

**Historic Context Statement
for Agricultural Resources in the
North County Planning Area, Monterey County**



The Aromas Pig Club

Prepared By:

P A S T
CONSULTANTS LLC

PAST Consultants, LLC
P.O. Box 283
Petaluma CA 94953

Prepared For:



Monterey County Parks Dept.
855 E. Laurel Drive, Building G
Salinas CA 93905

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**HISTORIC CONTEXT STATEMENT: AGRICULTURAL RESOURCES
IN THE NORTH COUNTY PLANNING AREA
MONTEREY COUNTY, CALIFORNIA**

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Prepared For:

Meg Clovis, Cultural Affairs Manager
Monterey County Parks Department
P.O. Box 5249
Salinas, CA 93915

Prepared By:

PAST Consultants, LLC
P.O. Box 283
Petaluma, CA 94953

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I. EXECUTIVE SUMMARY

A. Project Team

County of Monterey

Meg Clovis, Cultural Affairs Manager
Monterey County Parks Department
P.O. Box 5249
Salinas, CA 93915

California Office of Historic Preservation

Marie Nelson, State Historian II
Surveys & Contexts/CLG Coordinator
California Office of Historic Preservation
1725 23rd Street, Suite 100
Sacramento, CA 95816

PAST Consultants, LLC

Paige J. Swartley, Esq., Principal, Project Manager and Historic Context Statement co-author*
Seth A. Bergstein, Principal, Historic Context Statement co-author*
P.O. Box 283
Petaluma, CA 94953

** Paige J. Swartley and Seth A. Bergstein both meet the Secretary of the Interior's Professional Qualifications Standards in Architectural History and History.*

B. Funding

Under the auspices of the Certified Local Government (CLG) program, the federal government and the County of Monterey jointly funded this historic context statement. The 1980 amendments to the National Historic Preservation Act of 1966 created a CLG program to encourage local governments' direct participation in identifying, evaluating, registering and preserving historic properties and integrating preservation concerns into local planning and decision-making processes. California's CLG program is a partnership among local governments, the California Office of Historic Preservation (OHP) and the National Park Service, which administers the National Historic Preservation Program. The total project cost for this historic context statement was \$34,000. OHP awarded Monterey County a \$25,000 CLG grant for the 2009-2010 CLG funding year and Monterey County contributed an additional \$9,000 towards the project. The grant period for this project was October 1, 2009 through September 30, 2010.

C. Project Description

1. Historic Context Statements

One of the biggest challenges in saving historic resources is answering the question “What do we preserve and why?” Developing a historic context statement is the first step towards helping citizens and municipalities understand the significance of specific historic resources and to prioritize their preservation. The *Secretary of the Interior’s Standards for Preservation Planning* defines three primary standards for historic preservation:

1. Standard I. Preservation Planning Establishes Historic Contexts.
2. Standard II. Preservation Planning Uses Historic Contexts to Develop Goals and Priorities for the Identification, Evaluation, Registration and Treatment of Historic Properties.
3. Standard III. The Results of Preservation Planning Are Made Available for Integration Into Broader Planning Processes.

Historic context statements are the finished product of Standard I and provide the foundation for governmental agencies to implement Standards II and III: prioritizing the identification, evaluation, registration and treatment of certain historic properties and making the process an integral component of land use planning.¹

National Register Bulletin Number 15: How to Apply the National Register Criteria for Evaluation defines **historic contexts** as “historical patterns that can be identified through consideration of the history of the property and the history of the surrounding area.”² *National Register Bulletin 16A: How to Complete the National Register Registration Form* is a little more specific, defining a historic context as:

Information about historic trends and properties grouped by an important theme in the prehistory or history of a community, State, or nation during a particular period of time. Because historic contexts are organized by **theme, place and time**, they link historic properties to important historic trends.³

To place a resource within its historic context, evaluators must identify the resource’s period of significance and the historic theme it represents. The **period of significance** is the “span of time in which a property attained the significance for which it meets” the relevant local, California

¹ U.S. Department of the Interior, National Park Service, *The Secretary of the Interior’s Standards for Preservation Planning*, http://www.nps.gov/history/local-law/arch_stnds_1.htm.

² U.S. Department of the Interior, National Park Service, *National Register Bulletin Number 15: How to Apply the National Register Criteria for Evaluation*, 7.

³ U.S. Department of the Interior, National Park Service, *National Register Bulletin 16A: How to Complete the National Register Registration Form* (Washington, D.C.: U.S. Department of the Interior, 1997), 4.

Register or National Register criteria.⁴ A **historic theme** “is a means of organizing properties into coherent patterns based on elements such as environment, social/ethnic groups, transportation networks, technology, or political developments that have influenced the development of an area during one or more periods of prehistory or history.”⁵ By focusing on place, time and theme, historic context statements explain how, when, where and why the built environment developed in a particular manner. They describe an area’s significant land use patterns and development, group the patterns into historic themes, identify the types of historic properties that illustrate those themes, and establish eligibility criteria and integrity thresholds for registering historic properties on national, state or local registers of historic properties.

2. Project Objectives

The objectives of the *Historic Context Statement: Agricultural Resources in the North County Planning Area, Monterey County* are to:

- Establish significant events and locational patterns in the agricultural development of the North County Planning Area (North County) up to 1960.
- Organize the North County’s developmental events and patterns into a group of themes that represent agriculture-related resources developed up to 1960.
- Provide examples of associated property types within each theme, focusing on extant historic properties.
- Provide eligibility and integrity thresholds for purposes of surveying and/or nominating historic properties to national, state and local registers of historic resources.
- Identify preservation priorities and suggestions for further research.

3. Project Summary

Historic context statements identify the **place** where significant historic events and people shaped the built and natural environment, the **time** when they occurred and the broad historic **themes** that represent patterns of historical development. This historic context statement addresses the following place, time and themes:

a. Place: The North County Planning Area:

Located in northern Monterey County, California, the North County’s coastal location, fertile soil, alluvial plains, rolling hills and Mediterranean climate make it one of the most productive agricultural regions in the world. The North County encompasses about 114 square miles of the southern Pajaro Valley and the northern Salinas Valley, including the communities of

⁴ U.S. Department of the Interior, National Park Service, *National Register Bulletin Number 16A: How to Complete the National Register Registration Form*, Appendix IV, 3. This appendix provides a useful glossary of National Register terms.

⁵ U.S. Department of the Interior, National Park Service, *National Register Bulletin Number 15: How to Apply the National Register Criteria for Evaluation*, 8.

Castroville, Moss Landing, Prunedale, Pajaro, Las Lomas and part of Aromas. Water bodies or county lines form three of the North County's borders. The Monterey Bay forms the western boundary. The northern boundary is the Pajaro River, which also divides Monterey and Santa Cruz counties. The eastern boundary begins where Monterey, Santa Cruz and San Benito counties meet north of Aromas; it then follows the Monterey County line south to Old Stage Road. The southern boundary is not as clearly demarcated as the other three boundaries. Generally, it follows Old Stage Road west to Crazy Horse Canyon Road; north on Crazy Horse Canyon Road to a point beyond the San Juan Grade Road intersection; southwest towards Highway 101; north along Highway 101; southwest roughly along the Tembladera Slough; through Merritt Lake; across Highway 183 south of Castroville; southwest to where Highway 1 crosses the Salinas River; and follows along the Salinas River to Monterey Bay.

b. Time: Pre-History to 1960:

The agricultural history chapter reviews the settlement of the region by time period, discussing the Ohlones (ca. 5000 B.C.-1870 A.D.), the Spanish Period (1769-1822), the Mexican Period (1822-1848) and American Settlement and Agricultural Expansion (1848-1960). Other books and reports discuss the Ohlone, Spanish and Mexican periods in great detail, so this historic context statement provides only a brief overview of those periods. North County residents during those periods began transforming California from a natural landscape to a cultural landscape, and early agriculture played an important role in initiating landscape change. However, because this historic context statement emphasizes extant North County properties, the historical narrative focuses on the period of American Settlement and Agricultural Expansion (1848-1960). Similarly, the historic themes and associated properties also focus on that period.

Many ethnic and cultural groups have played a significant role in the North County's agricultural history, including the Irish, Chinese, Japanese, Italians, Croatians, Swiss, Dust Bowl migrants, Filipinos, Mexicans and many others. The contributions of these groups are discussed throughout the historic context statement.

c. Theme Summary:

The themes that tell the story of North County agriculture are: (1) Extensive Agriculture; (2) Intensive Agriculture; (3) Processing and Distribution; (4) Advocacy and Social Organizations; and (5) Housing. Chapter 5: Historic Themes, Associated Property Types, Eligibility Criteria and Integrity Thresholds discusses these themes in detail, focusing primarily on extant historic properties.

4. Project Methodology

PAST adopted a three-part methodology to develop this historic context statement. First, PAST performed extensive research to uncover Monterey County's rich agricultural history. Second, as research revealed historical patterns of development, PAST created a list of historic themes

that convey the context in which the North County Planning Area's agricultural resources developed. To link the historic themes with extant properties, PAST conducted field reconnaissance of the North County to identify extant properties that illustrate the historic themes. Third, PAST developed a comprehensive list of associated property types and their eligibility criteria and integrity thresholds for each property type.

a. Historical Research:

PAST prepared this historic context statement under professional standards established by the U.S. Department of the Interior, California State Office of Historic Preservation and professional historic preservation practice. PAST conducted historical research at the following repositories:

- Agricultural History Project, Watsonville, California
- California Agricultural Workers' History Center, Watsonville Public Library, Watsonville, California
- California History Room, California State Library, Sacramento, California
- North Monterey Chamber of Commerce, Castroville
- John Steinbeck Library, Salinas, California
- Monterey County Agricultural and Rural Life Museum, King City, California
- Monterey County Historical Society, Salinas, California
- Monterey County Library, Aromas Branch, Aromas, California
- Monterey County Library, Prunedale Branch, Salinas, California
- Pajaro Valley Historical Association, Watsonville, California
- Sonoma County Library, Petaluma, California

b. Field Reconnaissance Survey:

PAST conducted a "windshield" or "reconnaissance" survey of the North County Planning Area to (1) locate properties that represent the historic themes illustrating the North County's agricultural history, (2) determine the physical condition of the properties, and (3) develop a set of eligibility criteria and integrity thresholds for each property type. The project's scope of work did not include preparation of any survey forms or specific property documentation.

PAST surveyed properties visible from public roads only. Since few roads traverse the North County and many large properties are not visible from the road, the field reconnaissance survey should not be considered to be comprehensive.

c. Limitations:

Geographical and political boundaries posed a research challenge for this project. The North County Planning Area covers the northern segment of the Salinas Valley and the southern portion of the Pajaro Valley (parts of which are in Monterey and Santa Cruz counties). So when historic research materials refer to the Pajaro or Salinas valleys, it can be hard to tell whether the

discussion applies to areas within the North County's borders. Furthermore, many Watsonville and Salinas businesses catered to North County agricultural workers; many people who worked in the North County actually lived in Santa Cruz or San Benito counties; and for many years, some North County properties had Watsonville mailing addresses. Therefore, when historic research materials discuss businesses, properties and people associated with Watsonville or Salinas, they likely contain information that also pertains to the North County.

The North County's agricultural history is inseparable from that of the Central Coast; therefore, this historic context statement includes information that is relevant to the whole region. To fully understand the area's agricultural history, public agencies and other organizations in Monterey, Santa Cruz and San Benito counties should recognize and emphasize the interconnectedness of the region. Nonprofit organizations like the Agricultural History Project and the Pajaro Valley Historical Association, both located in Watsonville, already emphasize those connections. When setting future preservation priorities and making land use decisions, municipalities should also explore cooperative historic preservation and educational efforts and recognize that decisions made on local and countywide levels have a regional impact.

Although some of the historic agricultural resources in the North County may have been studied or documented individually through surveys, studies or other historic reports in the past, this historic context statement is the first comprehensive study of the North County's agricultural resources. It is not intended to provide a complete history of the area, list every crop ever grown locally, describe every ethnic group that ever worked in North County agriculture, or identify everyone who owned, labored on, designed, constructed or inhabited historic agricultural properties up to 1960. Rather, it provides a global look at properties related to agriculture up to that year by first establishing the broad historic trends and patterns that specifically related to agricultural development, and then organizing the historic context into a group of themes illustrated by property types representing the North County's agricultural development.

5. Project Meetings

During this project, PAST participated in numerous project meetings with Meg Clovis, Cultural Affairs Manager for the Monterey County Parks Department; members of the Monterey County Historic Resources Review Board (HRRB); and Marie Nelson, the Certified Local Government Coordinator for Surveys and Contexts at the California Office of Historic Preservation.

On October 8, 2009, PAST participated in a conference call with Meg Clovis and Marie Nelson to review the purposes and content of the historic context statement and to review relevant background materials, including federal and state guidance for preparing historic context statements. On November 4, 2009, PAST met with Meg Clovis and with Historic Resources Review Board members Salvador Munoz, Kent Seavey and Barbara Rainer to review the project schedule, project area boundaries, potential properties for the informal reconnaissance survey, and relevant historical trends. We also discussed research materials, repositories, and individuals who could provide relevant information about the North County's agricultural history.

On January 29, 2010, PAST met with Meg Clovis to discuss the work progress. PAST suggested that this context statement include historic themes that apply countywide rather than simply to the North County. Taking a broad view of historic themes would facilitate efficient and consistent identification of historic resources throughout Monterey County. Therefore, this historic context statement includes a set of themes broad enough to apply to the entire county. On February 17, 2010, PAST, Meg Clovis and Marie Nelson held a conference call to discuss future synthesis of themes and historical information from three Monterey County agricultural historic context statements prepared for the Salinas Valley, South County and North County, in order to create an efficient tool for surveying agricultural resources countywide. Monterey County has since received a 2010-2011 CLG grant to develop an *Agricultural Resources Evaluation Handbook* to synthesize the three historic context statements into one manual.

On March 24, 2010, PAST met with Meg Clovis to discuss work progress. On June 3, 2010, PAST presented its work progress to the Monterey County Historic Resources Review Board. On June 10, 2010, PAST, Meg Clovis and Marie Nelson took a driving tour of the North County Planning Area to examine historic agricultural resources. On September 2, 2010, PAST presented the final historic context statement to the Historic Resources Review Board.

D. Acknowledgments

PAST is grateful to many people in Monterey County and Santa Cruz County who contributed their expertise, interest, passion and time to this project, including:

- Meg Clovis, Cultural Affairs Manager for the Monterey County Parks Department.
- Marie Nelson, Certified Local Government Coordinator for Surveys and Contexts at the California Office of Historic Preservation.
- Monterey County Historic Resources Review Board members: Marleen Burch, Judy MacClelland, Kellie Morgantini, Salvador F. Munoz, Barbara Rainer, John Scourkes and Kent L. Seavey.
- Agricultural History Project (AHP): Pat Johns (Codiga Center & Museum Director), Lynne Grossi and the dedicated AHP board, staff and volunteers.
- Pajaro Valley Historical Association (PVHA): Louis Arbanas, Jane Borg, Regan Huerta, Alice Leyland, Josephine Lint, GeriAnne Simmons and the dedicated PVHA board, staff and volunteers.
- Monterey County Historical Society (MCHS): Mona Gudgel and the dedicated MCHS staff.
- North Monterey Chamber of Commerce, Castroville: Denise Amerison.

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II. INTRODUCTION AND AGRICULTURAL DEFINITIONS

A. Introduction

Monterey County has been an important agricultural center since the 1800s, supplying food and other agricultural products for local, regional, national and international markets. Many factors have contributed to the local agricultural economy's ongoing success, including a temperate Mediterranean climate; fertile and highly productive soils; relatively open landscape; large Spanish and Mexican land grants, which made big farm parcels possible; reclamation and irrigation projects; the adaptive and plentiful workforce, including many different ethnic groups who arrived in successive stages of immigration; access to major transportation and distribution networks; and a willingness to experiment with new crops and products. The crops, technology, distribution methods and labor force have changed over time, but reaping the bounty of the land remains a proud tradition in Monterey County and the North County Planning Area.

To understand the North County's agricultural history, it is important to place its evolution as an agricultural center in context. This historic context statement explores the principal geographical, geological, environmental, economic, cultural, social, political, governmental, technological and other factors that have affected the region's development, shaped land use patterns, and influenced the creation of cultural landscapes and the built environment.⁶ It also identifies important property types associated with particular facets of history, explains why those property types are important, shows how they illustrate the relevant historic context, and describes the characteristics properties must retain to convey their historic significance.⁷

It is also important to understand relevant terminology. This chapter defines agricultural terminology. The next chapter defines historic context statement terminology as well as historic resource identification and evaluation terminology, particularly focusing on rural properties. It also describes the national, state and local registration criteria for historic resources.

B. What is Agriculture?

1. Monterey County Code Definitions

To understand the types of historic agricultural resources located in Monterey County's North County Planning Area and why they might be worthy of preservation, it is important to define "agriculture" and related terms. Local decision-makers will rely in part on the Monterey County Code (MCC) to protect these resources, so this historic context statement uses the MCC's definitions of "agriculture," "agricultural operation," "agricultural support service" and "agricultural processing plant." The definitions are a useful starting point, yet the full breadth of

⁶ Marie Nelson, "Writing Historic Contexts" (Sacramento: California Office of Historic Preservation, undated), 2.

⁷ Nelson, "Writing Historic Contexts," 1-2.

what is meant by “agriculture” cannot be captured within a simple definition, just as the meaning of “food” is infinitely broad.

Generally, **agriculture** encompasses a wide range of activities related to managing plants and animals for human use. The MCC defines agriculture as “the art or science of cultivating the ground; harvesting of crops; rearing and management of livestock; tillage; husbandry; farming; horticulture; and forestry science and art of the production of plants and animals useful to man; and wildlife management.”⁸ In other words, agriculture is intimately tied to the natural environment: soil, water, nutrients, climate, geography, geology, animals and plants. The built environment is also critical. The business of agriculture requires facilities and infrastructure devoted to planting, cultivating, processing, packing, distributing and consuming agricultural products. Perhaps most importantly, no agricultural product would reach consumers without people playing hundreds of roles in different businesses: farm ownership and operation, cultivation, irrigation, transportation, processing, packing, storage, marketing, machinery manufacture and sales, chemicals, seed production, banking, financing, agricultural extension services, research, governmental oversight, groceries, roadside stands, farmers markets and other support services.⁹

Under the MCC, an **agricultural operation** includes cultivating and tilling soil; dairying; producing, cultivating, growing and harvesting agricultural commodities including horticulture, timber, apiculture, livestock, fish, or poultry; and cultural practices associated with farming operations, such as preparing goods for the market, delivering goods to storage, delivering goods to the market, or delivering goods for transportation to the market.¹⁰

The business of agriculture requires many types of physical facilities. Under the MCC, an **agricultural support service** is typically located on or close to a farm. It is a “necessary and accessory facility principally established to serve on-site farming or ranching activities” and “relies on the on-site agriculture as its major means of support.” Support facilities include without limitation coolers, cold storage, loading docks and shops.¹¹ An **agricultural processing plant** is a broader term that includes any structure, building, facility, open or enclosed area, or other location for “refining, treating, or converting agricultural products where a physical, chemical or similar change of an agricultural product occurs.” Examples include coolers, dehydrators, cold storage houses, hulling operations, wineries and facilities for sorting, cleaning,

⁸ County of Monterey, California, “Monterey County Code,” Title 21, Chapter 21.06, Section 21.06.010 (Tallahassee, FL: Municipal Code Corporation, 2009), http://library.municode.com/HTML/16111/level2/T21_C21.06.html#T21_C21.06_21.06.010 (accessed January 22, 2010).

⁹ Carole Frank Nuckton, Refugio I. Rochin, and Ann Foley Scheuring, “California Agriculture: The Human Story,” in *A Guidebook to California Agriculture* (Berkeley, CA: University of California Press, 1983), 18.

¹⁰ County of Monterey, California, “Monterey County Code,” Title 16, Chapter 16.40, Section 16.40.010(B) (Tallahassee, FL: Municipal Code Corporation, 2009), http://library.municode.com/HTML/16111/level2/T16_C16.40.html#T16_C16.40_16.40.010 (accessed January 22, 2010).

¹¹ County of Monterey, California, “Monterey County Code,” Title 21, Chapter 21.06, Section 21.06.030, (Tallahassee, FL: Municipal Code Corporation, 2009), http://library.municode.com/HTML/16111/level2/T21_C21.06.html#T21_C21.06_21.06.030 (accessed January 12, 2010).

packing and storing agricultural products in preparation for sale or shipment.¹² Some facilities can be classified as both an agricultural support service and an agricultural processing plant, such as coolers and cold storage facilities.

2. Types of Agriculture

The MCC's definitions of agriculture and related terms provide a framework for understanding the types of historic resources that convey the North County's agricultural history. In addition, the agricultural industry uses specific terms to classify farming methods, reflecting the level of labor, money and technology required to modify land and produce agricultural products.

Agriculture is divided into two primary types: extensive and intensive. Extensive agriculture tends to utilize large parcels of land and limited labor, whereas intensive agriculture generally requires an acute level of effort on smaller parcels. More specifically:

Extensive agriculture or **extensive cultivation** relies on existing technology to cultivate the land and uses a low level of labor and capital relative to the size of the farmed area. Examples of extensive agriculture include cultivating grains (*e.g.*, wheat and barley) and raising livestock. For much of the nineteenth century, Monterey County farmers primarily conducted extensive agriculture operations. They focused on growing "staple" crops that would feed both humans and animals, but they also lacked the technology and labor required to cultivate intensive crops.

Intensive agriculture or **intensive cultivation** produces or increases crop yields by applying a relatively high level of labor, capital and technology. Examples of intensive crops grown in the North County include artichokes and strawberries, which require large labor pools and significant irrigation and technical expertise to produce. The phrase *truck crops* is an umbrella term that typically indicates the products of intensive agriculture. Examples include high-value specialty crops like fruit and vegetables that are transported on trucks, the preferred mode of local and regional transportation after the 1920s.

Specialization, specialty crop agriculture, single-crop farming or **monoculture** was a major development in American agriculture. As fruit and vegetable growers discovered which crops grew best in particular locations, and as their production and marketing costs increased, farmers moved towards **intensive specialization**, focusing on one crop. To allay risks, growers adopted scientific advancements in breeding, fertilizing and pest management, as well as marketing and politics.¹³

¹² County of Monterey, California, "Monterey County Code," Title 21, Chapter 21.06, Section 21.06.020 (Tallahassee, FL: Municipal Code Corporation, 2009), http://library.municode.com/HTML/16111/level2/T21_C21.06.html#T21_C21.06_21.06.020 (accessed January 22, 2010).

¹³ Steven Stoll, *The Fruits of Natural Advantage: Making the Industrial Countryside in California* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1998), xiii-xiv.

Industrial agriculture means specialization on many levels: crop specialization; labor specialization (laborers trained to perform a single task such as harvesting crops versus a single family performing all labor on their family farm); and the complete commercialization of farming. It also requires close connections between growers, labor, scientists, investors, marketing agencies, regional markets, governmental regulators, businesses and consumers.¹⁴

North County agriculture followed the general trend found elsewhere in California: extensive agriculture preceded intensive agriculture. The financial, labor and technological limitations of early settlers restricted agricultural production to raising animals and crops that satisfied the local population's needs. As the population increased and more money, workers and technology arrived in the North County, farmers transitioned from extensive to intensive agriculture. To read the cultural landscape and understand how it changes over time, we must recognize that farmers use land differently for extensive and intensive agriculture, modifying the natural and built environment to facilitate their specialized agricultural production.

Chapter 5: Historic Themes, Associated Property Types, Eligibility Criteria and Integrity Thresholds integrates these terms into the historic themes that convey the significance of North County's agricultural resources. Two of the historic themes, Extensive Agriculture and Intensive Agriculture, reflect the major historical division between the two major types of agriculture.

¹⁴ Stoll, *The Fruits of Natural Advantage*, xiv.

III. IDENTIFYING AND EVALUATING NORTH COUNTY RESOURCES

This historic context statement provides the general framework for identifying the North County's agricultural resources and evaluating them for historic significance and historic integrity. This chapter describes how the process works and outlines the basic format of the rest of the document. First, it describes how historic context statements are organized. Second, it provides eligibility criteria for listing properties in the federal, state and local registers of historic resources. Third, it defines historic integrity and integrity thresholds. Fourth, it defines different types of cultural landscapes (including rural historic landscapes, like those found in the North County) and describes landscape characteristics. Fifth, it describes how Chapter 5, the themes chapter, addresses property types, landscape characteristics and integrity thresholds.

A. Historic Context Statements

One of the biggest challenges in saving historic resources is answering the question "What do we preserve and why?" Historic context statements help provide some answers. They identify the geographical, environmental, social, cultural, political, governmental and technological factors that influenced land use patterns and shaped the cultural landscape. They classify those historical developments into themes and identify associated property types that illustrate each theme. Finally, they provide guidance for determining which resources possess historic significance and historic integrity and are therefore eligible for listing on historic registers. All of this information helps to establish *what* we preserve and *why*, providing the historic context within which individual resources can be evaluated using criteria from the National Register of Historic Places, California Register of Historical Resources, Monterey County Local Official Register of Historic Resources and other applicable registers.

From a preservation planning perspective, municipalities and citizens use historic context statements to help them understand the significance of specific historic resources so they can make informed decisions about preserving them. The *Secretary of the Interior's Standards for Preservation Planning* defines three primary standards for historic preservation:

1. Standard I. Preservation Planning Establishes Historic Contexts.
2. Standard II. Preservation Planning Uses Historic Contexts to Develop Goals and Priorities for the Identification, Evaluation, Registration and Treatment of Historic Properties.
3. Standard III. The Results of Preservation Planning Are Made Available for Integration Into Broader Planning Processes.

Historic context statements are the finished product of Standard I and provide the foundation for governmental agencies to implement Standards II and III: establishing historic preservation priorities and integrating those priorities into local land use planning.¹⁵

National Register Bulletin 15: How to Apply the National Register Criteria for Evaluation defines **historic contexts** as “historical patterns that can be identified through consideration of the history of the property and the history of the surrounding area.”¹⁶ *National Register Bulletin 16A: How to Complete the National Register Registration Form* is a little more specific, defining a historic context as:

Information about historic trends and properties grouped by an important theme in the prehistory or history of a community, State, or nation during a particular period of time. Because historic contexts are organized by **theme, place and time**, they link historic properties to important historic trends.¹⁷

To place a resource within its historic context, evaluators must identify the resource’s period of significance and the historic theme it represents. The **period of significance** is the “span of time in which a property attained the significance” for which it meets the relevant local, California Register or National Register criteria.¹⁸ A **historic theme** “is a means of organizing properties into coherent patterns based on elements such as environment, social/ethnic groups, transportation networks, technology, or political developments that have influenced the development of an area during one or more periods of prehistory or history.”¹⁹ Lastly, an **associated property type** is defined as “a grouping of individual properties characterized by common physical and/or associative attributes.”²⁰ The associated property type is the physical evidence present on the landscape that illustrates the historic theme, which in turn illustrates the historic context.

By focusing on theme, place and time, historic context statements explain how, where and when the built environment developed in a particular manner. They describe significant land use patterns and development, group the patterns into historic themes, identify the associated property types of historic properties that illustrate those themes, and establish **eligibility criteria**

¹⁵ U.S. Department of the Interior, National Park Service, *The Secretary of the Interior’s Standards for Preservation Planning*, http://www.nps.gov/history/local-law/arch_stnds_1.htm.

¹⁶ U.S. Department of the Interior, National Park Service, *National Register Bulletin 15: How to Apply the National Register Criteria for Evaluation*, 7.

¹⁷ U.S. Department of the Interior, National Park Service, *National Register Bulletin 16A: How to Complete the National Register Registration Form* (Washington, D.C.: U.S. Department of the Interior, 1997), 4.

¹⁸ U.S. Department of the Interior, National Park Service, *National Register Bulletin Number 16A: How to Complete the National Register Registration Form*, Appendix IV, 3. This appendix provides a useful glossary of National Register terms.

¹⁹ U.S. Department of the Interior, National Park Service, *National Register Bulletin Number 15: How to Apply the National Register Criteria for Evaluation*, 8.

²⁰ U.S. Department of the Interior, National Park Service, *National Register Bulletin 16B: How to Complete the National Register Multiple Property Documentation Form* (Washington, D.C.: U.S. Department of the Interior, 1999), 14.

and **integrity thresholds** for listing properties on national, state or local registers of historic resources. Eligibility criteria, historic integrity and integrity thresholds are discussed below.

B. Eligibility Criteria

Historic resources may be designated on the federal, state or local level. Generally, to be eligible for listing, a resource must be historically significant and retain enough historic integrity to convey that significance. The criteria for listing in the National Register of Historic Places, California Register of Historical Resources and the Monterey County Local Official Register of Historic Resources are described below.

1. National Register of Historic Places (NR)

The National Historic Preservation Act of 1966 authorized the Secretary of the Interior to create the National Register of Historic Places. Districts, sites, buildings, structures, and objects significant in American history, architecture, archeology, engineering and culture are eligible for listing if they meet at least one of four criteria.²¹ Eligible resources are those

- A. That are associated with events that have made a significant contribution to the broad patterns of our history; or
- B. That are associated with the lives of persons significant in our past; or
- C. That embody the distinctive characteristics of a type, period, or method of construction, or that represent the work of a master, or that possess high artistic values, or that represent a significant and distinguishable entity whose components may lack individual distinction; or
- D. That have yielded, or may be likely to yield, information important in prehistory or history.

Eligible resources must also retain sufficient integrity of location, design, setting, materials, workmanship, feeling, and association to convey the relevant historic significance.²² The seven aspects of integrity are described later in this chapter.

In general, cemeteries, birthplaces, or graves of historical figures; properties owned by religious institutions or used for religious purposes; structures that were moved from their original locations; reconstructed historic buildings; properties primarily commemorative in nature; and properties that have achieved significance within the past fifty years are considered ineligible for listing in the National Register. However, such properties will qualify if they are integral parts of districts that do meet the criteria or if they fall within the following categories:

- (a) A religious property deriving primary significance from architectural or artistic distinction or historical importance; or

²¹ 16 U.S.C. 470, *et seq.*, as amended. 36 C.F.R. § 60.1(a).

²² 36 C.F.R. § 60.4.

- (b) A building or structure removed from its original location but which is significant primarily for architectural value, or which is the surviving structure most importantly associated with a historic person or event; or
- (c) A birthplace or grave of a historical figure of outstanding importance if there is no appropriate site or building directly associated with that person's productive life; or
- (d) A cemetery which derives its primary significance from graves of persons of transcendent importance, from age, from distinctive design features, or from association with historic events; or
- (e) A reconstructed building when accurately executed in a suitable environment and presented in a dignified manner as part of a restoration master plan, and when no other building or structure with the same association has survived; or
- (f) A property primarily commemorative in intent if design, age, tradition, or symbolic value has invested it with its own exceptional significance; or
- (g) A property achieving significance within the past 50 years if it is of exceptional importance.²³

2. California Register of Historical Resources (CR)

A resource is eligible for listing in the California Register of Historical Resources if it:

1. Is associated with events that have made a significant contribution to the broad patterns of California's history and cultural heritage.
2. Is associated with the lives of persons important in our past.
3. Embodies the distinctive characteristics of a type, period, region, or method of construction, or represents the work of an important creative individual, or possesses high artistic values.
4. Has yielded, or may be likely to yield, information important in prehistory or history.²⁴

The California Code of Regulations notes that integrity is the authenticity of a historical resource's physical identity evidenced by the survival of characteristics that existed during the resource's period of significance. Resources eligible for listing in the California Register must retain enough of their historic character or appearance to be recognizable as historic resources and convey the reasons for their significance.

The same seven aspects of integrity are considered when evaluating resources for listing in the National Register and California Register: location, design, setting, materials, workmanship, feeling, and association. Alterations over time or historic changes in use may themselves be significant. However, resources that may not retain enough integrity to meet National Register criteria may still be eligible for listing in the California Register.

²³ 36 C.F.R. § 60.4.

²⁴ California Public Resources Code § 5024.1(c).

A moved building, structure, or object may be listed in the California Register if it were moved to prevent its demolition at its former location and the new location is compatible with the resource's original character and use. The resource should retain its historic features and compatibility in orientation, setting, and general environment. A resource less than fifty years old may be considered for listing in the California Register if it can be demonstrated that sufficient time has passed to understand its historical importance. A reconstructed building less than fifty years old may be eligible for listing if it embodies traditional building methods and techniques that play an important role in a community's historically rooted beliefs, customs, and practices, such as a Native American roundhouse.²⁵

3. Monterey County Local Official Register of Historic Resources (MC)

Chapter 18.25 of the Monterey County Code addresses the "Preservation of Historic Resources" and establishes criteria for listing properties and districts in the Local Official Register of Historic Resources.²⁶

Section 18.25.070 ("Review Criteria") governs the designation of historical resources and historic districts. Specifically, "[a]n improvement, natural feature, or site may be designated an historical resource and any area within the County may be designated a historic district" if the improvement, natural feature, site, or area meets the criteria for listing on the National Register of Historic Places or the California Register of Historical Resources, or if the County finds that one or more of the following conditions exist:

A. Historical and Cultural Significance.

1. The resource or district proposed for designation is particularly representative of a distinct historical period, type, style, region, or way of life.
2. The resource or district proposed for designation is, or contains, a type of building or buildings which was once common but is now rare.
3. The resource or district proposed for designation was connected with someone renowned.
4. The resource or district proposed for designation is connected with a business or use which was once common but is now rare.
5. The resource or district proposed for designation represents the work of a master builder, engineer, designer, artist, or architect whose talent influenced a particular architectural style or way of life.
6. The resource or district proposed for designation is the site of an important historic event or is associated with events that have made a meaningful contribution to the nation, State, or community.
7. The resource or district proposed for designation has a high potential of yielding information of archaeological interest.

²⁵ California Code of Regulations, Title 14, Sections 4852(c) and (d).

²⁶ Monterey County Municipal Code, Chapter 18.25. Section 18.25.100 defines the Local Official Register of Historic Resources. Section 18.25.070 establishes the review criteria.

- B. Historic, Architectural, and Engineering Significance.
1. The resource or district proposed for designation exemplifies a particular architectural style or way of life important to the County.
 2. The resource or district proposed for designation exemplifies the best remaining architectural type of a community.
 3. The construction materials or engineering methods used in the resource or district proposed for designation embody elements of outstanding attention to architectural or engineering design, detail, material or craftsmanship.
- C. Community and Geographic Setting.
1. The proposed resource materially benefits the historic character of the community.
 2. The unique location or singular physical characteristic of the resource or district proposed for designation represents an established and familiar visual feature of the community, area, or county.
 3. The district is a geographically definable area, urban or rural possessing a significant concentration or continuity of site, buildings, structures, or objects unified by past events, or aesthetically by plan or physical development.
 4. The preservation of a resource or resources is essential to the integrity of the district.

4. Other Local Registers Within the North County Planning Area

Criteria for listing in other local registers maintained by municipalities within the North County Planning Area, whether in existence now or developed in the future, shall also be considered when evaluating the North County's agriculture resources.

C. Historic Integrity

National Register Bulletin 15: How to Apply the National Register Criteria for Evaluation defines **historic integrity** as "the ability of a property to convey its significance." Historic properties either retain their integrity or they do not. To retain integrity, a resource will always retain several and usually most of the seven aspects of integrity:

1. **Location:** the place where the historic property was constructed or the place where the historic event occurred.
2. **Design:** the combination of elements that create the form, plan, space, structure, and style of a property.
3. **Setting:** the physical environment of a historic property.
4. **Materials:** the physical elements that were combined or deposited during a particular period of time and in a particular pattern or configuration to form a historic property.
5. **Workmanship:** the physical evidence of the crafts of a particular culture or people during any given period in history or prehistory.

6. **Feeling:** a property's expression of the aesthetic or historic sense of a particular period of time.
7. **Association:** the direct link between an important historic event or person and a historic property.

National Register Bulletin 15 notes that evaluating historic integrity may be a subjective analysis, but is always based on understanding the property's physical features and how they relate to the property's historic significance. The integrity evaluation can begin only after the evaluator establishes the property's significance: *why* it is significant (identifying its area of significance and how it meets the relevant National, State or Local designation criteria), *where* it is important (location), and *when* the resource is significant (its "period of significance").

After establishing the property's historic significance, the evaluator assesses integrity using *National Register Bulletin 15*'s four-step approach:

1. Define the **essential physical features** that must be present for a property to represent its significance.
2. Determine whether the **essential physical features are visible** enough to convey their significance.
3. Determine whether the property needs to be **compared with similar properties**. And,
4. Determine, based on the significance and essential physical features, **which aspects of integrity** are particularly vital to the property being nominated and if they are present.

National Register Bulletin 15 emphasizes that "ultimately, the question of integrity is answered by whether or not the property retains the **identity** for which it is significant."²⁷

A resource need not be "frozen in time" to retain its historic integrity. A property may have multiple periods of significance, or a long period of significance that includes important changes to the property. Physical changes from different eras may be historically significant in their own right if they illustrate the property's historic significance and they date to the property's period of significance. For example, properties evolve as changes in land use, ownership, technology and architectural styles occur. The North County's agricultural properties evolved to accommodate the transition from extensive to intensive agriculture; the farmer's decision to change crops; technological innovation; and modifications in planting, cultivating, irrigating, processing and distribution methods. These changes must be evaluated for their own historic significance and historic integrity. The property must retain the essential physical attributes that identify it as a historic property, and these attributes must date to the property's period(s) of significance.

²⁷ U.S. Department of the Interior, National Park Service, *National Register Bulletin 15: How to Apply the National Register Criteria for Evaluation* (Washington, D.C.: National Park Service, U.S. Department of the Interior, 1997), 44-49 (bold in original).

D. Property Type Registration Requirements: Eligibility Criteria and Integrity Thresholds

As noted above, a property is eligible for listing as a historic resource if it possesses historic significance under the relevant national, state or local registration criteria and it retains enough historic integrity to convey its significance. To help identify potential historic resources, a historic context statement defines historic themes that illustrate the relevant historic context, defines associated property types for each theme, and establishes **property type registration requirements** that address the interplay between historic significance and historic integrity. *National Register Bulletin 16B: How to Complete the National Register Multiple Property Documentation Form* states that property type registration requirements should include:

the physical characteristics, associative qualities, or information potential that an example of the property type must possess to qualify for the National Register. This section should specify the aspects of integrity (location, design, setting, materials, workmanship, feeling, and association) and an explanation of how each aspect is defined for the specific property type.²⁸

The California Office of Historic Preservation's guidelines are more explicit. *OHP Preferred Format for Historic Context Statements* states that

[t]his section should also provide direction for evaluating integrity based on which aspects of integrity are critical for each property type to be able to convey its significance within the theme or context. This guidance should take into consideration the types of changes that may have been made to a resource through time as a result of its original design, location, materials, workmanship and uses.²⁹

The California Office of Historic Preservation defines this process as identifying the eligibility criteria and integrity thresholds of an associated property type.³⁰

As noted above, *National Register Bulletin 16B* states that for every associated property type described in a historic context statement, the property type registration requirements should discuss various physical and associative qualities in addition to discussing the seven aspects of historic integrity. *Chapter 5: Historic Themes, Associated Property Types, Eligibility Criteria and Integrity Thresholds* follows *National Register Bulletin 16B*'s guidance and includes two charts for each associated property type. The first chart discusses the following seven categories of physical information for each associated property type:

²⁸ U.S. Department of the Interior, National Park Service, *National Register Bulletin 16B: How to Complete the National Register Multiple Property Documentation Form* (Washington, D.C.: National Park Service, U.S. Department of the Interior, 1999), 16-17.

²⁹ California Office of Historic Preservation, *OHP Preferred Format for Historic Context Statements* (Sacramento, CA: California Office of Historic Preservation, undated), 2.

³⁰ California Office of Historic Preservation, *OHP Preferred Format for Historic Context Statements*, 2.

1. **Physical characteristics** such as style, period, site or structural type, size, scale, proportions, design, architectural details, method of construction, siting, orientation, spatial arrangement or plan, materials, workmanship, artistry, and environmental relationships.
2. **Associative characteristics** such as the property's relationship to important activities, persons, or events, including information such as dates, functions, role, cultural affiliations, relationship to important research topics, and the presence of natural features or resources that helped determine location.
3. **Geographical information** such as the property's relationship to natural resources, climate, topographical features, and soil conditions that may have been relied upon for industry, transportation, defense, or subsistence, or that helped determine the siting, location, form, design, function, and materials of associated cultural resources.
4. The likely nature of **boundaries** for related properties and any special factors to be considered in selecting boundaries, such as the likelihood of the resource to exist in groups or in combination with other significant property types forming historic districts.
5. **Variations** occurring within the property type due to changing cultural, chronological, or geographical influences.
6. **Locational patterns** of the property type, that is, generalizations about the known or likely location, occurrence, and distribution of examples representing the property type.
7. **Condition** or expected condition of property types.³¹

The second chart discusses the **seven aspects of integrity** for each associated property type: location, design, setting, materials, workmanship, feeling and association.

Monterey County staff and members of the Historic Resources Review Board (HRRB) field-tested the draft historic context statement to check the themes, associated property types, eligibility criteria and integrity thresholds. Following guidance from OHP, the draft historic context statement had established integrity thresholds identifying particular aspects of integrity that a property should retain to be eligible for listing as a historic resource. However, the HRRB requested that the discussion of each property type address all seven aspects of integrity instead of imposing an integrity threshold that may not accurately represent the full range of historic resources encountered in the North County. These charts provide a broad framework for assessing historic integrity, but each property should be evaluated on a *case-by-case* basis to determine if it possesses enough integrity to illustrate the historic theme.

In this historic context statement, Chapter 5 includes a third chart for two of the historic themes and their associated property types. Theme 1 (Extensive Agriculture) and Theme 2 (Intensive Agriculture) include associated property types that are cultural landscapes: farmsteads. Therefore, Chapter 5 discusses the eleven landscape characteristics that are described further in the next section.

³¹ *National Register Bulletin Number 16B: How to Complete the National Register Multiple Property Documentation Form*, 14-15.

E. Types of Landscapes

Farmsteads generally include many buildings, structures and landscape features that support agricultural production: the individual components comprise a recognizable, cohesive unit. Therefore, this historic context statement evaluates farmsteads as cultural landscapes. This section describes natural landscapes, cultural landscapes, historic rural landscapes and eleven landscape characteristics.

1. Natural and Cultural Landscapes

When the first inhabitants arrived in the Monterey Bay Area, the transformation from a natural landscape to a cultural landscape began. A **natural landscape** is the rare, almost non-existent environment that has not been altered, affected, or occupied by people through habitation, agriculture, landscaping, building, pollution or other activity.³² An example might be a prairie free of non-native plants, roads or other intrusions linked directly or indirectly to humans.

In contrast, a **cultural landscape** reflects humanity's impact on the natural environment. *Preservation Brief 36: Protecting Cultural Landscapes: Planning, Treatment and Management of Historic Landscapes*, defines a cultural landscape as "a geographic area, including both cultural and natural resources and the wildlife or domestic animals therein, associated with a historic event, activity, or person or exhibiting other cultural or aesthetic values." Human imprints within a cultural landscape can be obvious, *e.g.*, cities, highways, power plants and resorts. They can also be subtle, *e.g.*, invasive plant species, plowed fields, telephone poles, trails through open space, dry-laid rock fences delineating property boundaries, contour-terrace paths made by cattle grazing on hills, abandoned wharf pilings in a slough, railroad tracks and water tanks.³³ The North County's cultural landscapes contain all of these features.

Preservation Brief 36 defines four general types of cultural landscapes. Monterey County contains examples of each type:

Historic Designed Landscape: a landscape that was consciously designed or laid out by a landscape architect, master gardener, architect, or horticulturist according to design principles, or an amateur gardener working in a recognized style or tradition. The landscape may be associated with a significant person(s), trend, or event in landscape architecture; or illustrate an important development in the theory and practice of landscape architecture. Aesthetic values play a significant role in designed landscapes. Examples include parks, campuses, and estates.

Historic Vernacular Landscape: a landscape that evolved through use by the people whose activities or occupancy shaped that landscape. Through social or cultural attitudes

³² Burton L. Gordon, *Monterey Bay Area: Natural History and Cultural Imprints* (Pacific Grove, CA: The Boxwood Press, 1979), 4.

³³ Gordon, *Monterey Bay Area: Natural History and Cultural Imprints*, 4.

of an individual, family or a community, the landscape reflects the physical, biological, and cultural character of those everyday lives. Function plays a significant role in vernacular landscapes. They can be a single property such as a farm or a collection of properties such as a district of historic farms along a river valley. Examples include rural villages, industrial complexes, and agricultural landscapes.

Historic Site: a landscape significant for its association with a historic event, activity, or person. Examples include battlefields and president's house properties.

Ethnographic Landscape: a landscape containing a variety of natural and cultural resources that associated people define as heritage resources. Examples are contemporary settlements, religious sacred sites and massive geological structures. Small plant communities, animals, subsistence and ceremonial grounds are often components.³⁴

2. Rural Historic Landscapes

Cultural landscapes can be urban, rural or anything in between. Some of the North County's historic agricultural resources qualify as rural historic landscapes. *National Register Bulletin 30: Guidelines for Evaluating and Documenting Rural Historic Landscapes* defines a **rural historic landscape** as

a geographical area that historically has been used by people, or shaped or modified by human activity, occupancy, or intervention, and that possesses a significant concentration, linkage, or continuity of areas of land use, vegetation, buildings and structures, roads and waterways, and natural features.³⁵

National Register Bulletin 30 states that rural historic landscapes may be listed in the National Register (and by association, a state register) as either historic sites or historic districts:

Landscapes small in size and having no buildings or structures, such as an experimental orchard, are classified as *sites*. Most, however, being extensive in acreage and containing a number of buildings, sites and structures – such as a ranch or farming community – are classified as *historic districts*.

For properties to qualify as rural historic landscapes, they must “. . . possess tangible features, called **landscape characteristics**, that have resulted from historic human use.”³⁶ These characteristics are described below.

³⁴ Charles A. Birnbaum, ASLA, *Preservation Brief 36: Protecting Cultural Landscapes: Planning, Treatment and Management of Historic Landscapes* (Washington, D.C.: Technical Preservation Services, National Park Service, U.S. Department of the Interior, 1994), 1.

³⁵ McClelland, Linda Flint, J. Timothy Keller, ASLA, Genevieve P. Keller, and Robert Z. Melnick, ASLA. *National Register Bulletin 30: Guidelines for Evaluating and Documenting Rural Historic Landscapes*. (Washington, D.C.: U.S. Department of the Interior, National Park Service, 1999), 2.

³⁶ *National Register Bulletin 30: Guidelines for Evaluating and Documenting Rural Historic Landscapes*, 2.

3. Landscape Characteristics

Whereas individual buildings retain historic integrity by retaining their significant character-defining features, rural historic landscapes retain historic integrity by possessing a considerable number of **landscape characteristics**. According to *National Register Bulletin 30: Guidelines for Evaluating and Documenting Rural Historic Landscapes*,

Landscape characteristics are the tangible evidence of the activities and habits of the people who occupied, developed, used, and shaped the land to serve human needs; they may reflect the beliefs, attitudes, traditions, and values of these people.³⁷

The eleven landscape characteristics are:

1. **Land Uses and Activities:** Land uses are the major human forces that shape and organize rural communities.
2. **Patterns of Spatial Organization:** The organization of land on a large scale depends on the relationship among major physical components, predominant landforms, and natural features.
3. **Response to the Natural Environment:** Major natural features, such as mountains, prairies, rivers, lakes, forests, and grasslands, influenced both the location and organization of rural communities.
4. **Cultural Traditions:** Cultural traditions affect the ways that land is used, occupied, and shaped.
5. **Circulation Networks:** Circulation networks are systems for transporting people, goods, and raw materials from one point to another.
6. **Boundary Demarcations:** Boundary demarcations delineate areas of ownership and land use, such as an entire farmstead or open range.
7. **Vegetation Related to Land Use:** Various types of vegetation bear a direct relationship to long-established patterns of land use.
8. **Buildings, Structures, and Objects:** Various types of buildings, structures, and objects serve human needs related to the occupation and use of the land.
9. **Clusters:** Groupings of buildings, fences, and other features, as seen in a farmstead, ranch, or mining complex, result from function, social tradition, climate, or other influences, cultural or natural.
10. **Archaeological Sites:** The sites of prehistoric or historic activities or occupation, may be marked by foundations, ruins, changes in vegetation, and surface remains.
11. **Small-Scale Elements:** Small-scale elements, such as a foot bridge or road sign, add to the historic setting of a rural landscape.³⁸

³⁷ *National Register Bulletin 30: Guidelines for Evaluating and Documenting Rural Historic Landscapes*, 3.

³⁸ For a complete discussion of the eleven landscape characteristics see *National Register Bulletin 30: Guidelines for Evaluating and Documenting Rural Historic Landscapes (Revised 1999)*, 4-6, 15-18.

National Register Bulletin 30 divides the eleven landscape characteristics into two categories, **processes** and **physical components**:

The first four characteristics are **processes** that have been instrumental in shaping the land, such as the response of farmers to fertile soils. The remaining seven are **physical components** that are evident on the land, such as barns or orchards. Many, but not all, rural properties contain all eleven characteristics. When historic processes are linked to existing components, the rural landscape can be viewed as a unified whole.³⁹

When evaluating North County farmsteads, the eleven landscape characteristics are a critical component of the analysis of historic significance and historic integrity. As noted in Section D, Chapter 5 describes the eleven landscape characteristics associated with cultural landscapes described in Theme 1 (Extensive Agriculture) and Theme 2 (Intensive Agriculture).

³⁹ *National Register Bulletin 30: Guidelines for Evaluating and Documenting Rural Historic Landscapes*, 4.

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IV. NORTH COUNTY AGRICULTURAL HISTORY

A. Introduction

To understand the historic context in which North County agriculture developed, this chapter presents a broad overview of the geographical, environmental, social, cultural, political, governmental and technological factors that individually and cumulatively shaped the North County Planning Area's cultural landscape and land use patterns up to 1960.

Historic contexts are organized by **place, time and theme**, linking historic properties to important historic trends. Focusing on **place**, this chapter describes the North County's location, boundaries, geology, geography and climate. The area's coastal location, fertile soil, alluvial plains, rolling hills and mild climate make it one of the world's most productive agricultural regions. This chapter also covers settlement by **time** period, briefly discussing the Ohlones (ca. 5000 B.C.-1870 A.D.), the Spanish Period (1769-1822) and the Mexican Period (1822-1848) before discussing American Settlement and Agricultural Expansion (1848-1960). The North County's extant historic agricultural resources generally date from the American period. Many ethnic and cultural groups have played a significant role in the North County's agricultural history, and this chapter reviews their contributions.

The historical developments described in this chapter form a set of coherent patterns or **themes** that tell the North County's agriculture history: (1) Extensive Agriculture; (2) Intensive Agriculture; (3) Processing and Distribution; (4) Advocacy and Social Organizations; and (5) Housing. The next chapter describes these themes in more depth and identifies significant North County properties, events, activities, individuals and groups that illustrate each theme.

B. North County Planning Area

1. Location and Boundaries

Monterey County is on California's Central Coast, about 100 miles south of San Francisco and 300 miles north of Los Angeles. The county is roughly forty-five miles wide and 124 miles long, containing more than two million acres of scenic and fertile land.⁴⁰ The North County Planning Area (North County) encompasses about 114 square miles of the southern Pajaro Valley and the northern Salinas Valley.⁴¹

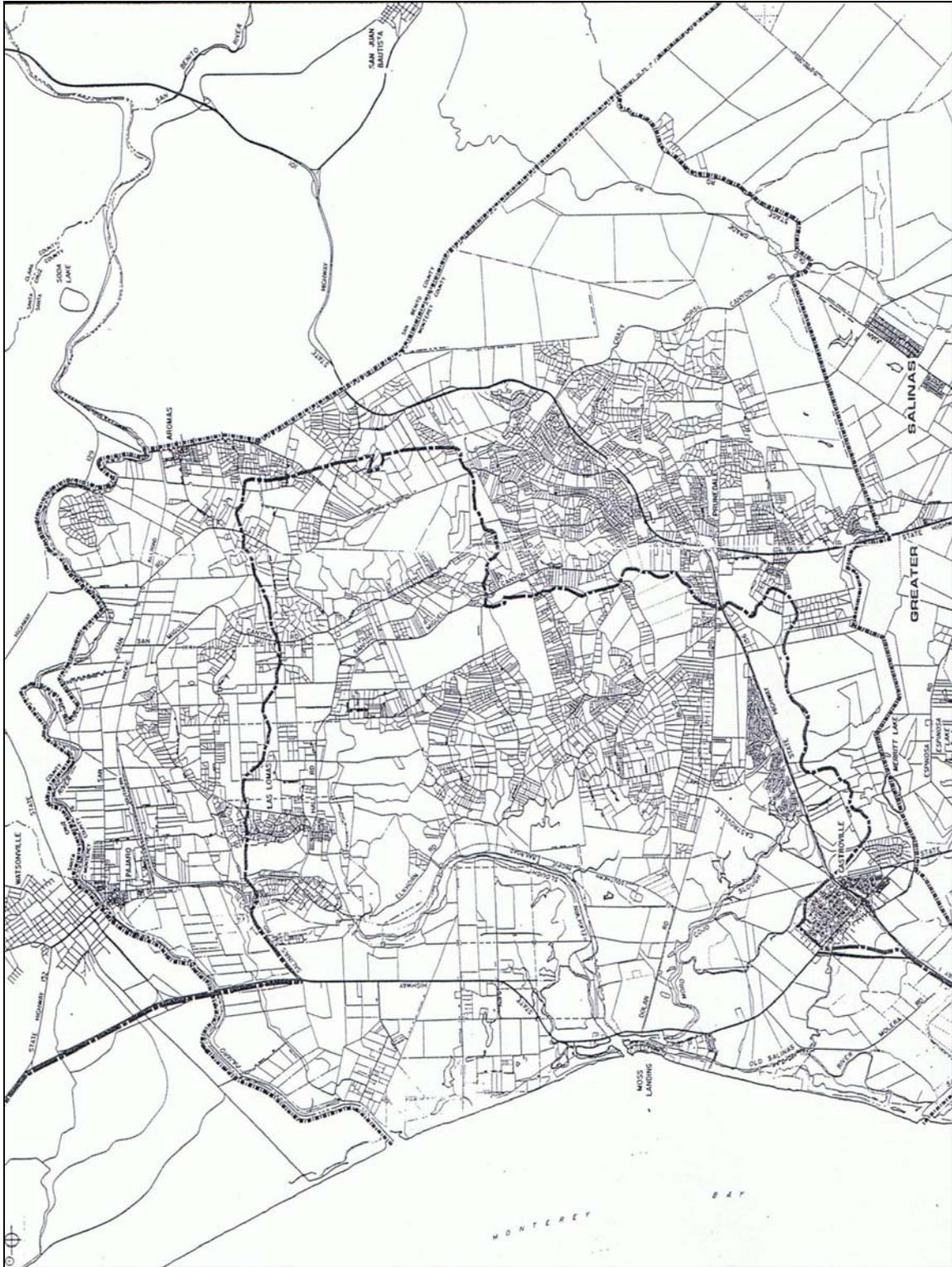
⁴⁰ Augusta Fink, *Monterey: The Presence of the Past* (San Francisco: Chronicle Books, 1972), 8. Arthur Dunn, *Monterey County, California* (San Francisco: Sunset Magazine Homeseekers' Bureau, 1915), 3 [issued on behalf of the Monterey County Board of Supervisors, this "souvenir edition" book was published in conjunction with the 1915 Panama-Pacific Exposition in San Francisco and extolled the county's merits to potential settlers].

⁴¹ For planning purposes, the County divides the coastal zone into four segments. The North County coastal zone includes land from the Marina City limits north to the Santa Cruz County boundary at the Pajaro River, and east

Water bodies or county lines form three of the North County's borders. The western boundary is the Monterey Bay. The northern boundary is the Pajaro River, which also divides Monterey and Santa Cruz counties. The eastern boundary begins where Monterey, Santa Cruz and San Benito counties meet north of Aromas; it then follows the Monterey County line south to Old Stage Road. The southern boundary is not as clearly demarcated as the other three boundaries. Generally, it follows Old Stage Road west to Crazy Horse Canyon Road; north on Crazy Horse Canyon Road to a point beyond the San Juan Grade Road intersection; southwest towards Highway 101; north along Highway 101; southwest roughly along the Tembladera Slough; through Merritt Lake; across Highway 183 south of Castroville; southwest to where Highway 1 crosses the Salinas River; and along the Salinas River to Monterey Bay.

The map on the next page shows the North County Planning Area's boundaries, the principal towns within the North County, and individual parcel boundaries. The North County includes the communities of Castroville, Moss Landing, Pajaro, Prunedale, Las Lomas and part of Aromas, but much of the land in the North County is located outside of incorporated towns. The map offers a sense of where most of the North County's current agricultural activity takes place. Properties under active cultivation (or otherwise protected from development) tend to be large parcels located along the coast and into the interior of the North County; located in the Pajaro Valley between the communities of Pajaro, Aromas and Las Lomas; or located in the Salinas Valley areas east of Prunedale and around Castroville.

almost to Highway 101, including much of the Elkhorn Slough watershed. (County of Monterey, "North County Land Use Plan, Local Coastal Program Certified June 1982, Monterey County, California," 1982, as amended, 20.)



Map of the North County Planning Area. Clockwise from the top center (north), North County communities include Pajaro (top center), part of Aromas (top right), Prunedale (bottom right), Castroville (center left), Moss Landing (center left) and Las Lomas (middle center).

2. Geology and Geography

In 1865, Monterey County Assessor W. P. McGarvey concluded that “Monterey County is not an agricultural county and by its geological nature is precluded from becoming so.”⁴² He was wrong: virtually every land feature has contributed to the region’s agricultural dominance. In the Miocene era (5.3 to 23.8 million years ago), the sea covered most of the county and into the Central Valley but local mountains were still visible.⁴³ For the past million years, seismic activity, storms and the receding and advancing sea shaped the land. Erosion deposits, sediment, animal carcasses and skeletons formed a thick, mud-like material, contributing to the fertile soils that make the North County a productive agricultural center.⁴⁴

a. Natural Features:

Significant natural features contributing to the North County’s agricultural history include the Pacific Ocean, the Monterey Bay, the Pajaro and Salinas rivers, the Elkhorn and Moro Cojo sloughs, the fertile Pajaro and Salinas Valleys and the inland hills.

The Pajaro and Salinas rivers and the Elkhorn and Moro Cojo sloughs are significant in the North County’s agricultural history because in the 1800s, local farmers shipped their agricultural products to distant markets via those waterways. When the goods reached wharves built near the Monterey Bay and Pacific Ocean, waiting vessels transported them to San Francisco and other regional markets.



Frenchman Leon Trouset’s 1877 painting looks south towards Moss Landing, the North County’s early hub of agricultural shipping. The grain warehouses, wharf, homesteads, ferry and Elkhorn Slough are in the foreground. Moro Cojo Slough is on the left. The old mouth of the Salinas River runs parallel to the beach, on the right. Monterey Bay is also on the right. The town of Castroville lies to the south.⁴⁵

⁴² Robert B. Johnston, *Old Monterey County: A Pictorial History* (Monterey, CA: Monterey Savings and Loan Association, 1970), 75.

⁴³ University of California Museum of Paleontology, “The Miocene Epoch,” (Berkeley: University of California Museum of Paleontology, 2002), <http://www.ucmp.berkeley.edu/tertiary/mio.html> (accessed 5 March 2010).

⁴⁴ Fink, *Monterey: The Presence of the Past*, 7.

⁴⁵ Clovis, *Monterey County’s North Coast and Coastal Valleys*, 38. Trouset was related to Cato Vierra, the construction engineer who owned the ferry and built Moss Landing’s warehouses, wharf and other facilities.

The fertile, alluvial lowlands along the Pajaro and Salinas rivers are significant because they are among the world's most productive agricultural regions, producing billions of dollars of agricultural goods.⁴⁶ The small but very fertile Pajaro Valley covers roughly 50,000 acres in northern Monterey County and southern Santa Cruz County; the watershed is 160 square miles.⁴⁷ The Pajaro River forms the county line and divides the Pajaro Valley in two. The Monterey County portion is about fifteen miles long (from the Monterey Bay inland) and six to eight miles wide (from the river south to Elkhorn Slough).⁴⁸ The Salinas Valley lies between the coastal Santa Lucia Mountains and the inland Gabilan Mountains. It is over 100 miles long and contains more than 640,000 acres or 1,000 square miles. The Salinas River forms part of the North County's southwest boundary.⁴⁹

When European settlers arrived in the 1700s, water was more abundant than it is today. Lakes, ponds, springs and brooks were common and the water table was a few feet below ground. Settlers lived and farmed near the water, using it for animals, crops and people. However, floods damaged the settlements and turned the valleys into swampy land.⁵⁰ In the 1850s and '60s, reclamation projects converted marshy areas around the sloughs into productive agricultural land. Farmers sought to use every inch of soil, causing environmental damage in the process by polluting waterways with pesticides and silt. Today, the environmental dangers of farming up to the water's edge are better understood and organizations like the Elkhorn Slough Foundation are protecting and restoring lands bordering the Elkhorn Slough.⁵¹

The North County's hillsides and interior valleys have historically been grassland, grass-oak woodland and chaparral forest zones.⁵² When settlers cleared the land and farmers planted and removed fruit and eucalyptus trees over time, erosion became a problem. Agricultural experts advised residents to combat erosion by planting Douglas fir trees, a successful experiment that led some North County residents to operate Christmas tree farms. However, that erosion-control method was limited. Extensive land clearing and erosion have continued to affect the hills, canyons and valleys east of Elkhorn Slough; those hills have the highest rates of soil erosion west of the Mississippi River.⁵³ Various public and private entities have acquired more than

⁴⁶ Fink, *Monterey: The Presence of the Past*, 165. Hanson, *Geohydrologic Framework of Recharge and Seawater Intrusion in the Pajaro Valley, Santa Cruz and Monterey Counties, California*, 1.

⁴⁷ Hanson, *Geohydrologic Framework of Recharge and Seawater Intrusion in the Pajaro Valley, Santa Cruz and Monterey Counties, California*, 1. Kazuko Nakane, *Nothing Left in My Hands: An Early Japanese American Community in California's Pajaro Valley* (Seattle: Young Pine Press, 1985), 5.

⁴⁸ Nakane, *Nothing Left in My Hands*, 5. Hanson, *Geohydrologic Framework of Recharge and Seawater Intrusion in the Pajaro Valley, Santa Cruz and Monterey Counties, California*, 1.

⁴⁹ Fink, *Monterey: The Presence of the Past*, 8, 136. Dunn, *Monterey County, California*, 3.

⁵⁰ Margolin, *The Ohlone Way*, 8.

⁵¹ Elkhorn Slough Foundation, "Farmers See Stewardship Working: Azevedo Ranch, before and after ten years of stewardship" (Moss Landing, CA: Elkhorn Slough Foundation, Spring 2003), <http://www.elkhornslough.org/newsletter/news0304.htm#restoration>, accessed 1 May 2010.

⁵² Paul J. Zinke and Constant C. Delwiche, "Soils and Climate," *A Guidebook to California Agriculture* (Berkeley, CA: University of California Press, 1983), 51.

⁵³ County of Monterey Planning Department, *North County Land Use Plan*, 22. Elkhorn Slough Foundation, "ESF acquires Hamby Ranch: A big piece of land in a small watershed" (Moss Landing, CA: Elkhorn Slough

7,000 acres around the slough in an effort to protect it, to stabilize and restore the hills and wetlands, and to continue farming the land sustainably.⁵⁴

b. Soils:

The rugged coastal mountains concentrate agriculture in the flat Salinas and Pajaro valleys, where soils are rich. Monterey County uses soil fertility to classify an area's land use capability. Classes I and II are highly productive "prime soils" good for crops or livestock grazing. The Pajaro Valley and coastal Springfield District north of Moss Landing have prime soils. Even the Class III and IV "non-prime soils" may produce yields as high as prime soils if the soil quality, location, growing season, irrigation and technology allow. North County growers plant specialty crops like berries on productive non-prime soils.⁵⁵ In 1915, a book about Monterey County bragged that the region's easily-worked soils are fertile enough to "produce almost everything."⁵⁶

The U.S. Department of Agriculture's 1978 *Soil Survey of Monterey County, California* described North County soils. Valleys have well-drained sandy loams, silty clay loams and poorly drained clays. Low terraces offer well- or moderately well-drained loams and sandy loams. Some hills have well-drained moderately deep to deep loams and clays. Coastal areas have excessively drained sands and loamy sands of marine-eolian origin. Other soils are well- or moderately well-drained with loam and sandy loam on top and slowly permeable clay below.⁵⁷

North County surface materials include alluvium, dunes, Aromas red sands on river-flanking terraces and undifferentiated sedimentary rocks.⁵⁸ Alluvium (heavy, rich, bottom land soil made of loose gravel, sand, silt, or clay deposited in flood plains) borders the Pajaro and Salinas rivers and extends inland towards the Gabilan Mountains.⁵⁹ The "Salinas Series" comprises alluvial fans and river terraces along San Juan Grade Road, east to the San Benito County line and south into the Salinas Valley. The well-drained, very dark gray or dark gray soil derives from sedimentary and granitic rocks. It is moderately alkaline clay loam, silty clay loam and

Foundation, Summer 2003), <http://www.elkhornslough.org/newsletter/news0307.htm#Hambey>, accessed 17 June 2010. The erosion rate is thirty-three tons per acre annually. Elkhorn Slough Foundation, "Farmers See Stewardship Working: Azevedo Ranch, before and after ten years of stewardship."

⁵⁴ As of March 2009, entities controlling these lands included the County of Monterey, Elkhorn Slough Foundation, The Nature Conservancy, National Oceanic and Atmospheric Administration, California Department of Fish and Game, Harbor District, State Department of Parks and Recreation and the Agricultural Land Trust. Elkhorn Slough Foundation, "Elkhorn Slough Protected Lands" (Moss Landing, CA: Elkhorn Slough Foundation, March 2009), <http://www.elkhornslough.org/protected.htm>, accessed 1 May 2010.

⁵⁵ County of Monterey Planning Department, *North County Land Use Plan*, 45-46.

⁵⁶ Dunn, *Monterey County, California*, 3, 5.

⁵⁷ Terry D. Cook, *Soil Survey of Monterey County, California* (Washington, D.C.: U.S. Department of Agriculture, 1978), 83.

⁵⁸ Gordon, *Monterey Bay Area: Natural History and Cultural Imprints*, 4. Zinke, "Soils and Climate," *A Guidebook to California Agriculture*, 51.

⁵⁹ U.S. Geological Survey, "Earthquake Glossary: Alluvium," (Reston, Virginia: United States Geological Survey, November 3, 2009), <http://earthquake.usgs.gov/learn/glossary/?term=alluvium> (accessed 8 December 2009).

moderately alkaline silt loam. The soil can be nearly three feet thick. Irrigated intensive crops like lettuce, artichokes and strawberries grow well in it.⁶⁰

“Pacheco Clay Loam” is found on the flood plains east of Pajaro and south of San Juan Grade Road, as well as in swales and terraces. These soils formed in alluvium derived from siliceous shale or sedimentary rocks and are suited to most of the field, forage, row and truck crops in Monterey County, primarily artichokes, broccoli and celery. “Clear Lake Clay” is found along Espinoza Road, south of Castroville. These poorly drained soils formed on flood plains or in basins in alluvium derived from sedimentary rocks. The soil is very dark gray or dark gray, moderately alkaline clay about two feet thick, underlain by dark grayish brown clay, silty clay, silty clay loam or muck of fifteen to twenty-four inches. It is used mostly for intensively irrigated row crops like celery, lettuce, broccoli and cauliflower.⁶¹

Hill soils like the Gaviota and Reliz series are derived from sedimentary rock. When the parent material is soft calcareous sedimentary rock (*i.e.*, limestone), soils such as the Linne and Zaca series form. Grasses grow well in these soils, allowing for ranching operations like livestock grazing and growing cereal crops like wheat, grain and barley.⁶²

The 1982 *North County Land Use Plan* described the North County’s three major agricultural zones: (1) *Farms in the coastal Springfield district and Pajaro Valley* benefit from prime soils where artichokes, broccoli, cauliflower, Brussels sprouts and fruit grow well; (2) *Land in the Elkhorn Valley east of Elkhorn Slough* yields strawberries, nursery crops and mushrooms; and (3) *Land south of Elkhorn Slough* has been used for artichokes, livestock grazing and dairies.⁶³

The North County’s fertile soils are a significant contributor to the region’s long, prosperous agricultural history. Without them, the region would not have developed into one of the most productive agricultural regions in the world.

3. Climate

Monterey County’s mild climate is significant to the region’s agricultural history because it makes year-round agricultural production possible. The temperate seasons are typical of coastal Central California, with the bulk of the annual precipitation falling in late autumn, winter and spring. Winter is cool and wet; little rain falls in the mild summers. Precipitation generally increases from south to north; the City of Monterey usually receives less rain than the City of Santa Cruz.⁶⁴ Annual precipitation ranges from fifteen inches in the inland valleys to more than forty inches in the higher mountain ranges.⁶⁵

⁶⁰ Cook, *Soil Survey of Monterey County, California*, 67.

⁶¹ Cook, *Soil Survey of Monterey County, California*, 17, 56, 86.

⁶² Zinke, “Soils and Climate,” *A Guidebook to California Agriculture*, 51.

⁶³ *North County Land Use Plan*, 45-46.

⁶⁴ Gordon, *Monterey Bay Area: Natural History and Cultural Imprints*, 13. Randall T. Hanson, *Geohydrologic Framework of Recharge and Seawater Intrusion in the Pajaro Valley, Santa Cruz and Monterey Counties*,

The Pajaro Valley benefits from the winds and fog coming ashore from the Monterey Bay; the mean rainfall varies by elevation, lower at the coast than in the hills.⁶⁶ The Salinas Valley is America's "salad bowl," the state's biggest vegetable producer. It is divided into three climactic zones, each with crops that adapt well to the conditions. The coastal climactic zone has relatively high humidity and a narrow temperature range suitable for year-round vegetable production; artichokes do very well there. The adjacent zone is more suitable for truck crops like lettuce, broccoli, celery and carrots. In the third zone, further inland and down the valley (outside of North County), warmer weather crops like tomatoes, beans and cucumbers thrive.⁶⁷

C. The Ohlones (ca. 5000 B.C. – 1870 A.D.)

Humans have occupied present-day California for more than 12,000 years. The Ohlones arrived on the Central Coast 4,500—5,000 years ago; more than 10,000 lived between San Francisco Bay and Point Sur. The Calendaruc band lived near Watsonville and south to Salinas. The Mutsen band lived near Aromas, south towards the Salinas Valley and east towards Hollister.⁶⁸

The Ohlones were a lithic or Stone Age culture into the nineteenth century and did not have the tools normally used to prepare land for agricultural production. They did not engage in many agricultural activities defined in the Monterey County Code (MCC), like cultivating soil, planting crops, raising livestock, or horticulture. Instead, until the Spanish arrived in 1769, they relied on subsistence hunting and gathering, the MCC's "wildlife management" form of agriculture. Their wildlife management practices included burning the land, which altered the Monterey Bay Area's appearance and ecology and created a cultural landscape. Fire germinated food sources, encouraged grass and flower growth, prevented brush from invading food-rich meadows, provided good game habitat and prevented larger fires.⁶⁹

California (Sacramento, CA: U.S. Geological Survey, 2003), 8, <http://pubs.usgs.gov/wri/wri034096/pdf/wri034096.pdf> (accessed 9 December 2009).

⁶⁵ Zinke, "Soils and Climate," *A Guidebook to California Agriculture*, 51.

⁶⁶ Hanson, *Geohydrologic Framework of Recharge and Seawater Intrusion in the Pajaro Valley, Santa Cruz and Monterey Counties, California*, 8.

⁶⁷ Fink, *Monterey: The Presence of the Past*, 165. Vegetable Specialists and Farm Advisors of Cooperative Extension, "Vegetable Crops," *A Guidebook to California Agriculture* (Berkeley, CA: University of California Press, 1983), 162-163.

⁶⁸ Malcolm Margolin, Editor, *The Way We Lived: California Indian Stories, Songs & Reminiscences* (Berkeley: Heyday Books, 1993), 1, 6. Malcolm Margolin, *The Ohlone Way: Indian Life in the San Francisco-Monterey Bay Area* (Berkeley: Heyday Books, 1978), 1-3, 59, 62-63. The Spanish called them "Costenos" ("people of the coast"), which changed to "Costanoan," but Ohlone is now the generally accepted name. It may be a Miwok word for "western people" or a prominent village named "Oljone" was on the San Mateo coast. No Ohlone tribe or confederation existed and each of the roughly forty different bands spoke different, albeit related, languages.

⁶⁹ Gordon, *Monterey Bay Area: Natural History and Cultural Imprints*, 4, 6. Margolin, *The Ohlone Way*, 24, 29, 49. County of Monterey, California, "Monterey County Code," Title 21, Chapter 21.06, Section 21.06.010 (Tallahassee, FL: Municipal Code Corporation, 2009), http://library.municode.com/HTML/16111/level2/T21_C21.06.html#T21_C21.06_21.06.010 (accessed 22 January 2010).

The Ohlones occupied a major village site for part of the year, but like migrant agricultural workers who later came to the North County, they harvested food elsewhere, including the bay, sloughs, rivers, meadows and hills. Acorns were a dietary mainstay. They preferred black and tanbark over live and valley oaks, but collected live oak acorns in the North County's Prunedale area.⁷⁰ Fortified by acorns, ample wildlife and other local food, the Ohlones could forego agriculture as practiced by other North American groups who raised crops like squash and corn. Like later North County farmers, the Ohlones organized their labor and collected, processed, dried and stored harvests for later use.⁷¹ But unlike future farmers, they did not plow or irrigate.

When the Spanish missionaries arrived, they forced the Ohlones to adopt "modern" agricultural methods. North County Ohlones were likely drawn into the San Juan Bautista or San Carlos Borromeo (Monterey/Carmel) missions. In addition to attempting to Christianize the Ohlones, the missionaries made them cultivate crops; prepare hides; make soap, tallow and adobe bricks; forge tools; and spin and weave cloth. After Mexico secularized the missions in 1834, some Ohlones worked as servants or ranch hands, either voluntarily or as forced laborers after being accused of vagrancy and failing to show sufficient funds. Ranchers then bid for them, paid the State and gave the laborers only room and board. Others returned to the hunter-gatherer life, married into the community or formed villages with other Ohlones.⁷²

No extant North County agricultural resources are attributable to the Ohlones, but they did play a role in the North County's agricultural development. Before European contact, the Ohlones began to convert the natural landscape into a cultural landscape, manipulating their environment to improve their food supply. This environmental manipulation foreshadowed the agricultural practices of the later Spanish, Mexican and American settlers. The Ohlones were also the first in a long succession of ethnic and cultural groups that formed the North County's agricultural labor force, albeit under pressure from the Spanish missionaries who arrived in the 1700s.

D. Spanish Period (1769 – 1822)

European settlement occurred along North America's eastern shore long before explorers came to California. Thus, the agricultural imprint on the Monterey Bay Area is a relatively recent phenomenon.⁷³ Spaniards first saw the region in 1595 while seeking a port for the Acapulco to Manila trade route and again in 1602, when Sebastián Vizcaíno sought a port. He named local landmarks including the Monterey Bay (after New Spain's viceroy, the Condé de Monterey) and the Rio del Carmelo or Carmel River (after the Carmelite friars who accompanied his voyage).

⁷⁰ Jim Jackson, "Prunedale?," *North Monterey County Fortnightly*, 22 September 1989. Fink, *Monterey: The Presence of the Past*, 13. Margolin, *The Ohlone Way*, 24-26, 36-38, 41-43, 45, 50, 52. They gathered berries, seeds, nuts, roots, bulbs, greens, flowers and eggs; consumed creatures ranging from abalone to lice to elk; used or altered the land to help kill animals, including chasing game off cliffs; and salted food with dried seaweed.

⁷¹ Margolin, *The Ohlone Way*, 41-43, 45, 52. The Ohlones stored dried acorns in hampers and acorn granaries — large, basket-like containers on stilts. Mugwort and aromatic herbs drove away insects and helped prevent mold.

⁷² Margolin, *The Ohlone Way*, 162, 164-167.

⁷³ Gordon, *Monterey Bay Area: Natural History and Cultural Imprints*, 6.

More than 160 years passed before the Monterey Bay Area again caught Spain's attention in 1768, when the crown ordered protection for California's coast against possible English, Dutch and Russian threats. The governor of Baja California, Captain Gaspar de Portolá, led a 1769 expedition up the California coast by land and sea. Father Junípero Serra of the Franciscans of the Apostolic College of San Fernando in Mexico City accompanied him. The Portolá Expedition passed through the Monterey Bay Area several times, founding the Presidio of Monterey and the Mission San Carlos Borromeo in Monterey (later moved to Carmel) in 1770.⁷⁴ They also named the Pajaro River, the boundary between Monterey and Santa Cruz counties.⁷⁵

Monterey County agriculture was very limited during the Spanish Period. Residents relied on outside trade for most provisions, delaying the development of agriculture or other significant commerce.⁷⁶ Missionaries and soldiers did not grow food commercially; they farmed for subsistence, providing enough food to feed the small local population. At first, the missions were the only "farms" producing food in California. Even with abundant fertile land, agriculture was limited by primitive equipment, basic cultivation methods and a dwindling Ohlone workforce, decimated by disease and the virtual slavery system that held them.

Ranching and farming expanded when Monterey Presidio soldiers used rudimentary plows to cultivate four acres of wheat, beans, barley and rice.⁷⁷ The first California wheat harvest occurred around 1770 at the San Diego Mission. In 1771, missionaries planted the first barley at the San Antonio de Padua Mission in the Monterey County settlement of Jolon. Barley became the primary feed for livestock. Grains were important cool-season crops, grown with little or no irrigation.⁷⁸ Soldiers also brought Spanish beef cattle from Baja California.⁷⁹ Cattle ranching and grain production are types of *extensive agriculture*, animals and crops that require a low level of labor and capital relative to the size of the farmed area.⁸⁰

Around 1775, Spain brought Mexican families to California to settle the land and eventually awarded several large land grants to North County settlers. The land grants were a significant development in the region's agricultural history because they allowed ranchers to conduct extensive agriculture on a grand scale, beyond the limited confines of the missions. In 1820, Spain granted to Antonio María Castro the 4,310-acre Vega del Rio de Pajaro rancho in the northeast quadrant of the North County. The Pajaro River was its northern border; it includes

⁷⁴ Fink, *Monterey: The Presence of the Past*, 17-24, 30, 37, 40, 43.

⁷⁵ Gordon, *Monterey Bay Area: Natural History and Cultural Imprints*, 166. In 1769, Father Crespi wrote that soldiers named the river the Rio del Pajaro (Bird River) after a large dead condor hanging from a pole in an Ohlone village on the river bank.

⁷⁶ Holliday, *Rush for Riches*, 27.

⁷⁷ Fink, *Monterey: The Presence of the Past*, 42-43, 45, 47. The San José pueblo, near the Santa Clara Mission, was also an agricultural base for the Bay Area presidios.

⁷⁸ Members of the Department of Agronomy and Range Science, U.C. Davis, "Field Crops," *A Guidebook to California Agriculture* (Berkeley, CA: University of California Press, 1983), 109, 111, 113-114.

⁷⁹ Fink, *Monterey: The Presence of the Past*, 42-43, 45, 47. The San José pueblo, near the Santa Clara Mission, was also an agricultural base for the Bay Area presidios.

⁸⁰ Steven Stoll, *The Fruits of Natural Advantage: Making the Industrial Countryside in California* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1998), xiii-xiv.

present-day Aromas. In 1822, Spain granted the 6,916-acre Bolsa del Potrero Moro Cojo or Familia Sagrada rancho, south of Castroville, to José Joaquín de la Torre.⁸¹ Before Spanish rule ended in 1822, California residents acquired twenty-five major land grants ranging from 4,000—300,000 acres.⁸² That pattern of land distribution continued in the Mexican Period (1822-1848).

The Spanish Period was significant in the North County's agricultural history because it marked the beginning of extensive agriculture in California, a development that modified the cultural landscape. Spanish missionaries, their Ohlone workers, and rancho owners raised cattle and grew crops to supply the local population's needs. Although they were unfenced initially, the ranchos and their later subdivisions established property boundaries that are still evident in some farms that exist today. A map of the Spanish and Mexican land grants and a chart listing the grantee, grant date and size follows Section E, the Mexican Period.

E. Mexican Period (1822 – 1848)

Mexico declared its independence from Spain in 1822; it secularized the missions in 1834 and conveyed the land to new owners.⁸³ From 1822-1848, Mexico made 428 California land grants, including most North County land grants.⁸⁴ The Vallejo and Castro families, who played significant roles in developing the North County and California, received land grants. In 1824, Ignacio V. F. Vallejo received the 8,866-acre Bolsa de San Cayetano rancho. Bordered by Monterey Bay and the Pajaro River, it included present-day Pajaro and portions of the Pajaro Valley. In the 1820s-'40s, Simeon Castro acquired 30,901 North County acres, comprising the Bolsa del Moro Cojo and Bolsa Nueva ranchos.⁸⁵ In 1863-64, when a sustained drought killed or lowered the value of thousands of his cattle, descendant Juan B. Castro founded the North County town of Castroville on part of the family rancho.⁸⁶ In 1834, David Littlejohn acquired the 4,482-acre Los Carneros grant, south of Vallejo's grant and north of Prunedale. In 1842, María A. Linares acquired Los Carneros, a 1,629-acre parcel east of Prunedale.⁸⁷

Lack of reliable water delayed agricultural progress. In 1837, *HMS Sulphur* Midshipman Francis Simpkinson noted that "The only inconvenience at Monterey and the only thing that nature has not supplied them with is water . . . nothing is grown about Monterey and the people are dependent on the few ranchos about San Francisco for whatever they may require."⁸⁸ They also

⁸¹ Fink, *Monterey: The Presence of the Past*, 56, 67 and Appendix.

⁸² Nuckton, *et al.*, "California Agriculture: The Human Story," *A Guidebook to California Agriculture*, 10.

⁸³ Fink, *Monterey: The Presence of the Past*, 53, 69.

⁸⁴ Nuckton, *et al.*, "California Agriculture: The Human Story," *A Guidebook to California Agriculture*, 10. The 1848 Treaty of Guadalupe Hidalgo guaranteed existing Mexican property rights, but enforcement was spotty. Some wealthy Americans managed to buy large parcels that were exempt from the 1841 Pre-Emption Act and the 1862 Homestead Act and could not be sold to settlers in 160-acre parcels.

⁸⁵ Fink, *Monterey: The Presence of the Past*, 60 and Appendix.

⁸⁶ Fink, *Monterey: The Presence of the Past*, 46-47.

⁸⁷ Fink, *Monterey: The Presence of the Past*, 60 and Appendix.

⁸⁸ Sandy Lydon, "History of Monterey Bay," Cabrillo class materials. Jane Borg Collection.

heavily depended on East Coast merchants. The Boston firm of Bryant & Sturgis controlled most of California's trade by 1823 and offered contracts called "leather dollars" or "California bank notes" to missions and ranchers, exchanging cattle hides (worth one to three dollars each) for goods. The hide trade peaked from 1822-1846: tons of tallow and more than a million hides became candles, soap and leather products. In 1831, California produced only 115,000 bushels of grains and vegetables. In 1832, the missions owned about 151,000 cattle; 14,000 horses; and 140,000 sheep, goats and pigs. When Mexico secularized the missions in 1834, the ranchos produced little or no milk, butter or cheese. Cattle supplied hides, tallow and horns, not meat.⁸⁹ The few Monterey County pioneers focused on survival; they did not have the tools to develop significant agriculture. Before crop agriculture became vital, land values represented grazing potential rather than soil fertility.⁹⁰

By 1846, California's population was still low: 6,900 Californios, 6,200 Indians and 77 foreigners (mostly Americans).⁹¹ But after years of turmoil, the 1848 Treaty of Guadalupe Hidalgo ended the two-year Mexican-American War, the United States acquired California and a new era dawned.⁹² With the political change and the upcoming Gold Rush, the flood of new residents prompted new agricultural developments during the period of American settlement.

As with the Spanish Period, the Mexican Period was significant in the development of North County agriculture because of the land grants that the government awarded to settlers. Those land grants became the future ranches and farms developed during the period of American Settlement and Agricultural Expansion (1848-1960). Commercial agriculture in California began on a grand scale because of large Spanish and Mexican land grants, the relatively open land unimpeded by forests, and few settlers who required housing.⁹³

A map of the Spanish and Mexican land grants and a chart listing the grantee, grant date and size appears on the next page.

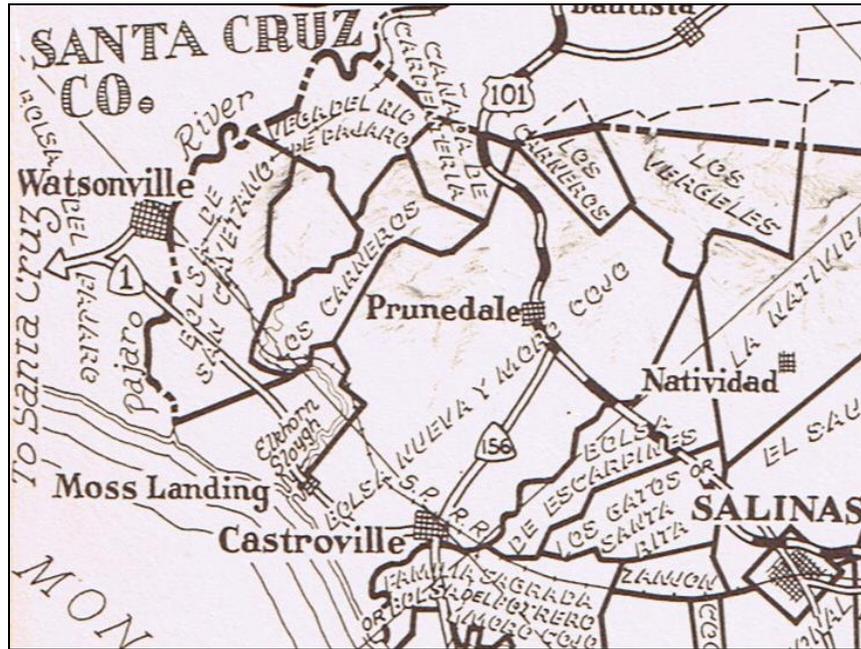
⁸⁹ J. S. Holliday, *Rush for Riches: Gold Fever and the Making of California* (Berkeley, CA: University of California Press, 1999), 18-19, 23, 27. "Bryant & Sturgis (Boston, Mass.) records, 1801-1872 (inclusive): A Finding Aid" (Boston: President and Fellows of Harvard College, 2009)
<http://oasis.lib.harvard.edu/oasis/deliver/~bak00113>, accessed 25 June 2010.

⁹⁰ Burton Anderson, *The Salinas Valley: A History of America's Salad Bowl* (Salinas, CA: Monterey County Historical Society Publications, 2000), 13.

⁹¹ Holliday, *Rush for Riches*, 27.

⁹² Fink, *Monterey: The Presence of the Past*, 93.

⁹³ Nuckton, *et al.*, "California Agriculture: The Human Story," *A Guidebook to California Agriculture*, 10.



North County ranchos. Map by Jack H. Moffett.⁹⁴

RANCHO ⁹⁵	DATE	ACRES	GRANTEE
Bolsa de San Cayetano	1824	8,866	Ignacio V. F. Vallejo
Bolsa del Moro Cojo (Castro added Bolsa Nueva to this grant)	1825, '36-37, '44	30,901	Simeon Castro
Bolsa Nueva (Castro added this grant to Bolsa del Moro Cojo)	1829, 1836	-----	Francisco Soto
Cañada de Carpenteria	1845	2,236	Joaquín Soto
Familia Sagrada or Bolsa del Potrero Moro Cojo	1822	6,916	José Joaquín de la Torre
Los Carneros (east of Prunedale)	1842	1,629	María Antonia Linares
Los Carneros (north of Prunedale)	1834	4,482	David Littlejohn
Vega del Rio de Pajaro	1820	4,310	Antonio María Castro

⁹⁴ Donald Thomas Clark, *Monterey County Place Names* (Carmel Valley, CA: Kestrel Press, 1991), frontispiece.

⁹⁵ Fink, *Monterey: The Presence of the Past*, Appendix. Land grants were originally designated by leagues rather than acres. Often, the boundaries were vague and the amount of land included in the grant was not known exactly.

F. American Settlement and Agricultural Expansion (1848 – 1960)

1. Introduction

During the American Settlement and Agricultural Expansion period (1848-1960), various geographical, environmental, social, cultural, political, governmental and technological factors continued to impact the North County's agricultural development and shape the cultural landscape. After the Gold Rush, rancho owners began subdividing their large North County land grants into smaller farm parcels and town lots, changing the cultural landscape. New North County communities developed, such as Castroville, Pajaro, Moss Landing and Aromas, all of which became centers of agricultural production.

New California settlers, including ethnic and cultural groups from around the world, took advantage of the North County's agricultural opportunities. They labored in the fields and packing houses, built farmsteads, founded businesses, built processing and distribution facilities, constructed homes, organized agricultural advocacy organizations, and built cultural and social meeting houses. As the agricultural industry developed, new transportation modes (boats, railroads, airplanes and trucks) moved North County goods to distant markets. Faster, more reliable rail transportation spurred innovation, especially in produce refrigeration technology. New machinery, irrigation methods, pesticides, packing methods, horticultural research, financial institutions, and advocacy and labor organizations also changed North County agriculture and land use. From the nineteenth to the twentieth century, the ranches and farms transitioned from **extensive agriculture** (animals and crops requiring a low level of labor and capital relative to the farm's size) to **intensive agriculture** (a relatively high level of labor, capital and technology produce the crop).

These historical patterns coalesce into five major historic themes: (1) Extensive Agriculture, (2) Intensive Agriculture, (3) Processing and Distribution, (4) Advocacy and Social Organizations and (5) Housing. This section describes some of the significant people and events that shaped the North County's agricultural history. The next chapter thoroughly discusses the historic themes and the associated property types and specific properties that illustrate the themes.

2. Subdivision of Spanish and Mexican Land Grants

When California became an American possession, constitutional convention delegates debated whether to become a state or territory. Rancho owners generally opposed statehood for financial reasons. They realized that they, as property owners, would finance a state government by paying property taxes, but that the federal government would fund a territory. The ranchers were outnumbered and California became a state in 1850.⁹⁶

California and Monterey County had low populations before the Gold Rush, but immigrants flooded in after rumors of potential riches traveled the world. Between 1850 and 1852, the

⁹⁶ Fink, *Monterey: The Presence of the Past*, 116.

state's population jumped from 92,597 (7,765 California-born versus 21,802 foreigners) to 265,000. From 1850 to 1852, Monterey County's population rose from 1,872 (1,854 whites, 18 blacks and uncounted Ohlones) to around 2,700 (about 1,900 whites, 636 Ohlones, 22 blacks and 137 foreigners). Monterey County had 4,739 residents in 1860, including six Chinese.⁹⁷ Between 1851 and 1860, the Pajaro Valley's population jumped from about fifty to 2,071. About sixty percent were American and the rest came mostly from Canada, Europe and Mexico.

In the ensuing decades, many ethnic groups converted the North County into a highly productive agricultural center. The Irish were the first important Pajaro Valley immigrant group, farming potatoes and other crops.⁹⁸ But initially, newcomers were far more interested in mining gold than tilling soil. In 1850, seventy-four percent of male Californians were miners. When gold fortunes proved elusive, former miners sought new work.⁹⁹ Some began farming in the North County.¹⁰⁰ As new residents clamored for land, Congress created the United States Land Commission in 1851 to review Spanish and Mexican land grants and open invalid claims for settlement. But still, by the mid-1860s, only a few thousand people owned the state's prime agricultural land.¹⁰¹

Both the Land Commission and California's unpredictable dry seasons played important roles in spurring North County land subdivisions. The great drought of 1861-65 killed thousands of Monterey County cattle (described in Section G.1, below) and caused rancho owner Juan B. Castro to found the town of Castroville. Before the drought, Castro's cattle grazed in the Prunedale hills and on the rest his family's 36,000-acre land grant, El Rancho Bolsa Nueva y Moro Cojo.¹⁰³ But when the drought killed his animals and lowered the value of cattle, Castro unsuccessfully tried to sell his rancho for \$18,000, fifty cents an acre.¹⁰⁴ His back-up plan forever changed the North County's cultural landscape and land use patterns.



Juan B. Castro,
founder of Castroville.¹⁰²

⁹⁷ J. D. B. DeBow, *The Seventh Census of the United States: 1850* (Washington, D.C.: Robert Armstrong, Public Printer, 1853), 969, 970, 972, 982. Joseph C. G. Kennedy, *Preliminary Report of the Eighth Census, 1860* (Washington, D.C.: Government Printing Office, 1862), 247.

⁹⁸ Nakane, *Nothing Left in My Hands*, 6. Mekis, *Blossoms Into Gold*, xxii, 193.

⁹⁹ DeBow, *The Seventh Census of the United States: 1850*, 976. Fink, *Monterey: The Presence of the Past*, 136.

¹⁰⁰ California Department of Transportation, *A Historical Context and Archaeological Research Design for Agricultural Properties in California* (Sacramento, CA: Division of Environmental Analysis, California Department of Transportation, 2007).

¹⁰¹ Fink, *Monterey: The Presence of the Past*, 136-137. Nuckton, *et al.*, "California Agriculture: The Human Story," *A Guidebook to California Agriculture*, 11. Even into the 1930s, a small number of people owned a great deal of land: 516 people owned a total of 8,685,439 acres and sixteen people owned at least 84 square miles each.

¹⁰² Johnston, *Old Monterey County: A Pictorial History*, 80.

¹⁰³ Jackson, "Prunedale?," *North Monterey County Fortnightly*.

¹⁰⁴ *Progress*, Prunedale, CA: Prunedale Chamber of Commerce, May 1996. Jackson, "Prunedale?," *North Monterey County Fortnightly*.

In the winter of 1863-1864, Castro created the county's first subdivision and second town (after Monterey).¹⁰⁵ He founded Castroville on a southwest portion of his rancho, donating land for public use and giving away 100 parcels by lottery. Each block had an alley in the middle; individual lots measured fifty by 130 feet. In 1870, seeking more residents, Castro offered "alternate lots, on any part of the town site we still own . . . to any person who will build as soon as practicable, a good comfortable dwelling-house on his lot." In 1871, he wanted the Southern Pacific to build its Salinas Valley terminus in Castroville, but asked too much for the land. Instead, the railroad built the region's first roundhouse in Castroville and the terminus in Salinas.¹⁰⁶ Castro also subdivided his eastern land at \$4-\$100 per acre.¹⁰⁷

Juan Castro was significant in the North County's agricultural history because he founded Castroville, Monterey County's first subdivision and the North County's largest town. He subdivided his land when extensive agriculture proved unprofitable, starting a North County land use trend. Over the ensuing decades, other rancho owners subdivided their properties into smaller parcels and intensive agriculture replaced extensive agriculture. Castro's rancho was originally associated with cattle ranching, but since the 1920s, Castroville has been devoted to growing artichokes, an intensive crop. Castroville has also been home to several ethnic communities that worked in agriculture: the Italians (who developed the artichoke industry), the Chinese (who lived in Castroville's one-block Chinatown) and the Japanese (who worked with sugar beets and other crops, and built the Japanese Language School in Castroville in 1936).

In 1864, the same time that Juan Castro founded Castroville, prominent North County citizen John T. Porter acquired 820 acres of the Vallejo family's San Cayetano Rancho. The property was just south of the Pajaro River and north of Castro's rancho.¹⁰⁸ His property is the current location of the North County town of Pajaro. Among other achievements, he co-founded the Bank of Watsonville (1874) and the Pajaro Valley National Bank (1888), which offered favorable loans to farmers.¹⁰⁹ Porter was the area's largest sugar beet grower in the 1870s and part-owner of Claus Spreckels's sugar beet factory at Soquel.¹¹⁰ He was also an early strawberry farmer, planting fifty acres on his Pajaro ranch in 1883.¹¹¹

¹⁰⁵ Johnston, *Old Monterey County: A Pictorial History*, 80. Margaret Clovis, *Images of America: Monterey County's North Coast and Coastal Valleys* (Charleston, SC: Arcadia Publishing, 2006), 10.

¹⁰⁶ Johnston, *Old Monterey County: A Pictorial History*, 80. Clovis, *Monterey County's North Coast and Coastal Valleys*, 7, 9, 18-19. Dunn, *Monterey County, California*, 17. Starting in 1911, the Southern Pacific called the Castroville train station "Del Monte Junction" for a time. Patrons of Monterey's Hotel Del Monte switched trains at Castroville for the hotel. (Clark, *Monterey County Place Names*, 134.)

¹⁰⁷ *History of Monterey County* (Fresno, CA: Valley Publishers, 1979), 111.

¹⁰⁸ Swift, "Unveiling the Porter Family Legacy." Different sources list the purchase date as 1864 or 1874. In 1928, Mrs. Porter told a newspaper that they paid off the purchase in ten years. In those days, deeds generally were recorded only when the land was paid off, which would be 1874. ("Mrs. J. T. Porter, 90 Today, Taught Our First School," *Watsonville Register-Pajaronian*, 7 March 1928.)

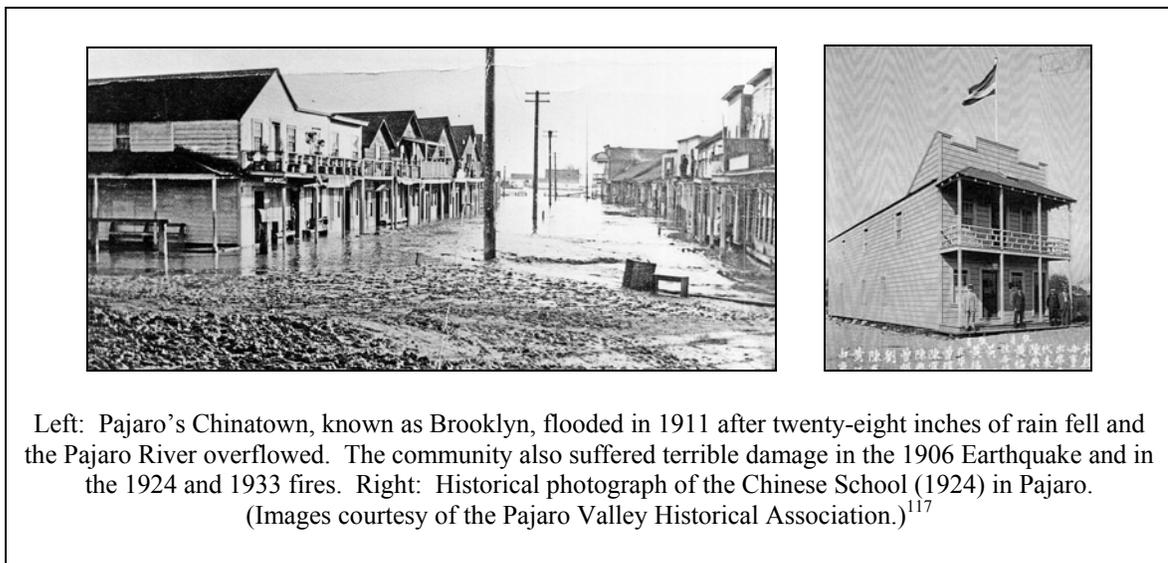
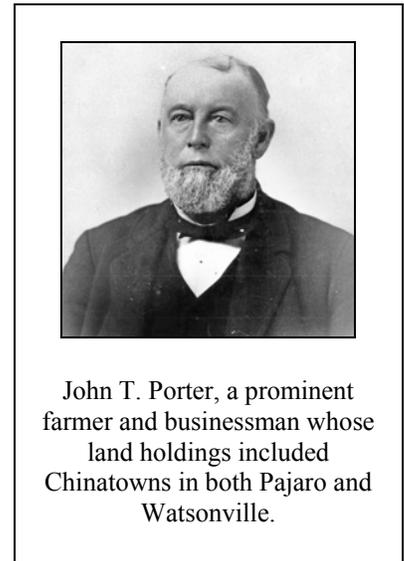
¹⁰⁹ Mekis, *Blossoms into Gold*, 68. Clovis, *Monterey County's North Coast and Coastal Valleys*, 73. Carolyn Swift, "Unveiling the Porter Family Legacy," *The Mid-County Post*, 23 March 1993.

¹¹⁰ Casabianca, Ruth. "John T. and Frances Cummins (sic) Porter: A Story of a Pioneer Family in California," *Noticias del Puerto de Monterey*. Monterey, CA: Monterey History and Art Association, September 1996.

¹¹¹ Betty Lewis, *Watsonville Yesterday* (Watsonville, CA: Litho Watsonville Press, 1978), 116.

Porter was one of the first Pajaro Valley farmers to hire Chinese laborers. He also helped them with immigration matters, testified on their behalf in criminal proceedings and attended their social events. Porter owned the land and buildings in Watsonville where a Chinatown developed in 1865 on the corner of Maple and Union.¹¹² After anti-Chinese sentiment arose in Santa Cruz County in the 1880s, Porter moved Watsonville's Chinatown — buildings and residents — to his Pajaro property in 1888.

The new settlement was called "Brooklyn," reportedly because it occupied a similar geographical (and perhaps status) relationship to Watsonville as the New York borough of Brooklyn did to Manhattan. It became one of California's largest Chinatowns.¹¹³ The Porters provided a fire department, school and other municipal services.¹¹⁴ Chinatown burned in 1924 and 1933, after which the Porter family subdivided and sold the land. The Chinese Association bought the Chinese School at 18 Brooklyn Street, which had replaced the school destroyed in the 1924 fire, and which survived the 1933 fire.¹¹⁵ The school is listed in the Monterey County Register, but has suffered extreme integrity loss. Students learned the Chinese language, history and culture for four hours every day, after attending public school. The school operated until World War II.¹¹⁶ It now contains apartments that have significantly altered the building's integrity.



¹¹² Ruth Casabianca, "John T. and Frances Cummins (sic) Porter: A Story of a Pioneer Family in California," *Noticias del Puerto de Monterey* (Monterey, CA: Monterey History and Art Association, September 1996).

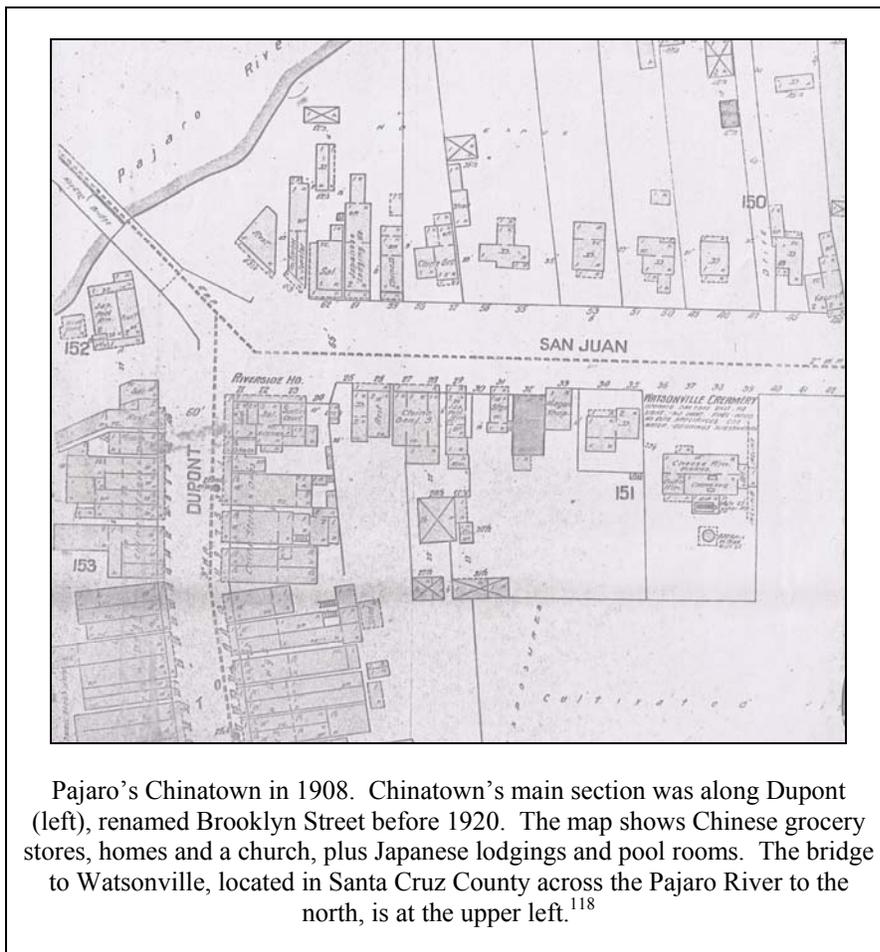
¹¹³ Clovis, *Monterey County's North Coast and Coastal Valleys*, 7, 76.

¹¹⁴ Casabianca, "John T. and Frances Cummins (sic) Porter: A Story of a Pioneer Family in California."

¹¹⁵ Clovis, *Monterey County's North Coast and Coastal Valleys*, 81.

The Pajaro and Watsonville Chinatowns, although no longer extant, were significant to the region's agricultural history. The Chinese, an early important component of the North County's agricultural labor force, experienced widespread discrimination but the Porter family readily offered them a place to live and conduct their businesses. The old Chinese School and the name of Brooklyn Street are some of the only reminders of Pajaro's former Chinatown.

In 1938, the John T. Porter Company also subdivided a portion of its property in the North County's Hall District, now part of Las Lomas.¹¹⁹ Along Hall Road, the Porter Company created a series of twenty-one one-acre lots so buyers could create small farms to supplement their seasonal agricultural income. This subdivision continued the Porter family's tradition of using its land holdings to provide housing for local agricultural workers. The subdivision implemented Federal Housing Administration (FHA) financing standards and used FHA-approved house plans. The Porter Company provided all building materials and retained title to each parcel until the buyer paid off the house and other improvements.¹²⁰ Some of the Las Lomas FHA houses still exist and are described in Chapter 5.



Pajaro's Chinatown in 1908. Chinatown's main section was along Dupont (left), renamed Brooklyn Street before 1920. The map shows Chinese grocery stores, homes and a church, plus Japanese lodgings and pool rooms. The bridge to Watsonville, located in Santa Cruz County across the Pajaro River to the north, is at the upper left.¹¹⁸

¹¹⁶ Clovis, *Monterey County's North Coast and Coastal Valleys*, 77.

¹¹⁷ Clovis, *Monterey County's North Coast and Coastal Valleys*, 72, 76, 79, 81.

¹¹⁸ Sanborn Fire Insurance map of Pajaro, 1908. County of Monterey Historical File: Pajaro Survey.

¹¹⁹ In 2001, the Elkhorn Slough Foundation acquired 332 acres of the Porter property along Elkhorn Road and Hall Road. It is called the Porter Preserve and includes the marsh at the northern end of the Elkhorn Slough, the historic Porter house and oak-studded pasture land. Elkhorn Slough Foundation, "Elkhorn Slough Protected Lands," <http://www.elkhornslough.org/protected.htm> (accessed 5 March 2010).

¹²⁰ Ed Slusser, "About New Miniature Farm Community," *Register-Pajaronian*, 10 May 1938.

Several other North County properties associated with the Porter family are still extant. The Porter-Vallejo Mansion at 29 Bishop Street in Pajaro is one of two North County properties listed in the National Register of Historic Places; it is also in the Monterey County Register. The Porter family continued to own their historic Las Lomas Ranch (in the same vicinity as the 1930s Las Lomas subdivision) until recently, when they donated it to the Elkhorn Slough Foundation.¹²¹ The next chapter describes the Porter-Vallejo Mansion, the 1930s Las Lomas subdivision and the Las Lomas Ranch in greater detail.

Juan Castro and John Porter significantly modified the North County's cultural landscape, prompting extensive agriculture-related community development. Both men carved planned settlements out of their vast North County land holdings, but retained some land for extensive and intensive agriculture pursuits. Their subdivisions are still visible on the landscape today. The towns of Castroville, Pajaro and Las Lomas still retain original street patterns, property boundaries, transportation networks and agriculture-related buildings that developed because of Castro's and Porter's decisions to subdivide and develop their properties. For example, the Southern Pacific Railroad built its tracks and established major stops through Castroville and Pajaro because both communities had become significant agricultural centers. Because of the railroad's presence, many agricultural businesses built processing and distribution facilities along the railroad tracks in Castroville and Pajaro, to ship agricultural goods to market as soon as possible. These and other related developments are discussed further below and in *Chapter 5: Historic Themes, Associated Property Types, Eligibility Criteria and Integrity Thresholds*.

Beyond Castro and Porter's contributions, the cultural landscape continued to change in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries as more property owners subdivided their lands into smaller parcels. Other owners of the original Spanish and Mexican land grants lost their property to foreclosure, speculators or squatters because of high legal fees (from defending their land grants) and the average seventeen-year wait that it took the Land Commission to determine claims.¹²² Because of these developments, by 1890 North County farmers owned smaller parcels and crop diversification followed.¹²³

The size, layout and buildings on extensive and intensive farmsteads varied depending on animal and crop requirements, the property owner's financial means and other factors. Farms developed along primary transportation routes, either railroad or roadway, facilitating distribution of goods to the marketplace. Remarkably, many of the historic property boundaries from the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries are still evident on the landscape. For example, comparing a 1908 parcel map of the Pajaro Valley with a 2010 aerial view of the same area reveals some of the same farmstead boundaries on the landscape today.

¹²¹ Elkhorn Slough Foundation, "Historic Pioneer Ranch to be Preserved" (Moss Landing CA: Elkhorn Slough Foundation, August 7, 2002), <http://www.elkhornslough.org/newspages/newsposter.htm> (accessed March 5, 2010).

¹²² Fink, *Monterey: The Presence of the Past*, 136-137. Nuckton, *et al.*, "California Agriculture: The Human Story," *A Guidebook to California Agriculture*, 11. Even into the 1930s, a small number of people owned a great deal of land: 516 people owned a total of 8,685,439 acres and sixteen people owned at least 84 square miles each.

¹²³ Nakane, *Nothing Left in My Hands*, 10.



Comparison of the 1908 Pajaro Valley map with a 2010 aerial image showing the Thompson and Rowe properties along San Juan Road. Note the spacing of farmsteads along the road, revealing the original size of the farmsteads. (Top Image: Courtesy Pajaro Valley Historical Association).

3. Transportation of Agricultural Products

To provide the freshest goods to the market, growers must ship produce as soon as it is harvested and processed. Before the Southern Pacific Railroad arrived in the North County in 1871, farmers had two shipping alternatives: wagons or boats. Neither was ideal. The North County's road system has always been fairly limited and long traveling distances or blocked roads impaired shipping efficiency. In the North County's interior, growers also shipped crops down the rivers and sloughs and out to sea. Storm-docked vessels sometimes delayed agricultural shipments and ruined crops before they left the region. The railroad's much-anticipated arrival in the Pajaro and Salinas Valleys sped up shipping times; expanded trade areas to the East Coast and abroad; fostered land speculation; helped spur community development in Castroville, Pajaro and Aromas; contributed to the decline of Moss Landing as a shipping center; and transported laborers from around the region, including many thousands of workers brought in from Mexico during the federal government's Bracero Program (1942-1964).

a. Water Transportation:

Before railroad service came to the North County in 1871, farmers shipped agricultural goods to San Francisco and other markets via the Monterey Bay and Pacific Ocean.¹²⁴ Taking advantage of the North County's natural features, they loaded goods onto steamer boats, schooners or flat-bottom "lighter" barges, which sailed down the Pajaro and Salinas rivers and the Elkhorn and Moro Cojo sloughs to shipping points on the coast.¹²⁵ From there, workers transferred the goods onto small "surf boats" and then to larger ships waiting offshore. Later, ships docked at new wharves and workers loaded crops directly onto them.¹²⁶ The ships transported products via the Pacific Ocean to San Francisco and other markets.¹²⁷

North County farmers shipped agricultural products down the sloughs and rivers from three main sites: Pajaro Landing, Brennan's Landing (later called Watsonville Landing and Hudson's Landing) and Moss Landing. In 1855, James Brennan built Pajaro Landing at the Pajaro River's mouth, near the end of present-day Beach Road five miles west of Watsonville. Schooners loaded with grain sailed down the river. At the beach, Ohlones hand-carried 100-pound sacks of grain from the schooners to rowboats, then rowed the cargo out to larger ships. In 1856, a mechanical system using an off-shore buoy, pulley system and horsepower replaced hand-carrying. But Pajaro Landing's poor location made it subject to the vagaries of Pacific storms. When a wharf and shipping facilities were built at Moss Landing, south of Pajaro Landing, in 1866, Moss Landing eclipsed Pajaro Landing as a shipping point.¹²⁸ Still, in 1873, farmers

¹²⁴ Nakane, *Nothing Left in My Hands*, 8.

¹²⁵ Allan Molho, "Crossing the Bar: A Brief History of Agriculture and Transportation on the Central Coast," Exhibit at the Agricultural History Project of the Central Coast, Watsonville, CA.

¹²⁶ Nakane, *Nothing Left in My Hands*, 8.

¹²⁷ Molho, "Crossing the Bar: A Brief History of Agriculture and Transportation on the Central Coast."

¹²⁸ Molho, "Crossing the Bar: A Brief History of Agriculture and Transportation on the Central Coast."

shipped a significant amount of wheat, barley, oats, rye, buckwheat, potatoes and beans from Pajaro Landing.¹²⁹

In 1860, James Brennan started a new operation, building Brennan's Landing at the Elkhorn Slough's northern end, with grain warehouses and loading facilities. In 1867, Brennan sold the operation to Goodall, Nelson and Perkins, a shipping line that eventually became the Pacific Coast Steamship Company. The *Salinas* steamer delivered grain from Brennan's Landing to Moss Landing twice weekly. The name of Brennan's Landing changed to Watsonville Landing and later to Hudson's Landing, after Mark A. Hudson who operated it for 40 years, starting in 1868.¹³⁰ In 1914, E. C. Vierra (son of Cato Vierra, the engineer who built the Moss Landing wharf and warehouses in 1866) dismantled the landing's warehouse buildings and salvaged over 200,000 board-feet of valuable redwood, some boards up to two feet wide. Some of the original pilings are still visible.¹³¹



Remnants of timber pile foundations from Hudson's Landing.
(PAST photograph, 2010.)

A few years after Brennan built Brennan's Landing, Charles Moss built Moss Landing at the mouth of the Elkhorn Slough. Moss Landing was the main shipping point for Salinas and Pajaro valley crops until the railroad arrived in 1871.¹³² Flat-bottom "lighter" barges brought agricultural goods to Moss Landing from Gibson's Landing on the Salinas River and from Hudson's Landing in the north end of Elkhorn Slough.¹³³ In 1866, Captain Charles Moss settled on a farm about one mile from the Moss Landing harbor. The location was advantageous: it sat

¹²⁹ Edward Martin, *Directory of the Town of Watsonville for 1873, embracing a General Directory of Residents, together with a Description of the Pajaro Valley, its Climate, Soil, Resources, and a Variety of Useful Information* (Watsonville, CA: C. O. Cummings, 1873), 47.

¹³⁰ Molho, "Crossing the Bar: A Brief History of Agriculture and Transportation on the Central Coast." Clovis, *Monterey County's North Coast and Coastal Valleys*, 44.

¹³¹ "Queen of Elkhorn Slough Waterways Survived Grave; Became Schoolhouse," *Register Pajaronian*, 15 September 1937.

¹³² Clovis, *Monterey County's North Coast and Coastal Valleys*, 7.

¹³³ Clovis, *Monterey County's North Coast and Coastal Valleys*, 43.

at the entrance to the Elkhorn and Moro Cojo sloughs and could directly receive Pajaro and Salinas Valley shipments of grain, potatoes, beans, produce, lumber and other agricultural products for worldwide distribution. Intending to develop the region as a major shipping hub, Moss and his partner Donald Beadle hired Cato Vierra, an emigrant from the Azores Islands, as the engineer to oversee construction of a wharf, bridges, warehouses and other infrastructure.¹³⁴ In July 1866, he built a 200-foot wharf, where workers loaded agricultural products directly to waiting ships.¹³⁵ He built the first bridge over the Salinas River so horse-drawn wagons could unload cargo directly at the warehouses, which stored up to 15,000 tons of grain. Vierra also operated a ferry across the Elkhorn Slough's mouth and built a toll bridge in the early 1870s. He sold the bridge to Monterey County in 1889.¹³⁷

By 1871, Moss Landing was the regional distribution center and ocean-going ships regularly used the wharf.¹³⁸

The transcontinental railroad's completion in 1869 led to a sharp decline in shipping agricultural goods via water from Monterey County's interior; the Southern Pacific Railroad's arrival in 1871 ended Moss

Landing's shipping monopoly. Moss sold his interests to the Pacific Coast Steamship Company in 1876 and the railroad took over the region's transportation of agricultural products.¹³⁹ As the twentieth century began, shipping through Elkhorn Slough declined markedly.¹⁴⁰ The 1906 earthquake hit Moss Landing hard, destroying a half-dozen warehouses, some bridges and the



Moss Landing warehouses and shipping facilities, 1891.¹³⁶

¹³⁴ Horace W. Fabing and Rick Hamman, *Steinbeck Country Narrow Gauge* (Boulder, CO: Pruett Publishing Company, 1985), 4. Clovis, *Monterey County's North Coast and Coastal Valleys*, 37.

¹³⁵ Fabing, *Steinbeck Country Narrow Gauge*, 4.

¹³⁶ Clovis, *Monterey County's North Coast and Coastal Valleys*, 43.

¹³⁷ Clovis, *Monterey County's North Coast and Coastal Valleys*, 42-44. Vierra bought his property from Paul Lazere, a Frenchman who envisioned building the town of St. Paul where Moss Landing now stands. In 1916, Vierra's relatives David and Ed Vierra established a 5,000-acre saltworks plant where Lazere intended St. Paul to be. The Vierra saltworks, Vierra oyster beds in the Elkhorn Slough, and the Moss Landing fishing industry are beyond the scope of this historic context statement. Clovis, *Monterey County's North Coast and Coastal Valleys*, 53, 60.

¹³⁸ Clovis, *Monterey County's North Coast and Coastal Valleys*, 43.

¹³⁹ Fabing and Hamman, *Steinbeck Country Narrow Gauge*, 10.

¹⁴⁰ Clovis, *Monterey County's North Coast and Coastal Valleys*, 45.

pier, and damaging the railroad tracks.¹⁴¹ Moss Landing retains few physical remnants of its heyday in agricultural shipping.

In the North County's agricultural history, Pajaro Landing, Brennan's/Watsonville/Hudson's Landing and Moss Landing were significant because they were associated with farmers' early efforts to distribute the North County's agricultural goods beyond the immediate vicinity. This creative, water-based distribution network was a precursor to the more efficient railroad network that eventually allowed North County farmers to ship their crops to markets in the Mid-West, East Coast and abroad. Wood pilings rotting in the water are the main physical evidence of the former shipping hubs at Pajaro and Brennan's landings. Moss Landing is still a functioning town, but retains few, if any, resources associated with its nineteenth century agricultural shipping history.

b. Railroad Transportation:

North County agricultural interests had anticipated the railroad's arrival for years, recognizing that it would expand the local economy by linking the area to larger and more distant markets, thus leading to greater agricultural production.¹⁴² Californians grew a significant amount of vegetables before the Civil War, but the first refrigerated rail cars were not invented until 1867.¹⁴³ Thus, production was generally limited to "market gardens" near large cities like San Francisco and Los Angeles and sales were limited to local markets.¹⁴⁴ When the Southern Pacific Railroad extended its line from San José to the North County in 1871, it significantly expanded Pajaro and Salinas Valley agriculture.¹⁴⁵

On July 17, 1871, the Southern Pacific Railroad began constructing a rail line from Gilroy to Salinas. The route ran south from Gilroy to the Pajaro River, followed the river to the Pajaro Gap, traveled between the Santa Cruz and Gabilan mountains and into the Pajaro Valley. When Watsonville citizens failed to contribute funds to the Southern Pacific Railroad to build a station in that town, the railroad built its main depot south of the river in the North County community of Pajaro Junction (later named Watsonville Junction and now known as Pajaro). In November 1871, the first train traveled between Pajaro Junction and San Francisco; service from Salinas to San Francisco began in November 1872.¹⁴⁶

When the Southern Pacific Railroad laid tracks in the North County, moving from the northeast to the southwest, it expanded the communities of Aromas, the Vega District, Pajaro, Elkhorn and Castroville. Farms in the immediate vicinity prospered and fruit and vegetable growers and

¹⁴¹ Clovis, *Monterey County's North Coast and Coastal Valleys*, 50, 51.

¹⁴² Nakane, *Nothing Left in My Hands*, 9.

¹⁴³ Anderson, *The Salinas Valley: A History of America's Salad Bowl*, 121. Barbara Krasner-Khait, "The Impact of Refrigeration," <http://www.history-magazine.com/refrig.html> (accessed 26 May 2010).

¹⁴⁴ Vegetable Specialists and Farm Advisors of Cooperative Extension, "Vegetable Crops," *A Guidebook to California Agriculture* (Berkeley, CA: University of California Press, 1983), 164.

¹⁴⁵ Mekis, *Blossoms into Gold*, 48.

¹⁴⁶ Fabing and Hamman, *Steinbeck Country Narrow Gauge*, 7. Nakane, *Nothing Left in My Hands*, 8.

distributors built processing and shipping facilities near the railroad tracks. The tracks still run through the area, but the Pajaro roundhouse, local depots and many other railroad-related buildings are gone.

From the outset, the Southern Pacific Railroad understood its stranglehold on agricultural shipping and charged wheat growers excessive freight rates. Competition arrived with the 1874 construction of the Monterey and Salinas Valley Railroad, a narrow gauge line running nineteen miles from Salinas to Monterey.¹⁴⁷ By charging lower rates, the new railroad estimated that Salinas Valley grain growers would save over \$200,000 annually.¹⁴⁸ But the railway suffered severe financial setbacks during its short existence, with floods and fires destroying or heavily damaging a pile trestle, bridge, locomotives and a passenger coach.¹⁴⁹

The Southern Pacific lowered its rates, the Monterey and Salinas Valley Railroad could no longer compete and farmers transferred their business yet again.¹⁵⁰ The line went bankrupt and the Pacific Improvement Company, a Southern Pacific Railroad subsidiary, bought it at a July 1880 sheriff's sale. Almost immediately, the new owner demolished the narrow gauge line, eliminating its primary competitor.¹⁵¹ Also in 1880, the Southern Pacific completed its branch line between Castroville and Monterey.¹⁵² In 1887, ten years after the Southern Pacific bypassed Watsonville in favor of Pajaro, the Watsonville Depot opened on Walker Street. The presence of the new depot prompted growers and distributors to build new packing plants nearby; fruit hauling to the Pajaro Depot declined as a result.¹⁵³

More rail competition arrived when Claus Spreckels built his sugar beet empire in the area. Spreckels needed to transport his sugar beet products from Watsonville to San Francisco, where the sugar was refined. He objected to the Southern Pacific's high freight rates and consequently founded the Pajaro Valley Consolidated Railroad in January 1890. By that fall, Chinese laborers had completed the fourteen-mile line from the Western Beet Sugar Company factory in Watsonville to the Pacific Coast Steamship Company wharf at Moss Landing. It crossed the Pajaro River and the large North County agricultural holdings of Porter, Trafton, McGowan, Williamson and Jensen, terminating at Moss Landing.¹⁵⁴ (See the map of North County railroads on the next page.)

¹⁴⁷ Anderson, *The Salinas Valley: A History of America's Salad Bowl*, 45-46. Fink, *Monterey: The Presence of the Past*, 127.

¹⁴⁸ Fink, *Monterey: The Presence of the Past*, 127.

¹⁴⁹ Fink, *Monterey: The Presence of the Past*, 127.

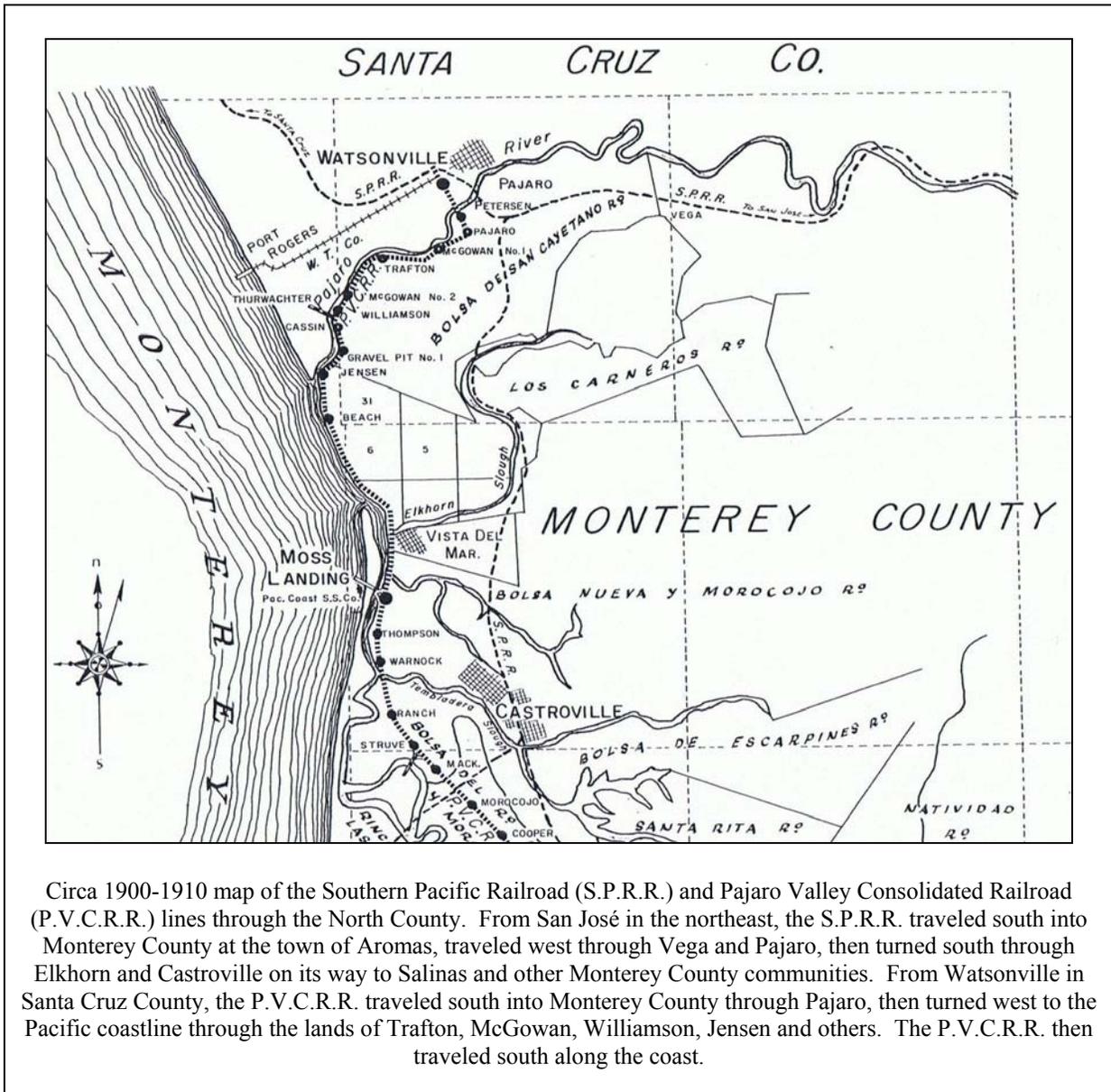
¹⁵⁰ Fink, *Monterey: The Presence of the Past*, 127.

¹⁵¹ Anderson, *The Salinas Valley: A History of America's Salad Bowl*, 45-46.

¹⁵² Fink, *Monterey: The Presence of the Past*, 130. As of 1983, the Southern Pacific Railroad owned more than 20 million acres in California, more than any other entity. Railroads own so much land because for every mile of track laid, the federal government granted 12,800 acres; the land alternated on either side of the tracks in a checkerboard pattern, every mile. (Nuckton, *et al.*, "California Agriculture: The Human Story," *A Guidebook to California Agriculture*, 11.)

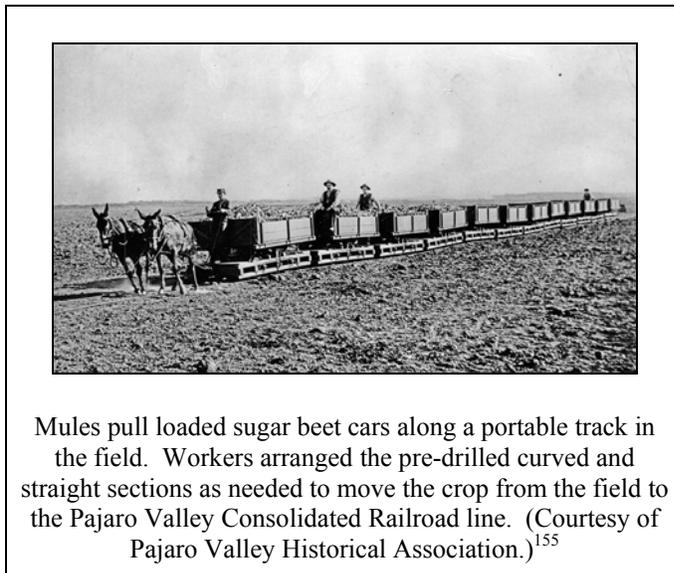
¹⁵³ Mekis, *Blossoms into Gold*, 52.

¹⁵⁴ "Spreckels & Pajaro Valley Consolidated Railroad, 1880s-1930," (Monterey County Historical Society Archives, File # 90.53.144), 4.



Circa 1900-1910 map of the Southern Pacific Railroad (S.P.R.R.) and Pajaro Valley Consolidated Railroad (P.V.C.R.R.) lines through the North County. From San José in the northeast, the S.P.R.R. traveled south into Monterey County at the town of Aromas, traveled west through Vega and Pajaro, then turned south through Elkhorn and Castroville on its way to Salinas and other Monterey County communities. From Watsonville in Santa Cruz County, the P.V.C.R.R. traveled south into Monterey County through Pajaro, then turned west to the Pacific coastline through the lands of Trafton, McGowan, Williamson, Jensen and others. The P.V.C.R.R. then traveled south along the coast.

In 1891, a 23.6-mile narrow gauge line from Moro Cojo to Salinas opened. In 1897, Spreckels built the Pajaro Valley Extension Railroad; it accessed the limestone quarries in the Gabilan Mountains that provided construction materials. On December 9, 1897, Spreckels's railroad and its spur lines became the Pajaro Valley Consolidated Railroad.¹⁵⁶ Locals nicknamed it the "Dinky Line" because the locomotives were small; the mainline and branches totaled over twenty-seven miles.¹⁵⁷ By 1915, Spreckels's "Dinky Line" covered 42.2 miles of track.¹⁵⁸ It was most profitable in 1919, carrying more than 175,000 tons of beets and 159,000 passengers. However, the rising popularity of truck shipments eroded profits and operations ended in 1927. Southern Pacific bought the "Dinky Line" in 1930 and removed the narrow gauge tracks.¹⁵⁹



Mules pull loaded sugar beet cars along a portable track in the field. Workers arranged the pre-drilled curved and straight sections as needed to move the crop from the field to the Pajaro Valley Consolidated Railroad line. (Courtesy of Pajaro Valley Historical Association.)¹⁵⁵

The railroad's arrival also opened new opportunities for local fruit growers. San Francisco's 298,000 residents paid high prices for fresh fruit in 1890. Growers and shippers were making good profits (based in part on the low wages they paid to Chinese and Croatian laborers), so they could now afford to pay rail freight. They began to send produce — especially the hardy apple — to more distant markets. The Croatians were the first to send large shipments of perishable fruit long distances. Once rail shipment was affordable, Croatian entrepreneurs applied their shipping and marketing skills to the Pajaro Valley fruit industry, increasing efficiency and carving out new business niches.¹⁶⁰ They built packing houses, from which they packed and shipped fruit from multiple growers. They created colorful, inventive crate labels to market produce to new customers, advertising the Pajaro Valley as a premier apple-growing region. Pajaro Valley apple shipments quickly increased from 100,000 boxes (1885) to 500,000 boxes (1898) to 2.5 million boxes (1903).¹⁶¹

Sending rail shipments to West Coast towns was not a problem. But in the mid- to late-1890s, the Pajaro Valley apple industry still lacked direct, efficient rail routes to the Midwest and East Coast. The fruit industry, legislators, bankers and chambers of commerce all wanted more reliable rail shipments so the industry could remain profitable. In 1899, the Pajaro Valley apple industry sent Croatian packers and shippers M. N. Lettunich and Luke Scurich to meet with Southern Pacific Railroad representatives to discuss freight rates. Responding to coordinated

¹⁵⁵ Clovis, *Monterey County's North Coast and Coastal Valleys*, 22.

¹⁵⁶ Fabing, *Steinbeck Country Narrow Gauge*, 67.

¹⁵⁷ Fabing, *Steinbeck Country Narrow Gauge*, 94.

¹⁵⁸ Fabing, *Steinbeck Country Narrow Gauge*, 94.

¹⁵⁹ Anderson, *The Salinas Valley: A History of America's Salad Bowl*, 47.

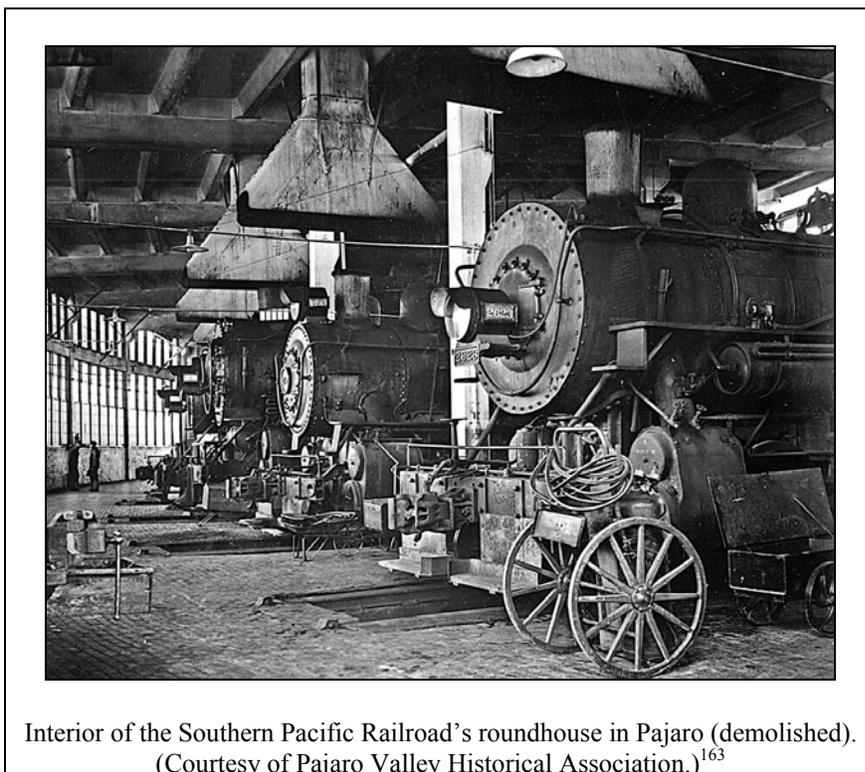
¹⁶⁰ Mekis, *Blossoms into Gold*, 81-82.

¹⁶¹ Mekis, *Blossoms into Gold*, 81-82.

industry efforts after 1900, Southern Pacific instituted direct routing that delivered the fresh fruit to distant markets more quickly. Consequently, the local fruit industry expanded even more.¹⁶²

In the North County's agricultural history, the Southern Pacific Railroad and the Pajaro Valley Consolidated Railroad were significant because they spurred the development of the North County's agricultural towns and opened distant markets to North County farmers. The railroads expanded the agricultural industry in communities like Pajaro, Castroville and Aromas, where property owners built packing and distribution facilities along the railroad tracks. Consolidating the buildings in one place, close to the railroad, improved efficiency and lowered costs. The Pajaro Valley Consolidated Railroad was also significant for its association with the sugar beet empire of Claus Spreckels, one of the most important figures in the North County's agricultural history.

Most of the railroad facilities, *e.g.*, depots and roundhouses, are gone from the North County, but the tracks remain. Following the tracks through the North County reveals extant agricultural buildings (*e.g.*, cold storage buildings) that were built specifically to take advantage of the railroad's location.



Interior of the Southern Pacific Railroad's roundhouse in Pajaro (demolished).
(Courtesy of Pajaro Valley Historical Association.)¹⁶³

c. Air and Truck Transportation:

The railroad was not the only way to ship the North County's agricultural products. In 1947, Watsonville made its first airplane shipment of berries to Los Angeles. In 1954, 10,000 pounds of strawberries made that flight daily. By the 1960s, trucks largely replaced railroads for long-distance agricultural shipments.¹⁶⁴

¹⁶² Mekis, *Blossoms Into Gold*, 107-108, 130.

¹⁶³ Clovis, *Monterey County's North Coast and Coastal Valleys*, 83.

¹⁶⁴ Agricultural History Project, "Transportation," Agricultural Timelines display (Watsonville, CA: Agricultural History Project).

4. Agricultural Technology and Innovation

From the nineteenth to the mid-twentieth century, agricultural technology and innovation increased the sophistication of agricultural processing and distribution. Immigrant agricultural workers brought fresh ideas about processing agricultural goods more efficiently and getting them to market faster and in better shape. They devised new marketing techniques, took advantage of technological developments in horticulture and pesticides, and expanded commerce. They founded packing sheds along the Southern Pacific Railroad tracks (particularly in the towns of Castroville, Pajaro and Aromas) to process fruit from many farms, acting as an intermediary between growers and grocers.

a. Machinery:

As new, faster, better agricultural machines came on the market, North County farmers were able to produce more goods with less effort and fewer workers. In the early settlement period, clearing agricultural land in the North County hills was arduous. Men felled oak trees with cross-cut saws, removed stumps with hand shovels or a horse and pulley system, and cut roots with axes.¹⁶⁶ After they cleared the land, the hard work of tilling the soil and cultivating, harvesting and processing crops began.



Arranged in front of a steam boiler, North County workers take a break near Blackie Road. (Courtesy of Nancy Ausonio.)¹⁶⁵

In 1848, a Santa Cruz foundry made California's first iron plows, a vast improvement over the rudimentary plows first used by Monterey Presidio soldiers in the late 1700s. In 1859, horse-drawn mechanical harvesters replaced men who reaped grain by hand.¹⁶⁷ In the 1870s, threshing crews had needed fourteen laborers, two feeders, an engineer and a sack sewer (sewing shut an average of 1,000 sacks of threshed grain a day).¹⁶⁸ However, crew sizes fell by one third when a flatbed wagon called a low Derrick Table was invented to move stacked grain to the thresher.¹⁶⁹ By 1880, California farmers used steam-powered threshers; the steam-powered tractor arrived a decade later.¹⁷⁰

¹⁶⁵ Clovis, *Monterey County's North Coast and Coastal Valleys*, 21. "First Crops Brought Name 'Spud Valley,'" *Watsonville Register-Pajaronian*.

¹⁶⁶ Warren Church, *Historical Notes of North Monterey County With a History of Hidden Valley* (Unpublished manuscript: 2004), v, 2, 3, 5.

¹⁶⁷ Agricultural History Project, "Technology," Agricultural Timelines display (Watsonville, CA: Agricultural History Project).

¹⁶⁸ Clovis, *Monterey County's North Coast and Coastal Valleys*, 21. "First Crops Brought Name 'Spud Valley,'" *Watsonville Register-Pajaronian*.

¹⁶⁹ Clovis, *Monterey County's North Coast and Coastal Valleys*, 70.

¹⁷⁰ Agricultural History Project, "Technology."

Around 1900, gasoline-powered harvesters replaced thirty-horse combined harvesters.¹⁷¹ In 1906, the first Caterpillar tractor was used. By 1930, farmers used all-purpose, rubber-tired tractors. Diesel-powered tractors followed a year later. In 1935, lettuce farmers used wide-axle trucks that straddled the lettuce rows. In the early 1940s, the mechanical sugar beet harvester eased labor on beet farms. In 1960, a precision planter eliminated labor-intensive hand thinning of lettuce. In the late 1960s, lettuce packing machines were used in the fields, making off-site lettuce packing sheds obsolete.¹⁷² Those sheds were either demolished or adaptively used.

These technological advancements impacted the agricultural industry and the cultural landscape in several ways. Redistribution and specialization of the labor force (a hallmark of intensive agriculture) was a frequent consequence. In some cases, new machines replaced manual laborers (*e.g.*, threshing machines replaced men who threshed by hand). In other cases, new machines shifted labor tasks from off-site workers and facilities to on-site field workers (*e.g.*, in the lettuce industry, field-packing machines made off-site packing houses obsolete). As a result of these changes, the built environment changed. Farmers constructed new buildings for storing their new equipment and demolished or adaptively used obsolete buildings for new purposes.

b. Irrigation:

When rancho owners subdivided their grazing land into smaller farm parcels, the new owners irrigated them to maximize crop production and profits.¹⁷³ Local farmers irrigated both extensive and intensive crops, but intensive crops in particular (fruits and vegetables) require a dependable water supply. California's unpredictable rainfall made the investment worthwhile and farmers irrigating in the dry season are very successful.¹⁷⁴ Irrigation is cost effective and efficient, because Monterey County soil drains well and little water is wasted.

Alfalfa, although an extensive agriculture crop, was one of the first irrigated crops in Monterey County.¹⁷⁵ Dry farming was "still the vogue" for grain production as late as 1915, but farmers irrigating alfalfa achieved a higher yield and avoided rainfall fluctuations.¹⁷⁶ In Monterey County, irrigation was deemed an "absolute necessity to alfalfa" and alfalfa plantings increased as grain plantings decreased.¹⁷⁷

By 1875, Pajaro Valley strawberry growers used windmills to pump water to their crops. In 1879, the Watsonville Water Works used flumes to release excess water from the Corralitos reservoir for strawberry irrigation. Wells also supplied irrigation water.¹⁷⁸ By 1890, water from

¹⁷¹ Dunn, *Monterey County, California*, 6. "Field Crops," *A Guidebook to California Agriculture*, 111-112. Agricultural History Project, "Technology."

¹⁷² Agricultural History Project, "Technology."

¹⁷³ Dunn, *Monterey County, California*, 7.

¹⁷⁴ Dunn, *Monterey County, California*, 8.

¹⁷⁵ Dunn, *Monterey County, California*, 7-9.

¹⁷⁶ Dunn, *Monterey County, California*, 7.

¹⁷⁷ Dunn, *Monterey County, California*, 5, 7.

¹⁷⁸ Nakane, *Nothing Left in My Hands*, 8. Agricultural History Project, "Technology."

Laguna Grande in the Santa Cruz County portion of the Pajaro Valley irrigated 100 acres of strawberries, forty acres of raspberries and several acres of blackberries.¹⁷⁹

Irrigation projects were often done on a property by property basis. When the Japanese-run Y. Kōsansha Company started leasing Pajaro Valley strawberry fields in 1908, the firm bought a pumping machine, dug a well and built elevated flumes to transport water to the fields.¹⁸⁰ Into the early decades of the twentieth century, flumes shaped like long wooden boxes were nestled into the ground; water flowed to the strawberries from holes cut in the side. Pressing a board on top of the water made it flow faster.¹⁸¹



Clough Farm, 1478 San Juan Road, showing berry workers and an elevated redwood flume irrigating the crop.
(Courtesy of the Pajaro Valley Historical Association.)

By the 1910s, electricity was available for operating irrigation pumping plants and irrigation became more reliable. Monterey County had many canals and dams. The nine-mile Salinas Canal, drew water from the Salinas River, the largest submerged stream in America. Dams held water impounded from smaller streams, and ditches carried the water to the fields.¹⁸² The Salinas Dam was built in 1941 in the upper Salinas Valley.¹⁸³

In the North County's agricultural history, the increasing use of irrigation was significant because it accelerated the region's transition from extensive to intensive agriculture. Important North County crops depended heavily on irrigation, including berries, lettuce and artichokes.

¹⁷⁹ Nakane, *Nothing Left in My Hands*, 8.

¹⁸⁰ Nakane, *Nothing Left in My Hands*, 39. Borg, *Nihon Bunka/Japanese Culture*, no page number.

¹⁸¹ Nakane, *Nothing Left in My Hands*, 41.

¹⁸² Dunn, *Monterey County, California*, 7-9.

¹⁸³ Gordon, *Monterey Bay Area: Natural History and Cultural Imprints*, 237.

With irrigation, farmers were able to increase yields and offer better produce to the market. Improved produce attracted more customers and increased farmers' profits, allowing them to expand their operations. Consequently, they constructed more buildings to accommodate their growing businesses, especially processing and distribution facilities. The flumes, dams, canals and ditches also modified the cultural landscape by introducing a network of waterways and infrastructure that traversed farm parcels, delineated property boundaries, and followed the paths of local roads.

Additional research and field surveys can determine the location of extant irrigation infrastructure and waterways that were established before 1960.



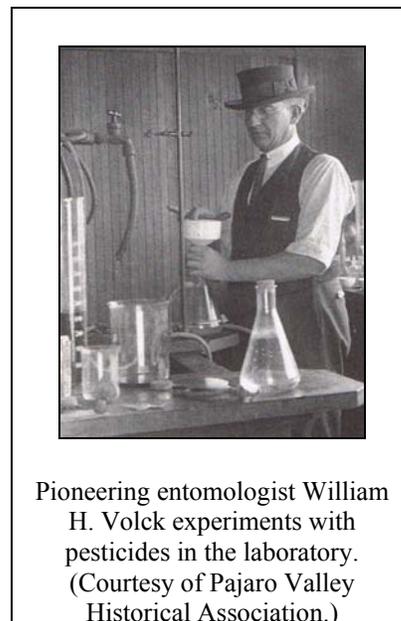
Irrigating artichokes near Castroville. (Courtesy of Castroville Historical Society.)¹⁸⁴

¹⁸⁴ Clovis, *Monterey County's North Coast and Coastal Valleys*, 24.

c. **Pesticides:**

From the 1880s to 1907, pests and pesticides caused major damage locally.¹⁸⁵ By 1900, pests like the codling moth infested more than a third of the Pajaro Valley's apples and growers lost \$500,000 in one season. The Federal Bureau of Chemistry found that seventy-one percent of pesticides were too dangerous, potentially killing more crops than pests did. In 1901, California passed the country's first pesticide law and Pajaro Valley apple growers successfully sued manufacturers who had sold inconsistently formulated pesticides.¹⁸⁶

U.C. Berkeley entomologists William H. Volck and E. E. Luther came to the area in 1902 and 1905, respectively, and found that the Pajaro Valley's coastal fog turned pesticides volatile, burning tree leaves. They experimented and formulated gentle, effective pesticides.¹⁸⁷ Volck and Luther pioneered a new type of public-private partnership with the U.C. experiment station that other pesticide companies later followed. Local apple growers helped pay for Volck and Luther's experiments at first. The two men later founded the California Spray Chemical Company in Watsonville and distributed their product internationally under the name "Ortho." They allowed the U.C. experiment station to review their pesticide formulations, achieving extra credibility and selling a new product that the university was financially unable to develop and sell.¹⁸⁸ By 1907, the worst codling moth and pesticide problems ended and the North County's apple industry continued to expand.¹⁸⁹



Pioneering entomologist William H. Volck experiments with pesticides in the laboratory. (Courtesy of Pajaro Valley Historical Association.)

In the North County's agricultural history, William Volck and E. E. Luther were significant because their experiments and pesticide formulas enabled the Pajaro Valley apple industry to survive and to continue producing superior crops.

¹⁸⁵ Mekis, *Blossoms Into Gold*, 85.

¹⁸⁶ Mekis, *Blossoms Into Gold*, 84.

¹⁸⁷ Mekis, *Blossoms Into Gold*, 85.

¹⁸⁸ Mekis, *Blossoms Into Gold*, 85-86.

¹⁸⁹ Dunn, *Monterey County, California*, 16. Mekis, *Blossoms Into Gold*, 85. The William H. Volck house is located at 261 East Beach Street in Watsonville, Santa Cruz County. In the 1950s, Helen Volck Tucker donated it to the Pajaro Valley Historical Association (PVHA) as a museum to honor her late husband. PVHA later sold it but maintains the Volck Museum in a carriage house on its current property, the Bockius-Orr House at 332 East Beach Street in Watsonville. (Pajaro Valley Historical Association, "The Volck Museum – Carriage House" (Watsonville, CA: Pajaro Valley Historical Association.) <http://www.pajarovalleyhistory.org/index.php?page=about-vm>, accessed 3 May 2010.)

d. Packing and Packaging:

Improvements in agricultural packing and packaging took the industry to a new level of efficiency and sophistication. These changes were significant because they allowed growers to concentrate on cultivation rather than processing. Labor specialization increased, processing tasks were consolidated or outsourced, and new buildings like packing houses and packaging plants were constructed to accommodate these changes.

In 1884, Croatians founded the Pajaro Valley's first apple-packing business in Watsonville.¹⁹¹ In 1894, local Croatian apple distributors participated in the California Midwinter International Exposition in San Francisco.¹⁹² They learned the importance of marketing, including standardizing apple grading by size, shape, color, damage and texture; separating fruit into categories like fancy, choice, standard, pie and juice apples; and designing creative, attractive packaging.¹⁹³



M. N. Lettunich, the Croatian packer and shipper known as the “Dean of the Watsonville apple industry,” operated the Del Monte Fruit Farm in Aromas and other packing houses in the Pajaro Valley.¹⁹⁰

The *Watsonville Pajaronian* urged shippers to put lithographed labels on their boxes for good marketing and to distinguish their superior products at auction.¹⁹⁴ This paid off when the commission merchant system changed to an auction system in 1896. Attractively packaged, uniformly graded apples sold well at auction.¹⁹⁵ In 1899, P. N. Lettunich (related to M. N. Lettunich, whose apple crate label appears here) was the first to attach labels noting that his firm packed the apples in Watsonville.¹⁹⁶

Agricultural packaging developments were not limited to the apple industry. In 1923, Charles Sambrailo, founder of the Sambrailo Packaging Company, sought to improve packaging. To start, he introduced paper liners to protect produce as workers packed it into wooden boxes. In

¹⁹⁰ “M. N. Lettunich Pioneered [rest of title missing],” *Watsonville Morning Sun*, circa 1939. Agricultural History Project Historical Files.

¹⁹¹ Mekis, *Blossoms Into Gold*, 68, 70-71.

¹⁹² Mekis, *Blossoms Into Gold*, 98.

¹⁹³ Mekis, *Blossoms Into Gold*, 102-104.

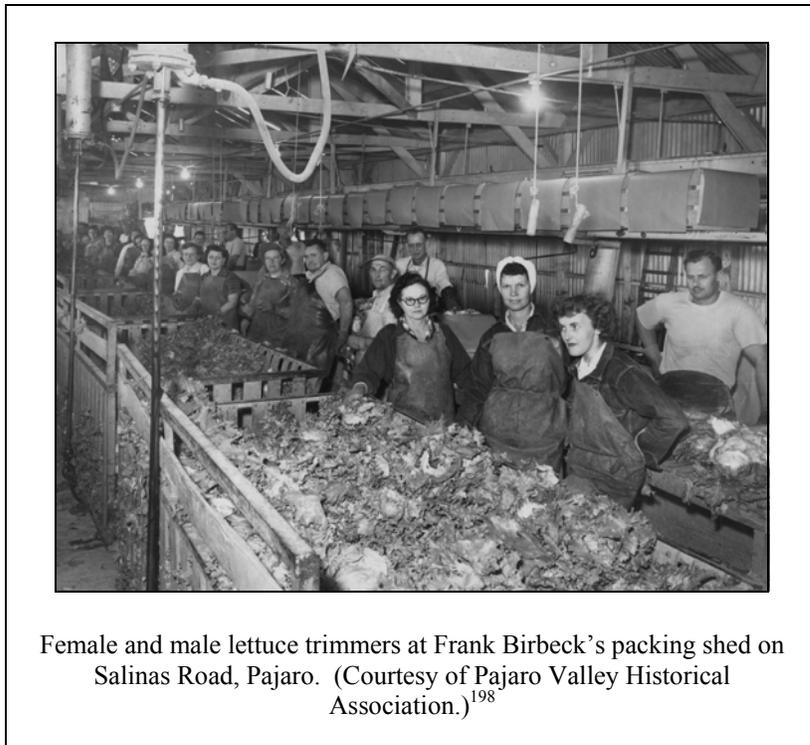
¹⁹⁴ Mekis, *Blossoms Into Gold*, 105.

¹⁹⁵ Mekis, *Blossoms Into Gold*, 104-105.

¹⁹⁶ Mekis, *Blossoms Into Gold*, 105.

1957, Sambrailo developed strawberry packing trays with glued and folded-over windows, which reduced fruit damage by making the packaging stronger. They replaced the old strawberry cartons. Since then, the family-owned business has continued to create innovative packaging for the agricultural industry.¹⁹⁷ The Sambrailo Packaging Company has a large plant at 1750 San Juan Road near Aromas, next to the Southern Pacific Railroad crossing.

Innovations in agricultural packing and packaging were significant because they increased efficiency, led to increased labor specialization, and expanded the agricultural industry. Many of the new packing and packaging facilities were built near major transportation networks, such as railroad depots and principal roadways, so the products could ship to market faster.



¹⁹⁷ "Sambrailo Packaging continues to revolutionize the industry," *Register-Pajaronian*, 24 September 2003. Sambrailo Packaging, "Sambrailo Packaging Company History" (Watsonville, CA: Sambrailo Packaging), <http://www.sambrailo.com/history.html> (accessed 3 May 2010). The company's corporate headquarters and two other properties are in Watsonville; it has eleven facilities in California and Mexico.

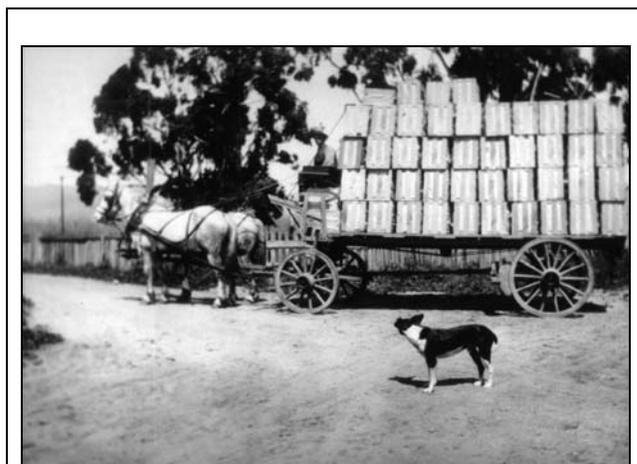
¹⁹⁸ Clovis, *Monterey County's North Coast and Coastal Valleys*, 88. Birbeck lived on the former Henry Blohm property at 250 Aromas Road. Luther, Floyd, editor. "The Blohm family story — The road to Aromas." *Register-Pajaronian*, 23 August 2000. Aromas Friends of the Library and Pajaro Valley Historical Association, "Aromas History Walking Tour," October 24, 1982.

e. **Refrigeration:**

Distributing fresh Monterey County fruit to distant markets was problematic until the 1920s. Developments that improved the process included the new East Coast produce auction and distribution system (1896), railroad schedule and route standardization (after 1900), the Panama Canal (1914), and reliable refrigerated rail cars (1920s).¹⁹⁹

In 1867, J. B. Sutherland invented the first refrigerated rail “bunker” car, with bunkers (insulated containers filled with ice) in each end of the car, cooling produce in between. Several decades of technological development improved car reliability and specialization for meat or fruit.²⁰¹ The cars became commonplace for shipping produce in the Monterey County area by 1923.²⁰²

A few years earlier, in 1916, North County farmer Moses (Mose) S. Hutchings shipped the first refrigerated produce out of Monterey County. From his mother-in-law Eva Rowe’s ranch at 1767 San Juan Road in the Pajaro Valley, Hutchings packed a wagon of wooden crates laden with lettuce, using ice as the refrigerant. Spoilage was common in this era, with ice melting and contaminating the produce. Refrigerated rail cars and vacuum coolers were a vast improvement. In 1946, Rex L. Brunsing invented the vacuum cooler, a major technological advancement in lettuce refrigeration. The cooler consisted of an



In 1916, Mose S. Hutchings drove the first Pajaro Valley lettuce harvest to the Pajaro Depot for shipment. He grew it at the ranch of his in-laws James and Ida Rowe, at 1767 San Juan Road. (Courtesy of Pajaro Valley Historical Association.)²⁰⁰

enormous vacuum tube, eight feet long and five feet in diameter, that could hold up to sixteen crates of lettuce. In 1946, Monterey County farmers successfully shipped the first lettuce using this system. At first, farmers shipped their produce on refrigerated bunker cars, but in the 1950s, chlorofluorocarbon (CFC) refrigeration rendered the first bunker cars obsolete.²⁰³

Developments in cold storage also occurred in the early twentieth century. In 1912, the first cold storage facility was built in Watsonville.²⁰⁴ In the early twentieth century, Croatian apple

¹⁹⁹ Mekis, *Blossoms Into Gold*, 87-88.

²⁰⁰ Clovis, *Monterey County’s North Coast and Coastal Valleys*, 84.

²⁰¹ Anderson, *The Salinas Valley: A History of America’s Salad Bowl*, 121. Barbara Krasner-Khait, “The Impact of Refrigeration,” <http://www.history-magazine.com/refrig.html> (accessed 26 May 2010).

²⁰² Anderson, 124.

²⁰³ Anderson, *The Salinas Valley: A History of America’s Salad Bowl*, 121, 124. Barbara Krasner-Khait, “The Impact of Refrigeration.”

²⁰⁴ Agricultural History Project, “Technology.”

distributors founded the Monterey County Ice and Development Company in Salinas, because no pre-cooling plants existed for storing apples and other produce. They also founded the Pajaro Valley Cold Storage Co., still in business in Watsonville.²⁰⁵

Frozen food was the next innovation to expand the North County's agricultural industry and alter the cultural landscape. Around 1941, the Pajaro Valley frozen food industry developed to meet military food demands. In 1944, the military consumed twenty million pounds of vegetables and one million pounds of fruit, including 274 refrigerated cars from Watsonville. In the late 1940s, freezers in home refrigerators became popular. In 1950, Pajaro Valley frozen food packers produced 17.5 percent of the statewide total and 3.2 per cent of the national total. By the early 1950s, the Pajaro Valley was the "frozen food center of the West," with thirteen plants processing fruits and vegetables. Five plants operated year-round and the other plants operated seasonally, processing apples, berries and artichokes. The frozen food industry first concentrated on bulk production for the military, hotels, restaurants, and hospitals, but by the mid-1950s it also produced frozen food for sale at grocery stores.²⁰⁶

All of these refrigeration-related developments were significant in the North County's agricultural history because they allowed local farmers growers to ship their products to distant markets. Businesses built new processing and distribution facilities along major North County transportation routes, adjacent to railroad tracks and main roads.

f. Research:

Research, especially in the strawberry industry, improved agricultural output in the twentieth century. Additional research by the University of California cooperative extensions, other educational institutions and independent scientists also improved production. Among other things, the Pajaro Valley strawberry industry supports a University of California fruit breeding program. The research has developed high-yield strawberry varieties for fresh market sales and for processing.²⁰⁷ Researchers improved cultural systems, including soil fumigation, annual planting, drip irrigation, fertilizers and bed size and configuration.²⁰⁸ These developments changed the type of equipment used on farms and altered the appearance of the fields.

²⁰⁵ Mekis, *Blossoms Into Gold*, 135, 144.

²⁰⁶ Agricultural History Project, "Technology." Anderson, *The Salinas Valley: A History of America's Salad Bowl*, 121, 124. Barbara Krasner-Khait, "The Impact of Refrigeration." The plants included Artichokes, Inc., Baker Food Products, California Berry Freezers, Inc., California Freezing & Cold Storage Co., Fresh Frozen Foods Corp., George F. Martin & Co., Monterey Bay Berry Growers cooperative, Frank S. Oliver & Son, N.S. Papac & Son, A.L. Ruso, Inc., Joe Valentine and Sons and Watsonville Canning Co.

²⁰⁷ "Fruit and Nut Crops," *A Guidebook to California Agriculture*, 157.

²⁰⁸ "Fruit and Nut Crops," *A Guidebook to California Agriculture*, 157, 159.

5. Agricultural Labor and Business Innovation

a. Demand-Based Agriculture:

The change from a production-based to a demand-based agricultural model fueled the North County's transition from extensive to intensive agriculture. Traditionally, family farmers had followed the subsistence agricultural model: they grew crops in "kitchen gardens" or small plots, feeding their families first and selling or bartering excess crops. As farmers began planting larger plots, they still planted the crop and amount they wanted, simply seeking a market after the harvest. This production-based method exposed the farmer to financial risks of a poor harvest, excess supply and low demand.

In the 1870s, Claus Spreckels's sugar beet factory and Croatian apple brokers devised a new demand-based model, offering contracts to farmers before they planted or harvested the crop, buying the produce outright and shifting more financial risk to themselves. These were called "blossom contracts" in the apple industry because brokers would base their contract offers on how good the apple blossoms looked. Growing a single specialty crop was deemed risky for farmers because of potential supply and demand problems, labor issues, weather and insect problems and changing freight costs. But Croatian brokers thought of crops in terms of markets and trade. Treating crops as a commodity and as a speculative large-scale investment was a revolutionary concept in the nineteenth century. Contract-based plantings became more common and farmers began limiting their crops to those for which they had contracts.²⁰⁹

The shift from a production-based to a demand-based agricultural model was significant because it accelerated the North County's transition from extensive to intensive agriculture.

b. Agricultural Financing:

As North County farmers started planting fruit instead of grains in the 1880s, San José bankers loaned them up to \$400 per acre of orchard versus \$50 per acre of wheat. Small-scale agricultural banking institutions financed new ventures, but without track records, new farmers had difficulty qualifying for bank loans. To overcome this problem, the Pajaro Valley's Croatian apple brokers creatively funded farmers with whom they had "blossom contracts" by paying part of the purchase price at the outset and paying the balance from escrow at harvest time. Local farmers, shippers and others served on bank boards in the late 1800s and early 1900s and were sympathetic to agricultural interests. In particular, the Croatian brokers were instrumental in developing the local agricultural financial industry.²¹⁰ Croatian apple distributors like M. N. and Matteo Lettunich were heavily involved in founding the Apple Investment Company and the

²⁰⁹ Mekis, *Blossoms into Gold*, 61-62, 69.

²¹⁰ Mekis, *Blossoms into Gold*, 69.

Fruit Growers National Bank.²¹¹ Many other Croatian apple distributors served on boards of local banks, like the Pajaro Valley Savings and Loan Association and Bank of America.²¹²

c. Labor Organizations:

Many immigrant agricultural workers came to the region without families and moved around the area as different crops ripened and needed harvesting. As they married or brought families from home, they settled permanently and new migrant workers replaced them. Because of language and cultural differences, a new middleman found work in agriculture: labor contractors serving as interpreters and mediators between employers and workers.²¹³ When they came to the area in the 1860s, the Chinese created the “boss” labor contracting system, centrally organizing a cheap labor pool for employers. The bosses thoroughly understood farming. The July 26, 1894 *Watsonville Pajaronian* noted that “The Chinese bosses are good judges of the coming beet crop, and they all say that the coming crop will be mammoth, and that 20 tons to the acre will be frequently reported.” They were right.²¹⁴

After the Japanese arrived in North County around 1892, they modified the Chinese boss system, using it to rise in rank from seasonal laborers to sharecroppers, renters, managers and owners. Japanese labor clubs were common by 1910 and open to anyone who could pay the annual fee. Members only participated as long as they wanted the services. Bosses negotiated with employers, determined wages (generally charging five percent as a fee), found jobs for workers, provided job information to migrant workers, traded information with other regional bosses, and expanded to neighboring counties. The clubs also negotiated land and home leases.²¹⁵ The labor contracting system encouraged workers to band together. In a June 1901 disturbance at a Spreckels sugar beet ranch in King City, Monterey County, a foreman fired eight Japanese workers. About sixty others quit immediately, expressing a preference for the Pajaro Valley, where the work was lighter, the sun cooler and the Japanese were better respected.²¹⁶

Other North County ethnic groups also organized their labor. In 1934, Luis Aguido and Damian Marcuelo established the Filipino Farm Labor Union.²¹⁷ In 1934 and 1936, Filipino unions waged strikes in the Salinas lettuce fields. From 1965-1982, the United Farm Workers (UFW) movement organized labor in the area, leading to the rise of Cesar Chavez.²¹⁸

²¹¹ Mekis, *Blossoms into Gold*, 69, 131-132. Croatian cousins M. N. and Mateo Lettunich, owners of an important packing firm, built the bank in 1914.

²¹² Mekis, *Blossoms Into Gold*, 139.

²¹³ Nakane, *Nothing Left in My Hands*, 9.

²¹⁴ Nakane, *Nothing Left in My Hands*, 24-26, 31.

²¹⁵ Nakane, *Nothing Left in My Hands*, 5, 24-25, 31-32.

²¹⁶ Nakane, *Nothing Left in My Hands*, 24-27, 32-33.

²¹⁷ Clovis, *Monterey County's North Coast and Coastal Valleys*, 86-87.

²¹⁸ Mekis, *Blossoms into Gold*, 196. Labor conflicts of this era fall outside of the time period covered here.

d. Advocacy and Social Organizations:

Agriculture is a complex, large industry with a wide influence in the professional and personal lives of local residents. Since early in the North County's agricultural history, advocacy and social organizations have promoted North County agriculture, protected the interests of local farmers and workers, encouraged children to become involved in farming, and served as community activity centers. Many organizations had overlapping functions.

In 1872, cattle ranchers, farmers and others founded the Monterey County Agricultural Society. In 1876, the Monterey Agricultural Fair Association was incorporated to "promote agriculture . . . stock raising . . . mechanics and manufactures."²²⁰ Later, organizations associated with specific crops, like the Pajaro Valley Orchardists Association and the Watsonville Apple Growers Association, addressed issues specific to their line of business.²²¹

Nationwide, the grange system is one of the best-known agricultural advocacy and social organizations and it is well-represented in the North County.

Founded in 1867, the Order of Patrons of Husbandry (now the National Grange) was America's first agricultural fraternity, although it was open to men, women and youth equally. It emphasizes service to agriculture, the community and the country and encourages members to use the democratic process to shape local, state and national policies that impact agriculture.²²² At the California State Grange's first convention in 1873, members proposed legislation to reduce railroad fares, freights and port charges and to develop irrigation. The members also sought to establish a cooperative trade system and to organize banks that would offer farmers reasonable loans. In 1929, the California State Grange became the first statewide organization to advocate for building the Shasta Dam, to conserve water for irrigating the Sacramento and San Joaquin valleys.²²³ The North County has granges in Aromas (founded



The Aromas Pig Club, which became a 4-H Club. The man standing behind the word "Aromas" may be Pajaro Valley farmer James Rowe, who founded it in 1918. His intensive farmstead at 1767 San Juan Road (house designed by William Weeks, 1900) is listed in the Monterey County Register. (Courtesy of Monterey County Agricultural and Rural Life Museum.)²¹⁹

²¹⁹ Clovis, *Monterey County's North Coast and Coastal Valleys*, 122.

²²⁰ Johnston, *Old Monterey County: A Pictorial History*, 77, 89.

²²¹ Mekis, *Blossoms Into Gold*, 106-107, 144.

²²² California State Grange, "What is the Grange?," (Sacramento, CA: California State Grange, 2010), http://www.californiagrangeneet/what_grange.html, accessed 13 June 2010.

²²³ California State Grange, "History: National Grange," (Sacramento, CA: California State Grange, 2010), <http://www.californiagrangeneet/history.html>, accessed 13 June 2010. California State Grange, "What is the Grange?"

1913), Prunedale (founded 1920) and Springfield (founded 1933), which are discussed in *Chapter 5: Historic Themes, Associated Property Types, Eligibility Criteria and Integrity Thresholds*.²²⁴

Some organizations served agricultural workers in both Monterey County and Santa Cruz County, and were likely located in Watsonville. Other organizations are associated with particular ethnic groups who worked in the local agricultural industry. For example, Japanese labor clubs founded in the early 1900s located agricultural jobs for members, negotiated labor contracts, determined wages, aided members with financial and personal transactions, offered lodging and served as a social meeting place. The Japanese Language School in Castroville (11199 Geil Street; listed in the National Register and the Monterey County Register) and the Chinese School in Pajaro (18 Brooklyn Street; listed in the Monterey County Register) taught the children of immigrant agricultural workers the language and culture of their homelands and served as community meeting places. Chapter 5 describes the Japanese Language School in more depth.

In 1894, the Pajaro Valley Croatians founded a branch of San José's Austrian Benevolent Society in Watsonville, a social service group. Four years later, they founded their own Austrian-American Benevolent Society.²²⁵ Portuguese residents built a large social hall on Lester McGowan's property in the Pajaro Valley's Trafton District.²²⁶ Additional research is necessary to determine whether the buildings associated with these groups still exist.

North County advocacy and social organizations welcomed children as members, many of whom likely worked in the agricultural industry as adults. Both the Aromas Pig Club (later the 4-H Club) and the Pajaro Poultry Club encouraged children to take responsibility for raising farm animals. The grange halls in the North County also offer membership to local youth.

Other North County social organizations likely had many members who were engaged in agriculture. Examples of social groups in Castroville alone include the Native Sons of Castroville, Masons, Modern Woodmen of America, Odd Fellows, Young Men's Institute and Legionnaires.²²⁸ Future research should



Pajaro Poultry Club member Irene Davis with her flock, ca. 1932. She earned more than \$23 profit from her purchase of 50 day-old chicks. (Courtesy of Monterey County Agricultural and Rural Life Museum.)²²⁷

²²⁴ Church, *Historical Notes of North Monterey County With a History of Hidden Valley*, 5.

²²⁵ Mekis, *Blossoms Into Gold*, 96, 161.

²²⁶ Agricultural History Project, "Life in Early Days of Mud Flats, Recalled by Mollie Williamson," *Agricultural History Project Newsletter* (Watsonville, CA: Agricultural History Project, April 1989), 3.

²²⁷ Clovis, *Monterey County's North Coast and Coastal Valleys*, 86.

examine whether buildings associated with these groups may be significant for their association with the region's agricultural history.

These advocacy and social organizations are significant to the North County's agricultural history because they are associated with the transition of local agriculture from small family farms to farming on an industrial scale. This transition required additional workers, who banded together to further their labor interests, promote agriculture, or maintain cultural ties. As they were financial able, they built grange halls, schools and community meeting houses in the North County. Chapter 5 discusses buildings associated with the North County's advocacy and social organizations.

G. North County Agricultural Products

This section describes some of the major agricultural products that North County ranchers and farmers sent to the market during the American Settlement and Agricultural Expansion period. To connect the North County's agricultural products with the five historic themes that illustrate the North County's agricultural history, this section divides agricultural products into the two main categories of agriculture: extensive and intensive agriculture.

Where appropriate, this section and the next section (North County Labor: Ethnicity and Cultural Diversity) describe the ethnic and cultural groups that worked in North County agriculture as well as their association with particular agricultural products or innovations. *Chapter 5: Historic Themes, Associated Property Types, Eligibility Criteria and Integrity Thresholds* contains a more detailed discussion of the significant people, events and extant historic properties associated with each theme.

The 1908 map on the next page shows the boundaries and owners of some of the Pajaro Valley properties discussed in this historic context statement.



Hugo Tottino loads a truck with artichokes at the California Artichoke & Vegetable Corporation, which his family co-founded with other Italian families in 1924.²²⁹ The company is now called Ocean Mist and still operates in Castroville.

²²⁸ Clovis, *Monterey County's North Coast and Coastal Valleys*, 14, 29, 34.

²²⁹ Clovis, *Monterey County's North Coast and Coastal Valleys*, 23.



1908 map of Pajaro Valley property boundaries and owners. ("Map of the Pajaro Valley, Santa Cruz County California," C.B. Lewis, Deputy County Surveyor, 1908. Courtesy of Pajaro Valley Historical Association.)

1. Extensive Agriculture (ca. 1850-1960)

The extensive agriculture (animals and crops that require a low level of labor and capital relative to the size of the farmed area, like cattle grazing and grain production) begun during the Spanish and Mexican periods continued to dominate North County farms in the American Settlement and Agricultural Expansion period. In the mid-nineteenth century, the Pajaro Valley was “one great meadow . . . covered with wild oats, clover and other grasses. Mustard grew so high that oftentimes a man on horseback could not see over it.”²³⁰ Farmers gradually converted open grazing lands to fenced fields of barley, wheat, hay, oats, potatoes and beans, which helped feed the burgeoning population.²³¹ Fencing the land marked a change in the cultural landscape by physically marking property boundaries.

Newcomers were discouraged by California’s dry summers and wet winters, but they persevered and North County grain and vegetable production increased by the early 1850s.²³² During this period, North County agriculture mainly consisted of large ranchos, small farms and subsistence family farms engaged in extensive agriculture like ranching, dairying and growing grains.

The extensive agriculture practiced in the North County is significant because it was a principal factor in transforming the relatively open, sparsely populated natural landscape into a productive agricultural landscape. Agriculture is still the bedrock of the North County’s economy. Many North County communities developed in association with the growth of extensive agriculture, including Castroville, Moss Landing, Pajaro and Aromas. Several important individuals were associated with the North County’s extensive agriculture, including Juan Castro, Charles Moss, Cato Vierra and many others. During the North County’s extensive agriculture heyday, land use patterns changed as rancho owners carved their large land grants into smaller, fenced farm parcels and new shipping networks (via waterways and railroads) developed. Farmers engaged in extensive agriculture built farmsteads that still dot the North County cultural landscape today.

²³⁰ Edward H. Lorenson, *Watsonville Evening Pajaronian*, 14 October 1916.

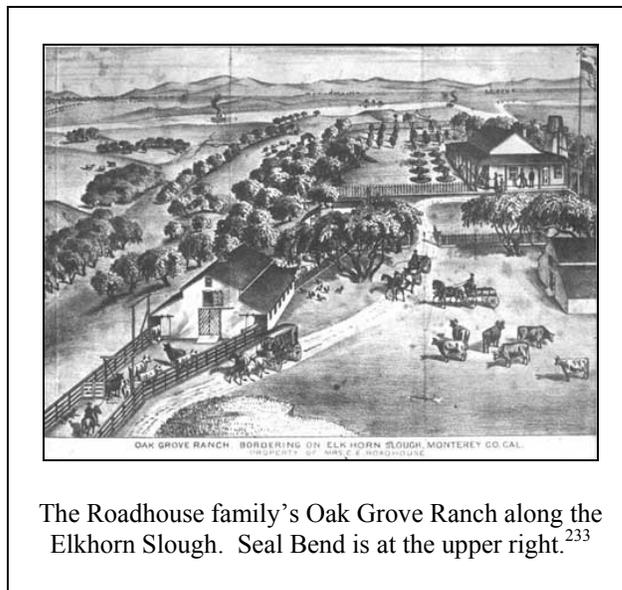
²³¹ Donna F. Mekis and Kathryn Mekis Miller, *Blossoms into Gold: The Croatians in the Pajaro Valley* (Capitola: Capitola Book Company, 2009), xxii.

²³² Nuckton, *et al.*, “California Agriculture: The Human Story,” *A Guidebook to California Agriculture*, 11.

a. **Cattle Ranching:**

By 1849, enormous herds of black Spanish cattle roamed freely over the large, unfenced Spanish and Mexican land grants in Monterey County.²³⁴ Cattle ranching flourished from 1849 to 1865 but then declined in favor of crop agriculture.²³⁵ This transition happened when supply matched demand in the mid-1850s; rancho owners subdivided or lost their land grants; breeders introduced improved American livestock to the market; and drought and floods killed thousands of cattle.²³⁶

At the beginning of the American Settlement and Agricultural Expansion period, the Gold Rush increased cattle values to about \$1.50 each but by 1856, the market was saturated and the price dropped to less than fifty cents each.²³⁷ Monterey County ranchers owned 90,450 cattle in 1862, but only 41,847 by 1875.²³⁸ The intervening years were harsh. From 1861-1865, thirty days of rain and then thirty months of extreme drought killed more than 75,000 Salinas Valley cattle.²³⁹ This disaster forced ranchers to shift from raising cattle to growing crops and led cattle rancher Juan Castro to subdivide his rancho and found the town of Castroville in 1863-64.²⁴⁰



The Roadhouse family's Oak Grove Ranch along the Elkhorn Slough. Seal Bend is at the upper right.²³³

Ranchers grazed cattle all over the North County, including in the Pajaro and Salinas Valleys, on coastal land south of the Pajaro River down to the Castroville vicinity, on the interior hills between Moss Landing and Prunedale and on hills in the southeast. In 1852, English rancher Joseph Roadhouse bought 800 acres along the Elkhorn Slough, where he built a home and raised cattle and race horses. The slough was initially named Roadhouse Slough, but Roadhouse

²³³ Elkhorn Slough Foundation, "History of Elkhorn Slough, 1852."

²³⁴ Fink, *Monterey: The Presence of the Past*, 136. Mekis, *Blossoms Into Gold*, 45.

²³⁵ Johnston, *Old Monterey County: A Pictorial History*, 59.

²³⁶ Robert B. Johnston, "A Brief History of Southern Monterey County," *News from the Monterey County Historical Society* (Salinas, CA: Monterey County Historical Society, May 2002), 8.

²³⁷ Jackson, "Prunedale?," *North Monterey County Fortnightly*.

²³⁸ Johnston, *Old Monterey County: A Pictorial History*, 75.

²³⁹ Jackson, "Prunedale?," *North Monterey County Fortnightly*. During the 1862 floods, the mouth of the Salinas River was a mile wide, likely drowning many cattle. Gordon, *Monterey Bay Area: Natural History and Cultural Imprints*, 236.

²⁴⁰ Johnston, "A Brief History of Southern Monterey County," 8.

allegedly renamed it after the shape of an elk's horn.²⁴¹ In 1867, Azores Islands native Cato Vierra, best known as the construction engineer who built Moss Landing's wharf and warehouses, also owned a 1,000-acre cattle ranch.²⁴²

Chinese workers arrived in the area in the mid-1860s. By 1866, they (and later the Japanese) worked on reclamation projects to drain swampy areas of the North County for agricultural use, including sloughs, lakes and marshes around Castroville and wetlands around the Elkhorn and Moro Cojo sloughs.²⁴³ The reclaimed land was first used primarily for livestock grazing.²⁴⁴

Irish immigrants James and Mary Kirby started buying a great deal of North County property in 1870, eventually more than 5,500 acres. The family raised cattle, pigs, chickens and bees, and grew oat hay, leaf mold, firewood, apricots, sweet corn and tomatoes. Much of their land was in the Hall District (now Las Lomas), Hidden Valley and Strawberry Valley, generally located between Hall, San Miguel Canyon, Long Valley and Elkhorn roads. Around World War I, the Kirbys subdivided their property and conveyed it to their children in smaller parcels.²⁴⁵ The Nature Conservancy, Elkhorn Slough Foundation and Elkhorn Slough National Estuarine Reserve have permanently preserved much of the Kirby family's former cattle grazing land.²⁴⁶

The North County currently has a few cattle operations, mostly in the eastern hills along San Juan Grade Road.

b. Dairying:

California's temperate climate allowed North County farmers to raise cows for about sixty percent of what it cost East Coast farmers, because it was cheaper to house and feed them out west. Feed costs were relatively low because crops grow year-round. In colder climates, it is very expensive to feed animals in the winter. Local cows ate 100,000 tons of sugar beet pulp annually as well as alfalfa. Dairying increased as farmers devoted more acres to alfalfa. The mild climate also allowed cows to live outside throughout the year rather than in barns.²⁴⁷ Thus, the climate impacted the cultural landscape: because North County dairies did not require large barns to house herds, the cow barns typical built in colder climates were generally not built here.

²⁴¹ Clovis, *Monterey County's North Coast and Coastal Valleys*, 38. Elkhorn Slough Foundation, "History of Elkhorn Slough, 1852" (Moss Landing, CA: Elkhorn Slough Foundation, 2010), <http://www.elkhornslough.org/history/1852.htm>, accessed 1 May 2010.

²⁴² Clovis, *Monterey County's North Coast and Coastal Valleys*, 40. Horace W. Fabing and Rick Hamman, *Steinbeck Country Narrow Gauge* (Boulder, CO: Pruett Publishing Company, 1985), 4.

²⁴³ Nakane, *Nothing Left in My Hands*, 10. Mekis, *Blossoms into Gold*, xxii. Clovis, *Monterey County's North Coast and Coastal Valleys*, 26. Clovis, *Monterey County's North Coast and Coastal Valleys*, 7, 9, 18, 19.

²⁴⁴ *North County Land Use Plan*, 45-46.

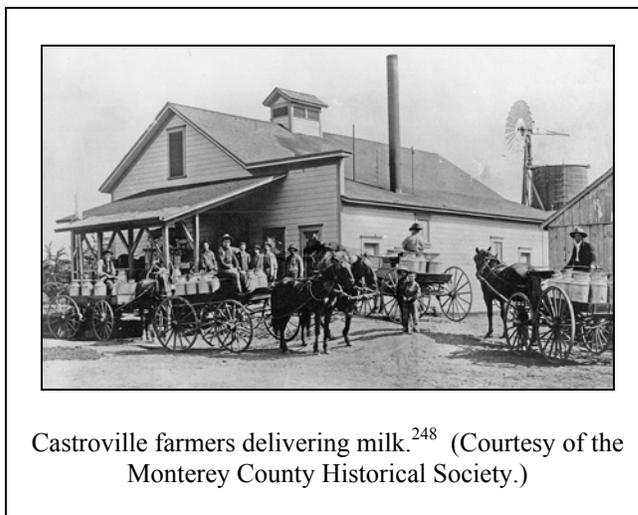
²⁴⁵ Church, *Historical Notes of North Monterey County With a History of Hidden Valley*, 4-8, 56.

²⁴⁶ Elkhorn Slough Foundation, "Elkhorn Slough Protected Lands," <http://www.elkhornslough.org/protected.htm>. Elkhorn Slough Foundation, "Farmers See Stewardship Working: Azevedo Ranch, before and after ten years of stewardship," <http://www.elkhornslough.org/newsletter/news0304.htm#restoration>.

²⁴⁷ Dunn, *Monterey County, California*, 7-8, 10, 21-22.

From 1900 to 1911, Monterey County produced almost 7.4 million pounds of butter and 10.7 million pounds of cheese. In 1915, the county had about 20,000 dairy cows, forty-five creameries, and one evaporated milk plant. The county produced fifteen percent of California's cheese. Dairying was a major North County industry; both the Salinas and Pajaro valleys were dairy centers, with the latter "especially . . . adapted for dairying, the climate being absolutely ideal in every respect." Dairymen fed milk by-products (whey and buttermilk) to their calves and pigs.²⁴⁹

In the North County, dairies thrived in the Pajaro and Salinas Valleys, particularly in Castroville, near the Elkhorn Slough and in the Springfield District north of Moss Landing. Founded in 1897, the Castroville Cooperative Creamery was the county's first creamery. The Royal Creamery bought it before World War II and moved it to Salinas.²⁵⁰ By 1881, San Francisco banker J. Henry Mayers (elsewhere identified as "Meyer") had a mansion a short distance from Castroville, where he grew grain and prospered with his Elkhorn Dairy, which supplied all of Stanford University's milk for a time.²⁵¹ By 1902, the Watsonville Creamery operated on San Juan Road in Pajaro.²⁵² Castroville's Del Monte Junction Creamery made award-winning butter by 1915.²⁵³ Today, the Moon Glow Dairy (1957) in Moss Landing is the North County's only active dairy.



c. Grains:

As the Land Commission adjudicated claims and rancho owners divided their land into smaller parcels, crop production surpassed cattle grazing as the primary land use.²⁵⁴ Wheat demand rose during and after the Gold Rush, expanding as the Civil War opened markets, and farmers planted wheat, barley and other grains in the Salinas and Pajaro valleys for decades.²⁵⁵ Partly because of

²⁴⁸ Clovis, *Monterey County's North Coast and Coastal Valleys*, 20.

²⁴⁹ Dunn, *Monterey County, California*, 2, 21, 23. Clovis, *Monterey County's North Coast and Coastal Valleys*, 20.

²⁵⁰ Clovis, *Monterey County's North Coast and Coastal Valleys*, 20. Subsequent owners included the Golden State Milk Company and the Foremost Company.

²⁵¹ Clovis, *Monterey County's North Coast and Coastal Valleys*, 53. *History of Monterey County*, 112 and illustration after page 24.

²⁵² Sanborn Fire Insurance map of Pajaro, 1902. County of Monterey Historical File: Pajaro Survey.

²⁵³ Dunn, *Monterey County, California*, 23.

²⁵⁴ Fink, *Monterey: The Presence of the Past*, 138.

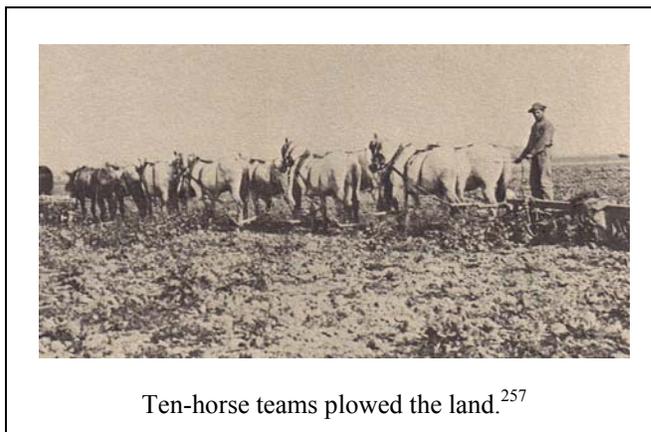
²⁵⁵ Dunn, *Monterey County, California*, 5. Nakane, *Nothing Left in My Hands*, 6. Johnston, *Old Monterey County: A Pictorial History*, 75.

the lack of summer rains or significant irrigation, farmers grew winter grains into the beginning of the American period.²⁵⁶

By 1861, vast, treeless, unfenced grain fields covered the area.²⁵⁸ In 1862, farmers cultivated almost 20,000 Monterey County acres, including 5,350 wheat acres.²⁵⁹ By 1867, California farmers grew oats. By 1869, wheat, barley and oats were the Pajaro Valley's primary crops.²⁶⁰ Hill-grown wheat was "clear and free from rust" and considered superior to valley wheat.²⁶¹ In 1873, local farmers produced 4.5 million tons of wheat, barley, oats, beans and potatoes, shipping daily loads to Moss Landing.²⁶² Two years later, Monterey County farmers cultivated more than 130,000 acres, including almost 100,000 acres in wheat.²⁶³ The 1875 *Watsonville Pajaronian* noted that the Pajaro Depot had "tier upon tier of valuable grain piled nearly to the roof twenty feet high," showing "the great productiveness of the valley."²⁶⁴ However, grain crops suffered through drought and floods in the 1870s and 1880s.²⁶⁵

The *Directory of the Town of Watsonville for 1873* observed that the "rich little [Pajaro] valley has long been noted for the immense crops of grain and other products which it annually yields.

. . . This is really garden land, and the adjoining hills and canyons are good grain land." In the North County, grain fields covered the Pajaro Valley, including along San Juan Road and in the town of Aromas. In 1873, Daniel Tuttle had some of the best land in the valley, including wheat and sugar beet fields, and George Pardee had about 160 acres of good grain land near the beach.²⁶⁶ The area between Castroville and Salinas also contained extensive grain fields.²⁶⁷



Ten-horse teams plowed the land.²⁵⁷

Several mills were located in and around the North County. Castroville had a flour and grain mill by 1868.²⁶⁸ The Farmers Flouring Mill in Watsonville processed local grains.²⁶⁹ Charles

²⁵⁶ Nuckton, *et al.*, "California Agriculture: The Human Story," *A Guidebook to California Agriculture*, 11.

²⁵⁷ Johnston, *Old Monterey County: A Pictorial History*, 77.

²⁵⁸ Mekis, *Blossoms Into Gold*, 47.

²⁵⁹ Johnston, *Old Monterey County: A Pictorial History*, 75.

²⁶⁰ Members of the Department of Agronomy and Range Science, U.C. Davis, "Field Crops," *A Guidebook to California Agriculture* (Berkeley, CA: University of California Press, 1983), 115. Mekis, *Blossoms Into Gold*, 49.

²⁶¹ Martin, *Directory of the Town of Watsonville for 1873*, 44.

²⁶² Mekis, *Blossoms into Gold*, 66.

²⁶³ Johnston, *Old Monterey County: A Pictorial History*, 75.

²⁶⁴ Clovis, *Monterey County's North Coast and Coastal Valleys*, 69.

²⁶⁵ Johnston, *Old Monterey County: A Pictorial History*, 91.

²⁶⁶ Martin, *Directory of the Town of Watsonville for 1873*, 44.

²⁶⁷ "First Crops Brought Name 'Spud Valley'," *Watsonville Register-Pajaronian*.

Thomas's Pajaro Street mill could produce 100 barrels of flour in twenty-four hours.²⁷⁰ William Brumwell built the Salinas Flour Mill in 1870-71, north of the future Southern Pacific Railroad depot and west of Natividad Street.²⁷¹

Chinese workers labored in the grain fields, replacing the Ohlones.²⁷² The *Directory of the Town of Watsonville for 1873* noted that "[b]inding in the harvest fields seems by common consent to have been turned over to the Chinese, white laborers not caring particularly for this kind of work." Paying the Chinese about \$1.50 per acre, farmers employed many of them during the harvest season and throughout the year. Still, they said they "prefer white labor but are compelled to accept Chinese labor," reflecting the same type of racial discrimination that forced the Chinese to move from the Watsonville Chinatown to a new Pajaro Chinatown in 1888.²⁷³

California wheat production peaked around 1885, surpassing barley and oats. By 1888, California was the nation's second-biggest wheat producer.²⁷⁴ But wheat production declined after 1890 when soils became depleted, disease harmed crops, farmers started growing intensive irrigated crops, foreign markets declined, and Argentina, Russia and India became competitive wheat producers.²⁷⁵ Faced with these challenges, Pajaro and Salinas Valley rancho owners subdivided their land into smaller parcels, often twenty acres or fewer, for sale or lease.²⁷⁶ Even so, Monterey County was one of California's principal grain producers in 1915. At that point, Salinas Valley farmers grew mostly barley, wheat and oats. Eastern breweries bought most of the local barley and King City in the South County shipped most of the grain.²⁷⁷

One of the most unusual remnants of the North County's extensive agriculture is the Ellingwood Hay Company's barn at 1000 Highway 101 in Aromas. In 1945, the Ellingwood Hay Company built the 20,000 square foot steel-framed hay barn.²⁷⁸ Leon's Machine Works, Inc. of Watsonville used more than 22,000 pounds of aluminum and 100 tons of steel; Kaiser Permanente supplied some of each. More than 200 feet long, 100 feet wide and fifty-three feet high, the barn held about 5,000 tons of hay.²⁷⁹ It is still a major landmark along the highway.

²⁶⁸ Johnston, *Old Monterey County: A Pictorial History*, 80.

²⁶⁹ Mekis, *Blossoms Into Gold*, 70.

²⁷⁰ Martin, *Directory of the Town of Watsonville for 1873*, 21-22.

²⁷¹ Johnston, *Old Monterey County: A Pictorial History*, 79.

²⁷² Mekis, *Blossoms into Gold*, xxii.

²⁷³ Martin, *Directory of the Town of Watsonville for 1873*, 55-56, 58.

²⁷⁴ "Field Crops," *A Guidebook to California Agriculture*, 111-112.

²⁷⁵ "Field Crops," *A Guidebook to California Agriculture*, 113. Mekis, *Blossoms Into Gold*, 71.

²⁷⁶ Mekis, *Blossoms Into Gold*, 71.

²⁷⁷ Dunn, *Monterey County, California*, 5.

²⁷⁸ Kent Seavey, "DPR Form 523A: Ellingwood Hay Company Barn" (Pacific Grove, CA: Kent Seavey, 2009), 1.

²⁷⁹ "Big as a Barn Or Cozy as a Cottage." *The Permanente News*. Oakland, CA: The Permanente Metals Corporation, December 1947.

d. Other Extensive Crops:

When the Gold Rush began, farmers sought a fast profit from miners and hotels. Seen as a scurvy cure or preventative, potatoes were a prized crop and North County farmers grew it extensively.²⁸⁰ In 1851, J. Bryant Hill planted the first Pajaro Valley potatoes on 1,000 Santa Cruz County acres. Disillusioned miners moved to the Pajaro Valley to replicate his success, but the 1853 crop overwhelmed the market and many farmers were financially ruined. Some recovered and planted wheat and other crops.²⁸¹ Other North County farmers continued to grow potatoes over the years. A. S. Richardson grew potatoes in the Pajaro Valley by 1873.²⁸² Farmers also planted potatoes in Springfield. In 1925, the King family bought land from the Kirbys and grew potatoes, and later popcorn and Christmas trees, at 377 and 385 Hidden Valley Road.²⁸³ Farmers also grew potatoes and beans in the Elkhorn area around 1914 and around Castroville.²⁸⁴ After 1914, the Wells family grew potatoes on their eighty acre parcel on Elkhorn Road.²⁸⁵ In 1915, Monterey County promotional materials claimed that the Salinas Valley “excels the world in potato raising,” particularly the Salinas Burbank potato.²⁸⁶

North County residents also raised chickens, goats, pigs, sheep, bees and other animals.²⁸⁷ Bees pollinate apple trees and Aromas orchard owners kept bee “drinking fountains” in the trees so the bees would not have to travel between the trees and the Pajaro River to drink.²⁸⁸ Landrum & Rodgers raised sheep and Angora goats in the Pajaro Valley by 1873.²⁸⁹ In the nineteenth century, local bees produced a fine sage honey from the black or California sage covering the North County hills. After 1900, manzanita began displacing the sage and honey production declined.²⁹⁰ Three varieties of manzanita grow in North County. During World War II, North County resident Robert Blohm sold manzanita bulbs to be made into smoking pipes.²⁹¹

By 1850, ornamental eucalyptus trees were sold in San Francisco. From the 1860s to the 1890s, Californians planted many eucalyptus trees, thinking the hardwood would make good furniture. However, curing the wood and marketing it were problematic. Instead, the trees became an important fuel source. In the early 1870s, some doctors incorrectly believed that eucalyptus could eradicate malaria and so the U.S. Department of Forestry and California Board of Forestry began distributing the so-called “Fever Destroying Tree” for that purpose. By 1874, about

²⁸⁰ Holliday, *Rush for Riches*, 133.

²⁸¹ “First Crops Brought Name ‘Spud Valley’,” *Watsonville Register-Pajaronian*, 2 July 1952. Nakane, *Nothing Left in My Hands*, 6.

²⁸² Martin, *Directory of the Town of Watsonville for 1873*, 44.

²⁸³ Church, *Historical Notes of North Monterey County With a History of Hidden Valley*, 9.

²⁸⁴ “Prunedale,” *North County News*, February 27, 1980. Clovis, *Images of America: Monterey County’s North Coast and Coastal Valleys*, 30.

²⁸⁵ Dugdale, “North County develops: They grow houses instead of Prunes,” *Salinas Californian*.

²⁸⁶ Dunn, *Monterey County, California*, 5.

²⁸⁷ Church, *Historical Notes of North Monterey County With a History of Hidden Valley*, 5, 8.

²⁸⁸ Gordon, *Monterey Bay Area: Natural History and Cultural Imprints*, 211-212.

²⁸⁹ Martin, *Directory of the Town of Watsonville for 1873*, 44.

²⁹⁰ Church, *Historical Notes of North Monterey County With a History of Hidden Valley*, 1.

²⁹¹ Church, *Historical Notes of North Monterey County With a History of Hidden Valley*, 2.

1,000,000 eucalyptus trees grew in California.²⁹² Between 1900 and 1930, North County farmers again planted eucalyptus trees as a crop.²⁹³ Planted from 1911-1920 for furniture use, the eucalyptus grove along Highway 101 east of Aromas is the largest in North America. Because eucalyptus trees do not spread far from where they are planted, the grove retains the sharp rectangular outline it had originally. Trees harvested from there have been used for firewood and cardboard.²⁹⁴ After Prunedale farmers stopped growing apples, they planted eucalyptus trees but found that the hard and dense wood cracked, making it a poor wood for making furniture. Instead of using the trees for furniture, the growers cut it for firewood, causing erosion problems. In 1929, the agricultural commissioner convinced them to replace the eucalyptus trees with fir trees.²⁹⁵ As part of a Depression-era project, the Civilian Conservation Corps also planted fir trees around the North County.²⁹⁶

Even the smallest agricultural products played a role in the North County's agricultural history. In the mid-twentieth century, North County farmers harvested leaf mold by hand from the decayed leaves of coastal live oaks. Nurseries and home gardeners, especially begonia and fern growers, used the leaf mold. From the late-1930s to the mid-1960s, about 25,000 cubic yards of leaf mold were harvested in Long Canyon or Long Valley.²⁹⁷ Long Canyon was the southernmost property of the James Kirby Company and it lies between Elkhorn Slough Foundation land on the east end and residential properties on the west end.²⁹⁸ Demand for leaf mold was already high before World War II but increased significantly as post-war development accelerated. By 1963, treated sawdust largely replaced leaf mold as a soil amendment. The Kirby family sold leaf mold from their land in the Strawberry Valley area.²⁹⁹

²⁹² Gordon, *Monterey Bay Area: Natural History and Cultural Imprints*, 78-79.

²⁹³ "Prunedale," *North County News*, 27 February 1980. Ornamental eucalyptus is still a Monterey County nursery crop. Donald L. Dahlsten, *et al.*, "Biological control of the blue gum psyllid proves economically beneficial," *California Agriculture* 52(1):35-40, January-February 1998, <http://californiaagriculture.ucanr.org/landingpage.cfm?article=ca.v052n01p35&fulltext=yes> (accessed July 6, 2010).

²⁹⁴ Gordon, *Monterey Bay Area: Natural History and Cultural Imprints*, 81-82. In Alfred Hitchcock's 1958 movie *Vertigo*, Jimmy Stewart and Kim Novak's characters drive through the eucalyptus grove on Highway 101.

²⁹⁵ Jackson, "Prunedale?," *North Monterey County Fortnighter*. Cynthia Hibbard, "Alice Crouch: California's First Real Christmas Tree Farmer," *North County News*, 21 December 1977.

²⁹⁶ Cynthia Hibbard, "Alice Crouch: California's First Real Christmas Tree Farmer," *North County News*. Cynthia Hibbard, "Christmas Tree Farms Dot North County Land," *North County News*, date unknown. Dugdale, "North County develops: They grow houses instead of Prunes," *Salinas Californian. Progress*, Prunedale, CA: Prunedale Chamber of Commerce, May 1996. Today, growers in Prunedale focus on Christmas trees, strawberries and mushrooms. Jackson, "Prunedale?," *North Monterey County Fortnighter*.

²⁹⁷ Church, *Historical Notes of North Monterey County With a History of Hidden Valley*, 6.

²⁹⁸ Church, *Historical Notes of North Monterey County With a History of Hidden Valley*, 6.

²⁹⁹ Church, *Historical Notes of North Monterey County With a History of Hidden Valley*, 2, 4.

2. Intensive Agriculture (ca. 1870-1960)

Starting in the 1870s, intensive agriculture began replacing extensive agriculture in the North County. Intensive agriculture applies a relatively high level of labor, capital and technology (including irrigation, horticultural research and technical expertise) to crop production. Some of the North County's most important intensive crops have included berries, apples, lettuce and artichokes.³⁰⁰ As the twentieth century progressed, the number of family farms dropped and agriculture entered the industrial age with large commercial operations dominating production.³⁰¹

Several factors contributed to the transition from extensive to intensive agriculture. Farmers realized that the area's mild climate and long growing season were conducive to growing fruit.³⁰² When the Southern Pacific Railroad extended its line into the North County, it expanded the communities of Aromas, Pajaro, Elkhorn and Castroville. Growers and shippers built packing houses along the rail line to facilitate distribution to distant markets. New workers, including many different ethnic groups, arrived by rail to fill the increasing demand for agricultural labor.³⁰³ With new labor available, farmers quickly cultivated more acres.³⁰⁴ Entrepreneurs introduced new crops and pesticides, as well as creative growing, packing, distribution and marketing methods. Irrigation increased, eliminating reliance on unpredictable rainfall. As growers learned that crops were suited to specific soils and climactic zones, specialization and diversification followed.³⁰⁵ All of these changes modified the cultural landscape.

Into the twentieth century, large farms still outnumbered small family farms. A 1908 Pajaro Valley map (see the beginning of Section G, above) shows how large the tracts were. In 1915, a local author noted that this situation "resulted in many tracts being rented, and has had a tendency to hold back the more rapid development of the county" But times were changing and ". . . owners of large tracts are yielding to the inevitable, and many of them are cutting up their unwieldy tracts and selling them to settlers who show a disposition to add to the wealth of the county by adhering to the rules of intensive farming."³⁰⁶ However, the prime North County agricultural land never really became small parcels, especially as industrial agriculture took over in the twentieth century. Comparing a 1908 Pajaro Valley map and a 2010 aerial view shows a remarkable consistency in parcel boundaries over the last century. (See Section F.2, above).

Intensive agriculture is significant in the North County's agricultural history because it prompted the booming expansion of the local agricultural economy. Businesses involved in intensive

³⁰⁰ Steven Stoll, *The Fruits of Natural Advantage*, xiii-xiv.

³⁰¹ Stoll, *The Fruits of Natural Advantage*, xii.

³⁰² Members of the Pomology and Viticulture Departments, U.C. Davis, and Fruit and Nut Specialists and Farm Advisors, Cooperative Extension, "Fruit and Nut Crops," *A Guidebook to California Agriculture* (Berkeley, CA: University of California Press, 1983), 135.

³⁰³ Johnston, "A Brief History of Southern Monterey County."

³⁰⁴ Lawrence J. Jelinek, *Harvest Empire: A History of California Agriculture* (San Francisco: Boyd and Fraser Publishing Company, 1979), 52.

³⁰⁵ Johnston, *Old Monterey County: A Pictorial History*, 77.

³⁰⁶ Dunn, *Monterey County, California*, 7.

agriculture modified the cultural landscape by constructing new processing and distribution facilities, as well as worker housing to accommodate the large labor force. Intensive agricultural operations also neglected, demolished, or adaptively used buildings that previously supported extensive agricultural operations. Case-by-case analysis of individual buildings is necessary to determine how and when the buildings changed to accommodate different agricultural practices.

a. Hops:

Hops were a popular but risky crop in the Pajaro Valley, profitable when they sold but requiring skilled labor to grow, dry and press for the market. The first Pajaro Valley hop yard was planted in 1866 and grew to fifty acres by 1868. Hops remained popular until the 1880s, with more than 400 acres and enough production to supply the whole state, by some estimates. In 1890-91, production costs exceeded sale prices. When apple trees matured between the rows of hops, farmers removed the hops. In the North County, hops grew on M. B. Tuttle's San Juan Road property, on Charles Smith's land near Aromas, and on Austin Smith's property.³⁰⁷

b. Sugar Beets:

By the 1870s, local farmers planted sugar beets, the first intensive crop grown on a large scale in Monterey County. In November 1887, Claus Spreckels offered seeds and technology to Pajaro Valley farmers if they agreed to cultivate 2,937 acres of sugar beets. He was confident that the Pajaro and Salinas Valleys would produce large yields of beets, which could be made into refined sugar. In December 1887, Watsonville citizens contributed \$13,140 and a site for America's largest sugar beet factory. Built in 1888, the Western Beet Sugar Company's plant was a boon to Watsonville and local farmers. The first harvest was in 1889, with the Pajaro Valley's rich alluvial soil producing sugar percentages higher than any beets in the world.³⁰⁸ Spreckels offered annual planting contracts to Pajaro Valley farmers to guarantee enough beets for his factory, paying farmers by the ton (based on sugar content) and also paying rail freight to the factory.³⁰⁹ He leased sugar beet land to Pajaro Valley and Castroville farmers, among others. The first Japanese came to the Pajaro Valley around 1892 and most worked in the beet fields until the end of the 1800s, although others stayed longer.³¹⁰ Toshi Murata's Japanese family lived in the Castroville area in the early 1920s, working on 250 sugar beet acres.³¹¹

Spreckels's choice to invest in the region was a main factor easing the transition from extensive wheat farming to intensive, specialty crop production. Many Pajaro and Salinas Valley agricultural workers found jobs related to Spreckels's sugar beet empire. Between Spreckels and his competitors, California's sugar beet production skyrocketed from 5.2 million pounds in 1889

³⁰⁷ Martin, *Directory of the Town of Watsonville for 1873*, 44. "Area's last hop field is torn out," *Watsonville Register-Pajaronian*, 2 July 1952. "First Crops Brought Name 'Spud Valley'," *Watsonville Register-Pajaronian*.

³⁰⁸ Horace W. Fabing and Rick Hamman, *Steinbeck Country Narrow Gauge*, 26-27.

³⁰⁹ Mekis, *Blossoms Into Gold*, 66. Dunn, *Monterey County, California*, 24. Betty Lewis, *W. H. Weeks: Architect* (Fresno, CA: Pioneer Publishing Company, 1989, Second Edition).

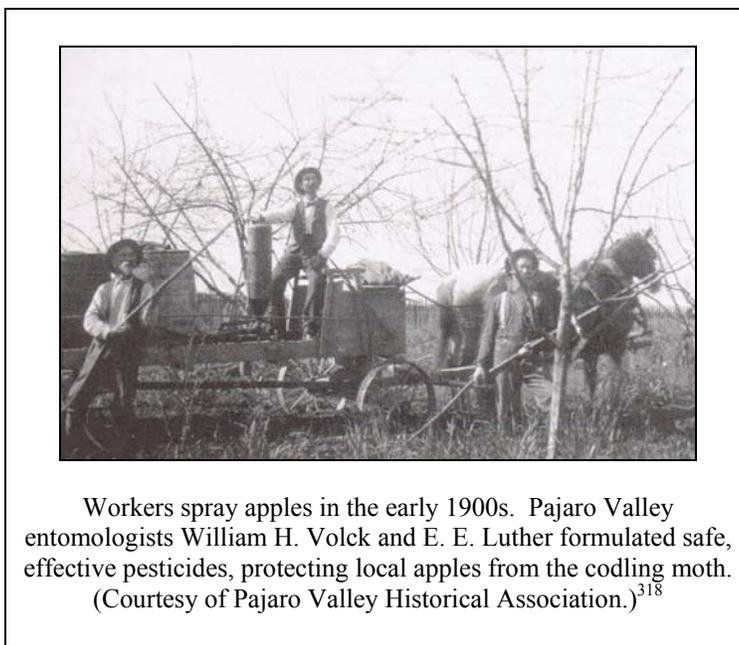
³¹⁰ Nakane, *Nothing Left in My Hands*, 27.

³¹¹ Nakane, *Nothing Left in My Hands*, 6, 10, 16, 24, 27. Mekis, *Blossoms into Gold*, xxii.

to about 44 million pounds in 1894.³¹² In 1897, construction began on the William H. Weeks-designed Spreckels factory in the town of Spreckels, just south of Salinas and outside the North County.³¹³ It started processing beets in 1899. If the plant had not moved, the smaller Pajaro Valley farm parcels could have been consolidated for sugar beet production, changing the cultural landscape.³¹⁴ By 1901, Spreckels's monopoly diminished with competition from the American Sugar Refining Company. He balked at the price demanded by Pajaro Valley growers, who then stopped growing sugar beets in the area.³¹⁵ By 1915, the company grew beets on about 17,500 acres and processed 200,000 tons annually.³¹⁶ Spreckels grew beets at Andrew Molera's Mulligan Hill Ranch on Molera Road near Castroville. When sugar beet prices dropped around 1920, Spreckels did not renew his lease and Molera found a new crop: artichokes.³¹⁷

c. Apples:

Apples converted the Pajaro Valley into an economic engine. Starting in the 1870s, the region grew from a few apple orchards to an internationally known apple center. Apple trees thrive along the coast because they require more winter chilling than other deciduous fruits.³¹⁹ The North County's early spring makes trees bloom earlier, allowing farmers to send their fruit to market sooner. Innovations and efficiencies in contracting, packing, marketing and shipping, coupled with railroad schedule and routing improvements, led to cost-effective production and wide distribution to the American Midwest, East Coast and abroad.³²⁰



Local apple business owners expanded their interests to related businesses, including finance, insurance, cold storage, lumber, steel, printing companies, steamship lines and railroads.³²¹

³¹² Nakane, *Nothing Left in My Hands*, 24.

³¹³ Dunn, *Monterey County, California*, 24. Lewis, *W. H. Weeks: Architect*.

³¹⁴ Nakane, *Nothing Left in My Hands*, 10, 26.

³¹⁵ Nakane, *Nothing Left in My Hands*, 26.

³¹⁶ Dunn, *Monterey County, California*, 24. Betty Lewis, *W.H. Weeks: Architect*.

³¹⁷ Clovis, *Monterey County's North Coast and Coastal Valleys*, 22.

³¹⁸ Mekis, *Blossoms Into Gold*, 85.

³¹⁹ "Fruit and Nut Crops," *A Guidebook to California Agriculture*, 137.

³²⁰ Mekis, *Blossoms into Gold*, 74.

³²¹ Mekis, *Blossoms Into Gold*, 112-113.

Commercial apple production developed slowly. Pajaro Valley residents were skeptical when ranchers planted more than a few apple trees, too much for a single family to consume. By the 1850s, residents had planted backyard apple trees and subsequently grew them commercially. In 1858, Isaac Williams planted about thirteen acres (1,500 trees by 1863). Judge R. F. Peckham also planted an orchard. In 1860, the Pajaro Valley had fewer than fifty acres of fruit trees in production.³²² While growers waited for newly planted trees to mature, they planted other crops between the trees, including strawberries. They later substituted peas, corn, sugar beets and other vegetables to avoid harming apple tree root growth with excessive irrigation.³²³

In 1861, James Waters owned Pajaro Valley property in both Monterey and Santa Cruz counties and planted 1,900 apple trees on William Birlem's land.³²⁴ By experimenting, Waters learned which varieties performed best. His future partner, J. A. Blackburn, planted ten to twelve acres in 1864-65.³²⁵ By 1873, the Blackburn & Waters nursery in the North County had forty acres of orchards.³²⁶ The Pajaro Valley apple industry expanded after 1873 when high demand, high prices, railroad transportation, sufficient labor, apple experimentation and clever Croatian fruit brokers gave the valley new agricultural prominence. Pest problems in other apple-growing regions benefitted Pajaro Valley's apple industry. In 1873-1874, Red Scale devastated the Santa Clara Valley's apple crop, allowing Pajaro Valley growers to step in and meet San Francisco's demand for fruit. Croatian fruit brokers Marco Rabasa and L. G. Sresovich bought many Pajaro Valley apples and sold them for high profits in San Francisco.³²⁷ Together, they created the area's first apple buying, packing and shipping system.³²⁸

Under the old production-based agricultural model, farmers planted what they wanted and sought buyers after the harvest. Croatian fruit brokers helped the agricultural industry expand by implementing the demand-based agricultural model, in which customer preferences influenced crop plantings. They also offered "blossom contracts" to growers, buying the crop before it matured, which encouraged farmers and former ranchers to plant more orchards. Spreckels offered similar sugar beet contracts in the 1870s. But fruit contracts were riskier than beet contracts because apples are perishable, so brokers started "reading" apple blossoms to determine tree health and crop value. The broker assumed losses formerly borne by the grower: crop failure, pests, supply and demand fluctuations, and labor and transportation problems.³²⁹

³²² Nakane, *Nothing Left in My Hands*, 7. Mekis, *Blossoms Into Gold*, 49.

³²³ Nakane, *Nothing Left in My Hands*, 10-11. Mekis, *Blossoms into Gold*, 69.

³²⁴ Nakane, *Nothing Left in My Hands*, 7.

³²⁵ Mekis, *Blossoms Into Gold*, 49, 64.

³²⁶ Martin, *Directory of the Town of Watsonville for 1873*, 44. S. Martinelli & Company is perhaps the best-known Pajaro Valley apple company today. In 1868, Italian-Swiss immigrant Stephen Martinelli founded it as the Champagne Cider Company, in Watsonville. Nakane, *Nothing Left in My Hands*, 7. Mekis, *Blossoms Into Gold*, 48. Sylvia Brown and Susan Collins, "Martinelli's Cider Celebrates 140th Anniversary With New Sparkling Apple Fruit and Berry Juice Blends" (San Francisco: Brown & Collins, 19 May 2008), 1.

³²⁷ Mekis, *Blossoms Into Gold*, 50-52, 63-65. Rabasa first worked as a fruit broker in San José before arriving in Watsonville in 1876. Sresovich operated a wholesale fruit business in San Francisco and San José before moving L. G. Sresovich & Co. to Watsonville.

³²⁸ Mekis, *Blossoms Into Gold*, 70.

³²⁹ Mekis, *Blossoms Into Gold*, 66-68, 81.

When the Southern Pacific Railroad arrived in the North County in 1871, more workers came to the orchards and fields of the Pajaro and Salinas Valleys.³³⁰ However, high freight prices still kept many growers from shipping via rail and they continued to use wagons to transport their goods.³³¹ But with the increased apple demand and higher sale prices after the Red Scale devastation, rail costs were no longer a big issue and fruit was shipped by train.³³² Pajaro Valley apple trees planted in the 1870s produced excellent fruit by the 1880s and prices stayed high because demand still outpaced supply. By 1882, most local apples were shipped to outside markets.³³³ By 1915, the Pajaro Valley shipped 4,000 carloads of fruit.³³⁴

The packing houses were another Croatian apple-related agricultural innovation. Railroads charged by the ton, so shipments weighing between one and two tons cost the same. Small growers and packers saved money by pooling crops.³³⁵ In 1884, Sresovich founded Watsonville's first apple-packing business to consolidate the harvests of multiple growers.³³⁶ The Croatians owned many of the apple packing and shipping companies in the Pajaro Valley.³³⁷ Chinese workers wrapped apples in paper and packed them into boxes.³³⁸ Many Japanese also worked in Pajaro Valley apple-packing houses.³³⁹

In December 1900, the *San Francisco Chronicle* reported on the apple industry's "wonderful progress . . . especially in the Pajaro Valley, where 8,000 acres are devoted to orchards, in which are 500,000 apple trees, the great majority of which were planted since 1890."³⁴⁰ By 1915, Pajaro Valley land prices were the highest in Monterey County because the "most highly improved orchards" were located there as well as a good water supply.³⁴¹ At the time, the Pajaro Valley was the world's most productive apple-producing area and the Monterey County section of the valley annually produced more than one million dollars worth of apples.³⁴² As of 1915, "many of the hundred packing-houses, sixteen evaporated and a score or more of cider, vinegar and canning establishments" were located in the Monterey County part of the Pajaro Valley.³⁴³

In the 1880s, local apple growers shipped fruit to the Midwest and East without knowing whether it would sell, for how much and to whom. Prices varied daily and growers were forced to trust commission merchants to make a fair sale based on the fruit's condition, the market

³³⁰ Mekis, *Blossoms Into Gold*, 65.

³³¹ Mekis, *Blossoms Into Gold*, 64-65.

³³² Mekis, *Blossoms Into Gold*, 65.

³³³ Mekis, *Blossoms Into Gold*, 68, 70-71.

³³⁴ Dunn, *Monterey County, California*, 13.

³³⁵ Mekis, *Blossoms Into Gold*, 72-74.

³³⁶ Mekis, *Blossoms Into Gold*, 68, 70-71.

³³⁷ See generally, Mekis, *Blossoms into Gold*.

³³⁸ Mekis, *Blossoms into Gold*, 193.

³³⁹ Nakane, *Nothing Left in My Hands*, 6. Mekis, *Blossoms into Gold*, 193.

³⁴⁰ Nakane, *Nothing Left in My Hands*, 10.

³⁴¹ Dunn, *Monterey County, California*, 11.

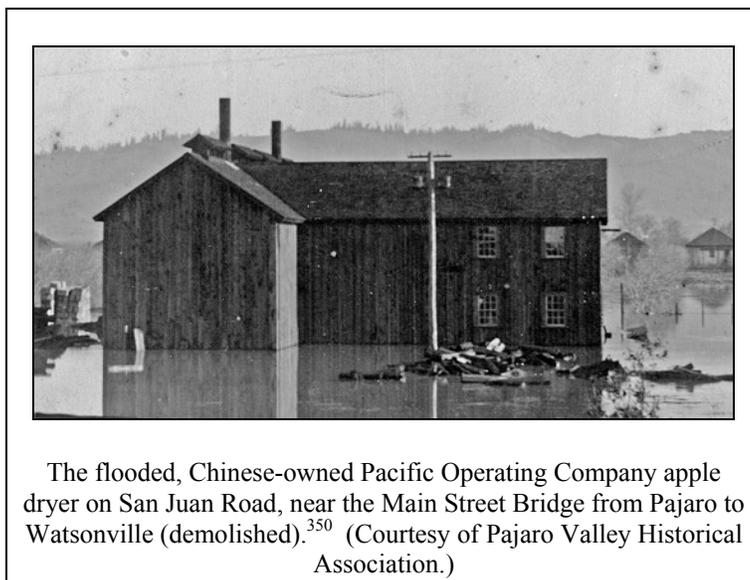
³⁴² Dunn, *Monterey County, California*, 12, 15.

³⁴³ Dunn, *Monterey County, California*, 15.

price, supply and demand.³⁴⁴ Croatian apple shippers tried to change the system. In 1891, they refused to make blossom contracts if they anticipated a loss, causing a rift with growers. Consequently, some smaller growers packed and distributed their own apples. In 1893, the *Watsonville Pajaronian* suggested that local growers and shippers form a union to dry, store and ship fruit to the East and avoid the commission merchant system, but the Croatian packers and non-Croatian growers did not cooperate. Sensing a problem, Eastern commission merchants reached out to the Pajaro Valley apple industry to coordinate shipments. The 1893 national depression reduced purchases of non-essential goods but Pajaro Valley apple distribution rose.³⁴⁵

On July 16, 1894, Watsonville businessmen and non-Croatian growers without blossom contracts formed the Pajaro Valley Fruit Exchange to establish packing standards and coordinate shipping.³⁴⁶ The creation of the non-Croatian Fruit Exchange and the arrival of non-Croatian apple distributors signaled the end of the Croatian apple monopoly.³⁴⁷ The competition forced important changes that increased efficiency and improved supply and demand problems. Croatian distributors developed standards for cleanliness, inspecting, grading, packing, packaging and storing apples.³⁴⁸ Croatian distributors and the Fruit Exchange dried, packed and shipped fruit separately until 1897, when the Exchange went out of business.³⁴⁹

Standardization funneled undersized and damaged apples into dried fruit, juice or vinegar. Standardization was significant because it changed the cultural landscape: new buildings and structures were needed to process crops in new ways. For example, apple dryers were built throughout the Pajaro Valley. Apple drying was the most labor-intensive aspect of the industry. The 1898 Spanish-American War created a military demand for dried apples, but the drying industry waned afterwards.



The flooded, Chinese-owned Pacific Operating Company apple dryer on San Juan Road, near the Main Street Bridge from Pajaro to Watsonville (demolished).³⁵⁰ (Courtesy of Pajaro Valley Historical Association.)

Chinese laborers, seeking new work after Spreckels moved his plant from Watsonville to Spreckels in 1898, opened apple drying operations.³⁵¹ Apple growers and distributors allowed the Chinese to invest in apple dryers

³⁴⁴ Mekis, *Blossoms Into Gold*, 89.

³⁴⁵ Mekis, *Blossoms Into Gold*, 90-92.

³⁴⁶ Mekis, *Blossoms Into Gold*, 92-94.

³⁴⁷ Mekis, *Blossoms Into Gold*, 94-95.

³⁴⁸ Mekis, *Blossoms Into Gold*, 96-97.

³⁴⁹ Mekis, *Blossoms Into Gold*, 92-94.

³⁵⁰ Clovis, *Monterey County's North Coast and Coastal Valleys*, 78.

because the business was deemed “marginal and unstable” and the Chinese took the financial risk. They acted as middlemen and contracted with the migrant laborers. But when drying technology and other improvements made that part of the industry more efficient and profitable, the Chinese were unable to compete with non-Chinese apple drying operations.³⁵² In 1900, Croatian apple distributors built an apple dryer and J. F. Unglish later built a large kiln in Pajaro.³⁵³ By 1904, Croatian shippers built dryers like Unglish’s and leased them to people like King Kee, a Chinese businessman operating a firm called Quong Sang Lung and using Chinese workers. Chinese-operated apple dryers dominated the industry for the next two decades.³⁵⁴

A Chinese-operated fruit dryer was located in Prunedale, near the intersection of San Miguel Canyon Road and Langley Canyon Road, but it was gone by 1926.³⁵⁵ A Chinese-operated apple dryer was located on Railroad Street and Marcus Street in Aromas.³⁵⁶ Many fruit dryers were located in Pajaro.³⁵⁷ The Chinese-owned Pacific Operating Company apple dryer was on San Juan Road, near the Main Street Bridge from Pajaro to Watsonville. Owners San Yuen, M. C. San and Ng Ying later sold the company and Eng Chung (also known as Sam Eng) operated it as the Central Evaporating Company. Employees received room and board.³⁵⁸

The expanding apple business and subsequent labor specialization created new employment opportunities for women. They worked as apple sorters and packers, especially after the Croatian packers and shippers declined to offer blossom contracts in 1891, forcing some growers to start packing and shipping their own crop. The industry change also forced some Croatian laborers to open their own packing and



Female apple packers in Watsonville, 1904.
(Courtesy of Pajaro Valley Historical Association.)³⁵⁹

³⁵¹ Nakane, *Nothing Left in My Hands*, 29. Mekis, *Blossoms into Gold*, 192.

³⁵² Mekis, *Blossoms into Gold*, 192.

³⁵³ Mekis, *Blossoms Into Gold*, 111.

³⁵⁴ Mekis, *Blossoms Into Gold*, 112.

³⁵⁵ Jackson, “Prunedale?,” *North Monterey County Fortnightly*. Everett Messick, “Where Are the Prunes in Prunedale?,” *Monterey Herald*, undated. Cynthia Hibbard, “Origin of Name is Plain — Prunes for Prunedale,” *North County News*, 3 December 1975.

³⁵⁶ Aromas Friends of the Library and Pajaro Valley Historical Association, “Aromas History Walking Tour,” October 24, 1982.

³⁵⁷ Mekis, *Blossoms Into Gold*, 111.

³⁵⁸ Clovis, *Monterey County’s North Coast and Coastal Valleys*, 78.

³⁵⁹ Mekis, *Blossoms Into Gold*, 109.

shipping companies.³⁶⁰ By 1910, Watsonville had fifty-three fruit packing firms; non-Croatians owned fewer than thirty percent of them.³⁶¹

d. Berries:

Strawberries were an early and important intensive crop grown in the Pajaro Valley. Even the Ohlones harvested a local wild strawberry.³⁶² California's leading role in strawberry production stems from the beneficial climate, long growing season and the adaptability of many varieties to the growing conditions.³⁶³ Strawberries are labor intensive: growers plant them annually to maximize yield and the long fruiting season lasts up to ten months, depending on the variety.³⁶⁴ Because berries ripen at different times and at different sizes, hand harvesting is required.³⁶⁵

Planted in 1865, the Gilkey farm in the North County's Vega District was the first Pajaro Valley strawberry farm. Other farms followed, but the first strawberry crops were sold to the local market with some struggle.³⁶⁶ With the railroad's 1871 arrival, the region transitioned from growing grain to fruit.³⁶⁷ Farmers planted strawberries as solo crops and between rows of apple trees.³⁶⁸ A "strawberry-shipping boom" to San Francisco began in the late 1870s and strawberry cultivation grew steadily: 42 acres in 1881, 118 acres in 1883, 185 acres in 1884, 268 acres in 1885, 522 acres in 1895, 700 acres in 1901, and 840 acres in 1902 with slight declines in the next few years.³⁶⁹ Local papers remarked on this incredible trend, with the January 1901 *Pacific Rural Press* projecting "a largely increased acreage in strawberries in the Pajaro Valley this year."³⁷⁰ In August 1902, the *San Francisco Chronicle* noted that

Although apples lead, and although there has been a great planting in this fruit during the past ten years, berries have, all things considered, the prominent place as a profitable crop. The yield of strawberries is enormous. It will startle the Eastern farmer to hear that the growers pick these berries nearly ten months of the year.³⁷¹

Backed by strawberry research and a big labor pool, farmers planted larger orchards and ranchers converted land from wheat to fruit for higher profits.³⁷² Prominent North County resident John

³⁶⁰ Mekis, *Blossoms Into Gold*, 109, 159.

³⁶¹ Mekis, *Blossoms Into Gold*, 109-110.

³⁶² Crops Brought Name 'Spud Valley'," *Watsonville Register-Pajaronian*.

³⁶³ "Fruit and Nut Crops," *A Guidebook to California Agriculture*, 157, 159.

³⁶⁴ "Fruit and Nut Crops," *A Guidebook to California Agriculture*, 157.

³⁶⁵ "Fruit and Nut Crops," *A Guidebook to California Agriculture*, 157.

³⁶⁶ Nakane, *Nothing Left in My Hands*, 7.

³⁶⁷ Nakane, *Nothing Left in My Hands*, 6.

³⁶⁸ Dunn, *Monterey County, California*, 13, 18.

³⁶⁹ Nakane, *Nothing Left in My Hands*, 9, 24, 28.

³⁷⁰ Nakane, *Nothing Left in My Hands*, 10.

³⁷¹ Nakane, *Nothing Left in My Hands*, 11.

³⁷² Mekis, *Blossoms Into Gold*, 64.

T. Porter, discussed at the beginning of this chapter, was an early strawberry farmer. He planted fifty acres on his Pajaro ranch in 1883.³⁷³

Although industrial-scale strawberry farms dominate the Pajaro Valley today, early strawberry farms were small. In the late nineteenth and early twentieth century, one farmer and a few workers could survive on income from a two-acre strawberry farm. Most Japanese farmers working under contract or on shares worked on farms of five or six acres.³⁷⁴ Japanese strawberry farmers in the Pajaro Valley generally farmed one parcel for four to six years, and then moved to another farm when the soil was depleted.³⁷⁵ Fuji Murakami, a Japanese woman living in Pajaro, harvested strawberries and pulled weeds in the fields alongside the men. Her family grew strawberries until World War II.³⁷⁶

In 1915, landowners sold unimproved strawberry land for \$100-\$200 per acre or rented it out for \$20-\$30 per acre per year. First-year land preparation costs were \$20-\$25 per acre. Each acre supported about 15,000-20,000 plants, costing \$3 for every 1,000 plants.³⁷⁷ By 1915, Monterey County farmers produced over one million pounds of strawberries annually, plus Loganberries (200,000 pounds annually), blackberries (50,000 pounds annually) and raspberries (50,000 pounds annually).³⁷⁸ Strawberry acreage in California doubled from the late 1940s to the early 1980s as industrial agriculture took over.³⁷⁹ Today, most strawberry workers are Mexican. In 2009, strawberries surpassed lettuce as Monterey County's top crop for the first time.

e. Lettuce:

Moses (Mose) S. Hutchings was the first farmer to raise and ship lettuce in the Pajaro Valley and Central Coast. In 1915, he planted three acres of lettuce on the ranch of his in-laws, James and Ida Rowe, at 1767 San Juan Road. In the spring of 1916, by lantern light at 2:00 a.m., he and local high school students cut and ice-packed the lettuce in the field. He drove it by wagon team to Pajaro Junction where Wells Fargo shipped the lettuce to the H.P. Garin Co. in San Francisco. In 1917, Mose planted ten acres. In 1918, he planted sixteen acres and had Japanese employees.³⁸⁰ Lettuce was the top Monterey County crop for many years, but in 2009, strawberries eclipsed it for the first time.

³⁷³ Betty Lewis, *Watsonville Yesterday* (Watsonville, CA: Litho Watsonville Press, 1978), 116.

³⁷⁴ Nakane, *Nothing Left in My Hands*, 42.

³⁷⁵ Nakane, *Nothing Left in My Hands*, 43.

³⁷⁶ Nakane, *Nothing Left in My Hands*, 40.

³⁷⁷ Dunn, *Monterey County, California*, 18.

³⁷⁸ Dunn, *Monterey County, California*, 13, 18. Aromas Friends of the Library and Pajaro Valley Historical Association, "Aromas History Walking Tour," October 24, 1982. Pajaro Valley resident John H. Logan created the loganberry by crossing raspberry and blackberry plants.

³⁷⁹ "Fruit and Nut Crops," *A Guidebook to California Agriculture*, 157.

³⁸⁰ Clovis, *Monterey County's North Coast and Coastal Valleys*, 84.

f. Artichokes:

The North County's moist, foggy coastal region offers the perfect conditions for growing artichokes.³⁸¹ Andrew Molera planted Monterey County's — and the North County's — first artichoke crop along Molera Road near Castroville in 1921-1922. Molera had leased his Mulligan Hill Ranch to Claus Spreckels for years for sugar beet production, but when Spreckels was unable to renew his lease, Molera needed to find new tenants and crops.

Molera acquired artichoke shoots from Italian farmers in Half Moon Bay and planted an acre of artichokes.³⁸² On a trip through the county, Italians Angelo Del Chiaro and Egidio Maracci saw the crop and promptly leased 150 acres from Molera, planting the artichokes with Daniel Pieri and Angelo Del Chiaro's cousin Amerigo Del Chiaro.³⁸³ They were so successful that the Del Chiaro, Pieri, Tottino and Bellone families formed the California Artichoke and Vegetable Growers Corporation by 1924.³⁸⁴ It is now called Ocean Mist.³⁸⁵

Nine local growers had planted artichokes by 1923. By 1927, fifty growers had planted 12,000 acres of artichokes.³⁸⁷ Castroville still claims the title of "Artichoke Capital of the World," with the name proudly emblazoned over Merritt Street since 1931.³⁸⁸

g. Apricots:

J. B. Hickman, Horticultural Commissioner of Monterey, noted in 1915 that "The warm, well-drained slopes of the hills in the northern end of Monterey County offer almost ideal locations for apricots Cool northern slopes everywhere and the heavy lands of Pajaro and Carmel valleys offer perfect conditions for apples and pears."³⁸⁹ The North County, especially farms around Aromas, produced many apricots. By 1915, Aromas farmers annually



Packing artichokes at the Ocean Mist packing shed in Castroville.³⁸⁶

³⁸¹ Clovis, *Monterey County's North Coast and Coastal Valleys*, 24.
³⁸² Clovis, *Monterey County's North Coast and Coastal Valleys*, 22.
³⁸³ Clovis, *Monterey County's North Coast and Coastal Valleys*, 22-23.
³⁸⁴ Clovis, *Monterey County's North Coast and Coastal Valleys*, 23.
³⁸⁵ Clovis, *Monterey County's North Coast and Coastal Valleys*, 23.
³⁸⁶ Clovis, *Monterey County's North Coast and Coastal Valleys*, 23.
³⁸⁷ Clovis, *Monterey County's North Coast and Coastal Valleys*, 23.
³⁸⁸ Clovis, *Monterey County's North Coast and Coastal Valleys*, 7.
³⁸⁹ Dunn, *Monterey County, California*, 13.

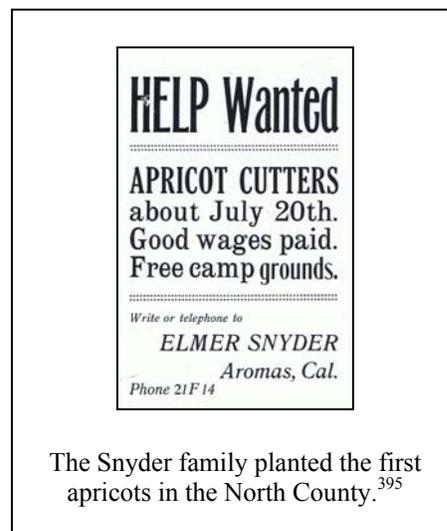
shipped several hundred tons of fresh and dried apricots.³⁹⁰ Just as in the berry fields, children picked apricots.³⁹¹ After 1960, apricot production declined because the old trees yielded little fruit.³⁹²

h. Prunes:

Prunedale, a community of about twenty-five square miles in the northeastern part of the North County, earned its name from the prune trees planted there before the turn of the twentieth century. Farmers settled in the Prunedale area in the 1860s.³⁹³ As people moved into the hills, they cut down the valuable oak trees for firewood. The Southern Pacific Railroad shipped the oak to San José and the bare hills were then considered good land for orchards. Before then, the Prunedale area supported mostly subsistence farming, bee hives and dairies.³⁹⁴

Prunedale farmers thought the area's light, sandy soil and ample water supply would help orchards succeed.³⁹⁶ The San Miguel Canyon Road area of Prunedale was called the Lake District in the 1880s, attesting to the available water.³⁹⁷ Reportedly, real estate developers suggested that farmers plant prunes and named the area Prunedale.³⁹⁸ Prunes are a variety of plums with very high sugar content.³⁹⁹ Some early prune, apple and apricot crops did not fare well because the farmers did not irrigate well enough or use fertilizers. Prunes perform best in warm climates and the trees fared poorly in the chilly valleys around Prunedale. The cold, moist air split them open and the prunes failed to dry properly.⁴⁰⁰

Prune orchards grew in the Prunedale area along San Miguel Canyon Road and into Echo and Paradise Valleys. The



³⁹¹ Mekis, *Blossoms into Gold*, 210.

³⁹² "Fruit and Nut Crops," *A Guidebook to California Agriculture*, 137-138. As of the early 1980s, California produced 97 percent of the apricots grown in the United States.

³⁹³ "Prunedale," *North County News*, February 27, 1980. Don Dugdale, "North County develops: They grow houses instead of Prunes," *Salinas Californian*, 5 July 1976.

³⁹⁴ *History of Monterey County*, 111.

³⁹⁵ County of Monterey Historical Files: Aromas History.

³⁹⁶ "Prunedale," *North County News*, 27 February 1980. Don Dugdale, "North County develops: They grow houses instead of Prunes," *Salinas Californian*, 5 July 1976.

³⁹⁷ Everett Messick, "Where Are the Prunes in Prunedale?," *Monterey Herald*, undated.

³⁹⁸ *Progress*, Prunedale, CA: Prunedale Chamber of Commerce, May 1996. Cynthia Hibbard, "Origin of Name is Plain — Prunes for Prunedale," *North County News*, 3 December 1975.

³⁹⁹ Everett Messick, "Where Are the Prunes in Prunedale?," *Monterey Herald*, undated.

⁴⁰⁰ Cynthia Hibbard, "Origin of Name is Plain — Prunes for Prunedale," *North County News*, 3 December 1975. "Prunedale," *North County News*, 27 February 1980.

Hambey family planted the first prune orchards on 640 acres in San Miguel Canyon and Echo Valley. James Crouch, who married Mary Hambey in 1886, helped graft and plant the first Prunedale trees. By the time James's son Nathaniel and Alice Crouch married in 1925, prunes were gone from the area, likely by 1910.⁴⁰¹ The Crouch family home at 1833 San Miguel Canyon Road was built in 1886.⁴⁰² The Crouch family took advantage of the "farmers' telephone system" (a single line strung along redwood posts about twenty feet high) that served farmers along San Miguel Canyon Road, through Long Canyon and west to Elkhorn until after 1949.⁴⁰³ In the early 1940s, Prunedale only had about sixty homes.⁴⁰⁴

After prune trees, they planted apples, apricots and plums.⁴⁰⁵ Apple orchards still covered most of Prunedale into the 1940s, but became unprofitable. One of the last producing orchards, along Maher Road north of Royal Oaks Park, was removed around 1970.⁴⁰⁶ Over time, the Prunedale hills also have been used as cattle grazing land, dairies, orchards and chicken farms.⁴⁰⁷

i. Other Intensive Crops:

Farmers have grown a variety of other intensive crops in the North County. Prunedale farmers planted plums after experimenting with prunes⁴⁰⁸ and Springfield District farmers have grown Brussels sprouts. The Pacific Gas and Electric Company's Moss Landing plant (1948-49) stands on a former broccoli field.⁴⁰⁹ Pajaro Valley nurseries operated by the end of the nineteenth century and cut flower greenhouses opened in the Pajaro Valley in the 1950s and '60s, producing a majority of the carnations, chrysanthemums and roses in the United States.⁴¹⁰ Nurseries have also produced orchids and other cut flowers in Aromas over the years.⁴¹¹

⁴⁰¹ Ken Schultz, "Rural Prunedale Adding," *Monterey Peninsula Herald*.

⁴⁰² *Progress*, Prunedale, CA: Prunedale Chamber of Commerce, May 1996.

⁴⁰³ Church, *Historical Notes of North Monterey County With a History of Hidden Valley*, 6.

⁴⁰⁴ Janet Fulton, "The Prunedale Hills: A Study in Landscape Change."

⁴⁰⁵ "Prunedale," *North County News*, February 27, 1980.

⁴⁰⁶ Dugdale, "North County develops: They grow houses instead of Prunes," *Salinas Californian*.

⁴⁰⁷ Dugdale, "North County develops: They grow houses instead of Prunes," *Salinas Californian*.

⁴⁰⁸ "Prunedale," *North County News*, 27 February 1980.

⁴⁰⁹ Clovis, *Monterey County's North Coast and Coastal Valleys*, 62.

⁴¹⁰ Dala Bruemmer, "Where Have all the flower growers gone?" *Register Pajaronian*, 19 March 2004.

⁴¹¹ "Prunedale," *North County News*, 27 February 1980. McLellan Botanicals has a large facility on 2352 San Juan Road in Aromas, but current employees do not know when the company moved there. (Ibis Diaz, Sales Account Manager, McLellan Botanicals, personal communication to Paige J. Swartley, 23 July 2010.) Edgar McLellan was a dairyman who started a Burlingame (San Mateo County) nursery in 1884 and became San Francisco's "Flower King." In 1930, his son Rod moved the nursery to Colma and then to Aromas at an unknown date, where they grow orchids and ornamental eucalyptus. The Taiwan Sugar Company (Taisuco America) now owns the company. "Answers: Who Am I?," *Heritage Newsletter*, (Colma: Cypress Lawn Heritage Foundation, Spring 2008), 6. Algis Ratnikas, "Timeline of the San Francisco Bay Area: c. 1930-1975" (Timelines of History, undated), http://timelines.ws/cities/sfba_c.html, accessed April 26, 2010.

H. North County Labor: Ethnicity and Cultural Diversity

Beginning with the Ohlones, many ethnic and cultural groups have shaped Monterey County's agricultural history. Various factors drew them to the region and drove others away: economic crises, famine, foreign wars, disease, family and friends, immigration laws and discrimination. Some groups managed to make the transition from migrant field laborers to lessees, property owners or business owners. The workers brought different skills and knowledge to the North County: new crops, farming knowledge, marketing techniques and cultural traditions. With their hard work, the diverse global workforce expanded the local economy. Even though they were crucial to the North County's agricultural industry, discrimination took a terrible toll. One of the most notorious incidents was the murder of Filipino agricultural worker Fermin Tobera during a 1930 race riot, on John Murphy's property near Murphy's Crossing.⁴¹²

At times, it may be difficult to identify the imprint of particular ethnic groups on the cultural landscape. For example, a Pajaro Valley field that was worked by Chinese laborers in the 1860s, Japanese workers in the 1890s, Filipino fieldhands in the 1940s and Mexican employees in the 1950s may look exactly the same now as it did in the 1860s, although the crop likely changed. But other historic resources in the North County, such as the Castroville Japanese Language School (1936) at 11199 Geil Street in Castroville, are identified with a specific ethnic group.

1. Immigration Trends

Immigration to America was slow during the Civil War (1861-1865), but between 1870 and the 1920s, the country welcomed the largest wave of new residents to date. America needed new workers as the country barreled into the Industrial Revolution and followed "Manifest Destiny" westward. Settlers established new communities; new inventions increased farming, factory and mining productivity; entrepreneurs created new businesses; and railroads laid new track to transport people and goods across the continent.⁴¹³ The railroads caused major changes in California, creating new towns along the tracks throughout the state.⁴¹⁴

Depending on factors like immigration quotas and political upheaval, the national origins of immigrants changed over time. As the twentieth century dawned, Irish and German immigration fell but Italian immigration rose. About 4.2 million Italians arrived between 1890-1920, more than from any other country during that span. Immigrants from Austria-Hungary (including those of Polish, Czechoslovakian, Serbian, Ukrainian, and German ancestry) rose from one of 500 in 1860 to one in four by 1900. About 1.5 million arrived between the 1880s and 1914. About 2 million natives of Denmark, Norway and Sweden entered America between 1860 and 1920. Between 1870 and 1920, residents of Canada, China, Japan, Philippines and many other countries immigrated to America.⁴¹⁵ Many found agricultural work in Monterey County.

⁴¹² Mekis, *Blossoms into Gold*, 194-195.

⁴¹³ Kevin Hillstrom, *The Dream of America: Immigration 1870-1920* (Detroit: Omnigraphics, Inc., 2009), 21.

⁴¹⁴ Hillstrom, *The Dream of America: Immigration 1870-1920*, 22.

⁴¹⁵ Hillstrom, *The Dream of America: Immigration 1870-1920*, 22-23, 27, 29.

In the Monterey Bay Area, farmers needed many workers to cultivate and harvest the expansive acreage.⁴¹⁶ Finding enough agricultural workers was a problem early on. The West developed more after the Civil War, about the same time grain production was mechanized.⁴¹⁷ While mechanized harvesting reduced the necessity for large labor pools for grain crops, fruit had to be hand-harvested and shipped quickly to reduce spoilage and many workers were needed at once. Employing seasonal laborers became critical for fruit growers, who hired them to harvest and pack fruit. In the early years, the Chinese, Japanese and Filipinos filled these roles.⁴¹⁸

Natives of China, Japan, the Philippines and other Asian nations generally came through San Francisco. Most were processed quickly, but the Chinese faced increased scrutiny after the Chinese Exclusion Act of 1882.⁴¹⁹ Some immigrants entered through New York City's Ellis Island and continued west to California.⁴²⁰ Immigrants often moved to regions where they could do the same type of work as they did in their native lands. California enticed Chinese, Japanese, Filipinos and Mexicans, who worked in agriculture, manufacturing or small business.⁴²¹

Among the many companies who sought to lure immigrants to the West, railroad interests were perhaps the most prominent.⁴²² Trains had an incredible impact on nineteenth century American life: moving goods and people throughout the continent faster than ever; allowing factories and farmers to ship goods to new markets faster; facilitating the exploitation of far-flung natural resources; encouraging families to relocate and travel for pleasure; encouraging the settlement of remote regions; and fueling economic booms.⁴²³

From the 1850s to the 1870s, the federal government granted more than 170 million acres of land in the West to dozens of railroad companies. In turn, the railroad companies enticed settlers to move to the newly accessible country. The new residents would both increase the land values of railroad-held property and also spike revenues for the railroads themselves, as they transported the goods used and produced by the new settlers. Promotional materials extolled the virtues of different parts of the country. Sometimes, as in California's case, the brochures accurately described the beneficent climate, soils and other advantages.⁴²⁴ Railroad companies targeted old and new American residents, as well as residents of Europe who could be enticed to relocate.⁴²⁵ The railroads sold package deals to Europeans, including ship passage, and they also encouraged entire groups to settle new towns and join other natives of their homelands. These "group

⁴¹⁶ Nakane, *Nothing Left in My Hands*, 9.

⁴¹⁷ Nuckton, *et al.*, "California Agriculture: The Human Story," *A Guidebook to California Agriculture*, 11.

⁴¹⁸ Nakane, *Nothing Left in My Hands*, 9.

⁴¹⁹ Hillstrom, *The Dream of America: Immigration 1870-1920*, 46.

⁴²⁰ Hillstrom, *The Dream of America: Immigration 1870-1920*, 43, 68. The Ellis Island immigration station in New York operated from 1892 until 1954. Of the 12 million immigrants who came through there, 4 million stayed in metropolitan New York; 8 million moved elsewhere.

⁴²¹ Hillstrom, *The Dream of America: Immigration 1870-1920*, 73.

⁴²² Hillstrom, *The Dream of America: Immigration 1870-1920*, 68-72.

⁴²³ Hillstrom, *The Dream of America: Immigration 1870-1920*, 69.

⁴²⁴ Hillstrom, *The Dream of America: Immigration 1870-1920*, 69-70.

⁴²⁵ Hillstrom, *The Dream of America: Immigration 1870-1920*, 70-71.

settlement” or “colonization” offers brought increased revenue to the railroads and established ready-made, familiar communities for the new immigrants.⁴²⁶ Whether begun by railroad companies, a single family, or individuals, these mass relocations or “migration chains” began to occur throughout America.⁴²⁷ By the end of the nineteenth century, more immigrants than not were traveling on pre-paid tickets sent from America.⁴²⁸

In the early 1880s, Congress passed several federal immigration laws, including the Chinese Exclusion Act of 1882. Some Americans believed that too many immigrants were entering the country. Others believed that the federal government needed to offer more assistance to the new residents. Still others were upset at corruption within the immigration system. Reformers were horrified by the neglect, abuse and overcrowded living conditions of immigrants. In contrast, immigration foes opposed “undesirable” newcomers who supposedly threatened the American way of life, particularly by taking jobs from current residents, or bringing disease. Other anti-immigration Americans believed that increased immigration threatened long-held political and social ideals.⁴²⁹

Immigrants could be banned from entering the country for many reasons, including the contradictory reasons that they either *did* or *did not* have a job. An 1885 law denied entry to contract laborers who already had jobs lined up in the United States. Some Americans felt threatened that new immigrants would take away their jobs, while at the same time they feared that immigrants without jobs would need government assistance. Thus, contradictory laws allowed immigrants with and without jobs to be denied entry.⁴³⁰ The Immigration Act of 1891 required inspections of all intended immigrants before they were allowed into the country.⁴³¹

The Federal Immigration Act of 1916-1917 created an “Asiatic Barred Zone” to prevent most Asians from immigrating. It also required a literacy test for newcomers older than fourteen and excluded people with physical or mental issues.⁴³² The Immigration Act or Johnson-Reed Act of 1924 banned Chinese, Japanese and other Asian immigrants. It also capped annual immigration at 150,000 people, with country-specific quotas.⁴³³ Latin American immigration was not restricted, so Mexican and Caribbean residents increased in the 1920s, working in farming, ranching and mining to replace the dwindling supply of Asian and other labor.⁴³⁴

As World War II dawned, many growers sought workers to fill low-paying agricultural jobs vacated by people entering the military or to replace Japanese workers, who the government forcibly removed to internment camps. On August 4, 1942 the United States and Mexico created

⁴²⁶ Hillstrom, *The Dream of America: Immigration 1870-1920*, 71.

⁴²⁷ Hillstrom, *The Dream of America: Immigration 1870-1920*, 72.

⁴²⁸ Hillstrom, *The Dream of America: Immigration 1870-1920*, 72.

⁴²⁹ Hillstrom, *The Dream of America: Immigration 1870-1920*, 45.

⁴³⁰ Hillstrom, *The Dream of America: Immigration 1870-1920*, 51.

⁴³¹ Hillstrom, *The Dream of America: Immigration 1870-1920*, 84-85.

⁴³² Hillstrom, *The Dream of America: Immigration 1870-1920*, 91.

⁴³³ Hillstrom, *The Dream of America: Immigration 1870-1920*, 93.

⁴³⁴ Hillstrom, *The Dream of America: Immigration 1870-1920*, 93-94.

the Mexican Farm Labor Program for the temporary use of Mexican agricultural labor on American farms. From 1942 to 1964, the government signed 4.6 million worker contracts; many workers returned several times. In 1951, Congress formalized the Bracero Program as Public Law 78, concerned about agricultural production as the country entered the Korean conflict. The controversial Bracero Program worried farm workers already living here, who feared job competition and lower wages. The government established rules and standards for employment and living and working conditions, but many violations occurred and employers reaped big profits while the workers struggled with the arduous, low-paid work. Between the 1940s and mid-1950s, farm wages dropped sharply as growers took advantage of the Braceros and other laborers.⁴³⁵ The program peaked in 1956-58. Public Law 78 expired in December 1964.⁴³⁶

The McCarran-Walter Act of 1952 based new immigration quotas on existing ethnic or national percentages: *e.g.*, if ten percent of Americans were from England, then ten percent of new immigrants could be English.⁴³⁷ However, two-thirds of immigrants arriving between 1952 and 1965 came via an exception either created in the law or petitioned for by a Congress member.⁴³⁸

2. Ethnic and Cultural Groups

a. Irish:

In the 1850s and 1860s, Irish and East Coast settlers were the main groups to move to the Monterey Bay Area. The Irish farmed potatoes.⁴³⁹ Irish immigrants James and Mary Kirby started buying land in 1870 and eventually owned more than 5,500 acres in North County.⁴⁴⁰ The Kelly and Sheehy families of the North County were also early Irish settlers.⁴⁴¹

b. Danes:

Danish immigrants arrived in the North County by the 1860s and became prominent ranchers and dairymen, including the Struve family of the Springfield District and the Storm family of the Pajaro Valley. These families intermarried, with two Struve brothers marrying Storm sisters.

⁴³⁵ Bracero History Archive, "About" (Center for History and New Media, 2010), <http://braceroarchive.org/about>, accessed 3 February 2010.

⁴³⁶ Anderson, *The Bracero Program in California*, Introduction, 1, 9. Anderson, who undertook an exhaustive study of California's Bracero Program, particularly as it affected health matters, believed that the program had nothing to do with wartime labor shortage for most of the program's life. Based on his research, he argued that it was "simply a device for American agribusiness to take selfish advantage of the poverty of Mexican peons (which comes from the same root as 'pawns'), to the devastation of U.S. farm workers, Mexican-Americans whether farm workers or not, small farmers, family life in rural Mexico, and every reasonable standard of social decency and honor."

⁴³⁷ Hillstrom, *The Dream of America: Immigration 1870-1920*, 98.

⁴³⁸ Hillstrom, *The Dream of America: Immigration 1870-1920*, 100-101.

⁴³⁹ Mekis, *Blossoms Into Gold*, 187, 193.

⁴⁴⁰ Church, *Historical Notes of North Monterey County With a History of Hidden Valley*, 56.

⁴⁴¹ Mekis, *Blossoms into Gold*, 48.

c. Swiss:

The Swiss farmed in the Pajaro Valley by the 1870s, raising wheat near Aromas, including 900 rented acres of the Chittenden ranch, which straddled Monterey and Santa Cruz counties.⁴⁴² Around World War I, Swiss residents lived in Swiss Canyon (called Hidden Valley after 1956) near Prunedale, making charcoal from area oak trees.⁴⁴³

d. Azoreans and Portuguese:

Immigrants from the Azores Islands arrived in the Pajaro Valley in the 1860s.⁴⁴⁴ Azores native Cato Vierra, Captain Charles Moss's chief engineer, built the 200-foot wharf at Moss Landing in July 1866 for local crops to be transported to waiting ships.⁴⁴⁵ Other Portuguese immigrants were dairy farmers.⁴⁴⁶ The Portuguese also built a large social hall on Lester McGowan's property in the Pajaro Valley's Trafton District.⁴⁴⁷

e. Chinese:

In the West, the Chinese formed much of the early immigrant labor pool. Between about 1850-1880, approximately 300,000 Chinese, mostly men, came to America.⁴⁴⁸ Racist Americans feared that the Chinese, deemed suspicious because they were neither white nor Christian, would take jobs from whites.⁴⁴⁹ However, Central Pacific Railroad president Leland Stanford (who also founded Stanford University and was a California governor), told President Andrew Johnson that it would be "impossible" to complete the railroad on time without Chinese labor because whites "find more profitable and congenial employment in mining and agricultural pursuits, than in railroad work."⁴⁵⁰ After the railroad was completed, the Chinese sought other work and many became agricultural workers.

The Chinese arrived in the Pajaro Valley by the late 1860s.⁴⁵¹ They were known as hard workers who would accept low wages.⁴⁵² They worked in the fields, replacing the Ohlones on large

⁴⁴² Martin, *Directory of the Town of Watsonville for 1873*.

⁴⁴³ Church, *Historical Notes of North Monterey County With a History of Hidden Valley*, 7.

⁴⁴⁴ Mekis, *Blossoms into Gold*, xxii, 187.

⁴⁴⁵ Horace W. Fabing and Rick Hamman, *Steinbeck Country Narrow Gauge* (Boulder, CO: Pruett Publishing Company, 1985), 4.

⁴⁴⁶ Mekis, *Blossoms into Gold*, 193.

⁴⁴⁷ Agricultural History Project, "Life in Early Days of Mud Flats, Recalled by Mollie Williamson," *Agricultural History Project Newsletter*, (Watsonville, CA: Agricultural History Project, April 1989), 3.

⁴⁴⁸ Hillstrom, *The Dream of America: Immigration 1870-1920*, 27.

⁴⁴⁹ Hillstrom, *The Dream of America: Immigration 1870-1920*, 83. Oregon Senator George Henry Williams warned that unless Chinese immigration declined, "millions of heathens and pagans [would eventually gain the] power to control our institutions." But Massachusetts Senator Charles Sumner wisely counseled that Chinese immigrants came either to work or become citizens and their citizenship oaths confirmed their loyalty to America.

⁴⁵⁰ Hillstrom, *The Dream of America: Immigration 1870-1920*, 27.

⁴⁵¹ Nakane, *Nothing Left in My Hands*, 10.

⁴⁵² Hillstrom, *The Dream of America: Immigration 1870-1920*, 83.

farms and ranchos. By 1866, they worked on reclamation projects, draining and clearing swampy areas for agricultural use.⁴⁵³ By 1874, a ten-building Chinatown stood at Maple Avenue and Union Street in Watsonville, with seventy-nine residents by 1880.⁴⁵⁴ Some no doubt worked south of the Pajaro River, in the North County. After anti-Chinese sentiment arose, prominent North County resident John T. Porter moved Watsonville's Chinatown to Pajaro in 1888 (he owned the land in both Watsonville and Pajaro).⁴⁵⁵ Castroville also had a block-long Chinatown on McDougall Street between Speegle and Sanchez and its residents worked on the area's grain, potato and sugar beet farms.⁴⁵⁶

The North County's Chinese agricultural workforce declined after Congress enacted the Chinese Exclusion Act of 1882.⁴⁵⁷ It forbade most Chinese from entering the country for ten years; only visitors, government officials, teachers, students, merchants or American citizens could immigrate.⁴⁵⁸ It also denied citizenship to Chinese already living in the country.⁴⁵⁹ Congress renewed the law in 1892 and 1902, but repealed it in 1943.⁴⁶⁰

The local Chinese were the primary strawberry field laborers until the Japanese joined them in the 1890s.⁴⁶¹ Soon after 1900, the Chinese started leaving the Pajaro Valley fields for other opportunities.⁴⁶² Some worked in apple packing houses, but the *Watsonville Pajaronian* denigrated their work.⁴⁶³ Apple growers and distributors allowed the Chinese to operate apple dryers because the business was deemed "marginal and unstable," leaving the Chinese with the financial risk. The Chinese acted as middlemen and contracted with the migrant laborers. But when drying technology and other improvements made that part of the industry more efficient and profitable, the Chinese were unable to compete with non-Chinese apple drying operations.⁴⁶⁴ Chinese-owned apple dryers operated in many areas of the North County, from Pajaro to Prunedale, but no extant examples were located for this historic context statement.

In 1911, the United States Immigration Commission reported that the local Chinese were still doing significant agricultural work.⁴⁶⁵ However, they eventually moved out of agriculture and into their own businesses as they aged, saved money and settled permanently.

⁴⁵³ Mekis, *Blossoms into Gold*, xxii.

⁴⁵⁴ Mekis, *Blossoms into Gold*, 48-49.

⁴⁵⁵ Clovis, *Monterey County's North Coast and Coastal Valleys*, 76, 81.

⁴⁵⁶ Clovis, *Monterey County's North Coast and Coastal Valleys*, 32.

⁴⁵⁷ Hillstrom, *The Dream of America: Immigration 1870-1920*, 45, 83.

⁴⁵⁸ Hillstrom, *The Dream of America: Immigration 1870-1920*, 46.

⁴⁵⁹ Hillstrom, *The Dream of America: Immigration 1870-1920*, 84.

⁴⁶⁰ Hillstrom, *The Dream of America: Immigration 1870-1920*, 84.

⁴⁶¹ Nakane, *Nothing Left in My Hands*, 24.

⁴⁶² Nakane, *Nothing Left in My Hands*, 29.

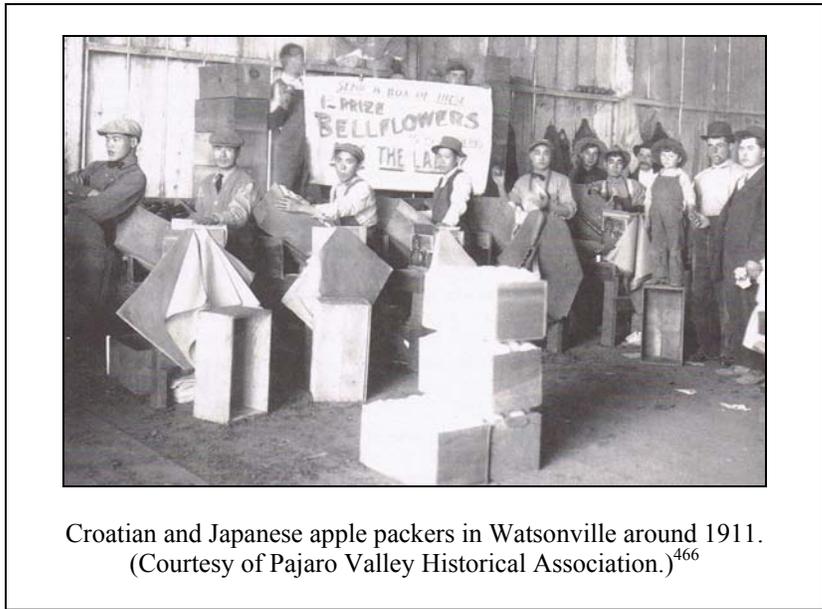
⁴⁶³ Mekis, *Blossoms Into Gold*, 191-192. Nakane, *Nothing Left in My Hands*, 29.

⁴⁶⁴ Mekis, *Blossoms into Gold*, 192.

⁴⁶⁵ Nakane, *Nothing Left in My Hands*, 25.

f. Croatians and Yugoslavians:

Dalmatians from Croatia and Yugoslavia arrived in the Pajaro Valley in the 1870s when fruit growing became more important to the local economy.⁴⁶⁷ A few Croatian immigrants moved from San Francisco to Watsonville from 1850-1875, but most arrived in the Pajaro Valley in the mid- to late-1870s and formed a large community by the 1890s.⁴⁶⁸ Croatian men emigrated initially, followed by women around 1890.⁴⁶⁹ As the number of local Chinese agricultural workers declined from the effects of the Chinese Exclusion Act and other restrictions, as well as natural aging, more Croatian workers immigrated to the area to take open agricultural jobs. Employers sometimes underwrote their voyages.⁴⁷⁰ Heavy immigration from Croatia to Watsonville occurred from 1895 to 1918, but it slowed afterwards because immigrants needed sponsors to enter America.⁴⁷¹



Croatian and Japanese apple packers in Watsonville around 1911.
(Courtesy of Pajaro Valley Historical Association.)⁴⁶⁶

By 1920, one-fifth of Watsonville's residents were Croatian.⁴⁷² The National Origins Quota Act of 1924 further limited annual Yugoslavian/Croatian immigration to 671 people.⁴⁷³ Nevertheless, the Croatian population of the Pajaro Valley continued to grow.⁴⁷⁴

Most of the Pajaro Valley Croatians came from the former Dubrovnik Republic on the Dalmatian Coast.⁴⁷⁵ Croatians moved to America to escape a confluence of factors that caused starvation, low incomes and conflict in their native land. These factors included unaffordable taxes, an expanding population, conflicts over property inheritance, severe crop failures, a military draft, and increasing unemployment.⁴⁷⁶ As Croatian immigrants became settled in the Monterey Bay

⁴⁶⁶ Mekis, *Blossoms into Gold*, 191.

⁴⁶⁷ Nakane, *Nothing Left in My Hands*, 10.

⁴⁶⁸ Mekis, *Blossoms into Gold*, xxii, 49.

⁴⁶⁹ Mekis, *Blossoms into Gold*, 53.

⁴⁷⁰ Mekis, *Blossoms into Gold*, 76.

⁴⁷¹ Mekis, *Blossoms into Gold*, 54.

⁴⁷² Mekis, *Blossoms into Gold*, 56.

⁴⁷³ Mekis, *Blossoms into Gold*, 55.

⁴⁷⁴ Mekis, *Blossoms into Gold*, 56.

⁴⁷⁵ Mekis, *Blossoms into Gold*, xxiii.

⁴⁷⁶ Mekis, *Blossoms into Gold*, 32-36.

Area, they encouraged their families to join them for the work opportunities, freedom and justice.⁴⁷⁷ Attracted by the double promise of profit and land ownership, hard to come by in their native land, Croatians working elsewhere in California and in Europe moved to the area and opened packing houses and leased or bought orchards.⁴⁷⁸ Some had experience in agriculture (although not with apples, necessarily), shipping, trading and marketing, all useful backgrounds for their new roles in the region's apple industry.⁴⁷⁹ Their strong work ethic and innovative ideas about processing, marketing and distributing apples revolutionized the local apple business and their innovations are still evident today.⁴⁸⁰

When the Croatians arrived in the 1870s, almost five hundred acres of apple trees were growing in the Pajaro Valley.⁴⁸¹ John Ivankovich opened J. Ivankovich and Co. in San Francisco in 1860, a wholesale importer and commissioner of imported and domestic fruit.⁴⁸² By 1891, he was buying Pajaro Valley apples and had opened a Watsonville packing house.⁴⁸³ Other Croatians also established Pajaro Valley apple orchards and packing and distribution businesses in the 1880s and 1890s, including cousins M. N. Lettunich and Matteo Lettunich, brothers Luke Scurich and Stephen Scurich, F. P. Marinovich and many others.⁴⁸⁴ Those families handled every step of the process: growing, harvesting, packing, consolidating, distributing, shipping and selling the apples. By the mid-1890s, they had turned the Pajaro Valley into a successful, cohesive apple district of cooperative yet competitive laborers, packers and distributors.⁴⁸⁵ M. N. Lettunich & Company operated the Del Monte Fruit Farm in Aromas.⁴⁸⁶ His property was between the Southern Pacific Railroad line and the Pajaro River, just off Aromas Road.

The United States Immigration Commission acknowledged the Croatians' impact on agricultural history, noting in 1911 that they have "assisted in producing the changes introduced in the kinds of crops grown . . . [and] have done much to encourage the growing of apples."⁴⁸⁷ They were especially good at examining apple blossoms and determining which would produce the best crops. About one-third of the Croatian families leased or owned farms by 1910.⁴⁸⁸ Croatian residents constituted about twenty percent of Watsonville's 1920 population. The Watsonville Croatian community occupied the area around the apple packing sheds, a large area bounded by Walker, Rodriguez, Ford and First streets. The packing sheds later moved to Walker Street when the railroad depot was built.⁴⁸⁹

⁴⁷⁷ Mekis, *Blossoms into Gold*, 36-37.

⁴⁷⁸ Mekis, *Blossoms Into Gold*, 71-72.

⁴⁷⁹ Mekis, *Blossoms into Gold*, 55.

⁴⁸⁰ Mekis, *Blossoms into Gold*, xii, xix.

⁴⁸¹ Mekis, *Blossoms Into Gold*, 47, 49.

⁴⁸² Mekis, *Blossoms into Gold*, 43.

⁴⁸³ Mekis, *Blossoms into Gold*, 44.

⁴⁸⁴ Mekis, *Blossoms into Gold*, 52-54, 71-72.

⁴⁸⁵ Mekis, *Blossoms into Gold*, 75.

⁴⁸⁶ Mekis, *Blossoms into Gold*, 77.

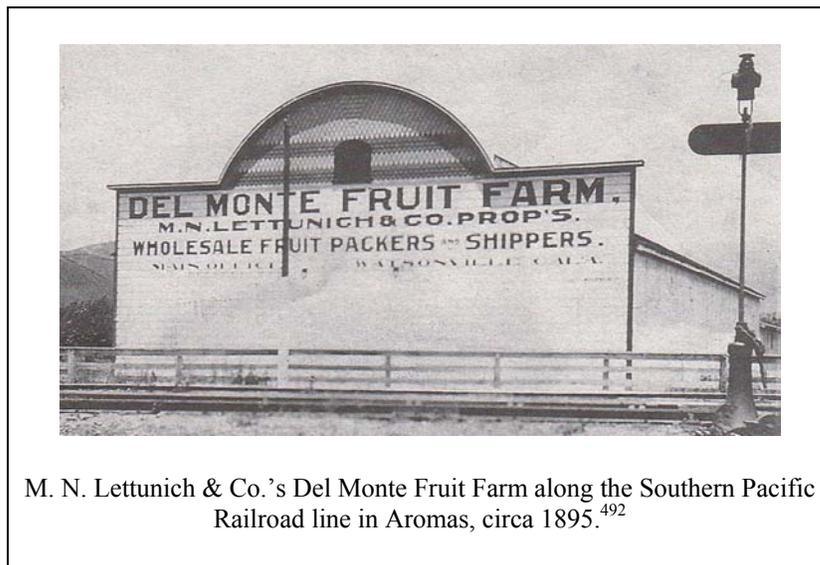
⁴⁸⁷ Nakane, *Nothing Left in My Hands*, 11.

⁴⁸⁸ Nakane, *Nothing Left in My Hands*, 28.

⁴⁸⁹ Mekis, *Blossoms Into Gold*, 154-155.

In the 1950s, anti-Croatian discrimination rose with McCarthyism. Croatia was then part of Yugoslavia, a Communist country and anyone associated with the Austrian-American Benevolent Society was banned from government work.⁴⁹⁰ However, by the 1960s, Croatians still owned more than thirty percent of the land in the Pajaro Valley.⁴⁹¹

Croatian M. N. Lettunich (“Dean of the Watsonville Apple Industry”) was one of the most important figures in North County agriculture. In the early 1890s, M. N. Lettunich & Co. developed the Del Monte Fruit Farm on a large Aromas parcel between the Pajaro River and the Southern Pacific Railroad line (accessible from Aromas Road via Kortright Lane and from Carpenteria Road via Buehler Road). This North County property had apple and apricot



M. N. Lettunich & Co.’s Del Monte Fruit Farm along the Southern Pacific Railroad line in Aromas, circa 1895.⁴⁹²

orchards, an apple packing shed, apple dryer, apricot drying shed and a vineyard.⁴⁹³ Lettunich arrived in Watsonville in 1887, operated apple packing and shipping facilities around the Pajaro Valley and co-founded many apple-related organizations, including Watsonville Apple Distributors (1915), the Apple Investment Company, the Fruit Growers National Bank.⁴⁹⁴ Jack London’s *Valley of the Moon* novel featured the Pajaro Valley and mentioned M. N. Lettunich specifically.⁴⁹⁵ Aerial photographs from 2007 indicate a significant number of agricultural buildings on the east and west borders of the Del Monte property, some of which may be old packing sheds.⁴⁹⁶

⁴⁹⁰ Mekis, *Blossoms into Gold*, 220.

⁴⁹¹ Mekis, *Blossoms into Gold*, xix.

⁴⁹² Mekis, *Blossoms Into Gold*, 77.

⁴⁹³ Aromas Friends of the Library and Pajaro Valley Historical Association, “Aromas History Walking Tour,” October 24, 1982.

⁴⁹⁴ Mekis, *Blossoms Into Gold*, 129-130, 131, 144-145, 186. George Copriviza of San Juan Road also co-founded the Watsonville Apple Distributors. Lettunich employee Mitchell Kalich was a Del Monte Fruit Farm foreman who later founded his own apple packing and shipping firm, and then grew and shipped lettuce. He also co-founded the Pajaro Valley Cold Storage Company and was an officer of the Fruit Growers National Bank, the Watsonville Apple Distributors and other organizations. He shipped apples to Asia up to World War II.

⁴⁹⁵ Jack London, *Valley of the Moon* (Berkeley, CA: Macmillan Company, 1913), 362-366.

⁴⁹⁶ A Mr. Meyer (cousin of Dr. J. W. Buehler, who is likely the source of the name Buehler Road, which formed the eastern border of Lettunich’s land) also had an apple packing shed in the same area. It is possible that Meyer’s shed is part of the complex along Buehler Road that appears on the 2007 aerial photographs. (Aromas Friends of the Library and Pajaro Valley Historical Association, “Aromas History Walking Tour,” October 24, 1982.)

g. Japanese:

The first generation of Japanese immigrants, the Issei, arrived in America in the 1880s. Only about 188 Japanese residents were in America in 1880; immigration increased around 1885.⁴⁹⁸ They came to the Pajaro Valley around 1892 when sugar beets were the most important crop. Most Japanese worked in the beet fields until the end of the 1800s but others stayed much longer. By June 1894, the *Watsonville Pajaronian* proclaimed that “The Japanese are becoming more and more plentiful in this valley, and in certain classes of work seem to be crowding out the Chinese.”⁴⁹⁹ In the early twentieth century, Japanese farmers in the Pajaro Valley grew strawberries, sugar beets, hay, apples, onions, beans and other vegetables.⁵⁰⁰



Japanese laborers clear agricultural land near Castroville.⁴⁹⁷

When the Japanese arrived, the region had just started to focus on growing fruit.⁵⁰¹ When the Spreckels factory moved from Watsonville to Spreckels in 1902, Pajaro Valley Japanese workers found new jobs in the strawberry fields.⁵⁰² The transition from Chinese to Japanese labor in the strawberry fields was under way by the mid-1890s.⁵⁰³ The United States Immigration Commission noted in 1911 that the Japanese, “being unusually skillful berry growers, have had something to do with the expansion of the production of berries until much of the land is thus employed, whereas before their influx, little of it was so used.”⁵⁰⁴

Local Japanese workers transitioned from being migrant laborers, to contract laborers, to half-share strawberry farmers, to leasing land as cash tenants, and finally to land ownership. The Japanese also worked on reclamation leases; they cleared and cultivated the land and used it rent-free.⁵⁰⁵ These leases, generally lasting from four to six years, provided steady, long-term

⁴⁹⁷ Clovis, *Monterey County’s North Coast and Coastal Valleys*, 26.

⁴⁹⁸ Nakane, *Nothing Left in My Hands*, 1.

⁴⁹⁹ Nakane, *Nothing Left in My Hands*, 27.

⁵⁰⁰ Nakane, *Nothing Left in My Hands*, 42-43.

⁵⁰¹ Nakane, *Nothing Left in My Hands*, 6, 10.

⁵⁰² Nakane, *Nothing Left in My Hands*, 6, 27.

⁵⁰³ Nakane, *Nothing Left in My Hands*, 24.

⁵⁰⁴ Nakane, *Nothing Left in My Hands*, 11.

⁵⁰⁵ Clovis, *Monterey County’s North Coast and Coastal Valleys*, 26.

employment.⁵⁰⁶ For half-share contracts, the property owner and farmer shared profits equally based on the crop's market price.⁵⁰⁷ The property owner supplied the land, plants and equipment and the Japanese farmer handled the cultivation.⁵⁰⁸ The farmers could therefore increase their income by innovation and hard work, rather than working on a fixed wage contract based on the crop's lowest market price. Later, as cash tenants, the Japanese raised enough money to lease land outright.⁵⁰⁹ A man named Ueda Tao was the first Pajaro Valley farmer to lease a strawberry farm in 1900, followed in 1901 by Japanese farmers Nishimura and Higashi, who leased and grew thirty acres of strawberries.⁵¹⁰ Cooperative farming arrangements followed. Several Pajaro Valley Japanese men formed the Y. Kōsansha Company, irrigating and farming about fifty acres by 1908 and later expanding to other crops.⁵¹¹ By 1910, the Pajaro Valley Japanese had about thirty-two cash leases, sixty-one share leases and sixty contract leases.⁵¹²

Around the turn of the twentieth century, Pajaro Valley Japanese formed their own churches and social organizations. More Japanese moved to the area during the 1904-1905 Russo-Japanese War.⁵¹³ Anti-Japanese sentiment rose among the population and in the California legislature. Under the 1907 Gentlemen's Agreement, the United States agreed not to formally limit immigration if Japan withheld visas and passports from laborers wishing to migrate to America, but allowed wives and children of immigrants already in America to join the man.⁵¹⁴ In 1909, the Zaibei Nihonjin Kyogikai ("joint management of the community") became the Japanese Association; the founders organized the group to fight anti-Japanese laws.⁵¹⁵ California's Alien Land Laws of 1913 and 1920 forbade non-citizen Japanese from owning land, so families purchased land in the names of children who were born in the United States and were therefore citizens. The Immigration and Exclusion Act of 1924 halted Japanese immigration to the United States for a few decades.⁵¹⁶ Japanese and Japanese-American residents of Monterey, Santa Cruz and San Benito counties peaked in 1930, at 4.6 percent of the regional population.⁵¹⁷ Until World War II, the Issei tended to live in enclaves because they had limited housing choices, suffered discrimination, earned low wages and endured hard working conditions.⁵¹⁸

After the December 1941 bombing of Pearl Harbor, the federal government forcibly removed Japanese and Japanese-Americans from the North County and elsewhere and sent them to

⁵⁰⁶ Nakane, *Nothing Left in My Hands*, 28. Clovis, *Monterey County's North Coast and Coastal Valleys*, 26.

⁵⁰⁷ Nakane, *Nothing Left in My Hands*, 38-39, 43.

⁵⁰⁸ Jane W. Borg and Kathy McKenzie Nichols, *Nihon Bunka/Japanese Culture: One Hundred Years in the Pajaro Valley* (Watsonville, CA: Pajaro Valley Arts Council, 1992), no page number.

⁵⁰⁹ Nakane, *Nothing Left in My Hands*, 38.

⁵¹⁰ Nakane, *Nothing Left in My Hands*, 39. Borg, *Nihon Bunka/Japanese Culture*, no page number.

⁵¹¹ Nakane, *Nothing Left in My Hands*, 30. Various sources refer to a Y. Kōsansha or a J. S. Kōsansha Company.

⁵¹² Nakane, *Nothing Left in My Hands*, 42.

⁵¹³ Nakane, *Nothing Left in My Hands*, 34.

⁵¹⁴ Nakane, *Nothing Left in My Hands*, 1.

⁵¹⁵ Nakane, *Nothing Left in My Hands*, 49.

⁵¹⁶ Nakane, *Nothing Left in My Hands*, 1.

⁵¹⁷ Sandy Lydon, *The Japanese in the Monterey Bay Region: A Brief History* (Capitola, CA: Capitola Book Company, 1997), xii.

⁵¹⁸ Nakane, *Nothing Left in My Hands*, 2.

internment camps for the remainder of World War II.⁵¹⁹ When they returned after the war, many locals were hostile but some helped their Japanese neighbors resettle into the Monterey Bay Area.⁵²⁰ A small number of Japanese were allowed to immigrate to America after the 1952 Walter-McCarran Immigration and Naturalization Act. Until that year, they were not permitted to become naturalized American citizens.⁵²¹

North County businesses provided services to the Japanese community. Residents of Watsonville's Japantown, on the south end of Main Street just over the Pajaro River, frequented Pajaro's Chinatown. Pajaro's Chinatown offered bachelors a chance to eat in Japanese restaurants. Around 1905, Watsonville had a Japanese neighborhood and by 1910, businesses included doctors, barbers, tailors, laundries, sweet shops, restaurants, bathhouses, billiard parlors, groceries, shoe store, photographers, watchmakers, bicycle shop, stagecoach company and tofu factory. After 1900, Castroville and Salinas both had Japanese grocery stores. The proprietors took orders and delivered goods by horse to Japanese living in rural Monterey County. Japanese peddlers, including a fishmonger and a pharmacy owner, walked or rode buggies to labor camps to serve the needs of Japanese agricultural workers.⁵²²

After about 1900, Japanese migratory laborers working in the Pajaro Valley also stayed at Japanese boardinghouses. They served almost like labor clubs, offering lodging and labor contracting. Ten boardinghouses operated locally by 1910; one recruited Japanese railroad workers. The Japanese-operated Higo Inn on San Juan Road near Pajaro's Chinatown was an inn, restaurant and public bath where local agricultural laborers could live and otherwise mix with the Japanese community.⁵²³ By 1910, 168 Japanese women lived in the Pajaro Valley but found it difficult to learn English because all business was transacted in Japanese.⁵²⁴

⁵¹⁹ Mekis, *Blossoms into Gold*, 195.

⁵²⁰ Mekis, *Blossoms into Gold*, 219-220.

⁵²¹ Nakane, *Nothing Left in My Hands*, 1-2.

⁵²² Nakane, *Nothing Left in My Hands*, 33-35, 37, 48.

⁵²³ Nakane, *Nothing Left in My Hands*, 35.

⁵²⁴ Nakane, *Nothing Left in My Hands*, 34, 39-40, 59.

h. Filipinos:

Filipino immigrants arrived in the Pajaro Valley in the 1920s.⁵²⁵ They labored in the local fields before World War II, following the Japanese immigrants as a major source of farm labor.⁵²⁶ As anti-Filipino racial tensions mounted, a race riot occurred in 1930 and Filipino agricultural worker Fermin Tobera was shot and killed in a bunkhouse on the Murphy ranch on San Juan Road.⁵²⁷ The federal government restricted Filipino immigration by 1934.⁵²⁸



Filipino workers in T. J. Horgan's lettuce field on Lewis Road in the 1920s.
(Courtesy of Pajaro Valley Historical Association.)⁵²⁹

i. Italians:

The Italians have been synonymous with Castroville since the early 1920s, when they started growing artichokes on Andrew Molera's Mulligan Hill Ranch on Molera Road. Traveling through Monterey County, Angelo Del Chiaro and Egidio Maracci saw Molera's first artichoke crop on his property and leased 150 acres from him immediately. They planted artichokes with Daniel Pieri and Del Chiaro's cousin Amerigo. The Del Chiaro, Pieri, Tottino and Bellone families founded the California Artichoke and Vegetable Growers Corporation by 1924, now called Ocean Mist.⁵³⁰

During World War II, Italian prisoners of war were held at Ford Ord in Monterey. Local Italian-American families were allowed to visit them there and host them in Castroville. Some of the prisoners married local girls and became artichoke growers, like Giuseppe Sbarra. During the

⁵²⁵ Mekis, *Blossoms into Gold*, xxiii.

⁵²⁶ Nakane, *Nothing Left in My Hands*, 5.

⁵²⁷ Mekis, *Blossoms into Gold*, 194-195. Richard B. Meynell: "Remembering the Watsonville Riots," Excerpted from "Little Brown Brothers, Little White Girls: The Anti-Filipino Hysteria of 1930 and the Watsonville Riots," *Passports*, Vol. 22 (1998), http://www.modelminority.com/joomla/index.php?option=com_content&view=article&id=271:remembering-the-watsonville-riots-&catid=40:history&Itemid=56, accessed 2 April 2010.

⁵²⁸ Mekis, *Blossoms into Gold*, 195.

⁵²⁹ Clovis, *Monterey County's North Coast and Coastal Valleys*, 86-87.

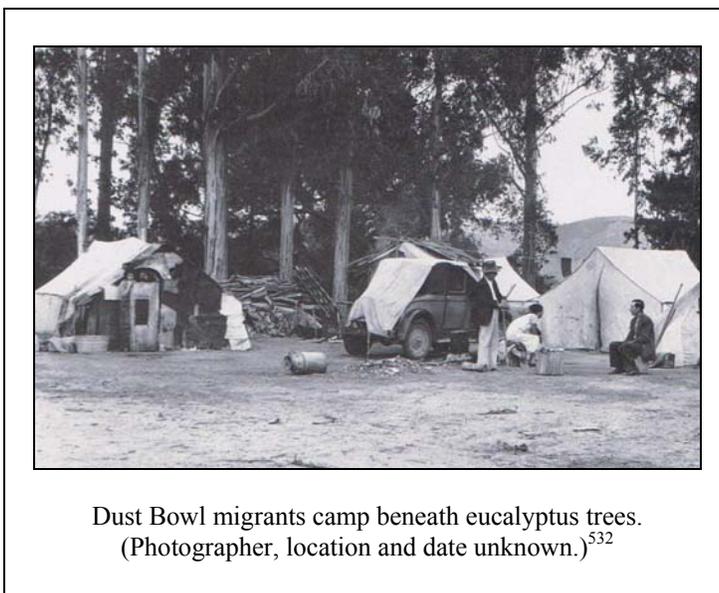
⁵³⁰ Clovis, *Monterey County's North Coast and Coastal Valleys*, 22-23.

war, the federal government imposed a curfew and painted a white line down Castroville's Merritt Street. About seventy Italian families lived in Castroville but people born in Italy could not cross that line. Dino Lazzarini, who farmed artichokes for forty-six years, managed his ranch from across the white line in the road, yelling instructions to his workers. Despite the conflict, Lazzarini's artichoke-packing shed hosted many festivities for the Italian prisoners from Fort Ord. In 1942-1943, some Castroville residents who had served in the Italian military were sent to internment camps.⁵³¹ After the war ended, the Italians continued farming artichokes in Castroville as they had done for decades.

j. Dust Bowl Migrants:

In the 1930s, a terrible drought, severe dust storms and the Great Depression forced many residents of Texas, Arkansas, Oklahoma and surrounding states to flee their homes. Some Dust Bowl refugees moved to the Pajaro and Salinas Valleys, seeking work.⁵³³

Alisal, now within the City of Salinas, was once called "Little Oklahoma" because many Dust Bowl migrants settled there and worked in the Salinas Valley lettuce fields.⁵³⁴ They also settled in Prunedale, raising cows, chickens and vegetables. Some sold milk in Salinas.⁵³⁵ Local farmers offered them forty-five cents an hour to work in packing sheds, which they considered "great pay" and "easy money," versus working in the fields. Many migrants lived in "cardboard communities" and Alisal had hundreds of such shelters. The long harvesting



Dust Bowl migrants camp beneath eucalyptus trees.
(Photographer, location and date unknown.)⁵³²

season allowed Dust Bowl migrants to live in the area for most of the year, but they moved to areas like Yuma and Phoenix for the winter. In 1959, former Dust Bowl refugees still living in the area created the annual "Oldtimers Shed Workers Potluck Picnic" to reminisce about their lettuce packing days. The annual picnic occurred at least until 1982.⁵³⁶

⁵³¹ Elizabeth Schilling, "Love and war: A story from Castroville's past," *Register-Pajaronian*, 30 March 1987.

⁵³² John Steinbeck, *The Harvest Gypsies: On the Road to the Grapes of Wrath* (Berkeley: Heyday Books, 1988; reprint of 1936 edition by *The San Francisco News*), sixth page of photographs between pages 32-33.

⁵³³ Mekis, *Blossoms into Gold*, xxiii.

⁵³⁴ Church, *Historical Notes of North Monterey County With a History of Hidden Valley*, 3.

⁵³⁵ "Prunedale: no longer 'out in the sticks'," *Monterey County Herald*, 21 June 1987.

⁵³⁶ Joe Livernois, "Old shed workers meet as history reviews itself," *North County News*.

k. Mexicans:

After the United States won the Mexican-American War in 1848 and annexed Texas, California and other lands in the late 1840s, Mexican residents were suddenly on American soil.⁵³⁷ Mexican farmers continued to live in the North County afterwards. In 1870, some lived in the hills between Aromas and San Juan Bautista.⁵³⁸ Mexican immigration to the United States was slow in the last half of the nineteenth century because of discrimination and lack of opportunities.⁵³⁹ Latin American immigration was not restricted in the 1920s, so Mexicans came to work in farming, ranching and mining to replace dwindling Asian labor.⁵⁴⁰ The thriving American economy and Mexican political unrest also drew them. From 1910 to 1930, the Mexican population in America rose from 200,000 to 600,000. The actual population was likely higher but fluctuated as immigrants re-crossed the border.⁵⁴¹

Many Mexicans moved to the Pajaro and Salinas Valleys during the federal government's Bracero Program, begun in 1942 to fill agricultural and other jobs during World War II.⁵⁴² In August 1942, trains brought 600 Mexicans to the Salinas Valley to work in the Spreckels factory.⁵⁴³ Thousands more followed during the Bracero years, which ended in 1964.⁵⁴⁴



Salinas Valley Bracero labor camp, 1956. (Photograph by Leonard Nadel.)⁵⁴⁵

⁵³⁷ Hillstrom, *The Dream of America: Immigration 1870-1920*, 27.

⁵³⁸ Gordon, *Monterey Bay Area: Natural History and Cultural Imprints*, 62-63.

⁵³⁹ Hillstrom, *The Dream of America: Immigration 1870-1920*, 28.

⁵⁴⁰ Hillstrom, *The Dream of America: Immigration 1870-1920*, 93-94.

⁵⁴¹ Hillstrom, *The Dream of America: Immigration 1870-1920*, 28-29.

⁵⁴² Mekis, *Blossoms into Gold*, xxiii.

⁵⁴³ Mekis, *Blossoms into Gold*, 196.

⁵⁴⁴ Anderson, *The Bracero Program in California*, Introduction, 1, 9.

⁵⁴⁵ Leonard Nadel, "Living quarters in a bracero camp in the Salinas Valley, California," in Bracero History Archive, Item #2338, <http://braceroarchive.org/items/show/2338> (accessed 3 February, 2010).

I. Other Ethnic and Cultural Groups:

By 1873, German immigrant Fred Therwachter farmed south of the Pajaro River.⁵⁴⁶ Around 1928, a Swedish former horticulture worker named Lundblad bought 301 Hidden Valley Road in the Prunedale area, now called Oak Hills.⁵⁴⁷ Spanish farmers stayed in the area after California joined the United States. They lived mainly in poorer areas, like the North County hills.⁵⁴⁸ New Spanish immigrants arrived in the North County around 1910.⁵⁴⁹ Further research will reveal more about the agricultural contributions of these and other ethnic and cultural groups to the North County.

⁵⁴⁶ Martin, *Directory of the Town of Watsonville for 1873*, 44.

⁵⁴⁷ Church, *Historical Notes of North Monterey County With a History of Hidden Valley*, 8.

⁵⁴⁸ Gordon, *Monterey Bay Area: Natural History and Cultural Imprints*, 62-63.

⁵⁴⁹ Mekis, *Blossoms into Gold*, xxii.

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V. HISTORIC THEMES, ASSOCIATED PROPERTY TYPES, ELIGIBILITY CRITERIA AND INTEGRITY THRESHOLDS

A. Introduction and Chapter Format

1. Historic Themes for North County Agricultural Resources

Building upon the historical patterns and broad influences discussed in *Chapter 4: North County Agricultural History*, this chapter provides a systematic approach to evaluating potentially significant properties by describing the five historic themes, with their associated property types, which reflect the North County's agricultural development up to 1960. Within each theme, this chapter also identifies specific North County properties that illustrate how significant individuals, groups, events and activities shaped the landscape. Property types and specific examples illustrate the historic theme, which in turn supports the historic context.⁵⁵⁰

North County agricultural resources built during this context statement's period of pre-history to 1960 illustrate these five historic themes:

1. Extensive Agriculture (ca. 1850-1960)
2. Intensive Agriculture (ca. 1870-1960)
3. Processing and Distribution (ca. 1860-1960)
4. Advocacy and Social Organizations (ca. 1870-1960)
5. Housing (ca. 1850-1960)

The North County is an ever-changing agricultural and cultural landscape. Agriculture has shaped the North County since the Ohlones arrived and it continues to make an imprint on the land through widespread industrial crop cultivation and livestock raising. By its very nature, agriculture changes depending on factors like geology, geography, climate, economics, technology, labor and the shifting popularity and profitability of crops. Historic properties in the North County reflect these changes and some properties can therefore be classified under more than one theme. Thus, the date ranges presented after each theme must be broad.

However, these date ranges should not be confused with a property's period of significance. When evaluating a property for the National Register of Historic Places (NR), the California Register of Historical Resources (CR) and the Monterey County Register (MC), the period of significance must be determined on a case-by-case basis. Through an analysis that divides the historic context into individual themes and their associated property types, the historical significance of properties associated with each theme can be determined.

⁵⁵⁰ California Office of Historic Preservation, *OHP Preferred Format for Historic Context Statements*, 1.

2. Chapter Format and Limitations

a. Chapter Format

This chapter systematically describes each historic theme in the following manner:

- *Introduction*: This section defines the theme, relates it to applicable Monterey County Code (MCC) or agricultural industry definitions, and lists associated property types.
- *Associated Property Types*: This section defines the associated property types using:
 - *Property Type Description*. The description follows the seven-part National Register format outlined in *Chapter 3: Identifying and Evaluating North County Resources* and describes: physical characteristics, associative characteristics, geographical information, boundaries, variations, locational patterns and condition.
 - *Landscape Characteristics*. For Theme 1: Extensive Agriculture and Theme 2: Intensive Agriculture, a chart describes eleven landscape characteristics and applies them to Rural Historic Landscapes. The landscape characteristics are: land uses and activities; patterns of spatial organization; response to the natural environment; cultural traditions; circulation networks; boundary demarcations; vegetation related to land use; buildings, structures and objects; clusters; archaeological sites; and small-scale elements.
 - *Eligibility Criteria and Integrity Thresholds*. This section includes guidance on applying the National Register (NR), California Register (CR) and Monterey County Register (MC) eligibility criteria and evaluating whether a property retains historic integrity. This section includes charts analyzing the seven aspects of historic integrity: location, setting, design, materials, workmanship, feeling and association.
 - *Potentially Significant Historic Resources*. This section lists extant (unless noted otherwise) properties that illustrate the significant historical patterns, events, social, political, technological and cultural influences, and/or significant individuals relevant to each theme.

b. Chapter Limitations

This chapter provides the analytical framework for evaluating potentially significant properties. Using the property types as a guide in the field, a planner, researcher, or layperson can associate a property with a historic theme that supports the historic context. The historic theme and associated property type descriptions provide the critical background information for completing intensive survey forms and/or nominations to national, state and local historic registers. This chapter also provides a framework for evaluating whether properties possess enough historic integrity to convey their significance.

The discussion presents extant North County resources that are potentially historically significant, based on initial research and reconnaissance-level property surveys. This project's scope of work did not include exhaustive research or intensive-level surveys of the North County

agricultural resources. Therefore, the historical information and analysis presented here is meant to be preliminary, for the purposes of establishing potential historic significance. Using this chapter as a guide, individual properties should be researched and field-evaluated on a case-by-case basis to establish historic significance and integrity.

3. Theme and Property Type Example

The Williamson property at 951-953 Trafton Road illustrates two historic themes, Extensive Agriculture and Intensive Agriculture. In the 1870s, William Williamson built the house at 951 Trafton Road on the farmstead where he grew wheat and raised livestock, examples of extensive agriculture. The Williamson family later cultivated sugar beets, lettuce and cauliflower (intensive agriculture) and constructed the bungalow at 953 Trafton Road in the 1920s. The Williamson family farmed intensive crops until leasing the property in 1958 for artichoke cultivation. Starting in 1888 and for many decades afterwards, the property is also associated with William Williamson's daughter-in-law, widow Mollie Williamson, one of the most successful female farmers in the area.

The Williamson property provides a good example of how this chapter is intended to be used as a guide to registration. The *historic context* for the Williamson property is the development of North County agriculture under the *themes* of extensive and intensive agriculture. The *period of significance* for the property's extensive agriculture would be 1874-1888, when the site was engaged in extensive agriculture. The *period of significance* for the property's development of intensive agriculture would be 1888-1958, when the family cultivated intensive crops and built the second residence at 953 Trafton Road. This example also illustrates the coordination of theme and historic research, which revealed when the type of agriculture changed.

The Williamson property illustrates how change in agricultural method (from extensive to intensive agriculture) can be considered historically significant. In this case, the property could be registered for its association with the Williamson family under the themes of extensive agriculture and intensive agriculture. If both themes are used, then the period of significance would be 1874–1958, when the property was in continuous farming use by the family.

The *associated property type* in this example would be an Extensive Farmstead (1874-1888), Intensive Farmstead (1888-1958) or both, if the Williamson family's continuous use is considered historically important. Using this chapter and the representative example of the associated property type (Extensive Farmstead or Intensive Farmstead) as a guide, field survey of the property would determine if it possesses the physical and associative characteristics, the rural historic landscape characteristics, and the historic integrity that would qualify it for listing in a national, state or local historic register.

B. Theme 1: Extensive Agriculture (ca. 1850 – 1960)

1. Introduction

The theme of *Extensive Agriculture* focuses on agricultural operations that require a low level of labor and capital relative to the size of the farmed area.⁵⁵¹ In the North County, extensive agriculture is associated with low mechanical technology; minimal or no irrigation; transportation of agricultural goods to market via local waterways (*e.g.*, the Elkhorn Slough and other local sloughs, the Pajaro and Salinas rivers, Monterey Bay and the Pacific Ocean); and a labor pool consisting of ethnic groups from North America and Western Europe (*e.g.*, the Ohlones, early Spanish and Mexican settlers, and later immigrants from Canada, Ireland, Scotland, Switzerland, Denmark and the Azores Islands).

The property type associated with the Extensive Agriculture theme is *Extensive Farmsteads*, which the Monterey County Code (MCC) classifies as an *agricultural operation*. Extensive farmsteads are also classified as Rural Historic Landscapes.

Cattle ranching, dairying and grain production (*e.g.*, wheat and barley) are examples of North County extensive agriculture. Expanding these operations may require more land, but only a negligible addition of new technology and manpower. North County farmers practiced extensive agriculture mostly in the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, although some farmers still conduct extensive agricultural operations today. Many of the surviving North County extensive farmsteads date from 1800-1870, except Moon Glow Dairy, which was founded in the mid-twentieth century. Most of the active extensive farmsteads are livestock operations.

The next sections include a comprehensive description of the Extensive Farmstead property type and a discussion of specific North County properties that may be potentially significant historic resources illustrating the Extensive Agriculture theme.

⁵⁵¹ Stoll, *The Fruits of Natural Advantage: Making the Industrial Countryside in California*, xiii-xiv.

2. Associated Property Type: Extensive Farmstead

a. Property Type Description



Cattle Ranch: 1784 San Juan Grade Road

Physical Characteristics: A cluster of buildings generally containing a primary residence, typically of a simple, vernacular style; barns for livestock and equipment; outbuildings reflecting the property’s use (*e.g.*, milking parlors for dairies); and housing for workers. The cluster is usually in a valley and/or among trees to protect it from the elements. Often, corrals for horses or other animals are located within the cluster or adjacent to the livestock barns. The remaining landscape is kept natural to allow livestock to roam and graze.

Associative Characteristics: Extensive farmsteads are associated with their particular use, such as dairies, cattle ranches, grain fields or early homesteads. They may also be associated with a particular ethnic group that dominated an industry, such as the Danish or Swiss in the dairy industry.

Geographical Information: Extensive farmsteads tend to be located in the North County’s hilly areas, where soil was not conducive to raising intensive crops and water sources were distant. This type of property requires large tracts of land for animals to roam freely and graze on the abundant grasses found in the region’s hillier areas. However, some extensive properties, such as Moon Glow Dairy, are located in the flat terrain near Moss Landing and the Springfield District.

Boundaries: Boundary demarcations include roads, driveways, fences, gates, posts and trees along the property lines. Rugged and hilly landscapes also provide natural boundaries. When the region was first settled, property lines were often vague and demarcated by rock outcroppings, trees or other landscape features.

Variations: Variations include buildings specific to an extensive farmstead’s use. For example, early homesteaders grew wheat, barley, hay and oats, so hay barns and storage sheds would likely be found, along with an early farm residence. For cattle ranches, barns, corrals and outbuildings specific to raising cattle would be a property variation. Depending on the property owner’s wealth, an extensive farmstead may include an architect-designed house.

Locational Patterns: Ranchers grazed cattle all over the North County, including in the Pajaro and Salinas Valleys, on coastal land south of the Pajaro River down to the Castroville vicinity, on the interior hills between Moss Landing and Prunedale and on hills in the southeast, along San Juan Grade Road and Old Stage Road. Dairies thrived in the Pajaro and Salinas Valleys, particularly in Castroville, the Elkhorn Slough area and in the Springfield District. Grain fields covered the Pajaro Valley, including along San Juan Road and in Aromas. The area between Castroville and Salinas also contained extensive grain fields. Presently, extensive farmsteads occur in the rolling lands and rugged areas of North County; one dairy is in the Moss Landing area, near the Springfield District.

Condition: Although active, extensive farmsteads are uncommon in the North County, the condition of these properties is generally good, particularly if the ranch or dairy is still used for its original purpose.

b. Landscape Characteristics

 <p>Cattle Ranch: 1784 San Juan Grade Rd.</p>	<p>Land Uses and Activities: Owners of extensive farmsteads shaped the landscape by building housing, barns and outbuildings on a protected, rural site. Livestock also shaped the landscape by roaming and grazing, creating trails and contour terraces and modifying vegetation. Planting, cultivating and harvesting cereals and grains also modified the landscape.</p>
 <p>Cattle Ranch: 1784 San Juan Grade Rd.</p>	<p>Patterns of Spatial Organization: The extensive farmstead organized domestic and functional operations around a cluster set within a protected valley or among trees. Dirt, gravel or paved driveways lead from the cluster to the main road, livestock barns, support buildings and surrounding hillsides. Dirt roads or flattened areas along fences are common, providing repair access.</p>
 <p>Cattle terraces on the ranch at 1784 San Juan Grade Rd.</p>	<p>Response to the Natural Environment: Extensive farmsteads require large tracts of land for grazing and roaming livestock. The cluster is generally located in a valley to be near a natural water source for livestock and for protection from the elements. The site of the primary residence may be near large trees for additional shade and protection. Cattle terraces (generally, paths following the contour of the land) appear on the landscape in hilly areas, denoting where cattle walk along the grade.</p>
 <p>Struve Dairy: 1770 State Highway 1</p>	<p>Cultural Traditions: Various cultural groups adopted specific extensive agricultural practices, continuing traditions from their native land. An example would be the Struve family, Danes who brought their cultural dairying traditions to the North County.</p>

 <p>Circulation network around cluster for Moon Glow Dairy on Dolan Rd.</p>	<p>Circulation Networks: Circulation networks include dirt, gravel or paved driveways or roads leading to the primary road, connecting the cluster to surrounding corrals, and surrounding fields and hillsides. Properties tend to be primarily undeveloped, so roads are limited and focus around the cluster.</p>
 <p>Barbed-wire livestock fence along primary road to Moon Glow Dairy.</p>	<p>Boundary Demarcations: Boundaries include the primary road, fences, gates, posts and natural features like hills and trees. A fencing system was critical for keeping livestock from roaming off the property. Flat plowed areas or small dirt roads adjacent to fences provide access for efficient fence repair. Fences can be a variety of types; however, board and barbed-wire fences are the most common.</p>
 <p>Windbreak and palm trees at Struve Dairy, 1770 State Highway 1.</p>	<p>Vegetation Related to Land Use: Vegetation includes grasses, extensive cereal crops planted for early homesteads and ornamental vegetation, such as decorative, paired palm trees to highlight the property's entrance from the road. Windbreaks in the form of planted deciduous trees are also common.</p>
 <p>Storage barn and worker housing at Moon Glow Dairy.</p>	<p>Buildings, Structures, and Objects: Domestic buildings include the primary residence and possibly a tank house. Barns for housing and feeding livestock or storing equipment generally dominate the cluster in size and scale. Outbuildings particular to the extensive farmstead's use will also be extant. Worker housing near the cluster is also common.</p>

 <p>Cluster at 1784 San Juan Grade Road. The house is hidden behind the large oak trees to the extreme left.</p>	<p>Clusters: Extensive farmsteads usually contain a cluster of buildings set within a protected valley or surrounded by large native trees. The cluster may be near a natural water source for efficient livestock feeding. Buildings in the cluster may include the primary residence and tank house, livestock barns, outbuildings for repairing farm equipment and machinery, and worker housing.</p>
 <p>Early homestead with original farmhouse (center, with white shutters) at 14468 Blackie Road.</p>	<p>Archaeological Sites: Early extensive farmsteads may have the potential to yield archaeological information if the surrounding soil was not heavily disturbed by agricultural or household operations. Each site should be evaluated on a case-by-case basis.</p>
 <p>Feeding trough at Moon Glow Dairy.</p>	<p>Small-Scale Elements: Small-scale elements may include decorative arches or signs announcing the ranch's name, water and feeding troughs scattered along the grazing lands, corrals, windmills and cattle guards.</p>

c. Eligibility Criteria and Integrity Thresholds

Extensive farmsteads may be historically significant for their association with a particular extensive crop or a particular method of livestock raising (criteria NR-A, CR-1, MC-A1, A2, A4, A6, C1 & C2).

Extensive farmsteads may also be historically significant for their association with an individual significant in the history of the North County region (criteria NR-B, CR-2, MC-A3).

This property type also may be historically significant as an example of a distinctive architectural type, period or method of construction, or its association with an important architect or designer (criteria NR-C, CR-3, MC-A5, B1, B2 & B3).

To qualify for the above criteria, the extensive farmstead must possess historic integrity. Extensive farmsteads are examples of rural historic landscapes and must possess a substantial number of landscape characteristics to qualify for registration. For extensive farmsteads, the resource’s physical characteristics are represented by landscape characteristics as well as the character-defining features of the extant buildings on the landscape. The following chart provides guidelines for evaluating integrity.

Location	<i>Location is the place where the significant activities that shaped a property took place, often determined by geographical factors.</i> Extensive farmsteads are generally located on large tracts of open land suitable for grazing animals or growing grains, a nearby water source for livestock, and a sheltered place for the farmstead’s building cluster. Extensive farmsteads whose characteristics retain their historic location have integrity of location.
Setting	<i>Setting is the physical environment within and surrounding a property, including large-scale features (e.g., woodlands or rock formations) and small-scale features (e.g., fences, gateposts, springs or individual trees).</i> Extensive farmsteads with integrity of setting retain the building cluster within the sheltered location, open land for livestock grazing, roads or paths leading from the cluster to outlying grazing lands, and property-specific large- and small-scale features that contribute to the historic setting. The building cluster, fencing and other features should be as intact as possible.
Design	<i>Design is the composition of natural and cultural elements comprising the form, plan, and spatial organization of a property. Elements include buildings, structures, boundary demarcations, circulation networks, windbreaks, vegetation and topography.</i> The cluster’s spatial organization should be intact and communicate the property’s historic use. At a minimum, the cluster should contain the primary residence, barns and outbuildings for animals and equipment, corrals and fencing that contribute to its overall design. Circulation networks and boundary demarcations should reflect the site’s land use patterns. Changes may be historic if they date to the property’s period of significance.

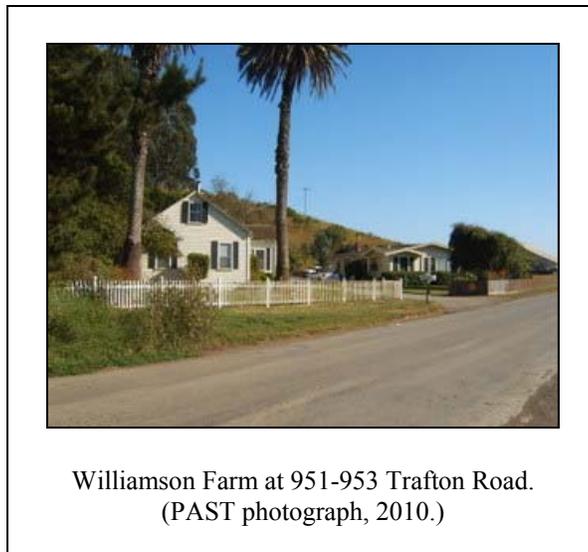
Materials	<i>Materials include construction materials of buildings, outbuildings, roadways, fences, and other structures. For rural historic landscapes, vegetation similar to historic species in scale, type and visual effect will generally convey historic integrity. Timber construction and wood siding are the most common construction materials for the cluster’s buildings, corrals and fencing and reflect integrity of materials. Repairs to buildings over time with materials that communicate the farmstead’s historic use, such as corrugated roofing or replaced barbed-wire fencing, will retain integrity of materials if they are constructed within the period of significance and reflect the evolving nature of the historic farmstead.</i>
Workmanship	<i>Workmanship is exhibited in the ways people have fashioned their environment for functional and decorative purposes, including how they constructed buildings, fences and small-scale elements. For rural historic landscapes, workmanship in raising crops contributes to integrity if it reflects traditional or historic practices. Historic construction techniques may illustrate the workmanship of particular ethnic groups, vernacular traditions, or architects and builders such as William H. Weeks, Alex Chalmers and William W. Wurster, who designed several local farmhouses. Extensive farmsteads with integrity of workmanship exhibit the traditional or historic practices in use during the property’s period of significance.</i>
Feeling	<i>Feeling is intangible but is evoked by the presence of physical characteristics that reflect the historic scene. The cumulative effect of setting, design, materials and workmanship creates the sense of past time and place. The property’s rural setting, design, materials and workmanship should reflect the site’s historic use as an extensive farmstead. Alterations to buildings or to small-scale elements should date to the farmstead’s period of significance.</i>
Association	<i>Association is the direct link between a property and the important events or persons that shaped it. Continued use and occupation help maintain integrity of association if traditional practices are carried on. Using traditional methods in new construction reinforces a property’s integrity by linking past and present. An extensive farmstead with integrity of association should reflect the historic persons (e.g., owners, architects or workers), historic land use, and historic events that shaped the property as an extensive farmstead. An intact building cluster, circulation network, fencing and small-scale elements contribute to the property’s integrity of association.</i>

d. Potentially Significant Historic Resources

Williamson Farm, 951 and 953 Trafton Road:

Like many North County properties, these parcels transitioned from extensive agriculture to intensive agriculture at the end of the nineteenth century.

Irishman and former miner William J. Williamson formed the Watsonville firm of Brown and Williamson Lumber Company, later known as the Charles Ford Lumber Company. He sold it in 1874 and became a farmer on 175 acres on Trafton Road, twenty of which were reclaimed slough land. At that time, he built the house at 951 Trafton Road. He built a “bunk house” behind a wood shed on the property, where the workers slept. The men ate their meals with the family. At wheat threshing time, twenty-five men would stay there, bringing a Chinese cook to help. On the western side of the property, a building that originally had doors on both sides served as a blacksmith shop on one side and a wagon-repair shop on the other. Williamson grew wheat, oats, hay, potatoes, apples, pears, cows, pigs, chickens and a vegetable garden and was one of the Pajaro Valley’s “best known farmers and contributed materially to the fame of this section as an agricultural success.”



Williamson Farm at 951-953 Trafton Road.
(PAST photograph, 2010.)

His son Robert inherited the land in 1883 and started raising sugar beets in 1888. After Robert’s first wife died in 1882, Mollie Aston and her sister Sally moved to the ranch to work for Williamson and care for his children. Robert and Mollie married in 1884 and had a son Orman in 1894; Robert died in 1900. Mollie and her step-son Jim managed the ranch, buying out his three sisters’ interests. In 1913, Mollie bought out Jim and farmed with her son Orman. She became one of the most successful female farmers in the area and added a turkey farm and the Taylor Ranch on Riverside Road to her holdings. In 1921, Orman married Etheleen Trafton and built the second Williamson house at 953 Trafton Road. Irrigation allowed the family to switch from dry farming to the main crop of lettuce; they also grew cauliflower and continued to grow sugar beets as a minor crop until about 1945.⁵⁵² In 1958, the property was leased to the Louie Delfino family for growing artichokes. The Pajaro Valley Consolidated Railroad had a station stop on the Williamson properties. (See railroad map in Chapter 4).

This property is potentially significant for its association with the development of extensive and intensive agriculture (criteria NR-A, CR-1, MC-A1, A2, A4, A6, C1 & C2) and/or its association

⁵⁵² “Another Pioneer Gone: Dies at Age of 81, After Half Century in Pajaro,” Pajaro Valley Historical Association files: William Williamson. Fred H. Jenkins, “This ‘n That!,” unknown date, Pajaro Valley Historical Association files: Williamson and William Williamson. Agricultural History Project, “Life in Early Days of Mud Flats, Recalled by Mollie Williamson.” Pajaro Valley Historical Association, “Pajaro Valley Historical Association Heritage Homes Tour.”

with the Williamson family (criteria NR-B, CR-2, MC-A3), which practiced agriculture continuously from 1874 to 1958. Mollie Williamson’s status as a very successful female farmer may be particularly unusual in that regard.

Clough Farm, 1478 San Juan Road (ca. 1871): By 1871, Irishman David M. Clough built his Italianate-style home at 1478 San Juan Road near the intersection with San Miguel Canyon Road. It is listed in the Monterey County Register. The Cloughs owned all of the land along the east side of San Miguel Canyon Road, from San Juan Road south almost to the intersection with Vega Road. J. Clough owned the property by 1908. On June 8, 1871, the *Watsonville Pajaronian* declared the Clough House “one of the finest” in Monterey and Santa Cruz counties, and found it “unnecessary to say that everything connected with this beautiful building is perfect in design and of first class workmanship . . .” Alex Chalmers designed the seven-bedroom house.⁵⁵³ Like most parcels, the property supported different crops over time. The Clough property was a grain depot on the Southern Pacific Railroad line, which runs behind the house. The property later became a berry farm, with elevated redwood flumes irrigating the crop and berries packed on-site in a shed behind the house.⁵⁵⁴

When Clough built his house in 1871, the property was likely a grain farm and is therefore associated with the Extensive Agriculture theme. However, since Clough also raised berries, the property also represents Theme 2: Intensive Agriculture. This property is potentially significant for its association with the development of extensive and/or intensive agriculture (criteria NR-A, CR-1, MC-A1, A2, A4, A6, C1 & C2) and/or its association with the Clough family (criteria NR-B, CR-2, MC-A3). In addition, the Clough Residence is potentially significant because the house may embody the distinctive characteristics of a type, period, or method of construction (criteria NR-C, CR-3, MC-A5, B1, B2 & B3).



Clough Farm, 1478 San Juan Road. (PAST Photograph, 2010.)

⁵⁵³ “North County home—over a century old,” *North County News*, 13 December 1978.

⁵⁵⁴ County of Monterey Historical Files: “1478 – 1480 San Juan Rd.” Clovis, *Monterey County’s North Coast and Coastal Valleys*.

Las Lomas Ranch, Elkhorn and Hall roads, Las Lomas (1864): In 1864, John T. and Fannie Porter bought part of the Rancho Bolsa de San Cayetano land grant from the family of General Mariano Vallejo. In 1870, they built a house on the Las Lomas Ranch, where they operated a dairy. Tom and Bernice Porter donated part of the Las Lomas Ranch to the Elkhorn Slough Foundation (ESF) in 1976 and willed the balance of the 335-acre ranch, marsh and coast live oak hillsides to ESF in 2001. ESF and the Porter family dedicated the Porter Preserve on August 11, 2002. It is still a working ranch and ESF grazes cattle and conducts research on the property.⁵⁵⁵

This property is potentially significant for its association with the development of extensive agriculture (criteria NR-A, CR-1, MC-A1, A2, A4, A6, C1 & C2) and/or its association with the Porter family (criteria NR-B, CR-2, MC-A3). It may also be potentially significant as an embodiment of the distinctive characteristics of a type, period, or method of construction (criteria NR-C, CR-3, MC-A5, B1, B2 & B3).

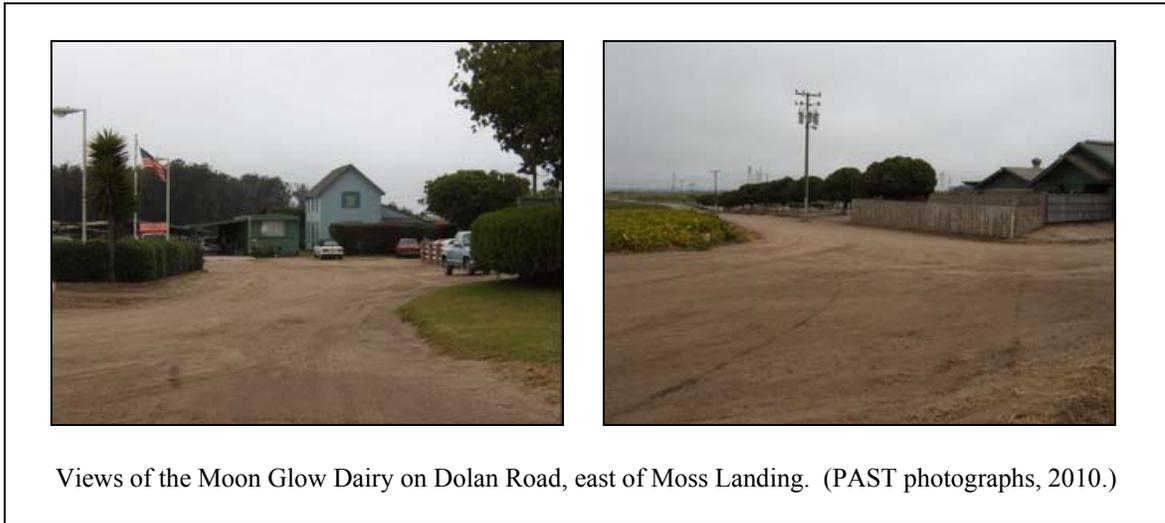


The Porter family donated the Las Lomas Ranch (1864) to the Elkhorn Slough Foundation in 1976 and 2001.
(Photograph by Elkhorn Slough Foundation.)

⁵⁵⁵ Elkhorn Slough Foundation, "Historic Pioneer Ranch to be Preserved" (Moss Landing CA: Elkhorn Slough Foundation, August 7, 2002), <http://www.elkhornslough.org/newspages/newsposter.htm> (accessed March 5, 2010).

Moon Glow Dairy, 357 Dolan Road, Moss Landing: Today, the Moon Glow Dairy at 357 Dolan Road is the only active North County dairy. Monterey County Supervisor Louis R. Calcagno founded it in 1957.⁵⁵⁶ The 110-acre operation adjoins the Elkhorn Slough and the Moss Landing power plant.⁵⁵⁷ As of March 2009, the dairy had about 1,000 cows and shipped about 650 gallons of milk daily.⁵⁵⁸

Although this property dates from the end of this historic context statement's time period (1957), it remains active today as is potentially significant for its association with the development of extensive agriculture (criteria NR-A, CR-1, MC-A1, A2, A4, A6, C1 & C2).



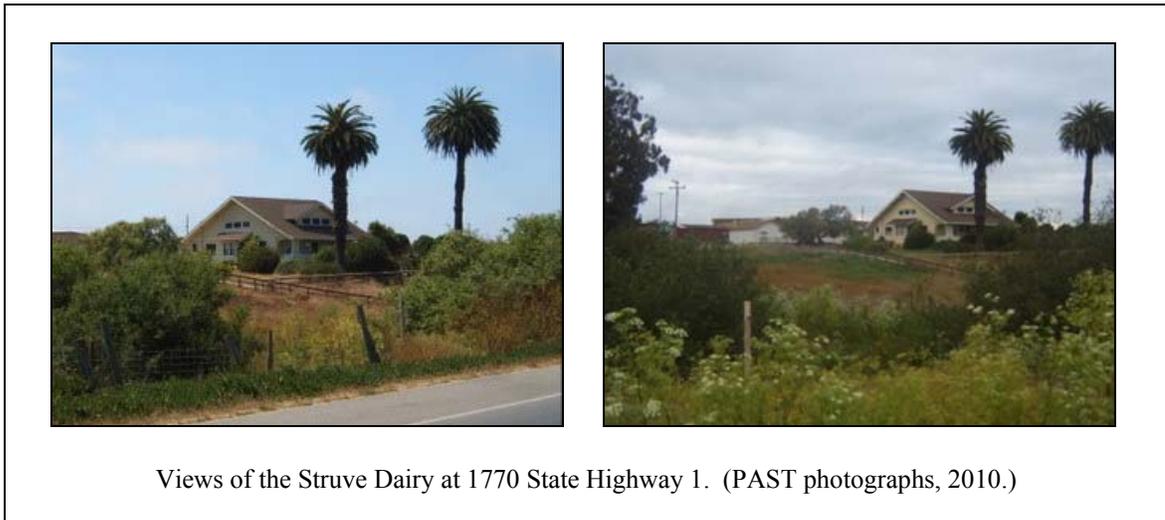
⁵⁵⁶ "About Lou" (Moss Landing, CA: Lou Calcagno, 2009), http://www.re-electlou.com/Lou_Calcagno/Bio.html (accessed 21 June 2010).

⁵⁵⁷ Scott Winokur and Christian Berthelsen, "Cutting a Deal on the Environment: Activists accused of favoring cash over mission at Moss Landing" (San Francisco: *San Francisco Chronicle*, 3 June 2001).

⁵⁵⁸ "Economic Woes Send Cows To Slaughterhouses" (Salinas, CA: KCBA, 2 March 2009), <http://www.kcba.com/Global/story.asp?S=9871650> (accessed 21 June 2010).

Struve Dairy, 1770 Highway 1, Moss Landing: The Struve family was one of the first to settle in the Pajaro Valley and they pioneered the local use of tractors.⁵⁵⁹ The Struve dairy was located in the Springfield District along Highway 1 north of Moss Landing. The Arts and Crafts-style Struve House is a prominent fixture along Highway 1. Struve Road and Struve Slough are named after the family. Hans C. Struve (1892-1977), a grain farmer, lived at the Struve House at 1770 Highway 1. He was a life member of the Springfield Grange.⁵⁶⁰

This property is potentially significant for its association with the development of extensive agriculture (criteria NR-A, CR-1, MC-A1, A2, A4, A6, C1 & C2) and/or its association with the Struve family (criteria NR-B, CR-2, MC-A3). In addition, the Struve residence is potentially significant because the house may embody the distinctive characteristics of a type, period, or method of construction (criteria NR-C, CR-3, MC-A5, B1, B2 & B3).



⁵⁵⁹ David Pacani, "Exhibit of Struve family planned," *Watsonville Register-Pajaronian*, 1 December 1999.

⁵⁶⁰ "Hans Struve," obituary, June 1977. In 1936, noted architect William W. Wurster designed a Pajaro Valley home at 483 Trafton Road for Edith and Nels H. Struve (1886-1974). (Pajaro Valley Historical Association, "Pajaro Valley Historical Association Heritage Homes Tour." Circa 1989.) The property is bounded by Highway 1 and Trafton Road but is difficult to see. Nels was the son of Danish native Nels N. Struve, who owned a 320-acre Pajaro Valley ranch. The younger Struve ranched with his father and then bought property near Harkins Slough and farmed in the Trafton District. He raised beef and dairy cattle and grew sugar beets and other vegetables. ("Nelse H. Struve," *Watsonville Register-Pajaronian*, 18 April 1974. His name is spelled variously as Nelse or Nels.)

Crouch Farm (ca. 1886), 1833 San Miguel Canyon Road, Prunedale: The Crouch family of Prunedale was involved with both extensive and intensive agriculture for many years, including planting the first prune trees in the area. After 1926, Nathaniel and Alice Crouch operated a large poultry farm on their fifty-acre property at 1833 San Miguel Canyon Road.⁵⁶¹ The Crouches had 5,000 chickens at one time, one of the largest farms around.⁵⁶² In 1929, they planted Douglas fir trees on the advice of the California Department of Agriculture, which supplied seedlings as an experiment to stop erosion. About eight years later, the Crouches advertised for customers to choose and cut their own Christmas trees starting at \$1.50 a tree. The Crouches were so successful that the agricultural commissioner gave them more varieties to plant, leading more Prunedale growers to enter the Christmas tree farm business. After Nathaniel died in 1953, Mrs. Crouch pruned the trees herself for many decades, growing white fir, Douglas fir, Monterey pine and scotch pine.⁵⁶³ The Crouch family also grew hay, bushberries, apples and eucalyptus.⁵⁶⁴

This property (photographs on next page) is potentially significant for its association with the development of extensive or intensive agriculture (criteria NR-A, CR-1, MC-A1, A2, A4, A6, C1 & C2) and/or its association with the Crouch family (criteria NR-B, CR-2, MC-A3). In addition, the Crouch residence is potentially significant because the house may embody the distinctive characteristics of a type, period, or method of construction (criteria NR-C, CR-3, MC-A5, B1, B2 & B3).

⁵⁶¹ Everett Messick, "Where Are the Prunes in Prunedale?," *Monterey Herald*, undated. Cynthia Hibbard, "Origin of Name is Plain — Prunes for Prunedale," *North County News*, 3 December 1975. Other North County poultry farms included the Hoddinott farm near Highway 101 in Hidden Valley by the late 1930s; the Kirby ranch in Strawberry Valley and Hidden Valley. In the Prunedale area, chicken farms replaced orchards near the mid-twentieth century. By the 1920s, subsistence farmer Edward Belland had a garden, grew berries, and raised chickens, goats, and bees at his cabin at 345 Hidden Valley Road. He bought his property from the Kirby family when they subdivided their land around World War I. Church, *Historical Notes of North Monterey County With a History of Hidden Valley*, photograph after preface, 5, 8. "Prunedale," *North County News*, 27 February 1980.

⁵⁶² Dugdale, "North County develops: They grow houses instead of Prunes," *Salinas Californian*.

⁵⁶³ Cynthia Hibbard, "Alice Crouch: California's First Real Christmas Tree Farmer," *North County News*. Cynthia Hibbard, "Christmas Tree Farms Dot North County Land," *North County News*, date unknown. Dugdale, "North County develops: They grow houses instead of Prunes," *Salinas Californian*. *Progress*, Prunedale, CA: Prunedale Chamber of Commerce, May 1996. Today, growers in Prunedale focus on Christmas trees, strawberries and mushrooms. Jackson, "Prunedale?," *North Monterey County Fortnightly*.

⁵⁶⁴ Cynthia Hibbard, "Alice Crouch: California's First Real Christmas Tree Farmer," *North County News*. In 1959, the Warren Church Christmas Tree farm opened at 470 Hidden Valley Road in Royal Oaks, just east of the Elkhorn Slough Preserve. Warren Church also operates a Christmas tree farm at 385 Hidden Valley Road (it also covered 377 Hidden Valley Road). Church is still in business. Church, *Historical Notes of North Monterey County With a History of Hidden Valley*, 9. Warren Church Christmas Tree Farm, "Our Farm," <http://warrenchurchtrees.com/ourfarm.html> (Royal Oaks, CA: Warren Church Christmas Tree Farm, accessed 7 April 2010).



Views of the Crouch Farm, 1833 San Miguel Canyon Road, Prunedale. (PAST photographs, 2010.)

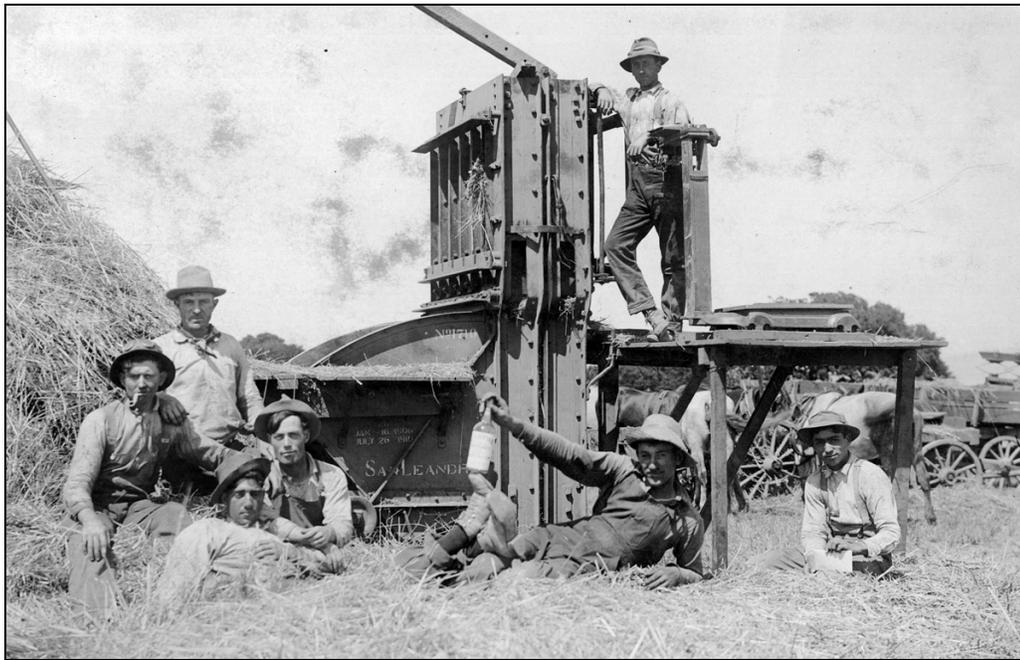
14468 Blackie Road, Castroville: This very early farmstead was likely associated with grain production in the mid-1800s. Vast wheat fields grew between Castroville and Salinas and this property on Blackie Road is within that area.⁵⁶⁵ Although further research is needed, this property is potentially significant for its association with the development of extensive agriculture (criteria NR-A, CR-1, MC-A1, A2, A4, A6, C1 & C2). In addition, the residence is potentially significant because the house may embody the distinctive characteristics of a type, period, or method of construction (criteria NR-C, CR-3, MC-A5, B1, B2 & B3).



Views of 14468 Blackie Road, Castroville. (PAST photographs, 2010.)

⁵⁶⁵ “First Crops Brought Name ‘Spud Valley’,” *Watsonville Register-Pajaronian*.

Nicholson Ranch, 2438 San Juan Road: In 1867, Murdock and Sarah Nicholson settled on a ranch at 2438 San Juan Road, growing hay and other crops. Later, the family grew 1,700 acres of pear and apricot orchards.⁵⁶⁶ This property is potentially significant for its association with the development of extensive or intensive agriculture (criteria NR-A, CR-1, MC-A1, A2, A4, A6, C1 & C2). Because the property is very difficult to see from public roads, additional research and property access is required to determine the farmstead's condition.



Hay balers rest at the Nicholson ranch at 2438 San Juan Road, sometime after 1910.⁵⁶⁷

⁵⁶⁶ Pajaro Valley Historical Association, "Pajaro Valley Historical Association Heritage Homes Tour." Clovis, *Monterey County's North Coast and Coastal Valleys*, 68. Unfortunately, the Nicholsons are best-known not for farming but for being involved in a land dispute that resulted in Mrs. Nicholson's murder. A mob later lynched her killer. In 1868, the Nicholsons bought 400 acres from Irishman Matt Tarpy, who owned more than 1,500 North County acres. Inadequate surveying prompted a dispute between the families over land near San Juan and Tarpy roads. In 1873, Tarpy shot and killed pregnant Sarah Nicholson. A Monterey County mob lynched Tarpy three days later, an ironic ending for a man who co-founded the vigilante Pajaro Property and Protective Society in 1870. The Nicholsons won the land dispute in 1916, after thirty years and three trips to the California Supreme Court. (Church, *Historical Notes of North Monterey County With a History of Hidden Valley*, 4. William B. Secrest, *California Feuds: Vengeance, Vendettas & Violence on the Old West Coast* (Sanger, CA: Quill Driver Books/Word Dancer Press, 2005), 246-250.)

⁵⁶⁷ Clovis, *Monterey County's North Coast and Coastal Valleys*, 68.

C. Theme 2: Intensive Agriculture (ca. 1870-1960)

1. Introduction

The theme of *Intensive Agriculture* focuses on agricultural operations that require a relatively high level of labor, capital and technology for crop production.⁵⁶⁸ Intensive agriculture is associated with advanced technology, including horticultural science; advancements in farm equipment and machinery; irrigation; transportation via railroads and trucks; high volumes of labor; and immigrants from Asia, Western and Central Europe and Mexico. Ethnic groups working in the North County's intensive agriculture labor pool included Chinese, Japanese, Croatians, Italians, Filipinos and Mexicans, as well as American Dust Bowl migrants.

The property type associated with the Intensive Agriculture theme is *Intensive Farmsteads*, which the Monterey County Code (MCC) classifies as an *agricultural operation*. Intensive farmsteads are classified as Rural Historic Landscapes.

Some of the North County's most important intensive crops have included sugar beets, apples, lettuce, artichokes and berries, which require large labor pools and significant irrigation and technical expertise to produce. Expanding these intensive agricultural operations would require not only additional land but also a substantially larger workforce and possibly new technology to plant, cultivate, harvest, process and distribute the agricultural products.

Intensive farmsteads are generally oriented near a major road or railroad and typically contain a primary residence, sometimes a tank house, and various outbuildings, including barns, storage facilities and worker housing. Today, these sites often contain non-contributing buildings (*e.g.*, mobile homes for workers or new sheds and storage facilities supporting the site's current use).

The next sections include a comprehensive description of the Intensive Farmstead property type and a discussion of specific North County properties that may be potentially significant historic resources illustrating the Intensive Agriculture theme.

⁵⁶⁸ Steven Stoll, *The Fruits of Natural Advantage*, xiii-xiv.

2. Associated Property Type: Intensive Farmstead

a. Property Type Description



Storm Farmstead at 170 Hayes Road.

Physical Characteristics: A primary residence in a variety of styles, including Greek Revival, Bungalow and Spanish Revival styles, oriented towards a primary transportation route. Outbuildings include barns for equipment and sometimes animals; buildings for crop storage or preparation; worker housing; and non-contributing storage and crop preparation buildings reflecting the site’s current use.

Associative Characteristics: Intensive farmsteads are associated with particular intensive agriculture crops, such as sugar beets or artichokes, or with a significant person who introduced a particular crop or other agricultural innovation, or who impacted the agricultural industry by dominating certain crop markets. These sites may also be associated with a particular ethnic group that dominated an industry, such as the Croatians in the apple market.

Geographical Information: Intensive farmsteads are typically located in the Pajaro and Salinas Valleys on rich alluvial soils. Intensive Farmsteads needed to be near a primary transportation link, either railroads or roadways.

Boundaries: During a site’s historic period of significance, boundaries included the primary road, driveways and trees and may have included fencing demarcating crop fields. Today, industrial agriculture has removed most of the fences, where they previously existed. In these cases, fencing remnants may be visible near the primary residence and outbuildings. Trees planted for windbreaks or ornamentation may also remain.

Variations: Variations include the main house’s architectural style, depending on the construction date, and the form of outbuildings reflecting their use for specific crops.

Locational Patterns: The North County’s intensive farmsteads are located in the Pajaro and Salinas Valleys near main roads and near railroad tracks. Extant concentrations remain along San Juan Road (from Pajaro to Murphy’s Crossing Road); on lower San Miguel Canyon Road south of the intersection with San Juan Road; and on Lewis, Hayes and Vega roads south of Pajaro. Intensive farmsteads also extend along Hall Road east and west of Las Lomas and on Trafton Road, east and west of State Highway 1.

Condition: Industrial agriculture has encroached on and often removed boundary demarcations. Barns and outbuildings are typically in poor condition, especially if they are no longer used for their original purpose. Many have become storage buildings for modern industrial farming equipment. The main residence is in fair to good condition. Non-contributing industrial agricultural buildings and equipment are now placed on these sites.

b. Landscape Characteristics

 <p>300 Hayes Rd.</p>	<p>Land Uses and Activities: Owners of intensive farmsteads shaped the landscape by creating a site for the farm complex and working the rich local soil for a particular crop. In many cases, a farmstead focused on a single crop, such as strawberries. In the case of orchards, farmers planted other crops between rows of maturing apple trees, to take advantage of the fertile land until the trees matured.</p>
 <p>Clough Farm: 1478 San Juan Rd.</p>	<p>Patterns of Spatial Organization: The intensive farmstead generally contains various buildings in a cluster with the primary house facing the road. Dirt, gravel or paved driveways lead from the cluster to the main road and to the surrounding fields. Driveways also connect various outbuildings to provide efficient movement throughout the site. Intensive farmstead building clusters were spaced at irregular intervals along a primary road, based on the size and dimension of each property. Evidence of this spacing remains along San Juan Road east of Pajaro.</p>
 <p>Apple orchard at 300 Hayes Rd.</p>	<p>Response to the Natural Environment: Intensive farmsteads rely on fertile soil and a steady water source to cultivate crops. Therefore, many of the North County’s intensive farmsteads are located in the fertile alluvial valleys along the Pajaro and Salinas rivers. Technological advancements in irrigation and the availability of electricity after the turn of the twentieth century enabled farmers to cultivate crops farther away from river and canal water sources. Climate often determined the crop type. For example, North County artichoke farmsteads are generally located near the ocean because artichokes grow best in cool, moist growing conditions.</p>
 <p>Hutchings Ranch, 350 San Miguel Canyon Rd.</p>	<p>Cultural Traditions: Cultivating a specific crop requires specialized technical and horticultural expertise. Some cultural groups became associated with specific North County crops, such as the Italians with artichokes, because of their familiarity with growing the same crop in their native lands. Others, like the Croatians, dominated the Pajaro Valley apple industry because they had a background in agriculture and shipping in their native country, and focused their Pajaro Valley efforts on improving apple processing, marketing and distribution.</p>

 <p>Circulation network at Williamson Farm, 951-953 Trafton Road</p>	<p>Circulation Networks: Circulation networks include dirt, gravel or paved roads connecting the building cluster to the primary road. On-site roads also link outbuildings to the primary residence and connect the cluster of buildings to the outlying crop fields and processing and distribution points.</p>
 <p>Roadways and natural vegetation serve as boundaries at 745 Trafton Rd.</p>	<p>Boundary Demarcations: Boundaries include the primary road, driveways, fences, and natural features such as hills and trees. A fencing system sometimes surrounded the cluster of buildings to demarcate it from the crop fields. Modern industrial agriculture has removed or altered most of the original boundary demarcations, except for roads. Extant fencing consists of vertical wood or woven sticks surrounding the cluster, as well as board and barbed-wire fences demarcating property boundaries.</p>
 <p>Palm trees at 951 Trafton Rd.</p>	<p>Vegetation Related to Land Use: Vegetation includes various row crops (e.g., strawberries or lettuce) and orchards (e.g., apple trees). Often, orchards contained a combination of fruit trees and row crops to maximize land production while the trees matured. Ornamental trees, such as paired palm trees, sometimes delineated the property's entrance and communicated the fertility of the farmer's land. Trees planted as windbreaks also exist along roads and original property lines.</p>
 <p>Primary residence and tank house at 1372 San Juan Rd.</p>	<p>Buildings, Structures, and Objects: Domestic buildings associated with intensive farmsteads include the primary residence and possibly a tank house. On larger sites, worker housing is sometimes found. Intensive farmsteads that were previously extensive farmsteads may contain a barn formerly used for animals and feed, potentially converted to barns for equipment. Outbuildings for storing and processing particular crops are also possible on the site.</p>

 <p>Cluster at 1660 San Juan Rd. Note early housing between the main house and tank house.</p>	<p>Clusters: Intensive farmsteads usually contain a cluster of buildings set around and behind the primary residence. A tank house usually provided water for domestic purposes. A vertical board fence often surrounds this cluster to separate it from the surrounding fields.</p>
 <p>Encroachment of industrial agriculture at the Clough Farm, 1478 San Juan Rd.</p>	<p>Archaeological Sites: Intensive farmsteads have undergone significant changes since industrial agriculture came to the North County. In most cases, current row crops stretch from the cluster's fencing to the primary road. Often, outbuildings such as tank houses and storage sheds have been removed to create more crop fields. Although tilling the land for crops has likely removed the upper layers of soil containing archaeological remains, each property should be evaluated for its archaeological potential on a case-by-case basis.</p>
 <p>Timber gate at 745 Trafton Rd.</p>	<p>Small-Scale Elements: Small-scale elements may include decorative signs bearing the ranch or farmer's name or timber gates over dirt roads to increase the site's visual impact. Industrial agriculture has removed many small-scale elements on North County farmsteads.</p>

c. Eligibility Criteria and Integrity Thresholds

Intensive farmsteads may be historically significant for their association with the development of the technical expertise, intellectual capital and/or mobilization of an ethnic labor pool required to produce a particular intensive crop (criteria NR-A, CR-1, MC-A1, A2, A4, A6, C1 & C2).

Intensive farmsteads may also be historically significant for their association with an individual significant in the history of the North County region (criteria NR-B, CR-2, MC-A3).

Intensive farmsteads may be historically significant as an example of a distinctive architectural type, period or method of construction (criteria NR-C, CR-3, MC-A5, B1, B2 & B3).

To qualify for the above criteria, the intensive farmstead must possess historic integrity. Intensive farmsteads are examples of rural historic landscapes and must possess a substantial number of landscape characteristics to qualify for registration. For intensive farmsteads, the physical characteristics of the resource are represented by landscape characteristics as well as the character-defining features of the extant buildings on the landscape. The following chart provides guidelines for evaluating integrity.

Location	<i>Location is the place where the significant activities that shaped a property took place, often determined by geographical factors.</i> Intensive farmsteads are generally located on moderate tracts of open land in the Pajaro and Salinas Valleys where the most fertile soil exists, and near a road or rail transportation link. Intensive farmsteads whose characteristics retain their historic location have integrity of location.
Setting	<i>Setting is the physical environment within and surrounding a property, including large-scale features (e.g., woodlands or rock formations) and small-scale features (e.g., fences, gateposts, springs or individual trees).</i> Intensive farmsteads with integrity of setting retain the main house and building cluster surrounded by planted fields. Roads or paths lead from the cluster to various outbuildings and to the crop fields. The building cluster, fencing and other small-scale features should be as intact as possible.
Design	<i>Design is the composition of natural and cultural elements comprising the form, plan, and spatial organization of a property. Elements include buildings, structures, boundary demarcations, circulation networks, windbreaks, vegetation and topography.</i> The cluster’s spatial organization should be intact and communicate the property’s historic use. At a minimum, the cluster should contain the primary residence, barn(s) and outbuildings for crops and equipment, worker housing and small-scale elements that contribute to its overall design. Retention of the main house’s architectural style is primary to communicating historic significance. Each house should be examined to determine the presence of historic character-defining features. Changes to the house may be historic if they date to the property’s period of significance and do not remove the

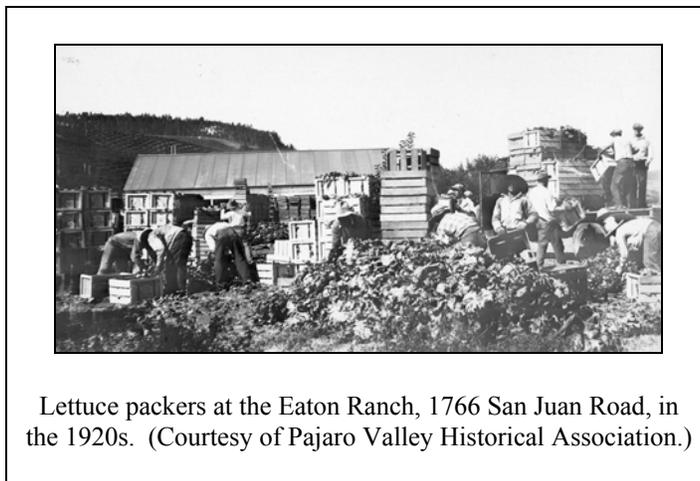
	character-defining features. Circulation networks and boundary demarcations should reflect the site’s land use patterns.
Materials	<i>Materials include construction materials of buildings, outbuildings, roadways, fences, and other structures. For rural historic landscapes, vegetation similar to historic species in scale, type and visual effect will generally convey historic integrity.</i> Construction materials of the main house will relate to its architectural style and date of construction and can be timber, wood or stucco. Board wood fences and barbed-wire fences are the most common boundary materials. Outbuildings for the cluster are typically of wood with replacement materials such as corrugated metal siding or roofing. Repairs to buildings over time with materials that communicate the farmstead’s historic use, such as corrugated roofing or replaced barbed-wire fencing, will retain integrity of materials if they are constructed within the period of significance and reflect the evolving nature of the historic farmstead.
Workmanship	<i>Workmanship is exhibited in the ways people have fashioned their environment for functional and decorative purposes, including how they constructed buildings, fences and small-scale elements. For rural historic landscapes, workmanship in raising crops contributes to integrity if it reflects traditional or historic practices.</i> Historic construction techniques may illustrate the workmanship of particular ethnic groups, vernacular traditions, or architects such as William H. Weeks, Alex Chalmers or William W. Wurster, who designed several local farmhouses. Intensive farmsteads with integrity of workmanship exhibit the traditional or historic practices in use during the property’s period of significance.
Feeling	<i>Feeling is intangible but is evoked by the presence of physical characteristics that reflect the historic scene. The cumulative effect of setting, design, materials and workmanship creates the sense of past time and place.</i> The property’s rural setting, design, materials and workmanship should reflect the site’s historic use as an intensive farmstead. Alterations to buildings or to small-scale elements should date to the farmstead’s period of significance.
Association	<i>Association is the direct link between a property and the important events or persons that shaped it. Continued use and occupation help maintain integrity of association if traditional practices are carried on. Using traditional methods in new construction reinforces a property’s integrity by linking past and present.</i> An intensive farmstead with integrity of association should reflect the historic persons (e.g., owners, architects or workers), historic land use, and historic events that shaped the property as an intensive farmstead. An intact building cluster, circulation network, fencing and small-scale elements contribute to the property’s integrity of association.

d. Potentially Significant Historic Resources

O. O. Eaton House, 1766 San Juan Road, Aromas (1930, Robert H. Orr):

O. O. Eaton (1874-1948) was one of the North County's most successful strawberry and lettuce farmers. Los Angeles-based architect Robert H. Orr designed Eaton's Tudor Revival-style home in 1930, hidden in the trees on the hill above San Juan Road.⁵⁶⁹ Eaton owned seventy-five irrigated acres of berries.⁵⁷⁰ Eaton installed his irrigation system for \$6,000, with annual irrigation costs of \$25 per acre in 1915. The system used two pumps: a twenty-five horsepower unit pumping 800

gallons of water per minute and a fifteen horsepower unit pumping 300 gallons per minute. Non-irrigated strawberry farms produced an average of 125 chests per acre, at seventy-five pounds per chest.⁵⁷¹ In contrast, Eaton's irrigation system increased the yield to an average of 200 (maximum of 400-450) chests per acre.⁵⁷² Eaton's crop sold for between \$3.50 and \$10 a chest. Strawberry picking has always required intensive labor. At one point, a six-acre section of Eaton's farm kept thirty-two pickers at work full-time for two weeks.⁵⁷³



This property is potentially significant for its association with the development of intensive agriculture (criteria NR-A, CR-1, MC-A1, A2, A4, A6, C1 & C2) and/or its association with O.O. Eaton (criteria NR-B, CR-2, MC-A3), who pioneered irrigation use for strawberry cultivation. In addition, the Eaton residence, designed by architect Robert H. Orr, is potentially significant because the house may embody the distinctive characteristics of a type, period, or method of construction (criteria NR-C, CR-3, MC-A5, B1, B2 & B3).

⁵⁶⁹ Betty Lewis, "Robert Orr: Watsonville architect's work still lives on," *Register-Pajaronian*, May 19, 2005.

Robert Orr moved with his family from Canada to the Hollister vicinity in 1881, when he was eight. Around 1896, his father hired William Weeks to design a house. Robert drove Weeks to and from Gilroy in a horse and buggy and told him he wanted to study architecture. Weeks opened a Salinas office and hired Robert to supervise construction of some structures for Spreckels's new plant south of Salinas. He worked in Salinas for two years and then Weeks transferred him to Watsonville in 1898. He married Hilda Eaton, Robert W. Eaton's niece and O. O. Eaton's cousin. Orr later founded the architectural firm of Orr, Strange, Inslee and Senefeld in Los Angeles.

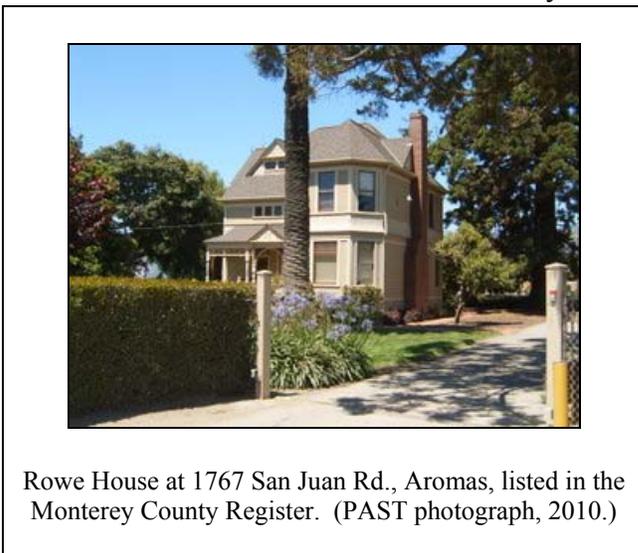
⁵⁷⁰ Dunn, *Monterey County, California*, 19.

⁵⁷¹ Dunn, *Monterey County, California*, 18, 19.

⁵⁷² Dunn, *Monterey County, California*, 19.

⁵⁷³ Dunn, *Monterey County, California*, 19.

Rowe Ranch, 1767 San Juan Road, Aromas (1900, William Weeks): Architect William H. Weeks designed this house for Aromas natives James and Ida Rowe in 1900. It is listed in the Monterey County Register. A grain farmer, apple grower and butcher, James Rowe once “hired” thirty Aromas schoolchildren (for one dollar per child) to pick mustard from his field. In 1918, Rowe founded the Aromas Pig Club for children, giving them pigs to raise. Sponsored by the Aromas Grange, the Pig Club became the Aromas 4-H club in 1922. Rowe led it for twenty years and was also involved with the Aromas Grange.⁵⁷⁴ The Rowe Ranch is most famous for being the location of the first lettuce grown in the Pajaro Valley. In 1915, Rowe’s son-in-law, Moses (Mose) S. Hutchings, planted three acres of lettuce on the property. To keep it cool, he harvested and field-packed it at 2 a.m., driving it to the Pajaro Depot in a wagon for shipment to San Francisco.⁵⁷⁵



Rowe House at 1767 San Juan Rd., Aromas, listed in the Monterey County Register. (PAST photograph, 2010.)

Reiter Berry Farms, Inc., founded in 1983, now owns the property.⁵⁷⁶ In 1904, Joseph “Ed” Reiter and Richard Driscoll started growing berries together in the Pajaro Valley. In 1944, Ned and Donald Driscoll, Joe Reiter, T. B. Porter, Kenneth Sheehy and M. W.

Johnson founded the Strawberry Institute to research and breed strawberries. In the late 1940s, Driscoll’s contracted with its first independent farmers and in 1953, the strawberry growing cooperative of Driscoll Strawberry Associates, Inc. was founded. In 1966, it merged with the Strawberry Institute under the Driscoll Strawberry Associates name and focuses on berry research, breeding, production, sales and distribution. In 1971, Driscoll’s “grower owners” start shipping berries under the common Driscoll’s label. Ed Reiter’s grandson Miles Reiter is now the Chairman and CEO of Driscoll’s. Reiter Berry Farms supplies berries to Driscoll’s and their office is in the Rowe House at 1767 San Juan Road.⁵⁷⁷

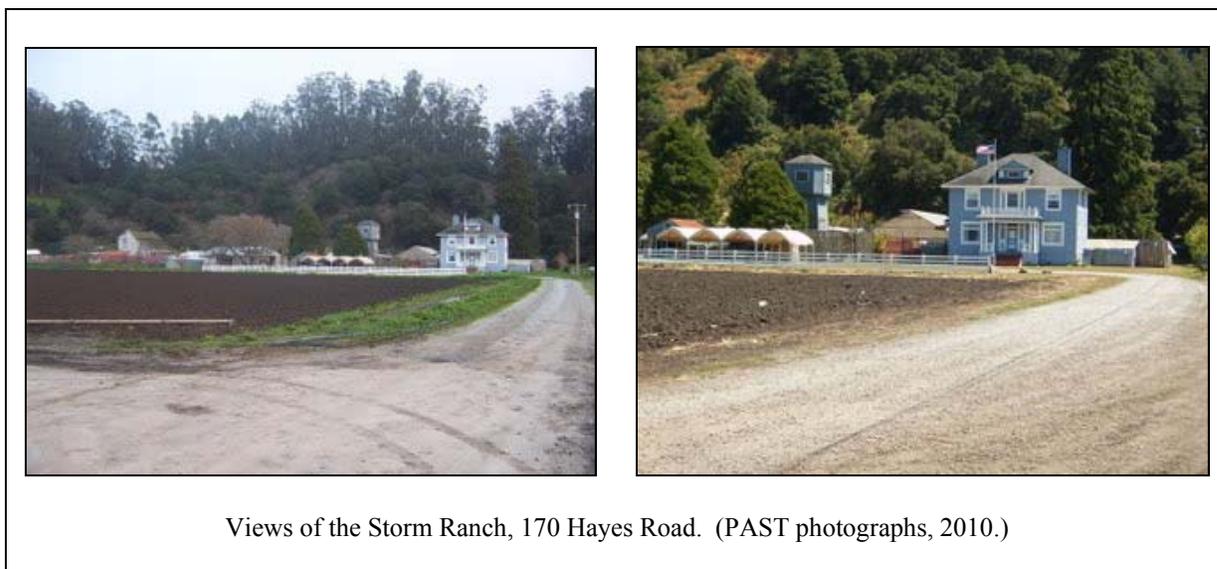
⁵⁷⁴ County of Monterey Historical Files: “1767 San Juan Rd.” Pajaro Valley Historical Association, “Pajaro Valley Historical Association Heritage Homes Tour.” Pajaro Valley Historical Association Files: “1767 San Juan Road, Rowe, James.” The Monterey County Register of Historic Resources indicates that the Rowe House dates from 1880, but Weeks was only sixteen then and not yet living in California. County of Monterey, “Monterey County Register of Historic Resources as of June, 2009,” (Salinas, CA: Monterey County, 2009) http://publicagendas.co.monterey.ca.us/MG75670/AS75689/AS75695/AI83873/DO83876/DO_83876.PDF, accessed 10 June 2010.

⁵⁷⁵ Clovis, *Monterey County’s North Coast and Coastal Valleys*, 84.

⁵⁷⁶ County of Monterey Historical Files: “1767 San Juan Rd.” Pajaro Valley Historical Association, “Pajaro Valley Historical Association Heritage Homes Tour.” Pajaro Valley Historical Association Files: “1767 San Juan Road, Rowe, James.” The Monterey County Register of Historic Resources indicates that the Rowe House dates from 1880, but Weeks was only sixteen then and not yet living in California. County of Monterey, “Monterey County Register of Historic Resources as of June, 2009,” (Salinas, CA: Monterey County, 2009) http://publicagendas.co.monterey.ca.us/MG75670/AS75689/AS75695/AI83873/DO83876/DO_83876.PDF, accessed 10 June 2010.

⁵⁷⁷ Driscoll Strawberry Associates, Inc., “Our Story” (Watsonville, CA: 2010), <http://www.driscolls.com/about/our-story.php>, accessed 10 June 2010.

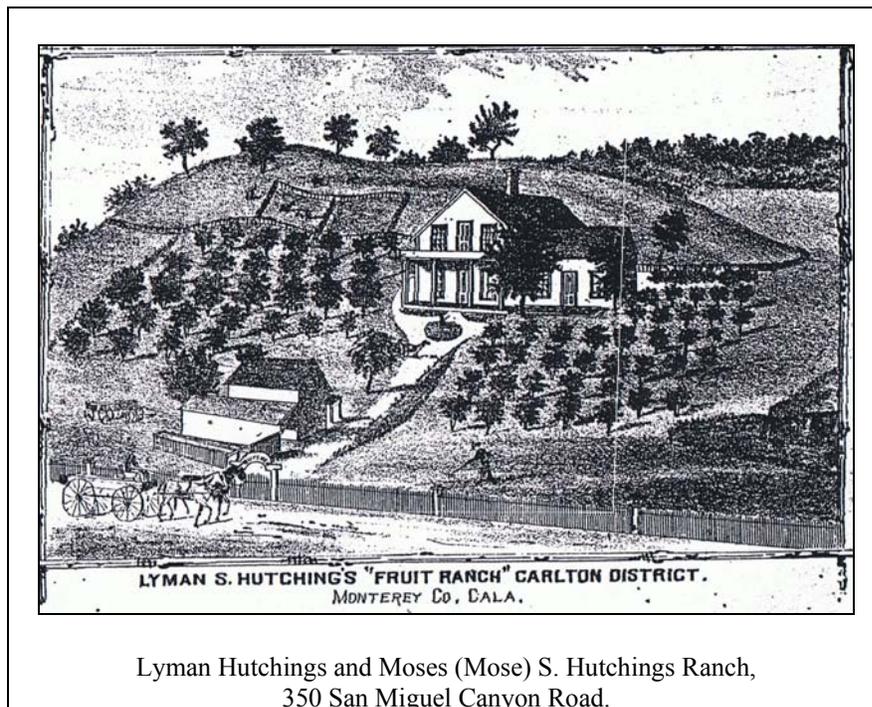
Storm Ranch, 170 Hayes Road: In 1867, Danish native Peter Storm (1854-1916) came to the Pajaro Valley with his father J. P. Storm.⁵⁷⁸ In 1891, Peter bought his 210-acre ranch at 170 Hayes Road. The valley portion was 110 acres, plus 100 acres in the hills, which he used for cattle grazing and farming. In 1899, he planted thirty acres of apples. When he died in 1916, he was “one of Pajaro Valley’s most successful ranchers.” As a teenager, Peter worked on his father’s ranch and then rented land from him, starting his own farming and cattle raising business and working a threshing machine. Peter rented a Salinas Valley property for three years, but lost almost everything because of a long drought. For the next fifteen years, he rented the 500-acre McCoskey Ranch and became very successful. Two of Storm’s sisters married Struve brothers, another important Danish agricultural family in the North County.⁵⁷⁹ This property is potentially significant for its association with the development of intensive agriculture (criteria NR-A, CR-1, MC-A1, A2, A4, A6, C1 & C2) and/or its association with the Storm family (criteria NR-B, CR-2, MC-A3), one of the leading producers of apples in the Pajaro Valley. In addition, the Storm residence, is potentially significant because the house may embody the distinctive characteristics of a type, period, or method of construction (criteria NR-C, CR-3, MC-A5, B1, B2 & B3).



⁵⁷⁸ J. M. Guinn, *History of the State of California and Biographical Record of Santa Cruz, San Benito, Monterey and San Luis Obispo Counties* (Chicago: The Chapman Publishing Co., 1903), 475-476. J. P. Storm rented a Pajaro Valley farm for a year and then bought and converted 300 acres “from the wild” into a farm. He also bought a 200-acre farm and a 100-acre farm.

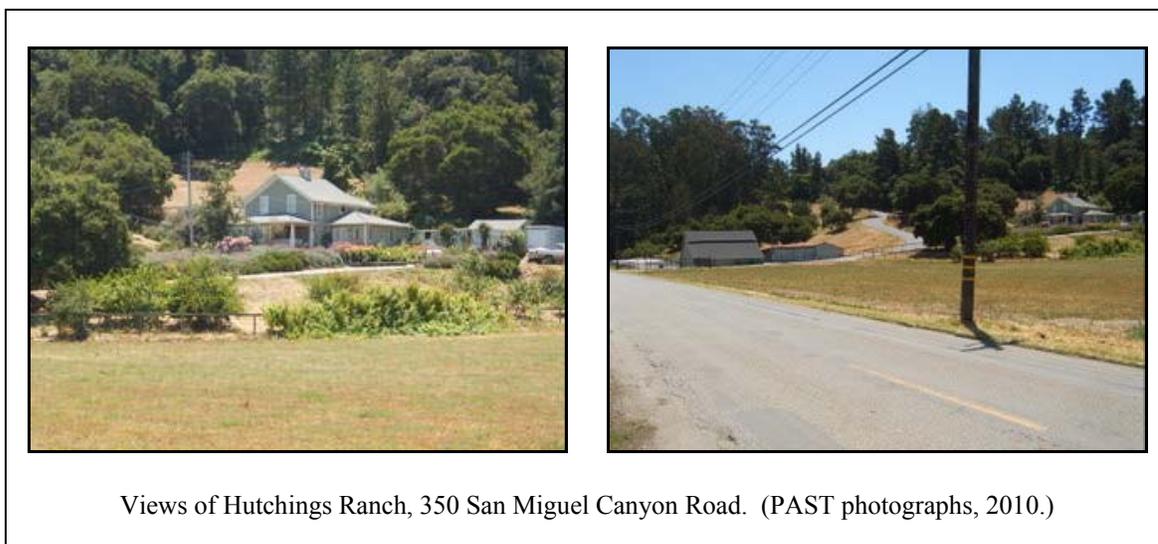
⁵⁷⁹ “Peter Storm Killed by Falling Tree: A Horrible Death for Prominent Resident,” *Watsonville Evening Pajaronian*, 10 January 1916. Storm may actually have worked on a McCusker or McClusky ranch. Family names were often misspelled in different sources. Built before 1881, the McCusker House was between Moss Landing and the Pajaro River, near the Monterey Bay and the McClusky Slough.⁵⁷⁹

Hutchings Ranch, 350 San Miguel Canyon Road: In 1869, Lyman S. Hutchings (1829-1889) and his wife Mary Rigby (1836-1917) acquired the ranch at 350 San Miguel Canyon Road from homesteader John Maxwell. President U.S. Grant signed Maxwell's deed. Lyman's grandson, Foster Hutchings, said "he traded for a Squatter's Right: a team of mules, a wagon and a barrel of whiskey." Hutchings built the two-story redwood house that still stands today, as well as a large horse barn. He planted a fruit orchard east of the house. He later bought a ranch on Lewis Road, built a second house there and built a second barn as a fruit dryer, one of the first in the area. He raised cows and grew plums, cherries, apricots, peaches, nectarines, pears, soft-shelled almonds, quinces and three acres of strawberries. An 1879 book by Wallace W. Elliott and Company of San Francisco described Hutchings as "one of the most noted strawberry producers in this section." He sold dried fruit and produce to Castroville, Salinas, Santa Rita, Hollister and San Juan Bautista via horse and wagon. By 1879, his ranch was 195 acres and it eventually extended from Prasso Ranch in San Miguel Canyon to the top of Lewis Road.



Lyman and Mary's son Moses (Mose) S. Hutchings (1877-1952) married Rhoda Rowe, daughter of James and Ida Rowe (see 1767 San Juan Road property description). He was the first farmer to grow and ship lettuce in the Pajaro Valley and Central Coast. In 1915, he planted three acres of lettuce on the Rowe ranch at 1767 San Juan Road. In the spring of 1916, by lantern at 2:00 a.m., he and local high school students cut and ice-packed the lettuce in the field. He drove it by wagon team to Pajaro Junction where Wells Fargo shipped the lettuce to the H. P. Garin Co. in San Francisco. In 1917, Mose planted ten acres of lettuce. In 1918, he planted sixteen acres and had Japanese employees. He also sold hay, potatoes, milk and eggs. In 1924, he expanded the house at 350 San Miguel Canyon Road, planted twenty acres of pears, and moved in with Rhoda and their children. Mose Hutchings worked with Matt McGowan and Monterey County Farm Advisor A. A. Tavernetti to bring the Farm Bureau to the Pajaro Valley. He also helped establish the Monterey County Fair.⁵⁸⁰

This property is potentially significant for its association with the development of intensive agriculture (criteria NR-A, CR-1, MC-A1, A2, A4, A6, C1 & C2) and/or its association with the Hutchings family (criteria NR-B, CR-2, MC-A3), pioneer lettuce and strawberry growers.

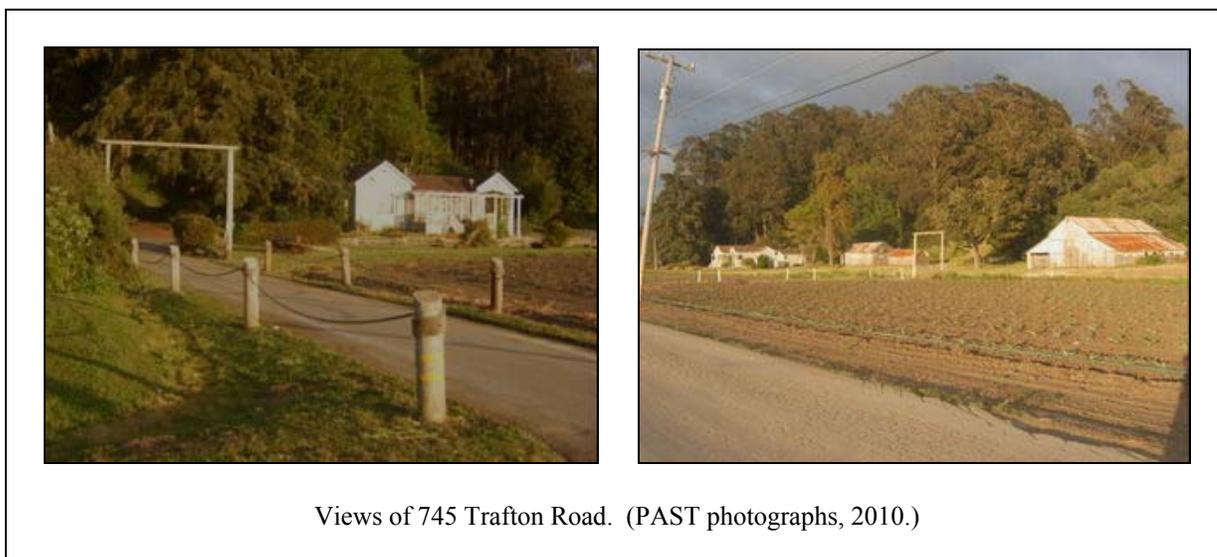


⁵⁸⁰ Doris Hutchings Means, "Hutchings, Lyman Smith," courtesy of the Agricultural History Project Collection. Doris Hutchings Means, "Hutchings were Mormon clan who settled in Pajaro," *Register-Pajaronian*, 29 August 1998. Foster Hutchings, "Foster's Remembrances," provided to Agricultural History Project by Ellen Hutchings, 2003, courtesy of the Agricultural History Project Collection. Elinor Baldwin, "Pioneer Hutchings family will celebrate 100th anniversary of founding the ranch," possibly September 1969. Dorothy H. Vera, "Hutchings Ranch Is a Century Old," *Salinas Californian*, October 4, 1969. Clovis, *Monterey County's North Coast and Coastal Valleys*, 84. The original 1869 ranch purchase was either fifty or seventy acres; sources disagree.

McGowan House, 745 Trafton Road (original house ca. 1864): John McGowan, a wheat and barley farmer, built this house shortly after 1864. He originally built it higher on the hillside but the 1906 earthquake and the heavy rains of 1907 loosened the soil. The house slid down the hill to its present location, after which the McGowans built a new foundation and additional rooms.⁵⁸¹

By 1915, descendent W. J. McGowan owned a ninety-three acre orchard three miles southwest of Pajaro and leased it to tenants on a long-term basis for \$5,000 per year. At that time, the Bellefleur (or Bellflower) apples growing on sixty of McGowan's acres were about thirteen to twenty years old. Each acre had forty-eight trees and yielded up to 15,000 loose boxes or 11,250 packed boxes of apples. Some of McGowan's oldest trees annually yielded up to twelve loose boxes of apples each.⁵⁸² The Pajaro Valley Consolidated Railroad had two station stops (McGowan No. 1 and McGowan No. 2) on two McGowan properties along Trafton Road. (See railroad map in Chapter 4).

This property is another example of a farm that evolved from extensive to intensive agriculture. It illustrates both themes, but appears to have achieved its greatest significance for its association with apple growing and has been classified under the Intensive Agriculture theme. The property is potentially significant for its association with the development of extensive and/or intensive agriculture (criteria NR-A, CR-1, MC-A1, A2, A4, A6, C1 & C2) and/or its association with the McGowan family (criteria NR-B, CR-2, MC-A3), whose farmstead shaped the landscape through its apple orchards and its station stops along the Pajaro Valley Consolidated Railroad.



⁵⁸¹ Pajaro Valley Historical Association, "Pajaro Valley Historical Association Heritage Homes Tour." Circa 1989.

⁵⁸² Dunn, *Monterey County, California*, 16.

Thompson Farms in Aromas: 1615 San Juan Road (1880); 1666 San Juan Road (1920); intersection of San Juan Road and Murphy Hill Road; and intersection of San Juan and Aromas Roads:

John Thompson was one of the Pajaro Valley's principal farmers and landowners since at least 1873.⁵⁸³ By 1908, he owned at least four large tracts along San Juan Road. Three were at the intersection of San Juan and Murphy roads near Murphy's Crossing: two were north of San Juan Road bordering John Murphy's land (at 1615 San Juan Road and at the intersection of San Juan and Murphy Hill roads); the third was across the street at 1666 San Juan Road, between the Rowe and Eaton parcels. The fourth was a large parcel at the northeast corner of the San Juan and Aromas roads intersection. A 1915 book about Monterey County noted that Thompson owned seventy-five acres near Pajaro, but did not identify the exact parcel(s). The book likely referred to Thompson's three nearly contiguous parcels at the intersection of San Juan and Murphy roads.

Thompson grew Bellefleur and Newtown apples and his trees were already ten to eighteen years old by 1915. He planted fifty-five to an acre, twenty-eight feet apart, yielding about 32,000 loose boxes of apples annually. At one time, he sold his apples to the Croatian packers and shippers on "blossom contracts" in April or May. He grossed \$6,800 in 1909, \$7,200 in 1910, and \$7,600 for the mature trees in 1911. His expenses were between \$1,800 and \$2,000 annually: plowing at \$2.50 per acre, cultivation at \$3.50 per acre, pruning at \$600 for the orchard, and three \$100 summer sprays for \$300 total, with winter spraying not needed every year. By 1915, Thompson had leased his land to tenants on a five-year lease. He earned \$7,000 for each of the first three years and \$7,500 for each of the last two years, for which he performed no work in the orchard.⁵⁸⁴



The Thompson property at 1666 San Juan Road is listed in the Monterey County Register. (PAST photograph, 2010.)

- ***1615 San Juan Road (1880), Aromas:*** This property is listed in the Monterey County Register. The house and outbuildings are set back from the road. This parcel includes a one-and-a-half story rectangular wood frame house with a hipped roof, gabled pediment breaking the roof line, open porch with a hipped roof and central pediment; monitor barn, tank house and several outbuildings.⁵⁸⁵
- ***1666 San Juan Road (1920), Aromas:*** Listed in the Monterey County Register, this property includes a Spanish Colonial Revival home that John Thompson built in 1920 and occupied until the 1940s. An older home is located behind it, as is a water tank and a

⁵⁸³ Martin, *Directory of the Town of Watsonville for 1873*, 43.

⁵⁸⁴ Dunn, *Monterey County, California*, 16.

⁵⁸⁵ County of Monterey Historical Files: "1615 San Juan Rd."

few smaller outbuildings. Thompson leased the land to lettuce growers from the 1920s until right after World War II.⁵⁸⁶

- ***San Juan and Aromas roads, Aromas:*** This property included both extensive and intensive farming over the years. John Thompson owned it by at least 1908. Around 1911, Croatian Nicholas Borina opened Borina Orchards on the property. By 1925, more than 100 employees worked in Borina's apple and berry growing and shipping firm.⁵⁸⁷ In 1953, Harold Thompson (likely John's descendant) opened Thompson's Choosencut Christmas Trees on the Thompson Ranch at 207 Aromas Road in Aromas, growing white fir, Douglas fir, scotch pine and Monterey pine. He first started growing Christmas trees in 1918, from 1,000 Monterey pine seedlings he brought home from a Pacific Grove summer job milking cows.⁵⁸⁸ A 2007 aerial photograph shows rows and remnants of rows of trees, which could be either apple trees from Borina Orchards or trees from Thompson's Choosencut Christmas Trees. John Thompson's large original parcel now has perhaps two dozen homes on it, including an early twentieth century Craftsman Bungalow on Aromas Road, near the intersection with San Juan Road.

The Thompson properties at 1615 San Juan Road and 1666 San Juan Road are already listed in the Monterey County Register and may also be eligible for listing in the National Register or California Register.

The property at San Juan and Aromas roads is potentially significant for its association with the development of intensive agriculture (criteria NR-A, CR-1, MC-A1, A2, A4, A6, C1 & C2) and/or its association with Thompson or Borina (NR-b), but the property has changed dramatically. Additional research would determine whether the property or a portion of it is significant and retains enough historic integrity to qualify for listing. The Craftsman Bungalow on Aromas Road may be individually significant for embodying the distinctive characteristics of a type, period, or method of construction (criteria NR-C, CR-3, MC-A5, B1, B2 & B3) and may be more appropriately evaluated under Theme 5: Housing.

⁵⁸⁶ County of Monterey Historical Files: "1660 San Juan Rd." (actual street address is 1666 San Juan Road).

⁵⁸⁷ Mekis, *Blossoms Into Gold*, 148.

⁵⁸⁸ Cynthia Hibbard, "Christmas Tree Farms Dot North County Land," *North County News*.

D. Theme 3: Processing and Distribution (ca. 1860 -1960)

1. Introduction

In the North County, the theme of *Processing and Distribution* is associated with a wide variety of technology, from low-technology hand-harvesting to higher technology cold storage facilities and advanced strawberry breeding techniques; transportation via water, railroads and trucks; and agricultural workers from many countries and cultures, including the Chinese, Japanese, Croatians, Filipinos and Mexicans.

Property types include *Locational Processing Facilities*, which the Monterey County Code (MCC) classifies as *agricultural support services*, and *Commercial Processing Facilities*, which the MCC classifies as *agricultural processing facilities*.

Locational processing facilities include a single building or grouping of buildings built to process an agricultural product where it was farmed. These facilities may include packing sheds, apple dryers and berry processing centers. Facilities date to the primary period during which the farm product was produced.

Commercial processing facilities include a single building or grouping of buildings constructed for processing a farm product off-site from where it was grown. In most cases, these facilities are owned by a different entity than the farm that produced the crop. These buildings include apple packing, berry processing and cold storage facilities. Dates of extant commercial processing facilities generally fall within the 1900s.

The next sections include comprehensive descriptions of the Locational Processing Facility and Commercial Processing Facility property types and discussions of specific North County properties that may be potentially significant historic resources illustrating the Processing and Distribution theme.

2. Associated Property Type: Locational Processing Facility

a. Property Type Description



Strawberry Hills Forever: 231 Jensen Road, Springfield District.

Physical Characteristics: A single building or group of long buildings, at times attached, with gable roofs oriented perpendicular to the road or site. The buildings are simple in design with little or no ornamentation. Large, double doors appear in the gable ends. For larger sites, as shown above, the buildings orient around a central courtyard for truck loading. In early examples, the gable ends aligned along rail lines for easy loading onto railroad freight cars. The buildings tend to be wood-framed with vertical board (generally dating before 1900), corrugated iron or metal siding (generally dating after 1900). Concrete-framed buildings are more common after World War I.

Associative Characteristics: Locational processing facilities are associated with processing a particular crop, such as apples or strawberries, and may be located on an intensive farmstead.

Geographical Information: The facility is located near transportation lines, either rail or roadway, with appropriate loading docks facing the railroad or road. They are found on flat level sites that accommodate the great length of the building.

Boundaries: These facilities are located within the property boundary, as close to the transportation link as possible.

Variations: Variations include buildings for processing a specific product. Construction materials may also vary, depending on the construction date. Packing facilities from the apple-production era are generally timber-framed structures with exterior wood siding and shake or corrugated roofs. After the 1900s, buildings tended to be more standardized, with balloon frames, wood trusses supporting the roofs, and exterior cladding of corrugated iron or steel. Examples dating later in the period of significance may have concrete frames and/or concrete block walls.

Locational Patterns: Apple dryers and packing facilities were quite numerous in the Pajaro Valley in the 1870s - 1900s. Residential development and industrial agriculture have removed most of these buildings. Several examples of post-1900 packing facilities are found in Pajaro and in the Springfield District. No extant apple dryers have been located definitively for this report. However, a building has been found on Highway 1 in the Springfield District that may have been a fruit dryer. More research is necessary to make a final determination.

Condition: Many of these facilities appear to be closed and abandoned. The structures generally suffer from lack of use, neglect and vandalism.

b. Eligibility Criteria and Integrity Thresholds

Locational processing facilities may be historically significant for their association with processing a particular intensive crop (criteria NR-A, CR-1, MC-A1, A2, A4, C1 & C2) and should retain the length, massing, roof design and siding that convey their historic significance. If buildings are attached or oriented in groups around a central loading area, the overall spacing and design of the site should be intact.

Locational processing facilities may be historically significant for their association with an individual significant in the history of the North County region (criteria NR-B, CR-2, MC-A3) and should retain the physical characteristics described in the above paragraph.

Locational processing facilities may be historically significant as an example of a distinctive architectural type, period or method of construction (criteria NR-C, CR-3, MC-B1, B2 & B3).

To qualify for the above criteria, the locational processing facility must possess historic integrity. For locational processing facilities, the physical characteristics of the resource are represented by the character-defining features of the extant buildings on the landscape. The following chart provides guidelines for evaluating integrity.

Location	<i>Location is the place where the significant activities that shaped a property took place, often determined by geographical factors.</i> Locational processing facilities are located on intensive farmsteads near transportation lines, either rail or roadway, with appropriate loading docks facing the railroad or road. They are found on flat level sites that accommodate the great length of the building. Locational processing facilities whose characteristics retain their historic location have integrity of location.
Setting	<i>Setting is the physical environment within and surrounding a property, including large-scale features (e.g., woodlands, rock formations) and small-scale features (e.g., fences, gateposts, springs, individual trees).</i> Since these buildings are located on intensive farmsteads, the farmstead’s setting is the primary setting for this property type. The facility generally occupies a flat, level site to accommodate the great length of the building(s) and is located as close to the transportation link as possible.
Design	<i>Design is the composition of natural and cultural elements comprising the form, plan, and spatial organization of a property. Elements include buildings, structures, boundary demarcations, circulation networks, windbreaks, vegetation and topography.</i> Design tends to be simple or industrial in nature, with little ornamentation. Evidence of loading docks or courtyards for trucks also communicates overall design. Changes may be historic if they date to the property’s period of significance.

Materials	<i>Materials include construction materials of buildings, outbuildings, roadways, fences, and other structures. Vegetation similar to historic species in scale, type and visual effect will generally convey integrity of setting. Facilities built before 1900 are generally timber-framed structures with exterior wood siding and shake or corrugated roofs. After the 1900s, buildings tended to be more standardized, with balloon frames, wood trusses supporting the roofs, and exterior cladding of corrugated iron or steel. Examples dating later in the period of significance may have concrete frames and/or concrete block walls.</i>
Workmanship	<i>Workmanship is exhibited in the ways people have fashioned their environment for functional and decorative purposes, including how they constructed buildings, fences and small-scale elements. For rural historic landscapes, workmanship in raising crops contributes to integrity if it reflects traditional or historic practices. Integrity of workmanship is less critical for this property type, as the building form and materials became standardized in the twentieth century. Earlier timber-framed buildings may reflect cultural construction practices and should be examined for unique methods of construction.</i>
Feeling	<i>Feeling is intangible but is evoked by the presence of physical characteristics that reflect the historic scene. The cumulative effect of setting, design, materials and workmanship creates the sense of past time and place. The property's rural setting, industrial design, and industrial construction materials should reflect the site's historic use. Alterations to buildings should date to the facility's period of significance and not remove the historic industrial character-defining features.</i>
Association	<i>Association is the direct link between a property and the important events or persons that shaped it. Continued use and occupation help maintain integrity of association if traditional practices are carried on. Using traditional methods in new construction reinforces a property's integrity by linking past and present. A locational processing facility with integrity of association should reflect the historic persons (e.g., owners, architects, workers), historic land use, and historic events that shaped the property.</i>

c. Potentially Significant Historic Resources

Snyder Ranch, 1875 San Juan Road, Aromas: John W. Snyder bought forty-three acres at 1875 San Juan Road in 1871 and cultivated apricots. Architect William H. Weeks designed a house for John and his wife Harriet at the foot of Hunter’s Hill. They built a smaller house nearby for parents Adam and Louisa Snyder in 1883. A 2007 aerial view shows a house and large packing shed, hidden from San Juan Road by trees (visible in center of right image) . In 1890, John and his sons Elmer and John E., bought 254.9 acres on Carpenteria Road in Aromas (in the San Benito County part of town) in the Bardue Tract, the first land division of Rancho Las Aromitas y Las Aguas Calientes. Chinese laborers cleared the Carpenteria Road parcel, shipped the oak firewood from the Southern Pacific Railroad’s Aromas station (formerly known as “Sandcut”) to San Francisco, and planted the first apricot orchard in Aromas. Farmers provided campgrounds, wood and water for the San Joaquin Valley laborers who worked in Aromas apricot orchards during the summer.⁵⁸⁹ The packing shed shown below is an example of a locational processing facility.

Although the Snyder Ranch is potentially significant as an intensive farmstead in support of the theme of intensive agriculture (criteria NR-A, CR-1, MC-A1, A2, A4, A6, C1 & C2) and/or its association with the Snyder family (criteria NR-B, CR-2, MC-A3), the locational processing facility at the site may be eligible as a stand-alone building for its association with processing and distribution of agricultural products (criteria NR-A, CR-1, MC-A1, A2, A4, C1 & C2). The building is also potentially significant because it may embody the distinctive characteristics of a type, period, or method of construction (criteria NR-C, CR-3, MC-B1, B2 & B3).



The Snyder Ranch at 1875 San Juan Road retains a packing shed behind the house, as well as other outbuildings. (Courtesy of Google Earth, 2007.)

⁵⁸⁹ Alzora Snyder, “Snyder Family in Aromas,” April 15, 1984. Pajaro Valley Historical Association files: Snyder. Clovis, *Monterey County’s North Coast and Coastal Valleys*, 95, 101.

Strawberry Hills Forever, 231 Jensen Road, Springfield District: This locational processing facility is potentially eligible as a stand-alone building for its association with processing and distribution of agricultural products (criteria NR-A, CR-1, MC-A1, A2, A4, C1 & C2). The building is also potentially significant because it may embody the distinctive characteristics of a type, period, or method of construction (criteria NR-C, CR-3, MC-B1, B2 & B3).



Views of 231 Jensen Road. (PAST photographs, 2010.)

3. Associated Property Type: Commercial Processing Facility

a. Property Type Description



Former Smucker’s Processing Facility: 423 Salinas Road, Pajaro.

Physical Characteristics: A large single building or grouping of buildings industrial in design. Buildings of this type typically date from the 1900s and may display architectural detailing in vogue at the time of construction, like the Streamline Moderne building, above. The buildings typically are concrete framed, with wood sash or steel industrial sash windows, flat-roofed, or circular-roofed supported by wood or steel trusses.

Associative Characteristics: Commercial processing facilities may be associated with processing a particular farm product, such as berries, or may process a variety of farm products, as in a cold storage facility. They are associated with the development and processing of intensive crops in the North County.

Geographical Information: Commercial processing facilities are located near rail lines and major roads for easy loading and distribution of the processed crop to the marketplace. They require long, flat sites on large parcels.

Boundaries: These facilities are located on land owned or leased by the processing company. Boundaries are the parcel’s property line.

Variations: Variations include the method of construction, potentially reinforced concrete, steel frame or concrete block; an architectural style popular during the facility’s time of construction (*e.g.*, Art Deco or Streamline Moderne); fenestration patterns related to the facility’s use; and wood-frame or steel industrial-sash windows.

Locational Patterns: Commercial processing facilities are generally located in an agricultural region’s primary distribution centers. For the North County, this includes Pajaro, Pajaro Junction and Castroville. The region’s primary cold storage facility center was Watsonville, which processed much of the North County’s intensive crops, but Watsonville is located in Santa Cruz County. Presently, few commercial processing facilities exist in the North County, with the exception of several in Castroville and Pajaro.

Condition: These facilities are in fair to good condition when they continue to be operated as processing facilities today.

b. Eligibility Criteria and Integrity Thresholds

Commercial processing facilities may be historically significant for their association with processing a particular intensive crop (criteria NR-A, CR-1, MC-A1, A2, A4, C1 & C2) and should retain the length, massing, roof design and siding that convey their historic significance. If buildings are attached or oriented in groups around a central loading area, the overall spacing and design of the site should be intact.

Commercial processing facilities may be historically significant for their association with an individual or commercial entity significant in the history of the North County region (criteria NR-B, CR-2, MC-A3) and should retain the physical characteristics described in the above paragraph.

Commercial processing facilities may be historically significant as an example of a distinctive architectural type, period or method of construction (criteria NR-C, CR-3, MC-B1, B2 & B3).

To qualify for the above criteria, the commercial processing facility must possess historic integrity. For commercial processing facilities, the physical characteristics of the resource are represented by the character-defining features of the extant buildings on the landscape. The following chart provides guidelines for evaluating integrity.

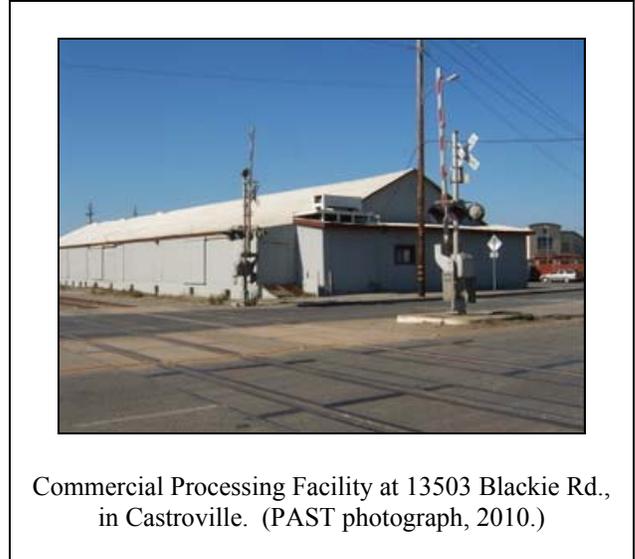
Location	<i>Location is the place where the significant activities that shaped a property took place, often determined by geographical factors.</i> Commercial processing facilities are located on land owned or leased by the processing company in small towns near truck or railroad transportation links.
Setting	<i>Setting is the physical environment within and surrounding a property, including large-scale features (e.g., woodlands, rock formations) and small-scale features (e.g., fences, gateposts, springs, individual trees).</i> Commercial processing facilities occupy a flat, level site to accommodate the great length of the building(s) and are as close to the transportation link as possible, typically in the industrial area of a town.
Design	<i>Design is the composition of natural and cultural elements comprising the form, plan, and spatial organization of a property. Elements include buildings, structures, boundary demarcations, circulation networks, windbreaks, vegetation and topography.</i> Design is industrial in nature, with minimal stylistic ornamentation, such as Art Deco or Streamline Moderne. Evidence of loading docks communicates overall design and the building's historic use. Changes may be historic if they date to the property's period of significance and do not mar the building's historic design.

Materials	<i>Materials include construction materials of buildings, outbuildings, roadways, fences, and other structures. Vegetation similar to historic species in scale, type and visual effect will generally convey integrity of setting. As most extant examples date to after 1900, materials are concrete or concrete block, with standardized wood trusses and wood or steel industrial sash windows. Alterations to building materials should not remove historic character-defining features and should date within the period of significance.</i>
Workmanship	<i>Workmanship is exhibited in the ways people have fashioned their environment for functional and decorative purposes, including how they constructed buildings, fences and small-scale elements. For rural historic landscapes, workmanship in raising crops contributes to integrity if it reflects traditional or historic practices. Integrity of workmanship is less critical for this property type, as the building form and materials became standardized in the twentieth century.</i>
Feeling	<i>Feeling is intangible but is evoked by the presence of physical characteristics that reflect the historic scene. The cumulative effect of setting, design, materials and workmanship creates the sense of past time and place. The property's town setting, industrial design, and industrial construction materials should reflect the site's historic use. Alterations to buildings should date to the facility's period of significance and not remove the historic industrial character-defining features.</i>
Association	<i>Association is the direct link between a property and the important events or persons that shaped it. Continued use and occupation help maintain integrity of association if traditional practices are carried on. Using traditional methods in new construction reinforces a property's integrity by linking past and present. A commercial processing facility with integrity of association should reflect the historic persons (e.g., owners, architects, workers), historic land use, and historic events that shaped the property.</i>

c. Potentially Significant Historic Resources

Commercial Processing Facility at 13503 Blackie Rd., Castroville. This commercial processing facility is located adjacent to the railroad tracks in Castroville’s industrial area. Immediate access to the railroad facilitated fast, efficient shipping to distant markets as soon as the product was ready for distribution.

This commercial processing facility is potentially significant for its association with processing and distribution of intensive agricultural products (criteria NR-A, CR-1, MC-A1, A2, A4, C1 & C2). In addition, the building is potentially significant because it may embody the distinctive characteristics of a type, period, or method of construction (criteria NR-C, CR-3, MC-B1, B2 & B3).

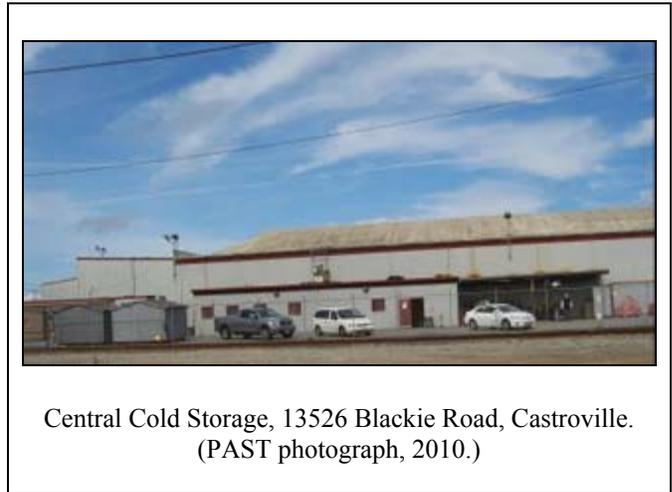


SunRidge Farms, 423 Salinas Road, Pajaro (former Smucker’s plant): This former Smucker’s plant is located in the commercial and industrial center of Pajaro, near the railroad tracks. This commercial processing facility is potentially significant for its association with processing and distribution of intensive agricultural products criteria NR-A, CR-1, MC-A1, A2, A4, C1 & C2). It may also embody the distinctive characteristics of a type, period, or method of construction (criteria NR-C, CR-3, MC-B1, B2 & B3).



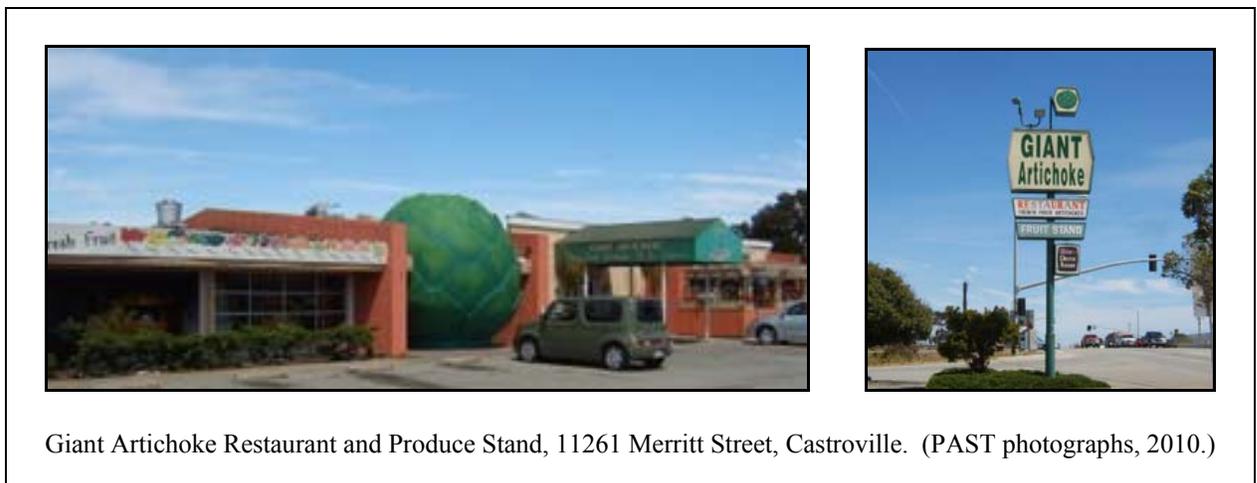
Central Cold Storage, 13526 Blackie Road, Castroville: The frozen food industry started around World War II and employed many North County agricultural workers. By the early 1950s, the Pajaro Valley was the “frozen food center of the West,” with thirteen plants processing fruits and vegetables. Five plants operated year-round and the other plants operated seasonally, processing apples, berries and artichokes.⁵⁹⁰

These commercial processing facilities may be eligible for their association with processing and distribution of agricultural products (criteria NR-A, CR-1, MC-A1, A2, A4, C1 & C2). In addition, the building is potentially significant because it may embody the distinctive characteristics of a type, period, or method of construction (criteria NR-C, CR-3, MC-B1, B2 & B3).



Central Cold Storage, 13526 Blackie Road, Castroville.
(PAST photograph, 2010.)

Giant Artichoke Restaurant, 11261 Merritt Street, Castroville: Commercial processing facilities include retail operations, such as the Giant Artichoke Restaurant, located in Castroville. This commercial processing facility may be eligible for its association with processing and distribution of agricultural products (criteria NR-A, CR-1, MC-A1, A2, A4, C1 & C2). It is also potentially significant because it may embody the distinctive characteristics of a type, period, or method of construction (criteria NR-C, CR-3, MC-B1, B2 & B3).



Giant Artichoke Restaurant and Produce Stand, 11261 Merritt Street, Castroville. (PAST photographs, 2010.)

⁵⁹⁰ The plants included Artichokes, Inc., Baker Food Products, California Berry Freezers, Inc., California Freezing & Cold Storage Co., Fresh Frozen Foods Corp., George F. Martin & Co., Monterey Bay Berry Growers cooperative, Frank S. Oliver & Son, N.S. Papac & Son, A. L. Ruso, Inc., Joe Valentine and Sons and Watsonville Canning Co.

E. Theme 4: Advocacy and Social Organizations (ca. 1870-1960)

1. Introduction

In the North County, the theme of *Advocacy and Social Organizations* is associated with the agricultural community's involvement in agriculture-related political, civic and cultural matters; and with workers from many countries and cultures.

Property types include *Grange Halls* and *Cultural Meeting Houses*.

Grange halls are geographically-based and are associated with a particular town or community. They tend to be vernacular in design with a minimal degree of architectural detailing reflecting popular styles in the building's era of construction.

Cultural meeting houses are associated with a particular ethnic community that influenced North County agriculture. They tend to be vernacular in design with a minimal degree of architectural detailing reflecting either a popular architectural style from the building's era of construction, or a style or construction method common to the ethnic group's homeland.

The next sections include comprehensive descriptions of the Grange Hall and Cultural Meeting House property types and discussions of specific North County properties that may be potentially significant historic resources illustrating the Advocacy and Social Organizations theme.

2. Associated Property Type: Grange Hall

a. Property Type Description



Aromas Grange: Corner of Bardue and Rose streets, Aromas.

Physical Characteristics: A single building of simple design, with minimal architectural detail. Grange halls were generally wood-framed with wood siding or shingle wall materials, gabled roofs with exposed rafter tails, and wood sash windows.

Associative Characteristics: Grange halls are associated with the social and advocacy issues of specific agricultural communities.

Geographical Information: As grange halls were regional gathering places, they are sparsely distributed in the North County.

Boundaries: Boundaries are the parcel on which the building is located.

Variations: Variations include wall cladding type, either boards or shingles, type of window (double-hung sash or casement) and architectural detail.

Locational Patterns: Three granges have been located in the North County: Springfield Grange, Aromas Grange and Prunedale Grange. The Aromas Grange is associated with two separate buildings.

Condition: Condition is good if the buildings are still in current use. The Aromas Grange continues to fulfill its advocacy and social roles as one of the oldest active granges in California.

b. Eligibility Criteria and Integrity Thresholds

Grange halls may be historically significant for their association with social and advocacy efforts in the North County (criteria NR-A, CR-1, MC-A1, A2, A4, C1 & C2) and must possess a substantial number of historic character-defining features that date to the period of significance. These features include the building’s overall design, construction materials and architectural detailing.

Because of their vernacular nature, grange halls are not likely to be historically significant as an example of a distinctive architectural type, period or method of construction (criteria NR-C, CR-3, MC-B1, B2 & B3).

To qualify for the above criteria, the grange hall must possess historic integrity, as reflected in the building’s physical character-defining features. The following chart provides guidelines for evaluating integrity.

Location	<i>Location is the place where the significant activities that shaped a property took place, often determined by geographical factors. Grange halls with characteristics that retain their historic location have integrity of location.</i>
Setting	<i>Setting is the physical environment within and surrounding a property, including large-scale features (e.g., woodlands, rock formations) and small-scale features (e.g., fences, gateposts, springs, individual trees). Grange halls with integrity of setting retain their original location, either in a rural or town setting, usually near a primary road or crossroads for easy access by community members.</i>
Design	<i>Design is the composition of natural and cultural elements comprising the form, plan, and spatial organization of a property. Elements include buildings, structures, boundary demarcations, circulation networks, windbreaks, vegetation and topography. Grange halls are typically vernacular in design, but the building may bear minimal Craftsman, Art Deco or revivalist styles popular during the time of construction. Each building should be examined to determine its historic character-defining features. Changes may be historic if they do not remove these features and they date to the property’s period of significance.</i>
Materials	<i>Materials include construction materials of buildings, outbuildings, roadways, fences, and other structures. Vegetation similar to historic species in scale, type and visual effect will generally convey integrity of setting. Materials are wood frame and siding with shake or shingle roofs. Replacement materials should not remove character-defining features that communicate the building’s historic use.</i>

Workmanship	<i>Workmanship is exhibited in the ways people have fashioned their environment for functional and decorative purposes, including how they constructed buildings, fences and small-scale elements. For rural historic landscapes, workmanship in raising crops contributes to integrity if it reflects traditional or historic practices. Historic construction techniques may illustrate the workmanship of particular ethnic groups or vernacular traditions. Grange halls with integrity of workmanship exhibit the traditional or historic practices in use during the property’s period of significance.</i>
Feeling	<i>Feeling is intangible but is evoked by the presence of physical characteristics that reflect the historic scene. The cumulative effect of setting, design, materials and workmanship creates the sense of past time and place. The property’s rural or small town setting, design, materials and workmanship should reflect the site’s historic use.</i>
Association	<i>Association is the direct link between a property and the important events or persons that shaped it. Continued use and occupation help maintain integrity of association if traditional practices are carried on. Using traditional methods in new construction reinforces a property’s integrity by linking past and present. A grange hall with integrity of association should reflect the historic persons (e.g., grange members), historic land use, and historic events that shaped the property.</i>

c. Potentially Significant Historic Resources

Aromas Community Grange 361, Bardue Street and Rose Avenue, Aromas: In 1913, twenty-five charter members formed Community Grange 361 in the small community of Vega, renamed Aromas in 1918. The Aromas Grange membership oath includes the promise “[t]o encourage the sustainable availability of wholesome, nutritious food.” The Aromas Grange is the sixth-oldest existing grange in California. The Aromas Grange has been very involved in developing the local community, including bringing a railroad depot to town and sponsoring the first 4-H Club. Grain and apple farmer James Rowe (see description of 1767 San Juan Road in the Intensive Agriculture theme section) founded the Aromas Pig Club for children, giving them pigs to raise. The Pig Club became the 4-H Club in 1922. Rowe led it for twenty years and was also involved with the Aromas Grange.⁵⁹¹

The Aromas Community Grange hall is potentially significant for its association with social and advocacy efforts in the North County (criteria NR-A, CR-1, MC-A1, A2, A4, C1 & C2).



Former Prunedale Community Grange 388, 8300A Prunedale North Road, Prunedale: On August 13, 1920, F. A. Wells organized Prunedale Community Grange 388. Dormant from 1924 to May 3, 1927, the Grange is very active today. The building at 8300A Prunedale North Road, reportedly the oldest public structure in Prunedale (ca. 1900), was the former Prunedale Grange. It currently serves as the Prunedale Senior Center and American Legion Post #593, and was formerly a church, as well. While the Grange remodeled that building in the mid-1930s, it

⁵⁹¹ Aromas Community Grange, “History of the Teressie White Memorial Scholarship Foundation” (Aromas, CA: Aromas Community Grange), http://www.aromasgrange.org/html_pages/The%20Aromas%20Grange%20History.pdf (accessed 14 January 2010). Aromas Community Grange, “Membership Application” (Aromas, CA: Aromas Community Grange), http://www.aromasgrange.org/html_pages/GrangeNewMemberForm.pdf (accessed 14 January 2010). County of Monterey Historical Files: “1767 San Juan Rd.” Pajaro Valley Historical Association, “Pajaro Valley Historical Association Heritage Homes Tour.” Pajaro Valley Historical Association Files: “1767 San Juan Road, Rowe, James.”

temporarily met in Charles Langley's 1860s barn (now demolished) on his Prunedale horse ranch, above the intersection of San Miguel Canyon Road and Highway 101. The Prunedale Grange assisted with many communication and transportation improvements that helped local farmers, including installing phone lines from Watsonville to Elkhorn on the Hall and Long Valley roads (1921) and working with state and local officials to open the "Dunbarton cutoff" into Salinas (now Highway 101).⁵⁹² The former grange hall at 8300A Prunedale North Road is potentially significant for its association with social and advocacy efforts in the North County (criteria NR-A, CR-1, MC-A1, A2, A4, C1 & C2).

Springfield Community Grange 523, Elkhorn and Werner Roads, near Las Lomas: North County resident Frank H. Wells organized the Springfield Grange in 1933.⁵⁹³ Additional research is needed to discover the construction history of this grange hall; however, it is potentially significant for its association with social and advocacy efforts in the North County (criteria NR-A, CR-1, MC-A1, A2, A4, C1 & C2).



Left: Former Prunedale Grange, 8300A Prunedale North Road, Prunedale. (Google Earth.)
Right: Springfield Grange, corner of Elkhorn and Werner roads. (PAST photograph, 2010.)

⁵⁹² Cynthia Hibbard, "Origin of Name is Plain — Prunes for Prunedale," *North County News*, 3 December 1975. "Grange Will Celebrate Its 50th Anniversary," *North County News*, 11 May 1977. Everett Messick, "\$6 Million Expansion Beginning," *The Herald*, 15 February 1988. Jackson, "Prunedale?," *North Monterey County Fortnightly*. Everett Messick, "Historic Barn Will Rise Again," *Monterey County Herald*, 25 November 1988. "The History of the Barn at The Prunedale Shopping Center," undated. The Grange used Langley's barn for social events and a state-sponsored Depression-era training program to teach quilting and sewing. In 1956, the Grange built a new Grange Hall on San Miguel Canyon Road. To accommodate the 1988 Prunedale Shopping Center expansion, a developer swapped a four-acre site on Moro Road with the Grange's San Miguel Canyon Road parcel and the Grange moved to its current location. The developer demolished Langley's dilapidated barn but reused some elements in a replica incorporated into the Prunedale Shopping Center.

⁵⁹³ J. D. Hartz, Public Relations Director, California State Grange, email to Paige J. Swartley, 21 July 2010.

3. Associated Property Type: Cultural Meeting House

a. Property Type Description



Japanese Language School: 11199 Geil Street, Castroville, listed in the National Register and Monterey County Register.

Physical Characteristics: A single building of simple design, sometimes with architectural details reflecting the construction or design practices of an associated ethnic group’s homeland. Cultural meeting houses were wood-framed with wood siding or shingle wall materials, gabled roofs with exposed rafter tails and wood sash windows.

Associative Characteristics: Cultural meeting houses are associated with a particular ethnic community that influenced North County agriculture.

Geographical Information: Cultural meeting houses were generally built in population centers to serve the local ethnic community, so they are sparsely distributed in the North County.

Boundaries: The boundary is the parcel on which the building is located.

Variations: Variations include wall cladding type, either boards or shingles, type of window (double-hung sash or casement) and architectural detail.

Locational Patterns: Cultural meeting houses are rare in the North County. The Japanese Language School in Castroville is the best example located for this study. A former Chinese School is located in Pajaro.

Condition: The Japanese Language School’s condition is good because it has been meticulously restored, is still in use, and is listed in the National Register and the Monterey County Register. The Chinese School in Pajaro is listed in the Monterey County Register, but has suffered serious integrity loss.

b. Eligibility Criteria and Integrity Thresholds

Cultural meeting houses may be historically significant for their association with a particular ethnic community that influenced North County agriculture (criteria NR-A, CR-1, MC-A1, A2, A4, A6, A7, C1 & C2) and should retain the building’s size, massing, design, materials and architectural or cultural detail to convey its historic significance.

Cultural meeting houses may be historically significant for their association with an individual significant in the history of the North County region (criteria NR-B, CR-2, MC-A3) and should retain the physical characteristics described in the above paragraph.

Cultural meeting houses may be historically significant as an example of a distinctive architectural type, period or method of construction (criteria NR-C, CR-3, MC-B1, B2 & B3).

To qualify for the above criteria, the cultural meeting house must possess historic integrity, as reflected in the physical character-defining features of the building. The following chart provides guidelines for evaluating integrity.

Location	<i>Location is the place where the significant activities that shaped a property took place, often determined by geographical factors. Cultural meeting houses with characteristics that retain their historic location have integrity of location.</i>
Setting	<i>Setting is the physical environment within and surrounding a property, including large-scale features (e.g., woodlands, rock formations) and small-scale features (e.g., fences, gateposts, springs, individual trees). Cultural meeting houses with their rural or town setting retain integrity of setting.</i>
Design	<i>Design is the composition of natural and cultural elements comprising the form, plan, and spatial organization of a property. Elements include buildings, structures, boundary demarcations, circulation networks, windbreaks, vegetation and topography. Cultural meeting houses are typically vernacular in design, but may exhibit construction practices or details associated with a particular ethnic group. Changes may be historic if they do not remove these features and they date to the property’s period of significance.</i>
Materials	<i>Materials include construction materials of buildings, outbuildings, roadways, fences, and other structures. Vegetation similar to historic species in scale, type and visual effect will generally convey integrity of setting. Materials are wood frame and siding with shake or shingle roofs. Replacement materials should not remove character-defining features that communicate the building’s historic design or use.</i>

Workmanship	<i>Workmanship is exhibited in the ways people have fashioned their environment for functional and decorative purposes, including how they constructed buildings, fences and small-scale elements. For rural historic landscapes, workmanship in raising crops contributes to integrity if it reflects traditional or historic practices. Historic construction techniques may illustrate the workmanship of particular ethnic groups or vernacular traditions. Cultural meeting houses with integrity of workmanship exhibit the traditional or historic practices in use during the property’s period of significance.</i>
Feeling	<i>Feeling is intangible but is evoked by the presence of physical characteristics that reflect the historic scene. The cumulative effect of setting, design, materials and workmanship creates the sense of past time and place. The property’s rural or small town setting, design, materials and workmanship should reflect the site’s historic use.</i>
Association	<i>Association is the direct link between a property and the important events or persons that shaped it. Continued use and occupation help maintain integrity of association if traditional practices are carried on. Using traditional methods in new construction reinforces a property’s integrity by linking past and present. A cultural meeting house with integrity of association should reflect the historic persons (e.g., owners, workers and members), historic land use, and historic events that shaped the property.</i>

c. Potentially Significant Historic Resources

Castroville Japanese Language School, 11199 Geil Street, Castroville: When the Japanese community dedicated this building on August 31, 1936, Castroville was home to about twenty Japanese families, many of whom worked in local agriculture.⁵⁹⁴ Facing racial discrimination, the Japanese wanted a meeting place where the community could maintain strong cultural ties.⁵⁹⁵ This building served as a school for Japanese children to learn about their culture, traditions and language; as a social meeting hall; and as a Buddhist temple.⁵⁹⁶ The Japanese military bombed Pearl Harbor in December 1941 and President Roosevelt issued Executive Order 9066 on February 19, 1942, forcing Japanese-Americans into internment camps.⁵⁹⁷ The school closed but later housed Japanese-Americans returning from the internment camps and military service.⁵⁹⁸ The Castroville school district bought the building in the late 1940s for storage, wood shop classes and school offices. It became vacant in the late 1980s.⁵⁹⁹ The Monterey County Redevelopment Agency bought it in 1999 and rehabilitated it for use as a community and youth center. It is listed in the National Register under Criterion A in the areas of education, social history and Asian ethnic heritage. It is also listed in the Monterey County Register.⁶⁰⁰ In addition, it is potentially historically significant as an example of a distinctive architectural type, period or method of construction (criteria NR-C, CR-3, MC-B1, B2 & B3).



Japanese Language School, 11199 Geil Street, in Castroville. (PAST photograph, 2010.)

⁵⁹⁴ Clovis, *Monterey County's North Coast and Coastal Valleys*, 32.

⁵⁹⁵ U.S. Department of the Interior, "National Asian-Pacific Heritage Month" (Washington, D.C.: U.S. Department of the Interior), <http://www.nps.gov/history/nr/feature/asia/2000/feature00.htm> (accessed 9 February 2010).

⁵⁹⁶ "Castroville Japanese Language School," Washington, D.C.: U.S. Department of the Interior, 2010, <http://nrhp.focus.nps.gov/natregsearchresult.do?fullresult=true&recordid=11> (accessed 13 April 2010). "National Register of Historic Places: California—Monterey County," <http://www.nationalregisterofhistoricplaces.com/ca/Monterey/state.html>, (accessed 13 April 2010). Clovis, *Monterey County's North Coast and Coastal Valleys*, 32-33.

⁵⁹⁷ Franklin D. Roosevelt, "Executive Order No. 9066 Authorizing the Secretary of War to Prescribe Military Areas" (Washington, D.C.: The White House, 19 February 1942).

⁵⁹⁸ U.S. Department of the Interior, "National Asian-Pacific Heritage Month" (Washington, D.C.: U.S. Department of the Interior), <http://www.nps.gov/history/nr/feature/asia/2000/feature00.htm> (accessed 9 February 2010).

⁵⁹⁹ County of Monterey, Grant Application to the Monterey Peninsula Foundation for the Japanese Language School in Castroville, 2007.

⁶⁰⁰ "Castroville Japanese Language School," Washington, D.C.: U.S. Department of the Interior, 2010, <http://nrhp.focus.nps.gov/natregsearchresult.do?fullresult=true&recordid=11> (accessed 13 April 2010). "National Register of Historic Places: California – Monterey County," <http://www.nationalregisterofhistoricplaces.com/ca/Monterey/state.html>, (accessed 13 April 2010).

F. Theme 5: Housing (ca. 1850 – 1960)

1. Introduction

In the North County, the theme of *Housing* is associated with the entire agricultural industry. North County agricultural laborers, farmers and business owners occupied a range of housing including flimsy, substandard structures with dirt floors; bunkhouses; vernacular residences; and architect-designed mansions featured in newspapers and listed in the National Register of Historic Places. Labor camps, boardinghouses and neighborhood enclaves like the Chinatowns and Japantowns in Pajaro and Castroville provided housing for ethnic groups that worked in local agriculture. Housing experiments, like the subdivision of Federal Housing Administration homes built on John Porter's Las Lomas ranch in the late 1930s, integrated agriculture into a housing development. Prominent California architect William H. Weeks designed several notable Pajaro Valley homes, including those of John T. Porter and James and Ida Rowe.

Associated property types are *Stand-Alone Farm Residences*, *Stand-Alone Worker Housing* and *Labor Camps*.

The Stand-Alone Farm Residence property type includes grand homes built for leading families who shaped North County agriculture, such as the Porter-Vallejo Mansion in Pajaro. It also includes houses built on intensive farmsteads in cases where new construction or industrial agriculture has removed most of the historic cluster, farm outbuildings and boundaries, except the house. A unique form of the Stand-Alone Farm Residence includes the Federal Housing Administration houses in Las Lomas, extremely modest homes constructed at low-cost on one-acre parcels for agricultural workers desiring to farm on their own land as supplemental income.

The Stand-Alone Worker Housing property type includes homes for agricultural laborers that are not located on a farmstead or are located on a farmstead that has lost its integrity as a rural historic landscape. The Housing theme differentiates Stand-Alone Farm Residences from Stand-Alone Worker Housing because the latter were constructed for laborers who had no ownership rights within the agricultural operation and were hired to work the land.

The Labor Camp property type includes small vernacular homes grouped together to house farm laborers efficiently. They were located throughout the North County, but historic examples are rare because many were constructed of cheap, impermanent materials. To date, remnants of only one labor camp have been located, a former forty-six unit camp built in the 1920s at Kent's Court off of Railroad Avenue in Pajaro. Originally occupied by railroad workers, it later housed agricultural workers. Manufactured housing replaced the dilapidated historic homes in the 1990s and only one historic building (with significant integrity loss) remains at this location.

The next sections include comprehensive descriptions of the Stand-Alone Farm Residence, Stand-Alone Worker Housing and Labor Camp property types and discussions of specific properties that may be potentially significant historic resources illustrating the Housing theme.

2. Associated Property Type: Stand-Alone Farm Residence

a. Property Type Description


<p>Stand-Alone Farm Residences: Porter-Vallejo Mansion (left); 1372 San Juan Road (center); Las Lomas FHA house (right).</p>
<p>Physical Characteristics: An individual house on a parcel, or a house and one outbuilding on a parcel that once included an extensive or intensive farmstead. Stand-alone farm residences appear in almost every architectural style popular from 1850 to 1960, including FHA designs of the 1930s–1950s.</p>
<p>Associative Characteristics: Stand-alone farm residences are associated with their particular use. In some cases, they were the primary residences of farmers of extensive or intensive agriculture crops. They may be associated with key individuals who shaped the North County landscape, or they may represent evidence of a government movement to house families of limited means, such as the FHA houses of Las Lomas.</p>
<p>Geographical Information: This property type concentrates in the flat lands and valleys where extensive or intensive farmsteads dominate, as well in the small communities that housed agricultural workers.</p>
<p>Boundaries: Boundaries historically included the parcel on which the house is located. Roadways or railroad transportation links also form boundaries, as does natural topography.</p>
<p>Variations: Variations include the architectural style and construction materials of the house, which include vernacular Greek Revival, Italianate and Queen Anne Victorian styles. FHA houses, early tract ranch, and post-and-beam styles are examples of styles dating to the 1930s–1950s.</p>
<p>Locational Patterns: Stand-alone farm residences may be found anywhere in the North County, but concentrate in areas of extensive or intensive agriculture and the development of small agricultural communities. They are common around Pajaro, along San Juan Road east of Pajaro, and along other primary roadways.</p>
<p>Condition: Condition of these residences varies from poor to good, depending on the occupancy of the residence. Abandoned examples have also been located, particularly on the hillside roads north of the Los Lomas community.</p>

b. Eligibility Criteria and Integrity Thresholds

Stand-alone farm residences may be historically significant for their association with a particular method of agricultural development, such as extensive or intensive agriculture (criteria NR-A, CR-1, MC-A1, A2, A4, C1 & C2) and should retain the building’s size, massing, design, materials and architectural detail to convey its historic significance

Stand-alone farm residences may be historically significant for their association with an individual significant in the history of the North County (criteria NR-B, CR-2, MC-A3) and should retain the physical characteristics described in the above paragraph.

Stand-alone farm residences may be historically significant as an example of a distinctive architectural type, period or method of construction (criteria NR-C, CR-3, MC-B1, B2 & B3).

To qualify for the above criteria, the stand-alone farm residence must possess historic integrity, as reflected in the physical character-defining features of the building. The following chart provides guidelines for evaluating integrity.

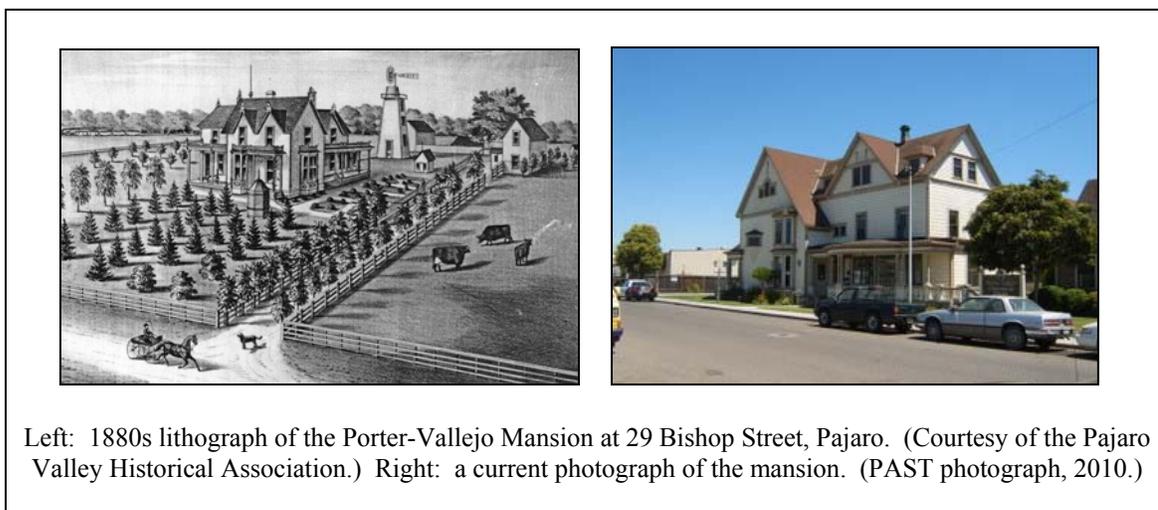
Location	<i>Location is the place where the significant activities that shaped a property took place, often determined by geographical factors.</i> Ideally, stand-alone farm residences should retain their historic location. However, this property type includes main houses of extensive or intensive farmsteads whose cluster, outbuildings, property boundary demarcations (e.g., fencing), and small-scale elements have been removed leaving only the main house.
Setting	<i>Setting is the physical environment within and surrounding a property, including large-scale features (e.g., woodlands, rock formations) and small-scale features (e.g., fences, gateposts, springs, individual trees).</i> Integrity of setting is a difficult issue for stand-alone farm residences that fall into this property type because their original farmstead cluster has been lost. Generally, besides the residence’s location on the original farmstead, much of the historic setting has been compromised. In other cases, stand-alone farm residences that retain their original rural or town setting have integrity of setting.
Design	<i>Design is the composition of natural and cultural elements comprising the form, plan, and spatial organization of a property. Elements include buildings, structures, boundary demarcations, circulation networks, windbreaks, vegetation and topography.</i> Design is of primary importance for this property type. Stand-alone farm residences exist in every major architectural style dating from 1850 to 1960, ranging from Greek Revival and Victorian styles to FHA designs of the 1930s. The historic character-defining features of the residence’s style should be determined. Additions, alterations or other changes to the building that remove the identifiable style would also strip the residence of integrity. However, changes may be historic if they do not remove these features and they date to the property’s period of significance.

Materials	<i>Materials include construction materials of buildings, outbuildings, roadways, fences, and other structures. Vegetation similar to historic species in scale, type and visual effect will generally convey integrity of setting. Integrity of materials is also of primary importance, as materials are a primary character-defining feature contributing to a residence’s architectural style. A stand-alone farm residence having most of its historic materials; or materials added within the period of significance (that do not remove historic features) would have integrity of materials.</i>
Workmanship	<i>Workmanship is exhibited in the ways people have fashioned their environment for functional and decorative purposes, including how they constructed buildings, fences and small-scale elements. Historic construction techniques may illustrate the workmanship of particular ethnic groups or vernacular traditions. Stand-alone farm residences with integrity of workmanship exhibit the traditional or historic practices in use during the property’s period of significance.</i>
Feeling	<i>Feeling is intangible but is evoked by the presence of physical characteristics that reflect the historic scene. The cumulative effect of setting, design, materials and workmanship creates the sense of past time and place. The property’s rural or small town setting, design, materials and workmanship should reflect the site’s historic use.</i>
Association	<i>Association is the direct link between a property and the important events or persons that shaped it. Continued use and occupation help maintain integrity of association if traditional practices are carried on. Using traditional methods in new construction reinforces a property’s integrity by linking past and present. A stand-alone farm residence with integrity of association should reflect the historic persons (e.g., owners, architects, workers), historic land use, and historic events that shaped the property.</i>

c. Potentially Significant Historic Resources

Porter-Vallejo Mansion, 29 Bishop Street, Pajaro: This property is one of two North County resources listed in the National Register. In 1864, the Vallejo family sold to John T. Porter 820 acres of the San Cayetano Rancho, just south of the Pajaro River.⁶⁰¹ The property included a six-room house that Juan Antonio Vallejo had built for his fiancée, but he was killed in a bull-lassoing accident before the couple married. In 1871, the Porters moved the house away from the flood-prone Pajaro River to its present location at 29 Bishop Street in Pajaro.⁶⁰² In 1874, the Porters finally paid off the property and remodeled the house in the Gothic Revival style.⁶⁰³ Between 1895-1899, prominent architect William H. Weeks made significant additions, converting the modest house into a Queen Anne-style mansion, the first local home with electricity. Its twenty-three rooms included a library, billiards room, china room and dining room. The grounds included gardens, a tennis court and a dancing pavilion.⁶⁰⁴ The integrity of the property's historic setting has been lost and so the property falls into the Housing theme as a Stand-Alone Farm Residence.

This building is historically significant for its association with the Porter family, farmers and business owners who influenced North County agriculture and housed the former Watsonville and Pajaro Chinatowns on Porter property (criteria NR-B, CR-2, MC-A3).⁶⁰⁵ In addition, this William Weeks-designed residence is historically significant as an example of a distinctive architectural type, period or method of construction (criteria NR-C, CR-3, MC-B1, B2 & B3).



⁶⁰¹ Swift, "Unveiling the Porter Family Legacy."

⁶⁰² Clovis, *Monterey County's North Coast and Coastal Valleys*, 72.

⁶⁰³ Clovis, *Monterey County's North Coast and Coastal Valleys*, 72-73.

⁶⁰⁴ Clovis, *Monterey County's North Coast and Coastal Valleys*, 74.

⁶⁰⁵ "Porter-Vallejo Mansion," Washington, D.C.: U.S. Department of the Interior, 2010, <http://nrhp.focus.nps.gov/natregsearchresult.do?fullresult=true&recordid=43> (accessed 13 April 2010.) "National Register of Historic Places:

1372 San Juan Road, Pajaro: The Greek Revival house at 1372 San Juan Road is listed in the Monterey County Register and may also be eligible for listing in the National Register or California Register as an embodiment of the distinctive characteristics of a type, period, or method of construction (criteria NR-C, CR-3, MC-B1, B2 & B3). Industrial agriculture has altered or completely removed the landscape characteristics that would qualify this property as an intensive farmstead or rural historic landscape. Encroachment by new buildings, materials and equipment has removed virtually all of the farmstead's historic features, leaving only the original house and one outbuilding. Therefore, this site is classified under Theme 5: Housing.



At 1372 San Juan Road, the Greek Revival house and tank house are the only historic buildings on the property. (PAST photographs, 2010.)

John T. Porter Company's FHA "Miniature Farm" Subdivision, Hall Road, Las Lomas:

In 1938, the John T. Porter Company subdivided a portion of its property in the Hall District, now part of Las Lomas, just east of Hudson's Landing. It fronted Elkhorn Road and straddled both sides of Hall Road.⁶⁰⁶ The Porter Company subdivided 21.5 acres into one-acre lots so buyers could create small farms to supplement their seasonal agricultural income. The unusual experimental subdivision was reportedly the first regional attempt to create a rural, self-supporting community of one-acre tracts. Watsonville real estate promoter Sidney Jehl patterned the subdivision after Henry Ford's Greenwich Village near Dearborn, Michigan, where Ford's employees supplemented their salaries with small-scale farming. A 1938 *Register-Pajaronian* article noted that the concept "is an answer to the needs of the 'forgotten man,' whose income is too small to permit him to support his family decently, or whose employment, as is often the case

California – Monterey County," <http://www.nationalregisterofhistoricplaces.com/ca/Monterey/state.html>, (accessed 13 April 2010).

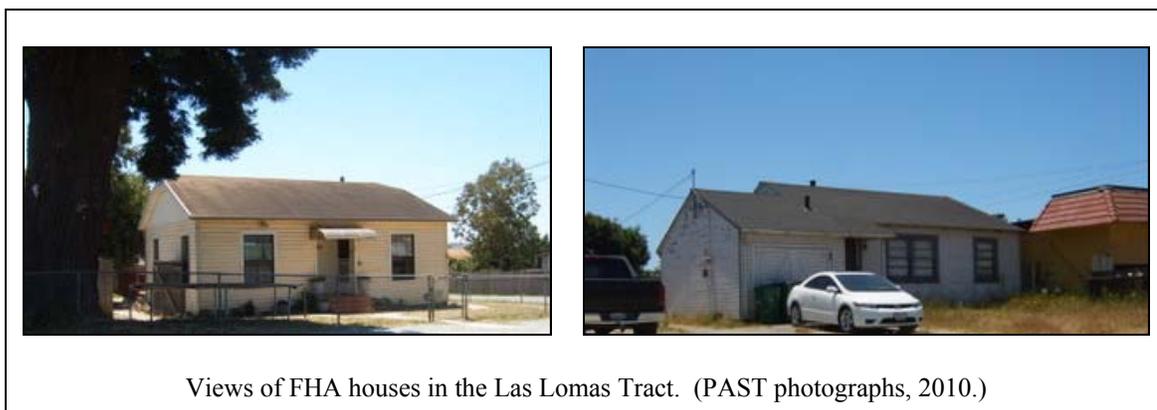
⁶⁰⁶ In 2001, the Elkhorn Slough Foundation acquired 332 acres of the Porter property along Elkhorn Road and Hall Road. It is called the Porter Preserve and includes the marsh at the northern end of the Elkhorn Slough, the historic Porter house and oak-studded pasture land. Elkhorn Slough Foundation, "Elkhorn Slough Protected Lands," <http://www.elkhornslough.org/protected.htm> (accessed 5 March 2010).

in agricultural pursuits in the Pajaro Valley is seasonal.” The Porter Company provided all building materials and retained title to each parcel until the buyer paid off the house and other improvements. The company required a small cash down payment and considered building the house as an additional “down payment” towards owning each parcel.⁶⁰⁷ John Porter’s descendant Diane Porter Cooley stated that her family patterned the subdivision idea after the Homestead Act. The Porter Company marketed the parcels to Dust Bowl migrants, some of whom tried to build sod houses on their land, a building tradition from their homeland.⁶⁰⁸

The National Housing Act of 1934 stimulated the collapsed housing industry by creating the Federal Housing Administration (FHA). The FHA developed minimal housing standards, from design to financing, distributing them from 1936-40 in publications such as *Subdivision Development, Planning Profitable Neighborhoods* and *Planning Neighborhoods for Small Houses*.⁶⁰⁹ These standards established the “FHA Minimum House” with a single-story, rectangular plan, a simple gabled or hipped roofline with close (shallow) eaves, and sparse traditional detail, including multiple-pane windows, shutters, clapboard siding, and a small front porch supported on plain columns.

With low-cost construction, low taxes and long-term FHA loans, the Las Lomas “miniature farm owner” could pay only \$15-\$18 a month. The Porter Company’s offer was a vast improvement on their previous housing. By May 1938, eighteen of the twenty-one one-acre tracts along Hall Road were sold, free plans were ready for eight homes, and “although no earth has been turned on his property for a home, [one buyer] already moved his cow onto his miniature farm.”⁶¹⁰

These properties may be historically significant for their association with the experimental “Miniature Farm” Subdivision (criteria NR-A, CR-1, MC-A1, A2, A4, C1 & C2); or their association with the Porter family (criteria NR-B, CR-2, MC-A3). In addition, the FHA-designed residences may be eligible as examples of a distinctive architectural type, period or method of construction (criteria NR-C, CR-3, MC-B1, B2 & B3).



⁶⁰⁷ Ed Slusser, “About New Miniature Farm Community,” *Register-Pajaronian*, 10 May 1938.

⁶⁰⁸ Meg Clovis, email communication to Paige J. Swartley, 16 August 2010.

⁶⁰⁹ Ames, *Historical Residential Suburbs: Guidelines for Evaluation and Documentation for the National Register of Historic Places*, 48.

3. Associated Property Type: Stand-Alone Worker Housing

a. Property Type Description



Stand-Alone Worker Housing: 6 Springfield Road (left) and 315 San Juan Road, Pajaro (right).

Physical Characteristics: Single buildings or paired buildings of simple vernacular design and simple construction methods. These buildings typically are wood framed, clad in wood or corrugated iron siding and have simple gable roofs.

Associative Characteristics: This property type is associated with intensive agricultural development, which requires large numbers of workers to cultivate a particular intensive crop.

Geographical Information: Stand-alone worker housing is located on intensive farmsteads throughout the flat regions of the North County, where soil conditions are ideal for growing intensive crops.

Boundaries: Boundaries are difficult to determine for some stand-alone worker houses, as they can be found in the midst of a large industrial agricultural operation.

Variations: Variations include the construction materials employed and the type of minimalist architectural detail chosen for the building. Vernacular Queen Anne and bungalow styles are common variations.

Locational Patterns: Stand-alone worker housing is common in the areas of the North County where intensive crops were raised. They concentrate in the flatlands near main roads, such as along San Juan Road, from Pajaro to San Miguel Canyon Road, lower San Miguel Canyon Road, north of the intersection with San Juan Road, on Lewis Road and on Trafton Road.

Condition: Because these houses were constructed cheaply and quickly, condition tends to be poor.

⁶¹⁰ Slusser, “About New Miniature Farm Community,” *Register-Pajaronian*, 10 May 1938.

b. Eligibility Criteria and Integrity Thresholds

Stand-alone worker housing may be historically significant for its association with the growth of intensive agriculture and the industry’s critical dependence on a large labor pool, mostly low-paid immigrants (criteria NR-A, CR-1, MC-A1, A2, A4, C1 & C2). It should retain the building’s size, massing, materials and minimal architectural detail to convey its historic significance.

Stand-alone worker housing may be historically significant for its association with an individual significant in the history of the North County region (criteria NR-B, CR-2, MC-A3) and should retain the physical characteristics described in the above paragraph.

Stand-alone worker housing is not likely to be historically significant as an example of a distinctive architectural type, period or method of construction (criteria NR-C, CR-3, MC-B1, B2 & B3).

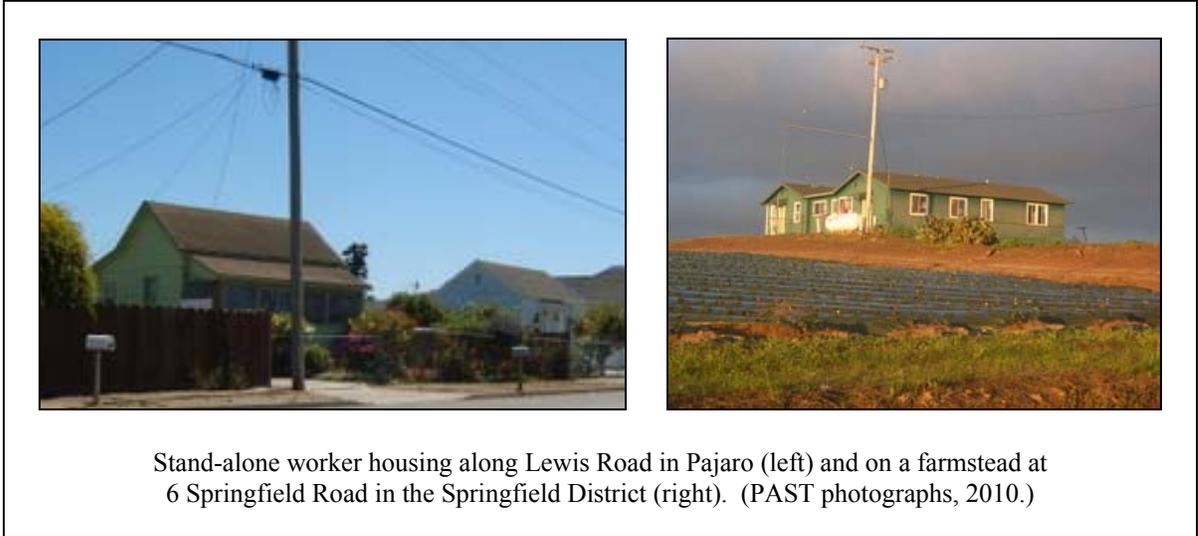
To qualify for the above criteria, the stand-alone worker housing must possess historic integrity, as reflected in the physical character-defining features of the building that communicate its purpose as housing for laborers. The following chart provides guidelines for evaluating integrity.

Location	<i>Location is the place where the significant activities that shaped a property took place, often determined by geographical factors. Ideally, stand-alone worker housing should retain its historic location. However, this property type also includes worker housing that may be the only structure remaining on an intensive farmstead, and the worker housing may also have been moved.</i>
Setting	<i>Setting is the physical environment within and surrounding a property, including large-scale features (e.g., woodlands, rock formations) and small-scale features (e.g., fences, gateposts, springs, individual trees). Stand-alone worker housing with integrity of setting retains its original rural or town setting.</i>
Design	<i>Design is the composition of natural and cultural elements comprising the form, plan, and spatial organization of a property. Elements include buildings, structures, boundary demarcations, circulation networks, windbreaks, vegetation and topography. Stand-alone worker housing tends to be utilitarian or vernacular in design with little or no ornamentation. If these buildings retain their historic utilitarian design, then they possess integrity of design.</i>
Materials	<i>Materials include construction materials of buildings, outbuildings, roadways, fences, and other structures. Vegetation similar to historic species in scale, type and visual effect will generally convey integrity of setting. Stand-alone worker housing with most of its historic materials; or materials added within the period of significance (that do not remove historic features) would have integrity of materials.</i>

Workmanship	<i>Workmanship is exhibited in the ways people have fashioned their environment for functional and decorative purposes, including how they constructed buildings, fences and small-scale elements. For rural historic landscapes, workmanship in raising crops contributes to integrity if it reflects traditional or historic practices. Historic construction techniques may illustrate the workmanship of particular ethnic groups or vernacular traditions. Stand-alone worker housing with integrity of workmanship exhibits the traditional or historic practices in use during the property’s period of significance.</i>
Feeling	<i>Feeling is intangible but is evoked by the presence of physical characteristics that reflect the historic scene. The cumulative effect of setting, design, materials and workmanship creates the sense of past time and place. The property’s rural or small town setting, design, materials and workmanship should reflect the site’s historic use.</i>
Association	<i>Association is the direct link between a property and the important events or persons that shaped it. Continued use and occupation help maintain integrity of association if traditional practices are carried on. Using traditional methods in new construction reinforces a property’s integrity by linking past and present. Stand-alone worker housing with integrity of association should reflect the historic people (e.g., workers), historic land use, and historic events that shaped the property.</i>

c. Potentially Significant Historic Resources

This type of housing occurs on farmsteads and in population centers such as Castroville, Aromas and Pajaro and includes small, vernacular, but more permanent buildings alone or in small clusters. They may be potentially significant for their association with the growth of intensive agriculture and the industry's critical dependence on a large labor pool, mostly low-paid immigrants (criteria NR-A, CR-1, MC-A1, A2, A4, C1 & C2).



4. Associated Property Type: Labor Camp

a. Property Type Description



Labor Camp: Railroad Avenue, Pajaro.

Physical Characteristics: A cluster of buildings of similar simplified, vernacular architectural styles, constructed by the intensive farm owner. Alternatively, labor camps used found materials to construct simplified, almost ramshackle buildings built by the laborers themselves.

Associative Characteristics: This property type is associated with intensive agricultural development, which requires large numbers of workers to cultivate a particular intensive crop.

Geographical Information: Labor camps are generally located on or near intensive farmsteads throughout the flat regions of the North County, where soil conditions are ideal for growing intensive crops. However, some substandard labor camps were deliberately hidden in remote, hilly areas.

Boundaries: Boundaries are difficult to determine for labor camps, as their poor construction and substandard living conditions forced the closure or demolition of numerous camps. The migrant nature of laborers also obviates permanent locations for this property type.

Variations: Variations include the materials used for the individual buildings and any simplified architectural detailing.

Locational Patterns: By their very nature, temporary labor camps would locate anywhere in the North County where sufficient temporary farm employment existed. To date, only the remnants of one labor camp, shown in the above photographs, has been located.

Condition: Poor due to typically temporary or inexpensive construction materials and substandard living conditions.

b. Eligibility Criteria and Integrity Thresholds

Labor camps may be historically significant for their association with intensive agricultural laborers (criteria NR-A, CR-1, MC-A1, A2, A4, C1 & C2) and should retain the camp’s location, overall grouped design of buildings and at least several examples of historic construction materials or construction methods, reflecting a particular ethnic group.

To qualify for the above criteria, a labor camp must possess historic integrity, as reflected in the physical character-defining features of the building that communicate its purpose. By the labor camp’s very nature, this would be difficult to achieve. For example, the labor camp in Pajaro was nearly entirely demolished due to its substandard living conditions. However, replacement dwellings have been erected on the same site, enabling the site itself to retain integrity of location and setting. The following chart provides guidelines for evaluating integrity.

Location	<i>Location is the place where the significant activities that shaped a property took place, often determined by geographical factors. A labor camp found in its historic location would have integrity of location.</i>
Setting	<i>Setting is the physical environment within and surrounding a property, including large-scale features (e.g., woodlands, rock formations) and small-scale features (e.g., fences, gateposts, springs, individual trees). Although few extant examples have been found, labor camps could have a rural or small town setting.</i>
Design	<i>Design is the composition of natural and cultural elements comprising the form, plan, and spatial organization of a property. Elements include buildings, structures, boundary demarcations, circulation networks, windbreaks, vegetation and topography. Labor camps do not represent high stylistic design. They tend to contain utilitarian buildings with no ornamentation grouped around a cooking or water source.</i>
Materials	<i>Materials include construction materials of buildings, outbuildings, roadways, fences, and other structures. Vegetation similar to historic species in scale, type and visual effect will generally convey integrity of setting. Labor camps may be constructed of almost any useable materials, from small wood-framed residences to ramshackle enclosures made from found materials. Given the disposable nature of these materials, replacement materials found in labor camps may still contribute to integrity if the camp retains its historic use.</i>
Workmanship	<i>Workmanship is exhibited in the ways people have fashioned their environment for functional and decorative purposes, including how they constructed buildings, fences and small-scale elements. For rural historic landscapes, workmanship in raising crops contributes to integrity if it reflects traditional or historic practices. Historic construction or assembly techniques may illustrate the workmanship of particular ethnic groups or vernacular traditions and contribute to the significance of a labor camp for a particular ethnic group.</i>

Feeling	<i>Feeling is intangible but is evoked by the presence of physical characteristics that reflect the historic scene. The cumulative effect of setting, design, materials and workmanship creates the sense of past time and place. The property’s design, materials and simplified workmanship should reflect the site’s historic use as a labor camp. Complete replacement of non-historic buildings within the camp, though common, would remove integrity of feeling.</i>
Association	<i>Association is the direct link between a property and the important events or persons that shaped it. Continued use and occupation help maintain integrity of association if traditional practices are carried on. Using traditional methods in new construction reinforces a property’s integrity by linking past and present. A labor camp with integrity of association should reflect the historic people (e.g., workers), historic land use, and historic events that shaped the property as a labor camp.</i>

c. Potentially Significant Historic Resources

Labor camps existed throughout the North County, but their ephemeral nature makes their exact locations difficult to determine. For this report, the remnants of only one labor camp have been located in the North County. A former forty-six unit camp was built in the 1920s on Kent's Court in Pajaro. Originally occupied by railroad workers, it later housed agricultural workers. In the 1990s, manufactured housing replaced the dilapidated homes and only one historic building (with significant integrity loss) remains at this location. Because the building is not a labor camp itself, it would not be eligible for listing as such, but it may be historically significant as one of the last remaining labor camp buildings in the North County.



Views of labor camp housing at Kent's Court, off of Railroad Avenue in Pajaro.
(PAST photographs, 2010.)

To aid future researchers in finding extant potentially significant labor camps, this section presents historical information about where North County labor camps were known to be located, and the types of buildings that labor camps may contain.

Ichiro Yamaguchi, born in Pajaro in 1908, lived in one of four Japanese labor camps that were located together in Pajaro, with a community *ofuro* (a square wooden bathtub) servicing all of them.⁶¹¹ At least six labor camps existed in Pajaro between 1920-34, including four lettuce worker camps operated by the Pajaro Valley Lettuce Company, J. Ojeda, R. Mapa and Sing Wo Kee. Kee also operated a ranching labor camp near Pajaro. Thomas Porter's berry farm labor camp was located about four miles southeast of Pajaro.⁶¹²

Between 1920 and 1934, at least six labor camps were located south of the Pajaro River, likely along San Juan Road. Pajaro farmer Frank Eaton employed Japanese workers by 1907.⁶¹³ Three

⁶¹¹ Nakane, *Nothing Left in My Hands*, 38-39, 41-42.

⁶¹² "Monterey County Labor Camps," California Department of Industrial Relations, Commission on Immigration and Housing. (Bancroft Library, U.C. Berkeley).

⁶¹³ Nakane, *Nothing Left in My Hands*, 38-39.

miles east of town, Eaton operated a labor camp for berry and lettuce workers and ran another ranching labor camp in the area. The Porter berry farm operated a labor camp five miles southeast of Watsonville. Trafton's ranch labor camp was three-and-a-half miles west of Watsonville. James Waters operated a labor camp for lettuce workers three miles east of Watsonville and a labor camp for berry workers five miles east of Watsonville.⁶¹⁴

At least three labor camps existed in the Castroville vicinity between 1920 and 1934: Lee Hing operated a labor camp for laborers working in potato fields; Breschini operated a similar camp; and the Molera artichoke ranch operated a labor camp.⁶¹⁵ During the same period, at least five labor camps existed between eight and nine miles north of Salinas, likely in the North County. Joshicka operated two berry field labor camps eight miles north of Salinas and two ranch labor camps eight and nine miles north of Salinas. The Yonemura Berry Farm also had a labor camp nine-and-a-half miles north of Salinas. The Spreckels plant operated more than thirty labor camps in Monterey County, including two Japanese camps, two Filipino camps and three Mexican camps.⁶¹⁶

The number of California agricultural labor camps rose more than fifty percent during the Bracero Program.⁶¹⁷ In 1957, Monterey County had 247 such camps. The United States and Mexico drafted a standard work contract for Bracero workers, which required employers to provide free "hygienic lodgings" that were "not inferior to those of the average type which are generally furnished to domestic agricultural workers" in the area, including beds or cots and blankets or mattresses, "when necessary." Overcrowding was forbidden and sanitary facilities were required. Because most agricultural housing was already poor, the requirement that Bracero facilities not be "inferior" was a very low standard. During the first five years of the program, the United States and Mexico did not create more specific standards, beyond that the buildings be in good condition with adequate toilets, clean cooking and eating facilities. In 1956, the U.S. Department of Labor defined what "adequate" and "sanitary" meant, but employers and the California and Texas legislatures complained, forcing the Labor Department to reissue the standards in 1957. California also had its own labor camp code, which the State Division of Housing enforced; county health officers could also inspect the camps and enforce regulations.⁶¹⁸ The quality of Bracero housing ranged from shockingly substandard to military-style barracks or slightly better. Four general types of camps existed: (1) association camps, (2) corporation or large-scale grower camps, (3) fringe or marginal camps and (4) family camps.⁶¹⁹

Groups of employers maintained association camps, housing as many as 1,000 or more men. Some camps had new sleeping, dining and sanitary facilities; others were remodeled domestic farm labor camps. Some had army barracks or public housing units moved to the site; concrete

⁶¹⁴ "Monterey County Labor Camps."

⁶¹⁵ "Monterey County Labor Camps."

⁶¹⁶ "Monterey County Labor Camps."

⁶¹⁷ Henry P. Anderson, *The Bracero Program in California* (New York: Arno Press, 1976), 59.

⁶¹⁸ Anderson, *The Bracero Program in California*, 61-64.

⁶¹⁹ Anderson, *The Bracero Program in California*, 66-69.

and steel structures became more common because they were easily maintained. These camps had a fluctuating population throughout the year because the growing seasons of as many as 200 association members overlapped. The facilities were generally in good shape because farmers paid membership fees and for the labor they used (per man-hour); most the group's income went towards maintaining the labor pool's central housing.⁶²⁰ Future research may discover if any employers built association camps in the North County.

Corporations or large-scale growers also ran big camps but the facilities were generally inferior to association camps. The for-profit corporations housed workers for only part of the year and did not maintain the facilities as well as the associations did. The Braceros lived in the same housing that the corporations had offered for years, previously occupied by Dust Bowl migrants and Filipinos. They rarely built new housing for Braceros and infrequently repainted them or repaired problems in the older housing, yet the facilities were "reasonably close to standard."⁶²¹ It is likely that North County farmers offered this type of housing; future research may locate specific sites with extant buildings.

The "fringe camps" were small, isolated, hidden by vegetation and built with flimsy materials, perhaps no better than chicken coops. Short-term, speculative farmers who leased land for a season were most likely to ignore housing standards and operate fringe camps.⁶²² Family camps were mostly under the radar, since the California Labor Camp Act exempted employers with five or fewer Braceros. Workers generally lived in good conditions because the employer often worked with them personally.⁶²³ It is highly likely that both of these types of camps existed in the North County. Because they were either so poorly made or offered very small quarters, it may be difficult to locate many extant structures.

⁶²⁰ Anderson, *The Bracero Program in California*, 66-67.

⁶²¹ Anderson, *The Bracero Program in California*, 67.

⁶²² Anderson, *The Bracero Program in California*, 67-68.

⁶²³ Anderson, *The Bracero Program in California*, 68.

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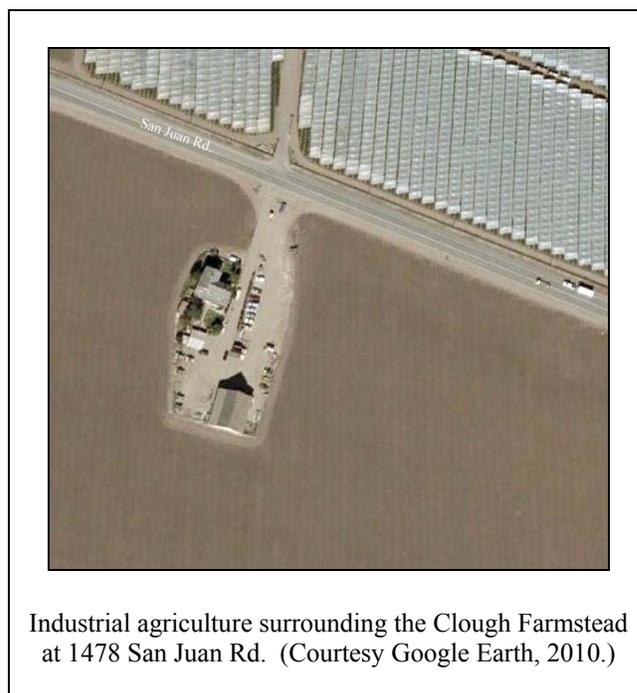
VI. PRESERVATION GOALS AND PRIORITIES

A. Introduction

The North County's agricultural landscape is in constant flux. Historically, the region transitioned from extensive agriculture (*e.g.*, cattle grazing, grain production and dry vegetable farming) to intensive industrial agriculture (*e.g.*, irrigated berries, apples, lettuce and artichokes). Today, the fertile North County soils continue to yield specialty crops of unprecedented quality and quantity and workers from around the world have made the North County into one of the most productive agricultural regions in the United States.

While change is a necessary, even vital, part of agricultural development, current industrial agricultural practices threaten the North County's diverse historic agricultural resources. Demanding vast tracts of land and a large labor pool, industrial agriculture has substantially removed many of the landscape characteristics, buildings, structures and other features that would qualify a number of North County properties as rural historic landscapes. Examples of this phenomenon are described in this historic context statement.

An aerial view of the Clough Farmstead, shown to the right, provides a striking illustration of the magnitude of encroachment currently underway due to industrial agriculture. The site's original building cluster is surrounded by open fields, non-contributing structures and equipment used in the industrial strawberry fields. Within the cluster, the few remaining historic buildings suffer from deferred maintenance as they now serve as haphazard storage facilities.



The speed by which industrial agriculture is removing the integrity of the North County's rural historic landscapes is a common problem in California today. Thus, it is critical to continue the preservation planning process outlined in the *Secretary of the Interior's Standards for Preservation Planning*:

- Standard I. Preservation Planning Establishes Historic Contexts.
- Standard II. Preservation Planning Uses Historic Contexts to Develop Goals and Priorities for the Identification, Evaluation, Registration and Treatment of Historic Properties.

- Standard III. The Results of Preservation Planning Are Made Available for Integration Into Broader Planning Processes.

This historic context statement fulfills the broad goal stated in Standard I above. With the North County's historic context, historic themes, associated property types, eligibility criteria and integrity thresholds established in this historic context statement, the preservation goals and priorities now should be implementing Standards II and III. Preservation priorities to fulfill those standards are listed below.

It should be stressed that a complete reconnaissance-level survey was not within this project's scope of work. Also, many agricultural properties are not visible from the few primary roads that traverse the North County. Thus, it is hard to determine comprehensively the types of rural historic landscapes and agricultural properties that truly represent the North County's agricultural heritage. Comprehensive reconnaissance-level and intensive-level surveys are critical future steps in the North County's preservation planning process. Educating property owners about the survey process and purposes, as well as getting permission to enter properties, will ensure the survey's success.

The North County's agricultural history is inseparable from that of the Central Coast; therefore, this historic context statement includes information that is relevant to the whole region. To fully understand the area's agricultural history, public agencies and other organizations in Monterey, Santa Cruz and San Benito counties should recognize and emphasize the interconnectedness of the region. Nonprofit organizations like the Agricultural History Project and the Pajaro Valley Historical Association, both located in Watsonville, already emphasize those connections. When setting future preservation priorities and making land use decisions, municipalities should also explore cooperative historic preservation and educational efforts and recognize that decisions made on local and countywide levels have a regional impact.

B. Preservation Goals and Priorities

- Establish a consistent set of themes, associated property types, eligibility criteria and integrity thresholds for all of Monterey County by synthesizing the three historic context statements written for the County (North County, South County, Salinas Valley). Produce a manual for evaluating Monterey County's historic agricultural resources as a finished product of this process.
- Using the guidelines in this historic context statement, undertake a comprehensive reconnaissance-level survey of the North County. Key elements of the survey should be:
 1. Outreach to the local agricultural community, in the form of letters and workshops that explain the purpose, procedures and value of the survey process.
 2. Provide a letter on Monterey County letterhead, signed by the survey project manager or planning manager, explaining the survey process. This letter is critical to the understanding of the property owners who are sensitive to newcomers on their property.

3. After steps 1 and 2 are complete, perform a reconnaissance-level survey.
- Synthesize information from the reconnaissance-level survey and prioritize properties for an intensive-level survey.
 - Perform an intensive-level survey after another round of public outreach has been completed.
 - Continue collecting oral histories about the region's agricultural past, as various local educational and nonprofit organizations have done.
 - Synthesize results of the intensive-level survey to determine the potential for properties or rural historic landscapes to be nominated to national, state, and local registers; to become historic districts; or to execute Williamson Act or Mills Act contracts.

C. Suggestions for Further Research

Although this historic context statement presents a comprehensive history section, additional research that uncovers the customs, construction methods and agricultural land practices employed by particular ethnic groups would be useful. Studying the evolution of barn types in the North County, as well as identifying particular agricultural support buildings relative to their use, would also help determine the primary character-defining features of farm buildings located in field surveys. This same approach to commercial and locational packing facilities would also aid surveyors in the field.

Archaeological investigations could help determine historic ethnic customs, locate footprints of removed rural historic landscape characteristics and determine crop evolution at a particular site. It is generally assumed that industrial agriculture has removed the primary layers of soil that would contain this information, but this may not be the case on every site. For example, the extensive farmstead on Blackie Road (see image) may contain a wealth of archaeological evidence. Experienced archaeologists should evaluate sites on a case-by-case basis to determine their archaeological information potential.



Does the agricultural property at 14468 Blackie Rd. have archaeological information potential?
(PAST photograph, 2010.)

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1330 San Juan Road
1372 San Juan Road
1478 – 1480 San Juan Road
1615 San Juan Road
1660 San Juan Road
1766 San Juan Road
1767 San Juan Road
Aromas (Area History File)
Aromas History
Castroville Sign II
Crops: Potatoes
Elkhorn Slough
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Moss Landing (Area History File)
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Appendix A: North County Property List

1. 29 Bishop St., Pajaro: Porter-Vallejo Home.
2. 18 Brooklyn St., Pajaro (old Chinese School).
3. Brooklyn St., Pajaro (Possible Chinatown Housing- ca. 1900).
4. 21 Fremont St., Pajaro.
5. 417-A Salinas Rd., Pajaro (Processing and Distribution).
6. 423 Salinas Rd., Pajaro (SunRidge Farms – former Smucker’s plant).
7. Railroad-era Labor Camp, Lewis Rd. (one historic structure left).
8. Railroad-era Worker Housing, Pajaro (along Lewis Rd.).
9. Railroad-era Development, Pajaro (along Salinas Rd.).
10. 315 San Juan Rd., Pajaro (Strawberry Processing).
11. 1330 San Juan Rd. (Standalone Farmhouse due to Integrity Loss).
12. 1372 San Juan Rd. (Standalone Farmhouse due to Integrity Loss).
13. 1478 San Juan Rd. (Clough Farmstead).
14. 1615 San Juan Rd.
15. 1666 San Juan Rd. (Thompson Farmstead).
16. 1766 San Juan Rd. (O.O. Eaton House).
17. 1767 San Juan Rd. (James Rowe House).
18. San Juan Rd.: From Pajaro to Murphy’s Crossing Rd. (Potential Historic District of Intensive Farmsteads).
19. 350 San Miguel Canyon Rd (Hutchings Ranch).
20. 1833 San Miguel Canyon Road, Prunedale (Crouch home).
21. Aromas Grange, Bardue and Rose streets, Aromas.
22. 170 Hayes Rd. (Storm Farmstead).
23. 300 Hayes Rd. (Hayes Farmstead).
24. Springfield Grange, Elkhorn and Werner Rds., south of Pajaro.
25. 377 Hidden Valley Rd. (Xmas Trees).
26. 1784 San Juan Grade Rd. (Extensive Farmstead: Cattle Ranch).
27. 13526 Blackie Rd., Central Cold Storage, Castroville (Processing and Distribution).
28. 13503 Blackie Rd., Castroville (Processing and Distribution).
29. 14468 Blackie Rd., near Castroville (Owner-occupied Extensive Farmstead 1850s).
30. 11199 Geil St., Castroville (Japanese School).
31. 11261 Merritt Street, Giant Artichoke, Castroville.
32. 745 Trafton Rd. (McGowan House).
33. 951-953 Trafton Rd. (Williamson Property).
34. 231 Jensen Rd. (Strawberry Processing).
35. 6 Springfield Rd. (Stand-alone Worker Housing).
36. 1770 State Highway 1 (Struve Dairy).
37. 357 Dolan Rd., Moss Landing, (Moon Glow Dairy).