

Reframing a Region:

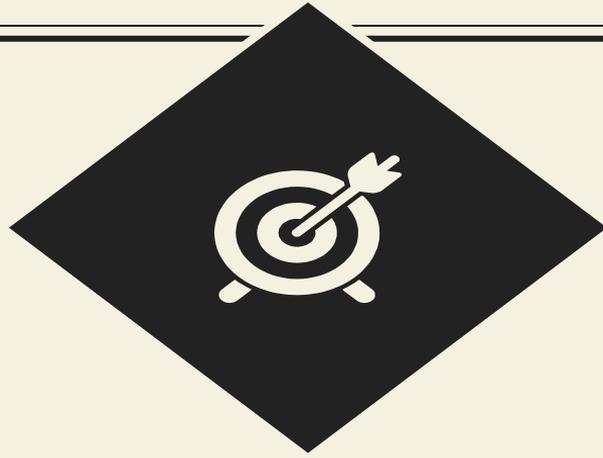
Communities of Color in the California Delta



By Phillip Merlo

Initial Discussion Question:

Who owns history?



Objectives

What are our goals for today?
(and next Thursday)

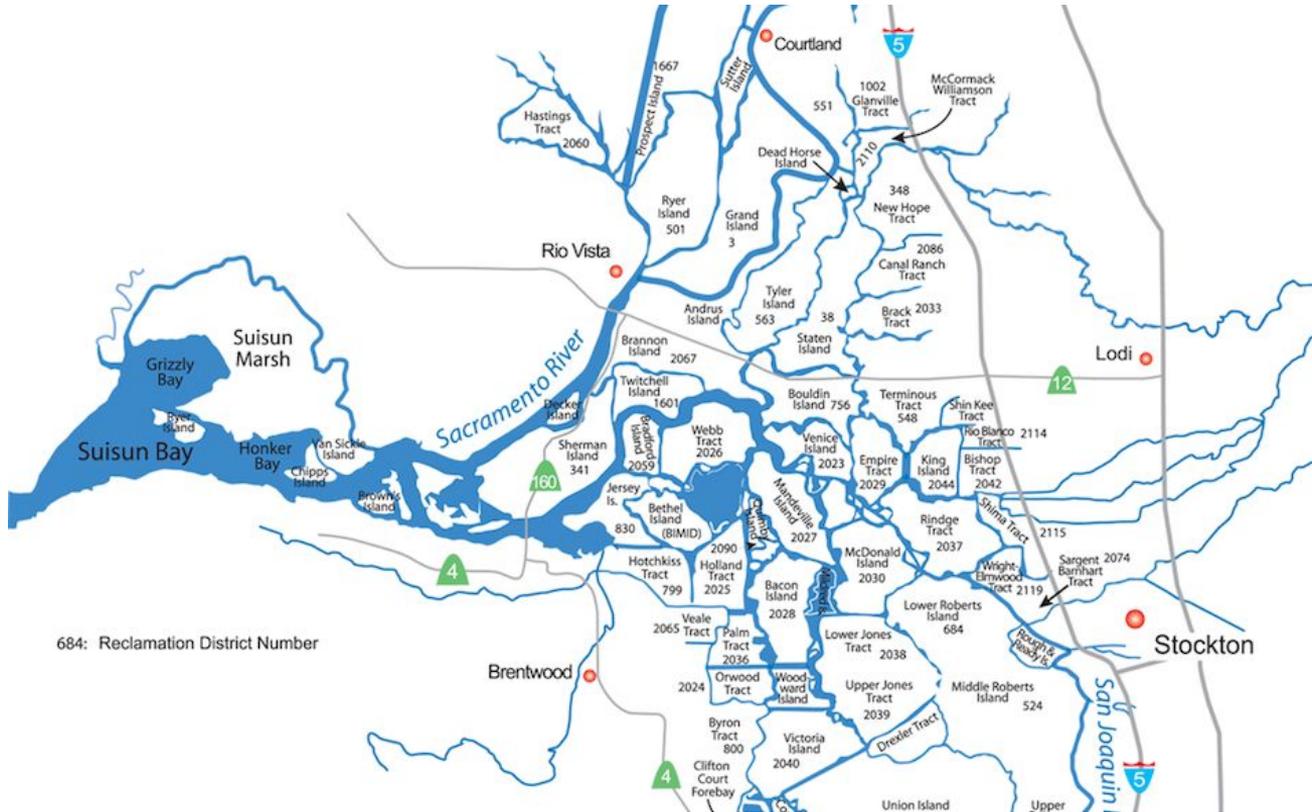
Objective 1

Understand that the existence of the current California Delta as a physical and economic space was and is made possible by the labor and culture of communities of color.

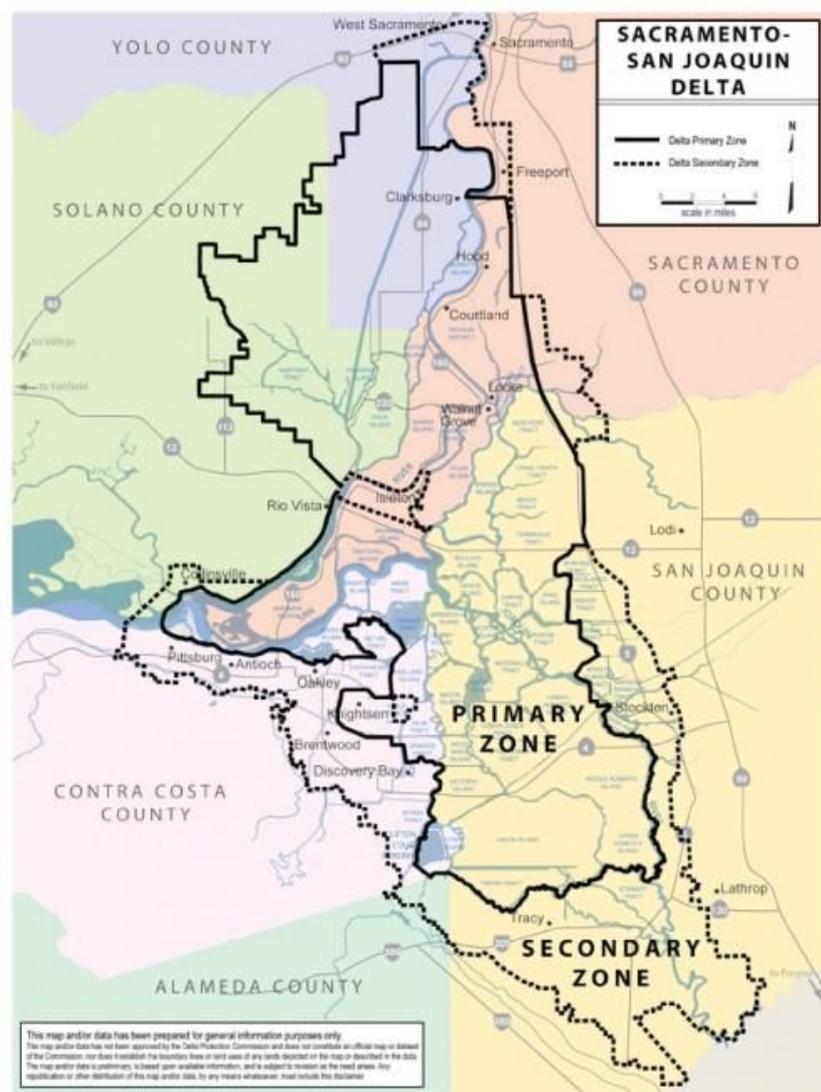
Objective 2

Frame the construction of conveyance infrastructure to increase water-exports for agriculture and desert housing as a state-sanctioned white-supremacist threat to the livelihoods of low-income communities in the California Delta.

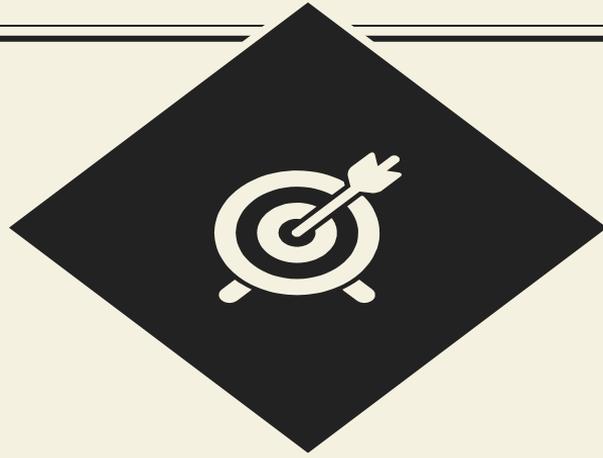
The California Delta



684: Reclamation District Number



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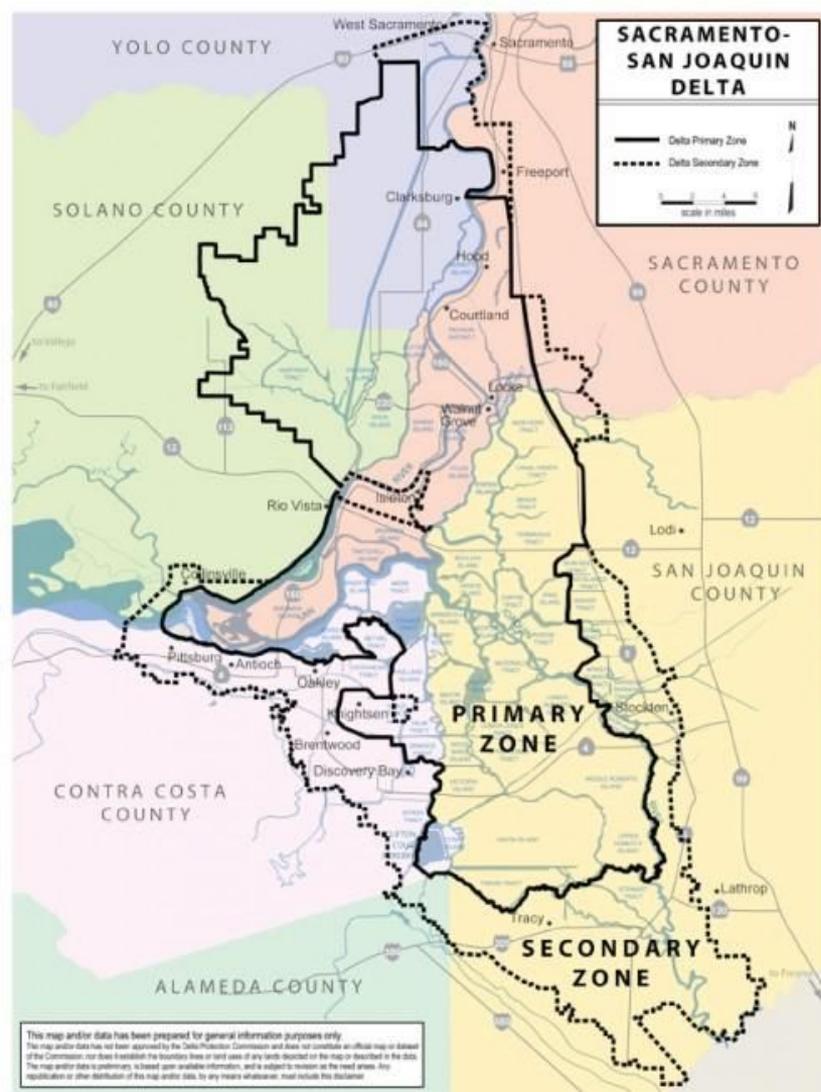
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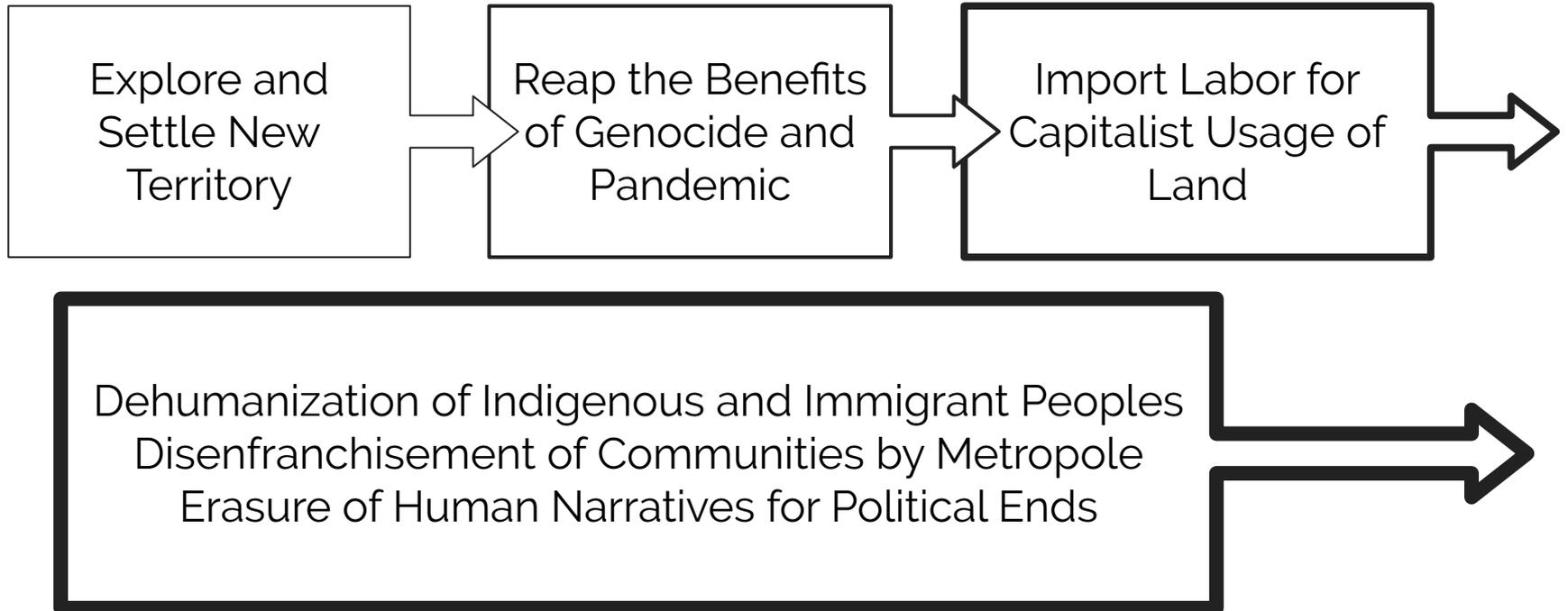


What we're actually looking at

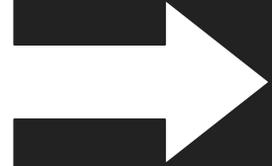


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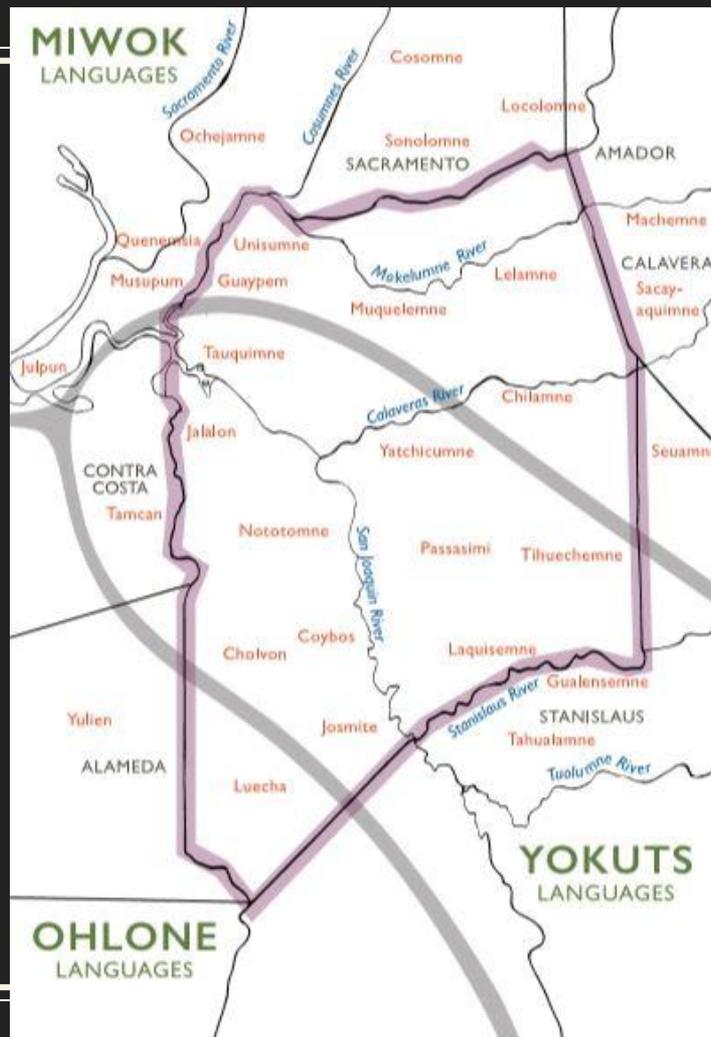
Key Process of Anglophone Colonialism in Americas



**Shattering the Myth of
Preservation:
Indigenous Peoples in
the Delta**



MIWOK
LANGUAGES



OHLONE
LANGUAGES

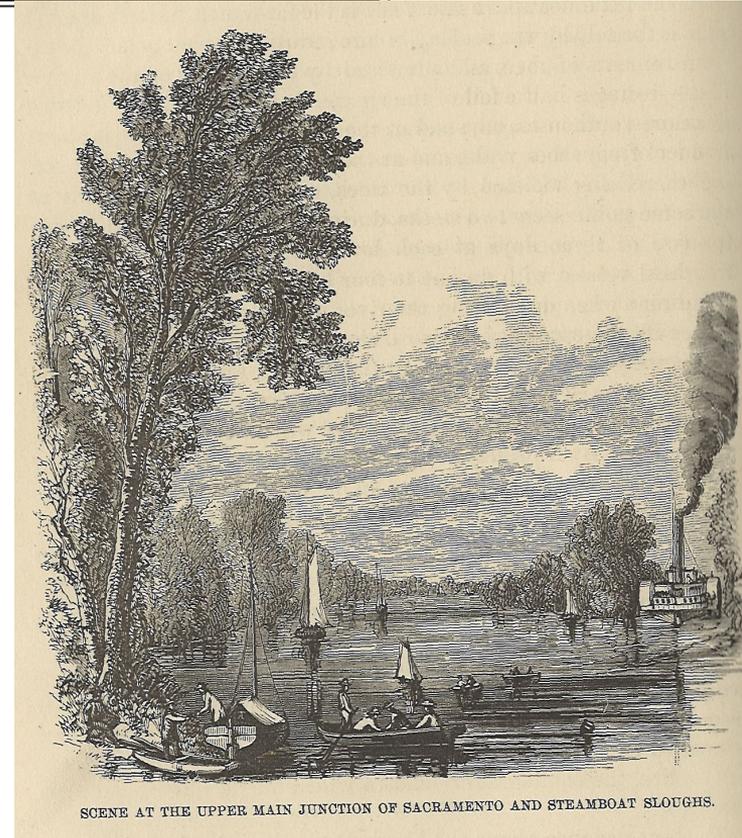
YOKUTS
LANGUAGES

Fire and Water: Indigenous Food Systems

Yokuts and Miwok communities in the Delta actively used fire to clear understory growth, control tule vegetation, and create habitat for elk, deer, and salmon.

Spanish and early anglo observers refer to indigenous fire practices in the Delta. Burning created park-like spaces in the oak-forest ecosystems along the Eastern and Northwestern rims of the Delta. Historical reports of the Central Delta, the marsh islands, often shaped like shallow bowls, typically contained large meadow-like spaces of tule grasses that were burned seasonally.

The Southwestern Delta, consisting of tidal flats and the slopes of the Diablo range, also used burning for ecosystem management.



SCENE AT THE UPPER MAIN JUNCTION OF SACRAMENTO AND STEAMBOAT SLOUGHS.

Genocide and Pandemic



Beginning in the 1810s, Spanish soldiers and priests from Mission San Jose in Fremont began to force Delta Yokuts and Miwok peoples into the missionary sphere. By 1827, a Delta Yokuts chieftain, Estanislao, had organized a large uprising against the Spanish-Mexican yolk. Despite an eventual peace, thousands of native peoples died. In 1832, the California Malaria Pandemic hit the Delta particularly hard, leading to an estimated 80% decline in population over two years.

Removal to the Missions

“Yokuts-speaking Indians from the central and southern portions of San Joaquin County— from the Jalalon, Nototomne, Yatchicumne, Passasimi, and Lacquisemne nations—appear in the Mission San José records during the 1814–20 period. Natives from the southern edge of present-day San Joaquin County also went to Mission Santa Clara de Asís. Yokuts dialects from the northern San Joaquin Valley were “the predominant native language at missions Santa Clara and San Juan Bautista during the late mission period.”” - Dave Stuart

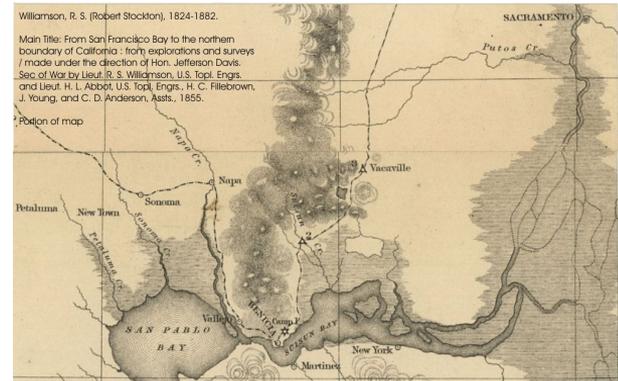
In the wake of Estanislao's uprising, many Northern Delta tribal entities moved to Mission San Jose in the late 1820s and early 1830s.



Malaria Pandemic of 1833

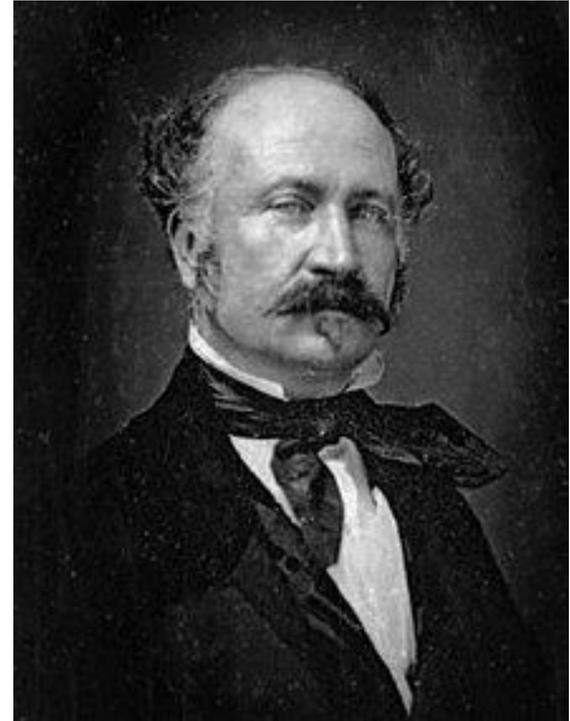
Most likely brought by Hudson's Bay Trappers to the region in 1832, a wave of malaria spread rapidly in 1833, killing up to 80% of the indigenous populations of the Delta, based off of Mission estimates. The Ylamne community, near present day Clarksburg, dwindled from 200-250 to 48 by 1837.

The marshland ecosystems of the delta were conducive to mosquito populations, and may account for the scale of the pandemic in this region of California.



Johann Sutter and the North Delta Peoples

John Sutter settled near present day Sacramento in 1839, establishing his fort and his planned New Helvetia Colony. Popularly known for his role in the Gold Rush and establishment of Sacramento, Sutter used violence and coercion to enslave Miwok, Nissenan, and Maidu natives in the South Sacramento Valley. Notably, his raid on the Moquelumne and Cosumne led to depopulation



Theodore Cordua's Account in 1855

"When Sutter established himself in 1839 in the Sacramento Valley, new misfortune came upon these peaceful natives of the country. Their services were demanded immediately. Those who did not want to work were considered as enemies. With other tribes the field was taken against the hostile Indian. Declaration of war was not made. The villages were attacked usually before daybreak when everybody was still asleep. Neither old nor young was spared by the enemy, and often the Sacramento River was colored red by the blood of the innocent Indians, for these villages usually were situated at the banks of the rivers. During a campaign one section of the attackers fell upon the village by way of land. All the Indians of the attacked village naturally fled to find protection on the other bank of the river. But there they were awaited by the other half of the enemy and thus the unhappy people were shot and killed with rifles from both sides of the river. Seldom an Indian escaped such an attack, and those who were not murdered were captured. All children from six to fifteen years of age were usually taken by the greedy white people. The village was burned down and the few Indians who had escaped with their lives were left to their fate. Sutter usually claimed the children as a payment for the cost of the war. They became regular commercial objects because the inhabitants of the coast preferred the Indians of the Sacramento Valley as servants, and paid good prices for them. In this way a regular trade of human beings developed."

John Marsh and the Delta Yokuts

“In a short time [I] have [a] whole tribe as willing serfs. They submit to flagellation with more humility than the negroes. Nothing more is necessary for their complete subjugation, but kindness in the beginning, and a little well timed severity when manifestly deserved.... Throughout all California the Indians are the principal laborers, without them the business of the country could hardly be carried on.”



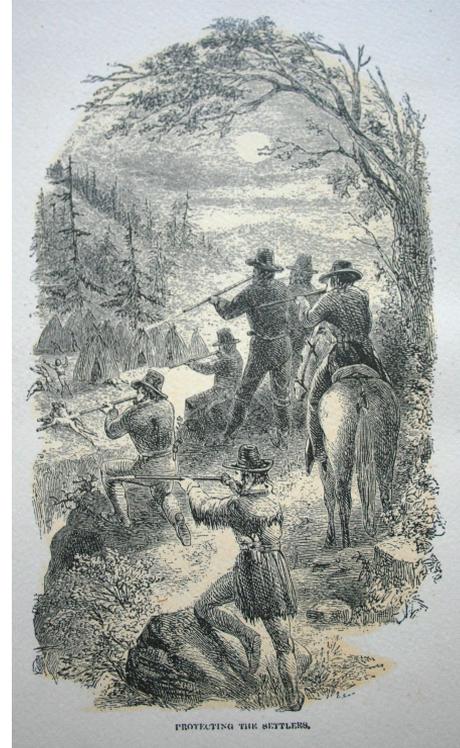
Charles Weber & Jose Jesus

Charles Weber leaves behind a less violent legacy concerning the local native tribes. Jose Jesus, the chieftain of the Delta Yokuts and Miwok communities, became a strong ally and close friend of Weber. This was mutually beneficial - Jose Jesus was provided with an ally against Sutter and the Mexican government, and Weber received protection and geographical consultation for his new community. Weber also worked with Jose Jesus to make the Stockton Mining Corporation successful, hiring indigenous Yokuts peoples to mine for gold in the Southern lode. Laborers were paid in gold.



Weber's Complicity in Anglo-Genocide

In 1849, Weber was pressured to and led a raid on a Miwok village near modern day Copperopolis. An influx of decommissioned union soldiers to the area, many of whom had experience in leading Indian raids in the Southwest, who saw indigenous peoples as targets. The political calculations of the day concerning local governance in his newly founded city, and his petition to the Federal government to recognize his land grant, appear to have influenced Weber to allow for McKinley Park to be used as a training ground for death squads.



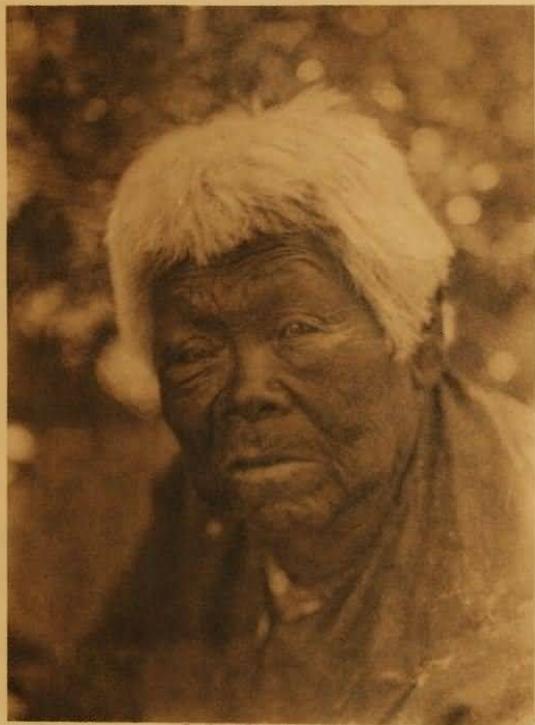




Survival on the Margins

Between pandemic, dislocation to Missions, and anglo-violence, the indigenous peoples of the Delta were greatly reduced between 1827-1860. Remnants of dislocated Delta Yokuts can be found in the Bay Area and in East Contra Costa County. Most native peoples of the Delta who escaped the anglo death squads of the 1850s and 1860s generally settled in the Sierra foothills, where they were economically marginalized.



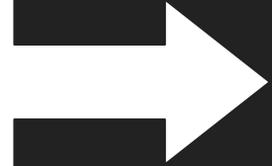


From "The People of the World" by J. P. Smith

A SCOTTISH MEXICAN WOMAN



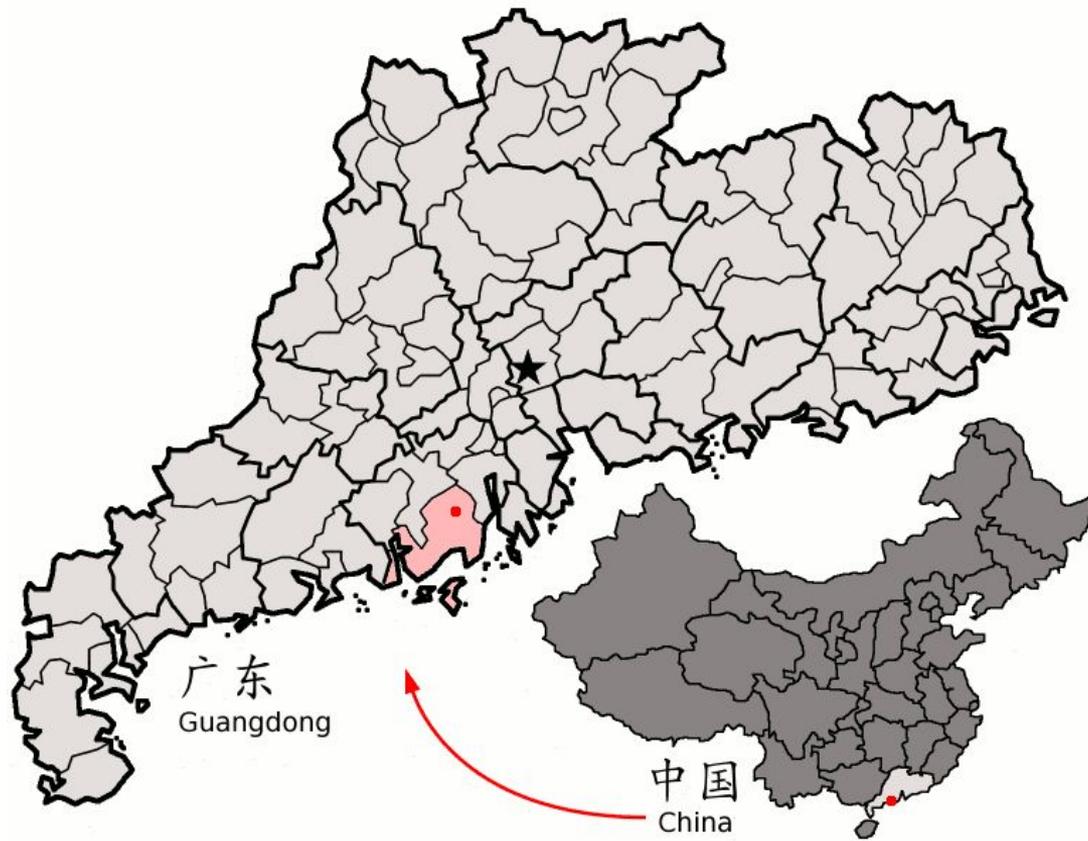
**Creating a New Economic
Geography: Chinese
Labor as the Foundation
of the Regional Economy**



Economic Chaos and Gold Mountain

The California Gold Rush coincided with a period of immense economic instability in the Qing Empire of China. The opium war of 1839-1842 led to a shattering of market norms in Southern China, and a large decline in the livability of agrarian lifestyles in particular. Due to these conditions, large numbers of young men from agricultural prefectures in Guangdong Province, especially from Taishan, began to immigrate to California in hopes of obtaining wealth.

From the beginning, discrimination and persecution was common. Communities were segregated, and mob violence in the gold fields was the norm. Chinese laborers would travel to the Sierras by way of SF and Stockton/Sacramento,



Taishan Prefecture within Guangdong Province, China.







PACIFIC CHIVALRY.

Encouragement to Chinese Immigration.

Rail and the Delta

In the 1860s, California industrialists pushed hard to build a transcontinental railroad between the Bay Area and Missouri. Chinese labor was recruited heavily, both in California and in Guangdong, to achieve this industrial goal. Numerous academic and popular histories have been written on this topic, but one thing to note - the last piece of rail track laid in connecting the Bay with Sacramento was in the Delta, near Lathrop.



Swampland Reclamation and Wheelbarrow Brigades

In 1850, the federal Swampland Regulation Act allowed for the first time the transference of federal swamp land to private landowners. In the 1860s, the State of California deregulated reclamation, leading to a swarm of capital from the Bay Area for the purchase and reclamation of marshland.

Although technologies for reclamation existed in the European spheres of engineering, the most inexpensive means of reclamation was to hire Chinese laborers, who had experience with reclamation in the Pearl River Delta.



Chinese laborers with hoes and shovels performed early stage construction during the war 1890s



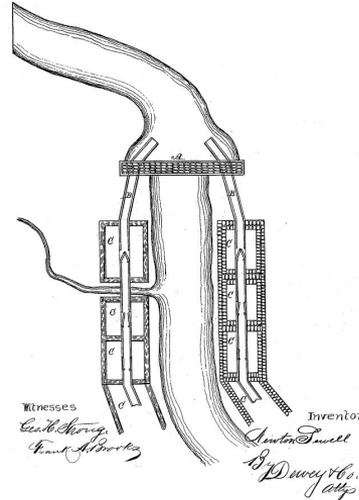


CALIFORNIA.—BREAKING OF THE FOOT LEVEE ON SAN JOAQUIN RIVER, FOUR MILES SOUTH OF STOCKTON, APRIL 18TH.
FROM A SKETCH BY F. J. HOWELL.—SEE PAGE 187.

Innovation Reduces Labor Needs

“In December 1880, Newton Sewell a county assessor and landowner in Yuba, was granted U.S. Patent 235967, which describes a passive hydraulic method for levee formation through the construction of check dams within sediment-laden rivers. The dams would divert accumulated sediment to a series of settling enclosures that in turn would become a levee.” - Richard Hindle

(No Model.)
N. SEWELL.
Method of Relieving River Channels of Sediment
and Forming Levees.
No. 235,967. Patented Dec. 28, 1880.

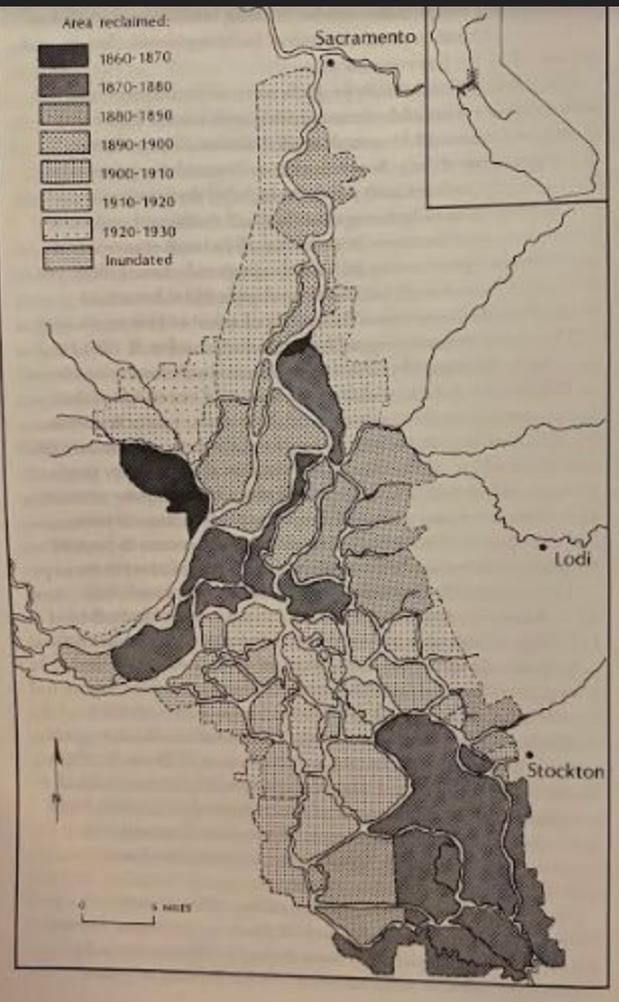


A New Labor Force for Reclaimed Land

John Marsh stated in 1849:

“Throughout all California the Indians are the principal laborers, without them the business of the country could hardly be carried on.”

How did anglo settlers plan to “carry on” the business of California after indigenous genocide?



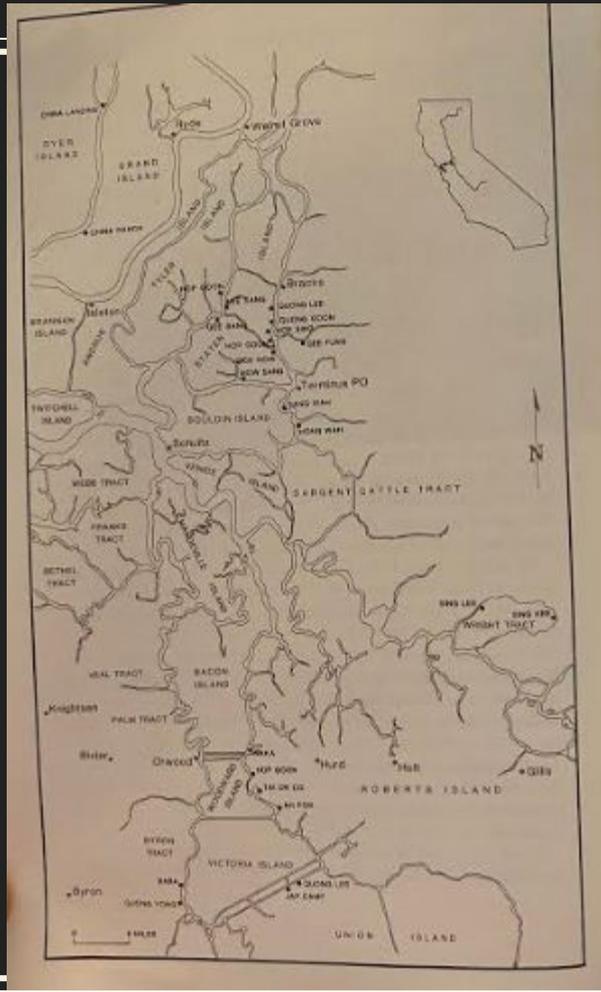
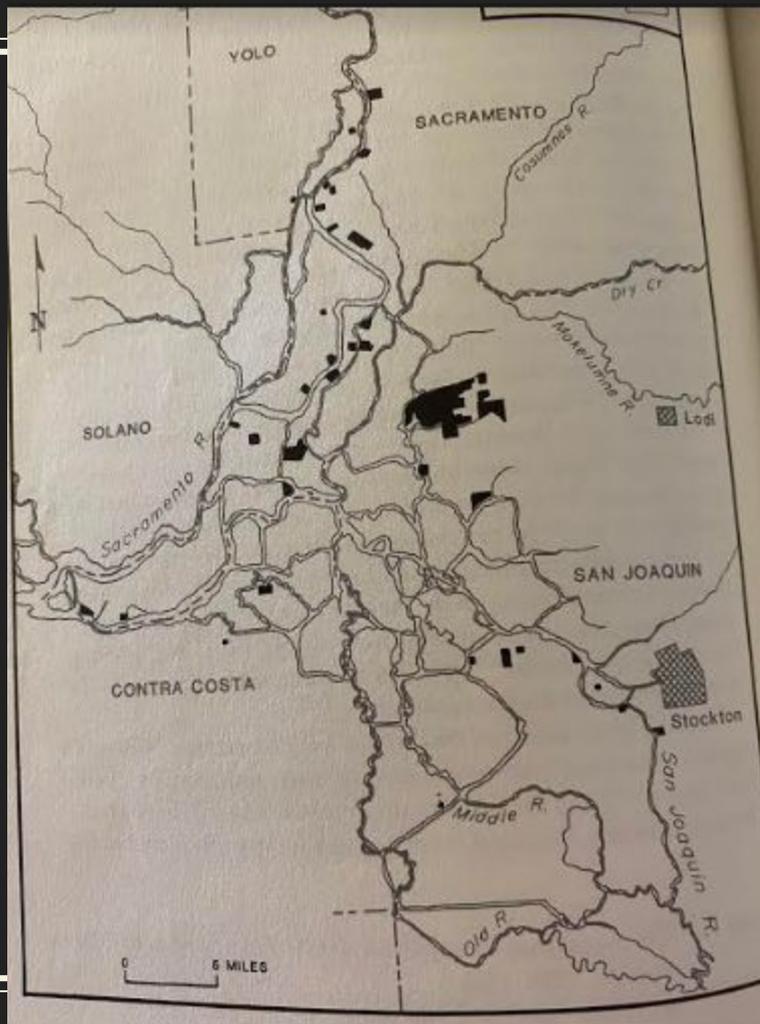
Agriculture in the Delta: a Chinese Innovation

As the first large tracts of land in the delta were reclaimed, Chinese labor became indispensable in the creation of a productive economic geography.

According to Sucheng Chan: “In fact, it can be argued that without [Chinese tenant farmers and farm laborers] the Delta would have taken decades longer to develop into one of the richest agricultural regions of the world.”

Chinese Labor and Leasing

Chinese immigrants participated as wage laborers, but also as early pioneer tenants of newly reclaimed land. Based on assessors books, we know that from 1870 on, Chinese tenant cooperatives would lease newly reclaimed land, create a diversified agricultural portfolio, make profit, and eventually use that profit to invest in other ventures. Chinese could not own land, per the California Constitution.



Potato Kings

Over time, the Chinese agricultural community came to specialize in crops that were a) difficult to grow and b) maximized profit margins. This meant potato agriculture.

POTATO KINGS 195

Table 18 The Sacramento-San Joaquin Delta: Crops Grown on Farms Leased by Chinese Tenants, 1860-1920

	1860-1879	1880-1889	1890-1899	1900-1909	1910-1920
Crops	0	0	1%	2%	0
Berries	23%	11%	18%	11%	5%
Vegetables	0	0	3%	6%	3%
Asparagus	5%	4%	5%	6%	5%
Onions	5%	10%	12%	18%	19%
Potatoes	5%	7%	8%	9%	11%
Beans	0	4%	1%	1%	0
Alfalfa	16%	6%	7%	6%	10%
Grain & Hay	0	0	0	0	4%
Corn	0	1%	0	0	0
Beets	0	1%	0	0	0
Deciduous Fruit and Nuts	25%	28%	14%	5%	4%
Nuts	5%	1%	0	1%	0
Grapes	0	2%	0	0	0
Nursery Products	0	2%	0	0	0
Dairy and Livestock	2%	5%	1%	7%	8%
Pigs	0	1%	2%	0	0
Poultry	0	1%	0	0	0
Crop Not Stated	14%	15%	26%	27%	31%
Hops	0	4%	2%	0	0
TOTAL	100%	100%	100%	99%	100%

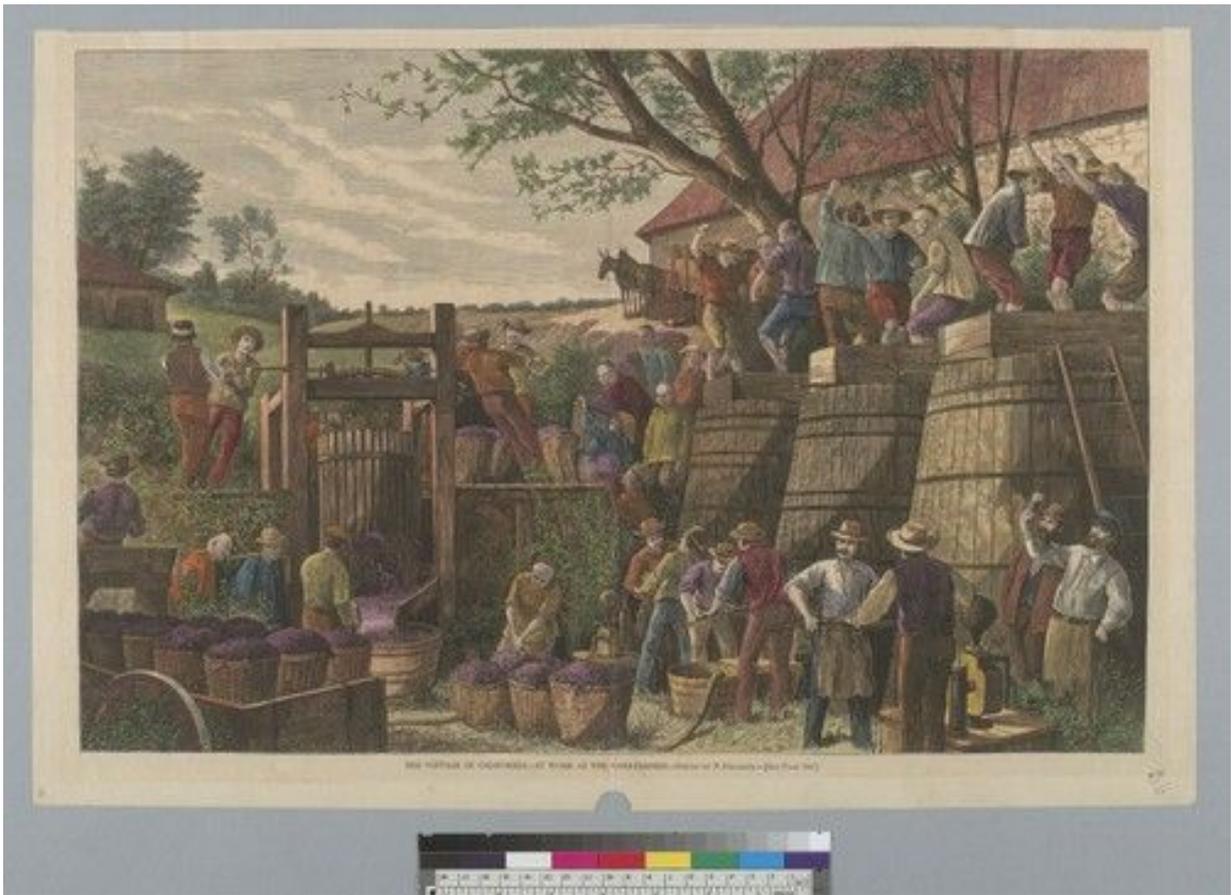
SOURCE: Compiled and computed from Contra Costa County, "Chattel Mortgages," Chat-Books 1-34, 1852-1924, "Leases," Books 1-12, 1862-1924; Sacramento County, "Chattel Mortgages," Books K, 27-210, 1860-1925, "Crop Mortgages," Books 66-172, 1890-1923, "Leases," Books A-S, 1853-1923, "Personal Property Mortgages," Books 67-218; San Joaquin County, "Book G of Miscellaneous" (contains Leases), Books G1-G49, 1850-1921, "Book I of Mortgages" (contains Crop and Chattel Mortgages), Book 11-173, 1850-1921; Solano County, "Chattel Mortgages," Books 1-39, 1849-1920, "Leases," Books 1-15, 1853-1919; and Yolo County, "Leases," Books A-H, 1854-1922.

operated by Chinese tenants produced vegetables, and 25 percent raised fruit. Potatoes, surprisingly, grain and hay were grown





imgBC: JHN001211



Winemaking



Sugar Beets

Violence and Public Health

Chinese labor communities in the Delta were subjected to a spectrum of rhetorical, political, and physical violence. Social-darwinist language was common, and Chinese culture was attacked as a public health threat. Municipal ordinances in Stockton in the 1860s, 1870s, and 1890s targeted farm labor housing and Chinese laundries. Arson attacks on Chinese businesses was a monthly occurrence, and it was not uncommon for .

SHOULD REMOVE. — To our mind it somewhat violates the "eternal fitness of things" that a Chinese wash-house with its overpowering effluvia, indescribable filth, and outlandish presence should occupy a prominent position on the main thoroughfare of the city. The fact that other cities suffer alike in this respect is no reason why we need not hope for a reform. Our mild description above very nearly fills the bill of a Chinese laundry establishment on Main street, between San Joaquin and Sutter streets, whose proprietor we are confident could find a much more favorable location wherein to ply his necessary, but by no means inoffensive calling.

LOCAL ITEMS.

CHINA FIRE.

One Chinaman Burned Up, and Two Others Badly Burned.

About half-past two o'clock this morning a fire broke out on Washington street, between Hunter and El Dorado, burning up something over a hundred feet of frame buildings, occupied by Chinamen. The largest building was owned by N. Lastratto, divided into four apartments, occupied as stores and a meat market. There was no insurance on the buildings, and Lastratto places his loss at \$28 per month—the income from rents. The other building was owned by Theo. A. Crawford, and was not insured. Mr. Crawford had purchased the building with the intention of moving it away as soon as the lease expired; the building was worth probably \$150. One of the stores, we learned, was insured for \$1,000. The burned property was bounded on the east and west by brick buildings, but in the immediate rear were frame buildings and fences, considering which the firemen did marvellously well to confine the fire to the row in which it originated. According to Chinese testimony, the fire was the work of incendiaries. They say the fire commenced outside, on the front; that they saw three white men throw on coal oil and set the fire; and it is a fact that the flames emitted a strong smell of coal oil, whether from the inside or outside "deponent saith not." Their testimony is that the flames were so strong in front

FIRE—NINE HOUSES BURNED—INCENDIARY.—For some time past, much controversy has been had on the subject of removing the Chinese from their present quarters in the heart of the city to the precincts of China Town, south of Mormon slough. Lately, Alderman Hubner, Officer Barney McMahon and Chief of Police Myers, at the instance of a number of citizens, concluded to build a number of buildings in China Town and then, if possible, get the Chinese living in the heart of the city, to move there. Previous to building the houses, the above gentlemen bought a block of land—block No. 9. The construction of the buildings was then commenced. Yesterday, on the completion of these nine houses, Myers and McMahon notified the Chinese residing in the vicinity of Market and Washington streets, that they must move out to the frames just erected. About three o'clock this morning, a great hue and cry was sent up by the residents of China Town, some person having set fire to the extreme westerly buildings of the row of new shanties, and the flames threatened to burn every house in that vicinity. The house on fire was not occupied; neither were any other of

Brack Tract Case Study: the built environment

The archeological and oral histories of the delta are full of remnants from this era. They need to be preserved.

Bract Tract Case Study

Chinese farmers and laborers left their mark on the built environment of the Delta. An unassuming shack and water tower at the end of Woodbridge Road was built in 1910 and converted into a boarding house for Chinese laborers. In Sucheng Chan's *Bittersweet Harvest*, a magisterial study of Chinese involvement in California agriculture, Chan presents a map titled "The Sacramento-San Joaquin Delta: Steamboat Landings Named after Chinese and Japanese, 1913." The map uses data from a 1913 county map to clearly show four boat landings with Chinese names on Staten Island and Terminous Tract, across the water from Brack Tract. Chan postulates that the map may have contained inaccuracies, as the landings on the map exist on land that was never leased to Chinese tenants. The archaeological record on Brack Tract supports this hypothesis.

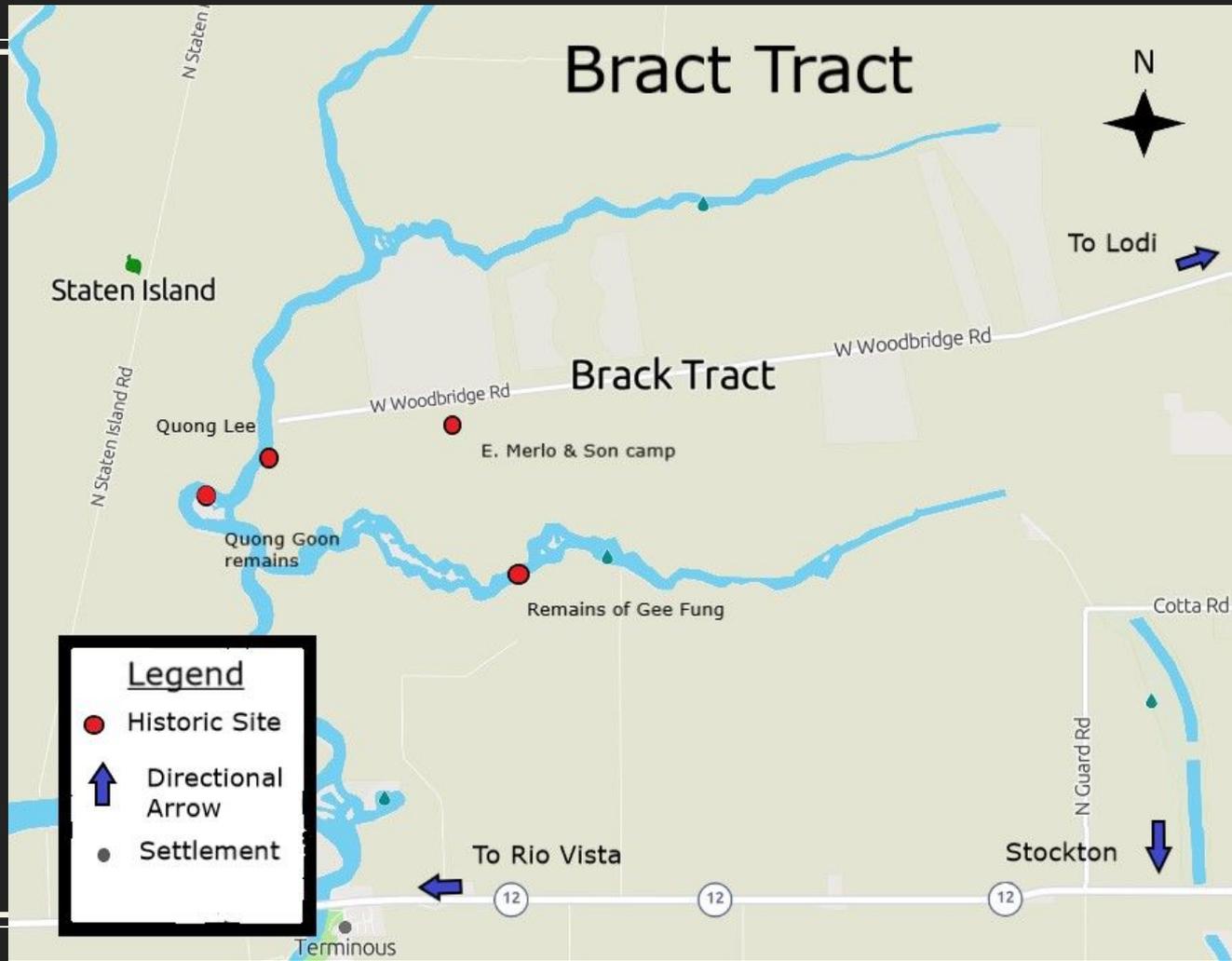


Arc Piling

Bract Tract Case Study

Steamboat landings listed as Quong Lee and Quong Goon on Chan's map lie directly opposite the remains of steamboat landings on the Westernmost edge of Bract Tract. One can still see the pilings rising out of the Mokelumne at low tide. Prior to levee maintenance in 2013, piles of rotting wooden rubble could be seen on the river's banks. Similarly, the steamboat landing named Gee Fung, listed as having existed on Sycamore Slough (originally Otter Slough) lies directly opposite a peninsula on Brack Tract that contains mounds of rubble and extensive bittermelon patches. Eric Merlo, whose family purchased this area of Brack Tract in 1948, remembers his grandfather Emil and great-uncle Cesare discussing this camp as a child.

Bract Tract



Legend

-  Historic Site
-  Directional Arrow
-  Settlement

Bract Tract Case Study

The ability to hire large teams of Chinese workers allowed for farms to grow in size. Between 1891-1899, Brack leased small ranches of 90-115 acres a piece on Brack Tract to various farming concerns, for eight dollars an acre, plus varying percentages of crop yields. By 1920, the average lot on the tract was 500 acres, with all farms relying on a traveling seasonal workforce to function. To keep costs down and allow for profitable enterprise, farmers pitted ethnic groups against each other: Sikh, Japanese, Chinese, Mexican, and poor white contracting outfits were used across the Delta, and strikes and unions were actively put down through the leverage of the employer's market: if one group demanded too high a wage, a farmer could simply call another contractor. Labor firms were segregated, helping to facilitate the system. Based off of the evidence available, it's reasonable to conclude that agriculture in the Delta would not be industrial in scale if it were not for the availability of a low-cost labor force.



Vol. 1 THE SAN FRANCISCO No. 206

ILLUSTRATED WASP

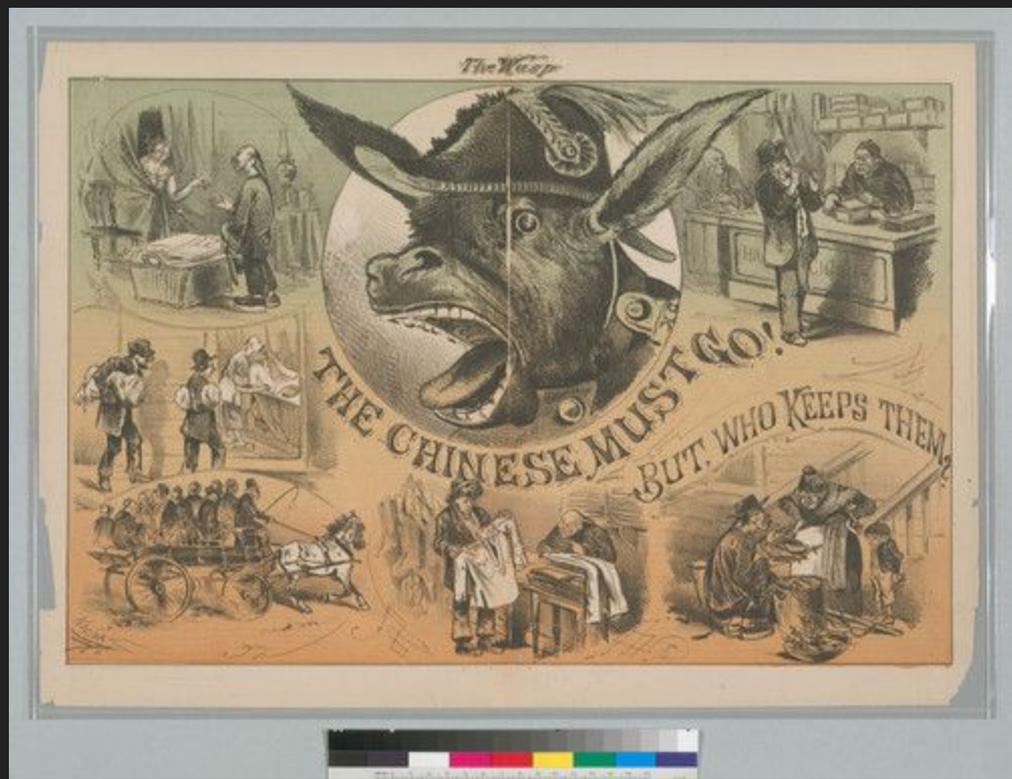
ESTABLISHED 1855 PUBLISHED WEEKLY PRICE 10 CTS

San Francisco, July 10 1880

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WHY OUR FARMERS EMPLOY CHINAMES.





Bract Tract



To Lodi 

Staten Island

Brack Tract

W Woodbridge Rd

W Woodbridge Rd

Quong Lee

E. Merlo & Son camp

Quong Goon
remains

Remains of Gee Fung

Cotta Rd

Legend

 Historic Site

 Directional
Arrow

 Settlement

To Rio Vista 

Stockton 

Terminus

12

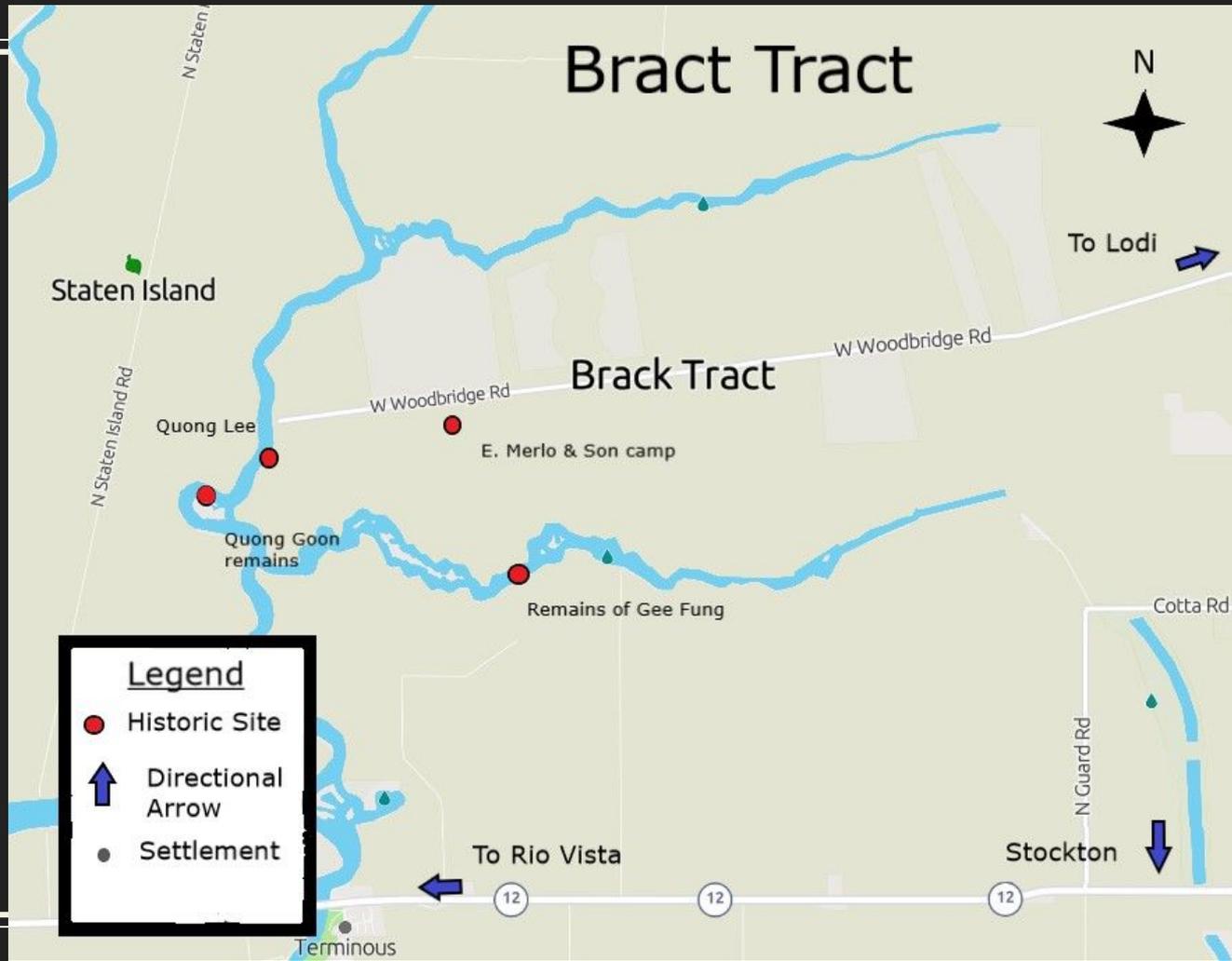
12

12

N Guard Rd

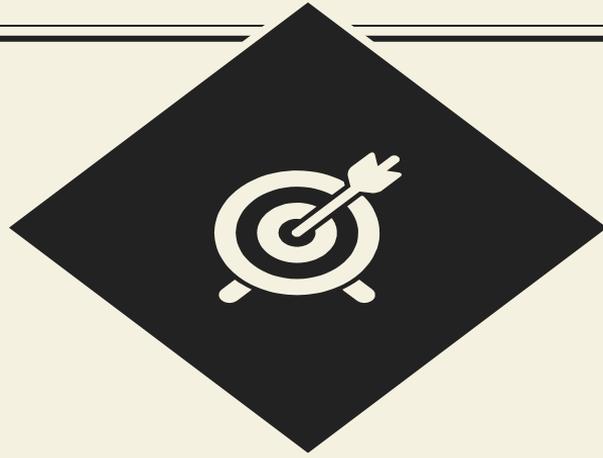
N Staten Island Rd

N Staten



Alien Land Laws, Exclusion Acts, and a Transition to Urban Life

In the 1890s and 1910s, demographic analysis of census records, tax assessments, and lease records shows that the Chinese labor force of the delta transitioned into urban occupations. Alien Land Laws in the State Constitution and the 1913 state Alien Land Law prevented ownership or long-term leases. Furthermore, the Chinese Exclusion Act of 1882 prevented further inflow of low-income Chinese labor. By 1920, most Chinese residents of delta counties worked in urban settings. This transition was mirrored by Japanese, Italian, Portuguese, Mexican, and Filipino immigration to California, the subject of next week's talk.



Objectives

What are our goals for today?

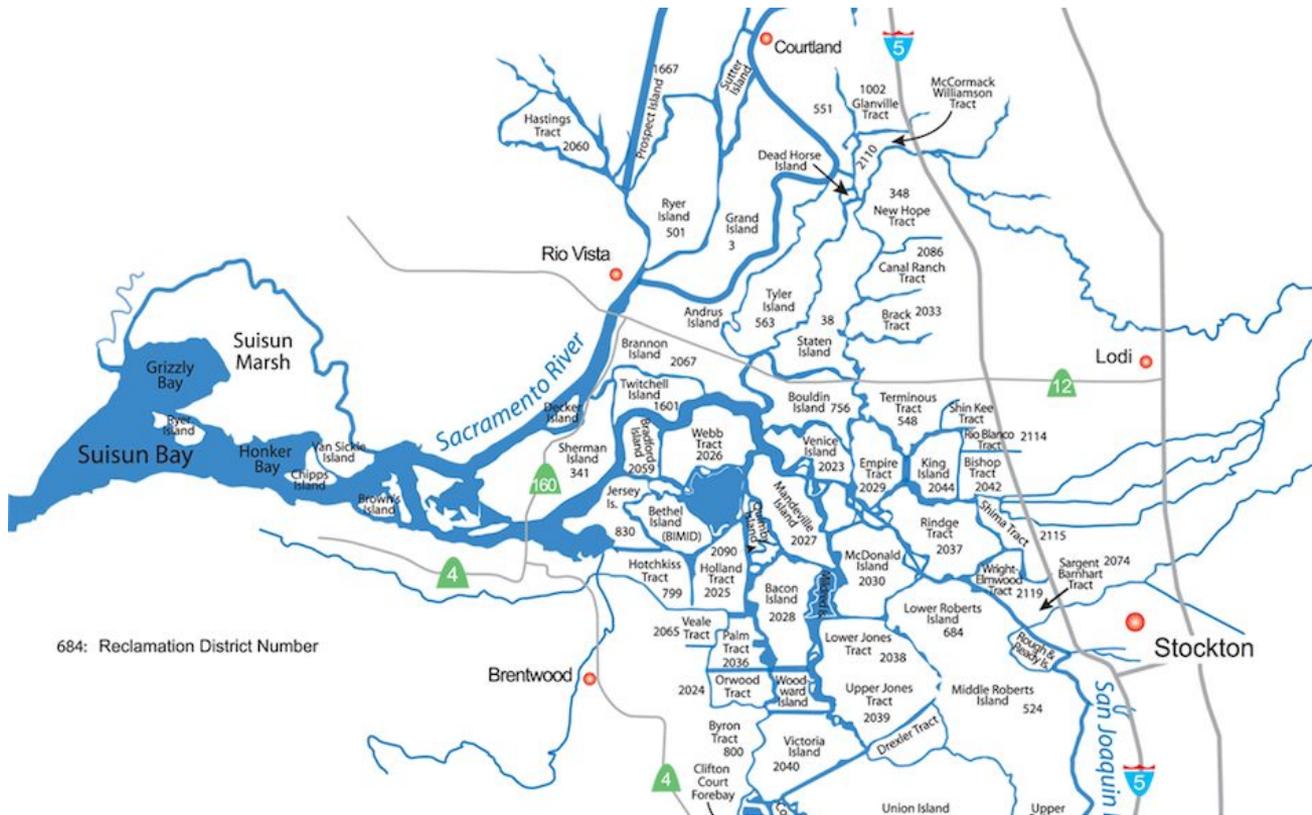
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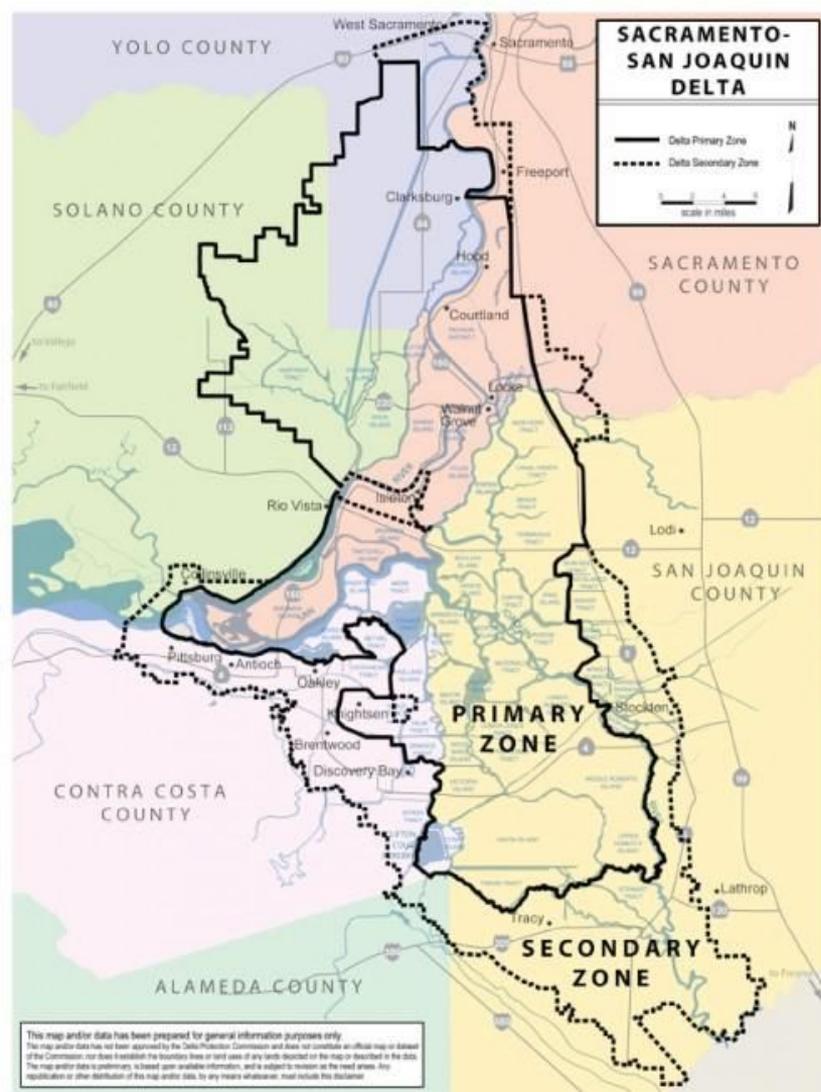
Understand that the existence of the current California Delta as a physical and economic space was and is made possible by the labor and culture of communities of color.

Objective 2

Frame the construction of conveyance infrastructure to increase water-exports for agriculture and desert housing as a state-sanctioned white-supremacist threat to the livelihoods of low-income communities in the California Delta.

The California Delta

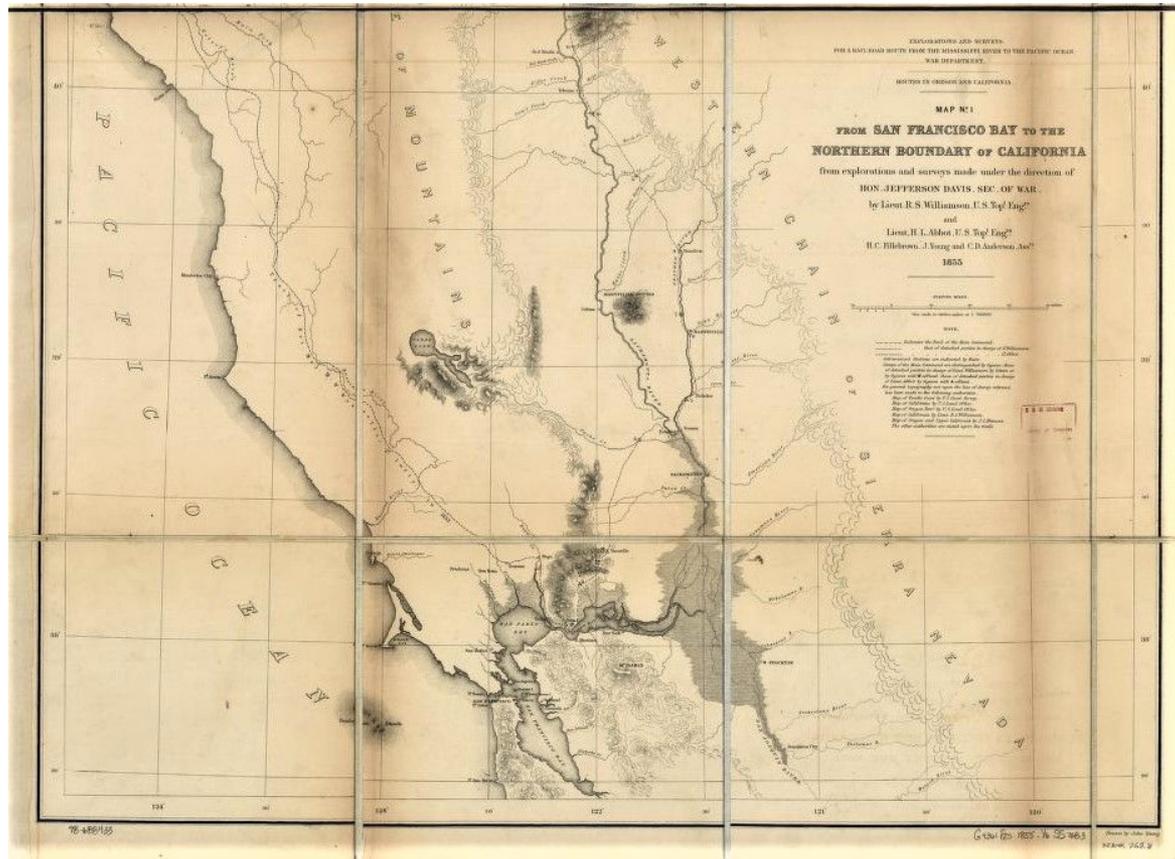




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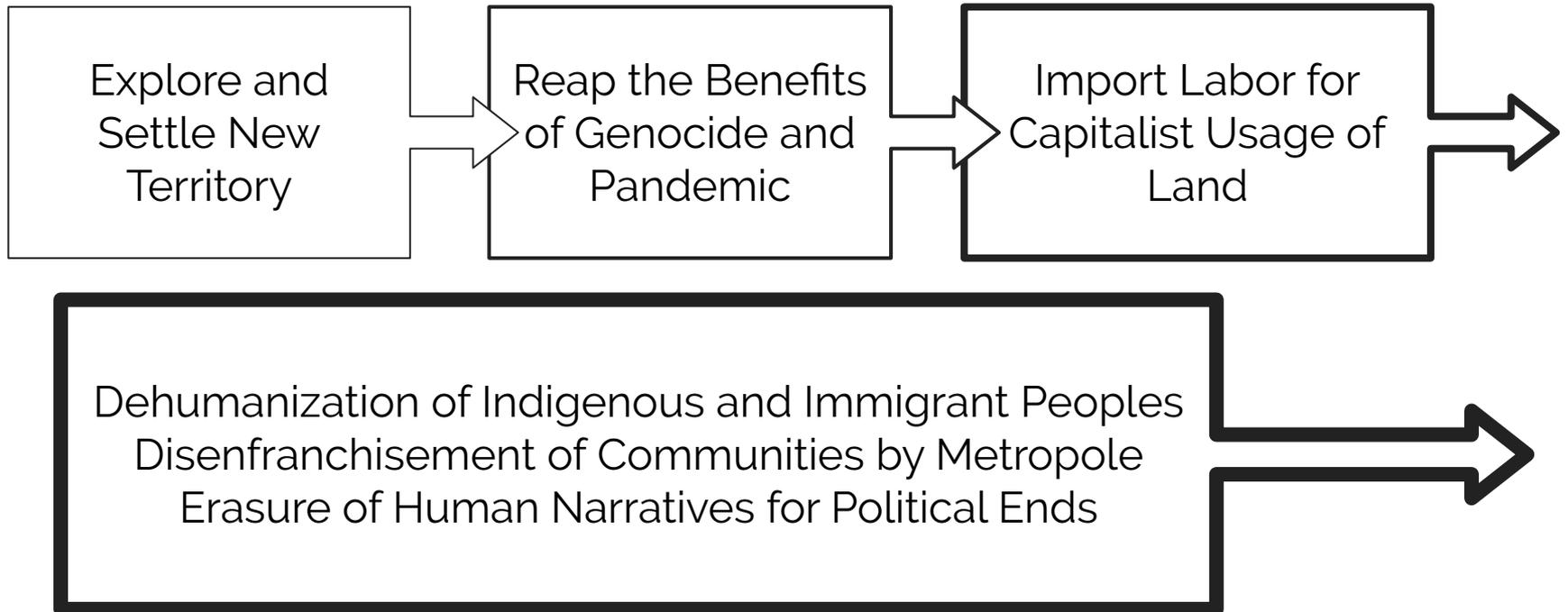


What we're actually looking at

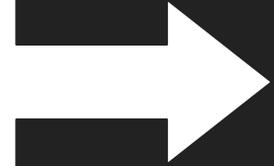


From San Francisco Bay to the northern boundary of California : from explorations and surveys.
 Courtesy of the Library of Congress.

Key Process of Anglophone Colonialism in Americas



**Successive Waves of
Immigrant Labor,
Oppression, and
Community Resilience**



What We Haven't Time to Cover

- ◉ In-Depth Social or Cultural History
- ◉ The Complexities of California Water Law
- ◉ Ecological History
- ◉ Environmental Zoning Laws and their Discriminatory Practice
- ◉ Housing Issues in the Delta

A Note on Cosmopolitanism

Various viewers from last week's lecture contacted me concerning histories of diverse ethnic communities across the Delta region. **It is critical to note** that the Delta has always been an incredibly culturally and ethnically diverse place. Across the region, Indigenous Hawaiians, Spanish laborers from Hawaii, Tahitians, Basques, Chilenos from Valparaiso, Koreans, Punjabis, Volga Germans, Bavarians, Dutch, Greeks, Lebanese, Assyrians, Palestinians, Ukrainians, Moldovans, and Yakuts all settled in this region. Due to time constraints, we could not possibly cover all of these communities - it would be a disservice and a dishonor to their stories to even make an attempt in such a short time frame.

A Note on America's Alchemy of Race

As a social construct, race is malleable over time and space. In the context of anglophone North America, inclusion and access to white racial identity grew from a limited acceptance of wealthy Western-European merchant and noble elites to extended acceptance of Germanic, Gaelic, Scandinavian, Mediterranean, Slavic, Persian, and Semitic peoples over time. As migrant communities adopted or assimilated into dominant anglophone American society, took place in capitalist processes, and invested in American ideologies, dominant notions of whiteness evolved to expanded to include much of Judeo-Christian Eurasian ancestry. Thus it was possible for an Italian, Lebanese, or Ukrainian person to immigrate to the Delta as a member of "a different race" in one era, and be considered white by all accounts in another.

Japanese, Italian, and Portuguese Immigration

Delta Immigrant Experiences, 1880-1924

Push and Pull Factors

The second European imperial age and the coterminous rise of modern Western medicine led to dramatic increases in birth-rates and decreasing economic opportunities in much of the “developing world” of the second half of the 19th century. In newly emergent European states (Italy, Germany, Greece), and in declining European empires (Portugal, Spain, Ottoman Empire), expanding populations created economic pressures for emigration to the Americas.



Push and Pull Factors

In colonized Eurasia, expanding populations, unfavorable trade relations in China, Southeast Asia, and Oceania fueled similar emigration across the globe. In Japan, the Meiji Restoration and the rise of the Japanese Empire led to similar population pressures, as well as state policies of *bunmei kaika*, and state-sponsored agendas of settler-colonialism in Oceania and the Americas.





Angel Island and Ellis Island Images

Japanese Settler Colonialism and Capitalism

Japanese immigration to the Delta region began in the 1890s and increased substantially in the 1900s, until the “Gentleman’s Agreement” of 1911. Most immigrants came from agricultural districts of Kyushu and Honshu, in regions adapted to levee/dike agriculture. On Delta islands, laborers participated in a spectrum of wage-labor, sharecropping, land-leasing, and ownership. In Stockton and Sacramento, a settler-economy of mercantiles, trade-and-charters, and service economies thrived.



Agricultural Dominance



Select Japanese agriculturalists were, much like their Chinese predecessors, able to utilize East Asian farming practices to achieve financial viability of land-use. In particular, operations managed by Ushijima Kenji, or George Shima, as well as the Tanaka, Nakashima, Yamada, and Saeki families were able to dramatically improve and expand the area of Delta land available for potato agriculture, and later for Strawberries and squash.

The Japanese Empire Abroad

Unlike Chinese migrant labor, the Japanese immigrant experience was influenced by the existence of a Japanese foreign policy agenda dedicated to claiming imperial legitimacy, racial superiority in Pacific contexts, and a strong settler-colonial mission. Resultantly, the Japanese settler economy of the Delta had access to Japanese capital networks, a robust literary culture, imperial representation in American domestic affairs, and support in organizing chapters of the *nihonjinkai*, or Japanese Association of America. These supports were critical in allowing for urban Japanese communities in Stockton and Sacramento to become the wealthiest ethnic neighborhoods per capita in the Delta.



He took on the name George Shima once he immigrated to America in 1889.

"Finding a Fortune in California Potatoes"

GEORGE SHIMA Most Successful Potato Grower in the United States Tells How

Many Years of Toil and Experiment, and Failure Were Necessary Before He "Found" His Fortune

"Hard Work" the Keynote — "In Raising Good Potatoes Others Poor Potatoes Were Raised Before I Have Added to California's Resources," Says This Optimistic Agriculturist

If you mention George Shima to many people they will tell you that he is a very rich man. They will tell you that he is a very successful potato grower. They will tell you that he is a very hard worker. They will tell you that he is a very optimistic agriculturist. They will tell you that he is a very successful potato grower. They will tell you that he is a very hard worker. They will tell you that he is a very optimistic agriculturist. They will tell you that he is a very successful potato grower. They will tell you that he is a very hard worker. They will tell you that he is a very optimistic agriculturist.



Potato Wealth

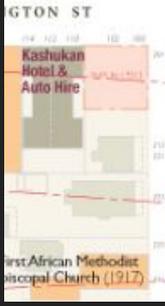
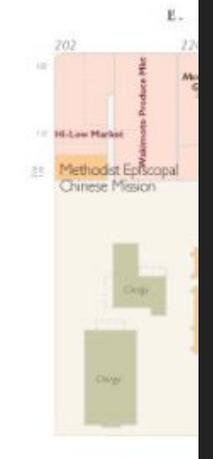
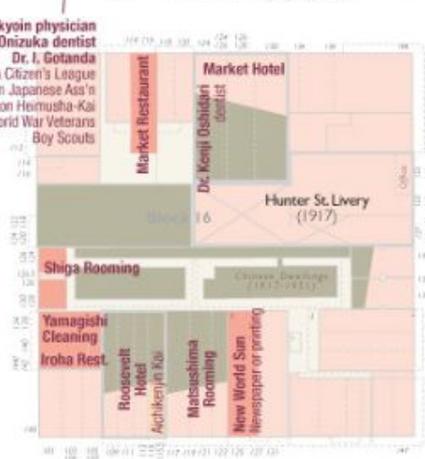
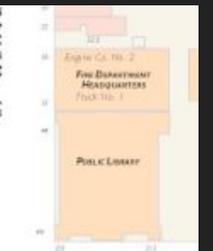
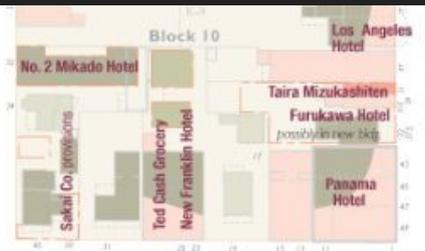


Courtesy of Frank Ogata

Nippon Drug Co., Stockton, 1920s.



Stockton Japan Town



Capitalism's Limits

While Japanese immigrants to the Delta did have access to capital networks and technical expertise, they were still marginalized within the context of a white-supremacist political regime. Land-ownership was severely restricted due to California's Alien Land Laws, with many Issei owning land in the name of their children or LLCs. Furthermore, urban housing and movement were restricted into special districts. Various referred to as "Japanese Quarters," "J-Towns," or the Japanese term *Nihonmachi*, these districts were enforced through racially restrictive housing covenants, police violence, retail segregation, and social exclusion from white community organizations. In rural settings, lynchings and mob violence against Japanese labor was common between 1900-1924,

**JAPANESE
ARE WORSE
THAN CHINESE**

The Influx Into the State Is
Becoming More
Alarming.

MORE JAPS ARRIVE IN STOCKTON

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STOCKTON, SAN JOAQUIN COUNTY, CAL

**STATE ANTI-JAP
COMMITTEE WILL
HAVE LOCAL MEN**

**WILL HOLD A MEETING IN
STOCKTON SOON**

**Lawrence Edwards and Tod
Clowdsley on List of 55 Cali-
fornians—Want Immi-**

Racist Editorials

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LODI VINEYARDISTS TO FIGHT JAP UNION

The fruit growers and vineyardists of the Lodi section will meet in Lodi this evening to discuss the matter of fixing a wage scale for Japanese labor in the fields and packing sheds.

The Japs have formed a union and are demanding \$2 a day for picking and \$2.25 a day for packing. Last year \$1.75 a day was paid for both picking and packing. The orchard men and vineyardists assert that if they fix a scale of wages and stand firm for it that the Jap union will come down to it.

JAP ELOPED WITH ANOTHER MAN'S WIFE

M. Kassasso eloped Saturday evening with Mrs. Katito Kamanana of Lodi, and all Lodi Japdom is agog with the gossip of the naughty romance.

The abandoned husband has offered a large reward for the recovery of his wife, and it is claimed that he will pay a still larger reward for her lover's scalp.

MRS. M'COMB DEAD



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A JAP HANGS UNDER BRIDGE

Mysterious Circumstances Surround Suicide Discovered Early Today

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Peculiar circumstances surround the death of M. Honda, a Jap, who was found by Joe Smith hanging by a slender rope from a tie of the railroad bridge over Mormon channel at El Dorado street at 6 o'clock this morning.

A notebook was found on the Jap's person giving his address as Camp 7,

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Anti-Japanese Violence

WHITE MAN HACKS JAP TO DEATH WITH BREAD KNIFE



SLAYER ESCAPES BEFORE POLICE ARE NOTIFIED

Ross Harr, Third Cook at Yosemite Hotel, Disembowled Japanese Porter in Hotel Kitchen, Following a Quarrel This Morning

ROSS HARR, THE COOK WHO KILLED THE JAPANESE PORTER WITH A BREAD KNIFE—
Reproduced by the Record Artist

***** the hospital and was removed to the
* Ross Harr, the cook who * morgue instead.
* killed the Japanese porter in *

STOCKTON AND THE KU KLUX KLAN

(San Francisco Argonaut, Sept. 10, 1927.)

Ku Klux Klan circles in San Joaquin county are deeply stirred just now over the publication of a political circular that seems to carry the earmarks of the Klan, but of which the Klan, through its Stockton grand cyclops, Mr. Walter K. Banks, a working jeweler of that city, denies the authorship.

Whoever may have published the skit, it has certainly raised very particular Cain in that section of the Golden State. The local newspapers palpitate over it, and the high officials of the

"District Attorney Darrah said that while the matter would be investigated he didn't think arrests would come of it, because of the unauthentic origin of the statements on the dodgers."

It is specifically reported that the "exalted cyclops" of the local Klan appeared at the district attorney's office to assure the authorities that the Klan had no hand in distributing the circulars; and in the light of the facts now known there seems to be no reason to doubt the cyclopean veracity.

But here is a paragraph worth quoting, because it reveals that.

Anti-Japanese Violence in Escalon

The Southern European Immigrant Experience in the Delta

Simultaneously, the Delta Valley also saw a large influx of Italian and Azorean migrants, who were broadly relegated to work in first heavy industrial labor in canneries and warehouses, and then later to also work in orchards and vineyards. While subject to similar urban segregation and policing policies in Stockton and Sacramento, these communities were typically able to integrate into capital systems in the Delta via their access to capital on the East Coast.



Southern European Immigrants

The Reclamation of Whiteness: Columbus, the Sons of Italy, Pharmacists, and Renaissance Culture

While Portuguese communities were able to adopt and assimilate into white culture through the claiming of imperial heritage, Italian immigrants to California and across the US utilized cultural heritage and occupational pathways to claim access to capital and power. By 1920, employment segregation had ended in the region, By 1930, Italians were purchasing small plots of Delta land, and by 1950 residential segregation had essentially ended.



A Century of Filipino and Mexican Labor

The Johnson Bill and the Birth of a New Regime

California and American Empire in the Philippines



Recruiting “Wards of the State”

The Lutz & Co trading company, based in SF, HK, and Manila, worked with agricultural concerns in the Delta prior to the US colonization of the Philippines, and actively worked with delta farm boards in the 1920s to market the Delta as a place to move to. Specifically, advertisements marketed teaching and accounting positions - that did not in fact exist.



**FILIPINO UNEMPLOYED
CLAIM DISCRIMINATION**

Editor Record: It is indeed very wonderful to see Filipinos being always discriminated against for any job advertised in the employment agencies when for many reasons they should be given preference over any other foreigners. I have gone to all employment agencies in Stockton at least five times to each and it is a real shame to hear they don't like Filipinos. Such jobs seen on the blackboards are only for Italians, Mexicans, Greeks, etc. This is a case I can't at all understand, dear editor, and I know you can give me the best answer, if you please.

Is this how the American people induce the Filipino to remain with the United States? I entertain no fear to say that had not the Japanese been so kind to the Filipinos in Stockton they would all be eliminated by hunger. But we are more than glad of the fact that the inner-

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Asparagus and Hard Labor



Photo J. J. Bill





Asparagus workers in the Delta could expect to work 12 hour days during the harvest





Archaeological Remnants

“Positively No Filipinos Allowed”

Retail and spatial segregation was vigorously enforced via passive programming and constant threats of police and mob violence.





Labor with Short Handle Hoe

THE WEATHER
SAN FRANCISCO MAY BE
CLOUDY AND WINDY
TUESDAY.
SANTO DOMINGO VALLEY
Fair tonight and Thursday, with
fair days and rain.

Stockton Record



"The goal of every man
is to make money faster
than his family can spend
it—few succeed."
—Lionel Lincoln

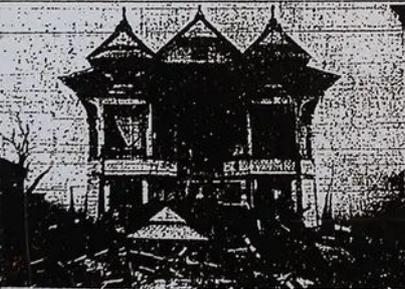
Vol. LXX No. 97
STOCKTON, SAN JOAQUIN COUNTY, CALIFORNIA—WEDNESDAY, JANUARY 29, 1930
Twenty Pages

FILIPINO CLUB BOMBED

**STRIFE HERE
MAY BE BACK
EXPLOSION**

New Government Forming in Spain; Pantages in New. Try for Freedom

DYNAMITE WRECKS FILIPINO CENTER



Federation Headquarters
on South San Joaquin
Street 1. Wrecked by
Dynamite Explosion

Officers Declare Differences
Among Islanders
May Be the Cause of
Alleged Bombing Here

The American flag was seen
spiral to the stars at an early hour
this morning when the blast of the
explosion of the Filipino center
of America's South San
Joaquin street was heard away by
a "boom" which was followed by
a "boom" which was heard by the
people of the city. The explosion
was heard in the city of
Stockton.

—Above is a picture of headquarters of the Filipino Federation of America, 265 South San Joaquin street, which was destroyed by dynamite explosion on the night of January 28.

**Private Confabs Bring Naval
Parlev Immortant Concessions**

**Emmy Destinn,
Noted Opera
Singer, Dies
in Czech Home**

BERLIN, Jan. 28.—(United Press)—The noted soprano, Emmy Destinn, died today at Rudolfs, Carlsbad-Chester. She was 39 years old.

Miss Destinn became one of the most famous singers of European opera of the first quarter of the century. She was born at Prague, Bohemia, February 29, 1891, the daughter of Emanuel Kiril, and began her education as a violinist under Leschke.

From 1903 to 1908 she studied under Marie-Louise Duvivier, whom she adopted. In 1908 she joined the Royal Opera Company in Berlin.

**DOCTORS SAY
SHOWMAN IS
FAILING FAST**

Angina Pectoris Ailment
Holding Death Threat
Given as Reason for Release
of Millionaire

LOS ANGELES, Jan. 28.—(United Press)—A hearing on the petition of Alexander Pantages, forty-millionaire showman recently convicted of a criminal offense, was continued until 10 a. m. today after two doctors, one a cardiologist, had testified he was ailing from angina pectoris, a heart disease and that further incarceration might prove fatal.

Superior Judge Charles Fitch, held that the motion was not proper because of a pending trial.

**Clergy Takes
Hand in Sue
Brown Case to
Aid Officials**

SALINAS, Jan. 28.—(United Press)—The case of Mrs. Sue Brown, 24-year-old girl mother, involved the thoughtless father who Monterey county sheriffs drafted a stipulation to bind the officials who arrested her.

Mr. Brown was jailed on a higher law violation charge and was sent to jail for 7 days. Her baby was born prematurely while she was serving the sentence.

The minister held a meeting last night which was attended by Justice of the Peace Ray Potts, who mentioned Mrs. Brown's case, and Sheriff John W. Jones. District Attorney Albert E. Weath and the County Clerk, but not the Sheriff, participated in the hearing of Mrs. Brown, who was arrested at the Salinas, and surrendered at Monterey.

**DISORDER;
MARK FALL
OF CABINET**

King Alfonso Selected
Gen. Berenguer for
Ministry to Replace
Dictatorship of River

First Indications Felt
to Restoration of Constitutional Government
Future Decided Here

MADRID, Jan. 28.—(Associated Press)—Gen. Berenguer

Attacks on Local Community Spaces

**LOUIS BARRIDO
IS ARRESTED ON
GIRL'S CHARGE**

Louis Barrido, 26, a Filipino, was booked at police headquarters Saturday night by Police Officers O'Dair and Fredericks on a statutory charge. Two girls, whose story police used as a basis of the charge against the Filipino, are in the hands of the probation officer. One of the girls is 14 years of age, the other 15.

Barrido was brought to police headquarters with the girls Saturday afternoon, but both denied that there had been improper relations between them. The man was turned loose and the girls were held for the probation officer. After Barrido had been released the elder made a confession to the police and Barrido was immediately arrested again.

The mother of the two girls is a cook at Holt for an outfit employing a number of Filipinos, according to the police.

**KLAN MAY PARADE
ARMISTICE DAY**

That members of the Ku Klux Klan will parade unmasked in the Armistice day parade November 12 is the rumor now being circulated. According to the new state law, appearing in public with masks is prohibited and should the members decide to join the parade, they will wear no masks.

The hood and mask of the Klan, however, may be worn during ritualistic ceremonies.

**MANTECAN ARRESTED
AS DRUNKEN DRIVER**

J. Baturra, of Manteca, was arrested yesterday and charged with being intoxicated after an automobile which he was driving had collided with a car driven by H. Secura of 2512 East Sonora street. The accident occurred in front of Secura's residence.

**FILIPINO AND GIRL
ARRESTED IN ROOM**

Alice Casauer, 18, and R. G. Dixon, 21, a Filipino, were arrested yesterday in a room in the White Hotel, Center and Lafayette streets, by Police Officers Grantzow, McClothen and Harbert. They have been booked on technical charges of vagrancy and will be held while the police here make an investigation of their relations, with the possibility that a more serious charge will be filed against the Filipino.

NEW YORK—Mrs. Mabel Kelly, 19, whispered in the ear of her husband. He hurried her into Greasmore, Staten Island railway station. Bouncing boy and mother doing nicely.

**UNION ARMISTICE
DAY SERVICES
PROTESTANT P**

Virtually all the Protestant churches of Stockton will services next Sunday evening take part in a union Armistice service which will be held under the auspices of Karl Rose, the American legion, in the Methodist church. This was reported at a meeting of the Stockton Ministerial union today at M. C. A.

The Protestant churches of the city are further to observe the day by having a float in the "Angel of Peace" parade on next Monday evening. The float will be composed of Revs. A. C. Hugh V. White, Shirley R. and Paul H. Gos. Miss M. McMichael of St. John's Episcopal church is planning the float. Rev. L. S. Woodruff of the Methodist church was vice-president of the ministerial association to succeed the Rev. J. A. B. Fry, late pastor of the church.

**FILIPINO TOUGH
GIVEN 25 DAYS**

M. Siki and M. Hasito, the former a Japanese and the latter a Filipino, appeared before Judge W. H. Atherton in the police court this afternoon to answer to a charge of disturbing the peace. They were arrested yesterday afternoon by John Hannan and the Japanese sported a badly blackened right eye.

Statements by officers that the Filipino was a general disturber and a "tough guy" around the Filipino quarter resulted in the imposing of a sentence of \$50 fine or twenty-five days in jail. The defendant went to jail.

The case against the Japanese was dismissed.

WIDOW INHERITS

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to be faced with a going blind test.

**FILIPINOS FLEE
STANISLAUS**

MODESTO, Calif., Sept. 14.—(P)—Scores of Filipino harvest workers today were reported hurriedly leaving the Modesto and Turlock districts.

Organized efforts of several agencies to pledge farmers to employ only local white labor and fear "night riders" might attempt to do them bodily harm were said to be the reasons why the Filipinos were leaving.

C. H. Ramont, executive welfare secretary estimated today that more than 200 Filipinos have left the two districts within the past 24 hours and others were about to depart.

Some 800 Filipinos were reported to have come here after labor troubles in the lettuce fields of the Salinas and Pajaro valleys.

DRESSER
LOS ANGELES
—The estate of Dresser, so praised today

Quir 7

CALLAND
(P)—With all the women sisters increasing hope covering from this community the opening specially for girls were no "shyness" as Olivia Dior wife, nor father, Olivia much about education the children by Even the



Various clippings

TROOPS STAN BY AS RIOT END

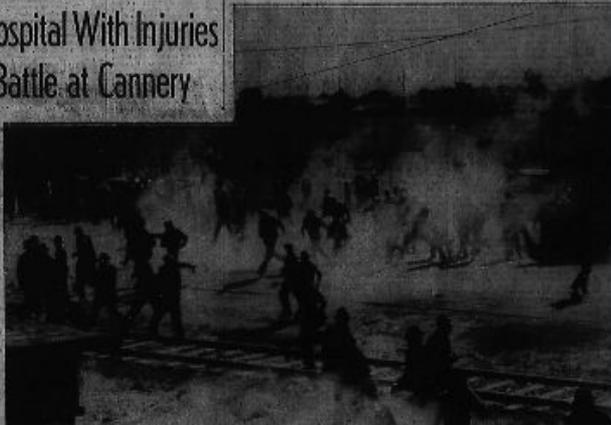
Dozens Stream Into Hospital With Injuries as Result of Furious Battle at Cannery

Governor's Mediation Board Here in Attempt to End Bloody Clash

After more than three hours of bloody rioting, which marked reopening of the Stockton Food Products cannery, temporary truce was called shortly before 11 o'clock. More than 50 were known to be injured, and the total was expected to mount.

Hope for peace came with arrival at noon of Governor Merritt's mediation board to confer with local labor leaders and representatives of canneries. Meanwhile, the Governor had ordered National Guard troops at Sacramento to "stand by," and Adjutant General H. M. Moorhead hurried here and went into immediate conference with District Attorney F. C. Glowsky and Sheriff Harvey S. Odell.

Hundreds of pickets still milled around in front of the cannery yard, but there was no disturbance, and arguments were being made for them to move back so that the 100 or more



Canners Issue Statement

The canneries in Stockton are strong for world peace, but they are strong against a disturbance by the pickets and irresponsible agitators.

The attack on the part of owners and managers of cannery can be said to have been made today in their first public statement in the strike labor conflict.

The statement was prepared by a representative of the Board by Ralph A. C. Hill, representing the California Canners Association, Inc. It was signed by D. A. W. Hillcock of the Associated Canners Corporation, Arthur Schmidt of the Packwood Corporation, W. A. Brady of the Stockton Food Products, Inc., and W. H. Johnson of Richardson Chase Company.

The statement follows:

RIGHT TO ORGANIZE

The Stockton canneries have never denied their employees the right to organize. They have never refused to accept the procedure of collective bargaining.

Just now in Stockton the right to organize is being applied for cases to which the right to be organized by Communist.

Just now in Stockton, the so-called labor leaders do not practice collective bargaining.

They say to the employees, "There are our demands. Surrender immediately or we will have you arrested."

At the same time, they say, "We are based on unity. So we don't agree to conditions and a strike is called."

That is what happened in the Stockton canneries.

WAGES INCREASED

The owners of California at the opening of the 1933 season raised all wages at least 20 per cent. They made a big effort to have good working conditions and good employee relations. These wages are at least 20-30 per cent higher than the competition in other states.

They believed they were doing a pretty good job. They were to do a better job if possible.

Then along comes the I. O. O. F. and the Agricultural Workers' Union. Neither of them knows anything about a cannery and they care how they can get the pickets to bring out the pickets.

We will let you know in full page columns what they do to us and how they take care of the pickets.

It would be hard to say that we have a lot of American work-

ON CANNERY "FRONT LINE"

UNFAIR to UNION LABOR

Walter Anderson, chairman of the strike organization committee for the Agricultural Workers' Union, pictured above, holding the placard over with asparagus growers, at the placard line in front of the Stockton Freezing Corporation plant.

Liquor Stores Ordered Closed

Picket Assault Trial Slated

The State Board of Equalization the afternoon vote to close all liquor establishments in Stockton.

April 22 Set as Date for Picket Judge

Labor conditions in asparagus fields and canneries led to organizing and uprisings, led by the Filipinx community. These were typically met with displays of military force.

Man's Body Found Hanging On Trestle

The body of an unidentified man, apparently a transient, was found yesterday morning hanging from a trestle of the Tidewater Southern Railroad about three miles of Stockton. Coroner's aides pronounced the death a suicide.

Discovery of the body, which was suspended by a belt and rope with

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Farm Bureaus and Politics

STOCKTON, SAN JOAQUIN COUNTY, CALIFORNIA— SATURDAY, DECEMBER 8, 1923.

San Joaquin **Farm Bureau** Federation Now Conducting Campaign

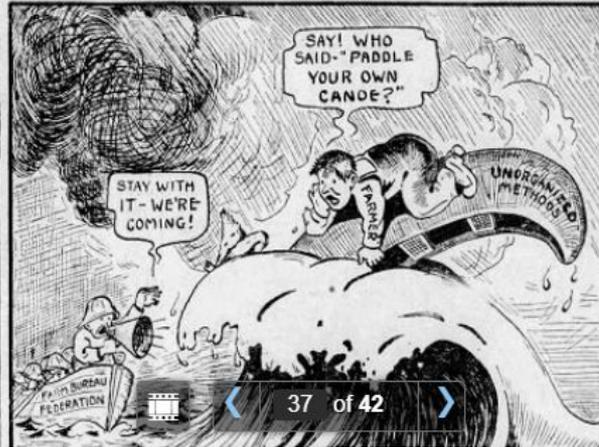
CO-OPERATION BECOMING TEXT FOR AGRICULTURE AND BEING STRESSED BY FARM BUREAUS

San Joaquin **Farm Bureau** Federation Starts Annual Campaign of Asking Farmers to Co-operate With Each Other—National Farm Bureau's Efforts During Past Year Have Centered in Co-operative Marketing and State Body Is Now Planning to Back State Marketing Association — County Federation Now More Representative of Rural People

By VERNE SCOGGINS

SAN JOAQUIN county's largest farmers' organization, the San Joaquin **Farm Bureau** Federation, is now conducting its annual drive for members. Before many days have passed every farmer in the county will have been given an opportunity to join an organization which has as its fundamental purpose the betterment of rural conditions. In extending the invitation this year the organization is better able than ever before to point to its achievements and class them as worth while. In addition, it is better able to point to the achievements of the state and national organizations with which it is affiliated, and ask: "Was this

CO-OPERATION IS FARMERS' LIFE-SAVER



37 of 42

ANNUAL SESSION OF STATE BODY SHOWED PROGRESS

Membership Now 25,000 and 10,000 Increase Expected

By SENATOR FRANK S. BOGGS
San Joaquin County Representative in California **Farm Bureau** Federation

The fourth annual state convention of the California **Farm Bureau** in Agricultural Hall at the University of California in the early part of last month, was the most enthusiastic and best attended yet held in California. All of the forty-one **Farm Bureau** counties were represented by one or more delegates. Sessions were held mornings and afternoons for three days with committee meetings in the evenings, and when the convention finally adjourned on the last afternoon, the delegates left for home with the feeling that work

CLOSE SALOONS IS THE SLOGAN OF **FARM BUREAU**

IMPORTATION OF CHINESE LABOR ADVOCATED

Other Measures Urged to Help Farmers in War Crisis; Fair in Stockton Favored

Mexican Repatriation

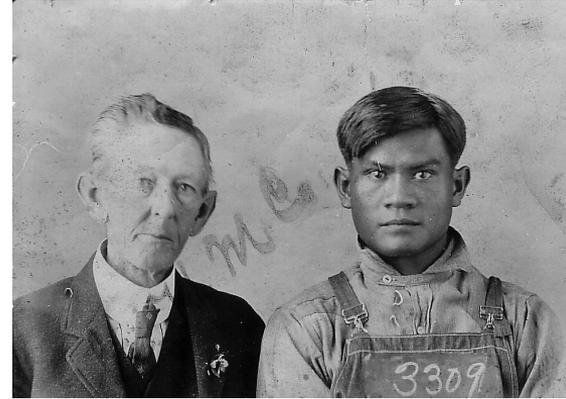
In the 1920s, an increasingly large number of Mexican families from Michoacan, Jalisco, Guerrero, and Oaxaca provinces in Mexico emigrated to the Central Valley and Monterey Basin, looking to escape from civil unrest, violence, and poor economic outlooks in agricultural industries. In 1929, President Herbert Hoover authorized the federally managed deportation of between 400,000 and 2,000,000 Mexicans, many of whom were naturalized citizens. This placed serious labor crunches on agricultural industries that relied on Mexican labor. In the Delta, this largely meant orchard crops, corn, and increasingly vineyards.

Bracero Program Initiated

Between 1936 and 1942, agribusiness interests in California, Texas, and Missouri fought for the Federal government to provide labor relief. This took shape in the form of a treaty between the US and Mexico, where men from Guadalajara and Mexico City could sign up to work in California. The terms of the treaty were typically not upheld by anglo farmers. Abuses were common. The commission that managed the program and buried most of these abuses was led by William B Parker, a Stockton farmer and Klansman, in addition to farmers from Clarksburg, Lodi, Galt, and one from the Salinas Valley.

Chicanx Immigration

By the late 1930s, and especially into the 1940s and 1950s, a new wave of Chicanx immigration followed, in part consisting of Bracero families, but also the families of many formerly illegally deported families.





Farm Labor



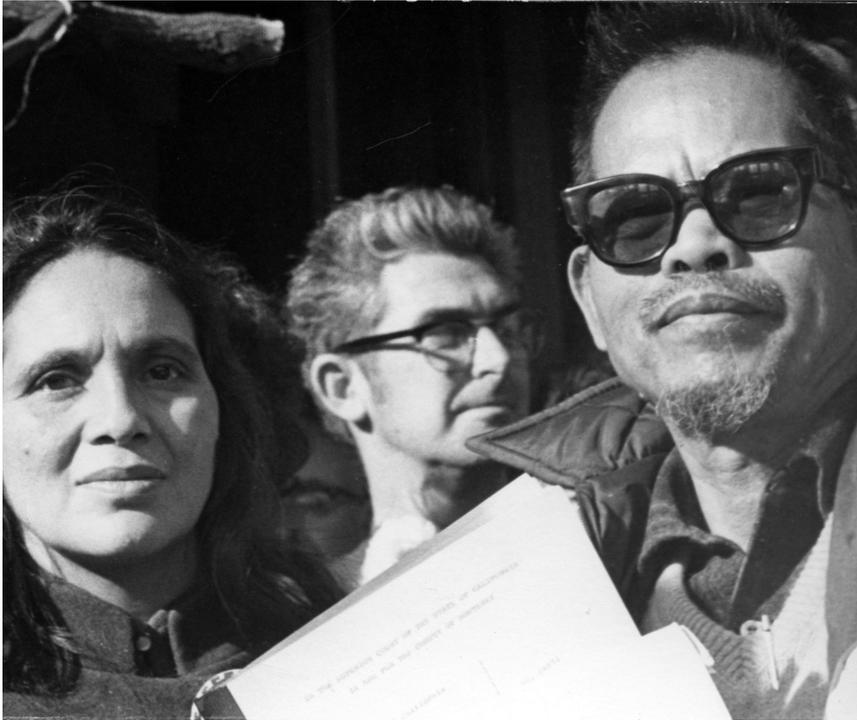
Braceros in the Delta



Organizers in the Fields I



Organizers in the Fields II

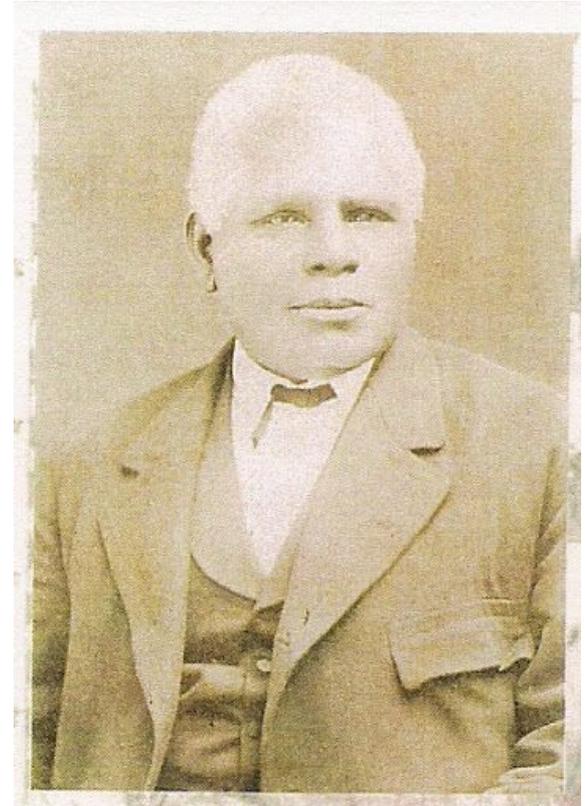


Black Labor in the Urban Delta

A Morphogenesis of Stockton's Industrial Complex

Early African-American Settlers

- Extant archival records show that at least sixty enslaved Africans lived in SJC, and over a hundred in Sacramento, prior to the Civil War - despite California being a free state.
- Due to the lucrative wages of working in industrial gold mines, many were able to purchase freedom and open farms in Southeast and Southwest Stockton.



SUBSCRIPTION

40 Waterloo Road,

Stockton, Cal.,

Sunday, Aug. 17, 1919,

Dr. W. E. B. DuBois

My Dear Doctor:

In the month of July, I wrote you a personal letter, stating that the Crisis for July had not arrived. I also enclosed a postal order for one dollar, to be applied on account. I had received from the Circulation Dept. a statement that my subscription had expired. Of course that was an error, for I paid my subscription in March of this year, and received receipt for same. To-day is the seventeenth of August, and I have received no Crisis for either JULY or AUGUST! If the Crisis has been stepped by Mr. Burlson, and that is the reason I do not get it, kindly let me know. Will you not please try to get a copy to me by some hook or creek? This loss of the two numbers, spoils my file.

Permit me in this letter also to state, that I am collecting

Quivers Letter

Lumber Industries and the Boggs Tract

In the late nineteenth century, large numbers of formerly enslaved Africans from Arkansas, Missouri, and Southern Appalachia fled the South due to the rise and crystallization of Jim Crow laws. Many of these communities had specialized in lumber industries, and were eagerly hired by lumber mills in Calaveras, Amador, Siskiyou, Trinity, and Sonora Counties. In Stockton, a large forest-products industry sat in Southwest Stockton along Mormon Slough, then navigable, which had harbor and barge access. This area, already inhabited by Californios and early African-American settlers, became the center of Stockton's Black community.



African-American forestry professionals from Arkansas, Oklahoma, Mississippi, and Alabama migrated to California in large numbers in the early 20th century as part of the Northern Migration out of the South.



MORMON CHANNEL

FLOOD SCENE (1907) AT SAN JOAQUIN STREET
LOOKING EAST WITH THE WATER OVERFLOWING
THE BRIDGE.





An Industrial and Religious Center



The African-American community pre-depression was segregated via racially restrictive housing, but also as a result of occupation. Lumber mills and forest product companies were concentrated near the navigable Mormon Slough for ease of access to Stockton's municipal harbor. African-American schools, churches, and businesses clustered in the area.

Dust Bowl Migration

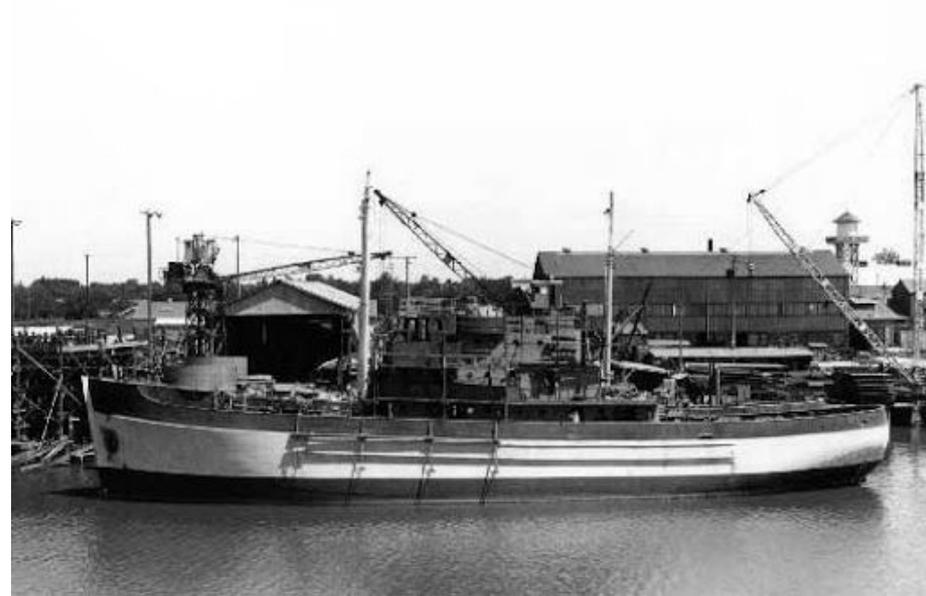
The “Dust Bowl” drought of the late 1920s and early 1930s also pushed extensive African-American migration from Oklahoma, Missouri, Kentucky, and Arkansas into Stockton's maritime industries. Most families were forced to initially live in camps at modern-day Louis Park. These communities would find the housing markets on Boggs Tract and the lower East Side saturated, and would eventually move to the white-flight evacuated Midtown Magnolia, Fair Oaks, and Burgherside





Machines of War

The Port and the Military Industrial Complex



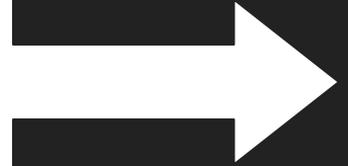


Black, Chicano, and Italian laborers at a strike near the Port of Stockton

An Urban Delta



**The Metropolises and the Colony:
State Prerogatives and
Disenfranchisement**



Delta Fisheries and the CVP



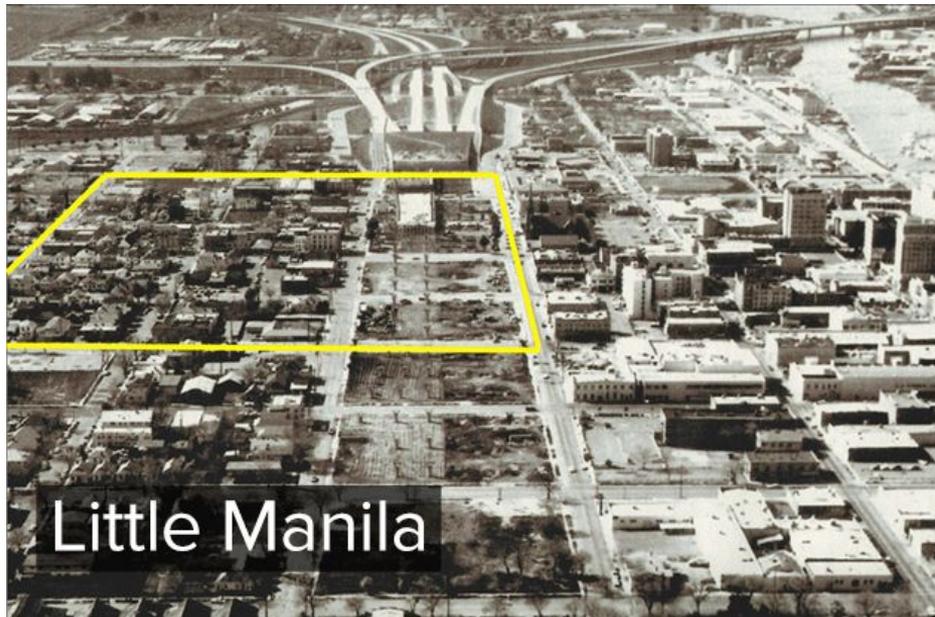
The Internment and Theft of Japanese Wealth



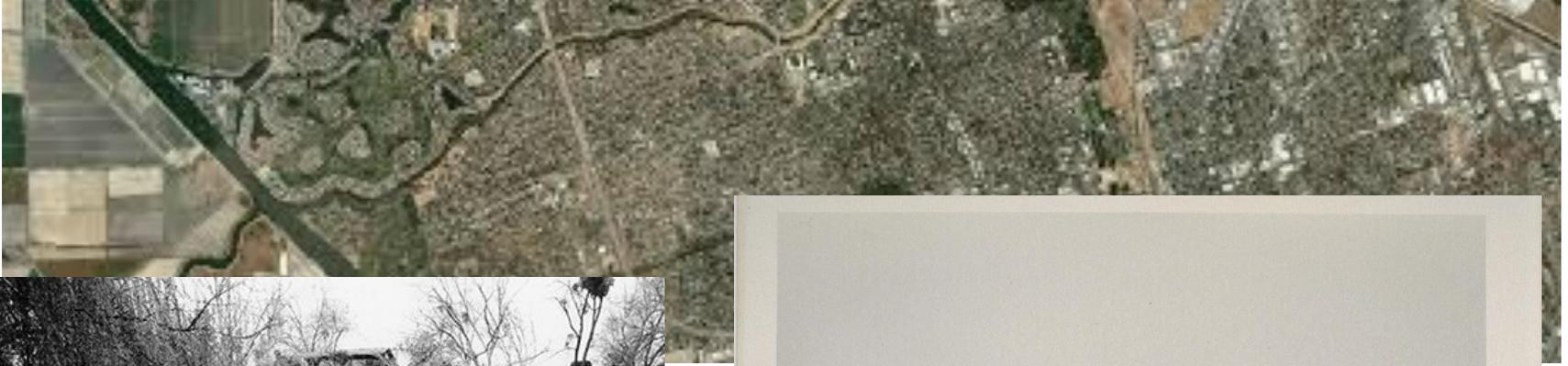
The Internment and Theft of Japanese Wealth

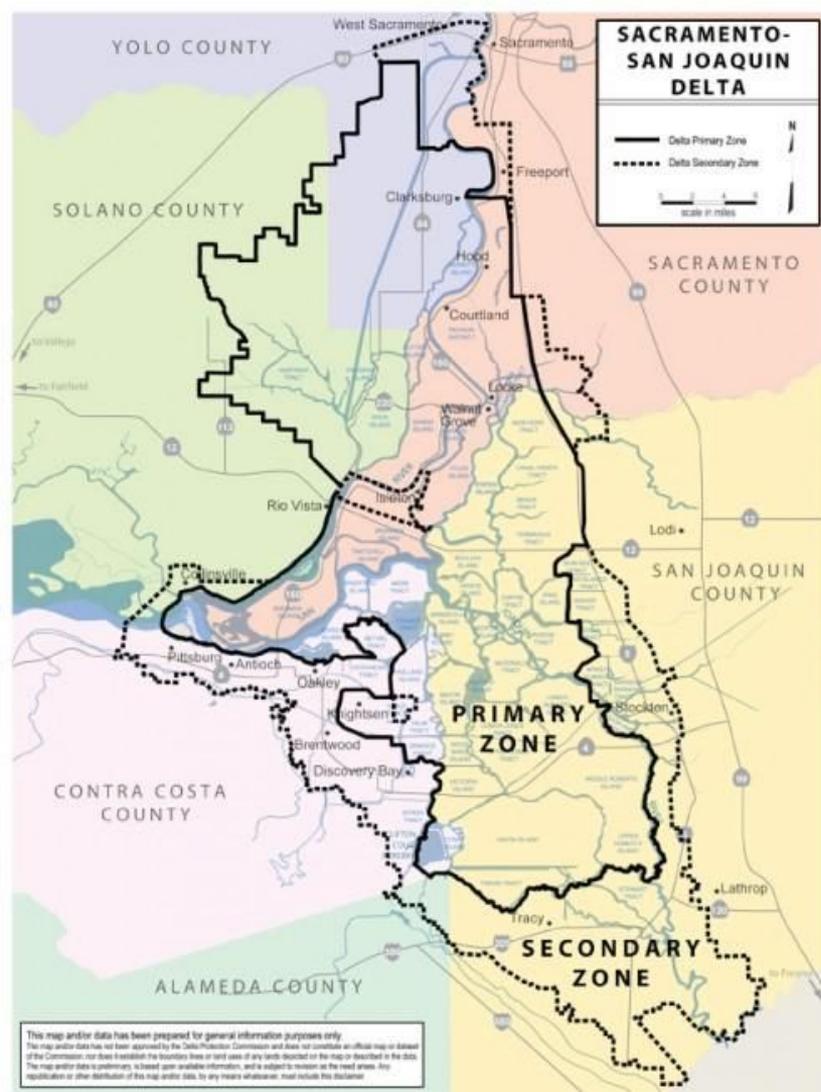


State Rationalism and Deconstruction of the Urban Delta



Killing the Commons: Water Projects and Recreational Access





The terms “Primary Zone” and “Secondary Zone” are political terms that *de facto* reduce and marginalize the human histories, cultures, societies, and politics of the region.

New Immigrations to a New Delta



Language from a racially restrictive housing covenant from Tuxedo Park

No noxious or offensive trade or activity be carried on upon any lot, nor shall anything be done thereon which may be or become an annoyance or nuisance to the neighborhood.

RACIAL CLAUSE

1. No persons of any race other than the Caucasian race shall use or occupy any building or any lot, except that this covenant shall not prevent occupancy by domestic servants of a different race domiciled with an owner or tenant.

Redlining

“Residential security” was a measurement that banks used to determine whether or not they would lend to a homeowner. Houses were expensive, and most people could not afford to pay for a house all at once.

Red zones were considered the lowest security level, and typically were relegated to blacks by the FHA's *Underwriting Manual*. Yellow zones were next, followed by blue, then green.

"Yellow areas are characterized by age, obsolescence, and change of style; *expiring restrictions or lack of them; infiltration of a lower grade population; the presence of influences which increase sales resistance...*"

"Red areas represent those neighborhoods in which the things that are now taking place in the Yellow neighborhoods, have already happened. They are characterized by *detrimental influences* in a pronounced degree, *undesirable population or infiltration of it*. Low percentage of home ownership, very poor maintenance and often vandalism prevail. Unstable incomes of the people and difficult collections are usually prevalent. The areas are broader than the so-called slum districts. Some mortgage lenders may refuse to make loans in these neighborhoods and other will lend only on a conservative basis."



RESIDENTIAL SECURITY MAP

LEGEND

-  A FIRST GRADE
-  B SECOND GRADE
-  C THIRD GRADE
-  D FOURTH GRADE
-  SPARSELY BUILT UP
(COLOR INDICATES GRADE)
-  COMMERCIAL (IMPORTANT RETAIL AND WHOLESALE AREAS)
-  UNDEVELOPED OR FARMLAND
(UNLESS OTHERWISE INDICATED)

PREPARED BY

DIVISION OF RESEARCH AND STATISTICS
FEDERAL HOME LOAN BANK BOARD
WITH THE CO-OPERATION OF THE
APPRAISAL DEPARTMENT
HOME OWNERS' LOAN CORPORATION
SEPTEMBER 30, 1939

Statistical evidence shows that the most likely predictor of a neighborhood's grade was the extent of housing covenants.

Centers of Immigrant Community





Urban segregation led to the creation of a diverse, urban South and Midtown Stockton and a largely white, suburban North Stockton

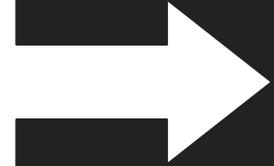
Wealth Disparity Creation

This system was designed to keep people of color from building wealth.

Redlined neighborhoods, where residents could not access loans, and thus not buy houses, were without exception neighborhoods that the *Underwriters Manual* had listed as “mixed” or “negro.”

As a result, an African-American could never build wealth by owning a home. White Americans living in greenlined neighborhoods could expect to own their own home by paying off a bank loan.

**“Revitalizing” Stockton
Case Study 1:
1949-1968**



Killing Corruption: Cleaning Skid Row

-Between 1945 and 1949, municipal reformers began to identify “skid row” as a major obstacle to attracting business. During the war, the military had temporarily banned sailors from going to bars in downtown, and the University of the Pacific vocally proclaimed in Record op-eds that the “sins downtown” were “a filthy perversion” for its students.



Killing Corruption: Cleaning Skid Row



-In the 1940s police chief Rex Parker, under the direction of City Manager Hogan, cracked down on illegal gambling parlors in Little Manila, Chinatown, and Fair Oaks.. There were concerns that the Italian mob had infiltrated Stockton, and UOP and other reform-minded institutions in 1947 organized a "Citizens Coalition for a Better Government," and tried to recall the entire city council.

Killing Corruption: Cleaning Skid Row

-By 1948, Chief Parker had busted 26 taverns and bars for gambling and prostitution, and in November of that year, Councilman Angelo Sanguinetti, a pharmacist and known owner of a prostitution hall on El Dorado, organized the sacking of City Manager Hogan and Chief Parker, using his "Stockton First League" on the Council. Mayor Ventre, an advocate of reform and ally of UOP, resigned.

A recall effort was immediately organized by local churches and UOP. The "Citizens Action Committee," supported by communities of color who praised Rex Parker for ending brutality against communities of color, and religious and educational institutions wanting to improve Stockton's ethics reputation, put up six candidates as alternatives to the current city councilors. The recall effort failed.

Killing Skid Row: the transition to urban renewal

-By 1950, Jack O'Keefe was hired to replace Rex Parker.

-In response to increased calls for reform of the West End, O'Keefe began to make mass arrests of people of color in the West End and South Stockton in 1953.

-Evaluations of municipal records show that O'Keefe's department made over 20,000 arrests of Black, Filipino, Mexican, and Chinese men between 1953 and 1958. Less than three houses of prostitution were closed during this time.

-In late 1954, a black welder at the Port of Stockton by the name of Lucius Meadows was murdered by a police officer. This led to the formation of a "Committee on Urban Problems" by Mayor Dean DeCarli, that identified prostitution and mob-crime as Stockton's major problems, and ultimately argued that Skid Row needed to be demolished for revitalization.

Urban Renewal

In 1949 the FHA authorized up to 1 trillion USD (2019 values) in loans for the clearance of “blighted” neighborhoods

“Blighted” had a legal definition of “mixed race” or of “declining housing value.”

In 1956, convinced of a need to rid downtown of drunks and flophouses,, City Council established the Stockton Redevelopment Agency, headed by George Jacobs to explore urban renewal opportunities.

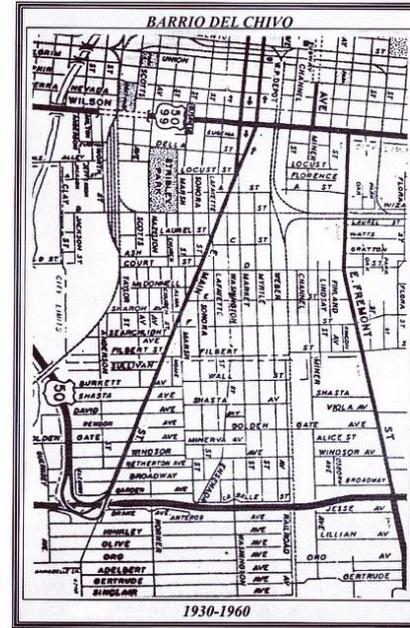
Downtown Comes Down



Utilizing the threat of eminent domain, the City was able to purchase and demolish large swaths of Stockton along Washington street.

Continued

Despite lawsuits from landowners, massive protests from migrant farm laborers living in these areas, and opposition on council, the Redevelopment Agency completed the East End Redevelopment Project in 1960, and the West End Redevelopment Project in



Massive Demographic Shifts

Data from the City archives and from municipal police reports shows that over 12,000 people were ultimately displaced from the downtown area between 1956 and 1964,

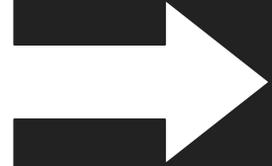
For low-income farm laborers, there was little to no compensation.

Due to many residents relocating out of Stockton, and the massive decline in sales and property tax revenue, these demolitions, negatively impacted the City's budget.

Skid Row?

-Analysis of municipal directories, tax assessment records, newspaper clippings, and Sanborn maps shows that prior to 1963, at any given time, the West End had approximately 1000 businesses, most owned by people of color. I can personally only find documentation that there were approximately 23 gambling parlors and prostitution houses at any given time between WWII and 1963.

**“Revitalizing” Stockton
Case Study II:
1979-2008**



Death of Downtown Nonprofit Scene and Prop 13

Between 1960-1975, Stockton's gross number of nonprofit agencies and organizations declined by 56% according to municipal records.

The decline in agencies contributed to Stockton's declining level of public services.

In 1978, Prop 13 is passed.

Huge impacts on local education: in 1960, SUSD had the highest college attendance rate of any school district in state, according to Department of Education data, including among Hispanic and Asian populations. By 1985, it was among the lowest.

Hernandez v. Stockton Unified and White Flight

In 1970, the California Rural Legal Assistance League filed a lawsuit on behalf of students of color in Stockton Unified, stating that the district was segregated.

In 1974 courts ruled that the district was in violation of the Civil Rights Act, and demanded a desegregation plan. This led to massive white flight out of downtown and midtown into Lodi and Lincoln Unified.

Education

In the aftermath of urban renewal, Stockton became home to large populations of dispossessed farm-labor communities, as well as underemployed African-American communities.

The highly expensive reconstruction campaign to rebuild Stockton's schools after the Field Act regulations, as well as Prop 13 and the flight of high-income earners to Lincoln and Lodi USDs, left SUSD impoverished.

Education and Occupational Instability

In addition to the impoverished nature of the school district, SUSD bore the brunt of the massive population influxes of Mexican migrants from Michoacan and SE Asian migrants from Vietnam and Cambodia.

In 1960, Stockton had the highest college acceptance rates among hispanic and Asian-American populations in the state.

By 1985, SUSD is ranked among the bottom ten percentiles of urban districts. The DoE pinpointed a lack of funding for services as a primary reason.

Educational Outcomes and Crime

As Stockton Unified saw a continuing decline in educational outcomes, the city as a whole began to see rising crime rates, and higher incidence of gang violence.

Similarly, state penitentiary data shows a marked increase in the number of inmates from Stockton.





Revitalization through Policing

In the 1990's, under Joan Darrah, the City initiated the "Safe Stockton" campaign, focusing on hiring more police officers, bike patrols, high school interventions, and refocusing redevelopment aid to housing projects. Educational inequities remained. SUSD continued low performance.

Ultimately, crime rates temporarily lowered, while educational outcomes based off of college acceptance data continue to decline. The School District attempted reform through diversity programming.



Impacts on the Housing Market

Graduates from Stockton Unified and immigrants continue to earn low wages, with little access to generational wealth (inherited houses), income mobility, or housing stability.

To meet the needs of this underserved population, beginning in 1986, the Bank of Stockton and local developers begin to lobby for the withdrawal of regulations on subprime lending. Ultimately they succeed during the Clinton administration.

Housing Bubble, A Second Crime Wave, and Municipal Pensions

Between 2002 and 2007, Stockton sees a massive rise in homeownership due to subprime lending in North and South East Stockton among people of color. In 2007 the housing bubble burst, sparking massive foreclosures and a second crime wave.

Based on highly problematic and optimistic projections of municipal revenue and growth (DoF), Mayors Podesto and Chavez significantly upgraded municipal pension plans.