

health and resort industry. Historian Raymond Starr best describes this period as one of "quiet consolidation" of the community's assets as they waited for the next boom that they believed would surely come (Starr 1986).



Figure 7: Timkin House (Courtesy of Ann Weaver)

D. The City Emerges (1901 - 1940)

1. The City of San Diego (1901-1920)

The first decade of the Twentieth Century would see San Diego's third great population boom. In sheer numbers it was the largest permanent gain in the city's history up to that time. From 17,700 residents in 1900, city inhabitants increased to 39,578 by 1910, constituting an increase of 21,878 individuals or 123.6 percent (Census 1913). Unlike the accelerated growth periods of the 1870s and 80s, these flush times did not follow a boom and bust cycle. Beginning in mid-decade increased development continued through the teens and twenties, permanently transforming the city and study area.

Although growth during the 1890s had been extremely unremarkable, showing a net gain of only 1,541 new residents, urban entrepreneurs continued to pursue the dream of a great commercial port (Census 1913). Efforts, now spearheaded by Elisha Babcock in connection with J.D. Spreckles developed infrastructure that would lay the foundation to allow the growth that occurred during the next decade. John D. Spreckles, a wealthy sugar fortune heir, filled the economic vacuum left by the collapse of the 1880s boom and dominated urban entrepreneurship in San Diego during the early Twentieth Century. His effect on San Diego development between 1900 and 1920 was profound. Spreckles' efforts began in the 1890s with development of a water system. In 1895 he formed the Southern California Mountain Water

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Company with Elisha Babcock. Babcock, a railroad investor from Indiana, had been a major speculator during the 1880s boom, laying out the city of Coronado and building the world famous hotel that is still located there (Articles of Incorporation 1895; Basney 1975:51; Fowler 1953:48; *San Diego Union* 3-8-1895, 5:4; 9-29-1895, 5:2). The water company under Babcock and Spreckles' direction developed the mountain drainages of the Otay River and Cottonwood Creek with a series of storage reservoirs, aqueducts, and pipe lines, providing the city with its first dependable and adequate water supply (Adams 1911). Spreckles' interest in San Diego continued to expand. He remodeled the wharf, established a modern street car system, and purchased two of the city's major newspapers: the *San Diego Union* and *Evening Tribune* (Starr 1986:85).

Early years of the decade saw only modest growth. The *San Diego Union* proudly described details of the City's infrastructure on January 1, 1901 as including ". . . seven miles of paved streets, 45 miles of graded streets, 22 miles of motor railway, 25 well attended churches, 15 miles of electrical railway, 16 miles of cement sidewalk, 14 progressive public schools, a perfect sewer system 45 miles in length, a 1,400 acre public park, and a 100,000 dollar opera house (*San Diego Union* 1-1-1901).

Still insisting that the city's future lay in development of a commercial port and a direct railroad connection with the east, businessmen under the leadership of local merchant George White Marston organized the San Diego and Eastern Railway Company in 1900 to build a link eastward through the mountains to join with the Southern Pacific line at Yuma, Arizona (Hanft 1984:10). This combined with plans by President Theodore Roosevelt to build the Panama Canal. San Diegans saw the canal as the future catalyst for development of a commercial harbor. The bay would be the closest U.S. port to the canal. With a direct railroad link to the east, commercial development seemed assured. The *Union* commented on January 1, 1901 concerning the city's future: "Bright as the past has been the outlook for the future is even brighter. . . . that which now seems assured will also stimulate traffic, as San Diego is the first port in the United States north of that waterway. A competing railroad is also looked forward to by many San Diegans as likely to be built in the near future" (*San Diego Union* 1-1-1901).

San Diego did experience an increased level of growth during the next few years as a result of its development as a health and tourist resort and pleasant place to live for many who hoped to escape the rigorous weather of the east. In 1902 the city issued 127 building permits with a cumulative value of slightly over 4,000 dollars. Although the *Union* cited this as evidence of healthy growth it still ranked below figures for 1896 which had been over half a million dollars (*San Diego Union* 1-1-1903). Health seekers had a significant impact on increasing the area's population and stimulating economic growth. A health industry had developed in the county by 1900 and was manifested in numerous health spas and sanitariums for the treatment of disease (Miller 1982). The health resort business combined with and complimented the development of the area's tourist industry. Southern California's climate had been promoted for decades resulting in establishment of a regular tourist trade in the region by the beginning of the Twentieth Century. San Diego's attractions brought thousands of visitors annually and included the world famous Hotel Del Coronado and its adjacent Tent City, fishing, hunting, sailing, bathing, and excursions to nearby mountains and coastal communities and Tijuana, Mexico (Poland 1907:6, 12).

This modest economic development was soon stimulated by local and world events. Serious work began on the Panama Canal in 1903 and 1904. Development of irrigated agricultural lands in present-day Imperial Valley and western Arizona also commenced at this time. In January 1905 the *San Diego Union* summarized the significance of these events for the city's future:

◆ **City of San Diego**, Planning Department, 202 C Street, San Diego, California 92101 ◆
◆ **IS Architecture**, Ione R. Stiegler, Architect, 5649 La Jolla Blvd, La Jolla, California 92037 ◆
◆ **Walter Enterprises**, Stephen Van Wormer, Historian and Susan Walter, Oral Historian,
238 2nd Avenue, Chula Vista, California 91910 ◆

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. . . the Canal will mean to San Diego the full development of all her natural resources, agricultural . . . and industrial. It will mean factories, and mills and plants It will mean improvements in that equipment as related to the military and naval development of this part of the Pacific. In short it will bring San Diego into prominence as a city possessing the solid advantages that belong to a great commercial port. The development of the Colorado River Valley in the eastern part of San Diego County . . . is bound to play an important part in the business of the port . . . (*San Diego Union* 1-1-1905).

Anticipation of commercial development from the building of the canal stimulated the already modest growth occurring as a result of the health and tourism industries, initiating a boom period that began around 1906. When J.D. Spreckles took over the San Diego and Eastern Railway, renaming it the San Diego and Arizona, growth accelerated. Ground breaking for construction of the new railroad occurred in September 1907 (Hanft 1984:45). In addition, the boom was more than a local phenomenon. The entire Southern California region grew dramatically. Los Angeles and Santa Barbara actually experienced greater percentages of population increase than San Diego during the period (Hennessey 1993)

Population statistics as well as data on annual numbers of building permits and the value of new construction and bank deposits effectively profile San Diego's increasing prosperity during the last half of the decade. By 1907 promoters estimated the city's population to be 35,000 (Poland 1907). Building permits and the value of new construction and bank deposits for the first ten years of the Twentieth Century are listed on Table 1. They indicate a slow but steady rate of growth until 1906 when the value of new construction increased from 6.8 percent of the decade's total in 1905 to 15.8 percent for that year. Data from 1907 reveal continued growth. Building permits for that year constitute 12 percent of the decade's total. Value of new construction made up 13.6 percent and bank deposits made up 11.9 percent for the period. The statistics for 1910 reveal the city was in the midst of a full fledged boom. Building permits made up 23.5 percent of the decade total, and value of new construction and bank deposits constituted 22.9 percent and 18.6 percent of the total for the period respectively (*San Diego Union* 1-1-1908; 1-1-1911).

Local promoters were ecstatic with the new rates of growth and felt the city's future assured. *The San Diego Union* enthusiastically reported in January 1911 "San Diego will keep on growing steadily and with completion of the San Diego and Arizona Railway now forcing its way into the heart of the rich Imperial Valley and Arizona, and with the opening of the Panama Canal, it will take an important position among the port cities on the Pacific Coast. It is predestined that the population of the city and its commercial and industrial development will climb" (*San Diego Union* 1-2-1911).

As the city grew the downtown's residential character began to change. This was a common trend in early Twentieth Century American cities. The addition of streetcars and the development of the automobile were allowing workers to move their families to suburban tracts outside of the downtown areas where most of them worked (Jackson 1985; Warner 1962). Downtown San Diego reflected this trend as many families began to move to new suburbs in areas such as Hillcrest, North Park, Mission Hills, Normal Heights, and older subdivisions from the boom days such as University Heights where they could purchase relatively inexpensive homes away from the stereotypical crime and vice of the city (Stevenson 1938:51-52; Wright 1981). Also, the city's growing population and industry required the expansion of the

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business and commercial districts of the city. This expansion engulfed parts of older residential neighborhoods such as downtown and Logan Heights (Norris 1983).

Convinced that completion of the Panama Canal and development of the Imperial Valley's agricultural potential would increase San Diego Bay's commercial importance, John D. Spreckles succeeded where others had failed when the San Diego and Arizona Eastern Railroad completed a direct line eastward to the Southern Pacific track at Yuma, Arizona in 1919 (Hanft 1984; Wilson 1994). Spreckles was also a major supporter of the Panama Pacific Exposition, a world's fair planned to celebrate the opening of the canal and promote San Diego in 1915. His greatest impact on the appearance of the city resulted when he launched a major building campaign that reshaped downtown San Diego (Sorenson 1948). A new modern San Diego of poured concrete office and commercial buildings was quickly replacing the former Nineteenth Century town of wood framed and brick structures.

By the early teens large multistoried Beaux Art style office and commercial buildings constructed of reinforced concrete, known as commercial or business blocks, came to dominate downtown San Diego's skyline. The most prominent included the Granger Block, Timken Building, Botsford Block, Marine National Bank, Pythion Hall, Spreckles Theater, Union Building, U.S. Grant Hotel, American National Bank Building, Masonic Temple, Crane Hotel, Barnett Stein Company, Boldrick Brothers Hotel and Store, Marston Store, Army and Navy YMCA and the Hotel San Diego (*San Diego Union* 1-1-1905; 1-1-1-1910; 1-2-1911; 1-1-1912). These were only the largest of numerous new business buildings. In 1911 construction on a combined street frontage of two solid miles of business blocks ranging in size from one to eleven stories was underway (*San Diego Union* 1-1-1921). The *Union* noted "San Diego streets present a modern picture. There is an absence of old buildings that have existed for decades. The structures in the business districts are modern for the swift growth of the city has caused that. During the day the streets always present a busy appearance with an endless procession of automobiles lining the curb" (*San Diego Union* 1-1-1912).

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TABLE 1
GROWTH STATISTICS FOR THE CITY OF SAN DIEGO
1901-1910

Year	Building Permits	Percent	Dollar Value of New Construction	Percent	Dollar Value of Bank Deposits	Percent
1901	252	3.00	123,285	0.70	1,830,928	3.10
1902	127	1.50	438,140	2.50	2,336,778	4.00
1903	267	3.14	710,123	4.06	3,992,772	6.76
1904	505	6.00	914,967	5.24	3,729,223	6.31
1905	716	8.44	1,193,710	6.83	5,388,518	9.12
1906	836	9.86	2,761,285	15.81	6,948,972	11.76
1907	1,051	12.30	2,297,915	13.16	7,028,322	11.90
1908	1,209	14.26	2,383,540	13.70	7,151,375	12.10
1909	1,520	18.00	2,632,100	15.07	9,638,000	16.30
1910	1,995	23.50	4,005,200	22.93	11,016,000	18.65
TOTAL	8,478	100.00	17,460,265	100.00	59,060,888	100.00

Source: *The San Diego Union*, January 1, 1908 and January 1, 1911



Figure 8: Mission Hills - Goldfinch Pharmacy

Another civic leader important in the course of city development during this period was George White Marston. His influence would have a direct effect on the nature of several developments within the Uptown Study Area, including Presidio Park, Presidio Hills, portions of Mission Hills, and Marston Hills. He was an early advocate of Balboa Park and played an important role in its preservation (Hennessey 1986).

George Marston arrived in San Diego in 1870 at the age of 20. He took on many roles in his lifetime including local merchant and businessman, developer, and activist in the cultural, religious, and beautification activities of San Diego. He began his career as a clerk at the Horton House and then worked at a general store. In 1873 he bought the business with a friend, Charles Nash, and operated it for the next five years as Nash and Marston. The partnership split in 1878. Nash took the hardware and groceries and Marston took the dry goods part of the business. By the 1890s Marston had become a wealthy merchant and civic leader with a four story department store at Fifth and C Streets that had an electric elevator and a hundred employees (Hennessey 1986).

Marston had always taken an active role in city development. In 1871 he led a successful effort to keep 1400 acre City Park out of the hands of land speculators and developers. Both he and Nash had been involved in the Benevolent Association (a charity group), the Free Reading Room (the beginning of the city library), the volunteer fire department, and the Chamber of Commerce. They both served on the city council during the boom of 1887 to 1889 (Hennessey 1986).

During the first decade of the Twentieth Century George Marston became an advocate of the cultural development, moral uplifting, and beautification of San Diego. He was an outspoken Progressive who believed in the latest concepts of city planning. In 1902 he publicly offered to pay \$10,000 of his own money to hire a professional to develop a plan for the 1,400 acre City Park, which continued to be threatened by development. The concept of Urban Parks had formally evolved during the late Nineteenth Century. Parks were seen as a means to bring nature back into the city and provide some relief from congested living conditions and industrial blight. They would give the urban working class a respite from the urban environment and offer morally uplifting surroundings. City planning was an extension of the urban parks movement. It attempted to provide a rational control over the urban environment and the problems of public sanitation, housing, transportation, congestion, and the "ugliness" inherent to many Nineteenth Century cities (Hennessey 1986).

Marston hired landscape architect Samuel Parson Jr. Completed by mid-1903, his development plan called for the relegation of buildings and formal gardens to the park's periphery. By 1908, ten miles of roads had been completed and over 1400 trees planted. The Parsons plan was superceded by the development of the 1915 to 16 Panama California Exposition (Hennessey 1986).

In 1907 Marston hired one of the founding leaders of modern city planning, John Nolen, to develop a plan for San Diego. His 1908 plan had five major elements: a public plaza and civic center, bay front development, small open spaces, a formal system of streets and boulevards, and a park system. Although never formally adopted by the city, many elements of Nolen's Plans were used by Marston and other developers in the subdivisions they designed in following two decades (Hennessey 1986; Gehl 2003).

2. The Modern City and Military Port (1920-1940)

In the 1920s the dream of the San Diego Pioneer Urban Entrepreneurs was realized; San Diego began a period of growth that continues to the present day and has greatly accelerated since the 1940s. During the decade of the 1920s the city's population doubled from 74,683 to 147,897. New subdivisions developed to accommodate the growing population included Kensington, Talmadge Park, University Heights, East San Diego, Mission Hills, Sunset Cliffs, and Pacific Beach. In spite of economic slowdowns in the early 1930s due to the national depression, prosperity returned in the later years of the decade with development of the tuna and aircraft industries and tourism. By 1940 the city's population had reached 203,341. Ironically, this growth did not result from the development of a commercial port but as a military harbor.

a. William Kettner and Development of a Military Harbor

In an attempt to enlighten the world to San Diego's commercial potential, San Diego leaders had moved to develop Balboa Park for an exposition to celebrate the planned opening of the Panama Canal in 1915. The Panama California Exposition lasted for two years and achieved the desired effect of promoting San Diego's potential harbor facilities: not to commercial shipping interests, however, but to military and political leaders (Hennessey 1993:130).

The political and civic leader who took most advantage of the military's interest in San Diego was William Kettner. Kettner, an insurance salesman and former director of the Chamber of Commerce, had been elected to Congress in 1912 with the support of Chamber Secretary Rufus Choate (DuVall 1979;

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Choate 1957:11). He practiced the art of urban entrepreneurship more skillfully and effectively than any of San Diego's previous promoters. Rather than focusing on railroad connections and commercial development as had previous urban entrepreneurs, the congressman concentrated on developing military connections. Kettner quickly established himself as a champion of San Diego's harbor development. The first-term congressman was able to obtain a seat on the House Rivers and Harbors Committee. In December 1912 Kettner and Choate, along with U.S. Senator John D. Works, were able to overcome opposition and obtain an appropriation of \$249,000 to improve San Diego's harbor entrance for commercial shipping. The key element in Kettner's argument was a letter from Navy Admiral George Dewey illuminating the military importance of San Diego Bay. Kettner quickly learned to capitalize on the military focus in obtaining appropriations for San Diego. During his first term Kettner was also able to get San Diego another appropriation for the completion of the Coaling Station on Point Loma, a new larger radio station at Chollas Heights, and expanded harbor defenses (Hennessey 1993:131; Kettner 1923:12-15, 21, 25, 41; Pourade 1965:174).

Kettner used his superb lobbying skills to rally support from the military, local business, and civic leaders, to expand the Navy and Army's operations in San Diego. During the Exposition Kettner made alliances with Assistant Secretary of the Navy Franklin Roosevelt and Marine Corps Colonel Joseph Pendleton. These alliances, along with support from San Diego business and civic leaders, guided city voters in 1916 to offer 500 acres of tidelands for a new Marine Corps Advance Base. Kettner introduced and guided the House bill that provided for the purchase funds. At the same time Kettner worked to obtain the transfer of the West Coast Naval Training Station from San Francisco to San Diego. With the U.S. entry into World War I, San Diego received additional support for improvement of its military facilities. The Navy had already leased the empty Exposition buildings in Balboa Park for wartime training and hospital facilities. In 1917 the Secretary of the Navy called for new submarine and aviation bases at San Diego and that \$500,000 be set aside for the development of the military air field on North Island. During 1917 Kettner helped obtain increased appropriations to purchase 524 acres of John Spreckel's land on North Island for \$6 million and to obtain an Army training base, Camp Kearny, for San Diego (Kettner 1923:60-61; Pourade 1965:222-227; DuVall 1979:64-67).

When the war ended, Kettner and the city's lobbying continued. Key to their efforts was the Navy's decision to create a Pacific Fleet. The Navy planned to assign 180 new fighting ships to the West Coast. The lack of significant facilities to support these ships provided opportunity for West Coast cities (Hennessey 1993:133). Luckily for San Diego, Congressman Kettner had already joined the House Naval Affairs Committee. The Chamber of Commerce along with Kettner were able to arrange for most of this influential Committee to visit San Diego for a tour of the harbor and its current facilities, including the potential site for a Naval Training Station (Choate 1957:13). The San Diego business community responded with \$250,000 to purchase 135 acres of private land adjacent to the Marine Base. The city added seventy-nine acres of submerged land to the offer. The Naval Appropriation Act of July 11, 1919 formally accepted the land for the new Naval Training Station. In addition, the city donated roughly 18 acres in Balboa Park for a new Naval Hospital (Chamber of Commerce 1955:8-9; Pourade 1965:232-233).

In August 1919 San Diego's military future was buoyed by several Naval visits. Rear Admiral John S. McKean, head of a navy commission studying the West Coast, announced that many new facilities would be needed and that San Diegans' support could help make it the "third naval base on the coast," after Bremerton and San Francisco (*San Diego Union* 8-4-1919:1; 8-7-1919:1). A few days later the new

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Pacific Fleet and the Secretary of the Navy, Josephus Daniels, visited San Diego. The City decorated downtown and held festivities including a fleet banquet and ball. Secretary Daniels told an enthusiastic audience at Balboa Park's Organ Pavilion that he would not be satisfied until Congress appropriated enough money to make San Diego Bay one of the great harbors of the world (*San Diego Union* 8-7-1919:1; Pourade 1965:232).

The Navy's reports recommended an expenditure of over \$27 million for San Diego facilities during the next five years. The fleet's San Diego operations would require new facilities consisting of a large supply base, a repair base for all but capital ships, and enlargement of the fuel supply depot (Hennessey 1993:133). The report noted that San Diego was perfect for naval training and aviation. Although the battleship fleet would be stationed at San Pedro, San Diego would be home to a destroyer squadron and other small craft totaling 160 ships (*San Diego Union* 8-9-1919:1; 8-10-1919:1; 1-1-1920:3; Biegal 1980:1-2). The *San Diego Union* noted the announcements of the Navy's development of the harbor as the sealing of the Navy-San Diego relationship. More gifts of land would be required from the city to support new Navy facilities which would bring millions of dollars in appropriations. A permanent naval base was certain to allow San Diego "to achieve its highest aspirations" (*San Diego Union* 8-10-1919:1; Hennessey 1993:135).

1) The Navy's Importance to San Diego

Kettner's efforts resulted in making the Navy a major factor in the city's development. On December 31, 1919 Naval Base San Diego was established, followed by creation of the 11th Naval District in January 1921. The growth of the Navy and its facilities developed concurrently with that of San Diego. San Diego's growth from a small coastal town to a metropolitan city in the 1920s and 1930s was supported in a major part by the Navy's economic boost. As historian Gregg Hennessey established, the U.S. military helped transform San Diego "politically, economically, and socially" during this period (Hennessey 1993:148). The Navy and San Diego created an interdependent and mutually beneficial relationship. This relationship provided San Diego the population and economy to allow the city to develop throughout the inter-war period. The Navy served as a major catalyst to the development of the harbor, including the city airport, as well as incentive for suburban and infrastructure growth (Hennessey 1993:138-142).

The economic importance to San Diego showed itself clearly. By January 1923 San Diego's annual military payroll had reached over \$15 million, and reached a peak with major construction in place on most local facilities at near \$21 million in 1925 (*San Diego Union* 1-1-1923:M2; 1-1-1925:M8). By 1930 Navy representatives estimated their annual payroll at roughly \$20 million with the Destroyer Base alone providing \$1.2 million (Tozer 1930:7-10). The estimated expenditure of funds relating to the Navy for the 1920s totals over \$330 million (Hennessey 1993:144). Although these numbers dropped during the 1930s due to the Great Depression and the completion of major construction at most facilities, the military payroll in 1934 still totaled \$20 million (Pourade 1967:154).

The important link of the Navy and the Destroyer Squadron to San Diego was illuminated in a 1927 article written by force commander Rear Admiral Luke McNamee. McNamee remarked on the positive effect of his 6,000 sailors on the local economy and the quiet business climate when the Fleet was out on maneuvers. The admiral noted that much of the improvement in the harbor and bay was connected to the Navy's presence and that "what helps the destroyers helps San Diego" Throughout the 1920s and 1930s local newspapers and magazines such as the Chamber of Commerce's *San Diego Business*, related the

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Navy's status as top "industry" for the city. The comings and goings of the Fleet often resulted in major fluctuations for local business (Pourade 1967:192).

The Navy also affected the city both politically and socially. During the 1920s the added economic input of the Navy helped focus the city government and its citizens toward providing the needed housing and infrastructure for the growing population of naval personnel. Local planners and transit companies learned to respond rapidly to Navy requests for expanded service to naval facilities such as the Destroyer Base (C.O. File NB12-A15:5-22-1922; 5-20-1928). The city and Navy's mutual growing needs helped unite local government into greater city planning and infrastructure development, such as the water and transportation systems. Socially, San Diego took on the identity of a "Navy Town" during this period. The *San Diego Union* and *Sun* newspapers reported daily on ship movements, events such as dances and socials, and all news relevant to naval activities. Chamber of Commerce business and promotional publications also provided continuous news on navy appropriations and public works. The City and Chamber of Commerce worked together on an entertainment program for enlisted personnel of Fleet ships and sponsored dances and shows (*San Diego Business* 7-1-1932). Many retired and former Navy personnel found the climate pleasing and made San Diego their home after service (Hennessey 1993:146-148). The massive naval presence also made the annual October Navy Day celebrations one of the biggest events of the year (*San Diego Union* 10-26-1930:10; 10-25-1932:1; 10-11-1935:4). By the eve of World War II, not many San Diegans would deny the significance of the Navy to the city and its residents.

The influence of the Navy on San Diego's development cannot be overstated. Economically naval facilities provided a stable economy based on the port, which urban entrepreneurs and city fathers had sought since the early 1850s. Just as significant was the fact that as the decades passed the Navy and related military units, such as the Marines, brought hundreds of thousands of people to San Diego. Many of these eventually settled here. A small illustration of how much of an effect association with the Navy has had on settlement of the area can be seen in the fact that out of the 31 individuals interviewed for the oral history portion of this project 20 percent (6) lived in San Diego because they or a family member had been stationed here while serving in the Navy or Marines.¹

3. Study Area Development (1901-1940)

During the early Twentieth Century development of suburban neighborhoods in the study area were greatly influenced by the expansion of street car lines. The spread of the San Diego Electric Railway made it possible for the middle and working classes to own houses in single family residential neighborhoods that once would have been considered too far from downtown employment to be viable for anyone but the rich. It also made it possible to more than double San Diego's housing supply in a short period of time (Gehl 2003).

¹ . These included Betty Baker, Bob Baker, Marvin Randall, Anne Prusa, Annella Smith, and Charles Beyer.

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As historian Sharon Gehl has noted:

Developers knew that the Mission Hills area would sell well once the streetcar line was extended to it, because the streetcar was shaping the city's development at this time. An editorial in the *San Diego Union* on New Years day 1908 states that "Extension of the street car service is not merely keeping pace with the up building of the city, but is powerfully stimulating it. Localities that only recently were regarded as almost out in the country have been thickly built up during the past year, largely because rapid transit to the business district was afforded."

This new form of rapid transit was based upon the "modern" use of electricity. It led to a new type of neighborhood in San Diego dominated by Craftsman and Spanish Colonial style houses (Gehl 2003).

a. West Park Neighborhoods

As already noted, the area west of Balboa Park between Ash and Walnut Street on the north and south and Curtis and Dove Streets on the west was laid out in 1869 as the northern portion of the Horton's Addition subdivision. Land speculation during the 1880s had created an artificial real estate bubble which burst in 1889. The boom had ended long before all of Uptown could be developed. Sixth Avenue was not graded until the 1890s, but soon it became a prestigious location. While residential development had been fairly dense south of Laurel Street, it was sparse north of Walnut until 1894. By 1904, only 23 percent of the area west of Balboa Park was developed, mostly with single family houses (Cultural Resource Inventory 1993).

The neighborhoods west of Balboa Park were most affected during the early 1900s by the preparation for the 1915 Panama – California Exposition. City Park was renamed Balboa Park in 1910 and was landscaped by the well-known Kate Sessions. Many of the "capitalists" in the city built apartment buildings in the area as investment property to house the thousands of people expected to visit the worlds fair. Development was sporadic, but its density continued to increase (Cultural Resource Inventory 1993). During this period upper middle class and wealthy families, who had established a prestigious neighborhood south of Laurel Street known as Banker's Hill, began moving northward and reestablishing an upper scale neighborhood between Maple and Brant Streets. The term Banker's Hill moved northward with them and the area south of Laurel became known as Uptown. In the 1920s and 30s these same families moved to Mission Hills.

In 1914, the First Presbyterian Church was constructed on the block bounded by Date and Elm Street, and Third and Fourth Avenues. The church had a significant impact upon the area both physically with its sheer size, and socially with the many prominent citizens in its congregation. The church firmly established Uptown's existence and its prominence in the City (Cultural Resource Inventory 1993).

The economy was given a strong boost following the highly successful 1915 Exposition. Both the fair and wartime industry fueled a second building boom in the 1920s. Many structures were covered with stucco rather than wood as in previous years. Stucco was a more practical building material which was well suited for the dry San Diego climate. Fifth and First avenues became major thoroughfares which continued commercial establishments and large apartment buildings. First Avenue was added as a route for the streetcar which established it as a commercial thoroughfare (Cultural Resource Inventory 1993).



Figure 9: First Presbyterian Church

b. Hillcrest

The area now known as Hillcrest resembled little more than a rock strewn mesa prior to its development in the early 1900s. Real estate speculators identified the area for future urbanization and laid out subdivisions as early as the 1870s but it remained, for the most part, a jackrabbit hunting ground until the turn of the century. In 1906 the existing development amounted to only a few scattered houses and St. Joseph's Sanitarium at the corner of Sixth and University. Hillcrest eventually became one of San Diego's largest residential communities. The neighborhood grew around a thriving business district centered at the corner of Fifth Street and University Avenue.

Development of the Hillcrest area began in 1906 when William Wesley Whitson filed a map for the Hillcrest Subdivision (Subdivision Map 1024, 1906). Whitson had come to San Diego from northern California in 1886. He served as the first San Diego County Coroner, a court reporter, and city councilman (*San Diego Union* 1-10-1958:A14). Following a tip from his sister-in-law, Whitson purchased 40 acres of undeveloped land bounded by First, Sixth, and Lewis Streets, and University Avenue in 1906 for \$115,000 (*San Diego Union* 10-25-1957:23). He considered the purchase a bargain since an adjoining tract of similar size had recently sold at auction for \$300,000 (Anonymous 1962). Lots sold quickly. The Hillcrest Company constructed many of the buildings in the tract and erected a sawmill that supplied lumber for 3000 homes. Hillcrest continued to develop and in 1957 celebrated its 50th anniversary by honoring Wesley Whitson, who at 92 years of age, was still in business in Los Angeles (*San Diego Union* 10-24-1957:25; 10-23-1957:4).

The Hillcrest Company opened an office downtown in the Granger building and built a tract office at the corner of Fifth and University. They began advertising immediately and offered Hillcrest as a "restricted" tract. The restrictions entailed building set backs, fence regulations, minimum architectural requirements and land use limitations. The housing boom generated even more development and soon the community

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began to incorporate the surrounding older paper subdivisions. The area now recognized as Hillcrest is comprised of approximately twenty-five different subdivisions established between 1889 and 1926 (Dillinger 2000).



Figure 10: Park Boulevard and Normal

Some of the first homes built in Hillcrest included a house for Henry Fletcher on Fourth between Washington and University Avenue costing \$5000, and a bungalow costing \$4000, built for J. D. Raymond on Third between Washington and Lewis Streets. Other properties followed suit and the new community quickly began to take shape. Hillcrest contained housing aimed at families, but also developed a high percentage of single occupancy bungalow courts, cottages, and smaller unit family homes. This type of housing, located close to downtown, and made for single residents and young couples in the middle income range, was not to be found anywhere else in San Diego. The San Diego City School District built Florence Elementary at University and Second Avenues in 1908 to accommodate the influx of residents, while University Bank helped to initiate the business district with its construction in 1910. 1913 saw construction of the Hillcrest Theater (now the Guild), the paving of University Avenue and Washington Streets, and the opening of Hillcrest's first dime store "Nelson's Dry Goods" on Fifth Avenue. In 1928 the Post Office Department established a Hillcrest Branch (Dillinger 2000; *San Diego Union* 10-24-1957:25; 10-23-1957:4).

George Marston's influence in this part of the study area can be seen in the development of Marston Hills located on the northern edge of Balboa Park. In 1905, the new and elegant Marston family residence was completed on Seventh Street on the northern edge of the park's boundary. In the 1920s, Marston decided to acquire and develop all that land between the Marston residence and Richmond Street, and north of Balboa Park to Robinson Avenue. First he planted oaks and sycamores on the canyon floors, then, in 1924, he planned out his subdivision of 74 lots on the new streets of Cypress, Myrtle, Cypress Way, Myrtle Way, and Vermont. The subdivision was first called Park Terrace until his partners urged Marston to lend his own name. From the early 1920s through the mid 1930s, fifty elegant homes costing up to \$20,000 each were built in this exclusive neighborhood bordering Balboa Park. The Mediterranean style house became the predominant architecture of Marston Hills. This Spanish stucco house style was born in San Diego after the Panama - Pacific Exposition of 1915. Roofed in red tile and typically bright with stucco, they often have wrought iron railings and window grills, and always exhibit arches. Inside are more arches, heavy plaster walls, and coved ceilings or exposed wood beams. Tiles, oak floors, and inset adobe-type fireplace are also characteristic of the interiors. These houses had the latest in modern

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conveniences: automobile garages, built in niches or desks for the latest electric gadgets, and the telephone (Laughlin 1983).

By the 1930s Hillcrest was considered to be one of the largest residential communities of San Diego, centered on the vibrant business district at Fifth & University. Both of the City's largest medical facilities - Mercy and County Hospitals - were located in the neighborhood. In 1936 the Hillcrest Businessmen's Association spent over \$1000 to sponsor a community Christmas celebration complete with a 25 foot Christmas tree at Tenth and University, outdoor lights, and a parade. Santa Claus wore a "unique suit of red corduroy with real white fur trimmings and high black boots that attracted much attention" (*San Diego Union* 12-5-1936, 12-6-1936, 5-30-1937). In the late 1930s the Hillcrest Women's Club sponsored the placement of a large sign with the name of the district that hung over University Avenue and was a landmark for many years (*San Diego Union* 4-10-1940; *San Diego Union* 3-4-1934 II, 5:1; Hennessey 2000).

1) Hospitals

Mercy Hospital began in San Diego as St. Joseph's Dispensary, which opened on July 9, 1890 in the Grand Central Building on Sixth Avenue and H (now Market) Street downtown. The dispensary was established by two Sisters of Mercy from San Francisco, Mother Mary Michael and Sister Mary Alphonsa.

A year later it became apparent that the facility would need to further expand to care for the sick who took refuge in its shelter. In 1891 a site was purchased on north side of University Avenue at Fifth Street, and the first unit of St. Joseph's Hospital was built. In 1903 a training school for nurses was established and in 1904, an east wing was added and the main building completed.

In 1923, a "fire proof" facility was built and in 1924 the corporate title of the facility was changed to Mercy Hospital. On May 22, 1966 a new 350 bed Mercy Hospital was opened. Dedication of the \$15.5 million complex took place on October 30, 1966. The following year an additional 96 beds were added with the completion of the tenth and eleventh floors. The same year a 50 bed Mental Health Center was completed. On August 7, 1968, the corporate name was changed to Mercy Hospital and Medical Center, better describing the variety of services available. In November 1972 a new wing of the hospital was dedicated (Fosbinder 1989; *San Diego Union* 7-8-1990; *Evening Tribune* 7-2-1990). The facility is currently known as Scripps Mercy Hospital. It is a 520-bed acute care facility and the largest private teaching hospital in the San Diego area.

San Diego County General Hospital was constructed in 1904. The following history of County Hospital through the 1930s is taken from Donna Fosbinder's article that appeared in *The Journal of San Diego History* in 1989:

The first San Diego County Hospital was located in Emmett House on Twiggs Street near Casa de Lopez, Old Town. Emmett House was used as a hospital by Dr. Edward Burr, one of the members of the first Board of Health, who lived in Casa de Lopez and was County Physician from 1869-1871.

By June 30, 1889 the hospital had accommodated 1,237 patients and had been relocated three and one half miles from the city of San Diego at the foot of the grade leading to

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Mission Valley, about midway between Old Town San Diego and Mission San Diego. The grounds and farm covered an area of 140 acres. The hospital could accommodate about sixty patients and the farm had four acres of garden producing vegetables, enough to supply the patient demand.

A new three story County Hospital building located atop what became known as "Pill Hill" at the north end of Front Street costing approximately \$60,000 opened March 15, 1904. County hospital was a general care hospital staffed by volunteer physicians who provided care to the patients [and] taught and supervised the interns and residents as they cared for county patients in various specialties.

The Training School for Nurses opened in 1903 with ten women in the first class at the San Diego County General Hospital. Three years later, four of them graduated as trained nurses. A sixty percent attrition rate was not uncommon among nurses because of exposure to communicable and infectious disease, the servile nature of the work, and poor diet. An article written about nurses at County Hospital, describes these conditions in 1912.

A home for nurses next door to the hospital opened in 1913. Students were awakened at 5:30 a.m., and were expected to make their beds neatly, dust their room, and leave everything in good order and ready for inspection at any time. The Nurse's Home was closed at 10:00 p.m.; the lights were turned off, and each nurse had to be in her own room. In 1920, student progress in theory, practice and general efficiency was recorded in official documents. The twenty eight month program was enriched and included a variety of clinical nursing experience. Training at Vauclain Tuberculosis Sanitarium was optional; by 1946, it was a required educational experience. In 1920, four classes of students were enrolled yearly, and the probationary period was lengthened from three to four months. When the school was accredited in 1923 by the Bureau of the California State Board of Health, there were forty student nurses enrolled. The expectations for a student entering the Training School for Nurses at San Diego County General Hospital in 1925 are illustrated in a letter asking for a reference on the character, conduct, and physical and mental health of an applicant.

The training program was lengthened to three years in 1936. In addition, the curriculum was extended to include periods of visiting nurse service and at Mercy Hospital to care for private patients (Fosbinder 1989).

In 1956 an engineering study found the County Hospital building to be unsafe. It was replaced by a new \$12.5 million, eleven-story building in 1963. In 1965, the county Board Of Supervisors transferred operation of the facility to the University of California Medical School. At that time it was renamed University Hospital and is now known as UCSD Medical Center (*San Diego Union* 10-5-1958; 5-26-1963; 4-5-1970; *Evening Tribune* 2-16-1965).

c. Mission Hills

The Mission Hills community is a neighborhood west of Hillcrest built on and around the promontory that overlooks both San Diego Bay and Mission Valley. The area is bordered by Dove Street on the east, Old Town on the west, Washington Street on the south, and the south rim of Mission Valley on the north.

Like Hillcrest, the Mission Hills area was originally a virtual wasteland of weeds, scrub and chaparral, "a hopeless tangle of barren hills and ugly holes." One of the earliest property owners had been Captain Henry Johnston who purchased approximately 65 acres of public land from the city of San Diego in February 1869. Located near current Presidio Park, his holdings were centered on present day Sunset and Witherby Streets (Moomjian 1999; *Reader 2-5-1998*).

In 1872, Cyrus Arnold, an attorney and real estate developer, and Daniel Choate, a dry goods merchant, purchased and subdivided another future tract of Mission Hills property in an area bounded by University Avenue to the south, Randolph Street on the west, Curlew Street to the east, and Arbor Drive on the north. This was known as "Arnold and Choate's Addition." At this time no homes had been constructed in the area (Moomjian 1999; *Reader 2-5-1998*).

The first home in current Mission Hills was constructed in 1887. Sarah Johnston Cox (Miller), the daughter of Captain Johanson, inherited her father's property which extended from Sunset Boulevard to the north, Arguello Street to the east, Witherby Street in the west, plus a few odd shaped blocks on the south. Naming the area Johnston Heights, she constructed a sprawling Victorian home at the highest point of her land's southern slope. Called the Villa Orizaba, the residence stood alone until 1907. Until that year, the mesas that would become Mission Hills were composed of a citrus and olive groves, and two or three small dairies and chicken ranches (Moomjian 1999; *Reader 2-5-1998*).

In 1903 noted horticulturalist Kate Sessions began buying up land in Mission Hills after losing her Balboa Park lease. Sessions acquired a tract of land north of Lewis and east of Stephens Streets for her nursery business. Eventually, she owned or leased most of the North Florence Heights section, platted in 1890, as well as several blocks in Arnold and Choate's subdivision. Sessions would remain at this location until 1928, when she moved a few blocks south to the corner of Fort Stockton Drive and Randolph Street. A nursery still operates at this location today (2003) (Moomjian 1999; *Reader 2-5-1998*).

With the financial boom of the early 20th century developers began to layout new subdivisions. In 1904 a syndicate of four businessmen led by Charles Gordon, C.H. Swallows, N.M. Goodwin, and Percy Goodwin purchased 60 acres to the north of Sarah Johnston Cox's property for \$36,000 or \$600 an acre. This new tract, called "Inspiration Heights," extended roughly from Mission Valley on the north to Witherby and Stephen's Streets before terminating in the hills above Old Town (Moomjian 1999; *Reader 2-5-1998*).

The four intended to transform their new real estate purchase into one of San Diego's most prestigious and exclusive residential districts. Subdivision deed restrictions stipulated that only single family residences costing at least \$3,500 could be erected in the subdivision. The tract would be segregated as excluded from residency would be "any person not belonging to the Caucasian race." Within weeks, acres were being sold for \$800 (Moomjian 1999; *Reader 2-5-1998*).

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In 1907 another syndicate composed of George Marston, Tom and C.S. Hamilton, E.S. Babcock, John and James Forward, and John and Charles Kelly purchased 22 acres from Kate Sessions. The men hired New York architect George Cook to lay out their tract. Its design incorporated many of the ideas John Nolen promoted in his 1908 comprehensive plan for San Diego including a hierarchy of road widths, locally derived (Spanish) street names, and contour streets that followed the topography (Gehl 2003). "Mission Hills" was officially born on January 20, 1908 when the group filed Subdivision Map 1115. They did so with the belief that development in San Diego would follow the extension of the San Diego Electric Railway Company, owned by John D. Spreckles. Their belief was confirmed when roads in Mission Hills were widened later that year. One year later in 1909, trolley service was extended from downtown Market Street to Lewis and Stephens Streets. Four years later in 1913, the trolley track was extended from Lewis to the intersection of Fort Stockton and Trias Streets (Moomjian 1999; *Reader 2-5-1998*).

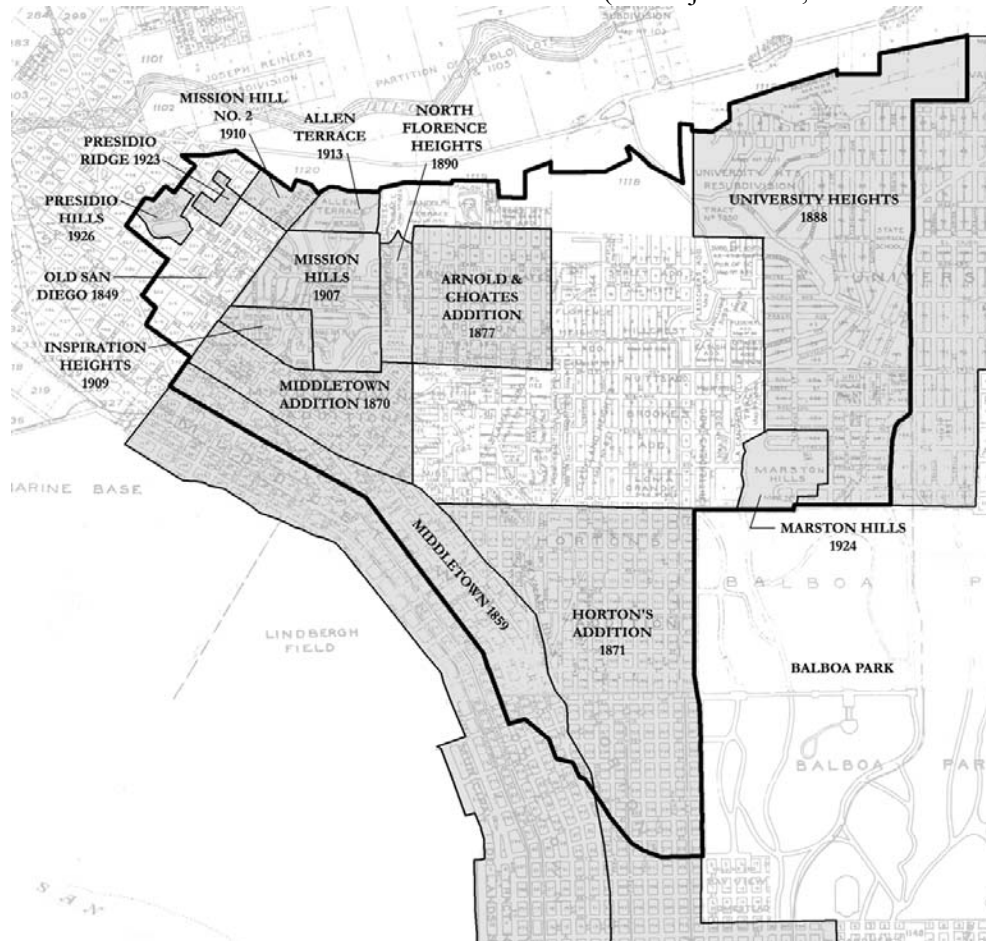


Figure 11: Subdivisions

The Mission Hills subdivisions are probably the best examples in San Diego of the new type of neighborhood made possible by the spread of inter-urban rail lines after the turn of the last century and the influence of John Nolen's ideas of City Planning (Gehl 2003). Over the next two decades additional subdivisions were laid out in the area between Stephens Street on the east and the hills overlooking Old Town and Presidio Park on the west that incorporated the street patterns and other elements advocated by

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John Nolen and integrated into the original Mission Hills Subdivision. These included: Mission Hills No. 2, (Subdivision Map 1234, 1910), Resubdivision of Inspiration Heights (Subdivision Map 1700, 1917), Allen Terrace (Subdivision Map 1620, 1913), Presidio Ridge (Subdivision Map 1769, 1923), and Presidio Hills (Subdivision Map 1934, 1926). The distinctive curvilinear street patterns of these tracts made the portion of Mission Hills west of Stephens Street one of the most unique neighborhoods in San Diego. The portions of Mission Hills east of Stephens are based on earlier subdivision laid out in the late 19th century including Arnold & Choates Addition (Subdivision Map 384, 1877), and North Florence Heights (Subdivision Map 634, 1890). Streets here conform to the grid pattern that originated in the downtown area of Horton's Addition in the 1870s and was extended onto the hills north of the city.

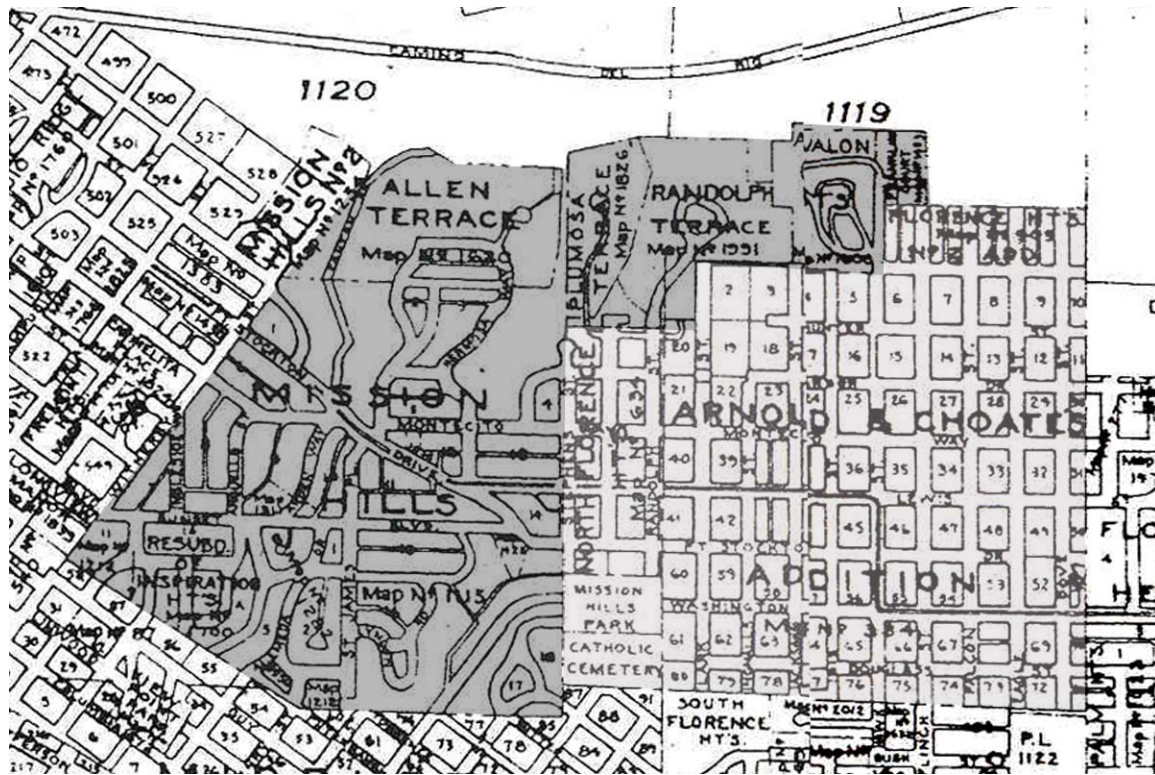


Figure 12: Rectilinear compared to curvilinear land plans in North Mission Hills

Mission Hills became known as an area of wealth and affluence. Upper middle class and wealthy families, who had originally established prestigious neighborhoods south of Laurel Street during the late 19th century and later began moving northward to form an upper scale neighborhood between Maple and Brant Streets, reestablished once again in Mission Hills during the 1920s. Majestic two story mansions in a variety of architectural styles ranging from Tudor, Italianate, and Spanish Colonial were constructed besides smaller, humbler California bungalows and Mediterranean style homes. Property values had risen greatly over this period. In 1907, a single 100 foot corner lot cost approximately \$600. By 1933, the same lot may have cost as much as \$50,000. Significant architects such as Irving Gill, Richard Requa, and William Templeton Johnston contributed to the architecture of Mission Hills during this period (Moomjian 1999; *Reader 2-5-1998*).

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In the 1920s, Mission Hills was overcome by the Spanish Colonial Revival building craze. Builders and architects designed Spanish Colonial homes with whitewashed stucco, low pitched roofs, decorative ironwork, tiled floors and walls, and formal tropical gardens came to dominate many areas (Moomjian 1999; *Reader 2-5-1998*).

During the 1920s, a thriving business districts grew along Goldfinch and Washington Streets, on West Lewis Street between Randolph and Stephens streets, where a Piggly Wiggly grocery store was located for many decades and, at the corner of Fort Stockton Drive and Allen Road. Like many areas of San Diego in the early 1930s, home construction slowed in the Mission Hills area during the Depression. Smaller homes that were constructed took their place beside their more statuesque neighbors adding to the neighborhoods eclectic character (Moomjian 1999; *Reader 2-5-1998*; Curtis 1996; Sanborn 1921, 1953; San Diego Directory 1928).

The Ace Drug Store, at the corner of Washington and Goldfinch, became a one of the main focal points of the community. Originally the Goldfinch Pharmacy, it was purchased in 1925 by T. Donald Perkins, who changed the name to Ace. In addition to prescriptions and over the counter medicines the store had a soda fountain, cosmetics counter, a post office, and housed a local branch of the public library. The fountain, which served ice cream, soda, and home made chili, was the social drawing point of the establishment. The "Lucky Monday" soda had a cup with an ice cream sundae on top that sometimes contained a token for prize, which was another free sundae. Parents would meet at the fountain on weekday mornings for coffee, after dropping their children off at Grant Elementary School. This group became known as "the country club of Mission Hills" (Baker and Baker 2003).

The Mission Hills subdivisions are significant in the history of San Diego community development because they were strongly influenced by John Nolen's ideas as proposed in his 1908 development plan for San Diego. This is most notable in the hierarchy of road widths, as well as Spanish and other locally derived street names, and contour streets that conform to the topography rather than impose a preconceived grid pattern on the geographical features of the land. Nolen felt that the prevailing grid pattern ignored local topography, resulting in expansive cut-and-fill street construction and the destruction of canyons (Gehl 2003). He noted in his report “. . . until very recently no contour streets have been laid out" (Nolen 1908:9 quoted in Gehl 2003). In this sense the Mission Hills neighborhoods differ most dramatically from earlier tracts laid out before Nolen's plans, especially University Heights and Hillcrest where a slightly modified grid pattern based on Horton's Addition was simply extended to cover the rough topography of the mesas north of downtown. Considering George Marston was one of the major developers of this subdivision, Nolen's influence is not surprising (Gehl 2003).

1) Presidio Park & Presidio Hills

In 1907 Marston and four other members of the Chamber of Commerce, Streets, and Boulevards Committee purchased fourteen lots for \$6,000 to preserve the site of the first Spanish settlement and Mission in California on Presidio Hill. Over the next dozen years Marston bought out his other partners and acquired additional property surrounding the original purchase. He put this twenty acres in trust for the City to develop an historic park. In 1925 Marston hired John Nolen to provide landscaping and planning advice. The City donated more acres to the park and archaeological excavations began. Once the Presidio ruins were defined, the site was buried for preservation. Irrigation facilities were installed and landscaping was completed. Construction also began on a Spanish Colonial style museum designed by

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William Templeton Johnston. The museum was constructed at the top of the hill overlooking the original presidio site. George Marston had spent \$400,000 dollars of his own money to acquire the land, develop the park and build the museum by the time Presidio Park was dedicated in July 1928. The park defined the northwestern boundary of Mission Hills. During the same time as its development, Marston and other real estate partners laid out the Presidio Hills Subdivision on seventy acres adjoining the park on the east. The tract was designed along Nolen's plans. This became the westernmost subdivision of Mission Hills (Hennessey 1986; *San Diego Union* 3-7-1926).

d. University Heights

Originally platted during the boom of the 1880s, University Heights also began to develop during the flush times of the early Twentieth Century. The abandoned University of Southern California Campus at Normal Street and Park Boulevard became the site of the State Normal School, a two year teacher training college, in 1899. The main school building was designed by William S. Hebbard and Irving J. Gill and patterned after the Fine Arts Palace at the 1893 Chicago Worlds Fair. The area was also popular as the location of a popular amusement park: Mission Cliffs Gardens (*San Diego Union* 9-25-1988).

By 1906, the community was experiencing a healthy growth rate when the *San Diego Union* reported:

A large crowd attended the performance of Domestic Economy which was given by the University Heights Dramatic Club at Mission Cliffs Pavilion on Friday Evening. All did themselves proud in their respective parts. The "Social Hour" met on Thursday with Mrs. C.P. Bisbe on Park Boulevard. The afternoon was most enjoyable spent in games and conversation. . . .

Mr. Swayne's residence on University Avenue, Mr. Earl S. Barr's residence on Essex, the fine residence of G.O. Guiack on Vermont are completed. Mrs. A.G. Bartol is planning to erect a fine residence on Park Boulevard (*San Diego Union* 4-23-1906).

In 1907 the city accepted a 160,000 gallon water tank donated by the College Hill Land Association, which connected the district with the city water system. Another 490,000 gallon tank was built in 1910 (Davidson 1939).

By 1909 realtors were actively promoting the development. An advertisement in May showing a sketch of California bungalows stated:

We have Purchased a piece of property in the best part of University Heights one block from the electric car line . . . We will build one house on each fifty foot lot. Houses to be built to suit purchasers but no house to cost less than \$1200. All houses will be set proper distances from property lines and only attractive buildings will be erected. Water piped to every lot, streets are being graded and sidewalk trees will be planted. No lot will be sold without a building. On a \$600 lot we will build you a \$1200 house for \$100 down and \$25 a month. W.H. Cotton (*San Diego Union* 5-5-1909).

On January 1, 1910, D.C. Collier & Co. advertised "University Heights Building Lots \$225 each. \$5 down and \$5 per month, no interest, no taxes" (*San Diego Union* 1-1-1910).

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Between 1910 and 1930 the tract was built up by several realtors and contractors. Most built bungalows or frame and stucco Spanish Colonial - Mediterranean style buildings. In some places along the rim of Mission Valley, larger more affluent residents were established. Several commercial nodes developed on Park Boulevard that included a Piggly Wiggly Market, that later became a Safeway and then a bakery. The Egyptian Theater, between University and Robinson, was a popular spot for children on Saturday afternoons (Prusa 2003; *San Diego Union* 1-12-1970). In 1927 a gas station was opened on the northwest corner of Texas Street and Madison Avenue (*San Diego Union* 1-12-1970). Other commercial developments occurred along El Cajon Boulevard (O'Connor-Ruth 1992).

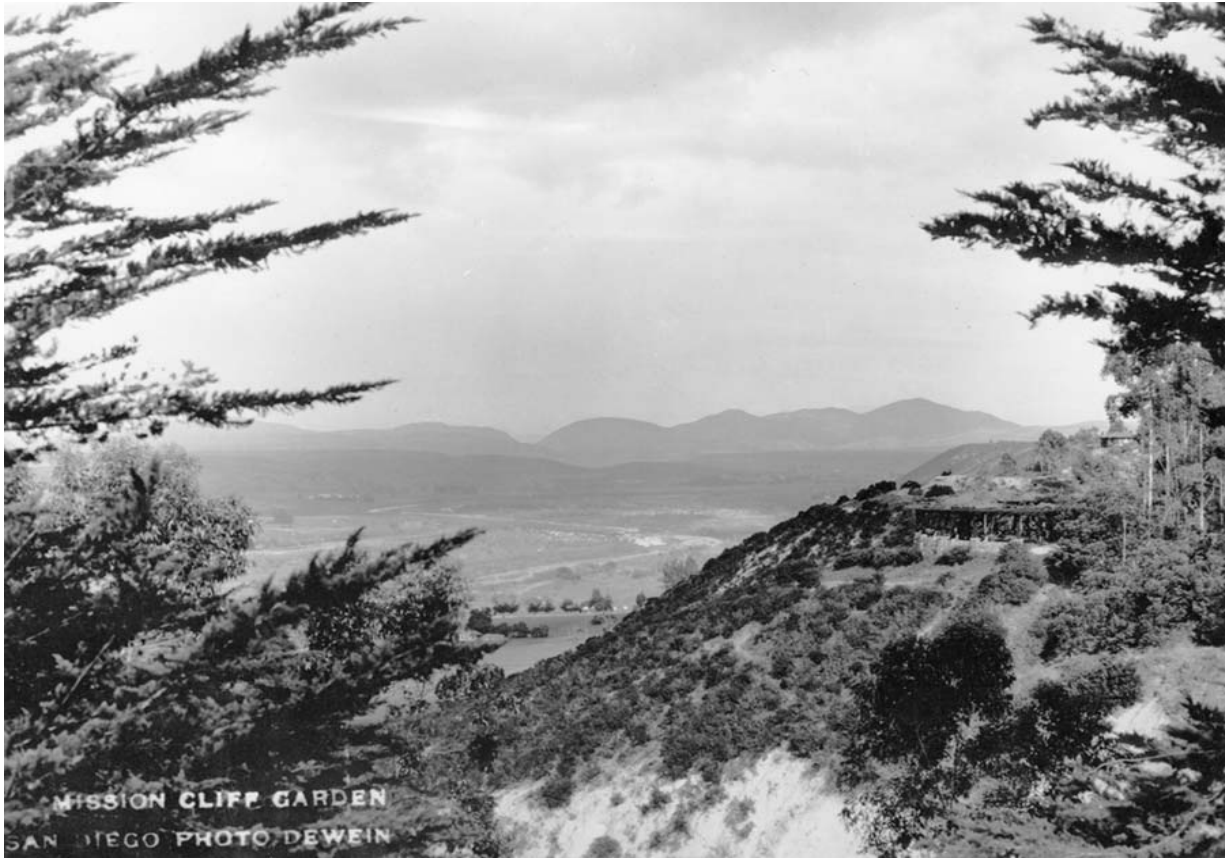
An early resident, Mildred Adams, remembered living in the area between 1900 and 1930:

I was raised there and loved the area. This was a section of San Diego of moderately affluent land owners – all successful in business, some civic leaders and some associated with the teachers college, referred to as the State Normal School . . .

When my parents moved there in 1908 it was a country area of unimproved land. Here on California Street lived my young 20 year old parents with four babies. They had a cow, chickens, fruit trees, and a large vegetable garden. My father walked through brush on a path from Park Boulevard to get home from the Park Boulevard Street Car. Many more homes were built in University Heights after World War I. The waterworks were improved, a wonderful University Heights playground built, Garfield Elementary School had been built (1915) (*Evening Tribune* 5-9-1984).

University Heights was well known during this period as the location of Mission Cliffs Gardens, a popular amusement park. Mission Cliffs Gardens was located on the canyon rim overlooking Mission Valley, north of Adams. The main entrance was at the end of Park Boulevard. A rock fence, which still remains, extended from the entrance two blocks west to the end of Adams Avenue. East of the entrance was a tall wooden fence enclosing the popular Ostrich Farm. The fence adjoined the rear wall of the car barns at the end of the trolley line. Across the street on Adams Avenue, between Park Boulevard and North Avenue, was a silk factory at 1735 Adams Avenue (MacPhail 1983).

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First known as The Bluffs, the park was developed as the terminus of the San Diego Cable Railway that operated from 1890 until it went bankrupt in 1892. In 1890 a Pavilion was built on the rim of the valley. It had a large meeting hall used for dances, club gatherings, and as a place where refreshments were served. A few trees and shrubs were planted, but further development waited until the Citizens' Traction Company took over the defunct cable railway, putting in an overhead trolley in 1896, which in turn was taken over by the Spreckels Brothers' Company, San Diego Electric Railway, in 1898. Under the Traction Company the name was changed to Mission Cliff Park and by the Spreckel's Company to Mission Cliff Gardens (MacPhail 1983). The park was a popular place for church and group picnics. Attractions included a merry-go-round, observatory, shooting gallery, and adjoining ostrich farm. Dancing parties and plays were held at the Pavilion where traveling theatrical and vaudeville companies found an eager audience during the warm summer evenings (MacPhail 1983).

The park closed in 1929. The west corner of Mission Cliff Gardens remained open for the neighborhood men who still congregated there to play cards or throw horseshoes. In 1942 the land was sold to developers who subdivided it for private housing. Today ten Canary Island date palms outline the former Park Boulevard entrance, and ten Cocos Plumosa palms stand at what was the North Avenue entrance. The lily pond, now filled with grass and shrubs, remains and identifies the location of the Pavilion. The rock wall marks the site of what was once Mission Cliffs Park (MacPhail 1983).

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The depression of the 1930s brought an end to major growth in University Heights. As already noted Mission Cliffs Gardens and the Ostrich Farm closed in 1929. The Normal School moved to the present location of San Diego State University in 1931. The old campus became the City of San Diego's Horace Mann Junior High School until 1952. Three years later the main structure was demolished (*San Diego Union* 9-25-1988). An auxiliary Beaux Arts building is all that remains of the original Normal School. It has been listed on the national Register of Historic Places. The site is now used by the City of San Diego's Education Center.

e. Middletown

Major development north of Laurel Street in the Middletown Subdivision did not begin in a large way until the 1920s. Lacking easy access by trolley lines, the advent of the family owned automobile in the 1920s seems to have been the key to its development. With the growth of Mission Hills and Hillcrest to the north and east, a number of different realtors subdivided and built on small tracts within this area between 1920 and 1930. The area west of Goldfinch Street and south of Washington became known as South Mission Hills. The rest of the area has remained largely lumped under the name of Middletown even though, as already stated, a variety of developers cut out numerous subdivisions over the years. By the late 1930s around 700 stuccoed houses covered the hills overlooking Lindbergh Field and the Consolidated Aircraft factory. A small commercial area called Five Points developed at the intersection of Washington and India Streets. Businesses included the Mission Brewery, Palomar Laundry, Palomar Market, Palomar Motel, and a Bank of America.. There were fishing canneries to the south as well as residences of Italian fishermen and employees of the growing aircraft industry (Brandes and Erzinger 1980; Comer 2003).

E. Military Harbor and Sunbelt City (1940 – 2000)

1. The City of San Diego (1940-2000)

World War II increased the Navy's presence in San Diego and ushered in a period of accelerated growth that lasted until the end of the Cold War in 1990. The aerospace industry also became an important economic force in the city. Beginning with the establishment of Consolidated Aircraft's factory at Lindbergh Field in the late 1930s this industry complimented the military's presence in the region and infused even more federal dollars into the community (Starr 1986).

By 1940 the city's population had reached 203,341. This growth rate of the region would be dwarfed, however, by development following the Second World War. Ironically this growth did not result from the development of a commercial port but as a military harbor. The main stimulus of the prolonged boom was military defense spending which continued through the 1980s (Starr 1986).

The greatest change the Second World War brought to California was the onset of an immense population boom that continued through the end of the Twentieth Century and changed the nature of the entire region. The city's population went from 203,000 in 1940 to 334,000 in 1950; the population of the metropolitan area increased by an even larger percentage from 256,000 to 556,000. By 1970 the population of the metropolitan area had reached 1,357,854 (Starr 1986).

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During the 1950s and '60s the retail district in downtown San Diego, especially south of Broadway, went into an economic decline. This was mostly the result of two major developments in San Diego after 1945, the freeway system and shopping centers. The first freeway opened in 1948, and within a generation there were over 250 miles of urban freeways in the San Diego region. They made possible a dispersal of population out of the old pre 1940 city area and into widely scattered low density suburbs. By the 1980s urban San Diego stretched from the Mexican border to Escondido, 30 miles north of the downtown area. The freeway and suburbs also made possible regional shopping centers, beginning in 1960 with College Grove, Mission Valley, and Grossmont. Large department stores and specialty shops moved out of downtown and into the new commercial centers (Starr 1986).

Freeway construction directly impacted the Uptown Study Area with the construction of Highway 163 through Hillcrest and Balboa Park in 1948, and Interstate Five in the early to mid-1960s. Confined mostly to canyons, 163 had only a negligible effect on Hillcrest. Interstate 5, however, permanently split many older neighborhoods in the Middletown Tract and caused the destruction of a large number of buildings. Whole neighborhoods were relocated.

Post war growth affected the Uptown Study Area in many ways. The older neighborhoods remained isolated from much of the growth occurring in the rest of the County and became somewhat isolated and, especially in the case of Mission Hills, exclusive. The older neighborhoods were seen in postwar San Diego as relics of an earlier period and reflective of "small town life". Many of these old neighborhoods took on a unique atmosphere that appealed to those seeking an alternate to the postwar world of suburbs and shopping malls.

2. Study Area Development (1940 – 2000)

a. Hillcrest

Following World War II the neighborhoods just west of Balboa Park and Hillcrest came to be seen as a single community with its commercial center in the old Hillcrest business district at Fifth and University. The decline of the downtown business district during this period was probably responsible for this. The area north of Ash continued to be a viable neighborhood and did not suffer the economic decline of the downtown area. At least some of the reasons were the community's proximity to Balboa Park and County and University Hospitals. The neighborhoods around Balboa Park continued to be an area where people wanted to work and reside, while the two large hospitals attracted a large number of medical facilities and related businesses. New offices, apartment buildings, and retirement homes were constructed during the period, replacing many of the old Victorian houses in Banker's Hill and establishing a mixture of older and new architectural styles south of Robinson Street. The opening of the large Sears Store at Cleveland Street and Vermont in the 1950s symbolized the change in retail focus from downtown San Diego to Hillcrest.



Figure 13: Aerial Photograph of Sears Department Store

A strong feeling of community remained in the district. Small shops and restaurants continued to thrive and Hillcrest remained a pedestrian oriented neighborhood. In 1977 one resident described it as a place known for "the hometown atmosphere of shaded streets, tiny old houses, large old houses . . . the friendliness of the merchants of little shops." There were 14,393 people in an area approximately two miles long and one wide (Soloff 1977). Local artists also began to live and establish businesses in the neighborhood. For instance, the Hand of God Pottery produced reduction glazed pottery, and Green Tiger Press published classic illustrated children's books (Chandler 2003).

1) Hillcrest Business District

Fifth Avenue was seen as the main artery of the community. The Mayfair Market at Fifth and Robinson served as the local grocery store - supermarket. It, combined with a variety of small shops centered on Fifth and University, negated the need to leave the neighborhood for most necessities. Many, such as the Guild (formerly Hillcrest) Theater, Hammond's Variety Store, and the Ace Hardware, were now considered old established business (Soloff 1977; *San Diego Union* 8-14-1988).

Ace Hardware was a hardware and variety store. Sister Mary La Salette Trevillyan, the only Catholic nun at Mercy Hospital that still (2003) wears a full habit, recalled that at the Ace:

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You could buy anything there. I mean if you were looking for the tiniest thing that was impossible to find, they would have it. But they did finally go out. I think they're down now on University, further down by Tenth. But it was the most marvelous place and it was just one of those places that everybody knew about and went to for anything. Like a dime store except it had all kinds of things. . . . (Trevillyan 2003).

Long term resident Will Chandler remembered the business district in the 1970s and '80s:

There was a hardware store. It seems to me that the hardware store was where the Crest Café came in or next door to it on Robinson. There was Hammond's Five and Dime which had been there since, I think, the 1920s, with the Hammond family. That would be next to, just south of the Hammond Building at the southwest corner of Fifth and University. The Hammond Building is a three-story building, which now houses The Gap. And that building and the one-story building immediately to the south were all sort of weirdly interconnected through passages in the back, because they'd all been owned by the same family for so long. It was a classic old family-run five and ten cent store. You could go in there and buy, in the 1970's and 80's, you could go in there and buy 1930's glassware. They had salt shakers. They had relish trays. They had everything that you don't find in a hardware store now. So there was that. There was a little family-run health food store run by an Eastern European family on the alley in the same building where Cathedral is now, the sort of Gothic perfume and decorator store. There was a liquor store on the corner [of University and Fourth] called Hillcrest Liquor which had been around forever where Column One is now. There was a shoe repair; there still is a shoe repair, but not the same one. There was a vacuum cleaner shop called Hub Vacuum that was in the Hammond Building. And there were a lot of things like that. There was a bookstore, it still is a bookstore, oh gosh, what's it called – [Bluestocking Books] – in the building immediately south of the Guild Theatre. There was a newsstand and there was a bookstore called Otento, which was one of the great old bookstores in San Diego. [Tom Stoup owned Blue Door Books, in the same building as Otento, and was very involved in the reawakening of the neighborhood in the '70's. He had poetry readings and book signings, and attracted new customers to the neighborhood.] . . . One of the things that I think that improved the economic and business life of the neighborhood was not just the opening of new businesses like the Crest and Quel Fromage, but it was 1974 that the Guild, I think, was purchased by Landmark Theatres. It, for probably ten years prior to that time, had been a soft core porn theater. And suddenly, it started showing revival in foreign run movies . . . and there was a reason for "educated, respectable people" to come into the neighborhood at night. Hillcrest was a neighborhood that closed up at night, it had no evening business to speak of because they were mom and pop community need businesses rather [than shops catering to leisure-time customers]. And the Guild went legit. The Guild Theatre had been there since 1912. It had been built back then as B house and what that means is that it did not get the first run premieres. It was the sort of prime neighborhood theatres that was running second tier material or would run 'A' movies six months later than the downtown theatres. And it was left over from when Hillcrest was a [middle class suburban] neighborhood. It changed by the time I was here (Chandler 2003).

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In an era where street cars no longer ran and public transportation in most Southern California cities, including San Diego, was a low priority, the Hillcrest neighborhood enjoyed what some felt was "one of the best transit systems in the nation. The routes – which run north and south along First, Fourth, Fifth, and Sixth Streets," and "east and west on University and Washington" were augmented with two special shuttles plus a Dial-A-Ride for the elderly and handicapped. These combined services could put passengers within a block of all the churches, hospitals, schools, supermarkets, theaters, banks, department stores, and shopping centers, within Hillcrest and the surrounding areas and Balboa Park. In post war San Diego, increasingly designed around the automobile, one did not need to own a car to live in Hillcrest (Soloff 1977).

Medical related facilities including doctor's offices, nursing and convalescent homes and retirement homes had become concentrated along Fourth from the area around Mercy Hospital near Washington south to Maple Street. The section was called Pill Row by local residents. The Avenue was also "generously sprinkled with other professional offices including attorneys, insurance agents, and architects, some in renovated old homes" (Soloff 1977).

The Hillcrest area became known for its variety of eating establishments from local mom and pop restaurants like the Chicken Pie Shop (established in 1928) to high class elegant eateries like Mr. A's or Cullpepper's (formerly the Fifth Amendment). At Sixth and University Pernicano's and Cesar's restaurant, later A Summer Place and the City Delicatessen, became local landmarks (Crowder 2003). By the 1970s a wide variety of additional culinary fare was offered by Consuelo's (Mexican), Mario's (Italian), Miki-San (Japanese), Antoine's Sheik (Lebanese) and Kung Food (Vegetarian) (Soloff 1977). Two well established restaurants had developed reputations that reached beyond San Diego. As downtown declined in the 1950s, the rich and famous who visited San Diego frequented Hillcrest establishments, especially Jimmy Wong's Golden Dragon, and Pernicano's.

Opened in 1955 by "Jimmy" Tung Ling Wong and his wife Annie Up Wong, Jimmy Wong's Golden Dragon became the premier Chinese restaurant in San Diego County. The establishment's large neon dragon sign, designed by Jimmy Wong, has been a landmark in the neighborhood for over 40 years. He also designed and painted the large golden dragon that runs the length of the ceiling inside the building. The Wongs immigrated to the United States in the late 1940s. Jimmy worked as a waiter at the Chinese Village, a prominent downtown restaurant. By 1955 the couple had saved up around \$3000 which they used to open their own restaurant in Hillcrest at Fourth and University. The Golden Dragon was open every day except Thanksgiving and Christmas. The success of the establishment was its regular customers. Owned and operated by the family for over 30 years, multiple generations of Hillcrest diners frequented Jimmy Wong's. The place became well known throughout San Diego and beyond. Many prominent local people frequented the restaurant as well as celebrities visiting from out of town. In the '50s such glamour patrons as Marilyn Monroe, Gary Cooper, Patricia Neal, Frank Sinatra, Jack Benny, and Mickey Rooney could be seen at Jimmy Wong's. Later in the '60s comedian Frank Gorshin, Sergio Mendes of Brazil 66, and song writer Burt Bacharach enjoyed meals at the restaurant. Sports celebrities, especially football players from the San Diego Chargers, also used to come in (Wong 2003; *San Diego Union* 9-29-1989). With the combination of regular customers and visiting celebrities the clientele at Jimmy Wong's became a wide cross mix of people.

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One of the Wong's children, Gary, remembered:

I think the thing I am most proud of, and I think the restaurant is typical of this, is that... (it) exemplifies what my parent's lives were. They were immigrants that came here and they came here to realize the American Dream and through their hard work and perseverance and a lot of luck too, they grasped the opportunity that materialized within this restaurant and they realized the American Dream. It truly is . . . an immigrant story that is exactly how you want it to turn out (Wong 2003).

Pernicano's Pizzeria and Casa Di Baffi on Sixth and University were also landmark establishments in Hillcrest. In the 1950s and 1960s the line to get into George Pernicano's Pizza House stretched around the block. Known for its steaks, Casa Di Baffi was a hangout for locals as well as professional coaches and athletes. Celebrities such as Jackie Gleason, Dinah Shore, George Raft, Joe Namath, and Phil Donahue ate there when they were in town (*Evening Tribune* 10-30-1990).

Another well known establishment on the north side of Sixth and University was Zolezzi's, later Stefano's Italian Restaurant. Opened in 1965 by the 18 year old son of an Italian fisherman's family from South Mission Hills, Stephen Zolezzi, this eatery also became a neighborhood landmark known throughout greater San Diego. Local politicians such as Mayor Pete Wilson were regular customers as were well known Hollywood celebrities like Lili Tomlin, Jill St. John, and Robert Wagner (Zolezzi 2003).

The 1980s saw an increase in office and apartment construction in the neighborhood. In August 1988, for example, the *San Diego Union* reported that a building boom was "in full swing between downtown and Mission Valley, east of the bay and west of Balboa Park." The 18 projects listed included the San Diego Hospice Center, UCSD Ambulatory Outpatient Clinic, Mission Brewery, California First Bank Building, Village Hillcrest, University Gardens, Uptown District, Hillcrest Inn, Villa Pacifica, Sunroad Park Plaza, Balboa Park Tower, Silvergate Continuum Care, Laurel & Fifth Center, San Diego Trust Block, Fifth & Laurel Corporate Center, Ivy Park Center, Balboa Park Hotel, and Golden Bay Professional Building (*San Diego Union* 8-4-1988).

Yet a newspaper article that same year described the unique community that still existed. Hillcrest was seen as:

. . . a haven by the many older folks who live here, some who have called Hillcrest home for 50 years. They can be seen on the tree lined streets when they go for a forenoon stroll down University Avenue past the pawn shop and the Hillcrest Barber Shop with its red, white, and blue pole revolving outside.

Upscale folks go to Hillcrest to check out the restaurants that have made the area the critic's choice for dining in San Diego. There are more than two dozen restaurants in Hillcrest representing a wide variety of culinary and ethnic styles.

Among the most popular is the Chicken Pie Shop where a complete dinner consisting of chicken pie, whipped potatoes, vegetables, coleslaw, and a roll can be purchased for \$3.10. Calliope's is a popular Greek restaurant, San Fillipo's attracts crowds with its

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expensive and hearty Italian fare, Phong Nom is known for its Vietnamese cooking and Pernicano's/Casa Di Baffi, another Hillcrest landmark, is known for its steaks.

The artsy intellectual crowd goes to Hillcrest to browse through rare and used tomes in the community's several book stores, sip coffee and drink in the un-San Diego ambiance of Quel Fromage Cafe and view movies in the appropriately threadbare atmosphere of the Guild, one of the few theaters in San Diego that screens art films.

Many performance artists live in Hillcrest because of its proximity to stages in Balboa Park and downtown. So, too, do people in the health care business – because of the two major Medical Centers (University and Mercy Hospitals) on the fringe of Hillcrest. The community is rife with medical offices offering everything from brain scans to blood tests.

Homophobes and homosexuals alike think of Hillcrest as San Diego's gay community. Everyone in the neighborhood knows the Brass Rail is a gay bar and the Crest Cafe is a gay restaurant. San Diego's Gay and Lesbian social services center is in Hillcrest as is the local AIDS project (*The Citizen* 2-24-1988).

Another reporter the same year reflected a similar sentiment, noting: "Hillcrest is a blend. The population is diverse and the different kinds of people who chose to live or visit here co-exist very well" (*San Diego Union* 8-14-1988)

With redevelopment in the 1990s, the area began to lose some of its character as old businesses closed and the population of homeless people grew. Retail rental rates increased dramatically, driving out older established business. An article in the *San Diego Union* of October 30, 1990 noted the passing of the Otento Book Store (in business 27 years), Chicken Pie Shop (now occupied by a Starbucks), Sid Arnolds Jewelry Store (in business 35 years), and Hammonds Variety Store (*San Diego Union* 10-30-1990). In spite of these changes Hillcrest still remains a pedestrian oriented neighborhood where a variety of diverse people interact on a daily basis. Long time residents still feel it is a unique place with a Greenwich Village atmosphere (Dunst 2003).

b. Mission Hills

Mission Hills is the neighborhood that has probably been the least affected by the post World War II changes that so drastically altered most of San Diego. In 1969 the neighborhood was described as one of ". . . low tiled roofed Spanish houses with close shaven lawns, of doctors and merchants and bankers who were proud of their houses and their cars and of being able to live in Mission Hills and bring their children up in such a nice residential area" (*San Diego Union* 11-3-1969). It is the area that still retains many of the visions of George Marston and elements of the 1908 Nolen Plan.

Following World War II Mission Hills continued to be an upscale residential neighborhood of upper middle class professionals. Many doctors lived in the district that practiced at Mercy or County hospitals. With the "baby boom" of the 1950s large families became common. A block of mostly Catholic families on Arguello Street had over 72 children. The undeveloped areas in Mission Valley and around Presidio Park provided ample spaces to play (Comer 2003). Pat Comer, who grew up on Arguello Street during this time, and still lives in the area recalled:

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When we grew up our parents would let us run wild. You can't do that today. We would go down to Mission Valley and ride horses, and hunt, and fish, we could go down there and get lost all day as well as we could at the end of Varista [Presidio Park]. . . . We didn't have day care, we didn't preschool we just had our friends and the ability to go down and live (a very unrestricted) life. . . . Now the element [around Presidio Park] has gone to a lot of transients, there's a lot of gay activity so that parents are very fearful (Comer 2003).

Another long term Mission Hills resident, Marvin Randall, has similar memories:

It was a real close neighborhood area. There were lots and lots of kids to play with. I attended St. Vincent's Elementary School and being a Catholic elementary school, there were large families. It wasn't uncommon to have families that had six, seven, eight, ten kids. One family even had thirteen. So there were always kids to play with. We rode our bikes, skateboards, hung out, had water balloon fights, chased each other. . . . we used to play at the dead end of Ibis Street and Montecito all the time. We'd go down there, it was a dead end street and (to me at the time) it was quite large, being a little kid. Of course, now I look at it today and it's not very big at all. But we'd go down there and we'd play football. We'd play baseball and we used to play a neighborhood game in the summertime mainly, called "Frankenstein." And it was kind of like a hide-and-seek type of game and as you got caught, you had to become a helper, so eventually what started out as two people chasing you, ended up with everybody chasing you. So you really learned to find really good hiding places over there in Mission Hills in that neighborhood.

But the real good games of Frankenstein happened on Halloween night in the cemetery at Grant School [Calvary Cemetery, now Pioneer Park]. Those were really good games of Frankenstein. We'd have 30, 40 people over there playing in the cemetery on Halloween night, scaring the heck out of each other. And it was an old cemetery with real huge markers, lots of big granite markers you could hide behind and there were also pepper trees that you could climb up in. And when people would walk by, you could jump down out of those trees and just scare the heck out of people. And we would go over there and play. We started playing Frankenstein in that cemetery on Halloween night probably when we were about 11 or 12 and we played until we were about 15 or 16 (M. Randall 2003).

Post war change in the community development in Mission Hills has been small and for the most part unobtrusive. Canyon lots that were too steep to be built on before World War II became marketable during the 1950s and '60s as changing technologies including steel rebar, poured concrete, and concrete block allowed homes to be built on steeper hillsides. As a result, small sections of canyon rims have seen some infilling with more modern homes, although in most cases the scale and setting of these buildings has not been detrimental to the overall architectural character of the community.

The largest post war development, Rodefer Hills, was laid out in the 1950s on the west side of the community overlooking Old Town. The homes in Rodefer Hills reflect the architecture of the 1950s and 1960s, California Ranch and International style low slung dwellings with heavy shake roofs. On the east

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end of Mission Hills, Green Manor, a 13 story residential facility for seniors, was opened by the Congregational Church in 1970 at Ibis Street and Fort Stockton. It became Mission Hills' first and only high rise. Its construction motivated residents to implement height restrictions so that the numerous tall office and apartments buildings that have become part of Hillcrest and the West Park Neighborhoods have not been built in Mission Hills (*San Diego Union* 11-9-1986).

A 1975 article claimed "Mission Hills is more than an old fashioned neighborly section of this city. It is a fifth generation way of life. There are many small houses built in the 20s and 30s – most tidy and neat . . . – then towards the rim larger homes with breathtaking views and the lush greenery of pines, eucalyptus, twisted junipers, acacias and star-jasmine ground cover slipping down the canyons. Much of the flora can be traced to the horticulturalist Kate Sessions" (*Los Angeles Times* 5-4-1975).

A newspaper article in 1986 reflected a similar sentiment. "There is a certain sense of permanence about Mission Hills, a sense of civic wholeness, a place where tradition and history seem to have finally come together to provide people with a place to live in settled contentment in an unsettled world." It remained one of the most popular and most expensive places to live in the city. The area ranked with La Jolla and Point Loma in home costs. In 1986 the per foot asking price for homes in Mission Hills ranged from \$115 to \$119 a square foot, compared to about \$100 to \$110 a square foot in North Park. The average listing there in December 1977 was \$71,426. By July 1986 it was \$172,252 (*San Diego Union* 11-9-1986).

In 1975 a city planning department census found 8,943 persons living in Mission Hills. By 1986 there were 10,217. At that time the community was experiencing a demographic transition. As older residents passed on, "Many of the old families who have always lived there are finding they are living alone now and young families with children are moving in their place." The permanent population in Mission Hills in 1986 was ". . . 94 percent white, 1 percent black, the rest other minorities including Latino." By the end of the century this demographic makeup remained largely unchanged (*San Diego Union* 11-9-1986).

The three business nodes at Washington and Goldfinch, on West Lewis Street, and at Fort Stockton Boulevard and Allen Road still serve the community. The grocery store at Fort Stockton and Allen Road became Keifer's Market in the 1950s and is remembered by many current Mission Hills residents as the neighborhood grocery store (Oriol & Oriol 2003; Crowder 2003; Carter 2003, Hillman 2003). In 1996 the old Piggly Wiggly at 1630 West Lewis was owned by Wayne Kanakaris, proprietor of Mission Hills Liquor, a food and beverage store. Additional businesses in the block included a book store, fancy garden shop, upscale hair salons; and other specialty stores featuring antiques, clothes, and furniture (Curtis 1996).

The heart of the Mission Hills business district is Washington and Goldfinch streets where, in a single block in 1969 were located the old Ace Drug Store, a hardware store, two antique shops, cafe and variety store. There were specialty clothing stores and a sausage maker (*San Diego Union* 11-3-1969). Ace Drugs still remained a community institution as it had before World War II. Residents who grew up in the area in the 1950s and '60s remember the store's soda fountain and penny candy (M. Randall 2003, Zolezzi 2003; Oriol & Oriol 2003). Dominic Martina, who worked at the Ace in the 1980s recalled:

At the time I started working at the Ace, the final owner had owned the store since 1979. The store had a small postal substation within it, and I was hired to be the postman. So that was a very visible little spot and consequently I came to know either by name or face

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most of the people who either had businesses or lived in the community because they all used the drugstore, and they all used the post office (Martina 2003).

Like Hillcrest, Mission Hills has seen the closing of several of its older business in the last few years, especially the Ace Drug Store, which, as previously stated, had been a community establishment since before World War II (Baker and Baker 2003). Yet new businesses continue to occupy the older buildings, keeping the business district alive.

c. University Heights

With most of its area developed before 1930, University Heights did not experience extensive development after World War II. Some commercial buildings were replaced over the decades but the majority of residential change consisted of infilling by replacing older residential buildings with multi family apartment buildings. The first major change was the replacement of Mission Cliffs Gardens in 1941 by a development of single family homes (MacPhail 1983).

As with Mission Hills, the post war "baby boom" brought large numbers of children into the neighborhood. Residents who grew up there in the 1950s and '60s remember "a lot of kids playing." School grounds, alleys, back yards, and canyons, many of which have now been filled in for development, were favorite places to play (T. Randall 2003).

As the decades continued, apartment buildings became more prominent in some blocks, especially around Park Boulevard, Washington and Normal Street. A 1967 article reported the construction of apartments "eight to ten unit squares with macaroni trim, adobe fronts, and New Orleans porches" (*San Diego Union* 1-12-1970). Some older residents have seen this trend as detrimental to the area. Tayde Randall commented:

What happened probably in the mid '80s that wasn't good was a lot of construction. They tore down some of the homes and put up condos, four and six units where there used to be one lot. And there used to be one house. And that hasn't helped, I don't think, the neighborhood. Because now we have kind of a mishmash of condos, but then some really nice houses. But people are now restoring and preserving. It's a lot more crowded (T Randall 2003).

By the 1990s the neighborhood suffered from an identify crises, prompting Park Boulevard business owners, in 1997, to erect a large neon sign proclaiming the name of the district on Park, just north of Madison Avenue. "Both whimsical and historical, the landmark features a red and green neon lit cable car with huge gold leaf ostriches on either side standing on support pillars of massive river rocks" (*San Diego Union* 4-3-1997). Another symbol of community revitalization was seen in the reopening of the Vermont Street pedestrian bridge in 1994:

The new bridge replaces the old wooden trestle structure – torn down for safety reasons in 1980 – which linked University Heights and Hillcrest Sears (now the uptown shopping center). Fourteen years later a steel and concrete span will re-establish the pedestrian corridor between the two communities. . . . The bridge reestablishes an important pedestrian corridor between the University Heights Community and the Uptown "District Shopping Center" (*University Heights News*, December 1994).

d. Middletown

The Middletown tract was not completely built up by 1940, resulting in the construction of small subdivisions of post World War II housing in the area. As already noted the construction of Interstate 5 had a major impact on the area, dividing it from the downtown district. Remnants of the commercial district at Five Points still exists are best known as the location of El Indio Taco Shop, an "artist colony" and other specialty shops and restaurants along India and Washington Street. It is estimated that some 700 homes exist within the Middletown area (Brandes and Erzinger 1980).