Little Italy were always economic, and both the Gaslamp Quarter and Little Italy did become economically successful. History and historic preservation, whether of buildings or the stories of people, came second. In Little Italy, the images of robust and proud fisherman on the banners throughout the neighborhood are often the only Italians that some tourists ever see. In the Gaslamp Quarter, except for the Yuma Building, only the exteriors of buildings are historic, and the stories most tourists get to hear are about brothels, prostitutes, saloons, and Wyatt Earp.

¹⁷⁴ Jerome Krase, “The Present/Future of Little Italies,” <http://www.brooklynso.org/semiotics/v1n1/index.html>: 3 (accessed February 27, 2011).

¹⁷⁵ Nicholas DeMaria Harney, “Italian Diasporas Share the Neighborhood in the English-Speaking World,” *Modern Italy* 2, no 1 (February, 2006), 5.

The Gaslamp Quarter and Little Italy, however, do have histories to be told. In a recent presentation for the National Council on Public History (NCPH), Patrick O'Bannon argued that "there is history in every historic district. Sometimes that history is constrained and restricted, reflecting the specific goals and objectives of those who prepared and promoted the district designation, but a broader, more inclusive history always exists behind the official designation."¹⁷⁶ In Little Italy, the planning for a cultural museum and visitor's center has only just begun. In the Gaslamp Quarter, despite the numerous accomplishments in historic architecture, contests over historical authenticity and omitted histories began to surface just a few years after downtown revitalization began. But it took over a decade, for planners, developers, historians, and preservationists to reach an understanding.

One historian recently posited, "the resurrection of history as a significant part of a historic district might lie in a new interpretation of the architecture as a window into the past, or as a framework for understanding the past, not as a separate movement on a different track."¹⁷⁷ If historic architecture had been considered a "window to the past" in the early 1990s, it might have helped those developing the Gaslamp Quarter enormously. Instead, amidst the physical and economic success of the Gaslamp Quarter, and Horton Plaza, tension and conflict emerged when Asian Americans and African Americans, feeling that their

¹⁷⁶ Patrick O'Bannon, "Historic Districts: Concluding Thoughts," *The Public Historian* 32, no 4 (Fall, 2010): 74.

¹⁷⁷ Alison K. Hoagland, "Where is the History in Historic Districts: An Introduction," *The Public Historian* 32, no 4 (Fall, 2010): 15.

contributions and histories in the Gaslamp Quarter were being erased, went to battle with downtown developers, planners, and the city of San Diego.

CHAPTER 5

OPENING “WINDOWS TO THE PAST”:

PRESERVING RACE AND ETHNICITY IN THE GASLAMP

The Gaslamp Quarter began as a place of human interaction in the 1860s when Alonzo Horton created “New Town.” The neighborhood remained an interactive urban space for one hundred years. Over time, the human actors changed, sometimes they were primarily white while at other times the downtown was mostly occupied by ethnic groups and African Americans. In the Gaslamp Quarter, the meaning of the place “lies neither wholly in its forms and materials, nor wholly in the minds of the people who use it, but arises out of the interaction of the two.”¹ In order for people today to be able to interact with the landscape of the past, the human stories of the past in Gaslamp Quarter are a necessary element in its historic preservation. Yet those stories were very nearly lost.

When a building is demolished, bricks, mortar, and architecture are not the only losses. While not every building can or should be saved, the stories of those who once used the structure for business, recreation, or as a residence can be preserved. When structures can be evaluated as “windows to the past” before scheduling the wrecking ball, opportunities are created to assess the social and

¹ Ned Kaufman, *Race, Place, and Story: Essays on the Past and Future of Historic Preservation* (New York: Routledge Group, 2009), 5.

human significance of the building, thus acknowledging the contributions and stories of groups that might otherwise be omitted.²

In addition, the consideration of a building's past as a place of human interaction can become an effective part of an overall process to determine if the building should be saved, demolished but commemorated with plaques, or markers, or found not to be significant after all. However, as Dolores Hayden demonstrated, while the commemorating of an historic site once the building itself is gone, is still a valuable form of place-making, it may not have the "power of place" that the structure could have helped to convey.³ The human and social aspects of the built environment, together with the architecture create an urban landscape.

Similarly, preservationist Ned Kaufman argues, "it is not only buildings which are disappearing, but also a legacy of urban living, not only cityscape but also storyscape."⁴ Kaufman uses "storyscape" as an alternative to professional vernacular such as *social value* and *cultural heritage* because storyscape is "concrete and mundane," and "one does not need to be a trained a professional to tell or appreciate stories."⁵ This point has particular relevance in downtown revitalization projects such as the Gaslamp Quarter in which the end users,

² Alison K. Hoagland, "Where is the History in Historic Districts: An Introduction," 15.

³ Dolores Hayden, *The Power of Place: Urban Landscapes as Public History*, 60.

⁴ Kaufman, 18.

⁵ *Ibid.*, 5.

visitors, tourists, and residents are not defined by their professions but instead by their willingness to spend time and money in the Gaslamp while interacting with other people. Without a storyscape, the buildings and the physical ambience, while appealing, lack contextual meaning.

Sociologist Leland Saito explored the intersections of race and historic preservation in urban politics and found that the inclusion of the histories of racial minorities in revitalization projects does not come about because planners, developers or politicians experience an awakening of conscience or from a commitment to historic authenticity in the planning stages.⁶ When minority heritage and contributions end up in the final plans or public presentations, or their historic structures are saved from demolition, it is usually the result of vigorous and organized advocacy of the minority groups themselves.⁷

Between 1975 and 1990, when the Gaslamp Quarter redevelopment project was expanding, much of the scholarship in historic architecture, preservation, and urban landscapes was just beginning to emerge. As such, urban redevelopment during these years had an element of *learn-as-you-go* in them. Minority groups, hoping to preserve the histories of ethnic and racial minorities in

⁶ Leland Saito, *The Politics of Exclusion: The Failure of Race-Neutral Policies in Urban America* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 2009), 22. Saito's work focuses on issues of politics through a comparative case-study analysis of three cities. This dissertation focuses only on San Diego and examines the relationships between developers, preservationists and grass roots activists. Also, this study adds the dimension of gender to the African American heritage story in San Diego.

⁷ *Ibid.*, 96.

San Diego and to be included in the urban storyscape that became the Gaslamp Quarter, needed to become “their own historian.”⁸ And so they did.

Asian American Activism and Success in Preservation Battles

The Chinese community in San Diego, although small in number in the 1980s, succeeded in building organizational strength, it also had access to financial support and fundraising and it became adept at forming strategic alliances. In addition, it had acquired some political influence and benefited from very capable leadership. Also, during the 20th century city planners throughout the United States began to recognize the attractiveness and profitability factor of having a “Chinatown” to promote tourism and to offer an aura of the exotic, whether real or imagined. So when Chinese residents in San Diego became concerned with their history being erased in the Gaslamp redevelopment plans, they had some national precedents to draw from when approaching Centre City Development Corporation (CCDC) and the city of San Diego.

In San Diego, the local Chinese community did not lobby for a “Chinatown” per se but they did hope to achieve the creation of an historic district dedicated to their heritage. But their battle did not begin over geographical boundaries to define a district. Their mission began with a fight to save a single structure, the Chinese Mission built in 1927 and slated for demolition. (Figure 5.1)

⁸ Peter Novick, *That Noble Dream: The Objectivity Question and the American Historical Profession* (Cambridge, U.K.: Cambridge University Press, 1988), 512.



Figure 5.1: Chinese Mission, 1920s. Photo courtesy SDHC.

The Chinese Historical Society organized in 1986, specifically with the purpose of saving the Chinese Mission from being demolished. From that singular objective the Chinese American community expanded their aspirations to also include a comprehensive study of the contributions made by Chinese in San Diego, a formalized survey of any structures still in existence, and finally to becoming active participants in how Chinese history in the downtown area would be developed. The significance of their efforts comes from their success in saving the Chinese Mission, but more than that, the precedents and lessons that they set for others to follow in how to gain a voice in growth and preservation politics in San Diego.

One of the most important Chinese American leaders, Tom Hom, joined the efforts to save the Chinese Mission in 1986. He came with extensive

experience in the Gaslamp area as a property owner and the founder of the Gaslamp Quarter Association a decade earlier.⁹ Hom had served on the San Diego City Council, and he brought with him a strong understanding of how the economic and political mechanisms in San Diego worked.¹⁰ Throughout the conflict over the Chinese Mission, CCDC acted as the liaison between the Hom, the Chinese American Historical Society, the Historic Resources Board (HRB), and the owner of the Chinese Mission, who at the time hoped to build a high rise building after demolishing the Mission.¹¹

The conflict over the Chinese Mission represented fairly new territory for many of the organizations involved. In addition to the Chinese Historical Society being in its infancy, CCDC had seen only a decade of directing the redevelopment of the downtown area, and to date had not confronted any major opposition from ethnic minority groups. Further, the city's Historical Sites Board, created in 1965, operated in a largely advisory role. The ability of the Historical Sites Board to actually designate and to do more than issue or delay permits, and to enforce state and federal regulations grew stronger over time, but in 1986 the HRB did not wield much actual power.

⁹ Leland Saito, "Reclamation and Preservation: The San Diego Chinese Mission, 1927-1996" in *The San Diego Journal of History* 49, no 1 (2003): <http://www.sandiegohistory.org/journal/v49-1/index.htm> (accessed March 10, 2011).

¹⁰ Ibid.

¹¹ Ibid.

In 1986, the CCDC funded a historical study of Chinese contributions in the downtown area, and the resulting report sparked outrage and challenges. Ray Brandes, a professor of western American history at the University of San Diego, wrote the study called “Research and Analysis of Buildings within the Marina Redevelopment Project area known to be connected with local Chinese history.”¹² Brandes endured a great deal of criticism for his research, even though he took on the task with an impressive set of credentials that included his education and his civic involvement.

A co-founder of San Diego’s Historic Sites Board in 1965 and experienced with the process of historic site excavation and surveys, Brandes prepared his report under a rigid three month time frame given to him by CCDC.¹³ Further, his assignment limited the requested information to the historic nature of particular buildings and most importantly that of the Chinese Mission.¹⁴ Brandes reported that the Chinese Mission no longer reflected its origins because it had been rehabbed several times after being sold into private, non-Chinese ownership in 1960.¹⁵

¹² Saito, Leland, “Reclamation and Preservation: The San Diego Chinese Mission, 1927-1996.”

¹³ Raymond Brandes. “Research and Analysis of Buildings Within the Marina Redevelopment Project Area known to be Connected with local Chinese History.” Reports also held by the CCDC. File # 328231 located at 401 B Street San Diego, CA. Brandes held a BA in Archaeology and graduate degrees in Western History from the University of Arizona.

¹⁴ Ibid.

¹⁵ Ibid.

Brandes augmented his own research with work written in 1977 by Elizabeth MacPhail. She concluded that the structure itself, although it had been rehabbed several times, maintained much of its original architecture. The owners at the time of her writing had no intentions to demolish it, but by 1986, Charles Tyson, the owner of the Chinese Mission, no longer wanted the building, and wished instead to build a high-rise office building on the site.¹⁶ Thus, the structural changes made to the Chinese Mission while in private ownership between 1960 and 1986, along with its poor overall condition led Brandes to recommend against saving it or including it as a part of a future Chinese or Asian Historic District.¹⁷

The fight over the Chinese Mission reveals a common dilemma in how urban historic districts are recognized and conceived: planners see an opportunity, and the community seeks recognition, but the buildings offer a less compelling case. CCDC believed that San Diego needed a “China Town” or Chinese Historic District because San Diego would have been a rarity in Western cities in not

¹⁶ Elizabeth MacPhail, “San Diego’s Chinese Mission,” *The Journal of San Diego History* 23, no. 2 (1977): <http://www.sandiegohistory.org/journal/77spring/chinese.htm> (accessed March 10, 2011). MacPhail’s account of the history of the Chinese Mission concluded that the new owners as of the date she was writing intended to preserve the building and its historic origins. However, by 1986 this was no longer true and the building was slated for demolition.

¹⁷ Raymond Brandes, “Research and Analysis of Buildings Within the Marina Redevelopment Project Area known to be Connected with local Chinese History.”

having such an area.¹⁸ Chinese American groups in San Diego added a compelling case that Chinese history and contributions in downtown San Diego were being omitted. The history and building surveys done by Brandes illustrate the tension between designating an area as historic, as opposed to creating a historic district. Brandes based his conclusions about the Mission on the fact that the many physical changes made to it altered its original meaning and context.¹⁹ And he did not support moving the structure a few blocks to where planners hoped a future Chinese Historic District could be created.²⁰ The notion of moving buildings to create historic districts did not sit well with many preservationists and historians at that time, but often became the tool of compromise that prevented demolition.

In response to criticism of the Brandes study, CCDC commissioned another survey. This, an Asian American Heritage Study, was prepared by an architectural firm, published just a few months after the Brandes findings, and determined that the Chinese Mission had enough of its original exterior to merit restoration.²¹ The second study also suggested that it be designated as historic

¹⁸ The years of building on the idea that San Diego lacked a Chinatown culminated in the City of San Diego adopting the Asian Pacific Thematic Historic District Master Plan in August of 1995.

¹⁹ Raymond Brandes.

²⁰ Asian Pacific Thematic Historic District Master Plan. (August 15, 1995), 13-14. Adopted by the Redevelopment Agency of the City of San Diego. Resolution No. 2544.

²¹ Milford Donaldson, "Historic Chinese Community Buildings Survey Analysis," November, 1986. CCDC File # 328231 located at 401 B Street San Diego, CA.

and the Mission be relocated closer to Horton Plaza.²² The Asian American heritage study was a thematic and well-documented survey of Asian American residents, businesses and buildings and resulted in the designation of an Asian American Thematic District with clearly defined geographic boundaries.²³

It took another two years of negotiating between the current owner, the Chinese community, CCDC, and the Historic Sites Board, but by 1988 the Chinese Mission was dismantled, moved, and reconstructed a few blocks away from its original site. The fight over the Chinese Mission was over. (Figure 5.2) Planning began for the Chinese Mission to become a museum and education center within the planned Chinese Historic District. (Figure 5.3) Seven years later the district took on its permanent name of the Asian Pacific Thematic Historic District to better reflect a more inclusive approach that included various Asian groups and their history in San Diego.²⁴

²² Ibid.

²³ Leland Saito, "Reclamation and Preservation."

²⁴ Asian Pacific Thematic Historic District Master Plan.



Figure 5.2: Chinese Mission Today. Photo by Author.



Figure 5.3: San Diego Chinese Historical Museum. Photo by Author.

Leland Saito concluded that the activism of the Chinese community in the preservation of the Chinese Mission “reestablished their physical, cultural and economic presence” in downtown San Diego.²⁵ Their successful outcome also had much to do with the ability to organize, fundraise, do independent research, and to effectively argue that inclusion of their heritage “coincided with CCDC’s effort to revitalize downtown and turn it into a commercial and entertainment center.”²⁶

²⁵ Saito, “Reclamation and Preservation.”

²⁶ Ibid.

The preservation of the Chinese Mission set a precedent for the protection of minority heritage and for how to navigate the contested terrain of municipal and redevelopment politics in San Diego. Minority groups trying to take on the city or CCDC in their quest for inclusion at least had a model to follow. But that would not be easy.

African American Activism and Success in Preservation Battles

By 1990, African Americans in San Diego demonstrated vigorous resolve and determination in their quest to be included in Gaslamp Quarter redevelopment. The Black Historical Society of San Diego (BHSSD) organized in 1992 to fight for inclusion in the historic interpretation and preservation in the Gaslamp Quarter.²⁷ Karen Huff, the lead advocate and founder of the BHSSD, brought with her a strikingly different vision and memory of San Diego history and became a vocal thorn in the side of the CCDC.²⁸

In contrast to the response of CCDC to Chinese history in downtown San Diego, the development of an African American historic district did not seem to fit with the economic goals of the Gaslamp. Whereas having a “China Town” had a track record of economic success in other cities, the commemoration of the urban experiences of African Americans offered few models and lacked the exotic

²⁷ “Harlem of the West: An Historic Downtown San Diego Community,” <http://www.harlemofthewest.com/> (accessed November 10, 2010).

²⁸ Roger Showley, “Early Black Residents Struggled Against Racism,” *San Diego Union Tribune*, February 6, 1994.

flavor of the Orient.²⁹ Unable to compel CCDC to do a historic survey similar to the ones that had been commissioned for Asian heritage, Huff and her BHSSD members became their own historians and launched into their own research of African American history in San Diego.³⁰

Huff showed that Portuguese explorer Juan Cabrillo brought slaves with him to San Diego in 1542, and that Blacks lived in the Spanish presidio, and in the Old Town section of San Diego.³¹ Beginning in the late 1800s, African Americans settled in Julian, a mountain community east of San Diego, and in “New Town” founded by Alonzo Horton by the 1870s.³² African Americans owned businesses were in the Gaslamp area as early as the 1870’s, and Huff claimed that “by the 1880’s there were black owned restaurants, laundries and rooming houses signaling the development of a black neighborhood.”³³ Huff used

²⁹ Saito, “African Americans and Historic Preservation in San Diego: The Douglas and Clermont Coast Hotels,” *The Journal of San Diego History* 54, no. 1 (Winter, 2008): 2. See also Larry Ford, Florinda Klevisser, and Francesca Carli, “Ethnic Neighborhoods and Urban Revitalization: Can Europe Use the American Model?,” *Geographical Review* 98, no 1(January 2008), 85 and Beth Savage, ed., *African American Historic Places* (New York: Wiley and Sons, 1994),74.

³⁰ Peter Novick, *That Noble Dream*, 512.

³¹ Karen Huff, *Synopsis of San Diego's Black History* (Liberia Press, 2002), 4. Because she did not publish her research until much later, Huff consistently brought evidence of her findings to CCDC meetings and to the Historical Resources Board in San Diego throughout the 1990s.

³² Ibid.

³³ Ibid.

law enforcement records and old newspapers to show that by the late 19th century police in the city referred to the black neighborhood as “Dark Town.”³⁴

Huff’s research, published in local newspapers, confirmed that “by 1900, a significant African American settlement in downtown had developed, and by the mid-1920’s, black culture in downtown San Diego flourished with jazz, blues, art, and other activities comparable to New York’s Harlem Renaissance.”³⁵ Most of the early black-owned businesses survived the pre-Exposition “clean up” of the Stingaree, and by the 1920s the black neighborhood within the Gaslamp evolved into a jazz-based community with clubs and hotels that attracted celebrities from the sports and music worlds.³⁶

Energized by the razing of the Hotel Douglas and Creole Palace in 1985, the BHSSD became determined to save any remaining Black-owned historic structures in downtown San Diego.³⁷ The Hotel Douglas and the Creole Palace were successful businesses that had served African Americans during the segregation years of the 1920s through the 1960s.³⁸ Huff knew that “The Douglas

³⁴ Ibid.

³⁵ Huff, *Synopsis of San Diego's Black History*, 4.

³⁶ Michael Bunch, “The Search for Black History,” *San Diego Union Tribune*, January 17, 1994.

³⁷ Ibid.

³⁸ Ibid.

Hotel was black-owned and it was a beautiful structure where all the top jazz acts played.”³⁹ (Figures 5.4 and 5.5)

After the Creole Palace opened in 1924, it drew performers including Nat King Cole and Charlie Parker who came there to play, listen and dance, earning it the title of the “Harlem of the West.”⁴⁰ Carrying respectability but also with ties to wealthy madams and prostitution, these establishments represented a complicated web of economic survival coexisting in neighborhoods that were home to both respectable businesses and to a myriad of vice and crime.⁴¹

³⁹ Ibid.

⁴⁰Black Historical Society of San Diego. “Harlem of the West: Blacks in Downtown San Diego,” permanent exhibit at the BHSSD located at 740 Market Street, San Diego.

⁴¹ Karen Huff, Interview by Author, San Diego, CA., September 25, 2009. Transcript in author’s possession.



Figure 5.4: Hotel Douglas, 1930s. Photo Courtesy SDHC.



Figure 5.5: Advertisement Creole Palace, San Diego Telephone Directory, 1945.

Huff became well-versed in historic preservation laws, criteria and definitions on the national, state and local levels, and she succeeded in securing downtown space for a Black History Museum.⁴² (Figure 5.6)



Figure 5.6: Black Historical Society and Museum.
Photo by Author.

For over a decade, Huff and her supporters dug deeply into tax, census, and property records, and walked the streets of the Gaslamp, cameras in hand, gathering extensive amounts of documentation.⁴³

Huff and the BHSSD believed that the evidence they were collecting would influence CCDC to conduct a formal African American Heritage Study of

⁴² Roger Showley, “Museum of Black History Gets a Site,” *San Diego Union Tribune*, February 21, 1994.

⁴³ Anthony Millican, “Researcher Tries to Save Once-Segregated Hotel,” *San Diego Union Tribune*, September 17, 2001.

downtown San Diego before authorizing any further demolition. She pointed out that the CCDC commissioned not just one but two studies of Asian American heritage in the Gaslamp. In a decade when the term “blight” had become a tool used by developers to get a building out of their way, Huff feared that structures historically significant to African Americans in San Diego faced obliteration without the benefit of a study and documentation.⁴⁴ One particular site, the Clermont Hotel, built in 1887, became the lynchpin of Huff’s battle.⁴⁵

The initial architectural survey work done by CCDC and developers determined that the Clermont Hotel did not meet the criteria for historic status, so the opponents of tearing it down had to go on the offensive to prove otherwise. A local newspaper reporter some personal memories of the Clermont from local residents, with one elderly Black woman, Kathleen Harmon, recalling, “the Clermont was our thing, where we could go. Like we give dinners now at the these big hotels, we did them at the Clermont. That was the only place we had.”⁴⁶

Unable to find city or business records for the Clermont Hotel that could prove significance of the Clermont to the black community, Karen Huff recalled seeing an entry for the Clermont in an old San Diego phone book. It took her

⁴⁴ Karen Huff Interview.

⁴⁵ Millican, “Researcher Tries to Save Once-Segregated Hotel.”

⁴⁶ Ibid., The ad was found in the San Diego County Telephone Directory, 1956-1957, 244.

many weeks to find the tiny 2X2 inch advertisement, but once found the tiny yellowed ad figured prominently in the saving of the Clermont.⁴⁷ (Figure 5.7)



Figure 5.7: 1956-57 San Diego Telephone Directory.

⁴⁷ Ibid.

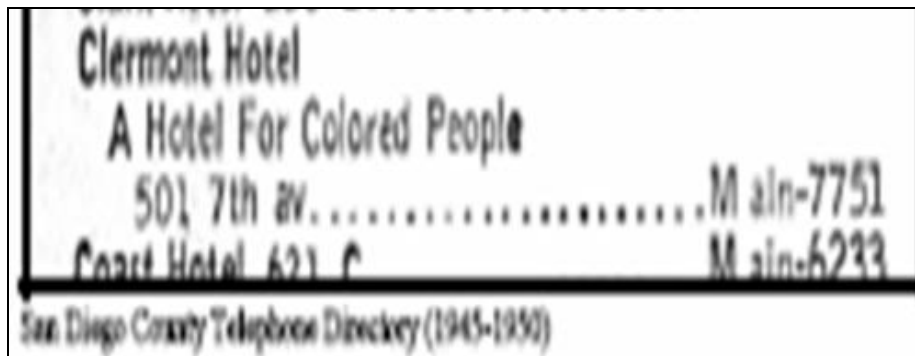


Figure 5.8: Clermont Hotel, “A Hotel for Colored People.”
San Diego County Telephone Directory, 1945-1950

The lawyers for the developers argued that “colored” did not necessarily mean “African American” or “black” and therefore the 1940s ad using the word “colored” did not offer enough evidence of significance to the black community or their history in downtown San Diego.⁴⁸ (Figure 5.8)

By 2001, and after the research and evidence gathered by Huff could not be successfully refuted, the Clermont was awarded historic and protected status.⁴⁹ (Figure 5.7) Yet even after that the future of the historic African American landmark remained murky. The city of San Diego owns all of the land around the Clermont but not the building itself. Located in the heart of the economically-driven Gaslamp Quarter, the Clermont’s future depended upon how the structure is woven into the plans for the area. Money for rehabilitation or for any kind of

⁴⁸ Karen Huff, Interview by Author, San Diego, CA., September 25, 2009. Transcript in author’s possession.

⁴⁹ Jonathan Heller, “Old Clermont Hotel Named a Landmark,” *San Diego Union Tribune*, December 21, 2001.

renovation continues to be a problem for the current owners of the Clermont and for the BHSSD. Presently home to a few low income residents, how the building will be used in the future is simply not known yet.⁵⁰ (Figures 5.9 and 5.10)



Figure 5.9: Historical Landmark Plaque, Clermont/Coast Hotel.
Photo by Ellen Schultz-Arigo.



Figure 5.10: Clermont Hotel, 2010. Photo by Ellen Schultz-Arigo.

⁵⁰ Karen Huff Interview.

Soon after the Clermont was awarded historic status, demolition threatened another property considered historic by the BHSSD. This time the plan was to demolish the buildings once owned by Lillian Grant, a Black woman known to operate businesses and deliver aid and assistance to the Black community throughout the 1940s and 1950s.⁵¹ Karen Huff and the BHSSD filed a lawsuit in an effort to protect the Grant property.⁵² The Historical Resources Board had awarded the property designation as a city landmark, but CCDC challenged their decision, arguing that they “could not find any evidence the Grants played a major role in the city's black history.”⁵³ (Figure 5.11)

⁵¹ Jonathan Heller, “Battle Lines Drawn Over Piece of Downtown’s Black History,” *San Diego Union Tribune*, March 11, 2003.

⁵² Ibid.

⁵³ Ibid.

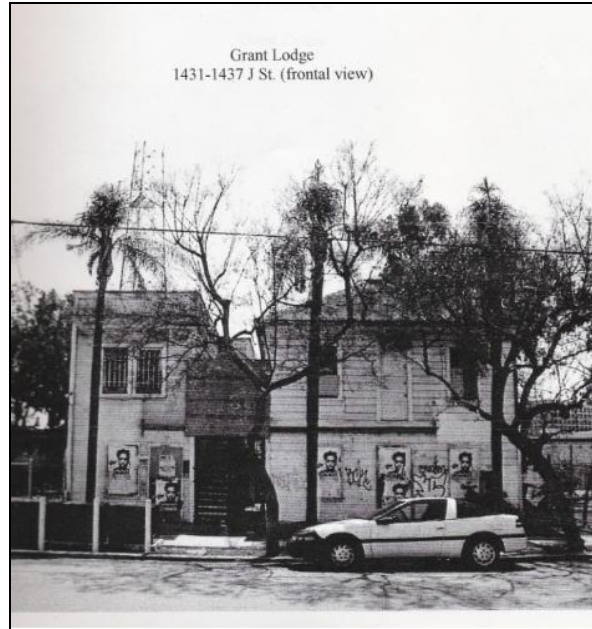


Figure 5.11: Lillian Grant resident before demolition.
Photo Courtesy SDHC.

In 2003, opponents of preserving a property owned by Lillian Grant who was known to have ties to prostitution and rowdy sailors on her property in the 1930s, declared that “conservative people in the black community” would prefer that saved buildings not commemorate “a prostitute or a madam.”⁵⁴ Huff did acknowledge Grant’s role as a madam, noting that she was “a tough-minded Creole woman from Louisiana who carried a gun, and was not averse to pistol-whipping unruly clients.”⁵⁵ But Huff argued that Grant also became an astute

⁵⁴ John Lamb, “Forget me Not: Have Politics and Money Conspired to Doom a Downtown Complex of Buildings Rich in Black History?” in *San Diego City Beat*, (Southland Publishing, 2004).

⁵⁵ *Ibid.*

businesswoman and real estate purchaser, and was known to make loans to those who deserved help and to give to philanthropic causes.⁵⁶

While Grant's career in vice prompted criticism from various sources, including planners and developers, it stood in stark contrast to romanticizing a well-known white madame from the turn-of-the-century Gaslamp days, Miss Ida Bailey.⁵⁷ The question became whether historic significance relied on the person's contributions or upon the function of morality within those activities. It is possible that race plays a role in why Ida Bailey is portrayed with some degree of affection in the Gaslamp Quarter and Lillian Grant did not appeal to developers or even to some in the African American community. How women are commemorated in historic preservation continues to interest scholars and no firm methodology exists for measuring the contributions of women who often lived in ways that produced few tangible resources or whose lives were configured in ways that modern society finds difficult to comprehend.⁵⁸

The BHSSD and Karen Huff did not prevail in their fight to save the Grant properties.⁵⁹ The decision of the City Council over-rode the Historical Resources

⁵⁶ Heller, "Battle Lines Drawn Over Piece of Downtown's Black History."

⁵⁷ Lamb, "Forget me Not."

⁵⁸ Heather A. Huyck, "Proceeding From Here," in *Restoring Women's History Through Historic Preservation*, Gail Dubrow and Jennifer Goodman eds., (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins Press, 2002), 356-7.

⁵⁹ Jonathan Heller, "Site's Significance Doesn't Extend to Buildings, Council Says; Housing Project must Honor Black History."

Board by a vote of 8-1.⁶⁰ The council acknowledged the site as historic, but not the buildings; it declared that the developer, Wakeland Housing Development Corporation, was free to demolish the buildings, but they also ordered the developer to incorporate the site's historical significance somewhere into their final design.⁶¹ The BHHS D appealed the decision, but lost again in a final decision issued three months later.⁶² They then took their case to the state level, managing to keep the developer from scheduled demolition for over a year, but eventually lost all efforts to save the structures.⁶³

Lillian Place, a low-income apartment complex, was eventually built on the Lillian Grant property, opening in 2007.⁶⁴ Lillian Place provides housing to residents whose low incomes would have likely driven them out of the downtown area.⁶⁵ After losing their lawsuit to preserve the site as a museum devoted to African American history, the BHSSD and Huff saw the housing project as an “outrage” and as a threat to African American heritage.⁶⁶ (Figures 5.12 and 5.13)

⁶⁰ Ibid.

⁶¹ Ibid.

⁶² Jonathan Heller, “Group Fights to Save Buildings,” *San Diego Union Tribune*, July 23, 2003.

⁶³ Martin Stolz, “Black Historical Society Seeks Court Order to Halt Construction,” *San Diego Union Tribune*, April 28, 2005.

⁶⁴ Dani Dodge, “Black History Revisited: Downtown Affordable-Housing Center Praised and Blasted,” *San Diego Union Tribune*, January 23, 2007.

⁶⁵ John Lamb, “Forget me Not.”

⁶⁶ Ibid.



Figure 5.12: Lillian Place, opened 2007. Photo by Ellen Schultz-Arigo



Figure 5.13: Lillian Place. Photo by Ellen Schultz-Arigo

Wakeland Housing and Development Corporation, designers of Lillian Place, promised a lobby museum devoted to African American history in San Diego but offered no assurances of presenting a detailed history of Lillian Grant.⁶⁷ In a January 27th, 2007 article covering the grand opening of Lillian Place, the only reference to Grant simply described her as

“an entrepreneur with savvy and vision. She cared about the plight of the working men and women in her community. She saw fit to invest in them and invest in downtown. It is appropriate to celebrate her legacy with a promise to extend her vision well into the future as a tribute to her pioneering spirit.”⁶⁸

Wakeland Housing and Development Corporation offered a brief description of the naming of Lillian Place in their online project portfolio stating that the project was “named after Lillian Grant, an African American entrepreneur who provided affordable housing to community residents in the mid-twentieth century.”⁶⁹

Huff argued that the few painted murals and minor references to the site’s history did not go far enough to present or preserve the history of the site or of Lillian Grant and she found it even more appalling that the mural is celebratory in

⁶⁷ Dani Dodge, “Black History Revisited.”

⁶⁸ Ken Sauder and Matthew Jumper, “An Affordable Future Built from the Past,” in *San Diego Union Tribune*, January 23, 2007.

⁶⁹ Wakeland Housing and Development Corporation. LISC Postcard Series and Newsletter, March 2007. Available only online at: http://www.lisc.org/san_diego/assets/asset_upload_file154_9935.pdf (accessed March 30, 2011).

tone, avoiding any meaningful portrayals of hardship, poverty, or segregation.⁷⁰ Huff maintained that “being in the historic black community in downtown was not a pretty sight, any more than Harlem was in New York,” and Huff argued that historically significant buildings merit significance based on “association with the black community *and* the era of segregation. That’s history.”⁷¹ Because of their disapproval of the design at Lillian Place, the BHSSD does not include Lillian Place in its own walking tours of African American history in downtown San Diego and does not name the site in its printed literature either.⁷²

The mural at Lillian Place does not include any references to any of the survival issues that Ms. Grant actually dealt with during her life, nor do they describe the challenges that the era of segregation posed for blacks in San Diego during Lillian Grant’s time.⁷³ There is some irony in this in that current residents of Lillian Place are low-income individuals, most working in the service sector that includes hotels and resorts.⁷⁴

Failing to portray a more realistic interpretation of the site’s past resulted in missed opportunities. First, the true nature of the urban experience for many

⁷⁰ Karen Huff Interview.

⁷¹ Ronald Powell, “Once, Part of San Diego was the Harlem of the West,” *San Diego Union Tribune*, April 25, 2000.

⁷² Karen Huff Interview.

⁷³ Observation of author. The mural makes no mention of any prostitution, or other vices, or even to how harsh living conditions in the neighborhood were at one time.

⁷⁴ Ken Sauder and Matthew Jumper, “An Affordable Future Built from the Past.”

African Americans in San Diego, and the contributions of Lillian Grant, were both lost. Second, with a more authentic narrative the storyscape of the site on which Lillian Place is built might have become a bridge across time between a past community that struggled and modern one still dealing with survival issues.⁷⁵ (Figures 5.14 through 5.21)

⁷⁵ Ned Kaufman, *Race, Place, and Story: Essays on the Past and Future of Historic Preservation*, 18.



Figure 5.14: Heritage Wall at Lillian Place. Photo by Ellen Schultz-Arigo.



Figure 5.15: Close-Up Mural at Lillian Place. Photo by Ellen Schultz-Arigo.

Residents of the J Street neighborhood could patronize many local African-American businesses. The Whithubbard Hair Salon and Raphael's Beauty Shop offered specialized hair treatments. The Gem Cafe offered "Meals at All Hours- Sandwiches of All Kinds" and Gadson's Confectionery and Toilet Store supplied residents with candy, soft drinks, and personal goods. Rose Park between 11th, 12th, Island and J Streets attracted children and adults of all ethnic and economic classes.

Figure 5.16: Lillian Place Mural Reference to African American Businesses.
Photo by Ellen Schultz-Arigo.

The entrepreneurial spirit of the African-American community flourished through the 20th century with doctor's offices, hotels and clubs, barbers and beauty parlors, cafes and restaurants, ice cream parlors, laundries, jewelers, and pool halls that served the African-American community as well as other San Diegans.

Figure 5.17: Lillian Place Mural Reference to "entrepreneurial spirit."
Photo by Ellen Schultz-Arigo.

San Diego was once the center of a thriving jazz, blues, and gospel music scene. The Creole Palace at the Douglas Hotel and the Crossroads Jazz Club were just two of the spots that hosted local and national talent playing to mixed audiences.

Figure 5.18: Lillian Place Mural Reference to Jazz in San Diego.
Photo by Ellen Schultz-Arigo.

During World War II, African-American stunt pilot and businessman Howard "Skippy" Smith owned the Pacific Parachute Company factory on 8th Avenue. Named the Top Black Owned Business in the United States in 1943, Mr. Smith operated an integrated work place that reflected the ethnic and racial diversity of wartime San Diego.

Figure 5.19: Lillian Place Mural Reference to WWII Pacific Parachute Company.
Photo by Ellen Schultz-Arigo.

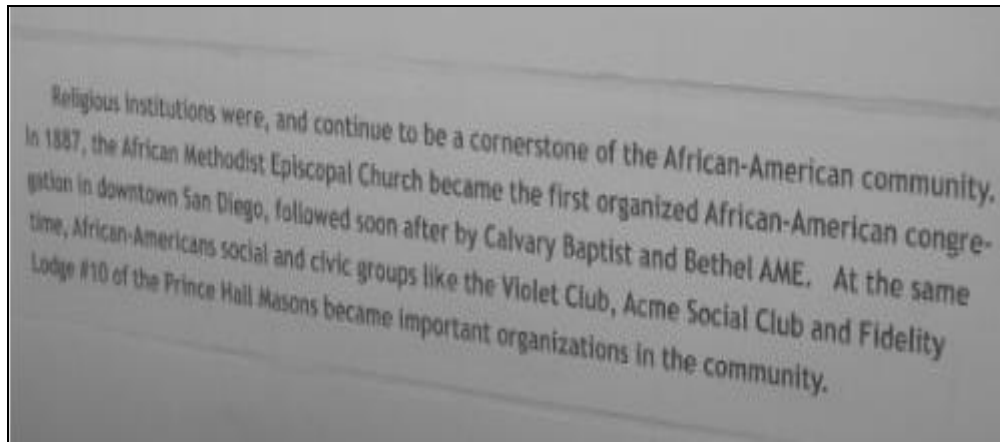


Figure 5.20: Lillian Place Mural Reference to African American Churches. Photo by Ellen Schultz-Arigo.

The below marker on the mural contains the single reference to segregation in San Diego. (Figure 5.21) It also misspells “known” as “know,” and to date the developer has not corrected this grammatical error.

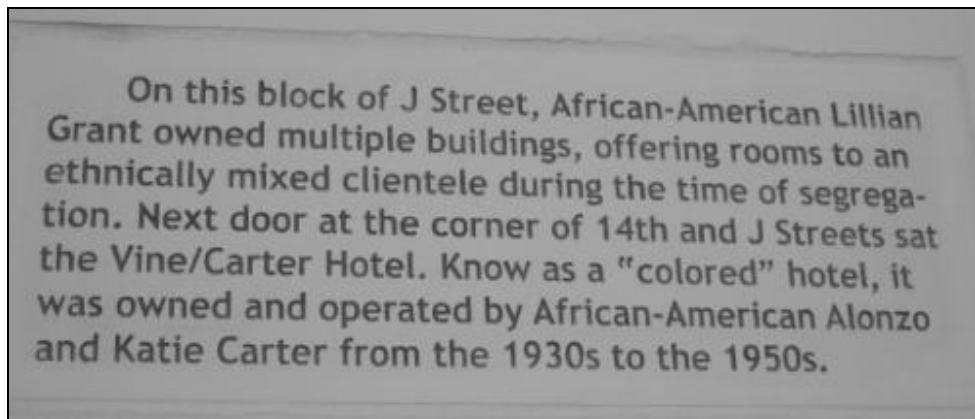


Figure 5.21: Lillian Place Mural Reference to Lillian Grant. Photo by Ellen Schultz-Arigo.

In the midst of tensions being generated during the years of fighting over Lillian Place, CCDC did complete an African American Heritage Survey in 2004.⁷⁶ The African American Heritage survey area encompassed most of downtown San Diego.⁷⁷ (Figure 5.22)

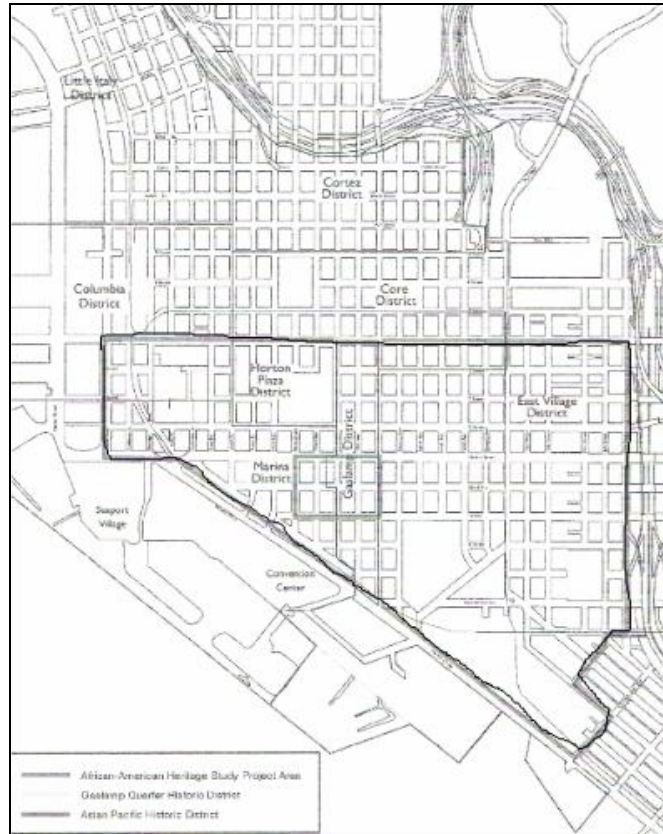


Figure 5.22: African American Heritage Survey Study Area.
Map courtesy CCDC and modified by Author

⁷⁶ Richard Carrico and Stacey Jordan, “Centre City Development Corporation Downtown African American Heritage Survey,” (December, 2004), 2.

⁷⁷ Ibid., I-3.

The survey identified 16 buildings still in existence and 21 structures that had been demolished but which had historic associations.⁷⁸ The recommendations included better signage, the printing of brochures for a possible walking tour, and the development of historic markers and plaques for sites where the buildings were already gone.⁷⁹ With Petco Park under construction, a recommendation was added that plaques or markers be included with the ball park design as well.⁸⁰ The BHSSD immediately challenged the study, arguing that it contained many flaws and omissions. They pointed to the absence from the survey of several important African American historic sites and buildings, and questioned how sites had already been identified as “blighted” by the CCDC before the study even began.⁸¹

Overall, Huff and the BHSSD believed that a litmus test being applied by the authors of the study and by CCDC before structures associated with African American history could be identified as historically significant.⁸² One of the authors of the study, Richard Carrico, answered that "it's difficult to extract

⁷⁸ Richard Carrico and Stacey Jordan, “Centre City Development Corporation Downtown African American Heritage Survey,” V-1. Of those 16 still standing, three were the Lillian Grant Properties which were razed in 2006. Author’s note: Carrico and Jordan are both Anthropologists with experience in preservation and cultural resource management.

⁷⁹ Ibid.

⁸⁰ Ibid.

⁸¹ Karen Huff, Interview by Author.

⁸² Ibid.

information about a people who have been marginalized.”⁸³ When specifically asked about Lillian Grant, Carrico argued the Grants “stuck out as people of some status in the Black community, but frankly not important people in the larger community.”⁸⁴ Huff wondered “what larger community did African Americans need to have contributed to and how could that contribution be fairly measured during a time period when segregation specifically served to keep African Americans separated from the larger community?”⁸⁵ Huff questioned the selectivity in honoring only those persons and businesses deemed worthy, and wondered whether “larger community” really meant the white community.⁸⁶

Carrico believed also that he was properly representing the views of some in the black community, “I’m also taking my lead, admittedly, from some probably conservative people in the Black community who would just as soon see that the first group of buildings that are saved to commemorate the Black experience was not that of a prostitute or a madam.”⁸⁷ A member of the Historical Resources Board and another sitting City Council member, both of them black, along with many black business owners, supported Carrico and the demolition of

⁸³ Jonathan Heller, “Black History Study Tells Downtown Story,” *San Diego Union Tribune*, July 22, 2004.

⁸⁴ John Lamb, “Forget me Not.”

⁸⁵ Karen Huff, Interview by Author.

⁸⁶ Ibid.

⁸⁷ John Lamb, “Forget me Not.”

the Grant properties.⁸⁸ And Huff agreed that some within the African American community did feel that efforts to commemorate the negative aspects of the urban experience of African Americans in San Diego such as prostitution, vice, or other kinds of survival or economically driven kinds of crime simply were not in keeping with the modern African American identity and goals.⁸⁹

For those developing the African American Heritage Survey, the “larger community” became particularly tied to WWII and support of the war effort by African American business owners. CCDC enthusiastically deemed the Pacific Parachute Company in the Gaslamp, owned by an African American, to be historically significant structure.⁹⁰ The Pacific Parachute Company produced parachutes during WWII, but also for its employment of women of all races and income levels.⁹¹ No one disputed its inclusion in Gaslamp history or its significance to the African American community and as an example of employed women on the home front, thus contributing to the “larger community.”⁹² Yet, animosity remained over how the significance of contributions was measured within the black community during segregation when persons, such as Lillian

⁸⁸ Ibid.

⁸⁹ Ibid. Huff received several letters from Black politicians, business owners, and residents, asking that she back off the negative history.

⁹⁰ Richard Carrico and Stacey Jordan, “Centre City Development Corporation Downtown African American Heritage Survey,” 83.

⁹¹ Ibid.

⁹² Karen Huff, Interview by Author.

Grant, served their own communities, yet are evaluated differently because their efforts had no occasion to cross over into the white or larger community.

The Legacy of Race in the History of the Gaslamp

When all was said and done, the Asian Pacific Thematic District was created in a 9-block area adjacent to the Gaslamp Quarter. The Chinese Mission and a Chinese History Museum are located within the Asian Pacific Thematic District, in a prime pedestrian location between Horton Plaza, the Gaslamp, Seaport Village, and the Convention Center. In contrast, the Black Historical Society is located east of those tourist locations, and to date no specific African American District has been permanently created. (Figure 5.23)



Figure 5.23: Asian Pacific Thematic District and Black Historical Sites

All of these conflicts went beyond a debate over historical authenticity, and included how history is used in the present, and how best to create a usable and meaningful past in San Diego. When Dolores Hayden wrote about the social history of urban landscapes in Los Angeles, she argued that people's lives and the ways that people are connected to an urban landscape changes over time.⁹³ As the fights over Asian and African American history in the Gaslamp reveal, some aspects of how people once lived in San Diego did not necessarily fit well with the economic goals or urban revitalization because they did not compliment the

⁹³ Dolores Hayden, *The Power of Place*, xii.

carefully defined civic motto of “America’s Finest City.” Also, the unity of vision in the Asian American community, along with the connections to local politics and strong financial backing, proved instrumental in being able to direct much of how their legacy would be portrayed in the Gaslamp Quarter. They were successful sooner and the Asian Pacific Historic District continues to flourish with plans currently underway to expand the physical boundaries and transform the look of the existing Asian district by adding Asian-inspired trees, street lamps, and storefronts.⁹⁴

For the promoters of the African American legacy in the Gaslamp, the amount of resistance, divisions within the black community on what or who should be deemed historically significant, and having less political connectedness than the Asian American community, served to make their advocacy an uphill struggle. Further, the ongoing expansion of the Asian historic district, which overlaps with African American historic sites, causes anxiety and it is likely that more battles over boundaries lay ahead.⁹⁵

The 1990s, in many ways, proved to be foundational for all these groups to deal with the challenges that lie ahead in San Diego. When the Department of Defense announced that Naval Training Center (NTC) was to be closed, new questions, this time about the appropriate re-use of historic space, entered the historic preservation debate in San Diego. Even though NTC did not officially

⁹⁴ Amanda Strouse, ‘Asian Historic District gets a Makeover,’ *SignOn San Diego*, June 11, 2009.

⁹⁵ *Ibid.*

cease operations until 1997, it took another five years and significant debate, before a redevelopment plan was approved, and finally begun. This time, elements of class became at issue when groups representing the homeless and Native Americans felt unwelcome and excluded from the redevelopment of the land at historic NTC.

Along with the changes being driven by the loss of NTC, the economic successes of the Gaslamp Quarter, Horton Plaza, and Little Italy, also fueled the plans for the development of the next major downtown historic district, the Warehouse District. A new baseball stadium for the San Diego Padres, PetCo Park, was to be the centerpiece of the Warehouse District. Petco Park even served to mend some broken fences over African American history with its inclusion of “Blacks at the Ball Park,” an exhibit that chronicles black history in and around the ball park and Warehouse District.⁹⁶ Petco Park and the Warehouse District, unlike any other redevelopment project to date in San Diego, led to developers, and preservationists to working together from the beginning. The experiences, tensions, conflicts, and compromises of the 1990s, had given them all the foundation, and the tools they needed to do so.

The redevelopment of NTC, the completion of the Warehouse District, and PetCo Park, did not happen without debate or disagreements. And all of these redevelopment projects have their flaws and critics. But specifically for historic preservation in San Diego, these projects represent a zenith in the evolution of the

⁹⁶ David Graham, “New Exhibit Goes to Bat for Ballpark Area’s Past,” *San Diego Union Tribune*, September 24, 2004.

partnerships between planners, developers, and preservationists in San Diego since 1970.

CHAPTER 6

NTC CLOSES AND PETCO PARK OPENS

The 20th century began in San Diego with the 1915 Exposition and the arrival of the Navy. Naval Training Center (NTC) was established by Congress in 1919, for the purpose of training recruits and for the instruction of other Navy personnel in a wide variety of naval schools.¹ NTC opened to recruits in 1923, and for the next seventy years NTC served as symbol of the Navy in San Diego.² In turn, the civic identity of San Diego as a “Navy town” flourished and expanded throughout the 20th century. When the Base Closure and Realignment Committee designated NTC for closure in 1993, the news hit the city hard.³ For many in San Diego, the era of the city as a “Navy town” seemed to coming to an end.⁴

¹ Molly McClain, “Liberty Station and the Naval Training Center in San Diego,” *The Journal of San Diego History*, 54, no2 (Spring 2008): 74. Also, for details on the history of the Navy in San Diego see Chapters one and two of this study.

² Ibid.

³ Defense Base Closure and Realignment Act of 1990, (DBCRA) Public Law 101-510, 2902, 104 Stat. 1808, 1808-10 (1990). Although first passed in 1990, it took until 1993 for NTC to be officially slated for closure. The full report and rationale for closing NTC can be found in “Defense Base Closure and Realignment Commission”, Report to the President, July 1, 1993, 33-35.

⁴ Ed Jahn, “Fears, tears greet plan to close NTC; It's big blow to merchants,” *San Diego Union Tribune*, March 14, 1993.

Although NTC remained in operation until 1997 the city immediately began planning how it would reuse the land.⁵ The news of the closure galvanized the city and brought extensive media coverage and fueled public opinion. Although a cause for concern the news inspired less worry than it might have because the economic success of the Gaslamp Quarter and Horton Plaza seemed assured, and city planners wanted to continue the expansion of downtown redevelopment.⁶ Further, by the mid-1990s, dozens of high tech companies had relocated to San Diego and that, along with the expansion of UCSD as a research center, helped to lessen some of the economic blow of losing NTC.⁷

When the Navy officially ceased operations at NTC in 1997, the city issued a Request for Proposals for land re-use at NTC and private developer Corky McMillin Company won the bid to redevelop NTC.⁸ The next major expansion of downtown, on the perimeter of the Gaslamp Quarter, was underway at the same time.⁹ This time the centerpiece of redevelopment was not a retail mall, convention facilities, or hotels, but a new ballpark for the San Diego Padres

⁵ Roger Showley, "What Will Happen to NTC Land?" *San Diego Union Tribune*, October 3, 1993.

⁶ Joel Kotkin, "San Diego is Among Those Cities Setting the Pace for 21st Century Success," *San Diego Union Tribune*, March 9, 1997.

⁷ Ibid.

⁸ California State Military Museum. "San Diego Navy Training Center," <http://www.militarymuseum.org/NTCSanDiego.html> (accessed February 21, 2011).

⁹ Neil Morgan, "Let's Not Lose a Lifetime Shot at Rebuilding a Unique City," *San Diego Union Tribune*, June 26, 1998.

baseball team.¹⁰ Over the next year, city officials, developers, and residents participated in the planning, with voters approving ballot measures placed before them regarding NTC and the ball park. By the end of 1998 the city of San Diego had authority of the land at NTC, a master plan design for land re-use at NTC was finalized, and the plans to build a new downtown baseball stadium were all in place.¹¹

Redevelopment at NTC and the ball park plans both involved land use decisions and historic structures. Planners and developers in San Diego came into the projects with recent, and successful, redevelopment projects behind them. With so much land available at NTC, and the chance to build a highly visible sports venue, planners and developers looked forward to more civic achievements. Similarly, the influence, reputation, and power of preservationists had also expanded significantly by the 1990s. Inspired by mostly successful preservation advocacy efforts in the Gaslamp Quarter, at Horton Plaza, and throughout San Diego, the preservation community also saw opportunities to advance their influence in the city through involvement with the redevelopment of NTC and the ballpark plan. But, unlike their associations with each other in the past, planners, developers, and preservationists began working together sooner. This alteration in strategy became a significant change point in the relationship

¹⁰ Ibid.

¹¹ “Memorandum of Understanding Between the City of San Diego, the San Diego Redevelopment Agency, Centre City Development Corporation and Padres L.P. Concerning a Ballpark District, Construction of a Baseball Park and a Redevelopment Project,” July 14, 1998.

between urban planning and historic preservation in San Diego. The process began at NTC.

Identifying and nominating historic structures at NTC began immediately in 1993.¹² Over 130 of the 280 buildings at NTC were identified and scheduled for evaluation for the National Register so that every possible step to preserve eligible structures was taken.¹³ More than 30 of the 280 buildings earned consideration for designation by the National Register of Historic Places.¹⁴ In addition, work began to designate all of NTC as a historic district.¹⁵

The process to nominate a single building as historic is arduous and time-consuming, so evaluating over 130 individual structures required the involvement of dozens of local and state agencies and preservation organizations, and the Navy's historic preservation program. The meaning and magnitude of re-use decisions and the role of historic preservation at NTC, for many in San Diego, seemed equal in significance to that which the 1915 Exposition had for the city.¹⁶ Press releases often emphasized this point: "San Diego has not had an opportunity

¹² Roger Showley, "Fate of NTC Buildings in Question," *San Diego Union Tribune*, June 25, 1993.

¹³ Ibid.

¹⁴ Roger Showley, "Historic Buildings Identified at NTC," *San Diego Union Tribune*, July 25, 1993.

¹⁵ Ibid. The official designation as the NTC Historic District and placement on the National Register of Historic Places came in 2001.

¹⁶ Neil Morgan, "Five Builders go after NTC; City Goes on Tour," *San Diego Union Tribune*, October 20, 1998.

to create a project of this size and scope since the 1915 Panama-California Exposition and the creation of Balboa Park.”¹⁷

Simultaneously, the downtown location selected for the new Padres stadium, adjacent to the Gaslamp Quarter, contained more than a dozen buildings which local preservationists considered to be historic, including a WWII-era parachute factory. Immediately upon seeing the initial sketches and plans for the ballpark, local preservationists led by Save Our Heritage Organisation (SOHO), began efforts to identify and save historic structures. Within a few months they succeeded in convincing the National Trust for Historic Preservation (NTHP) to place the ballpark neighborhood on “America’s Most Endangered Historic Places List of 1999.”¹⁸ SOHO then oversaw the negotiation of a joint pre-construction historic preservation agreement between SOHO, the city of San Diego, Centre City Development Corporation (CCDC), and the San Diego Padres.¹⁹ The agreement created a Preservation Advisory Group (PAG), made up of historians,

¹⁷ “Plans Unveiled for NTC Promenade, San Diego's Exciting New Destination for Innovation and Creativity at Former Naval Training Center,” NTC Foundation Press Release, April 2005.

¹⁸ National Trust for Historic Preservation, “America’s 11 Most Endangered Historic Places of 1999: San Diego Arts and Warehouse District,” <http://www.preservationnation.org/travel-and-sites/sites/western-region/san-diego-arts-warehouse-district.html> (accessed February 22, 2011).

¹⁹ David Swarens, “Ballpark Preservation Plans Continue even as Construction Stops,” *Reflections* 31, no. 2 (November, 2000): <http://sohosandiego.org/reflections/2000november/index.htm> (accessed February 21, 2011).

preservationists and local citizens, to work directly with the ballpark designers.²⁰ No other urban redevelopment project to date in San Diego had established this kind of agreement before construction even began.

Planning for the re-use of NTC while undergoing another major expansion of downtown that included the construction of a baseball stadium placed unparalleled demands on planners, developers, and preservationists that was unparalleled in San Diego's history. They needed to work together, and do so from the beginning.

No one disagreed NTC was an historic place and connected to the city's identity as a Navy Town, but reuse of military installations by law must focus first on economic recovery for the surrounding community. Contests developed over who and what kinds of groups could be allowed to occupy the redeveloped space. These disagreements emerged out of economic concerns and over appropriate uses of historic spaces. Also, unlike other historic places in San Diego such as Old Town, most San Diegans rarely had occasion to visit NTC, unless they or their family had military connections. Through redevelopment as a public space, planners needed to gain public support for the retail and businesses ventures, and at the same time cultivate public interest in the history of NTC. Yet using retail and entertainment as a draw carried an inherent risk of Liberty Station becoming what Bazaar del Mundo became in Old Town. The contextual history of NTC might be lost.

²⁰ Ibid.

With the ballpark plans, the preservation arguments were more traditional in terms of identifying and saving historic structures from demolition. However, unlike other projects in the city's history, the outcome did not end up favoring present over the past or becoming a choice between new construction and demolition. At Petco Park, historic preservation became a physical part of the ballpark itself by blending old and new in the right field wall.

The historic preservation decisions at NTC and Petco Park were not free from debate and disagreements, they each have critics, and historic structures were lost with both of them.²¹ As of 2010, both projects also failed to show a financial profit for the city of San Diego. But for historic preservation in San Diego, NTC and Petco Park represent the zenith in the evolution of the partnerships between planners, developers, and preservationists in San Diego since 1970. Had NTC closed a decade earlier or a ballpark been built in the 1980s, the outcomes would have been strikingly different. The success of these projects in historic preservation, was due to the effective partnerships formed between planners, developers, and preservationists who worked to involve the public, and because historic preservation, once an obstacle, had become a vital component of the redevelopment process in San Diego.²²

²¹ Jonathan Heller, "Padres Settle on PetCo Park," *San Diego Union Tribune*, January 22, 2003. The name Petco Park was not finalized until 2003 when PetCo Animal Supplies paid \$60 million over 22 years for the naming rights.

²² Note: In this study, I use the term "success" in reference to elements of historic preservation. Economically, NTC has yet to demonstrate full economic recovery in comparison to revenue generated by the Navy, and the neighborhoods around

Naval Training Center in San Diego

San Diego began lobbying to be the main site for the Navy's Pacific Fleet in 1913.²³ After housing temporary Navy personnel at Balboa Park throughout WWI, the city won Navy approval for a permanent facility in 1919.²⁴ Construction began in 1920, and was completed in 1924.²⁵ NTC eventually occupied 556 acres of land just north of downtown San Diego. (Figure 6.1)



Figure 6.1: Naval Training Center (NTC)/Liberty Station, Map courtesy Corky McMillin Co.

Petco Park, and Petco Park itself, have not generated the revenue expected by developers.

²³ U.S. Army Corps of Engineers, *National Historic Context for Department of Defense Installations, 1790-1940*, Volume III (August, 1995), 279.

²⁴ Ibid.

²⁵ Ibid.

During WWII, dozens of new buildings were built, and at its wartime peak NTC was home to 40,000 Navy personnel, and 25,000 recruits.²⁶ After WWII, 30,000 recruits per year trained at NTC.²⁷

The impact of NTC on San Diego's economy was significant. Annual civilian and military payroll at NTC contributed over \$80 million into the local economy.²⁸ Visitors to NTC and families who came into town for NTC graduations spent millions of dollars as well.²⁹ In addition, the Navy spent over \$10 million per year on base support operations contracts with a variety of vendors and companies.³⁰

By 1990, there were 380 buildings at NTC, with over one third of these built during or prior to WWII.³¹ The Navy began historic surveys of buildings in 1991, before the base closure announcement was even made.³² Two separate

²⁶ U.S. Army Corps of Engineers, *National Historic Context for Department of Defense Installations, 1790-1940*, Volume III (August, 1995), 280.

²⁷ Ibid.

²⁸ City of San Diego. "History of the Naval Training Center," <http://www.sandiego.gov/ntc/overview/history.shtml> (accessed February 21, 2011).

²⁹ California State Military Museum. "San Diego Navy Training Center," <http://www.militarymuseum.org/NTCSanDiego.html> (accessed February 21, 2011).

³⁰ Ibid.

³¹ U.S. Army Corps of Engineers, *National Historic Context for Department of Defense Installations, 1790-1940*, Volume III (August, 1995), 280.

³² Roger Showley, "NTC Sites have History; May be Historic, too," *San Diego Union Tribune*, December 5, 1993.

studies were completed by the Navy, one completed in 1991 and the other submitted in 1997.³³ Overall, the two reports agreed that the entire NTC should be designated as a historic district and both reports identified nearly 40 individual buildings, and the USS Recruit, a mockup ship used for training, for historic status.³⁴

But the two reports disagreed over the non-denominational North Chapel built in 1942.³⁵ (Figure 6.2) The issue would remain unresolved, and the chapel sat vacant for another eight years. It is important to note that despite having at least one survey report that justified demolition, the city of San Diego and the developer both chose to leave the Chapel alone. This decision becomes particularly significant later when the eventual renovation of North Chapel figured prominently in the re-opening of NTC to the public.

³³ Ibid.

³⁴ Ibid.

³⁵ Ibid.



Figure 6.2: North Chapel at NTC. Photo courtesy NTC Foundation.

Despite the Navy's historic survey studies, once the base closure announcement came in 1993, all permanent decisions regarding the land and buildings needed to wait for the official transfer of the land from the Navy to the city of San Diego.³⁶ That transfer was still six years away, and many of the initial steps taken by a city after a military installation is closed are procedural and political, not involving historic preservation directly.

The first phase of preparation began in 1994 with a mayor-appointed Re-Use Committee, made up of six sub-committees. The Re-Use Committee held public forums and sponsored several studies.³⁷ Another important step involved the city's General Plan which classified all military land as "future urbanizing,"

³⁶ Ibid. Even though the Department of Defense had the legal authority to nominate historic buildings and districts at military installations, it did not do so with NTC.

³⁷ City of San Diego. Naval Training Center. <http://www.sandiego.gov/ntc/> (accessed February 22, 2011).

which meant that no redevelopment could be planned or implemented. In 1996, voters approved the re-categorization of NTC to “urbanized” so that redevelopment could actually begin.³⁸ All military base closures in the United States, are governed by regulations that guide the transitional process, including the formation of a Local Redevelopment Authority (LRA), requirements for both local and federal authorities to complete environmental quality reports, and several specific prerequisites for land re-use.³⁹ In San Diego most of the regulations and requirements posed no problems, but two did: one dealt with a federal mandate to set aside parts of closed military bases for homeless assistance programs, and the other involved Native American interests in ancestral lands. These two issues did elicit debates and lawsuits, and both raised historic preservation concerns.

No Homeless at NTC

The Stewart B. McKinney Homeless Assistance Act of 1987 mandated that provisions for assistance to the homeless be made a part of all re-use planning at closed military installations.⁴⁰ This included use of the buildings for delivery

³⁸ City of San Diego. *San Diego Progress Guide and General Plan*, 44-48.

³⁹ For more on the specifics of how military base closures are overseen, see “Base Realignment and Closure (BRAC): Property Disposal and Transfer,” Congressional Research Service, February 23, 2005, and the BRAC website of the Department of Defense at: <http://www.defense.gov/brac/> (accessed February 22, 2011).

⁴⁰ Stewart B. McKinney Homeless Assistance Act of 1987 (P.L. 100-77).

of homeless services, the use of base housing by homeless programs, and the transfer of surplus property to homeless programs before offering it to any other groups.⁴¹

Father Joe Carroll, the director of the largest homeless assistance program in the city, St. Vincent de Paul Center, expressed interest in space at NTC for expanding services.⁴² Father Joe advocated for homeless services to be included in the re-use planning at NTC and his actions often seen “as threatening to complicate local redevelopment plans.”⁴³ Merchants in the upscale Point Loma neighborhood next to NTC objected to any homeless programs at NTC because they were seeing “their NTC customers disappearing but now have visions of scruffy hobos.”⁴⁴

Many residents in Point Loma, where incomes averaged in the six figures, worried about mixed income neighborhoods being created at NTC and fretted

⁴¹ Although the McKinney Act stirred controversy from the start, it was not until after the high number of base closures occurred in the early 1990s that the Act came under scrutiny and changes in federal policy were occurring throughout the BRAC period of the 1990s. For an in-depth explanation of the McKinney Act and its implications for housing and the homeless, see: Department of Housing and Urban Development. *Guidebook on Military Base Re-Use and Homeless Assistance* (July 2006): <http://www.hudhre.info/documents/MilitaryBaseReuse.pdf> (accessed February 23, 2011).

⁴² Dori Meinart, “New Law May Ease Base Conversions,” *San Diego Union Tribune*, October 8, 1994.

⁴³ Ibid.

⁴⁴ Welton Jones, “In Our Navy Town, Politics is Grand Theater,” *San Diego Union Tribune*, December 4, 1994.

even more about homeless persons and the working poor living close to them.⁴⁵ Many of them argued that agencies “which would serve working homeless people and those in education and job-training programs, were incompatible with the surrounding middle-class community.”⁴⁶

A few ideas were considered to include homeless services in the NTC reuse plan, but in ways that no visitors would see them. If housed at the old boot camp barracks area of NTC, Camp Nimitz, homeless assistance providers and their clients would be out of sight from visitors, tourists, and eventual new residents at NTC.⁴⁷

In the midst of the tensions between homeless agencies and base reuse planners, President Clinton signed an amended version of the McKinney Act, the Base Closure Community Redevelopment and Homeless Assistance Act of 1994.⁴⁸ The new Act ended first rights of homeless agencies to federal surplus property in the 1987 Act, but did require including homeless service providers in re-use planning.⁴⁹ Many of the reasons for the change in policy were financial.⁵⁰

⁴⁵ Don Sevrens, “Will Local Become a Sparkling Urban Jewel or a Patchwork Quilt,” *San Diego Union Tribune*, December 4, 1994.

⁴⁶ Ronald Powell, “Vote Delayed on Civilian Use of NTC,” *San Diego Union Tribune*, July 2, 1996.

⁴⁷ Welton Jones, “First, NTC Should Become a City Run Park,” *San Diego Union Tribune*, October 30, 1994.

⁴⁸ Base Closure Community Redevelopment and Homeless Assistance Act of 1994 (P.L. 013-421).

⁴⁹ *Ibid.*

Homeless advocates in San Diego believed that the 1994 change in legislation might give them more power by forcing local officials to include them in all panels, forums, and in decision-making.⁵¹ This did not turn out to be the case. Instead, the city chose to offer financial support and off-site locations to the agencies serving the homeless.⁵² Father Joe Carroll called the city's decision a "betrayal."⁵³ Another advocate felt that the city's complete exclusion of the homeless from NTC was "as if they were lepers."⁵⁴

In the end, the city negotiated The NTC Homeless Assistance Agreement with the 13 agencies in 1996, and the Navy and U.S. Department of Housing and Urban Development (HUD) approved the agreement in 1997.⁵⁵ A few years later

⁵⁰ Department of Housing and Urban Development. *Guidebook on Military Base Re-Use and Homeless Assistance* (July 2006): <http://www.hudhre.info/documents/MilitaryBaseReuse.pdf> (accessed February 23, 2011). The change was intended to allow re-use planners to consider the tax revenue potential of organizations and businesses choosing to open on the base.

⁵¹ Ronald Powell, "Another Tiff May Stall Plan for NTC," *San Diego Union Tribune*, July 29, 1996. Ultimately, the San Diego City Council opted to provide alternative housing away from NTC along with funding for other services to San Diego's 13 homeless assistance agencies.

⁵² Under the 1994 legislative change, the city did have the authority to reject the use of NTC land for homeless services as long as alternatives were offered and if the city demonstrated an urgent need for marketable occupants that were more likely to produce revenue. Also see Base Closure Community Redevelopment and Homeless Assistance Act of 1994 (P.L. 013-421).

⁵³ Ronald Powell, "Another Tiff May Stall Plan for NTC."

⁵⁴ Ibid.

⁵⁵ City of San Diego. Homeless Assistance Element of the NTC Reuse Concept Plan (R-97-137) (July 16, 1996). The agreement confirmed that no NTC land

a Grand Jury study of the NTC re-use planning process determined that “during the three years of the planning process, most of the comments of the public focused on the issue of not wanting the homeless on NTC.”⁵⁶

Were the homeless agencies kept off NTC because of Not in My Backyard (NIMBY) opposition, perceptions of NTC as an honored site representing military service, or NTC as an important symbol of the city’s history, therefore limiting the kinds of uses that might take away from a perceived civic image? Or was it economics and the city’s need for the former NTC to generate revenue? Dozens of military bases were closed in the round of BRAC closures that shuttered NTC, so was the exclusion of homeless services at NTC in San Diego unusual, or in fact representative of what went on at other bases?

The National Law Center on Homelessness and Poverty (NLCHP) maintains a large amount of research on homeless and poverty programs created as part of redevelopment on closed military installations.⁵⁷ A total of 64 military

would be used for homeless services and instead provided millions of dollars in support to the 13 agencies.

⁵⁶ San Diego County Grand Jury, 2004-2005. “Naval Training Center: A Gift to the Citizens of San Diego,” 2.

⁵⁷ National Law Center on Homelessness and Poverty. “Surplus Property,” <http://wiki.nlchp.org/display/Manual/Surplus+Property+Overview> (accessed March 1, 2011). NLCHP also offers guidance to nonprofit programs attempting to navigate the complex process of obtaining land and buildings at closed military bases. Much of that work involves educating nonprofit agencies in dealing with NIMBY opposition. Extensive numbers of reports, guides, and historical information regarding military base closures and the McKinney Act and the 1994 amended Redevelopment Act can be found within the “Surplus Property” portion of the website.

installations nationally, and 11 in California, began on site homeless services as part of reuse planning.⁵⁸ The reuse plan at Fort Ord in Monterey combined revenue-generating businesses, resorts, golf courses, and retail with their overall vision as a “socioeconomic setting that summarizes the demographic and employment characteristics of the region.”⁵⁹ Three different agencies serving the poor and homeless are located at Fort Ord, with multiple buildings for delivery of services, 90 single and multiple family homes and hundreds of acres of land assigned to them.⁶⁰ Comparable programs were developed at the Sacramento Army Depot, Castle Air Force Base in Merced, and Norton Air Force Base in San Bernardino, and all of them begun between 1993 and 1999.⁶¹ Each of these closed military installations in California devoted much of their reuse planning to historic preservation and like San Diego they believed that the military history and meanings of the historic place to their communities were significant.

⁵⁸ Ibid., 27-100. In addition, NLCHP maintains an extensive listing of military installations that did incorporate homeless services, detailed explanations of the programs, and reports on the obstacles and outcomes at each one.⁵⁸ In all, 97 military bases were closed in the United States in the 1990s.

⁵⁹ Ibid.

⁶⁰ Fort Ord Master Reuse Authority. *Fort Ord Reuse Plan*, 50. For details on each of these agencies, services provided see: National Law Center on Homelessness and Poverty. “Unused but Still Useful: Acquiring Federal Property to Serve Homeless People,” (December, 2004): 47-50.

⁶¹ National Law Center on Homelessness and Poverty. “Unused but Still Useful: Acquiring Federal Property to Serve Homeless People,” (December, 2004): 47-50. Each of the reuse planners at these installations had the 1994 amended changes to the McKinney Act available to them and they could have opted to bypass including any on site homeless presence at their facilities

The decisions made at NTC in San Diego to exclude the homeless and to instead offer nonprofit agencies cash to support their off-site services differed from all of the closed bases in California and from most of the closed military installations nationally. Did this departure from what other military base reuse planners were doing make San Diego somewhat elitist in their approach to reuse of historic places? Earlier redevelopment in San Diego in the Gaslamp Quarter had encountered such accusations when so-called undesirable persons and agencies were forced out and the histories of African Americans and Asian Americans were omitted from the initial plans.⁶²

In addition, because NTC San Diego was destined to be named an historic district, did the early concerns about the homeless mirror a growing trend in the 1990s of historic districts that end up to be available only to a culturally elite?⁶³ But elitism among historic preservationists and urban planners has long been a concern in the field, leading one critic to argue "despite all the talk about the principles of preservation, it is hard to escape the conclusion that these principles are based on nothing more solid than the current aesthetic preferences of the

⁶² These issues are discussed in depth in Chapter Five of this study. Other than the published outcries of Point Loma residents, no documents or comments from NTC reuse planning committees specifically rejected the homeless services providers because of fears of or distaste for homeless or working poor populations being on NTC. But none of the committee members vigorously advocated for the homeless service providers either.

⁶³ L. M. Schwartz, "Six Reasons to Say No to Local Historic Districts," Virginia Land Rights Coalition, June 1, 2002: 3.

upper middle class."⁶⁴ Unfortunately, no historians or preservationists participated directly in the debates over including homeless services despite the opportunity that the arguments afforded them to demonstrate that the integrity of a historic district does not become compromised simply by including a diverse and representative population.⁶⁵

No Indians at NTC

The homeless service providers were not alone in feeling alienated from the base reuse decisions at NTC. Representatives of local Indian nations also expressed interest in NTC because they believed that the Navy base was located on their ancestral grounds.⁶⁶ (Figure 6.3)

⁶⁴ Robert Bruegmann, "What Price Preservation?," *Planning* 46, no. 6 (June 1980): 14.

⁶⁵ James Fitch, *Historic Preservation: Curatorial Management of the Built World* (Charlottesville: University of Virginia Press, 1982), 41.

⁶⁶ Although San Diego County has more reservations than any other county in the United States, the reservations are actually very small and most Indians do not live on reservations in San Diego. There are approximately 20,000 Indians among 4 major tribal groups in the county. For more see: <http://www.sandiego.edu/nativeamericans/reservations.html> (accessed April 21, 2011).

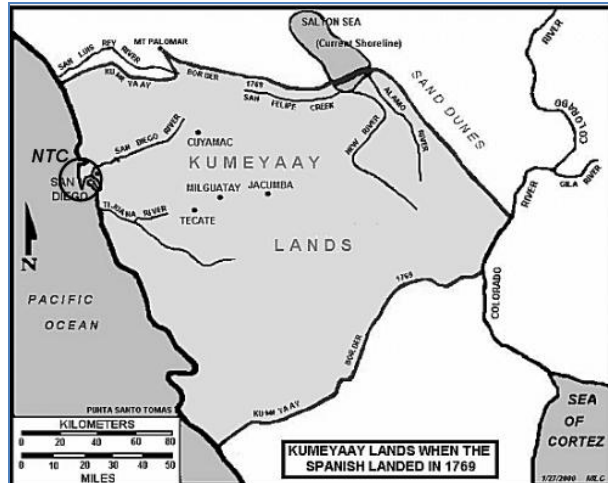


Figure 6.3: Map Kumeyaay Lands, 1769 and location of NTC.
 Courtesy Kumeyaay Nation and modified by Author.

In 1994, local Indian officials made their first move to acquire land at NTC and for being included in base reuse planning committees.⁶⁷ They argued that NTC "is right in the middle of metropolitan San Diego, where we once were," and they fully expected the Bureau of Indian Affairs (BIA) to sponsor their claim.⁶⁸ The NTC base closure manager, Linda Geldner, did not openly dismiss the Indian's claim, but she did report that the time period for any federal agency, including the BIA, had long passed.⁶⁹ Further, the Local Redevelopment

⁶⁷ Chet Barfield, "Indian Group Wants NTC Land for Service Centers, Enterprises," *San Diego Union Tribune*, April 27, 1994. The request was made by the Southern California Coalition of Tribes (SCCT), a group formed specifically to advocate for inclusion at NTC, and representing 18 reservations and 20,000 urban Indians.

⁶⁸ Ibid.

⁶⁹ Ibid. The Defense Base Closure and Realignment Act of 1990 made no reference to tribal lands or the BIA, and although the Act mandated inclusion of the homeless, veteran's organizations, and other community groups, no such provisions existed for indigenous peoples. Also see: Defense Base Closure and

Authority (LRA) was not required to include local Indians either.⁷⁰ The 1994 legal changes to the Defense Base Closure and Realignment Act of 1990 (DBCRA) only mandated that LRA's include homeless services providers, but no mention of Indian issues or tribal lands appears in the amended law which allowed the LRA in San Diego to act much more slowly on Indian claims.⁷¹

Over the next few years, the LRA in San Diego did include local Indian officials in some forums and meetings, but no formal sub-committee was formed for Indian interests as there had been for other groups. By 1999, with the official transfer of NTC land from the Navy to the city of San Diego months away, and a developer already selected to oversee NTC reuse, Indian groups prepared to file a lawsuit.⁷² Louie Guassac, of the Mesa Grande tribe, told the Union Tribune, "We lived, died and cared for this land along the coast 10,000 years ago; now we have no place on the coast. We want to take advantage of this rare opportunity to make our people whole again. Our ancestors would want nothing less."⁷³ Mayor Susan Golding argued that Indian groups had been demanding to have too much land at

Realignment Act of 1990, (DBCRA) Public Law 101-510, 2902, 104 Stat. 1808, 1808-10 (1990).

⁷⁰ Geoffrey Strommer and Craig Jacobson, "Indian Tribes and the Base Realignment and Closure Act: Recommendations for Future Trust Acquisitions," *North Dakota Law Review* 75, no. 3 (June, 1999), 512.

⁷¹ *Ibid.*, 513.

⁷² Ronald Powell, "Tribes Seek NTC Land," *San Diego Union Tribune*, November 24, 1999.

⁷³ *Ibid.*

NTC, and while she was sympathetic and even hoped for an Indian museum one day at NTC, she did not believe plans already in place for the transfer and the contracted developer could be changed.⁷⁴

A month after threatening to do so, the Indian coalition filed their lawsuit in federal court.⁷⁵ A federal judge ordered a temporary injunction on their behalf, preventing the transfer of NTC land until Indian claims could be heard in court.⁷⁶ Public reaction was hostile, “after seven years of community involvement, planning and waiting, Indian litigation is threatening the Naval Training Center process. What do they want? Another casino?”⁷⁷ The local media was similarly unfriendly and did not run any stories that chronicled any Indian history or heritage in San Diego County that might have explained, at least in part, some of the Indian’s side of the lawsuit.

Within weeks of the injunction, the federal court rejected all Indian claims to NTC.⁷⁸ Federal Judge Thomas Hogan told the Indian coalition that they “have

⁷⁴ Ibid.

⁷⁵ Ronald Powell, “Tribes Sue, Claim Right to Develop NTC,” *San Diego Union Tribune*, December 19, 1999. The lawsuit, brought by 12 local tribes, named the city of San Diego, the BIA, and the Department of Defense, and asked for \$5 million in damages.

⁷⁶ Ronald Powell, “U.S. Halts Shift of NTC Land to City: Ancestral Claims to be Heard First,” *San Diego Union Tribune*, May 12, 2000.

⁷⁷ “Do Indians Want NTC as a Gambling Site?” Editorial, *San Diego Union Tribune*, May 14, 2000.

⁷⁸ Tony Perry, “Judge Rejects Tribe’s Claim to Prime Navy Land,” *Los Angeles Times*, May 24, 2000. The LA times argued that there was little motivation in San Diego to entertain or fight for Indian rights over those of developers because

virtually no chance of winning a lawsuit because a 1901 court decision stripped the tribes of ownership rights.”⁷⁹ The judge also ruled that the BIA was “not responsible for representing the tribes.”⁸⁰

The San Diego news and television media presented a celebratory tone in reporting the rejection of the lawsuit, but the Los Angeles Times took a slightly different tone, arguing that the location of NTC had too much economic potential for courts to ever side with Indians over developers.⁸¹ The Indian groups did not appeal their defeat, and the Navy transferred the land to the city of San Diego. To date, there is no Indian history museum planned at NTC, and no signage or exhibits are presented that present the Indian past.⁸²

The opportunity existed for historians to enter the dialogue about Indian claims and offer alternatives and guidance in the development of NTC as a cultural or heritage landscape. “The landscape is ‘cultural’ in that it physically embodies the history, structure, and contexts of human behavior in such a way that they are not readily separable from each other. Any understanding of the

NTC, unlike other closed military bases, had no environmental or toxic waste problems, and was in a very desirable area close to upper income residential neighborhoods, Sea World, the airport, and the Gaslamp.

⁷⁹ Ibid.

⁸⁰ Ronald Powell, “Attempt to Stop Transfer of NTC Land is Rejected; Decision Opens Door for City to Proceed with Development,” *San Diego Union Tribune*, May 24, 2000.

⁸¹ Tony Perry, “Judge Rejects Tribe’s Claim to Prime Navy Land,” *Los Angeles Times*, May 24, 2000.

⁸² This author’s observation as of last visit to NTC, September, 2010.

physical landscape, therefore, cannot be separated from the culture of the people who utilize it.”⁸³ At NTC, the cultural landscape left by the Navy mattered the most.

NTC Becomes “Liberty Station”

In 1998, San Diego developer Corky McMillin won the public bid to develop NTC.⁸⁴ His proposal included over \$500 million in investments for historic preservation, new construction of homes and hotels, and a commitment to bring in a variety of retail and arts projects appealing to locals and tourists.⁸⁵ The work began in 2001, the same year that National Park Service placed the Naval Training Historic District on the National Register of Historic Places.⁸⁶ A total of 52 structures were included in the designation, and developers decided that the area making up the Historic District was would become the Civics, Arts, and

⁸³ J. Edward Hood, “Social Relations and the Cultural Landscape,” in *Landscape Archaeology: Reading Interpreting American Historical Landscape* ed. Rebecca Yamin (Knoxville: University of Tennessee Press, 1996), 121.

⁸⁴ “Redevelopment – City Gears up for NTC Plan,” *San Diego Business Journal*, June 5, 2000.

⁸⁵ *Ibid.*

⁸⁶ City of San Diego. NTC Redevelopment News (August 2001): <http://www.sandiego.gov/ntc/news.shtml#designation> (accessed March 5, 2011).

Cultural Center of the redeveloped NTC.⁸⁷ Groundbreaking came in 2001, along with a new name for NTC: Liberty Station.⁸⁸ (Figure 6.4)



Figure 6.4: Approved NTC Reuse Plan, Courtesy Corky McMillin Co.

The NTC Reuse Plan focused first upon economic benefits for the city of San Diego. The preservation of buildings involved adaptive reuse, to be followed by leasing space in those structures to businesses and retail operations.⁸⁹ The plan projected the creation of over 7,000 jobs compared to the 3,090 lost when NTC

⁸⁷ Ibid.

⁸⁸ City of San Diego. NTC Redevelopment News (August 2001).

⁸⁹ “Redevelopment – City Gears up for NTC Plan.”.

closed.⁹⁰ The mission statement in the NTC Reuse, approved by the San Diego City Council in October, 1998, stated that reuse would:

"create a place surrounded by green, bordered by water and centered on history. It is to be a place where San Diegans can come together in an active, productive and stimulating environment. To live at NTC will mean living as part of a traditional neighborhood; working at NTC will mean working among a diversified group of educational, service, retail and visitor-commercial businesses; and visiting NTC will mean experiencing parks, retail shops, museums and an urban waterfront."⁹¹

In the ten years after initially breaking ground, Liberty Station became a place where people live, work, and visit. Some goals were achieved, while others, like many related to housing, failed. In both rehabilitated homes built by the Navy and new ones built and designed with architecture mirroring the Spanish Revival that already existed on NTC, the planners expected mixed income and affordable home prices.⁹² In 1999, Corky McMillin assured the city, "I could build a lot more expensive homes, but the vision I have is Middle America, for folks working their way up in the world."⁹³ Corky McMillin's vision did not materialize, and home prices range from near \$400K to many in the millions.⁹⁴

⁹⁰ Ibid.

⁹¹ City of San Diego. *NTC Reuse Plan* (October, 1998), 2.

⁹² Ibid.

⁹³ Brooke Williams, "Million-Dollar Middle America," *San Diego Union Tribune*, March 4, 2007.

⁹⁴ Ibid. Corky McMillin died in 2005, at nearly 80 years old, and his sons have since overseen Liberty Station.

Another unintended outcome has been the number of investors buying homes and renting them out.⁹⁵ (Figure 6.5)



Figure 6.5: Home at Liberty Station,
Courtesy San Diego Union Tribune.

The city of San Diego has not yet benefited financially from the NTC Reuse Plan either. Under the city's agreement with McMillin Company, the city gets 50 percent of profits, but only if profits exceed \$12 million per year, something which has not happened.⁹⁶ The city does benefit from tax revenue, and tourism has done well at Liberty Station, but in early 2011 the city decided to take

⁹⁵ Ibid. Even more frustrating to San Diegans has been the number of homes owned by McMillin Company executives, relatives of prominent politicians such as Congressman Duncan Hunter, and still others with established ties to the McMillin Company, while regular buyers had to enter a lottery to even have a chance at purchasing a home at Liberty Station.

⁹⁶ Ibid.

over some of the properties and buildings at Liberty Station because costs continue to be above income being generated.⁹⁷

Historic Preservation and Public History at Liberty Station

Despite all of the financial concerns, the Historic District was created and is located in the middle of Liberty Station. Divided into “promenades,” most of the core of Liberty Station is retail and office space. (Figure 6.6)

⁹⁷ Roger Showley, “City Takes Over Redevelopment Properties,” San Diego Union Tribune, March 15, 2011. In part, this decision was also influenced the possibility that state laws may bring an end to municipal redevelopment agencies. Also, Bernard Frieden and Christine Baxter, argued that most communities redeveloping closed military installations do not plan for financial profits in the first ten or even fifteen years after acquiring closed military bases in “From Barracks to Business: The M.I.T. Report on Base Redevelopment,” (Cambridge, MA.: M.I.T. Press, 2000), 118. In San Diego, where most of the profit is dependent upon retail, business investment, and home sales, the recent national economic downturn after 2007 will no doubt extend that timeline for profit even further into the future. NTC San Diego was one of 26 base redevelopment projects in Frieden and Baxter’s study that ended in 1999.

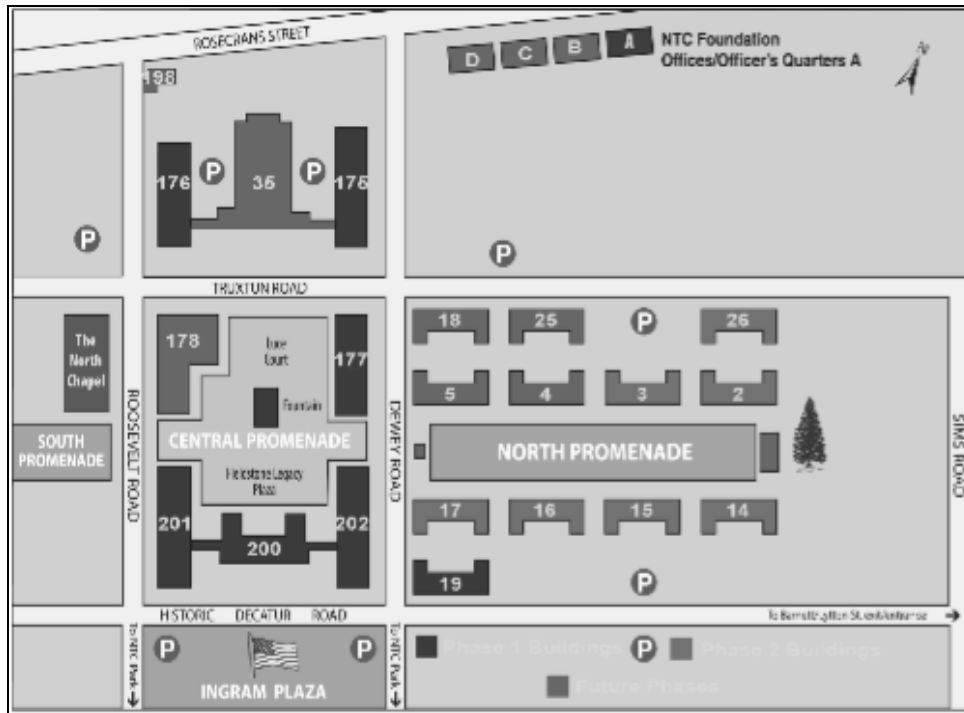


Figure 6.6: Map Liberty Station, Courtesy McMillin Company

Visitors interested in the history of NTC usually start out at the Visitor's Center which is in the renovated NTC Command Center and operated by the non-profit NTC Foundation, created in 2000 to oversee use the of public space and fundraising for preservation.⁹⁸ (Figure 6.7) The Visitor's Center does not have a museum or many exhibits, but the Visitor's Center does offer some printed history information.⁹⁹ In addition, visitors can learn about the technical aspects of

⁹⁸ Ronald Powell, "Residents Voice Concerns on NTC Project," *San Diego Union Tribune*, August 27, 1999. In response to concerns and interest from the public, NTC Foundation was created and Corky McMillin Company donated the space for the Foundation and insisted that the Foundation be run by locals.

⁹⁹ Carla White, "History on Display at Naval Center," *Los Angeles Times*, March 8, 2009.

historic preservation from displays presented by the various historical architecture firms currently renovating buildings at NTC.¹⁰⁰ These displays change often and explain a variety of architectural and aesthetic challenges such as matching historic tiles and renovating historic exteriors.¹⁰¹



Figure 6.7: Command Center and Visitor's Center,
Photo by Author

In the Central Promenade visitors can learn more about NTC History by looking at small displays and reading plaques. Most of the buildings in the three

¹⁰⁰ Ibid.

¹⁰¹ Ibid.

promenade sections have historic designation and have been fully readapted, including the preservation of most interiors. (Figures 6.8, 6.9, and 6.10)



Figure 6.8: Renovated historic building at Liberty Station, Courtesy McMillin Company



Figure 6.9: Interior Promenade, Courtesy McMillin Company

All of the historic buildings at Liberty Station do have signage at their entrances that describes the name and history of the building, but since most of the

buildings have been leased out as office space, few visitors or tourists have the opportunity to go in many of the buildings except for those that are retail or restaurants.



Figure 6.10: Trader Joe's at Liberty Station, Photo by Author

Self-guided historic walking tours are offered to visitors. A 90-minute guided tour is offered, but only once a month, so visitors have few opportunities to acquire extensive historical information about NTC.¹⁰² In addition, only 15 historic locations can be visited on the tour, and not all of them are fully renovated yet. (Figures 6.11 and 6.12) Phase II of historic renovation is expected

¹⁰² NTC Foundation. Naval Training Center Historic District Walking Tour - "From Navy Base to Arts District." <http://www.ntcfoundation.org/events/index.php?com=detail&eID=15076&month=04&year=2011> (accessed March 5, 2011).

to add several more buildings that will be open to the public by the end of 2011.¹⁰³

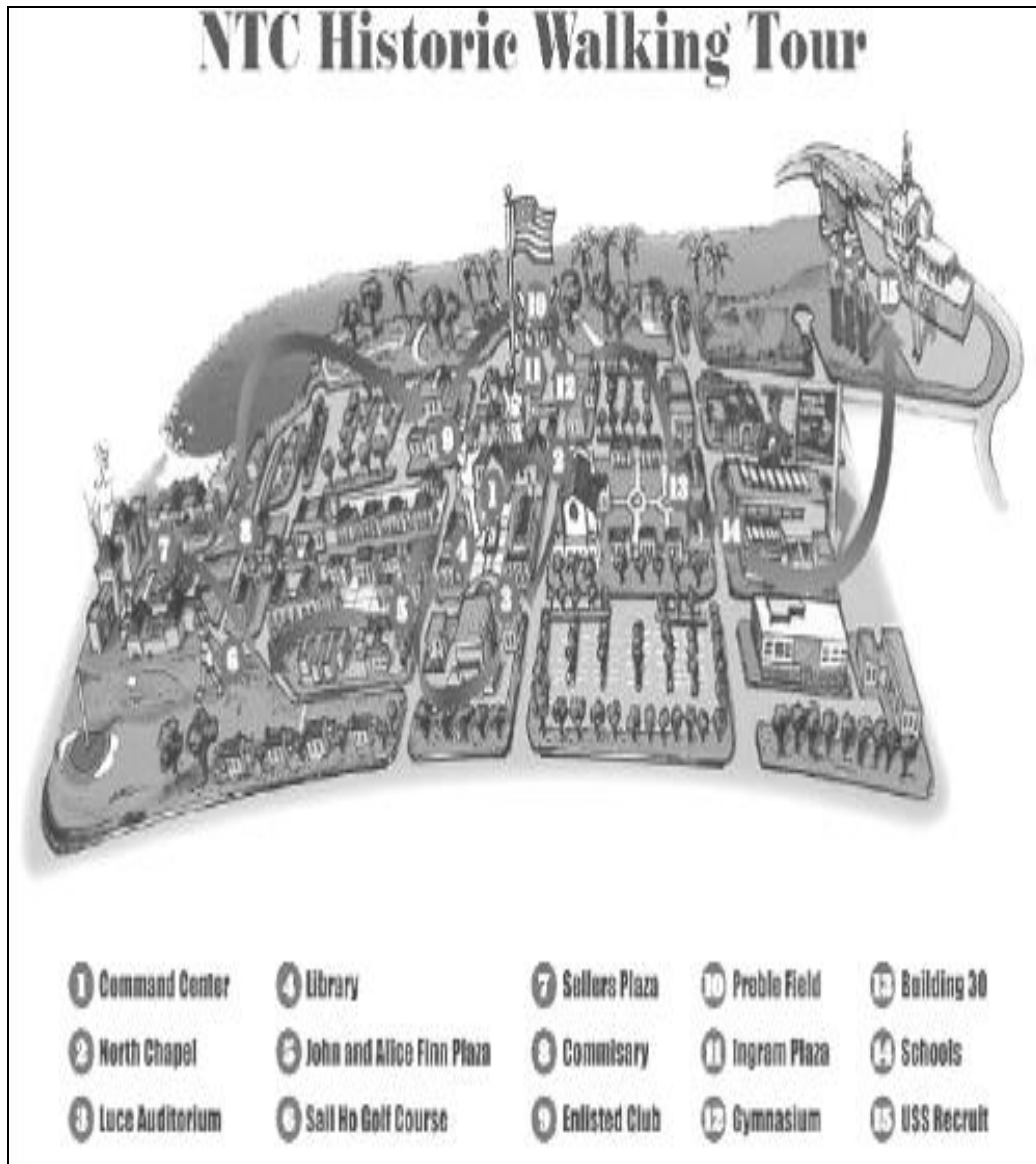


Figure 6.11: NTC Historic Walking Tour Map, Courtesy NTC Foundation

¹⁰³ NTC Foundation. "Significant Grants Advance Phase II," http://www.ntcpromenade.org/onpoint_10-10main.php (accessed March 6, 2011).

Ninety-five acres of the former San Diego Naval Training Center is an area that holds a special place in the hearts of not just the hundreds of thousands of sailors who called it home, but of the entire community that watched it grow up. One of only four historic districts in the City of San Diego to be listed on the National Register of Historic Places, the NTC Historic District will forever be a place that turned boys into men, launched war heroes into battle and made San Diego the great Navy town of the 20th Century.

The above map directs you to markers explaining the significance of many of the historic sites at NTC. Start your self-guided walking tour at the NTC Command Center, Building 200 (2640 Historic Decatur Road), and walk your way through history.

AUDIO TOUR: To learn more about each site you can use your cell phone to call the NTC Audio Tour at 619-342-8021. It's free, and easy to use. Just dial the number and follow the instructions.

MARKER LOCATIONS

- 1 **COMMAND CENTER, BLDG 200:** *Rose Garden, between the small fountain and the anchor*
- 2 **NORTH CHAPEL, BLDG 208:** *Message board at the main entrance of the Chapel*
- 3 **LUCE AUDITORIUM, BLDG 35:** *At the top of the stairs*
- 4 **LIBRARY, BLDG 177:** *Adjacent to the benches between the building and the fountain*
- 5 **JOHN & ALICE FINN PLAZA, BLDGS 6,7 195:** *North West corner of Truxtun and Dewey Roads, on the wall*
- 6 **SAIL HO GOLF COURSE:** *Decorative Sand Trap*
- 7 **SELLERS PLAZA:** *Near the flag pole*
- 8 **COMMISSARY, BLDG 1:** *Tree at the north west corner of Sims and Historic Decatur Roads*
- 9 **ENLISTED CLUB, BLDG 193:** *Along the southern side of Dewey Road, facing the building*
- 10 **PREBLE FIELD:** *Next to the large rock along Cushing Road*
- 11 **INGRAM PLAZA:** *Next to the large rock along Cushing Road*
- 12 **GYMNASIUM, BLDG 210:** *Along the northern side of Roosevelt Road, facing the building*
- 13 **BUILDING 30:** *Behind the fountain, facing the South Promenade*
- 14 **SCHOOLS:** *North east corner of Truxtun and Womble Roads*
- 15 **USS RECRUIT:** *Corner of Harbor Drive and Laning Road*

Figure 6.12: NTC Historic Walking Map Legend, Courtesy NTC Foundation

The most extensive historic preservation project thus far at NTC, the renovation of the Luce Auditorium built in 1941, began in 2010. The theatre seats 2,000 and planners are expecting that once complete, the income generated will be significant.¹⁰⁴

In addition to the small exhibits at the Visitor's Center, a few more history exhibits are housed at the USS Recruit, a dry dock training ship used for recruits for 50 years at NTC.¹⁰⁵ (Figure 6.13)



Figure 6.13: USS Recruit, Photo by Author

¹⁰⁴ *Luce Auditorium Reuse Feasibility Study*. Prepared for NTC Foundation by Hall and Associates, Del Mar, CA. (June 2008), 4.

¹⁰⁵ San Diego Naval Historical Association. "USS Recruit," <http://www.quarterdeck.org/book/recruit.htm> (accessed March 17, 2011).

Also, a WWII submarine memorial, called the “52 Boats Memorial,” recently joined the USS Recruit to honor the 3,500 Navy lives lost on 52 submarines lost in WWII. The memorial consists of 52 trees, 52 flags, and 52 granite markers.¹⁰⁶

In 2006, the North Chapel reopened after a \$1 million renovation.¹⁰⁷ It had remained vacant since 1993 when the Navy’s own historic surveys resulted in two conflicting reports as to its historic value.¹⁰⁸ A former Navy Chaplain who had served at NTC led the renovation with his money and with funds raised through his real estate company.¹⁰⁹ The North Chapel is now a public venue, leased for weddings and other events.¹¹⁰ The North Chapel joined other historic buildings at NTC serving as public places designed to host family and business events, and offer retail stores, dance and arts classes, and a variety of other activities. These opportunities have provided the primary means of bringing locals and tourists to Liberty Station. In some ways like Horton Plaza thirty years before it, the economic forces of retail and entertainment needed to happen first, and history, historic preservation, and the story of the physical landscape come along just a bit

¹⁰⁶ Leonel Sanchez, “52 Boats Crews Memorialized,” *San Diego Union Tribune*, April 1, 2010.

¹⁰⁷ “Spirit of Preservation,” *Reflections*, (Spring, 2007), 7.

¹⁰⁸ Roger Showley, “NTC Sites have History; May be Historic, too.”

¹⁰⁹ “Historic Chapel Gets Extreme Makeover,” *San Diego Business Journal*, November 13, 2006.

¹¹⁰ *Ibid.*

later. But there are some risks for history and preservation in that scenario, particularly at NTC.

The exhibits, displays, plaques, and historical markers present a substantial amount of historical information about NTC and the Navy in San Diego. Individuals can also go online, or in person, and contribute their memories of service at NTC.¹¹¹ Those histories, called Sailor's Tales, are being catalogued by the San Diego History Center.¹¹² However, the absence of any formal public history programs, and particularly the lack of a museum at NTC are problematic.¹¹³ The city of San Diego eventually plans to open a Navy and maritime museum in the Command Center at NTC, but that idea is years from reality.¹¹⁴

The lessons gleaned from Old Town can demonstrate the inherent risk in waiting too long to develop formalized programs to preserve the actual history of NTC, to develop public programs, school tours, and most importantly, a Navy museum. The possibility exists for Liberty Station to become another Bazaar del Mundo, a place deeply cherished by the public, but not authentic or reflective of

¹¹¹ "Sailor's Tales." *At Large Productions*. <http://www.atlargeproductions.com/?p=423> (accessed March 10, 2011).

¹¹² NTC Foundation. "Tell Us Your Story," <http://0316e83.netsolhost.com/wordpress/stories/tell-us-your-story> (accessed March 10, 2011).

¹¹³ City of San Diego. Naval Training Center. <http://www.sandiego.gov/ntc/> (accessed March 8, 2011).

¹¹⁴ City of San Diego. *The Future of NTC: Proposed NTC Sub-Areas*. <http://www.sandiego.gov/ntc/subareas.shtml> (accessed March 7, 2011).

the historic space it occupied.¹¹⁵ Over time the Bazaar became not only part of Old Town in the minds and hearts of the public, but it came to represent the most important reason for going to Old Town. As impressive and beautiful as Liberty Station, the Visitor's Center, the Promenades all are, it is easy for visitor's to pass the signs and plaques, and to skip the audio part of the Historic Walking Tour because it requires the visitor to use a cel phone and dial a number for each structure's history.¹¹⁶ Understandably, visitors use the stunning historic structures as photo opportunities, and get caught up in the excitement that the Corky McMillin Company has successfully created to make Liberty Station an appealing on a variety of levels.¹¹⁷

The redevelopment of NTC into Liberty Station began as an economic redevelopment project for the city, and was designed as an urban revitalization program that included a historic urban core. As with the Gaslamp Quarter, once developers, investors, and finances were secured, the protection and renovation of historic architecture came next. But unlike the Gaslamp Quarter, and despite the public fondness for Alonzo Horton, the civic identity of San Diego as a Navy Town has long been tied to the Navy and specifically to NTC.

¹¹⁵ For more discussion of the Bazaar del Mundo and Old Town, see Chapter Three of this study.

¹¹⁶ Author's observation and personal experience with the Historic Walking Tour. In my visit, I even stopped calling the numbers at each building to hear the history because of the inherent awkwardness in being on a cel phone in a public place, trying to hear a recorded message was not always successful anyway due to noise.

¹¹⁷ Author's observation and personal experience.

It will not be enough to preserve the setting, the structures, and the physical environment of NTC amidst a successful retail and arts district. Those processes have succeeded in bringing people to Liberty Station and in drawing their eyes and attention to the environment around them. “The quality and importance of any preservation project is determined not by the integrity of the site, but by the quality of what is made of the site through interpretation of its history.”¹¹⁸ Dolores Hayden argues that because cultural landscapes are most often “public places and spaces,” developing effective interpretations for the public will be “more complex” than for individual buildings.¹¹⁹ Liberty Station is a cultural landscape, with many layers over time, and is also filled with historic buildings. Thus, the task to develop public history programs at Liberty Station will be enormous, becoming more difficult as time passes.

With so much completed at Liberty Station, and plans in place for the renovation of several more buildings including the historic Luce Auditorium, the time to get public history programs, and a museum, underway is now. “Whatever the limitations of preservation and public history in acting as catalysts for economic growth, they have tremendous potential to influence the manner in

¹¹⁸ Catherine Howett, “Integrity as a Value in Cultural Landscape,” in *Preserving America’s Cultural Landscapes*, eds. Arnold Alanen and Robert Melnick, (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins Press, 2000), 207.

¹¹⁹ Dolores Hayden, “Foreword,” in *Preserving America’s Cultural Landscapes*, eds. Arnold Alanen and Robert Melnick, (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins Press, 2000), ix.

which development unfolds.”¹²⁰ With some of the economic concerns and initial funding issues overcome, formalized historical interpretation of Liberty Station should begin.

Developers at Liberty Station, despite the retail success are frustrated that they have not quite achieved the urban village within a historic setting that they sought to create in the beginning. Perhaps one missing ingredient is context, something that bricks and mortar, signs and plaques cannot do. “Through critical reflection on the meanings and social implications of an evolving natural and built environment, historic preservation becomes more than just an aesthetic ideal; it becomes the basis for a model of urban life.”¹²¹ Without the meanings and social implications of the Navy and NTC in San Diego history more fully presented at Liberty Station, the concept of an urban village in a historic setting will probably not be achieved. Even worse, without the contextual story and significance of NTC being presented and understood by residents and visitors, the civic identity of the city called “Navy Town” for nearly a century could be lost.

While NTC Becomes Liberty Station, Let’s Just Build a Downtown Ball Park

There was already a history of baseball in downtown San Diego when the idea for a downtown baseball stadium in San Diego was submitted to the city in 1996. The Navy built the first ball park in San Diego in 1925. The park was

¹²⁰ Andrew Hurley, 199.

¹²¹ Ibid., 201.

located blocks from downtown, on the harbor. The WPA redesigned and renamed the Navy ball park in 1936, calling it Lane Field.¹²² (Figure 6.14) The Padres, a new team in the Pacific Coast League, played at Lane Field from 1936 until 1957.¹²³ The Padres next moved to Westgate Park in Mission Valley, where they played until 1980 when a third move relocated them to Qualcomm Stadium, which the Padres shared with the San Diego Chargers.¹²⁴ (Figures 6.15 and 6.16)



Figure 6.14: Lane Field, c. 1936. WPA Photo.

¹²² Roger Showley, “We Once Had a Baseball Stadium Downtown, Should We Build One Again,” *San Diego Union Tribune*, November 10, 1996.

¹²³ *Ibid.*

¹²⁴ *Ibid.*



Figure 6.15: Westgate Park, San Diego Mission Valley, c. 1960.
Courtesy SDHC.



Figure 6.16: Qualcomm Stadium. Photo from *San Diego Union Tribune*.

San Diego's idea to build a downtown ballpark in the mid-1990s was hardly original. The construction of Camden Yards in Baltimore, Coors Field in Denver, and Bank One Ballpark in Phoenix each developed out of downtown

sports-oriented urban redevelopment projects and had been constructed or had plans underway by 1996.¹²⁵ In Cleveland and Baltimore, the backers of the new ballparks hoped to reverse declining downtowns, but in Denver, Phoenix, and San Diego the ballparks were much more closely tied to growth initiatives.¹²⁶

More than a dozen baseball stadiums were built or underway in the United States by 1996. Many of those parks could be found in the West, so ballpark proponents in San Diego had a long list of cities to inspire their ideas. But the ballpark promoters in San Diego, like Gaslamp Quarter planners had done 20 years earlier, looked to Baltimore, and Camden Yards to direct their vision.¹²⁷ This was no accident. The leading advocate of a downtown baseball stadium in San Diego, Larry Lucchino, CEO of the San Diego Padres, had arrived to San Diego after serving as CEO for the Baltimore Orioles and overseeing the construction of Camden Yards which had already earned distinction for its innovative design.¹²⁸

Economic success of the new Baltimore stadium did not fuel the choice of Camden Yards though. In fact, five years after opening, the expected

¹²⁵ Ibid.

¹²⁶ Kevin J. Delany and Rick Eckstein, *Public Dollars, Public Stadiums: The Battle Over Building Sports Stadiums* (New Brunswick, N.J.: Rutgers University Press, 2003), 120. According to Delany, a total of 14 new ballparks were constructed in the 1990s.

¹²⁷ Delaney, 139.

¹²⁸ Ibid. During the initial few years of planning, Lucchino often referred the ballpark plan in San Diego as “Camden West.”

improvement in its neighborhood had not materialized, and critics were assailing Camden Yards as an economic failure for the city of Baltimore.¹²⁹ But Lucchino believed that the prospects in San Diego were brighter because unlike Baltimore where over one third of fans commuted significant distances to games, in San Diego fewer than 16% of baseball game attendees came from outside San Diego County.¹³⁰ In addition, the San Diego Trolley already served most parts of the county, so although parking structures needed to be built, the amount of new parking in San Diego would be substantially less than in other cities.¹³¹ Padres owner, John Moores was also convinced that San Diego could learn from, and improve upon what had happened in Baltimore, and together Moores and Lucchino presented their idea to the San Diego City Council, Mayor Susan Golding, and the public.¹³²

Mayor Golding supported the idea from the start, forming a Task Force in late 1996 to study the plans and to produce a feasibility report.¹³³ Lucchino and Moores decided to bring the media and public into the conversation while the

¹²⁹ Don Bauder, "Padres Task Force Can Take a Lesson from Trip to Baltimore," Bauder's Blog, *San Diego Reader*, October 4, 1997.

¹³⁰ Ibid.

¹³¹ Don Bauder, "Padres Task Force Can Take a Lesson from Trip to Baltimore,."

¹³² Roger Showley, "Padres Task Force has Tough Task Before It," *San Diego Union Tribune*, November 10, 1996.

¹³³ Ibid.

Task Force was still being formed.¹³⁴ Their efforts resulted in a boisterous media blitz called “A Ballpark for San Diego,” and in less than two years they succeeded in getting the plan to the voters.¹³⁵

In 1998, San Diegans approved the measure, by a 60-40 percent margin.¹³⁶ The measure approved \$411 million in public-private financing, a 70-30 percent ownership split with the city of San Diego holding majority ownership, and promised to transform 26 blocks of an area of downtown called the East Village which bordered the Gaslamp Quarter.¹³⁷ (Figure 6.17)

¹³⁴ Ibid.

¹³⁵ Delaney, 140. Also, from author’s personal recollections having lived in San Diego during the ballpark media blitz. Beginning in late 1996 and through the November 1998 election, hardly a day went by without mention of the ballpark in local news, signs were all over the city, and residents could buy bumper stickers and buttons to show their support, or opposition, of the ball park.

¹³⁶ Philip J. Lavelle, “Ballpark Approved Decisively: Victory Gives Green Light to \$411 Million Project,” *San Diego Union Tribune*, November 4, 1998.

¹³⁷ Ibid.



Figure 6.17: Map Petco Park and surrounding area; Courtesy CCDC.

Construction of the yet un-named ballpark began in May of 2000 with an original opening day scheduled for 2002.¹³⁸ Several lawsuits and financial setbacks halted the progress of construction more than a few times, pushing back readiness for the stadium to 2004. Most of the lawsuits had to do with finances, a brief inability for the city of San Diego to procure its share of funding, as well as some parking and logistical concerns.¹³⁹ Many of the issues that held up final designs and constructions were not different than those encountered by most

¹³⁸ Bill Center, "Long Road to Downtown," *San Diego Union Tribune*, April 4, 2004.

¹³⁹ *Ibid.*

stadium builders, and despite over a dozen of such obstacles, by late 2001 the path to completion appeared to be cleared.

But in San Diego, the most passionate of concerned citizens, the historic preservation community, had entered the conversations about the ballpark before Proposition C even went to voters. They did not go away.¹⁴⁰ Vonn Marie May, a member of the city's Historical Resources Board (HRB) and a past President of Save Our Heritage Organisation (SOHO), also took a strong stance about the buildings threatened by the ballpark plans, and hoped that if the ballpark was approved by voters, that it could just be built a few blocks farther west.¹⁴¹ But ballpark planners wanted to be no more than two blocks from the Gaslamp Quarter, which also put the ballpark in sight of and walking distance to the Convention Center, most hotels, Horton Plaza, and some of the areas trendiest restaurants.¹⁴²

In 1998, the preservationists referred to the ballpark neighborhood in 1998 as a “warehouse and arts district” because it contained so many early 20th century warehouses and factories that had been converted to lofts.¹⁴³ But ballpark planners and developers did not use the “warehouse and arts” name. They simply called the

¹⁴⁰ Ronald Powell, “Graphic Designer Fights to Save Historic District Threatened by Ballpark,” *San Diego Union Tribune*, May 17, 1998.

¹⁴¹ Ibid.

¹⁴² Ibid.

¹⁴³ Ibid.

area the “East Village.”¹⁴⁴ It is important to note the foresight of preservationists in identifying and envisioning a more appropriate division of the downtown neighborhoods than city planners had in place. Preservation organizations threatened litigation and consistently pointed to the entire neighborhood as historic, not just individual buildings. SOHO, unlike 15 or 20 years earlier, had the funding and lawyers to make good on those threats.

By the late 1990s, after nearly thirty years of historic preservation advocacy, many successful preservation projects, burgeoning membership, and an effective team of preservation and environmental lawyers, SOHO had become a significant force in San Diego. In 1999, just months after voter approval of Proposition C, local preservation advocates, including SOHO, immediately took action to protect the neighborhood around the ballpark project.¹⁴⁵ SOHO members went first to The National Trust for Historic Preservation (NTHP), and a few months later the NTHP placed the entire ballpark neighborhood on the “Most

¹⁴⁴ This is an important point because researching anything to do with Petco reveals that the name of planning area for the ballpark will be different in any documents earlier than 2003. Preservation organizations called it the “warehouse and arts” district, developers called it the “East Village,” and local media began calling it the “ballpark district.” For residents, including this author, it was a confusing time. This all changed in 2003 when Petco Animal Supply Company bought the naming rights, and media references all changed to Petco Park. “Petco Buys Naming Rights,” *San Diego Union Tribune*, January 22, 2003.

¹⁴⁵ Ann Jarmusch, “Ballpark’s Still a Good Idea, But the Bloom is Clearly off the Rose,” *San Diego Union Tribune*, June 15, 1999. Also see National Trust for Historic Preservation, “11 Most Endangered Places of 1999,” *Preservation Magazine* (June, 1999): <http://www.preservationnation.org/travel-and-sites/sites/western-region/san-diego-arts-warehouse-district.html> (accessed March 5, 2011).

Endangered Places List of 1999.”¹⁴⁶ The name used on the “Most Endangered” list was the “San Diego Arts and Warehouse District,” just as local preservationists had argued it to be and the NTHP had agreed.¹⁴⁷

Being on the NTHP list did not halt any plans, but it brought very undesirable national and local press attention, and thus helped to encourage a more serious dialogue between planners, developers, and local preservationists. The result was a landmark settlement, without any litigation, between CCDC, SOHO, the Padres, the city of San Diego, and the NTHP, called the Ballpark Warehouse Agreement.¹⁴⁸ (Figure 6.18)

¹⁴⁶ Ibid.

¹⁴⁷ Ibid.

¹⁴⁸ “Showley Brothers Candy Factory Makes a 280 foot Move,” *Reflections* 34, no. 4 (July, 2003), 3.

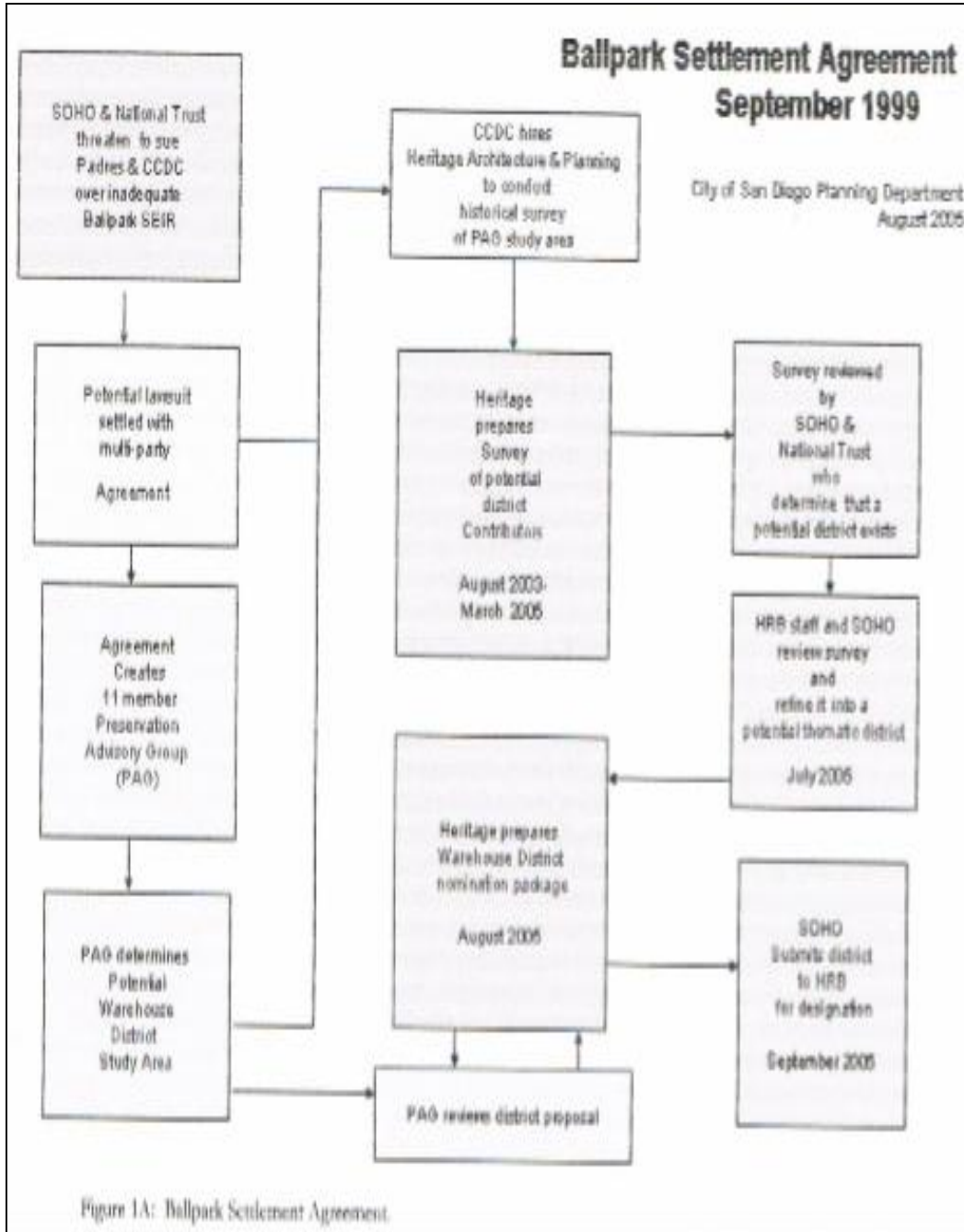


Figure 6.18: Original Ballpark Settlement Agreement, 1999.
City of San Diego Planning Department.

This agreement created a Preservation Advisory Group (PAG) that would work directly with designers, architects, and planners throughout the remainder of ballpark planning.¹⁴⁹ The PAG also had the authority to “monitor treatment of the historic structures including preservation, restoration, reuse and rehabilitation of eleven buildings threatened under the original ballpark plan.”¹⁵⁰

Another key feature of the Ballpark Warehouse Agreement required CCDC and the city of San Diego to work with the PAG to complete the research needed to get the neighborhood designated as a historic warehouse district. The research was ongoing throughout the next five years as buildings were surveyed and saved, and Petco Park was completed. In 2005, a year after Petco Park opened, the city of San Diego, CCDC, and developers renamed the area the Warehouse Thematic Historic District, separate from the East Village, and the official state and national designation as a historic district is expected in 2011.¹⁵¹ (Figure 6.19)

¹⁴⁹ Ibid.

¹⁵⁰ Ibid.

¹⁵¹ City of San Diego. “Warehouse Thematic Historic District Nomination,” (September 19, 2005), I-2.



Figure 6.19: Map Warehouse Thematic Historic District.
Courtesy CCDC and modified by Author.

The relationship between members of the PAG was not always cordial and sometimes became acrimonious, but together they set out to build a ballpark, save as many of the 11 historic structures as they possibly could, and to involve residents and local businesses in the planned ballpark area.¹⁵² Although seventeen different lawsuits existed between 1998 and 2001 in attempts to stop construction or change elements of the ballpark plan, because of the Ballpark Warehouse Agreement, none of those lawsuits came from preservation organizations.¹⁵³ A

¹⁵² National Trust for Historic Preservation, "Update: 11 Most Endangered Places of 1999," *Preservation Magazine* (June, 1999): <http://www.preservationnation.org/travel-and-sites/sites/western-region/san-diego-arts-warehouse-district.html> (accessed March 5, 2011).

¹⁵³ Bill Center, "Long Road to Downtown."

downtown ballpark ended up becoming a major turning point for historic preservation in San Diego, and the Ballpark Warehouse Agreement has since become a model for partnerships between developers, planners, and preservationists in other cities.¹⁵⁴

The PAG and SOHO set out to save 11 historic buildings, and they saved all but one of them.¹⁵⁵ One more, the Carnation Building which had not been on the original list of 11 was also saved.¹⁵⁶ The Showley Brothers Candy Factory, built in 1924, was a family-owned business for over fifty years and temporarily converted in offices and lofts in the 1980s, but was in the way of Petco Park and originally scheduled for demolition.¹⁵⁷ But all 30,000 square feet of it, weighing three million pounds, containing three million bricks, and three stories high, was physically moved 280 feet.¹⁵⁸ The move took three days and cost \$3 million, a sum shared by the Padres and the city of San Diego.¹⁵⁹ The Showley Brothers

¹⁵⁴ Barry Hager, "SOHO's Dedication to Preservation," *Reflections* 35, no. 3 (Quarterly Newsletter, 2004), 12.

¹⁵⁵ Bruce Coons, "San Diego's Historic Warehouse District," *Reflections* 38, no. 2 (Spring, 2007), 5.

¹⁵⁶ *Ibid.*

¹⁵⁷ Jonathan Heller, "How Sweet it Is! Historic Candy Factory off on a Landmark Haul," *San Diego Union Tribune*, September 23, 2003.

¹⁵⁸ *Ibid.*

¹⁵⁹ *Ibid.*

Candy Factory was the largest unreinforced masonry building ever moved and entered the Guinness Book of World Records.¹⁶⁰ (Figures 6.20 and 6.21)



Figure 6.20: Moving Showley Brothers Candy Factory, 2003. Courtesy San Diego Union Tribune.

¹⁶⁰ Jonathan Heller, “How Sweet it Is! Historic Candy Factory off on a Landmark Haul.”



Figure 6.21: Showley Brothers Candy Factory after 2003 move.
Photo by Author.

The Simon Levi Building, built in 1916, was also saved. It is now home to offices on the first floor and lofts on the second and third floors. (Figure 6.22)



Figure 6.22: Simon Levi Building. Photo by Dan Soderberg.

Rosario Hall, San Diego's oldest civic meeting hall and saloon, built in 1870, survived two moves within a few block radius, one before the ballpark project and one since.¹⁶¹ Colonel Manuel Ferrer built Rosario Hall, naming it after his wife, and because of his connection to the Estudillo family in Old Town, the structure was significant to early San Diego history.¹⁶² Because of the fine china, expensive artifacts, and records found showing a visit from President Benjamin Harrison, Rosario Hall was saved from the wrecking ball.¹⁶³ (Figures 6.23 and 6.24)



Figure 6.23: Rosario Hall, 2000. *Photo by San Diego Union Tribune.*

¹⁶¹ Jonathan Heller, "A Moving Portrait of an Old Building," *San Diego Union Tribune*, May 22, 2005.

¹⁶² *Ibid.*

¹⁶³ *Ibid.*



Figure 6.24: Rosario Hall today. Photo by Dan Soderberg.

The most ambitious of historic preservation projects at Petco Park, and the one most visible to fans, is the Western Metal Supply Wall in left field. The Western Metal Supply Company operated from 1909 to 1976.¹⁶⁴ The building needed to be retrofitted to comply with seismographic standards and reinforced to assure the structure's ability to withstand the noise and crowds of a stadium full of fans, but no major alterations to the building's historic architecture were required to meet these guidelines.¹⁶⁵ The ballpark side of the wall has seating for the game, and the other three floors of the building have gift shops, restaurants, and

¹⁶⁴ Mike McGrane, "Metal Magnet," *San Diego Union Tribune*, April 4, 2004.

¹⁶⁵ *Ibid.*

displays of Padres history.¹⁶⁶ (Figures 6.25 and 6.26) There is also a permanent exhibit called “Blacks at the Ball Park,” devoted to African American history in and around the Warehouse District.¹⁶⁷



Figure 6.25: Exterior PetCo Park. Photo by Author.

¹⁶⁶ Personal Observation of Author.

¹⁶⁷ David Graham, “New Exhibit Goes to Bat for Ballpark Area’s Past.”



Figure 6.26: Interior Petco Park. Photo by Author

The incorporation of a historic wall was not entirely a first at Petco Park. Designers of Camden Yards in Baltimore had done something similar in 1992. (Figure 6.27)



Figure 6.27: Camden Yard and B & O Warehouse Wall. Photo by Marylou Comer.

However, in Camden Yards the B & O Warehouse Wall is not a part of the interior of the ballpark but it is visible to fans, connected by a walkway bridge, and its interior is offices and private clubs.¹⁶⁸

In contrast to Camden Yards, the Western Metal Supply Building at Petco Park is accessible to fans and a part of the ballpark itself. The Western Metal Supply Wall was classified as adaptive reuse and as “an addition to an historic building” which allowed the building to maintain its own historic designation.¹⁶⁹ Even though Camden Yards was the first to incorporate a historic building into the overall design of a stadium, Petco Park became the first stadium in the United States that brought a historic building right into the park.¹⁷⁰ (Figure 6.28)

¹⁶⁸ James Dilts, “A City’s Long and Successful Ride on the B & O,” *The Baltimore Sun*, January 18, 1992.

¹⁶⁹ *Ibid.*

¹⁷⁰ “San Diego Padres and Ballpark Builders Make Room for History,” *National Preservation News*, 1, no. 5 (September/October, 2003), 1.



Figure 6.28: Western Metal Supply Wall, Interior Petco Park. Photo by Author.

Measuring Success at NTC/Liberty Station and at Petco Park

Measuring success at large scale urban redevelopment projects that have major historic preservation components can be assessed several ways. The reuse of closed military installations and the construction of sports stadiums are measured most often by the jobs created and revenue generated because of the inherent connections to civic economic redevelopment that created them in the first place. At NTC/Liberty Station, the recovery of economic losses spurred by

the loss of the Navy has been slow, but city officials are confident of the long term financial prospects that Liberty Station offers the community.¹⁷¹

At Petco Park, despite several seasons of unimpressive ticket sales, many in San Diego call Petco Park a success because of boosts in tourism and increased property tax revenues originating from the surrounding area businesses, commercial spaces, and residential projects.¹⁷² Others question if those gains should be attributed to Petco Park and point to attendance figures as the most important of financial indicators.¹⁷³

In addition to calculations of financial loss or gain, large scale urban redevelopment projects rarely escape scrutiny of the partnerships and processes that created them. Both Liberty Station and Petco Park have been assailed for what some believed to be questionable deals and murky businesses practices.¹⁷⁴ These allegations sometimes led to some investigations and hearings, litigation,

¹⁷¹ Andrew Keats, “Essentially Complete, Liberty Station Looks On,” *San Diego Daily Transcript*, November 3, 2010.

¹⁷² Lou Hirsch, “Study: Petco Park: A Home Run for County Economy,” *San Diego Business Journal*, July 19, 2010.

¹⁷³ Don Bauder, “Chargers: Look at Petco Park Failure,” *San Diego Reader*, December 22, 2010.

¹⁷⁴ Mark Hitchcock, “Welcome to Petco Park: Home of Your Enron-by-the-Sea Padres,” Graduate Seminar, UC-Berkeley School of Law (Spring 2008), 2. Hitchcock includes a detailed account, with an extensive bibliography, of the financial crises and allegations of corruption in San Diego, 1998-2007 that led to many newspapers in the country referring to San Diego as “Enron-by-the-Sea.”

and garnered negative media attention.¹⁷⁵ To date, the preservation community in San Diego has not been named or included in any contentions of corruption or financial misdeeds. That is not to say that preservationists in San Diego do not have their critics.

As the preservation community, and particularly SOHO, grew in membership and political influence, and also became well known in the San Diego community, they expanded their ability to successfully advocate for the protection of historic structures and neighborhoods, and for authenticity in the presentation of the city's past. What had begun in 1969, with one lone individual, Robert Miles Parker, trying to save one old Victorian mansion had grown into a well-organized and well-funded coalition of ordinary citizens, historians, architects, planners, and many others from a variety of professional fields.¹⁷⁶ SOHO also had a team of lawyers skilled in historic preservation, environmental law, and cultural resource management. Further, SOHO used their accomplishments and influence to guide, support, and sometimes fund the work of other historic preservation groups in San Diego, including the San Diego History Center.

¹⁷⁵ Urban Land Institute Development Case Study, "San Diego Ballpark Neighborhood Revitalization," (2008): <http://casestudies.uli.org/Profile.aspx?j=8095&p=5&c=8> (accessed March 10, 2011) and Brooke Williams, "Boom for McMillin, Bust for the City," *San Diego Union Tribune*, March 3, 2007. Corky McMillin died in 2005, at nearly 80 years old, and his sons have since overseen Liberty Station.

¹⁷⁶ Bill Mansion, "SOHO Versus Developers, What's Worth Saving in San Diego?," *San Diego Reader*, September 29, 2010.

Thus, by the 1990s, the collective reputation of preservation advocates shifted from the somewhat romantic notion of a few people carrying signs trying to save a house, to a group to be taken seriously, even feared at times. One critic of SOHO, commenting specifically on the last fifteen years, recently wrote: “mention SOHO to certain go-go developer types and they’ll raise their eyes to heaven and rage on about how SOHO can be painfully anal retentive, Luddite almost, slowing progress just to be a pain in the you-know-what, objecting, holding up new building projects by reflex action. This kind of obstructionism, they’ll imply, is just plain un-San Diegan.”¹⁷⁷ A developer in San Diego agreed: ““I think SOHO has far too much power. I think they need to be advisory. I’m a developer, and I like to get things done and move on. We have enough bureaucracy. I know the hell you have to go through sometimes. You’ve got to lobotomize yourself and go through the procedures. The dance, the nonsense in the name of history can drive you crazy.”¹⁷⁸

Historic preservationists have long been aware of the economic and political realities that often kept preservation interests in a lesser role of importance compared to civic goals in urban redevelopment.¹⁷⁹ Also, preservationists have recognized the risks inherent in becoming part of the civic and political system as opposed to reacting, responding, and objecting to civic

¹⁷⁷ Ibid.

¹⁷⁸ Ibid.

¹⁷⁹ Eric Allison and Lauren Peters, 9.

plans and projects after the fact. But those paradigms have shifted over the last twenty years, in San Diego and in cities nationwide.¹⁸⁰ Increased influence and power will bring out the critics and even the potential for preservationists to lose sight of the preservation mission themselves. However, to go back to being the folks carrying signs to save structures, while quixotic and appealing, would result in immeasurable losses and an inevitable forfeiture of the past as a shaping element of civic identity.

In San Diego, the influence, reputation, and power of preservationists grew the most in the 1990s, and have not slowed since. Inspired by moderate successes, after much fighting with little money, in the Gaslamp Quarter, at Horton Plaza, and throughout San Diego, the closure of NTC and moreso the ballpark plans provided opportunities for the preservation community to change their own past. No longer willing to wait, ask, or fight for inclusion in the planning process, the preservation community in San Diego pressured for and achieved the right to help shape Liberty Station and Petco Park from the beginning of the redevelopment process. And while Liberty Station has much yet to be done to fully develop a public history program, both Liberty Station and Petco Park are successful historic preservation projects with each of them earning many local, state, and national awards and distinctions specifically for historic preservation.

¹⁸⁰ Andrew Hurley, 30.

Liberty Station, because it was developed as an urbanized area, adjacent to downtown, had much in common with the plans and redevelopment of the Gaslamp Quarter, and thus with the revitalization goals at Petco Park. Urban economist and historic preservation advocate, Donovan Rypkema who is known for his ability to offer bristling critiques of mismanagement of historic preservation, points to San Diego as “cutting edge in this country.”¹⁸¹ After touring many of San Diego’s major historic preservation projects, Rypkema stated “I typically visit 100 downtowns a year of every size in every part of the country. But I cannot identify a single example of a sustained success story in downtown revitalization where historic preservation wasn’t a key component of that strategy. Not a one. Conversely, the examples of very expensive failures in downtown revitalization have nearly all had the destruction of historic buildings as a major element.”¹⁸²

The “destruction of historic buildings as a major element” at Liberty Station and around Petco Park would have been a likely outcome in San Diego without the expansion of city planning to include preservation, and without the growth, in size and influence, of the historic preservation community by the 1990s.

¹⁸¹ Bruce Coons, “San Diego’s Historic Warehouse District,” 5.

¹⁸² *Ibid.*

EPILOGUE:

THE FUTURE OF THE PAST IN SAN DIEGO

“No place is a place until the things that have happened in it are remembered in history, ballads, yarns, legends or monuments.”¹

From the Mission Basilica San Diego de Alcalá, to Balboa Park, Old Town, the Gaslamp Quarter, Little Italy, NTC/Liberty Station, and Petco Park, the historic sites, and the physical heritage of San Diego abounds. This study has been about historic preservation in a Sunbelt city founded over 200 years ago, and which grew dramatically in the post WWII period. That combination makes the story of preservation in San Diego interesting, and posed issues which differ certainly in dimension from those faced in older cities. The evolution of historic preservation in San Diego demonstrates many remarkable achievements in leadership, negotiation, and “saves” of significant historic sites. But, as in other cities, several physical heritage and social landscapes have also been lost. The progression of historic preservation efforts in San Diego since WWII includes missed opportunities, lapses in historic authenticity, and divisions about what buildings or stories to preserve.

If historic preservation in San Diego has been significantly flawed, then what makes this a worthwhile story to tell; why might other cities even consider

¹ Wallace Stegner, “Sense of Place,” in *Writing Natural History: Dialogues with Authors*, ed. Edward Leuders (Salt Lake City, University of Utah Press, 1989), 202.

using this as a model? The first, relatively easy answer to this question is that preservation and history play influence why people come and spend billions of dollars in San Diego.² The city's association of history and tourism is nicely symbolized in the many professional and city-produced analyses of San Diego tourism which describe Juan Cabrillo not as an explorer in 1542, but instead as San Diego's "first tourist."³ While tourism has always been and remains influential in San Diego, other forces have also served to reshape the city. Tourism is now the third largest regional economic sector behind manufacturing and military/defense revenues.⁴ Despite the economic downturns of 2007-2009, both of those sectors generate over \$35 billion for the regional economy.⁵ The fourth largest sector, high tech industry, adds another \$7 billion into the mix.⁶ So economically San Diego has fared pretty well.

In San Diego and across the country historic preservation programs have also fared best when the local economy flourishes.⁷ When coupled with urban

² San Diego Convention and Visitors Bureau. "Visitor Industry Summary, 2005-2010," <http://www.sandiego.org/nav/Media/ResearchAndReports> (accessed March 22, 2011).

³ San Diego Commission on Revenue and Economic Competitiveness. "Keeping San Diego Tourism Competitive," (May, 2010), 3.

⁴ *Ibid.*, 4.

⁵ *Ibid.*

⁶ Lou Hirsch, "Economic Forecasts Show Some Opportunity for Investments," *San Diego Business Journal*, December 20, 2010.

⁷ City of San Diego Planning Department. "Strengthening Our Communities through Historic Preservation," (June 9, 2003), 11-12. Also see New Jersey

revitalization, historic preservation contributes substantially to the local economy, and it has done so in San Diego. Tourism generates wealth, but the role of historic preservation is also shaped by the changing character of a city. This study has shown that in San Diego the shift from focusing on suburban expansion to redeveloping the city core led to economic gains for the city, produced new opportunities for tourism, and created challenging issues related to historic preservation.

Despite the many economic benefits, the subject of historic preservation rarely prompts a conversation in San Diego about the economy or potential profit though that might have been the case forty years ago. Historic preservation in San Diego today has become an integral part of city planning, an expectation of residents and visitors, and a key feature of the city's civic identity. California's oldest and southernmost city has found ways to be "sophisticated" without discarding its "provincial roots."⁸ Historic preservation in San Diego has been one of the key elements in shaping a city that is very old yet extremely modern, and that has become one of the cities considered among the most "livable" in the United States.⁹

Historic Trust, "The Economic Impacts of Historic Preservation," (December, 1997). The New Jersey study is among the most cited of studies on economic impacts of historic preservation.

⁸ Kenneth Jackson, *Essays on Sunbelt Cities and Recent Urban America* (College Station: Texas A & M Press, 1990), 5.

⁹ Eric Allison and Lauren Peters, 233.

So how does historic preservation in San Diego also offer an urban model that other cities can look to for guidance? If the first answer to that question was linked to the economics of historic preservation, the remaining and most fundamental answer is that historic preservation in San Diego succeeded. The Gaslamp Quarter and Little Italy are both thriving. Old Town is blossoming once again and making money, and NTC/Liberty Station has become economically stable. Petco Park and the Warehouse District, because of the landmark Ballpark Settlement Agreement of 1999, have become national models for how planners and preservationists can work together.

Yet many challenges lie ahead for historic preservation in San Diego. The areas around downtown continue to be redeveloped, and historic structures and social landscapes lie in its path. Old Town has a long way to fulfill the 1968 mission statement to present an authentic past to visitors. NTC/Liberty Station certainly needs a public history program and a museum in order to realize the original base reuse goals to preserve Navy history in San Diego. Combined with many municipal problems such as transit, density, and land use, the future of the past in San Diego cannot be guaranteed.¹⁰ Planners, developers, preservationists, and residents need to continue working to show that “development and the preservation of historic resources do not need to be mutually exclusive.”¹¹

¹⁰ Federal Transit Administration and the National Trust for Historic Preservation. Dan Costello, “The Returning City: Historic Preservation and Transit in the Age of Civic Revival,” (January, 2003), 35.

¹¹ Ibid., 36. Quotation of Richard Moe, President of the National Trust for Historic Preservation.

Throughout the last 40 years, civic identity in San Diego was reshaped as a result of urban revitalization and historic preservation. The mantra of “America’s Finest City” started out in 1972 as a call to revitalize the city and to reframe how San Diego was viewed by outsiders. It soon became much more than that and over the next forty years civic identity in the city shifted away from its Spanish fantasy past as it moved towards a modern yet historic image of itself.

Yet redefinition of civic identity after 1972 did not do away with the one feature of the city’s civic identity that has remained constant for over 100 years...that of San Diego as an urban *paradise*. Instead, over the last four decades the self-image of the city as a paradise has intensified. San Diego was first described as a potential paradise by city planner John Nolen in 1908, and since then nearly every city planning document, city-produced report, and a variety of studies, have referenced San Diego as a paradise.¹² This *persistence of paradise* in San Diego is a notion that fuels the city’s self-image and civic identity. It can be found in the language of planning and historic preservation, and it creates an overall optimism that whatever the city plans, it will surely be successful.¹³

¹² John Nolen, “San Diego: A Comprehensive Plan for its Improvement,” (Boston: George Ellis & co. Printers, 1908). Also see: David Lynch and Donald Appleyard, *Temporary Paradise: A Look at the Special Landscape of the San Diego Region* (San Diego, CA: City Planning Department, 1974) and UCTV – University of California Television: “Path to Paradise” Series, 1998-2000: <http://www.ucsd.tv/series/?seriesnumber=143> (accessed March 3, 2011) and City of San Diego General Plan, “Strategic Framework,” (2008), SF 6.

¹³The phrase “persistence of paradise” is author’s own description.

Of course, unbridled optimism and notions of paradise can also function to “idealize the past.”¹⁴ Over-idealizing of the past has happened in historic preservation in San Diego, and it is likely to happen again. If recent examples are any indication of the future of the past in San Diego, errors, omissions, and other flaws in historic preservation will eventually be recognized and often corrected.

Perhaps the ultimate test of how well preservationists have done in creating positions of leadership and developing influence in San Diego lies just ahead. The city plans a year-long “Expo Centennial” celebration in 2015 to commemorate the event that brought San Diego into the 20th century, the 1915 Panama-California Exposition.¹⁵ As in 1915, the idea for “Expo Centennial” in 2015 is connected to the city’s growth and prosperity. “San Diego is beginning to talk about celebrating the 100th anniversary of the Panama-California Exposition in 2015, an occasion that could provide the impetus to complete all sorts of projects sitting on the shelf—a new airport, cruise ship terminal, opera house, stadium, sports arena, not to mention rebuilt sewer and water systems, expanded public transit lines, affordable housing developments in infill locations.”¹⁶

¹⁴ David Glassberg, *American Historical Pageantry: The Uses of Tradition in the Early Twentieth Century* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1990), 4.

¹⁵ San Diego Tourism Marketing District, “2015 Centennial Celebration of San Diego’s 1915 Panama-California Exposition,” 3.

¹⁶ Roger Showley, “Where to Begin?” *San Diego Union Tribune*, September 14, 2008.

San Diego preservationists and planners also hope to take the lead in planning a statewide commemoration, also yearlong, of the 250th anniversary of the European founding of California.¹⁷ Since the Presidio, the Mission Basilica San Diego de Alcalá, and Old Town San Diego represent that historic founding in 1769, preservationists in San Diego want to take the lead in planning a commemorative event.¹⁸ The last time the state of California recognized its founding was in 1969, and those events garnered more criticism than praise, due to the emphasis on Spanish Dons, the omissions of Indians, and the admiration of the Franciscan Friars.¹⁹ Back in 1969 even San Diego's Old Town was ill-prepared for visitors or public education, but local preservation groups today believe that they are the best-equipped preservationists in the state to oversee a large-scale 250th anniversary.²⁰

And so it is that San Diego begins the 21st century much as it did the last century, planning large-scale and year-long events that they believe will bring millions of people to their city. Only this time around, the city is planning for two such events, the first in 2015 and the second in 2019, and both of them steeped in local, state, and Southwestern history. The plans are to market San Diego as a

¹⁷ Janet LaVelle, "Heritage Group has Party Plan," *San Diego Union Tribune*, July 4, 2010.

¹⁸ Ibid.

¹⁹ Ibid.

²⁰ Ibid.

modern yet historic urban paradise, and both projects have their promoters, naysayers and critics.

However, this is the same city that built a 1,400 acre park in 1872 for a town with only 2,500 residents, survived a land boom-and-bust in the 1880s only to turn around and host millions of guests in 1915 when the city's own population barely numbered 30,000. This is the same city that won the bid to become home to the Navy's Pacific Fleet even though the harbor in 1919 was not deep enough for ships. And this is the same city that revitalized the downtown core in the 1970s when many experts doubted the wisdom of Horton Plaza and the Gaslamp Quarter.

If one was asked to place a wager on whether or not San Diego can successfully host two major events within four years of each other in 2015 and 2019, with both events scheduled to run for a year, it would be ill-advised to bet against San Diego.

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APPENDIX A

COPYRIGHT RELEASE FROM ELLEN SCHULTZ-ARIGO

6347 S. Raven Avenue Mesa AZ 85212 (480) -219-4581
March 15, 2011
Ellen Schultz-Arigo 4370 Floyd Street Corona CA 92883

Dear Ms. Arigo,

This letter will confirm our recent telephone/email conversation. I am completing a doctoral dissertation at Arizona State University entitled "*Civil Identity in San Diego Since 1945: Historic Preservation in America's Finest City.*" I would like your permission to reprint the following in my dissertation:

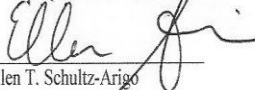
- 3.8 Fiesta de Reyes, 2009.
- 3.10 Sign at Old Town: "San Diegans Enjoyed a Menu Rich in Beef,"
- 3.11 Sign at Old Town: "Californians Cooked Outdoors in the Early 1800s"
- 3.12 Sign at Old Town: "Old Town Was a Cultural Mosaic,"
- 3.17 Cosmopolitan Hotel Renovation, 2009
- 4.15 Little Italy Sign
- 4.19 Little Italy Sign on Sidewalk Chair
- 5.9 Historical Landmark Plaque, Clermont/Coast Hotel
- 5.10 Clermont Hotel, 2010
- 5.12 Lillian Place, opened 2007
- 5.13 Lillian Place
- 5.14 Heritage Wall at Lillian Place
- 5.15 Close-Up Mural at Lillian Place
- 5.16 Lillian Place Mural Reference to African American Businesses
- 5.17 Lillian Place Mural Reference to "Entrepreneurial Spirit"
- 5.18 Lillian Place Mural Reference to Jazz in San Diego
- 5.19 Lillian Place Mural Reference to WWII and Pacific Parachute Co.
- 5.20 Lillian Place Mural Reference to African American Churches
- 5.21 Lillian Place Mural Reference to Lillian Grant

The requested permission extends to any future revisions and editions of my dissertation, including non-exclusive world rights in all languages, and to the prospective publication of my dissertation by UMI. These rights will in no way restrict republication of the material in any other form by you or by others authorized by you. Your signing of this letter will also confirm that you own [or your company owns] the copyright to the above-described material. If these arrangements meet with your approval, please sign this letter where indicated below and return it to me in the enclosed return envelope. Thank you very much.

Sincerely,

Judith Ann Comer-Schultz

PERMISSION GRANTED FOR THE
USE REQUESTED ABOVE:


Ellen T. Schultz-Arigo

Date: 4-1-2011

APPENDIX B

COPYRIGHT RELEASE FROM MARYLOU COMER

6347 S. Raven Avenue
Mesa AZ 85212
480-219-4581
March 15, 2011

900 E. Hollywood Way #239
Safford AZ 85546

Dear Ms. Comer:

This letter will confirm our recent telephone/email conversation. I am completing a doctoral dissertation at Arizona State University entitled "Civic Identity in San Diego Since 1945: Historic Preservation in America's Finest City." I would like your permission to reprint the following in my dissertation:

6.2: Camden Yard and B & O Warehouse Wall

The requested permission extends to any future revisions and editions of my dissertation, including non-exclusive world rights in all languages, and to the prospective publication of my dissertation by UML. These rights will in no way restrict republication of the material in any other form by you or by others authorized by you. Your signing of this letter will also confirm that you own the copyright to the above-described material.

If these arrangements meet with your approval, please sign this letter where indicated below and return it to me. Thank you very much.

Sincerely,

Judith Ann Comer-Schultz

PERMISSION GRANTED FOR THE
USE REQUESTED ABOVE:



MaryLou Garcia Comer

Date: 3/3/11

PERMISSION GRANTED FOR THE
USE REQUESTED ABOVE:

MaryLou Garcia Comer

By:  _____

Title: N/a

Date: 3-31-11

APPENDIX C

COPYRIGHT RELEASE FROM SOHO

6347 S. Raven Avenue
Mesa AZ 85212
480-219-4581
March 15, 2011

Bruce and Alana Coons, Save Our Heritage Organisation (SOHO)
2476 San Diego Avenue
San Diego CA 92110

Dear Bruce and Alana:

I am completing a doctoral dissertation at Arizona State University entitled "*Civic Identity in San Diego Since 1945: Historic Preservation in America's Finest City.*" I would like your permission to reprint the following in my dissertation:

4.7 Logo adopted by Save Our Heritage Organisation

The requested permission extends to any future revisions and editions of my dissertation, including non-exclusive world rights in all languages, and to the prospective publication of my dissertation by UMI. These rights will in no way restrict republication of the material in any other form by you or by others authorized by you. Your signing of this letter will also confirm that you own [or your company owns] the copyright to the above-described material.

If these arrangements meet with your approval, please sign this letter where indicated below and return it to me by jpeg scan or email attachment. Thank you very much.

Sincerely,

Judith Ann Comer-Schultz
JudyCS@asu.edu

PERMISSION GRANTED FOR THE
USE REQUESTED ABOVE:



Bruce Coons

Date: 3/31/11

PERMISSION GRANTED FOR THE
USE REQUESTED ABOVE:

Save Our Heritage Organisation

By: Bruce Coons

Title: Executive Director

APPENDIX D

COPYRIGHT RELEASE FROM SDHC

6347 S. Raven Avenue
Mesa AZ 85212
480-219-4581
March 30, 2011

Jane Kenealy, Archivist, San Diego History Center
1649 El Prado, Suite 3, San Diego, CA 92101
(619) 232-6203

Dear Jane:

I am completing a doctoral dissertation at Arizona State University entitled "*Civic Identity in San Diego Since 1945: Historic Preservation in America's Finest City.*" This letter is to confirm our phone conversation of Tuesday March 29th that gave your permission to reprint the following in my dissertation.

As we discussed, these are not from the original prints in the Archives but rather photocopied reproductions solely for use in this dissertation.

- 3.3 Old Adobe Chapel with Bells, 1870s
- 3.13 Whaley House, 1874
- 3.14 Whaley House, 1890
- 3.16 Cosmopolitan Hotel, 1872
- 4.12 Yuma Building, 1888
- 5.1 Chinese Mission, 1920s
- 5.4 Hotel Douglas, 1930s
- 5.11 Lillian Grant resident before demolition

The requested permission extends to any future revisions and editions of my dissertation, including non-exclusive world rights in all languages, and to the prospective publication of my dissertation by UMI. These rights will in no way restrict republication of the material in any other form by you or by others authorized by you. Your signing of this letter will also confirm that you own [or your company owns] the copyright to the above-described material.

If these arrangements no longer meet with your approval, or changes need to be made, please let me know.

Thank you very much.

Sincerely,

Judith Ann Comer-Schultz

APPENDIX E

COPYRIGHT RELEASE FROM DAN SODERBERG

6347 S. Raven Avenue
Mesa AZ 85212
480-219-4581
March 15, 2011
Daniel Soderbergdanielsoderberg@cox.net

Dear Dan,

I am completing a doctoral dissertation at Arizona State University entitled "*Civic Identity in San Diego Since 1945: Historic Preservation in America's Finest City.*" I would like your permission to reprint the following in my dissertation:

- 6.18 Simon Levi Building
- 6.19 Rosario Hall today

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If these arrangements meet with your approval, please sign this letter where indicated below and return it to me in the enclosed return envelope. Thank you very much.

Sincerely,

Judith Ann Comer-Schultz

PERMISSION GRANTED FOR THE
USE REQUESTED ABOVE:


[Type name of addressee below signature line]

Date: 3/31/11

PERMISSION GRANTED FOR THE
USE REQUESTED ABOVE:

[Type name of company]

By: DAN SODERBERG

Title: dsoderb@cox.net

Date: 3/31/11

