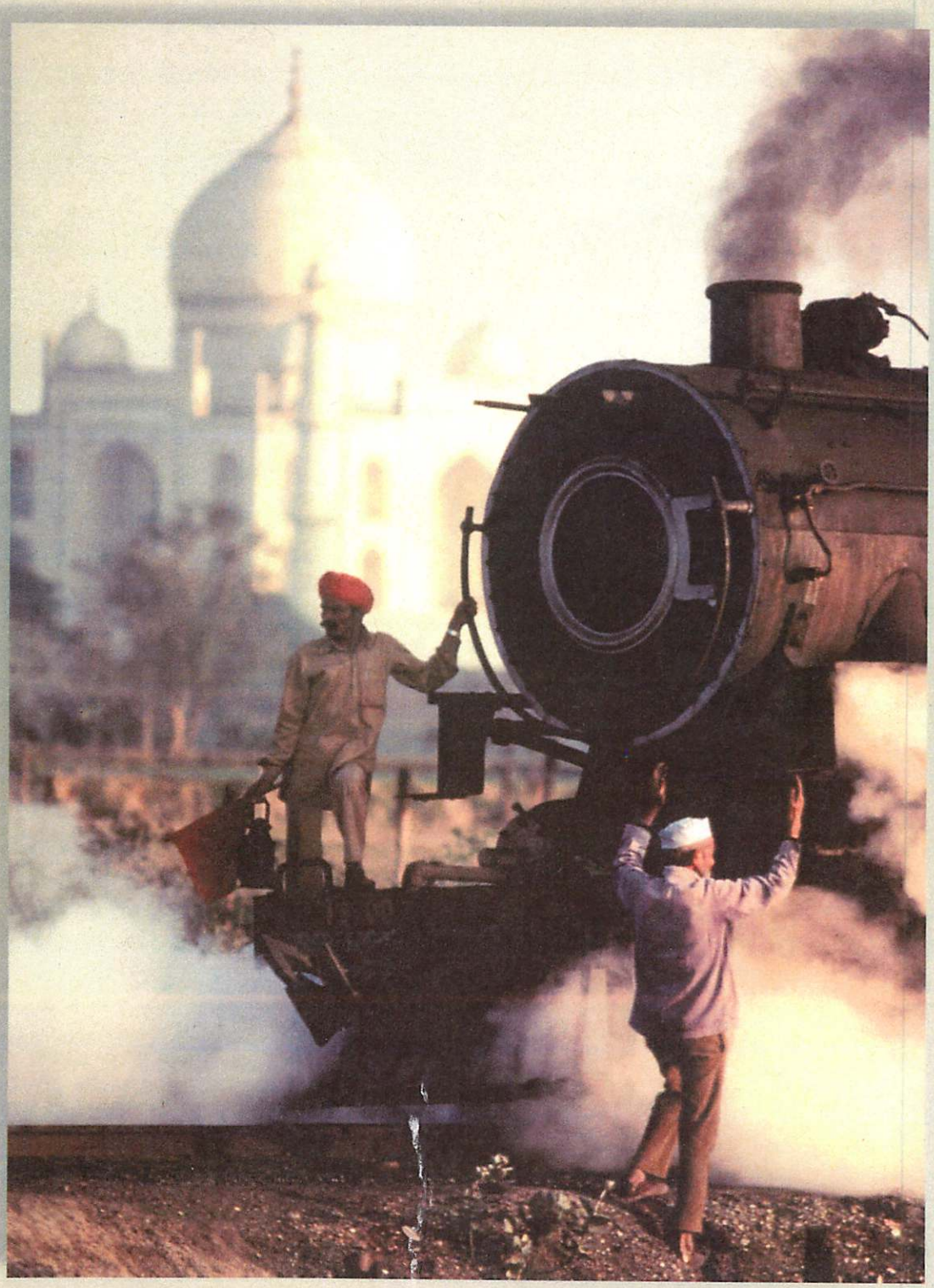
RACE/ETHNICITY

Multidisciplinary Global Contexts

Volume 4 Number 2 • Spring 2011



Reworking Race and Labor

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Volume 4 | Number 2 | Winter 2011
INDIANA UNIVERSITY PRESS

Whitening a California Citrus Company Town: Racial Segregation Practices at the Limoneira Company and Santa Paula, 1893–1919.

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The Limoneira Company created an agricultural "company town" that led the citrus industry and established a legacy that shaped the southern California citrus belt up through World War II. The founders of the company achieved their accomplishments by promoting their middle class ideas of commerce, race, ethnicity, citizenship, science, and gender. These citrus barons consolidated their control over citrus production vertically integrating, mechanizing, and imposing scientific methods on the production process. Workers became divided from each other along race and gender lines and from their work along skill lines. To control the marketing of citrus, the Limoneira founds led the producer cooperative movement, becoming the dominant member of the California Fruit Growers Exchange (now called Sunkist). The founders sustained this citrus empire by networking their fortunes and friends. The close familial ties between the Limoneira managers and owners, many of whom were also the founders of Union Oil, further strengthened the Limoneira's economic sway in the regions. The Limoneira owners undertook a campaign of industrial paternalism to convert immigrant citrus workers to Protestantism and to Americanize them into white middle class culture. They offered workers acculturation, not assimilation, segregating workers' residences, schools, and community life. The Limoneira Company is an example of the southern California region's first generation of citrus growers (1880s-1920s), yet it maintained its dominant position during the second generation of

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This journal article is an edited version of my Ph.D. dissertation chapter, Margo McBane, "Whitening the Citrus Community: Maintaining Racial Purity through Segregation," in "The House that Lemons Built: Race, Ethnicity, Gender, Citizenship and the Creation of a Citrus Empire, 1893–1919" (UCLA, 2001).

citrus growing (1920-1950s), when many of the larger southern California citrus ranches subdivided into smaller ranches that became the hallmark of Los Angeles regional communities throughout the San Gabriel and Pomona valleys. The racially segregated towns established by the citrus barons at the turn of the 1900s continue to have reverberations in California's racial tensions in the late twentieth and early twenty-first century.

In 1873, Nathan Blanchard, Sr., a New England-born Gold Rush miner-turned-entrepreneur, planted six thousand Havana Seedling orange trees on one hundred acres of rich, Ventura County farmland. In so doing, Blanchard helped inaugurate another kind of economic and demographic "rush" to California. The "citrus rush" that lasted from roughly 1890 to 1945 generated more jobs and income than its famous predecessor, the California "gold rush" of the 1840s and 1850s. During its fifty-year heyday, the citrus industry contributed more than two billion dollars to the state economy.[1] At its peak in 1930, southern California citrus ranching grossed over $100 million a year, more than Hollywood, wheat, or oil.

All across southern California citrus reigned king. The "citrus rush" did more than fuel southern California's economy. It helped shape its landscape, culture, and social relations. Many southern California communities still bear the imprint of the "Citrus Gospel"—that citrus-box label ideal of postcard-perfect pastoral vistas and scenic townships. Drive through Ventura or San Bernardino counties or the San Gabriel Valley and you will still see small subdivisions of orange or lemon groves tucked among thoroughly suburbanized, twenty-first-century communities. You'll find ramshackle stone buildings that once housed small citrus ranchers. You'll find old packinghouses. You'll find lemon and orange trees obligatorily guarding the front yards of craftsman-style homes.

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Citri-culture developed in two distinct phases. The founding generation of citrus growers and their progeny oversaw the development of the first phase from the 1890s through World War I.[2] In the Santa Paula region, Nathan Blanchard and a group of investors developed the 3,250-acre Limoneira Ranch, which the *Santa Paula Chronicle* declared in 1911 to be "the world's largest citrus ranch," and ultimately became the dominant partner of the California Fruit Growers' Exchange (later called Sunkist Growers, Inc.) (McBane 1995). Within this world and its founding generation, enthusiasm for science, technology, and new ideas about managing workers merged with popular beliefs about gender, race, and ethnicity to shape an emerging business that sustained them.

Figure 1. 1907 Limoneira Ranch, Limoneira Company Archives

The male founders of the Limoneira—and they were all men—did more than create a vast, modern business empire during the period from 1891 to World War I. They also saw themselves as community builders. Convinced that their own financial success mandated their civic and regional leadership, they made the town of Santa Paula both their home and laboratory. Within the boundaries of this small community, the founders molded an idealized vision of small-town life, which they controlled using the same principals of industrial paternalism that formed the base of their citrus empire. They experimented with popular ideas about civic beautification and municipal services; started businesses and social clubs; actively participated in local government; and underwrote libraries, churches, and other social and cultural institutions. Santa Paula became, by all testimony, a "model" community.

But it was not a model that served everyone equally. This was the key to employer control. This control included community racial segregation created from a white cross-class consensus. The consensus rested on the same patriarchal white supremacist ideology that undergirded the business empire of the Limoneira founders. In the same way that ideas about race and gender determined orchard and packinghouse employment patterns, these ideas shaped the cultural and physical landscape of Santa Paula. The Limoneira founders planned the community, its infrastructure, institutions, politics, and philanthropy based on control that would protect their cultural and racial hegemony. Overt and covert means of residential and ed-

Archibald Shamel extolled the architectural and horticultural beauty and achievements of citrus growers' homes.[8] With these estates, wealthy Santa Paulans proclaimed their ruling status. The built environment itself became a way of harnessing cultural hegemony.

The worker housing that the Limoneira founders built on the ranch sent a very different message. As Shamel noted, worker housing was not some carrot dangling in the competition for workers. Worker housing was about obedience (Hartig 1995, 100–104). Unlike other California growers, citrus ranchers tried to maintain a permanent labor force as a way of creating labor dependency. The company hoped that the lure of permanent housing on their ranch would attract multigenerational families and thus reinforce labor stability and contribute to worker loyalty (McBane and Hartig 1998, 12). In addition, growers perceived housing as a way to prevent, or at least, slow, organizing efforts among workers. When the Industrial Workers of the World, dubbed "Russian Bolshevik agitators" by the *California Citrograph*, made an appearance in Ventura County in 1917, the *Santa Paula Chronicle* (25 May 1917) rushed to urge citrus growers to curb labor grievances by providing adequate housing and pay:

Worker housing was about obedience. Unlike other California growers, citrus ranchers tried to maintain a permanent labor force as a way of creating labor dependency. The company hoped that the lure of permanent housing on their ranch would attract multigenerational families and thus reinforce labor stability and contribute to worker loyalty.

> The ranches where workers are "more liberally treated" are having little labor trouble. Workers need proper housing and good pay. Also the allotment of garden space and provision for poultry-keeping alleviates the grievances of workers and their families, and is a good economic and psychological influence on their contentment and stability.

Initially, the management of the Limoneira Company built housing for single white men and a few families of the white supervisors. In 1897, the single men lived in a two-story, fifty-man dormitory on the north side of the packinghouse. Next to the dormitory, the white families of the company management lived in a supervisors' residence and two smaller homes (called "little cottage"—number 1, and "big cottage"—number 2).[9] A third cottage was added a year later, in 1898, by converting an old bunkhouse into a family residence. The families living in the houses had to pay rent and their water bill while the company provided their meals. Dormitory rooms and meals were free for the white men. In some cases, such housing could be quite cozy and attractive. Helen Culbertson, daughter of assistant manager J. D. Culbertson, fondly recalled that her mother furnished their company-provided housing with "wicker furniture, and gaily flowered cretonne pillows and curtains."[10] It was not an unhappy place to grow up.

Helen Culbertson's family then moved to the large two-story building. The first floor housed her father's office in the front part of the building, with an outside entrance. A dining hall,

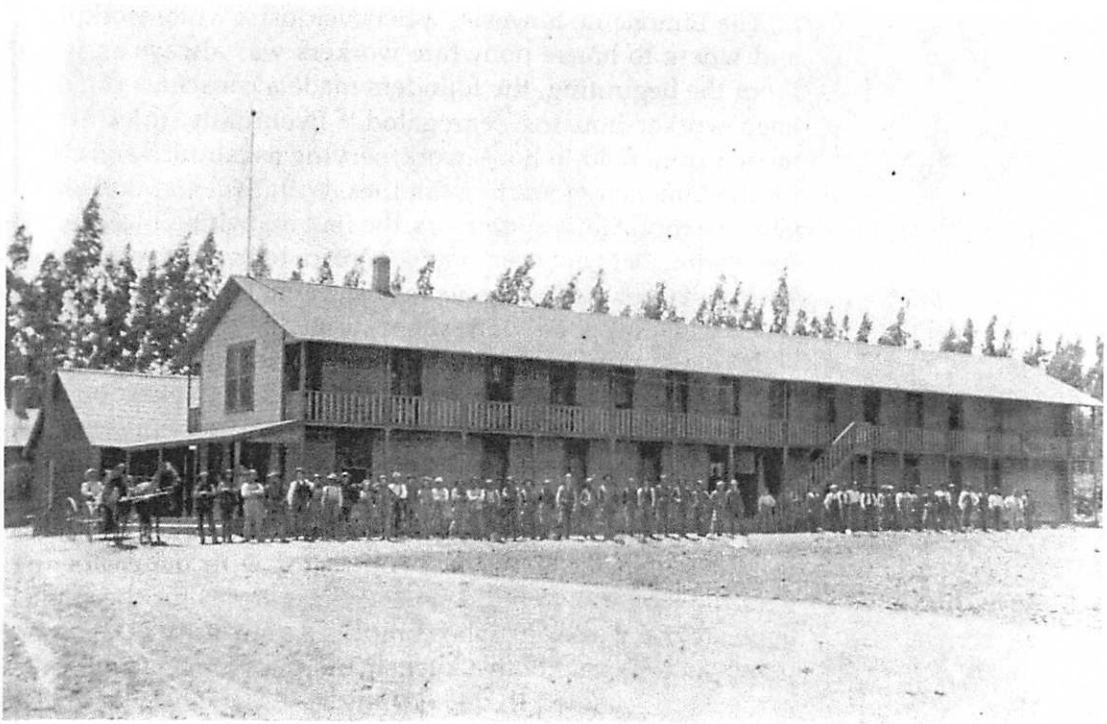

Figure 3. 1897 Limoneira Company White Single Male Dormitory, Limoneira Company Archives

located in the rear, was provided for the white, single men who lived in the dormitory. The second floor held a back apartment for the dining hall help (either a Chinese man or an older single white woman) and a front apartment for her family. The ranch cook served Culbertson's family in a separate dining room. Trust seemed to abound among the white workers and white managers, who all lived in close proximity. Helen's family never bothered locking their apartment doors.[11]

Housing for nonmanagerial whites was less picturesque, but plentiful. In 1907, the company constructed a ninety-six-man dormitory next to the one that had been built in 1897 (Culbertson 1920, 234). Likewise, on the newly acquired Olivelands Ranch section of the ranch (called "the Flats"), the company built twenty-three bungalow-style houses equipped with electricity and hot running water for white families.[12] Between 1911 and 1916, six more apartments and a dormitory were added to the "Flats." At the end of World War I, a Mediterranean-style bungalow courtyard at the entrance of the ranch was constructed just east of the packinghouse, on the Limoneira border closest to the town of Santa Paula. Next to the courtyard, the company added a vegetable garden, a playing field, and a picnic area. The courtyard housing consisted of a combination of one- and two-story detached houses arranged in clusters and attached houses in a courtyard facing each other. These houses were built of hollow clay tiles covered with a stucco finish, with indoor plumbing and sewers, electricity, and gas.[13]

Despite the lack of conveniences, Limoneira's Mexican housing appeared better than housing provided to Mexicans by other southern California companies. Historian George Sánchez notes that in Los Angeles, the Southern Pacific, Santa Fe, and Salt Lake railroads provided house-courts, known as "cholo courts," which were barracks with only thin walls that created two-to-three-room units. The residents had to share outside toilets and outdoor water faucets (Sánchez 1993, 107–110). Likewise, historian Alberto Camarillo notes that between 1890 and 1920 thousands of Mexican workers recruited by transportation and general construction companies lived in racially segregated one-room shacks (Camarillo 1979, 215).

Although Mexicans on the Limoneira may have had better housing than Mexican workers on other ranches or in other industries, it was inferior to that provided to whites. The majority of Mexican workers with families hoped to buy homes in Santa Paula, where they felt they could have more freedom.[23] Moving off the ranch was not easy, however. Transportation costs and high rents made leaving worker housing an expensive proposition.[24] Furthermore, the same men who enforced residential segregation on the ranch enforced it off the ranch, making finding homes off the ranch challenging.

In the 1890s, California sanctioned racial zoning. Likewise, banks promoted redlining, a racially motivated practice that determined the neighborhoods in which members of different races could buy homes. By 1902, such practices had caught on in Santa Paula, and deed restrictions began to appear on the town's tax records.[25] When racial zoning was declared unconstitutional in 1917, segregation was enforced through deed restrictions or covenants. Under such policies, homeowners who sold their property to minorities could be fined and buyers could be evicted.

In Santa Paula, the racial line of demarcation fell on Twelfth Street. The more prosperous the white family, the further north they lived from Twelfth Street. Conversely, the poorer the white family, the closer they lived to Twelfth Street. The more prosperous the Mexican family, the closer they lived to Twelfth Street, and the poorer the Mexican family, the farther south they lived from it.

Not surprisingly, the closer that Mexicans lived to Twelfth Street, the more impressive their housing. Middle-class Mexicans near Twelfth Street could expect to have small four-bedroom Victorian homes with porches and paved entrance walks.[26] Further south, the houses became simpler, wooden, single-walled constructions, and while white homes tended to follow a certain standard of design and size, Mexican homes were more varied, a clear sign that many Mexicans built their homes themselves and with the help of family, friends, and credit (Haas 1995, 180).

Most Mexican citrus workers lived in the unpaved neighborhood of Las Piedras, in the industrial district of the east-

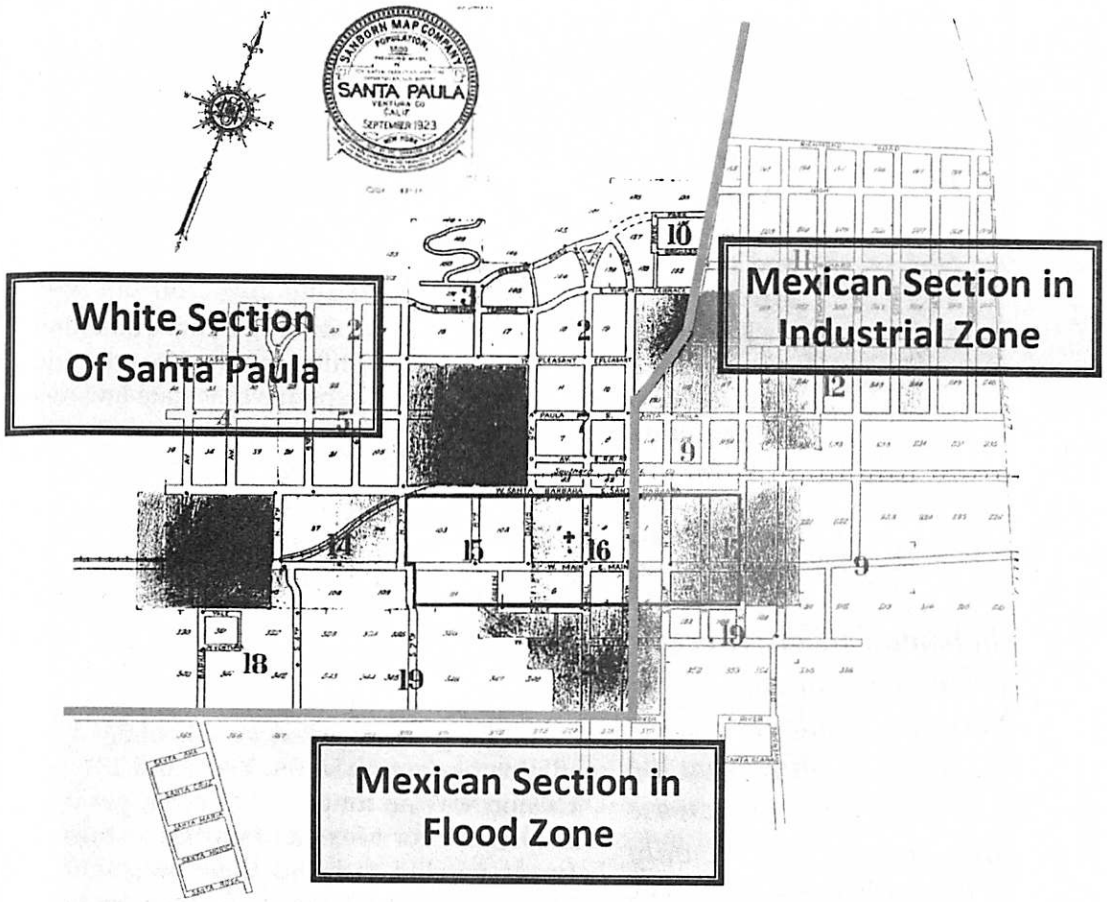

Figure 5. Sanborn Map of City of Santa Paula, CA, 1923

ern section of town, bordering Santa Paula Creek.[27] Since most residents of Las Piedras could not afford to purchase land, they rented two-bedroom homes with dirt floors from Mexican or white landlords. Rents were inexpensive due to the industrial nature of the area and its proximity to the creek. Living near the rivers posed the annual problem of river overflow, especially for families living in tents (Camarillo 1979, 145; Menchaca 1987, 45). The surrounding industrial factories also posed challenges for families. Emissions and effluents raised health risks and contributed to what geographer Laura Pulido calls environmental racism (1991, 1996).

Just as residential segregation shaped the quality and environment of people's daily lives, so did it affect their educational opportunities. The Limoneira founders thought a lot about education. It was an important component of cultural uplift and community improvement. The founders took a direct interest in the development of the Santa Paula school system, assisting in the creation of both unified school districts (which included grades one to twelve) as well as elementary school districts (grades one to eight).[28] Members of the Blanchard and Teague

Figure 6. Mexican Olivelands School Students, Pinedo Family Archive

race" (Bederman 1995, 198). Part of this also reflected numbers. In the 1910s, just one Japanese family lived within the city of Santa Paula;[40] by contrast, there were eighty-two Mexican families. Seen as culturally acceptable and numerically nonthreatening, Japanese students were viewed as worthy enough to attend white schools.

In contrast, white residents considered Mexicans demographically more significant (and thus threatening to white power); Mexicans were viewed as less culturally advanced. Therefore, Mexican students received less attention. The community, as a whole, left Mexican students to themselves and barely provided supplies.[41] Mexican Olivelands School only acquired used supplies, such as film projectors, when new shipments replenished the mostly white Briggs School. When special events were held in the district, Olivelands School students had to walk the three-mile distance to Briggs School to attend. More significantly, the local newspaper, the *Santa Paula Chronicle*, included a weekly column covering education-related news items, such as listing honors students or recent school events. Only white schools in Santa Paula received mention in these columns. Olivelands was mentioned only at the end of the year, with a listing of the names of its eighth-grade graduates.

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Graduation from Olivelands Elementary School was a significant experience and transition point for the Mexican children. Prior to the 1930s, most Mexican children whose parents

were farm laborers did not attend school after the eighth grade. In 1919, however, a California law mandated compulsory attendance up to age sixteen (Hendrick 1980, 24). In a 1920 survey of Ventura County high schools, not one Mexican child was among the graduating classes.[42] Carmen Corona remembers her school experience with discomfort: "I didn't fit into school. I only went to the Third Grade. The teachers didn't care if we learned. I thought they didn't care, so why should I go?"[43]

Low numbers of high school attendance for Mexican students occurred for a variety of reasons. Historian Colin Creet claims that immigrant children often failed academically because the curriculum eliminated those students unable to conform to the White Anglo Saxon Protestant (WASP) model of success and achievement. Paul Taylor points to economic deterrents for children pursuing a high school education and, in particular, to the lack of opportunities that education offered. As former Limoneira worker Fidel explained,

> The Mexican people didn't send too many people to [Santa Paula] High School because it was no use. After they get out of high school to work, they just have to come back and pick lemons. That was all the work we could do, pick lemons. There was nothing to do with what you learned in school, even if you speak English.[44]

Likewise, Joe Bravo said that most of his neighbors dropped out after eighth grade. "Most of the families around me did not encourage their kids to go to school and instead took them to the fields. The prevalent attitude was, 'What is the use of getting an education if you are just going to be farm workers?'"[45] Compounding these issues were communication problems and the limited time of parents/workers. Margaret Garcia recalls her parents' problem:

> Our parents wanted us to go to school [but] they weren't very much involved like parents are today. Sometimes it was very hard [to communicate with teachers]. Maybe a few did, but not all of them. When my father passed away, he was saying only a few words in English.[46]

The challenges Mexican American students faced were interpreted by whites as evidence of racial inferiority and "otherness."[47] While some school districts in southern California argued for segregation on moral and mental grounds, Santa Paula school administrators and teachers argued that Mexican children were dirty and diseased or that Mexican students, due to language problems, were slowing down their white counterparts.[48] Even teachers such as Thelma Bedell, who opposed segregation, felt that it was necessary in Santa Paula because of the language problem faced by the Mexican children.[49] By the 1910s, standardized tests designed to demonstrate familiarity with white culture, vocabulary, and values became a method to "prove" the racial inferiority of students and the further need for segregation. Segregation had become more than just

Nativist and racist views that initially infiltrated industrial paternalistic policies, such as worker housing, were written across the physical and cultural landscape of Santa Paula: the unequal housing available to owners, managers, and workers; and the limited educational and career opportunities offered to nonwhite, noncitizen citrus workers.

a means of keeping the races apart; it had become a way to prove ideas about racial superiority and inferiority.

Thus, after the 1910s, the extension of segregation from physical space to intellectual ways of seeing was complete. Nativist and racist views that initially infiltrated industrial paternalistic policies, such as worker housing, were written across the physical and cultural landscape of Santa Paula: the unequal housing available to owners, managers, and workers; and the limited educational and career opportunities offered to nonwhite, noncitizen citrus workers. Within the schools, Mexican children were acculturated into American society through an Americanization program, but this did not entail assimilation. Immigrant citrus workers were expected to emulate and aspire to achieve the "white" lifestyle, but could never gain equal entrance.

As immigrants, Mexican and Japanese citrus workers did not possess the citizenship status necessary to enter into the political and civic institutions that created their "spatial separation." Racial segregation served to demarcate one's position within the social hierarchy and strengthen the Limoneira's control over its workforce and company town. For the white citrus community, segregation contributed to their definition of "whiteness" through racial contrasting.

Not all immigrant citrus workers, however, were considered equally nonwhite. The founders of the Limoneira held the Japanese in higher regard than the Mexicans. In 1903, in the southern Ventura County town of Oxnard, an alliance of 1,200 Mexican and Japanese sugar beet workers in coordination with Japanese contractors, under the Japanese-American Labor Association (JMLA), conducted one of the first successful strikes of California agricultural workers. However, organized labor responded with the American Federation of Labor president Samuel Gompers agreeing to issue a charter to make the JMLA an affiliate—but only if Japanese were excluded, a blow to the unique labor solidarity formed by the JMLA. Gompers's response reveals this difference in Anglo American racial attitudes toward Mexican and Japanese workers (Almaguer 1995).

Earlier historians argued that white attitudes toward the Japanese were essentially an extension of their past views of the Chinese as a labor threat. In fact, the Limoneira company owners maintained a contradictory view of the Japanese. From 1902 to 1920, the company was one of the largest employers of Japanese laborers in Ventura County.[50] As the Limoneira became increasingly dependent on Japanese labor, the salary system changed from direct payment to individual employees to a labor–contractor system, the latter assuring workers longer periods of employment. The Japanese preferred to work under the long-term contract of a labor contractor rather than the day-to-day payment of growers.

Faced with the Japanese victory in the 1903 Oxnard Sugar Beet strike and the power displayed by Japanese contractors, the Limoneira management decided to hire its own Japanese contractor so that it could have direct control over its Japanese labor force. After the Oxnard strike in 1903, the Limoneira named former picker Hifumi "George" Shishima as its foreman and labor contractor of Japanese workers.

Japanese workers, through racial imperialism abroad, had gained a modicum of both respect and fear in the white male citrus community. Shishima noted that tension against the Japanese grew after Japan's 1905 defeat of Russia. By winning the war, Japan established itself as a nonwhite world power. From 1908 to 1918, C. C. Teague, the Limoneira's general manager, elevated Shishima to be the first nonwhite orchard manager; he contracted all the Japanese labor force and supervised the Japanese, white, and newly arrived Mexican workers.[51] In a similar vein, Theodore Roosevelt, a personal friend of Teague and the Limoneira founders, compared this victory to American frontiersmen's conquest of Native Americans in the West.

It was a mixed respect. Roosevelt considered the Japanese "serious contenders for evolutionary supremacy" who thus posed a threat to "white American dominance" (Bederman 1995, 199). Americans popularized Roosevelt's respectful attitude that Japanese men had proven by defeating the Russians. White residents of Santa Paula considered the Japanese "manly" and "advanced" enough to learn with white students, but "primitive" enough not to live next door. For the Limoneira founders, racial segregation in the workplace, residences, and education system proved a viable method of preventing any further labor power resulting from unity between Mexican and Japanese workers that had arisen with the 1903 Oxnard Sugar Beet Strike.

Segregation became an effective means of protecting white status and privilege at the Limoneira and in Santa Paula, and it ensured that those privileges extended into the future. However, after 1919, the Limoneira's economic and social policies changed as the second generation of citrus growers assumed the help of the company. Their fathers' efforts at industrial paternalism gave way to their sons' narrow financial lens. The citrus sons withdrew from civic participation, relying on segregation patterns to control and constrict the nonwhite citrus workers. The second generation of citrus workers matured as well, becoming foot soldiers for democracy, having been infused with a sense of Americanization that had a different meaning for their generation since they actually were citizens. These workers led the 1940 Great Citrus Strike against Ventura County citrus growers, with the Limoneira Company heading the negotiations.

Endnotes

1. Carey McWilliams notes that between 1903 and 1946 the annual value of the orange crop exceeded that of gold (McWilliams 1983 [1946], 209).

2. Large-sized ranches of more than 200 acres, and medium-sized ranches of 40–200 acres appeared during the formative years of the first generation of citrus production from 1890 to 1919, serving as the foundation for the industry. Citrus ranches began to subdivide their property into smaller parcels of 1–40 acres during the second phase of citrus development. The matured second generation of citrus growers and their children managed the second phase of citrus development from 1920 through World War II. This second phase was dominated economically by a few extremely large farms, but visually by an abundance of small farms.

3. In her book, Evelyn Nakano Glenn (2002, 144–46, 190–95) describes the racialization and gendered nature of American citizenship (white masculinity) and how it applied to Japanese and Mexican immigrants in her book. The number of Chinese and other immigrants living in Santa Paula was very small at this time (Menchaca 1995, 28–30).

4. Blanchard 1969, p. 53. Dean Hobbs Blanchard, interview by Margo McBane, Limoneira Company, Santa Paula, CA., May 7, 1992.

5. By 1917, the Blanchard Ranch included Nathan Blanchard Sr.'s seven-acre "ranch house" El Naranjal and garden, an expansion of the foreman's cottage from the former Bradley-Blanchard Ranch (which eventually was remodeled and doubled in size), Nathan Blanchard Jr.'s three-acre Los Limoneiros and garden, a Chinese colony, Mexican workers' bunkhouses, Mexican workers' cottages, a schoolhouse for Mexican workers, an orchard, and a packinghouse. It was difficult to build El Naranjal prior to the arrival of train track through Santa Paula in 1887. All the finishing lumber had to be purchased in Los Angeles, shipped to Newhall by train, and then brought to Santa Paula by freight wagons. The lumber had to come from Ventura by wagon. It was a very slow and expensive way to build a house. Talk given by Mrs. Ella Mack, daughter of the Farrands. Dean Hobbs Blanchard Archive (DHBA); Dean Hobbs Blanchard, 1992 interview.

6. Dean Hobbs Blanchard, 1992 interview.

7. Ibid.

8. Prior to 1897, it is not known where workers lived, The Limoneira did not provide housing, so they may have lived in the nearby housing of the Teague-McKevett or Blanchard ranches. As the records and oral histories indicate, the workers on one of these ranches most likely also worked on the other ranches when needed. The wage records for all three ranches have been kept in one location, the Limoneira headquarters, further demonstrating the integrated nature of the employment. There is contradictory information about the size of the first dormitory. The *Early Bird* (newsletter of the Agricultural Museum and the Ventura County Historical Society) 5(5) (January/February 1991): 1 says there were 46 men, while the Limoneira records say there were 96. The dormitory cost $3,340. The Limoneira Records, 1900–1910, Limoneira Company Archives (LCA).

9. In 1897, the Limoneira built Little cottage ($504) and Big Cottage ($816) and the male dormitory ($2,822), housing one man per room. Surrounding this housing, which formed the nucleus of the ranch, stood a curing and packinghouse and a pumping plant. Originally the Limoneira paid the workers, as is noted in the 1894 annual report, for the first nine months of the company's existence, although it is not known where the white men lived until the dormitory was built in 1897. In 1895, provisions for the male white workers averaged $111.76 per month, $.25/day per man or $7.50/month per man. When added to wages, men earned $33.15 per month. After the dormitory was built, the company continued to provide board for the men. In contrast, the

families living in the cottages paid their rent and water bills, but meals were provided.

10. Helen Jean Culbertson Fowkes, "Memoirs of My Early Days on the Limoneira Ranch," unpublished talk to the Santa Paula Historical Society, n.d.

11. Ibid.

12. In contrast, by 1916 less than half of all the southern textile mill families had electric lightening. Improvements in sanitation were slower in coming (Hall et al. 2000, 119).

13. The cookhouse cost $1,254, and the dormitory $6,576. The white family cottages built between 1912 and 1913 cost $4,349, with more additions built in 1916.

14. The method of segregating housing at the company and in the nearby company community has been noted in other citrus communities (Garcia 2001, 47–86; Teague 1957, 70–71; Hartig 2000). Housing segregation was not restricted to citrus ranching. Company towns such as Pullman were also racially and ethnically segregated (Stein 1969, 24).

15. Although the Limoneira did not house Chinese workers, some private ranches did. By 1917, the Blanchard Ranch had a Chinese workers' bunkhouse.

16. The 1904 dormitory cost the company $763 for materials. The 1905 dormitory cost $1,105. Another reference places the costs at $1,836. In 1906, the company borrowed money from the First National Bank of Santa Paula on their credit account to complete the project. The cost of this dormitory to house 96 men in 1906 was $3,277 (there is also a reference to $3,288). Minutes of Limoneira Company Board, 5 March 1906, Limoneira Company Archives. The 1908 dormitory cost $3,748 to build.

17. The Japanese on the Hawaiian sugar plantation also built traditional hot baths in the camps (Takaki 1983, 97).

18. The rooms in the Japanese dormitories rented for $28 a month in 1906 (Limoneira Company Archive, 1906). The Limoneira provided its white workers with board as well.

19. Fowkes, "Memoirs."

20. An allotment of $2,797 was provided for the construction of new housing. Olivelands did have some buildings that could be converted to housing, and Track Ranch had a cottage.

21. Electricity, hot and cold running water, and indoor plumbing were not installed in the *campo* houses until 1936.

22. Fidel and Carmen Corona, interview by Margo McBane and Mary Gadsby, Ventura, CA, 11 August 1987.

23. Japanese workers, most of whom were single, preferred to live on the ranch. Oxnard had the largest in-town Japanese family population in Ventura County (Fukuyama 1995, 4–5).

24. Guadalupe Galván, Interview (in Spanish) by Margo McBane and Mary Gadsby (translator), Santa Paula, CA, 12 September 1991.

25. Santa Paula property tax records, 1902 (Menchaca 1987, 42–44).

26. When a Mexican middle-class business sector arose in the 1920s, it provided the capital necessary for home ownership.

27. By the late 1920s and 1930s when space ran out in Las Piedras, people began to settle along the Santa Clara River, southeast of Santa Paula, in Ventura Barrio. When the St. Francis Dam Disaster took place in the late 1920s, Mexican families living along the Santa Clara River were killed. This was similar to the situation of the Mexican *colonia* of Pico Viejo, located in what is now the city of Pico Rivera in southern California. Pico Viejo was located along the San Gabriel River and in

times of flooding, the families would lose their livestock, houses, and worst of all, sometimes their lives. (McBane 1997).

28. Clarke 1936, 10. In 1909 Fillmore High School incorporated and the Santa Paula Union High School district reconfigured and included the Santa Paula, Briggs, Mupu, Santa Paula, and Riverside elementary districts. *Santa Paula Chronicle*, 26 August 1910.

29. The Limoneira founders also supported the informal educational programs of the Boy Scouts and the Young Men's Christian Association (YMCA). These programs promoted male "physicality." These organizations served as informal educational centers geared toward acculturating young white boys into white manhood through "frontier ruggedness (Dabakis 1995, 224).

30. Menchaca claims that the Californio children comprised a large percentage of the school-aged population in the 1870s (1995, 62). Menchaca also cites VCHSQ 1959; Santa Paula School District Board of Trustees 1963; and Webster 1967. In contrast, the Santa Paula Register of Surnames and Arrivals notes that there were only two Californio families living in a community of 48 in Santa Paula. Santa Paula 1920 Register of Surnames and Arrivals, Santa Paula Historical Society Archives.

31. In 1902 only seven Mexican families owned property in Santa Paula. Without public school money, Mexican residents had to send their children to private school, which they also could not afford.

32. In Ventura County, school segregation did not occur in Ventura, Piru, or Saticoy. Saticoy, however, was predominantly Mexican. Fillmore schools were segregated by class and by socializing. Orange County File, Paul Taylor Collection, Bancroft Library, UC Berkeley; Ida Cordero, interview by Margo McBane, Santa Barbara, CA, 2 May 1987.

33. *Santa Paula Chronicle*, 7 May 1909. This is an interesting number. According to the Santa Paula Register of Surnames and Arrivals, forty-eight Mexican families lived in Santa Paula in the 1900s, so it would seem that 48 families had more than three children. Santa Paula 1920 Register of Surnames and Arrivals, Santa Paula Historical Society Archives. In 1909 only three Mexican children lived in Santa Paula.

34. Several southern California school districts undertook this "showering" solution when integrating their white elementary schools with Mexican children (Menchaca 1987, 31, 59–60). In the 1950s when the Whittier Unified School District integrated its elementary school, the white PTA insisted on Mexican children bathing before entering classrooms. Eleanor Buelly, interview with Margo McBane, Whittier, CA., Summer 1999.

35. Prior to 1925, Mexicans comprised less than 20 percent of the Santa Paula population. A review of the elementary school record of 1912 shows that Mexicans first appear in moving from grade fifth to sixth and below, but not in the higher grades. *Santa Paula Chronicle*, 5 July 1912 (Hendrick 1980, 169–70). In 1913, the Pasadena Federation of PTA suggested to the school board that a separate residential school be built for Mexicans (ibid., 169). Santa Ana built its first Mexican elementary school in 1912 (Haas 1995, 90).

36. The federal government allowed school segregation at the state level until 1954. In 1931, 84.6 percent of California schools surveyed by the state government reported the practice of segregating Mexican pupils. Those school boards not choosing to segregate Mexican students in separate school generally relied on isolating them into separate classrooms. In 1935, the California state government legally sanctioned Mexican school segregation. School segregation ended in

Ventura County in 1946 due to a court ruling in the *Mendez et al. vs. Westminster School District* in Orange County that found school segregation against Spanish-speaking children unconstitutional. Most schools integrated in the Ventura County by 1950, except Oxnard, and by 1954 the U.S. Supreme Court ruled segregation, or "separate-but-equal" schools to be "inherently unequal" and therefore unconstitutional (Galarza, Gallegos, and Samora 1969, 50; Triem 1985, 127; Menchaca 1987, 43).

37. San Ysidro, south of San Diego, was the other community (Balderrama 1982, 8).

38. It was common to have only an elementary school (K–8th grades) and high school (9th–12th grades) until the 1910s. In 1909, Berkeley city superintendent Frank Bunker and the Berkeley school board introduced the first junior high school or middle school, called introductory high school. He did this because there was not enough room in the high school for 9th graders. There were both unified school districts for grades 1–12 and elementary school districts for grades 1–8. In 1920, the passage of Proposition 16 added kindergartens to the state school system (Hendrick 1980, 25).

39. Legal segregation of blacks ended in Caifornia in 1880. Indian children were denied even segregated schools (Hendrick 1980, 170).

40. The Limoneira Company, located outside the city limits of Santa Paula, hired hundreds of Japanese workers.

41. Hendrick noted that Mexican children, even more than black, were likely to receive schooling that was not only segregated but inferior in virtually all respects (Hedrick 1980, 170).

42. *Ventura Star Free Press*, June 20, 1920.

43. Fidel and Carmen Corona interview.

44. Ibid.

45. Joe Bravo, interview by Margo McBane, Santa Paula, CA, 30 July 1987.

46. Margaret Garcia, interview by Margo McBane and Mary Gadsby, Santa Paula, CA, 6 November 1991.

47. Menchaca notes that the school administrators' intentions for segregating Mexican students is not actually known because the school board minutes covering this information were discarded by the Santa Paula School District Office (Menchaca 1995, 59).

48. Haas argues that in Santa Ana the PTA demanded segregation based on "moral, physical, and educational" grounds, linking moral judgment and mental ability. Haas contends that the measurement of moral judgment and mental ability comes out of the scientific racist movement of this era. As argued in a previous chapter, scientific racism had its origins at a much earlier time (Haas 1995, 191). These reasons cropped up throughout California. Segregation by room took place in Los Angeles in 1916 in the Sherman School, due to "alleged unsanitary conditions among the Mexican population." This was an unfounded reason, upon inspection by the county health physician. Those advocating this position feared the undemocratic appearance of their position: "According to the petitioners, the request was not inspired by 'any prejudice or unfriendly feeling toward the Mexican people,' but because the community feared 'that the health and the very lives of their children' were being endangered" (Hendrick 1980,168–70).

49. Another article in the local paper stated that the Santa Paula Elementary School Board justified segregating children on the grounds that Mexicans needed special instruction in Spanish-language classrooms. Spanish-language instruction, however, was never permitted

in these early days. It contradicted the white hegemonic agenda of the school board that wanted to "Americanize" these students. *Santa Paula Chronicle*, 4 September 1914; *Santa Paula Chronicle*, 26 June 1919 (Belknap 1968, 138; Triem 1985, 126).

50. Limoneira Company Labor Ledger, LCA, 1920.

51. Shishima received a monthly salary from the Limoneira as well as a daily commission from each worker. With these combined payments, he saved $25,000, enough to establish his own business, the Shishima Company, in 1909, located in Santa Paula and Oxnard, providing dry goods, a restaurants, labor contracting, and a proprietor of a sugar beet farm near Oxnard. After leaving the Limoneira and the region in 1918, Shishima sold the Shishima Company and first became a rice salesman and then a potato farmer near Sacramento. He then sold the potato farm and moved back to Japan a millionaire, and started Fukuoka Bank (Harada 1966; Ichioka 1988, 81; Fukuyama 1995, 3–31).

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