UNIVERSITY OF CALIFORNIA, MERCED

"*American Homes for American Families*":
Race and the Family in California's Labor Camps

A dissertation submitted in partial satisfaction of the requirements for the degree of

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In

Interdisciplinary Humanities

by

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Spreckels Ranches

Ranch 1: Monterey County, city of Spreckels,
Total acreage: 1895 - 1897: 6,888 acres; 1903 - 1924: 7,832 acres
Ranch 2: Monterey County, west side of the Salinas River, west of Soledad
Total acreage: 1897, 1.200 acres
Ranch 3: Monterey County, King City
Total acreage: 1897-1898: 11,906 acres; 1910-1919: 12,347 acres
Ranch 4: Santa Clara and San Benito counties, between Hollister and Gilroy
Total acreage: 1898: 9,722 acres; 1905: 9,658
Ranch 5: Monterey County, south of Castroville
Total acreage: 1888: 1,000 acres; 1905: 6,780 acres
Ranch 6: Monterey County, alongside the Alisal Creek, east of Salinas
Total acreage: 1896-1897: 20 acres; 1901-1908: 568; 1920: sold the property
Ranch 7: Santa Clara County, along Pajaro River, northeast of San Juan Bautista
Total acreage: 1919: 1,317 acres; 1924: 650 acres
Ranch 8: Monterey County, east side of the Salinas River, north of Soledad
Total acreage: 1909-1919: 7,282 acres; 1924: 5,240 acres
Ranch 9: Monterey County, near Arroyo Seco and Salinas junction, south of Soledad
Total acreage: 1913-1924: 2,498 acres
Ranch 10: Monterey County, east side of the Salinas River, south of Chualar
Total acreage: 1913-1924: 4,405 acres
Ranch 11: Monterey County, east side of the Salinas River, southeast of Greenfield
Total acreage: 1917-1924: 8,358 acres
Ranch 12: Santa Clara County, west and south of Milpitas
Total acreage: 1917-1924: 2,777 acres
Ranch 13: Santa Clara County, southeast of San Jose
Total acreage: 1918: 228 acres, 1921: 1,277 acres; 1924: 623 acres
Ranch 14: Santa Clara County, southeast of San Jose (combined with Ranch 13 in 1921)
Total acreage: 1918-1919: 311 acres
Ranch 15: Monterey County, northwest of Soledad
Total acreage: 1921:1,097 acres

Introduction:

Sugar a Project of Racialized Settlement

"Spreckels ransacked the world"[1]

[1] "Great Spreckels Sugar Factory: Now completed and in operation" 26 September 1899. *Ihe Californian.*

- *The Californian,* 26 September 1899

Sugar imperialist Claus Spreckels expanded his sugarcane monopoly in Hawai'i to central California using imported equipment from Germany. The landscapes built by sugar in both Hawai'i and California, marked by complex irrigation systems, transportation networks, and worker housing, reflect the power of sugar in the West. Controlling 40,000 acres in Hawaii and 66, 000 acres in central California, Spreckels' investment in the sugar industry transformed the geographic and social landscape through irrigation projects and company-sponsored housing. These sites highlight the geographic and social landscape built by sugar and provide insight into the local impact of the global sugar industry.

In Hawai'i, the nearly 40,000 acres devoted to sugar cane moved through the Spreckelsville Plantation in north central Maui for processing. In 1878, Spreckels built the Spreckelsville Plantation, through a series of controversial legal agreements with the Hawaiian monarchy that granted his company, the Hawaiian Commercial and Sugar Company (known today as HC&S) land and water rights. This concurrent purchase of land and water initiated the sugar industry's transformation of the local landscape. Irrigating the Wailuku Commons, an area previously reserved for communal land stewardship, sugar cane ushered transformations in property relations and local land relations, accelerating the establishment of wage labor throughout the region.

Venturing into beet sugar in California during the same period, the history of beet sugar in the state of California reflects the early development of the state's industrial agriculture infrastructure, including railroad and irrigation networks, as well as farm worker housing. A case study of California's largest beet sugar refiner, the Spreckels Sugar Company, illustrates the consolidation of central California under the production of a single industry, beet sugar. Founded in 1888 and operating until 1963, the sugar company operated 66,000 acres of land at its zenith, including forty-four labor camps spread throughout the Central Valley and one company town in Salinas. Company maps, labor demographics, census records, and local publications document the impact of the beet sugar industry on the regional economy and on the development of the social landscape.

During the 1870s the experimental production of beet sugar in the West paid off in southern California, leading many American sugar investors to shift their sights towards the West, where California's temperate climate and access to water provide ideal conditions for beet planting. The domestic sugar industry, supported by protectionist tariffs such as the Treaty of Reciprocity with the kingdom of Hawai'i in 1887, the 1890 McKinley Tariff, and the 1897 Dingley Tariff, facilitated the boom in California beet sugar in the first decade of the 1900s. The entrance into World War I and the United States' commitment to providing sugar for its allies further catapulted the success of the industry in the mid-1910s. Following this wave of production, the Spreckels Sugar Company, the West's leading sugar producer - eventually to be incorporated into the famous C&H - built 5 refineries in central California beginning in 1888.

Establishing a vertically integrated beet sugar operation throughout the

region, the Spreckels Sugar Company exerted influence over local social relations. This dissertation argues that the Spreckels Sugar Company, while transforming central California agricultural production patterns from grazeland and dry crops[2] into irrigated industrial agriculture, also established a pattern of racialized company-sponsored housing. The beet sugar industry is best exemplified by the Spreckels Sugar Company, as they managed 60,000 acres and operated the "largest [sugar] beet factory in the world,"[3]

Managing forty-four labor camps, a company town, a hotel, and a plantation in Hawaii, the Spreckels Sugar Company provides a case study that locates the Central Valley within the national and global history of sugar. This dissertation recuperates the community history of labor camps operated and managed by the Spreckels Sugar Company. Unlike the community histories of agricultural citrus communities,[4] this dissertation engages with the temporary sites of labor camps. Labor camps provide insight into the social experiences of workers whose housing remained determined by their employment. This history documents the materialization of labor camps as a site managed by private industry, state, and later, federal authorities. In these closely regulated spaces where inspections by private and state organizations occurred frequently, farm workers in particular attempted to establish private spaces, often for their families. Housing in the beet sugar empire operates as a racialized project of settlement. Gridded by industrial agriculture, the California landscape reflects the region's complicated history with farmworker housing.

Hidden amongst irrigation projects, factories, and suburban neighborhoods reside farm workers who provide the labor essential for the regional economy. Built as early as the 1880s in California's Central and Salinas valleys, these buildings were subject to decades of journalistic criticism that resulted in the establishment of California's Commission of Immigration and Housing in 1913. More than one hundred years later, the state has renewed its commitment to regulating these housing sites with the October 2019 passing of approval of Assembly Bill No. 1783,[5] reopening an old chapter in California's history. And, asking historians to return to the history of farmworker housing.

A history of housing operated by beet sugar in central California, this dissertation incorporates the Valley into global and national discourses of

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[2] Tufts, W.P., Allen, F.W., Brooks, R.M., Condit, I.J., Cruess, W.V., Davey, A.E., Davis, L.D., Erdman, H.E., Hansen, C.J., Hendrickson, A.H., Hodgson, R.W., Philp, G.L., Shear, S.W., Winkler, A.J., 1946. "The rich pattern of California crops." In: Hutchison, C.B. (Ed.). California Agriculture. University of California Press, Berkeley and Los Angeles. pp. 113-238.

[3] Louisiana Sugar Planters' Association. *The Louisiana planter and sugar manufacturer.* New Orleans: [Louisiana Planter and Sugar Manufacturer Co., etc.]. Vol. 23. 1899. P. 137.

[4] The colonia complex, theorized by Gilbert Gonzalez in *Labor and Community,* is supported and further elaborated on by Matt Garcia. These authors define farmworker housing that is adjacent to agricultural fields as *colonias.* Gonzalez, Gilbert G.. 1994. *Labor and Community: Mexican Citrus Worker Villages in a Southern California County, 1900-1950*. University of Illinois Press: Urbana and Chicago. and "The Colonia Complex Revisited: Racial Hierarchies and Border Spaces in the Citrus Belt" in García, Matthew. *A World of Its Own: Intercultural Relations in the Citrus Belt of Southern California, 1900-1970.* United States: The University of North Carolina Press, 2002.

[5] Assembly Bill No. 1783. Chapter 886. 13 October 2019. Approved by Governor October 13, 2019. Filed with the Secretary of State October 13, 2019.

American identity. The labor camps and company town of Spreckels in California's Central Valley reveal the impact of the global sugar industry on local production and social relations. The housing infrastructure built by Claus Spreckels in Hawai'i and California reflects the historical materialization of race and sexuality on the landscape. Determined by labor, race, and gender, farmworker housing reflects the complex spatial and social history of the Central Valley region.

My dissertation engages with four fields of study, labor history, urban history, rural studies, and family studies, to construct a history of worker housing in central California. Labor historians, specifically labor historians of California, have documented the industrial features of agriculture in the West. The increase in irrigation and labor requirements of row crops and their accompanying industrial centers led Carey McWilliams to famously characterize the regional economy as *factories in the field*.[6] My research adds the history of beet sugar to this historiography, demonstrating its influence in irrigating the region and developing the infrastructure to support industrial agriculture, transportation, and worker housing. Urban historians have studied the town built by beet sugar, arguing that its historical significance lies in the fact that it is one of the state's most well-preserved company towns in California. These preservationists, biographers, company boosters, and local historians have documented the elaboration of a vibrant local community. However, in the words of William Cronon, "a history of the urban without the history of the rural is incomplete," my research incorporates the rural nodes of production that sustain the urban center, the network of worker housing built by the industry.

Rural studies and family studies guide my analysis of housing as a historical subject. I turn to the work of rural scholars who highlight the experiences of rural communities impacted by the rise of agricultural development in the twentieth century. Rural studies address both "social processes as much as [ ] geographic place."[7] In the rural sites of the beet industry - the network of worker housing - the power of beet sugar remained tangible in intimate spaces of housing. As such, worker housing in the Central Valley defined relations in the area throughout the 1880s-1940s, grounded in E.P. Thompson's conclusion that experience defines relations. I contribute to the insight of rural scholars on everyday forms of resistance[8] analysis of worker housing, as counter spaces built by farmworkers in labor camps. The work of family studies and their contributions to the analysis of housing identify the historical shift of the home from a public to a private place between the 16th - 18th centuries[9] and its

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[6] McWilliams, Carey. *Factories in the Field: The Story of Migratory Farm Labor in California.* 1st ed. (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2000).

[7] Swierenga, Robert P. "The New Rural History: Defining the Parameters." Great Plains Quarterly 1, no. 4 (1981): 211-23.

[8] Scott, James C. *Weapons of the Weak: Everyday Forms of Peasant Resistance.* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2008.)

[9] Donzelot, Jacques. *The Policing of Families*. Translated by Robert Hurley. 1st American ed. (New York: Pantheon Books, 1979.)

function as a site of the nation-state.[10] The history of worker housing as operated by sugar in the West illustrates the attempts of the regional power, beet sugar, to control local demographics and in effect local communities.

I. Methodologies

The work of labor historians, urban historians, rural scholars, and family studies provides the methodological foundation to identify the environmental, labor, and social impacts of sugar in California and the Pacific. Land and riparian rights facilitated the irrigation and transportation networks built by sugar in both regions. Amongst company records, state reporting, news publications, and oral histories identify the presence of a parallel infrastructure, worker housing. In the shadows[11] of their labor, at the edge of the fields, worker housing provides insight into farmworkers' lived experiences. The wealth of historical material of construction and regulation of these housing structures requires an "against the grain"[12] reading of company and state records. This effort allows us to identify the subaltern experience, "her shape in his hand."[13] Reading historical material for the silences, as purposeful erasures and exclusions, reveals the company's intentional spatial marginalization and regulation of space by gender, race, labor, and sexuality. Through a critical reading of the shadows and silences in state documents, images, and published accounts of farmworkers' housing. The shadows whether farmworkers' rest and lives reveal complex interpersonal relationships amongst each other, bosses, and the local and transnational communities. Hidden from popular history, these housing sites reflect the private spaces in which farmworkers built their daily lives. Through farmworker housing, my work will facilitate a history of farmworkers' recreation, communities, and families - community networks that support thriving lives that persist in regulated spaces.

Focusing on the investments started by Claus Spreckels, and continued by successors and subsidiaries, this dissertation is a regional history of sugar. As a case study, the Spreckels Sugar Company facilitates a comparison across time and space, revealing the parallel spatial impact of the sugar industry in these distinct regions. A comparative case study of the Spreckels Sugar Company incorporates the company's operations in Hawai'i and California. In Hawai'i just as in

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[10] Foucault addresses the foundations of the "art of government" as being composed of the continuity between the power of the prince and the multiplicious forms of government that works to ensure a productive economy (the traditional and modern meaning of the "management of individuals, goods and wealth" and its modern definition (92). Foucault believes the shifts in the meaning of "economy," that occurred during 16th-18th CE, are historically significant to the philosophical foundations of the ideal function of the government. Foucault, Michel. 1920. *Discipline & Punish*. (New York, NY: Random House.); Historians of the American Empire, Amy Kaplan, and Laura Ann Stoler apply this theory to their analysis of the British empire in the West Indies. Kaplan, 1998; Stoler, Ann Laura, ed. *Haunted by Empire: Geographies of Intimacy in North American History.* (Duke University Press, 2006.)

[11] Gordon, Avery. *Ghostly Matters : Haunting and the Sociological Imagination*. (New University of Minnesota Press edition. Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 2008).

[12] Stoler, Ann Laura. *Along the Archival Grain : Epistemic Anxieties and Colonial Common Sense.* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 2009.)

[13] Gordon, *Ghostly Matters.* 1996.

California, the industry represents the expansion of the American nation, representing domestic and global policy. Located in the history of western expansion and racialization in California,[14] Farmworker housing facilitates an analysis of race and the concept of the ideal family in the local region within national and global discourse.

A regional history of sugar, this history of place adds to the history of the American West as an imagined place that relies on the erasure of brown bodies. Adding labor camps into the history of California's rural communities, the private, state, and federal efforts to provide support to Americans and retain the bad conditions of non-white labor camps. Adding an intersectional feminist framework to urban history, this dissertation approaches farmworker housing as a significant material and ideological location for the imagining of suburban neighborhoods. An analysis of space, landscapes, and romanticization, urban historians locate labor camps within the history of company towns and other planned communities. Through the lens of rural studies, this project grounds the labor camp within global colonial practices of the regulation of space. Within the historiography of rural studies, the labor camp can be understood as functioning as a locus of empire, through the infrastructure of housing. A history of the family via housing, this project applies family studies' methodological and theoretical tenets that anchor the home to the nation-project and patriarchal heteronormativity.

An interdisciplinary analysis of historical material, this dissertation interrogates the historical archive using an intersectional feminist framework, to identify the private spaces of laborers amongst the thousands of acres devoted to beet sugar in California. These shadows are the subject of this dissertation project. In centering these private spaces of farmworkers, historians complicate the popular history of farmworkers, moving away from their labor to highlight their personhood, as community members, family members, and friends.

Collectively, these methods reconstruct the experiences of farmworkers' families while accounting for the relationship between labor and local communities. Selecting the private, intimate housing spaces as the subject of analysis, this research remains grounded in feminist methods. Marked by their labor, race, and gender, farm workers and their families are marginalized in social institutions and are rendered invisible in historical records and state histories. Housing centers the private spaces of workers, providing a site from which to analyze the compoundedness of identity,[15] where labor, race, and citizenship status inform the varied experiences of beet sugar workers. Housing provides an avenue into these interrelations of labor, race, and gender in central California. Moreover, the experiences of women, and children become primary actors in the history of the home.

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[14]Almaguer, Tomás. *Racial Fault Lines : the Historical Origins of White Supremacy in California. (*Berkeley: University of California Press, 1994.)

[15] Crenshaw, Kimberle. "Demarginalizing the Intersection of Race and Sex: A Black Feminist Critique of Antidiscrimination Doctrine, Feminist Theory and Antiracist Politics," University of Chicago Legal Forum: Vol. 1989: Iss. 1, Article 8.

II. Chapter Breakdown

Separated into five chapters, this dissertation reconstructs the environmental, labor, and social history of beet sugar in the West. Starting with the transpacific sugarcane monopoly built by Claus Spreckels in Hawai'i, this historical analysis centers central California, as a site devoted to beet sugar production for a century.

The first chapter is a history of the landscapes of sugar in Paia, Maui. The land and riparian rights acquired by sugarcane monopolist Claus Spreckels financed the production of an irrigated sugarcane landscape between 1868-1888. A social history of the sites of infrastructure identifies the communities established alongside sugarcane plantations. Established by the company as labor camps, Paia became a permanent community of Japanese-Americans. The consolidation of land for sugarcane in Hawai'i prefaces the power of sugar in the West. Influencing Hawaiian land and water policies, the impact of the crop is felt tangible in the housing provided by the workers. Using state documents, local reporting, and oral histories, this chapter highlights the social impact of the landscapes of sugar.

Similarly, in the second chapter, the history of the landscapes of sugar in California centers on a different crop - beet sugar. The land and riparian rights secured by Claus Spreckels in central California, from the Central Coast of the Monterey Bay to the southern edge of the Salinas Valley, consolidated 66,000 acres under the production of beet sugar. Between 1873-1925. Through various businesses, Claus Spreckels managed the irrigated landscape with a transportation network and system of worker housing. Using state records, company documents, scientific reports, and local publications, this chapter documents the establishment of irrigation in central California.

The third chapter documents the infrastructure of housing built to support the regional beet sugar industry between 1898 and 1934. This chapter incorporates peripheral nodes of production - labor camps - into the popular history of the company town of Spreckels to illustrate the extent of worker housing provided by the company. Considering multi-room houses, single-room hotels, and multi-occupancy bunkhouses, this chapter reconstructs the housing infrastructure built by beet sugar. Using labor demographics, census records, company maps, local publications, and oral histories, this chapter identifies the extension of the industry's labor hierarchy into social spaces through company housing. The nativist labor practices of the company, and greater industry, render housing an infrastructure of race. In effect, housing illustrates an infrastructure of race.

The fourth chapter locates the history of housing within the popular history of the company town to identify the national and global discourse of the domestic sugar market. The increasing national significance of beet sugar production between 1900 - 1942, aligned the industry with the American home. The company town history of Spreckels as an infrastructure that supports the contemporaneous nativist perspectives of settlers in the West. Using company advertisements, housing blueprints, local publications, and congressional testimony, this chapter identifies the use of worker housing to support the

establishment of all-white communities. In effect, this chapter documents the capacity of worker housing to function as a tool of inclusion in the nation.

The fifth chapter identifies labor camps as infrastructures of race. Extending the industry's labor hierarchy into social relations, through labor camps, the private spaces of farmworkers identify the increasing state regulation and exclusion of farmworker families in these sites. Under the management of the Spreckels Sugar Company, between 1889-1942, labor camps housed farm workers. forty-four labor camps, blueprints, land surveys, state reporting, payroll records, insurance records, local reporting, and state records identify the persistence of Japanese and Mexican families in labor camps. The increasing regulation of these sites reflects the transformation of these places from privately regulated family sites to state-operated single-male housing. Oral histories identify the presence of an unincorporated community of farm workers, known as Little Tijuana.

This dissertation concluded with an analysis of the modern farm worker housing provided to H2-A workers employed by Tanimura & Antle, lettuce growers operating Spreckels' old fields adjacent to the company town. At Spreckels, the historical continuity of substandard farm worker housing is evident in the modern form of single-unit housing provided to the twenty-first century's reiteration of the Bracero Program, H2-A workers. Gridded by industrial agriculture, the California landscape reflects the region's complicated history with farmworker housing. Hidden amongst irrigation projects, factories, and suburban neighborhoods reside farmworkers who provide the labor essential for the regional economy. Built as early as the 1880s in California's Central and Salinas valleys, these buildings were subject to decades of journalistic criticism that resulted in the establishment of California's Commission of Immigration and Housing in 1913. More than one hundred years later, the state renewed its commitment to regulating these housing sites with the October 2019 passing of approval of Assembly Bill No. 1783, reopening an old chapter in California's history.

Farmworker housing makes visible the state and private infrastructures operating on California's landscape. Alongside other state and private infrastructures, such as irrigation, factories, and suburban neighborhoods, farmworker housing constitutes a significant, and often underlooked, component of the agro-industry of the region. A history of farmworker housing through the lens of critical infrastructure unearths these sites as purposefully decaying buildings that reflect the erasure of farmworkers in California history and the California landscape.

Chapter One

A Local History of Global Sugar:
The Spreckelsville Plantation in Maui, Hawai'i

"A California colony for the island of Maui"[16]
- *Santa Cruz Weekly Sentinel,* 1879

The departure of the Horner family, nine California residents, to the island of Maui in the Hawaiian archipelago represents the elaboration of Claus Spreckels' sugar monopoly in the West. Spreckels' hoped to "lease his estate … to American families, as he looked forward to seeing them eventually occupy the islands and have control of their Government."[17] Using sugar, Spreckels hoped to establish a business model with the goal of gaining political power. Eventually known as one of four sugar barons,[18] Spreckels often pronounced himself the "sugar king."[19] A sugar refiner and proprietor of the California Sugar Refining Company in San Francisco, Spreckels turned to Hawai'i to expand his investments in the industry by leasing land, developing an irrigation network, and refining crude sugar on the island. Known as one of four sugar barons,[20] Claus Spreckels (1828 - 1908) linked these regions through his successful efforts to establish an industrial sugar production network.

The transportation networks, irrigation systems, and worker housing that supported cane sugar altered local ecologies, native economies, and local living conditions. These sites of agro-industrial infrastructure that support sugar refining from cane and beets in Hawai'i and California, respectively, reflect the local environmental, economic, and sociocultural impacts of the global sugar industry. This chapter argues that the infrastructure built by Claus Spreckels through the Spreckelsville Plantation to support cane-sugar production in Maui, Hawai'i during the 1870s was replicated in the beet-sugar industry throughout Central California. This intimate relationship incorporated Hawai'i into the American West, through the history of industrial agriculture, making Hawai'i a part of the long history of agriculture and colonization of the United States. The history of sugar water[21] demonstrates the biopower of the sugar industry as it manages its worker's environmental, labor, and living conditions. Securing riparian rights, building the components of the irrigation system, and the corresponding workers all illustrate the local power of American sugar capitalists.

Spreckels' and the history of sugar in Hawaii and California reflect part of

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[16] "A California Colony for the Island of Maui Their Flans. The first regular installment of emigrants" Volume 25, Number 28, 13 December 1879. *Santa Cruz Weekly Sentinel,*
[17] ibid.
[18] Matthew Parker. *The Sugar Barons: Family, Corruption, Empire, and War in the West Indies*. (New York, Walter and Company, 2011).
[19] Conway, Jimmie Don. "Spreckels Sugar Company: The First Fifty Years." (ProQuest Dissertations Publishing, 1999). Adler, Jacob, Joseph. Feher, and Jacob Adler. *Claus Spreckels : The Sugar King in Hawaii.* (Honolulu: University of Hawaii Press,, 2021). Siler, Julia Flynn. *Lost Kingdom : Hawaii's Last Queen, the Sugar Kings and America's First Imperial Adventure*. (New York, New York: Atlantic Monthly Press, 2012.
[20] Parker, Matthew. 2011. *The Sugar Barons: Family, Corruption, Empire, and War in the West Indies*. New York, Walter and Company.
[21] Carol Wilcox. *Sugar Water : Hawaii's Plantation Ditches*. (Honolulu: University of Hawaii Press, 1997).

a moment when capital investors sought to connect the Pacific and the American West markets. The development of the sugar industry in Hawaii and California provides a comparative analysis of local market histories, environmental histories, and community histories that identify an industry-wide pattern of materializing race onto the landscape. Sugar controlled local economies and social relations through the consolidation of land. In both regions, sugar transformed the local landscape by establishing the material infrastructure to support industrial agriculture, transportation, irrigation, and housing for laborers. This chapter grapples with the local impact of sugar, using the Spreckels Company as a case study to provide a history of irrigation. I offer a close examination of land relations and worker housing that illustrates the intimate impacts of global markets/colonized spaces in new markets.

The materialization of race on the landscape is evident in the industry's environmental, labor, and social histories, which collectively illustrate the production of an infrastructure of racialized worker housing. According to Fischer, Hawai'i, and California are similar ecologically, due to the landscape and diverse waterways, as well as parallel patterns of land reform that put land in the hands of industrial capitalists. This comparative analysis locates Hawai'i in the history of the American empire, which in turn, locates the Central Valley as part of the global history of sugar. The developmental histories of sugar in both California and Hawai'i encompass local histories of modern transportation, irrigation, and sugar workers' communities that illustrate the social engineering of sugar monopolies in California and Hawai'i.

In Hawai'i, as in California, sugar transformed the local landscape through the establishment of a series of extensive irrigation projects. Irrigation altered local economies and social relations by redirecting traditional waterways. Irrigation facilitated agricultural intensification, by supplying vast acreage with a steady water supply. Irrigation increased the labor required to plant, harvest, and process sugar cane (and in California, sugar beets). Sugar monopolies altered geographic and social landscapes, and water fueled the industry. Building an irrigation infrastructure in the 1870s, this moment illustrates the intimate social impacts of the regional expansion of cane sugar agriculture. The consolidation of land made possible by the purchase of land and water rights by Spreckels Sugar Company founder, Claus Spreckels, reflects the period's agricultural intensification of the land that reorganized the Hawaiian landscape. As a result, the agricultural infrastructure built to support the processing of cane sugar - irrigation - reorganized the geographic, economic, and social landscape of Hawai'i. And, finally, the social impact of the industry is most visible in the workers' communities. The irrigation history of sugar in Maui reflects the industry's agricultural intensification of the region and the transformation of local social relations. The establishment of industrial sugar by American capitalists in Maui accompanied a period of American expansionism into the greater Hawaiian islands.[22] The irrigation history established by this chapter illustrates the ways in

[22] Like cattle in that these markets demonstrate the incorporation of Hawai'i into the United States market and the destruction of diversified local economies. Unlike cattle, sugar capitalists built

which sugar embodies American territorial expansionism in Hawai'i.[23]

This chapter uses Paia, Hawai'i, a community established by Japanese sugarcane workers, as a site from which to begin to understand the global location of Spreckels, California, the company town built for the industry's factory workers, mostly Eastern European immigrants. Central California would soon undergo the same fate as Paia as depicted in the following chapters. Building a sugar cane monopoly in Hawai'i,[24] Spreckels would replicate the infrastructure of irrigation, transportation, and housing in his beet empire. This juxtaposition illuminates an agro-industrial infrastructure that depends on worker housing. The reorganization of the landscape that occurred to develop the region into an agro-industrial sugar plantation is evident in the irrigation infrastructure that was built to maintain the sugar industry and demonstrates the local impact of this global industry. Labor camps represent the economic, political, and social impact of the sugar industry in Maui. These irrigation sites reflect the mutual construction of space by workers and capital investors. A close analysis of maps reveals the presence of workers living spaces, in the form of labor camps. Tangible in all aspects of life, the sugar cane industry impacted the intimate spaces of workers' lives. This chapter uses Paia, a town on the island of Maui in Hawai'i, as a case study in a local history of global sugar. As a site of industrial agricultural production, this built environment is a manifestation of the monopolization of the landscape for the production of sugar, a vertically integrated industry that connects land, water, and workers.

I. Sugar As The Instrument Of Land Privatization In Hawai'i

Claus Spreckels built the Spreckelsville Plantation through a series of controversial agreements with the Hawaiian monarchy that granted his company, the Hawaiian Commercial and Sugar Company, (known today as HC&S) land and water rights. The sugar industry, Mr. Claus Spreckels in particular, influenced the transformation of Hawaii's property regime from a communal land system to private property ownership. Beginning as early as the 1840s, American sugar investors and mission families[25] established a local sugar industry by consolidating land and riparian rights. This transformation in local property regimes, stripped land from native Hawaiians and initiated the transformation of cattle ranches into irrigated agriculture. The concurrent acquisition of land and water rights by Spreckels illustrates the spatial and social impact of sugar on Maui.

During the same period that sugar investors turned their interests to Maui, the Kingdom of Hawai'i was undergoing drastic social and political changes

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irrigation projects. These immense construction projects challenged sovereign water and land rights and altered local labor relations and social living arrangements.

[23] Teisch, Jessica B. "Nothing but Commercial Feudalism." In *Engineering Nature.* (University of North Carolina Press, 2011).

[24] Adler, Jacob. *Claus Spreckels: The Sugar King in Hawaii.*)Honolulu: Univ. of Hawaii Press, 1966.)

[25] MacLennan, Carol A. *Sovereign Sugar: Industry and Environment in Hawaii. (*United States: University of Hawaii Press, 2014.)

following the depopulation of Hawai'i in the 1830s.[26] The Mahele (land division) that concludes this historical period, facilitated Spreckels' consolidation of land in two ways. Translated to mean "the division of land," the new property regime ushered in by the Mahele, first, opened large land plots to private ownership by Hawaiians and foreigners who had access to capital. Thus, this effectively kept 2 out of 3 native Hawaiians from access to land.[27] Second, the designation of one million acres as "Crown Lands," these public lands remained under the control of the monarchy. With these changes, King Kamehameha I facilitated the creation of a private property ownership process that favored foreign buyers. In sharp contrast to the native Hawaiian property regime, characterized by communal land practices and reciprocal relations to nature,[28] the purchase of the Crown Lands by foreign sugar capitalists cemented the new private property regime and initiated a drastic transformation of the socio-spatial landscape.

Concentrating land in the hands of capitalists, private ownership initiated a change to wage labor. The Treaty of Reciprocity of 1875 increased the market competition for Hawaiian sugar cane. Designating all Hawaiian agricultural imports to the United States duty-free, sugar capitalist Claus Spreckels worked quickly to build an irrigation infrastructure to support the construction of a sugar cane industry in Maui.

In 1878, Spreckels began obtaining land and water rights in Hawaii following the boom of the 1860s. Purchasing 16,000 acres and leasing 24,000 acres[29] of Crown Lands, A testament to the ongoing changes in property regimes, Spreckels purchased 16,000 acres from William Henry Cornwell in 1878 for $20,000.[30] Cornwell's land ownership and Spreckels' capacity to purchase the land at what would be more than $600,000 dollars today.[31] Privatizing the public land bifurcated native social relations by removing the native social hierarchy which supported communal stewardship of the land and its goods. American capitalists altered the diversified economy that characterized the Hawaiian islands as early as the 1830s. Spreckels also benefited from the recent Crown Lands designation. Negotiating with Princess Ruth Ke'elikolani,[32] Spreckels secured a lease that opened the door to permanent ownership. Spreckels initiated the

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[26] Kirch, Patrick Vinton., and Jean-Louis. Rallu. *The Growth and Collapse of Pacific Island Societies : Archaeological and Demographic Perspectives.* (Honolulu: University of Hawai'i Press, 2007.)

[27] J. Kēhaulani Kauanui. *Paradoxes of Hawaiian Sovereignty : Land, Sex, and the Colonial Politics of State Nationalism.* (Durham: Duke University Press, 2018.) Tamayose, Beth C., and Lois M. Takahashi. "Land Privatization in Hawai'i: An Analysis of Governmental Leases and Court Cases in Hawai'i 1830s–1910s." Journal of Planning History 13, no. 4 (2014): 322–40.

[28] Kauanui, *Paradoxes of Hawaiian Sovereignty.* 2018

[29] Copy of the petition is in the file "Water-Maui-Molokai-Sundries, 1866-1885," Archives of Hawaii.

[30] *Pacific Commercial Advertiser,* June 22, 1878. in. Adler, Jacob. *The Spreckelsville Plantation: A Chapter in Claus Spreckels' Hawaiian Career*. San Francisco, 1961. California Historical Society Quarterly Vol 40, No 1. 33-48. Kuykendall, Ralph S. (Ralph Simpson). *The Hawaiian Kingdom: the Kalakaua Dynasty, 1874-1893,* Volume 3, (Honolulu: University of Hawaii, 1938.)

[31] https://www.usinflationcalculator.com/

[32] The 1840 Constitution of the Hawaiian Kingdom. Nā ku- mukānāwai, 1890–2008, Foreign and Commonwealth Office Library.

transaction for the crown lands via a lease agreement in 1878.[33] Mr. Spreckels' investments towards the purchase of land in 1878 occurred alongside attempts to secure water rights. On June 24th, 1878, only a few days after purchasing 16,000 acres[34] and a few days before leasing the Crown Lands,[35] Spreckels petitioned King Kalakaua for water rights. Spreckels also made a $40,000 loan to the Hawaiian King. Notably, Spreckels' Californian engineer, Harmann Schussler, is noted as a witness to this transaction.[36] The Hawaiian King's accounting book indicates an entry in July 1878 for a $40,000 loan to King Kalakaua from Claus Spreckels,[37] only a month after Spreckels' petition for water rights, and a few days after granting water rights. Following this granting of riparian rights Spreckels issued the $40,000 loan to King Kalakaua. In 1880, Spreckels paid Princess Ruth Ke'elikolani, $10,000 to purchase her "claim" to the Crown Lands[38] before the lease's 10-year term.

The Hawaiian government eventually challenged Spreckels' claim to ownership of the Crown Lands. With the Great Mahele's designation of the Crown Lands as the property of the monarch, Spreckels' claim to ownership, even after the purchase from Princess Ruth Ke'elikolani did not have strong legal merit, as the purchase was not directly from the Hawaiian King and instead from a distant relative, his niece Princess Ke'elikolani. Yet, in 1882 the Hawaiian King and Legislature ordered the official transfer of the deed to Spreckels via the "Act to Authorize the Commissioners of Crown Lands to Convey Certain Portions of Such Lands to Claus Spreckels in Satisfaction of All Claims He May Have on Such Lands."[39] The timing of these events and the close financial relationship between Spreckels and the King has led many Hawaiian scholars to consider this a bribe.[40] Securing 24,000 acres of Kingdom and Crown Lands,[41] Spreckels

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[33] Lease of Wailuku crown lands to Claus Spreckels by Commissioners of crown Lands, effective July 1, 1878, book 55, pp.196-200; book 57, pp.299-304. Bureau of Conveyances, Honolulu.. In Adler, Jacob. *The Spreckelsville Plantation: A Chapter in Claus Spreckels' Hawaiian Career*. San Francisco, 1961. California Historical Society Quarterly Vol 40, No 1. 33-48. And in Jean Hobbes, *Hawaii: A Pageant of the Soil,* 24 (1935). Regulation deed dated September 30, 1880.

[34] *Pacific Commercial Advertiser,* June 22, 1878. Adler, *The Spreckelsville Plantation.*

[35] Lease of Wailuku crown lands to Claus Spreckels by Commissioners of Crown Lands, effective July 1, 1878, book 55, pp.196-200; book 57, pp.299-304. Bureau of Conveyances, Honolulu.

[36] Kuykendall, *The Hawaiian Kingdom*: p. 201. Jacob Adler, *Claus Spreckels: The Sugar King in Hawaii.* p. 201-205. Meacham, Laura G. "Herman Schüssler: The Invisible Architect of Western Water Conveyance Systems." ProQuest Dissertations Publishing, 2022.

[37] Kalakau Cash Book, Archives of Hawaii, p. 51.in Adler, Jacob. "Water Rights and Cabinet Shuffles: How Claus Spreckels' Hawaiian Career Began." The Business History Review 34, no. 1 (1960): 50-63. P. 59.

[38] Jon M. Van Dyke. *Who Owns the Crown Lands of Hawaii?* (Honolulu: University of Hawaii Press, 2008.) p. 101.

[39] "Act to Authorize the Commissioners of Crown Lands to Convey Certain Portions of Such Lands to Claus Spreckels in Satisfaction of All Claims He May Have on Such Lands." July 21, 1882.

[40] Kuykendall, *The Hawaiian Kingdom.* Adler, *The Sugar King in Hawaii.* Meacham, "Herman Schüssler: The Invisible Architect of Western Water Conveyance Systems." Van Dyke, *Who Owns the Crown Lands of Hawaii?*.

[41] "Act to Authorize the Commissioners of Crown Lands to Convey Certain Portions of Such Lands to Claus Spreckels in Satisfaction of All Claims He May Have on Such Lands." July 21, 1882.

controlled 9.4% of the total public lands of the Hawaiian Islands. The capacity to transfer this public land to private property marks a drastic shift in Hawai'i's property regime and local land relations. The privatization of these lands and subsequent agricultural development by sugar reflects the impact of the reorganization of land to local lifeways.

The power of sugar capitalists is sharply felt by the close of the 1880s with King Kalakaua further granting water rights in dismissed his cabinet at two o'clock in the morning, installing a new one containing leaders of the Hawaiian League[42] that swiftly granted sugar capitalists' water rights.[43] The strength of the sugar industry in the region resulted in the signing of what is commonly referred to as the "Bayonet Constitution" in 1887.[44] Signed at gunpoint, the new constitution - whose ratification continues to be contested by native Hawaiians - culminated in the shift towards privatization of public lands.

Securing ownership of land and water, sugar capitalists altered the local landscape. The environmental history of the Hawaiian Ridge and the resulting biogeography particular to islands, specifically high-altitude islands such as Maui, that sit 10,000 feet above sea level, creates a unique rainfall pattern throughout the island, with very wet zones and very dry zones.[45] Healthy forests support regular rainfall and stream replenishment. The 1876 Forest Act protected upstream forests and revealed the ebbs and flows of sugar planters' management of the landscape. Sugar investors managed the unique rainfall and elevation pattern of the island through a combination of overland irrigation projects. While there existed extensive dryland agricultural development of the lowland zones, the introduction of European biota, cattle, and goats specifically, the ecological changes that accompanied industrial sugar in the 1880s,[46] began with the privatization of land in the 1840s and grew exponentially with the privatization of water in the 1870s.

Sugar, unlike cattle,[47] necessitated the construction of an infrastructure of irrigation and worker housing that reflects the intimate impact of the sugar industry on social relations and living arrangements. The diverse labor and land relations transformed into a single industry that controlled water and land and therefore held immense power in local social and economic relations. The industrial scale of sugar cane processing embedded the industry in the lived experiences of inhabitants and workers of the island of Maui. Sugar's consolidation of the landscape moved native Hawaiian communities off the land and facilitated Labor Agreements with Hawai'i and Japan to import Japanese

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[42] "Appointment of a new cabinet!" *The Hawaiian gazette.* [volume] (Honolulu [Oahu, Hawaii]), 05 July 1887. Chronicling America: Historic American Newspapers. Lib. of Congress.
[43] "New Hawaiian Constitution, Adopted July 7, 1887." *The Hawaiian gazette*. [volume] (Honolulu [Oahu, Hawaii]), 07 July 1887. Chronicling America: Historic American Newspapers. Lib. of Congress.
[44] Hawaiian Kingdom Constitution of 1887. Granted by Kalakaua Rex., July 6, 1887. Printed in The Hawaiian gazette. [volume] (Honolulu [Oahu, Hawaii]), 07 July 1887. Chronicling America: Historic American Newspapers. Lib. of Congress.
[45] MacLennon, *Sovereign Sugar.*
[46] MacLennon, *Sovereign Sugar.*
[47] Fisher's environmental history of cattle culture in Hawaii traces the changes to the landscape brought on by early agricultural industrialists.

male workers to work these new fields. A few decades after the Mahele, Spreckels owned and operated 40,000 acres which were processed at the Spreckelsville Plantation and the San Francisco Spreckels refinery via transport provided by his own Oceanic Steamline. This vertically-integrated company model would be replicated in beet sugar throughout central California.

Spreckels obtained riparian rights at a time of great controversy, following the privatization of land in Hawai'i. With legal rights obtained, Spreckels and his associates established an extensive irrigation infrastructure for the production of sugar. King Kalakau's water license to Alexander & Baldwin for the Hamakua Ditch in 1876 marked a critical shift in the history of riparian rights in Hawai'i.[48] Mr. Spreckels took this opportunity to begin to invest in the legal rights to land and water.

Consolidating land facilitated the redirecting of water through irrigation projects. Irrigation sites operate as specific places of extraction and they also represent the social impact of the redirection of water, the employment of irrigation workers, and the response of water itself to these attempts to manage this natural resource. Collectively, this history of water and the sugar industry encompasses the local impact of the global industry. The geographic changes brought on by irrigation tell a corresponding social history of sugar's consolidation of space.

II. Irrigation Network: Ditches, Irrigation Projects, and Irrigation Workers

Spreckels invested a total of $500,000 in irrigation projects in the first two years of construction.[49] With construction starting in 1878, Spreckels began to build the irrigation infrastructure in Hawaiian in 1878. A "thirsty crop,"[50] the success of sugarcane in Hawaii depended on the availability of water since sugar production required "2,000 pounds of water [ ] to produce 1 pound of sugar," until 1949.[51] Spreckels guaranteed the success of his land investment by ensuring his acreage would obtain a sufficient water supply.

The local impact of the sugar industry is most evident in the labor history of the region. The construction of irrigation infrastructure and the resulting labor relations illustrate the social reorganization made possible by the sugar industry. While the native land tenure system was labor-intensive and relied heavily on the local population to support the local taro cultivation,[52] the labor required by an

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[48] In an analysis of the impact of water rights and sovereign power, Wilcox concludes that this change reflects a shift in the power and authority of the king. Arguing that King Kalakau's use of a written legally binding power, "confirmed that contract law, legislative authority, were superior to royal power in Hawaii." (Wilcox, 1996. P. 67)

[49] With the construction of the Waihee and Spreckels Ditch, now known as the Haiku Dich. Adler, Jacob. *Claus Spreckels*. Adler, Jacob. *The Spreckelsville Plantation.* p. 35.

[50] To produce 1lb of sugar it takes 4000 pounds of water (500 gallons). One ton of sugar takes 4000 tons of water, a million gallons). One million gallons of water a day is needed to irrigate 100 acres of sugarcane. Wilcox, Carol. Sugar Water : Hawaii's Plantation Ditches . Honolulu: University of Hawaii Press, 1997. Johnson, Matthew P. "'Thirsty Sugar Lands': Environmental Impacts of Dams and Empire in Puerto Rico Since 1898." Environment and History 27, no. 3 (2021): 337–65.

[51] *Sugar in Hawaii* (Honolulu, Hawaiian Sugar Planters' Association, 1949) p. 17.

[52] Wilcox, *Sugar Water.* p. 26.

irrigated landscape remained physically arduous, fatally dangerous, and completed by migrants.

The changing legal structures in the 1860s that made water accessible to foreign sugar investors exploded into a period of intense irrigation development that continued into the 1960s. Sugar investors built an irrigation network for the production of sugar, effectively consolidating land and water under a single crop. The series of irrigation projects, noted throughout the historical records as "ditches," underscores the complex infrastructure held together at these sites. This section considers the building of these hydraulic structures, with special attention to the Haikū Ditch, the Waiheʻe Ditch, and the workers that built them in an effort to highlight the mutual construction of place by geography and human relations.

American sugar capitalists financed the construction of a complex combination of hydraulic projects that composed the material sites of the irrigation infrastructure. The construction of these ditches reflects a multifaceted history that bridges the narratives of water, sugar, and workers. The water management system built by sugar investors was composed of a complex system of ditches as well as flumes, siphons, and trestles, connected with 2,100 feet of pipes, and included twenty-eight tunnels.[53] This combination of hydraulic technology managed surface water and groundwater. Maui's natural waterways, streams from runoff mountain water "generally reaches the ocean within a single day or two,"[54] necessitating its collection and requiring a secondary water source that groundwater pumping provided. Groundwater pumping assured a constant supply of water to the 36,000 acres recently obtained by Spreckels. Groundwater pumping supported surface water collection.

Between the 1860s-1880s sugar companies built irrigation networks across the mountainous terrain of the island of Maui. Among those ditches were Mr. Spreckels' Haikū Ditch (known as the Spreckels Ditch in East Maui) in 1878 and the Waiheʻe Ditch (known as the Spreckels Ditch in West Maui) in 1882. Between 1878 and 1882 Spreckels invested heavily in Hawaiian irrigation alongside attempts to gain ownership of the Crown Lands. Spreckels 1878 petitioned King Kalakaua for water rights. In this petition for water rights, Spreckels claimed that irrigation would transform "a large district now laying waste [into] a high state of cultivation."[55] Echoing the Western perspective of the landscape as a capital productive site, and perceiving *natural* landscape as a "waste," Spreckels submitted his argument for the purpose of transforming the landscape. According to Spreckels, the Hawaiian government only needed to grant water rights and the sugar industry would stimulate local economic growth. With irrigation, sugar cane signified development.

By contracting California irrigation engineer, Herman Schussler,[56] Mr. Spreckels began to build the Haiku and Waihee ditches.[57] Shussler surveyed and designed the Haiku Ditch, upstream from the Hāmākua Ditch of Alexander and

[53] Adler, *The Spreckelsville Plantation: A Chapter in Claus Spreckels' Hawaiian Career*. p. 71
[54] Wilcox, *Sugar Water.* p. 7
[55] Copy of the petition is in file "Water-Maui-Molokai-Sundries, 1866-1885," Archives of Hawaii. June 24, 1878.
[56] Van Dyke, *Who Owns the Crown Lands of Hawaii?*. p. 100
[57] Adler, *The Spreckelsville Plantation*. p. 35.

Baldwin.[58] Spreckels' upstream ditch diverted water from Alexander & Baldwin, two powerful missionary sugar capitalists, leading to a brief legal battle just prior to the construction of the Haiku Ditch.[59]

The Haikū Ditch began construction in November 1878 and when completed it spanned 30 miles long and was composed of ditches, tunnels, pipes, flumes, and trestles. This irrigation network cost Spreckels $500,000 to build, with a capacity of 60,000,000 gallons a day and fifteen miles long.[60] Following Spreckels' purchase of 16,000 acres of the Waikapu Commons from Henry Corwell as well as a lease from the government for 24,000 acres at $1,000 a year,[61] construction for the Haiku Ditch began in November of 1878 and was completed just the following year. Water used from this irrigation project traveled through,

> thirty miles of ditch, tunnels, pipes, flumes, and trestles. It crossed thirty gulches, some over 2,000 feet wide and 400 feet deep. Twenty-eight tunnels, 3 by 8 feet, some of them 500 feet long, had been cut through solid rock. Twenty-one thousand feet of pipe had been used. The ditch itself was 8 feet wide by 5 feet deep, with a fall of about 3 feet a mile. It delivered up to 60 cubic feet of water a second.[62]

This immense engineering, twice the size of the Hamakau Ditch built just a decade prior, irrigated Spreckels' lands on the Maui plains.

In 1882, Spreckels financed the construction of the Waihee Ditch. With a capacity of 60 million gallons a day, the ditch reached Kalua and Wailuku, filling the HC&S Waiale Reservoir.[63] The construction of both Spreckels' Ditches, in East and West Maui, secured water from both sides of the island, ensuring a steady water supply for the Spreckels fields on the plains of Maui. Growing and refining sugar cane is a water-intensive process. To produce 1 pound of sugar requires 4,000 gallons of water and 1,000,000 gallons of water is needed to irrigate 100 acres of sugarcane.[64] Incorporating the Spreckelsville Plantation under HC&S 1884, the company became part of Alexander & Baldwin in 1898. In 1908, Alexander & Baldwin founded the East Maui Irrigation Company (EMI) to irrigate the sugar fields owned and managed by HC&S. The EMI, a water collection system that included 388 separate intakes, 24 miles of ditch, 50 miles of tunnels, and 12 inverted siphons, feeders, dams, intakes, popes, and flumes,[65] averaged 65 million gallons a day, with the capacity to deliver 445 million gallons a day.[66]

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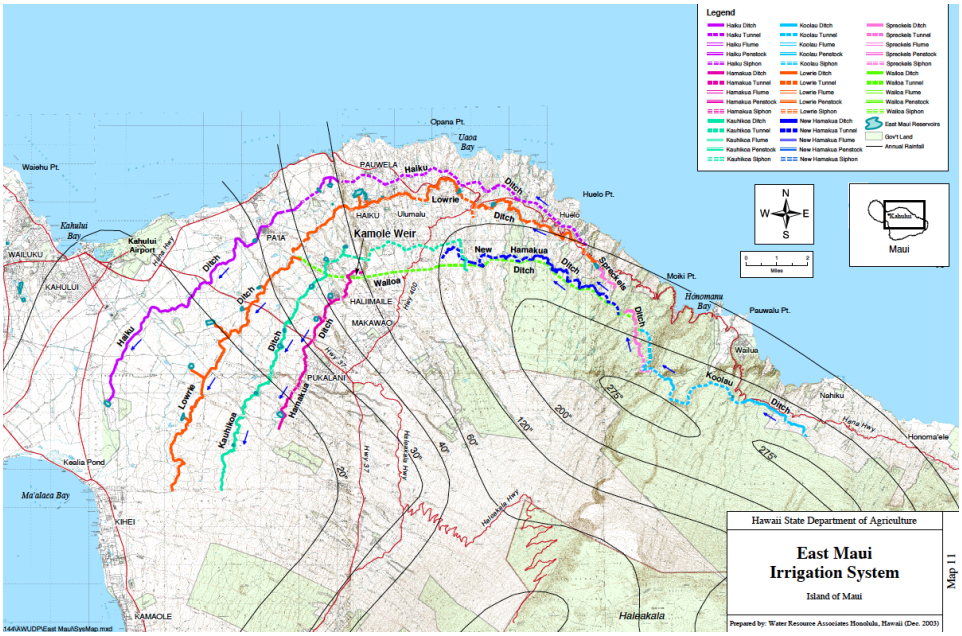
[58] M. M. O'Shaughnessy, "Irrigation," The Planters' Monthly 21 (1902): 615– 622.
[59] MacLennon, *Sovereign Sugar.*
[60] Adler, *The Spreckelsville Plantation: A Chapter in Claus Spreckels' Hawaiian Career*.
[61] Wilcox, *Sugar Water.* p 62.
[62] Adler, J *The Spreckelsville Plantation*. p. 35.
[63] Wilcox, *Sugar Water*. p.63.
[64] Wilcox, *Sugar Water.* p.1.
[65] Wilcox, *Sugar Water.* p. 118.
[66] Wilcox, *Sugar Water.* p. 5



East Maui Irrigation System. "Water System That Nurtured Sugar Industry Designated a National Historic Landmark."

The East Maui Irrigation System, one of Maui's historic landmarks,[67] marks a period of intensification of the landscape and drastic alteration of the physical topography of the island. The East Maui Irrigation System controlled surface water while the Hawaiian Commercial & Sugar Company (HC&S) controlled groundwater.[68] The two ditches ensured a sufficient supply of water to Spreckels' 40,000 acres of land in Maui. The Haikū Ditch, which was an addition to the Hāmākua Ditch of Alexander and Baldwin, "intercepted streams on the northern slope of Haleakalā … from Honomanū westward and convey[ed] them by means of ditches about thirty miles long"[69] to the plantation.

Water fueled the sugar cane industry in Hawai'i; including the irrigation of crops, the refining process, and the transportation of sugar. The irrigation

[67] East Maui Irrigation System."Water System That Nurtured Sugar Industry Designated a National Historic Landmark." ASCE News 28, no. 4 (2003): 10–10.
[68] Wilcox, 1997.
[69] O'Shaughnessy, Michael M. "Irrigation," The Planters' Monthly 21 (1902): 615– 622. "Irrigation Works in the Hawaiian Islands." Transactions of the American Society of Civil Engineers 54, pt. C (1905): 129– 36. Jones, C. Allan, and Robert V. Osgood. *From King Cane to the Last Sugar Mill: Agricultural Technology and the Making of Hawai`i's Premier Crop*, (University of Hawaii Press, 2015.)

requirements of sugar cane, to produce a single pound of sugar requires a million gallons of water and to irrigate 100 acres of sugarcane requires one million gallons of water a day.[70] Water embodies the native relations, agro-industrial relations, and current relations that have been and continue to be impacted by sugar. Irrigation confines a region and its inhabitants to the continued management of water,[71] and therefore, Hawai'i is confined to the production of sugar. An application of a critical race and ethnic studies lens to a critical environmental analysis of the agro-industrial infrastructure established to support sugar production reflects the continuous management of water and people and the power of sugar on local communities in workers' communities. Sugarcane, described as a "thirsty crop" led companies such as HC&S to turn to groundwater to satisfy the requirements of their industrial sugarcane refining Harnessing water across thirty miles of overland ditches, and groundwater pumping brought this entire region under the management of the sugar industry.

The labor required to support the sugar industry included the integrated skills of Hawaiian, Western, and Chinese technology, as well as Chinese and Japanese manual labor, with a lesser reliance on native labor. The integration of Chinese milling technology in 1839 increased the sugar quality, allowing the islands to compete with a global market. The financial support of American capitalists, and sugar corporations built by missionary families, sustained the local boom-and-bust sugar industry.[72] With financial support, adapting Western irrigation technologies to Hawaiian landscapes and harnessing water over a vast distance became possible in the 1870s. During the height of irrigating the West, "no one was better than Schussler at controlling water," specializing in hydrology techniques for mining, working mostly in California and Arizona,[73] Spreckels exported Shussler's expertise to the Pacific. The irrigation network built for sugar refining connects the West

The irrigation investments of Claus Spreckels intensified the landscape and consolidated northern Maui under the production of sugar. Building the Haiku and Waihee Ditches between 1878-1882, Spreckels was able to harvest a steady supply of water for his canefields. The labor required to sustain Spreckels' enterprise begins with the labor of the engineers, ditch builders, and farmworkers that sustained the daily production of refined sugar.

Early irrigation efforts of Alexander & Baldwin, sons of missionary families, and eventual managers of HC&S, built the Hamakua Ditch in 1878. The construction of this ditch points to the reliance on native labor. Local newspapers remarked on the labor performed by "a large gang of men, sometimes numbering two hundred" and noted that the individuals employed were provided with food and shelter commensurate "to the care of a regiment of soldiers on the march."[74]

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[70] Wilcox, *Sugar Water.* P. 63.
[71] Worster, Donald. *Rivers of Empire: Water, Aridity, and the Growth of the American West.* (New York: Pantheon Books, 1987.)
[72] MacLennon, *Sovereign Sugar.* p. 104
[73] Meacham, Laura G. "Herman Schüssler: The Invisible Architect of Western Water Conveyance Systems." p. 76
[74] Mrs. Emma Metcalf Nakuina, "Ancient Hawaiian Water Rights: And some of the Customs Pertaining to Them," *The Hawaiian Annual,* (1893): 79–84.

The newspapers describe the machinery that was "painfully dragged uphill and down, and in and out of deep gulches, severely taxing the energies and strength of man and beast severely."[75] At seventeen miles long and considering the arduous labor of ditch building, it is a feat that the Hamakau Ditch took nearly two years to complete, costing $80,000 to build.[76] Another missionary sugar planter, George Wilcox, founder of the Grove Farm, used Hawaiian, Chinese, Japanese, German, and even prison labor.[77]

Japanese immigrant workers composed the majority of workers that built the irrigation networks supporting the sugar industry in Hawaii in the 1880s. The large population of Japanese workers was due to the sociopolitical changes in Japan that resulted in large emigration. The role of the sugar industry in the immigration of Japanese workers to Hawai'i can not be underestimated. Sugar investors collectively lobbied with the Japanese government for the immigration of Japanese laborers.[78] As a direct result of the Hawaiian-Japanese Labor Convention of 1886[79] between the years of 1885-1894, a recorded number of 200,000 Japanese traveled to work in Hawaii.[80] The physical labor required to build the irrigation network was provided by Japanese immigrants starting in 1886.[81] Japanese workers arrived in Hawai'i as contract laborers during the 1860s and by 1885, various treaties codified the emigration from Japan to Hawaii, including a commercial treaty in 1871. Following the 1875 Reciprocity Treaty between Hawai'i and the United States, sugar investors leaned on Japan for its labor force.[82] American investors and Japanese workers altered the Hawaiian landscape. The construction of irrigation sites began the large labor demand of the sugar company. The subsequent workers, namely farm workers and factory workers, maintained the sugar landscape.

Photographs of the various processes of ditch-building reflect the common techniques used throughout the sugar industry during the period. The tunnels carved by hand using pick-axes[83] reflect the laborious nature of establishing the irrigation infrastructure. This method of "hand-drilling"[84] required a combination of manual labor and explosives. Carving into the landscape, workers altered the geographic condition for the purpose of sugar production. Workers labored alongside pack animals such as mules,[85] a reflection of the rural labor practices used to establish industrial sugar production. Forty miles of railroad tracks laid by

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[75] ibid.
[76] Wilcox, *Sugar Water.* p. 61.
[77] Wilcox, *Sugar Water.*
[78] Ladenson, Alex. "The Background of the Hawaiian-Japanese Labor Convention of 1886." Pacific Historical Review 9, no. 4 (1940): 389–400.
[79] ibid.
[80] Beechert, Edward D. *Working in Hawaii : a Labor History.* (Honolulu: University of Hawaii Press, 1985.)
[81] Wilcox, *Sovereign Sugar.* Herschler, *50 Years of Water Service,* p. 12.
[82] Ladenson, Alex. "The Background of the Hawaiian-Japanese Labor Convention of 1886." Pacific Historical Review 9, no. 4 (1940): 389–400.
[83] Waihole Tunnel images. Wilcox, *Sugar Water.* p. 61.
[84] Wilcox, *Sugar Water.* p. 94.
[85] Wilcox, *Sugar Water.* P. 107.

Chinese laborers[86] connected the canefields to the mills. Shortening the distance from field to mill ensured a higher saccharine quality, making railroads a crucial feature of the sugar industry. The transportation networks, visible in the background of the photographs, remind the viewer of the integrated network of extraction operating on the land at the hand of these laborers with the financing of sugar planters.

The construction of the Haikū Ditch and Waihee ditches[87] were used to build a public campaign of support for the agricultural intensification of the landscape. While Spreckels was engaged in a legal battle to secure his purchase of the 16,000 acres of Kingdom and Crown Lands, various articles published in the *Hawaiian Gazette* demonstrate the ongoing government support of Mr. Spreckels's investments started as early as 1878 when the land and water rights were initially purchased. After the July 1878 decision that granted him water rights, the *Hawaiian Gazette* published a letter to the readers, wherein Spreckels is described as "exhibit[ing] benevolence which should call forth the admiration of all classes."[88] Founded by James H. Black in 1865, the *Hawaiian Gazette* ran until 1918.[89] The newspaper was critical of the Hawaiian monarch and a supporter of American capital interests. Signed "Hawaii," this letter attempts to demonstrate popular support for the sugar industry's irrigation projects. Within a few years, the newspaper would explicitly point to the economic potential of the sugar industry on the island. In 1882, only a few months after the granting of the Crown Lands, the *Hawaiian Gazette* described "what was once considered worthless land"[90] as transformed "[into] a waving plain of cane."[91] Echoing Spreckels' claims in his 1878 petition for water rights, the newspaper highlights the productive capacity of the land. According to the newspaper, the sugar industry's intensification of the landscape indicated local economic growth. The *Pacific Commercial Advertiser* documented the impact of the Spreckels Plantation on the local landscape by 1882. The lush landscape, made possible by the sugar industry, was a clear sign of the Spreckelsville Plantation's capability to "scatter[ ] money among the Hawaiian people."[92]

By the 1880s, the environmental impacts of the sugar industry could already be felt. The irrigation projects built by sugar capitalists varied in their individual composition but included "carr[ing[water through mountain tunnels, in wooden ditches atop trestles over deep valleys, and delivered to cane lands in concrete-lined ditches."[93] Planters also collaborated to maintain the tropical forests directly above their cane lands, through tree planting projects, lobbying for

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[86] In the recurring column, Sugar Cane, the article "The Largest plantation in the world described: a yield of 14,000 tons in one year - obtaining water for irrigation purposes from distant Mountain Peaks" *The Home* 20 Dec 1888 (Pittsboro, North Carolina.)
[87] Adler, Jacob. *The Spreckelsville Plantation: A Chapter in Claus Spreckels' Hawaiian Career*. San Francisco, 1961. California Historical Society Quarterly Vol 40, No 1. 33-48. P. 35.
[88] Letter signed "Hawaii." July 17, 1878. *Hawaiian Gazette*.
[89] *The Hawaiian Gazette.* Honolulu Oahu, Hawaii -1918. (Honolulu, HI), Jan. 1, 1865.
[90] August 23, 1882. *Hawaiian Gazette*,
[91] ibid.
[92] ibid.
[93] MacLennon, *Sovereign Sugar.*

forest reserves, and with the 1876 Forest Act. The 1876 Forest Act recognized that forests in Hawai'i worked as water-producing systems,[94] and therefore essential to the industry's success. And still, by the 1880s, the sugar industry had depleted the forests and soil quality. In 1931, HC&S pumped 144 million gallons a day through the collaboration of three pumping stations, at depths of 119, 300, and 500 feet.[95] That same year, 1931, HC&S produced 32% of Hawaii's total sugar crop.[96]

While the sugar market was developing in the boom-and-bust periods of the 1860s, planters relied on Hawaiians to supply their labor needs. In 1873, fifty percent of the sugar cane workforce was native. Statistics collected by the Hawaiian Immigration Society document 3,786 laborers employed on 52 plantations, 2,627 were Hawaiian men and 364 were Hawaiian women.[97] According to Simpson, "the true reason why there is a dearth in Hawaiian labor is the increase of the planting interest from some 2,000,000 pounds in nine or ten years to 10 or 20,000,000, requiring from eight to ten times as many men."[98] In 1888, the Spreckelsville Plantation produced "fourteen thousand tons in one year; the average yearly yield is from six to eight thousand" across 28,000 acres.The 40,000 acres composing the Spreckelsville Plantation, had a reported "25,000 [acres] were good cane land." and of that only "[t]welve thousand acres were under cultivation."[99] The plantation, "fitted with the most perfect machinery,"[100] had a capacity of 30,000 tons a year" in large part to their modern technology reported to by and were

In 1881, the plantation used a system of "permanent and portable track" that connected the plantation to the port of Kahului. "At Spreckelsville, rails radiated in all directions from the mill buildings and also connected them with each other. By means of rails on the floors, a traveling crane could move machinery to any part of the mills.33 Thus Spreckels found a solution for intra-plantation cane hauling, inter-mill, and intra-mill transport, and for getting sugar directly to the wharf at Kahului."[101] Spreckels' invitation to small planters to cultivate sugar on shares of his land. He offered to lend money for this purpose at 7 percent a year, whereas the going rate had been 9 to 12 percent a year compounded quarterly. *The Gazette* congratulated Spreckels on his enterprise and expressed the hope that his offer would help to reduce interest rates throughout the islands.[102]

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[94] MacLennon, *Sovereign Sugar.*
[95] Wilcox, *Sugar Water.* p. 121.
[96] ibid
[97] *The Hawaiian Immigration Society … Report of the Secretary…* (Honolulu, 1874). Pp. 10, 19. Other notes on Hawaiians as plantation laborers, see *Hawaiian Gazette,* May 3, 1869; *Pacific Commercial Advertiser,* March 3, 1857, Nov. 13, 1858, Sept 14, 1859, June 28, 1860, Feb. 14, 1861, Debt. 5. 1864, Oct. 6, 1866, April 15, 1871, Feb 15, 1873. Microfilm Series: S90082. University of Hawai'i, Mānoa Hamilton Library.
[98] Kuykendall, *The Hawaiian Kingdom.*
[99]Adler, Jacob. "The Spreckelsville Plantation: A Chapter in Claus Spreckels' Hawaiian Career." *California Historical Society Quarterly.* 40, no. 1 (1961): 33–48.
[100] *Pacific Coast Commercial Record,* May 1892, p. 20.
[101] Adler, "The Spreckelsville Plantation: A Chapter in Claus Spreckels' Hawaiian Career." p. 34.
[102] November 13,1878. *Hawaiian Gazette,*

To meet the labor needs of sugar cane growing, Hawaiian planters embarked on contract labor agreements with Chinese migrants. Also impacting this labor need was the ongoing decline of the native population, dropping 50% by some estimates, which continued to influence the reliance on foreign labor. Selected as a representative of sugar planters and the Hawaiian monarchy, Dr. William Hillebrand traveled to various countries in Asia with hopes to "induce some proportion of the Coolies to engage with their wives, or wives and families."[103] Japanese contract workers built irrigation projects and labored in the sugar cane fields. By June 1868, 148 Japanese, including 6 women and 2 children,[104] entered the Hawaiian islands as contract workers. Contracts with different ethnic groups showed a common practice of differing lengths of contract where Chinese workers were contracted for a term of "five years, with Japanese for three years, and with other foreigners and Hawaiians for one year."[105] Advocates for the end of the contract labor system, including Henry M. Whitney, editor of the *Pacific Commercial Advertiser,* argued against the system on the basis of free will.[106] Further proponents for the end of the contract labor system, argued against the features of the underlying law, the "Servants and Merchants Law" and by 1872 three Acts were added to safeguard "the rights and interests of the laborers,"[107] and prevented married women from entering into labor contracts. The rising anti-Chinese sentiment in the United States[108] undoubtedly influenced the end of the contract labor system in Hawai'i. With the contract periods coming to an end, the Sugar Planters Association in Honolulu in 1869 agreed that "the further introduction into this country of Chinese coolies is undesirable," [109] and with that, the end of Chinese recruitment began a shift towards Japan.

In 1888, the Spreckelsville Plantation required fourteen hundred laborers to produce six to eight of which "only one hundred are Caucasians. The rest are a mixture of Japanese, Chinese, South Pacific Islanders, and Hawaiians. A hundred whites direct the thirteen hundred colored laborers, manage railroads, the mills, the water flumes - in short, do everything requiring any brains."[110] The racialized labor directly translated to disparaging pay rates and worker housing: engineers earned $175 a month including boarding which consisted of cottages, carpenters $60 and board, and Japanese and Chinese railroad workers, $14 a month without boarding but with [a] two cent allowance for food.[111]

Spreckels' reliance on de-valued, racialized labor influenced Spreckels'

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[103] Royal Commission to Hillebrand, dated March 30, 1865, AH, Commissions; C.G. Hopkins to Hillebrand, April 3, 1865, AH, Interior Dept. file box 52.
[104] Kuykendall, *The Hawaiian Kingdom.* p. 183.
[105] Kuykendall, *The Hawaiian Kingdom.* p.185.
[106] Kuykendall, *The Hawaiian Kingdom*. p. 32.
[107] *Laws,* 1872, pp 7-8, 20-21, 27-28.
[108] 1882 Chinese Exclusion Act. "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
[109] Kuykandall, *The Hawaiian Kingdom*. p. 32.
[110] "The Largest plantation in the world described: a yield of 14,000 tons in one year - obtaining water for irrigation purposes from distant Mountain Peaks." *The Home* 20 Dec 1888
[111] ibid.

directly informed his opinion on Hawaiian annexation.[112] Spreckels publicly stated that annexation "would ruin the sugar industry here on these islands."[113] The United States Chinese Exclusion Act of 1882 directly opposed Spreckels company policy of hiring non-white laborers to work in the fields. In 1891, Spreckels addressed annexation publicly.[114] California newspapers drew direct comparisons between Spreckels' labor practices and African slavery in the American South. Spreckels' Hawaiian labor practices, increasingly likening them to slavery. The *San Francisco Chronicle* published a series of articles in 1881, "Slave or Starve: Trials of Antonio Mideivas de Ascencion - The Spreckels Sugar Plantation - a Startling Story of the very Effective Practical Slavery on the Sandwich Islands;"[115] "Hawaiian Island Slavery;"[116] "Peonage Established"[117] and 1882, "The Hawaiian Sugar Fraud"[118] and "The Slave Drivers' Candidate" that led Mr. Spreckels to sue the newspaper.[119]

Controlling 40,000 acres of land, with two irrigation systems collectively spanning more than forty miles, Spreckels effectively altered the local social and spatial relations into a private property system. The history of land and water rights demonstrates the sugar industry's influence on the local landscape. This consolidation of land facilitated the redirection of water that supported what was considered "one of the largest cane sugar estates in the world."[120] The sites composing the irrigation network document the local impact of the sugar industry. Increasing the production of the land through irrigation, the Spreckelsville Plantation became a highly productive industrial site that facilitated a vertically integrated sugar company in Hawaii. In 1879, 500 acres yielded a total of 3,00 tons, and with the addition of three mills by 1882 the capacity was 100 tons a day.[121] With both land and water under his control, by 1894 the Spreckelsville Plantation managed the cultivation, manufacturing, and transportation of more than half of the sugar produced on the island.[122] The success of the Spreckelsville Plantation, the sugar cane refinery site, depended on the management of water and land which is reflected by the irrigation infrastructure built by Mr. Spreckels.

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[112] Weighels, Richard D., "Sugar and the Hawaiian Revolution" Pacific Historical Review. p. 47. Coffman, Tom. *Nation Within : the History of the American Occupation of Hawai'i.* Revised edition. Durham: Duke University Press, 2016.

[113] May 15, 1893. N*ew York Herald.*

[114] Spreckels, Claus. "The Future of the Sandwich Islands." *The North American Review* 152, no. 412 (1891): 287–91.

[115] "Slave or Starve: Trials of Antonio Mideivas de Ascencion - The Spreckels Sugar Plantation - a Startling Story of the very Effective Practical Slavery on the Sandwich Islands;" October 11, 1881; *Daily Alta California.*

[116] October 12, 1881. *The San Francisco Chronicle.*

[117] October 29,1881. T*he San Francisco Chronicle.*

[118] October 25, 1882. T*he San Francisco Chronicle.*

[119] Daily Alta California, Volume 38, Number 12856, 25 June 1885; "Spreckels Case" 25 Jun 1885 *The San Francisco Examiner*

[120] Adler, Jacob. "Water Rights and Cabinet Shuffles: How Claus Spreckels' Hawaiian Career Began." The Business History Review 34, no. 1 (1960): 50-63. P. 52.

[121] Directory of Hawaiian Kingdom, 1880-1881 (San Francisco, 1881), p. 431.*Hawaiian Gazette,* April 12,1882.

[122] Weigels, Richard D., "Sugar and the Hawaiian Revolution" Pacific Historical Review. *United States Foreign Relations, 1894.* App. II. 975.

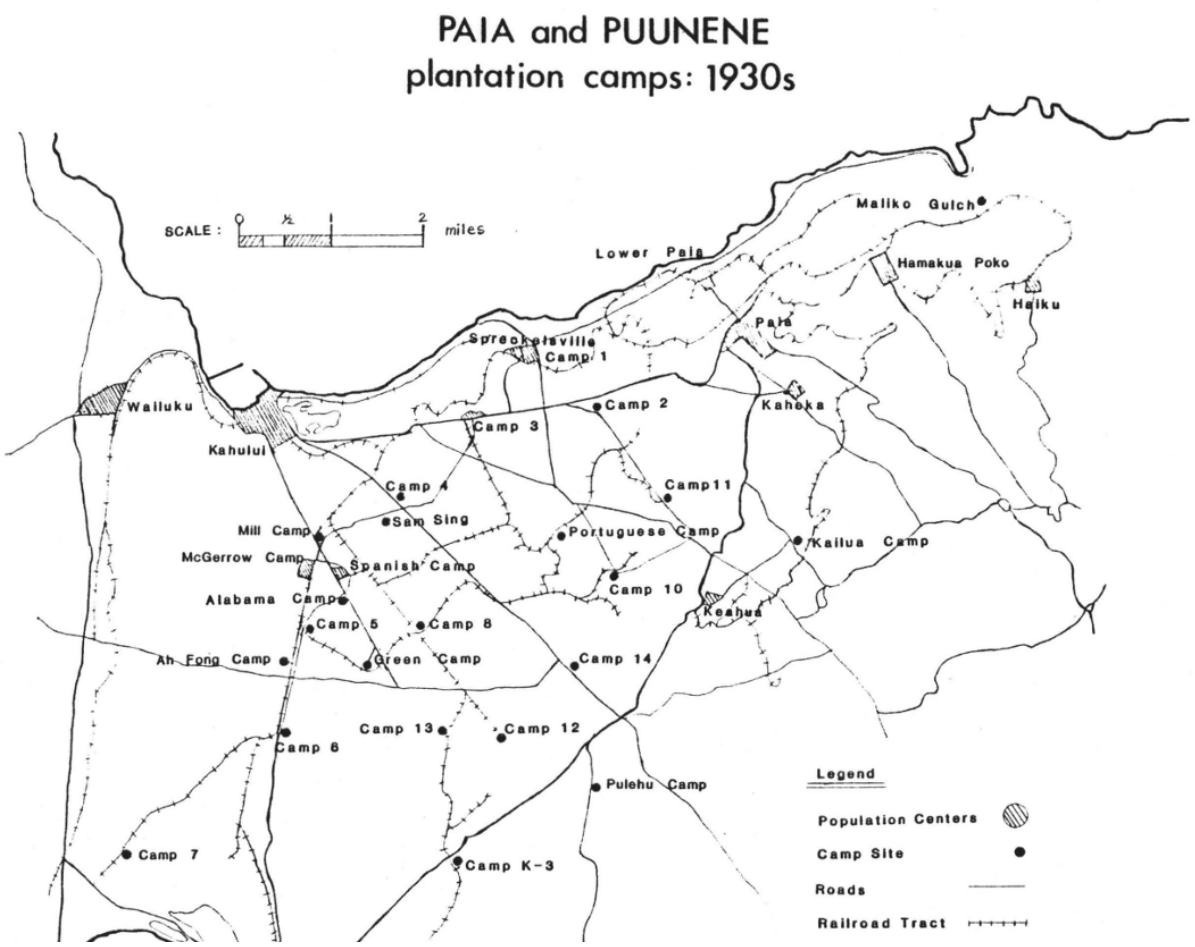
These components of the water management system elucidate the human and ecological components impacted by the *irrigation infrastructure.* The ditch sites themselves reflect the historical materialization of sugar on the landscape, including the geographic and social impact of the industry. The workers whose labor reorganized the landscape illustrate the new social spaces created by the sugar industry, including company-sponsored housing which resulted in the workers' founding town of Paia, Hawai'i.

Like many rural workers, the workers building and maintaining these irrigation projects lived alongside their work, in cabins. Cabins alongside irrigation sites, such as the one in Camp 10 at the Kokee Plantation,[123] reflect the socio-spatial relations established by the sugar industry. Isolated from communal areas, working and living on the same site, sugar investors viewed their employees' lives as intertwined and dependent on their labor. Very little is written about these rural sites. I interrogate the socio-spatial relations that these sites reveal and supplement this gap in the historiography with the history of the labor camps that founded the town of Paia, on the northern part of the island of Maui, Hawai'i.

III. Worker Housing: Japanese Communities & Racialized Spaces

The immense workforce that built, maintained, and managed the irrigation infrastructure supporting the production of sugar illustrates the local impact of global sugar. The social spaces facilitated by the sugar industry in Hawaii are best described by the history of the workers' town Paia on the northern side of the island of Maui. Paia, only 3.4 miles from the Spreckelsville Plantation, embodies the social history of the workers who supported the sugar industry. The labor camps at the Spreckelsville Plantation provide insight into the sugar industry's impact on the social landscape through its construction of company-sponsored housing and the resulting facilitation of community.

[123] Wilcox, *Sugar Water.* p. 53



"Stores and Storekeepers of Paia and Puunene, Maui" Vol. 1. Hawai'i. Ethnic Studies Oral History Project. Ethnic Studies Program. University of Hawaii, Manoa. 1980.

The company-sponsored housing at the Spreckelsville Plantation was composed of labor camps, identified in the historical record as Camp 1, Camp 2, and Camp 3. Using personal narratives and oral history, I attempt to recuperate the social landscape of the labor camps. Collectively, these sources illustrate the ethnic segregation that defined spatial boundaries, providing a model for Spreckels' sugar beet labor camps in California's Salinas Valley. Unlike California, Paia's work camps transformed into a permanent Japanese-American community.

A personal memoir and a few oral histories of Leonard Andaya, and Richard Omuro shed light on the lived experiences of the work camp communities. Collectively, these histories depict the social landscape of labor camps in the Spreckelsville Plantation as ethnically-segregated and class-stratified communities. Company census records demonstrate the large community growing in labor camps. By 1939, the population of the camps hit 7,973 and had a total of 1,545 houses.[124]

[124] A.B. Gilmore, 1939. *The Hawaiian Sugar Manual.* The Sugar Museum Registry.

Wayne Kiyosaki's memoir[125] describes the lived experience of the labor camps in Spreckelsville. Kiyosaki describes the camps' spatial relationship to each other as "an agglomeration of noncontiguous plantation camps, each situated within a mile or so of each other."[126] This "loose configuration of camps"[127] remained ethnically segregated and socially stratified. According to Kiyosaki, the plantation elite, such as Spreckels' business partner Frank Baldwin, lived in "isolated splendor,"[128] management lived in the towns of Wailuku and Kahului, farmworkers and day laborers lived in numbered camps and field supervisors lived in a separate housing enclave known as Codfish Row.[129] With worker housing, the labor hierarchy of sugar workers extended into the social landscape. Kiyosaki's description paints a vivid picture of the tangibility of class hierarchy, given its reflection on space. The sugar company used the spatial configuration of its workers to reinforce racialized labor hierarchies.

The demographics of farmworkers and day laborers that occupied the numbered camps, Camp 1, Camp 2, and Camp 3 are not explicit in the historical record. However, Kiyosaki's memoir and the oral histories of Leonard Y. Andaya and Richard Omuro illuminate patterns of ethnic segregation. Kiyosaki embeds his family history in the local history of Camp 3 at Spreckelsville, the "de facto Japanese"[130] Camp and Andaya's oral history identifies Camp 2, as "occupied by Japanese, and [ ] by Filipino 'bachelors."[131]

Richard Omuro, born in 1932 in Spreckelsville Camp 3 just three miles from the beach, spent his childhood living on the plantation. Similar to Andaya, Omuro felt the impacts of ethnic segregation most sharply when it came to schools. Attending the English Standard School in the 1940s, Omuro states, "Our school was meant for some of the plantation owners' kids."[132] Growing up in the Spreckelsville Plantation, these individuals document the ethnic segregation that characterized the labor camps. Omuro describes his childhood home as "kinda unique,"[133] in that his family lived above businesses they owned and operated. Built by his father, this home housed a multigenerational family that included uncles and aunts that were all employed outside of the sugar industry but still remained deeply integrated with the camp community. A Japanese-American family, Omuro recalls the loss of native language[134] among the younger generations living under the same roof.

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[125] Kiyosaki, Wayne S. *Talk Pidgin, Speak English: Go Local; Go American: The Japanese Immigrant Experience in Spreckelsville, Maui*. (Bloomington, AuthorHouse, 2014.)
[126] Kiyosaki, *Talk Pidgin, Speak English.* p. 46.
[127] Kiyosaki. *Talk Pidgin, Speak English.* P. 46.
[128] Kiyosaki, *Talk Pidgin, Speak English.* p. 51.
[129] Kiyosaki, *Talk Pidgin, Speak English.* p. 51 -53.
[130] Kiyosaki, *Talk Pidgin, Speak English.* p. 42.
[131]Andaya, Leonard Y., 1996. "From American-Filipino to Filipino-American." *Social Process in Hawaii.* Vol. 37, 1996. p.99.
[132] Interview with Richard Omuro. 19 July 1998. "Tsunamis in Maui Counties: Oral Histories" Center for Oral History. Social Science Research Institute. University of Hawai'i at Manoa. March 2003. Tape No. 36-20a2-1-98.
[133] Omuro interview p. 17.
[134] ibid

Recalling his childhood experiences on the plantation Leonard Andaya identifies the multi-ethnic exchange that occurred in the camps. Speaking as a Flipino, Hawaiian-born American, Andaya's oral history provides insight into the gender and sexual relations of camp life. As a young man, Andaya notes the impacts of the bachelor society promoted by planters' hiring practices. Men took on domestic chores including cleaning and cooking. Moreover, through these instances, Andaya is illustrating the multigenerational community of the camp. The single males that were hired were not single but made to be single, that is, removed from their immediate families through contract labor. And still, these single male laborers participated in a community where they provided support to one another, and the families established in the camps, including the elderly, women, and children. Men worked collectively to fish, grow vegetables in private gardens and along the canefields by "those on irrigation duty," slaughtered communal animals, and operated a fish farm in the reservoirs.[135] The communal distribution of these goods illustrates a strong sense of community and reciprocity amongst the Filipino and Japanese residents in the Spreckelsville camps. The care and nurture provided by this extended kin, as Andaya refers to them as uncles,[136] sheds light on the community built by the residents of the camp. Andaya, a teen, reflects on familial relationships constructed by the workers, "they offered a model of emotional and physical care and concern which had a lasting effect on my perceptions."[137]

And still, the histories of women, children, and men as family members are subsumed in the histories recorded and told by men. Kiyosaki's memoir hints at the reproduction of life in the work camps with his mention of a midwife by the name of Mrs. Yanagi.[138] Omuro also notes the common presence of midwives in the Spreckelsville camps.[139] The generational knowledge embodied in the presence of a birth practitioner highlights native approaches to reproduction and life in the liminal spaces of work camps. With her presence, Mrs. Yanagi provides the woman and newborn with the agency and protection of the community. The high birth mortality in California's work camps was documented from 1921 - 1949.[140] The presence of women, midwives, and children, promoted the reproduction of culture, and community, and is undoubtedly a strong factor in the establishment of a permanent Japanese community in Paia.

Worker housing reflects a second site of the historical materialization of the irrigation infrastructure. At these sites, company-sponsored housing shifted from temporary cabins into a permanent community of Japanese workers. The spatial logic of the Camps reflects the company's gender and racial hierarchies, while also serving as a reminder of the consolidation of space by the sugar company, establishing not only a complex network of rural extraction and urban production but also facilitating the foundation of a workers' town.

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[135] Andaya, 103.
[136] Andaya, ibid.
[137] Andaya, 102.
[138] Kiyosaki, *Talk Pidgin, Speak English: Go Local; Go American.* P. 104.
[139] Omuro interview. 1998.
[140] "Maternal and Child Health in the San Joaquin Valley Area, as Related to Seasonal Agricultural Workers' Families." California: California Department of Public Health, 1950?, 1950.

IV. Conclusion: Local History, Global Sugar

The influence of Claus Spreckels on the Hawaiian sugar industry was acutely depicted in an 1893 caricature entitled "Behind it all."[141] The drawing depicts Spreckels behind a white wall with his hands extended through holes, directing the ears of two men, one with a paper in his hand reading, "Hawaiian commission." Prior to annexation, due to the influence of sugar capitalists, Americans exerted control over Hawaiian political officials. Framed as a puppeteer, the criticism of Spreckels' influence on the region, accurately depicts the recurring influence of the industry throughout the Hawaiian islands.

"Behind It All," Spreckels as puppeteer of the Hawaiian Commissioner and Commission. Political cartoon from Judge Magazine, Volume 24, No. 592, February 18, 1893

Using capital investments to purchase land and persuade the local government in favor of the sugar industry, Spreckels intensified the agricultural production of the Hawaiian landscape. Together, the history of land and water rights demonstrate the mutual production of space by geography and human relations.[142] The history of the consolidation of space by the sugar industry

[141] Influencing Politics: Claus Spreckels as the puppeteer of the Hawaiian Commissioner and Commission. Caricature, 1893. Source: Judge 24 (1893): 562.

[142] Henri Lefebvre calls for dialectical materialism to construct a dynamic and complex portrayal of the social (history) and geographic (spatial) relations - a socio-spatial dialectic. Lefebvre, Henri. 1991. *The production of space*. Oxford, OX, UK: Blackwell. Eleonore Kofman and Elizabeth Labas, eds., 1996. *Writings on Cities: Henri Lefebvre.* Cambridge, Mass, USA: Blackwell Publishers.

embodies parallel characteristics to the industrial agricultural patterns of the United States. In Hawai'i, just as in California, sugar settled the arid hillsides. Once the industry controlled vast amounts of land,[143] The power the industry carried on the social landscape became most evident in the private spaces of the home, in the labor camps.

The industrial agricultural production of the rural Hawaiian landscape connects Hawaii to the American national history of sugar production. The landscape described in newspaper publications incorporates Hawai'i into the discourse of the American West. Even though Hawai'i was not annexed into the United States until 1898, the influence of sugar on politics, the landscape, and society, incorporated the region into the American nation-state.

The shifting tariff policies brought on by the Dingley Tariff Act of 1897, encouraged the development of a domestic beet sugar industry.[144] With Hawai'i on the cusp of annexation in 1898,[145] Spreckels shifted towards California and began to invest in the development of a beet sugar industry. In Hawai'i, like in California, the labor required to produce sugar on an industrial scale created parallel landscapes. The direct connections to California locate Hawai'i]in the history of the American Frontier and locates California within the history of global sugar and its geographic consolidation. Mr. Spreckels' contracting the California engineer, Herman Schussler,[146] a German immigrant to build the Spreckels and Waihee ditches,[147] sheds light on the historical context, an expanding United States empire, that informed the racialized spatial logics of worker housing. The direct connection to California necessitates an understanding of Mr. Spreckels' early business history with sugar production. Much like in California, irrigation altered local waterways, was financed by private investors, and was supported by local governments. Irrigation must be understood as part of the efforts to increase the productive capacity of the landscape. This, in turn, is part of the history of Western development and the development of industrial agriculture. Therefore, with sugar, Hawai'i was incorporated into the United States empire and was made part of the logic of the American West prior to

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[143] Hawaiian scholar, Kēhaulani Kaunaui, argues that the privatization of the Hawaiian Crown and Kingdom Lands comprises a biopolitical effort by the sovereign to control the native population. She argues this on the basis that the land rights granted by privatization offer a site of "discipline and regulatory controls," a claim to which this chapter adds the case study of sugar via Maui's Spreckelsville Plantation. The privatization of land which began with the Mahele in 1848 not only stripped native Hawaiians of their ancestral land but also conscripted locals into wage labor. The privatization of land facilitated the development of the sugar industry. Once the industry controlled vast amounts of land, the power the industry carried on the social landscape became evident. p.81. J. Kēhaulani Kaunaui. 2018. *Paradoxes of Hawaiian Sovereignty: Land, Sex, and the Colonial Politics of State Nationalism.* Duke University Press.

[144] Blakey, Roy G. "Beet Sugar and the Tariff." Journal of Political Economy, vol. 21, no. 6, 1913, pp. 540–54.

[145] Joint Resolution to Provide for Annexing the Hawaiian Islands to the United States, July 7, 1898; Enrolled Acts and Resolutions of Congress; General Records of the United States Government, 1778-1992; Record Group 11; National Archives.

[146] Van, Dyke, Jon M.. *Who Owns the Crown Lands of Hawaii?*, University of Hawaii Press, 2007. p. 100

[147] Adler, Jacob. *The Spreckelsville Plantation: A Chapter in Claus Spreckels' Hawaiian Career*. San Francisco, 1961. California Historical Society Quarterly Vol 40, No 1. 33-48. P. 35.

California.

The irrigation infrastructure continues to highlight the American patterns of land extraction during the turn of the 19th century fueled the transformation of the Hawaiian landscape, bridging Hawaii into the frontier discourse of the West. Moreover, the history of sugar in Hawai'i reflects the drastic impact of the industry on the geographic and social landscape of the region. The history of sugar in Maui foretells the history of beet sugar in central California. The irrigation projects sustaining the sugar industry reflect the geographic transformation of both regions. The intensification of the land was made possible through a vast network of hydraulic projects for the production of sugar. Mr. Spreckels invested in the vertical production of sugar, managing the land, water, and workers; his investments built an irrigation infrastructure that was replicated in California. By situating California within the history of sugar in Hawai'i, this dissertation locates the Central Valley within the global history of sugar.

Spreckels' model of vertical integration of the production of sugar continues to make his business practices a worthy mention amongst historians of Hawai'i, sugar, and American imperialism. This chapter brought to the center the social landscape built alongside the sugar industry - an infrastructure of worker housing that applies the racialized labor hierarchy onto the landscape, rendering worker housing an infrastructure of race. As sugar capitalists attempted to racially segregate its labor population, workers built multigenerational, extended kinship familial networks that provided sites for replenishment, nourishment, and resistance against the pervasive power of the local sugar industry. Leaving the Hawaiian sugar industry following the United States Occupation of Hawai'i,[148] Spreckels sold his interests to his sons, who embarked on a joint business venture with Baldwin Sugar, and under the Spreckels Sugar Company, Spreckels devoted his business interests to the production of beet sugar.

[148] Kauanui, *Paradoxes of Hawaiian Sovereignty.*

Chapter Two

A Local History of Global Sugar:
Beet Sugar in California's Central Valley

> "on both sides of Railroad Boulevard, as far as the eye can see, the ground, despite the recent rainfall is being irrigated and got into shape for beet planting."
>
> - "The Sugar Factory"
> *The Californian,* 19 Mar 1899

Sugar took root in California, spreading throughout the central coast and into the Salinas Valley. Sugar beets came to be a prominent feature of the landscape. Drawing from experience in sugar cane production in Hawai'i and sugar cane refining in San Francisco,[149] Claus Spreckels began to invest in a vertically integrated domestic beet sugar industry in Central California.[150] Forming the Bay Sugar Refining Company in 1863,[151] and the California Sugar Refining Company in 1867,[152] both sugar refineries operating out of San Francisco[153] had ties to Claus Spreckels. Shifting tariffs on raw sugar cane in the 1870s made domestic growing and refining a more economically lucrative venture. With beet sugar, Spreckels like in Maui, ventured into a settlement plan by founding the company town of Spreckels in 1898.

A year after purchasing 2,650 acres in 1872 along the central California coast, in present-day Rio del Mar,[154] Spreckels built the California Sugar Beet Refining Company.[155] In support of the California Sugar Beet Refining Company, Spreckels invested in the Santa Cruz Rail Line. By 1875, working closely with

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[149] 1863 Bay Sugar Refining Company formed by Claus Spreckles, Louis Meyer, Claus Mangels, Herman Meese, and Peter Spreckels, Spreckels sold his interests in 1865. Then, founded the California Sugar Refining Company in 1867 still in San Francisco.The company was incorporated in May 1883, with Claus Spreckels as President, John Spreckes as Vice President, and Adolph B. Spreckels as Treasurer. This refinery processed surplus sugar cane from the Spreckelsville Plantation. 28 Oct. 1883."Claus Spreckels's Little Bid" *New York Times*.

[150] The Western Beet Sugar Company, founded by Spreckels, operates the Watsonville Factory. Western Beet Sugar Company was incorporated in 1887 at Watsonville in the Pajaro Valley. Progress of the Beet-Sugar Industry in the United States in 1902 (Washington, D.C., 1903), 83. Cf. Leonard J. Arrington, ―Science, Government, and Enterprise in Economic Development: The Western Beet Sugar Industry,‖ Agricultural History 41 (Jan. 1967): 1-18.

[151] Shuck, Oscar T. H*istorical Abstract of San Francisco*. (San Francisco: Oscar T. Shuck, 1897.)

[152] Ibid. John S. Hittell. Commerce and Industries of the Pacific Coast of North America. San Francisco: A.L. Bancroft, 1882. p. 547.

[153] Other sugar cane refineries in California. 1863 Bay Sugar Refining Company formed by Claus Spreckles, Louis Meyer, Claus Mangels, Herman Meese, and Peter Spreckels, Spreckels sold his interests in 1865. 1867 California Sugar Refining Company in San Francisco Incorporated in May 1883. Claus Spreckels, as President, John Spreckes as Vice President, and Adolph B. Spreckels, as Treasurer, processed surplus sugar cane from the Spreckelsville Plantations. Bay Refinery was purchased in 1879 and became the American Sugar Refinery; United States. Congress. House. Special Committee on Investigation of American Sugar Refining Co. Hearings held before the Special committee on the investigation of the American Sugar Refining Co, and others on June 12 [-August 11] 1911. Washington: GPO, 1911. 3 vol.

[154] Collins, Allen. *Rio Del Mar : a Sedate Residential Community : the Depth of Its Character : 225 Years of Local History.* (Aptos, CA. 1995.)

[155] Collins, *Rio Del Mar : a Sedate Residential Community.*

Mr. Frederick A. Spreckels secured a transportation network, and shifted his business interests to the inland production of sugar beets. With that, Spreckels established his first beet sugar refinery in Central California in 1883. One hundred miles south of San Francisco, in Watsonville Spreckels built his first California beet-sugar refinery on land gifted from Dr. Charles Ford[156] and grew beets on land leased on the Molera Ranch,[157] then from J.B.H. Cooper, at the "Cooper Ranch"[158] and the Moro Cojo Ranch.[159]

Following the 1872 purchase of land near Aptos, California,[160] Spreckels began developing a vertically-integrated beet sugar empire, where the railroad played a vital role. Without a refinery, crops grown at Rancho Aptos needed to be transported to the shipping ports of Moss Landing to reach Spreckels' San Francisco refinery[161]. As Spreckels' vision and engagement in sugar beet production expanded farther inland, as far as the Salinas Valley, the Southern Pacific Railroad failed to connect the necessary locations. Thus, to transport his sugar beet product from these locations Spreckels invested in the Santa Cruz Rail Line in 1873. The Pajaro Valley Consolidated Railroad[162] was a vital part of the functioning of the beet-sugar empire. This railroad, and the sites it connected, reflect the ecological impact of beet sugar, the political power of the industry, and the local social impacts of the industry. Railroads transported essential raw materials for the production of refined beet sugar including elements for refining, construction, irrigation components, and eventually, workers themselves.

With contracts with 163 farmers, Spreckels processed 7,000 tons of beets grown on 23,000 acres.[163] Within a few years, the factory, sitting on 38 acres of land,[164] produced 45 tons of sugar and 19,945 tons of sugar, in 1892 and 1895, respectively.[165] The exponential growth of the industry reflects the rise in acreage devoted to sugar beets, reaching 11,00 acres in Watsonville by 1895. This period, referred to as Watsonville's "sugar beet years"[166] prefaces Spreckels agricultural and suburban development just east of Salinas. In 1895, Spreckels identified Salinas as a potential location for a second refinery, with prime soil[167] and access to water, both key components for a saccharine-rich, profitable sugar beet crop. By November 1896, the local newspaper, the *Evening Sentinel* reported Spreckels commitment of "several thousand acres of good beet land of his own in this

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[156] "Beet Sugar" *Santa Cruz Daily Surf* 11 October 1888.
[157] "Salinas Daily Journal *The Californian* 4 August 1889.
[158] "Means More Beet Sugar" *The Californian* 15 November 1889.
[159] "Sugar Beet Prizes" *The Californian* 6 July 1889.
[160] Spreckels purchased land east of the Aptos River, in 1873.
[161] Which is referred to as the Potrero Refinery.
[162] 29 Dec 1897. "Pajaro Valley Railroad Company and the Pajaro Extension Railway Company consolidated into the P.V.C.R. in 1897 "Legal Notices" *The Sacramento Bee.*
[163] *Statesman Journal* 18 Sept 1888. "Beet Sugar"
[164] "California Beet Sugar" *Scientific American* Vol. 61, No. 15 (October 12, 1889), p. 229
[165] "California Beet Sugar" *Scientific American* Vol. 64, No. 27 (October 10, 1892), p. 211; "California Beet Sugar" *Scientific American* Vol. 67, No. 39 (October 8, 1895), p. 187
[166] The Historic Context Statement for the City of Watsonville. 2007. Final Report. Prepared by:
[167] "Fundamentals of Sugar Beet Culture Under California Conditions." UC Ag Experiment Station Circular No. 165. R.L. Adams; Draper, Anne, and Hal. Draper. The Dirt on California; Agribusiness and the University. Berkeley, Calif: Independent Socialist Clubs of America, 1968.

[Salinas] neighborhoods and fully 20,000 acres more still to be put in beets once the factory is built."[168]

Scientific experiments, soil quality tests, and seed dispersal programs, all provided the scientific data to support investing in beet sugar. As early as 1895, Spreckels contracted scientists to test the viability and success of the sugar beetroot in other local regions.[169] The University of California Agricultural Experiment Stations provided such support. In reports,[170] what is most evident is the capacity to ensure a profit through the regulation of water.

"Composite Map of July 1905 Maps of the Salinas Valley Beet Districts No. 1, through No. 4 - Spreckels Sugar Company," composited by Stetson Engineers, Inc." (2017)

The Spreckels Sugar Company purchased 66,000 acres of land in

[168] *Evening Sentinel* 29 July 1898. "Spreckels at Salinas"
[169] Lapham, Macy H. (Macy Harvey), and W. H. Heileman. "Soil Survey of the Lower Salinas Valley," California. Washington, D.C.?: U.S. Dept. of Agriculture, Bureau of Soils, 1901.
[170] Stover, H. J. (Howard James)., California Agricultural Experiment Station. (1936). Annual index numbers of farm prices: farm crop production, farm wages, estimated value per acre of farm real estate, and farm real estate taxes, California, 1910-1935. [Berkeley, Calif.: Agricultural Experiment Station. Adams, R. L. (Richard Laban)., California Agricultural Experiment Station. (1917). "The farm labor situation in California." Berkeley: University of California, College of Agriculture.Publications of the Agricultural Experiment Station with Serial Index for the Period 1877-1918. Berkeley: University of California Press, 1919. "The Culture of Sugar Beet" G.W. Shaw. March 1905. R.L.Adams. "Fundamentals of Sugar Beet Culture Under California Conditions." Berkeley, Calif. : University of California, College of Agriculture, Agricultural Experiment Station Circular No. 165. May 1917.

California's Central Valley from the 1870s to the 1940s[171] for the production of beet sugar. Moving inland, the Spreckels Sugar Company extended along the Salinas River. In this chapter, I argue that the rapid consolidation of land through railroad construction, land management, irrigation networks, and worker housing facilitated the establishment of a beet sugar empire in central California whose power was economically, politically, evident and experienced in intimate spaces of worker housing. The beet sugar industry, best exemplified by the Spreckels Sugar Company, as they managed 60,000 acres and operated the "largest [sugar] beet factory in the world,"[172] consolidated central California under a single industry. In creating a beet sugar empire, the industry impacted the public and private lives of residents of central California.

The process through which the Spreckels Sugar Company ensured the success of its economic venture began in 1873 with Claus Spreckels' investments in transportation infrastructure. Growing exponentially over the next decade, the beet sugar empire is reflected in the power to control natural resources and is tangibly felt by the inhabitants of the region in private spaces such as housing. Company and state records, including labor demographics, maps, and labor camp reports, illustrate that the sugar industry impacted the regional economy and social landscape in a tri-fold manner. Firstly, maps and local publications document the railroad network which facilitated the rural extraction and industrial production required for beet sugar production. Secondly, as reflected on irrigation maps,[173] sugar beets contributed to the shift in agricultural production from wheat crops and pasture[174] to irrigated row crops. Lastly, evident amongst company surveys, labor camps compose a significant, understudied, component of beet sugar's agricultural infrastructure. Through the lens of critical infrastructure studies, irrigation, railroads, and housing consolidate the valley under beet sugar.

I. A Private Rail Line: The Pajaro Valley Consolidated Railroad

In 1875, alongside the railway company owner, Mr. Frederick A. Hihn, searched for additional investors to complete this transportation project.[175] By 1876, the Santa Cruz Railroad connected Santa Cruz to Watsonville. In 1886 the Western Beet Sugar Company, the Spreckels' refinery operator, purchased the non-operating portions of the Santa Cruz Railroad, those near Watsonville, where Western Beet refined both cane sugar and beet sugar. In that same year, Spreckels held meetings in Salinas, as reported in the *Santa Cruz Surf* in reference to the

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[171] Allen, R. H. (Rutillus Harrison). "Economic History of Agriculture in Monterey County, California During the American Period." University of California, Berkeley, unpublished dissertation, n.d., 1934.

[172] Louisiana Sugar Planters' Association. *The Louisiana planter and sugar manufacturer.* New Orleans: [Louisiana Planter and Sugar Manufacturer Co., etc.]. Vol. 23. 1899. P. 137.

[173] "Salinas River Basin Investigation Bulletin Summary Report No. 52-B State of California," Department of Public Works, Division of Water Resources, 1946 (cited as SRBI No. 52-B); Spreckels Catalog. "Location and Profile of Proposed Waste Water Line" 1938. DRWG. NO. 2672. File 21-178-A. Monterey County Historical Society. DRW 8-03. Spreckels Catalog. (1880-1970). Monterey, California. Monterey County Historical Society.

[174] Lapham, Macy H. (Macy Harvey), and W. H. Heileman. Soil Survey of the Lower Salinas Valley, California. Washington, D.C.?: U.S. Dept. of Agriculture, Bureau of Soils, 1901.

[175] "Spreckels' Aptos Hotel," 6 June 1875.

possibility of growing sugar beets.[176] Closely thereafter, the Spreckels Sugar Company built its Watsonville factory in 1888 between the Santa Cruz Railroad and the Southern Pacific Railroad. The strategic location ensured the success of the factory. The following year the sugar company began construction of the Pajaro Valley Consolidated Railroad (P.V.C.R.)[177] also referred to as the Spreckels railroad[178] to connect the soon-to-be Spreckels refinery to the Watsonville beet fields. Company records including land surveys and railroad maps, as well as regional newspapers and industry publications illustrate the movement of people, raw materials, and manufactured goods across central California, from the Central Coast into the Salinas Valley.

The establishment of railroads during the 1870s facilitated the expansion of the sugar refining industry from San Francisco into the Santa Cruz area and later throughout the Salinas Valley. To connect the rail lines of the Southern Pacific and the Santa Cruz Railroad, Spreeckels initiated the development of the P.V.C.R. in 1875. Connecting the ports in the Monterey Bay to the Salinas Valley fields, the P.V.C.R. traversed from Watsonville to Moss Landing, to Spreckels, to Buena Vista, and to Alisal. The changes to the geographic and social landscapes that occurred alongside the construction of railroads reflect the mutual construction of space occurring throughout the beet empire, as the rail line linked various sites of production.

In 1889, the Spreckels Sugar Company built the Pajaro Valley Consolidated Railroad[179] to connect the soon-to-be Spreckels factory to Watsonville. Located alongside the Southern Pacific Railroad, the Spreckels Watsonville factory, operated from 1889-1899 under the Western Beet Sugar Company. Hoping to replicate the transportation network built in Maui and accessible along the central Coast, Spreckels embarked on building a central rail line, foreshadowing the geographic expansion of the beet sugar industry. The network of interconnected railroads built to support the beet sugar industry illustrates the consolidation of space under the Spreckels Sugar Company.

Claus Spreckels began to purchase land in the Salinas Valley, amassing just under 22,000 acres by the close of 1897.[180]

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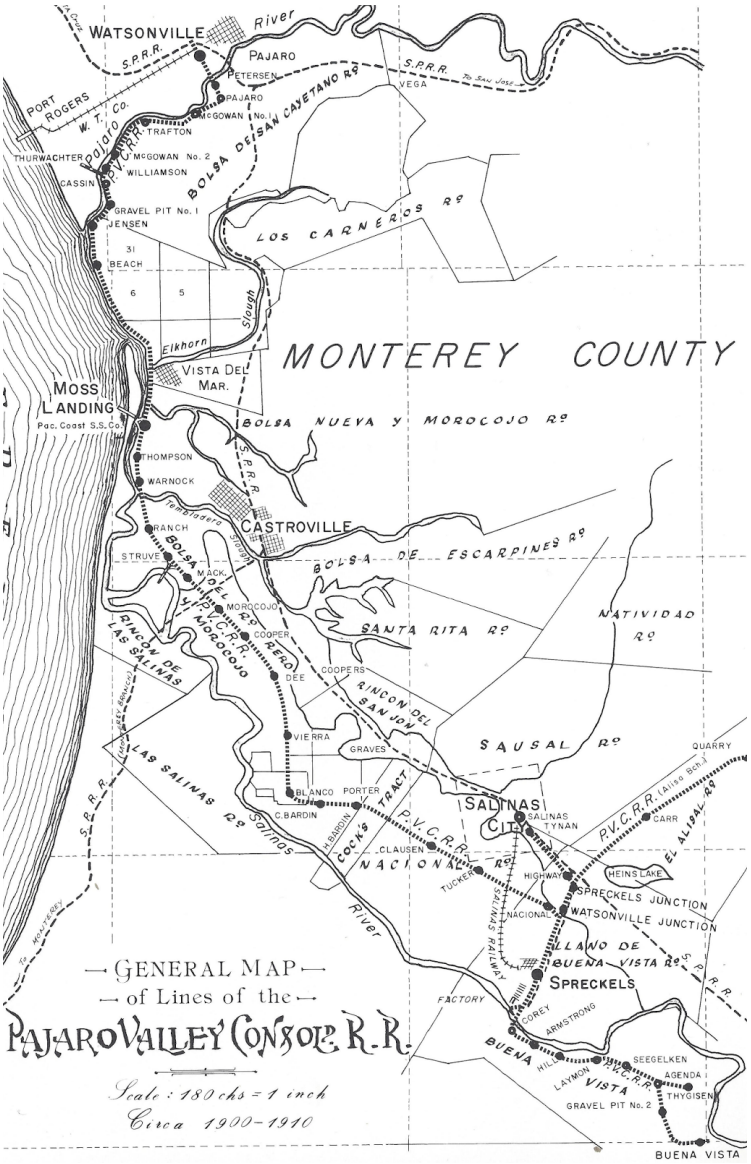
[176] "Claus Spreckels at Salinas" *Santa Cruz Surf.* 19 Nov 1887.

[177] The Pajaro Valley Consolidated Railroad is notable in its history as part of the 20th-century railroad construction and a strong competitor with the Southern Pacific Railroad. Built in 1888 it ran until 1928 as a sugar beet railway, its property was sold to the Southern Pacific Railroad in 1930.

[178] "*The Home"* 25 Apr 1890, *The San Francisco Examiner.* 08 May 1891, *The Californian.* 08 Feb 1890, *Santa Cruz Surf.*; 30 Sept 1892, *The San Francisco Call.* 01 Oct 1892, *Santa Cruz Sentinel.*

[179] The Pajaro Valley Consolidated Railroad ran from 1888-1928 as a sugar beet railway when its property was sold to the Southern Pacific Railroad in 1930.

[180] 122 acres 4.5 miles south of Salinas along the east bank of the Salinas River. "More Land for Spreckels' ' 1,200 acres of the Soberanes ranch, below Gonzales. *Santa Cruz Surf* 1 May 1897. "Spreckels Sugar Company" Spreckels family consolidated their land under the Spreckels Sugar Company in 1897, selling a total of 8,177 acres for $10 to the company. Land listed included the following Spanish land tracts: Buena Esperanza, Buena Vista, Llano de Buena Vista, ex-Mission of Soledad, and land for a country road between this city and the Salinas River" 14 November 1897. *The Record-Union* "A Big Land Deal" 14 Nov 1897 *Los Angeles Herald* "Big Patch for Sugar Beets" The King Ranch 12,000 acre purchase. Purchased from C.H. King, for under



"Map of P.V.C.R". c. 1900-1910. George Pepper Collection.

In 1896 Spreckels purchased 122 acres less than five miles south of Salinas, on the east bank of the Salinas River.[181] The land purchases are made possible only by the Spanish Land Grants that formalized the colonization of California by the Spanish and Mexican governments. The acreage quickly amassed by the sugar company would not be possible without the existence of Spanish Land Grants.[182]

Spreckels' development of the region finalized the processes of settlement that began a century prior. Submitting a Notice of Water Claim,[183] Spreckels' management of California land illustrates the haphazard riparian laws of the

$300,000. 9 Dec 1897 *The San Francisco Call.* see also: "A Large Transfer. " Morning Tribune, Volume XVII, Number 18, 11 December 1897.

[181] Spreckels Sugar Factory No. 1, Historical, Architectural, Environmental Report, 16; William Orville Jones, "The Salinas Valley: Its Agricultural Development 1920 - 1940" (Ph.D. diss., Stanford University, 1947) 170.

[182] William Orville Jones, "The Salinas Valley: Its Agricultural Development 1920 - 1940" (Ph.D. diss., Stanford University, 1947). Jones contends that the "survival of the old Spanish land grants" facilitated Spreckels purchase of the chain of ranches.

[183] 25 Feb 1899. Notice of Water Claim; Spreckels Sugar Company; Monterey County Recorder's Office Water Rights Book A, Page 159; Salinas River; Typed Transcription and Map" (2017). Post-1872 State Water Claims. 28. Monterey County Recorder's Office Water Rights Book A. Page 159.

period. With ownership of the land, Spreckels also owned the waterways on his private property. The handwritten water claim notes the intention to irrigate 20,000 acres.[184] That year, Factory One, in present-day Spreckels, opened the "largest beet [sugar] factory in the world"[185] and refined its first sugar beet harvest. Within a couple of years, Spreckels transformed this site into a globally renowned sugar refinery.

Spreckels and Frederick A. Hihn, the owner of the Santa Cruz Railroad, advertised the economic benefits of a local railway. According to Mr. Hihn, the new rail line promised a reduction in transportation costs, from $5 to $1.50 per ton.[186] The contracts with local farmers indicate that beet sugar farmers operated much like sharecroppers, bearing the cost of labor inputs until payment at the end of the harvest. Therefore, a rail line reducing transportation would result directly in more profits for the farmer. This reduction in transportation costs served to further persuade local farmers to devote their land to sugar beets.

The workers of the Santa Cruz Railroad connected the region to the major outposts of the Southern Pacific Railroad. Like elsewhere along the Pacific Coast of the United States, Chinese immigrants provided a majority of the labor. The Santa Cruz Railline housed Chinese laborers, "in a tent camp a mile east of the city. [and received payment of] a dollar a day of which two dollars a week was deducted for food, the workers labored 6-10 hours a day per week."[187] Throughout California, and in the industries directly involved in beet sugar production, labor camps functioned as an acceptable housing form for immigrant laborers. Within the limits of the city, in the spaces of urban development, only the presence of white Americans was supported through private and public industries. The city of Santa Cruz's determination to control the racial demographics of the region is evident in the hiring practice of the city during the period. The region of the rail line that crossed through the city, the Mission Hill tunnel which was constructed by "[thirty-two] Cornish miners"[188] At the turn of the 20th century in California, the racial politics of citizenship and labor determined all European-Americans as white Americans. Within this matrix, and as evidenced by the City of Santa Cruz's hiring practices, Cornish immigrants were in fact acceptable and made legible as white.

Using explosives to carve into the landscape, the danger of this labor influenced workers' relationship with the site. The South Pacific Coast Railroad portion over Santa Cruz in particular evoked fear. An 1878 publication in *The Santa Cruz Sentinel* elucidates the workers' relationship. "The Chinese became

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[184] 25 Feb 1899. Notice of Water Claim; Spreckels Sugar Company; Monterey County Recorder's Office Water Rights Book A, Page 159; Salinas River; Typed Transcription and Map" (2017). Post-1872 State Water Claims. 28.

[185] Louisiana Sugar Planters' Association. *The Louisiana Planter and Sugar Manufacturer.* New Orleans: [Louisiana Planter and Sugar Manufacturer Co., etc.]. Vol. 23. 1899. P. 137.

[186] 12 Jan 1878. Watsonville Transcript via *The Santa Cruz Sentinel,* 1878 Jan 124:4-5 "The Santa Cruz Railroad."

[187] "Fully Developed Context Statement for the City of Santa Cruz." Prepared for the City of Santa Cruz Planning and Development Department. Prepared by Susan Lehmann, October 20, 2000. Chapter 3, Context I: Economic Development of the City of Santa Cruz 1850-1950, pp. 24-25, 27

[188] ibid. p. 32.

convinced that the north end of Wrights tunnel was cursed and the railroad was forced to bring in a Cornish crew to complete the work on that end."[189] The dangers of the railroad transformed into the haunting power of the railroad. With a long history as railroad workers for the Transcontinental Railroad,[190] Chinese workers intimately understood the destructive capacity of the locomotors of modernity. Excavation for railroad passage often proved deadly, and therefore internalizing the tunnel as ill-fated is a rational response.

Chinese railroad workers are photographed in 1900 working on the P.V.C.R.[191] The image shows an already complete railroad in the foreground with a group of workers resting on a railroad trolley in the background. A mile and a half north of Moss Landing, on the Moro Cojo Ranch along the Salinas River,[192] Chinese workers connected the sites of production for the sugar company.

The railroad connected the raw materials necessary for the processing of beet sugar. Lime rock was essential to the production of beet sugar, its excavation provided secondary raw materials for the construction of the factory, irrigation, and transportation networks. The lime rock was used with water in the extraction and purification processes for beet sugar. Processing beets into beet sugar requires the use of lime rock, high-quality limestone gravel, which the company excavated from the Alisal Canyon [193] and other quarries.[194] Photographs illustrate the labor required for excavating a combination of automobiles, machinery, mules, and human labor.[195] Beasts of labor moved machinery and cleared fields. Automobiles and the newly minted rail line transported raw materials. The company contracted James A. McMahon for the excavation and construction of the factory site as well

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[189] Ibid. p. 32.

[190] Karuka, Manu. *Empire's Tracks : Indigenous Nations, Chinese Workers, and the Transcontinental Railroad.* (Oakland, California: University of California Press, 2019).; Chang, Gordon H, and Shelley Fisher Fishkin. *The Chinese and the Iron Road : Building the Transcontinental Railroad.* (Stanford, California: Stanford University Press, 2019.); Voss, Barbara L. "The Archaeology of Precarious Lives: Chinese Railroad Workers in Nineteenth-Century North America." Current Anthropology 59, no. 3 (2018): 287–313.

[191] Photograph 91.Spreckels Catalog. (1880-1970). Monterey, California. Monterey County Historical Society.

[192] Photograph 92. Spreckels Catalog. (1880-1970). Monterey, California. Monterey County Historical Society.

[193] 1905, July - Map of the Salinas Valley Beet Districts No. 3 - Spreckels Sugar Company. Depicts the Alisal quarry on lot 563 A. Spreckels Catalog. (1880-1970). Monterey, California. Monterey County Historical Society. 1905, July – Composite Map of the Salinas Valley Beet Districts No. 1, through No. 4 - Spreckels Sugar Company, composited by Stetson Engineers, Inc.

[194] Spreckels also invested in the land excavation in northern California, founding a mining company in 1910, Spreckels Limestone Products Company (now Cool Cave Quarry, Inc.), in El Dorado County, near Sacramento. "Spreckels owns and operates the Cool Cave Quarry, a limestone mining operation, just off Highway 49 near the American River and the town of Cool. The quarry was mined intermittently from 1910 to 1946 and then continuously from 1946 to the present" as stated in El Dorado County tax sheets. El Dorado County Taxpayers For Quality Growth et al., Plaintiffs And Appellants, v. County of El Dorado et al., Defendants and Respondents; Cool Cave Quarry, Inc., Real Party in Interest and Respondent. No. C044541. September 14, 2004

[195] Spreckels Catalog. (1880-1970). Monterey, California. Monterey County Historical Society. *Reprinted:* Berschini, Gary S. *Images of America: Spreckels.* 2006.

as the laying of railroad tracks between the factory and quarry site in Alisal.[196] Photographs of workers loading rail cars with buckets of lime rock illustrate the drastic changes to the landscape.[197] The gash in the mountainside where workers carved into the landscape reflects the labor harnessed by sugar and exerted by the laborers under its domain.

Lime rock was essential to the process, so much so that the sugar company established a process of recycling to reuse the lime rock. In 1909, a newspaper reported, that "the debris from the sugar factory that used to run to waste and pollute the waters of the Salinas River is now under perfect control. Through artificial channels, this debris or refuse is nor poured over all the lands of Spreckels and contiguous lands through immense ditches, thus acting as fertilizer."[198] The run-off water used from processing sugar beets was dumped into "settling ponds" so the lime could settle and be reused. Once the lime rock settled, the water was used to irrigate local beet fields.[199] The Spreckels Sugar Company Factory #1 dumped the runoff water into the Salinas River adjacent to Spreckels, detrimentally impacting the environment.[200] The current environmental impact of these sites can be seen in the adjudication of the waste clean-up at Steffens Ponds,[201] on land that once belonged to the Spreckels Sugar Company in Mendota.[202] Using and re-purposing the lime rock, the beet-sugar industry after decades of leaving California continues to impact local water sources.

The other materials excavated alongside lime rock were used for the construction of various factory components, including irrigation projects, buildings, and railroads. The construction sites highlight the integrated use of technology to transform the land to produce sugar. Images of the construction of Factory #1 demonstrate the combination of human labor, horse-drawn carriages, bridges, steam tractors, and railroads to move raw materials, people, and goods. A picture of Silo Site #3 construction shows workers using man-driven plow-graders powered by steam tractors, as they follow the leveling done by horses.[203] A picture of 73 crew members of the James A. McMahon company from San Francisco reflects the labor intensity of factory construction. The intellectual labor of engineers and architects is evident in the numerous blueprints commissioned by the Spreckels Sugar Company. Famous architect William H. Weeks and civil

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[196] Berschini, *Images of American: Spreckels.* p. 19.
[197] Berschini, *Images of America: Spreckels.*
[198] "Busy Times at the Big Sugar Factory" *Salinas Daily Index* 21 October 1909
[199] Berschini, *Images of America: Spreckels.* Spreckels Catalog. (1880-1970). Monterey, California. Monterey County Historical Society.
[200] Bartow, Edward and Benninghoff, H. M. (1932) "Mineral Analysis of Steffen's Waste from the Manufacture of Beet Sugar," Proceedings of the Iowa Academy of Science, 39(1), 149-157.
[201] "Waste Discharge Requirements Order R5-2018-XXXX Former Spreckels Mendota Facility, Surface Impoundments Closure And Post-Closure Maintenance Fresno County" Order No. R5-2018-0033, Cleanup and Abatement Order, Adopted on 6 April 2018. Southern Minnesota Beet Sugar Cooperative, Spreckels Sugar Company, Inc., and Meyers Farming LLC, Former Spreckels Mendota Facility. California Water Boards. https://www.waterboards.ca.gov/centralvalley/board_decisions/adopted_orders/#fresno
[202] In 2006, the current owner of the Spreckels land in Mendota built a private water storage company, reflecting the historical changes in labor and production at the site.
[203] Berschini, Gary S. *Images of America: Spreckels.* 2006.

engineer Charles L. Pioda worked together with hundreds of laborers to erect the buildings at the Factory #1 site in Spreckels, California. These blueprints, maps, and schematics reflect the labor required to complete the construction of these buildings.

The 1906 San Francisco earthquake, while distant from the Spreckels operation at Factory #1, still impacted production. Damaging bridges along the Salinas River and business offices in San Francisco, the geologic components of the nearby region also served as a transformative feature, destroying sugar's built structures. Images of the damaged bridge at Elkhorn[204]after the 1906 earthquake illustrate the capacity of nature to override human labor. Current geologic mapping of Spreckels demonstrates that liquefaction "seriously affected the Spreckels area in the 1906 San Francisco earthquake."[205] Liquefaction resulted from the continual flooding of the Salinas River which led to increased saturated soils which were further impacted by the earthquake. The alteration to the geographic landscape of the region resulted in often fundamental changes to the landscape, while the landscape also impacts the social relations built by sugar. Destroying bridges and buildings, geography dictated the development of the Spreckels Sugar Company

Railroads also destroyed built structures such as bridges. The Buena Vista branch extension ran on the Salinas River Bridge where a loaded beet train collapsed the nearby bridge in 1914.[206] The sugar beet train damaged a newly renovated "four-span wood and steel bridge with trestle approaches."[207] The damage left the railcar in the waterbed, where workers attempted to salvage the beets and load them onto a horse-drawn carriage.[208] Where technology failed, workers replaced mechanical methods with hand labor. Workers provided the labor necessary for the ongoing functioning of the railroad.

The aforementioned Watsonville factory was located close to the Southern Pacific Railroad line. As Spreckels shifted his interests further inland, he sought to reproduce this efficient transportation with his own rail line. In 1889, the Spreckels Sugar Company built the Pajaro Valley Consolidated Railroad[209] to connect the soon-to-be Spreckels factory to Watsonville. Running from Watsonville to Moss Landing, to Spreckels, to Buena Vista, and to Alisal, the Pajaro Valley Consolidated Railroad operated under the Spreckels Sugar Company until 1928. With railroads, the Spreckels Sugar Company effectively integrated all of the lands under its production into urban centers. Railroads

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[204] Photograph: "Bridge damage: Pajaro River." Collection: 1906 San Francisco Earthquake and Fire Digital Collection. BANC PIC 1958.021 Vol. 2: 136--fALB. Bancroft Library. UC Berkeley, Bancroft Library

[205] Joseph C. Clark, Earl E. Brabb, and Lewis I. Rosenberg. 2000. "Geologic Map and Map Database of the Spreckels 7.5-Minute Quadrangle, Monterey County, California."

[206] October 1914. *Spreckels Sugar Company, Sweet Nostalgia (Pleasanton, California: Spreckels Sugar Company, Inc., c. 1982)*.

[207] Berschini, *Images of America: Spreckels.* p. 54.

[208] Berschini, *Images of America: Spreckels.* p. 54.

[209] The Pajaro Valley Consolidated Railroad is notable in its history as part of the 20th-century railroad construction and a strong competitor with the Southern Pacific Railroad. Built in 1888 it ran until 1928 as a sugar beet railway, its property was sold to the Southern Pacific Railroad in 1930.

reflect the geographic and social impact of the Spreckels Sugar Company across California. Connecting raw materials, laborers, and industrial production, the Pajaro Valley Consolidated Railroad highlights the consolidation of space under the production of beet sugar. The places connected by various stops in Watsonville, Spreckels, Alisal, Moss Landing, and Buena Vista, the Pajaro Valley Consolidated Railroad, illustrate the movement of raw materials, goods, and people under the coordination and management of a single industry, beet sugar.

Built in 1890[210] to connect Watsonville to Moss Landing, the Pajaro Valley Consolidated Railroad expanded alongside the beet-sugar empire. The P.V.C.R. also connected central California to the outposts of the Southern Pacific Railroad.[211] Kings City is connected to P.V.C.R. via the Southern Pacific. An 1895 photograph published in *the San Francisco Chronicle* shows Claus Spreckels and Directors of the San Joaquin Valley Railroad in Stockton inspecting the Stockton rail line facilities.[212] Stockton remains a significant site for the bee sugar industry in California, being the central site for the Beet Sugar Growers Association. As the founder of the P.V.C.R., Spreckels obtained a prominent voice in discussions of modern transportation.

In 1896 the Pajaro Valley Extension Railroad connected Watsonville to Spreckels through Moss Landing.[213] The Alisal Branch was a six-mile addition to the Watsonville line,[214] and ensured the direct transportation of raw material from the Alisal quarry to the Spreckels factory. *The Californian* announced the Buena Vista Branch extension on June 5, 1907.[215] The ordinance announced the granting of "alleys and public places" that ran along the proposed railway line.

The P.V.C.R. is part of a handful of regional railways in the area, including the Santa Cruz Rail Line, the Southern Pacific Railroad, and the Salinas Railway Company. The P.V.C.R. connected Spreckels to the northeastern ports of production and the southern sugar beet ranches. However, the Salinas Railway connected Salinas to Spreckels until 1900,[216] when the railway closed. Isolated the factory site from Salinas, and prompted its transformation into a company town.

The narrow gauge line transported sugar beets to Watsonville and then Spreckels once the Watsonville factory closed its operation. Stopping along the way to load beets from farmers, the narrow gauge bridged rural labor with industrial production. Photographs of beet loading demonstrate the idiosyncrasies of life in the beet empire. Wagons of beets pulled by horse- and mule-drawn wagons alongside railcars[217] are the meeting point where local farmers transfer

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[210] 6 Sep 1890. *Monterey Cypress*.

[211] DRWNG 108: "Map of Lines of the P.V.C.R.R" 1905. Spreckels Catalog. (1880-1970). Monterey, California. Monterey County Historical Society.

[212] "President Spreckels and the Directors of the San Joaquin Valley Railroad in Stockton to Inspect the Facilities for the People's Line." The San Francisco Call (March 30, 1895)

[213] Joseph Shaw, *Oil lamps and iron ponies: a chronicle of the narrow gauges.* [1st ed.] (San Francisco: Bay Books.,1949). P. 159.

[214] Shaw, *Oil Lamps and Iron Ponies, p.* 60

[215] "Ordinance No. 60" 05 Jun 1907. *The Californian.*

[216] "A Result" 8 May 1900, *The California Salinas Daily Index.*

[217] Photographed as early as 1 November 1907. "Ranch No. 1 in Spreckels dumps chute photograph. Berschini. *Images of America: Spreckels.* Reprinted from Salinas Public Library Collection

their goods to their contracted owner, the Spreckels Sugar Company. A 1915 photograph of Ranch number three, the King City property, demonstrates the interwoven mechanics of horse-drawn carriages and wagons working alongside railcars and railroads at the ranch site.[218] That same year, the Spreckels Sugar Company listed 750 workhorses,[219] demonstrating the dependence of the company on horses to support the railroad. A 1919 photograph of Japanese farmer Suhichi Uyaday also demonstrates the combined use of automobiles and horses for beet transportation.[220] Also pictured is a young child, a peek into the family labor that the beet sugar industry relied on. Upon the completed refinery process, the 100-pound sack of sugar was loaded by hand to be sent to Moss Landing for transport. The division of labor used to load sugar for transport to market changed very little. Pictured in the 1940s, Joe Meza, Ramon Hernandez, Johnny Rios, and Pedro Gonzales[221] hand load the still 100-lb sacks of sugar onto the railcar. Transporting raw material across vast regions, the railroad, the site where rural labor and industrial production began to collide, also provides a glimpse into the impact of the railroad on local lived experiences.

The excavation of the Alisal Canyon and other quarries demonstrates the labor of sugar on the land and the labor of the land. The geologic extraction of nearby regions, for beet processing, and for secondary building materials, required intensive human, animal, and mechanical labor. The geologic transformation of the Spreckels Sugar Company highlights the spatial impact of sugar on the region that not only remains visible on the landscape but also continues to impact current residents. The corresponding human labor required to extract, transport, and use the raw materials reflects the consolidation of the region under beet sugar, as labor connected the rural sites of extractions to industrial centers. The landscape, its geologic composition, and greater geographic characteristics provided the raw material for the sugar industry. The Spreckels Sugar Company reorganized the geographic relations of the region with the transportation of excavated hillsides to refineries, management of waste run-off pooling in haphazard ponds, and building on the landscape. Reorganizing space, the sugar industry made parallel impacts on the social relations of the local region as it consolidated 66,000 acres of land under a single industry. As the excavation of lime rock and construction of factory buildings began to demonstrate, the local region would undergo an intensification of land and labor.

The excavation provided raw materials essential to the refining process and also provided materials for the construction of factory buildings and irrigation projects. The Spreckels Sugar Company transported these raw materials using the Pajaro Valley Consolidated Railroad railroad that connected Alisal Canyon to Spreckels in 1897 via the Pajaro Valley Consolidated Railroad.[222]

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[218] 1915. Spreckels Sugar Company Collection. *Honey Dew News*. Salinas Public Library.
[219] 1915. Spreckels Sugar Company Collection. *Honey Dew News*. Salinas Public Library.
[220] Berschini, *Images of America: Spreckels*. reprinted from the Salinas Public Library Collection.
[221] "Four Mexican workers loading truck with sugar beets" 1942. Higgins (Floyd Halleck) Photographs of Mexican Sugar Beet Workers. UC Davis, University Library, Special Collections
[222] "Map of P.V.C.R." c. 1900-1910. George Pepper Collection. ; Breschini, Gary S. (Gary Storm), Trudy Haversat, and Mona. Gudgel. *10,000 Years on the Salinas Plain : an Illustrated History of Salinas City, California.* 1st ed. (Carlsbad, Calif: Heritage Media Corp., 2000.)*;* Clark, Donald

A network to transport raw materials, labor, and capital goods, the Pajaro Valley Consolidated Railroad: connected the quarry at Alisal to the Spreckels factory, transported farmers' sugar beets to factory sites, and provided transportation for workers. The train ride on the Alisal Branch, from the Spreckels Junction to Alisal Park, was a little over five miles.[223] Built primarily to haul freight, passengers also boarded the narrow-gauge railroad. The passengers of the P.V.C.R. nicknamed the railway the "dinky line"[224] in response to the narrow train cars. Eventually, due to its ridership, the rail line became known as the "dead beet railway."[225] The short ride also provided leisure for workers, with many factory workers recalling the fifteen-minute ride from Spreckels to Alisal Park.[226]

As early as February 1899, the Spreckels train functioned as a site that facilitated entertainment. The column, *The Salinas Daily Index*, published in *the Californian*, describes, "quite a large crowd from Salinas and Spreckels that [*sic*] went over to Watsonville last night on the narrow gauge excursion to witness the boxing tournament in the sugar city."[227] In the early days of the Salinas factory, it remained closely tied to the social life of Watsonville. So much so that by 1924, the Pajaro Valley Consolidated Railroad Company connected Spreckels to Salinas and Watsonville with a fifteen-minute train ride.[228] The territory traversed by the various rail lines under the Pajaro Valley Consolidated Railroad reflects the consolidation of the geographic landscape under beet-sugar production. By the 1940s, Mexican nationals participating in the Bracero Program would have an intimate relationship with trains, relying on them for transportation into the United States, and to their contracted destinations.

The Pajaro Valley Consolidated Railroad (P.V.C.R.) highlights the consolidation of space under the production of beet while enabling the movement of goods from rural to urban spaces. The P.V.C.R. 's stops in Watsonville, Spreckels, Alisal, Moss Landing, and Buena Vista, connected the economy of the region; its rail lines facilitated the extraction of raw materials from rural places and their movement to urban centers. Operating under the Spreckels Sugar Company until 1928, the P.V.C.R. embodies the transformation of spatial relations in the region. The private businesses established and maintained the railroad, which moved natural resources for industrial production from rural sites to urban processing centers. With its extension connecting Watsonville to Moss Landing, completed in 1890, the Pajaro Valley Consolidated Railroad made possible the

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Thomas. *Monterey County Place Names : a Geographical Dictionary.* (Carmel Valley, Calif: Kestrel Press, 1991.)*;* Fabing, Horace W., and Rick Hamman. *Steinbeck Country Narrow Gauge.* 1st ed. (Boulder, Colo: Pruett, 1985.)

[223] "DWG 113: Station Lise. no date. "Pajaro Valley Consolidated Railroad Company Stations" Spreckels Catalog. (1880-1970). Monterey, California. Monterey County Historical Society.

[224] Berschini, Haversat, and Godgel, *10,000 Years on the Salinas Plain;* Clark, *Monterey County Place Names*. Fabing and Hamman, *Steinbeck County/Narrow Gauge.*

[225] Shaw, *Oil Lamps and Iron Ponies.*

[226] William Rhyner, July 1951. *Honey Dew News.* Monterey County Agricultural and Rural Life Museum. Shaw, *Oil Lamps and Iron Ponies,*

[227] "Excursion to Watsonville" *The Californian* 07 Feb 1899.

[228] "The Pajaro Valley Consolidated R.R. Co., Time Table No. 22." Monterey County Historical Society.

expansion of the beet-sugar empire.[229] In 1890, the article of incorporation was filed for the P.V.C.R., naming John D. Spreckels to the board of directors.[230]

Railroads begin to illustrate the socio-spatial logic being produced at Spreckels. Connecting the vast region under a single industry, railroads also demarcated racialized boundaries. Railroad workers and farm workers remained excluded from the center of the community, separated by the railroad itself. Mrs. Trine Gutierrez, who moved to Spreckels in 1921, identified the Mexican community known as "Little Tijuana" as across the railroad tracks, on the "wrong side of the tracks."[231] Gutierrez's remarks provide insight into the region's spatial logic. In the community built by sugar, railroad tracks marked white and non-white spaces. Railroad workers' housing was demarcated as "steam-plow camps" and can be seen in the survey maps of Ranch number 10.[232] The living condition of Ranch 10, at Spreckels, is discussed in Chapter 4.

Currently, the area once known as "Little Tijuana" serves as an industrial business area and is not a part of "Historic Spreckels."[233] Comparing the labor demographics to rates of local residency illustrates the ethnically segregated, and class-stratified communities. Little Tijuana, a physically erased community provides insight into the social impacts of spatial relations facilitated by railroads. The railroad served as a marker of boundaries, delineating social relations.

II. Irrigated Row Crops: Riparian Rights and the Power of Water

With the combination of railroads and irrigation, sugar beets quickly replaced the wheat and grazing economy, transforming the region into the irrigated landscape that it is today. California's rolling hills and natural waterways supported wheat production and grazeland through the *Californio* era (1822 - 1848) and into the American Period (1848- *present*). The establishment of the beet sugar industry in the 1870s accelerated the shift in agricultural production from dry-farmed wheat crops to irrigated row crops. By the 1900s, the American West would be known as an *irrigated Eden.*[234] The Spreckels company's irrigation plans harness groundwater and surface water to support the incoming beet sugar industry. By financing the construction of various irrigation projects, beet sugar companies—most significantly the Spreckels Sugar Company in Central California—fostered the emerging regional economy and established water extraction patterns that characterize the region today.

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[229] 06 Sep 1890. *Monterey Cypress*.
[230] "Local Intelligence" 08 Feb 1890. *Santa Cruz Surf.* Fabing and Hamman, *Steinbeck County/Narrow Gauge.*
[231] Conway, "Spreckels Sugar Company: The First Fifty Years." p. 63.
[232] 1918. Ranch #10. Spreckels Catalog. (1880-1970). Monterey, California. Monterey County Historical Society.
[233] Designated as a Historical Site in 1991. By the Monterey County Board of Supervisors. p.24. Mathews, Glenn D. February 1999. "Design Guidelines: Monterey County Planning and Building Inspection Department."
[234] Fiege, Mark and William Cronon. *Irrigated Eden: The Making of an Agricultural Landscape in the American West*. (Seattle: University of Washington Press, 2000).

In the 1890s and into the mid-1920s, the Spreckels Sugar Company heavily invested in irrigation,[235] transforming grazeland into irrigated row-crop fields. The irrigation network fused together large land tracts under the production of beet sugar. The Salinas River connected the beet sugar industry throughout the Salinas Valley. The Salinas River watershed is a riparian corridor that runs for 152 miles, from central San Luis Obispo County through the Salinas Valley opening in the Monterey Bay. Through a combination of surface water collection and groundwater pumping mechanisms, the irrigation system built by the company developed alongside the Salinas River. Diverting water in the cities of Salinas, Soledad, and Kings City, the Spreckels Sugar Company made significant changes across the northernmost reach of the river. For this region, beet sugar provided the catalyst for this shift, financing the construction and promising a factory to process the raw crops into a profitable commodity, refined sugar.

In 1896, Claus Spreckels embarked on a campaign to promote beet sugar growing amongst farmers in the Salinas Valley. Using the successes of James "Jim" Bardin II,[236] Spreckels referenced the capital gains possible by the crop. The business history of the Bardin family is notable. A recurring feature in the *Weekly Colusa Sun*, "Money in Sugar Beets,"[237] reported the production rates and profits of sugar beet farmers, exemplified by James Bardin. In 1892, Bardin was producing 6,000 tons of sugar beets, grown on 230 acres, from which he profited $15,000 dollars,[238] which would be $27,267.88 in 2022.[239] The net proceeds, compared to the year prior when the Bardins grew potatoes, resulted in a difference of $50.33 per acre compared to $12.75 per acre.[240] This example makes Bardin a fine candidate to speak in favor of the industry alongside Spreckels.[241]

Throughout the late summer, from July to August 1896, Spreckels convinced local farmers to embark on beet sugar through a series of public meetings. Meetings in Salinas were published in local newspapers and reached southern California's increasing beet districts through *The Los Angeles Times.*[242] At the Agricultural Hall on August 1, 1896, Spreckels gathered about 2,000 Salinas Valley farmers, landowners, and businessmen,[243] and persuaded them to guarantee an annual acreage of 30,000 acres of sugar beets.[244] Spreckels stated, "I

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[235] Other companies that invested in the irrigation of the valley included the Salinas Land Company and California Orchard Company. "Agricultural Resources Evaluation Handbook, Monterey County, California" p. 215. September 2011. Clark Historic Resource Consultants prepared for the Monterey County Historic Resources Review Board Monterey County Parks Department. Salinas, California.

[236] "James Bardin, true pioneer, answers call" 11 Nov 1932. *Salinas Morning Post.*

[237] 1892 "Money in Sugar Beets" *Weekly Colusa Sun.* California Digitized Newspapers.

[238] *Weekly Colusa Sun* Vol XXXI, Number 47, 26 November 1892.

[239] US Inflation Calculator.com

[240] Allen, R. H. (Rutillus Harrison). "Economic History of Agriculture in Monterey County, California During the American Period." University of California, Berkeley, unpublished dissertation, n.d., 1934.

[241] *Pacific Rural Press* Salinas Daily Index, *23 August 1896.*

[242] "Claus Spreckels's Plans" *THe Los Angeles Times* 30 July 1896.

[243] Bershcini, eds., 2006. p. 7. Monterey County Historical Advisory Commission. Published[Salinas? Calif.] : Monterey County Historical Advisory Committee, 1976-.

[244] "Want the Refinery" *The San Francisco Examiner* 02 Aug 1896.

propose to build here at your door the greatest sugar factory in the world … It will eat up 3,000 tons of beets every day and turn out 450 tons of refined sugar … That means the distribution among farmers of $12,000 every day and $5,000 more paid to workmen and for other materials"[245] associated with the planting and harvesting of sugar beets. With the assured acreage, Spreckels promised, "I shall buy and pay for the site and put up the factory myself."[246] Quickly thereafter, Spreckels began financing the construction of an irrigation infrastructure.

The refinery at Spreckels, with a capacity of 750 tons of beets per day, was remarked as a "mammoth enterprise" as described in local newspapers.[247] Beet sugar undergoes a four-part process that includes diffusion, purification, evaporation, and crystallization. The factory was separated into three parts. The main building that managed "the beet end of the house contain[ed] four washers, four beet elevators, four beet scales, eight cutters, 56 diffusion cells, in four batteries of 14 cells each, four weighing tanks, five first saturation taks, four second saturation tanks, filter presses and the various diffusion and filter heaters"[248] The other two parts the "various machines for turning out the finishing product of sugar" including "the vacuum pan tanks, the seven 14-foot vacuum panda, 28-40 inch centrifugal machines, 49 crystallizers, seven mixers, three sugar hoppers, nine sugar packers, nine sugar conveyors, nine sack conveyors." This was supported by the engine room and the boiler room. The engine room was composed of "five vacuum pumps (fly wheels 20 feet diameter), two gas pumps (fly wheels 20 feet diameter), 6 sugar pumps, 1 beet engine (400 horsepower), one centrifugal engine (400 horsepower), four electric generators, direct connected, two of 400 horsepower and two 700 horsepower."[249] The boiler house had "48 water tube boilers of 125 horsepower each, four economizers, two lime kilns (14 feet diameter, 50 feet high), four gas washers, one lime elevator, three line mixers, two lime settling tanks, one lime pump for milk or lime, four feed pumps for 160 pounds pressure per square inch."

A behemoth undertaking indeed, the factory was supported by an irrigation network. To supply the daily water requirement of 13,000,000 gallons.[250] The irrigation infrastructure here was composed of a pumping plant, wells, and a reservoir. Water moves through Spreckels as follows, wells supply water to the factory via a pumping plant, and a reservoir, with a total capacity of 1,000,000 gallons,[251] holds the water for local consumption.

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[245] Ruth W. Newhall, "Spreckels: The Man and the Company," (n.p. 1962) 119: unpublished manuscript in the Spreckels Collection, Monterey Parks and Recreation Department, Salinas, California.

[246] Newhall, "Spreckels: The Man and the Company."

[247] "Soon Salinas will see its grand beet-sugar factory" 9 March 1897 *The San Francisco Call* "An Immense Factory" 26 March 1897 *Chino Valley Champion.*

[248] "Great Spreckels Sugar Factory: Now completed and in operation" *The Californian* 26 September 1899.

[249] "Great Spreckels Sugar Factory: Now completed and in operation" *The Californian* 26 September 1899.

[250] "Soon Salinas will see its grand beet-sugar factory" 9 March 1897 *The San Francisco Call* "An Immense Factory" 26 March 1897 *Chino Valley Champion.*

[251] "Soon Salinas will see its grand beet-sugar factory" 9 March 1897 *The San Francisco Call* "An Immense Factory" 26 March 1897 *Chino Valley Champion.*

To further support the factory at Spreckels, the company built the first steam-powered pumps in the Salinas Valley for ranches near King City and Soledad with water from the Salinas River. In 1897,[252] described by Charles Howard Shinn, an Inspector at the College of Agriculture at the University of California, Berkeley,[253] the irrigation plants for the Spreckels' Kings City ranch (Ranch #3) were described in local newspapers, an immense centrifugal pump that cost $15,000, to pump water from the Salinas River for the purpose of irrigating the thousands of acres of beet sugar land on the ranch." Dr. Shin's assessment of the water supply, "The Salinas River would supply water enough to amply irrigate the whole Salinas Valley, which is nearly 100 miles long and averages in width from three to fifteen miles. All it wants is water. The supply of water is inexhaustible," embodies the spirit of the period. Perceived as endless, the Salinas River fueled the industry. Dr. Shin continues, "If the water were pumped to the higher elevations at the sides of the valley near Bradley nearly all of the valley clear down to Salinas could be used for raising beets. The possibilities of the Salinas Valley are simply wonderful."[254] Adding centrifugal pumps along the Salinas River, the water extracted looked, according to Shinn's professional assessment, contained an *inexhaustible supply* of water, a symbol of potential capital in the West. A centrifugal pump, pumps water from waterways including reservoirs, lakes, streams, and wells. The following year, at the Kings City Ranch, located alongside the eastern boundary of the Salinas River the company began to build a "large pumping plant," reportedly "100 feet long, 25 feet wide, and 30 feet deep."[255] Capable of a total supply of 21,000 gallons per minute and a total cost between $40,000 - 50,000.[256] The company also established residences for the regular maintenance of local irrigation canals. The following year, in 1899 the Spreckels irrigation pumping plant at King City published a bid for the construction of the engineer's residence in *The Californian.*[257] By 1904, the sugar company installed water pumps at the southern end of the Kings City Ranch.[258] The surface pumps extracted a total of 6,000 gallons per minute from wells and the river.[259]

In 1898, local newspapers reported the construction bids for the various components of the Spreckels Sugar Company's irrigation system. Across Monterey County, from Kings City to Fort Romie in Soledad, and Salinas, news

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[252] Conway 1999. Orser, *It Happened at Soledad*.
[253] One of the many close relationships between the sugar industry and the University of California, Berkeley. Also referenced in the newspaper, Mr- William Winterhalter, formerly of the Agricultural Department staff, subsequently appointed as the Superintendent of Ranch 3. Charles Howard Shinn papers, 1890 - 1923. BANC MSS 81/39 c Box; BANC MSS 81/39 c v.1 Special Collections University of California, Berkeley, Bancroft Library.
[254] "Irrigation is Booming" 8 March 1898. *The San Francisco Call.*
[255] "Irrigation is Booming" 8 March 1898. *The San Francisco Call.*
[256] "Irrigation is Booming" 8 March 1898. *The San Francisco Call.*
[257] "Buildings at King CIty" 11 Jan 1899. *The Californian.*
[258] Conway, "Spreckels Sugar Company: The First Fifty Years." P. 58. Salinas River Basin Investigation Bulletin Summary Report No. 52-B State of California, Department of Public Works, Division of Water Resources, 1946 (cited as SRBI No. 52-B);
[259] *ibid.*

reporting advertised the labor inputs required of the company, including pipes[260] and the workers, engineers, irrigation laborers,[261] and residential construction laborers.[262]

The irrigation system at Salinas required "21,000 feet of pipe ranging from 28 to 32 inches in diameter" to connect to the pumping plant extracting water along the Salinas River, to the Salinas factory, the company town's reservoir, and in the irrigation in adjacent fields.[263] The *San Francisco Call* reported the construction of the "largest artesian well in California, at Spreckels" with plans to be 160 feet deep.[264]

The Spreckels Sugar Company also used the Salinas River to transport raw materials via a narrow gauge rail and wagons. In March 1898, the *Santa Cruz Surf* reported Claus Spreckels' plans to construct a bridge across the Salinas River at Spreckels, to "accommodate train and wagon traffic."[265] The capital investments of Spreckels facilitated the quick development of the region.

Construction of the Salinas River bridge, east of the Spreckels factory reportedly lasted only ninety days, costing $20,000. At completion in 1898, the bridge was composed of "six spans, each sixty feet long, with two approaches of forty feet each, and tracks for both narrow and broad gauge cars,"[266] just big enough for transporting beets into the refinery. When constructing the bridge, the company laid pipe to connect the aforementioned 1.3 million gallon reservoir with the refinery.[267] The bridge not only connected raw crops to their site of processing into cash goods, but it also provided the material infrastructure to connect the irrigation network built by the company.

Three years after the initial land purchase and one year after irrigation started, the Spreckels Sugar Company submit a formal Notice of Water Claim,[268] of the Salinas River. Submitted in 1899, this hand-written claim details the plans to divert water from the Salinas River to irrigate land owned and leased by the company, recorded as more than 21,877 acres. Upon California's 1850 entrance into the United States Union, the state adopted the federal practices of riparian rights. This law of riparian rights follows appropriative rights laws, that is, an individual with water on or touching their property had legal rights to the water.[269] With this 1899 claim, the Spreckels Sugar Company gained rights to a 152-mile-long surface water system that he tapped through pumps, canals, and

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[260] "Spreckels Irrigation System" 13 Nov 1898. *The Californian.*
[261] "Soledad Notes." 22 October 1901. *The Californian.*
[262] "Soledad Notes." 8 Nov 1901. *The Californian.*
[263] "Spreckels Irrigation System: 13 Nov 1898. *The Californian.*
[264] "Monster Artesian Well: will supply Water for the Sugar Factory at Spreckels" 15 April 1898 *The San Francisco Call.*
[265] 10 March 1898. *Santa Cruz Surf.*
[266] "Salinas New Bridge Open" *San Francisco Call,* Volume 84, Number 127, 5 October 1898
[267] ibid.
[268] "Notice of Water Claim; Spreckels Sugar Company"; 1899, Feb. 25 . Monterey County Recorder's Office Water Rights Book A, Page 159; Salinas River; Typed Transcription and Map" (2017). Post-1872 State Water Claims. 28.
[269] "History of the Water Boards: The Early Years of Water Rights: Surface Water."

reservoirs. The integration of land and riparian rights[270] in California facilitated the Spreckels Sugar Company's establishment of a regional beet-sugar empire. The growth and development of the industry continued voraciously, with local support rising.

In 1899, a total of six wells were dug at Spreckels, each 190 feet deep and 48 inches in diameter.[271] This irrigation network pumped water from the Salinas River through a mile of 32-inch steel riveted pipe by two centrifugal pumps, with a capacity of 5,500 gallons per minute and 10,000 gallons from the surface flow of the Salinas River.[272] Surplus water from this extraction was used to irrigate the sugar beet fields on land owned by the Spreckels Sugar Company which was located adjacent to the Spreckels Factory.[273] A reservoir with a capacity of 1,300,000 gallons was used for water storage.[274]

The impact of irrigation on sugar production was evident. In December of 1899, the factory managed to surpass "all previous records for crushing beets"[275] when it processed 2,970 tons in a twenty-four-hour cycle.[276] Moreover, the individual impact of irrigation was seen in the increase in beets per acre, with O.S. Tutte reported 262 tons of beets harvested from 8 acres.[277]

With irrigation, Californian beet refiners controlled the conditions in which the sugar beet grew, ensuring a successful harvest, in tonnage, and a favorable crop, in terms of saccharine percentage. Controlling water ensured a highly profitable beet sugar refining business. A 1903 publication by University of California's Professor G.W. Shaw elaborates on the impacts of regulating water in the growing of sugar beets, and therefore, the production of beet sugar. Dr. Shaw states,

"In respect to moisture, the sugar beet is peculiar in some

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[270] Scholars have studied the connection between water, land, and wealth accumulation during the late eighteenth and early twentieth century in California. Paul S. Taylor, "Foundations of California Rural Society," *California Historical Society Quarterly* 24, no. 3 (1945): 193–228. Norris Hundley, *Dividing the Waters: a Century of Controversy Between the United States and Mexico* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1966); Hundley, Norris, "The Politics of Reclamation: California, the Federal Government, and the Origins of the Boulder Canyon Act: A Second Look," *California Historical Quarterly* 52, no. 4 (1973): 292–325; Norris Hundley, *Water and the West : the Colorado River Compact and the Politics of Water in the American West* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1975); Erwin Cooper, *Aqueduct Empire: A Guide to Water in California* (Glendale, Calif: A. H. Clark, 1968); Donald J. Pisani, *From the Family Farm to Agribusiness: The Irrigation Crusade in California and the West, 1850 - 1931* (Berkeley: Univ. of Calif. Press, 1984).

[271] "Great Spreckels Sugar Factory: Now completed and in operation" *Salinas Daily Index* 26 Sept 1899.

[272] Salinas River Basin Investigation Bulletin Summary Report No. 52-B State of California, Department of Public Works, Division of Water Resources, 1946 (cited as SRBI No. 52-B). "Great Spreckels Sugar Factory: Now completed and in operation" *Salinas Daily Index* 26 Sept 1899.

[273] Salinas River Basin Investigation Bulletin Summary Report No. 52-B State of California, Department of Public Works, Division of Water Resources, 1946 (cited as SRBI No. 52-B).

[274] "Great Spreckels Sugar Factory: Now completed and in operation" 26 Sept 1899. *Salinas Daily Index*

[275] "All Records Broken" 31 December 1899. *San Francisco Call,* Volume 87, Number 31,

[276] "All Records Broken" Volume 87, Number 31, 31 December 1899. *San Francisco Call.*

[277] *ibid.*

> respects…. There are three periods in the life history of the sugar beet which demand entirely different treatment so far as moisture is concerned: (1) the germinating or plantlet period; (2) the growing period; (3) the sugar-storing period."[278]

Shaw describes the water specificities of the three stages. The distinct watering practices throughout the sugar beet's life cycle illustrate the advantages of an irrigated crop. As described by Shaw, there are periods throughout a beet's life cycle - planting to harvest - that require close control of water. This makes irrigation the most ideal technique for sugar beets, as supported by various industry experts.[279] Unlike a crop that relies on rainfall, irrigating ensures a successful harvest every step of the way. Irrigating the Central Valley ensured the success of the beet sugar industry. Irrigating the region made possible the transformation to sugar beet farming and also resulted in a more labor-intensive crop.

The Spreckels Canal provided water to farmers near Fort Romie in 1911.[280] Later that year, rains led the canal to overflow, leading water to fill nearby wells under the management of the Soledad Land and Water company's plant.[281] Providing water to farmers in Fort Romie and Soledad, the Spreckels Canal became a crucial infrastructure of wealth production for the region. In 1916 and 1918 the Spreckels Sugar Company entered into agreements with the Spring Valley Water Company,[282] to continue to irrigate the Spreckels' fields.

Water fueled the beet-sugar empire. Farmers also invested in irrigation projects, and the economic success of James Bardin led his family to invest in irrigation. Bardin's 1898 installation of a "10-inch centrifugal pump and 1,000 feet of 14-inch pipe"[283] to irrigate the potato and barley fields at the Bardins' Blanco Ranch was reported by the *Pacific Rural Press.* Located in Salinas, the development of irrigation for Blanco Ranch reflects the private, unlegislated, development of waterways in California. By 1902, Bardin's investments in irrigation at Blanco Ranch paid off. That year, Blanco Ranch produced 12,000 tons of beets for the Spreckels Sugar Company, earning a profit of $31,250[284] after contracts are paid out by the company, which would translate to $1,076,711.48 in

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[278] Professor G. W. Shaw, of the University of California; among his various writings see the pamphlet on Sugar Beets in the San Joaquin Valley, p. 6; Bulletin, no. 176, Agricultural Experiment Station, University of California.1903.

[279] *Louisiana Planter* & R.L.Adams. "Fundamentals of Sugar Beet Culture Under California Conditions." Berkeley, Calif. : University of California, College of Agriculture, Agricultural Experiment Station Circular No. 165. May 1917.

[280] "A Destructive Fire at Fort Romie" 26 Jan 1911 *The Californian* and "Budget of News from Fort Romie" 10 Jan 1912 *The Californian.*

[281] "Rush of water chokes up Wells" 25 April 1911. *Salinas Daily Index.*

[282] "The private irrigation company that was later sold to the City of San Francisco in 1930. " Carton 40, Folder 29, Subseries 5.1 Agreements 1887-1944, Spring Valley Water Company Records, BANC MSS C-G 189, The Bancroft Library, University of California, Berkeley.

[283] "Agricultural Review" 16 April 1898, Volume 55. *Pacific Rural Press.*

[284] "Outputs from Farm, Cannery, and Drier" Volume 64, Number 23. 6 December 1902. California Digitized Newspapers.

today's dollars.[285] Indeed, irrigating the fields proved to be economically profitable. With these economic successes published in prominent newspapers, other residents of the Salinas Valley would turn to the Salinas River to begin their economic ventures.

At the turn of the century, Spreckels' investment in irrigation resulted in a positive characterization of the industry. In 1901, the Spreckels Canal in Soledad[286] is credited as starting a wave of development that included hotels and residential buildings.[287] Similar to the reporting in Maui, the Spreckels Canal was a sign of economic wealth, the source of "the distribution of many thousands of dollars."[288] The company managed to profit from the water it used to irrigate lands for farmers whose crops were contracted to the company itself. In essence, the company paid itself to grow sugar beets. In 1901, the Spreckels company was selling water from the Spreckels canal and ditch system at a rate of $1.50 per acre.[289]

By 1919, Spreckels operated 11 pumps along the Salinas River, and by 1924 deep well pumps were prominent throughout all of California's industrial agriculture, including sugar beets and other row crops.[290] In the years following the construction of these irrigation projects, the acreage of farmland devoted to sugar beets multiplied exponentially. The acreage increased from approximately 60,000 acres across the state in 1906 to 144,000 in 1916,[291] and by 785,000 acres in 1936.[292] By 1937, the company operated three refineries in Spreckels (1898), Manteca (1916), and Woodland (1936), the Watsonville Factory closed production in 1908 following damage from the 1906 San Francisco earthquake. The continued growth of the beet sugar industry in California, a contrast to national averages, illuminates the unique conditions of the California beet sugar industry.

As a whole, by 1933, the California beet sugar industry controlled 140,000 acres throughout the state and produced 15,000 pounds of sugar a day.[293] The development of an irrigation network facilitated the successful investment of California's sugar beets. The vast network of irrigation ditches, canals, and bridges built by the Spreckels Sugar Company was possible with the cooperation of local landowners. John D. Spreckels was interviewed in the 1911 Hardwick Committee, where he estimates the water use as follows: "In the operation of the beet-sugar factory we use about 13,000,000 gallons of water daily that is, for the floating of the beets and the washing of the beets and making the steam, washing off the potash, and other things that run into a reservoir, and as fast as it runs in

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[285] Inflation Calculator.com
[286] "Soledad Notes" 8 Nov 1901 *The Californian.*
[287] "Soledad Notes" 8 Nov 1901 *The Californian.*
[288] "Soledad Notes" 7 September 1901 *The Californian.*
[289] "Examples of Irrigation" 16 June 1903 *The Californian.*
[290] *Ibid.* Conway 1999.
[291] Fundamentals of sugar beet culture under California conditions. Adams, R. L. (Richard Laban),1917. Berkeley, Calif. : University of California, College of Agriculture, Agricultural Experiment Station.
[292] Labor in California Sugar Beet Crop. Raymond P. Barry (Editor). Federal Writers Project. Oakland, California. 1938. P. 3.
[293] Barry, *Labor in California Sugar Beet Crop.* p. 48.

we dump it on the land again; we put back the ingredients from the beets."[294] Factory One pumped 13 million gallons of water from local wells and processed 3,000 tons of beets a day.

Construction debris would often be seen in the Salinas River, resulting in a deadly combination that threatened workers, travelers, and investments. Newspapers blamed turbulent water and driftwood[295] on the death of two men who attempted to rescue stranded "tramps who became marooned on an island by the sudden rising of the waters of the river."[296] Itinerant workers were unfamiliar with local water patterns, including the quickly rising tides. While the river supported local labor and livelihoods, it held the power of life and death. This loss of life, of two unnamed laborers, stands juxtaposed to the attempted rescue, a testament to the river's capacity to provide and destroy life. As people tried to cross the river, for work, commerce, and humanity, the river continued its powerful, seasonal flow. Changing with the weather, the river served as a reminder that nature provided the key components for the success of the local beet-sugar industry.

The flooding of the Salinas River[297] showcased the power of the river with its destruction of the sugar industry's built landscape. Harnessing power and water from the river, the Spreckels Sugar Company relied on the Salinas River. The March 1911 flooding of the Salinas River reached Spreckels, the *Salinas Daily Index* reported, "The lowlands are flooded and the water comes to within thirty feet of the end of the factory."[298] The damage from the flood highlights the close spatial relations between water and the refinery. The energy of the river, harnessed to power the factory, also threatened the existence of the factory. Flooding occurred at various sites of the Salinas River, including at the Spreckels Sugar Company's bridges in King City. The flow of the river, while powering many of the factory components, also resulted in tremendous damage to the Spreckels Sugar Company at various sites under its operation. The periodical flooding of the river often threatened the local communities. A 1952 flood that reached Spreckels Junction resulted in the "forced evacuation by boat of several families."[299] The building and re-building of the Spreckels bridge on the Salinas River reflect the mutual construction of space by the local geography and its inhabitants. The Spreckels Sugar Company rebuilt the bridge three times,[300] and still, the river continues to threaten the structure. Closed to vehicles but open to pedestrians, the bridge reflects the Spreckels Sugar Company's legacy on the landscape, and the local attempts to return to rural life.

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[294] United States. Congress. House. Special Committee on Investigation of American Sugar Refining Company. (1911). Hearings held before the Special committee on the investigation of the American sugar refining co.: and others on June 12 [-August 11] 1911 p.947.
[295] 27 Feb 1902. *The Californian (Salinas, California)*.
[296] 27 Feb 1902. *The Californian (Salinas, California)*.
[297] Salinas Public Library image (Calisphere)"Salinas River Flooding" LHPh750 © Elkington Family Collection: Salinas Public Library Image Collection. Salinas Public Library. Calisphere. February 19 2021;
[298] *Salinas Daily Index.* 8 March 1911.
[299] *Salinas Daily Index.* January 16, 1952.
[300] 14 October 1958. *The Californian.*

With the development of the local beet sugar industry, the Salinas Valley underwent a rapid transformation of the landscape via the construction of irrigation projects. A network of hydraulic structures harnessed water from the Salinas River and transformed ranch land into row-crop farmland. By redirecting waterways, the industry ensured the success of the sugar beet. According to the California Beet Growers Association, "The entire crop in the state is irrigated either by furrow or sprinkler and requires from 18 to 54 inches of irrigation water, depending on weather and planting date."[301] The industry required intensive water infrastructure - for irrigation and processing. Refining the beetroot into sugar requires water throughout, including the washing, transporting, and boiling - into crystallized sugar, requiring millions of gallons. In 1911, a few decades after being remarked as the largest beet sugar factory in the world,

In summation, the construction of irrigation projects persuaded local farmers into the industry. Alongside the increase in acreage devoted to sugar beet planting, increasing from approximately 60,000 acres in 1906 to 140,000 acres in 1933.[302] The arid central valley was transformed by redirecting waterways, facilitating the urban and ideological development of a desert into an urban oasis. The cultural, political, and economic significance of irrigating the West is a prominent discussion in the historiography of the West, and the history of agriculture.[303] This discussion is one in which sugar beet is a fundamental contributor. The beet-sugar industry irrigated thousands of acres beginning as early as 1888 and continued to build irrigation projects into the 1910s.

III. Laborers of Beet-Sugar: an Intensified Landscape

Irrigating Central California increased the influence of the Spreckels Sugar Company. Farmers and workers contracted by the company began to challenge the conditions of their labor. Contracts between the refiners and individual farmers reveal the little power in their relationships with refiners. Irrigation also resulted in a more labor-intensive crop, further negatively impacting the most vulnerable worker, the hand laborer.

Irrigation impacted the labor requirements of the sugar beet crop in California. In the 1911 Hardwick Committee's investigation into the Sugar Trust of the American Sugar Refining Company, members of the committee and interviewers conceded that the implementation of irrigation in California resulted in a labor-intensive crop. When comparing the Western beet sugar industry to the Mid-western beet sugar industry, Mr. Fordney, concluded that Compared to

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[301] " Crop Profile for Sugar Beets in California" October 1990. California Sugar Beet Growers' Association. USDA/NIFA.

[302] Fundamentals of sugar beet culture under California conditions."" Adams, R. L. (Richard Laban), 1917. Berkeley, Calif. : University of California, College of Agriculture, Agricultural Experiment Station; Labor in California Sugar Beet Crop. Raymond P. Barry (Editor). Federal Writers Project. Oakland, California. 1938. P. 3.

[303] Worster, Donald. *Rivers of Empire: Water, Aridity, and the Growth of the American West.* New York: Pantheon Books, 1987. Hundley, Norris. *The Great Thirst: Californians and Water, 1770s-1990s*. A Centennial Book. Berkeley: University of California Press, 1992. Reisner, Marc. *Cadillac Desert: The American West and Its Disappearing Water.* New York: Penguin Books, 1993.

mid-Western beet sugar production, "you get a higher rate of saccharine matter in [Spreckels'] beets in the arid-land districts and a greater tonnage per acre, but [Spreckels'] land costs more per acre, and it costs more per acre to cultivate, to plant, and raise and produce the beets there than it does in Michigan."[304] This comparison identifies the unique conditions of California's environment. With irrigation, the best sugar output was higher and of greater quality. These conditions directly impacted the success of the industry in California.

However, In comparison to the American Midwest beet sugar industry, the irrigated California landscape increased the labor requirements of the crop. The impact on the beet sugar labor is furthermore specified by Mr. John Spreckels. Spreckels states, "In Colorado and Utah they have an advantage in that they have cold weather at the time of the harvest season. [In California] the weather is warm and we have to keep at the beets - we can not keep them more than a week after they are taken out of the ground."[305] This increased the importance of labor to the value of the finished product. Once picked, beets sitting in the sun are directly negatively impacted in their saccharine quality.

The environmental conditions of the valley impacted the planting, growing, and harvesting practices of sugar beets in California. Mr. Spreckels alludes to the rise in labor intensity that accompanied Califoenia's irrigated sugar beets. With his description of the labor required throughout the sugar beet campaign.

> The land is plowed first by the steam plows. … Then the ground plows, eight in number, are drawn across the field … Then the ground is harrowed and rolled and cultivated and then seeded at the proper time after a rain. The seed is put in by what is called a drill, which is a machine that has little pipes and a little kind of claw on the front of it which makes a little furrow and the seed drops down at proper intervals fed by a hopper. The machine is drawn by a horse and it is worked until the seed comes up. It usually comes up too thick and we have to do what they call thinning - we aim to ascertain the depth which will yield the largest number of saccharine - and continue to thin out where it is thicker so as to make the rows even, from the time the land is cultivated until the beets ripen.[306]

The description of planting, cultivating, and harvesting sugar beets is interspersed with descriptions of mechanized and hand labor. The hand-thinning required of California sugar beets greatly influenced the rise of the farm labor

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[304] United States. Congress. House. Special Committee on Investigation of American Sugar Refining Company. (1911). Hearings held before the Special committee on the investigation of the American sugar refining co.: and others on June 12 [-August 11] 1911 P. 399.
[305] United States. Congress. House. Special Committee on Investigation of American Sugar Refining Company. (1911). Hearings held before the Special committee on the investigation of the American sugar refining co.: and others on June 12 [-August 11] 1911. p.950.
[306] *Ibid*, p.955.

movement in the 1930s, with the short-handed hoe, "el Cortito"[307] being a recurring object of apathy. Unable to mechanize thinning, this feature of sugar beet requires a great deal of hand labor throughout the campaign. Workers perform this labor while bent over, to reach the weeds growing around the bushy tops of beetroots. The trench-like rows make walking difficult, as farmers try to optimize space, they reduce the walkable space between rows. During planting and throughout cultivation, hand labor is required. Irrigation of the valley facilitated the rise of sugar beet planting but simultaneously made the crop more labor-intensive. The labor demographics of the sugar beet company illustrate the racialization of labor, as non-white laborers are repeatedly pushed to the bottom of the market hierarchy.

"Two Mexican workers hoeing in a sugar beet field" 1942. Higgins, Floyd Halleck. Courtesy of UC Davis, Special Collections

With the 1906 San Francisco earthquake destroying the Spreckels Sugar Company's main office buildings, the southern California industry provides insight into the industry's practices. Using the records from the Alvarado Sugar

[307]Jourdane, Maurice. *Struggle for Health and Legal Protection of Farm Workers: El Cortito*. Houston: Arte Público Press, 2004.

Company and the Chino Valley Beet Sugar Company, California's first beet-sugar factories, Historian Raymond P. Barry, concludes that Chinese workers "were employed exclusively in both field and factory for the first fifteen years,"[308] from 1870 - 1885. The rising nativist and anti-Chinese sentiments in the West[309] led to a demographic shift in beet-sugar workers, from Chinese in the 1880s to Japanese migrants in the 1890s.[310]

Surveys taken by the California Bureau of Labor Statistics reflect the following labor statistics across the state, reflecting the labor demographics of the industry.

EMPLOYED AT THE SUGAR BEET FACTORIES		
Whites		1,375
Mexicans		10
	TOTAL:	1,385
EMPLOYED IN THE SUGAR BEET FIELDS		
Whites		1,500
Chinese		575
Japanese		1,000
Mexicans		850
	TOTAL:	3,925

Table 1. 1899-1900 Beet-Sugar Labor Demographics[311]

The demographics shown in the table above illustrate two facts. First, non-white laborers provided the majority of labor for the industry. Secondly, white laborers were preferentially hired in the factory. The racialized labor hierarchy reflected in these statistics illustrates a common pattern that continues to characterize the industry.

Throughout the beet sugar industry, of which the sugar company managed a majority of its acreage, the rising anti-Chinese violence ran rampant. In 1888, "a small group of white strikers on a sugar-beet ranch operated by the Spreckels Co. forced a minority of Chinese to cease working … a crew of 25 white boys collectively demanded wage rates equal to those being paid to a crew of 14 Chinese, $1.15 to $1.25 per day. When the employer refused, the whites went on strike and stoned the Chinese, who fled the fields until the strikers left."[312] An

[308] Table 1. 1899-1900 Beet-Sugar Labor Demographics. Labor in California Sugar Beet Crop. Raymond P. Barry (Editor). Federal Writers Project. Oakland, California. 1938.
[309] " 2,500 to 3,000 Americans were displaced "during the last few years" by Oriental labor."Pacific Rural Press, San Francisco, Aug. 7, 1897, p. 84.
[310] "No Cookies for Farms of Pacific Coast" 9 Jan 1918 *Salinas Daily Index* Labor in California Sugar Beet Crop. Raymond P. Barry (Editor). Federal Writers Project. Oakland, California. 1938.
[311] Labor in California Sugar Beet Crop. Raymond P. Barry. Federal Writers Project. Oakland, California. 1938. Information obtained from California Bureau of Labor Statistics 1899-1900, Ninth Biennial Report(Sacramento: Bureau of Labor Statistics, 1900) p. 29.
[312] "The Labor Supply" *Pacific Rural Press,* Volume 35, Number 23, 9 June 1888.

uncommon occurrence, the Chinese workers had contracted higher wages than the white Americans, and this pay-rate differential inflamed the rising in anti-Chinese sentiment specifically aimed at the beet sugar industry.[313]

As early as 1897, John D. Spreckels evoked an anti-Japanese labor sentiment, Quoted in *The Los Angeles Herald,* J.D. Spreckels stated,

> The difficulties which confront the laboring men of the United States cannot be adjusted in a proper and beneficial manner until laws are passed and enforced to prevent the immigration from foreign countries of low-grade laborers. In this respect, our workingmen must have protection. … Too many of the low grade have been admitted under our immigration laws, and it is now essential to the prosperity and well-doing of honest and intelligent men that they should not be exposed to degrading competition[314]

John D. Spreckels' opinions, a leader of the booming California industry, encompasses the contemporary anti-immigration discourse evoking the potential harm to the American working man.

In 1897, Japanese labor contractors offered lower wages, of $1.20 per ton to $0.70 cents per ton.[315] This led to a swift change in labor demographics, by the 1900s the beet-sugar industry employed mostly Japanese laborers in the beet fields. Local newspapers reported the progression of the season. In May 1903, Japanese workers were reported as "beginning to thin beets" in the recurring column, "Spreckels Notes."[316] Between 1900 -1922, Japanese farmers composed 80% of all people working in "topping, loading, hoeing, and thinning sugar beets."[317] In 1909, East Indian migrants entered the beet fields.[318] And shortly thereafter, Mexican and Filipino labor became the most common, hired through labor contractors.[319]

The hiring practices of the company continued to be under scrutiny by 1910. In 1909, the *Salinas Daily Index* went as far as publishing a front-page article entitled, "Monterey County is in favor of White Labor."[320] R.H. Moore, Superintendent of the Spreckels Sugar Factory is quoted therein, stating, "the Spreckels Company was in hearty sympathy with the movement,"[321] Moore, a representative of upper management at Ranch #3 reflects the regional pro-white, nativist movement. The Spreckels Sugar Company established company practices to support these statements. Hiring white labor in factories and non-white labor in

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[313] "No Coolies for Farms of Pacific Coast" 9 Jan 1918 *Salinas Daily Index*.
[314] "Spreckels and Labor Law" 31 July 1897. *Evening Los Angeles Express.*
[315] 14 April 1897 *Evening Sentinel.*
[316] "Spreckels Notes" 6 May 1903 *The Californian.*
[317] Yamato Ichihashi California. 1922. "California and the Oriental: Japanese, Chinese and Hindus." Sacramento: California State Printing Office.
[318] U.S. Immigration Commission, Report Vol. 23 (1911).
[319] U.S. Immigration Commission Report Immigrant Labor in the Growing of Sugar Beets in California, loc. cit.
[320] "Monterey County is in favor of White Labor." 27 Sept 1909 *Salinas Daily Index.*
[321] *ibid.*

the fields, the Spreckels Sugar Company established a racialized labor hierarchy. Moore's statements identify the company's practice of preferentially employing white labor.

In defense of the company's labor practices, John D. Spreckels, the Chief Operating Officer of the Spreckels Sugar Company, argues an inadequate labor supply as the primary motive for hiring non-white workers. J.D. Spreckels alleges that Japanese workers are "the only people we can get. The white men will not work in the field. In California, you can not get them to work."[322] Referencing the contract-labor system used by the company, Spreckels describes a "Japanese boss" that supervises the "harrowing and the cultivating, and then the topping" of the beets.[323] The contractors mentioned by Spreckels, according to the Immigration Commission, provided the following for their laborers:

> These field hands may receive the entire contract price per acre less the contractor's commission of five and sometimes ten percent, or they may work by the piece, say, so much per 1,000 feet, or they may be paid so much per day. … Sometimes the boss boards his men or furnishes them with food which they cook for themselves. The amount charged by the boss for board or food materials is at present usually just sufficient to cover the cost. For this reason, the smaller bosses prefer not to board their men. If the men board themselves, they detail one of their number to act as cook.[324]

Describing the value of labor and living conditions of field laborers, Spreckels separates the company and shifts the onus onto tenant farmers. The varied nature of pay schedules and pay rates of field laborers, according to the above, is determined by the tenant farmers. The minimal detail provided by Spreckels demonstrates his knowledge of the varied housing conditions offered on his ranches by the tenant farmers operating company-leased land. Moreover, during this period, the sugar company operated its own camps on ranches. Boarding farm workers at the lowest cost ensured the highest profits for tenant farmers but had little impact on the profits of the refiners, since they paid for the product and acreage, regardless of the number of workers, as the contract receipts of the sugar company illustrate. The above describes the manner in which individuals were recruited, and paid, including the bounds of their contracts. In some cases, food and lodging were included. This description highlights the variability in contract-labor arrangements.

The system of contract labor illustrates the relationship between refiners,

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[322] United States. Congress. House. Special Committee on Investigation of American Sugar Refining Company. (1911). Hearings held before the Special committee on the investigation of the American sugar refining co.: and others on June 12 [-August 11] 1911 p. 955.
[323] *Ibid*.
[324] U.S. Immigration Commission Report Immigrant Labor in the Growing of Sugar Beets in California, loc. cit.

farmers, and workers. Refiners paid per acre and later per saccharine quality,[325] leaving farmers responsible for the inputs until harvest. Farmers, under contract with the refineries, sought labor contractors to supply a workforce. Labor contractors, therefore, held an immense amount of power over their workers. Contractors would "receive the money due [to] the gang, pay its expenses therefrom, settle questions in dispute among members, and represent the gang in dealings with employers."[326] Providing housing described as "a shelter of a rude kind"[327] contractors facilitated a separate space between workers and employers. In 1919, local farmers organized a meeting to vote on "the Japanese question, the daylight saving law, the Mexican contract labor, and also the importation of Chinese labor."[328] The data, collected at the behest of the State Federation of Farmers, would be used for political lobbying, "for these matters are soon to come up at Sacramento or Washington."[329] Reported the next week, farmers voted, 29:1 in favor of the exclusion of Japanese farm ownership and tenancy of land, 29:1 in favor of Chinese farm labor, and 18:13 in favor of Mexican contract labor."[330] Growers and farmers both preferred the low wages of non-white labor. Local farmers collaborated to control the hierarchy of the region. Publicly, employers of the Spreckels Sugar Company promoted white labor, and the tenant farmers that the company depended on collaborated to keep Japanese land ownership down and increase regulated, imported labor.

The Spreckels Sugar Company imported Mexican labor as early as 1918. Local reporting and an investigation by the Mexican consulate identify nearly one hundred Mexican nationals employed by the company. In May of the same year, Mexican Consul-General, Ramon DeNegri reported, "Most of the trouble at the Spreckles plant [was] caused by misinterpretations of their contracts by Mexicans." A particular point of discontent was the fact that the laborers' "money was held out by the sugar company," the reason argued purported by the company, "it was for the Mexicans' good to do so, otherwise they would have squandered their wages when the time to be deported would they had nothing to show for their work and time."[331] Managing the wages of workers in such a manner illustrates the exploitative relationship between the company and its imported workers. The logic expressed by the company reflects their perceptions of their non-white workers as lacking in reason. Furthermore, DeNegri's explanation, faulting the Mexican nationals' lack of understanding, compounds the relationship of the inferiority of Mexicans working in the fields.

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[325] Shift in pay schedules for the beet sugar industry, while relevant with California's high saccharine production this change impacted California farmers very little.
[326] U.S. Immigration Commission Report Immigrant Labor in the Growing of Sugar Beets in California, loc. cit.
[327] U.S. Immigration Commission Report Immigrant Labor in the Growing of Sugar Beets in California, loc. cit.
[328] "A Big Meeting of Harmers will be held on Saturday." *Salinas Daily Index.* 18 Dec 1919. *The Californian.*
[329] *ibid*.
[330] "Local farmers against Japs, for Chinks" 22 December 1919*Salinas Daily Index.*
[331] 10 May 1918. *San Francisco Chronicle.*

Mexican beet sugar workers continued to protest their working conditions. Only three months after the Mexican consulate's investigation, in August, thirteen Mexican laborers "made a futile attempt yesterday morning to start an insurrection on Ranch 10, near Chualar."[332] Contracted at $2.75 per day, with a nine-hour workday and meals included,[333] they walked off the job, with six of the laborers reaching San Francisco, where they were arrested for "violating their bond."[334]At the jail, these individuals were interviewed by Mexican Consul-General, Ramon DeNegri, resulting in seven returning to work and five ending their contracts.[335] The newspaper states, "This is not the first trouble with imported laborers," linking the events to "pro-German agitators."[336] For local newspapers, outsiders unsettled the local labor relations. Sugar relied on the low wages facilitated by imported labor in California, as in Hawai'i. And

The ongoing labor requirements of the crop make this industry relatively unchanged since its establishment in California more than a century ago. The harvest campaign begins in August and continues through October.[337] Planting in late fall and early winter, thinning starts in some regions as early as February and continues through April. Agricultural economists noted the unique feature of sugar beet workers' migratory patterns, "unlike much other migratory labor in California the beet workers move only twice each year. In the early spring, they move to the farms for blocking and thinning; there they remain until the harvest is complete in the fall, finally moving on to seasonal work in other crops."[338] Therefore, the worker housing provided by these individuals reflects a unique condition of temporary housing, for a total of eight months out of the year. The housing provided to laborers remained a primary concern and impacted the working conditions of these individuals. Beet-sugar workers labored and lived under the supervision of their employers. As soon as a sugar beet is harvested the saccharine levels start to diminish, making a quick harvest-to-processing vital to the economic profits of refineries.[339] The hand labor required of sugar beets throughout the life-cycle of the crop, from planting throughout the three-month harvesting campaign.

With the introduction of the 1942 Bracero Program, sugar-beet agricultural labor remained dominated by Mexicans, not only in California but across the

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[332] "Mexicans make trouble on Ranch: Attempt made by agitators to start strike on Spreckels ranch" 23 August 1918 *Salinas daily Index.*
[333] 9 May 1918. *San Francisco Chronicle.*
[334] 9 May 1918. *San Francisco Chronicle.*
[335] ibid.
[336] ibid.
[337] Report of California Agricultural Station (Berkeley, California, 1917-1918) p. 7. And Fundamentals of sugar beet culture under California conditions."" Adams, R. L. (Richard Laban),1917. Berkeley, Calif. : University of California, College of Agriculture, Agricultural Experiment Station; Labor in California Sugar Beet Crop. Raymond P. Barry (Editor). Federal Writers Project. Oakland, California. 1938.
[338] Taylor, Paul S. , University of California, Migratory Farm Labor in the United States, Serial No. R. 530 (Monthly Labor Review, March 1937), Bureau of Labor Statistics, United States Department of Labor, pp. 7-8.
[339] Farmers would be paid per acre, not based on sacharaine levels.

American Midwest.[340] With imported labor, the federal government assured beet sugar farm workers remained temporary workers.

IV. Beet-Sugar Sharecroppers: Farmer Contracts and the Power of the Refinery

While Spreckels operated 66,000 acres,[341] it only owned 21,877, contracting the remaining acreage to local farmers. The high costs of sugar beet planting and harvesting, including the increasing reliance on mono-crop seeds and pesticides, levied power in the hands of sugar refiners. Farmer's contracts and receipts, company accounting reports, and material catalogs,[342] shed light on local power relations by illustrating the contract relationship that sugar refiners had with local growers. In the Salinas and Central Valley, sugar refiners controlled the local regional economy and social relations through their power over the production on the land.

As early as 1881, valley residents expressed concern with the growing power of the sugar capitalist. In the *Merced Express,* the local antipathy can be sensed, "This man Spreckles has made an arrangement with the railroad company, and the San Francisco sugar dealer can obtain no special rates of freight on sugar, and is compelled to purchase off the monopoly."[343] Controlling transportation in the Salinas Valley, the Spreckels Sugar Company impacted regional competitors. Once the refiners built irrigation and transportation networks, they set the pay rates. Local growers eventually challenged the sugar refiners, shedding light on a growing local antipathy to the beet sugar industry. The company recorded every aspect of the farmers' production. Controlling transportation in the San Joaquin Valley, the Spreckels Sugar Company impacted regional competitors. Spreckels investments in the railroad provided enough evidence for locals to make inferences as to the extent of influence the company would soon have in the region.

The growing power of the industry did not go uncriticized. The Spreckels Gang came to reference the growing investments of the Spreckels family in sugar and railroads in California.[344] Following a series of unfavorable reporting of Claus Spreckels's Hawaiian sugarcane business investments in 1881.[345] Spreckels sued

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[340] Norris, Jim. North for the Harvest : Mexican Workers, Growers, and the Sugar Beet Industry. St. Paul, Minn: Minnesota Historical Society Press, 2009.

[341] Allen, R. H. (Rutillus Harrison). "Economic History of Agriculture in Monterey County, California During the American Period." University of California, Berkeley, unpublished dissertation, n.d., 1934.

[342] Spreckels Sugar Collection MS 282_ Holt-Atherton Department of Special Collections_UOP

[343] Merced Express, October 29, 1881, Merced County Library Archive, 2.

[344] Stockton Mail, Volume 10, Number 91, 24 November 1884; "The Spreckels Gang" *The Evening Mail* 24 November 1884.

[345] The San Francisco Chronicle published a series of articles in 1881, "Slave or Starve: Trials of Antonio Mideivas de Ascencion - The Spreckels Sugar Plantation - a Startling Story of the very Effective Practical Slavery on the Sandwich Islands;" "Hawaiian Island Slavery;" "Peonage Established" and 1882, "The Hawaiian Sugar Fraud" and "The Slave Drivers' Candidate" that led Mr. Spreckels to sue the newspaper.

The Chronicle[346] for defamation, but that did not prevent the arrest of Claus Spreckels on charges of manipulating sugarcane prices. On November 20, 1884, Adolph Spreckels, son of Claus Spreckels shot Michael DeYoung, the owner of *The Chronicle,* in the shoulder and abdomen.[347] The following year, a jury acquitted Adolph Spreckels of the attempted murder.[348] Again in 1897, another newspaper, *San Francisco Examiner* publicly criticized the power of the sugar monopolist in 1897, just as Factory One prepared for opening. The editor, in a personal dispute with Claus Spreckels, published the following critique:

> Wealth, however great, does not give a man authority over public officials or superiority over public laws. The millionaire has exactly the same right to put another man in jail as the poorest citizen in the land, and no more.[349]

Referring to Claus Spreckels' attempt to convince the local sheriff to arrest the editor, the failed attempt was ridiculed in the newspaper. However, the power of Spreckels on the lives of others under the domain of the beet sugar industry was palpably felt, impacting housing and the quality of life of locals. Sugar monopolists yielded power over life, land, and water in the West.

The 1917 Manteca factory acreage accounting lists more than three-hundred farmers listed as growing anywhere between 2 acres and 1,847 acres for the sugar company across the Manteca, Modesto, and Stockton beet districts.[350] These farmers represent a majority of the beet crop entering the company's refineries. Amongst the payroll are Japanese farmers, and farmers with Hispanic-sounding last names, though this is not very telling of ethnic background. The gains made by non-white workers, in particular, the Japanese community in the first decade of the 1900s led to an increase in Japanese farm labor contractors, and eventually into small-scale farmers themselves. The 1887 Alien Land Laws stripped immigrants of their land, reducing any gains made in the local market. These labor and social improvements were undercut with the passing of the 1907 Page Law or Gentleman's Agreement. And still, the perseverance of this community is evident in the 1919 photograph of Japanese farmer Suhichi Uyaday, as a visual reflection of the Japanese farmers participating in the industry.[351] The 1917 report of sugar beets planted and harvested across the valley beet districts contains 18 Japanese surnames listed as contracted farmers, ranging in acreage from 4 to 600.[352] Contracted for less acreage than farmers with

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[346] "Claus Spreckels Sued," *New York Times,* 26 Nov 1893; "Spreckels Suit Settled WIthout Trial" *New York Times* 6 Jan 1894.
[347] "M. H. De Young Shot" Los Angeles Herald, Volume 22, Number 69, 20 November 1884
[348] "The Spreckels Trial" *Los Angeles BulletinI6 June 1885; "The Spreckels Case", " Daily* Evening Bulletin" 8 June 1885.
[349] "Not Owners of the City" 1897. *San Francisco Examiner.*
[350] Series i. Box 2. Spreckels Sugar Collection MS 28. Holt-Atherton Department of Special Collections. University of the Pacific, Stockton.
[351] Berschini, *Images of America: Spreckels*. Reprinted from Salinas Public Library Collection.
[352] Series i. Box 2. Spreckels Sugar Collection MS 28. Holt-Atherton Department of Special Collections. University of the Pacific, Stockton.

German, Dutch, and Portuguese surnames, who planted upwards to a couple of thousand acres, Japanese farmers received more contracts than Latino/as. The same logs reflect a total of 11 Latino/a surnames, who contracted between 3 to 45 acres.[353] While non-white workers managed to improve their status within the labor hierarchy, their relationships with the sugar company remained as contracted workers outside of the factory center, the burgeoning community. Through the process of housing, these non-white workers were excluded from the urban center by their lack of access to property ownership. The diverse group shows a stark difference in acreage numbers, with fewer contracts going to Japanese and Hispanic-sounding farmers. The relationship between farmers and refinery reflects a sharecropper relationship, with the farmer beholden to the pay rates set by the industry, which also happens to control the local rail line and irrigation system.

Accounting documents reflect the receipts paid to farmers on contracts, including farm labor, horses, and seed. A receipt dated July 1919, detailed the payment sent to W.I. Clapp illustrates the involvement of the company throughout the planting and harvesting of the crop. This itemized receipt lists the deductions made from the farmer's payment, including horse feed, transportation, and labor.[354] The receipt documents a payment advancement on a "1919 beet contract #17 for 85 aces,"[355] reflecting the tenuous economic nature of farming in the region, where profits were directly tied to beet sugar refiners. A receipt paid to Juan Saldivar in July 1919 illustrates the involvement of the Spreckels Sugar Company throughout its landholdings. Saldivar, a field laborer working for the labor contractor D. Rivera, warranted the direct transaction with the company. The receipt includes the deduction of $12.17 for boarding leaving Saldivar with $11.16 of the original $23.33.[356] Collecting, reviewing, and issuing payment for this worker, demonstrates the close regulation that the company had over even the most minor worker. These records illuminate the power imbalance as a result of the contractual relationship between sugar refiners and farmers.

The advantageous role of sugar refiners led the U.S. House of Representatives, through Rep. Thomas W. Hardwick (D) of Georgia to investigate the American Sugar Refining Company for allegations of monopolization in 1911.[357] Coined the "Hardwick Committee," the testimony attempted to unearth the power accrued by sugar refiners over the prior two decades. Formed in 1887, the Sugar Trust set an effective pay rate on sugar across the American Midwest.[358]

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[353] ibid

[354] Series i. Box 7. Spreckels Sugar Collection MS 28. Holt-Atherton Department of Special Collections. University of the Pacific, Stockton.

[355] ibid.

[356] "Spreckels Sugar Company, Manteca, Cali Miscellaneous Entries" Entry Voucher No. 815. Series i. Box 2. Spreckels Sugar Collection MS 28. Holt-Atherton Department of Special Collections. University of the Pacific, Stockton.

[357] United States. Congress. House. Special Committee on Investigation of American Sugar Refining Company. (1911). Hearings held before the Special committee on the investigation of the American sugar refining co.: and others on June 12 [-August 11] 1911.

[358] Zerbe, Richard. "The American Sugar Refinery Company, 1887-1914: The Story of a Monopoly." The Journal of Law & Economics 12, no. 2 (1969): 339–75. Godfrey, Matthew C. (ed.), 'A Snake in the Sugar: Magazines, the Hardwick Committee, and the Utah-Idaho Sugar

Reorganizing as the American Sugar Refining Company in 1891, the company was "the ninth largest corporation in the United States."[359] The testimony given illuminates the incestual nature of California sugar beet companies, refiners, growers, and transporters. While the Western Beet Sugar Company opened contracts to refine sugar at the Spreckels Sugar Company factories, both of these companies remained operated primarily by the Spreckels family. This relationship protected both companies from any legal charges and redirected the testimony to the actions of Midwestern sugar refiners.[360] The capacity for the Spreckels family to connect family land holdings under a single business is reminiscent of the power yielded by the Maxwell Land Grants. With more than 21,877 acres individually owned, the Spreckels' family members were in blatant defiance of the 102-acre limit under the Reclamation Law. With land, water, and railroads, the sugar industry held immense power over the central coast of California and the Salinas Valley.

In 1920, the Manteca factory district acreage accounting reflected only fifty-seven contracts with farmers in the Manteca, Walnut Grove, Pleasanton, Stockton, Ignacio, Cotatit, Tracy, and Cosumnes River Districts.[361] These farmers grew beets on 2 acres to 1,081 acres, and the beet company grew on 2,598 acres for processing at the Maneca plant.[362] In only three years, the Manteca plant demonstrates the reduction in individual contracts with farmers, illustrating the decreasing power of farmers. In fewer numbers, with less acreage, farmers became increasingly beholden to the industry.

Nonetheless, farmers continued to fight against the power of the sugar refiners. In 1947 a group of sugar beet farmers filed suit against the company, citing the Sherman Antitrust Act and alleging monopolistic practices that prevented small farmers from competitively participating in the industry.[363] Mandeville Farms challenged the American Sugar Refining Company, the umbrella company under which the Spreckels Sugar Company operated.[364] The court concluded that since the sugar beets are not yet beet sugar, the marketable

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Company, 1910–1911', in Spencer W. McBride, Brent M. Rogers, and Keith A. Erekson (eds), Contingent Citizens: Shifting Perceptions of Latter-day Saints in American Political Culture (Ithaca, NY, 2020; online edn, Cornell Scholarship Online, 21 Jan. 2021).,

[359] Genesove, David, and Wallace P. Mullin. "Predation and Its Rate of Return: The Sugar Industry, 1887-1914." The Rand Journal of Economics 37, no. 1 (2006): 47–69.

[360] While the Spreckels Sugar Company still operated in the Midwest, with refineries in Philadelphia, this article seeks to focus on the impacts of the California sugar beet operations. "Spreckels Assails The Sugar Trust; Reports Arbuckle and Warner in League with It to Limit Output and Keep Up Prices." "Claus A. Spreckels, President of the Federal Sugar Refining Company of Yonkers, told the Hardwick House Committee, which is investigating the American Sugar Refining Company, commonly called the Sugar Trust, yesterday, that the late Henry O. Havemeyer, former President of the American company, was not the only man who could play a fiddle" *The New York Times.* 23 Jul 191.1

[361] "Spreckels Sugar Company, Manteca, Cali Miscellaneous Entries" Entry Voucher No. 815. Series i. Box 2. Spreckels Sugar Collection MS 28. Holt-Atherton Department of Special Collections. University of the Pacific, Stockton.

[362] ibid.

[363] Mandeville Farms v. Sugar Co., 334 U.S. 219, 68 S. Ct. 996, 92 L. Ed. 1328 (1948).

[364] *Moody's Manual*, 1937; pp.227-228.

commodity, they are not subject to the Sherman Anti-Trust laws.[365] With this overwhelming defeat to farmer power, the court sides with the refiner, and exempts sugar beet farmers from successfully organizing against refiners.

By the close of the 1910s, the sugar beet industry extended to the local regions in the east valley. In the acreage rolls of the Manteca, Modesto, and Pleasanton sugar beet districts, all of the local farmers invested in beet sugar are listed. The familial investment of the Brockmans is striking in the acreage logs, with contracts for seven family members recorded in 1917. Collectively, this family planted 177 acres for the company.[366] This familial investment is an attestation to the persuasiveness of the sugar beet industry, with entire families embarking on the investment. Following the extensive irrigation of the valley, California beet sugar, with Spreckels leading the way, began to dominate the national sugar market. Comparing the 1913 averages across the United States, the price to operate an acre of sugar beets was $38.96, less than the national average of $41.53 national average, while the profit of California is $36.31 and the national average of $30.18.[367] Contradicting Mr. John D. Spreckels' statements before the Hardwick Committee - beet sugar was indeed less expensive and more profitable to operate in the beet sugar industry in California than anywhere else in the United States. By 1931, Spreckels outperformed all other California beet sugar producers, profiting $44.66 per acre compared to $17.74 at Oxnard and $28.43 by the Alvarado company.[368] The profits recorded by the Spreckels Sugar Company, the rates of production, and geographic expansion, illustrate the regional influence and power of the industry.

Spreckels' consolidation of land through irrigation and railroads, resulted in higher profit margins. Furthermore, the establishment of these networks facilitated the company's control over the region's farm contracts. With enticing profits, farmers entered into sugar beet contracts unbeknownst to them, the company exerted power over all aspects of life, not only labor. At the height of the California beet sugar,[369] Spreckels dominated production and profits. An essential component of this infrastructure was worker housing, the elaboration of an infrastructure of worker housing illustrates the social impact of the industry. While the beet sugar industry impacted the economic development of the region, building irrigation and transportation infrastructure, the industry also greatly impacted the social landscape of the Salinas Valley and the greater region devoted to beet sugar manufacturing and sugar beet farming through the establishment of an infrastructure of worker housing.

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[365] "It appears clear that the decisions of our courts have consistently held throughout the life of the Anti-Trust Act that products of the farm which are subsequently manufactured or processed into articles of commerce are beyond the reach of said Act." Mandeville Island Farms v. Sugar Co., 334 U.S. 219, 68 S. Ct. 996, 92 L. Ed. 1328 (1948)

[366] Series i. Box 2. Spreckels Sugar Collection MS 28. Holt-Atherton Department of Special Collections. University of the Pacific, Stockton.

[367] "Report for the committee on labor conditions in the growing of sugar beet." 1933. APPENDIX III. Table 1. Average cost of production per acre of sugar beets 1913.

[368] Table III. Average costs of production per acre of sugar-beets - continued." p. 36 Report for the committee on labor conditions in the growing of sugar beet. 1933.

[369] "Labor in California Sugar Beet Crop." Raymond P. Barry (Editor). Federal Writers Project. Oakland, California. 1938.

V. Worker Housing: Consolidating Surplus Labor

A third component supporting the Spreckels Sugar Company's beet-sugar infrastructure was worker housing. Alongside the various sites of wealth production, field, irrigation, and transportation network, the more than forty labor camps, managerial homes, and the company town established by the company compose an infrastructure of housing. In Marxist terms, the accumulation of capital is made possible through access to (cheap) surplus labor, housing provides a tool from which employers managed their surplus labor, for beet-sugar that was the manual labor provided by mostly non-white workers. A network of housing, spanning central California is emblematic of the reach of the industry's economic and political power.

Identifiable in the historical archive as "labor camps," these sites illustrate the beet sugar industry's management of its most valuable resource, people. The Spreckels Sugar Company operated and managed forty-four labor camps throughout the Salinas Valley.[370] A survey of the company's "Ranch Maps" at the Monterey County Historical Society illustrates the spatial isolation in which the field laborers lived.

The Spreckels Sugar Company land surveys, taken between 1915 - 1918 document the fifteen ranches and forty-four labor camps on Spreckels property. The forty-four labor camps operated in relation to the Spreckels Sugar Company are dispersed across the central valley, generally along the Salinas River. Labor camps housed irrigation workers, railroad workers, and farm workers. The construction of irrigation projects often entailed the local settlement of laborers.

In the map for ranch number fifteen, dated 1925, are the notations of various labor camps including the Williams Camp, Stirling Camp, and Hill Camp.[371] These camps housed the irrigation laborers working for the Williams Pumping Plant and the Stirling Pumping Plant, both of which irrigated the beet fields. These sites were often sensationalized in local newspapers. Illegal activities usually made it to the press. At Stirling Labor Camp, Z.M. Rosero, according to news reports, threatened to "blast companions" with his antiquated

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[370] Spreckels Catalog. Ranch No. 1. Spreckels General Map. 1915. Spreckels Catalog. ; Spreckels Catalog. Ranch No. 2. Spreckels General Map. 1915.; Spreckels Catalog. Ranch No. 3. Spreckels General Map. 1915.; Spreckels Catalog. Ranch No. 4. Spreckels General Map. 1915.; Spreckels Catalog. Ranch No. 5. Spreckels General Map. 1915. Spreckels Catalog. Ranch No. 6. Spreckels General Map. 1915. Spreckels Catalog. Ranch No. 7. Spreckels General Map. 1915.; Spreckels Catalog. Ranch No. 8. Spreckels General Map. 1915; Spreckels Catalog. Ranch No. 8. Spreckels General Map. 1915.; Spreckels Catalog. Ranch No. 9. Spreckels General Map. 1915.; Ranch No. 10. Spreckels General Map. 1915. Ranch No. 11 Spreckels General Map; Ranch No. 12. Spreckels General Map. Spreckels Catalog. Ranch No. 113. Spreckels General Map. 1915.Spreckels Catalog. Ranch No. 14. Spreckels General Map. 1915.; Spreckels Catalog. Ranch No. 105 Spreckels General Map. 1915.Spreckels Catalog. (1880-1970). Monterey, California. Monterey County Historical Society. DRW 8-03. Spreckels Catalog. (1880-1970). Monterey, California. Monterey County Historical Society.

[371] "Rancho No. 15 of the Spreckels Sugar Company," (1925). Spreckels Sugar Company Records. Monterey County Historical Society. Monterey County.

revolver.[372] The history of the construction of the railroad and its various extensions reflect the communities that developed alongside the railway. Railroad workers' housing was demarcated as "steam-plow camps" and can be seen in the survey maps of Ranch number 10.[373] The surveys conducted by the California Commission of Immigration and Housing, of 663 labor camps across the state between July 1915 to January 1916, recorded the demographics of the various industries operating similar, temporary, and unincorporated worker housing. According to the report, railroad camps housed 1,120 workers and the beet sugar camps housed 1,738 residents.[374] While railroads received tremendous recognition for their significance to the development of the West, by the mid-1910s beet sugar housed more individuals than fruit, grape, and railroad industries. Amongst the 11 industries surveyed the number of individuals living in beet sugar camps was similar to those living in the maps provided by the oil, mining, and construction industries.[375] Therefore, the economic and social significance of the beet sugar industry is comparable to these industries as well. Invested in irrigation, railroads, and farming, the beet sugar industry's social impact is most visible in the spaces where these workers lived.

The maps identify the segregation of farmworkers from various ethnicities including; Hindu, Japanese, and Mexican workers.[376] These maps, drawn up as part of a survey of all of Spreckels Sugar Landholdings, illustrate the ethnically-segregated housing provided for farm workers. Sprinkled amongst the sugar beet fields, these spaces kept farm workers isolated.

The company managed labor through two other housing forms, the Company Town and the Spreckels Hotel. Census records of 1900 and 1910 identify less than 1% of Hispanic or Asian residents in the town of Spreckels,[377] and, by 1920 the census shows 5 Hispanic-sounding names working as "factory

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[372] "Filipino Gets 180 Days in Jail" 6 April 1939 *Salinas Morning Post* and "Filipino Gets 180 Days in Jail" 6 April 1939 *The Californian.*

[373] Ranch #10. 1918. Spreckels Catalog. (1880-1970). Monterey, California. Monterey County Historical Society.

[374] Table I. Residents and Working Force in 663 labor Camps, With Distribution According to Sex, Skill and Marital Condition. P. 348.California. Commission of Immigration and Housing. (1915). Annual report of the Commission of Immigration and Housing of California. [Sacramento?]: State Printing Office.

[375] ibid.

[376] Spreckels Catalog. Ranch No. 1. Spreckels General Map. 1915. Spreckels Catalog. ; Spreckels Catalog. Ranch No. 2. Spreckels General Map. 1915.; Spreckels Catalog. Ranch No. 3. Spreckels General Map. 1915.; Spreckels Catalog. Ranch No. 4. Spreckels General Map. 1915.; Spreckels Catalog. Ranch No. 5. Spreckels General Map. 1915. Spreckels Catalog. Ranch No. 6. Spreckels General Map. 1915. Spreckels Catalog. Ranch No. 7. Spreckels General Map. 1915.; Spreckels Catalog. Ranch No. 8. Spreckels General Map. 1915; Spreckels Catalog. Ranch No. 8. Spreckels General Map. 1915.; Spreckels Catalog. Ranch No. 9. Spreckels General Map. 1915.; Ranch No. 10. Spreckels General Map. 1915. Ranch No. 11 Spreckels General Map; Ranch No. 12. Spreckels General Map. Spreckels Catalog. Ranch No. 113. Spreckels General Map. 1915.Spreckels Catalog. Ranch No. 14. Spreckels General Map. 1915.; Spreckels Catalog. Ranch No. 105 Spreckels General Map. 1915. Monterey County Historical Society. DRW 8-03.

[377] U.S. Bureau of the Census, *Twelfth Census of the United States, 1900.Schedule No. 1-Population*(Washington D.C.: GPO, 1901), California, Monterey County, Alisal Township.

labor.[378] Given that the Spreckels Sugar Company's labor composition was "10% factory labor, almost all were white American, and 90% field labor, of which almost all was immigrant labor"[379] Yet, the labor and population demographics of the company town illustrate the impact of race on employment and housing. As these records indicate, the company town was a racially segregated place that housed only white factory workers.

Within the boundary of the company town, the Spreckels Hotel housed the labor force required in the factory at the height of the campaign. Built in 1898, the Spreckels Hotel had sixty-rooms[380] where it housed single-male factory workers. At the Spreckels Hotel, factory workers were provided with private bedrooms, bunkbeds, and lockers.[381] Following a brief closing due to a fire in the summer of 1899,[382] the Spreckels Hotel opened later that year.[383] In May of 1900, just before the harvest season of August- October, the Spreckels Sugar Company's policy that "all single men working at the factory must board at the Spreckels Hotel, and that all married employees living in Salinas will be furnished with transportation to and from the factory until accommodations can be prepared for them at Spreckels."[384] The management of factory labor in boarding houses such as the Spreckels Hotel and Bardin House begins to shed light on the management of surplus white labor, highlighting the impacts of race on these spaces conceived to be all-male.

Throughout the regions managed by the Spreckels Sugar Company, housing was administered based on position within the factory. Individuals with managerial positions were provided with multi-room houses. The engineer at Kings City Ranch was provided with a house in 1899. Charles L. Pioda, the long-time factory manager, was provided a multi-room house at Spreckels. Pioda's house that is used as a reference for the historical preservation of the company town.[385] The houses provided for upper management illustrate the use of housing as a recruitment tool. The size of the houses, ranging from five to eight rooms, and the amenities they included, porches, screens on doors and windows to reduce pests, and a communal room,[386] sheds light on the demographics influencing the company's establishment of respectable homes and the larger residential communities in the areas they manage. Chapter Four identifies the

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[378] Conway, "Spreckels Sugar Company: The First Fifty Years." 63.
[379] provided by Percey W. Morse, Spreckels' agricultural superintendent operating out of Watsonville. Conway, "Spreckels Sugar Company: The First Fifty Years." p. 77.
[380] *The Santa Cruz Sentinel.* 16 Dec 1897.
[381] "111. Do. One Story, 6 rm, Bungalow for Spreckels (3-1-17)" Series i. Box 1. Spreckels Sugar Collection MS 28. Holt-Atherton Department of Special Collections. University of the Pacific, Stockton.
[382] "Ruined the Suction Pipe" 20 June 1899 *The Californian.*
[383] "Spreckels Hotel" 15 November 1899 *The Californian.*
[384] "A Result" 8 May 1900 *The California Salinas Daily Index.* The newspapers alleges this is in response to the closing of the Salinas Railway Company.
[385] Modified HAABS/HAER Report. Spreckels Sugar Company Factory No. I. Spreckels, California. Vol. 3: Drawings. Prepared by Page & Turnbull, Inc. October 1993.
[386] Glenn David Mathews, "Spreckels: California Design Guidelines" Salinas: Monterey County Planning and Building Inspection Department, 1998. p. 13 - 14.

production of an ideal community via the infrastructure of housing by the sugar company.

An analysis of housing incorporates the peripheral nodes of production into the urban center. Moreover, the extent of labor camps, from Salinas to Soledad and southeast San Jose. illustrate the regional extent of the impact of the beet sugar industry. Providing worker housing, the beet sugar company functioned as a determinant of social space. The housing sites built alongside beet sugar fields and urban centers reflect a pattern of racial segregation and spatial isolation of rural workers. Alongside the various sites of intensification - irrigation projects, railways, sugar beet fields, and the sugar refinery, the company provided housing in the form of labor camps. These sites reflect the establishment of worker housing as a site used to regulate labor, and as a site mitigated by race and sexuality, as discussed in the following chapter.

VI. Conclusion: A Beet Sugar Empire in Central California

By October 1899, Spreckels' Salinas factory achieved international fame, representing Monterey County at a Paris Exhibition.[387] The company shipped twenty-one jars representing the various stages of sugar refining,[388] showcasing cutting-edge technology in the United States agricultural sector. The history of beet sugar in the Salinas Valley reflects the development of California's agricultural history. Building irrigation and railroad networks, in the mid-to-late 1870s the beet sugar industry intensified the region's agricultural production, as it transformed the once arid valley into irrigated farmland. Developing at the close of the 19th century and booming in the first half of the 20th century, beet sugar characterizes the development of industrial agriculture typical of the region. Cultivating a single crop throughout 140,000 acres, the beet-sugar industry soon became the dominant employer of the region, linking thousands of lives together. Establishing irrigation networks, railroad systems, and communities, the beet-sugar industry consolidated the region under the production of beet sugar.

The coordinated efforts of the Spreckels Sugar Company and its founder, Mr. Claus Spreckels, established a profitable industry within a short period of time. Financing the construction of irrigation in the valley, sugar beets became one of the state's first irrigated row crops. Between 1875 - 1911, beet sugar investors financed the construction of irrigation projects, and railroad networks, and persuaded farmers to devote their land to growing sugar beets. The industry established the irrigation patterns characterizing the region as well as institutionalized the practice of racially segregated housing for non-factory workers. The beet-sugar industry built some of the first critical infrastructure of the state - irrigation, railroads, and housing. Collaborating with the Santa Cruz Rail Line founder, Mr. Spreckels ensured the incorporation of the Salinas Valley and Central Valley into the national sugar market. And finally, as the industry managed an increasing number of labor camps they mitigated the relationship between the state workers, as the company worked directly with the state to manage its labor camps. The infrastructure projects financed by the sugar industry

[387] "A Paris Exhibit" *Los Angeles Herald,* Number 25, 25 October 1899.
[388] ibid.

included the irrigation network and the railroad networks, and worker housing. The infrastructure of worker housing operated by the sugar company includes the local historical landmark, the company town of Spreckels, as well as a lesser-known network of labor camps.

Housing extended the racialized labor hierarchy into the social sphere, revealing the magnitude of the social impact of the industry throughout the region. Through housing, the sugar industry translated the racialization of labor in California in the early 1900s,[389] onto the social landscape, establishing early patterns of racialized housing, and racial exclusion from property ownership in California,[390] a known generator of generational wealth. Throughout its existence, the central Californian beet sugar industry impacted the geographic, economic, and social development of the Salinas Valley and Central Valley. The social spaces created alongside the major sites of beet sugar production, irrigation, railroads, farms, and factories, demonstrate the microcosms of social spaces facilitated by the sugar industry. In housing adjacent to the various labor sites, employers attempted to tether workers to their labor. In effect, this practice left non-factory, non-white, workers isolated from the urban center, and excluded from the imagined community. The comparative analysis of the various housing types provided to workers by the Spreckels Sugar Company illustrates the extension of a racialized labor hierarchy into the social sphere.

Providing, managing, and/or regulating the housing for workers across various sectors of the beet sugar industry, the Spreckels Sugar Company impacted the social landscape of the valley. With labor camps, single-room hotels, and multi-room houses, the beet sugar industry managed the most valuable resource - people. Consolidating 140,000 acres of land with irrigation, railroads, and housing sugar beets influenced the economic, political, and social relations across its domain.

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[389]Almaguer, Tomás. *Racial Fault Lines : the Historical Origins of White Supremacy in California.* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1994.)

[390] Paul S. Taylor, "Foundations of California Rural Society," California Historical Society Quarterly 24, no. 3 (1945): 193–228. Harris, Cheryl I. "Whiteness as Property." Harvard Law Review 106, no. 8 (1993): 1707–91.

Chapter 3
Worker Housing:
An Infrastructure of Race

"In filling permanent positions preference is always given
to those who reside [in Spreckels]"

- *The Spreckels Courier,* 1907

Advertisements for employment like the one above appeared daily in June and July 1907. Linking employment to housing, the beet sugar industry is embedded into the local social fabric. Managing the housing of its factory and farm workers from 1898 to the 1960s, the beet sugar company provides a case study from which to examine the historical materialization of labor camps in the Salinas Valley. This social history interrogates the popular history of the Spreckels, California company town and incorporates the history of farmworker housing into the popular history of California. Operating farmworker labor camps from 1890-1964, the Spreckels Sugar Company reflects the history of California's farm workers; illustrating a pattern of racial segregation and class-based living policies in and around the company town of Spreckels, California. Designed by a single architect, William H. Weeks, the labor camp, hotel, and cottages provide the basis for historical comparison.

Housing illustrates the impact of the Spreckels Sugar Company on the social landscape. The company built railroad networks, and irrigation systems but also worker housing. Founding a company town, building a hotel, and managing forty-four labor camps, the Spreckels Sugar Company built an infrastructure of housing. Amongst company maps, architectural blueprints, and industry publications, the housing infrastructure is clear. The construction and management of these spaces by the company make clear that these sites function as sites of critical infrastructure, just as irrigation systems and railroad networks. In terms of the means of production, worker housing controlled a key input, surplus labor. The Spreckels Sugar Company built distinct housing for its various workers; multi-room homes housed factory employees, hotel rooms housed temporary company workers, and labor camps housed farm workers, the company extended its racialized labor hierarchy into the social spaces it controlled. Collectively, these sites illustrate the development of worker housing as an infrastructure of race, sites that materialize race onto the landscape.

The history of worker housing managed by the Spreckels Sugar Company at Spreckels, California reveals the intimate[391] impacts of the United States domestic sugar industry. The demographics and living conditions of the housing illuminate the materialization of race in space. By extending the racialized labor hierarchy to worker housing, the company created ethnic spaces and determined their living conditions, creating a direct connection between ethnicity and housing. Determining who lives where the company formalized a practice of exclusion of space and inclusion based on ethnicity.

Alongside the 1898 opening of the second Spreckels Sugar Company

[391] Stoler, Ann Laura. *Carnal Knowledge and Imperial Power : Race and the Intimate in Colonial Rule.* (Berkeley, California: University of California Press, 2010.)

refinery in Salinas, worker housing was provided for factory workers. The experiences of racialized housing are identifiable on agricultural and urban planning maps as well as oral histories and remain a mostly obscured history of the region and throughout the business and family histories written of the Spreckels. Using maps, oral histories, and company records, this chapter documents the distinct living standards operated by the Spreckels Sugar Company in an effort to highlight the materialization of race in space alongside the historical materialization of racialized farm labor.[392]

I. Sweet Housing: Salinas' Beet Sugar Company Town

Within the boundary of Historic Spreckels,[393] the company housed permanent and temporary factory workers. Outside of the company town, farm workers lived in labor camps adjacent to Historical Spreckels, and throughout the beet sugar empire. Rural workers, irrigation, railroad, and farm workers, lived in labor camps south to Kings City and Soledad, westwardly to Watsonville, and northward to Sacramento County, along the riparian corridor that is the Salinas River basin. In the company town, white factory laborers lived in two distinct spaces, multi-room houses, and single-bed hotel rooms. These sites define appropriate housing for white workers. In constructing this definition, those individuals excluded from these sites, highlight the materialization of race via housing. Housing embodies the racial ideologies of the company, the local region, and the nation.

In 1898, construction for the factory[394] and the first multi-room family houses[395] began. Planned by a civil engineer, Charles L. Pioda just the year prior, the "forty cottages erected for Mr. Spreckels workmen" had hoped to open by April 1st, 1898.[396] By hauling in pre-built homes on steam tractors and railcars,[397] the company made the swift completion of the company town possible. On the 1897 records, there are nineteen individuals listed as property owners on company assessment records. Of these individuals, two are women, Catherine Schrouder, and Lillie B. Madsen.[398]

Within the boundary of the company town, multi-room cottages began to line the area northeast of the factory. With "12 different styles of architecture to be seen in houses and some 16 colors" the homes provided residents with a sense of individualism, through private property and the illusion of choice provided by paint and distinct features in the home. Some of the four-room houses included an outhouse and barn.[399] By 1907, the "Official Map of Spreckels" submitted to

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[392]Almaguer, Tomás. Racial Fault Lines : the Historical Origins of White Supremacy in California. Berkeley: University of California Press, 1994.
[393] Monterey County Register of Historic Resources
[394] "Six hundred men" *Sweet Nostalgia*
[395] 27 January 1898. *Salinas Daily Index.*
[396] 10 March 1898. *Salinas Daily Index.*
[397] Berschini, *Images of America: Spreckels.* p.21 Image 24. "Moving a house to Spreckels from a valley farm" 1908. Modified HAABS/HAER Report. Spreckels Sugar Company Factory No. I. Spreckels, California. Vol. 3: Drawings. Prepared by Page & Turnbull, Inc. October 1993.
[398] Berschini, *Images of America: Spreckels.* p. 20.
[399] October 14, 1897. *The Owl*

Monterey County in 1907[400] had fifteen blocks on three streets, with a total of three-hundred homes, however only one hundred and eighty were built.[401] The expectations for the region are made clear in these planning documents. Each of the twelve different house designs had an outhouse and a barn.[402] The single-story and two-story Victorian-style houses, all had tall and pointed roofs, numerous large windows, smaller windows, and ornamental porches, and some yards remained enclosed by white picket fences.[403] With variations in styles and paint, the company facilitated the personalization of space, even if they were provided by the company. Victorian-style architecture, a distinct choice to the common Spanish-style architecture that defines the period,[404] highlights the company's attempts to call on the European background of the industry. An industry founded by a German immigrant, the company town of Spreckels points to the use of labor to define white spaces.

The labor hierarchy within the factory, and greater company, translated directly into living conditions through housing amenities. Architectural schematics that list the multi-room cottages as "Manager's House" reflect the extension of the labor hierarchy into the community. Engineers managing the Kings City Ranch pumping station were provided with a 5-room house designed by famous California architect, William Weeks.[405] Charles L. Pioda, a resident manager for the Spreckels Sugar Company during the years 1919-1945, was one of the managers offered company housing. Pioda's house illuminates the social status afforded to upper-level management. With multiple bedrooms, two indoor common spaces, bathroom(s), and a private porch,[406] the amenities afforded to upper-level management and their families are evident. The company used multi-room houses provided to foremen and managers to convince workers to move to the company town. Welcoming the families of management and advertising the company town to other locals, the company town promoted a multigenerational community. However, the blatant absence of non-white workers, who composed a majority of the employees, is telling as to what families the company wanted to populate its town with.

Factory management lived in the company town's most elaborate houses. Factory Superintendent, W.C. Waters and his family enjoyed "one of the finest houses in the county."[407] Completed in April 1898, the two-story home was

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[400] "Official Map of Spreckels" Monterey County Recorder's Office. 1907

[401] "Agricultural Resources Evaluation Handbook, Monterey County, California" p. 215. September 2011. Clark Historic Resource Consultants prepared for the Monterey County Historic Resources Review Board Monterey County Parks Department. Salinas, California

[402] Berschini, *Images of America: Spreckels.* p. 15

[403] Berschini, *Images of America: Spreckels.* p. 39

[404] Sandul, Paul J. P.,. *California dreaming: boosterism, memory, and rural suburbs in the Golden State.* (Morgantown:West Virginia University Press, 2014.) Young, Phoebe S. K. C*alifornia vieja: culture and memory in a modern American place*. (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2006.)

[405] "Soledad Notes" 8 Nov 1901. *The Californian.*

[406] Modified HAABS/HAER Report. Spreckels Sugar Company Factory No. I. Spreckels, California. Vol. 3: Drawings. Prepared by Page & Turnbull, Inc. October 1993.

[407] 24 July 1898. *Salinas Dail Index.*

described as an "imposing structure."[408] With fourteen bedrooms, a library, a large kitchen, and multiple bathrooms,[409] the residence was impressive in its size and indoor plumbing, making manager's homes the only residence without outhouses.[410] An immense structure, this home operated as a public space, hosting Spreckels on occasion. In this light, The comfort of managers and social status was reflected in the social gatherings these sites would host, as detailed in the following chapter.

Census records, factory payroll accounts, and architectural documents illuminate a direct connection between labor hierarchy and housing, where whiteness determined class relations. The 1900 census records indicate seventy-four individuals living in Spreckels and working in the factory. Of the seventy-four listed, thirty-eight listed their place of birth as outside of the United States, with 90% of them being naturalized citizens.[411] The direct connection to Hawai'i continues with the population selected to live in the new company town. The census records also indicate a significant number of employees born in Portugal with children born in Hawai'i, a testament to the global nature of the industry and the intimate connection between Hawaiian sugar and Californian sugar.[412] The occupation of these individuals listed included mechanics, pipefitters, drafters, and business owners.[413] The largest ethnic group living in Spreckels in 1900 were Danish and German immigrants.[414]

The census records of 1900 and 1910 show less than 1% of Hispanic or Asian residents,[415] and five Hispanic-sounding names were listed as working as "factory labor"[416] in 1920. But overall, the Spreckels Sugar Company's employees were 90% field labor, of which almost all was immigrant labor.[417] White factory labor accounted for 10% of the total employees of Spreckels in 1899, a total of 60 individuals worked at the factory year round, and a total of 2,000 worked at the factory during the height of operation, harvest season.[418] These "campaign workers" were typically employed for sixty-ninety days, as harvest started through its conclusion. According to the surveys processed by the California Bureau of Labor Statistics, the industry employed mostly white Americans and Mexicans in the factories, with a more multi-ethnic population in the fields that

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[408] "Office Building Completed" *The Californian* 16 November 1898
[409] Berschini, *Images of America: Spreckels.* p. 31
[410] Berschini, *Images of America: Spreckels.* p. 31
[411] U.S. Bureau of the Census, *Twelfth Census of the United States, 1900.Schedule No. 1-Population*(Washington D.C.: GPO, 1901), California, Monterey County, Alisal Township.
[412] ibid
[413] ibid
[414] ibid
[415] U.S. Bureau of the Census, *Twelfth Census of the United States, 1900.Schedule No. 1-Population*(Washington D.C.: GPO, 1901), California, Monterey County, Alisal Township. U.S. Bureau of the Census, *Twelfth Census of the United States, 1910. Population*(Washington D.C.: GPO, 1901), California, Monterey County, Alisal Township.
[416] ibid
[417] ibid
[418] Conway, 1999. p. 63.; *The Californian* 27 April 1903.

consisted of white Americans, Chinese, Japanese, and Mexicans.[419] The racialized labor practices directly translated to housing. In the upcoming years, John D. Spreckels would defend this practice in front of the U.S. House of Representative, asserting that, "the factory gives employment to the white people only."[420] Housing provides the historical material from which historians can begin to understand the history of the racialization of space. Racial segregation is evident in the population demographics, labor records, company maps, labor camp reports, and in oral histories.

The company town invested in the development of a local community. In 1900, a general store opened in town, followed shortly thereafter by a school and park.[421] The developments of the local town were reported in the *Salinas Daily Index* which includes a description of the "beautiful up-to-date public school building."[422] Building a park in 1906, for locals to "gamble on the green and their elders enjoy the grateful shade of the trees," the company invested in the leisure spaces of its residents.[423] And, even though, "the utilities were controlled by the company, the real estate was all owned by the company; and those who lived in the town or started a business were selected by the company,"[424] the residents organized to improve the community.

During the summer of 1906, lots went for sale in the town of Spreckels. The General Manager, R.H. Moore advertised these lots "for the purpose of business and residence" with prices ranging between $75 and $250, for measuring "50 x120" feet.[425] The following year, the Spreckels Board of Trade published bi-weekly advertisements for employment and residences in the *Spreckels Courier*, a company publication, in the *Salinas Daily Index,* and industry publications such as *The Louisiana Planter.*[426] The company advertised local conditions as favorable, stating that:

> "The town is thoroughly sewered[sic] and supplied with the purest water. … it enjoys a very mild winter climate and cool healthy breezes from the ocean in the summer. Spreckels has the largest beet sugar factory in the world and a very large payroll year round. Help is always in demand at good wages and many more men are now wanted. In filling permanent positions preference is always given to those who reside here. …

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[419] California Bureau of Labor Statistics 1899-1900, Ninth Biennial Report(Sacramento: Bureau of Labor Statistics, 1900

[420] United States. Congress. House. Special Committee on Investigation of American Sugar Refining Company. (1911). Hearings held before the Special committee on the investigation of the American sugar refining co.: and others on June 12 [-August 11] 1911. Washington: Govt. print. Off.. (p. 956)

[421] "A Store for Spreckels" 9 Jun 1900. *The Californian.*

[422] 27 April 1903, *Salinas Daily Index.*

[423] Spreckels Courier 30 March 1906; Spreckels Courier, 22 Nov 1907.

[424] Conway, "Spreckels Sugar Company: The First Fifty Years."

[425] "Spreckels Town Lots" 20 Jun 1906 *Salinas Daily Index* 26 Jun 1906, 27 June 1906, 23 June 1907, 5 July 1906, 9 July 1906,

[426] *The Louisiana Planter. Spreckels Courier, Salinas Daily Index* in *The Californian*

> With the substantial backing of the Company and the determination to make this a beautiful city, we have implicit confidence in the future of Spreckels. BUSINESS AND RESIDENCE LOTS FOR SALE ON EASY TERMS – No better place or opportunity offered anywhere."[427]

This advertisement lists the improvements installed by the company throughout the area. The water, sewage system, climate, health, and job prospects collectively portray an image of an ideal place, supported substantially by the company. The advertisement offers jobs and housing stating outrightly that "preference is always given to those who reside here", while neglecting the fact that the agricultural population, 90% of its employees, did not reside in the multi-room homes. These advertisements highlight the efforts through which the company sought to populate its town, with white-male laborers. In 1910 the extension of the power line from Monterey to Spreckels began[428]electricity for the company town.

The company town housed company managers while temporary, factory workers boarded at the Spreckels Hotel. The distinct spaces offered to factory workers, the company town, and hotels, illustrate the direct translation of the industry's labor hierarchy into social spaces.

II. Temporary Housing: The Spreckels Hotel & Boarding Houses

The plans to build the Spreckels Hotel were described by the *Santa Cruz Sentinel* on August 7, 1897. The projected building, with "two stories, contain[ing] 60 rooms" cost a projected, $15,000,[429] what would be almost half a million dollars in 2023.[430] Opening in 1898,[431] the hotel was separated as follows; businesses and stables operated from the open first floor, rooms and a suite on the second floor, with finally, single-occupancy rooms on the third floor.[432] At Spreckels, the management of this hotel, and the freedoms afforded to its guests, reveal the uneven regulation of temporary workers. The Spreckels Hotel operated as part of a network of temporary housing[433] that supported the development occurring in the region.

During the period, hotels functioned as boarding houses for many immigrant workers. In Watsonville, the first site of the Spreckels Sugar Company in central California, the Central/Lewis/Hoffman Hotel operated as a boarding house for Chinese and Japanese immigrant farm workers and field laborers from

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[427] Spreckels Courier, 27 July 1907
[428] "Work begin in earnest on transmission" 18 February 1919, *Salinas Daily Index*
[429] 16 Dec 1897. *The Santa Cruz Sentinel.*
[430] The exact amount was, $457,327.27: https://www.usinflationcalculator.com/ 1913 to 2023
[431] Berschini, 2006.
[432] 10 March 1898, *Salinas Daily Index*
[433] Dutton Hotel (1850-1874) in Monterey County, "Agricultural Resources Evaluation Handbook, Monterey County, California" p. 215. September 2011. Clark Historic Resource Consultants prepared for the Monterey County Historic Resources Review Board Monterey County Parks Department Salinas, California. Bardin House and Swiss Hotel in Alisal, "Ten Italians had a lively rumpus" sunday night disturbance cause excitement but little damage" *The Salinas Daily Index* 22 June 1914

1872 - 1896 until it was demolished in 1919.[434] Towards the north end of Spreckels, just outside the company's property, towards the west end, near Hilltown, the Riverside Hotel[435] provided entertainment for white temporary workers. The Riverside Hotel is referenced by the factory superintendent, "factory will have to walk a mile - to Riverside - to satisfy their longing for alcoholic stimulants, and that if that seems to take the walk too often they will be told to keep on walking. … too many trips will earn them a red check."[436] The acknowledgment of this site, its purpose, and its location - outside of the company town boundary - highlights the regulation of space by the beet sugar company.

A few months after opening, a fire in 1899 closed the Spreckels Hotel, destroying the upper two stories. In the meantime, the Logwood House [437] Bardin House in Salinas, as well as the Riverside Hotel in Hilltown provided lodging for Spreckels factory workers. When the Spreckels Hotel reopened after the 1899 fire, the company contracted J.J. Bevans to complete the project. With the notice of completion filed in October 1899,[438] the hotel once again opened to guests. The *Salinas Daily Index* reported the improvements, costing $12,000, the updates included "plumbing and other improvements [that] will add greatly to the comfort and convenience of guests."[439] While the other regional boarding houses, the Bardin House and Riverside Hotel boasted "first-class accommodations,"[440] neither advertised plumbing. Housing the region's laborers transformed into a competitive market.

Boarding houses remained a small business community. In 1900 the business firm, Griffin & Thurwachter, left the management of the Spreckels Hotel to operate the Bardin House.[441] The operation of boarding houses in central California points to a long history of the home as a public site.[442] Renting rooms to individuals for short periods of time, these sites provided other personal services. The first floor of the Spreckels Hotel had a barbershop, bar, and stables. The next decade, the Spreckels Hotel became a social site of entertainment and leisure; this transformation and the resulting impacts are detailed in the following chapter.

As the Hotel and the company town continued to experience growth, the Spreckels Sugar Company's management policies came under criticism in Salinas newspapers. By the summer of 1900, the company's housing policies, summarized in the newspapers stated: "all single men working at the factory must

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[434] "Historical Context Statement City of Watsonville." April 2007. 6.2.5. History: Hotels, p. 81
[435] Built 1898. Land purchased by Bryant Hill in 1853
[436] 11 May 1912, *Salinas Daily Index*
[437] "Resumed Business" 1 July 1899 *Salinas Daily Index.*
[438] "Spreckels Hotel Completed" 19 October 1890. *Salinas Daily Index.*
[439] "Spreckels Hotel 15 November 1899. *Salinas Daily Index.*
[440] "Bardin House" *The Californian* 3 Dec 1896; "Bardin House" *The Californian* 5 December 1896, "Bardin House" *The Californian* 22 November 1896, "Bardin House" *The Californian* 18 November 1896; "Riverside Hotel" *The Californian* 2 January 1898, "Riverside Hotel" *The Californian* 7 January 1898, "Riverside Hotel" *The Californian* 11 January 1898, "Riverside Hotel" *The Californian* 1 Feb 1890
[441] "Hotel Changes" 25 October 1900 *The Californian*
[442] Donzelot, Jacques. 1997. The Policing of Families. John Hopkins University Press. translated by Robert Hurley

board at the Spreckels Hotel, and that all married employees living in Salinas will be furnished with transportation to and from the factory until accommodations can be prepared for them at Spreckels."[443] The newspapers pointed to the dangers to the city if 42 of 65 factory employees[444] that travel to Spreckels from Salinas moved to Spreckels permanently. Pointing to the decrease in city tax rolls the newspapers all published the same warning stating that "it will take children away from our schools and lessen the patronage of the stores and other business places in town."[445] According to reports, the movement of workers was not an issue as long as families reside permanently in Salinas, demonstrating how families and their taxes became significant units to keep in the city.

While conceived as a space to house single males, the hotel was not an all-male space. As early as 1898, the Spreckels Hotel employed young women. As the company prepared for opening, they solicited a "first class waitress."[446] Job listings for women were common through 1901, as the Hotel continuously sought waitresses and chambermaids.[447] In 1901, a Mrs. Hannah Bald, from Watsonville was hired to work as a bookkeeper for the hotel.[448] Women also entered the spaces of the hotel as guests. A carpenter and his wife, Mrs. Heath, stayed at the hotel while he was contracted at the factory.[449] The hotel proprietors, Mr. and Mrs. Flynn hosted dances as early as 1900.[450] Over the next decade, the hotel expanded, physically and socially as it became a site of social activity. After a 1907 fire, the Hotel would undergo additions that expanded this site from a two-story to a three-story building with an old dairy building as the first level.[451]

The company ensured liquor for the hotel guests, with an announcement of the bi-weekly liquor deliveries, "Berges and Garisser's wagon from Salinas, called at Spreckels every Tuesday and Friday."[452] For the first decade of operation, the Spreckels Hotel managed the factory workers, providing boarding, food, and entertainment. At a nearby boarding house, the Swiss Hotel, a group of Italian employees from Spreckels were reportedly near Alisal, "in town for a good time," when they were arrested for disturbance and given a $10 fine.[453] This fine, the awareness of where to purchase alcohol, and the hosting of social events

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[443] "A Result" 11 May 1900 *Evening Sentinel;* and "A Result" 8 May 1900, *Salinas Daily Index* in *The Californian;* and "A Result" 11 May 1900 *Santa Cruz Sentinel*

[444] "A Result" 11 May 1900 *Evening Sentinel;* and "A Result" 8 May 1900, *Salinas Daily Index* in *The Californian;* and "A Result" 11 May 1900 *Santa Cruz Sentinel*

[445] "A Result" 11 May 1900 *Evening Sentinel;* and "A Result" 8 May 1900, *Salinas Daily Index* in *The Californian;* and "A Result" 11 May 1900 *Santa Cruz Sentinel*

[446] "Local Brevities" *The Californian* 27 Nov 1898

[447] "Wanted" 21 April 1901 *The Californian*. "Wanted" 3 May 1901 *The Californian*. "Wanted" 4 Jun 1901 *The Californian*. "Wanted" 7 Jun 1901 *The Californian.* "Wanted" 2 August 1901 *The Californian,* "Wanted" 28 December 1901 *The Californian*.

[448] "Reported to the Index" in *the Salinas Daily Index The Californian,* 13 August 1901.

[449] "Spreckels Items" iThe Californian 27 February 1902.

[450] "A Grand Ball" 11 December 1900. "A Grand Ball" 13 December 1900. "A Grand Ball" 16 December 1900. "A Grand Ball" 18 December 1900. "Ball Postponed" 9 Dec 1900 *The Califonrian*

[451] "Spreckels Hotel Erected in 1897" Carl Boyd 25 October 1935 *Salinas Morning Post*

[452] *Spreckels Courier,* 5 April 1913.

[453] "Ten italians had a lively rumpus" sunday night disturbance cause excitement but little damage" *The Salinas Daily Index* 22 June 1914

document the company's facilitation of workers' movement in the beet sugar empire, through a network of boarding houses.

In October 1909 a second fire[454] paved the way for improvements to the Hotel. In January of the next year, Spreckels and the city of Monterey planned the extension of the electricity line for the 200-room hotel.[455] Installation completed in 1911,[456] business owners, residents, and hotel guests enjoyed the modern amenity of electricity. Local newspapers reported the improvements, "carpenters, bricklayers, and upholsters [ ] at work renovating, repairing, and improving the building inside and out."[457] By the 1910s, the workingman's hotel[458] functioned as a public space. Granted a liquor license in June 1910,[459] the hotel opened a bar. The hotel manager also leased another building next to the Hotel, the Louvre, and operated a bar there as well.[460] The hotel opened its doors to the public in 1911, and the lunchroom opened to non-hotel residents.[461] The hotel hosted the Firemen's Ball in 1911,[462] In 1912, the Spreckels Hotel had a 250-room occupancy,[463] and added a second annex in 1914[464] Operated mostly by married couples, Mr. and Mrs. Flynn, Mr. and Mrs. Cooper, and Mr. and Mrs. Lind.[465] The hotel increasingly catered to the socialization of young couples, through the facilitation of social entertainment such as dances.

The refusal to submit liquor renewal licenses by the supervisors of Spreckels[466] highlights the company's attempt to reduce the function of the hotel as a social gathering site. A reminder of the power of the company, they removed the formal access to alcohol and punished employees who frequented these establishments with the threat of dismissal, as previously mentioned. Documenting the drinking habits of their employees, factory superintendents noted that "too many trips will earn [employees] a red check."[467] A reminder that the company town was indeed a site of surveillance. Martin Saifert, an employee of the Spreckels Hotel, was charged for "seditious language" and "pro-german talk" while drunk in 1918.[468] The hotel provided white temporary employees with acceptable housing, and with its living conditions and amenities advertised for travelers, it created a white space, one still under the control of the company.

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[454] "Spreckels Company's Tribute to Firemen" 29 October 1909, *Salinas Daily Index,* "Banquet for Fire Fighters" 9 December 1909 *Salinas Daily Index;*
[455] "Work Begins in earnest on transmission lines" 18 Feb 1910, *Salinas Daily Index.*
[456] "Electric Lights for the Spreckels Hote" 16 Jan 1911. *Salinas Daily Index.*
[457] "Improvements at Spreckels Hotel" 4 February 1910. *Salinas Daily Index.*
[458] "Improvements at Spreckels Hotel" 4 February 1910. *Salinas Daily Index.*
[459] "Number of Applications for Liquor Licenses in Unincorporated Towns are Granted." 9 June 1910. *Salinas Daily Index.*
[460] "Spreckels is to be made a dry town" 11 May 1912 *Salinas Daily Index*
[461] "Restaurant at the Spreckels Factory" 4 September 1911
[462] "Second Annual Firemen's Ball" 25 August 1911, *Salinas Daily Index;* "Firemen's Ball a Great Success" 28 August 1911. *Salinas Daily Index.*
[463] "Putting finishing touches on the program" 26 July 1912. *Salinas Daily Index.*
[464] "Spreckels Hotel Erected in 1897" Carl Boyd, 25 October 1935. *Salinas Morning Post.*
[465] "New Management for Spreckels Hotel" 31 March 1913 *The Californian.*
[466] "Spreckels Hotel Bar is CLosed" 29 June 1912, *Salinas Daily Index*
[467]11 May 1912, *Salinas Daily Index.*
[468] 20 Sept 1918. *The Californian.*

Over the next few years, the company used the state to regulate its labor population by criminalizing its workers. With prohibition, the arrests of bootleggers began. The hotels provided a network to regulate the movement of workers, designating what actions are acceptable within the company town space and what actions are unacceptable, and needed to be sought elsewhere. In the same vein, the company regulated the movement of Mexican nationals by criminalizing defaulting on labor contracts. In 1918, the company embarked on contracts with Mexican nationals. Referred to as the first bracero program by labor scholars of the U.S./Mexico borderlands,[469] these workers walked off the job in protest.[470] The treatment of the Mexican nationals made international waves leading to an investigation by Ramon DeNegri. On behalf of the Mexican Consulate.[471] Arrested for "violating their bond,"[472] the criticism levied by Judge Bardin regarding this "practice that has been in vogue for a long time - that of arresting contract laborers who quit their employment"[473] illustrates the industry's use of the state to regulate their employers. The Spreckels Hotel provided a site on which this regulation elaborated.

The final additions to the Spreckels Hotel, the third and fourth annexes added in 1921,[474] housed Mexican nationals only. The two separate annexes constructed at the rear of the factory,[475] became a designated space for single-male Mexican laborers. The relationship of Mexican nationals' with the local community was compounded by their ethnicity and legal status. The impact of citizenship on living conditions is explored in Chapter Five, through a comparison of the labor camps provided to Okies and Arkies during the Dust Bowl.

At the peak of the season in 1934, the Hotel accommodated 200 men.[476] A testament to the ebbs and flows of the industry, the Hotel renovations illustrate the changing labor demographics and the fortification of a whites-only community in the company town. Within the town boundaries, the all-male temporary housing provided by the Spreckels Hotel began to introduce the social ascription of a racialized labor hierarchy. Housing white temporary workers of the company and white visitors, this space operated as a white space. The social benefits provided to this group highlight the community facilitated for white individuals. The regulation of housing as an all-white space is emphasized by the demographics and social relations at the Spreckels Hotel and its accompanying boarding houses. The white-only ideology of the company is explored in the following chapter.

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[469] Mireya Loza, "Let Them Bring Their Families": The Experiences of the First Mexican Guest Workers, 1917–1922, Journal of American History, Volume 109, Issue 2, September 2022, Pages 310–323,

[470] "Mexicans make trouble on Ranch: Attempt made by agitators to start strike on Spreckels ranch" 23 August 1918 *Salinas daily Index*

[471] 10 May 1918. *San Francisco Chronicle.*

[472] 9 May 1918. *San Francisco Chronicle.*

[473] "Warrants Issued for Mexican Contract Laborers Released Today on Writs of Habeas Corpus" 3 September 1920. *Salinas Daily Index.*

[474] "Spreckels Hotel Erected in 1897" Carl Boyd 25 October 1935. *Salinas Morning Post.*

[475] Sanborn Fire Insurance Map from Spreckels, Monterey County, California. Sanborn Map Company, Jul, 1919. Map.

[476] "Spreckels Hotel Erected in 1897" Carl Boyd 25 October 1935 *Salinas Morning Post*

White-only housing is a tool of empire, where private spaces and public spaces are racialized.

The whites-only hegemony elaborating within the boundary of the company town is legible through the existence of non-white labor camps provided to farm workers throughout the region devoted to beet sugar. The ontology of the white community elaborated alongside the labor camp. In this dialectic of space, between the company town and labor camps, race is made real, is made visible, through housing.

III. Non-White Housing: Labor Camps and Bunkhouses

The housing infrastructure of the Spreckels Sugar Company included labor camps for non-white farm workers. Managing forty-four labor camps, with four adjacent to the company town, these sites elucidate the racialization of space. Juxtaposed to the white space of the company town, and Spreckels Hotel, these sites reveal the lived experiences of race through housing and living conditions. Amongst the land surveys conducted by the company in 1907, surveyors identified the sites of labor camps.[477] Separated by ethnic groups, the labor camps of the Spreckels Sugar Company demonstrate the spatial segregation of farm workers based on ethnic background. The conditions of these sites elucidate the ways in which race materialized throughout the central valley, a region dominated by the beet sugar industry.

The company surveys identify the segregation of farm workers by ethnic background, including; Hindu, Japanese, and Mexican workers.[478] Throughout the fifteen ranches under the management of the Spreckels Sugar Company, workers are separated by ethnic background and isolated from one another. Separating workers based on ethnic background was a common practice throughout California's agricultural industry.[479] Considered a useful technique to suppress collective worker organizing,[480] this practice reaffirmed contemporary

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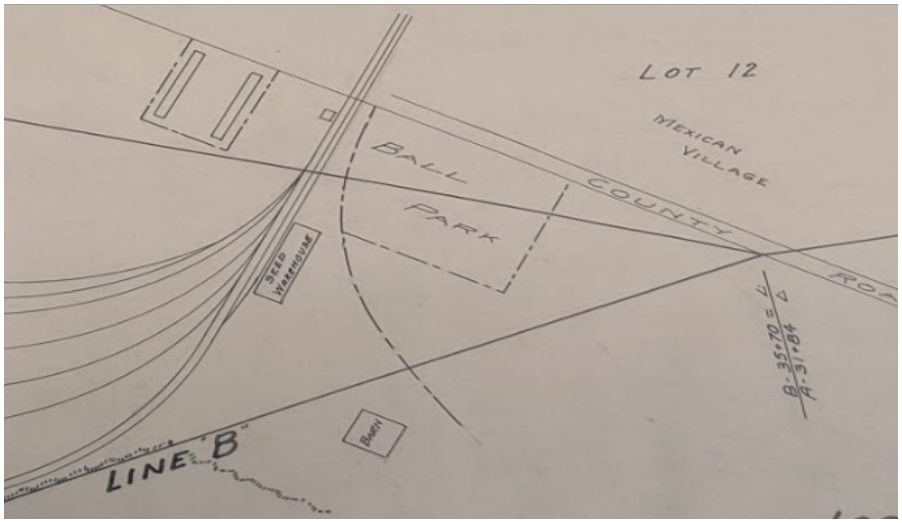
[477] Ranch 1: Monterey County, east side of the Salinas River, southwest of Salinas at Spreckels; Ranch 2: Monterey County, west side of the Salinas River, west of Soledad; Ranch 3: Monterey County, King City; Ranch 4: Santa Clara and San Benito counties, between Hollister and Gilroy; Ranch 5: Monterey County, south of Castroville; Ranch 6: Monterey County, alongside the Alisal Creek, east of Salinas; Ranch 7: Santa Clara County, along Pajaro River, northeast of San Juan Bautista; Ranch 8: Monterey County, east side of the Salinas River, north of Soledad; Ranch 9: Monterey County, near Arroyo Seco and Salinas junction, south of Soledad; Ranch 10: Monterey County, east side of the Salinas River, south of Chualar; Ranch 11: Monterey County, east side of the Salinas River, southeast of Greenfield; Ranch 12: Santa Clara County, west and south of Milpitas; Ranch 13: Santa Clara County, southeast of San Jose; Ranch 14: Santa Clara County, southeast of San Jose (combines with Ranch 13 in 1921); Ranch 15: Monterey County, northwest of Soledad

[478] "Ranch Map No. 8 of the Spreckels Sugar Company," (1907) "Ranch Map No. 11 of the Spreckels Sugar Company," (1911), "Rancho No. 15 of the Spreckels Sugar Company," (1925). Spreckels Catalog. (1880-1970). Monterey, California. Monterey County Historical Society.

[479] Sackman, Douglas C. "Chapter Three: Pulp Fiction: The Sunkist Campaign" in *Orange Empire: California and the Fruits of Eden.* 2005. (London and Berkeley, University of California Press.)

[480] Sackman, Douglas C. 2005. *Orange Empire: California and the Fruits of Eden.* London and Berkeley, University of California Press. García, Matthew. *A World of Its Own: Intercultural*

racial anxieties, separating and racializing non-white workers, and reaffirming white antipathies. The creation of labor camps for non-white workers was resolved by the creation of subpar non-white housing and the claim that these sites functioned as temporary housing. Working on the margins, the farm workers also lived on the margins of life. Living in what was designed to be temporary structures, these sites were unincorporated areas without sufficient water or housing infrastructures.



"Ranch No 1. Of the Spreckels Sugar Company" (1911). Spreckels Catalog. (1880-1970). Monterey, California. Monterey County Historical Society.

The Spreckels Ranch Maps visibly identify fourteen ethnically segregated labor camps identified as Hindu, Japanese, and Mexican labor camps.[481] A 1915 photograph of Hindu labor camp housing illustrates the self-fashioned additions made by these workers. Fashioning privacy by hanging sheets, this worker was able to make a private space, on the outside of a structure.[482] The company documented the labor camps under their management in 1920, when William H. Weeks, a premier California architect, submitted blueprints for the company. These schematics detail the "bunkhouse"[483] used to lodge farm workers. Twenty

Relations in the Citrus Belt of Southern California, 1900-1970. United States: The University of North Carolina Press, 2002.

[481] "Rancho No. 15 of the Spreckels Sugar Company," (1925). Spreckels Catalog. (1880-1970). Monterey, California. Monterey County Historical Society.

[482] "Hindu combination shelter and bed, ca.1915" Bancroft Library, University of California, Berkeley BANC PIC 1905.02716-PIC.

[483] "Foreign Labor Bunkhouse. Ranch No. 2 1920." DRW 8-03 Spreckels Catalog. (1880-1970). Monterey, California. Monterey County Historical Society.

men shared ten bedrooms, each 9'x10', and a communal shower.[484] The lack of private bedrooms led many workers to create some semblance of privacy. Documented in the 1915 photograph and reported in state reporting the upcoming years.

In sharp contrast to the bunkhouses offered to foreign laborers, the company also built labor camps for its white employees. Amongst the company records, architectural blueprints of "white labor camps" reflect the distinct spaces created for white workers. White labor camps were defined as composed of bunkhouses, a cookhouse, and a foreman's office. These sites housed twenty-four men and provided each with a private locker and window above their bed, and a shower attached to the bunkhouse.[485] Labor camps, Martins Camp, in Manteca[486] housed Mexicans and Americans. Inspected on April 24, 1925, a summary report mailed to the company on April 27, 1925 lists the improvements needed at this location.[487] The white labor camp is identified as in good condition and the Mexican labor camp is identified as in fair condition. Referencing the Camp Sanitation Act of 1915 Chapter 329, the unsigned Director of Camp Sanitation identifies the latrine location as a primary concern of both sites. The designation of good and fair rests on the number of individuals housed, with the American labor camp housing twelve residents, eleven men, and one woman, and the Mexican labor camp housing twenty-two individuals. With nearly double the occupancy, the Mexican labor camp had to support the life processes of more individuals, including sewage.

The wave of California farm labor organizing throughout California resulted in the creation of California's Commission of Immigration and Housing (C.C.I.H.) and the subsequent investigations into agricultural working and labor camp living conditions. In 1913, the California legislature passed the Camp Sanitation Act. The Camp Sanitation Act provided a set of regulations establishing the minimum conditions required for sanitation, establishment, maintenance, and prevention of communicable diseases from proximity to animals.[488] The enforcement of the 1913 Camp Sanitation Act was granted to the C.C.I.H., due to the "involved problem of the immigrant."[489] Complaints of living conditions led to C.C.I.H. investigations in 1914, inspecting more than 500 labor

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[484] "Foreign Labor Bunkhouse. Ranch No. 2 1920." DRW 8-03 Spreckels Catalog. (1880-1970). Monterey, California. Monterey County Historical Society.
[485] Drawing No. 93."Camp Buildings: White Labor Camps" 16 June 1917. Spreckels Catalog. (1880-1970). Monterey, California. Monterey County Historical Society.
[486] Labor Camp Report #615 April 24, 1925. ; Labor Camp Report #614 April 22, 1925. Ctn 81, Folder 32. California. Dept. of Industrial Relations. Division of Immigration and Housing records, BANC MSS C-A 194, The Bancroft Library, University of California, Berkeley.
[487] Letter Dated April 27, 1925 .BANC-MSS CA 194; Ctn 81, Folder 32. California. Dept. of Industrial Relations. Division of Immigration and Housing records, BANC MSS C-A 194, The Bancroft Library, University of California, Berkeley.
[488] "California: Sanitary Districts. Establishment and Maintenance of. (Chap. 199, Act May 29, 1913)." *Public Health Reports* (1896-1970) 28, no. 45 (1913): 2378–81.
[489] Miller, R. Justin. "Labor Camp Sanitation--A Basis For Education And Citizenship." American Journal of Public Health (1912) 11, no. 8 (1921): 697–702.

camps.[490] With the hopes to "prevent a repetition of the fatal [Wheatland] riot,"[491] the C.C.I.H. issued a critical report on the reprehensible conditions of toilets, garbage, and water and issued a series of pamphlets with suggestions to improve these conditions. Published in 1914, the "Advisory Pamphlet on Camp Sanitation and Housing" contains information, resources, tables, and diagrams for "owners, and superintendents" of labor camps pertaining to the location, layout, water, structures, kitchen, garbage and refuse, sewage, and pests control,[492] of labor camps. With specifics pertaining to the construction of labor camps, including the labor, materials, and dimensions, the C.C.I.H. provided California labor camp operators with guidelines to assure "an increase in the willingness and efficiency of labor."[493] The Camp Sanitation Act set a $200 fine or a maximum of 60 days imprisonment for breach of the legislation.[494] However, as the C.C.I.H. correspondence elucidates, the Spreckels Sugar Company faced no financial or legal repercussions for the conditions of their work camps.

The following year the C.C.I.H. published a pamphlet to guide the implementation of improved labor camps infrastructure. In 1915, the "ABC of Housing" details the need for a survey, a city plan, and municipal housing regulations.[495] Throughout the 1910s, the state extended its oversight and regulation of labor camp spaces. At the close of the decade, in 1919, the C.C.I.H. reportedly received 3,048 complaints, the ethnic composition of the complaints was published, 2,338 from non-citizens, with a majority of complaints alleging wage theft, 420 complaints regarding unsanitary labor camps, claims of fraud and contract breach.[496] The results of C.C.I.H. investigations continued to publish the results and conclusions drawn from their reporting through 1921.[497]

In the 1920s, the organization continued to document the conditions of labor camps throughout the state. C.C.I.H. officials documented Spreckels Sugar Company labor camps between 1924-1934. This reporting provides an intimate portrayal of the substandard conditions provided to farm workers. Amongst the host of data collection and reporting are Labor Camp Reports. Collected between 1925 and 1934, labor camp reports documented the location, size, demographics, and conditions of labor camps throughout the state of California. Spreckels' Sugar Company managed and operated more than forty labor camps, providing a wealth

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[490] "Condition is better for Farm workers" 22 August 1913. *Santa Cruz Evening News.*
[491] "Hop Pickers to Live Decently" 30 April 1914. *The Californian.*
[492] "Advisory Pamphlet on Camp Sanitation and Housing"California State Printing Office, July 1914. California. Commission of Immigration and Housing. [Pamphlets]. Sacramento: Calif. State Print. Off., 1914 -1926
[493] "Advisory Pamphlet on Camp Sanitation and Housing" p. 7. California State Printing Office, July 1914. California. Commission of Immigration and Housing. [Pamphlets]. Sacramento: Calif. State Print. Off., 1914 -1926
[494] Chap.182, Act May 29, 1913. "California: Sanitary Districts. Establishment and Maintenance of. (Chap. 199, Act May 29, 1913)." *Public Health Reports* (1896-1970) 28, no. 45 (1913): 2378–81.
[495] "An ABC of Housing" California State Printing Office 1915. California. Commission of Immigration and Housing. [Pamphlets]. Sacramento: Calif. State Print. Off., 1914 -1926
[496] "Tell Troubles to Immigration Service" 12 May 1920, *Santa Cruz Evening News*
[497] *Advisory Pamphlet on Camp Sanitation and Housing.* Revised, 1921. Sacramento: California State Printing Office, 1921.

of documentation of the condition of these various living structures.

Amongst the numerous reports pertaining to ranches under the control of the Spreckels Sugar Company, a common complaint - by inspectors and workers alike - reflected the lapses in infrastructure supporting human habitation. Workers and inspectors mention overcrowding, old structures, inadequate flooring, latrines, and garbage.[498] Following labor camp inspections, DIH inspectors sent letters to labor camp operators which noted these areas of improvement. Citing the Camp Sanitation Act (1915), DIH inspectors informed labor camp operators of the necessary improvements. Within a few days, Spreckels Sugar Company managers responded to the correspondence, assuring measures were already being taken to provide improvements. However, not all labor camps were deemed worthy of improvement. A complaint submitted anonymously, dated May 15, 1923, alleges that the Knights Landing Camp is a "dirty Mexican camp" with an "overflowing cesspool"[499] and yet, notes on this complaint from the Division of Immigration and Housing (DIH) office remark, "no inspection needed."[500] Inspections of other camps were initiated by lesser charges, including overcrowding and waste management. Unlike other complaints that were followed by inspections, the May 1923 Knights Landing Camp complaint was not. The haphazard oversight approaches used by DIH inspectors reflect the lack of accountability enforced by the state organization.

The labor camp reports illustrate that the state did not enforce the living standards of these sites due to the labor demographics and racial makeup of its residents. The reports remark on the condition of the labor camps and document the different structures used for housing. Some of these sites housed hundreds of people - including women and children[501] - for the entire beet campaign, a total of eight months out of the year. The labor camp operated at the Sugar Factory had a "1200 single room occupancy," and at this site, only 600 individuals were employed. At the nearby Ranch 10, denoted as a Japanese labor camp, there were thirty-nine residents, 30 of which were employed and the other 9 consisted of 3 women and 6 children that attended a nearby school.[502] These residents, who were all Japanese and Japanese-American, lived in one large bunkhouse and the families lived in two one-bedroom shacks.[503] These early decades of labor camps

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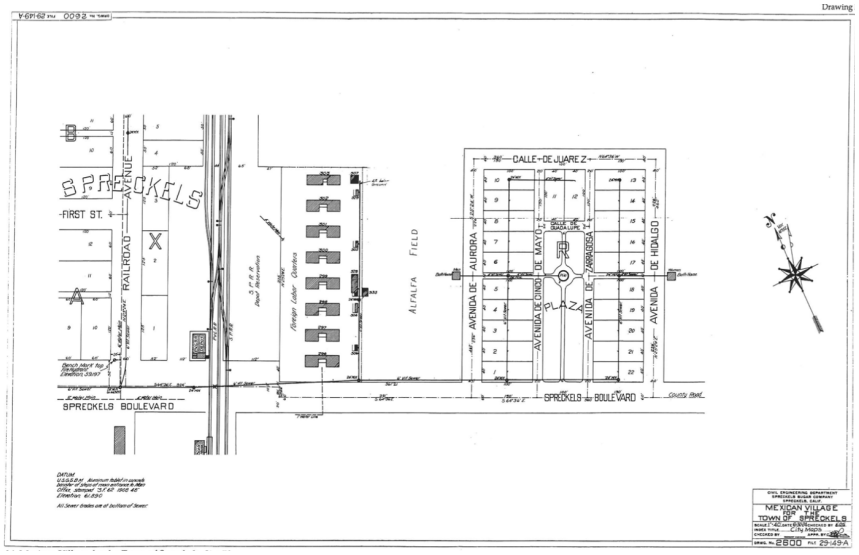
[498] California Department of Immigration and Housing. BANC MSS C-A 194. Ctn 81: Folders 32-37. Labor Camps. California. Dept. of Industrial Relations. Division of Immigration and Housing records, BANC MSS C-A 194, The Bancroft Library, University of California, Berkeley.
[499] Correspondence. May 15, 1923. Ctn 81: folder 33. "Complaints" California. Dept. of Industrial Relations. Division of Immigration and Housing records, BANC MSS C-A 194, The Bancroft Library, University of California, Berkeley.
[500] Correspondence. May 15, 1923. Ctn 81: folder 33. "Complaints" California. Dept. of Industrial Relations. Division of Immigration and Housing records, BANC MSS C-A 194, The Bancroft Library, University of California, Berkeley.
[501] 8/3/1925 Labor Camp Report. Sugar Factory. Folder 32-37 Ctn 81. BANC MSS CA-194 California. Dept. of Industrial Relations. Division of Immigration and Housing records, BANC MSS C-A 194, The Bancroft Library, University of California, Berkeley.
[502] 8/3/1925 Labor Camp Report. Ranch 10. Folder 32-37 Ctn 81. California. Dept. of Industrial Relations. Division of Immigration and Housing records, BANC MSS CA-194. The Bancroft Library, University of California, Berkeley.
[503] ibid.

had few families. The all-Mexican labor camp in Ranch 10, had thirty-two residents, all 30 men and two women were employed by the Spreckels Sugar Company. The two families at this camp lived in two rooms in the bunkhouse.[504] The bunkhouses, sheds, barn houses, and other structures housed male farm workers, women, and children throughout the sugar beet campaign. The most common structure noted throughout the labor camp reports is the bunkhouse and the cottages/cabins where the foreman and their family lived. Bunkhouses comprised the majority of farmworker housing, given their large size and individual rooms. While they had the capacity to house more than one-thousand workers, during this period the bunkhouses housed no more than one-hundred workers, with families living in shacks or the largest room in the bunkhouse.



"Proposed Site: Mexican Village." 1924. Spreckels Catalog. (1880-1970). Monterey County Historical Society.

By the mid-1920s, the Spreckels Sugar Company formalized its management of Mexican and Mexican-American labor. The labor camps, "bunkhouse" style housing remained ethnically segregated, as indicated on the map.[505] With a communal shower, these buildings were noted to have the capacity to house 20 men.[506] On the map of Ranch 1, just outside of the Spreckels company town boundaries, in the southeast corner, the "Mexican Village"[507] is identified. A "site plan" produced in 1924 by the Civil Engineering Department of the company in 1924, the company also noted the presence of "Foreign Labor Quarters," with nine bunkhouses, and an alfalfa field separating the Mexican

[504] 8/3/1925 Labor Camp Report. Ranch 10. Folder 32-37 Ctn 81. California. Dept. of Industrial Relations. Division of Immigration and Housing records, BANC MSS CA-194. The Bancroft Library, University of California, Berkeley.
[505] "Rancho No. 15 of the Spreckels Sugar Company," (1925). Spreckels Catalog. (1880-1970). Monterey, California. Monterey County Historical Society.
[506] DRW 8-03. Spreckels Catalog. (1880-1970). Monterey, California. Monterey County Historical Society. "Foreign Labor Bunkhouse. 1920."
[507] Irrigation Map of Spreckels, on Lot 12, "Proposed Site: Mexican Village." 1924. Spreckels Catalog. (1880-1970). Monterey, California. Monterey County Historical Society. "Foreign Labor Bunkhouse. 1920."

quarters from the company town.[508] All of these sites were further removed from the company town by a railroad depot. Structures similar to the Martin Labor Camp[509] can be seen today in Soledad, California. The company maps illustrate racially segregated labor camps throughout the area devoted to beet sugar.[510]

Similar to the company town, the racialized labor hierarchy was transcribed onto the various camps operated by the Spreckels Sugar Company. The Spreckels Sugar Company spread its policy of racial segregation and provided white American families with multi-room housing throughout the beet empire. The significance of the family to American identity has been addressed by Family Studies and American Studies and will be the topic of the following chapter.

The labor camp reports also reflect the limited authority of the state. Following inspections, the labor camps that did not meet the Camp Sanitation Act (1915) standards received further notice regarding the necessary improvements. Notes on the labor camp reports and the subsequent correspondence reflect the conditions which warranted further improvement. The findings of a Labor Camp Report dated April 19, 1928, in reference to Ranch 30,[511] were subsequently sent to the beet sugar company in a letter dated April 26, 1928. The letter listed the complaints, including, "old hog barns used for housing families [are] unfit for human habitation. Suitable housing must be provided."[512] Inspection of this labor camp revealed the use of this animal pen structure for human housing. Throughout the labor camp reports, are similar makeshift use of structures, including storage bins[513] and kitchens[514] to house people. The living conditions that farm workers were subjected to are described as "unfit for human habitation"

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[508] "Mexican Village for the Town of Spreckels, Site Plan" 1924. Spreckels Catalog. (1880-1970). Monterey, California. Monterey County Historical Society.

[509] "Agricultural Resources Evaluation Handbook, Monterey County, California" p. 215. September 2011. Clark Historic Resource Consultants prepared for the Monterey County Historic Resources Review Board Monterey County Parks Department. Salinas, California

[510] McWilliams, Carey, Matt S Meier, and Alma M García. *North from Mexico : the Spanish-Speaking People of the United States.* ; Sackman, Doug. *Orange Empire: California and the Fruits of Eden*. 1st ed. (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2005). García, Matt. *A World of Its Own Race, Labor, and Citrus in the Making of Greater Los Angeles, 1900-1970*. (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2001). Alamillo, José M. *Making Lemonade Out of Lemons : Mexican American Labor and Leisure in a California Town 1880-1960*. 1st ed. (Champaign: University of Illinois Press, 2006).

[511] Ranch #30 Labor Camp Report. April 19, 1928. California Department of Immigration and Housing. BANC C-A 194. Ctn 81: Folder 35. Labor Camps. The Bancroft Library, University of California, Berkeley.

[512] Correspondence. April 26, 1928 California Department of Immigration and Housing. BANC C-A 194. Ctn 81: Folder 35. The Bancroft Library, University of California, Berkeley.

[513] Labor Camp Report Ranch #30. April 19, 1928. California Department of Immigration and Housing. BANC C-A 194. Ctn 81: Folder 35. Labor Camps. Correspondence. April 26, 1928 California Department of Immigration and Housing. BANC C-A 194. Ctn 81: Folder 35. The Bancroft Library, University of California, Berkeley.

[514] Labor Camp Report Ranch #30. April 19, 1928. California Department of Immigration and Housing. BANC C-A 194. Ctn 81: Folder 35. Labor Camps.Correspondence. April 26, 1928 California Department of Immigration and Housing. BANC C-A 194. Ctn 81: Folder 35. The Bancroft Library, University of California, Berkeley.

by the DIH inspectors.[515] The poor conditions to which farm workers were subjected to comes to light with these labor camp reports. They are the first in a long history of state and private regulation of farmworker housing in California.

Ultimately, the state's housing authority did very little to improve the living conditions of farm workers. Conducting dozens of labor camp inspections, oversight of these updates was at the discretion of inspectors. The categorization of farmworker housing as temporary adds to this cycle of complaints, inspections, and reports, with minimal oversight. Reports and complaints of labor camps operated by the Spreckels Sugar Company continued from 1925 to 1934 and yet, farm workers continued to file official complaints with the DIH. Collectively, the complaints, reports, and subsequent correspondence shed light on the early attempts to provide regulatory measures for farmworker housing, the limited power and authority of the C.C.I.H., and the persistence of unsuitable housing conditions.

The Spreckels Sugar Company was part of a wider pattern of labor camps used for worker housing in California at the turn of the twentieth century. The practice was so common its implementation was nicknamed, "The California Plan."[516] The racialization of farm labor during the early twentieth century occurred alongside the elaboration of an infrastructure of housing that supported industrial agriculture.

The beet sugar company continued the operation of farmworker labor camps from the mid-1910s into the 1960s. The persistence of substandard living conditions for these sites reflects the cracks in the private-public relationship that sustains their existence. Labor camps were the primary form of housing for California's rural workers, their conditions, regulations, and experiences reflect a long history of exploitation. Large, communal labor camps such as the Martin Labor Camp,[517] can be seen today throughout the valley's landscape. An April 1925 inspection of this site and the subsequent correspondence reflects the historical persistence of overcrowded and substandard living conditions. The poor conditions of the latrines are cited and the inspector also includes a note to construct new boarding if more than thirty people reside in the camp,[518] at that moment only twenty-one people lived there - twenty males and one female, all Mexican nationals.[519] The accounting of labor camps shows that these were not all

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[515] Correspondence. April 26, 1928 California Department of Immigration and Housing. BANC C-A 194. Ctn 81: Folder 35. The Bancroft Library, University of California, Berkeley.
[516] Ziegler-McPherson, Christina A., 'The California Plan: The Commission of Immigration and Housing, 1913–1917', Americanization in the States: Immigrant Social Welfare Policy, Citizenship, and National Identity in the United States, 19081929 (Gainesville, FL, 2009; online edn, Florida Scholarship Online, 14 Sept. 2011
[517] "Agricultural Resources Evaluation Handbook, Monterey County, California" p. 215. September 2011. Clark Historic Resource Consultants prepared for the Monterey County Historic Resources Review Board Monterey County Parks Department Salinas, California.
[518] Labor Camp Report. File No. 615. 4/22/1925. Folder 32-37 Ctn 81. California. Dept. of Industrial Relations. Division of Immigration and Housing records, BANC MSS C-A 194, The Bancroft Library, University of California, Berkeley.
[519] Labor Camp Report. File No. 615. 4/22/1925. Folder 32-37 Ctn 81. California. Dept. of Industrial Relations. Division of Immigration and Housing records, BANC MSS C-A 194, The Bancroft Library, University of California, Berkeley.

same-sex living spaces, but many did have women and children living as workers and as family units. A more in-depth analysis of the experience of families in labor camps is the subject of chapter five.

Labor camps operated throughout the region devoted to sugar beets. They should be analyzed as part of the infrastructure built to support the growing beet sugar industry. Moreover, their function is comparable to the boarding houses that lodged temporary white workers. Critical infrastructure studies examine the infrastructures that support the state, including irrigation, highways, and bridges. David Nemser defines infrastructure as "the material conditions of possibility for the circulation of people, things, and knowledge."[520] The worker housing managed by the Spreckels Sugar Company in central California illuminates these sites as part of a network that supports the local market, establishing the conditions of possibility for the production of wealth in the region. Housing functions as a productive technique[521] used to govern the individuals that resided therein. Excluded from communities, labor camps transformed from multigenerational communities to single-male houses highly regulated by the state. The history of state interventions in farm worker housing is explored in Chapter Five.

IV. Conclusion: Worker Housing, an Infrastructure of Race

Worker housing under the Spreckels Sugar Company operated as a site to control the surplus population in an effort to extract labor while regulating their movement. As "infrastructures of race, or the material systems that enable racial categories to be thought, ascribed, and lived,"[522] housing materialized the social impacts of racial categories. Equating race to labor and labor to housing, worker housing brought to life the tangible benefits of whiteness.

Through the management of distinct housing spaces regulated by class and ethnicity, the Spreckels Sugar Company managed a racialized infrastructure that created and maintained the conditions of possibility for an all-white community that excluded non-white immigrants from participating in the local community. Rural labor provided the raw materials for processing at the factory in the company town, the raw materials for the production of goods, and the accumulation of capital. Essentially, worker housing provided the crucial structures, living, eating, and sewage, to manage the surplus labor population. Labor and ethnicity determined workers' housing conditions, and the extension of the racialized labor hierarchy to the local community illustrates the function of housing as an infrastructure of race.

Worker housing is an infrastructure that "becomes a material foundation

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[520] Nemser, Daniel. *Infrastructures of Race: Concentration and Biopolitics in Colonial Mexico.* First. Border Hispanisms. (Austin: University of Texas Press, 2017.) p. 16

[521] Nemser, *Infrastructures of Race*.. David Nemser's application of Foucault's theory of biopolitics in his study of colonial infrastructures of governance illustrates the materiality of race in space. Applying Foucault's theory of biopower to his analysis of the infrastructures of colonial Mexico, centralized towns, disciplinary institutions, segregated neighborhoods, and general collections

[522] Nemser, *Infrastructures of Race*. p, 4.

that sets in motion, guides, and sustains processes such as … racialization."[523] This reorganization of space concentrated power in the hands of the refiners who extended their racialized labor hierarchy into the local community. The reorganization of space with racial categories ascribed place with racial meaning, through the establishment of an American identity. The history of worker housing reflects the physical materialization of race in space. At the turn of the twentieth century, in California's Central Valley, the infrastructure of race most evident on the landscape was worker housing. Characterized by labor, ethnic segregation, spatial isolation, and poor living conditions, these sites are material systems that illustrate the racialization of space.

The impact of racialized infrastructure is made clear in the history of the unincorporated town of Little Tijuana. On an irrigation map of Ranch 1, just outside of the Spreckels company town boundaries, in the southeast corner, the "Mexican Village"[524] is identified. Structures similar to the Martin Labor Camp[525] can be seen today in Soledad, California. The company maps illustrate racially segregated labor camps throughout the area devoted to beet sugar.[526] Later, in 1924 the image of the "Mexican Village for the town of Spreckels" reflects the racial segregation and spatial isolation that is completed by an alfalfa field, "Foreign Labor Bunkhouses," and then the P.V.C.R. railroad tracks Southern Pacific Railroad depots. The experiences of those living in this unincorporated community are explored in Chapter Five.

Ranch 8, rumored to be the inspiration for John Steinbeck's famous novel, *Of Mice and Men,* the long hours of beet-sugar factory labor and the poor living conditions for temporary workers at Soledad made the Salinas area infamous for its treatment of rural laborers in 1937. Intimated by the housing networks described by Steinbeck in the novel, the valley remained intimately connected by infrastructures of housing, such as boarding houses and labor camps.

The Spreckels Sugar Company operated worker housing as early as 1898 when the factory opened. The history of Spreckels Sugar Company's worker housing, labor camps in particular, provides invaluable insight into the lived experiences of non-white farm workers at the turn of the century. The Spreckels Sugar Company's infrastructure of housing the Spreckels Sugar Company exerted immense biopower over its working population. Housing operated as a nexus from which the company regulated laborers' movements using class and ethnicity.

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[523] Nemser, *Infrastructures of Race*. P, 18.

[524] "Irrigation Map of Spreckels", on Lot 12, in handwriting there is the text "Mexican Village" encircled. Monterey Historical Society.

[525] "Agricultural Resources Evaluation Handbook, Monterey County, California" p. 215. September 2011. Clark Historic Resource Consultants prepared for the Monterey County Historic Resources Review Board Monterey County Parks Department Salinas, California.

[526] McWilliams, Carey, Matt S Meier, and Alma M García. *North from Mexico : the Spanish-Speaking People of the United States.* Third edition. Denver Colorado: Praeger, an imprint of ABC-CLIO, LLC, 2016. Sackman, Doug. *Orange Empire: California and the Fruits of Eden*. 1st ed. Berkeley: University of California Press, 2005. García, Matt. *A World of Its Own Race, Labor, and Citrus in the Making of Greater Los Angeles, 1900-1970*. Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2001. Alamillo, José M. *Making Lemonade Out of Lemons : Mexican American Labor and Leisure in a California Town 1880-1960.* 1st ed. Champaign: University of Illinois Press, 2006.

Through the lens of biopower, the company regulated the *right to live*[527] throughout its domain, determining its demographic composition and that of future generations.

The history of worker housing at Spreckels highlights the complex relationship between race, class, and space at the turn of the century in California's Central Valley. Worker housing becomes the nexus from which the anti-immigrant discourse and anti-miscegenation anxieties of private industry, suburban residents, and state officials are reflected. Determining who belonged to what spaces illustrated the underpinning ideological beliefs supporting the company policies.

[527] Foucault, Michel. "The Right of Death and Power Over Life," in *History of Sexuality* (NY: Random House, 1978) 135-145.

Chapter Four

Infrastructures of Race:
Spreckels,
Inclusion, and the American Family

"maintain[ ] the tariff on sugar for the purpose of building up
American homes and American manhood"
- John D. Spreckels, 1911

According to this testimony, given by John D. Spreckels, Chief Operating Officer of Spreckels Sugar Company, domestic sugar, represented by beet sugar in California, supports American homes. J.D. Spreckels connects the Californian beet sugar industry to the American family through the discourse of home and manhood. Ideal relations of domestic industry, and manhood, are maintained by beet sugar in the factories, fields, and homes built by beet sugar. According to this relation, California beet sugar is an industry that supports nation-building. Through this connection, beet sugar transformed into a national symbol.

The testimony, taken during the 1911 Hardwick Committee Hearings investigating antitrust allegations against American Sugar Refining, redirects the narrative from monopolies to national identity. According to Spreckels' logic, beet sugar supported American homes and American manhood. Connecting the nation to gender relations through the home,[528] Spreckels highlights the capacity of the beet sugar industry to produce acceptable, ideal Americans. The housing infrastructure, composed of a company town, Hotels, and labor camps, detailed in the previous chapter, illustrates the disparate conditions for white workers and non-white workers. Thus, the "American homes" championed by Spreckel*s* bring to center the racial segregation occurring, a practice that supports "American manhood." Evoking the home, the family, and manhood alongside the discourse of the nation, the spaces built by the Spreckels Sugar Company at the turn of the twentieth century and into the mid-twentieth century reflect the use of housing to regulate the racial and sexual anxieties of the period. At Spreckels, the American nation is protected and reproduced through the home and proper gender relations.

This chapter traces the development of American identity within the company town. A company founded by a German immigrant, Claus Spreckels, the Spreckels Sugar Company established a company town that transformed Eastern European immigrants into Americans through their labor and housing. Within the boundaries of the company town, two distinct housing forms were provided to workers, hotel rooms and multi-room homes. Together, the history of housing within the company town of Spreckels illustrates the local production of an ideal community, a white American community.

Within the infrastructure of worker housing, the company town illustrates the materialization of racial capital on the landscape, where whiteness granted individuals superior labor and housing. Throughout the late-nineteenth and

[528] The work of Amy Kaplan connects the home to the nation through her history of national holidays, and the role of women, arguing against a separation of private and public spheres of women. "Manifest Domesticity." *American Literature* 70, no. 3 (1998): 581-606.

mid-twentieth century, the Spreckels Sugar Company elaborated a planned community anchored in contemporary discourses of nativism and anti-immigration. The regional scope of the beet sugar industry, supplying "11 states west of the Missouri River" including, Oregon, Washington, California, Nevada, Utah, Arizona, New Mexico, Colorado, Montana, and Nebraska, exemplifies the national significance of beet sugar. A premier sugar producer in the West, the Spreckels Sugar Company and its subsidiaries settled in central California with beet sugar.

First, during the 1880s - 1910s, the beet sugar industry grew a reputation of economic prosperity anchored in the nativist language of the period. Secondly, during the 1910s - 1920s, the company town represented an "ideal community" advertising modern amenities and access to rural and urban living ideals. Lastly, throughout the history of the company town into the 1930s, the spaces of single-male housing - the Spreckels Hotel, and boarding houses functioned as sites that regulated alcohol and facilitated sexual activities. Over thirty years the company town regulated the imagined community through housing - controlling sites of sexuality and facilitating leisure. Benedict Anderson explains the rise of nationalism through the likening of the nation to an imagined community,[529] in the same vein, the development of the imagined community at Spreckels contributed to the American identity developing in this place.

I. The Golden Root: Sugar Beets Welcomed in the 1880s-1910s

In 1885, the University of California scientist Professor Eugene W. Hilgard's assessment of the climate and soil quality of central California led him to conclude that California could, "produce the whole amount of sugar consumed in the United States."[530] During the 1880s - 1910s the beet sugar industry in California embodied prosperity as newspapers linked profits and freedom to the beet sugar industry. Newspapers, agricultural scientists, and industry leaders conflated the industry with American identity.

The early attempts to establish a beet sugar industry in California during the 1870s remained unsuccessful. The 1870 opening of the California Beet Sugar Company in Alameda County, founded by E.H. Dyer in 1870,[531] began the state's history of beet sugar production. In 1871, the Sacramento Valley Sugar Company opened operations in Brighton.[532] The short-lived success of this The California Beet Sugar Company and the Sacramento Valley Sugar Company, separated in 1874 and 1875 respectively,[533] and later Soquel Factory which operated from

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[529] Anderson, Benedict. *Imagined Communities : Reflections on the Origin and Spread of Nationalism.* Revised ed. (London: Verso, 2016).

[530] Hilgard, University of California. "Field for Capital" 3 November 1885. *The Oakland Evening Tribune.* "The Beet-Sugar Industry" *Oakland Evening Tribune* 29 December 1885

[531] Magnuson, Torsten A. "History of The Beet Sugar Industry In California." Annual Publication of the Historical Society of Southern California, vol. 11, no. 1, 1918, pp. 68–79. Image Calisphere: The First Successful Beet Sugar Factory in America, Alvarado, Cal. 1910. Swenson, Timothy. *Alvarado Sugar Beet Factory and the Dyer Family that Founded it.* (Museum of Local History, Fremont, California. 2015.)

[532] Shaw, G.W., and Palmer, T.G. p. 30.

[533] Magnuson, Torsten A. "History Of The Beet Sugar Industry In California." Annual Publication of the Historical Society of Southern California, vol. 11, no. 1, 1918, pp. 68–79.

1884-1880,[534] beet sugar made few headlines. These failed attempts at the local industry led to a public campaign to encourage government support through protectionist tariffs.

Local newspapers argued that the industry deserved "government encouragement."[535] Supporting this position by pointing to the potential federal revenue of this domestic industry, estimating profits nearing, "$80,000,000 per year"[536] Pointing to the 1876 Treaty of Reciprocity with Hawai'i that reduced the tariff on raw sugarcane - promoting beet sugar, where Spreckels amassed his fortune. The profits identified by the newspaper, are "more than four times the amount of wealth produced from all the mines of the State,"[537] The newspaper elicits the frontier and rapid accumulation in the West. An ode to the wealth generated in California's Gold Rush period, the newspaper calls on the recent memory of unprecedented and unchecked capital accumulation in the state. Turning to the powerful ethos of the American West, beet sugar came to symbolize a crop of prosperity and American identity throughout the region.

The American identity produced alongside the beet sugar industry in California rested on prosperity and modernity, both signified by the industry. The Watsonville factory, incorporated under the Western Beet Sugar Company in Santa Cruz County, the Pajaro Valley in 1887 began processing beets the following year. The modern structure, equipped with an estimated $500,000 in imported technology,[538] processed 7,000 tons of beets.[539] With the completion of the Watsonville factory in 1888, beet sugar was welcomed as a significant industry with "far-reaching importance to Watsonville, to the Pajaro Valley, to Santa Cruz, to California, to the whole country."[540] Welcomed as "a new avenue to wealth,"[541] the beet sugar industry locates central California within the national discourse of development, prosperity, and identity. The economic capacity of beet sugar to "put hundreds of thousands of dollars in circulation every year" in the region, the newspaper predicted favorable results, of the industry "adding largely to the prosperity of every person doing business in the town."[542] Newspapers liken Spreckels' investment in the industry to an investment in the region and its inhabitants, sugar adds to all business.

The newspaper claims that the success of the industry depends on a tripartite agreement, between the refiner, farmers, and the "citizens of Watsonville."[543] The limits of the far-reaching benefits of the industry are enumerated therein, and limited to citizens. The use of the term citizenship points to an attempt to define national belonging. Through the industry, citizenship

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[534] The Soquel factory was formed after the splitting of the California Beet Sugar Company. Dyer stayed in beet sugar while other investors shifted to sugar cane refining in San Francisco.
[535] "The Beet-Sugar Industry" 29 December 1885. *Oakland Evening Tribune.*
[536] "The Beet-Sugar Industry" 29 December 1885. *Oakland Evening Tribune.*
[537] Ibid.
[538] "To Fight the Sugar Trust," *New York Times,* 25 April 1889. *Oakland Evening Tribune.*
[539] "Beet Sugar"18 Sept 1888. *Statesman Journal*.
[540] "Beet Sugar" 11 October 1888. *Santa Cruz Daily Surf.*
[541] Ibid.
[542] Ibid.
[543] Ibid.

continues to be defined. The 1790 United States Congress connected whiteness and citizenship, when it limited naturalization to "free white persons."[544] Whiteness is associated with citizenship, defining whiteness in the West, in California, and at Spreckels became possible through labor and housing. The use of citizenship becomes used to include and exclude immigrants from the national polity. By the 1880s, the elaboration of the United States immigration laws further imbued citizenship with racial meaning.[545] The citizenship history reflected in the 1900 census records indicates a 90% naturalization rate in the region. This rate of naturalization was comparable to New York's state's efforts to naturalize Eastern-European immigrants under the state's Americanization Program. Of the seventy-four residents enumerated in the 1900 census, thirty-eight listed their place of birth as outside of the United States, with 90% of them being naturalized citizens.[546] At the turn of the twentieth century, Spreckels' residents identified as Americans through legal citizenship. In 1922 Japanese-American, Takao Ozawa, applied for citizenship, arguing that he was a white person. In this benchmark case, *Ozawa v. United States* challenged the phenotype of "whiteness" as a legal marker for citizenship. As a result, the court concludes that racial boundaries are not defined by skin color.[547] The history of U.S. immigration documents the extension of citizenship to Eastern-European immigrants.The immigration quotas defined by the 1924 Johnson-Reed Act further compounded the increasing immigration and naturalization of Eastern Europeans.[548] In California, at Spreckels, Eastern-European immigrants created a white community, defining whiteness with housing and the concept of the ideal family to constitute a local American identity.

Claus Spreckels uses the language of the frontier to persuade others to join his business venture into beet sugar. In his comparative assessment of farming practices between Eastern Europe, which processed beet sugar since the Napoleonic Wars, to the United States, Spreckels asserts, "here in America we have virgin soil."[549] Implying an empty landscape, Spreckels urges farmers to enter into a conquest of the land, with beet sugar as the organizing force. In this rationale, the head of the nation is the refinery, and the citizens are its white employees.

Locals asserted the class benefits of whiteness through violence and intimidation. In the local newspaper, *Santa Cruz Sentinel,* "there was a strike among the boys employed in cultivating sugar beets on Spreckels' Ranch at Aptos."[550] Identifying these laborers as boys, the news reporters interject them

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[544] Matthew Frye Jacobson, "'Free White Persons' in the Republic, 1790-1840," from *Whiteness of a Different Color: European Immigrants and the Alchemy of Race*. 1998. p. 15-38.
[545] Wong, Edlie L. *Racial Reconstruction: Black Inclusion, Chinese Exclusion, and the Fictions of Citizenship.* Vol. 12. Jefferson: NYU Press, 2015.)
[546] U.S. Bureau of the Census, *Twelfth Census of the United States, 1900.Schedule No. 1-Population*(Washington D.C.: GPO, 1901), California, Monterey County, Alisal Township.
[547] Haney Lopez, Ian F. "The Social Construction of Race: Some Observations on Illusion, Fabrication, and Choice." *Harvard Civil Rights-Civil Liberties Law Review* 29, no. 1 (1994)
[548] The Immigration Act of 1924 (The Johnson-Reed Act). April 12, 1924. United States Statutes at Large (68th Cong., Sess. I, Chp. 190, p. 153-169).
[549] "Beet Sugar" 11 October 1888. *Santa Cruz Daily Surf.*
[550] "The Labor Supply" 9 June 1888. Volume 35, Number 23. *Pacific Rural Press.*

within the notion of the nation as the home and these *boys* as in need of protection from a male adult, the state. The report continues, "The boys demanded that they receive as much as the Chinamen who are employed in the same place. They were receiving $1.15 per day and wanted $1.25 per day. As their demand was refused they quit in a body and avenged themselves by stoning the Chinamen who fled from the scene until after the strikers had left. There were 25 boys and about 14 Chinamen employed on the ranch."[551] White laborers attempted to secure their economic position within the growing beet empire through violence and intimidation. In the *Pacific Rural Press*, the same incident was reported.[552] The labor issues taken up by the group of white Americans reflect the racialized labor hierarchies shaping the industry. While the white-American employees took their grievances to their employer, and upon the employer's rejection, turned to their non-white peers in retaliation. The company's rejection of the "boys" equal-pay demand renders this group inferior to the Chinese employees. The violent response by the white Americans illustrates their rejection of this location within the local social hierarchy. Recognizing the economic prosperity tied to the sugar beet industry, this group did not attack their employer, but instead the minority group, in a racist attempt to ensure the economic prosperity of white Americans. Another newspaper described the same events as follows, "The bad boy is protruding again in the labor problem .. [at] the Spreckels' Ranch, in Santa Cruz County . . . [where t]he white boys drove all the Chinese off the ranch and then went on strike. The cause of the trouble originated from the endeavor of the foreman of the place to lower the wages of the men to the sum received by the boys. At the same time, the wages of the Chinese increased. The men were indignant about this matter and seem to have the sympathy of the community."[553] Acknowledging the tone of the local reporting, infantilizing the violent adult crowd through the use of "boys," this newspaper connects a larger "labor problem" with the local race relations. Moreover, pointing to local support of the white Americans highlights the contemporary nativist beliefs of the region.[554] The efforts of white Americans to secure their own employment in the industry reflect the ethnocentric beliefs of locals.

During the summer of 1888, newspapers reported school-age children in Watsonville on a "special vacation to help weed and hoe sugar beets."[555] Racial attitudes are evident in the practice of child labor. Of the field labor required to successfully cultivate beetroots, Spreckels claims, "there is no work in the beet field which a schoolboy is not as capable of doing as any Chinaman."[556] In supporting the use of child labor, Spreckels further infantilizes Chinese laborers, which compose a majority of field labor from the inception of the industry in the

[551] Ibid.
[552] Ibid.
[553] June 9, 1888. p. 508. *Pacific Rural Press* (San Francisco)
[554] Wong, *Racial Reconstruction.*
[555] June 2, 1888. p. 5. *California Fruit Grower.*
[556] "Beet Sugar" 11 October 188. *Santa Cruz Daily Surf.*

state until the early 1890s.[557] In these racialized labor tensions, Chinese workers are excluded from the imagined community while white workers are cast as boys in need of protection by the nation and its local industry.

In the 1890s beet sugar boomed with protectionist tariffs, prompting an increase in domestic sugar production, especially beet sugar. The McKinley Tariff of 1890, abolished the duty on sugar, placing an import tax of 2.25 cents per pound.[558] This protectionist tariff supported the domestic sugar industry.

"The Triumph of the beet sugar industry" *Beet Sugar Gazette.* 1903.

According to the economic history of beet sugar, between the years of 1891 - 1897, the industry grew moderately, from 3,000 tons to 40,000 tons of beet sugar respectively.[559] During this period, the United States federal government directly intervenes in the sugar industry. The *Beet Sugar Gazette* published a cartoon addressing the government's encouragement of the industry. U.S. President Roosevelt, the beet sugar industry is welcomed on a horse-drawn chariot.[560] In this intervention, the state government reflexively engaged in the production of place alongside sugar investors. Both the state and private businesses became intertwined in the success of the local beet sugar industry.

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[557] Raymond P. Barry. "Labor in California Sugar Beet Crop." Federal Writers Project. Oakland, California. 1938. Information obtained from California Bureau of Labor Statistics 1899-1900, Ninth Biennial Report(Sacramento: Bureau of Labor Statistics, 1900) p. 29

[558] Irwin, Douglas A. Tariff Incidence : Evidence from U.S. Sugar Duties, 1890-1930. National Bureau of Economic Research, 2014. History of sugar tariffs. These tariff changes are: the McKinley tariff of 1890, the Wilson-Gorman tariff of 1894, the Dingley tariff of 1897, the Payne-Aldrich tariff of 1909, the Underwood tariff of 1913, the Emergency Tariff Act of 1921, the Fordney-McCumber tariff of 1922, and the Smoot-Hawley tariff of1930.

[559] Allen, Rutillus H.. 1934. "Economic history or agriculture in Monterey County, California, during the American Period." Ph.D. Diss. University of California, Santa Cruz. Thomas J. Osborne, "Claus Spreckels and the Oxnard Brothers: Pioneer Developers of California's Bete Sugar Industry" 1972. *Southern California Quarterly* Vol. 54, No.2. oo. 117-125.

[560] "The triumph of the beet sugar industry" Vol. 5 (1903): 294. *Beet Sugar Gazette.*

Therefore it is no surprise that the spaces created by the industry, namely housing, upheld American ideals of whiteness.

Local reporting defended the anti-Chinese, pro-nativist labor practices of beet sugar. In 1896 the San Jose Mercury-News reflected local sentiment in the reporting on the Watsonville factory. The newspaper asserts, "not a Chinaman or Japanese has ever found employment there, and the lowest wages paid adults has always been $2 per day, while skilled labor is paid as high as $4 per day. The Watsonville beet factory employs only white labor, and it has kept up wages."[561] The racial labor hierarchies supported by the beet sugar industry indicate the favorable employment of white Americans and this particular group's economic success within the industry. It is from this vantage point, that newspapers report the economic prosperity of the industry.

By the mid-1890s, with eyes set on Salinas, local newspapers proclaimed the fortunes that local white-American would soon experience. In the *San Jose Mercury News,* "The Pajaronian knows what Mr. Spreckels' factory has done for Watsonville, and it is evident from the reception tendered Mr. Spreckels at Salinas that the farmers of that valley and the businessmen of that city have the utmost confidence in him and fully appreciate all that the establishment of the largest beet sugar factory in the world in the Salinas valley means for them and for the State."[562] In the *Gilroy Gazette,* the same sentiment is echoed, "that town is to have the biggest kind of a boom,"[563] and even more specifically, points to the benefits of the industry as follows; "farmers raising a profitable product and lots of well-paid laborers means phenomenal growth to uptown and the section around it"[564] The potential for economic success overshadowed the labor tensions that characterized the success of the Watsonville factory. The differential pay rates for white and Chinese laborers directly impacted the profits of farmers. Even before the Watsonville factory processed its first sugar beet crop in 1889, the local industry was marked with a racialized labor hierarchy that was prompted by local nativist beliefs.

American identity at Spreckels was further supported through the industrial features of the beet sugar factory.The technology required for beet sugar manufacturing rendered the local industry a modern factory. Claus Spreckels visited his native country of Germany in 1887 to gain insight into the beet sugar refining process, purchasing a beet sugar plant and shipping its components to California.[565] The beet-sugar refining process was separated into crop handling, washing, and crystallizers, which was supported by an engine room, a boiler house, and multipolar generators for electricity.[566]

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[561] "Spreckels and Labor" Volume L, Number 39, 8 August 1896. *San Jose Mercury-News*.
[562] ibid.
[563] *Gilroy Gazette 1896. Quoted in the San Jose Mercury News.*"Spreckels and Labor" *San Jose Mercury-News*, Volume L, Number 39, 8 August 1896.
[564] ibid.
[565] Osborne, Thomas J. "Claus Spreckels and The Oxnard Brothers: Pioneer Developers of California's Beet Sugar Industry, 1890-1900." Southern California Quarterly 54, no. 2 (1972): 117–25.
[566] "Great Spreckels Sugar Factory: Now completed and in operation" 26 September 1899. *The Californian.*

The expansion of the central valley beet sugar industry, with the incorporation of the Spreckels Sugar Company in 1896 at Spreckels, connected beet sugar to the nation and the world using the modern features of the factory and life in the company town. Operating from 1898 - 1982, upon initial construction, the factory was lauded as the "largest establishment of its kind in the world." Industrial publications from across the United States reported on the mechanical components at the Salinas factory. The factory, filled with equipment that "Spreckels ransacked the world for,"[567] highlights the spirit of the period. At the turn of the 19th century, with the closing of the Frontier, this site represented a global industry organized in the West, a place representative of American identity.[568] Simultaneously, the beet sugar industry represented imperialism and modernity. With beet sugar, Spreckels brought the Eastern imperial practice of beet sugar refining, a product of the Napoleonic Wars, to the West, reorganizing the region under the production of a single good, sugar.

In 1897, the American beet sugar industry was reaching new heights with the largest factory in the world located in Spreckels, California. The new factory, lauded as a major component of "Spreckels' plans for the state,"[569] reflects the depth of the capital investor's relationship with regional development. Promoters of Western settlement looked to the future with hope. An 1897 article published in *The Sacramento Bee,* proclaimed that the growing beet sugar industry, "May Mean Millions For [Sacramento} Farmers."[570] The article elaborates, proclaiming that the sugar beet reflects a "new era that is opening for California" one that brings "genuine prosperity, in the field, in farm and in factory."[571] At the turn of the twentieth century, the beet sugar industry symbolizes prosperity. Within a few months, the California interior began reporting similar sentiments. In *The Sacramento Bee,* locals echoed similar sentiments, tracing the potential benefits as follows; "with the increased demand for labor and the increased prosperity of the farmer, the population of Sacramento City would grow, until she would soon be second to but one city in the State."[572] For locals, the economic potential of the beet sugar industry signaled further development and establishment of the city, in population and national significance. The favorable news reporting reimagined the beetroot into a crop of prosperity, and locals ensured their close relation to the industry through race-based labor antagonizing. After a decade of beet sugar in Central California the entire valley witnessed the boom of Watsonville and sought the same riches for themselves. Beet sugar expanded into central California with a boom, sharply increasing the profits of farmers and rapidly establishing communities.

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[567] ibid.
[568] Turner, Frederick Jackson. "The Significance of the Frontier in American History." Annual Report of the American Historical Association 1894 (1894).
[569] "Soon Salinas will see its Grand Beet-Sugar factory" 9 March 1897. *The San Francisco Call.*
[570] "May Mean Millions for our Farmers. Prof. E.W. Hilgard and Claus Spreckels Say that the Soil of Sacramento County is of Superior Excellence for Sugar Beet Culture." *The Sacramento Bee.* Sacramento, California. 17 Sep 1897.
[571] Ibid.
[572] ibid.

The attempts to protect the new communities, and wealth, generated by beet sugar culminated in the expulsion of all migrant workers from the Watsonville area in 1890. Following a series of violent sexual crimes residents determined to protect their communities through the regulation of space. In the year 1890, local newspapers reported on a total of three rapes. The trial of Marcus Ceseña, charged with the rape of 14-year-old Maria Diaz[573] is followed closely in the newspapers. Statements at the preliminary hearing include testimony from Maria Diaz and her younger, 11-year-old sister, that Marcus Ceseña, forced the siblings to "drink some liquor at the point of a dagger."[574]The newspaper characterizes the local response to the crime, with "frequent calls to lynching."[575] An ode to the regional practice of lynching to uphold racial boundaries,[576] the vociferous urge for mob justice by the community a few days before the trial elucidates the local investment of the outcome. This local response leads me to conclude that Marcus Ceseña was deemed a foreigner. William Reid, a black man, was characterized as a "rape fiend"[577] while Marcus Ceseña and his 14-year-old sexual abuse victim were called "lovers," and even later, the reporting on the incestual rape claims against John W. Gilkey in February of 1890 does not attack the character of this assailant whose own wife, "had ocular demonstration of the crime."[578] Even in the reporting, it is the *crime* that is horrid, not the individual charged with the crime. The results of this trial reflect the little significance given to women's testimony. Only a month later, Judge Alexander remarks, "her evidence is highly improbable"[579] and drops the charges against the defendant before going to trial, since, "no jury would or should convict on it alone."[580] In these remarks, Alexander protects the defendant, acknowledging that while other individuals may deem eyewitness testimony enough evidence, the Judge, the local arbiter of judicial power relations deems a woman's testimony insufficient.

The local pattern of sexual violence in 1890 illustrates a crime perpetrated by men of diverse ethnic backgrounds with distinct legal and public consequences. The white male, John W. Gilkey, a married man, head of household accused of incest experienced the most favorable outcome, with no guilty verdict and no social defamation. The minimal description of the case against an African-American man, William Reid, yet the pointed characterization as a rape fiend,[581] with little information about the context of the incident, links the crime to the individual. The public testimony of Marcus Ceseña's trial highlights the local investment in the legal outcome of this prosecution; the innocence of the young

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[573] "Salinas Daily Journal" 28 Jan 1890. *The Californian.*
[574] 29 January 1890. *The Californian.*
[575] "Salinas Daily Journal" 28 Jan 1890. *The Californian.*
[576] Gonzales-Day, Ken. *Lynching in the West, 1850-1935.* (Durham: Duke University Press, 2006).
[577] "Salinas Daily Journal in *The Californian* 22 Jan 1890; "The Reid Rape Trial" in "Salinas Daily Journal" 21 Jan 1890. *The Californian.*
[578] "Charged with a Horrid Crime" 11 February 1890. *Salinas Daily Journal.*
[579] "Gilkey Set Free" 7 March 1890. *The Californian.*
[580] Ibid.
[581] "Salinas Daily Journal in *The Californian* 22 Jan 1890; "The Reid Rape Trial" in "Salinas Daily Journal" *The Californian.* 21 Jan 1890.

girl is in question because of the common practice of teenage sex- workers in boarding houses and labor camps.

Locals responded to these incidents with the exclusion of migrant workers. The exclusion of transient workers points to the local attempt to regulate space in response to the local rise in sexual violence. In 1890, at the peak of the harvest season, between August to October, the Salinas area had the highest concentration of beet workers. Watsonville citizens held a mass meeting where they "decided to order all tramps, members of the [*sic*] "lovers' " class and other persons having no visible means of employment to"[582] vacate the city within 24 hours. Turning towards the migrant workforce as a scapegoat, this begins to document the use of heightened fears of sexual violence to regulate these spaces. For locals, as well as the company, the separation of spaces, the company town, and other temporary worker housing spaces, hotels, boarding houses, and labor camps, serve to protect the local socioeconomic hierarchy. And therefore, their regulation illustrates the local attempts to protect investment in wealth, and investment in prosperity.

While the industry struggled to establish itself in the 1870s and early 1880s, by the mid-1880s local newspapers argued for government intervention through the form of protectionist tariffs. As the industry became more profitable, company officials and locals argued that it protected American whiteness through the use of a racialized labor hierarchy. The elaboration of a community in the company town highlights the local attempts to define whiteness. The company town, in glaring opposition to the recurring violence, theft, and *immoral* spaces of temporary workers, represents the elaboration of a white American community grounded on the concept of the ideal family. As the beet sugar industry continued to flourish in the 1890s, the company town represents the construction of an ideal community. While the industry came to symbolize American nation-building during the 1880s and into the late 1890s, beet sugar came to symbolize American nation-building through its capacity to generate wealth.

II. The Company Town: Defining the American Ideal Family, 1898-1905

Surveyed in 1897,[583] the company opened its operation in 1889, it also provided housing to its workers in what would become the company town. The company town was built in multiple phases during the following years, 1898, 1907, 1911, 1936, the mid-1930s, and 1955-57. Between 1898 and 1911, the company town illustrates the construction of a family ideal anchored in urban and rural relations that are defined as an agriburb. Connecting place to ideal gender and sexual relations, defining the company town creates an American space anchored in nativist claims of the period. An analysis of housing within the company town including the architecture of the homes, the residential demographics, and the national discourse entered in by John D. Spreckels at the 1911 Hardwick Hearing highlights the creation of an imagined place and the elaboration of a family ideal as whiteness.

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[582] "Marcus Ceseña charged with rape." *Salinas Daily Journal.* 28 Jan 1890.

[583] "Key Map of Spreckels" 1897; "Historic Plotted Map" showing proposed development, 1906 Company Survey Map. Historic Map, 1911, showing actual developments. Spreckels Sugar Company Archives at Monterey County Historical Society.

The direct translation of employment to housing is evident in the housing schematics. Supervisors' and foremen's lodging is noted and visibly better than their employees. Urban planning documents and photographs illustrate the different styles of housing offered within the company towns.[584] John Cairns, the first master mechanic at Spreckels was "the first man to move to town with his family," and is pictured with his family in 1957 sitting on the steps of the porch of the same house.[585] The experience of Charles L. Pioda and his family reflect experiences of upper-level management at Spreckels. A labor camp manager, the work history of Mr. Pioda illustrates the housing types provided to management and the social benefits that accompanied the job title. The Pioda house is used as an example of the cottage-style houses provided by the company when the company town was appointed a Historic Resource District by Monterey County on August 27, 1991.[586]

As briefly mentioned in the previous chapter, the company invested in the development of a local community. Facilitating social spaces, more than any other company town of the period,[587] Spreckels Sugar Company invested in the social fabric, extending the ideologies of its founders into the local community. In 1903 the editor of the *Salinas Daily Index* described his recent trip to "the village of Spreckels," noting that its "beautiful up-to-date public school building is a credit to advanced civilization." [588] Emanating eurocentric discourse of savagery and civility, the company town resolves the dichotomy, as does the mythos of the American West, between rural and urban. In this description, the company town is at once a modern village. The components of this modern relationship ground the American ethos of the suburban town.[589] The suburban identity steeped in the company town illustrates the deployment of the concept of the family ideal to regulate space.

The concept of the family ideal, a patriarchal heteronormative nuclear structure, is evident in the architectural features of the multi-room houses provided for upper-level management. In the application for historical landmark designation, of the company town, surveyors point to the architectural features of the multi-room homes, using the Pioda house as a reference.[590] The District Manager, Charles L. Pioda, a civil engineer, worked as the manager of the Spreckels Sugar Factory and operated the labor camps at Ranch 10. Pioda's home, a large bungalow on the corner of Third Street and Llano Street, illuminates the

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[584] "Vol. 3: Photographs" October 1993. Modified HABS/HAER Report for Spreckels Sugar Company Factory No. 1, prepared by Page & Turnbull of San Francisco. Pp. 10-15.
[585] "First Family in Spreckels" 16 August 1957. *The Californian*
[586] Mathews, Glenn D. February 1999. "Design Guidelines: Monterey County Planning and Building Inspection Department." Images in HABS report. October 1993. Modified HABS/HAER Report for Spreckels Sugar Company Factory No. 1, prepared by Page & Turnbull of San Francisco.
[587] Conway, *The First Fifty Years.* Adler, *Claus Spreckels.*
[588] 27 April 1903. *Salinas Daily Index*
[589] Jackson, Kenneth. *Crabgrass Frontier: The Suburbanization of the United States.* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1987).
[590] The company town was designated as a Historical Site in 1991. By the Monterey County Board of Supervisors. p.24. Mathews, Glenn D. February 1999. "Design Guidelines: Monterey County Planning and Building Inspection Department."

amenities provided to residents to facilitate a respectable and socially acceptable home. One of the largest homes, second to the two-story Spreckels Sugar Company Clubhouse,[591] the Pioda house featured multiple bedrooms, two indoor common spaces, bathroom(s), and a private porch.[592] The amenities afforded to upper-level management and their families are evident. The features of multi-room homes reflect the historical patterns of Western home architecture. As the home shifted from a public to a private space in seventeenth-century Europe,[593] socialization occurred in designated spaces in the home, the porch, and common rooms or outside the home. From time to time, these homes opened their doors for larger, still private celebrations. Superintendent, Mr. W.C. Waters, and Mrs. Waters hosted a housewarming party in 1898[594] at his two-story home, and later a wedding in 1900.[595] Described as "one of the finest houses in the country,"[596] the home had fourteen bedrooms, a kitchen and pantry, a library, and multiple indoor bathrooms.[597] The multiple indoor bathrooms boasted the modern amenities provided by the industry. Indoor plumbing and electricity at these homes and throughout the town became more readily available in other municipalities during the period. With the capacity to grant housing, and the upper-class benefits associated with housing, the industry decided *how* people lived throughout the areas devoted to beet sugar production. In Michel Foucault's theorization of power, the shift of the sovereign to decide who died to who lived marks a shift in the power of the body,[598] in Central California, the beet sugar industry decided who lived and under what circumstances.

Women employed by the company worked in the factory as secretaries, seamstresses, and chemists. An 1899 photograph of Miss Luise Saw and Miss Luchsinger in laboratory[599] at the Watsonville factory demonstrates the presence of white women at the opening of the Spreckels Sugar Company and in subsequent refineries. White women worked for the sugar company as early as 1895 when it was located in Watsonville and continued to work at the Manteca site when it opened in 1918. In the company-sponsored history, "The First 50 Year: the Story of Spreckels Sugar in Manteca" written by Michael H. Marleau, a

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[591] The company town was designated a historical site in 1991 by the Monterey County Board of Supervisors. Mathews, Glenn D. February 1999. "Design Guidelines: Monterey County Planning and Building Inspection Department." p.24.

[592] Photograph 14: Pioda House. Images in HABS report. October 1993. Modified HABS/HAER Report for Spreckels Sugar Company Factory No. 1, prepared by Page & Turnbull of San Francisco.

[593] Donzelot, Jacques. *The Policing of Families.* . translated by Robert Hurley(John Hopkins University Press, 1997).

[594] Breschini, Gary S., Mona Gudgel and Trudy Haversat, *Images of America: Spreckels*. (Charleston, SC: Arcadia Publishing, 2006).

[595] c.1900 photograph. Spreckels Catalog. (1880-1970). Monterey, California. Monterey County Historical Society.

[596] July 24, 1898, *Salinas Daily Index.*

[597] ibid

[598] Foucault, Michel. "The Right of Death and Power Over Life," in *History of Sexuality* (NY: Random House, 1978) 135-145.

[599] "Miss Luise Saw and Miss Luchsinger in the laboratory" 1899. *Sweet Nostalgia.* p13

1918 photograph entitled "Laboratory Ladies"[600] shows five women, wearing aprons, in long skirts, and heeled boots, covered in the dirt that accompanies most agricultural factory labor. White women worked in the laboratory and offices,[601] alongside men. Women were a feature of the factory since 1898 and continued to be employed throughout the decades until the Manteca factory closed in the 1960s. As such, the infrastructure of housing, and the regulation of space must be considered alongside the presence of women workers. In their various roles, as laboratory workers, they performed jobs that established their economic hierarchy over males of color and as wives of factory workers, at work, and as mothers, white women served a crucial role in re-inscribing these national inequalities at the local level through the process of assigning family-unit housing at Spreckels, California. This framework begins to highlight national re-production at the local level through the role of white women in this housing assignment process. Furthermore, the presence of white women in public and private spaces - as workers, wives, and mothers - begins to illustrate the relationship between race and space through the attempts to regulate sexuality. Working in Watsonville, the attempts to continue the employment of these women at the new factory site reflect the company's attempts to import white women to the company town. As factory laborers, white women entered the labor hierarchy above farm labor, working in the factory.

The employment of nonwhite women and children is evident in the 1913 C.C.I.H. labor camp reports investigating the living conditions of labor camps. White women only enter the record alongside their husbands, non-white women enter when all labor is counted and therefore all of the records about men, labor, and living conditions should apply to them as well. Non-white women and children worked as farm laborers on the beet sugar fields managed by the Spreckels Sugar Company. Labor camp reports reflect the employment of women and children by the Spreckels Sugar Company.

The demographics recorded in the Labor Camp Reports include employment, gender, the number of families, and their nationalities. A report dated August 3, 1925 report of Ranch #3 in King City documented seventy-two residents.[602] The inhabitants, enumerated by nationalities, included, nineteen Mexicans, eighteen Japanese, twelve Greeks, and twenty-three Filipinos. This diverse camp includes ten families, with ten women, and twelve minors under the age of sixteen, whose nationalities are not listed.[603] The labor camps in Ranch #3 became a multiethnic community, housing farmworkers, and their families. A report dated October 4, 1923, noted the conditions of a labor camp North of King City, the camp, identified as "home camp: Mexicans, Japs, Filipinos" housed

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[600] "Laboratory Ladies of 1918" 1918. Michael H. Marleau. "The First 50 Years: the Story of Spreckels Sugar in Manteca" p. 35.
[601] "Ann Epperson and Wanda Jones." 1919. Michael H. Marleau. "The First 50 Years: the Story of Preckels Sugar in Manteca" p. 38.
[602] Labor Camp Report Dated: 3 August 1925. BANC MSS C-A 194, Carton 81, Folders 32-37. "Series 5: Labor Camps, 1914-1937. Operators, 1922-1934." California. Dept. of Industrial Relations. Division of Immigration and Housing next hit records, BANC MSS C-A 194, The Bancroft Library, University of California, Berkeley.
[603] ibid.

fifty-two individuals, including six women and nine minors sixteen years old.[604] Of these residents, the company employed thirty-nine individuals, thirty-seven men and two women. At this camp, women worked for the company and worked as mothers.

Cartoons published in the *Honey Dew News* illustrate the gender relations of the factory space, where white women were welcome. In a 1940 cartoon, drawn by a factory guide, women are depicted in the foreground as being part of a tour, with the tour guide states, "to avoid distracting the men we must stay at a distance" with a man in the background exclaiming, expletives that are censored in the two-image comic strip.[605] The seemingly uncontrollable excitement of factory workers at the site of women alludes to the gender relations of the period.

With the presence of women and children in the beet sugar community, the housing infrastructure, described as determined by the "needs of the family"[606] needs further consideration. The company's deliberate attempts to provide housing for families illustrate the imagined community desired by managers and sustained by locals. Designed by prominent California architect William H. Weeks, the company town and its attendant structures supporting its existence - boarding houses and labor camps, illustrate a cohesive ideological ordering. William H. Weeks, (1864 - 1936) designed the main factory office (1898), homes and cottages for workers (1898), the school (1899), ranch structures (1901), and the Factory superintendent's home, W.C. Waters (1898).[607]

"Photograph 24" c. 1908. Spreckels Catalog. (1880-1970). Monterey, California. Monterey County Historical Society.

[604] Labor Camp Report Dated: October 4, 1923. BANC MSS C-A 194, Carton 81, Folders 32-37. "Series 5: Labor Camps, 1914-1937. Operators, 1922-1934." California. Dept. of Industrial Relations. Division of Immigration and Housing next hit records, BANC MSS C-A 194, The Bancroft Library, University of California, Berkeley.
[605] Dave Sweeney, "Gives the Pan Floor boys the Double Cross". *Honey Dew News*, December 1940.
[606] Conway, *The First Fifty Years.*
[607] Mathews, "Design Guidelines: Monterey County Planning and Building Inspection Department." p. 14.

Mr. Spreckels shipped in pre-built homes for the company town,[608] facilitating the rapid construction of the company town as well as inking the social relations of beet districts. Under the Spreckels Sugar Company, the same house could be found at any of the ranches or at the engineering stations at irrigation sites.

The company used William Weeks' architectural blueprints for construction in 1898 and 1907. These buildings, the most common multi-room house at the company town, featured one or two-story, two to three-bedroom wood-framed homes with horizontal wood siding."[609] Complete with a picket fence, families posed standing on porches and doorways of their new homes.[610] These homes provided the foundation for the idealized suburban community developing at Spreckels. As the company town established worker housing at Spreckels in 1898, residents remained vividly aware of the class-based social amenities provided by the beet sugar company. In anticipation of a new round of construction in 1907, the company advertised housing employment opportunities using housing to entice new workers.

II. Advertising the Company Town, 1906 -1910

In the first years of the twentieth century, the Spreckels Sugar Company worked hard to increase the local population. Specifically, the company used housing as a benefit to attract new workers. Advertisement for "Spreckels Town Lots"[611] ran multiple days a week in *The Californian* during the summer of 1906, in time for the fall harvest and therefore, the beginning of the 24/7 factory processing period. The effort with which the company town was built asks that historians consider its materialization with greater diligence. In 1907, the Spreckels Board of Trade, publishing in the *Spreckels Courier,* a local newspaper published by J. Fred McCarthy and later E.L. Matthews from 1907 through 1915, advertised the local conditions as follows:

> "Spreckels has the largest beet sugar factory in the world and a very large payroll the year round. Help is always in demand at good wages and many more men are now wanted. In filling permanent positions preference is always given to those who reside here.
>
> With the substantial backing of the Company and the determination to make this a beautiful city, we have implicit confidence in the future of Spreckels. BUSINESS

[608] "Photograph 24: Moving a house to Spreckels from a valley farm" c. 1908. Spreckels Catalog. (1880-1970). Monterey, California. Monterey County Historical Society.
[609] Plan Number 10. 1911 "Elevation Drawing of bungalow Number 10." and Plan Number 111. 1911 "Elevation Drawing of bungalow Number 111." P. 19. Designated as a Historical Site in 1991. By the Monterey County Board of Supervisors. p.24. Mathews, Glenn D. February 1999. "Design Guidelines: Monterey County Planning and Building Inspection Department."
[610] c. 1898. Spreckels Catalog. (1880-1970). Monterey, California. Monterey County Historical Society.
[611] "Spreckels Town Lots for Sale" 02 Jul 1906. *The Californian.*

AND RESIDENCE LOTS FOR SALE ON EASY TERMS
– No better place or opportunity offered anywhere."[612]

In a single advertisement, the company connects full-time factory employment to the future. Unbeknownst to the reader, year-round employment remained the least common of employment under the factory. As discussed in the previous chapter, this advertisement fails to accurately reflect the labor and residential demographics, where 90% of its workforce, employed as field laborers, were not provided with opportunities to obtain permanent housing. The white factory employees and their families would compose the "beautiful city." These efforts to populate the company town, illustrate another attempted instance of the purposeful exclusion of non-white laborers from the history, and public memory, of the company town. The opportunity offered in this advertisement includes the establishment of families, through residence lots. This community, unlike the living patterns of gold rush establishments in the California West[613]that catered to an all-male population, the company town of Spreckels advertised a permanent establishment in this "beautiful city."

The first decade of the twentieth century cemented the success of the beet sugar industry, with the industry offering favorable contracts to local growers. The *Oxnard Courier,* highlights the contractual benefits to landowners, "The Greenfeiders, owning their own land in tracts of five to twenty acres, will do their own work, receiving compensation for the use of their stick and their own time. This means the net returns per acre aside from seed and freight (the only costs) will be $66.33 for an 18-ton crop and $41.75 for a 10-ton crop."[614] Furthermore, referring to the national market, in reviewing the cost estimates of growing sugar beets, the *Spreckels Courier* specifies under California conditions, "including freight, seed, hauling, and all other requirements" would generate a minimum profit of $21.02 per acre.[615] In the reporting, newspapers highlighted the high profits associated with planting sugar beets. Another enticing detail to farmers is the details of the contracts, specifically the costs incurred by the farmer and the reimbursements of costs by the sugar company. These favorable contracts directly resulted in "an enthusiastic' meeting of prospective beet growers [ ] in [ ] Clark Colony."[616] As demonstrated in Chapter 2, the case study of Spreckels, another pattern of farmer organizing characterized the manner in which the sugar refiner ensured enough beet crops for profitable sugar production.

In the first three decades of the beet sugar industry's presence in Central California, the industry began to establish mechanisms from which to exclude migrant rural laborers from burgeoning communities. The exclusion from the property, or secure housing, is an effort, as made clear in the previous chapter, to prevent the formation of migrant families and social wealth. As made clear in this

[612] "Lots for Sale" 27 July 1907. *Spreckels Courier,*
[613] Sears, Clare. *Arresting Dress : Cross-Dressing, Law, and Fascination in Nineteenth-Century San Francisco.* (Durham: Duke University Press, 2015.)
[614] "New Beet Lands Give Great Promise: Fields Near Spreckels Show Ability to Grow Beets of Very High Quality with Irrigation." Oxnard, California. 24 Jul 1908. *Oxnard Courier.*
[615] ibid.
[616] ibid.

section, beet sugar is aligned with material wealth, prosperity, and *freedom.* Those excluded from these spaces begin to illustrate the definition of who is afforded the right of freedom in California at the turn of the century, The company town advertisements promoted an American ideal of suburban life. The local developments to encourage socialization point to an investment in community life.

With social life booming, the company built a park in 1906, a bank, a church, and a general store in 1907.[617] Built by the company but operated by other private individuals, these sites are a testament to the collaborative investment in place by the company and individuals. In 1907, residents began to organize collectively for local improvements. In trying to make this place their home, company town residents organized a meeting to ask for community improvements. The "Spreckels Improvement Club" hoped to establish a "public library, an efficient fire company" and for city maintenance such as, "the weeds, and rubbish cleared off the streets and general slicking up and lively public spirit will make for better things all around."[618] The requests made by locals shed light on the motivation to improvise the local spirit, that is community

Submitting an application for a county library in 1912,[619] Spreckels asserts its local significance. The first Spreckels School built in 1899, was supported by the Llanos School District. This school hosted school dances in 1911. The 1913 8th grade graduation photos show a small class of 8 students, adorned with boutonnieres and corsages.[620] This would be the primary school until it was demolished in 1936 for a larger structure built the following year 1937.[621] The students attending elementary school in Spreckels would go on to attend Salinas High School.[622] At a time when the national literacy rates for White, foreign-born individuals in 1900 and 1910 were 12.9% and 12.7%,[623] respectively, the request for a library, and its successful construction points to the desire to contribute to the development of Spreckels as a metropolitan town. The location of a world-class factory, the town hosted parties, enjoyed electricity and sewage before other regions, and eventually became a site large enough to be called on for hosting guests in 1909 in time for the big fair.[624]

In 1911, bungalow-style homes became more prominent. The bungalows "had one or two stories with three to five rooms, shingle or clapboard siding, double hung wood windows, and large porches located at the front or along one

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[617] Monterey County Agricultural and Rural Life Museum; "Spreckels Notes," 5 October 1907. *Salinas Daily Index*

[618] 22 December 1908. *Salinas Daily Index.*

[619] "Getting County Library in shape" 8 September 1913. *Salinas Daily Index.*

[620] Personal collection of James Ross Riley III. Salinas, California.

[621] Photo 112. Spreckels Catalog. (1880-1970). Monterey, California. Monterey County Historical Society.

[622] Appendix: Oral History p. 70. Page & Turnbull

[623] U.S. Department of Commerce, Bureau of the Census, Historical Statistics of the United States, Colonial Times to 1970; and Current Population Reports, Series P-23, Ancestry and Language in the United States: November 1979.

[624] "The Spreckels Sugar Company has fitted up a room in the hotel annex" 4 March 1909 *Salinas Daily Index*

side,"[625] Built with less expensive construction material than the 1898 (and 1907) models, the 1911 homes had a square footage of 900 sq. feet.[626] Not large by any standards, they provided privacy, individuality, and pride for its inhabitants. As Spreckels and congress members discussed the American community supported by the domestic beet sugar industry, the company town of Spreckels continued to develop into a suburban oasis. In 1911, plans to build a local pond were quickly underway. The local newspaper, *The Californian* reported the process of construction.

> "The water has been turned on for several days this week and the rock work is now being added. It is a seven-sided affair and in the spring seven different kinds of water lilies will be planted in the seven corners. A patent arrangement in the center allows the fountain to use a large amount of water at a small expense as most of the water will be used over and over. A galvanized iron pipe fence surrounds the pond and a screen will be added to prevent the small youngsters from taking an Involuntary bath. The park has been cleared of all the old flowers and the ground is prepared for the grass seed that will make a lawn over the whole park."[627]

Altering the landscape for the production of industrial beet sugar refining, the Spreckels Sugar Company used its resources and hydraulic capacity to provide its community with an artificial water feature. The construction of this artificially natural site embodies the contradictions of the industry. Working tremendously to redirect natural resources for capital production, the sugar beet industry also worked hard to build American communities.

Scholars of the West demonstrate how the suburb makes possible the continued imagination of the yeoman farmer, a rural connection to the land that erases the laborers of the land. Sandul defines the agriburb as a particular archetype and cultural symbol, stating "suburbia is as much a cultural symbol and intellectual creation, even lived spaces, as a geographical, material space,"[628] The agriburb defines a third space, between suburb and rural sites. The space created by the company town reflects a purposeful production of space by the beet sugar company. The packaging of place[629] at Spreckels reflects a suburban community reliant on the labor of a community that remained in the peripheries of space and

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[625] P. 19. Designated as a Historical Site in 1991. By the Monterey County Board of Supervisors. p.24. Mathews, Glenn D. February 1999. "Design Guidelines: Monterey County Planning and Building Inspection Department."

[626] Author's calculation, based on the information found on: Series i. Box 12: blueprints 111. Do. One Story, 6 rm, Bungalow for Spreckels (3-1-17). Spreckels Sugar Collection MS 28. Holt-Atherton Department of Special Collections. University of the Pacific, Stockton.

[627] "Fishpond Installed in Spreckels Park" 15 Dec 1911. Salinas, California. *The Californian.*

[628] Ibid. p. 63.

[629] Sandul, Paul J. P., *California Dreaming: boosterism, memory, and rural suburbs in the Golden State*. (Morgantown: West Virginia University Press, 2014.) p. 9.

the imagined community. Therefore, the labor camps are essential to the production of place, as sites were built to house the racialized labor of non-white men, women, and children. The 1910s welcomed a period of prosperity for the company and the company town. With profits and a growing population, the city was following a trajectory of great urban development.

III. American Labor, American Homes: The Hardwick Committee of, 1910-1911

Following two decades of a government investigation into the American Sugar Refining Company,[630] Thomas W. Hardwick, proposed to investigate the company, under violations of the 1890 Sherman Antitrust Laws. Hardwick's resolution[631] sheds light on the national impact of sugar, with responses to the resolution linking the industry to the "enormous increase in the cost of living."[632] Prompted by the social concerns of the Progressive Era, the Hardwick Committee's investigation sought to reform corrupt businesses and monopolies. The testimony given during the investigation provides a close insight into the domestic sugar industry, bringing to the center, under national limelight, the relationship between beet sugar, American labor, and the American home.

Within the larger contexts of the national and global sugar markets, California beet sugar presented a unique capacity to supply a domestic sugar industry at the close of the nineteenth century. The 1897 Dingley Tariff and the Annexation of Hawai'i in 1898,[633] shifted the market to favor domestic sugar production. Before tariff changes in the 1890s, the Reciprocity Treaty of 1875 between the Kingdom of Hawai'i and the United States, the importation of raw sugar cane remained duty-free. This effectively facilitated the competition of West Coast refiners with sugar refiners in the East. The 1890 Tariff Act, a set of protectionist tariffs favoring farmers, kept sugar a duty-free item, adding a subsidy for domestic planters of $0.02 a pound.[634] The impact of the protectionist is immediately felt, prior to "1891 there had never been produced as much as 3,000 tons of beet sugar in any one year"[635] and by 1897, a total of 40,000 tons were produced in California. The 1897 Dingley Tariff added a tariff on imported

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[630] Godfrey, Matthew C. "Before the Hardwick Committee of the House of Representatives." *Religion, Politics, and Sugar: The LDS Church, the Federal Government, and the Utah-Idaho Sugar Company, 1907-1927,* (University Press of Colorado, 2007), pp. 51–92.

[631] House, American Sugar Refining Co. and Others, 62nd Cong., 2nd sess., 1912, H. Rept.331, serial 6135,2. See also United States v. American Sugar Refi ning Co., et al., original petition, 118–28, copy in Leonard J. Arrington Papers, MSS 1, Series12: The Writings of Leonard J. Arrington, box 10, folder 3, The Leonard J. Arrington Historical Archives, Special Collections and Archives, Merrill Library, Utah State University, Logan, Utah

[632] Congressional Record, 62d Cong., 1 sess., 1911,47, pt. 2:1144.

[633] Hawaiian scholars contest the relinquishing of Hawaiian lands and refer to this moment as the beginning of US occupation. Coffman, Tom. *Nation Within : the History of the American Occupation of Hawai'i.* Revised edition. (Durham: Duke University Press, 2016.)

[634] Taussig, F. W. "The McKinley Tariff Act." *The Economic Journal* 1, no. 2 (1891): 326–50.

[635] Thomas J. Osborne, "Claus Spreckels and the Oxnard Brothers: Pioneer Developers of California's Bete Sugar Industry" Southern California Quarterly 54, no. 2 (1972): 117–25.

sugar, increasing the competitive capacity of beet sugar on the domestic market.[636] American protectionist tariffs facilitated the wealth generated by the industry. These protectionist tariffs directly positioned the local industry as a site representative of the nation. As the United States shifted from an isolationist global policy into the Open Door Policy at the close of the century, beet sugar

The conquest of Hawai'i, in 1898, once again shifted market patterns in favor of the beet sugar industry, with changes to import taxes and labor laws. With incorporation into the U.S. Empire, Hawaiian sugar cane was no longer subject to import duties, and furthermore the distinction between raw sugar and refined sugar, one that had so favorably supported San Francisco sugar refineries. This shift left the independent refineries of the West vulnerable to the Sugar Trust, which was incorporated and purchased. The Spreckels Sugar Company operated beet-sugar refineries while the Sugar Trust refined sugar cane. Furthermore, annexation impacted local labor practices.

Claus Spreckels' public opposition to the annexation of Hawaii highlights the capitalists' reliance on cheap labor to support the rapid accumulation of wealth.[637] With the federal government removing the cheapness of the raw crop, Spreckels and his company invested in the cheapening of the domestic labor force through the deliberate use of housing to racialize ethnic farm workers.

In the United States, the power of domestic sugar refiners unified under the Sugar Trust and later the American Sugar Refining Company came under scrutiny by the U.S. government. In the discourse of trust-busting, beet sugar is transformed into a symbol of American labor. The national anti-trust, progressive policies of the early 1900s, signaled by the Sherman Anti-Trust Act of 1890,[638] began a critical investigation into the domestic sugar industry. In 1895, the United States first attempted to split the Sugar Trust through its operations in New Jersey in 1895, *United States v. E. C. Knight Co*.,[639] and Pennsylvania in 1910, *United States v. American Sugar Refining Co., et al.*.[640] Both of these legal proceedings demonstrate the federal government's attempts to reduce the power of the domestic sugar industry. Embedded in this investigation, the Spreckels Sugar Company and California's beet sugar industry catapulted into a symbol of national domestic growth and,

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[636] Osborne, "Claus Spreckels and The Oxnard Brothers: Pioneer Developers of California's Beet Sugar Industry, 1890-1900." Fifty-Fifth Congress. Sess. I. Chs. 10-11. 1897. Chap. 10. Tariff of 1897 (Dingley Tariff) *The Quarterly Journal of Economics,* Oct., 1897, Vol. 12, No. 1 (Oct., 1897), pp. 42-69.

[637] Spreckels, Claus. "The Future of the Sandwich Islands." *The North American Review* 152, no. 412 (1891): 287–91.

[638] Act of July 2, 1890 (Sherman Anti-Trust Act), July 2, 1890; Enrolled Acts and Resolutions of Congress, 1789-1992; General Records of the United States Government; Record Group 11; National Archives

[639] United States v. E. C. Knight Co., 156 U.S. 1 (1895).

[640] "A conspiracy to monopolize interstate trade in violation of the Sherman Law." House, *American Sugar Refi ning Co. and Others*, 62d Cong., 2d sess., 1912, H. Rept. 331, serial 6135, 2. See also *United States v. American Sugar Refining Co., et al.*, original petition, 118–28, copy in Leonard J. Arrington Papers, MSS 1, Series 12: The Writings of Leonard J. Arrington, box 10, folder 3, The Leonard J. Arrington Historical Archives, Special Collections and Archives, Merrill Library, Utah State University, Logan, Utah.

At the close of the 1895 proceedings in 1895, the Court ruled in favor of the American Sugar Refining Company, stating that the "control of manufacture did not constitute a control of trade."[641] The renewed interest in trust-breaking at the turn of the 20th century signaled a shift in domestic attitudes towards large corporations. With renewed interest by Theodore Roosevelt, serving as the 26th President during the years 1901- March 1908, who effectively split the railroad and bank trusts in the East and Midwest, the Sugar Trust would be investigated once again in 1911.

The rise in beet sugar production prompted the American Sugar Refining Company, known as the Sugar Trust, to flood the market with refined sugar in 1901, driving down the price of sugar.[642] The agreements made thereafter between the Sugar Trust and Western sugar producers, to divide the market along the regional territory, became the subject of the Hardwick Committee of 1911. Owning 50% of the stock in the Spreckels Sugar Company,[643] the Sugar Trust's relationship with the Spreckels Sugar Company came under question. Edwin F. Atkins, the President of the Sugar Trust defended this investment. Differentiating between stocks and operating power, Atkins argues, "we have nothing to do with the operation or the fixing of the prices of the sales of sugar."[644] However, with an estimated $15,000,000, what would equate to $459,640,910 in 2023,[645] invested in beet-sugar refineries across the United States

As a part of this fact-finding inquiry, the Committee interviewed the leaders of the American sugar industry. Atkins', testimony of stock ownership in the Spreckels Sugar Company and Western Sugar Refining Co. reflect the same split in ownership, 50% stock in both companies and the remaining 50% split between Claus Spreckels and his family, Claus A. Spreckels, and John D. Spreckels. This intimate relationship is revisited to make clear that the Sugar Trust owns "41.62 percent of all the beet-sugar companies."[646] Invested so intimately in the Spreckels' beet sugar operations, the relationship between the American Sugar Refining Company and Spreckels Sugar Company came under question. The state sought to dismantle the power of the Sugar Trust in the

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[641] The Sherman Antitrust Law with Amendments and List of Cases Instituted by the United States Under the Sherman Law and Citations of Cases Decided Thereunder or Relating Thereto : July 1, 1912. Washington: [G.P.O.], 1912.

[642] Blakey, Roy G. "Lays Family Split to the Sugar Trust; C.A. Spreckels Declares Its Unfair Tactics Turned His Father Against Him." July 26, 1911. , U.S. Beet Sugar Industry and the Tariff (1912) pp. 234-243. *The New York Times*

[643] "Exhibit B" Statement in Regard to the American Sugar Refining Company."p. 38. United States. Congress. House. Special Committee on Investigation of American Sugar Refining Company. (1911). Hearings held before the Special Committee on the investigation of the American sugar refining co.: and others on June 12 [-August 11] 1911

[644] Testimony of Mr. Atkins, American Sugar Refining Company. P. 63. United States. Congress. House. Special Committee on Investigation of American Sugar Refining Company. (1911). Hearings held before the Special Committee on the investigation of the American sugar refining co.: and others on June 12 [-August 11] 1911

[645] https://www.usinflationcalculator.com/; Cumulative rate of inflation: 2964.3%

[646] Testimony of Mr. Atkins, American Sugar Refining Company. P. 118. United States. Congress. House. Special Committee on Investigation of American Sugar Refining Company. (1911). Hearings held before the Special Committee on the investigation of the American sugar refining co.: and others on June 12 [-August 11] 1911

West,[647] among its components, the beet sugar industry operated by the Spreckels Sugar Company along the Salinas River.

Expertly, the Spreckels Sugar Company shifted the monopolistic investigations of the federal government into a discussion of American labor and American protectionism, positioning beet sugar under the power of sugar cane. The testimony of John D Spreckels, taken on June 26, 1911,[648] as pertaining to his role as President of The Western Sugar Refining Company, the Spreckels Sugar Company, and the California Sugar Refinery Company. Spreckels' testimony opened with questions from Mr. Hardwick regarding the selling of Western Sugar Refining stock to American Sugar Refining Company and the stock owned by the Spreckels family in Hawaiian sugar. In a meticulous back and forth, the incestual nature of the domestic industry is elucidated. The Spreckels' family investments in the three aforementioned companies enjoyed an overlapping business relationship that facilitated the evasion of any violations of the Sherman Anti-Trust Act. The Western Sugar Refining Company functioned as a company that leases two refineries, one from California Sugar Refinery and the other belonging to the American Sugar Refining Company.[649] As a result, these companies effectively eliminated competition in the region, and across the United States. And still, interjected in the discourse of anti-American monopolies beet sugar came to represent American domestic labor.

Upon questioning from the Chairman regarding the business arrangements, market price, and labor practices of the Spreckels Sugar Company, John D. Spreckels juxtaposed the Spreckels Sugar Company with the period's nativist sentiment by aligning beet sugar with the American home. The discourse evoked by John Spreckels highlights the juxtaposition of beet sugar and American identity. In his testimony, John D. Spreckels juxtaposes the domestic beet sugar market with the American home by evoking the labor relations upheld by the industry. While answering questions regarding allegations of monopolization, Spreckels expertly shifted the conversation to the "American labor"[650] supported by the specifics of the California industry.

Answering questions pertaining to the market conditions of beet sugar in California, Spreckels reviews the favorable environmental conditions provided by the region's soil, water, and climate. Collectively, these environmental conditions reduce the field labor requirements of beet sugar in California, when compared to beet sugar in Idaho, Utah, and Montana. And still, Spreckels testifies to having, "a great difficulty in California on account of the lack of labor."[651] Leading Spreckels to hire Japanese field laborers, claiming that they are "the only people we can get.

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[647] Leonard J. Arrington. *Beet Sugar in the West: A History of the Utah-Idaho Sugar Company, 1891-1966,* Godfrey, "A Snake in the Sugar: Magazines, the Hardwick Committee, and the Utah-Idaho Sugar Company, 1910–1911."

[648] Testimony of John D Spreckels, June 26, 2011. P. 925 - United States. Congress. House. Special Committee on Investigation of American Sugar Refining Company. (1911). Hearings held before the Special Committee on the investigation of the American sugar refining co.: and others on June 12 [-August 11] 1911

[649] Ibid. p. 929.

[650] Ibid. p. 963.

[651] Ibid. p. 955.

The white men will not work in the field. Out in California, you can not get them to work."[652] In disbelief of this answer, committee member, Mr. John Edward Raker, California (D), follows up, asking whether it is the cost of labor that impacts the labor demographics of the company. Raker asks, "This Japanese labor you speak of is a good deal cheaper than the white labor, is it not?"[653] Spreckels replies, "No, it is not much cheaper. They get all they want." A seeming reference to the rise in Japanese farmers in California, Spreckels contention is ignored, Raker states resoundingly, "it is some cheaper, Mr Spreckels, is it not?" to which Spreckels conceded, "Very little." Raker continues, asking the same tone of questions about Indian laborers. Raker asks, "You … are employing a good many Hindus, are you not ?"[654] Spreckels confirms. Raker's follow-up question, "that is a cheaper class of labor than American labor, is it not?" shifts the dialogue toward the relationship between race and labor during the period, in which agriculture became a national theater. In this exchange, the racialization of the period, as elaborated in the agricultural sector in California, becomes legible, and is confirmed by, the highest courts of the United States. For Raker, a representative of the state, the labor that was cheap was ethnic labor, not farm labor, and not American labor.

To this accusation, Spreckels replies, "No; we pay then the same as we pay the Japs, and are glad to pay it and to get them so as to get our crop in."[655] Referencing his earlier statements in reference to the labor shortage, claiming that "you can not get [white men] to work" in the fields.[656] In effect, the labor shortage which everyone is discussing is the labor shortage of white men in the agricultural sector, in the fields. Raker responds to the labor practice of employing ethnic minorities, "Does not that bring the price of putting the beets into the factory down to a point which is lower than it would be if you employed other labor?"[657] Raker's conclusion is that Spreckels is driving the wage of field labor down, a practice that equates white men with non-white men. In this exchange, the state and private industry agree that ethnic labor is cheap labor. To defend these allegations, Spreckels turns to the *quality* of labor that is not represented in the *value* of labor. Even with the aforementioned details, Spreckels concludes, Indian labor is "a good deal more expensive" to the company's bottom line - a high-quality beet root characterized by high saccharine content, "because it is a poor kind labor."[658] The conditions of this labor, the cheap labor in the field, and the high-paid labor in the factory provide the foundation from which Spreckels makes his claims in support of the industry.

Further discussing the conditions of labor in California's beet sugar industry, Mr. Raker and Mr. Spreckels discuss the potential impact a tariff on sugar would have on the American laborer. In this discourse, the speakers define who the American laborer is. A definition that is fluid during a period of high

[652] Ibid.
[653] Ibid. p. 955.
[654] Ibid. p. 956.
[655] Ibid. p. 956.
[656] Ibid. p. 955.
[657] Ibid. p. 956.
[658] Ibid. p. 956.

immigration and rising Americanization policies that conferred citizenship to Eastern-European immigrants in large numbers.[659]
The removal of a sugar tariff, according to Spreckels - a refiner, juxtaposes the interests of refiners, growers, and the working man. To retain their profits, Spreckels claims, "those who raised the sugar would exact the regular cost, plus the duty that was remitted," impacting the consumer price. The competition produced by the removal of a sugar tariff, according to Spreckels, would result in the closing of refineries. Raker asks Spreckels to clarify, "The sole explanation and one of the things that seemed to be driven home or tried to be driven home, was the fact that it would affect the American laboring man; that the tariff is for the purpose of protecting the high-paid American laboring man. Can you explain that?" Spreckels responds, "Take the tariff off sugar and it means the death of the beet-sugar industry in this country. They employ lots of labor in the factories. … As a matter of fact, the farmer hails with delight the opening of a factory, because his sons and his farm hands, if he wants to keep good men after the harvest is in, can get employment in the factory." [660] Spreckels' reply acknowledges the impacts on factory labor, one component of the processing of sugar beet roots into crystallized sugar. Raker asks that Spreckels consider the impacts to farm labor, which Raker characterizes as, "if the same work in America is done by a foreigner, and you reduce the tariff upon the product he is making or laboring on, you are not affecting the American laboring man, are you?" To this, Spreckels redirects the committee to his prior answer, that the white laboring man would be impacted by the closing of factories. However, Raker continues, "if these places of businesses are run by the foreign laborer, the Japanese, and Hindus and others, we are practically undesirable citizens, and when the tariff is reduced, even if their wages are reduced, you are not affecting the American working man, are you, because they are already taking his place?"[661]

The dichotomy of field labor and factory labor resolves the tension between the business practices and the nationalist market policies promoted at the opening of the twentieth century. Because, as Spreckels resoundingly proclaims, "The factory gives employment to the white people only."[662] Beet sugar affirms the pro-nativist sentiments of the period, where factory labor came to symbolize white labor, and established social hierarchy over farm labor that had not been present in the American West.

Referencing the racialized labor hierarchy, Spreckels aligns white labor with the nation through the term "American labor" and, in effect, makes a claim to the American racial labor hierarchies supported in the Californian sugar beet industry. Continuing, Spreckels points to the role of the sugar industry in fomenting the American nation through homes, white-American homes. In an exchange between committee member Mr. Raker and Mr. Spreckels, it is clear

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[659] Byrne, James P. "The Landscape of Americanization in Nineteenth-Century New York." *Irish Journal of American Studies.* 11/12 (2002): 119–32.
[660] United States. Congress. House. Special Committee on Investigation of American Sugar Refining Company. (1911). Hearings held before the Special Committee on the investigation of the American sugar refining co.: and others on June 12 [-August 11] 1911. P. 967
[661] Ibid. P. 967.
[662] Ibid. P. 967.

that government and business support the "proper" employment of white people, and in effect, the substandard employment of non-white people.

> Mr. Raker: "If we would keep [Chinese and Japanese people] out of California, we would have white labor there or good foreign labor, Germans and Swiss and Italians, to do our work and built up our homes and make our schools and upbuilds our churches. You and I will agree on that, I know"
>
> Spreckels: "I was looking forward to that"
>
> Mr. Raker: "The subject of this tariff as to the building up of the American home, and that it is for the purpose of keeping the American working man profitably employed."[663]

In this exchange, Mr. Raker and Mr. Spreckels agree that the "American working man" is the white American. And, importantly for the anti-sugar trust testimony, both conclude that if the purpose of the tariff was for "the building up of the American home" that factory employment did just that. In effect, this reimagined the image of beet sugar, transforming it into a national image. Spreckels anchored down on the contemporary nativist sentiment, pointing to the racialized labor hierarchy as a defense of the industry, as evidence of the industry's pro-American nature. Connecting the racialized labor hierarchy with the national significance of the beet sugar industry, Spreckels claims effectively washed him clean and renders the underpaid labor of non-white, mostly immigrants, in the field a necessary function in the formula of national wealth.

Spreckels continues, "When you say you are maintaining the tariff on sugar for the purpose of building up American homes and American manhood and giving them a sufficient amount of money that they may properly educate their boys and girls, it does not apply to them, but we must realize that merely for the purpose of maintaining the Government."[664] According to Spreckels, the proposed tariff removal positions the government at odds with the American home, American manhood, and American labor. In effect, the sugar beet industry supports domesticity through the capacity to properly employ white men and, an unspoken accepted truth, white women.

Committee member, Mr. Raker summarizes the exchange, agreeing with Spreckels, that "the subject of this tariff is to the building up of the American home, and that it is for the purpose of keeping the American working man profitably employed."[665] In this logic, Mr. Raker and Mr. Spreckels agree, that a

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[663] United States. Congress. House. Special Committee on Investigation of American Sugar Refining Company. (1911). Hearings held before the Special Committee on the investigation of the American sugar refining co.: and others on June 12 [-August 11] 1911. p. 936
[664] ibid. p. 956
[665] ibid. p.963.

removal of the tariff would harm (white) American (factory) labor, in effect because the foreign raw cane sugar would outcompete the local beet-sugar crop, a condition that would, according to Mr. Spreckels, would reducing the value of factory labor - harming the white American worker and the white American family.

The contemporary rising nativism and the anti-Japanese sentiment are tangible in the back-and-forth questioning. The sentiment of the committee is revealed by the statements of Mr. Raker:

> "I say that the fruit growers and the men in California can get along ten times better without the Japanese and Chinese, if they would keep them out, instead of allowing them to come into our country and drive out our white men and white women because we can not live with them."[666]

Mr. Spreckels responds, "I was looking forward to that."[667] This exchange reflects the common ground on which the members of the House of Representatives and California businessmen agree - nativism and apathy for foreign-born neighbors. Continuing, Mr. Spreckels does not disagree with the characterization of the impact of the tariff on working Americans. Throughout the testimony, it is evident that the committee members and interviewees are concerned with the impact of the tariff on the working American man. At the heart of the discussion lies, who is in fact the American laborer that the committee is seeking to protect. It becomes increasingly clear that at the beet-sugar refinery in Spreckels, "the factory gives employment to the white people only."[668] In framing the beet-sugar industry as an industry that employed white Americans, Mr. Spreckels aligned the industry with the nation.

Beet sugar supported the American nation by reinforcing national racial tropes and gendered relations. ideal through the local adaptation of national racial trends of minstrelsy, racial labor hierarchy, that was made legible through housing and reinforced in local social exchanges. Spreckels uses the white community of Spreckels to exemplify the industry's support of the nation. In this reasoning, Spreckels refers to local race relations, the exclusion of non-white men from factory labor, and the resulting social effects of an all-white community. Weekly advertisements for local minstrel shows[669] illustrate the local acceptance of American race relations in the East and South and the attempts to reproduce those relations in central California. At Spreckels, the protection of white space centers on the exclusion of non-white workers and the regulation of women's sexuality.

Historian Jimmie Don Conway has argued that the process of assigning multi-room housing assignment within the Spreckels company town was composed of 2 parts, the first based on position within the factory and the second

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[666] ibid.
[667] ibid.
[668] Ibid. p. 956.
[669] "Salinas Daily Journal." 4 Nov 1897. *The Californian.*

based on "the needs of the family."[670] Applying a women of color lens to the racial and sexual spatial relations of the beet sugar empire reveals that the company town promoted a singular vision of the family that excluded people of color. According to Conway, the first part was determined by the job title of the individual within the factory. This practice effectively translated labor hierarchy into social spaces. The first list illustrates the prioritization of managerial positions. The second list, however, elaborates on the coded language used to exclude migrant workers from local company-sponsored housing. This second list, identified by Conway & Jacob Adler, was determined by an assessment of "family needs." As such, this list demands an investigation of who and what determines "family needs" at the local level. It is in this space where the local application of national ideals is most evident. Nonetheless, the labor demographics of the factory and census records illustrate that indeed, the family ideal in Spreckels was "white American." With multi-room spaces afforded to the white American factory laborers, and labor camps provided for non-white, migrant workers, the company in fact only supported white families. The impact of race, gender, and sexuality, on housing is made clear in the testimony of John D. Spreckels at the Hardwick Committee Hearings of 1911.

The success of the Watsonville factory followed Spreckels' investments further inland in the Salinas Valley. The growing market power of beet sugar at the close of the 1890s fueled the development narratives across central California. Establishing the company town of Spreckels alongside the factory opening, in 1898, the company town grew into a beacon of the American Dream, the efforts to protect the boundaries of this dream illustrate the desired social composition of the residents, by company officials and residents. Spreckels' defense of the industry rested on two points: labor and gender. The testimony of John D. Spreckels in the 1911 Hardwick Committee Hearings investigation of allegations of monopolization of the domestic sugar industry by the American Sugar Refining Company, confirms that the Spreckels Sugar Company's official company policy was to support white-American families - a conviction that in itself illuminates the decades-long exclusion of innumerable families of non-white workers employed by the company. The relationship between the beet-sugar industry and the white-American polity materializes through the social impact of the industry on the American home.Kaplan's work on the family home and domesticity illustrates the production of the home as a site of maintenance of the Nation and national identity.[671] Incorporating a gender analysis of the home, the housing provided by the beet-sugar industry reflects the social anxieties of the region and the private and state mechanisms used to regulate these spaces.

As the Hardwick Committee testimony elucidates, for Mr. Raker and Mr. Spreckels, the capacity of the beet-sugar industry to protect the American home and the white-American laborer through its racialized labor hierarchy and housing

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[670] Conway, "Spreckels Sugar Company: The First Fifty Years." p. 62. Spreckels Catalog. (1880-1970). Monterey, California. Monterey County Historical Society.

[671] Kaplan, Amy. "Manifest Domesticity." American Literature 70, no. 3 (1998): 581-606. doi:10.2307/2902710.

practices. Mr. Spreckels' social engineering of the California Salinas Valley drew applause on a national scale, from the United States Congress.

In the 1910s and onward, the industry and its local inhabitants would protect these ideal family relationships through a prohibition campaign and with efforts to regulate sexual promiscuity outside the town boundaries.

V. Contesting Ideal Space: Boarding Houses and Single-Male Communities (1897 - 1918)

Temporary factory employees, men employed for the peak of the processing season, lived at the Spreckels Hotel and neighboring boarding houses. Selling alcohol, hosting dances, and organizing excursions to nearby cities, these sites provided designated spaces for leisure including, heteronormative social and sexual interactions. Guests often reported theft, engaged in violent fights, and many reported instances of sexual assault. Collectively, these actions shed light on the counter space created by single-male housing and facilitated by the company through the company town. The public reporting and discourse of these spaces, the hotels, and the company town render single-male sites as places of immorality and illicit activities. In effect, the management and function of these spaces serve to regulate sexuality throughout the space managed by the company, all 66,000 acres in central California. As described in the previous chapter, the two-story, sixty-one-room hotel facilitated leisure activities for locals. The orchestrated social gatherings in the hotel illustrate the promotion of hetero-socialization.

While imagined as an all-male space, the Spreckels Hotel managers of 1900, A.F. Tynan, and his wife hosted social events. The pair hosted a grand ball in the winter of 1900. With the bi-weekly advertisements for a "grand ball" near Christmas,[672] The efforts to provide a leisure space did not go in vain. News reporting of the event mentioned thirty-five couples who all had "the most enjoyable time," with entertainment provided by a "Rowling's orchestra."[673] With thirty-five couples attending the ball, in the Ford & Sanborn Hall within the boundaries of the company town, these individuals would not have found passage home on the railway, since it ceased daily operations on the weekends. Where these couples stayed is up for speculation, with the capacity to travel by private automobile or by horse possible, though unlikely given the time of the ball, the lack of street lighting, and the capital needed to drive an automobile, it would reason to conclude that they stayed at the Spreckels Hotel. The Tynan's continued to host dances, expanding on their planning to include transportation for attendees from a nearby boardinghouse to Spreckels on March 6, 1903.[674] Hotels illustrate the connected nature of the beet sugar empire and the geographic extension of a working culture across the valley. Social groups also gathered at the Hotel. The Spreckels Social Club, the organization also operated a "circulating library" at the

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[672] "A Grand Ball" 11 December 1900. "A Grand Ball" 13 December 1900. "A Grand Ball" 16 December 1900. "A Grand Ball" 18 December 1900. "Ball Postponed" 9 Dec 1900. *The Californian.*

[673] "The Spreckels Dance" 23 December 1900. *The Californian.*

[674] 11 Feb 1903 "Grand Ball at Spreckels" *The Californian, "Free for All" The Californian* 4 March 1903.

Hotel.[675] The Free Lunch-Eater's Association and the Spreckels Firemen held regular business meetings[676] By 1907, the social dances hosted at Spreckels cost attendees "5o cents" which also included refreshments.[677] These seven years of dances demonstrate the elaboration of an atmosphere of socialization within the hotel network. The hotel operated as a social space for the region's beet workers. Mostly migrant, male workers, they also facilitated illicit leisure activities.

The Spreckels Hotel maintained close connections with boarding houses in the neighboring municipalities, including Watsonville. and cities connected to the beet industry. Nearby Salinas from the Riverside Hotel, just on the outskirts of the Spreckela property, to nearby hotels in neighboring Salinas and Watsonville. Amongst the reporting on local houses of "ill repute," private homes where sex workers offered their services, the intimate connections among individuals across the region are clear. In July 1900, Lora Woods, a manager of a house of ill-repute in Salinas, gave her child to "a Spreckels couple to rear."[678] Having failed to pay for supporting the two-year-old, she was charged with a felony for child abandonment.[679] Working in Salinas, Woods arranged new parental custody of her child, "agreeing to pay for its support,"[680] to the pair from the nearby company town. The unnamed couple pursued charges against Woods after having left Salinas, months prior without making any payment.[681] The prolonged arrangement, lasting two years prior to any legal actions and following the biological mother's physical departure, serves to show the close relations perceived by the region's inhabitants. Prior to this moment, legal action was not required because Woods' location was known, and accessible.

The underlying discourse evoked in this criminal case is the relationship between sex work and the concept of the ideal family. Woods, as a sex worker, facilitated the labor that supported the region. Residences in Watsonville, Salinas, and Spreckels, provided guests with access to alcohol and sexual relations. Family desertion became increasingly scrutinized during the Progressive Era. Social reformers and other social analysts collectively designated the working-class male as the wage earner for a family. In this relationship, "productive labor served as the foundation for an ideal manhood."[682] California and the influence of sex work on this particular case, bring to center the patriarchal family ideal supported by labor practices and the spatial arrangements managed at Spreckels.

The single males employed at the factory and residing in one of the many boardinghouses created local demand for sex work. Minors, girls as young as

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[675] "A Bank and a General store among the things to be expected" in "Spreckels Notes, 5 October 1907. *Salinas Daily Index.*
[676] "Spreckels Notes," 7 Jun 1923. *Salinas Daily Index.*
[677] "Dance at Spreckels" 23 July 1907. *Salinas Daily Index.*
[678] "Abandoned her Child" 4 July 1900. *Salinas Daily Index.*
[679] ibid.
[680] ibid.
[681] ibid.
[682] May, Martha. "The 'Problem of Duty': Family Desertion in the Progressive Era." Social Service Review 62, no. 1 (1988): 40–60. p. 45

13[683] and 14 years old,[684] worked in these *houses of ill repute*. These teenagers entered into sex work due to various life experiences. Take into consideration the 1895 trial of William Jackson, charged with the abduction of "a 14-year-old Corralitos girl and attempting to place her in a house of ill-fame at Watsonville."[685] Jackson's criminal charges illustrate the violence of the local sex market. Found guilty of the charges by a jury in the Superior Court of Salinas, Jackson's movements - approximately seven miles - are a short distance and speaks volumes about the intimate nature of the region.

The network of beet sugar, demarcated by irrigation, railroads, and housing, included sex workers that provide their services to beet workers. A growing industry in the West following the Gold Rush, the City of San Francisco criminalized sex work through the form of cross-dressing and prostitution ordinances in 1863.[686] The regional criminalization of sex work in beet districts, Santa Cruz, Watsonville, and Spreckels, shed light on the rising attempts to regulate the communities established in the West.

In 1881, the Santa Cruz Board passed a local ordinance banning residents from "keeping[ing] or maintain[ing] or inhabit[ing] or becom[ing] an inmate of a house of ill-fame."[687] Through the 1880s, the houses of ill-fame continued to operate, and women continued to be arrested for sex work. Following the violent rape in Watsonville that occurred in 1890 locals turned to vagrancy laws in an attempt to prevent future crimes of the same nature. The vagrancy laws established in the 1890s, criminalized migrant workers, sex workers, and the *houses of ill fame* that provided alcohol and sex to guests. The vagrancy laws, including "every lew or desolate person who lives in and about houses of ill-fame" as well as, "every common prostitute and common drunkard," punishable with six-month jail time.[688]

In 1906, the City of Watsonville issued a public notice on March 21, 1906, prohibiting sex work within the city limits. The City of Watsonville, a community that remained closely connected to the sugar town of Spreckels, through industry, culture, and transportation, banned these establishments and their inhabitants. Proclaiming, "for the first time in the history of Watsonville, so far as is known, this city is free from public houses of prostitution."[689] Between 1906 -1908 sex work in the beet sugar industry grew increasingly forbidden. The arrest of two women "of the half world,"[690] common parlance for outside of the mainstream life, for vagrancy in 1908. Called "inmates," by newspapers, the newspapers connote a lack of agency in these individuals. Sentenced to time in the *house of ill*

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[683] "This girl, though not yet 17 years of age, has been in the past three years been arrested over two dozen times" in the article "Arrested for Vagrancy" *the Salinas Daily Index* 3 August 1900
[684] "Found Guilty of Abduction" *Salinas Daily Journal* 13 September 1895
[685] ibid.
[686] Sears, Clare. A*rresting Dress : Cross-Dressing, Law, and Fascination in Nineteenth-Century San Francisco. (*Durham: Duke University Press, 2015.)
[687] "Common Council" 26 February 1881. *The Santa Cruz Sentinel.*
[688] "New Vagrant Law" 29 March 1891. *The Californian.*
[689] "In Watsonville: All Houses of Prostitution Close Their Doors and Inmate Leave the City" 21 March 1906. *Salinas Daily Index.*
[690] ibid.

fame the tone of the reporting further criminalizes their labor and their personhood. Relegated outside the community, socially and legally, sex work indicates not only the limits of the jurisdiction of the beet empire and begins to shed light on the counterculture supported by the region's largest employer.

In 1908, in a symbolic gesture, the Spreckels Sugar Company relocated and rehabilitated a house used to facilitate the illicit sex trade. Local newspapers reported on the project, a large engineering project that required the use of the local locomotive system. The company, "moved one of the abandoned houses of i11-repute from the old red-light district out to 'Spreckels to reform, renovate it and establish it in good society there."[691] These efforts, damaging the railway, highlight the significance given to the social character of the community.

In the early years of the 1900s, a red-light district blossomed in Spreckels and in the neighboring sugar town. These sugar towns used vagrancy as an opening to police the local social relations in the town. Coinciding with the second round of housing construction in the company town, the new growth of the company town, the local area experienced a rise in policing of sex parlors. Furthermore, the criminalization of sex work in beet districts, occurring alongside the elaboration of urban beet communities, made possible by beet refineries highlights the region's attempt to sustain the traditional American concept of the ideal family. With the settlement of the place, the regulation of sexuality accompanied. Incorporating the history of American identity, where the nation stands for the family,[692] and Foucault's theory of power in *History of Sexuality*, sexuality functions as a disciplinary tool regulating class and race relations.[693] The criminalization of sex work illustrates the region's attempt to incorporate the area into the nation. A gendered analysis of the American empire abroad illustrates the function of the home & a site of the nation & domesticity.[694] The exclusion of sex workers from the local community was made possible by the infrastructure of worker housing.

Homes operated as public sites, providing housing for local workers. The regulation of sex work, outside of the company town and to the local boardinghouses, illustrates the company's acceptance and turning a blind eye to illicit behavior by its employees. The hotel and nearby boarding houses became known as sites of violence.[695]

The temperance movement in the region targeted non-white workers first before leading to the prohibition of alcohol in beet districts by 1912. In 1909, the Internal Revenue Inspector and Deputy Internal Revenue Collector led an investigation into "the distribution of intoxicating liquors to Japanese gangs of beet workers" in Salinas.[696] The strong presence of the Japanese population in the

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[691] "Hauling an Abandoned House of Ill-Fame" 09 Jan 1908. *The Californian* (Salinas, California).
[692] Kaplan, "Manifest Domesticity."
[693] Foucault, Michel. "The Right of Death and Power Over Life," in *History of Sexuality* (NY: Random House, 1978) 135-145.
[694] Kaplan, Amy. "Manifest Domesticity."; Stoler, Ann Laura. *Carnal Knowledge and Imperial Power : Race and the Intimate in Colonial Rule.* (Berkeley, California: University of California Press, 2010.)
[695] "Says He Was Cut" 7 Feb 1899. *Salinas Daily Index.*
[696] "Internal Revenue" 12 Jun 1909. *The Californian.*

beet sugar industry, the primary source of labor in the first decade of the 1900s, began a pattern of the state and private businesses regulating alcoholic consumption in working-class communities. In 1911, a group of women began a prohibition movement, submitting a petition to close the salons. With 240 signatures,[697] they demanded that Spreckels become a "dry town"[698] when the liquor license was set to expire in 1912.[699] The company supported the local petition and "two bars closed in 1912,"[700] the Louvre and the Spreckels Hotel bar. However, the company still facilitated alcohol for its residents. With an announcement of the bi-weekly liquor deliveries, "Berges and Garisser's wagon from Salinas, calls at Spreckels every Tuesday and Friday."[701] The company assured, "If you want wines or liquors let them know and it will be promptly delivered."[702] Locals could purchase alcohol by pawning off items in saloons. This practice often included the selling of stolen items, from rooms within the Spreckels Hotel and its annexes.[703] With federal prohibition, the Spreckels Sugar Company continued to provide its workers with alcohol. In the same year, local newspapers proclaimed, "the efficiency of the farm labor is greatly reduced by the saloons" in an article attacking the employment of Japanese workers.[704]

By 1918, the areas catering to the single-male factory population garnered a well-deserved reputation for drunkenness and violence. In 1918, a domestic assault, an attempted murder-suicide by Otto Hinto that resulted in Hinto "shooting himself in the head,"[705] underscores the violent interactions that occurred in these spaces for temporary workers.

With a 1,500 capacity[706] the Spreckels Hotel soon garnered a reputation for violence and drunkenness.[707] The social function of the Hotel facilitated its function for illicit sexual behavior, including the sexual assault of an 8-year-old girl. The prolonged assault of the young child, confirmed by "Testimony of several witnesses [ ] to the effect that he took the child to the Spreckels hotel several weeks ago represented her to be his daughter"[708] is a stark example of the fluidity of movement, even young girls, within the spaces of hotels and boarding houses. At the nearby Riverside hotel, the common occurrence of abduction and rape is expressed by the testimony against Fred Barson. Found "crawling on the roof" yelling, "there are two girls in the house I want; you can have one and I'll take the other,"[709] Barson's attempt to elicit another man as his accomplice,

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[697] "Spreckels Hotel Bar is Closed" 29 Jun 1912. *The Californian.*
[698] "Spreckels is to be made a Dry Town" 11 May 1912, *Salinas Daily Index.*
[699] 6 July, 6 August, 1911. *Salinas Daily Index*
[700] "Speckels is to be made a Dry Town" 11 May 1912. *Salinas Daily Index.*
[701] "Town lots for Sale" 5 April 1913. *Spreckels Courier,*
[702] ibid.
[703] "A 'sport' arrested" 19 Nov 1908. *The Californian.* "Young Cambell held to answer" 25 Nov 1919. *The Californian.*
[704] "No Coolies for Farms of Pacific Coast" 9 Jan 1918. *Salinas Daily Index.*
[705] "Otto Hinto Fails to kill wife but ends his life by shooting himself in the head"
[706] *Sweet Nostalgia.* p. 99.
[707] "Says He Was Cut" 7 Feb 1899 *Salinas Daily Index*
[708] "George L. Davis Must Appear for Trial in Superior Court" 19 Nov 1918. *The Californian.*
[709] "Wanted Only One" 28 July 1892. *The Californian.*

evokes a perceived mutual understanding between the men, that young women are up for the taking.

The increasing local antipathies and growing surveillance is encompassed in the arrest of Martin Saifert, an employee of the Spreckels Hotel. Reportedly, Saifert, while drunk, was overheard using "seditious language" and "pro-German talk."[710] While the Spreckels Sugar Company was founded by German immigrant Claus Spreckels, the industry depended on protective domestic market regulations. In the early attempts of the United States to manage the European trade blockade created in World War I, the United States prioritized domestic production, directly connecting beets to the national war effort. The national investment in supporting a domestic beet sugar industry, encompassed by the 1915 negotiations between the United States and the German government for the purchase of 16,000,000 pounds (15,000 bags) in beet seeds.[711] The Allied consent of the trade required payment to the Russian government of $20,000 in bonds, which the United States paid, not beet growers.[712] The prolonged negotiations for beet seed illustrate the global events impacting the development of the American domestic sugar industry, fulfilled by the environmental and labor requirements of refining beets. With the 1917 entrance of the USA in World War I, the War Food Administration, under the authority of President Woodrow Wilson, managed the supply of sugar from the United States and its allies to Western European countries with sugar shortages, Britain, France, and Italy.[713] Therefore, the pro-German comments overheard in the Spreckels Hotel served as a challenge to the nation and its role in geopolitics. With World War I, the statements of John Spreckels materialized, and beet sugar in fact protected the interests of the American nation in the 1910s.

The heightened surveillance and criminalization of individuals residing in beet districts illustrate the local tensions between the ideal community purportedly at Spreckels and its network of housing for surplus labor. The rise of arrests in the area is reflected by Judge James Alfred Bardin of the Superior Court of Salinas. James A. Bardin, of direct relation to the Bardin family that devoted their Blanco Ranch to beet growing, opined, "youthful criminals are seeking to avoid the consequences of their crimes through that lenient branch of the state's judicial system."[714] Individuals subjected to the criminal-justice system learned to mitigate their punishments by using their age.

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[710] 20 Sept 1918. *The Californian.*

[711] Palmer, Truman G. "Making America Self-Supporting." *Scientific American.* 118, no. 24 (1918): 550–59.

[712] ibid

[713] Ballinger, Roy Arthur. *A History of Sugar Marketing through 1974*. (Washington: U.S. Dept. of Agriculture, Economics, Statistics, and Cooperatives Service, 1978.) Bernhardt, Joshua. *Government Control of the Sugar Industry in the United States : an Account of the Work of the United States Food Administration and the United States Sugar Equalization Board, Inc.* (New York: Macmillan, 1920.) Bernhardt, Joshua. *The Sugar Industry and the Federal Government : a Thirty Year Record, 1917-47.* (Washington: Sugar Statistics Service, 1948.)

[714] "Juveline Court does not check juvenile crimes" 29 Dec 1919. *Santa Cruz Evening News.*

IV. Conclusion

This chapter reviewed the communities established by the Spreckels Sugar Company, focusing specifically on the urban centers of factory production. The company town and network of boarding houses illustrate the incongruence between creating an ideal community and managing an unwanted surplus labor population.In Spreckels, housing for factory workers consisted of family homes and single-male boarding houses. The establishment of permanent, family-style homes by the beet sugar industry highlights the urban development made possible by the region's developing industrial agricultural economy, supported primarily by rural labor. A comparative analysis of the housing types provided by the Spreckels Sugar Company to its employees illustrates the social ascription of labor hierarchies. The distinct housing structures managed by the Spreckels Sugar Company reflected the racialized labor hierarchy of the company and extended it into the landscape. The communities built by Spreckels reflect the materialization of race in space. In company maps, space is separated by the critical infrastructure that supports industrial agriculture, including; irrigation, transportation, land, and workers.

The company town built by Spreckels must be considered within the history of the workers' housing that the company simultaneously provided for its temporary workers and farmworkers. Along with this matrix, the company contributed to the growing suburban ideal, an imagined life that rendered farmworkers and other rural laborers to the periphery - physically and socially. Housing replicated the economic and social inequalities within the company's labor structure in the town. At Spreckels, the economic and living conditions of white Americans were promoted while excluding a majority of its -primarily immigrant workforce. The suburban life created by the Spreckels Sugar Company was predicated on farmworkers' labor. The suburban housing ideal was made possible by the labor and regulation of the social life of the rural worker. This relationship is the subject of the next chapter.

The discourse of the suburb is embedded with the concept of the family ideal. The work of cultural historians on the Southern California citrus industry, in particular the work of George Sackman on the California Fruit Growers Exchange, currently known as Sunkist,[715] highlights the use of housing as a regulatory mechanism to control and assimilate farmworkers.

Those individuals excluded from these spaces highlight the limits to the company's "paternalism" and instead make this claim, of paternalism, really a claim of supporting a whites-only community. The individuals excluded from these spaces accentuate the construction of a whites-only space through the simultaneous construction of non-white spaces for brown, migrant workers

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[715] Sackman, Douglas C. *Orange Empire: California and the Fruits of Eden*. (London and Berkeley, University of California Press, 2005.) García, Matthew. *A World of Its Own: Intercultural Relations in the Citrus Belt of Southern California, 1900-1970.* (United States: The University of North Carolina Press, 2002.) Gonzalez, Gilbert G.. *A Labor and Community: Mexican Citrus Worker Villages in a Southern California County, 1900-1950.* (University of Illinois Press: Urbana and Chicago, 1994) Alamillo, José M. M*aking lemonade out of lemons: Mexican American labor and leisure in a California town, 1880-1960.* (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 2006.)

Moreover, these sites were understood as white space through the simultaneous establishment of non-white spaces. The housing spaces embody the function of housing as a tool used to regulate the local/national racial and sexual anxieties of miscegenation during the period. Housing spaces reflect the mobilization of the concept of the ideal family, a patriarchal heteronormative nuclear form,[716] as a tool to regulate the spatial relations controlled by beet sugar in California. Through this analysis, it becomes evident how housing functions as an infrastructure that supports the racialization of farm workers.

A historical analysis of the development of housing in Spreckels Sugar Company illuminates its functions as a tool to re-inscribe national ideals through the assignment of family housing units. Considering the various non-white laborers visibly prominent in the sugar company, the process of housing development should be considered within the contemporaneous socio-historical conditions that led to legislation restricting immigrant labor and promoting European families. Through this juxtaposition, it becomes clear that the single-male housing at Spreckels Hotel determined the racial and class demographics of Spreckels town by regulating gender interactions and family construction. Since these, mostly male, immigrant laborers were not provided with multi-room housing, the town replicated contemporary immigration laws that prohibited family construction. A history of the housing developments at Spreckels, therefore, highlights the intersections of gender, race, and class at the turn of the century in California's Central Valley.

The brown, all-male spaces of rural labor sharply contradicted the white, hetero spaces of industrial labor and suburban housing. Juxtaposing these sites, the urban, industrial site with the rural, farm sites allows historians to address questions of race, labor, gender, and the concept of the ideal family. worker housing, I argue, maintains the racialized labor hierarchies in public spaces. The process of building and managing the space provides insight into the imagined community and the regulation of social space by the local beet-sugar industry. Collectively, the racialized labor hierarchy and the racial segregation of social space occurring in the company town of Spreckels, reflect the historical pattern of California development.

[716] Donzelot, Jacques. T*he Policing of Families.* (Johns Hopkins Univ. Press, 1997).

Chapter Five

Infrastructures of Race:
Labor Camps as Sites of Exclusion

"tents must be provided for those families that do not have their own."[717]

-Director of Labor Camp Sanitation,
15 April 1929

In the same period the company town of Spreckels blossomed into an ideal American community, the labor camps fueling this center of production, the company town, provided farm workers with a bleak living. Between 1899 - 1946, labor camps reflect the distinct experiences of farm workers from their factory counterparts. When private industry managed labor camps, from 1889-1911, farm workers constructed private spaces for families, as the state and federal government intervened in these spaces in 1911 and 1935 respectively, labor camps transformed into highly regulated spaces where race and gender determined living conditions. This chapter documents the surveillance, regulation, and legislation of the farmworker home through a history of labor camps operated by the Spreckels Sugar Company between 1889 and 1946.

The regulation of farm worker housing illustrates the co-production of place-meaning by urban centers and rural labor across the state. While the industry attempted to define an ideal community in the company town, the state increased its oversight of non-white workers by creating the California Commission of Immigration and Housing (C.C.I.H.). In an effort to protect the American home, the state and federal government deployed Americanization Programs across the nation, naturalizing thousands of immigrants in New York and educating rural workers and women in California. The state organization, the California Commission of Immigration and Housing (C.C.I.H.) surveilled rural spaces such as labor camps as early as 1913. The rise of state regulation of farmworker housing in California reveals the incremental removal of farmworkers' families producing the current demographic of workers, exploitable single-unit individuals.

Between 1889 and 1911, labor camps operated under the management of the company. In this period farm workers built their own housing structures to support families. These spaces, while dilapidated in conditions, facilitated private spaces for spouses and children, where workers existed as family members and partners. The establishment of the C.C.I.H., under state authority between

[717] "Correspondence: 15 April 1929." Director of Labor Camp Sanitation. Carton 81, Folders 32-37. "Series 5: Labor Camps, 1914-1937. Operators, 1922-1934. California Commission of Immigration and Housing, BANC MSS C-A 194. The Bancroft Library, University of California, Berkeley.

1911-1932, marks a shift in the regulation of these spaces into the state authority. The result was a diminishing of self-constructed family housing and an increase in state oversight. And, finally, by 1935, in response to the socio-environmental crisis of the Dust Bowl, the federal government assumed authority of labor camps in California, operating forty-five Farm Security Administration. The shifts in regulation of labor camps illuminates the racialized spaces created by private and state industries in central California's agricultural sector. By materializing race onto the landscape, housing in the beet sugar empire replicated the national discourse of race, through the process of exclusion. With worker housing, the beet sugar industry and then the state racialized its labor force, ascribing meaning to place based on ethnicity.

With forty-four labor camps operated and managed by The Spreckels Sugar Company throughout the Salinas Valley.[718] A distinct spatial and social form from agricultural *colonias* found in the agricultural regions of southern California and the Imperial Valley,[719] labor camps function as a temporary site of housing managed by employers, and eventually the state government. This chapter documents the regulation of farmworker housing as it shifted from private industry to state and federal regulation. Using labor camp inspection reports, company maps, and regional newspapers, this chapter juxtaposed the state and federal authorities' failure to improve the living conditions of non-white farmworkers and their families with the state's attempts to rehabilitate white farmworkers and their families through state and federal programs. Thus, I argue that the disparate histories of housing of white-American and non-white, farm worker housing in California during the 1930s illustrate the final product of a racialized space. Moreover, the history of labor camps encompasses the state's relationship to non-white migrant labor.

The permanent establishment of beet sugar refineries in central California reflects the contemporary discourse of rural agriculture, urban factories, and suburban living. As the beet industry flourished in California, beets and the communities dependent on their processing, became increasingly linked to American identity. Labor camps, where 90% of the industry's laborers resided, supported the suburban communities developing alongside refineries. Therefore, a history of labor camps in the concurrent period illustrates the process of exclusion from these ideal American communities. Labor camps and their residents experienced a range of surveillance from private organizations and state and federal authorities. Attempts to regulate these sites from 1889 -1964 occurred in three distinct periods.

Firstly, during the 1889s - 1912, the beet sugar industry regulated its own labor camps. The minimal documentation of space highlights the flippant approach to housing during the period. With the Wheatland Riots in SoCal, the state began to survey labor camps with the goal of improving living conditions.

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[718] Spreckels Sugar Catalog. DRW 8-03 and DRW 8-03. Ranch No. 10. "Spreckels General Map". 1915. Ranch No. 11 "Spreckels General Map"; Ranch No. 8. "Spreckels General Map". Spreckels Catalog. (1880-1970). Monterey, California. Monterey County Historical Society.

[719] In the social historiography of farm workers, authors such as Matt Garcia, Gil Gonzalez, and Jose Alamillo expand the industrial definition of company towns to include industrialized agricultural communities - such as southern California citrus.

The social programs of the state between 1913 - 1934, aimed at farm worker housing provide a vivid illustration of living conditions for farm workers. The numerous families documented that the beet sugar industry embodied prosperity, and rural, farming communities happily welcomed the industry. Secondly, during the 1900s-1930s, the industry experienced scrutiny from the U.S. government, where John D. Spreckels transformed beet sugar into a national image, deploying rural/urban dialectic produced by the industry in the decades prior. And, lastly, during the 1940s-1960s, beet sugar (became a wartime product, and the turn to foreign labor resulted in a rise in local criticism of beet sugar worker's communities, where local anxieties reflect and a culmination of rural and urban relations, reflected most vividly in the company attempts to expand the Manteca site.

Collectively, the popular discourse of the beet sugar industry in Central California reflects the co-production of place by rural labor and urban centers, as economically and socially inseparable. And yet, the tensions reflected during this period, the 1880s-1960s, illustrate the ongoing efforts to exclude rural workers from the local and regional economic and social history. Spatially isolated and racially segregated, the labor camps were subjected to private and state intervention a few decades after their establishment in the 1880s. A historical analysis of the worker housing managed by Spreckels Sugar Company ranges from 1898 into the Bracero period (1944-1964), one of the longest continual management of worker housing by a single company.[720]

I. Labor Camps in Central California, 1889 - 1912

Workers in the West lived in makeshift housing to meet the shifting labor demands of the region. American expansion into California was magnified with the Gold Rush. California newspapers characterized non-white, makeshift housing sites - camps as fugitive sites. Entering the national discourse as a fugitive site - camps - stayed out of the purview of the nation until they came to be recognized as a site of labor organizing in 1912. The Spreckels Sugar Company, like other agricultural industrialists, tapped into the network of camps to sustain their labor needs. The location of labor camps outside of the authority of the state influenced private industry's exploitation of its inhabitants.

Joaquin Murrieta, the inspiration behind the Zorro in California's Mission Period, gained notoriety in the San Joaquin Valley during the 1850s. The 1853 arrest of an unnamed Mexican, a member of Murietta's organized group of *bandits*, according to newspaper publications this individual detailed the network of members, from Monterey to Angel's Camp (Fresno), and their responsibilities, of maintaining a network for transportation including horses, shelter, and protection.[721] Another deadly pursuit resulted in public calls for the "annihilation

[720] This excludes the history of enslaved people and their spatial concentration on plantations in the Americas and is instead, a comparison to the company towns built by modern industries in the 1800s, including Europe and eastern United States. My analysis argues that farm worker housing should be considered within the matrix of company towns, as the definition of company town: single-industry housing applies to the agricultural sector.

[721] "From Calaveras: Joaquin and his Band" 2 March 1853. *San Joaquin Republican.* S Volume 3, Number 18,

or expulsion of every Mexican from the State" in 1855.[722] The hanging of one of the Mexican fugitives, "is nothing more than was to be expected" indicates the common practice of lynching in the West. Vigilantes subjected Mexicans to increased violence throughout the decade and into the 1860s, indiscriminately lynching Mexicans.[723] Newspapers, reflecting the popular discourse, designated Mexicans, "not desirable citizens."[724] Citing the group's propensity to "live in camps by themselves, and make no efforts to assimilate,"[725] the newspaper aligns housing, and community, with citizenship. Prior to the establishment of beet sugar, Mexican labor camps operated as a subaltern site in the West, entering the historiography as a lawlesss place. With the events of the 1850s and rising anti-Mexican vigilantism in the 1860s, labor camps became a targeted site for violence. As beet sugar investors looked to California to establish refineries, labor camps were a prominent feature of the region.

In the 1870s, Santa Cruz County experienced a wave of urban development in the form of mining, railroads,[726] and logging that increased the presence of makeshift camp housing sites. These housing sites, mining camps, railroad camps,[727] and logging camps, became a part of the landscape as temporary sites that signified urban development. Local newspapers reported on the common illnesses in mining camps. The "unwholesome water, and the exposure and privation incident to life in new settlements and mining camps" resulted in chronic disorders and fatal diseases including malaria and a variety of stomach illnesses.[728] The poor conditions of camps were advertised alongside town lots for private residential development.[729] Juxtaposed in this manner, these sites are identifiable to the reader as two-side of the same coin, western urban development. The town lots, selling for $75 - $500 in "the prosperous town of Santa Cruz" and nearby Soquel, vividly illustrate the two distinct opportunities of life on California's central coast.

As detailed in Chapter 2, Spreckels began developing the beet sugar industry in central California in the Pajaro Valley of Santa Cruz County, at Watsonville. The factory opened in 1888 with the support of local farmers, which were offered various incentives by the company. Similar to a contest, Spreckels offered cash prizes based on acreage, $500 for the largest return on ten acres and $250 for the largest return on five acres.[730] Spreckels leased land from W.V. Gaffey in Castroville, at the Molera ranch. Gaffey divided the land into 20 acres each with the hopes of renting "these lands to tenants for the purpose of cultivating sugar beets to help supply the increased demand for beets at the

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[722] "Mexican Difficulty In Amador and Tuotomne—Murder of Sheriff Phoenix" Volume 9, Number 1368, 14 August 1855. *Sacramento Daily Union.*
[723] Gonzales-Day, Ken. *Lynching in the West, 1850-1935.* (Durham: Duke University Press, 2006.)
[724] "Mexican Difficulty In Amador and Tuotomne—Murder of Sheriff Phoenix" Volume 9, Number 1368, 14 August 1855. *Sacramento Daily Union.*
[725] ibid.
[726] For more information on railroads, see Chapter 2.
[727] "Local Intelligence: the Railroads" 1 November 1873. *Santa Cruz Weekly Sentinel*; "Pajaro R.R. Beet Cars" *Salinas Daily Indax* 19 March 1890
[728] "The Vital Statistics of California" 16 July 1870. *Santa Cruz Weekly Sentinel.*
[729] "Home who wants a home?" 16 July 1870. *Santa Cruz Weekly Sentinel.*
[730] "Sugar Beet Prizes" 6 July 1889. *The Californian.*

Watsonville beet sugar factory."[731] The success of the local factory led Castroville to be "known abroad as a sugar beet center, and an important feeder to the Wastoncille beet sugar factory."[732] Spreckels extended the Castroville beet lands into King City in 1889, leasing land from J.B.H. Cooper, at the "Cooper Ranch."[733]

At the opening of 1890, with the beet industry on the rise, the Moro Cojo Ranch, leased by Spreckels under the Western Beet Sugar Company (later would be Spreckels Sugar Company)[734] could not support the labor demands of its industry. Newspapers reported the "seriously impeded [operations' owing to the want of white labor preparing the land and planting the crop."[735] With two decades of investment, the potential to suffer a loss during the 1890 season illustrates the company's approach to managing labor. According to the Moro Cojo Ranch manager, "Mr. Spreckels will not permit Chinamen to be employed"[736] leading the manager unable to resolve this perceived labor scarcity. Following the company's restriction Gaffey permanently employed 100 white men on the 1,200 acres of Moro Cojo Ranch.[737]

The separation of labor from the factory and from the factory became less stringent in the 1890s when the company opened a refinery near Salinas. Opening the refiners, and adjacent land, and establishing a company town at this site, the company became more involved in the management of its workers. Maps document the growing geographic reach of the Sugar Company. A Monterey County Map, dated November 1905 shows the original Spanish ranchos and some of the Spreckels Ranches, including Ranch 11 (Greenfield) and Ranch 8 (Soledad).[738] Similarly, a 1907 map issued by the Monterey County Water Company documents the Spreckels' Ranch #5 in Castroville, moreover, the map confirms Spreckels' ownership to the Salinas River tributaries that cross into Monterey County.

During this period, labor camps are identified in the infrastructure documents of landowners. Surveyed to formalize ownership, maps provide the earliest documentation of workers on space. The 1915 - 1918 surveys of the Ranch #1 - Ranch #15 of the Spreckels Sugar Company identify labor camps and tenant farmers.[739] The pattern of land leases by the Spreckels company in Watsonville absolved the company from the direct management of its laborers. The 1906 San Francisco fire severely impacted the company's main office

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[731] "Salinas Daily Journal" 4 August 1889. *The Californian*
[732] "Salinas Daily Journal" 11 August 1889. *The Californian.*
[733] "Means More Beet Sugar" 15 November 1889. *The Californian.*
[734] "Sugar Beet Prizes" 6 July 1889. *The Californian.*
[735] "The beet-sugar Outlook" 26 July 1890. *The Californian.*
[736] The beet-sugar Outlook" 26 July 1890. *The Californian.*
[737] "The beet-sugar Outlook" 26 July 2890. *The Californian.* and "Salinas Daily Index" 10 August 1890. *The California.*
[738] "1900 - Conceptual and Historical 1900 Land Use and Development in Salinas Valley and Vicinity [Draft]" (2017). Groundwater Basin Maps. 15.
[739] "General Map of Ranch #10." 1918. Spreckels Catalog. (1880-1970). Monterey, California. Monterey County Historical Society. – "Composite Map of July 1905 Maps of the Salinas Valley Beet Districts No. 1, through No. 4 - Spreckels Sugar Company," composited by Stetson Engineers, Inc." (2017). Groundwater Basin Maps. 13.

building, damaging all of the records. However, contract advancement receipts between 1917-1919 demonstrate the common features of contracts with tenant farmers. Pay advances issued to farmers outline the costs provided for the laborers as well as the cost of labor contractors.[740] The contracts between refiner and grower, Spreckels and farmers, served to obscure the power of the company on local living conditions. With rising labor tensions in southern California, the state became directly involved in the oversight of labor camp spaces.

II. The California Commission of Immigration of Housing: Housing Reforms, Labor Camps, the State, and Citizenship (1913 - 1934)

California Governor Hiram W. Johnson established the Commission of Immigration of Housing (C.C.I.H.) in 1914[741] as a response to the increasing labor organizing in California fields.[742] Specifically, the 1913 Wheatland Strike in Sacramento, where workers cited poor living and working conditions, impacted the entire state, including the City of Salinas in Santa Cruz County.[743] The C.C.I.H. documented the living and working conditions of California's agricultural laborers and signifies a shift from private oversight to state oversight. Shifting the domain of responsibility to the state, from 1913 on, labor camps provided a framework from which to exclude workers from the local polity, and by extension citizenship to the nation. With the establishment of the C.C.I.H., California state became the regulatory body exerting control over the privately run labor camps. The state, through the regulatory agency of the C.C.I.H., established surveillance mechanisms into local labor camps through inspections, legislation, and social programs. For the beet industry, this further removed refiners from responsibility for their workers' living conditions. This period begins the transformation in worker housing from a privately sponsored site to state regulatory sites, where race and ethnicity of labor camp occupants determined the regulatory enforcement of private, and later state officials

A part of the California Progressive Movement, and national Progressive Era, the C.C.I.H. enacted a series of liberal reforms that ultimately did not improve the living conditions of farm workers. The oversight of the C.C.I.H. reflects the state's surveillance of labor camps during a wave of California's 1910s progressive reforms.[744] The limited power of the C.C.I.H. in California is reflected in the letters between camp managers and C.C.I.H. inspectors. The C.C.I.H. 1915 report identified 778 individuals living in labor camps in the beet

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[740] ibid

[741]"Labor Camp Inspection" section A: the Wheatland Case. elaborates on the impacts of this deadly riot to the founding of the C.C.I.H. and its goals, "to conduct a careful investigation into the economic and social issues leading up tot he riot." p.15 California. Commission of Immigration and Housing. Annual Report of the Commission of Immigration And Housing of California. [Sacramento?]: State Printing Office, 1915.

[742] Ziegler-McPherson, Christina A., 'The California Plan: The Commission of Immigration and Housing, 1913–1917', *Americanization in the States: Immigrant Social Welfare Policy, Citizenship, and National Identity in the United States,* (Gainesville, FL, 2009)

[743] Ibid. "Condition is Better for Farm Workers." *Santa Cruz Evening News*. Santa Cruz, California. 22 Aug 1914

[744]Leonard, Thomas C.. *Illiberal Reformers: Race, Eugenics, and American Economics in the Progressive Era.* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2017).

industry, including 41 women and 20 children.[745] Notably, the C.C.I.H. noted that, unlike other industries, beet sugar is "largely of a continuous or permanent character."[746] Moreover, after surveying camps from an array of industries, the C.C.I.H. concluded that 33.7% of beet sugar employees lived in labor camps,[747] and they earned $1.384 per day, less than highway workers' $1.51 per day and barely more than ranch workers; $1.35 per day.[748] The C.C.I.H. second annual report is summarized in popular newspapers throughout the state like the *Los Angeles Herald.* In its reporting, the *Los Angeles Herald* summarizes the findings of the report, which estimates that 75,000 people live in labor camps for most of the year,[749] and of these labor camps, "the railroad and beet camps the wages are lowest and sanitary conditions the poorest,"[750] Identifying the connection between low wages and poor living conditions, the subsequent attempts to resolve the poor living conditions of labor camps do not identify wages as a subject for improvement.

The reporting resulted in the passing of the Camp Sanitation Act of 1913 and the implementation of Americanization Programs in the subsequent years. Enforcement of the Labor Camp Sanitation Act was under the authority of the State Board of Health until 1914 with the C.C.I.H.. Outlining sleeping quarters, bedding, toilet, and bathing facilities, the Act contains a total of 25 criminal convictions, with the maximum penalty, an unenforced state law that provided guidelines for healthy and sanitary camps.[751]

With the increase of state oversight, labor camps came to represent a site of inclusion/exclusion from the nation. Through Americanization Programs, state officials sought to incorporate individuals into the polity through the expansion of citizenship.[752] However, in California, labor camps came to represent foreign labor. The process by which labor camps came to be non-white spaces instead of working-class spaces occurred during the state's oversight and under liberal attempts to improve their conditions. Americanization programs were organized in the Monterey County Federation Americanization Committee, part of a national movement headed by women for international immigrants to "learn citizenship and the English language."[753] Americanization programs in central California remained intimately connected with national discourse, with the Salinas Daughters of the Revolution hosting Monterey and Washington chapters

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[745] California. Commission of Immigration and Housing. (1915). Annual report of the Commission of Immigration and Housing of California. [Sacramento?]: State Printing Office. p. 34
[746] ibid. p. 38.
[747] ibid.
[748] ibid. p. 39.
[749] "Constructive Immigration Essential to Tope with Problems of State Commission and Housing Makes Second Annual Report" 18 May 1916. *Hanford Sentinel,* Number 21,
[750] "Americanization of Foreignor's Plan" 4 May 1916. *Los Angeles Herald*, Volume XLII, Number 159,
[751] "Chapter 329.—Labor camps—Sanitation, etc." in the U.S. Department of Labor: Bulletin of the Bureau of Labor Statistics, 1915
[752] Ziegler-McPherson, Christina A., *'The California Plan: The Commission of Immigration and Housing, 1913–1917',* "Practical School in Citizenship" *Salinas Daily Index* 18 March 1910; "The Education of Aliens in America"*The Salinas Daily Index* 23 November 1915
[753] 8 September 1930. *Salinas Daughters of the Revolution*

in 1928.[754] Mrs. Charles Witcher hosted classes in Salinas Union High School, where Japanese residents attended classes for two weeks between 8:15-9:15 p.m.[755] Americanization Programs accompanied the C.C.I.H.'s efforts to alleviate the living conditions of labor camps. The impact of Americanization programs was taken into consideration by the company. In the company documents a report entitled, "Early Work in Americanization"[756] summarizes the collective beliefs of the government and private organizations that the farmworker home is a crucial site to control the mostly immigrant labor population. The report points to the Wheatland Riot as the historical moment that led to government intervention in the farmworker home. The collective efforts of public and private organizations, according to the report, resulted in the California Commission of Immigration and Housing "secur[ing] legislation setting certain building standards for the housing of agricultural laborers." The report goes on, "It puts inspectors in the field. These inspectors were not policemen with a club; they were teachers with a book."[757] The shift in policing the home, from direct punishment to surveillance, reflects a historical pattern of the policing of the family, in an attempt to instill "proper family ideals."[758] The California Commission of Immigration and Housing looked towards teachers and a private-public relationship between farmer organizations and Americanization programs.

At Spreckels, like in other cities in the West, women spearheaded Americanization programs. Residents of Spreckels traveled to Salinas, only a five-minute train ride,[759] to attend classes. In the local beet sugar industry, larger urban centers such as Salinas became the site of Americanization Programs. The approach taken by Americanization reformers regarding Mexican immigrants was an effort to conform the Mexican immigrant "to the American industrial order"[760]

Amidst the rise in state surveillance, workers continued to collectively organize to negotiate for better working and living conditions. Mexican beet workers challenged their working conditions in Hanford during the harvest season of 1918. These workers were challenged by a local sheriff who "gave them their choice of going back to work for the ranch or going to work for the county and they decided they would finish their contract on the ranch."[761] In this incident, the mutually beneficial relationship between private industry and state government is made clear. Sheriff Farmer, called by the manager of the Kerchoff Ranch, witnessed a "five Mexicans who were in a dispute with J. M. Mays, the manager of the ranch as to wages to be paid on a contract for topping beets They claimed

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[754] ibid.
[755] ibid.
[756] "Early Work in Americanization" p. 7. Series i Box 3. Spreckels Sugar Collection MS 282, Holt-Atherton Department of Special Collections, University of the Pacific.
[757] ibid.
[758]Donzelot, *The Policing of Families.*
[759] "Figure 1" Labor in California Sugar Beet Crop. Raymond P. Barry (Editor). Federal Writers Project. Oakland, California. 1938.
[760] Sanchez, George. *Go after the Women : Americanization and the Mexican Immigrant Woman, 1915-1929.* (Stanford, Calif: Stanford Center for Chicano Research, Stanford University, 1984.)
[761] "Mexican Beet Toppers Strike; Back at Work" 8 August 1918. *Hanford Sentinel,* Number 33. "Beet Toppers Strike; Sheriff says work or go to jail" 8 August 1918. *Visalia Times- Delta.*

they had a contract but the ranch superintendent was not keeping his part of it."[762] The decision to threaten the workers to leave or go back to work embodies the power of the industry in the region, and its capacity to regulate workers through other local institutions. The choice between working for the county or private industry parallels prison labor, a remnant of the American chattel slavery system.[763] With this ultimatum, the Mexican workers returned to work. In the same year, at Spreckels Mexican workers walked off the job in protest.[764] Arrested in San Francisco for "violating their bond,"[765] the treatment of Mexican nationals resulted in an investigation by the Mexican Consulate[766] with local Judge Bardin asserts that this "practice that has been in vogue for a long time - that of arresting contract laborers who quit their employment."[767] The arrests of Juan Pena, Pedro Martinez, Francisco C. Ramirez, and Trinidad Contreras, in 1920, charged with vagrancy and disturbing the peace, illustrate the industry's use of the state government to reinforce the contracts of Mexican laborers. F.J. Palomaria, the company's manager of Mexican labor, filed the vagrancy complaints, triggering the production of warrants for unlawful residence. The judge assigned to the case, Judge Bardin complains about this "practice that has been in vogue for a long time - that of arresting contract laborers who quit their employment."[768] With this practice, the labor contracts offered by the sugar company held the utmost power over Mexican nationals. Congressional testimony from W.B. Mandeville, a Mexican labor recruiter for Holly Sugar Farms, characterized their competitors' use of local authorities, "they put guards there and had those guards deputized by the sheriff of the county."[769]

In Modesto, growing 4,967 acres of beets for the Manteca factory.[770] The local population of Mexicans "who do not live in the railroad section camps" constructed their own makeshift homes between "sixth and seventh streets and an alley between these two streets."[771] The newspaper describes the local population

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[762] ibid.

[763]Davis, Angela Y., and Cassandra Shaylor. "Race, Gender, and the Prison Industrial Complex." *Meridians* (Middletown, Conn.) 19, no. S1 (2020): 87–111.

[764] "Mexicans make trouble on Ranch: Attempt made by agitators to start strike on spreckels ranch" 23 August 1918. *Salinas Daily Index.*

[765] 9 May 1918. *San Francisco Chronicle.*

[766] 10 May 1918. *San Francisco Chronicle.*

[767] "Warrants Issued for Mexican Contract Laborers Released Today on Writs of Habeas Corpus" 3 September 1920. *Salinas Daily Index.*

[768] ibid.

[769] Acting Supervising Inspector of the Mexican Border District, El Paso, Texas, to Commissioner General of Immigration, Washington, D.C., April 30, 1918,; General report from immigration inspector to Supervising Inspector of Immigration Service, El Paso, Texas, Feb. 8, 1918, 54261/202A. "Imported Mexican Labor," *San Francisco Chronicle,* May 10, 1918. Committee on Immigration and Naturalization, *Hearings before the Committee on Immigration and Naturalization on H. J. Res 271,* 24.

[770] "Spreckels Sugar Company Miscellaneous Entries" Modesto District. Journal Entry Voucher No. 815." Series 1. Box 2. Spreckels Collection.. Holt-Atherton Special Collections, University of the Pacific.

[771] "Special Complaint Officer's Report on Immigrant Conditions in the Upper San Joaquin Valley" "Modesto" Series 1. Box 2. Spreckels Collection.. Holt-Atherton Special Collections, University of the Pacific.

as composed of African Americans who "outnumber the Mexicans, and it is therefore not properly called a Mexican quarter."[772] The common practice of makeshift housing and labor camps for non-white workers extended into the local region well beyond the beet sugar industry. These networks of housing structures supported the labor required on local sugar beet farms.

Labor contracts reflect the pay rate, boarding coasts, and identify labor contractors for the beet sugar company. The Manteca Factory's contracts between 1917-1919 indicate a rate of $6.90 for boarding in July 1919, for a total of six working days, as deducted from J.H. Wallace's pay on July 16, 1919. [773] Accounting of the eighty-five acres under the management of W.I.Clapp details the labor costs incurred by the farmer and the frequent practice of advancing payment for labor. The company contracted a farmer's full acreage with the agreement that the farmer would only plant a portion, to ensure healthy soil for years to come. Of the eighty-five acres, only forty-one were topped and loaded. For this acreage, the company paid $34.00 for day labor, $168 for thinning, and $9 an acre for topping and loading.[774] This advance was secured using the aforementioned land as a crop mortgage Per acre the total cost amounted to $13.93. Furthermore, in the receipt to E. Rivera, a labor contractor, the rates for thinning, first hoeing, and second hoeing are as follows, $5.50, $2.00, and $1.50 per acre, with the contractor receiving a bonus of $105.[775] The wages of beet workers, deemed the lowest of all industries by C.C.I.H. reporting, were directly linked to unsanitary living conditions.

In a review of the 1919 Labor Complaints, the *Santa Cruz Evening News* states, "Of the 3048 complaints received last year by the State Commission of Immigration and Housing, 2338 were from aliens, 180 from persons who had declared their intention of becoming citizens, 498 American citizens and 32 whose nationality was unknown. Mexicans made nearly one-third of the complaints, 1138 being the number from this nationality."[776] The local newspapers make clear that immigrants remained more severely impacted by the labor camp living conditions, thus making this issue insignificant for local Americans. The newspaper lists the complaint statistics for different ethnic backgrounds and further assesses the nature of the complaints. Continuing, the newspapers provide the number of complaints for each category; "Wage claims were the leading cause of complaint, 806" followed by "unsanitary labor camps, 420; breaches of contract, 313; Industrial accidents, 197; employment agency frauds, 152;

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[772] ibid.

[773] Receipt Number 7210. 16 July 1919. Sereis i. Box 7. MS 282: Spreckels; Series: California; Box 7: Factory #2, Manteca. Spreckels Sugar Collection MS 282, Holt-Atherton Department of Special Collections, University of the Pacific.

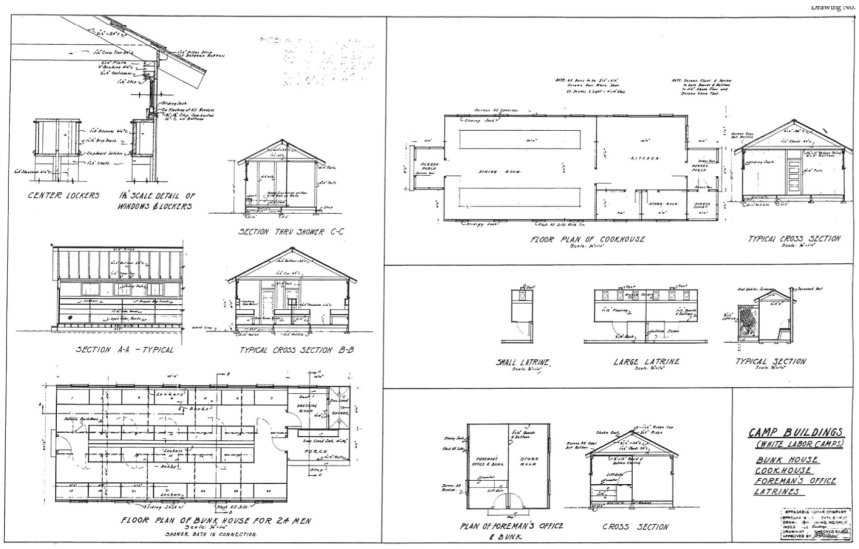
[774] Receipt Number 7221. 17 July 1919.Sereis i. Box 7. MS 282: Spreckels; Series: California; Box 7: Factory #2, Manteca. Spreckels Sugar Collection MS 282, Holt-Atherton Department of Special Collections, University of the Pacific.

[775] Receipt Number 7158. 12 July 1919. Sereis i, Box 7. MS 282: Spreckels; Series: California; Factory #2, Manteca. Spreckels Sugar Collection MS 282, Holt-Atherton Department of Special Collections, University of the Pacific.

[776] "Tell Troubles of Immigration Service" 12 May 1920. Santa Cruz, California. *Santa Cruz Evening News.*

attorneys' fraud or negligence, 134."[777] This list sheds light on the common labor issues throughout the California agricultural industry; wages, labor camps, the dangerous nature of labor, and fraud.

The Spreckels Sugar Company managed approximately thirty labor camps during this period. Company records contain architectural schematics of ranch buildings, including not only equipment but also worker housing. The blueprints provide vivid illustrations of the space in which each worker was provided, including the spatial dimensions of two types of labor camps, the White Labor Camps[778] and Foreign Labor Bunkhouses.[779]



"Camp Buldings (White Labor Camps): Plans, Sections and Details." 1917. Spreckels Catalog. (1880-1970). Monterey, California. Monterey County Historical Society.

A comparison of these schematics reflects the company's differential treatment of white and non-white workers. The schematics of the white labor camps reflect the public works that supported this population, including a cookhouse, two different types of latrines, and a foreman's office.[780] The construction of distinct spaces reflects the lengths to which the company distinguished its labor force. The White Labor Camp buildings are built with beds, windows, a shower and porch attached to the building, and lockers for each

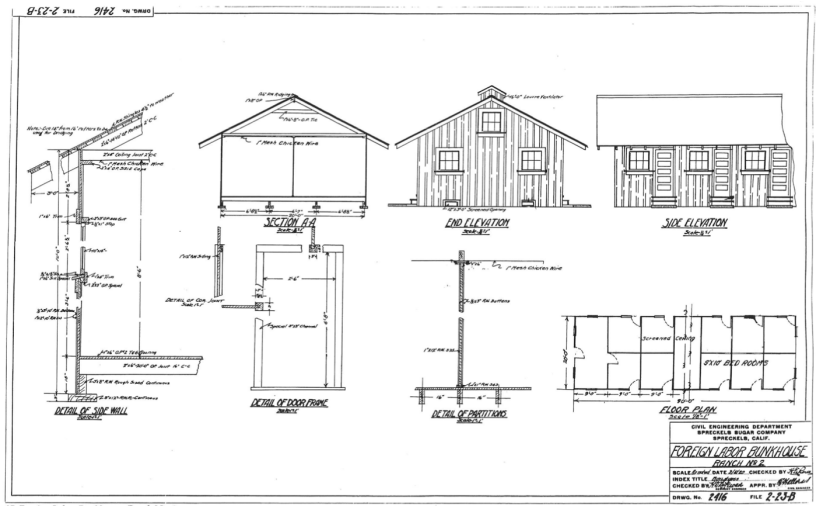
[777] ibid

[778] Spreckels Sugar Company Drawing No. 93. "Camp Buldings (White Labor Camps): Plans, Sections and Details." 1917. "Bunkhouse, cookhouse/dining hall, office and latrine buildings for labor camps." Spreckels Catalog. (1880-1970). Monterey, California. Monterey County Historical Society.

[779] Spreckels Sugar Company Drawing No. 95. "Foreign Labor Bunkhouse: Ranch 2" 1920. Bunkhouse with bedrooms." Spreckels Catalog. (1880-1970). Monterey, California. Monterey County Historical Society.

[780] Spreckels Sugar Company Drawing No. 93. "Camp Buldings (While Labor Camps): Plans, Sections and Details. 1917. Bunkhouse, cookhouse/dining hall, office and latrine buildings for labor camps." Spreckels Catalog. (1880-1970). Monterey, California. Monterey County Historical Society.

bed.[781] The lockers, a private space for workers' belongings, are a small detail that points to the individual autonomy of these workers and its acknowledgment by the company.



"Foreign Labor Bunkhouse: Ranch 2" 1920. Spreckels Catalog. (1880-1970). Monterey, California. Monterey County Historical Society.

The non-white labor camps described in The Foreign Labor Bunkhouses on the other hand were 9'x10' bedrooms, with no built-in beds, a screened ceiling, and chicken wire mesh for insulation.[782] The lack of amenities such as bunk beds, and private compartments reflect the goals of the Spreckels Sugar Company, to provide the bare minimum. In these schematics, the white workers' housing had features that distinguished the private and communal. However, in the bunkhouses, designed for non-white workers, these features were omitted. The non-white farmworkers, mostly Japanese, Mexican, and Southeast Asians, did not have any private space. This distinction begins a long pattern of public intervention in the private spaces, housing, and the home of the farmworker. The Spreckels Sugar Company determined the social demographics of the region not only through employment but also through housing.

The labor complaints along with public records, company maps, and public reporting indicate the existence of a growing Mexican community. Appraisal records indicate a Hindu Camp located on the other side of the Salinas Bridge, across the body of water from the factory site.[783] As well as a Japanese community near the Riverside Hotel, which local resident James Ross Riley III, a

[781] ibid.
[782] Spreckels Sugar Company Drawing No. 95. "Foreign Labor Bunkhouse: Ranch 2" 1920. Bunkhouse with bedrooms. Monterey County Historical Society.
[783] 1913 Monterey County Appraisal Docs.

third-generation Spreckels resident, recalled "dig[ging] up opium bottles."[784] Survey maps conducted in 1918 and 1919 indicate the presence of ethnically segregated labor camps. In 1918, Ranch #10, Chualar demonstrates the presence of Mexican, Hindu, and Japanese labor camps.[785] On Ranch #8, in Soledad Mexican, Hindu, and Portuguese camps are noted.[786] On Ranch #11, in Greenfield, there is one Foreign Labor Camp.[787] By 1925, there are Foreign Labor camps at Ranch #15. A photograph from the private collection of Jack and Margot Abeloe shows six rows of foreign labor bunkhouses.[788] The long white structures photographed from a distance, on the other side of the railroad tracks, attempts to capture all of the bunkhouses in a single frame. This effort produces an image taken from a distance, a reflection of the spectator relationship of the Abeloe's and their new neighbors.

In 1922, the Mexican contract workers established a prominent presence in the community, hosting a "Big Fiesta" in the summer.[789] The festivities drew negative attention with the pursuit of Simon Rivera, who led police to uncover a group of Mexican bootleggers who reportedly provided "liquor to several of the Mexican labor camps."[790] While the arrest of Rivera occurred during the federal prohibition (1920-1933), as described in Chapter 4, alcohol became available in establishments such as the Spreckels Hotel and Riverside Hotel. Just a month earlier in May, local officers searched labor camps in pursuit of a wanted Mexican day laborer.[791] Failing to locate the individual, the actions of the officers serve as a reminder that labor camps operated as public spaces, where company and state officials often entered at their leisure. The pursuits into labor camps by local authorities illustrate the continued function of these sites as places of refuge. From the time of Joaquin Murrieta into the 1920s, Mexican labor camps

Despite the archival absence of contracts with guest workers, the newspaper publications, and numerous records of foreign labor housing between 1918-1925 illustrate the company's reliance on Mexican nationals to support the booming industry. Public reporting on the 1918 labor strike of 87 Mexican nationals, and the investigation by the Mexican government[792] confirms the presence of contracted Mexican laborers during what immigration scholars have

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[784] Page & Turnbull, 1996. Appendix: Oral History p. 70.
[785] "General Map of Ranch #10." 1918. DRW 8-03. Spreckels Catalog. (1880-1970). Monterey, California. Monterey County Historical Society. 1905, July – "Composite Map of the Salinas Valley Beet Districts No. 1, through No. 4" Spreckels Sugar Company, composited by Stetson Engineers, Inc.
[786] "General Map of Ranch #8." 1919. DRW 8-03.Spreckels Catalog. (1880-1970). Monterey, California. Monterey County Historical Society.
[787] "General Map of Ranch #11." 1919. DRW 8-03.Spreckels Catalog. (1880-1970). Monterey, California. Monterey County Historical Society.
[788] Photo 93, from Jack and Margot Abeloe's private collection. Foreign Labor Bunkhouses, 1925. Reproduced in Berschini, *Images of America: Spreckels.* p 35.
[789] "Victim Exposes Thieving Hang of Bootleg Mexicans" 14 July 1922. *The Salinas Daily Index.*
[790] ibid.
[791] "Mexican section hand is sought by officers" 18 May 1922. *The Salinas Index* .
[792] Conway, Jimmie Don. 1999. "Spreckels Sugar Company: the first fifty years." [M.A. San Jose State University].

coined, the First Bracero Program.[793] Employing Mexican nationals as early as 1918, and housing them in distinct spaces through 1925, the company's treatment of Mexican nationals and Mexican Americans illustrates the use of housing as infrastructure that racialized workers. Labor camps provided a site from which both subjects, imported Mexican laborers and Mexican-Americans were both designated as foreign subjects and would be under the regulatory body of the state - for private business. The 1918 importation of Mexican nationals occurred as a result of recent shifts in immigration laws that directly impacted the beet sugar industry. The passing of the 1890 Chinese Exclusion Act, directly resulted in an increase in Japanese workers, while the 1907 Gentlemen's Agreement, reduced the importation of Japanese workers. And, in 1917 Immigration Laws added a literacy test and poll tax, effectively reducing the number of East Asian workers. The series of limitations on imported workers directly led to a guest worker program in 1917. The beet sugar industry lobbied to recruit Mexican nationals "to the fields and processing plants in Colorado, Wyoming, Nebraska, Michigan, Minnesota, California, and any place where sugar beets could be grown."[794] Beet sugar labor contractors began targeting Mexicans, and the population of Mexican workers at Spreckels began to rise.

As more Mexican nationals entered the industry, the company continued to elaborate on its infrastructure of housing to meet the new labor demands. The company built a Hotel Annex in 1921 to house its Mexican population, by 1924 the imported Mexican nationals lived in the row of bungalows separating the company town from the Mexican community of Little Tijuana.

Amidst the development of Americanization programs in farm worker homes, the labor camps operated by the Spreckels Sugar Company came under the surveillance of the state. Documented in company surveys labor camps are visibly noted at Ranch #10.[795] Subject to the new regulations of the Camp Sanitation Act, the conditions of housing at Ranch 10 (Chualar), Ranch 8 (Soledad), and Ranch 1 (Spreckels), document the early history of worker housing under the beet sugar company. With state reporting, the perceived separation between the Spreckels Sugar Company's camps and their contracted farmers' is erased. The experiences of workers in labor camps across the beet sugar industry are made evident, revealing parallel conditions in company labor camps and labor contractor's labor camps. In 1925 the conditions of the Japanese labor camps and Mexican labor camps at Ranch 10, described in Chapter 3, included 39 Japanese

[793] Mireya Loza, "Let Them Bring Their Families": The Experiences of the First Mexican Guest Workers, 1917–1922," *Journal of American History,* Volume 109, Issue 2, September 2022, Pages 310–323,

[794] p. 316. Loza, Mireya. "'Let Them Bring Their Families': The Experiences of the First Mexican Guest Workers, 1917–1922." The Journal of American History (Bloomington, Ind.) 109, no. 2 (2022): 310–23.

[795] Spreckels Catalog. Ranch No. 10. Spreckels General Map. 1915. Ranch No. 11 Spreckels General Map; Ranch No. 8. Spreckels General Map. Monterey County Historical Society. DRW 8-03.

residents[796] and thirty-two Mexicans[797] respectively, who built their own makeshift housing for their families. Japanese families built private spaces in two one-bedroom shacks,[798] and Mexican families lived in separate rooms in the bunkhouse.[799] Taken throughout the mid-1920s and mid-1930s, labor camp reports provided further insight into the location, size, demographics, and sanitary conditions of labor camps throughout the state of California. As discussed in the previous chapter, these labor camp reports reflect the poor living conditions of housing and are used to initiate the C.C.I.H. oversight process through reports and inspections.

By the 1920s labor camps were firmly linked to health and therefore were sites that represented exclusion from citizenship. In a 1921 article, the Executive Office of the C.C.I.H., Justin R. Miller claims, "good labor camps are the rule and conditions which formerly gave rise to I.W.W.ism are no longer seriously prevalent."[800] According to Miller, under the guidance of the government, camp sanitation improved and labor organizing was no longer necessary, under the guise of labor regulation, the state intervened in the spaces of labor camps.

According to the state, labor camps are greatly improving, and yet, labor camp reports and complaints illustrate the continuation of poor conditions in non-white labor camps throughout the 1920s. A complaint submitted anonymously, dated May 15, 1923, identifies an "overflowing cesspool"[801] at a camp in Knights Landing. The author of the complaint refers to the "dirty Mexican camp."[802] With the increase of white migrants in labor camps, the state approach to health in these sites illustrates the disparate approaches to improving health for white and non-white individuals. This difference illustrates the state's

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[796] 8/3/1925 Labor Camp Report. Ranch 10. Folder 32-37 Ctn 81. BANC MSS CA-194. California. Dept. of Industrial Relations. Division of Immigration and Housing records, BANC MSS C-A 194, Carton 81, Folders 32-37. "Series 5: Labor Camps, 1914-1937. Operators, 1922-1934." The Bancroft Library, University of California, Berkeley.

[797] 8/3/1925 Labor Camp Report. Ranch 10. Folder 32-37 Ctn 81. BANC MSS CA-194. California. Dept. of Industrial Relations. Division of Immigration and Housing records, BANC MSS C-A 194, Carton 81, Folders 32-37. "Series 5: Labor Camps, 1914-1937. Operators, 1922-1934." The Bancroft Library, University of California, Berkeley.

[798] Ibid. 8/3/1925 Labor Camp Report. Ranch 10. Folder 32-37 Ctn 81. BANC MSS CA-194. California. Dept. of Industrial Relations. Division of Immigration and Housing records, BANC MSS C-A 194, Carton 81, Folders 32-37. "Series 5: Labor Camps, 1914-1937. Operators, 1922-1934." The Bancroft Library, University of California, Berkeley.

[799] 8/3/1925 Labor Camp Report. Ranch 10. Folder 32-37 Ctn 81. BANC MSS CA-194. California. Dept. of Industrial Relations. Division of Immigration and Housing records, BANC MSS C-A 194, Carton 81, Folders 32-37. "Series 5: Labor Camps, 1914-1937. Operators, 1922-1934." The Bancroft Library, University of California, Berkeley.

[800] "Labor Camp Sanitation - A Basis for Education and Citizenship" Miller, R. Justin, 1921 August Vol. 21, No. 8, American Journal of Public Health

[801] Correspondence. May 15, 1923. Ctn 81: folder 33. "Complaints" California. Dept. of Industrial Relations. Division of Immigration and Housing records, BANC MSS C-A 194, Carton 81, Folders 32-37. "Series 5: Labor Camps, 1914-1937. Operators, 1922-1934." The Bancroft Library, University of California, Berkeley.

[802] Correspondence. May 15, 1923. Ctn 81: folder 33. "Complaints" California. Dept. of Industrial Relations. Division of Immigration and Housing records, BANC MSS C-A 194, Carton 81, Folders 32-37. "Series 5: Labor Camps, 1914-1937. Operators, 1922-1934." The Bancroft Library, University of California, Berkeley.

definition of included/excluded. The dispersal of smallpox vaccines to this particular population reflects two significant points. First, the swift capacity for the government to reach large, migrant, rural populations with medical attention should remain juxtaposed with the decades of substandard living conditions and the subsequent illnesses of immigrant workers living in labor camps. Secondly, the failures of private/public regulation of labor camp conditions and the educational campaigns taken in these spaces reflect tools of surveillance, more than public health campaigns.[803]

Noting demographic information, including gender, and nationality, the labor camp reports offer insight into the social landscape of this temporary, worker housing. In the Labor Camp Reports, families are identified throughout the 1920-1930s at various labor camps. The non-white labor camps, where Japanese-American and Mexican-American families that are documented in the labor camp reports are noted to be of mixed ethnic background, with Japanese or Mexican parents and American-born children.[804] A 1927 report from Woodland, California Mexican labor camp identifies 66 individuals residing in a 75-capacity labor camp.[805] In the "Equipment Report" section of the labor camp reports, inspectors listed the dimension of housing structures. The Woodland report indicates that 48 iron bunks were provided for seven tents and 12 iron bunks were provided in one bunkhouse. Thirty-eight individuals lived in the tents, the bunkhouse was full, one man was identified as "sleeping in the store room" and the remaining 12 individuals, three separate families that "furnished [their] own housing tents."[806] This labor camp report was stamped with the words "reinspection" indicating the subpar conditions witnessed by the inspector, Mr. Iames.

The 1927 Woodland Report reflects the attempts of farmworkers to provide private spaces for their families. In stark contrast to management, farmworkers made their own provisions to secure family-style housing. The labor camp reports indicate that farmworkers housed their families in tents. In correspondence from the California Commission of Immigration and Housing dated, April 23, 1928, the Director of Camp Sanitation lists the improvements

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[803] Molina, Natalia., *Fit to Be Citizens? : Public Health and Race in Los Angeles, 1879-1939*. Berkeley: University of California Press, 2006. Chapter 5

[804] File No. 689. Labor Camp Report 10 May 1927. Woodland, California. California Commission of Immigration and Housing Files. California. Dept. of Industrial Relations. Division of Immigration and Housing records, BANC MSS C-A 194, Carton 81, Folders 32-37. "Series 5: Labor Camps, 1914-1937. Operators, 1922-1934." The Bancroft Library, University of California, Berkeley.

[805] File No. 689. Labor Camp Report 10 May 1927. Woodland, California. California Commission of Immigration and Housing Files. California. Dept. of Industrial Relations. Division of Immigration and Housing records, BANC MSS C-A 194, Carton 81, Folders 32-37. "Series 5: Labor Camps, 1914-1937. Operators, 1922-1934." The Bancroft Library, University of California, Berkeley.

[806] File No. 689. Labor Camp Report 10 May 1927. Woodland, California. California Commission of Immigration and Housing Files.California. Dept. of Industrial Relations. Division of Immigration and Housing records, BANC MSS C-A 194, Carton 81, Folders 32-37. "Series 5: Labor Camps, 1914-1937. Operators, 1922-1934." The Bancroft Library, University of California, Berkeley.

necessary at four camps including, the all-white Headquarters Camp, the Mexican Ranch Camp #36, and the Filipino Camp. While garbage and the ladies' latrine are listed as issues for improvement, inadequate housing is identified at both the Mexican and Filipino Camps. The letter indicates that the Mexican Camp's "one-story bunkhouse is badly overcrowded. Some of the family tents are badly overcrowded"[807] and the Filipino Camp is also "badly overcrowded."[808] As inspectors noted that "tents used for sleeping at this time of year should be floored."[809] The conditions of beet sugar thinning and harvest season required that labor camp operators provide flooring. A 1930 Camp Sanitation Complaint regarding the Lodi camps notes specifically that the "bunkhouses [are] overcrowded" and that there are "men sleeping on straw in [a] barn."[810] Overcrowding was a common condition in which farmworkers lived, an experience that families attempted to mitigate on their own.

The labor camp reports indicate that it was company policy to house farmworker families in tents. The multiple camps indicate families living in their own makeshift private spaces, in the largest room of the bunkhouse, and in tents. A 1929 letter from the Director of Labor Camp Sanitation to the Spreckels Sugar Company's Sacramento County offices states that "tents must be provided for those families that do not have their own."[811] It is clear private and state policy to house farmworkers in tents. The California Commission of Immigration and Housing's regular inspections and communications with the Spreckels Sugar Company illustrate the state-private relationship with farmworker housing. The state was preoccupied with the health of these spaces, noting sewage and waste management. And the private company was concerned with maintaining workers as close to their workspace as possible.

In 1930, labor camp inspections of Spreckels Ranches summarized the living conditions of the various sites. Once an inspector completed their report, the Director of Camp Sanitation attached the report to a letter that included

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[807] Correspondence. 23 April 1928. California Commission of Immigration and Housing Files. California. Dept. of Industrial Relations. Division of Immigration and Housing records, BANC MSS C-A 194, Carton 81, Folders 32-37. "Series 5: Labor Camps, 1914-1937. Operators, 1922-1934." The Bancroft Library, University of California, Berkeley.

[808] Correspondence. 23 April 1928. California Commission of Immigration and Housing Files. California. Dept. of Industrial Relations. Division of Immigration and Housing records, BANC MSS C-A 194, Carton 81, Folders 32-37. "Series 5: Labor Camps, 1914-1937. Operators, 1922-1934." The Bancroft Library, University of California, Berkeley.

[809] Correspondence. 23 April 1928. California Commission of Immigration and Housing Files. California. Dept. of Industrial Relations. Division of Immigration and Housing records, BANC MSS C-A 194, Carton 81, Folders 32-37. "Series 5: Labor Camps, 1914-1937. Operators, 1922-1934." The Bancroft Library, University of California, Berkeley.

[810] "Camp Sanitation Complaint" 16 June 1930. California Commission of Immigration and Housing Files. California. Dept. of Industrial Relations. Division of Immigration and Housing records, BANC MSS C-A 194, Carton 81, Folders 32-37. "Series 5: Labor Camps, 1914-1937. Operators, 1922-1934." The Bancroft Library, University of California, Berkeley.

[811] Letter dated: 15 April 1929. Correspondence. Director of Labor Camp Sanitation. California Commission of Immigration and Housing,California. Dept. of Industrial Relations. Division of Immigration and Housing records, BANC MSS C-A 194, Carton 81, Folders 32-37. "Series 5: Labor Camps, 1914-1937. Operators, 1922-1934." The Bancroft Library, University of California, Berkeley.

suggestions for improvement. These reports of Ranch #39 (American, Ranch #39 (Mexican), Ranch #50, Merritt Ranch, Ranch #54 (American) Ranch #54 (Mexican), Ranch #30 (white)l Ranch #30 (Filipino), indicate recurring issues. Most notably the sanitation and maintenance issues associated with the latrine, toilets, and sewage drains.[812]

The cooperation between private industry and the state with regard to housing inspection reflects the contemporaneous relationship between industrial agriculturists and the state at the beginning of the 20th century. In particular, the private and public attempts to regulate farmworker housing indicate that these organizations did not make an effort to provide families with private spaces, but would later intervene in the homes and communities built by farm workers. Investigators were preoccupied with the home of foreign-born workers.

In a 2002 interview, Mike de la Cruz recounts his time working in the fields in Santa Cruz County. De la Cruz arrived in Pajaro via the Pajaro Valley C.R., walking a mile to Watsonville. He lived in a labor camp in Watsonville in 1921, where the Ramirez camp was run by a Filipino contractor.[813] The camp was multiracial, described by De la Cruz as, "They got Americans, black men, everything" When prompted to elaborate De la Cruz specified, "not Chinese, no Japanese, nothing but Filipinos, Mexicans, Americans, Negroes, and what they call Portuguese."[814] De la Cruz was contracted to thin lettuce and thin beets in the Salinas and Watsonville fields in the 1920s. Waking at 4 am, transported via bus with 45-50 other working men, to start working in the fields at 6 am.[815] Where he worked for $0.35 an hour for 10 hours a day.

De la Cruz recounts well-run facilities, with adequate sanitation and warm food provided to workers, for breakfast and lunch.[816] In describing the abundance of food, De la Cruz hints at the maintenance of livestock, "They eat chicken they kill by a hundred there, and hog meat and cow meat, everything."[817] In this recounting of life in the labor camps, the maintenance of separate foodways, through livestock and gardens provided sufficient food. The use of gardens, photographed in Spreckels' Watsonville labor camps in the 1940s[818] illustrates the techniques of survival by laborers. The inconsistent patterns of housing and lodging under different contractors informed individuals' attempts to secure sufficient food.

The reports reflect the workers' consistent challenge to the forced spatial and social isolation, by establishing and supporting kinship networks. Nonetheless, labor camps also reflect the porosity of immigration laws and the

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[812] Letter dated: May 26, 1930; April 28, 1930; May 28, 1930, May 2, 1930, April 13, 1929.California. Dept. of Industrial Relations. Division of Immigration and Housing records, BANC MSS C-A 194, Carton 81, Folders 32-37. "Series 5: Labor Camps, 1914-1937. Operators, 1922-1934." The Bancroft Library, University of California, Berkeley.

[813] *Mike de la Cruz: The Life of a Laboring Man, 1905-1977*. Interviewed by Randall Jarrell. September 2002. Regional History Project. (University of California, Santa Crus, California. Santa Cruz, California, 2002.) p. 27.

[814] Ibid. p. 29.

[815] Ibid. p. 35.

[816] Ibid. p. 30.

[817] Ibid. p. 30.

[818] Berschini, *Images of America: Spreckels*.

networks of resistance built by non-white workers. Establishing private spaces for their families, labor camps reflect the history of women and children living in these sites. Between 1923 - 1928, seven labor camp reports identified families living in the labor camps. Inspectors tallied the number of women and children living at each labor camp. These reports also indicate that the women worked for the Spreckels Sugar Company at Camp #2 in Manteca.[819] The presence of women and children indicates the presence of family units, who lived in the largest rooms and attempted to create private spaces through the use of sheets.[820] These attempts to create distinct family spaces shed light on the impact of worker housing on social relations. While the labor camp reports indicate that it was company policy to house farmworker families in tents, farm workers built their own private spaces. Multiple labor camp reports indicate families living in their own makeshift private spaces or the communal agreement to grant a family the largest room of the bunkhouse and in tents.[821] A 1929 letter from the Director of Labor Camp Sanitation to the Spreckels Sugar Company's Sacramento County offices states that "tents must be provided for those families that do not have their own."[822] As such, the state develops a policy to house farm worker families in tents. The California Commission of Immigration and Housing's regular inspections and communications with the Spreckels Sugar Company illustrate the state-private relationship with farmworker housing. The state's preoccupation with the health of these spaces reflects the contemporary discourse of sickness and citizenship.[823] The poor conditions of labor camps supported the state, the private company, and the local resident's desires to keep non-white workers away from the white public and still as close to their workspace as possible.

The overall lax oversight measures by the state illustrate the function of these sites as adequate, a necessity to maintain a cheap labor force. And yet, the distinct treatment of non-white workers and white migrant workers in the following decade demonstrates the state's capacity to regulate rural housing. When and for *who* the state exerts its power to regulate life reflects the relationship between the state and the individual. For migrant farm workers, the state-regulated housing is just enough to reduce labor organizing. For white

[819] Labor Camp Report Dated 9/4/1923. BANC MSS C-A 194, Carton 81, Folders 32-37. "Series 5: Labor Camps, 1914-1937. Operators, 1922-1934." California. Dept. of Industrial Relations. Division of Immigration and Housing next hit records, BANC MSS C-A 194, The Bancroft Library, University of California, Berkeley.

[820] Labor Camp Reports dated: 10/4/1923; 4/18/1928; 5/10/1927; 4/18/1927; 4/19/1928. California. Dept. of Industrial Relations. Division of Immigration and Housing records, BANC MSS C-A 194, Carton 81, Folders 32-37. "Series 5: Labor Camps, 1914-1937. Operators, 1922-1934." The Bancroft Library, University of California, Berkeley.

[821] Labor Camp Reports dated: 8/3/1925; 9/4/1923; 10/4/1923; 4/18/1928; 5/10/1927; 4/18/1927; 4/19/1928. California. Dept. of Industrial Relations. Division of Immigration and Housing records, BANC MSS C-A 194, Carton 81, Folders 32-37. "Series 5: Labor Camps, 1914-1937. Operators, 1922-1934." The Bancroft Library, University of California, Berkeley.

[822] Report dated: 15 April 1929. Correspondence. Director of Labor Camp Sanitation. BANC MSS C-A 194, Carton 81, Folders 32-37. "Series 5: Labor Camps, 1914-1937. Operators, 1922-1934." California. Dept. of Industrial Relations. Division of Immigration and Housing next hit records, BANC MSS C-A 194, The Bancroft Library, University of California, Berkeley.

[823] Molina, Natalia., and Charles E. Rosenberg. *Fit to Be Citizens? : Public Health and Race in Los Angeles, 1879-1939*. (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2006.)

migrants, the state attempted to improve the *quality of life* of individuals through state labor camps.

As the state elaborated its surveillance mechanisms on labor camps. The preoccupation with the farmworker families can be seen in the documentation of the nationalities of children living in the camps. The labor camp reports reflect an attempt to document the foreign-born and American-born workers. The inspectors' clear distinction between the different nationalities of children and parents reflects the significance of this distinction to the California Commission of Immigration and Housing. The labor camp reports reflect the culmination of the regulation of space with the intervention of the state agency. These reports reflect the continuous attention given to sanitation, population, families, and nationality, all of which were regulated through the infrastructure of housing.

Despite the increase in state oversight, the 1930s saw a rise in labor organizing, specifically amongst Mexican *betabeleros* across the United States. In Southern California, Spanish language press followed the rise in Mexican beet workers, and the forming of La Asociación do Betabeleros.[824] The heightened politicization of Mexican beet organizers, occurring during the peak of McCarthyism labeled these organizers. "comunistas en la asociación de betabeleros," splintering the leadership of the organization.[825] However, the reporting of this increased organizing once again centered on housing. Los Angeles-based Spanish language newspaper, *La Opinion,* published images of the beak shacks housing beet workers in Colorado. "Aqui Viven 5 Personas."[826]A dilapidated wooden shack, that housed a single family of five people, was presented at the Conferencia Catolica-Industrial in Denver, Colorado. Workers' attempts to shed light on their living conditions, through protest, state complaints, and public reporting proved futile. Published in 1930, the photograph is nearly identical to a 1915 photograph of housing in the entitled "Hindu camp," illustrating the lack of improved conditions in the housing of non-white workers.

III. State Labor Camps, (1935 - 1946)

The environmental devastation of the Dust Bowl increased the number of white Americans living in labor camps and shifted the regulation of these sites from state authority to the federal government. With increased federal regulation, labor camps became a site that came to define citizenship. The differential treatment of non-white and white housing, through the site of labor camps, illustrates the government's capacity to improve rural living conditions. The allocation of resources illustrates the government's definition of those belonging to the nation and those not belonging. In an attempt to move the country out of an economic depression, President Herbert Hoover signed the Emergency Relief Administration (ERA) in 1932, allocating funds for state-run relief programs. The simultaneous rise in state oversight of labor camps, the Great Depression, and the

[824] "El frente Único de Betabeleros Mexicanos" *Opinión* (Los Angeles, Calif.), Volume 6, Number 225, 27 April 1932.
[825] "Comunistas en la Asociación de Betabeles: Su presencia hizo que renunciara el presidente de la organización" Opinión (Los Angeles, Calif.), Volume 5, Number 142, 4 February 1931
[826] "Aqui Viven 5 Personas." *La Opinión*,

Dust Bowl, resulted in the federal government to intervene in the spaces. The shift towards federal regulation of labor camps reflects the power of citizenship. With state government, shifting from local authorities to state government, and finally the federal government, citizenship defined the conditions of housing. Labor camps, as old as the state itself, came under the authority of the state when white Americans lived in these spaces.

The detrimental economic impacts of the Dust Bowl prompted the westward movement of midwestern farmers and signaled a shift in the regulation of labor camps. A part of President Franklin Delano Roosevelt's progressive New Deal Programs, the Federal Emergency Relief Act (FERA) of 1935, shifted toward the federal oversight of rural labor camps. FERA assumed control over the following relief categories; Work; Rural Rehabilitation; Research, Statistics and Finance; and Relations with States (Transients).[827] Moreover, in a memorandum to the Committee on Agricultural Labor to the Secretary of Agriculture on September 3, 1937, the "interstate character of migratory labor, and the precedent established by the responsibility given to various Government agencies to establish and maintain tourist camps, the erection of such camps"[828] are cited as a reason to determine these spaces as within the responsibility of the federal government. These efforts culminated in the Farm Security Administration (F.S.A.). Created in 1937 under the Department of Agriculture, the F.S.A. provided assistance to farmers and their families.

Photographs of Dust-Bowl migrants, such as the 1936 black-and-white portrait of a woman and young child. Entitled "Migrant Mother,"[829]images of white women, and white children, white families, persuaded a nation to champion improvements in labor camps. By creating a "crisis in the ideological relationship between white citizenship and land ownership in California."[830] The images of landless Okies called on the public to resolve the inconsistency between a poor, landless, white man, amongst the non-white migrant workers living under the same conditions for decades prior. The photograph increased popular support for federal intervention in the living conditions of farmworkers.

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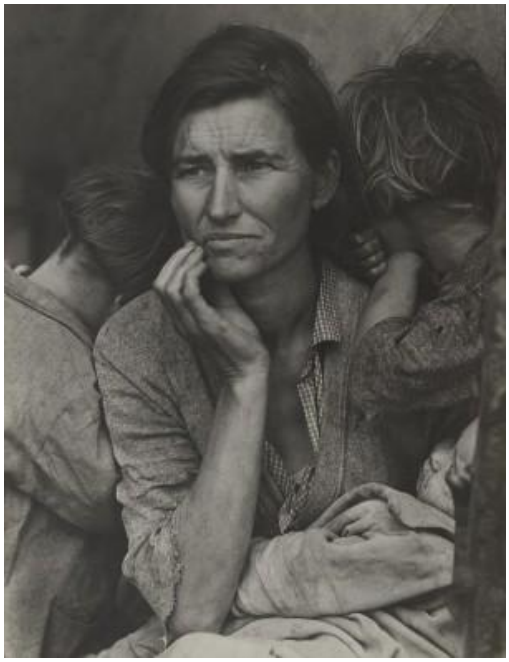
[827] Frances T. Bourne, Preliminary Checklist of the Central Correspondence Files of the Work Projects Administration and Its Predecessors, 1933–1944, Preliminary Checklist 37 (Washington, DC: National Archives and Records Service, 1946), pp. iii, 48–51.

[828] Memorandum, Committee on Agricultural Labor to Secretary of Agriculture, Sept. 3, 1937.

[829]Dorothea Lange, photographer. *Destitute pea pickers in California. Mother of seven children*. Age thirty-two. Nipomo, California. 1936. U.S. Farm Security Administration/Office of War Information. Prints & Photographs Division.

[830] Memorandum, Committee on Agricultural Labor to Secretary of Agriculture, Sept. 3, 1937. p. 53.



Migrant Mother, Nipomo, California (1936)

Spreckels sugar factory and sugar beet field with Mexican and Filipino workers thinning sugar beets. Monterey County, California (1939)

One image is a famous photograph representative of the environmental devastation of the Dust Bowl, and the second image is a lesser-known photograph that represents the fifty years of beet sugar labor in central California. The photograph, "Mexican and Filipino workers thinning sugar beets" pictures two individuals performing stooped labor to thin the sugar beets.[831] Thinning occurs three times in the lifecycle of the beetroots, early in the growing season, and is repeated two more times before harvest, and both times it is performed by hand. This specific feature of the beet growing process is arduous labor. Performed while bent over, using a short-handed blade, infamously called, "el cortito."[832] Beet workers thinned, harvested, and loaded beetroots by hand until 1946.[833]

By the mid-1930s, the federal government remained the governing body in charge of oversight, enforcement, and legislation of the labor camp spaces. The federal government began establishing Civil Works Administration (CWA) labor camps for the unemployed in 1933. Under the state, labor camps functioned as a social relief program. Following the 1935 Relief Appropriation Act, "migratory farm workers' camps continued to be constructed, with the approval of the Comptroller General, from funds appropriated

[831] Lange, Dorothea, photographer. *Spreckels sugar factory and sugar beet field with Mexican and Filipino workers thinning sugar beets.* Monterey County, California. United States California Monterey County, 1939. Apr. Photograph. Library of Congress.
[832] Jourdane, Maurice. *Struggle for Health and Legal Protection of Farm Workers: El Cortito.* (Houston: Arte Público Press, 2004.)
[833] Rasmussen, Wayne D. "Technological Change in Western Sugar Beet Production." Agricultural History 41, no. 1 (1967): 31–36.

for rural rehabilitation"[834] Improving labor camps improved rural life. The state reassumed authority over managing life in rural spaces, power yielded by local growers.

Still, throughout the 1930s, workers organized against labor and living conditions. The multi-racial demographics of dust bowl california increased the multi-ethnic coalition building. In 1933, San Joaquin Valley Cotton Pickers Strike, "largely Mexicans, but with them were many Negroes and poor whites from the South, migratory, living on wages reduced heavily by depression." The cotton industry in the San Joaquin Valley operated under a similar housing infrastructure, In Merced, estimated a total of 100,000 pickers in the San Joaquin Valley, extrapolating housing data from the information provided by 24 ranchers that housed 681, or 70% of its 975 pickers on cabins. With their reporting, less than 2% made their own shelter on the ranches, and the remaining 28% lived away from ranch property.[835] The rise in labor organizing in neighboring cities, and throughout the beet sugar industry, makes the lack of beet sugar organizing in Spreckels' ranches a notable feature of the region.

The most logical explanation is the industry's mobilization of local authorities to enforce labor contracts amongst Mexican nationals and sheds light on the company's membership with the Associated Farmers. In stark difference to the factory employee's admittance into an AFL-backed union in 1936, beet sugar workers in the central valley worked under the tangible authority of the industry.

In nearby Salinas, the violent 1934 Lettuce Strikes, featured the burning of a Filipino labor camp.[836] Weaponized by anti-Filipino strike breakers, the history of violence in labor camps illustrates their use as a tool to exert pain and suffering. Amongst southern Californian Mexican beet workers, they organized successfully in 1936 as Uniones de Campesinos y Obreros Mexicanos (Mexican Agricultural Labor Union), an American Federation Labor affiliate.[837] Southern Californian organizers targeted the contract labor system, a feature of beet sugar recruiters since 1918.[838] Beet sugar farm workers in central California, despite the various organized actions across the decades, failed to form a formal union. The social reality of life in central California reflects a region controlled by beet sugar. Obtaining land, water, and building refineries, beet sugar exerted its power by developing an infrastructure of extraction supporting a single industry.

White factory workers attempted to join the American Federation of Labor and Congress of Industrial Organizations as early as 1937.[839] Factory workers unionized, southern California field workers organized, and the company actively worked to reduce farmworker organizing by joining the Associated Farmers in 1940. Paying $3,8oo in

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[834] "A history of the emergency farm labor supply program, 1943-47" by Rasmussen, Wayne D. (Wayne David), 1951. Washington, D.C. : U.S. Dept. of Agriculture, Bureau of Agricultural Economics. p.10

[835] "Survey of Ranches Planting over Fifty Acres of Cotton, Merced, County , 1938. January 3, 1939. Charles J. Dexter, Administrator State Relief Administration, Merced-Madera COuntiesMic WIlliams Paper. The Haynes Foundation Library p. 2

[836] Flores, Lori A., 'The Racial and Labor Landscapes of the Salinas Valley Before World War II', *Grounds For Dreaming: Mexican Americans, Mexican Immigrants, and the California Farmworker Movement* (New Haven, CT, 2016; online edn, Yale Scholarship Online, 19 May 2016),

[837] "Workers ask a new Deal: Mexican Beet Labor asks Consideration" *Santa Ana Journal,* Volume 3, Number 254, 23 February 1938.

[838] Loza, Mireya. "'Let Them Bring Their Families': The Experiences of the First Mexican Guest Workers, 1917–1922." The Journal of American History (Bloomington, Ind.) 109, no. 2 (2022): 310–23.

[839] *Western Worker* (San Francisco), October 18, 1937

1940 to the organization,[840] large corporate growers in the state. Once again, the improvement of non-white labor remained outside the limits of the company's assumed responsibility. The decision between supporting factory workers and farm workers served to racialize labor and establish the local social order.

State-run relief and later federally-run relief programs hoped to mitigate the social impacts of the economic depression by 1941, the Farm Security Administration operated 74 camps. According to a January 1, 1942 report from the United States Department of Agriculture, the Farm Security Administration had 58 camps in 8 states (Arizona, California, Florida, Idaho, Missouri, Oregon, Texas, and Washington). The reporting also documented the F.S.A.'s permanent shelters, tent shelters, and labor homes in the region. The F.S.A. operated two categories of migratory labor camps, standard and mobile. These spaces were composed of permanent shelters, tent shelters, and labor homes. Using this system of categorizing, the reporting from the Department of Agriculture can be initially misleading. The report documents the "58 camps with accommodations for 13,674 families."[841] However, the 58 camps are in fact composed of 6,792 permanent shelters, 4,906 tent shelters, and 1,976 labor homes.[842] This latter figure is used to calculate the capacity, and the number of families accommodated.

This reporting obfuscates the government's ongoing management of poor housing conditions for migrant families. The tent shelters that fueled labor organizing efforts in the 1910s and ushered in a period of state-regulated housing now flourished under the federal government's management. According to this report, in California, the F.S.A. managed 13 standard camps, 2 mobile camps, 2,097 permanent shelters, 1,666 tent shelters, and 671 labor homes[843] that accommodated 4,434 migrant families. Using the term family to address the capacity of labor camps operated by the F.S.A., the federal government is increasing the moral significance of their work, while minimizing the space afforded to migrant families. This practice propels overcrowding in these spaces through the misrepresentation of quantitative data. In fact, the federal government operated only 1.3% of the state's total number of farmworker housing. Between 1913 and 1942 the state and federal government oversight and regulation of labor camps served to racialized these spaces more than improve their living conditions. The F.S.A. camps served "more than 13,000 families at any one time" the mobile and permanent structures are described as follows, "typical camps consisted of a group of shelters, each approximately 10 by 14 feet in floor area. Generally constructed of corrugated metal, on a concrete slab, each shelter consisted of a single room. The metal showers were dismountable and coils were removed from the slab floor."[844] The materials required, metal and concrete, space provided, permanent and private, collectively account for individual spaces in sharp contrast to the bunkhouse conditions provided to non-white workers. Federally operated labor camps were later used to establish the conditions of the

[840] "Who are the Associated Farmers" Collection 1319. Carey McWilliams Papers. University of California, Los Angeles. Library Special Collections.
[841] F.S.A. Pub 107. "United States Department of Agriculture. Farm Security Administration. Migratory Labor Camps. January 1, 1942" Box 12: Collection 1243. "Migratory Labor Statistics" Carey McWilliams Collection. UCLA Charles E. Young Special Collections - Ahmanson Reading Room.
[842] Ibid.
[843] Ibid.
[844] "A history of the emergency farm labor supply program, 1943-47" by Rasmussen, Wayne D. (Wayne David), 1951. Washington, D.C. : U.S. Dept. of Agriculture, Bureau of Agricultural Economics.

labor camps as outlined in the bi-national labor agreement between the United States and Mexico during 1942-1947.

With American involvement in WWII in 1942, the United States established a bi-national labor agreement with Mexico to support wartime production demands. and beet-sugar production became deeply entrenched in the wartime Effort.[845] The war efforts increased domestic production of beet sugar, placing the crop squarely within the national discourse. The United States government supported the increased production of domestic sugar through the advancement of the bi-national labor agreement, the Bracero Program. Braceros labored on beet sugar farms under the management of the Spreckels Sugar Company. Following the dissolution of the company in 1996 and its incorporation into Holly Sugar, the labor contracts of Braceros working directly for the company are difficult to identify but are visible in secondary sources documenting these workers' housing structures. While *braceros* "saved the crops"[846] their living conditions did not reflect their valiant contribution to the US-war effort. Braceros lived in labor camps deemed, "marginal/fringe" camps and some, surprisingly, identified as "family camps" [847] A bi-national labor agreement, both governments outlined the

Adjacent to Little Tijuana, Mexican nationals were housed in bungalows just outside of the boundaries of the company town. Floyd Higgins, photographer for the WPA, captured images of bracero communities in Salinas and Manteca. Higgins' photo collection provides insight into the private spaces of farmworkers, with images of men resting, eating, and talking amongst the rows of temporary housing. These interpersonal moments in housing sites are the closest to private spaces for migrant farmworkers. Company-sponsored, and later federally provided, housing blurred the distinction between public and private space, where the private and public are inseparable- as argued by many feminist theorists.[848]

Higgins captures moments of rest among workers.The Higgins collection contains intimate images of Mexican beet sugar workers. Taken between 1942-1944, images of men bathing,[849] eating, and resting are amongst the pictures of them working. A 1942 photograph taken by Higgins, shows young Mexican men eating and resting in bunk beds. The Higgins images illustrate the life bursting throughout the labor camps.

A photograph of five men gathered outside of a labor camp building displays the moments of joy in the camps. Two individuals' in the group of men, flash their smiles and are seen laughing, with an individual off camera gesturing at a baby doll.[850] A

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[845] Scruggs, "Evolution of the Mexican Farm Labor Agreement,"140; Gamboa, *Mexican Labor*, 40-41; Flores, *Grounds for Dreaming*, 47. ""Our Job Is to Get It Picked": Volunteerism, Coercion, and the California Farm Labor Crisis of 1942. Boom California on March 25, 2021. Ethan J. Kytle and Blain Roberts.

[846] Mitchell, Don. *They Saved the Crops : Labor, Landscape, and the Struggle over Industrial Farming in Bracero-Era California*. 1st ed. Athens: University of Georgia Press, 2012.

[847] Anderson, Henry P. *The Bracero Program in California, with Particular Reference to Health Status, Attitudes, and Practices.* Berkeley, School of Public Health, University of California, 1961.

[848] Kaplan, Amy. "Manifest Domesticity." American Literature 70, no. 3 (1998): 581–606.

[849] "Mexican worker washing himself" Floyd Halleck Higgins Photographs of Mexican Sugar Beet Workers, D-494, Department of Special Collections, General Library, University of California, Davis.

[850] "Title: Five Mexican workers in front of camp building, one worker holding a baby doll" 1942. Higgins (Floyd Halleck) Photographs of Mexican Sugar Beet Workers. UC Davis, University Library, Special Collections.

photograph of five of the men sitting around a makeshift grill shows three of the men cooking and two individuals only half visible, due to the shadows of the bunkhouse.[851]

" Five Mexican workers in front of camp building, one worker holding a baby doll" 1942. Higgins (Floyd Halleck)

In this image, the unnamed bracero worker is only partially visible, exposing only a portion of the body to the sun. A metaphor for the capacity of the state's engagement with farmworkers, this image provides a method from which to engage institutional archives - as sites capable of reflecting only a portion of the human experience. Like the labor camps, hidden in the company maps, these moments of rest, hidden in the shadows[852] of the photographs, Mexicans enjoy the life that happens outside of labor and within the space of labor camps. Cooking for themselves, these individuals reclaim their personhood and retain cultural practices, in the manner through which they prepared the items creating smoke clouds from the grill. The smell of this meal undoubtedly brought smiles to anyone close enough to catch a whiff. In the shadows, over a meal, the community is building.

Marjory Collins (1912-1984) captured images of Mexican nationals contracted as Braceros in the beet districts of Stockton, California. A photographer for the Farm Security Administration (F.S.A.) and the United States Office of War Information (OWI) between Jan 1942 - June 1943,[853] Collins photographed the ceremonial welcoming of Mexican nationals in Stockton. Stockton, connected to the Southern Pacific Railroad,

[851] "Cookhouse at Spreckels Sugar Company, Salinas Valley, California" and "Five Mexican workers standing in front of labor camp buildings, Salinas, California" 1942, Floyd Halleck Higgins Photographs of Mexican Sugar Beet Workers, D-494, Department of Special Collections, General Library, University of California, Davis.

[852] Gordon, Avery. *Ghostly Matters: Haunting and the Sociological Imagination.* New University of Minnesota Press ed. (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 2008).

[853] Working between Jan 1942- Jun 1943, Her work outside of California, captured families, homes, and children as part of "trailer camp project," of Farm Security Administration camps in Virgines.

received braceros contracted to different local industries. Spreckels Stockton Districts accounted for 738 acres.[854]

Images from the welcoming day show individuals with ribbons pinned to their jackets reading, "Bienvenidos los trabajadores Mexicanos,"[855] the mess halls where young men enjoying their lunch,[856] the large groups arriving via the Southern Pacific Railroad,[857] and finally, the labor of topping and thinning beets. The group of three young men sharing a meal indoors has in front of them, on a covered table, disposable cutlery, plates, and cups.[858] These images are taken to promote the acceptability of the program - for both local white Americans and the Mexican government. Traveling in formal wear, slacks, and short-brimmed hats, with jewelry adorning their wrists and fingers, the numerous individuals arriving at the Stockton train station embody the contemporary middle-class dress.

"Stockton, California. Mexican agricultural laborers who
have come to help harvest beets eating their lunch" 1942.
Marjory Collins. Library of Congress.

Within the racial scripts, the Spanish heritage of Mexicans facilitated the use of middle-class dress while still evoking a foreign other.[859] The respectability politics evoked in this style of dress serves as a reminder of the national significance these workers represent, arriving to feed a nation during wartime. And yet, the images embody the period's attempts to resolve the presence of non-white farm workers.

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[854] "Spreckels Sugar Company Miscellaneous Entries" Stockton District. August 13 1920. Series 1. Box 2. Spreckels Collection.. Holt-Atherton Special Collections, University of the Pacific.
[855] Collins, Marjory, photographer. "Stockton, California. Mexican agricultural laborers who have come to help harvest beets eating their lunch". United States California Stockton San Joaquin County, 1943. May. Photograph.
[856] ibid
[857] Collins, Marjory. 1943. "Stockton vicinity, California. Mexican agricultural laborers arriving by train to help in the harvesting of beets." United States California Stockton San Joaquin County, 1943. May. Photograph. Farm Security Administration - Office of War Information photograph collection (Library of Congress)
[858] ibid.
[859] Natalia Molina, *How Race Is Made in America: Immigration, Citizenship, and the Historical Power of Racial Scripts* . Edlie L. Wong, *Racial Reconstruction: Black Inclusion, /Chinese Exclusion, and the Fictions of Citizenship* (2015).

Previously excluded from labor unions, permanent housing, and not as contracted foreign workers, braceros' middle-class representation resolves the inconsistencies of nonwhite men farming American land. This visual dissonance reflected in these images highlights the attempts of locals to grapple with the presence of foreign farm workers. As foreign contract workers, their incapacity to own land marked their presence as non-threatening to white citizenship.[860] Aptly stated by Sara Wald, scholar of American literature, Americans perceived "farmworkers as temporary migrants, not full participants in the nation."[861] The history of worker housing operated for the beet sugar in California supports Wald's conclusions. Marjory Collins' curated images reflect the contemporary organization of a racialized labor hierarchy. In an insightful image of the racialized labor hierarchy sustaining the American empire, the Mexican laborers are identified by white armbands that list their nationality and employment.[862]

"Stockton (vicinity), California. Mexican agricultural laborers eating during the sugar beet harvest time" Marjory Collins. May 1943. Library of Congress, Washington, D.C.

Like other forms of state-operated camps that housed laborers, these labor camps in the Golden State reflect a long pattern of concentration of people for the extraction of their labor, in a capitalist state, state, and private cooperation. David Nemser's application of Foucault's theory of biopolitics in his study of colonial infrastructures of governance

[860] Wald, Sarah D. *The Nature of California: Race, Citizenship, and Farming Since the Dust Bowl. (*Seattle: University of Washington Press, 2016).
[861] Wald, *The Nature of California.* p. 79
[862] Collins, Marjory, photographer. "Stockton vicinity, California. Mexican agricultural laborers eating during the sugar beet harvest time." United States California Stockton San Joaquin County, 1943. May. LC-USW3- 026253-D [P&P] LOT 906 (Location of corresponding print.) (corresponding photographic print). Farm Security Administration - Office of War Information photograph collection (Library of Congress).

illustrates the materiality of race in space.[863] Throughout the beet sugar empire, the material infrastructure is housing, and its purposeful exclusion from public social spaces is worse than a social death, it's a lack of acknowledgment of their existence. Nemser highlights the function of material infrastructure as production techniques used to govern the individuals that resided therein. The colonial infrastructures were examined by Nemser parallel farmworker housing under the Spreckels Sugar Company as sites used to control the surplus population while also extracting labor and regulating movement. Concentrating workers based on nationality, a practice reflects as early as 1911 on company maps,[864] The Spreckels Sugar Company, and other bracero employing companies, formalized the use of migrant workers and their exclusion from local space. In this effect, farmworker labor camps are a crucial site where state power is felt and experienced.

The public campaign in support of braceros highlighted their contributions to the war effort. On the front page news, "Good Neighbor, we are here."[865] appears above a photograph of Mexican nationals boarding a train. In the Madera beet fields, supplying Spreckels' Manteca factory, Mexican workers were, "Welcomed to Beet Fields" with a "Special Mass for Trainload of Mexican beet field workers at Salinas on the way from [the] train to [the] hotel for special hot meal."[866] The newspaper elaborates, "The Mexican field hand is traditionally religious, and many beet growers have arranged buses to take them to church each Sunday while they are in the United States."[867] The newspaper includes a series of images. a "Dining room scene at a beet labor camp;" thank includes a "Mexican cook and boy waiter"[868]

During World War II, the American Sugar Refining Company went on a public campaign to align beet sugar with the war effort, and beets continued to represent the U.S. nation. Beet Sugar Growers' Association published advertisements that linked the sugar beet to wartime efforts. With text reading; "Grow more sugar beets in 1945: meet wartime need for sugar."[869] Another wartime ad reads, "Plant More Sugar Beets: Sugar is Energy - let's give 'em plenty."[870] In this advertisement, beets fuel the war effort. Providing a fundamental source of energy, beet sugar became a common, everyday good. The industry exaggerated the potential wartime benefits of the beets. Published across the midwest, the significance of beet sugarpropelled the industry into federal protection. Once again, global warfare increased the demand for domestic sugar, and the United States beet sugar industry filled that need. Using the production of the Manteca factory as an example, in 1942. In 1942, the Spreckels' Manteca plant sliced 126, 291.707 tons of beets, producing 337,000 10-pound bags of refined sugar.[871] In 1944 Factory One refined 355,712 tons, nearly 100,000 more tons than the previous year. In 1945 Factory One

[863] Nemser, *Infrastructure of Race.*
[864] "Ranch Map No. 3" 1911.. DRW 8-03. Spreckels Catalog. (1880-1970). Monterey, California. Monterey County Historical Society.
[865] "Mexican Harvest Workers Here" Volume L, Number 196, 19 October 1942. *Madera Tribune.*
[866] ibid.
[867] ibid.
[868] ibid.
[869] Palisade Tribune, Volume 42, Number 50, June 15, 1945. Courtesy of Colorado Historic Newspaper Collection.
[870] 12 May 1942. *Daily News of New York City*
[871] Box: Manteca Factory History, Factory #2. Table: "Sugar Beet production at Manteca." Spreckels Sugar Collection MS 28. Holt-Atherton Department of Special Collections. University of the Pacific, Stockton.

refined 440,912 tons of beets, and in 1946 Factory One refined 496,159 tons of sugar beets.[872]

Using industry advertisements, newspapers heightened the connection between beet sugar and the wartime effort. In the *Daily News of New York City* newspaper, a telegram from The United States Beet Sugar Association was published, stating, "We earnestly hope that each sugar beet grower will consider it his individual patriotic duty and responsibility to plant a maximum acreage..."[873] The Beet Sugar Association, a group of refiners, calls on tenant farmers to devote more of their land to beet growing. Framed in terms of duty and responsibility, beet sugar growing, harvesting, and refining came to signify patriotism and support for the American war effort. The federal government also engaged in the propaganda promotion of beet sugar production. In 1946, the United States Department of Agriculture published an advertisement reading; "For Higher income: grow more sugar beets"[874] where the beet is seen opening the conditions of the possibility of a farm, as it provides a view into an otherwise dark and bleak background. In this advertisement, the implication is that beets are profitable enough and powerful enough to support and sustain farms across the Midwest and Western United States.

Evoking the earlier discourse of health and labor camps, during the 1940s, researchers connected housing conditions such as overcrowding and sewage to a variety of health problems including digestive diseases and viral outbreaks.[875] The Standard Work Contract drafted by United States and Mexican officials notes specifically the issues of overcrowding and sanitary conditions. The drafted work contract states that employers must provide Mexican nationals with, "hygienic lodging, adequate to the climatic conditions of the area of employment and not inferior to those of the average type which are generally furnished to domestic agricultural workers in such an area."[876] This language asks that employers treat all employee housing equally, regardless of citizenship.

The disparate housing conditions of agricultural workers were summarized in 1937 by Edward J. Rowell, concluding that the poor living conditions "illustrate the distressing degree to which normal home, family, and social relationships are distorted in a significant number of cases. When surrounded by such physical conditions, social and moral conditions inevitably deteriorate."[877] The health of migrant workers includes their capacity to be in community; "In strange surroundings, without friends, their life-long rural economic and cultural pattern shattered, they were in need of social as well as economic rehabilitation."[878] In this light, the government hoped to integrate these

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[872] Fig. 4. Page and Turnbull, Vol. 1. HABS HAER Report. October 1993. Modified HABS/HAER Report for Spreckels Sugar Company Factory No. 1, prepared by Page & Trnball of San Francisco.
[873] 12 May 1942. *Daily News of New York City*
[874] "Grow More Sugar Beets" U.S. National Archives and Records Administration. Created between 1941 and 1945. National Archives at College Park, Public Domain,
[875] Anderson, Henry P. (Henry Pope). *The Bracero Program in California, with Particular Reference to Health Status, Attitudes, and Practice*s. (Berkeley: School of Public Health, University of California, 1961.)
[876] The Standard Work Contract drafted by United States and Mexican officials
[877] "Summary Report on the Background and Problems Affecting Farm Labor in California." March 1937. Regional Labor Advisor Resettlement Administration. Collection 1319. Carey McWilliams Papers. University of California, Los Angeles. Library Special Collections.
[878] "Health for western farm workers" United States Department Of Agriculture. Bureau of Agricultural Economics. F.S.A. April 194

individuals into community life the F.S.A. initiated the "Community and Family Service Program" where they worked to develop community councils that implemented the development of schools, and community programs such as preschool play centers, well-baby clinics, newspapers, such as "Tent City News" and crafts, dance lessons. Addressing the needs of labor camp inhabitants, shelter, food, health, and social life, the state intervened in these spaces to improve the lives of its citizens.

Labor camps composed one iteration of the multitude of makeshift housing spaces created by rural, often migrant, workers. The Great Depression brought to the forefront the conditions of migrant white labor camps and the decades-long existence of non-white migrant labor camps throughout central California. Industrial capitalists exploited the existence of labor camps, keeping their workers close and dependent. The powerful capitalists of the beet sugar empire institutionalized housing in their production process, expanding this fragile infrastructure. While the private business and weak state authority regulated the conditions of labor camps between 1890-the 1930s, with white migrants, the federal government interjected and the state logic of citizenship, and belonging, came into play more sharply. With the American entrance in WWII, the Mexican national that harvested the 1943 season, in effect, "sav[ing] the crops."[879] The Mexican government made efforts to prevent the bleak working conditions of the 1917 bracero experience. The bracero housing experience provides insights into the historical experiences of migrant laborers. Since the 1910s, Mexican nationals. The 1944 agreement and 1917 agreements legalized the contracting of Mexican nationals by American employers. Both programs provide insight into the conditions of housing in labor camps since both iterations were accompanied by an increased oversight brought on by the bi-national relationship.

Beet workers demonstrated their capacity to organize as braceros. In 1942, Mexican nationals went on strike, demanding equitable pay rates. In Yolo County, organized in the 1940s, "a group of Mexicans brought beet harvest activities in Yolo County to a halt. The walkout constituted a refusal to abide by the federal tonnage scales which calls for a 33% increase over 1941,"[880] with beet growers countering with their own proposal of a 20% increase "California beet growers face a $13,000,000 loss in rotting beets."[881] The newspaper quantified the significance of farm workers to the entire industry when workers decided to withhold their labor. In fact, workers remain essential to the high-profit margins of beet sugar since the industry was established in California in the 1870s.

Labor camps operated during the Bracero Program continued to have sanitary issues. Nearing the end of the 1942 harvest season a November 23, 1942 report written by Division of Immigration and Housing Camp Inspector, Walter S. Marriott, reviews 31 labor camps housing a total of 675 men. [882] Marriott identifies the conditions of these labor camps, rating 3 as good, 22 as fair, and 6 as bad. His report notes identify that the most common reason for the bad designation was sanitation. Ignoring the overcrowded conditions of 675 men in 31 labor camps, an average of 20 men per bunkhouse, and

[879] Mitchell, Don. *They Saved the Crops : Labor, Landscape, and the Struggle over Industrial Farming in Bracero-Era California.* 1st ed. (Athens: University of Georgia Press, 2012.)
[880] "Beet Harvest Halted by Strike" August 24, 1942. Vol 4 - No. 47. *Cannery Field Workers News*.
[881] Ibid.
[882] "Report on Mexican Nationals Imported for the Sugar Beet Harvest " November 23, 1942, Divison of Immigration and Housing Walter S. Marriott, Camp Inspector. Collection 1319. Carey McWilliams Papers. University of California, Los Angeles. Library Special Collections.

instead claiming that the unsanitary conditions were due to "an aversion of the men to use the toilet facilities provided."[883]

Under the bracero program, Mexican nationals continued to express their autonomy through complaints with their government. White beet workers were paid on the basis of tonnage, the California Field Crops Inc., the organization with which these workers signed their contract offered an option to be paid on an hourly basis. On the hourly basis, $0.65 was less than the $0.75 or $0.80 cents paid to other beet workers"[884] The workers that agreed to be paid per tonnage still disputed their pay schedule. A grower "who had his men divided into two cards, each loading a different truck," workers argued that one truck consistently made more trips, and therefore concluded that one of crews was harvesting more beets, and still, "At the end of the week, the total tonnage was approximately the same as one truck."[885] The grower reasoned that one truck had more capacity than the other. Nonetheless, "it took the best part of three days and the combined efforts of the F.S.A., the Sugar Company, Mexican labor representative, and the Mexican Consul to convince the men that they were not being underpaid."[886] Hired as contract workers, individuals managed overlapping organizations to ensure that they were treated fairly.

By March 1957, the U.S. Department of Labor formally established Bracero housing regulations through the release of housing standards. Across the United States, the federal government regulated bracero housing, however, in California, the State Department of Labor under which the Division of Housing enjoyed more authority. The United States' bi-national labor agreement with Mexico, the Bracero Program legalized the importation of single-male Mexican nationals as temporary workers - the ideal laborer. The well-documented history of the social conditions of labor camps where these braceros lived shed light on the recurring issues, fifty years after their implementation labor camps failed to provide adequate living spaces for their residents.

IV. Conclusion

The transformation in scale and oversight from privately managed to state and federally funded illustrates the use of housing as a tool of the state to regulate racialized workers and discourage family formation. The history of farmworker housing in central California sheds light on the experiences of Mexican and Mexican-American laborers, highlighting the impact of citizenship on basic necessities such as housing. Looking to Mexican nationals to "save the crops' " during WWII, the increased significance of beet sugar to national security provided an illusion of increased housing standards. Instead, increased regulations and inspections continued the racialization of Mexican laborers. Separate, distinct housing excludes laborers from the local social fabric, informing their status as temporary workers. The prolonged period of the Bracero Program, until 1964, and its subsequent reiterations with H2-A workers, reiterate the fact that these workers are not temporary, and instead reside in these regions for nearly 8 months out of the year, more time than a U.S. resident has to reside within the territorial nation to maintain legal residency. Following the end of WWII, the federal government continued to maintain

[883] ibid, p.2
[884] ibid, p.2
[885] ibid p.2
[886] ibid p.2

oversight of agricultural labor camps. In a memorandum from a committee on Agricultural Labor, it recommended that the Department of Labor continue the construction, operation, and maintenance of sanitary camps for migratory farm labor.[887]

This comparative history of labor camps illustrates the privileges afforded by whiteness in California's agricultural industry. As a result, the current public memory of agricultural labor camps in California history tells a narrative of single-migrant laborers, a population that was in fact demographically created and sustained by state regulation. The discourse of the family provides a framework from which to understand the significance of these sites to the sustainment of the ideal family in suburban communities.

Existing for more than a century, non-white labor camps provided a site to exclude unwanted individuals from the community and by extension the process of naturalization - legal citizenship. Through the language of the family ideal, evoked by the phrase, American homes, the home and exclusion from the home served as a vehicle to reduce the capacity to obtain legal citizenship. The discourse of American homes in beet districts framed the labor camps as the antithesis of American identity. The federal government's attempt to swiftly reduce the number of white Americans living in destitution in labor camps highlights one fact, white families should not live in labor camps. Labor camps expose the recurring features of housing in California's agricultural history. Isolated, unincorporated, and worker spaces, these sites did not facilitate the establishment of permanent communities and instead serve as a site that reinforces the exclusion of farm workers from the local social fabric. Farmworker housing, since the beginning of its state-private regulation in the 1910s, continues to operate in similar conditions. The swift improvement of labor camps during the Dust Bowl further highlights the impact of race on housing in rural California.

The California Commission of Immigration and Housing (C.C.I.H.) Labor camp reports illustrate the function of housing as a tool to control the labor population. Documenting the conditions of labor camps throughout the state, these reports reflect the purposeful negligence of state oversight organizations in regulating the spaces they sought to control. The purposeful negligence of the farmworker and the farmworker family, in particular, reflects their structured precarity.[888] The function of farmworker housing regulation was to support the white family and control the immigrant family. Through the lens of critical infrastructure and urban humanities, as I have grounded my analysis of place, labor camps operate as a site of purposeful decay. Compounded by race and sexuality, as illustrated by the labor and immigration history, labor camps are legible as sites of organized abandonment.[889]

And yet, the historical persistence of labor camps reflects a decaying infrastructure. Vacant, unkempt buildings and labor camps reflect the elaboration of a geography of disposability that characterizes the development of central California's regional economy, transforming into a region concentrated with prisons. Farmworker housing makes visible the state and private infrastructures operating on California's

[887] "Memorandum, Committee on Agricultural Labor" (L, H. Bean, Mercer Evans, W. T. Ham, Russell S. Kifer, Roy F. Hendrickson) to the Secretary of Agriculture, Sept. 3, 1937.

[888] Structured precarity. A term developed during the COVID-19 pandemic points to the function of low-wage jobs as making workers disposable. Southard, "COVID-19, migrant workers, and meatpacking in US agriculture: a critical feminist reflection"

[889] Gilmore, Ruth Wilson, Brenna Bhandar, and Alberto Toscano. *Abolition Geography: Essays Towards Liberation.* (New York: Verso, 2022).

landscape. Alongside other state and private infrastructures, such as irrigation, factories, and suburban neighborhoods, farmworker housing constitutes a significant, and often underlooked, component of the region's industrial agriculture. A history of farmworker housing through the lens of critical infrastructure unearths these sites as purposefully decaying buildings, and as infrastructures of race, that make visible the materiality of race on the landscape. This history of worker housing is evident in company maps, labor camp reports, and oral histories that collectively shed light on the management of these spaces. These documents illustrate the collective attempts to regulate and surveil these spaces by private organizations and the state. The ongoing intervention in the farm worker home reflects the state and private industry's coordinated efforts to control this particular labor population. Communist and capitalist ideologies agree that controlling the surplus labor population is an effort to ensure a cheap, steady labor supply. Incorporating a feminist analysis of the state's attempt to yield this biopower illustrates the incorporation of the concept of the family ideal.

The management of surplus labor populations through racial segregation and isolation is evident in the company maps. Sprinkled throughout the Salinas and Central Valley, housing operated as a decaying infrastructure, always temporary, haphazard, and in need of repair. At Spreckels the opposite could be said, the immigrant worker was provided with the living amenities that emphasized their domestic relationships as single bachelors. The attempts to minimize the production of brown and/or immigrant families is evident in the immense support provided to white-American employees. At Spreckels, the beet sugar worker was made to feel at a labor camp, where the extraction of labor was the sole purpose of their relationship to the land in which they spent eight months of the year living in.

The family served as an ideal nexus through private and state organizations that could intervene in the private spaces of a mostly unincorporated class of people. Within the early 1900s history of nativism, the racialization of labor, and the promotion of white families. Within this local, national, and global context, farm worker camps are sites that promote the concept of the ideal family. Through the lens of the idealized family, using Foucault's critique of sexuality, we can address the relationship between local, state, and national actors in upholding racial and gender inequalities. Through this lens, housing can be understood as a racialized infrastructure used to mitigate the sexual anxieties of the period.

This chapter has contended that farmworker housing functioned to reinscribe the racialized labor hierarchy onto space. The marginalization of farmworkers, mostly immigrant people of color, was built into the industrial agricultural infrastructure at the turn of the twentieth century. The company records and C.C.I.H. records illuminate the ongoing presence of farmworker families on the landscape. Farmworker housing, specifically for Mexican immigrant farmworkers, is imagined to be an all-male space, until recently the work of Lori Flores and others has begun to consider the entire unit of the farmworker family. Most notably the history of braceros has shaped this imagination. The archive reflects a similar skewed understanding of the demographics of farm workers. Specifically, the presence of single-room bunkhouses and images of farmworkers are mostly male, leading to the popular image of the migrant worker to be a male. And yet, as the C.C.I.H. reports indicate, and the Spreckels maps indicate, communities that included women and children developed alongside the beet empire.

However, these families established their communities and lived in the regions that were effectively unincorporated communities.

The distribution of worker housing, regulated by labor and race, reflects the extension of racialized labor in California[890] onto the landscape. The labor, class, and racial segregation occurring in the industrial agricultural industry, is formalized on the landscape in the form of company housing. The histories of the company town, hotel, and labor camps, collectively reflect the history of California agriculture, including its racialization of labor and space. In managing a racialized housing infrastructure, the Spreckels Sugar Company created the conditions of possibility to exclude non-white people from the local community. Excluded from communities, labor camps transformed from multigenerational communities to single-male houses highly regulated by the state.

[890] Tomás Almaguer's comparative history of the racial formation of Mexicans, Native Americans, Chinese, and Japanese applies a Marxist approach that "recognize[s] that race and class systems are mutually constitutive yet autonomous stratification systems that both have material and discursive dimensions simultaneously structuring the articulation between these hierarchical systems of group inequality." (p. 207) Almaguer, Tomás. *Racial Fault Lines: The Historical Origins of White Supremacy in California.* Berkeley: University of California Press, 1994 (2009).

Conclusion
Labor Camps as Racialized Infrastructure

"Los grandes señores de Salinas y Watsonville no
quieren trabajadores agrícolas en el pueblo"

- El Obrero, 1970

The workers' publication continues, "Quieren poder forzar a los campesinos a salir del pueblo cada fin de temporada."[891] The pattern of forced removal that accompanies the closing of labor camps led eleven families to collectively organize against the closure of the Kings City labor camp on Jane Street. *El Obrero/The Worker*, a dual-language publication reported on this labor camp occupation in the southern Salinas Valley, a region devoted to beet sugar production when it was purchased by Claus Spreckels in 1879.[892] As part of the network of refineries along the Salinas River, Kings City operated as Ranch #3. Housing farmworkers in labor camps as early as 1915,[893] with the poor living conditions documented by the state government in 1923,[894] and the organized action in 1970 against temporary housing by families at Kings City labor camps encompass the history of temporary worker housing in central California. Established alongside the components of industrial agriculture - irrigation systems and transportation networks - worker housing illustrates the intimate power of sugar in the West.

In California, as in Hawai'i, sugar consolidated land, altering the environment and social relations of both regions. Building irrigation networks, the investments of Claus Spreckels, and his business subsidiaries, redirected native waterways and supported irrigated row crops, sugar cane in Maui, Hawai'i, and beet sugar in California's Salinas Valley. Hawai'i provided California with cheap, raw sugarcane for processing and refining into crystallized sugar, a valuable market commodity, until the American occupation of Hawaiian in 1889.[895] Incorporating Hawai'i into the United States harnessed the Pacific's sugar for the American domestic market. Likewise, California's beet sugar industry, beginning in 1863 and booming in the late 1880s into the 1940s,

[891] "King City: 8 Familias Sin Casa, 81 Casas Solas" March 1972, p. 3. *El Obrero del Valle de Salinas/The Worker for the Salinas Valley.*
[892] The King Ranch 12,000 acre purchase. Purchased from C.H. King, for under $300,000. 9 Dec 1897 *The San Francisco Call.* see also: "A Large Transfer. " 11 December 1897. *Morning Tribune,* Volume XVII, Number 18.
[893] "Map Ranch No. 3" DRW 8-03. Spreckels Catalog. (1880-1970). Monterey, California. Monterey County Historical Society.
[894] "Labor Camp Report Dated: 4 October 1923." California. Dept. of Industrial Relations. Division of Immigration and Housing records, BANC MSS C-A 194, Carton 81, Folders 32-37. "Series 5: Labor Camps, 1914-1937. Operators, 1922-1934." The Bancroft Library, University of California, Berkeley.
[895] Tom Coffman. *Nation Within : the History of the American Occupation of Hawai'i.* (Durham : Duke University Press; 2016)

supported American domestic sugar production. Operating in both Hawai'i and California, the business history of the Spreckels Sugar Company and its subsidiaries reflect the elaboration of infrastructures of agriculture that extend racialized labor practices into the social landscape through worker housing. Regional power relations are tangible through railroad and irrigation networks, and experienced on the ground, locally, in housing infrastructures. With sugar, labor camps function as infrastructures of race. Irrigation, transportation, and housing represent the infrastructures built by sugar and their influence over regional politics. As material sites, they embody the power of the industry on everyday life, and sites of possibility.[896]

I. Worker Housing: an Infrastructure of Race

The distinct preservation approaches taken by the County of Monterey exhibit the ongoing impact of the history of worker housing. Spreckels Sugar Company, incorporated into Holly Sugar in 1996, is memorialized today through the company town of Spreckels. Spreckels is one of the best-preserved company towns in the United States. John Steinbeck lived here for a time and used Spreckels as a setting in his early novel, *Tortilla Flat*. Spreckels was used as a location for the 1955 movie *East of Eden* starring James Dean. Designated a historic site in 1997 by the county of Monterey, the Guidelines for Historic Preservation of the Historic District of Spreckels, designate the "period of significance for the town of Spreckels is the time during which the Spreckels Sugar Company planned and built worker housing within Spreckels (1897 - 1957)."[897] This dissertation counters this definition, asking that the nearby spaces of worker housing in the form of labor/work camps be considered. In this vein, this dissertation argues that considering the history of worker housing reveals the racialization of space in central California during the early twentieth century. In essence, worker housing functions as an infrastructure of race. My research supports the conclusions of immigration scholars[898] whose analysis of the implementation of the 1921 and 1924 Immigration laws as it pertains to Mexicans. Specifically, these scholars demonstrate that during the first bracero period, 1917-1922, Mexican familial emigration was encouraged. This marks a sharp distinction from the 1944 iteration of the program. Between 1922 and 1942, labor camps facilitated the continued exclusion of non-white workers from permanent communities in central California.

Living in sites such as the Martin Labor Camp[899] and the unincorporated community of Little Tijuana, Japanese, East-Asian, and Mexican beet sugar workers populated the peripheries of the beet sugar empire. Also, historic sites, the Martin Labor Camp and Little Tijuana reflect opposing narratives to the company town. The Martin Labor Camp, preserved as a dilapidated structure behind chain-link fences, serves as a reminder of the poor living conditions provided to farm workers during the height of beet sugar. Little Tijuana, designated a historic site by the National Parks Services, is an

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[896] Anand, Nikhil, Akhil Gupta, and Hannah Appel, eds. *The Promise of Infrastructure.* (Durham and London, Duke University Press. 2018).

[897] Mathews, Glenn D. February 1999. "Design Guidelines: Monterey County Planning and Building Inspection Department."

[898] Loza, 2022, Corwin, 1978,

[899] "Agricultural Resources Evaluation Handbook, Monterey County, California" p. 215. September 2011. Clark Historic Resource Consultants prepared for the Monterey County Historic Resources Review Board Monterey County Parks Department Salinas, California

erased community. The site of Spreckels' Mexican planned community is now a paved parking lot for commercial business.

The impacts of beet sugar on the environmental, political, and social landscape are still evident. The adjudication of the waste clean-up at Steffens Ponds,[900] on land that once belonged to the Spreckels Sugar Company in Mendota.[901] The beet sugar refining process polluted the local irrigation network due to the Steffens Process, a unique feature of beet sugar refining that creates insoluble byproducts.[902] These byproducts travel throughout the irrigation at work, operated by the beet sugar industry, the run-off water was later dumped into the Salinas River, or into "settling ponds" so the lime could settle and be reused. In 1964, the Spreckels Sugar Company argued against the City of Manteca's proposed development of a residential community. In a letter to the planning commission dated August 14, 1964, the Spreckels Sugar Company claims that the suggested residential development would in fact, "threaten[ ] to bring more people close to [ ] the downwind direction, and we foresee problems arising in the future."[903] The company refers specifically to the water and air quality issues, pointing to the wastewater ponds, pulp press water, and the smell of the processing plant that travels downwind from the factory. The efforts of the Spreckels Sugar Company to stop the expansion of the residential zoning reflect the full circle of the impact of the beet sugar industry in the region. Defending the industrial zoning area, the beet sugar industry points to its regional economic impact and its direct support of "350 families."[904] Leveraging their economic contributions, the Spreckels Sugar Company lobbied against the expansion. The area is now a commercial business center, Spreckels Park, visible from Highway 99. Tanimura & Antle's, 2005 request to build H2-A worker housing on the Spreckels Factory #1 site[905] brings the negotiation of space in the Spreckels company town into the 21st century. A lettuce producer, Tanimura & Antle, is not the only grower that attempted to develop worker housing. Strawberry growers Greg and Donna France in southern San Luis Obispo County encountered local pushback when they proposed a "seven-home development … to host 100 workers".[906] Complaints submitted by local residents opposing Tanimura & Antle's housing development exemplify the ongoing impact of

[900] OEHHA, "Draft CalEnviroScreen 4.0," in response to the 2021 PROLOGIS land development company's purchase of the site into a proposed development of a Commercial Distribution Center. California's Deputy Attorney General, Rica V. Garcia, responded against the proposal, citing the project's failure to "comply with The California Environmental Quality Act's requirements and adequately disclose, analyze, and mitigate the environmental impacts of the Project prior to its approval." "Waste Discharge Requirements Order R5-2018-XXXX Former Spreckels Mendota Facility, Surface Impoundments Closure And Post-Closure Maintenance Fresno County" Order No. R5-2018-0033, Cleanup and Abatement Order, Adopted on 6 April 2018. Southern Minnesota Beet Sugar Cooperative, Spreckels Sugar Company, Inc., and Meyers Farming LLC, Former Spreckels Mendota Facility. California Water Boards. https://www.waterboards.ca.gov/centralvalley/board_decisions/adopted_orders/#fresno

[901] In 2006, the current owner of the Spreckels land in Mendota built a private water storage company, reflecting the historical changes in labor and production at the site.

[902] OEHHA, "Draft CalEnviroScreen 4.0," California Attorney General, Rica V. Garcia. 2021.

[903] Letter Dated: August 14, 1964. Box 2. File: "1965 Manteca Planning " Spreckels Sugar Collection MS 28. Holt-Atherton Department of Special Collections. University of the Pacific, Stockton.

[904] ibid.

[905] Seavey, Kent L., Letter to Mr. Paul W. Davis at the Paul Davis Partnership, "Historical Preservation Museum Interpretation." 5 June 2015

[906] Mohan, Geoffrey. "Desired for their labor, rejected as neighbors. farm workers in California face hostile communities." 2 June 2017. https://www.latimes.com/projects/la-fi-farmworker-housing/

beet sugar on the region's inhabitants. Interviewed in 2013, for *Monterey County Weekly*, Ross Riley III, the long-time local resident interviewed nearly two decades prior in a 1993 oral history recorded for submission to Monterey County for Historical Designation. Riley proclaims, "If you must invade Monterey County's singular company town, follow the rules."[907] His statements provide insight into local community expectations. In 2015, KSBW, the local news for Monterey and Santa Cruz counties, criticized the new proposed housing. In an online article, they published the inflammatory statements of longtime Spreckels resident James Riley. Riley stated, "Anybody who's ever lived around a labor camp knows that on payday you have lots of female visitors that accidentally drop in on payday, so drugs and prostitution are a concern of the people along River Road."[908] Riley, recognized as a community historian, reflects the sentiments of one of the oldest families in Spreckels.

The longevity of labor camps in California's Central Valley documented as early as the 1880s and existing today in modern forms,[909] demands a historical analysis of the development and maintenance of these spaces. The housing conditions of the modern T&A housing complex, Spreckels Crossing, illustrate the ongoing lapses in employee-provided housing. Providing housing for employees only, Spreckels Crossing does not allow children and families to live together,[910] pushing farm workers with families to seek housing elsewhere. The shift in the demographics of farm worker housing, containing families and women since its elaboration in the 1890s, demonstrates the transformation in worker housing to prevent the establishment of farmworker families. The public discourse surrounding labor camps and farmworker housing at the present moment continues to elucidate their precarity, as sites of violence,[911] and poor housing conditions, developed purposefully over a century of private, state, and federal collaboration. Beet growers, hoping to bring the crop back to the region, are funding a bioenergy plant from beets.[912] A venture that would continue the region's history with environmental pollution caused by beet processing. The corporal experiences with the environment demonstrate the social impact of beet sugar. These sites of sugar waste, water, soil, and air, compose an environmental history of beet communities, elucidating the local impact of the industry.

Recently, the Salinas River and the Pajaro River, the two rivers bordering Spreckels' land in Monterey County flooded in 2023. The torrential storms in March of 2023 resulted in the breach of the Pajaro River levee, flooding an area densely populated

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[907] Mark C. Anderson. "If you must invade Monterey County's singular company town, follow the rules." 28 June 2012. *Monterey County Weekly.*

[908] "Controversial farmworkers housing approved" https://www.ksbw.com/article/controversial-farmworker-housing-approved/1057216

[909] Tanimura & Antle's H2-A workers' housing located on land once belonging to Spreckels Sugar Company, and used for labor camps. Mohan, Geoffrey. "Desired for their labor, rejected as neighbors. farm workers in California face hostile communities." 2 June 2017.

[910] Morehouse, Lisa. 2016. "How a Farmworker 'Company Town' Is Taking Shape in the Salinas Valley" KQED

[911] Vadi, José . February 2023 "Half Moon Bay shooting rehashes California's historic resistance to humanely housing farmworkers" calmatters.org

[912] "Former sugar beet growers on the West Side of the San Joaquin Valley are expected to learn next month whether they'll be able to take the next step in an ambitious plan to return beets to the valley's row crop mix to supply a $200 million biorefinery near Mendota, Calif." *Central Valley beet growers closer to massive bioenergy plant.* In industry publication: *Farm Progress*

by farm workers.[913] Photographs of people fleeing their inundated homes with their belongings clutched in their hands, shed light on the poor infrastructure surrounding the sites of farm worker housing.

Within this lens of critical infrastructure, labor camps are legible as organized sites of abandonment.[914] establishing a pattern of racialized wealth extraction that characterizes the region. As a historical subject of analysis, labor camps provide insight into the living conditions of individuals who lived and labored on the peripheries of urban communities. Private and state agencies regulated worker housing of this surplus labor population, excluding them from the polity. In areas where permanent housing could not be established, the property regime and land practices of Central California, temporary housing provided an infrastructure to keep this housing in decay. A purposeful decay serves to support claims that this group is temporary.

The global COVID-19 pandemic ushered a wave of research pertaining to the living conditions of farm workers. Deemed essential workers,[915] farm workers remained excluded from California's shelter-in-place orders[916] and did not receive any of the pandemic economic stimulus payments. Non-profit agencies, universities,[917] and mutual aid organizations addressed the conditions of farmworkers through research and public outreach campaigns. The work of these organizations identifies the continued practice of temporary housing for farm workers in central California and throughout the state.

According to the 2020 California Institute for Rural Studies (C.I.R.S.) Farmworker Study report, housing remains a primary concern. Specifically, the report identified the rising cost of housing and their overcrowded conditions reflect the region's insufficient housing.[918] In assessing the surveys conducted by C.I.R.S, the non-profit identified a recurring goal of "dignified housing."[919] Compounded by the economic strain of the pandemic, farm workers were faced with difficult decisions between housing and food. Amongst the interviews conducted, anxious worker, Timoteo, a 30-year-old Indigenous Man, from Mexico's Central Coast, described his dilemma, "...Without work, I don't know whether to buy food or pay the rent."[920] In 2020, housing precarity

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[913] "Monterey spent one-fifth what Santa Cruz did on Pajaro River flood control. Did that contribute to catastrophic levee break?" 26 March 2023. *Santa Cruz Sentinel.* Susanne Rust, and Ruben Vives."How a long history of racism and neglect set the stage for Pajaro flooding" 20 March 2023. *Los Angeles Times* .

[914] Gilmore, Ruth Wilson. *Abolition Geography : Essays Towards Liberation.* Edited by Brenna Bhandar and Alberto (Toscano. London: Verso, 2022.)

[915] U.S. Department of Homeland Security's Cybersecurity and Infrastructure Security Agency's (CISA): "Guidance on the Essential Critical Infrastructure Workforce: Ensuring Community and National Resilience in COVID-19 Response, (Version 4.0; August 18, 2020). "Farmworkers, Mostly Undocumented, Become 'Essential' During Pandemic" Jordan, Mirian. 2 April 2020. *Los Angeles Times.*

[916] Paiz, Christian O. Kalfou; "Essential Only as Labor: Coachella Valley Farmworkers during COVID-19" Vol. 8, Iss. 1/2, (Spring-Fall 2021): 31-50. *Santa Barbara*

[917] UC Merced 2023 Farmworker Report. "Community and Labor Center's New Study Highlights Farmworkers' Health Challenges" February 3, 2023 https://news.ucmerced.edu/news/2023/community-and-labor-centers-new-study-highlights-farmworkers-health-challenges

[918] Binational Center for Indigenous Oaxacan Community Development, Vista Community Clinic / FarmWorker CARE Coalition, California Institute for Rural Studies, and the COVID-19 Farmworker Study Collective."Experts in their Fields: Contributions and Realities of Indigenous Campesinos in California during COVID-19." October 18, 2021.

[919] Ibid.

[920] Ibid.

continues to accompany the poor wages of agriculture. The impact on living conditions and individual's quality of life is summarized as, "preventative and emergency healthcare will continue to be deprioritized for more immediate family needs like rent, food, utilities, and transportation to and from work."[921] A century after the first documented labor camps operated by the Spreckels Sugar Company, farmworker housing remains a precarious infrastructure, managed by private employers, and state, and federal governments, with little improvement in the overall quality of housing.

This dissertation demonstrates the historical materialization of race on space through worker housing. By foregrounding housing, this work centers migrant agricultural communities in its analysis of the market history of beet sugar in central California. The high saccharin rates found in beetroots grown in California led to a boom in its planting, manufacturing, and transporting across the state. Alongside the traditional market infrastructures established to support this new industry, transportation, and irrigation, beet sugar companies also managed worker housing. A close analysis of the experiences of farmworkers and their families living in worker housing reveals how power relations are constituted and experienced. Locating these workers within local, regional, and national contexts, my research addresses the geo-political contexts in which worker housing operates, as an embodiment of the United States' history of immigration, settlement, labor, and land. Centering farm workers and farm worker families' experiences, housing as a site of analysis sheds light on the transnational experiences of Chicana/os and Latina/os across the American Southwest.

Documenting the shifting regulating bodies, from private growers to state and federal authorities, my research engages in discussions of the state, authority, and citizenship. Housing mostly migrant workers, including undocumented and documented laborers, these sites provide insight into the impacts of race, labor, and citizenship within the context of the Latinx diaspora, indigeneity, and global market relations. Locating worker housing within larger patterns of inequality and power, my research demonstrates the significance of farmworkers' labor camps to the material and ideological production of suburban communities at the turn of the twentieth century. Both materially, through labor and ideologically, through social exclusion, farmworker housing fueled the growth and development of suburban communities throughout Central California.

As historical sites of analysis, labor camps provide insight into the living conditions of individuals who lived and labored on the peripheries of urban communities. As ethnically segregated spaces, farmworker housing illustrates the extension of the local racialized labor hierarchy onto the social landscape. Grounded in a historical labor analysis, my research considers company-managed worker housing alongside the infrastructure projects of railroads and irrigations, rendering worker housing and infrastructure supporting industrial agriculture. Documenting the shifting regulating bodies, from private growers to state and federal authorities, my research engages in discussions of the state, authority, and citizenship. Housing mostly migrant workers, including undocumented and documented laborers, these sites provide insight into the impacts of race, labor, and citizenship within the context of the Latinx diaspora, indigeneity, and global market relations. Locating worker housing within larger patterns of inequality and power, my research demonstrates the significance of farmworkers' labor camps to the material and ideological production of suburban communities at the

[921] Ibid. p. 41

turn of the twentieth century. Both materially, through labor and ideologically, through social exclusion, farmworker housing fueled the growth and development of suburban communities throughout Central California. Methodologically, my research relies on an against-the-grain reading of traditional archives, oral histories, and critical discourse analysis of local publications, contemporary literature, and cultural production to highlight working-class perspectives. Highlighting labor camps as historical sites asks that popular company town histories be juxtaposed with the history of rural labor extraction that makes urban spaces possible, bottom-up urban community history.

The ongoing presence of farmworker housing in the Central Valley demands a critical return to the history of agricultural development of the region and agricultural housing in world history. The archival surveys of labor camps in the early 20th century will bridge the history of agricultural housing to the 19th-century sugar plantations across the Americas. The Spreckels Sugar Company provides an appropriate case study to compare sugar cane plantations and incorporate the Central Valley into the global history of sugar. Working with Spreckels' California labor camps, this pivotal work will incorporate the West into the global narrative of sugar while highlighting the local experiences of farm workers. Grounded in a local case study, my work has the capacity to add the family experience to these larger historiographies of race and gender in farmworker communities. My dissertation demonstrates that housing in rural California embodies the United States' history of immigration, labor, and land, and is a site that illustrates the transnational experiences of migrant communities across the West.

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