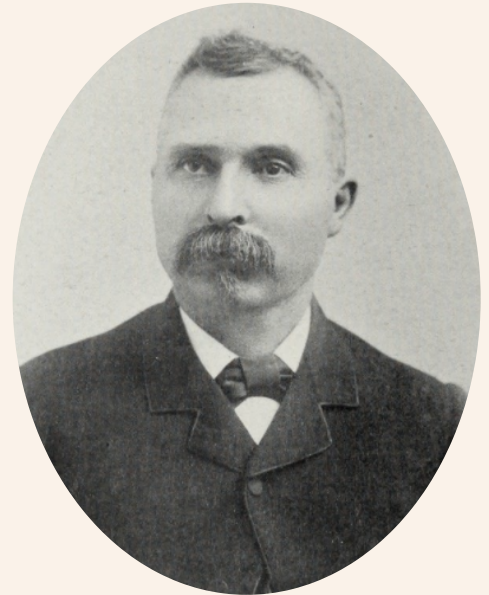


Livingston Centennial

A Guide to the
History of Livingston, CA
1922 to 2022

"All Roads Lead to Livingston!"



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Livingston Centennial
Edited by Shiloh Green Soto
2022

Contributing Editors

Jacque Benoit, Emily Lin, David Rouff

Contributing Researchers

Amrit Deol, Margaret Garcia,
Minh Tuyet Nguyen, Shiloh Green Soto

Copyeditors

Neama Alamri, Amrit Deol, Ivan Gonzalez-Soto

Support

This guide was made possible through research funding from the University of California Merced Office of the Provost, the Department of History & Critical Race and Ethnic Studies, and the Undergraduate Research Opportunities Center, as well as a Luce Foundation Fellowship in Community-Engaged Research. All newspaper clippings came from the [California Digital Newspaper Collection](#).

Inspiration

The making of this guide borrowed inspiration from the Society of American Archivists' [Case Studies on Teaching With Primary Sources \(TWPS\)](#), the National Endowment for the Humanities [Teacher's Guide to Investigating Local History](#), the Library of Congress [Teacher's Guides and Analysis Tools](#), the California Historical Society's [Teaching California](#), and Dr. Eve Tuck's [The Youth to Youth Guide to the GED](#).



This guidebook is open access and made available through the University of California's eScholarship Publishing platform.

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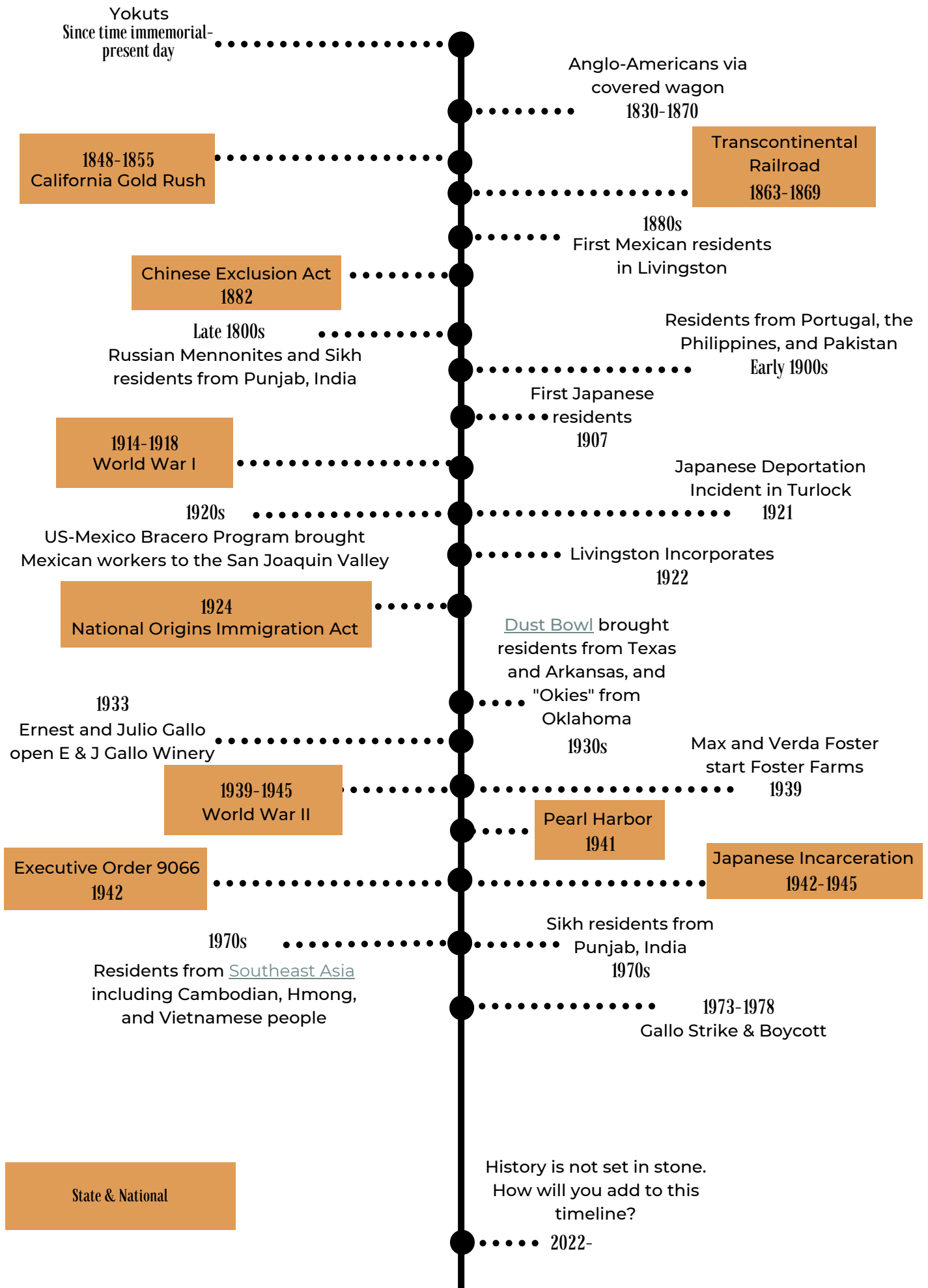
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Timeline of Livingston History



About the

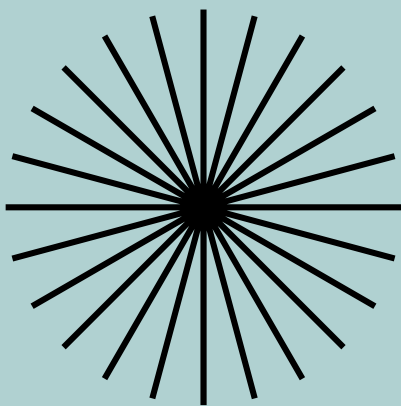
LIVINGSTON CENTENNIAL

First incorporated in September 1922, the City of Livingston is 100 years old! As part of the Centennial Celebration, the following organizations partnered to bring you this guide: the University of California Merced Department of History & Critical Race and Ethnic Studies, UC Merced Library, City of Livingston Recreation Department, Livingston Historical Society, Merced Union High School District, and Livingston Union School District.



How to Use This Guide

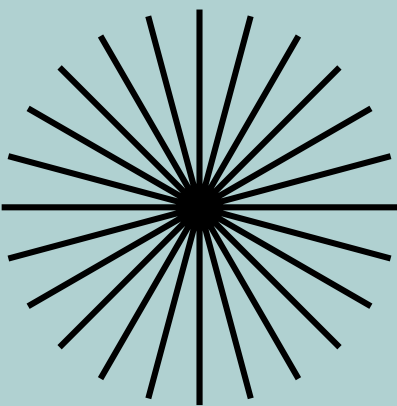
The goal of this history guide is to introduce Livingston students and community members to a Livingston history that is intentionally inclusive of different communities. By presenting a diverse account of Livingston's history, we are able to better understand the town's present context, how it operates for different people, and how we can work together to build a better future for all. As any good historian knows, histories are always incomplete. Not only can conflicting interpretation or limitations on archival materials create incomplete stories, but it is impossible to account for every single event and perspective. As such, this guide is incomplete.



After each unit, you'll work with yourself, a partner, or a team to conduct archival research using various online databases. Think about and answer the discussion questions found at the end of each unit. There aren't any correct answers to the discussion questions. The questions are meant to promote reflection and critical thinking about historical events. Engage with why we're told some stories, but not others. Throughout this guide, you'll also find words highlighted in teal or white; there's a word bank at the end of each unit with definitions for these words. At the end of the history guide, there are reading suggestions for how to learn more about California history.



Before you begin, take a look at the next page to learn more about how to analyze primary source materials. These skills will come in handy as you move through the guide since it's filled with photographs and newspaper clippings. Using the tools on the next page, you'll be better equipped to make sense of primary source materials throughout.



How to Analyze Primary Sources

Adapted from the Library of Congress
Teacher's Guide to Analyzing Primary
Sources

Observe

1. What do you notice first?
2. What do you notice that you didn't expect?
3. What do you notice that you can't explain?
4. What do you notice now that you didn't at first?

Reflect

1. Where do you think the primary source came from?
2. What do you think was happening when this primary source was made?
3. Who do you think was the audience for the primary source?

Question

1. What more do you want to know, and how can you find out?
2. How do the primary sources support or challenge what you already know?

Primary Source: an original source of information created at the time something happened

Secondary Source: someone's review or analysis of a primary source

How to Analyze Newspapers

Adapted from the Library of Congress Teacher's
Guide to Analyzing Newspapers

Observe

1. Describe what you see
2. What do you notice first?
3. What text do you notice first?
4. What details indicate when this was published?
5. What details suggest where this was published?

Reflect

1. Who do you think was the audience for this publication?
2. What can you tell about what was important at the time and place of publication?
3. What can you tell about the point of view of the people who produced this?
4. How would this be the same or different if produced today?

Question

1. What more do you want to know, and how can you find out?
2. How does the newspaper support or challenge what you already know?

Learning Outcomes

Think about the following questions as you move through this guide:

1. What kind of demographic, economic, and environmental changes occurred in Livingston between 1848 and the 1960s?
2. What might changes within Livingston over the last 100 years tell us about larger political and social contexts? What do they tell us about the challenges and opportunities of democracy?
3. What is considered common knowledge and what has been mythologized?

Yokuts History

The City of Livingston sits on the present and ancestral homelands of the Yokuts. "Yokuts" means "people" and describes 60+ Indigenous bands who spoke many different languages and held many different cultures. Together, Yokuts lived in the expansive area that stretches from what is currently known as Stockton to Bakersfield in California's San Joaquin Valley. The group living in the Livingston area along the Merced River was called the Ausumne Yokuts. It is estimated the Yokuts pre-contact population numbered as low as 17,000 to as high as 70,000.

Yokuts built their villages as close to the river as possible and sought out high ground and spots where rivers could be crossed. Hunters and gatherers, Yokuts harvested berries, wild grapes, and edible grasses. Prior to the settlement of European-Americans, large herds of Tule elk, deer, and antelope roamed the valley along with grizzly bears, rabbits, coyotes, badgers, and other small mammals.

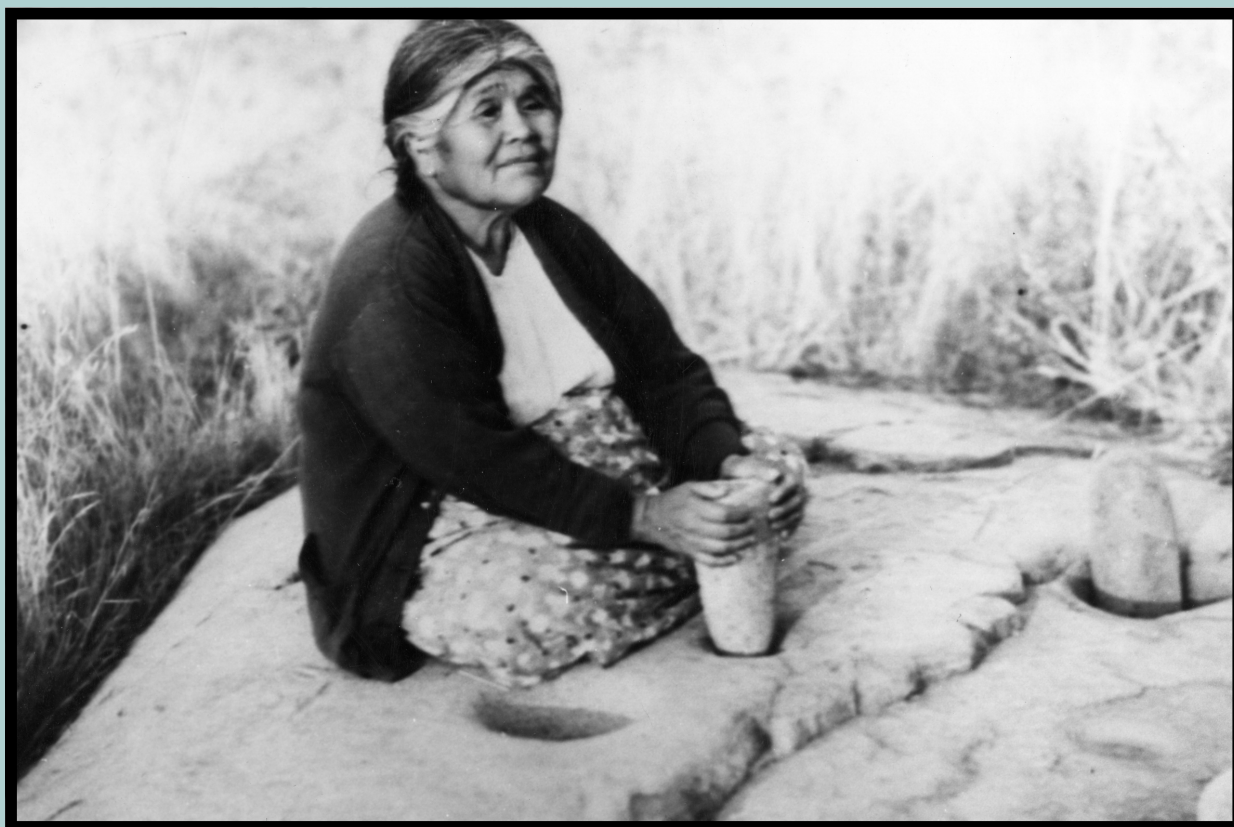
Once summer hit, Yokuts headed to the high Sierra. They lived off wild strawberries, edible roots, various other berries, horse chestnuts, and pine nuts. And just like today, the local Yokuts' economy was bolstered by travel to the Bay Area. Instead of bringing home paychecks, however, they traded furs for clams, abalone, and other shells from Coastal Indians. Their trade route was over the Altamont Pass through what is currently known as Livermore.

Yokuts were part of the balance of nature for thousands of years until European-Americans decided they wanted to make money off the land through extraction of resources—like people's labor, gold and other minerals, water, timber, agriculture, and more.

During the particularly violent mid-1800s, Yokuts were deprived of their ancestral hunting and fishing grounds as a result of the invasion of Indigenous lands by European-American settlers to make way for the California Gold Rush.

In 1851, at his State of the State address, California's first Governor Peter Burnett declared that if Indigenous peoples were not moved east of the Sierra Mountains, "a war of extermination [would] continue to be waged...until the Indian race should become extinct." As part of the Californian Genocide of Indigenous peoples, around 93% of Yokuts were murdered by European-American settlers between 1850 and 1900, with survivors being forced into servitude and onto reservations like the Santa Rosa Rancheria in Lemoore, CA.

In spite of failed efforts by the State and Federal Governments to erase Indigenous people, today's enrolled members of the Yokuts tribe stands at over 2,000 members, with an additional 600 more Yokuts in tribes which are not federally recognized.



"Maggie Icho, Yokut Indian, Tulare County, Calif., Early 1900s"
Courtesy of the Tulare County Library, californiarevealed.org

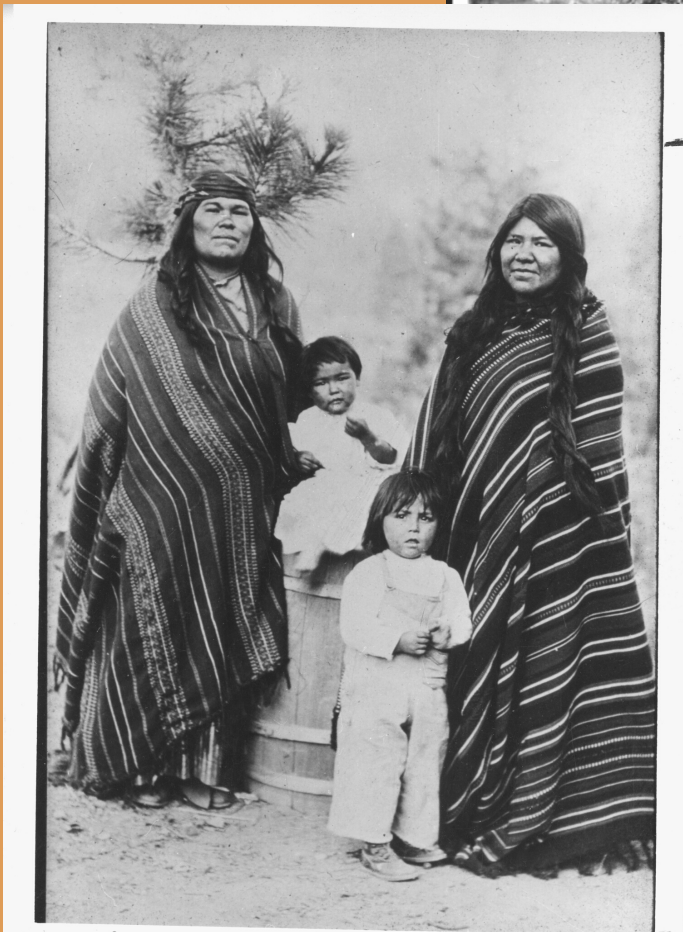
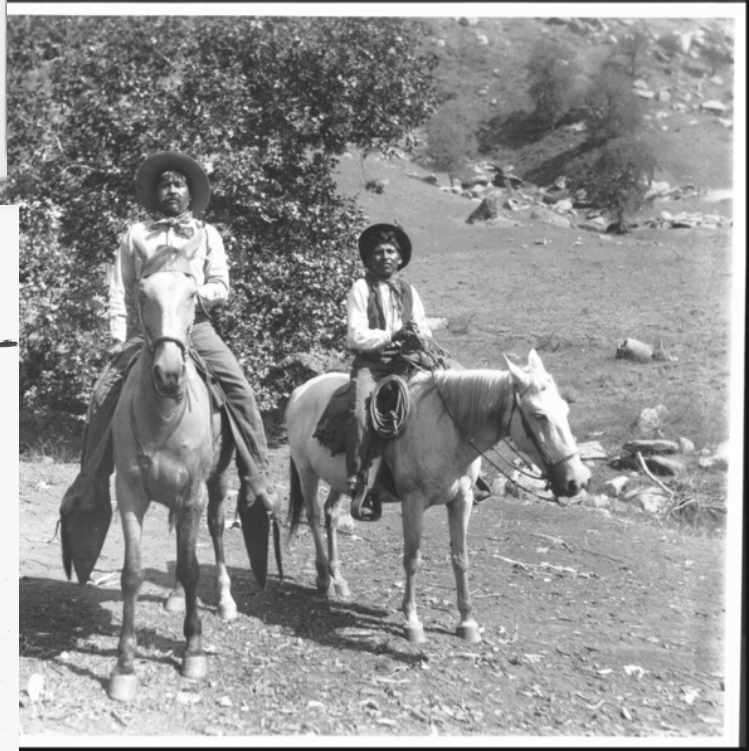
Indigenous: directly descended from the earliest known inhabitants of a particular geographic region

Mythologized: create or promote an exaggerated or idealized image

Review of the Governor's Message.

The message of His Excellency Gov. Burnett, probably the last official address which will emanate from this dignitary, was delivered at the Capital, on the 7th of January. Its length was unusual, but it treated of many different subjects of interest to the welfare of the State. As a whole we consider it not a very ill written document, and albeit we disagree entirely with some of the views it gives expression to, we can but applaud the spirit that induced his Excellency to give that attention to the interests of the State at last, which, in our humble opinion, he has utterly failed to do during the period of his official service. The address commences with a brief allusion to the formation of our State Constitution, and the struggle for admission to the Union, paying a tribute to the principles of American liberty, with a pledge on behalf of California that she will make amends for the unfortunate excitement she unwittingly caused in the old states, by her devotion to the Union, love of justice, and spirit of conciliation towards her sister states. In alluding to the Indian difficulties, the Governor attributed them to the right causes—the inconsiderate conduct of the whites in some instances, and the sudden and extended occupation of the lands hitherto exclusively possessed by them, the Government neglecting to treat with them. We agree with him in this view, and also that a war of extermination will be waged until the aborigines are extinct; and that it will be a long, tedious, and harrassing one, which will cost us many a brave life. The organization of the force under Gen. Morehead to proceed to the Colorado and punish the Yumas is alluded to, but the responsibility of the measure and the blame attachable for keeping the force so long in the field after it was raised, shifted to the shoulders of Major Gen. Bean, of San Diego, and Gen. Morehead. We doubt whether the warrants of Gen. Bean, issued, certainly without the least shadow of au-

"Review of the Governor's Message," Daily Alta California,
Volume 2, Number 32, 11 January 1851



Yokut Indians 1910

(Top Left): "Yokut Indian woman, Joseppa, and her son, 1900-1930." Courtesy of University of Southern California Libraries and California Historical Society.

(Middle): "Yokut Indian horsemen, Tule River Reservation, California, ca.1900." Courtesy of University of Southern California Libraries and California Historical Society.

(Bottom): "Yokut Indians in Tulare County, Calif., 1910." Courtesy of Tulare County Library.

Map of California Indian Territory



Anderson, M. Kat and Frank K. Lake. "California Indian Ethnomycology and Associated Forest Management." *Journal of Ethnobiology* 33, No. 1 (2013): 33-85.

Early European-American Settlement

David Baldwin Chedester & the Wagon Train

David Baldwin Chedester, a wagon master from Iowa, is acknowledged as the first European-American settler of what became Livingston. Upon selling his family farm in Iowa, which had been given to his grandfather for his service in the revolutionary war, Chedester led a wagon train with one-hundred people to California.

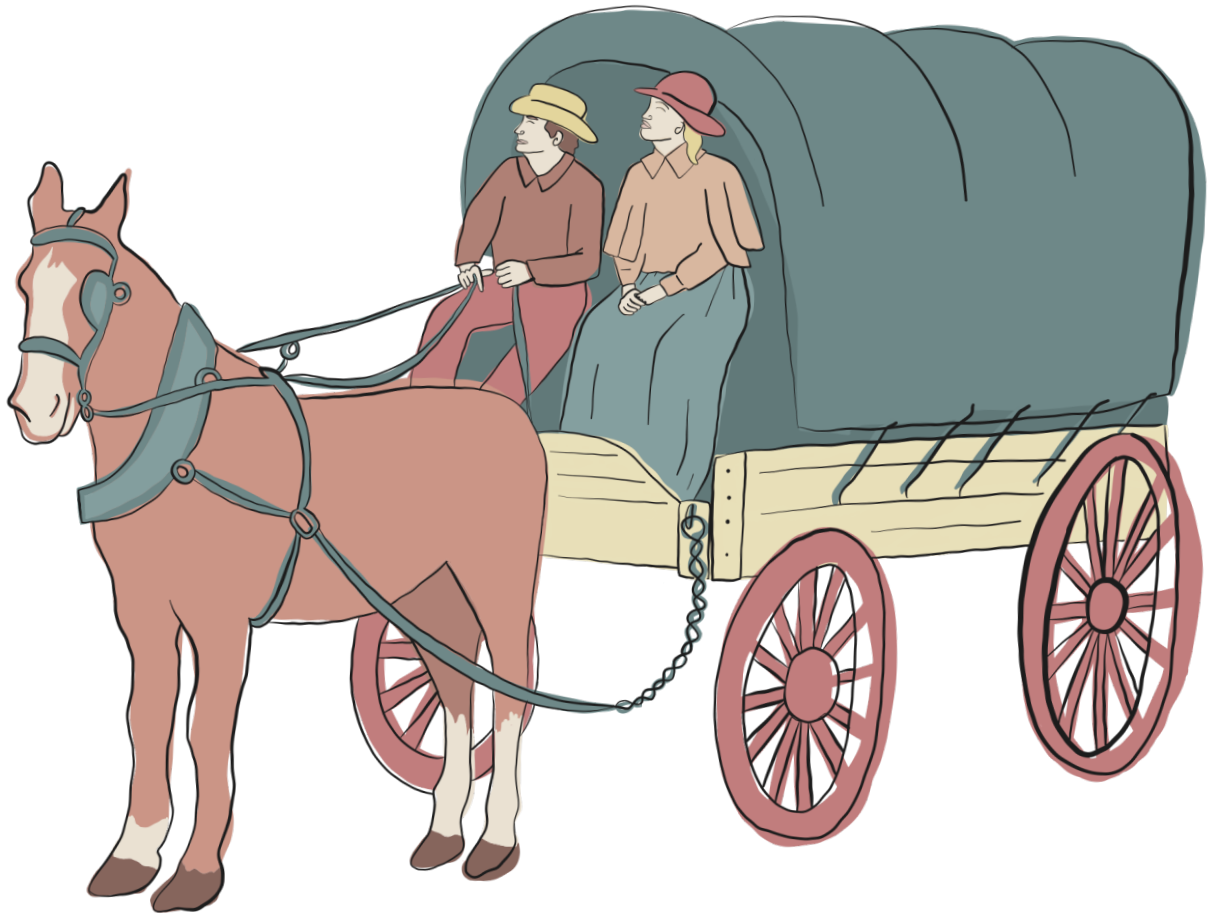
In 1862, the wagon train arrived in Stockton, and several months later, Chedester settled in the area we now call Livingston. He handled the local mail and later ran a general store which supplied food to predominantly Chinese railroad gangs building the **transcontinental railroad** out west.

Finding success, Chedester then began purchasing land in 1864 and eventually owned 1,500 acres in the area between what is now Griffith Avenue on the east, Westside Boulevard on the south, and Lander Avenue to the west. He farmed grain and fruit and raised hogs, and diverted water from the Merced River for household use. The first bridge over the Merced River was named the Chedester Bridge after him.

Chedester passed away at his home on the Merced River on April 29, 1903 at the age of 87. He left a widow, his third wife, and seven children. The last of the Chedester property to be held by the family was owned by Mrs. Robert Mitchell who sold the property to Gallo Winery in 1964, after it had been in the Chedester family for one-hundred years.

Transcontinental Railroad: a 1,911-mile continuous railroad line constructed between 1863 and 1869 that connected Iowa to the San Francisco Bay





"Wagon Train" by Shiloh Green Soto, 2022

What would it be like to travel by wagon train from the Midwest to California?

Life was not easy for early settlers because many traveled by wagon train. Travel from Iowa to California involved a six month ordeal—traveling 12 to 15 miles per day. If traveling by stagecoach, it took 25 days, and when the railroad was finished in 1869, it took only 4 days to travel the 2,000 miles.

Travel by wagon was also costly: \$1,000 for a family to travel in addition to a prepared wagon which would cost about \$400 (\$1 in 1862 is worth \$27.09 in 2022).

The wagon canvas covering had to be waterproof, which meant it would be soaked in linseed oil, then stretched over hoop-shaped frames. The wagon was made of wood, but iron was used to reinforce areas of importance. Iron was heavy, so it was used sparingly. If the wagon was too heavy, the animals pulling it would tire faster.

Wagons were packed with food supplies, cooking equipment, water kegs, and other items needed for a long journey. These wagons could carry loads of up to 2,500 pounds, but the recommended maximum was 1,600 pounds.

One thing families had to quickly adjust to was the lack of outhouses on the plains. Trees and brush tall enough for people to squat behind to do their business were scarce. Once they made camp for the night though, they'd dig a trench for the men and a trench for the women on opposite sides of camp.

Wagon Train Must-Haves

Remember that grocery stores weren't popular until the 1900s, and before that, general stores often didn't carry perishable foods like fruits and vegetables due to a lack of refrigeration. Most importantly, during travels from the Midwest to California, it wasn't guaranteed that you'd find a general store. So, even if a general store might carry non-perishable foods like flour and sugar, you might never find a store in the first place.

The solution? Bring your must-haves with you.

155 pounds of flour

52 pounds of sugar

28 pounds of dried beef

6 pounds of different herbs & spices

50 pounds of potatoes

30 pounds of onions

18 pounds of vegetables

110 pounds of split peas

60 pounds of pickles

20 gallons of vinegar

15 pounds of cornmeal

108 pounds of dried beans

*45 pounds of bacon and ham stored in barrels
of bran to keep the meat from spoiling*

108 pounds of coffee

45 pounds of salt

10 pounds of vegetables

20 pounds of oatmeal

15 pounds of dried fruit

but beware...

Due to a lack of general stores, it was often the case that the flour you brought with you, for example, was the only flour you would have until you could either purchase or grow more. But what happens if your flour gets wet? *Mold!*

Folks on the wagon train needed to take extra care of their food to prevent spoilage. This included making sure the wagon canvas didn't have holes in it to protect goods from inclement weather. And it also looked like pickling vegetables with vinegar, sugar, and salt for longer preservation.

Summary

Like most cities in the west, Livingston has a complex and, at times, controversial history. On one hand, most European-Americans saw themselves as settling in a new land to provide for their families, even if their methods were problematic at best. Providing for one's family in the 1800s was a huge sacrifice mostly because everything was so complicated. On the other hand, what was once general peace amongst precontact Indigenous people turned into a violent landscape at the hands of European-American settlers for the sake of financial profit.

Archival Research Activity

Working individually or in pairs, use the "How To" resources at the beginning of the unit to investigate primary sources on californiarevealed.org using the keyword "Yokuts." Filter your search by type or genre. What do you notice in your findings? How do the primary sources relate to what you know about California generally and Livingston specifically?

Word Bank

Indigenous: directly descended from the earliest known inhabitants of a particular geographic region

Mythologized: create or promote an exaggerated or idealized image

Precontact: of or relating to the period before contact of an Indigenous group with an outside culture, such as European-American settlers

Primary Source: an original source of information created at the time something happened

Secondary Source: someone's review or analysis of a primary source

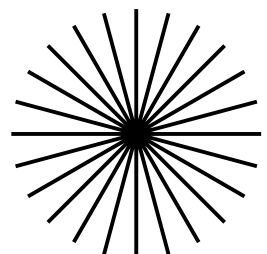
Transcontinental Railroad: a 1,911-mile continuous railroad line constructed between 1863 and 1869 that connected Iowa to the San Francisco Bay

Precontact: of or relating to the period before contact of an Indigenous group with an outside culture, such as European-American settlers

Discussion Questions

1. Some people's families have lived in Livingston for multiple generations and other families migrated recently. Regardless, most families had to immigrate to Livingston in the first place. **How did the decision of your relatives to settle in Livingston make an important difference in your family's life and history?**

2. How is your life in Livingston today similar to or different from what life would have been like in the 1800s?



Unit 1: Incorporation

Learning Outcomes

1. Describe the lasting impacts of boosterism on settlement in California.
2. Cities don't just exist, there's a lot of work done by a lot of different people to get them to where they are today. Identify some ways that Livingston was built from scratch.

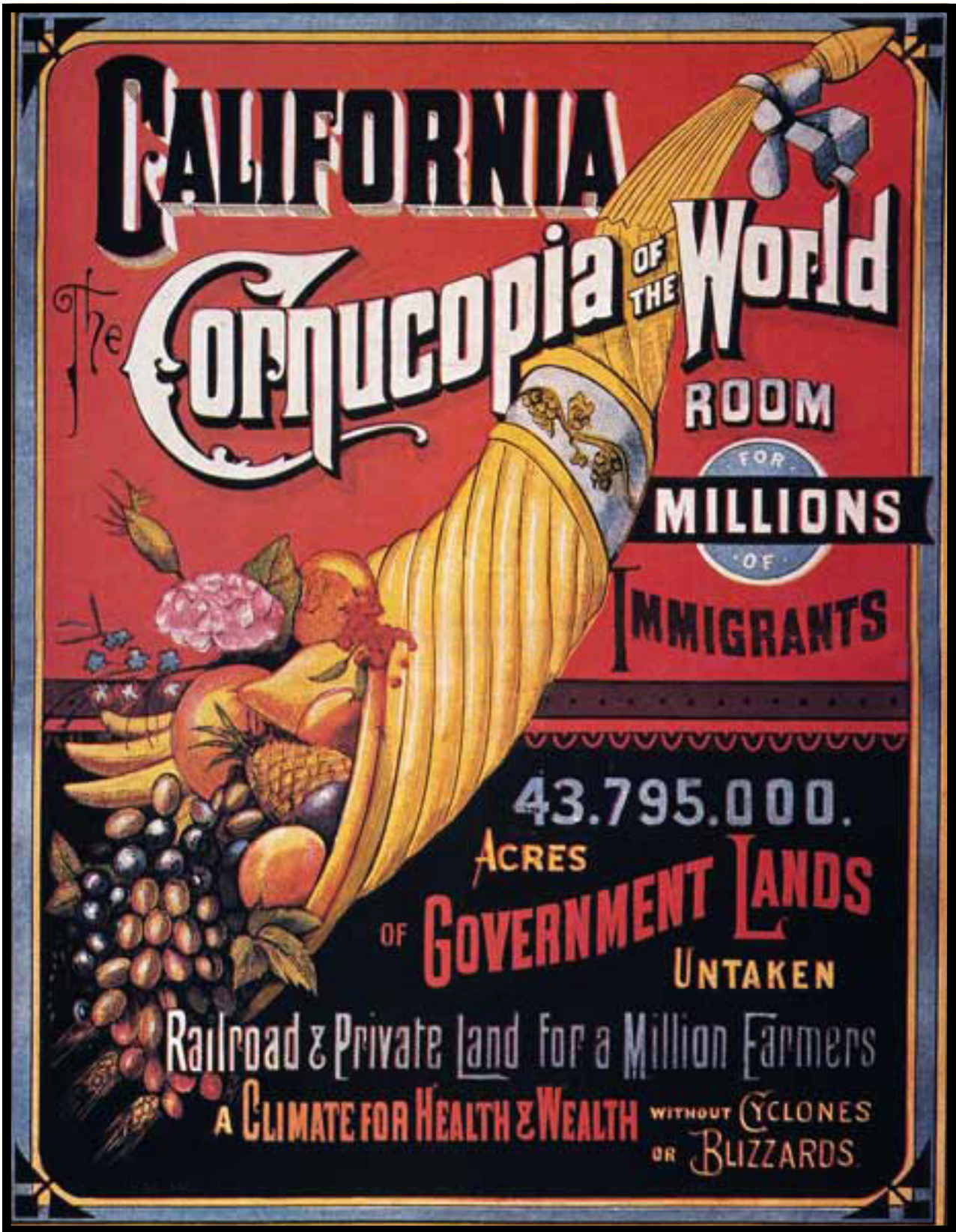
Introduction: Why Did People Settle in California?

Part of why people settle in California has a lot to do with boosterism and this is true even today. Many people settle in California due to the assumption that coming here will naturally result in fast money, fame, or success. This assumption is influenced by the efforts of investors to advertise a fantasy California lifestyle around financial success and physical health.

In the 1800s, California boosters were engineers, doctors, lawyers, authors, bankers, newspaper editors, public officials, and more who were part of growth coalitions which owned stake in local infrastructure, like land, water, and railway companies. By promoting settlement in California, boosters collected payments from settlers to buy homes, rent property, and use utilities. Because boosters owned this infrastructure, they made money through people settling in California. With an interest in profit, boosters responded to European-American men's desires for financial independence by weaving a narrative of California development that was sure to animate migration to California. Images of California as empty but fertile land signaled opportunity for profitable investment. As you read the advertisements on the following pages, look for ways the authors connect the availability of services with the opportunity to farm profitably.



Boosterism: efforts by investors to promote a particular person, lifestyle, organization, or cause, often with self-interest in mind



Courtesy of the Granger Collection, New York, 1876

LIVINGSTON IS CENTER FOR THRIVING COLONIES

From Fresno Morning Republican.

The town of Livingston, located about seven miles north of Atwater and about 14 miles north of Merced, in Merced county, has probably made a more remarkable advance in the last two years, considering its size, than any town in the county.

It has been a station on the Southern Pacific for many years, but up to a couple of years ago, it contained not more than half a dozen buildings and possibly 50 inhabitants.

Livingston now has an excellent hotel, three restaurants, a row of brick store buildings, a \$10,000 school building, two modern church edifices, a livery stable, two butcher shops, a lumber yard, blacksmith shop and many other business features. It also has a weekly paper. The population is now more than 300.

Livingston is the northern terminal of the power lines of the San Joaquin Light and Power company and the lines of this company are now being constructed into town.

The town is the center and market place for the Livingston group of colonies on the north, the Yomata colony on the east, the Hunter on the southeast, and the Livingston Realty lands on the southwest and west. In the colonies surrounding the town is a population of about 1,000, and the Livingston precinct is the largest voting precinct in Merced county.

The new school has four class rooms and a total enrollment of more than 100 students. It also has a branch of the Merced county library. The women of Livingston have formed a strong organization known as the Livingston Woman's Improvement club, with a membership of more than 30.

One of the most recent improvements in the town is the installation of a telephone system. This system

is modern in every respect and has connections in practically every store and house in the colonies. A long term agreement with the Pacific Telephone and Telegraph company gives telephonic connections to all parts of the state.

Four passenger trains each way stop at Livingston every day, thus making railroad facilities very convenient. With the completion of the new power line, electric lights will be installed.

In the territory about Livingston there are about 15,000 acres under irrigation and about 20 miles of canals. All the irrigation improvement has been made in the past five or six years.

The shipments of sweet potatoes from Livingston last year amounted to \$6,500,000 pounds. The territory around Livingston and Atwater is the principal sweet potato territory in Merced county and it is from these two stations that practically all the sweet potatoes are shipped out of Merced county.

About 35 cars of table grapes were shipped out of Livingston last year and about 70 cars of wine grapes. There is quite a large acreage in peaches but the majority of them are of the canning variety. About 500 acres are in bearing. The colonies have about 2,000 acres in table and wine grapes.

The school in Livingston has increased from 30 to 100 pupils in the past three years and the number of teachers has increased from one to three.

Five years ago land could be bought anywhere in the Livingston colonies for \$50 and \$60 an acre. The same land, under irrigation, is now selling from \$125 to \$200 and \$250 an acre, depending upon the improvements.

Merced County Sun: January 31, 1913

Livingston
new home of the
ALMOND

::
Town Lots
\$115.00
and up

LIVINGSTON COMING RAPIDLY TO THE FRONT

Livingston, which has used as its slogan "THE COMMUNITY WITH A DESTINY," is rapidly making good on the slogan and now aspires to be known as the "home of the grape." The planting of large acerages of Thompson and other grapes, much of which is coming into bearing, justifies the aspiration and there is every reason to believe that Livingston will become one of the leading grape centers of the San Joaquin Valley.

The town of Livingston, like its neighbor, Atwater, is making a remarkable growth this spring and new residences and business blocks are springing up on every side. The growth in population is evidenced by the fact that the new grammar school, a handsome building just completed last fall, is already inadequate and it is expected the fall term will find the need for even more school room. And the increase in the number of older students makes it certain Livingston will soon have a high school of its own. Packing houses and two pipe manufactories are Livingston industries.

The reason for Livingston's growth can be seen in a drive around the surrounding country, which is developed or being developed in every direction. Settlers are perhaps coming into the Livingston section right now faster than into any other section of the Merced irrigation district. New homes dot the countryside and a large acreage is being planted into various crops. The same condition prevails east and west, north and south of the town of Livingston and every year as these vineyards and orchards increase in production is Livingston going to grow.

There is no reason why the growth of Turlock in the last ten years should not be duplicated at Livingston as the conditions are very similar.

Livingston
home of the
Thompson
Seedless

::
ACREAGE
\$150.00
per acre and up

DO YOU REALIZE

that Livingston
is growing fast!
that Livingston
is building up
rapidly!

A LIVINGSTON ALMOND ORCHARD



DO YOU REALIZE

that Livingston
property will
treble in price!
that Livingston
property is
cheap now!

DON'T BE ONE OF THOSE PEOPLE WHO WILL SAY: "I could have bought property for a song." NOW IS THE TIME TO INVEST IN LIVINGSTON PROPERTY!

CROWELL BUILDING

H. J. BAKER

LIVINGSTON, CALIF.

See Livingston and Surrounding Country

We Established Ourselves in Livingston Because we Had Belief in its Future

We Are For
Livingston and
Merced County
Today and Tomorrow
and For All Time



OUR LIVINGSTON HOME

We Don't Only Sell
General Merchandise
We Sell
Livingston Booster
Spirit

HARDWARE
TINWARE
ENAMELWARE
CROCKERY
PAINTS & OILS

White-Crowell Co., Inc.

GROCERIES
PROVISIONS
DRY GOODS
BOOTS, SHOES
NOTIONS, DRUGS

Livingston, California

:: :: Be Sure and Mail a Copy of This Issue of The Star to Your Friends Living Outside of State :: ::

Livingston's Founders

Edward Jerome Olds

Originally a carpenter alongside railroad gangs, Edward J. Olds founded Livingston when he set up shop near the Merced River in November of 1871. His stand was merely a counter made of rough boards and a large tarp used for the roof. The first product Olds sold was hard liquor, but he also sold goods such as leather boots, rubber boots, shoes, overalls, hats, caps, pipes, and tobacco. As long as the railway moved forward, Old's business boomed.

At the peak of the Gold Rush, gold and land seekers came in by train on their way to the motherlode, and would stop at Olds' stand to load up on fresh goods. Farmers who had settled along the river became Old's regular customers. The railroad made it possible for him to replenish his merchandise from Stockton, Sacramento and San Francisco.

In 1911, Olds sold his farming interests and moved his wife and six children to Berkeley for education. He passed away in December 1913 at the age of 65.

Elizabeth Lee Olds

Elizabeth Lee Olds, married to Edward Olds, was the seventh daughter and child of William G. Collier. She was a noted writer and was well published. She was a frequent contributor to the *Merced Sun*—now known as the *Merced Sun-Star*. Elizabeth was a champion of the 18th and 19th Amendments to the United States Constitution, which prohibited alcohol and gave women the right to vote. Elizabeth delivered the first speech ever made in the San Joaquin Valley on women's suffrage.

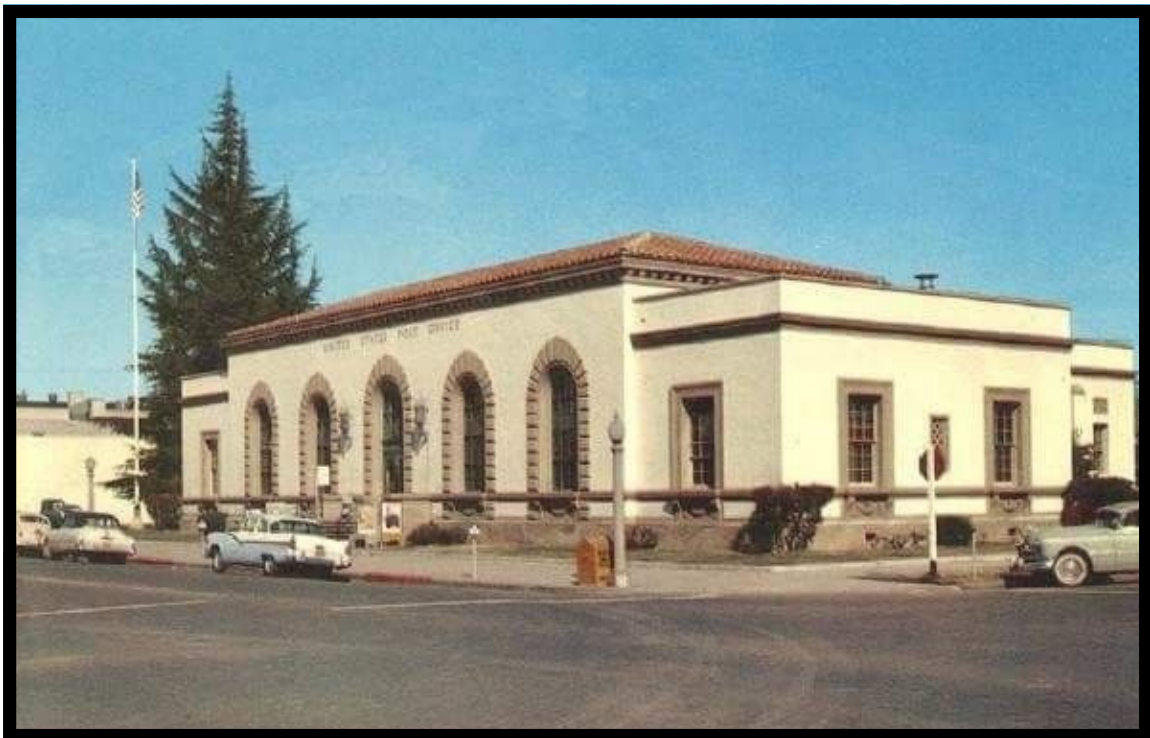


Naming of Livingston

Nearly every new community in California developed around a post office. In fact, Livingston got its start because of the post office. Edward Olds was not only a prominent businessperson, but was also the first postmaster of Livingston. He was appointed postmaster in January 1873 and resigned in May of 1882. A typo on the town's post office application resulted in a missing "E" at the end of the name "Livingstone."

It's interesting to note how early pioneers received mail. We can speculate how Olds obtained his mail the first year he was in business here, when no post office was handy. As you remember, he was able to get his goods by train, but his mail was another thing to be considered. Small as his enterprise was, it was a great inconvenience for Olds to not receive mail promptly—he was a growing businessperson and needed quick access to letters and things sent to him via the United States Postal Service. Olds' nearest post office was in Brickville, nearly nine miles over a sandy road down the Merced River.

Mail was first delivered to the Livingston post office in January of 1873. While today mail is delivered directly to homes, Livingston residents had to travel to the post office to pick up their mail. With the rural delivery service established in October 1922, however, receiving mail at home became a lot easier.



Merced Post Office, 1950

The City of Livingston was named after Dr. David Livingstone, a mid-1800s Scottish physician and Christian missionary. His exploration of the central African watershed helped to map the geography of the continent's inland regions, which had previously been deemed uninhabitable for Europeans because of their lack of immunity from tropical diseases. A controversial figure, Livingstone's geographical mapping efforts identified interior access routes to Central Africa. He is thus blamed for establishing entry-points for the Scramble for Africa—the imperial project of the late 1800s and early 1900s that involved the invasion, annexation, separation, and colonization of the African continent by Belgium, Britain, France, Germany, Italy, Portugal, and Spain.



Image by Thomas Annan.
National Galleries of Scotland.

Missionary: a member of a religious group sent to a place to promote their religion and culture to people of different religions and cultures. This term can apply to all religious groups who send people on missions trips, but most often applies to Christianity.

Central African Watershed: also known as the Congo Basin of the Congo River. The Congo River stretches from eastern Africa, through the Congo rainforest, and into the Atlantic Ocean. Tracing the river backwards from the Atlantic, David Livingstone and other colonizers used the route of the Congo River to find their way to Central Africa where they made missions trips to "civilize" African people through forced Christianity.

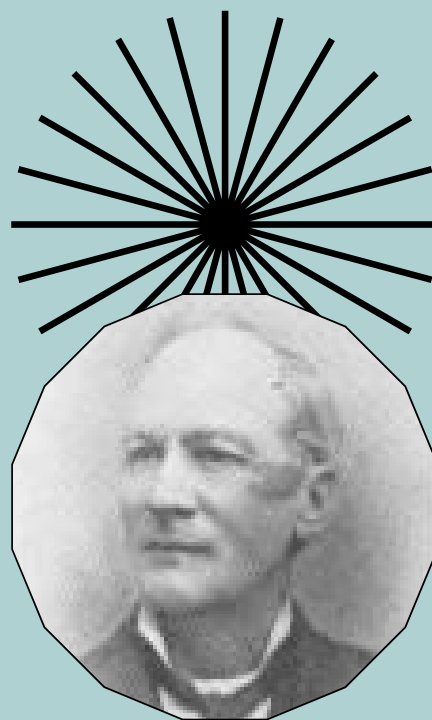
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Imperial: a nation, kingdom, or empire extends rule over people in other places for the purposes of political and economic power, often through military force, but also through political, economic, and cultural pressure. Imperialism differs from colonialism because colonialism relies on settlers moving to a place to live there, whereas imperialism can be done indirectly.

William Jackson Little

William Jackson Little was a 49er who came to prominence through his purchase of over 10,000 acres of grain land around the San Joaquin Valley. Little's grain business grew steadily and his grain was transported down the Merced River to the greater Bay Area. Edward J. Olds was put in charge of Little's grain warehouse.

In December of 1872, William Little enlisted the expertise of William Collier to make a map of a new town site called Livingstone and file it for record. The map provided 80 blocks of lots, each one 25' x 125' feet in area. Forty of the blocks were south of the railway and 40 to the north. Little sold lots for \$1 each. It was hoped that Livingstone would be the county seat for Merced County, but Merced won the county seat by 330 votes. In the loss of the county seat, Livingstone's growth slowed.



William G. Collier

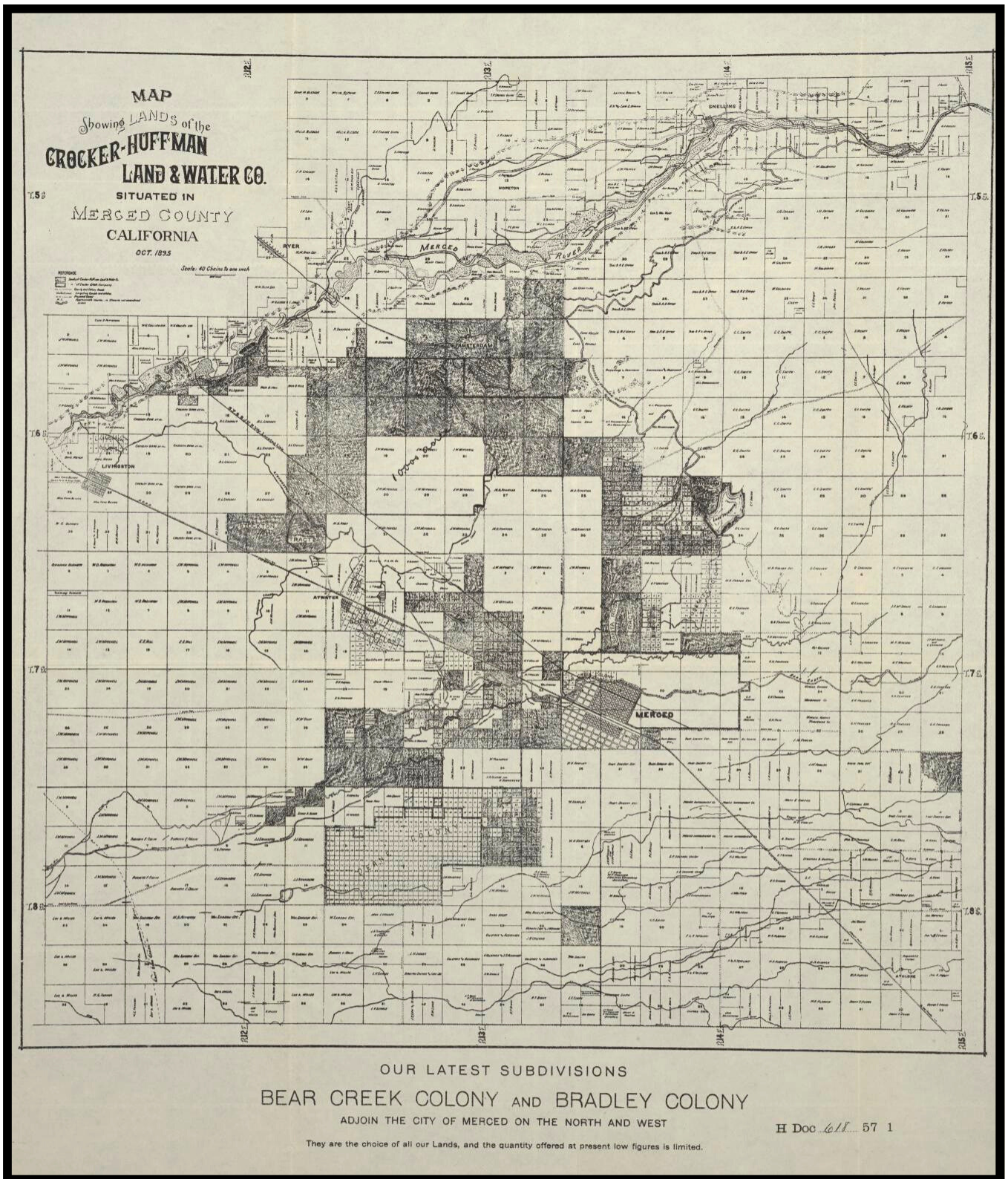
William G. Collier was never a resident of Livingstone, though he lived on the Merced River and had much to do with the original promotion of the town. As father-in-law to Edward J. Olds, he helped to boost Olds' business.

In 1859, Collier settled on the Merced River and became successful growing grain with over 3,000 acres of grain land.

Collier recognized early on that if he could divert water from the Merced River to a network of canals and then sell it to farmers, he could make a lot of money. He did just that through the Robla Canal Company in March 1870. Collier was also associated with the Farmers Canal Company, which became the Crocker-Huffman Land & Water Company, and eventually merged into the Merced Irrigation District. He was the county surveyor of Merced for several terms.

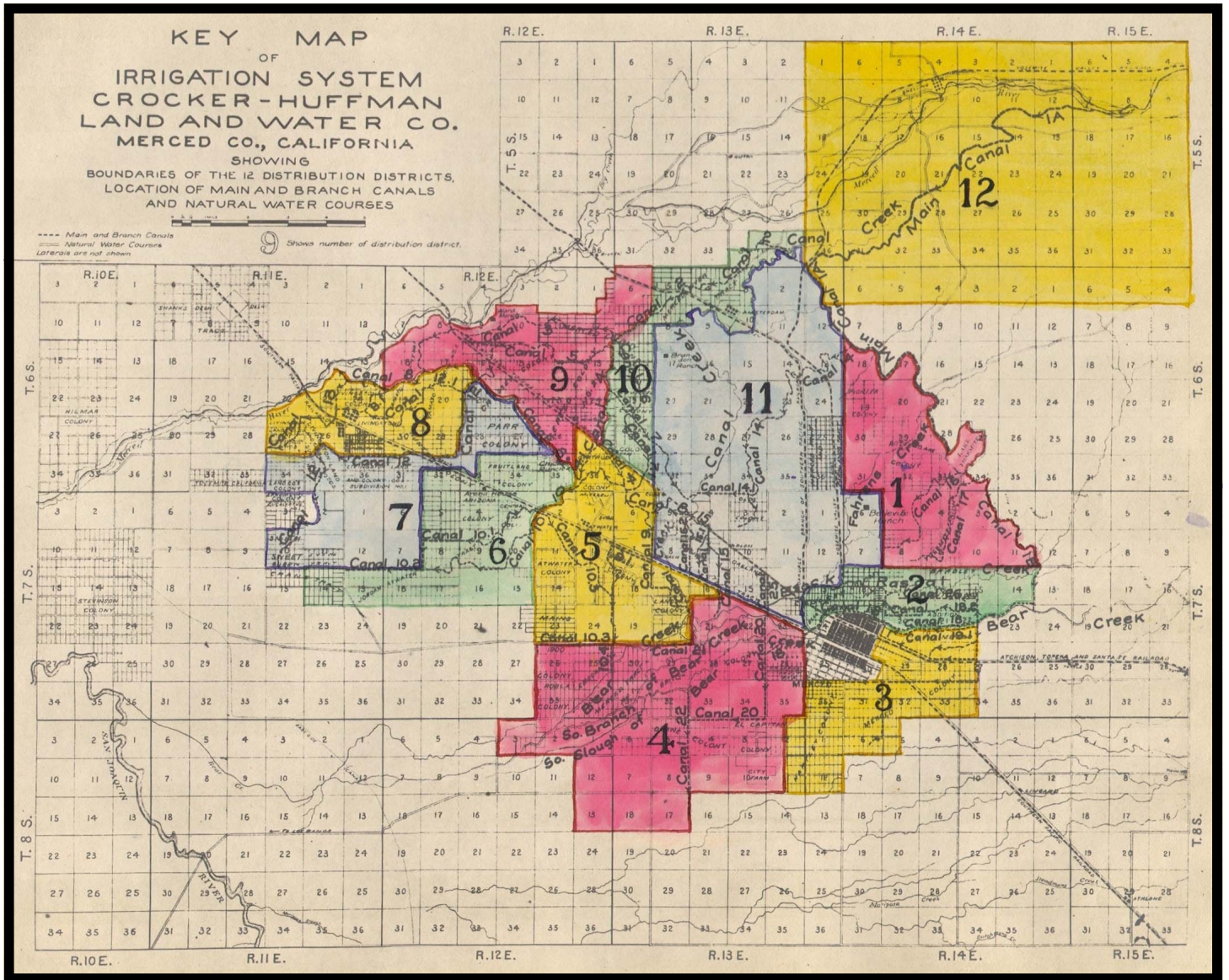


Map of Bear Creek Colony and Bradley Colony, 1895



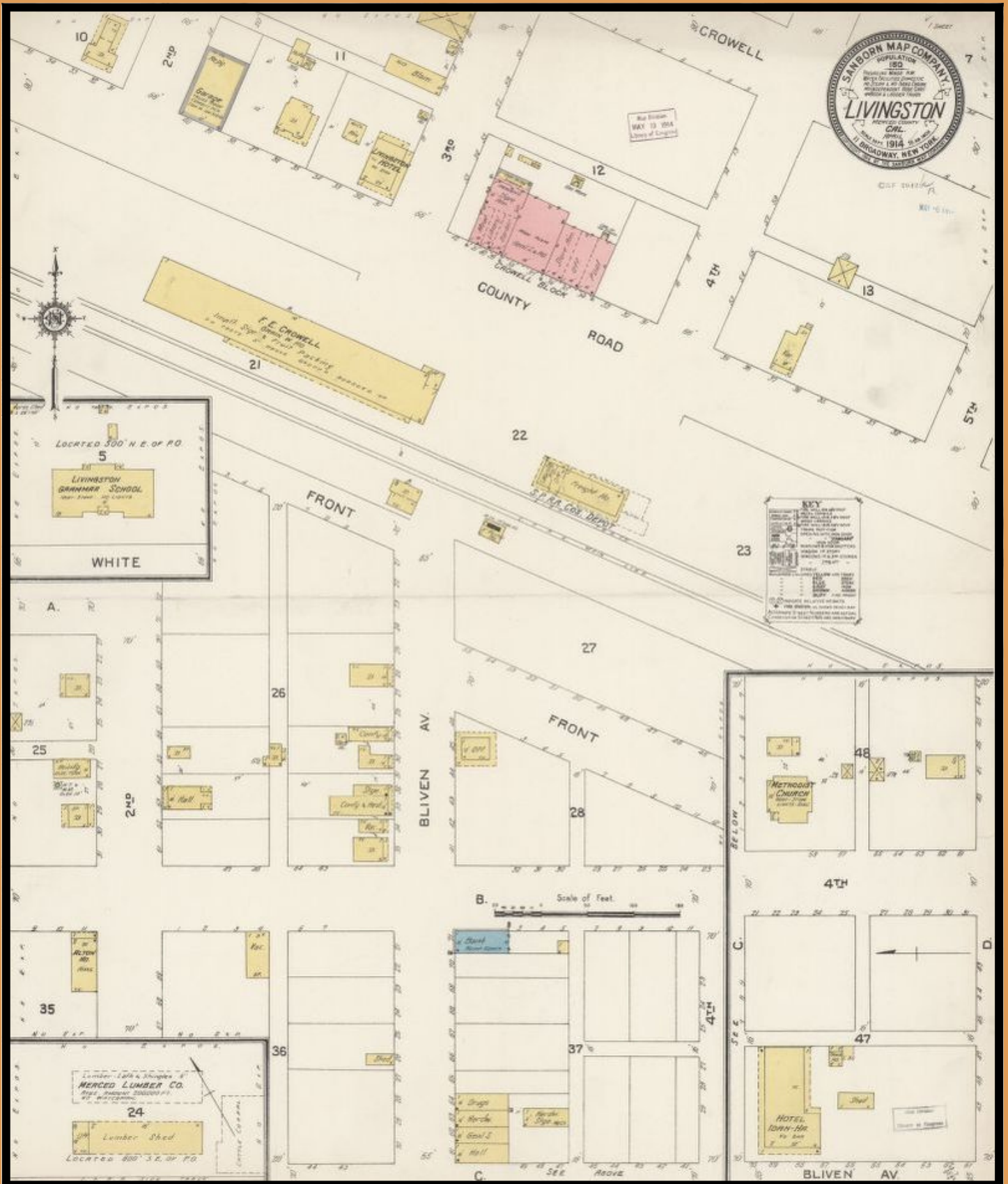
"Map showing lands of the Crocker-Huffman Land & Water Company: situated in Merced County California." (1895) Courtesy of the Map Collections at the University of Texas at Arlington.

Map of Merced County's Irrigation System



Courtesy of "Settlement of Merced County: From Homestead to Colonization," Merced Courthouse Museum and City of Merced.

Sanborn Fire Insurance Map of Livingston, 1914



Sanborn Fire Insurance Map from Livingston, Merced County, California. Sanborn Map Company, 1914. Map.

Early Livingston



"Street Scene Livingston Cal," California State Library.

Peter Schuttler Wagons, Livingston, 1915



"Livingston, Cal," E. F. Mueller Postcard Collection, California State Library, 1915.

Early Stats

Livingston's first school was built on McConnell Flats in 1876, and the first high school was dedicated in May 1924. At that time, the high school had seven teachers. Livingston's first fire department was organized in 1909 and the town's first bank was established in 1914. By 1922, Livingston was incorporated, and its water and sewer system was built in 1928. Charles Ottman was Livingston's first mayor.

List of Schools

1. Livingston High School
2. Livingston Middle School
3. Livingston Elementary School
4. Selma Herndon Elementary School
5. Campus Park Elementary School
6. Yamato Colony Elementary School

List of City Parks

1. Alvernaz Field
2. Arakelian Park
3. Courtyard Plaza
4. Don Meyer Park
5. Frederick Worden Park
6. Hammatt Park
7. Joseph Gallo Park
8. Little Guys and Gals Ball Park J
9. Lucero Park
10. Max Foster Sports Complex
11. Singh Park

Then & Now: Buildings Still Standing

1. Livingston Grammar School (now Geneo's Pizza)
2. Original Bank of Livingston (now Winton, Ireland, Strom, and Green)
3. Livingston Elementary (now Livingston Chronicle building)
4. Livingston Library (now Livingston Historical Museum)
5. Livingston Telephone Company
6. Livingston Farmers Association
7. Ward Building
8. Ottman Building
9. Fire Station on C Street
10. St. Jude Thaddeus
11. Pentecost Hall

Merced County Free Library, Livingston, 1922



"Livingston Branch, Merced County Free Library," California State Library, 1922.

Streets in Livingston

Alameda Ct	Crowell St	Lambrusco Ln	Ranch River St	Wells Ave
Alameda Ct W	Dallas Ct	Lilac Ln	Ravenswood Ct	White Ave
Alder Way	Dallas Dr	Lincoln Blvd	Ravenswood Dr	Willow Brook Ct
Aldrich Ave	Davis St	Linden Ct	Redwood Way	Willow Ct
Almond Glen Ave	Del Dotto Ct	Liveoak Way	Reisling Way	Winton Pkwy
Almondwood Dr	Dosangh Ct	Livingston Cressey Rd	Robin Ave	Wyatt Earp Ct
Amaretto Way	Duke Dr	Loma Vista Ct	Rogers Ave	Wycliffe Dr
Amarone Way	Dwight Way	Lupin Ct	Ruby Way	Yagi St
Arcadia Dr	Elm St	Madrid Way	Sapphire Dr	Yamato Rd
Ash Ct	Elmwood Ct	Magnolia Ave	Sauber Ct	York Ave
Aspenglen Way	Elmwood Way	Magnolia Rd	Seaport Village Dr	Zelkova Way
Auburn Ave	Evans Ln	Mandarin Ct	Serr Ave	Zinfandel Dr
Autry Ln	Evergreen Ct	Maple Ct	Serr Ct	
Balmoral Ct	Fairlane Dr	Merida Way	Sheesley Rd	
Barcelona Dr	Fernwood Way	Miadora Ct	Shoji Ct	
Bardolino Dr	Flint Ave	Misty Harbor Dr	Silver Ln	
Bay Meadow Ln	Franci St	Mont Cliff Way	Simpson Ave	
Bird St	Franquette Ct	Monte Cristo Way	Spring Brook Dr	
Black Pine Way	Franquette St	Montecito Dr	St Ives Ave	
Brandy Ct	Front St	Montelena Ave	Stefani Ave	
Brandy Way	Fruitbasket Ln	Montelena Ct	Summerwind Rd	
Briarwood Dr	Gallo Rd	Mori Ct	Sun Valley Ave	
Burgundy Dr	Gamay Way	Mulberry Ct	Sundance St	
Cabernet Ct	Glenmoor Pl	N Pacific Ave	Swan St	
Calero Ct	Golden Leaf Dr	N Sultana Dr	Talara Dr	
Cambria Pl	Grapevine Dr	Narada Way	Tashima Ct	
Campbell Blvd	Hammatt Ave	Natsu Rd	Tashima Dr	
Castellana Ct	Harvest Ave	Newcastle Dr	Tehama Dr	
Cedar Ct	Hickory Ave	Nut Tree Rd	Topaz Way	
Cedar Ln	Hilltop Ave	Oakhurst Pl	Trigger Ln	
Celia Dr	Homestead Ct	Oakwood Way	Tulare Ct	
Chandler Ct	Howard Rd	Ohki St	Tulare St	
Chastanet Ct	Hunter Rd	Olds Ave	Turquoise Ct	
Cherrywood Ct	Industrial Dr	Orchard Way	Valley Oak Way	
Cherrywood Way	Jantz Dr	Paradise Ct	Vieira St	
Chianti Dr	Jasmine Ln	Paradise Dr	Vina Ct	
Cinnamon Teal Ave	Johannisburg Dr	Park St	Vine Cliff Way	
Cisco Ct	Jordonolla Way	Parkside Way	Vinemaple Way	
Citrus Ct	Joseph Gallo Ct	Patzer St	Vinewood Ave	
Claret Cir	Joseph Gallo Dr	Peach Ave	Virginia Ave	
Colleen Ct	Joseph St	Pinecrest Dr	Wagon Wheel Ct	
Colombard Way	Kapreil Way	Pinot Dr	Wakami Dr	
Count Dr	Karina Lau Ct	Poppy Ct	Washington	
County Road J14	Kinoshita Ct	Prusso St	Washington Blvd	
Court St	Kishi Dr	Queen Way	Weir Ave	

Summary

While just a few people are mentioned in this early history of Livingston, building a town required the labor of lots of different people. Workers were needed to construct an entire irrigation system and school houses, and people were needed as teachers and government workers. It can be easy to take a city for granted, but as you can see, a lot went into making Livingston. As you explore the discussion questions on the next couple pages, think about who was mentioned in this history of Livingston, and who might have been left out.

Archival Research Activity

Working individually or in pairs, use the "How To" resources at the beginning of the unit to investigate primary sources on calisphere.org using the keyword "irrigation." Filter your search by type of item or decade. What do you notice in your findings? How do the primary sources relate to what you know about California generally and Livingston specifically?

Word Bank

Boosterism: efforts by investors to promote a particular person, lifestyle, organization, or cause, often with self-interest in mind

Central African Watershed: also known as the Congo Basin of the Congo River. The Congo River stretches from eastern Africa, through the Congo rainforest, and into the Atlantic Ocean. Tracing the river backwards from the Atlantic, David Livingstone and other colonizers used the route of the Congo River to find their way to Central Africa where they made missions trips to "civilize" African people through forced Christianity.

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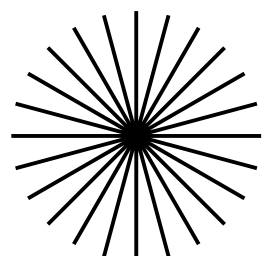
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Tropical Diseases: a disease that is common in tropical or subtropical areas of the world, such as malaria, cholera, yellow fever, and more.

Discussion Questions

1. What influenced people to settle in Livingston?

2. Who are the streets and schools in Livingston named after and why? What do they say about what/who is remembered?



Unit 2: Multi-Ethnic Communities

Learning Outcomes

By the end of this unit, students should be able to:

1. Articulate how land-owning status has typically been afforded to European-Americans, as well as those willing to assimilate into European-American culture, but has often been denied to non-European-American ethnic im/migrants.
2. Describe how state and federal law has benefited land-owning early residents, but disadvantaged poor residents.

Introduction

The history of Livingston has typically been told through the accounts of irrigated agriculture and heroic **pioneer** tales, but missing from these narratives are stories about the multi-ethnic communities which comprise the town's complicated past, present, and future. Over its 150 year history (100 if you mark the beginning of the town's history at its 1922 incorporation), a number of communities have called Livingston home. This section will describe how and why particular stories are preserved and passed down in the historical record.

Most of California's and Livingston's early **European-American pioneers** benefited from wealth, family connections, and opportunity. In the same way, the early **pioneer** stories told below emphasize similar privileges among Livingston's early ethnic residents who experienced elite connections. Many of Livingston's early Mexican, Japanese, Portuguese, Filipino, and **Sikh** residents came from communities who had access to resources, owned land, and found pathways to prosperity. Their stories are important, but they are not entirely representative of the full experience of the ethnic immigrants who came to Livingston in the late 1900s who didn't have access to the same privileges.

With this in mind, this history guide seeks to strike a balance between elite pioneer tales and narratives of working-class people. In doing so, this guide explores other ways to think about Livingston's history through working-class stories. The first half of this section will focus on the stories of early ethnic residents, and the second part will pivot to think about why others might not be so present in formal archives.

European-American: American citizen whose ancestors (parents and so on) were immigrants from the European continent, including but not limited to the countries of England, France, Germany, Italy, Portugal, Spain, and more.

Early Residents

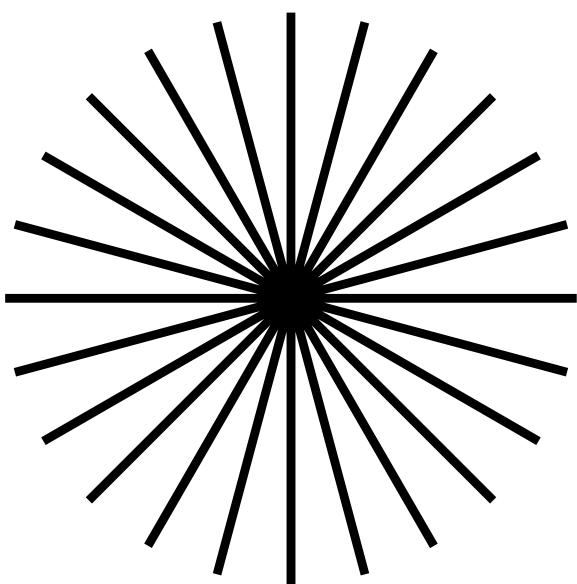
First Mexican Residents

Jose Zapien first began visiting the San Joaquin Valley in 1889 from Churintzio, Michoacán, Mexico. He found work and went back and forth from the Valley to his hometown a number of times. Finally in 1917, he went back to Mexico to bring his family permanently to California. During his preparation, he suddenly fell ill and died a few days later.

This story surrounds Catalina Zapien Gonzales Farfan, daughter of Jose Zapien who lived in Livingston and today still has great-great-grandchildren here.

Upon hearing of Catalina's father's death, her uncle, who was working for another railroad, sent word for the widow and her children to come to Livingston. Catalina remembers crossing the border at El Paso, Texas in February of 1919, because she was to have her fifth birthday the following month.

Mrs. Zapien—Catalina's mother—and her family lived in a small house near her brother and sister-in-law, but life was hard for them. The only way she could make a living was to cook for the workers who followed the crops. Because most of the men had left their families behind as her husband Jose had done, the workers were happy to pay to have their clothes washed and ironed. However, when the crops were finished for the year, the workers left and so did Mrs. Zapien's source of income.



Pioneer: In the United States context, a pioneer is a person who migrated westward from the eastern states—Thirteen Colonies, usually—to settle in and develop areas of North America that were stewarded by Indigenous people. Settlement of what is currently known as the western United States was done forcefully, and often involved the annihilation of land, resources, and people to make way for residents.

First Japanese Residents: Yamato & Cortez Colonies

In 1919, against a backdrop of California's irrigated agricultural development and a long history of anti-Asian sentiment, a handful of Japanese families settled in the Yamato and Cortez Colonies. It was in these colonies that Japanese families could attain land ownership. As you'll read in the unit on Japanese incarceration, people of Asian descent during this time were barred from land ownership in virtually all places, but things were different in the agricultural colonies of the San Joaquin Valley.

The Yamato and Cortez colonies began through the efforts of Abiko Kyutaro, a banker, newspaper publisher, businessman, and **immigrant** leader. Kyutaro was born in Central Japan's Niigata prefecture in the year of 1865, and like many Japanese immigrants at the time, he migrated to San Francisco where he worked, attended grammar school, and eventually enrolled as a UC Berkeley student in 1885. Committed to community building and a major advocate for permanent Japanese settlement in the United States, Kyutaro began a newspaper in 1897 that came to be named the *Nichibei Shimbun*, or *Japanese American News*. The newspaper was originally written in Japanese, and it confronted issues such as educational discrimination, restrictions on Japanese immigration, the California Alien Land Law, and the debate over picture brides. All the while, Kyutaro's newspaper advocated for an increase in Japanese immigration to the United States and offered advice for new immigrants in the country.

In 1902, Abiko founded the Nichibei Kangyosha, or the Japanese American Industrial Company, to manage Japanese contract labor for the railroad, mining, and sugar-refining industries, and the acquisition of farmland in Central California. Abiko also set up and managed the Nichibei Kinyusha, a savings and loan company.



Portrait of Kyutaro Abiko. Courtesy of the Yasuo William Abiko Family, Japanese American National Museum

Immigrant: A person living in a country other than that of their birth

By 1906, through his investments, Abiko set up the Beikoku Shokusan Kaisha (American Land and Produce Company) which purchased land in Merced County to be subdivided and resold as part of what would become the Yamato Colony here in Livingston.

In 1907, **Issei** families settled on the Yamato Colony, which by 1920 reached 2,450 acres. In 1919, Abiko established Cortez Colony just south of Turlock. Early residents in the Yamato and Cortez Colonies made the transition from farm laborer to farm owner, but years of great hardship were soon to follow as Issei farmers transformed Central California's sandy soil into farmable land.

In 1913, seven years after Yamato Colony residents bought their farms, California passed the Alien Land Law which barred immigrants not eligible for citizenship from owning land and limited their leases to three-year periods. A 1924 Immigration Act barred the immigration, and thus naturalization, of non-northern European people. This effectively limited immigration and citizenship to exclusively white people. The California Alien Land Law, then, took this a step further, and barred immigrants of color from owning land in California. Yet, many circumvented the law by buying land in the name of their American-born children or forming corporations to hold title to their land.

Despite this broader history, many European-Americans in Livingston had a complicated relationship with the Japanese residents of the Yamato Colony. Elbert G. Adams, editor of the *Livingston Chronicle*, for instance, was both a friend of the Yamato Colony and president of the Anti-Japanese Association. In his newspaper, Adams promoted stories about the assimilability of American-born Japanese people, but at the same time condemned the arrival of new immigrants from Japan, like those who settled in the Cortez Colony. This distinction between residents of the Yamato Colony and "new arrivals" had more to do with class and efforts to Americanize Japanese-American children than anything else. The first group of Japanese people in Livingston who developed the Yamato Colony were distinguished by their religion, education, mastery of the English language, and middle-class professions: wealthy civil engineers, college agriculture professors, and high school teachers. Many of the Cortez residents, however, were working-class and less educated.

Many European-Americans were threatened by the perceived demand on employment by Cortez residents, and in December 1919, the Merced County Farm Bureau directors formed a special committee to oppose Japanese settlement.

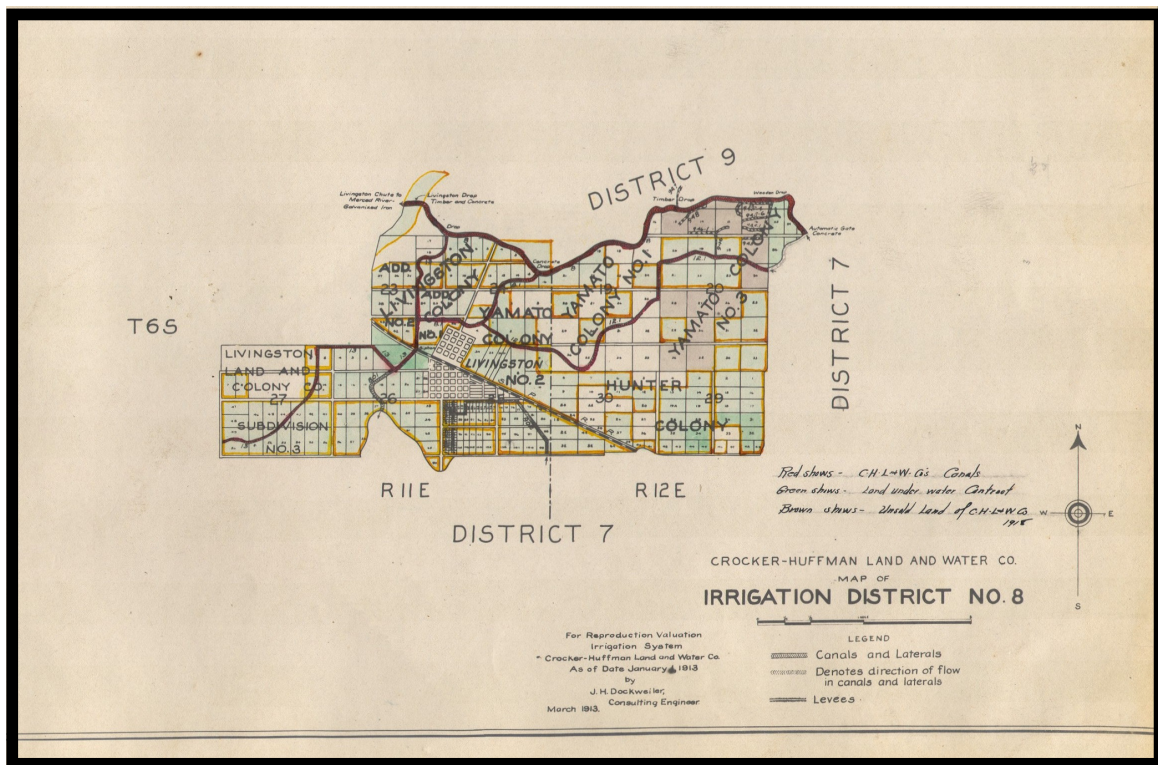
Issei: Japanese immigrant to North America

Nisei: child of a Japanese immigrant who is born in North America

In January 1920, this committee became known as the Merced County Anti-Japanese Association, electing Elbert G. Adams as president, Farm Advisor J. F. Grass as secretary, and Major Harry Thomas of the Fruitland Farm Center and American Legion as vice president. Representatives of the Order of the Odd Fellows, Elks Lodge, Knights of Pythias, Native Sons, and local farm centers vowed to launch a campaign against anyone who attempted to sell or lease property to Japanese people. Likely coerced, many Yamato Colony residents became involved with the Livingston Anti-Japanese committee, building off of the tension between it and the other colonies that was originally orchestrated by pro-Americanization European-Americans. In betraying the broader interest of Japanese people in Livingston, Yamato Colony residents attained acceptance from European-Americans.

Yet, residents of Cortez Colony sustained themselves through the community's agricultural cooperative association, two churches, and an educational institution to overcome isolation, market and ship their produce, and maintain social support networks and cultural traditions. Eventually, by modeling the assimilation efforts of the Yamato Colony, Cortez residents became part of the rural farming community.

Irrigation Map of the Yamato Colony, District Number 8



"Crocker-Huffman Land and Water Co. Maps of Irrigation District No. 8." Courtesy of "Settlement of Merced County: From Homestead to Colonization," Merced Courthouse Museum and City of Merced.

Japanese American Industrial Corporation Record of Deed

SUPPLEMENT TO THE ABTRACTOR.

PUBLISHED BY
SIMONSON & HARRELL.
Searchers of Records,

MERCED, - - - - - CAL.,

Showing all Transactions in the Office of the Recorder of Merced County, California.

Vol. 17.

MERCED, SATURDAY, JANUARY 19, 1907

No. 99

The Abstractor

FOR SUBSCRIBERS ONLY.

Printed at THE MERCED STAR office every
Wednesday and Saturday.

Instruments Filed in the Recorder's Office.

F. Carlston, January 15, 1907, \$710.00, 1 day, 10 per cent; 5 horses.
Mortgage—J. E. Russell to J. F. Carlston, Jan. 15, 1907, \$710.00, 1 day, 10 per cent; lot 24, first addition to Gertrude Colony.
Release—Of mortgage made July 29, 1904, by Anton Rogers to A. J. Cardozo, for \$1147.65, on lot 5, in nw¼ of section 15, Oakland tract.
Deed—Anton Rogers to Carlo Stefani, January 17, 1907, \$10.00; lot 5 in nw¼ of section 15, Oakland tract.
Release—Of mortgage made February 8, 1906, by L. C. Peak to Peter Calori, for \$160.00, on 13 cows.
Release—Of mortgage made September 2, 1903, by Mary E. Cocanour to G. Oneto, for \$321.95, on lots 1 and 2, block 256, Merced.
Assignment of Mortgage—Henry Clow to G. Oneto, December 6, 1905, \$200.00, assigns mortgage made November 27, 1905, by Mrs. S. S. Turner, for \$221.00, on lot 8, in block 1, Ipsen addition to Town of LeGrand, January 18, 1907.
Release—Of mortgage made July 2, 1906, by John V. Perrella to Jose Alves, for \$700.00, on 30 milch cows, 2 horses, etc.
Chattel Mortgage—John V. Perrella to George Castello, January 17, 1907, \$600.00, 1 day, 7 per cent; 30 milch cows, 2 horses, etc.
Quit Claim Deed—Annette Steffenson to James J. Stevinson, Incorporated, December 10, 1906, \$10.00; lot 18, in section 11-7-10, Stevinson Colony No. 3.
Deed—James J. Stevinson, a corporation, to Annette Steffenson, December 10, 1906, \$10, w¼ of lot 18, in section 11-7-10, Stevinson Colony No. 3, 4.80 acres.
Deed—Mrs. Eugenie Pratt and W. A. Pratt to Jay J. White, January 12, 1907, \$10; lot 37, Hilmar Colony.
Partial Release—Of mortgage made October 1, 1902, by R. W. Hammatt and F. E. Crowell, to M. S. S. Bank, for \$23,000.00; 413.04 acres in sec-

tion 24 and 25-6-11; lots 17, 18, 21, 22 and 25 of Addition No. 1 to Livingston Colony; blocks 3, 4, 17, 24, 37; n¼ of block 23; lots 3, 4, 5, 6, 7, 8, 9, 10, 12, 13, and 14, in block 38, Town of Livingston, released.
Deed—R. W. Hammatt and F. E. Crowell to Japanese American Industrial Corporation, January 10, 1907, \$10; begin at ¼ section cor. on east line of section 24-6-11; thence south 2642.8 feet, to southeast corner of said section; thence on east line of section 25, 3129.3 feet; to north line of county road; thence along north line of road north 65° 20' west, 3681 feet; thence north 24° 40', east, 1742.5 feet to north line of section 25, at a point 2568.3 feet from northeast corner thereof; thence on north line of said section 1311.7 feet; thence north 24° 40' east, 269 feet; thence north 55° 20' west, 636.4 feet to east side of county road; thence along east side of road north 23° 33' east, 2329.3 feet to north line of s¼ of section 24; thence on north line of said section 3560.3 feet to beginning; 413.04 acres; also lots 17, 18, 21, 22 and 25, Addition No. 1 to Livingston Colony, 81.81 acres.
Trust Deed—Japanese American Industrial Corporation to R. W. Hammatt and F. E. Crowell, January 10, 1907, \$14,844.78; same property as in above deed.
Lease—Dennis McCarthy to Manuel Marshall, October 6, 1906; nw¼ of section 20-9-9, excepting 21.50 acres, for 5 years, at annual rent of \$1800.00.
Partial Reconveyance—Of trust deed made February 12, 1903, by Nels O. Hultberg et ux. to Sacramento Bank, for \$12,505.00; lots 26, 27, 37, 38, 12, 13, north 3.80 acres of lot 15, n¼ of lot 8, north 6.60 acres of lot 14, Youngstown Colony, reconveyed.
Deed—Nels O. Hultberg to Fred Swanson, December 22, 1906, \$550.00; lot 27, Youngstown Colony, 20.30 acres.
Trust Deed—Fred Swanson et ux. to Sacramento Bank, December 27, 1906, \$300.00; same property as above.
Deed—Nels O. Hultberg to Sam Christianson, December 22, 1906, \$1600; lot 38, Youngstown Colony, 60 acres.
Trust Deed—Sam Christianson et ux. to Sacramento Bank, December 27, 1906, \$700.00; same property as

above.
Deed—Nels O. Hultberg to Johannes Carlson, December 22, 1906, \$850, lot 26, Youngstown Colony; 30 acres.
Trust Deed—Johannes Carlson et ux. to Sacramento Bank, December 27, 1906, \$450.00; same property as above.
Deed—Nels O. Hultberg to A. M. Nickolauson, December 22, 1906; \$1000; lot 37, Youngstown Colony, 40.33 acres.
Trust Deed—A. M. Nickolauson et ux. to Sacramento Bank, December 27, 1906, \$300.00; same property as above.
Deed—Walter Casad to Samuel W. R. Langdon, December 12, 1906, \$10.00; n¼, sw¼, n¼ and sw¼ of sec¼, w¼ of sec¼ of section 20-6-11; 641.12 acres.
Deed—Alexander Guerra to C. B. Harrell, January 15, 1907, \$10.00; n¼ of lot 4, block 203, Merced.
Chattel Mortgage—B. C. Hatch to Charles Brown, January 10, 1907, \$374.40, 1 day, 8 per cent; 5 horses.
January 19, 1907.
Plans and Specifications, Contract and Bond—Between Yosemite Valley Railroad Company and L. J. C. Wegner, for construction of roundhouse, etc., at Merced.
Deed—James C. Baxter to John Jerome Baxter, August 9, 1901, gift; s¼ of section 30-8-17; 332.30 acres.
Release—Of mortgage made January 4, 1904, by James D. Roof to William Davenport, for \$300, on west 10 acres of lot 9, Dos Palos Colony.

PHELAN DECLARES CALIFORNIA IS 'COLONY OF JAPAN'

**Senator Says One-third of
Births in Los Angeles
County, Outside of Cities
Are Japanese Parentage**

WASHINGTON, D. C., July 10.—
Senator James D. Phelan has issued
the following statement:

I was surprised and alarmed to read the official statement that one-third of the births, outside of incorporated cities and towns in Los Angeles county, California, were Japanese. That means that one-third of the rural population are substantially Japanese, and as the rural population is the backbone of every country, the gravity of the situation must appeal to all thinking men and women. The state board of health reports that the Japanese births in the last ten years have increased 3000 per cent, and the white births have decreased about 9 per cent.

I do not think we require any further confirmation of the silent invasion of California directed from Japan, because Japan controls her nationals wherever they go.

California is now just as Hawaii has been for some time past, a tributary colony to Japan. The rats are in the granary. They have gotten in under the door and they are breeding with alarming rapidity. We must get rid of them or lose the granary.

What I mean to say by the rats have gotten in under the door is the stipulation that no laborers would be given passports from Japan, but women are given passports on the theory that they are the wives of the men who are already here. They of course cannot be bona fide wives of the men whom they have never seen, as we understand marriage.

These women work in the fields as laborers and so circumvent the agreement and then they give birth to children and thus defeat the purpose of the agreement by increasing the horde of non-assimilable aliens who are crowding the white men and women off the lands. If this is not checked now, it means the end of the white race in California, subdivision of American institutions and the end of our western civilization.

The fight is on. On which side do you stand?

Merced County Sun:
July 11, 1919

FARM BUREAU ON RECORD AGAINST JAP INVASION OF COUNTY

(From Monday's Daily)

A definite step toward a boycott of the Japanese of Merced county was taken Saturday afternoon by the board of directors of the Merced county Farm Bureau. When the matter came up, E. G. Adams, of Livingston was named chairman of a committee of seven, the other members of which he is to appoint in the next few days from the membership of the bureau. This committee will invite delegates from fraternal organization and boards of trade in the county who are opposed to the Japanese colonization here, until the committee shall be increased to twenty-five members.

It is proposed that the committee shall take a stand against further colonization either by means of land purchases or rentals, and that they shall endeavor, by intervieweing bankers, real estate dealers and others who are responsible for the sale or lease of lands to Japanese, to stop the practice.

The farm bureau has been among the pioneer organizations in the county to see the danger and to take action to stop the "peaceful penetration" by the Japanese. Several farm senters have gone on record recently opposing further settlement by Japanese.

COUNTY ANTI-JAPANESE ASSOCIATION FORMED TO PREVENT FURTHER LAND CONQUESTS IN MERCED

***Farm Bureau Committee Plans
Organization of Several Thou-
sand Members; Sales to Ori-
entals to be Unpopular.***

(From Monday's Daily)

As a result of the meeting here Saturday afternoon of the farm bureau committee and representatives of various other organizations in the county, to determine steps to be taken to end further Japanization of Merced county, two methods are likely to be followed. One is a campaign of moral persuasion against persons who attempt to sell or lease property to Japanese and the other is a campaign of "pitiless publicity" against those persons upon whom the former method fails to have effect.

Those are practically the only two routes open to the object desired, under the existing laws of this state.

JAPANESE SITUATION

The trend of public sentiment in California is rapidly crystallizing into a general movement that will bring to the front the Japanese question as never before since the first Oriental landed on the soil of this state. The old argument that the Japanese as a class are not objectionable no longer holds good; not because they are Japanese but because they are not of our race. We cannot amalgamate them, build them over into American citizens without changing the racial character of our own people, and to that proposition we will never consent. We are Caucasians and they are Mongolians, and we can no more build them over than we can the African. Here the line must be drawn, and here it will be drawn no matter what the cost in dollars and cents may be to any man, set of men or corporation that attempts to inject this element into the social structure of Merced county.

There can be no question as to what the result will be in this immediate vicinity if any attempt in the future is made to dispose of Merced lands to Orientals. The meeting in Merced Saturday which resulted in the organization of the Merced County Anti-Japanese association puts the matter squarely before us, and, judging from the sentiments there expressed, it will in a short time develop into a general movement so strong that no self interest anywhere within our borders can stand for a moment against it.

OPPOSING JAPANESE

(Madera Tribune.)

Prominent persons and organizations in Merced and Stanislaus counties, awakened to the menace of Japanese influx to those counties, have formed associations to work against Asiatics acquiring more land there. The plan will be valuable to the extent that it is carried out. If it is not followed up, as many such public moves are not, it will have done no good. But if it is maintained, it will at least have some effect toward correcting the present faulty anti-alien land laws. That is the only thing that will really count. In both counties mentioned campaigns of "pitiless publicity" are advocated, by which the name of any real estate owner or dealer selling land to Japanese would be prominently published. That might have some effect, but a person who has so little consideration for a community as to sell his land to Japanese could easily find a way to avoid that unwelcome notoriety. It would also put the burden on the newspapers, which already do more than their share toward criticising matters that should be corrected. Merced and Stanislaus counties are not the only ones that are declaring against Japanese invasion. The same is true of practically all of the agricultural counties. Here in Madera county the Asiatics are not securing as strong a hold as they are in other places, but they own and control more land than they should. It does not appeal to many that a big irrigation project is to be developed here that will greatly increase the productivity of the land and that a considerable part of its beneficiaries shall be those who can not be citizens and whose only regard for the country is what they can make while temporarily living in it. Madera county will join with the other counties in this question and adopt methods which they find suit the conditions.

All of the above from:
Merced County Sun: January 16, 1920

Early Japanese Resident: Seinosuke Okuye

As told by Rikio Sauter, Great-Great-Grandson of Seinosuke Okuye

"The first members of the Okuye family came to Livingston in 1907. Seinosuke Okuye was the son of a samurai. Seinosuke was a wealthy civil engineer, and he came to Livingston with his wife, Take, son, Kiyoshi, his niece, and the son of a friend.

Seinosuke Okuye heard about "The Yamato Colony" in Livingston, and came to check out the location. Seinosuke and his family bought farmland, and newly arriving Japanese people who could not afford to buy their own farms lived and worked on the Okuye farm until they could buy their own. There were thirteen houses for them all to live in on his property.

Seinosuke's son Kiyoshi ran the farm after Seinosuke passed away in 1938. Kiyoshi and wife Chiyo had 4 children: Ruth, Ben, Sam, and Paul. During World War II, Livingston's Japanese Americans were put into incarceration camps at the Amache Relocation Center in Colorado, but many people in the Yamato Colony hired someone to manage their farms while they were gone. The Okuyes were extremely lucky to have their homes to return to, although they were damaged in their absence.

When the Okuyes came back, Kiyoshi resumed farming, followed by one of his sons, Sam. When Sam suddenly passed away in 1980 at age 54, Paul moved up from Santa Barbara to take over the family farm with his wife Jean, son Alan, and daughter Sheryl, my mother.

It was a difficult adjustment for them since they did not know anything about farming, but the strong community ties with the other Yamato Colony members supported them and neighbors helped them to learn how to farm and succeed. They could not have done the challenging farm work and made the transition from their life in Santa Barbara to the life of an almond farmer without help from the community. Paul had also been recently diagnosed with early-onset Parkinson's Disease at age 46, so he also had many challenges trying to do the physical labor with his limited physical capabilities due to the disease. It was a difficult time for the family, but they worked hard together to be able to keep the family farm. Alan and my mother Sheryl left for college and my grandparents continued on their own and continued to be successful farmers.

My grandfather Paul passed away in 2001, and my grandmother Jean, who had by this time been doing the majority of the farming anyway due to his disease, continued on her own until 2005. She convinced my father, who is from Germany, to come take over the farm and learn from her about farming while she was still alive. In 2005, my mother, father, and two older sisters moved to our family farm from France where they had been living. My father now runs the farm.

I don't know if I will end up farming but I can't imagine selling my family farm that has been in my family for five generations. There has been so much blood, sweat, and tears put into this farm that we are planning on keeping it as long as we can; it is truly a labor of love."

First Portuguese Settlers

As told by Matt Cabral, Jose Cabral's Great-Grandson

"In January of 1910, Jose Cabral arrived in the United States from a small group of Portuguese islands known as the Azore Islands. Many families of the islands lived very simple lives and most men were fishermen by trade. Families typically owned very small parcels of land and may have owned cattle. However, it was not common for families to own more than one or two cows, unlike the massive dairy operations we see today.

In August of 1918 from San Pablo, Contra Costa County, Mr. and Mrs. Jose Cabral joined into business partnership with six other Portuguese dairy people. They drove their dairy cattle from Newman to Livingston over the course of 2 days. They stopped in Stevinson overnight to rest and milk the cows, and then continued with their herd of about 200 up the old highway 99 across the Merced River Bridge toward the William Collier ranch.

They moved their dairy by rail, the cattle were unloaded in Livingston stock corrals on D Street and then driven across the river to the ranch. The Collier Ranch at that time consisted of about 1,000 acres. It was seeded to alfalfa in the low spots and there were hundreds of oak trees. The Cabrals had 3 children, 2 boys and a girl, Frank, Joe and Mary. All three grew up on the ranch. They rented the land from the Colliers for \$10 per acre per year.

In those days the surrounding uncultivated fields were all tumbleweeds and gum weeds, and jack rabbits ran by the thousands. There was no electricity on the farms and the work was done by horse drawn plows and scrapers. Although Mr. Cabral did not speak English, there were very nice people who would translate and step in to help communicate.

Jose Cabral eventually broke away from the Collier ranch partnership and with his two sons Frank and Joe, moved their cows to a ranch on Dwight Way. In 1960, Frank and Joe parted ways from their operation—Frank remained on Dwight Way and Joe moved to a ranch on Livingston-Cressey Road working with John Sequierra. In December of 1963, Jose passed away at the age of 73.

Mr. and Mrs. Cabral's three children grew up and started families in the area. Mary, known as Mamie to many, married Joe Trindade. Frank married Marie Deniz and had 3 children, Louie, Patricia and Celeste. Joe married Natalie Sequierra and had 2 children, Christine and Gary.

Although many of the descendants of the original Portuguese immigrants moved on out of the dairy industry, several remain in agriculture, including Jose Cabral's grandson Gary and his great-grandson Eric.

Every July since 1927, the Portuguese community organizes a celebration which is a tradition brought from the Azore Islands of Portugal. It consists of a large parade-like procession to St. Jude Thaddeus Catholic Church for a thanksgiving Mass, followed by a free public dinner of "soupa." Two dances are usually held, one preceding and one following the celebration. Many families maintain ties with relatives in the old country. Today people still immigrate from the Azores to join their relatives in the Livingston area."

First Filipino Residents

The Jamero Family has been part of Livingston's history since the 1940s. Ceferino emigrated from the Philippines to Hawaii where he worked in the plantations for a brief time. He arrived in the United States during the mid-1920s. Apolonia arrived a few years later. They were both from Garcia-Hernandez, Bohol and seeking a better life. After a brief reunion, they married in Sonora, California in November of 1929.

They experienced many hardships and lived a migratory life working in the fields of Central California. Times were hard during the Depression and afterwards, but they survived the socio-economic obstacles. During 1944, they bought a home on forty-acres located on Magnolia Avenue in Livingston. By this time, they had six children with two more to follow.

They operated their labor camp on Magnolia Avenue for several years. Others from Bohol were regulars at the camp. Papa Jamero was the labor contractor and cook. Mama Jamero took care of the business needs of running the camp along with taking care of her growing family. They also raised various crops and had a twenty-acre grape vineyard for several years. All of their children attended and graduated from the elementary and high schools in Livingston. Most of them went on to obtain their college degrees as well.

Mama Jamero found time to be active in the local community. She was active in the Livingston Parent Teacher Association (PTA), the Livingston Chamber of Commerce, and in the development of the Livingston Community Health Clinic. She and Papa Jamero also instilled in their children the importance of knowing their Filipino heritage. Performances of Filipino folk dances were held at various school and community events for many years. They were proud to be Filipino Americans and content with their life in Livingston especially after the labor camp closed and their children were off living their own lives. One memorable and proud moment was when Mama Jamero was named the Grand Marshall of the Veteran's Day Parade in Livingston in 1970. Her family watched proudly as she waved from the convertible she rode in during the parade and when she gave a speech at the Memorial Park afterwards.

The property on Magnolia Avenue is still home to the Jamero Family. Currently, three of their children live on the property. Family gatherings continue to take place there as well. When the City of Livingston dedicated the "larger than life cut out figure" of Mama Jamero in May of 2021, family and friends gathered taking pride that she represented the contributions of Filipinos in the growth of the City of Livingston.

First Sikh Residents

The Samra Family were the first Sikhs to come to Livingston. In May of 1970, Sarwan Samra moved his family to Livingston from Samrai, Punjab, India where he was a humble farmer providing for his family. Sarwan Samra had heard stories about America and its opportunities from his cousin who lived in Lodi, California. He had a dream to come to America to provide a better life for his family.

Sarwan learned of opportunities in Livingston, California from an Indian woman from Winton, California. This woman went to Samrai in Punjab and told the village about the jobs at Foster Farms. With this opportunity, Sarwan packed up his family and moved them to Livingston.

The Samra family still resides in Livingston and plays an active role in the community and in the Peach Street Gurdwara Sikh temple. Gurpal Samra was Livingston's Mayor and served as a council member.

A city park was named in honor of Sarwan, too. The park was originally a storm water drainage basin and the city developed it into a small neighborhood park. Gurpal Samra, Sarwan's son and then-Mayor of Livingston, suggested the park be named "Singh Park" since it was down the street from the Sikh community's first gurdwara, or temple. Gurpal felt Singh would be an appropriate name for the park because it would apply to all Sikh males who carry the name Singh. Singh means "lion" in Sanskrit, and has become a surname for nearly all Sikh men in part as a rejection of caste-based privilege. Sikh women often have the middle name Kaur which means "princess" for the same purpose.

Today in Livingston, approximately 35% of the city's population is Sikh. The city has two temples in town: one on B Street and one on Peach Avenue. Livingston is also host to the annual processional or parade at the end of March attracting over 3,000 participants. People of all ages march in the parade, called a nagar kirtan, which typically draws some 2,500 people from as far away as Marysville and Bakersfield. The event marked Holla Mohalla, which translates as "mock fight." To that end, martial artists held demonstrations, whirling around with curved swords or other traditional weapons.

The parade starts at the Sikh temple on Peach Avenue and winds through the town until it reaches the Sikh temple on B Street. People come out of their homes and stand in their yards to watch. The events help people who are not part of the faith learn about Sikh beliefs.

Sikh: Someone who follows Sikhism, a religious philosophy that originated in the Punjab region of the Indian subcontinent. The religion developed and evolved in times of religious persecution and emphasizes honesty, selfless service, meditation, justice, and equality for all humankind

Working-Class Residents

Mexican workers have been a part of Livingston's history for a long time. Initially drawn to the San Joaquin Valley by railroad work, the community dwindled during the Great Depression when the US government sponsored a repatriation campaign to deport or coerce Mexican immigrants to voluntarily depart from the country.

However, a great number of Mexican immigrants returned to the US once again as agricultural guest workers in the 1940s. Through the U.S.-Mexico **Bracero Program**, Mexican men came to Livingston and the surrounding areas as migrant field hands during the harvest season. Many chose to stay in California making their homes in Southern California's Imperial Valley, but followed the harvest north for work.

By the 1940s, economic conditions in Livingston varied between working-class ethnic groups and established European-American families. At this time, Portuguese farmers had found prosperity in the dairy industry, reaching a higher economic status than Mexican workers, most of whom worked as laborers for Japanese and white growers.

LIVINGSTON SAYS TO U. S. BAR ALL IMMIGRANTS

(From Saturday's Daily.)

Livingston farm center last night went the anti-Orientalists one better when they declared themselves opposed to any sort of immigration to the United States.

It developed that if any relaxation is to be shown, Livingston would admit to America's shores people from the north of Europe only.

The discussion and vote came on as a result of the agitation of a resolution recommended by the Commonwealth Club of California.

Livingston would like to have a high school. A committee of five was named to look into the feasibility of establishing such an unit. The high school pupils from that area now come to Merced. The suggested sites for the school proposed are Livingston, Atwater and Arena.

Raisin Contract Endorsed.

The center went on record endorsing the resolution recently adopted by the directors of the county Farm Bureau which sanctioned the new contract gotten out by the California Associated Raisin Company.

The next meeting will be a social one, and will be held in the town hall.

Merced County Sun: March 11, 1921

Summary

While ordinary people do document their own histories, elite families who experience intergenerational wealth and land ownership often have the leisure time to assemble family genealogies, and preserve and pass down family photos. On the other hand, families that lack time, resources, geographical permanence, and connections face greater challenges in collecting, tracing, documenting, preserving, and promoting their own histories. Consequently, families like these are underrepresented in both the historical record and the local history's dominant narrative. To illustrate, this pattern repeats in the visibility of such families in public records. Homeowners pay taxes, and are thus in municipal and census records. Land and homeownership leaves a paper trail of records that could be used to write a history about people by future family members or academic researchers. But what happens when you don't own a home or property, have to switch jobs pretty often, and move regularly? Renters, migrant workers, and others have a harder time piercing the official record in the same ways they struggle to preserve their private stories.

Given whose records are most likely to end up preserved and archived, how do we find out more about the experiences of other people, such as the working-class or those without land ownership or intergenerational wealth? What do historians do to uncover their important stories?

Archival Research Activity

Working individually or in pairs, use the "How To" resources at the beginning of the unit to investigate primary sources on the South Asian American Digital Archive saada.org using the keyword "California." What do you notice in your findings? How do the primary sources relate to what you know about California generally and Livingston specifically?

Word Bank

Bracero Program: In 1917 and again in 1942, the United States and Mexico signed a series of agreements that allowed millions of Mexican men called Braceros, or manual laborers, to come to the United States to do temporary agricultural work. By 1964, 4.6 million contracts were signed, making the Bracero Program one of the largest United States contract labor programs in U.S. history. World War I and World War II created labor shortages in the United States, so Braceros filled this labor shortage by constructing railroads, doing agricultural work, and timber harvesting. The Program was supposed to create protections for Braceros by providing guaranteed pay, and adequate housing and food, but the vast majority of landowners and ranchers exploited the inexpensive labor provided by Braceros. This resulted in many Braceros being paid less than what was guaranteed, and living in unsafe housing eating moldy food.

Dust Bowl: In the 1930s, the Great Plains region of the United States experienced severe drought and dust storms that heavily damaged agricultural production and intensified the economic impacts of the Great Depression. The Dust Bowl left the region uninhabitable and more than 3.5 million Americans were left homeless. This displacement prompted migration to the western United States.

European-American: American citizen whose ancestors (parents and so on) were immigrants from the European continent, including but not limited to the countries of England, France, Germany, Italy, Portugal, Spain, and more.

Immigrant: A person living in a country other than that of their birth.

Pioneer: In the United States context, a pioneer is a person who migrated westward from the eastern states—Thirteen Colonies, usually—to settle in and develop areas of North America that were stewarded by Indigenous people. Settlement of what is currently known as the western United States was done forcefully, and often involved the annihilation of land, resources, and people to make way for residents.

Punjab region of the Indian subcontinent: A region in the northern part of the Indian subcontinent, comprising areas of eastern Pakistan and northern India. The boundaries of the region are not exact and rely on historical politics.

Immigration Act of 1965: From 1924 to 1965, United States immigration policy relied on the National Origins Formula to restrict immigration from some countries and allow immigration from other countries through a quota system. The quotas were intended to mirror nationalities represented in the U.S. census of 1890—the U.S. was overwhelmingly European-American in 1890, and Black people and Indigenous people were barred from being citizens at this time, so the quota system ultimately functioned to enable immigration by Europeans to the United States, and limit immigration by other ethnic groups. This had dramatic effects on people from Africa, East Asia, South Asia, and Southeast Asia. Because the United States relied on inexpensive labor from central and South America, immigration was not restricted in these regions.

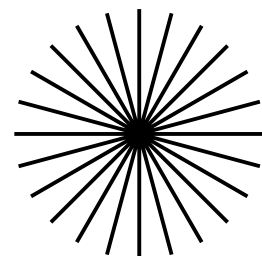
Sikh: Someone who follows Sikhism, a religious philosophy that originated in the Punjab region of the Indian subcontinent. The religion developed and evolved in times of religious persecution and emphasizes honesty, selfless service, meditation, justice, and equality for all humankind.

Southeast Asia: The geographical region south of China, southeast of the Indian subcontinent, and northwest of Australia. Includes the countries Brunei, Burma (Myanmar), Cambodia, Timor-Leste, Laos, Malaysia, the Philippines, Singapore, Thailand, and Vietnam.

Discussion Questions

1. On the topic about whose histories are preserved and whose histories aren't, think about why or why not your family's story could be recovered in the future. How many pictures of your family or birthday cards have you kept over the years? Though something like a family photo or birthday card might feel meaningless next to someone else's supervisor of the month award, it's still history! There's a growing movement of community archives that seek to preserve working-class people's stories, and through these archives, there's a lot to be learned about culture, immigration, labor, politics, and more that affect regular people's lived experiences. With this in mind, **why might it be important for you to preserve your family's history, and how would you do it?**

2. Is your family's story reflected in this guide? What is your family's story, and how might you learn more about it?



Unit 3: Industry & Labor

Learning Outcomes

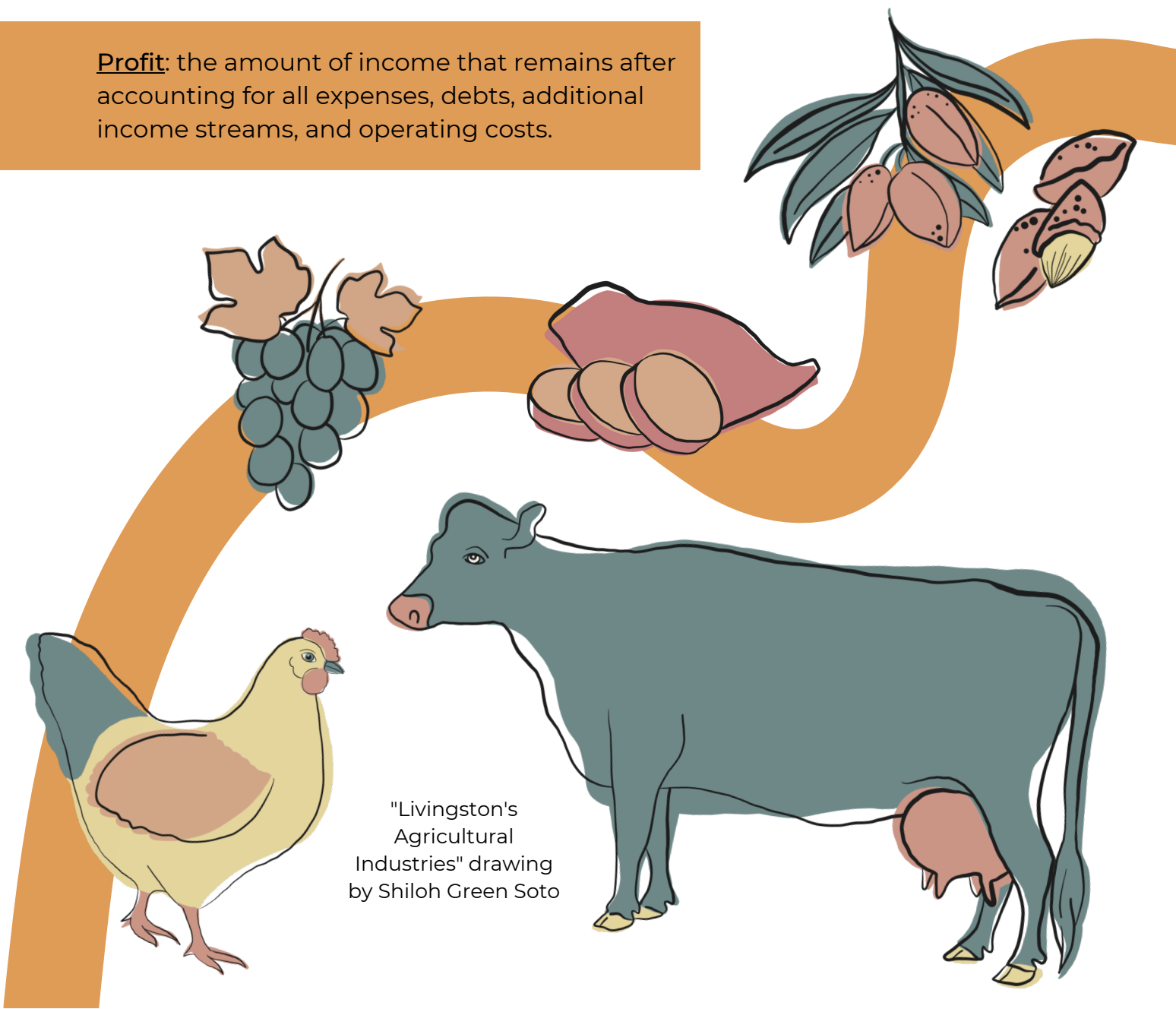
By the end of this unit, students should be able to:

1. Identify some of Livingston's main food exports and explain their presence in historical context as they relate to immigration, California economy, and labor history.
2. Identify and discuss the characteristics of large-scale corporate farming. What different types of impact does this kind of agriculture have on a community?

Introduction

This unit discusses the different agricultural products Livingston is most well-known for producing, and brings them together in a broader discussion about worker representation and company **profits**.

Profit: the amount of income that remains after accounting for all expenses, debts, additional income streams, and operating costs.



"Livingston's
Agricultural
Industries" drawing
by Shiloh Green Soto

Livingston's Main Food Exports

Arakelian Brothers

Since the 1860s, sweet potatoes had been a staple in Turlock and Atwater. By 1917, however, newcomers planned for Livingston to be the epicenter of California sweet potato production. The Arakelian brothers had previously led the state in melon production in Fresno and Imperial Valley. For over 50 years, the Arakelian family produced grapes and sweet potatoes in Livingston, but by the 1970s, transitioned to almonds. The family has led the Central Valley in almond production ever since as the Del Rio Nut Company. The Del Rio Nut Company has a revenue of \$9.5 million a year.

Revenue: the amount of income from the sale of goods or services

**Arakelian Brothers
Farm Livingston Land**

(From Wednesday's Daily.)

D. H. Arakelian of Turlock, representing Arakelian Bros. & Co., producers of the Mission Bell California cantaloupes, was a recent Merced visitor, and stated that his company plans to farm 1,700 acres in Merced and Stanislaus counties the coming season. A large tract of land in the Livingston vicinity will be planted, including 100 acres in cantaloupes, 300 acres in Thompson Seedless grapes and 800 acres in sweet potatoes. This will mean the employment of 800 men at the height of the harvest season.

Sun "Want Ads" get the business.

*Merced County Sun, Volume L,
Number 47, 5 January 1917*

HONEYBUNCH 25 LBS NET WEIGHT
BRAND

GROWN & PACKED BY
HARRY ARAKELIAN & SON

TURLOCK & LIVINGSTON
CALIFORNIA, U.S.A.

EXTRA CHOICE
GOLDEN
BLEACHED
CALIFORNIA
SEEDLESS RAISINS

Arakelian & Son, Harry. n.d. "Honeybunch." Lug and Can Label Collection. UC Davis Library, Archives and Special Collections.

WILL PLANT 1,000 ACRE TRACT TO 'SWEETS'

**Livingston to Have World's
Largest Field of Tubers;
Plan Community Service
Flag; Red Cross Benefit**

LIVINGSTON, March 16. — This spring the largest sweet potato farm in the world will be in the planting in the Livingston district. It will consist of 1,000 acres, and will be a part of the Robinson tract south of town under the direction of Arakelian Bros., who have engaged Owen Bros. of Atwater to take charge of the work. Arakelian Bros. will have over 100 acres of the tract in melons, about 300 in sweet potatoes, and the rest of the land will be sub-let to individuals, but the firm will furnish the seed and all that is necessary to carry out the big undertaking of farming so large a tract. Already the sweet potatoes are being put in the ground to be sprouted for plants. They will be ready for planting in the fore part of May, and hundreds of men will be employed in this work. It will require a large force of men from now till next fall working on the land to make this big farming enterprise a success.

Ranchers of the Jordan-Atwater and Whitmer districts are to plant trees for wind brakes next week. The willow and cottonwood are the chosen varieties for this purpose.

Livingston is to have a community service flag program on Sunday, April 7, for which the following committee on arrangements has been chosen: F. S. Farquahar, Mrs. W. T. White, Mrs. E. Olson, E. G. Adams, A. Court and John Groom.

A bonaparte for the Livingston Red Cross bazaar will be held in the Methodist church next Wednesday night.

The fourth burglary here in the past four weeks occurred last Sunday when the home of R. A. Hill was entered and \$100 worth of jewelry taken.

The Hunter Colony company has petitioned the county supervisors to annul the plat of the townsite of Arena, with the view of having the streets, alleys and roads abandoned with the exception of the main county road and the one running directly north from the highway to the school house and the east and west in front of it. The purpose is to throw the land thus platted back into acreage, which, if the petition be granted, will be taken over by M. M. Hunter, who will develop it into a productive farm.

The local branch of the W. C. T. U. held a meeting in the M. E. church Thursday afternoon, the first during the winter months. Miss Baker, one of the society's state lecturers of San Francisco, was here to speak on important temperance questions. An institute will be held in Turlock Tuesday, March 19, and one in Merced Friday, March 22. Delegates to both places will go from Livingston to these institutes.

Dr. K. Satow, a professor of the Imperial University, Tokyo, and Dr. K. Morimoto of the Imperial University, Tohoku, Japan, visited Livingston Monday and Tuesday.

M. Hanthara, the Japanese general consul of San Francisco, and Dr. Shebusawa visited the Livingston district Tuesday morning, and incidentally lectured for the benefit of the local Japanese.

E. G. Adams spent the week in the traveling conference of the farm advisers of the state, touring from Berkeley to Bakersfield. Mrs. Adams and children spent the same period visiting in Fresno.

*Merced County Sun:
Volume LII, Number 9,
22 March 1918*

Portuguese Pioneer Farmers & Sweet Potato Harvest, 1905



"Portuguese pioneer farmers celebrate an abundant sweet potato harvest, circa 1905" Courtesy of California State University, Stanislaus, Special Collections

Alvernaz and Viera Families

In the late 1800s, a number of Portuguese farmers immigrated from the Azores islands off the coast of Portugal to work on Livingston's sheep and cattle ranches. Two such families, the Alvernaz and Viera families of Livingston, led the town's sweet potato industry in the 1960s and 1970s after the Arakelian family transitioned to almond production. In 1963, a group of farmers founded the Livingston Sweet Potato Growers packing cooperative to streamline sweet potato production. A. V. Thomas Produce has an annual revenue of \$22 million.



Sweet Potato Storage. Livingston, CA, 1940. Courtesy of Special Collections, UC Davis Library

Max and Verda Foster

In 1939, Max and Verda Foster borrowed \$1,000 from their life insurance policy and bought a farm in Modesto where they raised turkeys. The back porch of the Foster house became Max's office, and the couple's first hatchery was built next to their bedroom so the eggs could receive regular care. Over the years, the couple moved their operations to Livingston where they worked on acquiring other companies and increasing their sales. Throughout the 1980s and 1990s, in particular, the company focused on acquiring similar companies and their factories, including dairy operations. Despite being a family-owned company, the company's revenue was \$2.5 billion in 2020 making them the largest chicken producer in the state.

In 1941, the Fosters began dairy production as Foster Farms Dairy, and today is the largest privately owned dairy in California. Between 2007-2012, Foster Farms Dairy acquired and rebranded as Crystal Creamery. In 2021, Crystal Creamery had a revenue of \$352 million annually.

Ernest & Julio Gallo

E & J Gallo Winery, originally founded in Modesto in 1933, is the largest family-owned winery in the United States. On the coattails of their father, Giuseppe "Joseph" Gallo, Sr., who was an immigrant from Fossano, Italy and bootleg winemaker during the Prohibition era, brothers Ernest and Julio Gallo grew grapes and sold them to home winemakers in the eastern states. At the end of Prohibition in 1933, the brothers incorporated their business and began making and selling wine professionally. Throughout the years, the company has focused on acquiring other grape producers and wineries. Despite the fact that E & J Gallo Winery is still family-owned, the company's revenue was \$5 billion in 2020.

While headquartered in Modesto, most of their grape growing operates out of Livingston, which relies on the hard labor of majority im/migrant workers and workers of color to pick and process the grapes. In the overwhelmingly hot Summer of 1973, the United Farm Workers contract with E & J Gallo Winery expired, and the company switched **union** contracts on behalf of the company's farmworkers from the United Farm Workers—representative since 1967—to the Teamsters. This was done without the consent of a democratic vote by workers. This "**sweetheart deal**" greatly benefited E & J Gallo Winery and the Teamsters, but functionally denied representation to Gallo's farmworkers, since Gallo and the Teamsters had a vested interest in their own benefit, and not the workers. A three-month labor strike ensued centered primarily on workers' right to a fair and democratic election about which **union** they wanted to represent them.

To fight back, the Gallo company, which owned and operated housing for many of the workers, attempted to evict farmworkers who lived in the labor camps. With nowhere else to go, workers remained in their homes. The Gallo company would periodically call on their friends at the Sheriff's department to arrest workers who protested the new contract. In a claim that strikers trespassed property—at their own workplace and homes, no less—60 farmworkers were put in jail and stayed there for almost 10 days. Many of the people incarcerated signed a pact to not post bail until all were released together.

Sweetheart Deal: a contractual agreement, usually worked out in secret, that greatly benefits some groups while disproportionately disadvantaging other groups

Chavez pickets are pulled out

COACHELLA, Calif. (AP) — After another day of violence in the grape war, Cesar Chavez pulled his United Farm Worker pickets out of the fields yesterday, saying that the Riverside County Sheriff's Department was not giving them adequate protection.

Meanwhile, the UFW began another strike yesterday at the Gallo vineyards in

Livingston, Calif. In April a three-year pact between the UFW and Gallo expired. Negotiations continued until Gallo informed the farm workers Monday that the new contract would be with the Teamsters Union.

In Coachella "the Teamsters are roving all over the countryside," said Chavez, "beating up even nonstrikers if they are Mexicans."

A UFW spokesman said the strikers will not return to the picket lines until Chavez has received a guarantee from the sheriff's department of better protection from Teamsters Union members. Chavez called Riverside County Sheriff Ben Clark to voice his displeasure, the spokesman said.

Clark issued a statement saying that Chavez was using the charge against the agency as a publicity tool to refocus public attention on the strike.

"New tactics are necessary in the strike this year. Mr. Chavez has decided the new tactic is to blame the sheriff," he said.

The pullout followed an incident early in the day, when two Teamsters charged through deputies' lines and knocked out Marshall Ganz, a strike leader, deputies said.

Eight people were arrested, six for violating a temporary restraining order that barred Teamsters from coming within 6 feet of the picket lines.

A Spanish-language television station, KMEX, requested in an editorial yesterday that the federal government send troops of the National Guard to Coachella to quell the violence.

The UFW strike began after a majority of the valley's table grape growers declined to renew their contracts with Chavez' union and signed with the Teamsters instead.

San Bernardino Sun, 27 June 1973

Gallo Bros. signs Teamsters contract

MODESTO, Calif. (AP) — The world's largest winery, Gallo Bros., signed a contract yesterday for field workers who had been represented by the United Farm Workers Union.

Gallo laborers voted 158-1 in favor of the contract which calls for \$2.76 an hour minimum pay compared to \$2.40 an hour under the expired UFW contract, said Jim Smith, area Teamsters supervisor.

"It proves to us that we know what the farm workers want and we're using realistic approaches in obtaining it," Smith said. "It should settle the question once and for all for the public that the Teamsters Union does represent field workers and not the paid protestors out on the line."

But UFW leader Cesar Chavez, who visited his union's pickets at Gallo's Livingston area ranches, called the pact an "unholy alliance."

The contract "is detrimental to the consumer and can be ruinous to the small grower," Chavez said. "It gives Gallo more price fixing control where he already has

an overwhelming control of the wine industry."

Chavez has been locked in a dispute with the Teamsters throughout California for farm worker representation since initial UFW contracts began expiring this spring. Several Coachella Valley table grape growers have signed contracts with the Teamsters.

Chavez threatened a court challenger to the Teamster representation petitions and a boycott of Gallo wines. He said he also may demand a federal antitrust investigation of the Modesto-based firm.

"I think this total control of shelf space is certainly grounds enough for an investigation of antitrust," Chavez said.

Gallo Vice President Robert Gallo answered that Chavez is "going to talk about everybody trying to squeeze him out, even the Nazis. That's up to the people to judge for themselves."

The contract's fringe benefits include 10 cents an hour for pensions, three days off for family funerals, medical coverage for workers and dependents, a \$1,000 life insurance policy and premium pay for night work.

15,000 Protesters March on Gallo Winery

By Paul Barnett

MODESTO - Farmworkers and United Farmworkers union supporters numbering 15,000 marched the last four miles of a week long walk to the Gallo winery Saturday in one of the largest demonstrations of UFW support ever to occur in California.

United Farmworkers Union President Cesar Chavez declared that he was willing to carry the boycott of Gallo wines on for eternity until the company allowed free elections for workers to decide between the UFW and the Teamsters union. He offered to post a million dollar bond with the help of several religious organizations to guarantee the boycott would be called off if the UFW lost such an election.

Ernest Gallo, in his first press conference, called the march "the most glaring indication that the boycott has failed."

"I think these people are well intentioned but misled," said Gallo. "There is no way this march can change anything."

It took about an hour for the one and a half mile long column of marchers to walk past the Gallo winery, the world's largest, as they chanted "let the workers vote" and

"elections now." A large banner hung on the side of the winery told marchers they had 73 more miles to march to Sacramento to ask for a farmworker election bill.

The march culminated a 110 mile walk from San Francisco, another

from Fresno, and a third from Stockton protesting the way in which Gallo signed union contracts with the Teamsters on July 10, 1973.

Farmworkers from as far as Yuma, Arizona were reinforced by 100 car

loads of Los Angeles trade unionists and 30 buses of UFW supporters from San Francisco.

The march was reminiscent of the 1966 farmworkers march which began with 35 workers in Delano and ended

with a rally of 10,000 on the steps of the capitol in Sacramento.

Saturday's march was followed by a rally in Graceada Park in Modesto where Chavez demanded, "Mr. Gallo, let our people go." He threatened Gallo with "the wrath of the heavens," and added "we will be here for an eternity if it takes that long."

Chavez referred to the intense publicity campaign waged this last week by Gallo, including an estimated \$50,000 worth of advertising in California newspapers denying that there is a strike of Gallo farmworkers.

"Gallo can spend a billion dollars," said Chavez, "but money can't make truth out of a lie. The workers have lost their rights to have representation and to approve their own contracts."

Chavez told the rally that the boycott was enjoying phenomenal success, and read from a list the number of liquor stores in each boycott area that have stopped selling Gallo wine. These include 150 in New York City, 30 in Baltimore, 70 in Houston, 375 in Washington, 250 in the San Francisco bay area, and 540 in Los Angeles.

Gallo disputed the boycott claims of Chavez, saying "his exaggerations

and total disregard for the truth indicate that he must be in a very bad situation." Gallo estimated that the Los Angeles boycott has affected only 100 to 200 stores.

"Gallo farmworkers are not only in the union of their choice," he said, "but they are the highest paid farmworkers in the Continental United States."

His company signed a contract with the Teamsters in the same manner as it had signed with the UFW in 1967, on the basis of union authorization cards. The Teamster cards, however, were not certified by the State Conciliation Service as the UFW cards had been because "it did not occur to us at the time."

Gallo said the UFW claim of 127 workers on strike was wrong, because only 72 of 199 permanent Gallo workers walked off the job, and all eventually went back to work.

He said the Teamster contract was ratified 150 to 1, when asked how this could be so when fewer workers than this were left after the walkout, Gallo stated that the company had hired permanent replacements for the 72 strikers, and that they had voted.

"The work has to continue," he said. "When they didn't come back to work we replaced them."

Gallo said he would be agreeable to a worker election if the UFW and the Teamsters could agree on how it should be conducted. He offered his office as a meeting place.

"We cannot unilaterally break our contract with the Teamsters," said Gallo, "or we would be subject of Teamster strikes, harassment, and law suit."

...continued on page 8...



CALIFORNIA

AGGIE

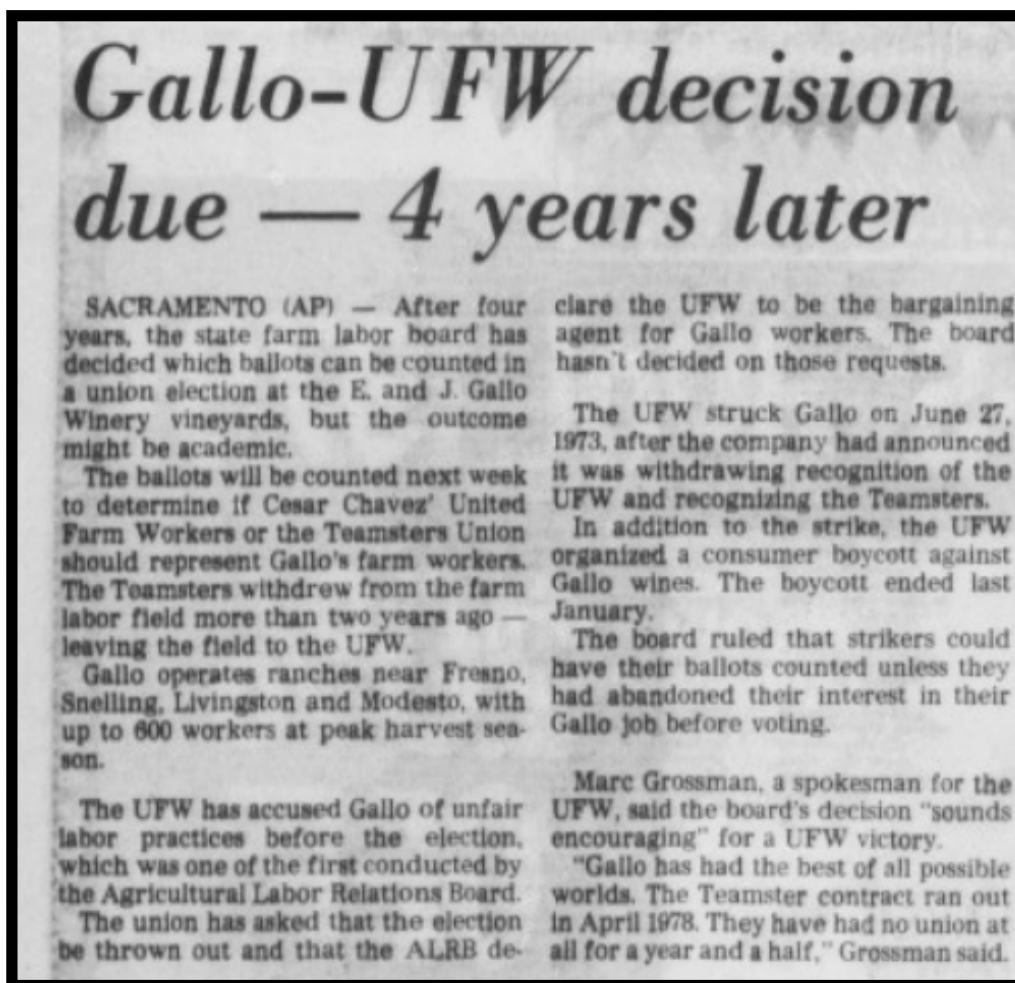
ucd volume 87 number number 40

university of california at davis

monday march 3, 1975

By September, the strikers pivoted to a United Farm Worker-led boycott of Gallo wine throughout California, hoping that by influencing Gallo's profit, the company might concede and give the workers the democratic election they demanded. After five years, the Gallo boycott ended in 1979 when the United Farm Workers won a string of union elections under California's new Agricultural Labor Relations Act—a state law that gives agricultural workers the right to select and join unions of their own choosing, so they may collectively bargain with their employers about grievances and needs.

It is often said by those in positions of power that people who want to unionize simply "don't want to work." On the contrary, the foundational reason for unionizing is that people do want to work, but they want to be treated with the same dignity and respect that every person innately deserves. The reason workers unionize is to come to an agreement with their employer about guaranteed pay and benefits such as a set number of work hours, for example. If employers treated workers right and paid them more than "poverty wages," workers wouldn't have to unionize in the first place. Thus, the reason people unionize is because many employers think they can fly under the radar not providing for the very people who carry the company on their backs.



San Bernardino Sun, 22 September 1979

Yamato Colony

The Yamato Colony residents originally grew peaches and grapes, but transitioned to almond production in the mid-1900s. By 1976, the majority of the Yamato Colony farmland was used for almond orchards.

When the community learned they'd be incarcerated out-of-state during WWII, Yamato farmers organized the Livingston Farmers Association with a manager to watch over their land with the intention that they would reclaim their property when they returned home. After incarceration ended in 1945, prisoners from the Yamato and Cortez colonies returned to run-down houses and untended vines and orchards. As a quick solution, residents turned to sweet potatoes as a cash crop to rebuild their communities. Today, the Livingston Farmers Association's **revenue** is \$5.82 million a year.

Summary

Livingston is most well-known for producing sweet potatoes, but the town also produces poultry, almonds, grapes, and dairy. Over the course of the town's history, a number of communities have participated in each of these industries, some outshining others for long periods of time.

Archival Research Activity

Working individually or in pairs, use the "How To" resources at the beginning of the unit to investigate primary sources on the California Digital Newspaper Collection at cdnc.ucr.edu using the keyword "farmworker." What do you notice in your findings? How do the primary sources relate to what you know about California generally and Livingston specifically?

Word Bank

Profit: the amount of income that remains after accounting for all expenses, debts, additional income streams, and operating costs.

Revenue: the amount of income from the sale of goods or services

Sweetheart Deal: a contractual agreement, usually worked out in secret, that greatly benefits some groups while disproportionately disadvantaging other groups

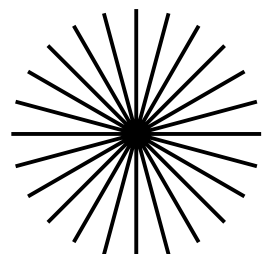
Union: a club, society, or association formed by people with a common interest or purpose, such as a labor union

Unionize: the process of organizing people with a common interest into a union

Discussion Questions

1. It is often the case that the founder of a company receives a lot of praise for financial success, but in reality it's physically impossible for one or two people to handle the physical demands of farming hundreds or thousands of acres. Who is doing the labor to make these companies so profitable, and why do you think they're often not mentioned?

2. What kind of conditions might drive workers to form a labor union?



Unit 4: Japanese Incarceration

Learning Outcomes

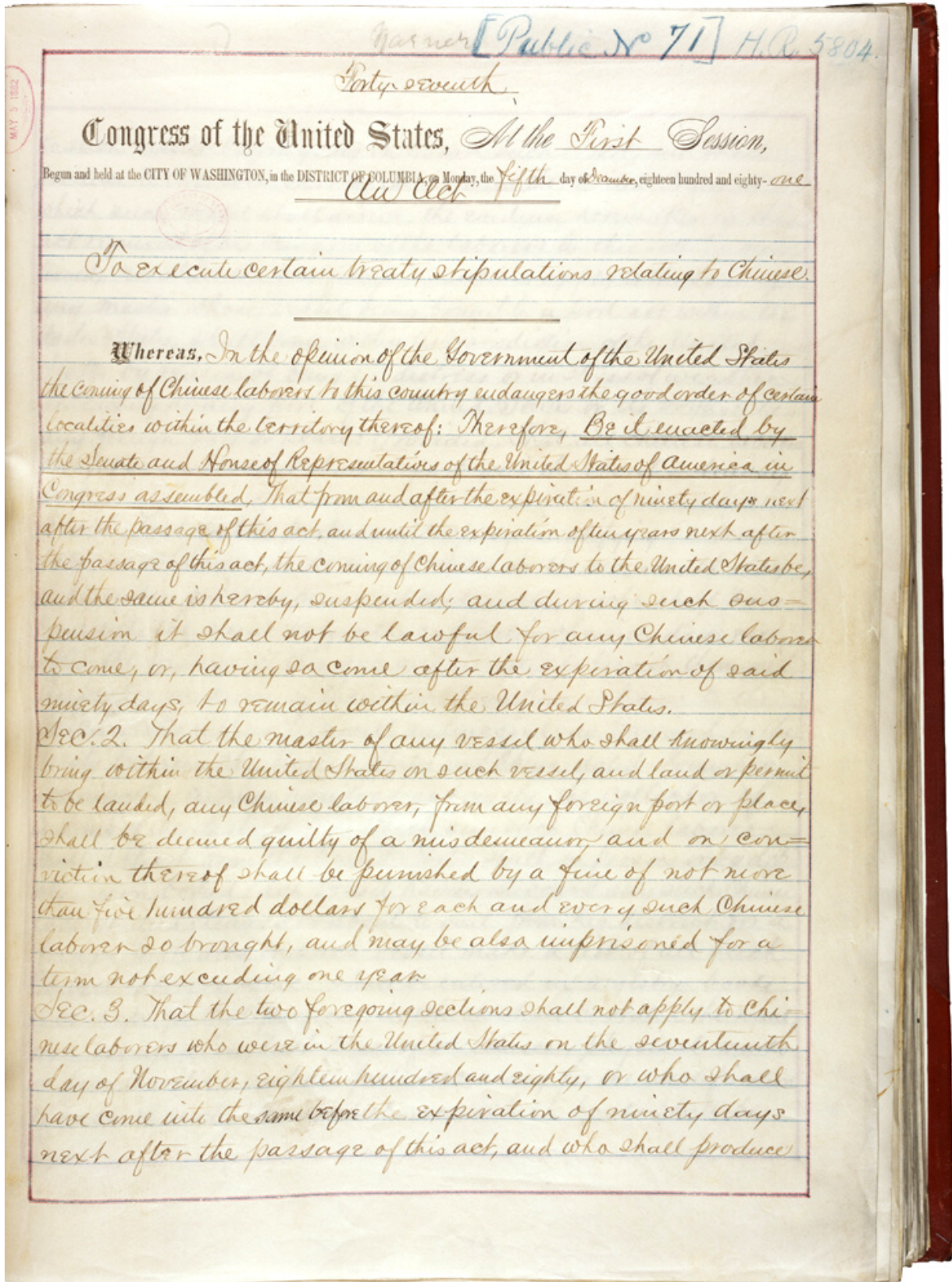
1. Articulate the ways in which the treatment of Asian immigrants and Asian Americans in Livingston has a complex history: it has been possible for European-Americans to both "tolerate" some Asian people, while simultaneously organizing to discriminate against other Asian people.
2. Understand the mechanisms by which labor and economics came to be a foundational factor in anti-Asian laws and legislation.
3. Describe the ways in which State and Federal Government justified the forced relocation and incarceration of Japanese Americans during World War II.

History of Anti-Asian Sentiment

This unit discusses the United States' long history of anti-Asian sentiment as the historical context for Japanese incarceration during World War II. The modern history of anti-Asian sentiment goes back to at least the 1800s when the United States West was being settled primarily by European-American men. At that time, a large number of Chinese men had come to the United States in response to the need for inexpensive labor, particularly for the construction of the Transatlantic Railroad. After the onset of the California Gold Rush, only a few hundred Chinese people lived in California, but by the 1850s, immigration from China accelerated with 20,000 people arriving in 1852 alone. And by the early 1900s, more than 100,000 immigrants from Japan arrived in the United States. Many European-Americans' belief in the supremacy of whiteness and fears of economic competition fueled hostility against specifically Asian workers.

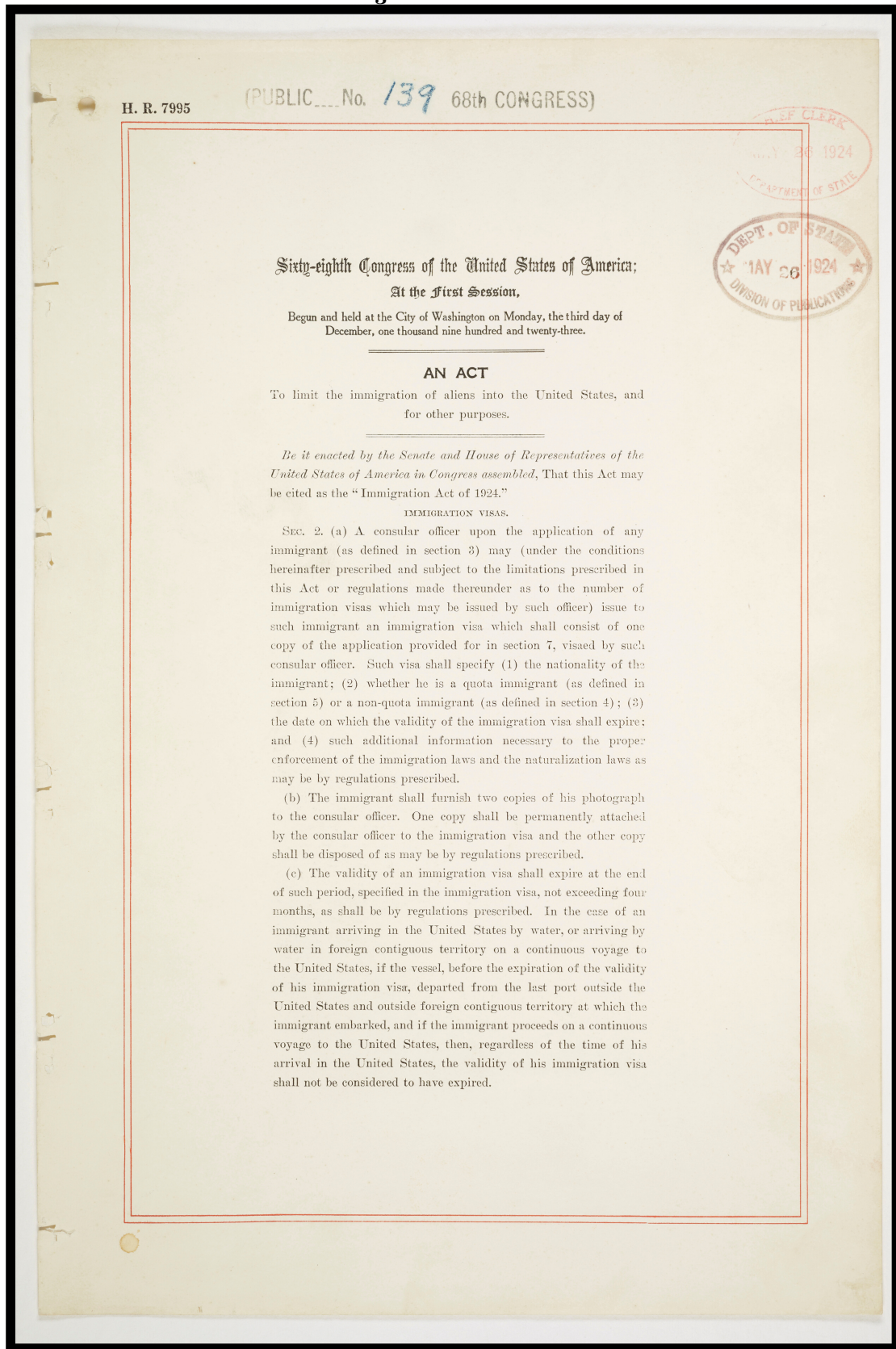
As a result of this hostility, a number of immigration laws in the late 1800s functioned to deny Asian people citizenship and other civil, social, and economic rights. The **Chinese Exclusion Act of 1882** prioritized the immigration of Chinese merchants, scholars, and diplomats, but prohibited immigration of all Chinese low-wage laborers. In 1907, President Theodore Roosevelt negotiated a Gentlemen's Agreement between the United States and Japan to limit emigration of Japanese men to U.S. shores. By the **Immigration Act of 1924**—comprised of the Asian Exclusion and National Origins Acts—emigration from all of Asia was prevented and the Act set quotas on the number of immigrants from the Eastern hemisphere, but not northern Europe. Each country in the Eastern hemisphere was given a set number of people who could immigrate to the United States, and these quotas were based on the foreign-born population recorded in the United States' 1890 census. The United States' foreign-born population on the 1890 census was majority northern European, so the Act effectively denied anyone who wasn't northern European from immigrating to the U.S.

Chinese Exclusion Act of 1882



Chinese Exclusion Act of 1882: "An act to execute certain treaty stipulations relating to the Chinese," May 6, 1882; Enrolled Acts and Resolutions of Congress, 1789-1996; General Records of the United States Government; Record Group 11; National Archives.

Immigration Act of 1924



Immigration Act of 1924: "An Act of May 26, 1924, Public Law 68-139, 43 STAT 153, to Limit Immigration of Aliens into the United States and for Other Purposes;" 5/26/1924; Enrolled Acts and Resolutions of Congress, 1789-2011; General Records of the United States Government, Record Group 11; National Archives Building, Washington, DC.

Livingston Tells Japanese They Are Not Wanted There

Probably nowhere in California is the anti-Japanese feeling running so high as it is in Livingston, where signs have been posted at both entrances of the town, warning the Japanese that they are not wanted there. The signs, painted in conspicuous letters, read: "No more Japanese wanted here."

A large percentage of the school students in Livingston are Japanese. Nineteen Japanese girls, who graduated from the Livingston grammar school and who now live in the town, are attending high school in Merced, going to and from school in an automobile bus with the white students, whose number barely exceeds 25.



(Left): *Sacramento Daily Union*: January 26, 1920; (Right): *Modesto Bee*

"No More Japanese Wanted Here" sign installed by the Merced County Anti-Japanese Association in 1920.

Asian farmers, and South Asian farmers in particular, who immigrated to the United States before the 1924 Immigration Act were, in turn, confronted with discriminatory restrictions on land use. The [California Alien Land Law of 1913](#) prevented Asian farmers from purchasing land or leasing it for more than three years. This [de jure](#) discrimination—by legal right—against Asian farmers and laborers, however, was not the only sort of violence they faced. [De facto](#) discrimination—by effect, regardless of law—against Japanese laborers often looked like vigilante violence, robberies, and forced deportations by masked white men. Just one example of this violence is the 1921 Turlock Incident which began with the expulsion of ten Japanese laborers from Livingston on July 13. And on July 20, armed white men abducted fifty-eight Japanese laborers from cantaloupe ranch bunkhouses and deported them from Turlock on trucks, unloaded them at Keyes, and warned them to never return. Interestingly enough, pro-[eugenics](#) politicians frowned upon this vigilante violence because they worried it might discredit the *de jure* violence of the anti-Japanese movement. Beyond the Turlock Incident, mixed Punjabi-Mexican families in and around Livingston experienced multi-layered discrimination because of their mixed racial status, as well as broad European-American hatred of immigrants.

Allied with other nativists who had long opposed Southern- and Eastern-European immigration, the anti-Japanese exclusionists carried their campaign to the national level. Later Alien Land laws in a number of states prevented the lease or purchase of land by any corporation in which specifically Japanese people held a majority of the stock. They also abolished the ability of non-citizens to purchase land under their American-born children's names.

JAPANESE DRIVEN OUT OF TURLOCK

Turlock, July 20.—Two hundred Japanese fruit workers and cantaloupe pickers were expelled from Turlock and vicinity early today by a crowd of white men, estimated to number 300, and believed to be members of the Fruit and Melon Pickers' Union.

Action came about 2 o'clock after a meeting of the union when the alleged underbidding of the white labor by the Japanese had been arraigned by members of the union.

Visiting all the lodging and bunkhouses occupied by the Japanese, the white visitors told the Orientals to put on their clothes, pack their blankets, and get out.

Those with wives were given until 9 o'clock this morning to make their departure.

After cleaning out the Japanese bunkhouses in Turlock, the white workers divided into groups and visited the bunkhouses on all the cantaloupe farms in this vicinity, serving the same summons.

In a short time, motor trucks carrying Japanese and their belongings were going down the highways in all directions. The exodus was continuing today.

City Marshal A. M. Stall stated that threats had been made to the

Documenting the
1921 Turlock Incident

(Left): Marysville Daily Appeal:
July 21, 1921

(Middle): Madera Mercury:
January 21, 1920

(Right): Merced Sun-Star:
January 29, 1920

ANTI-JAP PLAN IS STARTED

Merced, Jan. 20.—A mass meeting for the purpose of completing the organization of the recently-formed Merced County Anti-Japanese Association and to sign up new members, will be held in Merced on Saturday afternoon. J. M. Inman, of Sacramento, president of the California Oriental Exclusion League, will be a speaker.

The town of Livingston will soon have a large sign at each end of its boundary on the state highway, reading "No More Japanese Wanted Here." Decision to erect the signs was reached at a meeting of prominent citizens last night. The Livingston stores will close Saturday during the time the mass meeting is in progress here.

Livingston, Jan. 20.—Feeling against incoming Japanese as a result of continued land sales to Japanese is becoming intense in the Livingston district. At a meeting of business men and farmers Monday afternoon decision was made to erect large painted signs at either highway and railroad entrance to Livingston reading: "No More Japanese Wanted Here." A committee was appointed to erect the signs and lost no time in getting to work.

Another committee was appointed to get into action at once to prevent the sale of forty acres two miles south of town to Japanese. Negotiations for this sale were said to be pending.

Everyone present was constituted a committee to call on a local real estate man who is said to be working on Japanese land deals and to make it plain to him that the people of Livingston want him to quit this line of business. A mass meeting will be held next Tuesday night here to acquaint everyone in the district with the menace.

HUNDREDS ATTEND ANTI-JAP MEETING

A crowd estimated at 700 or 800 people, representing every section of Merced county, attended the mass meeting called by the Merced County Anti-Japanese Association here last Saturday. James F. Kelly presided at the meeting and State Senator J. M. Inman of Sacramento was the principal speaker. Senator Inman, who is president of the California Oriental Exclusion League, and who has been fighting for several years the increase of Japanese in California, declared that the signs erected at Livingston reading "No More Japanese Wanted Here," should be copied and placed over the Golden Gate in letters so large that the Japanese could see them all the way to the Hawaiian Islands.

The Senator read parts of a recent editorial from the Christian Science Monitor on the strong stand taken by Premier Hughes of Australia against the admission of Japanese there, and commenting upon and conceding for the sake of argument the claims of the Japanese of racial equality—or even racial superiority, said: "We are willing to admit that they are just as good as we are. And for the sake of argument we will say that they are a little better—in Japan. No matter how good the Japanese as a people may be, WE DON'T WANT THEM IN AMERICA."

The American, said Senator Inman, needs a good jar to wake him up. It was evident to him, he added, that the people of this county had received such a jar, and he expressed the wish that the whole state of California might be similarly awakened to the Japanese menace.

Inman scored the stand of Governor William D. Stephens in refusing to call a special session of the legislature to exclude Orientals, and pointed out that an initiative measure is already being circulated and will be upon the ballot next November to provide for such exclusion.

James E. Kelly, chairman of the meeting, outlined in his opening remarks the history of the Japanese question in the state, briefly gave the history and provisions of the anti-alien land law of 1913, and expressed the opinion that the law was more efficient to deal with the situation than has generally been supposed, but that it has been systematically evaded, and emphasized the great increase of late in activities for acquiring lands here by Japanese, and expressed the opinion that some leak from the peace conference had put Japan in possession of information which made such activities highly important from her point of view.

Terry W. Ward of Merced briefly addressed the meeting.

Senator Inman was accompanied by H. T. Rasmussen, state organizer for the Oriental Exclusion League, whose work consists in lining up communities preparatory to the formation of branches of the league, and who recently organized a branch in Modesto.

During the speaking enrollment papers were circulated among the crowd and practically everybody who could be reached was enrolled as a member of the local organization.

The meeting was characterized by much interest and enthusiasm, which manifested themselves in the close attention paid to the speakers' remarks and frequent cheers at the points they made.

Pearl Harbor & Executive Order 9066

The diplomatic relationship between Japan and the United States in the global scene had been eroding for some time. Japan was concerned about American territorial and military expansion into the Pacific since at least the 1890s. Japan also felt the U.S. colonization of Hawaii and the Philippines was too close to Japan's sphere of influence. At the time, Japan was an imperial power, defined by its efforts to claim nearby countries either through formal annexation or military and cultural influence. While the U.S. and Japan were technically friendly, both countries experienced an almost complete mistrust of the other. In fact, the U.S. had been developing possible routes for imprisonment of people of Japanese descent since at least the 1920s.

For years, animosity over trade and influence built up between the United States and Japan, and it became apparent to the Japanese military that a preemptive strike against the United States might prevent the U.S. Pacific Fleet from interfering with Japan's planned military actions in Southeast Asia. What would come to be known as the attack on Pearl Harbor on December 7, 1941 involved multiple strikes by the Imperial Japanese military at the U.S. military base on Oahu, Hawaii. Just two months later in February of 1942, President Franklin Delano Roosevelt issued Executive Order 9066 that resulted in the imprisonment of about 75,000 Japanese Americans and 45,000 Japanese citizens. The order deemed the West Coast an official military zone, and authorized the Secretary of War to forcefully remove all people assumed to be a threat from the zone to inland incarceration camps.

Prior to incarceration, the attitudes of European-Americans toward the *Issei* and *Nisei* along the West Coast, including Livingston, transitioned from sympathy to reluctance and then to stereotyping and xenophobic hostility. In 1942, the *Turlock Journal* included an editorial titled "Hatred vs. Love" which warned readers that "no matter how much we admire certain Japanese qualities or certain Japanese as individuals...these traits of respect on our part will not stop the Japanese from bombing our cities and killing our citizens, and, if they can, making actual slaves out of us." The column demonstrated the growth of racial fears which did not have basis in any actual threat.

Many European-Americans felt threatened by just how successful Japanese farmers were. By 1920, Japanese immigrant farmers controlled over 450,000 acres of agricultural land in California and produced 10% of the state's crop revenue. Racial fears over Japanese success exhibited the insecurities many European-Americans felt in relation to their assumed entitlement to achievement.

Executive Order 9066, 1942

EXECUTIVE ORDER

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AUTHORIZING THE SECRETARY OF WAR TO PRESCRIBE MILITARY AREAS

WHEREAS the successful prosecution of the war requires every possible protection against espionage and against sabotage to national-defense material, national-defense premises, and national-defense utilities as defined in Section 4, Act of April 20, 1918, 40 Stat. 533, as amended by the Act of November 30, 1940, 54 Stat. 1220, and the Act of August 21, 1941, 55 Stat. 655 (U. S. C., Title 50, Sec. 104):

NOW, THEREFORE, by virtue of the authority vested in me as President of the United States, and Commander in Chief of the Army and Navy, I hereby authorize and direct the Secretary of War, and the Military Commanders whom he may from time to time designate, whenever he or any designated Commander deems such action necessary or desirable, to prescribe military areas in such places and of such extent as he or the appropriate Military Commander may determine, from which any or all persons may be excluded, and with respect to which, the right of any person to enter, remain in, or leave shall be subject to whatever restrictions the Secretary of War or the appropriate Military

Executive Order 9066, February 19, 1942; General Records of the United States Government; Record Group 11; National Archives.

**INSTRUCTIONS
TO ALL PERSONS OF
JAPANESE
ANCESTRY**

Living in the Following Area:

All that portion of the City of Los Angeles, State of California, lying generally south of an east-west line beginning at the point at which Jackson Street meets Elliott Bay; thence easterly along Jackson Street to Fifth Avenue; thence southerly on Fifth Avenue to Dearborn Street; thence easterly on Dearborn Street to Twenty-third Avenue; thence northerly on Twenty-third Avenue to Yester Way; thence easterly on Yester Way.

Pursuant to the provisions of Civilian Exclusion Order No. 18, this Headquarters, dated April 24, 1942, all persons of Japanese ancestry, both alien and non-alien, will be evacuated from the above area by 12 o'clock noon, P. W. T., Friday, May 1, 1942.

No Japanese person living in the above area will be permitted to change residence after 12 o'clock noon, P. W. T., Friday, April 24, 1942, without obtaining special permission from the representative of the Commanding General, Northwestern Sector, at the Civil Control Station located at:

Such permits will only be granted for the purpose of uniting members of a family, or in cases of grave emergency. The Civil Control Station is equipped to assist the Japanese population affected by this evacuation in the following ways:

1. Give advice and instructions on the evacuation.
2. Provide services with respect to the management, leasing, sale, storage or other disposition of most kinds of property, such as real estate, business and professional equipment, household goods, boats, automobiles and livestock.
3. Provide temporary residence elsewhere for all Japanese in family groups.
4. Transport persons and a limited amount of clothing and equipment to their new residence.

The Following Instructions Must Be Observed:

1. A responsible member of each family, preferably the head of the family, or the person in whose name most of the property is held, and each individual living alone, will report to the Civil Control Station to receive further instructions. This must be done between 8:00 A. M. and 5:00 P. M. on Saturday, April 25, 1942, or between 8:00 A. M. and 5:00 P. M. on Sunday, April 26, 1942.

2. Evacuees must carry with them on departure for the Assembly Center, the following property:

- (a) Bedding and linens (no mattress) for each member of the family;
- (b) Toilet articles for each member of the family;
- (c) Extra clothing for each member of the family;
- (d) Sufficient knives, forks, spoons, plates, bowls and cups for each member of the family;
- (e) Essential personal effects for each member of the family.

All items carried will be securely packaged, tied and plainly marked with the name of the owner and numbered in accordance with instructions obtained at the Civil Control Station.

The size and number of packages is limited to that which can be carried by the individual or family group.

3. No type of any kind will be permitted.

4. The United States Government through its agencies will provide for the storage at the sole risk of the owner of the more substantial household items, such as iceboxes, washing machines, pianos and other heavy furniture. Cooking utensils and other small items will be accepted for storage if crated, packed and plainly marked with the name and address of the owner. Only one name and address will be used by a given family.

5. Each family, and individual living alone, will be furnished transportation to the Assembly Center or will be authorized to travel by private automobile in a supervised group. All instructions pertaining to the movement will be obtained at the Civil Control Station.

Go to the Civil Control Station between the hours of 8:00 A. M. and 5:00 P. M., Saturday, April 25, 1942, or between the hours of 8:00 A. M. and 5:00 P. M., Sunday, April 26, 1942, to receive further instructions.

J. L. DeWITT
Lieutenant General, U. S. Army
Commanding

NOTICE

Headquarters Western Defense Command and Fourth Army

Presidio of San Francisco, California

May 5, 1942

Civilian Exclusion Order No. 41

1. Pursuant to the provisions of Public Proclamations Nos. 1 and 2, this Headquarters, dated March 2, 1942, and March 16, 1942, respectively, it is hereby ordered that from and after 12 o'clock noon, P. W. T., of Monday, May 11, 1942, all persons of Japanese ancestry, both alien and non-alien, be excluded from that portion of Military Area No. 1 described as follows:

All of that portion of the City and County of San Francisco, State of California, within that boundary beginning at the intersection of Presidio Avenue and Sutter Street; thence easterly on Sutter Street to Van Ness Avenue; thence southerly on Van Ness Avenue to O'Farrell Street; thence westerly on O'Farrell Street to St. Joseph's Avenue (Calvary Cemetery); thence northerly on St. Joseph's Avenue to Geary Street; thence westerly on Geary Street to Presidio Avenue; thence northerly on Presidio Avenue to the point of beginning.

2. A responsible member of each family, and each individual living alone, in the above described area will report between the hours of 8:00 A. M. and 5:00 P. M., Wednesday, May 6, 1942, or during the same hours on Thursday, May 7, 1942, to the Civil Control Station located at:

1530 Buchanan Street,
San Francisco, California.

3. Any person subject to this order who fails to comply with any of its provisions or with the provisions of published instructions pertaining hereto or who is found in the above area after 12 o'clock noon, P. W. T., of Monday, May 11, 1942, will be liable to the criminal penalties provided by Public Law No. 503, 77th Congress, approved March 21, 1942, entitled "An Act to Provide a Penalty for Violation of Restrictions or Orders with Respect to Persons Entering, Remaining in, Leaving or Committing Any Act in Military Areas or Zones," and alien Japanese will be subject to immediate apprehension and internment.

4. All persons within the bounds of an established Assembly Center pursuant to instructions from this Headquarters are excepted from the provisions of this order while those persons are in such Assembly Center.

J. L. DeWITT
Lieutenant General, U. S. Army
Commanding



Through race-based curfews, and voluntary and forced removal, people of Japanese descent were forcibly imprisoned by the United States government. Unless they were able to make arrangements for care of their property within a few days, the homes, farms, businesses, and most of Japanese Americans' private belongings were lost forever. Many European-Americans on the West Coast based their prejudice against Japanese Americans solely on the notion of a shared Japanese ancestry, and many others were supportive of incarceration because it meant an opportunity to take over the thriving farms and businesses that had once been owned by Japanese Americans. Yet in the Yamato and Cortez Colonies, Japanese American families were able to negotiate a financial arrangement that provided supervision of their farms during incarceration. Showing the kind of community support that is possible in small towns, families from around Livingston worked hard to protect Japanese family farms. The three Japanese American cooperative associations—the Cortez Growers Association, the Livingston Fruit Growers Exchange, and the Livingston Fruit Growers—allowed the Issei and Nisei to maintain economic stability and have homes to return to at the end of the war.

Merced Assembly Center

From March to August 1942, about 120,000 people were sent to "assembly centers"—often racetracks or fairgrounds—where they were held until their place at a long-term "relocation center" was determined. Nearly 70,000 prisoners were American citizens, and many more people of Japanese ancestry were sent from Alaska, Canada, the Dominican Republic, Haiti, and Latin America to U.S. incarceration camps.

In the San Joaquin Valley, Japanese people and their American-born children—residents of Ballico, Cortez, Cressey, Delhi, Livingston, and Winton—were forced to report to the Merced assembly center in May of 1942. The Merced Assembly Center was divided into wards, each of which housed about 500 people in eighteen to twenty barracks. Each ward contained a recreation building, dining area, communal toilets and showers, and a laundry building. A hospital, store, police department, and post office were placed in the middle of the assembly center. Prisoners slept on army cots, and the communal toilets and showers didn't have privacy partitions. Eventually, families partitioned living areas with blankets, planted gardens, began a Merced Assembly Center-specific newspaper called *The Mercedian*, and organized talent shows, athletic events, and dances. Many prisoners were able to find jobs with monthly salaries ranging from \$8 to \$16. This pay contrasted sharply with the rising wages in defense industries and the high profits realized by farmers during the wartime economic boom. While prisoners worked to make the best of their circumstances, there's no doubt that the physical restrictions and surveillance of incarceration led to poor morale for most.

LIGHTS OUT! CANDLES, TOO!

"Be prepared for black-outs" says Chief of Police W.H. Beckman. When a series of short toots for an interval of two minutes emanates from the Merced city siren, it is the indication of an official city-wide and center-wide blackout.

At this time the main switch of the Center will be pulled and the entire camp darkened. All residents must extinguish their lights, candles and any other source of light. Any person caught out strolling when the signal begins must go into the nearest building or barracks for shelter.

When the siren toots begin, the Center police and the Military police will make a check-up and then they, too, will take shelter. As soon as the lights go on again, it will mean that the blackout is officially over.

...V—

NO TALKING PLEASE

Residents of the Center are asked not to converse with sentries posted in the towers. Army regulations forbid guards on duty to talk unless executing orders.

Four more barbed wires will be nailed to the posts to prevent small children from crawling through, according to Dean Miller, center manager. Persons are also asked not to walk in the narrow spaces between the barracks and the fence due to the hazards involved.

...V—

DRAFT NEWS

Those receiving selective service questionnaires are asked to fill them out with the aid of their ward representatives.

They are to be notarized at the Administration Building. The Center officials will mail the checks to the proper authorities.

TEN COMMANDMENTS

1. DON'T go over the fence.
2. DON'T speak to fire watchmen or sentries.
3. DON'T gamble. Any kind of games involving any money is considered gambling. If arrested, you will be prosecuted to the full extent of the California State Gambling Law.
4. DON'T enter the grandstand except during the official games. No smoking. Keep off the green.
5. DON'T go on the other side of the former fence after the grandstand is lighted in the evening.
6. DON'T walk on the street; use sidewalk.
7. DON'T play on center square on Sunday between 8 a.m. and 4 p.m.
8. DON'T disturb your neighbors after 10 p.m. Be quiet. WE DON'T WANT A CURFEW!
9. DON'T use any vacant apartments for anything except with official permission.
10. DON'T scatter paper or rubbish around. Cleanliness and sanitation is for your own good.

...V—

ELECTRICIANS FUSE, PLEASE!

Recently there has been too many fuse blow-outs with electric irons, stoves, and heaters overloading the lines. Due to the dangers of fire caused by the overloaded powerlines. Electricians Fred Hashimoto, Franklin Okada and Rudio Sako request that not more than one appliance be used at one time. They also request the users to try to cooperate with their neighbors as to the time of usage. If any electrical trouble should occur, report at once to the local Information Office or to the Police.

...V—

BETTER HOMES SOON

Furniture made by the Center carpenters will be distributed to every unit as soon as they are completed. One table and 2 benches each are now being issued.

Making of screen doors, dressers and shelves will soon be underway. Furniture for the Recreation department will also be built. Remodelling of the mess halls was completed Thursday.

VISITING RULES FOR FRIENDS

A visiting room has been constructed at the west end of the administration building. The following regulations will govern visitors:

Visiting hrs.--8 a.m.-5p.m.

1. All visitors must report to the information official at the administration office, and enter their name and the name of the person or persons they wish to see in a permanent record. This official will then refer them to the reception room where the interview may be completed.

2. The information official will give them a note to the information clerk, who is situated in the reception room, au-

thorizing the interview.

3. The information official will make the necessary arrangements for notifying the Japanese resident or residents that a visitor or visitors are in the reception room.

4. The time the visitor or visitors report in and out shall be a matter of record, and shall be entered by the information official in his daily record of such visits.

5. Visitors, cars and trucks will not be allowed to go into the center, unless accompanied by a member of the administrative staff and the visit authorized by one Center Manager, or his authorized representative, or by the authority of an official pass issued by the Center Manager.

Merced Assembly Center, 1942



FIGURE 16-d—MERCED ASSEMBLY CENTER

Aerial view of Merced Assembly Center, California, c. 1942. Courtesy of Densho

Amache Concentration Camp

By August and September 1942, most prisoners were sent by way of the Merced Santa Fe train on a two-day voyage to the Granada Relocation Camp, also known as the Amache incarceration camp, in Colorado. Organization of Amache was relatively similar to the Merced Assembly Center. About half of the Amache prisoners were from Los Angeles, while the other half were from the San Francisco Bay Area and the rural areas of California's Central Valley.

In 1943, army officers administered a questionnaire designed to determine the background and loyalties of Japanese prisoners over the age of seventeen. People who had been uprooted from their homes, businesses, and communities, and many who were denied naturalization, were suddenly expected to declare allegiance to the United States. This involved denying loyalty to any other country, as well as affirming a willingness to serve in the military—for the country that had imprisoned them. Many felt coerced to serve in the military. In fact, over 33,000 Japanese Americans fought in World War II.

By 1945, 35,000 Japanese Americans resettled outside the Western Defense Zone for work and education, but many returned to the West Coast.

Images courtesy of the
Livingston Historical Museum



WAITING FOR THE TRAIN TO
AMACHE, COLORADO



AMACHE RELOCATION CENTER
Granada, Colorado 8/43 - 11/45



BILL YOSHINO ON CATERPILLER
WITH ED OHKI STABILIZING PLOW.
DOING MAINTENANCE CREW WORK.

AMACHE MAINTENANCE CREW

A Note on Language

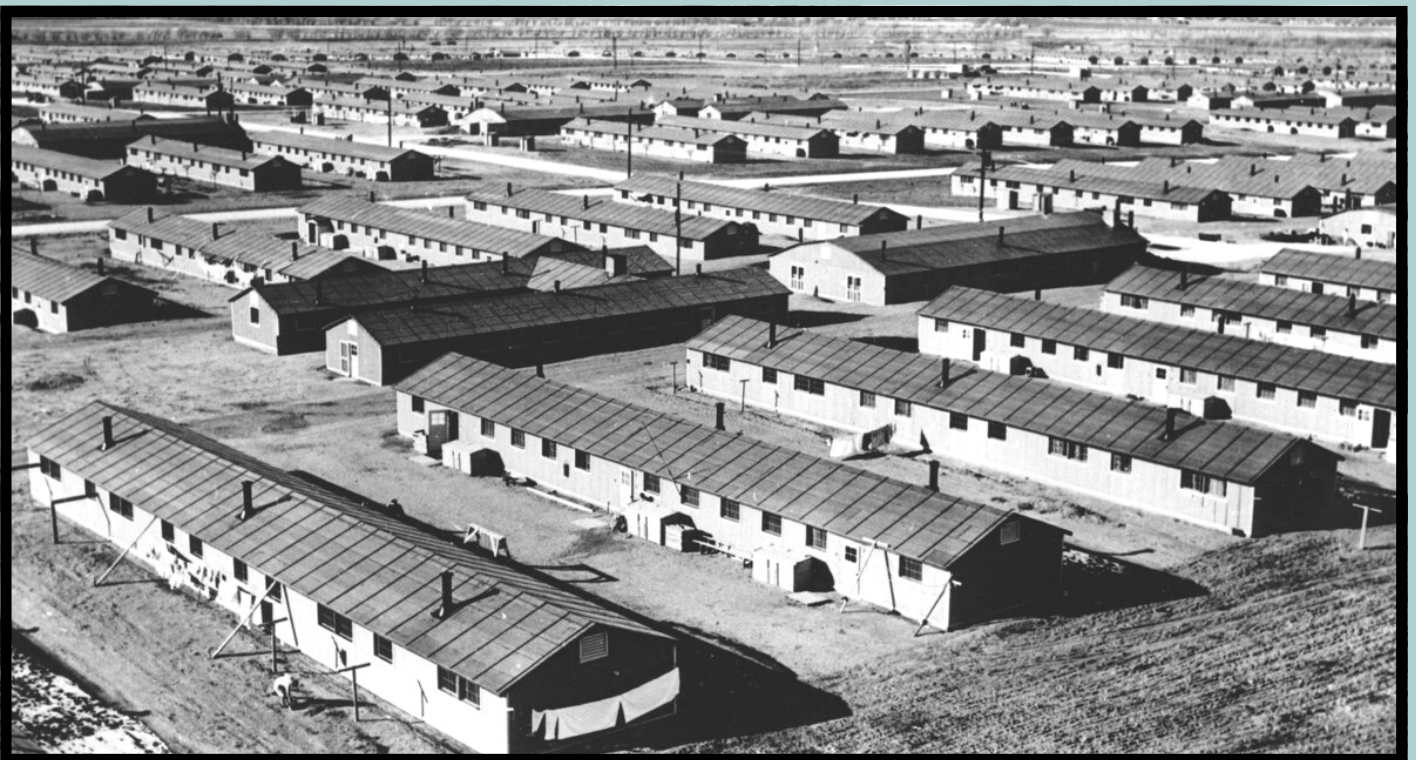
Until recently, government officials and military leaders have used euphemisms to describe what many see as human rights abuses. These inappropriate terms still exist in textbooks and learning curriculum today. As a result, many students learn history that has been *whitewashed* to diminish the realities of how people were treated. For these reasons, this guidebook uses specific words which match the realities of people's lived experiences.

For example, the concentration camps where Japanese Americans were forcefully removed to during World War II are often called "relocation centers," but this is vague word choice that doesn't quite grasp the reality of being forcefully removed from your home. As any good historian knows, it's important to use words that tell an accurate story, so we can avoid repeating harm. There are many instances of euphemisms and whitewashing in other histories, too. Think about what history you've been taught, and what more accurate phrasing might look like.

Euphemism: a mild or indirect word substituted for one considered to be too harsh when referring to something unpleasant or embarrassing

Whitewash: to intentionally hide some kind of wrongdoing, error, or unpleasant situation

Amache Concentration Camp



Amache Concentration Camp, also known as Camp Amache or the Granada Relocation Center, near Granada, Colorado. Courtesy of the United States National Archives and Records Administration.

Amache Camp High School Typing Class



High school typing class, Amache High School, ca. 1942-1945.
George Ochikubo Collection. Courtesy of Densho.

Post-Incarceration

On January 2, 1945, the United States Army ended the exclusion of Japanese Americans from the West Coast, and the farmers of the Yamato and Cortez colonies were part of one-fourth of prewar Japanese-American farmers who had land to return to.

The postwar atmosphere for people of Japanese descent was tense. Many Japanese Americans felt pressure to embrace American culture—and in the process deny their Japanese culture—out of fear of hostility from many European-Americans. Others felt pressure to prove themselves loyal and nonthreatening to European-Americans. Yet despite these efforts, Japanese Americans experienced vigilante violence. In April 1945 in Livingston, numerous police reports revealed a recurrence of drive-by shootings into Japanese homes. Yet, when the homes of Japanese Americans were shot at, they were told by the the Sheriff, "you're not wanted here, so you have to expect this [violence]." In addition, the Merced County and City of Livingston Chambers of Commerce were very clear that Japanese people were not welcome.

In 1988, President Reagan signed the Civil Liberties Act of 1988 which acknowledged that incarceration had been based on "race prejudice, war hysteria, and a failure of political leadership" as opposed to legitimate security reasons. The Act provided a \$20,000 cash payment to each citizen who was incarcerated. By 1996, and after a class-action lawsuit, the government provided a \$5,000 cash payment to a little over 100 non-citizens who were incarcerated. Eventually the rest of the prisoners who had not received a reparations payment were compensated a few years later.

Summary

The United States has a long history of anti-Asian hate, and much of it has to do with perceived competition with successful Asian workers. As you work to explore the discussion questions below, take a moment to think about the experiences of Asian Americans and Asian immigrants in the present day. Who do you understand to be Asian American? How does race and ethnicity change according to immigration law? What challenges have Asian American people in your community experienced during your lifetime? What are some ways we can work together to end discrimination against all Asian Americans?

Archival Research Activity

Working individually or in pairs, use the "How To" resources at the beginning of the unit to investigate primary sources on the densho.org Digital Repository using the keyword "California." What do you notice in your findings? How do the primary sources relate to what you know about California generally and Livingston specifically?

Shots fired into homes

APRIL 26, 1945 — A recurrence of the firing of shots into the homes of returned Japanese was reported to police after midnight Saturday by Fred and Roy Kishi from their home northeast of Livingston.

Chief of Police Horace Gilbert and Deputy Sheriff Art Hoffman investigated.

As in several preceding instances, the man or men who fired the shots were careful to keep their car on the oiled road where tracks could not be picked up.

In Saturday night's shooting a high powered rifle was used and probably five shots were fired, one of them as low as the baseboard.

Roy Kishi and his father, S. Kishi, returned to Livingston last week and moved in with Fred Kishi and family until such time as Roy Kishi can get possession of his own home on Highway 99.

The Kishis are not related.

On the same night one shot was fired into the Morimoto home near Cressey.

Attorney General Robert W. Kenny announced Tuesday that he was sending Harold Gillette, special investigator from his office, to Merced county to assist Sheriff Cornell and other peace officers in trying to find the men who fired rifle shots into the Kishi and Morimoto homes early Sunday morning, and who fired shots into other

Japanese homes in the Livingston-Cressey-Cortez area in recent weeks.

J. Hull of Stockton, an agent for the War Relocation Authority, was in Livingston Monday and conferred with Chief of Police Horace Gilbert and Deputy Sheriff Art Hoffman on the same case.

MAY 3, 1945 — The Merced county board of supervisors Tuesday, by unanimous vote, denied the request of Sheriff N. L. Cornell for extra funds with which to employ a special night patrol to capture the unknown gunmen who have fired into the homes of several Japanese families in the Livingston section of the county in recent weeks.

The sheriff said in support of his request that he believed it would be cheaper to do something now than to risk serious and widespread trouble later on.

He did not specifically mention the Japanese, but said a law enforcement problem was on his hands.

The supervisors took the position that Japanese are entitled to as much protection as anybody else, but no more.

Pfc. Fred Kishi, home from Fort Snelling, Minn., on special leave following the shooting into his father's home two weeks ago, spoke to the board in support of the sheriff's proposal.

Correspondance from Frank Herron Smith to the FBI, 1945

May - 1945

5

May 4, 1945

Mr. J. N. Peiper
Federal Bureau of Investigation
111 Sutter Street
San Francisco, Calif.

My dear Mr. Peiper:

Last night I had a letter from our Japanese pastor at Livingston, a little rural place between Modesto and Merced.

There have been no less than eight shooting incidents there with night-riders shooting into the homes of our church members. These are good American Japanese who own their own ranches and almost all of them have at least one boy in the Army.

These country sheriffs are inept and inefficient. Even where they make arrests as at Auburn they do not have their evidence in such form that a conviction can be secured. There have been shooting and arson incidents at Orasi, Selma, Concord, Santa Clara, Cressy and Livingston but only one arrest.

The trial at Auburn was a farce. I enclose a copy of an editorial in last Sunday's Chronicle.

It is a disgrace to our country to have such incidents occurring, especially at the time of the Uncio conference. I can assure you, Mr. Peiper, that our church people will not remain silent much longer. We did not favor having the Japanese returned till after the end of the war but the U. S. Army has decided on an earlier date and we shall claim protection for those whom we know to be loyal to these United States.

Yours respectfully,

FHS:s

Frank Herron Smith

Courtesy of Cal Poly Kennedy Library.

Word Bank

California Alien Land Law of 1913: prevented Asian farmers from purchasing land or leasing it for more than three years.

Chinese Exclusion Act of 1882: prioritized the immigration of Chinese merchants, scholars, and diplomats, but prohibited immigration of all Chinese low-wage laborers.

Colonization: the action or process of settling among and establishing control over the Indigenous people of an area

de jure: practices recognized by legal right

de facto: practices recognized by effect, regardless of law

Eugenics: a field of pseudo-science that studies how to "improve the human race" through (1) the "planned breeding" of "desirable traits" and (2) the exclusion of people and groups judged to be inferior, such as disabled people, LGBTQ+ people, and Black and brown people. The eugenics movement was most popular in the early 1900s and was mobilized by Nazi Germany to justify their treatment of Jewish people.

Euphemism: a mild or indirect word substituted for one considered to be too harsh when referring to something unpleasant or embarrassing.

Immigration Act of 1924: comprising the Asian Exclusion and National Origins Acts, the act prevented emigration from all of Asia and set quotas on the number of immigrants from the Eastern hemisphere, but not northern Europe. Each country in the Eastern hemisphere was given a set number of people who could immigrate to the United States, and these quotas were based on the foreign-born population recorded in the United States' 1890 census.

Incarceration: state of being confined in prison; imprisonment

Issei: Japanese immigrant to North America

Nativism: a nationalistic belief that immigrants from countries outside of the United States pose a threat to people born in the United States

Nisei: the child of a Japanese immigrant who is born in North America

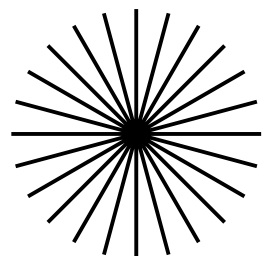
Sansei: the grandchild of a Japanese immigrant who is born in North America

Whitewash: to intentionally hide some kind of wrongdoing, error, or unpleasant situation—or deal with it in a way that attempts to make it seem less bad than it is.

Discussion Questions

1. What clues did you find as to how Asian immigrants and Asian Americans in Livingston have been both "tolerated" and discriminated against?

2. Throughout U.S. history, communities of color have had to Americanize—volunteer for military service, participate in war efforts, speak English, eat American food, and so on. Discuss why it has been the case that embracing one's own culture has not seemed to be enough in the eyes of the United States government and broader society. **What is at stake when communities of color and immigrant communities don't get to embrace their own cultures?**



Acknowledgements

The research, design, and compilation of this history guide was directed by Shiloh Green Soto, a PhD Candidate at the University of California Merced with the [Department of History & Critical Race and Ethnic Studies](#). Sometime in 2020, the City of Livingston Recreation Department reached out to the UC Merced Library to gauge interest in collaborating on a public history project for Livingston's 2022 Centennial Celebration. Emily Lin, Director of Strategic Initiatives, Archives & Special Collections at the UC Merced Library, did the foundational work in identifying a team of UC Merced researchers who could successfully carry this project from its infancy into a fully-realized history guide. Thanks to the University of California Merced Library and Office of the Provost for providing funding to support a Graduate Student Research fellowship.

Through a Luce fellowship in community-engaged research and with the help of two undergraduate researchers from the UC Merced Undergraduate Research Opportunities Center (UROC), Shiloh led a small team on digital archival research using the California Digital Newspapers Collection, among other digital archives. Many thanks to Dr. Amrit Deol, lecturer at Fresno State University in the Departments of Anthropology, Asian American Studies, and Women's Studies, for leading the UROC researchers on in-person archival research at the Merced County Courthouse Museum and the Livingston Historical Museum where newspapers, letters, and pictures from different sources were pieced together to understand the bigger narrative of Livingston history. And Margaret Garcia and Minh Tuyet Nguyen, UROC undergraduate researchers, did a lot of the heavy lifting to help the team learn more about Livingston. They each focused on different research interests—one on multi-ethnic discrimination in Livingston, and the other on public schools and Japanese incarceration—and brought together diverse primary sources that built a foundation for this history guide. Many thanks to Ivan Gonzalez-Soto, PhD Candidate in UC Merced's Interdisciplinary Humanities Graduate Group, for his expert research, writing, and editing skills. And shout out to Drs. Neama Alamri and Amrit Deol for their last-minute assistance with copyediting.

Dr. David Rouff, Associate Professor and Chair of the Department of History & Critical Race and Ethnic Studies, not only provided thoughtful feedback and insight into each step of this project, but also did a lot of the administrative leg work to garner support for this project, including, but not limited to: advocating for the Livingston project to be funded through a Luce fellowship, putting out a call for UROC researchers, and championing a graduate student researcher position for Shiloh to continue this work in the 2021-2022 academic year. Drs. Robin Delugan, Anne Zanzucchi, and Jayson Beaster-Jones, faculty at UC Merced and co-organizers of the Luce fellowship, provided much needed support in funding this project.

As you can see, many people came together between 2020 and 2022 to produce this history guide, and still, the support and energy from each person only tells a small part of Livingston's history—there's still so much to learn!

Future research on Livingston might include histories on the town's working-class communities, arts and leisure, schooling in the Amache incarceration camp, labor organizing, school sports and recreation, foodways, and youth movement. Due to the COVID-19 public health crisis, research for this guide was done entirely remotely over the course of nine months and used majority digital sources. As such, future work on Livingston ought to entail a much longer, in-person research agenda. Primary sources for future work ought to extend beyond newspapers and into oral histories with Livingston residents and workers.

How will you build on this guide to tell your own story?

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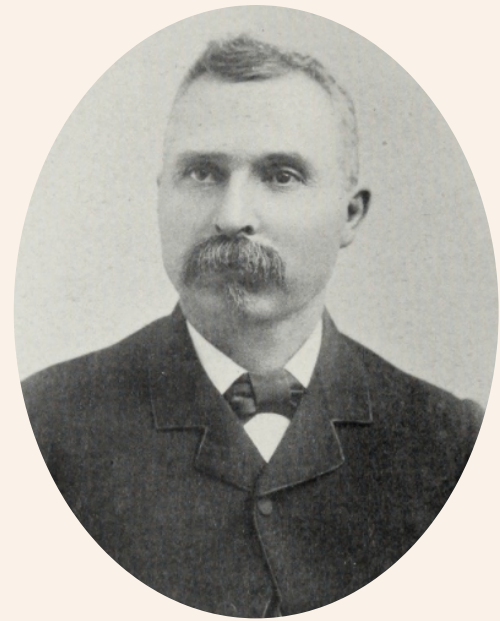
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Livingston Centennial

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