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The Origin(s) of UC San Diego: Kumeyaay History and University Land Tenure

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The Origin(s) of UC San Diego:
Kumeyaay History and University Land Tenure

An Undergraduate Honors Thesis
Presented to the Department of Ethnic Studies
University of California San Diego

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Table of Contents

ABSTRACT.....	iii
INTRODUCTION.....	1
Land Acknowledgment.....	1
How I Ended Up Researching This.....	1
Research Questions & Importance.....	3
Literature Review and Theory.....	4
Methodology.....	7
CHAPTER 1: A NOT SO IMPROBABLE VENTURE.....	9
UCSD as a Haunted Space.....	16
CHAPTER 2: YSTAGUA.....	18
CHAPTER 3: HOW WE GOT HERE.....	23
Site Considerations.....	23
The La Jolla Rifle Range → Camp Matthews.....	29
Wastelanding.....	31
Camp Callan.....	33
Camp Matthews (UCSD Edition).....	38
Camp Elliott.....	44
Erasures.....	46
More on Haunting.....	47
CONCLUSION.....	48
ACKNOWLEDGMENTS.....	49
BIBLIOGRAPHY.....	51

Abstract

How did we get here? What is the history of the land UCSD sits on? A look into UC San Diego's land tenure and history, this work seeks to answer these questions. Tracing back the university's land history reveals a prominent Kumeyaay village by the name of Ystagua alongside three military bases, two of which make up the land the university is now on. Further revealed are the various ways that the university erases its Indigenous past through the romanticization of San Diego's Spanish past and the celebration of UCSD's military history, as seen through the official university history book *An Improbable Venture* and the original site considerations. This thesis analyzes the processes through which Kumeyaay land is marked for national sacrifice, leaving a legacy of military and navy usage that continues until now—a celebration of militarism which attempts to erase UCSD's Kumeyaay past.

Key Words: Kumeyaay, Land Tenure, Militarism, Critical University Studies, Ystagua, Camp Matthews, Settler Colonialism, Haunting, Historical Erasure

Note: Throughout this work, I refer to UC San Diego as UCSD! That is not the university's preferred way of being addressed, but it's the way it's most often referred to colloquially.¹

¹ For more on how to properly refer to the university, look at this → <https://brand.ucsd.edu/using-the-brand/use-of-the-university-name/index.html>.

Introduction

Land Acknowledgment

As this work is situated within and on UC San Diego's campus, I wanted to start with a land acknowledgment. Borrowing from UCSD's Intertribal Resource Center, I affirm that:

The UC San Diego community holds great respect for the land and the original people of the area where our campus is located. The university is built on the un-ceded territory of the Kumeyaay Nation. Today, the Kumeyaay people continue to maintain their political sovereignty and cultural traditions as vital members of the San Diego community. We acknowledge their tremendous contributions to our region and thank them for their stewardship.²

As the IRC notes, this land acknowledgment is still a temporary draft as we do not yet have an official land acknowledgment. But I hope that the university can better their relationship with Kumeyaay community members, so we can have an official one in the future!

How I Ended Up Researching This

San Diego is the county with the most federally recognized reservations in the entire country with a total of 18. Whereas, the Native population in San Diego is estimated to be 20,000.³ I was born and raised in San Diego in a Filipino immigrant family. I was the first one in my family to be born here, and I've always been grateful to my mom. She's a single mom and sacrificed so much for me to have the opportunities she didn't have—one of which is even being able to study Ethnic Studies and do this work. Before coming to UCSD, I had a traditional

² "Land Acknowledgement." Intertribal Resource Center. Accessed June 15, 2023. <https://itrc.ucsd.edu/>.

³ Indian reservations in San Diego County, University of San Diego. Accessed June 15, 2023. <https://www.sandiego.edu/native-american/reservations.php>.

California public school education where the only mention of Native peoples was taught through the Mission Project. Afterwards, Indigenous peoples to, what we commonly refer to as, California were never mentioned again. Despite so many reservations here and a significant Indigenous population, there was still so much erasure of San Diego Native history and culture in my education. It wasn't until I got to UCSD that I even heard a land acknowledgment for the first time and found out I had been living on Kumeyaay land my entire life.

It was a bit difficult for me to grapple with me benefitting from being able to go to UCSD or be an American citizen but all of those opportunities being due to settler colonialism and dispossession of Kumeyaay lands. I'm in Marshall College, so I took the Dimensions of Culture (DOC) writing program, and I learned a lot more about UCSD history and read work by Indigenous scholars. You have to decide on a DOC project at the end of the year, and I proposed a mural that celebrates Kumeyaay culture. In trying to make that project a reality, I met with Professor Frank and we discussed the many ways the art piece could come to life and what it could center. In this conversation, we discussed UCSD land history and how not much is known about how UCSD came to be where it is, even less on the Kumeyaay history of this area. Afterwards, I decided to try to find out more information about all of what we talked about, and it culminated into this paper. I've learned a lot about Kumeyaay history and UCSD's origins through this work, and as someone who has lived on and benefited from being on Kumeyaay lands my whole life, I see this work as restitution for that. I want to give this work back to the Kumeyaay community, and I also feel it's my obligation to share this knowledge and educate others. My hope is that with this knowledge, you'll also be able to share it with others. Little by little, we can make this hidden history common knowledge.

Research Questions & Importance

This paper is primarily meant to answer the question: how did UCSD end up on this land? But in doing this research, I've become interested in UCSD's land tenure history, what the history of this land would look like with a Kumeyaay focus, and answering when Kumeyaay people were last able to freely use the land UCSD resides on. I start this work by first discussing the university narrative told in *An Improbable Venture*, the official university history book, by Nancy Scott Anderson. In Chapter One, I analyze the way *An Improbable Venture* goes about telling our university history, in particular its narrative's erasure of Kumeyaay people. In Chapter Two, I illustrate the early history of the land that now makes up UCSD and provide information on Ystagua—the closest ancestral Kumeyaay village to our campus—mostly drawing on archeological reports. Chapter Three goes on to detail the legal land acquisition process of UCSD getting here and our prominent ties with the military, since a majority of our campus is made up of lands that made up three military bases—Camp Callan, Camp Matthews, and Camp Elliott. To conclude, I argue that the university narrative as told in *An Improbable Venture* enacts various kinds of erasures of the histories I discuss in Chapters Two and Three. I further contend that a dismantling of the mythic origin story of the university is necessary in order to build better relationship with the Kumeyaay Nation and that it's because of this false narrative that UCSD affiliated people feel justified in denying any Kumeyaay connections to the land the university resides on, as seen in the repatriation case with the Chancellor's House.

To me, this research is important to Ethnic Studies, because so much of the histories we know are rooted in who has the power to tell those stories. Within these tellings of history, specific narratives are created to justify the systems in place and create this 'common sense' view of how things are. When history is revised to fit an agenda, it justifies relations in the

current moment. Countless times in the past, regimes have taken over and enacted historical revisionism, and it's because people are aware of the power history has. People often use history as a justification for why hierarchies are present, saying things like "this is the way things have always been" and that there's no other way of living and being when that's just not true. It's important we're critical of the historical narratives we're fed. We must be aware of the kind of images and messages it portrays, because it has real world implications.

Time and time again, Indigenous peoples are erased from the telling of history. Especially in the United States, the myth that all Native peoples are gone is the lie this country is built on. It's important we combat those falsehoods and shine light on the histories that settlers have actively tried erasing. In those erasures, we learn what they wanted to hide from us. In the case of UCSD, they didn't want us to know Kumeyaay connections to the land our university is built on, because knowing those connections gives them less power. Revealing this history unveils the university's obligation to the Kumeyaay community as rightful stewards to this land, as people who have a say in how this university should run. I hope that this research can be a step in the right direction to build greater connections between the university and Kumeyaay Nation.

Literature Review and Theory

I read a lot of books in preparation for this project, many of which I didn't actually end up including here! I read *An Autobiography of Delfina Cuero* by herself and Florence Shippek, *Kumeyaay: A History Textbook Vol 1* by Michael Connolly Miskwish, *Strangers in a Stolen Land* by Richard Carrico, and *Indians of the Oak* by Melicent Lee. As much as I could, I tried to center and read works by Kumeyaay scholars or those who worked closely with Kumeyaay community

members. Though I did not end up including much of the information in the books, it did provide me with a lot of helpful historical context and knowledge that was necessary for my research!

The three main theoretical frameworks I utilize for this thesis are settler colonialism, wastelanding, and haunting! Patrick Wolfe defines settler colonialism as, “a system rather than a historical event, that perpetuates the erasure and destruction of native people as a precondition for settler colonialism and expropriation of lands and resources.”⁴ It is a system and a single historical event but rather an ongoing event. Settler colonialism is different from colonialism, because it goes one step further by attempting to eradicate the Indigenous population and cultures of the area by replacing it with the new settlers. Unlike colonialism where colonizers attempt to subjugate the population, settler colonialism includes the replacement aspect. The colonizers classify everything of theirs better than the Indigenous population and attempt to classify themselves as the rightful and original inhabitants. I utilize this framework by applying it to UCSD and showing the ways in which the university attempts to erase its Indigenous past by using settler colonial methods like instead celebrating the Spanish or military past of the land, rather than the Kumeyaay one.

Another theoretical framework I use is the concept of wastelanding. Coined by Traci Brynne Voyles in her book *Wastelanding: Legacies of Uranium Mining in Navajo Country*. She describes, “Wastelanding takes two primary forms: the assumption that nonwhite lands are valueless...and the subsequent devastation of those very environs by polluting industries.”⁵ I think through the military camps that make up UCSD through this framework of wastelanding. At first, I was really confused on how land becomes property and why the military/navy would

⁴ “Settler Colonialism.” Legal Information Institute, May 2022.
https://www.law.cornell.edu/wex/settler_colonialism#:~:text=Scholar%20Patrick%20Wolfe%20defines%20settler,ad%20resources%20

⁵ Voyles, Traci Brynne. *Wastelanding: Legacies of Uranium Mining in Navajo Country*. Minneapolis: Univ. of Minnesota Press, 2015: 10.

even choose this area for anything. But with wastelanding, it becomes clear that this area was wasteland. Deemed valueless, unlivable, and worthless, this area is deemed perfect for pollution and destruction. National sacrifice is the only ‘useful’ usage of the lands around UCSD, making it perfect for military camps when WWII is nearing. I also later discuss the ways in which this wastelanding is still prevalent in discussions regarding the land and how it’s what allows for this military celebration UCSD continuously promotes.

The last framework I implement is haunting! In Avery Gordon’s *Ghostly Matters*, she discusses the concept of haunting and how it, “is one way in which abusive systems of power make themselves known and their impacts felt in everyday life, especially when they are supposedly over and done with (slavery, for instance) or when their oppressive nature is denied (as in free labor or national security).”⁶

In the words of Avery Gordon, “Haunting is a constituent element of modern social life. It is neither premodern superstition nor individual psychosis; it is a generalizable social phenomenon of great import. To study social life one must confront the ghostly aspects of it. This confrontation requires (or produces) a fundamental change in the way we know and make knowledge, in our mode of production.” Haunting occurs when there is some kind of traumatic or unjust event that has yet to be reckoned with. As Eve Tuck and C. Ree write in *A Glossary of Haunting*:

Haunting, by contrast, is the relentless remembering and reminding that will not be appeased by settler society’s assurances of innocence and reconciliation. Haunting is both acute and general; individuals are haunted, but so

⁶ Gordon, Avery F., and Janice Radway. “Introduction to the New Edition.” In *Ghostly Matters: Haunting and the Sociological Imagination*, NED-New edition, Second., xvi. University of Minnesota Press, 1997. <http://www.jstor.org/stable/10.5749/j.cttt4hp.4>.

are societies. The United States is permanently haunted by the slavery, genocide, and violence entwined in its first, present and future days. Haunting doesn't hope to change people's perceptions, nor does it hope for reconciliation. Haunting lies precisely in its refusal to stop. Alien (to settlers) and generative for (ghosts), this refusal to stop is its own form of resolving. For ghosts, the haunting is the resolving, it is not what needs to be resolved.⁷

Through this research, I've noticed UCSD's Indigenous past resurfacing in various instances when settlers try to deny it. I've noticed the haunting in the uncanny ways no one acknowledges the existence of UCSD's Kumeyaay past in all these articles and even when speaking to our librarians.

Methodology

Since my project is tracing back UCSD's land tenure with a Kumeyaay focused history of the land our university resides on, I originally planned to look through our archives and find our land deeds in order to trace back how the deeds have been transferred. I first went to Special Collections to ask if they knew where to find our land deeds; I also wanted to get a grasp of what they knew, so I could build off their knowledge (especially since it's their job to know our campus history). Quickly into the meeting, I was told there was nothing. They said they didn't have the deed and didn't know where it'd be. They even said there might not be one, because "we just took the land" and that there might not be any documentation because of it. Even when I asked if there was anything in our archives that might be helpful, they said there probably isn't but that I could browse and request things just to see. They did point me to a specific book, *An*

⁷ Tuck, Eve, and C. Ree. "A Glossary of Haunting." Academia.edu, April 23, 2014. https://www.academia.edu/3570271/A_glossary_of_haunting.

Improbable Venture, our official UCSD history book. But the book starts with UCSD already on this land and nothing on what happened before that, so it wasn't super helpful for what I was originally looking for.

Thankfully, I found boxes of newspaper clippings related to the founding of UCSD. Through sifting through those, I found out that a majority of our campus consists of three military bases. Though the information from the clippings were helpful in explaining the UCSD telling and perspective of our land tenure, the archives were really lacking in what I wanted to know more about. Because of this, I've had to turn to a variety of sources in order to find information related to Kumeyaay history and the land tenure history of San Diego (with a focus on UCSD in specific). My methods include conducting interviews, archival research, reading books, and map analysis along with looking through property records and archeological reports.

Chapter One: A Not So Improbable Venture

In order to understand our university history at UCSD, I'd like to first start with the official university history book *An Improbable Venture* by Nancy Scott Anderson! We first need to analyze the historical narrative UCSD tells about itself before we talk about what's erased and what's not said in this story. Before we get to that, let me explain how I ended up finding the book. I discovered *An Improbable Venture* in an early meeting with Professor Frank. In my first meeting with the Special Collections librarians, Lynda—our librarian in charge of Special Collections and their archives—also mentioned *An Improbable Venture* and pulled it out from their shelf. She opened the book and quickly skimmed through and said it actually might not be too helpful, because it starts with UCSD already here and says nothing about the early land history I was interested in. Because of that, I didn't read *An Improbable Venture* in full until I finished all my other research.

After looking through all the early UCSD newspaper clippings Special Collections had, I found there was a box full of *An Improbable Venture* materials, like reviews of the book. One thing that kept standing out to me was the emphasis that *An Improbable Venture* wasn't an official university telling, but instead was an attempt to be as true to the story as possible. One review said the “317-page book attempts to detail the good, the bad and the academic in UCSD's development...”⁸ Nancy Scott Anderson herself stated “I put everything in” and that her work “is not the kind of stuff that is going to come out of a public relations campaign.”⁹ One review went as far as saying that “Associate Chancellor Tracy B. Strong wrote in the introduction that the campus did not want an ‘official’ history, nor did it seek a whitewashed account.”¹⁰ Associate

⁸ SD Tribune, “UCSD: From Wildcat to powerhouse” December 26, 1993. UCSD Mandeville Special Collections - RSS 6020, Box 3, Folder 7

⁹ Ibid.

¹⁰ SD Tribune, “History book charts UCSD's 30-year-struggle for stature” January 9, 1994. UCSD Mandeville Collections - RSS 6020, Box 3, Folder 7.

Chancellor Strong never actually used the word “whitewashed” in his introduction, but the stuff about university not wanting an official history he does actually say. Nonetheless, the book reviews give you the gist of how people viewed the book after its publishing in 1993. Their view was that it’s a truthful telling of our university history that’s not meant to make UCSD look good or hide the ugly parts of our past.

Another tidbit I kept seeing reiterated in these book reviews was the fact that Nancy Scott Anderson wasn’t affiliated with UCSD and how that was something important to the people in charge of hiring, because they wanted someone who could be impartial. In multiple book reviews, they mention Anderson’s credentials as a La Jolla journalist at the San Diego Tribune and writer of *The Generals: Ulysses S. Grant and Robert E. Lee*, a book that was “well-received by critics” which “several hiring committee members had read...”¹¹ When you Google her first book *The Generals*, this Google Books description shows up characterizing it as: “A full-scale dual biography, from childhood through the Civil War and after, of the two most celebrated generals in American history. ‘This is a handy and well-written one-volume summation of two great military careers’. –Kirkus”¹² I haven’t read the book, so I don’t know how sympathetic she is to the two generals. However, UCSD picking her based on her work on a military history book is interesting, especially considering what aspects of UCSD history she emphasizes.

If you couldn’t guess it already, the aspects Anderson emphasizes in *An Improbable Venture* is UCSD’s military history, along with its STEM roots, something that is probably unsurprising to anyone who knows anything about UCSD. *An Improbable Venture* starts in 1862 with the Morrill Land Grant Act and the creation of the University of California system. Chapter

¹¹ UCSD Guardian, “New Book Explores History of University” January 6, 1994. UCSD Mandeville Collections - RSS 60, Box 3, Folder 7.

¹² Anderson, Nancy Scott. “The Generals: Ulysses S. Grant and Robert E. Lee.” Google Books. https://books.google.com/books/about/The_Generals.html?id=dsq8mocZvw0C&source=kp_book_description.

one describes the creation of Scripps Institute of Oceanography until page 21 when we're introduced to our perfect protagonist—Roger Revelle! Seriously, do not underestimate Nancy Scott Anderson's ability to make you empathize with people. She details all of Revelle's efforts for the university with hosting dinners to recruit faculty, personally speaking to all these people to get the logistics in line, and even his fights with higher-ups to keep his dream for UCSD alive. There's a point where Anderson describes how he never became chancellor and how heartbroken he was about it. I remember thinking, "Aww poor Revelle" until I was like wait... what am I saying? POOR REVELLE?? She got me good! Before you know it, you have a parasocial relationship with Herbert York by the end of the book. If her writing for this is any indication of the way she usually writes, I'd be a little concerned about how she talks about Robert E. Lee in *The Generals*.

Aside from being a Revelle apologist, Anderson spends a lot of time detailing UCSD's military history from the UC Division of War Research in Scripps to UCSD doing classified research in the 60s. However, she does make the argument that we've grown beyond our military roots: "And, just as it had outgrown its military-industrial underpinnings, UCSD has outlived the corporate infrastructure that supported its founding."¹³ In almost every possible situation, the military or some other branch somehow shows up. We get to the university's academic senate and they conclude, "that the planned institute primarily would serve the military-industrial sector..."¹⁴ To be fair, it was during the Cold War era. Everyone was going a little crazy. I mean, Revelle himself was going out warning people that "the nation's youngsters must learn either science or Russian."¹⁵ Tough times.

¹³ Anderson, Nancy Scott. 1993. *An Improbable Venture: a History of the University of California, San Diego*. La Jolla, Calif: UCSD Press. Page 259.

¹⁴ *Ibid*, 46.

¹⁵ *Ibid*, 48.

I'm a History and Ethnic Studies double major, so I can't help but be excited when my majors are mentioned. It always feels like a fun little shout out. While reading *An Improbable Venture*, I barely got to have any! There was no mention of History at all until almost a hundred pages in, and we got to Chancellor Galbraith (he was a historian). The book was so UCSD that it's written entirely with a STEM focus. I was about to lose it if I read one more page about how difficult it was to get a director for the med school. They got their own chapter by the way! So did STEM, aptly titled "Various Approaches to Heaven." The non-STEM departments finally get a highlight in the following chapter entitled "Adding Other Chapels" where Anderson starts by stating, "It was scientist-students who laid the foundation for the humanities and arts at UCSD."¹⁶ The arts and humanities become an afterthought even in a book all about the founding of UCSD and the beginning of its greatness. She was just keeping it real, I guess.

While reading *An Improbable Venture*, I kept getting this uncanny feeling that I had read the same words before. It was like finding out one of your favorite songs is actually a cover and listening to the original for the first time. The one that is most memorable to me, which is why it stuck out to me the way it did, was this specific line where Anderson writes about all these complaints UCSD had in its early years and how one young woman complained to a reporter that on campus, the "sex life is lousy."¹⁷ This rang some bells for me, because I read that exact article! I remember laughing a bit when I read it, because I thought it was silly. She said it was lousy, not because of the lack of options (with it being 3 boys for 1 girl) but because they're the same guys you see all the time. She goes on to say they're your friends, so you definitely don't want to go out with them!¹⁸ I knew Anderson had looked through the early UCSD articles at

¹⁶ Ibid, 209.

¹⁷ Ibid, 191.

¹⁸ La Times, "Courses Hard at UCSD, Students Say" February 2, 1965. UCSD Mandeville Collections - RSS 6020, Box 6, Folder 1.

Special Collections like I had, but it was weird to see the evidence of us reading the same articles.

I thought this “sex life” line was interesting because of the way it paints UCSD as a non-normative space compared to other universities. What I also think is interesting is the way that view prevails. I think the reason for it is rooted in our history of wastelanding—the process that made this land into a place non-normative and queered in order to be suited for destruction. I think that queering has moved beyond the land into the people who inhabit it. Not only is the land we’re on deemed non-normative, but so are UCSD students. We have a ‘loser’ reputation compared to other universities; think of the difference in how people talk about UCSD versus SDSU. And this is not just because UCSD is a STEM school. Not all STEM schools have the same kind of antisocial reputation we do. When people think of UCSD students, the stereotype is the unattractive CS major from Warren who doesn’t shower and complains about not having a girlfriend on Reddit. That is not a normal stereotype. There being a “Triton Eye” is also a testament to this non-normative view of typical students, that every UCSD student is unattractive. Even from the university’s inception, the sex life—and campus life in general—has been an issue students have complained about. I think it’s because of our military roots. It’s not just the wastelanding, but this legacy of greatness we’re supposed to have inherited from them, a legacy that includes conservative sexual attitudes and abstinence for the sake of education.

I have several bones to pick with Ms. Nancy Scott Anderson—the first one is the fact she barely put what I read the book for! There was about a paragraph on the Camp Matthews land ceremony and another about the acquisition of Camp Elliott. The land acquisition stuff I was interested in was no more than two pages in the entire 300+ page book! She didn’t have much on the previous land history of UCSD,, but she did have weird mentions of groundbreaking all

throughout the book. She even had a photo with William McElroy (UCSD's third chancellor) with Joseph Watson, Third College's first provost, sharing a shovel and breaking the ground of the land that would become Marshall. They had that but almost nothing on the actual land acquisition!

By the same token, I was always searching for any reference to the Kumeyaay Nation or Indigenous peoples at all. I knew Lynda had said there wasn't anything in the beginning, but I still had hope that Anderson would mention something somewhere. There are only two mentions of anything Indigenous in the entire book. The first is in reference to the creation of Ethnic Studies at UCSD in 1990 and how it, "...was created to combine Black, Chicano, Native American and Asian-American studies with a one-year introductory course in American immigration history and race and ethnic relations."¹⁹ The second and last is this line in reference to the chancellor's house: "Sentiment endorsing such restrictions surfaced first when Native American artifacts were uncovered during remodelling of the chancellor's residence in La Jolla Farms in the late seventies."²⁰ This line is the only one in the entire book that specifically refers to Kumeyaay peoples, and they don't even name them. They don't refer to them as Kumeyaay remains, as they are—but as generic "Native American artifacts," which is what UCSD kept saying during the repatriation case. They refused to acknowledge the Kumeyaay remains as such and instead "Native American artifacts" in order to maintain their image of the situation. It's quite infuriating that the writer of UCSD's history book chose to reinforce such harmful language, especially considering she spoke to so many university officials and founders to write the book. In 1993, when she wrote this book, it was known that the remains were Kumeyaay. It was just being denied.

¹⁹ Anderson, Nancy Scott. 1993. *An Improbable Venture: a History of the University of California, San Diego*. La Jolla, Calif: UCSD Press. Page 219.

²⁰ *Ibid*, 249.

Another bone to pick I have with *An Improbable Venture* is the way that whiteness is the default, specifically the experiences of white men in STEM. There is literally no mention of people of color until the chapter that discusses the founding of Third College and the demands from the students. It's clear it's only included because it's the actual history of UCSD. Whereas early UCSD founders got sympathy, the students and professors protesting for Third don't get that same treatment. If anything, she's more sympathetic toward McGill and his struggle with the protestors whom he didn't agree with. On top of that, despite being a woman herself, Anderson doesn't give any explicit mention of women and their contributions beyond naming specific women in a single sentence where they're relevant—like complaints against Angela Davis. Arguably the most mentioned woman is Maria Mayer, whose relatively few mentions include when she was hired and when she passed away. The women don't get nearly the same kind of storylines or attention that the men do. Randomly, at the very end of the book, Anderson mentions the contribution of women because someone she interviewed—Jim Arnold—did. According to Anderson, “Arnold said the earliest struggles were aided by a handful of women, including Ellen Revelle, Clary Eckart, Frieda Urey, Helen Raitt, Maria Mayer, Judy Munk, and Sibyl York, whose intelligence and passions ‘meant that the big philosophical issues got discussed at home.’”²¹ Yet, despite being so important, only one of these women was mentioned at any point before that passage (that's on the very last page of the book). Also, the only representation that women do get perpetuates the idea of women helping from home. The women so integral to the university's founding were the women the founders came home to, women so intelligent and passionate they weren't worth a mention before...

²¹ Ibid, 262.

UCSD as a Haunted Space

Through reading *An Improbable Venture*, I kept thinking back to Avery Gordon's *Ghostly Matters*. Then, I realized UCSD is haunted. By that, I don't mean the stories about the ghost girl in Peterson Hall or the chill you get walking through Geisel at night. I also don't mean to refer to Kumeyaay people as ghosts either; Kumeyaay people live in the present, and referring to them as people of the past is a settler-colonial myth I do not intend to perpetuate. What I do mean is that UCSD is haunted by its Indigenous connections that it refuses to acknowledge. In the words of Avery Gordon, "Haunting is a constituent element of modern social life. It is neither premodern superstition nor individual psychosis; it is a generalizable social phenomenon of great import. To study social life one must confront the ghostly aspects of it. This confrontation requires (or produces) a fundamental change in the way we know and make knowledge, in our mode of production."²²

While going through the archive, and doing this research knowing what I know, I kept getting this eerie feeling. I kept looking for what wasn't there. I was looking for the ghosts, the Indigenous past UCSD refuses to fully acknowledge and engage with—the past they actively erase. With every instance of "Native American artifacts" and every day that goes by that this land isn't given back, we get more haunted. The lights continue to flicker. The doors close without anyone there. The trees talk. It's time to listen.

UCSD requires a reckoning—not an exorcism of the poltergeist, but a reckoning of what the ghosts say and the reasons for our haunting. We can not continue being the horror movie protagonist that keeps denying everything going on around them. How long do you think you can lie and say this land is ours—or military—and continue to live? No amount of Spanish

²² Gordon, Avery F., and Janice Radway. "Her Shape and His Hand." In *Ghostly Matters: Haunting and the Sociological Imagination*, NED-New edition, Second., 7. University of Minnesota Press, 1997. <http://www.jstor.org/stable/10.5749/j.cttt4hp.5>.

romanticization and historical revisionism will save us from the haunting. Only justice will, if our ghosts are merciful...

Chapter Two: Ystagua

In one of my preliminary interviews, I spoke to Ethan Banegas (Luiseño-Kumeyaay), a historian at the San Diego History center and lecturer at SDSU. He told me that it would be a bit difficult to do my research since not much information is known about the coast due to a lot of coastal villages being abandoned earlier than inland ones due to disease and violence from colonization.²³ In our talk, he actually referred me to Richard Carrico who was the one to tell me about Ystagua, the focus of this chapter! Ystagua was a prominent Kumeyaay village that was very close to UCSD. It is about two miles away from the northern part of our campus (see figure 1). As you can see, the ancestral village was really close by!

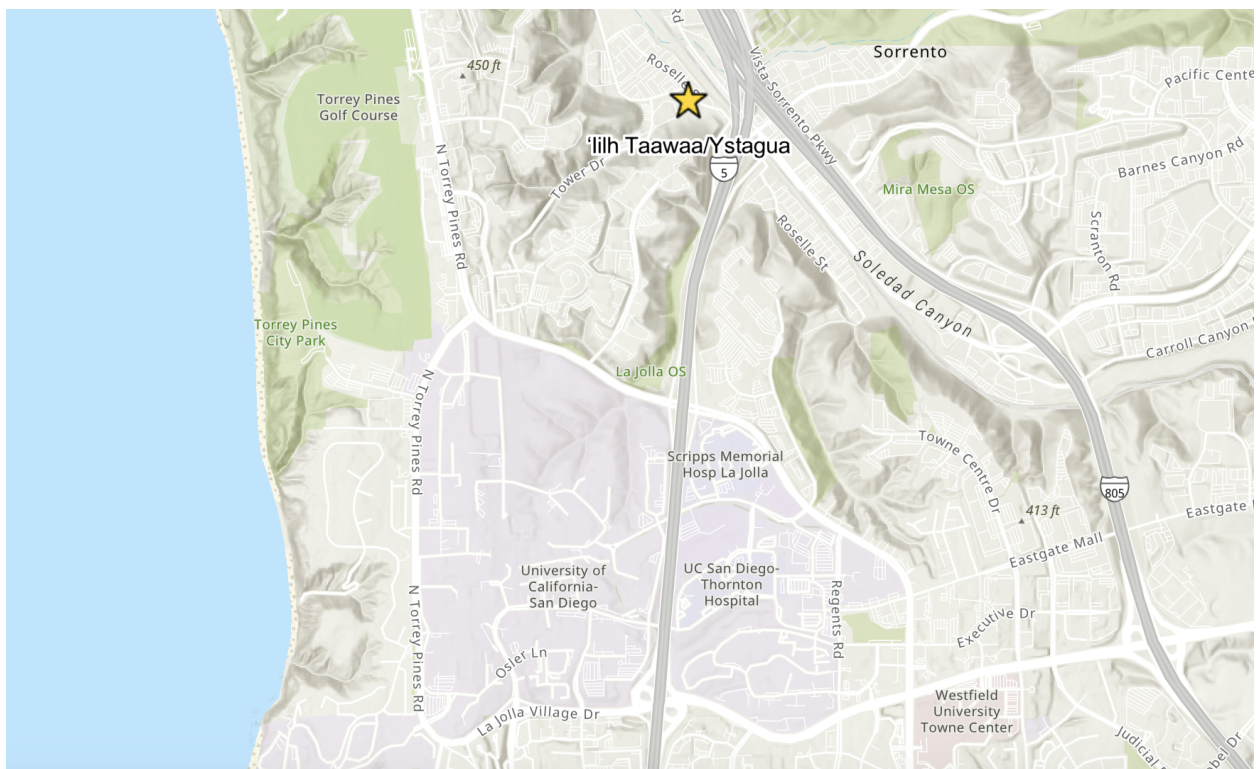


Figure 1: Distance from Ystagua to UCSD. Courtesy of the Kumeyaay

*Placenames Project.*²⁴

²³ Interview with Ethan Banegas, February 21, 2023.

²⁴ “Kumeyaay Placenames.” ArcGIS StoryMaps, August 18, 2022.
<https://storymaps.arcgis.com/stories/b8b9dfb544d423891e36727c03842f6>.

It is estimated that Ystagua has been occupied since as early as 450 B.C.E.²⁵ It's estimated that Ystagua was abandoned around 1810.²⁶ In response to an environmental report on the site, Florence Shipek—an anthropologist and ethnohistorian who specialized in Southern California Indigenous groups—explained Ystagua's significance, writing that:

Ystagua was the large central village, home of the band Captain (Kwa:ypa:y), which controlled a number of satellite villages extending from the coast inland to Poway. This Kumeyaay (Northern and Southern Diegueno) village controlled all use of Torrey Pines Bluff and beaches as well as the coastal lagoon. They maintained close relationships with the village of Pamo, north of Ramona, and Mesa Grande Villages, as well as with the surrounding coastal villages around San Diego and Mission Bay, and north along the coast. Its control of the unique resource, Torrey Pines, made it an important center for trade and interaction throughout Southern California. They maintained and protected the Torrey Pines from damage just as the California State Park Department maintains and protects the Pines today.²⁷

As Shipek explains, Ystagua was a very important village! Not only was it a large-scale village, spanning 300 acres, Ystagua was even the heart of commerce and contact for all Indigenous peoples in the area.²⁸ Archeological excavations also corroborate Shipek's claim that Ystagua

²⁵ Carrico, R. L., and Sandra Day. 1981. Archaeological Investigations at Ystagua. A Late Prehistoric Village Complex (Hallmark Circuits/Cavanaugh Properties: SDi-5443). Report on file with ERCE, San Diego, California. Page 81.

²⁶ Interview with Richard Carrico, February 27, 2023.

²⁷ Shipek, Florence C. 1976. Response to EIR, EQD, No. 74-05-11P. Museum of Man, San Diego.

²⁸ "Ystagua, the Indian Predecessor of Sorrento Valley." Baltimore Sun, October 23, 2016. <https://www.baltimoresun.com/sd-me-latest-dickey-column-20161023-story.html>.

was in close contact with various villages; they've found various foreign artifacts that suggest alliances with northern Shoshonean cultures and the eastern Yumans.²⁹

Due to plentiful resources, Ystagua was actually occupied all year round unlike most villages which were only inhabited seasonally.³⁰ Ystagua residents had everything they needed in the village, so it's thought that they only left for luxury goods and not any necessities.³¹ Those in Ystagua would also collect shellfish and canoe right by where UCSD is now.³² The path that is now Ridge Walk was also a prominent Kumeyaay pathway.³³ It's likely that Ystagua villagers took that same path—the one we now use to get to class, RIMAC, and elsewhere—to collect shellfish down by the beach.

The residents of Ystagua lived like this relatively peacefully until the arrival of Spaniards. On July 15, 1769, Gaspar de Portolá and his men arrived in Ystagua. We don't know who exactly first saw the Spaniards and informed the village. As San Diego tribune writer Fred Dickey speculates, "Perhaps they were first seen by women looking up from weaving yucca leaves or leaching acorns. Or maybe they were seen by men returning from clamming at the nearby lagoon."³⁴ Regardless of who it was, the Spaniards came to the village from their long journey, and they were nasty! Kumeyaay folks, who were very clean, were not impressed with the stinky Spaniards in their tattered clothes.³⁵ There's a common misconception that Indigenous peoples like the Kumeyaay revered the Spaniards as these god-like figures, but that's just not true! The people of Ystagua already knew about Europeans due to Coronado's 1540-42

²⁹ Schultze, Carol A. "A Reconstruction of Ystagua Village." Academia.edu, April 22, 2014. https://www.academia.edu/361082/A_Reconstruction_of_Ystagua_Village. Page 93.

³⁰ Ibid, 36.

³¹ Ibid.

³² Interview with Richard Carrico, February 27, 2023.

³³ "Discussion with Dr. Jorge Mariscal via Kumeyaay Elder." 10 May 2015.

³⁴ Dickey, Fred. "Indians and Spaniards at Ystagua: Trade, Disease, Violence." Chicago Tribune, October 28, 2016. <https://www.chicagotribune.com/sd-me-dickey-1031-story.html>.

³⁵ Ibid, para. 6-7.

expedition that went through what's now Arizona.³⁶ Despite them not coming to San Diego in specific, people talk and word travels. As a center for trade, Ystagua residents would hear all the hot gossip, so they definitely weren't surprised at the existence of Europeans or perceive them as divine figures when they arrived! Ystagua residents did think some of their stuff was cool, like their large sails and shiny swords, but after trading for some goods, they quickly got sick of the Spanish when they realized that the Spaniards weren't leaving anytime soon.³⁷ Talk about overstaying your welcome!

Before I start this next paragraph, I did want to give a trigger warning for sexual violence. If that is something you're sensitive to, feel free to skip to this paragraph. Please take care of yourself! As I mentioned earlier, the Spaniards weren't leaving, and tensions were high. But everything got worse when the Spanish colonists started sexually assaulting and raping Kumeyaay women. Prior to this, Kumeyaay women had no fear of any sexual violence. They would walk around topless as that was just how you dressed, and Spaniards thought this way of dressing coupled with their kindness was an invitation for sex.³⁸ It wasn't. The sexual violence against their women, along with other grievances and acts of violence, is what led to the Kumeyaay uprising that resulted in the burning of the San Diego Mission in 1775.

After the burning of the Mission, disease hit Ystagua. Many Kumeyaay folks died, and Spanish priests were telling them that it was a divine punishment for not believing in God. Due to this, and the promise that believing would save them, some Kumeyaay people converted to Catholicism. Around 15% were baptized, according to records from the SD Mission.³⁹ But most Kumeyaay people didn't believe what the Spaniards were saying.⁴⁰

³⁶ Ibid, para. 9.

³⁷ Ibid, para. 12.

³⁸ Ibid, para. 24-25.

³⁹ Ibid, para. 31.

⁴⁰ Ibid, para. 34.

Violence from the Spaniards ensued, but less than 5% of Ystagua residents died due to direct violence.⁴¹ What killed the most residents was disease. There were various outbreaks of smallpox, measles, and malaria that resulted in the depletion of village numbers. But it wasn't just that. Numbers went down because of people dying due to disease, but it was also due to infertility as a result of diseases like syphilis or the ones listed. If one woman is expected to have six children, and five women become sterile due to disease, that's thirty less children. Through this, villages become depleted and weakened. Because of this, the residents of Ystagua decided it was time to leave. They abandoned Ystagua sometime between 1808 to 1810, shortly after the 1805 measles outbreak from the Mission. The numbers vary, but it's estimated that in 1770, the population of Ystagua was somewhere between three thousand to ten thousand.⁴² But it's thought that by the time those in Ystagua left to the more inland Poway village, there were only around 40 or 50 villagers left.⁴³ Although those in Ystagua left around 1810, the area around UCSD was still used for herb cultivation. In her autobiography, Delfina Cuero describes picking around the Torrey Pines area in the 1920s.⁴⁴ Jane Dumas—a Kumeyaay herb woman—had also expressed a similar sentiment, stating that she used to collect around the UCSD area as a little girl.⁴⁵ As she was born 1930, that would mean there was possibly collecting up until the 1940s.

⁴¹ Interview with Richard Carrico, February 27, 2023.

⁴² Schultze, Carol A. "A Reconstruction of Ystagua Village." Academia.edu, April 22, 2014. https://www.academia.edu/361082/A_Reconstruction_of_Ystagua_Village. Page 29.

⁴³ Interview with Richard Carrico, February 27, 2023.

⁴⁴ Cuero, Delfina, and Florence Connolly Shipek. *Delfina Cuero: Her Autobiography, An Account of Her Last Years, and Her Ethnobotanic Contributions*. Menlo Park, CA: Ballena Press, 1991.

⁴⁵ Recording from March 7, 2006 - Jane Dumas & Richard Bugbee's Visit to Professor Frank's Class

Chapter Three: How We Got Here

Site Considerations

Now that we know the early history of the land that UCSD now resides on, let's figure out how this area was chosen as the spot for the university! It's not a random occurrence that UCSD ends up in La Jolla. It was a pretty big deal to make it here. I mean, our original name was literally UC La Jolla! There were actually a lot of factors that contributed to the selection of La Jolla. According to a 1959 planning report, the factors were as follows:

1. Spirit and nobility of site, character of landscape and sense of place
2. Potential for development within a surrounding master plan framework
3. Civic interest and support
4. Accessibility to existing and projected transit routes
5. Relationship to center of population to be served
6. Proximity to existing and potential housing, shopping, cultural and recreational facilities
7. Size and shape of site
8. Freedom from nuisances
9. Climate
10. Availability of utility services
11. Topographical and geological characteristics
12. Availability⁴⁶

Highlighted are the ones I found most interesting—spirit and nobility, relationship to the center of the population to be served, freedom from nuisances, proximity to cultural and recreational facilities, and availability. Let's go through them one by one! Spirit and nobility—first off, what does that even mean? How do you get a feel for the spirit and nobility of a site? What makes La Jolla's spirit and nobility better than other areas for consideration like Balboa Park? This one stood out to me, because spirit and nobility are words often used to describe Indigenous peoples

⁴⁶ Master Plan for University of California Community. 1959. San Diego: City Planning Department. Special Collections - NA9127.S25 A4 1959

and cultures. Think the “noble savage” or the wise spiritual leader stereotypes. What do you think they meant by the site’s spirit, nobility, and character?

Thankfully, we don’t have to speculate too much of what they meant by this consideration. We can interpret what they mean by this by reading their section on the “Character of a University Community.” In it, they pose the essential questions that must always be asked and thought about deeply when making master plans like theirs. The planners pose the following questions: “What kind of community is this to be? What should be its essential character? What will distinguish it from other communities or towns of similar size?”⁴⁷ Thankfully, we don’t have to do much thinking as they immediately answer these questions for us by stating that, “The immediate answer to these questions when applied to the community here under study is clear. This community should be, and have the character of, a University city.”⁴⁸ If that’s still unclear, don’t worry. There’s more! They go on to talk about how many have referred to the development of what would become UCSD as creating a “City of the Mind.” To succeed in this, as they argue, you must have strong faculty and talented students. So you must have a University city environment that attracts those kinds of people, and in order to do this, “Town spirit and university spirit should be synonymous and felt by students and townspeople alike.”⁴⁹ THAT is the spirit they meant—school spirit.

Now that we know what they meant by spirit, let’s talk about number 5: relationship to the center of population to be served! UCSD is in La Jolla, a very affluent and white neighborhood. Even in the 60s, La Jolla was the same way. It being historically white is no coincidence. La Jolla has a history of restrictive housing policies, particularly for Jewish

⁴⁷ Ibid, 6.

⁴⁸ Ibid.

⁴⁹ Ibid.

residents who were not allowed to purchase real estate in La Jolla up until the mid 60s.⁵⁰ It was actually planning for UCSD that made them get rid of their anti-Semitic housing policies.⁵¹ In regards to this, Revelle has been quoted saying that from the 50s onward, he would repeatedly say that, “you can't have a university without having Jewish professors. The Real Estate Broker's Association and their supporters in La Jolla had to make up their minds whether they wanted a university or an anti-Semitic covenant. You couldn't have both.”⁵²

Considering this, it's interesting that the university planners chose La Jolla—a historically racist, all white neighborhood—over places farther south like National City and Chula Vista. Going down south would mean being closer to majority minority neighborhoods with lower socioeconomic backgrounds. Heck, even Balboa Park is much more accessible to students from underserved populations! But La Jolla was picked for a reason. La Jolla was closer to the center of the population UCSD was meant to serve: rich, white students.

In a similar light to the 5th factor, number 8 is “freedom from nuisances.” When I first read this, I raised my eyebrow a little. Because who or what are the nuisances they want the university to be so far from? It definitely wasn't noise nuisances, considering they allowed the university to be right under the flight patterns of an air station.⁵³ They never elaborate on what the nuisances they want to avoid are, but I believe the nuisance they are referring to are certain populations—the ones that have been historically excluded from the university. In their section on

⁵⁰ “A Look Back at the Past of Housing Discrimination in La Jolla.” LaJolla.com, April 29, 2021. <https://lajolla.com/article/housing-discrimination-la-jolla/>.

⁵¹ Stratthaus, Mary Ellen. “Flaw in the Jewel: Housing Discrimination against Jews in La Jolla, California.” *American Jewish History* 84, no. 3 (1996): 189–219. <http://www.jstor.org/stable/23885530>.

⁵² Carless, Will. “A Specter from Our Past: Longtime Residents Will Always Remember the Stain Left on the Jewel by an Era of Housing Discrimination.” LaJollaLight.com | A specter from our past: Longtime residents will always remember the stain left on the Jewel by an era of housing discrimination, April 7, 2005. <https://web.archive.org/web/20100913084414/http://www.lajollalight.com/printer/article.asp?c=223555>.

⁵³ Noise from the Miramar Air Station was actually a consideration in the master plan (page 15). UC Regent Edwin W. Pauley, who was opposed to La Jolla as UCSD's location, repeatedly brought up the issue, but they decided the noise wasn't enough of a problem to make changes to the master plan! Ultimately, it wasn't that big of a deal to them.

the “Relation of the University Community to the Metropolitan Area,” the planners added one line that hints at what they meant by this. They emphasize the importance of having university and city officials collaborating, suggesting a liaison committee.⁵⁴ They add that, “The City already has a framework of regulations in terms of zoning ordinances, restrictions and other regulations which serve to protect all members of the community from proper utilization of land, improper location of facilities, improper planning and public nuisances.”⁵⁵ I know they’re the city planners, but who are they to decide what is the proper and improper utilization of land? Also, they’re claiming that those zoning ordinances are in place to protect members of the community—the same zoning policies that didn’t allow any non-white people to buy property in La Jolla.⁵⁶ Although not explicitly stated, it’s clear that the nuisances they’re referring to are minorities.

Even up until the blue line was implemented, UCSD (and La Jolla in general) has been incredibly inaccessible to the rest of the San Diego community. I’m from National City. The first time I went to La Jolla was in seventh grade, and I had a complete culture shock. I had never seen that many white people before... Even though it’s geographically close, La Jolla is worlds away and a world’s difference from my hometown. There’s a reason this area and the university here were so inaccessible to me growing up, and it’s the same reason it continues to be inaccessible to so many minority groups—ESPECIALLY Black and Indigenous students. La Jolla has historically not allowed minorities aka “nuisances” into their neighborhood, and that’s something that was adopted by UCSD when the planners chose for the university to be here. This

⁵⁴ Master Plan for University of California Community. 1959. San Diego: City Planning Department. Special Collections - NA9127.S25 A4 1959: 9.

⁵⁵ Ibid.

⁵⁶ Kim, Cristina. “How Discriminatory Covenants Shaped San Diego Homeownership.” KPBS Public Media, November 18, 2021.

<https://www.kpbs.org/news/local/2021/11/17/how-discriminatory-covenants-shaped-san-diego-homeownership>.

legacy has been written into the university since its planning stage, and it continues to prevail just as its planners had intended.

Onto number 6: proximity to existing and potential housing, shopping, cultural and recreational facilities! That's a bit long, so I want to shorten it down to what stands out to me—proximity to cultural (and recreational) facilities. When I think of cultures, I think of the cultures of various ethnic groups. But that's not what the writers of the plan meant by culture. By culture, they meant shopping centers, theaters, and schools.⁵⁷ They didn't mean anything related to Kumeyaay culture. Throughout the planning process, they emphasize the importance of thinking about the cultural-recreational aspect of the area—particularly taking into consideration the, “physical relationship between the university and the center of commercial and cultural activity of the town.”⁵⁸ They constantly emphasize integrating with the cultural atmosphere of the surrounding community, but what about the culture that's been here since time immemorial?

To get an even better sense of what they meant by culture, I'd like us to turn to section B on “Cultural and Historical Influences.” In it, they assert that:

The San Diego area boasts a colorful history. Site of one of the earliest Spanish settlements in California and closely linked to neighboring Mexico, San Diego shows evidence of Spanish culture in many ways. Homes, gardens, public buildings, and cultural centers all reflect the Spanish heritage. The region possesses a charm and character, the essence of which should be preserved as much as possible within the University Community. This can be accomplished by

⁵⁷ Master Plan for University of California Community. 1959. San Diego: City Planning Department. Special Collections - NA9127.S25 A4 1959: 5.

⁵⁸ Ibid, 7.

accenting the natural features of the land and native foliage and by careful attention to their integration into the community itself.⁵⁹

San Diego's "colorful history" is Spanish colonialism. As San Diegans often do, the San Diego Planning Department actively erased Kumeyaay history through its celebration and romanticization of the Spanish period. The planners themselves say this "essence...should be preserved as much as possible."⁶⁰ As will be seen later, UCSD makes a similar argument regarding essence preservation with our military history. Every step of the way, erasure is enacted and actively maintained—whether that be through Spanish romanticism or military celebration.

Last but not least is the very concise number 12: availability. Sadly, this is one of the considerations that the planners don't elaborate on. However, since La Jolla was eventually chosen, it must have been considered available and prime land for the taking. Taking into account the way they describe their other factors, it's clear the university planners only considered land dealings from an Anglo-American perspective. Available meant land they could buy and build on for the university. This would be with no consideration to Kumeyaay land views or stewardship.

With all of these considerations in mind, La Jolla ended up being chosen out of their 23 possible sites.⁶¹ La Jolla had the spirit, nobility, population, culture, availability, and the lack of nuisances that the planners wanted for their new university. But how did La Jolla even end up on that list of possible sites?

⁵⁹ Ibid, 19.

⁶⁰ Ibid.

⁶¹ Ibid, 2.

Pueblo Lands

In order to understand how—what would become—UCSD even ended up as one of the sites for consideration, we need to understand the history of this land and its legal acquisition. Now, a crash course in California land history! Hegemonic histories will tell you that there are three main periods of California history—those being the Spanish period from 1769-1822, the Mexican period from 1822-1846, and the American period from 1846 to now. But what you need to know for now is that in 1769, San Diego was established as a presidio as well as a Mission. The area around the Mission got designated as Mission lands and the rest of the non-Mission area—where people came and settled—was the Pueblo (which means town or village in Spanish). Then, in 1834, the Mission lands became secularized under the Mexican government. Plots of land started being sold off, mostly to ranchers. More stuff happens, the Americans take over, and the girls are fighting!⁶² They're figuring out all the land claims, and they decide to checker-board this area into parcels. Whatever their justification is, they end up designating all of it as “pueblo lands”—building off that Spanish colonial legacy and using the same language for their land dealings. By using this verbiage, they center the Spanish colonial legacy and erase any connections of this land to the Kumeyaay Nation. You'll see later how this impacts the way people think of UCSD and the military camps that it's made up of.

The La Jolla Rifle Range → Camp Matthews

Built on the many checker-boarded pueblo lots are three military camps that the University of California has acquired over the years. In the order they were acquired, those camps are Camp Callan, Camp Matthews, and Camp Elliott. For the purposes of this thesis, I'm primarily going to focus on Camp Callan and Camp Matthews, as those are the two that our

⁶² To my knowledge, none of the people involved were actually girls, but I had to say it!

campus actually sits on. But there will still be some tidbits about Camp Elliott, though it's an off campus nature reserve now.⁶³

The camp we know the most about is Camp Matthews, probably because it's the one we got the most acres from and its history is the most rich. Before Camp Matthews was named as such, it was actually a rifle range very creatively called Marine Rifle Range, La Jolla.⁶⁴ Founded in 1918, the rifle range was operating on 544 acres leased from the City of San Diego.⁶⁵ That was the case until 1936 when the Navy traded sixty acres of tidelands by the airport in exchange for the city-owned rifle range land.⁶⁶ The deal required a city vote and was eventually ratified in Congress in June of that same year.⁶⁷ Due to U.S. entry into WWII, they expanded the camp in the 40s and decided to rename it.⁶⁸ According to the California Center for Military History, "The camp was officially designated Camp Matthews on March 23, 1942 in honor of Lieutenant Colonel (later Brigadier General) Calvin B. Matthews, USMC., a distinguished Marine marksman of the 1930s period."⁶⁹ Until being decommissioned in 1964 in order to prepare for the UCSD transfer, Camp Matthews was used for rifle marksmanship training (see figure 2). On August 21, 1964, the final shots were taken by sixty older Marines who had trained there.⁷⁰

⁶³ UC San Diego Nature Reserve System. Accessed June 13, 2023. <https://nrs.ucsd.edu/reserves/elliott.html>.

⁶⁴ Denger, Mark J. Historic California Posts: A Brief History of the U.S. Marine Corps in San Diego. Accessed June 13, 2023. <https://web.archive.org/web/20130424141525/http://www.militarymuseum.org/SDMarines.html#19>.

⁶⁵ "Camp Matthews Architectural Drawings." Online Archive of California. Accessed June 13, 2023. https://oac.cdlib.org/findaid/ark:/13030/c81z48wz/entire_text/#:~:text=Camp%20Matthews%20was%20established%20in.after%20Brigadier%20General%20Calvin%20B.

⁶⁶ "The Rising Tide, 1920-1941 - San Diego History Center: San Diego, CA: Our City, Our Story." San Diego History Center | San Diego, CA | Our City, Our Story, July 20, 2016. <https://sandiegohistory.org/archives/books/risingtide/ch10/>.

⁶⁷ "House Passes Bill for Land Exchange" Evening Tribune, June 17, 1936.

⁶⁸ Hanna, David C. "A Cultural Resource Inventory of The University of California at San Diego" SD-09120: 14.

⁶⁹ Denger, Mark J. Historic California Posts: A Brief History of the U.S. Marine Corps in San Diego. Accessed June 13, 2023. <https://web.archive.org/web/20130424141525/http://www.militarymuseum.org/SDMarines.html#19>.

⁷⁰ "Final Volleys To Be Heard At Matthews" Evening Tribune, August 6, 1964. UC San Diego. University Communications Public Relations Materials - RSS 6020, Box 2, Folder 3.



Figure 2: Troop 144 practicing firing at Camp Matthews - July 1, 1959.⁷¹

Wastelanding

As I discussed in my literature review, in Traci Brynne Voyles' book *Wastelanding: Legacies of Uranium Mining in Navajo Country*, she coined the concept of "wastelanding" to explain uranium mining on Diné land. She writes, "Wastelanding takes two primary forms: the assumption that nonwhite lands are valueless...and the subsequent devastation of those very environs by polluting industries."⁷² I argue that wastelanding is what happened to a majority of what now makes up UCSD—the three military camps that make up our campus.

⁷¹ "Thread: 16-056 Garand Picture of the Day - Not Politically Correct History." Military Surplus Collectors Forums RSS, February 23, 2016. <https://www.milsurps.com/showthread.php?t=55727>.

⁷² Voyles, Traci Brynne. *Wastelanding: Legacies of Uranium Mining in Navajo Country*. Minneapolis: Univ. of Minnesota Press, 2015: 10.

At first, I didn't know if I could use this argument. Before starting my research, I actually didn't know rifle ranges also pollute the environment. For pollution, I always think of radioactive waste or cows farting, but rifle ranges are actually super toxic! As aptly stated in Alex Yablon of *The Trace*'s article title, "Gun Ranges Produce Thousands of Tons of Toxic Pollution Every Year."⁷³ Lead in bullets can pollute the soil, water, and is generally dangerous to people and animals. Just last year, the city of San Diego went under fire for not informing its residents that they could have been exposed to lead poisoning from the police department's gun range.⁷⁴ Due to lack of regulation, California generally has had problems with toxic lead pollutants and waste.⁷⁵ Because of Camp Matthews, along with the other military camps, UCSD is no exception! I found one Blink page where they basically say, "Hey parts of campus (Camp Matthews) used to be a defense site, so if you see some unexploded materials, debris, or general contamination, **don't touch it** and give us a call!"⁷⁶ Like huh? How do you just casually say that?? That is not normal! Nonetheless, parts of campus are high risk hazardous sites. One part of campus requires ongoing monitoring until 2097 because of how dangerous it is...⁷⁷

Clearly, the land UCSD resides on is forever impacted by its military past. The process that leads to these toxic lead levels is wastelanding! I remember the exact conversation that made me, and my advisor Professor Frank, start thinking about this relationship. I was speaking with Richard Carrico—a historian, anthropologist, and lecturer under SDSU's Department of American

⁷³ Yablon, Alex. "Gun Ranges Produce Thousands of Tons of Toxic Pollution Every Year." *The Trace*, April 17, 2016. <https://www.thetrace.org/2016/04/gun-range-toxic-lead-pollution/>.

⁷⁴ Alexis Rivas, Mike Dorfman. "Families Demanding Answers from the City of San Diego About Potential Lead Exposure." *NBC 7 San Diego*, December 29, 2022. <https://www.nbcsandiego.com/news/investigations/families-demanding-answers-from-the-city-of-san-diego-about-potential-lead-exposure/3083061/>.

⁷⁵ Rubin, Joe. "How California Fails to Regulate Gun Ranges That Spew Toxic Lead, Poison Workers." *The San Francisco Chronicle*, October 15, 2022. <https://www.sfchronicle.com/projects/2022/toxic-gun-ranges>.

⁷⁶ Camp Matthews: Formerly used defense site at UC San Diego, July 28, 2022. <https://blink.ucsd.edu/safety/environment/outdoor/FUDS/>.

⁷⁷ "Bombs in Our Backyard: UCSD (CAMP MATTHEWS)." *ProPublica*, December 5, 2017. <https://projects.propublica.org/bombs/installation/CA99799F5998009799>.

Indian Studies—and I had asked him if he knew about the land dealings in the UCSD area in specific, around when he thought this area was ‘claimed’ by settlers. He gave me a guess but said that he wasn’t sure because settlers didn’t find this area super valuable; he said this area was sparsely settled, because there wasn’t much use for it.⁷⁸ If you look at maps of San Diego from 1850 up until the 1950s, the area that makes up UCSD will not be there! They’ll literally cut it off because it, as Voyles argues, is “empty except for Indians.”⁷⁹

Although not in reference to the UCSD camps, one historian described the process of the army in the 1910s selecting another San Diego area for a camp—the one that would become Camp Kearny. They wrote that, “At the time, Linda Vista was sparsely settled, with ‘vast stretches’ of open land at the ‘very door of the city.’”⁸⁰ Even though they’re not talking about La Jolla in specific, I think it’s still an insight to how the military were viewing this area and deciding on preferred sites. Since this area wasn’t suitable for ranching or other non-Native purposes, this area was deemed valueless. Because of that, it was also deemed fit for pollution. This wastelanding process made people decide this area was fit for national sacrifice, which was its purpose up until the founding of UCSD. This legacy of national sacrifice will come back when we talk about Camp Matthews and the monument unveiling.

Camp Callan

In case you forgot with all the information on Camp Matthews, Camp Callan was actually the first camp acquired for the UC San Diego campus! Like I mentioned before, the University of California acquired Camp Callan first out of all the camps. The land was voted to

⁷⁸ Interview with Richard Carrico, February 27, 2023.

⁷⁹ Voyles, Traci Brynne. *Wastelanding: Legacies of Uranium Mining in Navajo Country*. Minneapolis: Univ. of Minnesota Press, 2015: 27.

⁸⁰ Martin, John. Patriotism and Profit: San Diego’s Camp Kearny. Accessed June 13, 2023. <https://sandiegohistory.org/journal/v58-4/v58-4Martin.pdf>.

be transferred by San Diego citizens in 1958, but the actual deeding by the city to the university didn't happen until 1964, which is also the year of the first freshman class of UCSD. But the camp has quite a history pre-UCSD! As the U.S. was about to enter WWII, there was a lot of worry over protecting our coasts. Rearmament was going on, and San Diego was deemed a vulnerable location, especially since we were beefing with Japan.⁸¹ Because of this, the government looks over all these potential spots for military camps; one of these spots is the pueblo lots of La Jolla.⁸² The army decides they like it, so the city council gets to work! They swiftly passed City Ordinance No. 1981 and leased 750 acres to the U.S. Army for the whopping sum of one dollar per year.⁸³ From 1941 until the end of the war in 1945, Camp Callan was used for training (see figure 3). As the historical background in one archeological report states, “Camp Callan was a coast artillery training center... Although initially a site for the establishment of coast defense guns, it later was the locus of an antiaircraft artillery training command.”⁸⁴ Not only that, they also were trained in chemical warfare, sometimes briefly testing chemicals without a gas mask.⁸⁵ Three months post WWII, there was no more use for Camp Callan, and it was declared surplus.⁸⁶

Much of Camp Callan is gone now, but it still left its mark on this area with all the contamination left behind.⁸⁷ Although I mostly focused on Camp Matthews when I talked about wastelanding and UCSD pollution, Camp Callan has left us with at least three sites with active

⁸¹ Hanna, David C. “A Cultural Resource Inventory of The University of California at San Diego” SD-09120: 11.

⁸² Ibid.

⁸³ Davis, Edward J.P. “The U.S. Navy and U.S. Marine Corps at San Diego.” San Diego: Pioneer Printers, 1955: 83.

⁸⁴ Hanna, David C. “A Cultural Resource Inventory of The University of California at San Diego” SD-09120: 10.

⁸⁵ “>This Page Loads 27 Photos. Patience!” Wayback Machine, October 17, 2002.

<https://web.archive.org/web/20160813081751/http://www.pjaudinetsr.com/dadpg2.html>.

⁸⁶ Fayman, Corey Lynn. “Camp Callan.” Sunburned Fedora, February 6, 2022.

<https://www.coreylynnfayman.com/camp-callan/>.

⁸⁷ “Camp Callan.” Pat Elder. Accessed June 13, 2023. <https://patelder.weebly.com/camp-callan.html>.

explosions and munitions.⁸⁸ Because of its danger, these areas have to be monitored until September of 2068 and 2078.⁸⁹ To get a sense of what kinds of places these sites are, one currently inactive site was a toxic and hazardous waste dump, and a currently active one was a grenade range.⁹⁰ Thankfully, these sites are a little north of campus. But at the rate UCSD is expanding, these sites will probably be considered on campus soon!



Figure 3: Marine recruits trekking the cliffs by Black's Beach. Photo from the San Diego History Center.⁹¹

⁸⁸ "Bombs in Our Backyard: UCSD (CAMP CALLAN)." ProPublica, December 5, 2017. <https://projects.propublica.org/bombs/installation/CA99799F5394009799#b=30.12224970425994,-138.20309003389548,44.068581864065,-100.41012396610449&c=shrink>.

⁸⁹ Ibid.

⁹⁰ Ibid.

⁹¹ Fayman, Corey Lynn. "Camp Callan." Sunburned Fedora, February 6, 2022. <https://www.coreyllynnfayman.com/camp-callan/>.

Okay, so how did we end up potentially inheriting various hazardous sites? Land acquisition wise, what would become UCSD came into the scene in 1958. That year, San Diego citizens had a four-to-one vote where they agreed to give 456 acres for the university to be built on.⁹² But the actual deeding of the land did not happen until 1964, the year of the first freshman class. In order to commemorate the event they had a ceremony where the current and former San Diego mayor met with Chancellor York and the UC president at the time. They poured “Pueblo lands dirt” to symbolize the momentous occasion (see figure 4).



Figure 4: Camp Callan pueblo dirt pouring⁹³

⁹² “City Transfers Land to UCSD In Ceremony.” The Sentinel, March 19, 1964. UC San Diego. University Communications Public Relations Materials - RSS 6020, Box 2, Folder 1.

⁹³ “City Transfers 456 Acres to University of California.” Evening Tribune, March 29, 1964. UC San Diego. University Communications Public Relations Materials - RSS 6020, Box 2, Folder 1.

What I find really interesting, aside from the four grown men alone in a room pouring dirt over paper on a table, is the language said men and the newspaper writer use to describe what's happening—pueblo lands. This dirt they're pouring is “pueblo,” not Kumeyaay. In this designation of pueblo by the government and then by the officials, they erase all traces of Kumeyaay ownership. By referring to the dirt as pueblo, they hide any Kumeyaay connection to this land or dirt in this case. They instead center and romanticize San Diego's colonial history as a cover. This isn't just the case for these specific officials either; it's the exact same language the city planners use, and it's the same language California officials used when navigating conflicting land ownership claims. The language used is important, because when you constantly call these lands pueblo over and over again, it becomes that much easier to pretend that's all they've ever been. Even now, so many people don't even know whose land we're on.

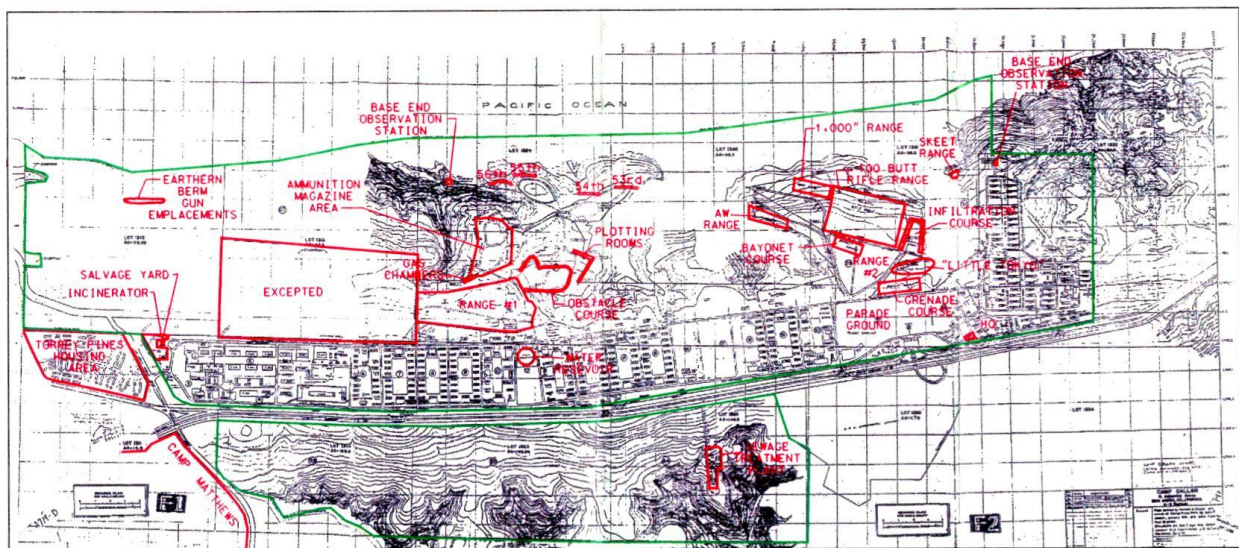


Figure 5: Camp Callan Boundaries.⁹⁴

⁹⁴ “Camp Callan.” Camp Callan - FortWiki Historic U.S. and Canadian Forts. Accessed June 13, 2023. http://www.fortwiki.com/Camp_Callan.

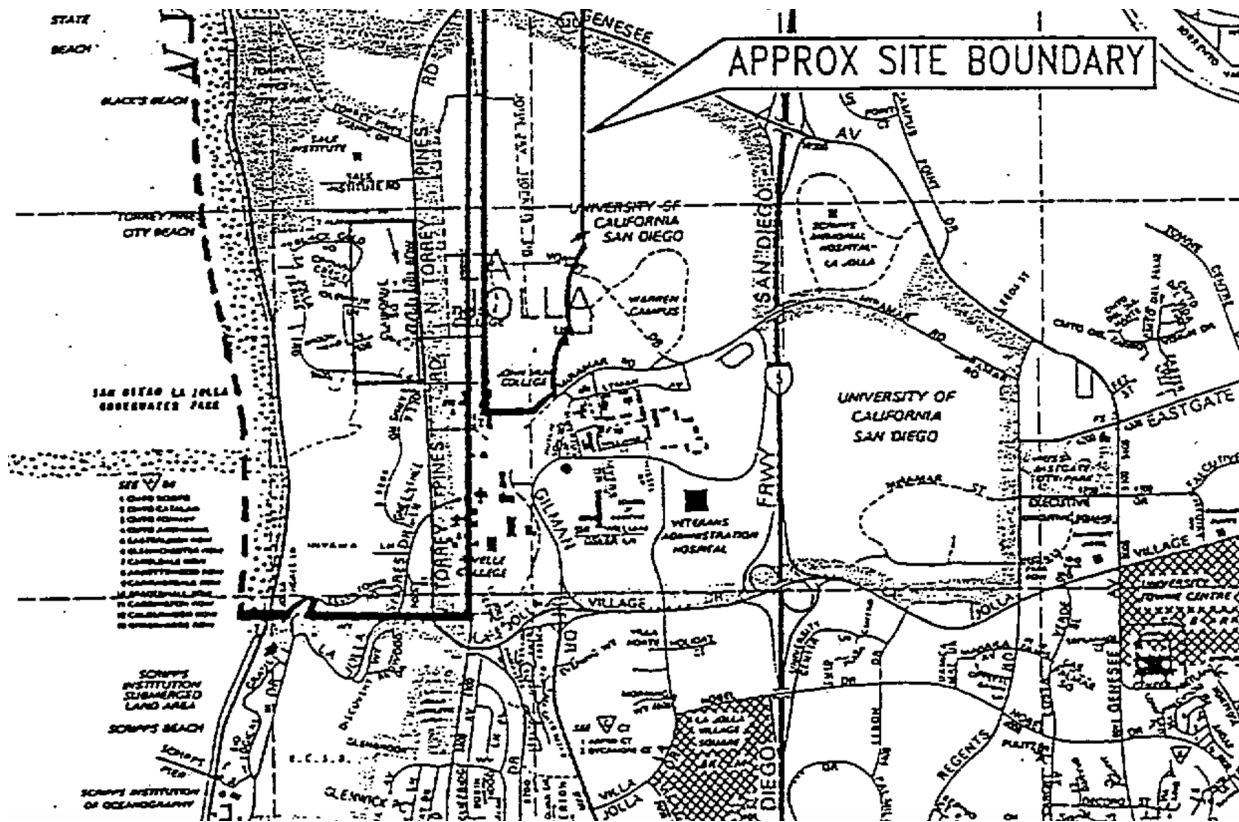


Figure 6: Camp Callan Boundaries In Comparison to UCSD.⁹⁵

Camp Matthews (UCSD Edition)

If you ask anyone about our origins and our military camp history, they'll probably say "what military camp history?" BUT if they do know something, it's probably Camp Matthews. I think the reason for that is because of UCSD itself. They made a legacy for themselves, and it's managed to prevail. Before we get to that, let's backtrack a bit. Last you read, Camp Matthews had its final volleys with the various older Marines who had trained there over the years. Okay, so it's 1964. The Marines are out of Matthews and UCSD enrolls its first freshman class; it's a big deal, because everything they do determines the success of the university. Unlike other universities, UCSD was built top-down. They started first with graduate students who took

⁹⁵ U.S. Army Corps of Engineers. "Archives Search Report: Camp Callan." March 1996. <https://www.scribd.com/document/102086529/Camp-Callan-History#>.

courses at Scripps, but 1964 is big since the university got the Camp Callan lots and started building on it. Shortly after the first freshmen enroll, UCSD gets Camp Matthews too! On October 7, 1964, the land rites were transferred over.⁹⁶ As seen with the dirt pouring, it's absolutely impossible for UCSD to do a land transfer quietly. They decide to go big or go home! That day, they decided to have a huge ceremony starting in what's now Revelle Plaza. After having some speeches, they then crossed the newly implemented bridge that connected both sides of campus. After that, they had part two of the ceremony on the Matthews side of campus where they unveiled a giant monument to celebrate the momentous occasion (see figure 7).



Figure 7: Camp Matthews Transfer Ceremony. Courtesy of Special Collections.⁹⁷

⁹⁶ "UC to Get Marine Camp Today in Rites." San Diego Union, October 7, 1964. UC San Diego. University Communications Public Relations Materials - RSS 6020, Box 2, Folder 4.

⁹⁷ Camp Matthews Land Transfer ceremony (an3_a1096_7_10), Robert Glasheen Photograph Collection. MSS 154. Special Collections & Archives, UC San Diego. <https://library.ucsd.edu/dc/object/bb0137577d>. The woman to the left of the monument, Victoria Hudson, was actually a member of the first freshman class. At the time, they'd have freshmen at all the ceremonies. For the bridge I mentioned, they had a different freshman cut the ribbon to unveil it.

First off, what a HUGE display. I told you they went big! For the longest time, I wondered whether that monument was still around and where it was. Then, I finally found it!!!



Figures 8 & 9: Camp Matthews Monument Now.⁹⁸

It's right there on MATTHEWS quad!! It was literally hidden in plain sight. I was so shocked, because it was right there the whole time. I would always walk by it, but I just thought it was some rock. On the right, you can see the plaque on it & there's the engraving where it says:

From 1917 to 1964, over a million Marines and other shooters received their rifle marksmanship training here. This site was deeded to the University of California at San Diego on 6 October 1964 for the pursuit of higher education.

⁹⁸ I actually took these! When I recognized it, I immediately started taking a million photos.

If the newspaper articles from the time are to be trusted, the plaque actually got the date wrong! All of them say the site was actually deeded on the seventh of October, not the sixth. Aside from that, doesn't marksmanship training seem like an odd thing to commemorate in a plaque, especially for a university? It doesn't end there either.

Throughout the entire ceremony, the officials give speeches on the importance of remembering the legacy of the military. One of the Marine Corps representatives, Major General Bruno A. Hochmuth had said in the ceremony that he, "hoped UC students will hit their marks as well as Marines who used the site for marksmanship training."⁹⁹ Even UCSD officials said similar things apparently, "Dr. Herbert F. York, UCSD chancellor, said it is fitting that while students use the land for learning, they should be reminded of its past by the granite monument left by the Marines."¹⁰⁰ Throughout various October 1964 articles on the ceremony, they emphasize how Camp Matthews was giving up the area they had been in for the last 47 years. But what about those who have been here since time immemorial?

Looking at this monument and plaque, I'm reminded of UCSD's military roots. From its early years, the university has had intense ties to the military in terms of research AND the personnel that went on to establish UCSD. I'm seeing reminder after reminder of the military and Marine Corps. But notice who's not celebrated in this plaque or the ceremony? the Kumeyaay Nation. If you think about all that led up to this monument unveiling, it makes perfect sense why it's phrased and celebrated the way it is. Kumeyaay lands were erased under the label of pueblo lands which eventually got owned by the Navy in the rifle range on land deemed unproductive and marked for national sacrifice which continued through WWII until decommissioning for

⁹⁹ "UC Doubles Campus Size By Taking Over Matthews." San Diego Union, October 8, 1964. UC San Diego. University Communications Public Relations Materials - RSS 6020, Box 2, Folder 4.

¹⁰⁰ Ibid.

UCSD. Building on this legacy, UCSD continues to celebrate militarism in this stone uncovered in plain sight. Through my research, I actually ended up talking to Mike Connolly—who's a Kumeyaay historian and also one of our grad students in anthropology—but I asked him if there was any pushback from the Kumeyaay community at the time of UCSD's founding. And he told me, to his knowledge no, because Kumeyaay bands and communities were worried about tribal termination at the time and were trying to lay low and not bring any attention to themselves in fear of being terminated.¹⁰¹ But that wasn't the only thing the Kumeyaay community was struggling with. They were also fighting to not have their children stolen, to have food on the table, and overall dealing with terrible living conditions on and off the reservation. At this time, Kumeyaay people also didn't have the political power they do now, so it's also possible even if they did say something, nothing would have changed.

Since I've been primarily focusing on the past, some people might say that UCSD has changed since then. The thing is, just nine years ago, UCSD had another ceremony and re-unveiled the same plaque in celebration of the 50 year anniversary (see figure 10). Just like back in 1964, they had various speakers from the Marines. One Marine representative, Col. Nash said in the ceremony that, "The Marine Corps and the University of California, San Diego are two institutions that develop, foster and nurture those human beings who will lead our nation into the next century."¹⁰² Sybil York, late Chancellor York's wife who had been there for the first ceremony, had said that the 2014 ceremony "was a wonderful replay" of the original 1964 one.¹⁰³ Once again, in this ceremony, the focus was on the Marine Corps and their stay in this area. To my knowledge, there was no mention of Kumeyaay folks at all even 50 years later.

¹⁰¹ Interview with Mike Connolly Miskwish, January 26, 2023.

¹⁰² "UC San Diego and Marine Corps Celebrate 50th Anniversary of Camp Matthews Land Transfer." October 9, 2014.

https://today.ucsd.edu/story/uc_san_diego_and_marine_corps_celebrate_50th_anniversary_of_camp_matthews.

¹⁰³ Ibid.



Figures 10: 2014 Matthews Monument Unveiling. Taken by Erik Jepsen.¹⁰⁴



Figure 11: Camp Matthews Boundaries in 1953.¹⁰⁵

¹⁰⁴ Ibid. You can tell it's taken by Erik Jepsen because of the angle. Even his selfies are taken at an angle! See <https://today.ucsd.edu/story/take-10-with-a-triton-campus-photographer-erik-jepsen-is-chasing-rainbowsliterally>.

¹⁰⁵ Camp Matthews: Maps of the Formerly Used Defense Site at UC San Diego, July 28, 2022. <https://blink.ucsd.edu/safety/environment/outdoor/FUDS/maps.html>.



Figure 12: Camp Matthews Boundaries In Comparison to UCSD in 2005.¹⁰⁶

Camp Elliott

Camp Elliott seems to be the odd one out, because it's the only camp UCSD isn't actually on! Despite being that way, the battle for Camp Elliott was actually the most difficult! Camp Callan and Camp Matthews were acquired in 1964, but it took an additional year to get Camp Elliott for a research site because of all the different hands it passed through. The land that made up Camp Elliott was in the hands of the General Services Administration (GSA). Apparently

¹⁰⁶ Ibid.

both UCSD and California Western University were interested in the Camp Elliott land and promised it by the GSA in private. Then, the GSA went and put it for sale to the public.¹⁰⁷

The city decided to sue the GSA for making improper land parcels that had little regard to the natural landscape of the area.¹⁰⁸ This lawsuit made it so that the GSA could not sell the lands for a period of time. This allowed UCSD to swoop in and renegotiate the Camp Elliott deal. UCSD really wanted to put a research field station on the land. There were three bills passed by the Senate for Camp Elliott to be given to UCSD for no cost.¹⁰⁹ Eventually, with all the pressure, GSA decided to give Camp Elliott's land over to UCSD. The GSA transferred the 507 acres over to the Health, Education, and Welfare department who then transferred it over to UCSD!¹¹⁰

Another interesting thing to note about Camp Elliott is the fact that in 1944, the Navy left Camp Elliott and transferred everything to Camp Pendleton—the camp that housed many Vietnamese refugees nearing the end of and after the Vietnam War.¹¹¹ After this, it was used as a detention facility for undocumented immigrants at the end of World War II.¹¹² This fact really stuck out to me because of the way UCSD continues to do research for the border and the way that UCSD has historically not treated their Latinx students the best. It all feels like part of the military legacy.¹¹³

¹⁰⁷ LJ Journal, “City And Senate Aid UCSD In Land Dispute” September 3, 1964. UCSD Mandeville Special Collections - RSS 6020, Box 2, Folder 4.

¹⁰⁸ Evening Tribune “U.S. Agency Will Delay Land Deal, Parley Slated on Elliot Acres Sought by UCSD” June 19, 1964. UCSD Mandeville Special Collections - RSS 6020, Box 2, Folder 3.

¹⁰⁹ LJ Journal, “City And Senate Aid UCSD In Land Dispute” September 3, 1964. UCSD Mandeville Special Collections - RSS 6020, Box 2, Folder 4.

¹¹⁰ Evening Tribune, “507 Elliot acres Being Given to Cal” February 19, 1965. UCSD Mandeville Special Collections - RSS 6020, Box 3, Folder 1.

¹¹¹ Turgeon, Bernie. City of San Diego Memorandum, August 11, 2022. Page 24.
https://www.sandiego.gov/sites/default/files/dsd_hrb_policy20210208_memo.pdf.

¹¹² Ibid.

¹¹³ Velasquez, Patrick. “Patrick Velasquez: UC San Diego’s Progress in Diversity and Equity Has Been Minimal. I Taught There, I Know.” Tribune, August 23, 2020.
<https://www.sandiegouniontribune.com/opinion/commentary/story/2020-08-23/uc-san-diegos-diversity-and-equity-1-atino-chicano>.

Erasures

Throughout this thesis, there's been various ways in which UCSD and UCSD-affiliated individuals have erased Kumeyaay history. The first way was the designation of pueblo lots. It started with the government designation of pueblo lands all throughout the San Diego area. Through using pueblo lots, there is a romanticization of San Diego's Spanish colonial past that continues when UCSD is formed. Even the master plan does this when they talk about this area's "colorful history" being Spanish settlement and remnants of it.¹¹⁴ "Pueblo lots" is all that shows up in the articles on the land transferring, and it's also the language used to describe the ceremonies celebrating those transfers—the same ceremonies that celebrate our military past. These celebrations of our military roots also enacts erasure! Once again, UCSD—and society in general—focuses on a different history in order to try to hide our erased ones. They emphasize the 47 years of Navy occupation at Camp Matthews instead of the hundreds of years of occupation in Ystagua, because if they celebrate and center that, they'd have an obligation to listen and care for Indigenous peoples. But UCSD doesn't want to do that. Even when they had the 2014 reenactment, they still didn't try to adjust anything to add a land acknowledgment or mention the Kumeyaay Nation.

There's also erasure in *An Improbable Venture* itself! It perpetuates the university myth of greatness, both using the term "pueblo lots" and centering UCSD's military history all throughout the book. Its one offhand mention of Kumeyaay "artifacts" does a little more than the articles from the 1960s, but the entire book essentially does the exact same kind of erasure despite being published in 1993!¹¹⁵ Our university history perpetuates the same erasures enacted

¹¹⁴ Master Plan for University of California Community. 1959. San Diego: City Planning Department. Special Collections - NA9127.S25 A4 1959: 19.

¹¹⁵ Anderson, Nancy Scott. 1993. *An Improbable Venture : a History of the University of California, San Diego*. La Jolla, Calif: UCSD Press. Page 249.

since the very beginning. These erasures and framing of our past continues to haunt us, and it is why UCSD continues to struggle to better their relationship with Kumeyaay communities. It's hard to try to break the cycle of erasure, but it's possible! And we have to do it in order to pave the way for a better future—one that reveals the erased parts of the past and celebrates our Kumeyaay history.

More on Haunting

These erasures are what causes the haunting. UCSD continues to be haunted by its Indigenous past it refuses to recognize, because they refuse to acknowledge the haunting. There will only be more ghosts and endless haunting if UCSD doesn't step up and do something about it. We must confront and reckon with our past in order to turn over a new leaf. As Eve Tuck and C. Ree argue, haunting “will not be appeased by settler society's assurances of innocence and reconciliation.”¹¹⁶ Pretending a haunting isn't happening never helps those in horror movies! We must acknowledge and name what's happening. It's time to reveal the skeletons in our closet and showcase our full history, not just the parts we pick and choose.

¹¹⁶ Tuck, Eve, and C. Ree. “A Glossary of Haunting.” Academia.edu, April 23, 2014. https://www.academia.edu/3570271/A_glossary_of_haunting.

Conclusion

In chapter one, we covered *An Improbable Venture* and the way the narrative is centered through the white, male perspective of the founders. The story in the book erases all Kumeyaay connections to this land, instead focusing on the military history of UCSD. In chapter two, we discover Ystagua and discuss its significance as a prominent village for trade, along with its eventual abandonment due to violence and the spread of disease. In chapter three, we covered the history of the three military camps of UCSD, how wastelanding was what allowed for the erasure of Kumeyaay ties to the land, and the ways in which militarization was the thing celebrated in all the land transfer ceremonies. With all of this, I hope you see the ways that settler colonialism and erasure is an ongoing process. This erasure and historical legacy is not a coincidence; it was a deliberate effort to conceal the Kumeyaay history of this area. They focused on the 43 years Camp Matthews was here and not the thousands of years Ystagua was in use, or even Kumeyaay history from time immemorial.

In conclusion, it's time for UCSD—both faculty and students—to go beyond land acknowledgments and listen to the Kumeyaay community, as rightful stewards of this land, and as peoples who have a say in what happens here. What I hope to see soon is some sort of a step towards justice or reparation that would help towards active stewardship of land on Kumeyaay terms. Until that happens, I think these different aspects of the historical erasures will keep resurfacing. I'm just one person, and I don't know the answer for how to decolonize the university. But what I do know is that we must be doing more, and I hope keeping in mind the origins of our university can be a start!

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Last but not least, thank you to you!! I know my thesis, and even my acknowledgments, are quite long. So thank you for making it to the end! I hope this gives you something to think about while walking through campus (๑'๑๑)/*

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