CALIFORNIA STATE CAPITOL
HISTORICAL PERSPECTIVE
1900 – 1910

By

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November 1981

Converted to digital format and edited by

Randall Williams - March 2013

DEDICATION

The picturesque Capitol that serves the State of California also provides safekeeping for its historic and legendary way of life. Safekeeping for treasures of this stature requires dedicated and knowledgeable stewards. This has been secured for the state through the performance of an impressively committed staff and the exemplary group of volunteers who assist them. It is hoped that this publication will provide a measure of assistance to this unique team of individuals who are passionate about their responsibilities.

Staff Members of the California State Capitol Museum

and the

California State Capitol Museum Volunteer Association

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I. INTRODUCTION

The Lost World of the Capitol

The restored California State Capitol is the physical evocation of a lost world. The people who inhabited that world are dead. If we could have them explain to us how it was all to be seen and understood, we would still fall short of their perceptions.

This does not mean that the years from 1900 to 1910 need be incomprehensible. We cannot enter a lost world, but we can learn to imagine some of it, learn to look at a gas lighting fixture that has been converted to electricity, or an old telephone, or a pot-bellied stove, without feeling their quaintness.

Another example: the Capitol itself. Standing outside the building today, we see the structure differently from how it appeared to and impacted people during that first decade of the 20th Century. Today the Capitol is masked by a forest of branches, and, beyond, by a city of massive proportions. How different this was in 1900, when the Capitol towered over every surrounding structure; overpowering the modest wood houses and buildings on its periphery, and only rivaled on the skyline by the cathedral at 11th and K Streets. In 1900, the densely occupied portions of Sacramento were vaguely bordered by 31st Street on the east and N to S Streets on the south. The business district was beginning to extend eastward, to about 16th Street, but was largely confined to the historic downtown, between I and M Streets. The period of monumental architecture for business buildings was just getting underway. Inspired by the classical models of the 1893 Chicago Exposition.[1] This is far from the world we now know.

The purpose of that which follows is to help in recapturing a sense of this long past era by suggesting some elements of its environment. It begins with the broad outlines of world trends and events, and moves successively through the national,

state, and local levels. Finally, the political history of the decade is presented, hopefully, in its broad context of national developments. This writing addresses some of the era's political, economic, and social realities. It deals with some big questions: What was the world power structure in 1900 – 1910? What developments, in retrospect, were underway? What was the role of the United States in world affairs? What were the key domestic trends and influences? Turning to California, what was the path of the state's development, and how did that development relate to national and international events? What were the thoughts and attitudes of Californians about their future direction? How did the state, paralleling the nation, grow during this decade? Smaller questions, hardly less central to a historical perspective, address matters of everyday life. How did people travel, work, spend money, worry, enjoy . . . in short live? Knowing something of the answers to such questions can give us insight regarding these early Californians, and some understanding of the lost world they moved in.

An Overview

The world at the onset of the 20th Century was governed by a distribution of international power and influence far different from that of more recent times. It was a world in the last years of an age that had begun around 1500, and of which Columbus' discovery of America was the single best signal. That the era of western European domination was close to its end we know from hindsight; there were few sure signs of it at the time. 19th Century imperial expansion by Great Britain, France, and other powers had made Europeans the infrequently disputed masters of the world; as financial, military, naval, cultural, and industrial leadership rested largely in the great national states of Europe. By the end of the century the United States had become a powerful factor in the international arena, but the rise was so recent, the joining of the ranks of imperialist powers so sudden, that the full impact of the development would not be felt either at home or in

Europe until the First World War. Moreover, Americans were uncertain of their true relationship with Europe. Was America the divinely appointed successor to Western Europe, or its culmination, or a bit of both? The strident, almost too self-confident tone of American nationalism stressed the uniqueness of American destiny and the eventual decline of decadent European world hegemony. On the other hand, global domination by a handful of European powers could be interpreted racially. If the divine plan all along had been to place the burden of world rule upon the shoulders of Caucasians, then America's rise to power meant a culmination of European domination. A messianic sense of the role the United States would play in the world informs the American attitude toward its new world position at the turn of the century. After the Spanish American War gave us an empire in the far Pacific, the future seemed to many to have no limits, and the people of Asia were regarded as little more than servants of prosperity. In the nation, as on the world scene, the notions and attitudes making up the "white man's burden" included an overt racism directed against groups deemed backward or inferior. It was not always clear whether non-Europeans were inferior by reason of culture or inherent characteristics; even in the case of eastern or southern European immigrants there was some dispute - such that the issue was not unequivocally racial. But the anti-African American sentiment of the nation, and the anti-Asian bias of West Coast white people was so widespread as to make the question irrelevant.

The basis of America's rise to world importance was the creation of an industrial society in, approximately, the last three decades of the 19th Century. This achievement has parallels to the world power situation that need to be noted. Just as the era of European dominance was approaching its climactic decades, the industrial revolution was remaking those portions of the world it reached. Begun in the 18th Century and continuing today, the influence it has exercised over human life would be hard to exaggerate. It transformed American society between the end of the Civil War and 1900 in the most profound sense; creating new terms for civilized life, including great opportunities and equally imposing problems. It set in motion dizzying and rapidly accelerating changes. Perhaps more than in any other epoch in human history, it became difficult for children to imagine their parent's generation as it lived its daily life. Change, frequently equated with "progress," became a social principle. Divining future developments became an apt occupation for fantasizing utopians. In 1888, Edward Bellamy published his seminal novel, *Looking Backward;* by century's end, several dozen other utopian novels joined it in meeting the needs of an avid reading public.[2]

The industrial revolution had consequences for the economic, social, and political life of Californians, as well as of the nation at large. By 1900, it had placed California in a position to "take off." In a sense, the state had been taking off since Gold Rush days, but a marked difference was in place by the late 1890s; the magnitude and direction of change contrasted greatly with preceding years. Economic troubles in the early and mid-1890s greatly impacted California, and the revival toward the century's end was greeted with great enthusiasm. International and local circumstances converged to encourage seemingly extravagant

predictions of future greatness. The actual course of growth proved even more fantastic than the boastful predictions foretold. The state's population stood at less than 1,500,000. The Californian of optimistic bent at the turn of the century knew how impressive that number seemed in comparison to the 379,000 of 1870; thus, despite the disappointments of the 1890s, they had reason for optimism.

The decennial U.S. census methodology of breaking our history into decade length blocks often distorts perceptions of our past. Happily, in some important respects the first decade of the 20th Century does set itself apart as an example of long-range trends in the urbanization of California. The decade was characterized by: the expansion of its industrial and commercial bases; the important shifts of population concentrations; and the growth of political reform movements. This was the decade that began with fantastic predictions of San Francisco's future and ended with Los Angeles poised at the edge of its era of population supremacy. It was the decade that began with the state's politics seemingly a function of the Southern Pacific Railroad and ended with victory for its nemesis, Hiram Johnson. It was the decade that inaugurated the age of the automobile. On the other hand, the decade is not in itself a discrete historical epoch. Ending the story in 1920 makes more sense for demographic purposes, as a major study of the period indicates.[3] The revival of the state's economy predates 1900, and the cutoff date of 1910 eliminates consideration of the culmination of progressivism in Johnson's first administration. On the national and international scenes, World War I makes a more logical stopping point. For this reason, this writer has chosen to stretch the concentration of the 1900 - 1910 to encompass, where it seemed logical to do so, years before **and** after the 1900 to 1910 decade.

Compared with the pessimism of the 1890s, California faced the future in 1900 with relative, if somewhat unsure, confidence. The state was seen and promoted as a magnificent achievement in its own right; a fact driven home in publication after publication that spelled out in dollars, tons, acres, and headcounts the land's productivity and future promise. Indeed, the achievements of the next ten years were stunning by any measure, thanks to the convergence of several elements in the state's economy. The petroleum industry became a major economic factor; mining and mineral exploitation increased; and manufacturing and agriculture for far off commercial markets grew apace. The population, fed by a remarkable immigration, grew to 2,377,549, an increase by 1910 of 60.1% beyond that of 1900. An excellent system of steam and electric railways, supplemented by ferries and, increasingly, by automobiles, knit the growing state together. A spreading telephone network provided improved communication in the sprawling region. Electric light and power were improving and growing in use. The impact of the automobile was just beginning to be felt at the end of the decade. And there were numerous other key inventions of the early 20th Century that were to have profound effects on later California life, especially the airplanes, motion pictures, and radio communication that were just coming on the scene. No one could know what fantastic transformations lay ahead, but the sense that the future would be full of wonders was much in evidence. Some auguries were too unpleasant to contemplate. The domination of the state by San Francisco was approaching an

end, as the formerly sleepy southern town of Los Angeles began growing far faster than any other part of the state. The time when the center of population would shift, permanently southward, with all that implied for the state's politics, was not far off. After 1906, San Francisco rose from the earthquake's ashes in a furious life drive, but its uncontested lordship was never wholly restored.

Ill-fitting for the image of a state ballyhooed across the country by tireless boosters and image builders, were some of the harsher realities of life. California, along with the capital of Sacramento, fell short of perfection. Life for most ordinary people, as is so often the case, was a struggle within which income levels put the luxuries of life out of reach for most people. Labor problems, strikes, and social unrest were not entirely absent either. The nativism that periodically swept across the United States found a California expression in the movement to end Japanese immigration. Child labor was an issue here, as elsewhere, as urbanization and industrialization provoked a reordering of standards. The role of government as manager of the social and economic system began the perceptible growth that was to flower later.

The growing city that surrounded the Capitol reflected most of the trends and conditions of the age. Population growth fueled the growth of suburbs and the filling up of the streets within the city limits. At the same time, the city remained manageable, with a small police force and a fine public transportation system. Public amusements were available in the old downtown era, where, by the end of the decade, motion picture theaters began making inroads on the domain of live entertainment. Sacramento witnessed the first onslaught of the automobile; and prided itself on its growing telephone system, street improvements, and municipal buildings, both planned and existing. The energy that suffused the state as a whole also surged through the capital city.

Social and political unrest culminated in this decade with the emergence and triumph of the progressive movement. In the 1910 statewide election, Hiram Johnson won the governorship, inaugurating an era of reform that transformed politics in every corner of California. Nothing so well as this event illustrated the direction that the state was taking in the century's fast-paced opening decade. Change, growth, a sanguine outlook on the future, a vision of prosperity riding on a wave of progress, the prospect of holding one's destiny in one's own hand, at last – this was California.

II. THE WORLD AT THE TURN OF THE CENTURY

European Imperialism

In the 15th Century, an equilibrium that had been in effect for many hundreds of years ended when the newly unified national states of Europe began an unprecedented conquest of the world. In the 19th Century, the empires of Great Britain, France, Germany, Russia, and other European nations dominated vast populations and territories in Asia, Africa, and elsewhere. Aided by the technology of industrialization, these nations grew opulent and became the power centers of the planet. In many areas, such as Latin America, European dominance was primarily economic.[4] But for others political control was direct, as nations vied to create dependent colonial empires out of what has often been referred to as the Third World. By the 1890s, Africa had been carved up, except for Morocco, Ethiopia, and the independent Boer republics. In Asia, China was the greatest prize, a decaying and defenseless empire sought after by all the great powers. In the end, the rivals worked out a cynical game whereby all sought to uphold

China's integrity as a nation while exploiting it wherever opportunity arose, but by the end of the century China seemed ripe for dismemberment. Economic strangleholds placed Shantung under German control; while Russian interests predominated in Manchuria, British in the Yangtze Valley, and French in the areas bordering Southeast Asia. Meanwhile, the first non-European people to embrace westernization, the Japanese, had joined the scramble for empire. In the Sino-Japanese War of 1894-95, a modern, efficient Japanese military machine humiliated the enfeebled forces of the Chinese Empress Dowager. The Treaty of Shimonoseki settled the war entirely on Japanese terms, including an indemnity, the opening of seven new treaty ports (to enable the Japanese to get in on the economic plundering of China) and the Japanese annexation of Formosa, the Pescadores, and the Liaotung Peninsula in Manchuria. Japan had emerged from isolation to become a Pacific power with imperial ambitions. Thus, before 1900 a new era had begun in Asia, one that would strongly affect the United States. The Americans, having won their continental empire, were shortly to join the ranks of the world powers in the scramble for empire.[5]

The Social Structure of Europe

The Europe dominating the world had undergone vast changes in the 19th Century, due to industrialization. By the turn of the century, society there seemed superficially secure and stable, but, in fact, was in ferment. It was a society Americans tended to view with great ambivalence; which, alternately, attracted and repelled them. This was evidenced by George Pardee, who, as a medical student in the Europe of the 1880s, insisted, almost too insistently, that the pomp of royalty did not come near to matching the glories of an egalitarian society. In truth, it was an odd society of contradictory elements and great tensions. Americans viewed it with the same fascination Europeans brought to their interest in America, as a sampler of the future. To whatever extent Europeans had learned from America what democracy might mean; Americans were examining Europe for the dangers of industrialization. What they saw – a fragmented class society whose divisions appeared to be widening – was not a comforting vision. This was particularly true with respect to aspects and forces that had close analogies on the American scene.[6]

Not all of European society was analogous to American circumstances. At the social and political pinnacle of every European power, with the exception of France and Switzerland, stood a monarch. To the extent that, as in Great Britain, parliamentary government was powerful, the monarch stood at the apex of society

and exercised great influence. The ruling European royal families were interrelated across national boundaries through marriage, forming a set of relations that gave a sense of unity to Europe. Funerals and weddings were star-studded occasions bringing together the royal heads of the major powers. Protestant royalty was, by 1900, tightly bound, through the relations of Queen Victoria and Prince Albert of Great Britain. When Queen Victoria died in 1901, nearly all the crown heads of Europe attended her funeral. These privileged few were not mere relics. They exercised power that varied in extent from nation to nation. Everywhere they formed an elite of an upper class of nobles and great landowning families. Looking down with disdain on the rising leaders of the new industrial society (though realistic enough to open their ranks to them) and completely detached from the vast majority in the working classes, they were anomalies in the new century.

Americans saw their own plutocrats as pretenders to an American royalty, but more ominous by far were the restless lower classes, inevitable products of industrial economics. Far below the nobility, a proletariat grew in the expanding cities of Europe. Its emergence during industrialization had parallels in America, where, since the 1870s, urban workers, radicalism, revolution, and violence had been linked together by those who had much to lose. As in America, cities in Europe had grown phenomenally during the 19th Century. Berlin's population increased from 500,000 to more than 2,000,000 between 1866 and 1914. Between 1880 and 1914, London grew from 5,000,000 to 7,000,000; and Paris from 2,000,000 to nearly 3,000,000. Forced by economic changes to leave the life of rural peasants and move to the cities, many of these new urban dwellers lived under wretched conditions, with wages too low to permit savings and the prospect for future advancement dim. From this despair a trade union movement was fast maturing. By 1905, British unions had assembled 3,000,000 members. But the resistance of employers and the ruling elites, everywhere, slowed progress. The social and economic tensions of the working classes found a second expression in the rise of a socialist movement. Only nine years before the turn of the century the Socialist Democratic Party in Germany, later to become the premier socialist party in Europe, adopted a program written in cooperation with Karl Marx's collaborator, Friedrich Engels. Its fundamental tenet was that social progress depended on a political revolution; in which the workers would topple the capitalist ruling class from power, after which the acquisition of private property would be replaced by an equal distribution of the fruits of labor. The rhetoric of socialism was peculiarly European, but it was brought to America and frightened many in the upper and middle class.

It frightened the middle class in Europe, as well. As in America, those in the middle class felt pressures and dangers from, both, above and below them. As industrialization advanced, many entrepreneurs found it impossible to compete successfully against great industrial or commercial enterprises. These were forced out of the entrepreneurial class, to join others of the middle class who became white-collar workers in growing state bureaucracies; or they entered professions like teaching, law, or medicine. Such careers, however secure, infrequently

carried with them the hope of rewards on the scale envisioned by independent businessmen. The more middle class independence faded the more imperative it became to disassociate from the lower social classes and to stress bourgeois superiority over the working classes. The social tensions that were generated among the middle class by these and other factors surfaced in some ugly forms. Older bourgeois liberalism lost ground to varieties of racism; anti-Semitism was the most prominent among them. It was around the turn of the century that anti-Semitism began to garner important public support as a political movement.[7] Another outlet was an aggressive nationalism, very different from the liberal nationalism middle classes had championed earlier in the century. Sometimes racism and nationalism joined forces, as in Germany's case, in the popular support of imperial adventures in Africa or Asia – or in the movement to link nations of similar racial stock. When the great British imperialist, Cecil Rhodes, set up in his will scholarships at Oxford for Germans and Americans, he expressed a sense of Teutonic unity prevalent on both sides of the Atlantic.

Auguries of the Future

The scientific and intellectual innovations of the industrial age that had created the European social order of 1900 did not stop at the turn of the century.[8] In fact the entire world, not just Europe, was to be transformed in the coming decades, as ideas and discoveries of the era began reordering life. For several decades Charles Darwin's evolutionary theory had permeated scientific and social thought. Karl Marx's ideas had been widely disseminated since the 1860s and 1870s. In the last decades of the 19th Century history and economics became professionalized and "scientific." The production of statistical data became far more sophisticated than before, as the social sciences responded to the standards and demands of a technological age. The popular impact of Sigmund Freud in psychology came after World War I, but much earlier the idea of human life being subject to impersonal and ungovernable forces, rather than a conscious rationality, had begun pervading and disturbing intellectuals. Belief in a Newtonian universe prevailed during the decade of 1900-1910, but Albert Einstein sketched out his theory of relativity in 1905. Beneath the appearance of stability, the European world was spawning profound influences on the 20th Century.

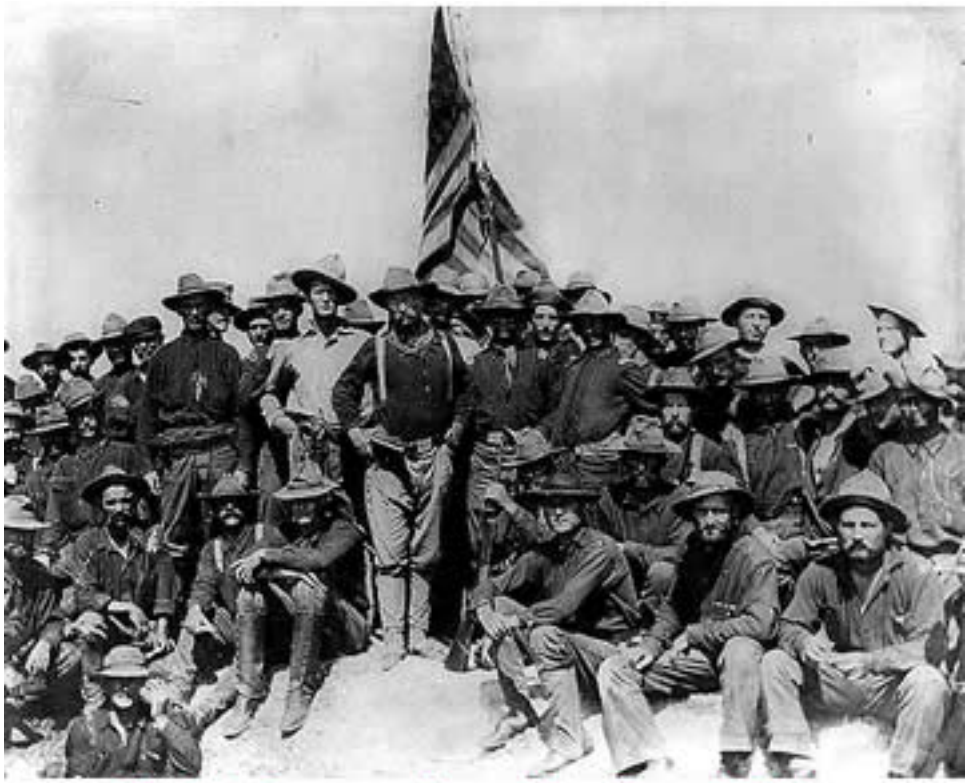
Several times during the 1900-1910 decade events that presaged the changes to come riveted the interest of millions of Americans. On February 8, 1904, the Japanese launched an attack on the Russian naval base at Port Arthur, opening the Russo-Japanese War.[9] The background for the struggle was a growing rivalry between the two nations over control of Korea and Manchuria, but what was of compelling interest to Europeans and Americans was the unbelievable defeat the Russians suffered at the hands of mere Asians. Russia, at this time, had a population of approximately 140,000,000 and potential for mobilizing an army of

4,000,000 men. Japan, with a population of 47,000,000 and 850,000 troops, including reserves, whipped the European power soundly. Port Arthur fell at the beginning of January 1905. The Russian Baltic Fleet, after sailing halfway around the world, was sent to the bottom of the Straits of Tsushima the following May. Americans understood few of the issues involved, though generally believing the Japanese to have a better moral case for war than did the Russians. Yet this victory of Asians over a major European power was disturbing.

A second augury of the future was the Russian Revolution of 1905.[10] The Russian-Japanese War strained the Russian economy to the breaking point, coming as it did after several years of already hard times. The ensuing strikes by workers and public protests were spontaneous, relating to such mundane matters as soaring bread prices, but this occurred as Russia's social structure was under severe challenge from diverse developments; including the spread of liberalism among professional and intellectual elements and the rise of a Marxist party. The latter was created in 1898 as the Social Democratic Party. Harried out of the motherland, the party was mainly run by émigrés, who at the second party congress in 1903 split over tactical and philosophical questions. The temporary but majority faction of the more zealous revolutionaries, known as Bolsheviks, was led by young Russian émigré Vladimir Lenin. Most notable among the Socialists remaining inside Russia was Leon Trotsky, who became the guiding spirit behind the St. Petersburg workers' council during the 1905 Revolution, eventually assuming leadership of the uprising, as liberals and middle class reformers withdrew after the Czar agreed to institute bourgeois reforms. The workers isolated by their Marxian demands for a socialistic republic, were suppressed and even the liberal fruits of the Revolution soon withered. No one knew the destiny awaiting Russia, but, excepting the 1871 Paris Commune, this had been the first attempt at a socialist revolution, anywhere, and the effects were widespread over Europe. The specter of social revolution – of general strikes, of workers expropriating the means of production from capitalists, of supposedly secure monarchs compromising to retain their positions – from that time forward hung over the western world like a menacing cloud, and the realization of Russia's weakness, revealed in the twin blows of the Russo-Japanese War and the 1905 Revolution, worked to increase international instability. Thereafter, the rivalries of European powers grew increasingly tense and dangerous, until a succession of crises led to Sarajevo and cataclysmic war in 1914.

III.AMERICA'S EMERGENCE TO WORLD POWER

The Awakening



Teddy Roosevelt and the Rough Riders

Even then, much of this remained incomprehensible to Americans, who doggedly retained a belief that happenings in Europe bore little relevance to their own lives. If the disasters that awaited Europe were difficult to discern in the early stages, the meteoric rise of the United States to world power was swift and obvious. In the two years preceding the turn of the century, as George Mowry characterized it, the nation left behind a "relatively carefree adolescence" and began assuming "the burdens of maturity."[11] The rise to international position was inevitable in the context of the late 19th Century, as the nation emerged as the greatest of all industrial powers, and as technology reduced the world and constricted the limits of isolation. Moreover, as perceptions of an international role for the United States developed, rival world powers were emerging in Germany and Japan, as well as upsetting the international balance of power upon which American security was based. Finally, there was the intoxicant of imperialism. It was true that the easy pickings in the non-Western world were gone and that increasing the scramble for empire brought the European powers into conflict with one another, but

commanding a colonial empire had become an accepted measure of national greatness; and powerful belief in racial superiority, religious obligation, pride, and economic necessity took root in America as they did in Europe during the decade of the 1890s. In large measure the enthusiasts for empire were a relatively small group of nationalists, intellectuals, and theorists. Often, in the case of Europe as well as the United States, the taste for empire developed only after the fact, and, at times, territorial acquisitions came without plan or conscious aim. There was, certainly, no grand design that led us to win the remnants of Spain's world empire in the Spanish-American War of 1898. For most of the 19th Century the American people had little interest in European developments, because the nation could hardly exercise significant influence on the continent's tangled affairs, and, defensively, we were untouchable. We did have a great deal of interest in Latin America, and the Far East had long since captured the American imagination. In 1867 the United States acquired Alaska and the Midway Islands, under the prescient and expansionist Secretary of State, William H. Seward. But it was not until the 1880s; with the example of European imperialism and our rapidly increasing manufacturing capabilities that the search for an overseas empire to serve as markets for excessive production began in earnest. Darwinian theorists, racial and religious writers, fervent nationalists, and military strategists began building the intellectual justifications for overseas expansion.

Increasingly, American attention turned to the various opportunities widely believed to await us in the Pacific. As early as the 1850s, American interests looked toward the annexation of Hawaii. In 1887, the renewals of a trade reciprocity treaty with the Hawaiian monarchy gave the United States a naval base at Pearl Harbor. Meanwhile, the nation developed trade relations with, both, China and Japan, and the dream of a fabulous trade with the Orient continued to flourish, as it had since the time of Thomas Jefferson. In the 1890s, our exports exceeded the $1,000,000,000 mark; yet, a domestic depression made the foreign markets appear as a panacea for the nation's economic ills, so the appetite for commercial expansion abroad continued to grow.

Meanwhile, the nation's interest in Central and South America remained high . The real economic involvement with the Latin half of the hemisphere far outstripped our relationship with Asia, and, by the 1890s, the United States was actively intervening in the region's affairs. For a period in 1891, war with Chile appeared to be imminent. In 1895 the American government intervened in Venezuela's behalf for a dispute that country had over its border with British Guiana. A first class confrontation with Great Britain was avoided only because of a British decision to court friendship with the Americans. Backing down and agreeing to United States demands for arbitration of the dispute, the British inaugurated an era of close US/British cooperation in world affairs, which has continued to the present day. Despite this continuing interest in Asian and Latin American affairs, however, the Spanish-American War and its impact on American foreign relations did not result in a watershed for imperial adventure.

Roosevelt and the Reality of Power

Periodic revolts against Spanish rule in Cuba culminated in an uprising in the mid-1890s, precipitated by hard economic times. American sympathies were on the side of the rebels, and, after fruitless negotiations with Spain, punctuated by the sinking of the *Maine* in Havana Harbor; the United States declared war on Spain in April 1898. It was, in the words of the United States Secretary of War, ". . . a splendid little war." The decrepit Spanish colonial empire fell into American hands in a matter of months. That outcome became the forerunner for Cuba's independence, and the war ended with the extension of American control to Puerto Rico and the Philippine Islands. The taking of the Philippines had been in the minds of some, but the final decision to take it stemmed, primarily, from a lack of more attractive alternatives. Furthermore, the anti-imperialist strain in American society never lost its voice, and a nasty, brutish war erupted in the Islands when Philippine nationalist guerillas tried to wrest the former Spanish possession from the hands of their new masters. As the new century dawned, American marines were pacifying the distant Islands in a manner presaging the Vietnam conflict. In all, some 70,000 American troops were involved. From that time forward, American interests in Asia and Latin America greatly intensified. As a result, the United States was affecting, and being affected by, events in Asia and Latin America on an ongoing basis.

It oversimplifies to suggest that economic gain was the entire motivation for this change. Initially, for example, the American business community was opposed to the war against Spain. But commercial advantage, in either the form of foreign trade or business investment opportunities, combined with the interrelated question of national security and power. This led to increasing concern with foreign affairs and, inevitably, direct intervention. A key instance was the building of the Panama Canal. Building a canal to connect the Pacific and Atlantic oceans at some point along the thin stretch of land connecting the northern and southern hemispheres had long been envisioned.

By regarding the Panamanian isthmus as one of the favored possibilities, the American government tried, unsuccessfully, to negotiate a treaty with the Columbian government, in 1903, and subsequently instigated and protected a revolt against Columbia. In the following year, this led to an independent Panama and United States possession of a canal zone. At a cost of $375,000,000, and after nearly six years of spectacular effort, the Panama Canal opened on August 15, 1914. Prior to and during its construction, businessmen and naval strategists, alike, looked forward with great enthusiasm to the immense advantages of a trans-oceanic canal. There was probably no greater evidence that, between 1900 and 1910, the United States had grown to the status of a world power.

As president for the greater part of the decade, Theodore Roosevelt was a perfect personification of this new American role in the world. Assistant Secretary of the Navy at the onset of the Spanish-American War, he had been one of the leading advocates of overseas expansion, even before personally participating in the conquest of Cuba. With his eye always on American national interests, his intellectual baggage heavy with the naval strategy of Alfred Thayer Mahan and the pervasive ethnic and racial chauvinism of the age, he masterminded the events leading to the Panama Canal; sought an actively interventionist policy in Latin America; and became personally involved in foreign affairs – to an extent unprecedented in the history of prior chief executives. Under the doctrine known as the "Roosevelt Corollary" to the Monroe Doctrine, he began a policy of United States supervision for the financial affairs of Latin American nations, whose foreign debt dilemmas might have otherwise invited European intervention. While the aim of this policy was the absolute end of European interference in the Caribbean region, rather than the creation of an actual colonial empire for the United States, the effect was to extend the exercise of America's new power and influence.

Roosevelt's role in two foreign crises during the decade, that did not directly involve American interests, provides another example of the revolution that occurred for America's role in world politics.[12] During the Russo-Japanese War the Japanese appealed to Roosevelt to mediate the dispute, fearing, realistically, that a drawn out struggle would favor Russia. Hoping to preserve the Japanese victory over its enemy while retaining a Russian presence, Roosevelt called for a peace conference and played a central role in making it a success. The conference took place in Portsmouth, New Hampshire, beginning in August 1908, and it was a brilliant success for the president's personal diplomacy. The second example occurred during the Moroccan Crisis of 1905-06, when Germany demanded an international conference on the status of Morocco. The Kaiser successfully appealed to Roosevelt to support the call for a conference, despite French intransigence. Roosevelt intervened, the conference took place at Algeciras, Spain in early 1906, and American participation at the conference, again, demonstrated that America's position in the world had dramatically changed from what it had been in the 19th Century. Commercially and diplomatically, though not yet militarily, the United States was moving toward an era of world leadership that few Americans at the time could fully conceive.

IV. AMERICAN INDUSTRIALIZATION

Technological Innovation

The rise of America to a status of international power presented a basic metamorphosis in the age of industrialization.[13] Within the United States industrial influences had been at work since the early 1800s, but it was in the post-Civil War period that the changes began to transform the nation into a full and then unequalled industrial grant. This meant, first of all, an explosion of technology and manufacturing. A host of new machines and inventions made possible vast increases in agricultural productivity, while a canning industry and mechanized meatpacking operations began supplying food to American families with the efficiency that the clothing industry had achieved in the earlier decades of the century. Inventiveness in the field of food production and distribution, as in other fields, only spurred additional creativity. In the 1850s about 1,000 food-related inventions were being patented yearly. By 1890 the annual rate was 25,322. The ability to produce vast quantities of food was, both, a result and a spur to industrialization. While machines made it possible for farms to become more productive, the surplus enabled the nation to swell in population, absorb great numbers of immigrants, and accelerate long existing trends toward urbanization. In turn, the population increases and the availability of an urban work force provided the market and means for industrial enterprises.

Railroad construction led the economy for much of the post-Civil War period, absorbing immigrant labor and vast quantities of iron, steel, lumber, and other materials. At the end of the Civil War the United States had 35,000 miles of railway. By 1890 this had multiplied to more than 166,000 miles. Moreover, because expansion continued at a slower pace thereafter, a consolidation movement led to the reorganization of the nation's railroads, constituting only six systems. The railroad industry, and then the construction of the great urban

manufacturing centers, spurred the American iron and steel industry. Iron production rose from 1.86 million tons to 15.4 million tons, between 1870 and 1900. Steel production, thanks to a series of innovations that vastly decreased the costs and difficulties of production, shot from 77,000 tons to 11.4 million tons in the same period. By the mid-1890s, the American steel makers were able to undersell British competitors in the world market, and, in 1892-93, the nation changed from a net importer to a net exporter of goods.

Economic activity and technical prowess were proceeding at dizzying rates. Industries entirely unknown to the pre-Civil War generation now became vital elements in the nation's economy, as experienced in everyday life by millions of people. In 1876 Alexander Graham Bell perfected a telephone, and, by 1880, telephone networks had been established in 85 towns and cities. By 1895 Americans had 300,000 telephones; at the turn of the century the number had increased to nearly 800,000. This was double the number of telephones in Europe at the time. In 1879 Thomas Alva Edison perfected another key invention, the incandescent light bulb. Beginning in New York in 1882, by supplying current for lighting from a central power source to 85 customers, Edison inaugurated the age of electricity. By 1898 some 3,000 central power plants were distributing power throughout the nation. As electric power was increasingly used to run motors, as well as light the nation's cities, output increased to 6,000,000,000 kilowatt hours by the early 1900s. Another new industry rising to prominence was petroleum production and refining. In 1859 the value of petroleum refined in the United States was less than $6.4 million, and the industry employed 1,473 workers. By 1899 the number had climbed to 12,199, and more than $24 million in refined petroleum was produced. This was only a hint of that which was to follow. In the decade from 1899 to 1909, which introduced the automobile revolution, refining shot up to nearly $237 million in value of products.[14]

As in other industries, such as railroads, iron and steel, meatpacking, consolidation and concentration tamed a climate of unbridled and often disastrous competition. John D. Rockefeller and his Standard Oil Company achieved a near monopoly in the industry through a variety of legal, questionable, and illegal methods. This early period of industrialization was characterized by concentration and business organizations on a scale unthinkable in previous eras. Toward the end of the 19th Century the movement to create corporations (popularly, but inaccurately, called "trusts") by combining previously competitive businesses into a single organization gathered frightening momentum. Between 1897 and 1903 this consolidation movement reached its apex. Of 318 huge corporations in 1904, 236 through a capitalization process, had been created since January 1898.[15]

Demographic Changes

Expansion in size was not confined to corporate America. The population, especially in cities, was growing in spectacular fashion through most of this period. In 1870 the United States had a total population of less than 40,000,000. This increased to more than 50,000,000 in the next decade. That 26% increase would never again be reached, but in absolute numbers the population increase continued to grow over the decades since. By 1890 there were nearly 63,000,000 people in the United States. At the turn of the century the figure stood at 75,000,000. At the end of the 1900 - 1910, this had increased to slightly less than 92,000,000 people.[16] The percentage of the population living in urban areas continually grew during these years. In 1870, slightly more than 25% lived in the nation's cities and towns. In 1890 the figure rose to 35.1%, and it increased approximately 5% in subsequent decades. In the decade of 1900-1910, the nation's urban population increased from 39.7% to 45.7%. In the 1920 census, for the first time, urban dwellers outnumbered those in rural areas and farms.[17] But Americans did not wait for the nation to become more urban than rural to discuss the implications of change. Just as the closing of a discernible western frontier line had inspired similar speculation, around the turn of the century thoughtful people were discussing how the nation's character and way of life would be altered by urban influences.[18]

An unprecedented number of immigrants constituted the substantial portion of the population growth.[19] In the 40 years preceding 1900, nearly 14,000,000 immigrants arrived in the United States. In the next 15 years an additional 14.5 million arrived. The impact of industrialization in Europe had displaced millions of rural people, particularly in the less developed areas of southern and eastern Europe. Thus, as the number of arrivals grew around the turn of the century, the composition shifted from Great Britain, Germany and Western Europe to such nations as Russia, Italy, and Poland. Similarly, there was a shift to ethnic and religious groups very different from those that historically composed the American Caucasian population, with the major exception of the Irish Catholics. Catholics and Jews made up disconcertingly large majorities. Hordes of poor, uneducated, strange, and worrisome foreigners were coming to America and settling in the nation's great cities. In the peak year of 1907, some 1,285,000 immigrants arrived.

Of that number, 285,000 were Italians and another 258,000 Russians. From 1900 to 1910, 72% of immigrants belonged to what was labeled the “new immigration.” Among them were 2,000,000 Italians. Between 1881 and 1915, nearly 2,000,000 European Jews migrated to the United States. Americans traditionally feared the supposed unhealthy impact on the nation’s cities. As the cities took on the looks and sounds of these strange and exotic people, especially when hard times put Americans out of work or dampened prosperity, nativist sentiment and racist analyses of the nation’s problems grew. California, for the most part isolated from the effects of this massive influx, though the polyglot nature of San Francisco should be noted, expressed the local manifestations of such attitudes. Initially these attitudes were held against the Chinese and, in the 1900 - 1910, against the Japanese. That thread will be revisited later.

Intellectual Currents

The new immigration became a focus for the anxieties that the industrial revolution was creating. But for the greater part of the era following the Civil War Americans were dazzled and excited by the new power and capabilities that were being delivered by technology and science. The sense of accomplishment and ongoing progress was the highlight of many fairs and exhibitions held during the last quarter of the 19th Century – and following. The landmark industrial exhibition had been at the Crystal Palace in London in 1851. Americans took the occasion of the centennial celebration of independence to create the first great American industrial fair in Philadelphia, in 1876. A monstrous steam engine, built by the Corliss Company and soon to be made obsolete by further improvements,

became the centerpiece of a worshipped display of modern progress.[20] In 1893, the World's Columbian Exposition in Chicago opened to great throngs of visitors from all over the country. A great White City arose to house it along the shores of Lake Michigan, built with the latest steel frame technology and lighted by an unparalleled system of electric lights. California participated in the 1893 Exposition in a big way. The state government financed a state building, and a steady stream of the west coast's agricultural goods was carried by rail to Chicago, to be made into fantastic displays of olives, oranges, and other specialty crops of the state. The excitement reached back to California, where a mini-fair was created in Golden Gate Park in San Francisco, in early 1894, as conscious imitation of the real thing back east. Among the county displays was one by Sacramento, featuring a model of the State Capitol, "artistically constructed'" from the county's choicest fruits, grains, vegetables, and jellies.[21]

The age celebrated industrialization for its technological marvels. Along with that came the celebration of individual opportunity. In a sense this was curious, because economic forces were creating a class of self-made millionaires and opening opportunities that had not previously existed, However, for the most part the traditional paths of success from worker to entrepreneur, or from farm laborer to farm owner, were being closed by the escalating costs of plant and machinery necessary to effectively compete in a ruthless market. Central to the celebration was the myth of the self-made man, a formularizing of a number of accepted ideas of human behavior and the rewards that followed from their practice. Made a part of the popular culture by the "rags to riches" novels of Horatio Alger, the myth maintained that such traditionally prized virtues as thrift, honesty, perseverance, hard work, and sobriety would, inevitably, lead to a materially defined success for an individual – regardless of access to advantages. The myth held out hope that opportunities were everywhere, to be grasped by those who had prepared themselves by the constant application of the necessary virtues. The message that individuals always had opportunities for success, so powerful in drawing people to California around the turn of the century, also had its dark side. While individual effort alone would bring success, failure was the logically perceived result of personal vices and character flaws. Failure was a sign of individual inferiority.[22]

The doctrine was harsh but had been clothed several decades earlier in scientific garb. Social philosophers, who were led in America by William Graham Sumner, had appropriated Charles Darwin's theory of evolution, with its central idea of survival of the fittest. According to this rationale for the existing distribution of wealth, life was a ruthless competition in which only the finest succeeded. Far from being considered lamentable, the process assured the continued progression of the human race through biological principles.[23] The happier myth of the self-made man matched so well with the ideology and aspirations of Americans that there is little reason to doubt the deep influence it had on ordinary people. Whether the cruel message of what came to be called Social Darwinism captured the interest of individuals not obviously among the fittest to survive is an open question. Interestingly, by the end of the 19th Century it was on the wane

and an intellectual revolution was underway to bring social thought in line with reality - rather than the fantasies of industrial society.

The new intellectual current took many paths[24] and grew out of the logic of industrialization. Rather than reinforcing the, essentially, 18th Century concept of a rigidly mechanistic universe, the more profound lessons of the 19th Century encouraged an appreciation for open-mindedness, the possibilities for uncertainty in life, experimentation, and pluralism and relativism. Life and conditions were changing too fast to be satisfactorily encompassed by rigid and outmoded ideas. Industrialization had, in some ways, worsened the quality of life. However, overall it confirmed that people could affect their fate and have an impact on their environment. The possibilities for individuals may have appeared to decline, but humans, in large measure, wewre headed in the direction of progress. The new formulations were allowing for human beings to be the shapers of destiny, and these were predicated on generally flexible principles.

Within the discipline of sociology this led to Lester Ward's theorizing, in *Dynamic Society,* that evolution for humans was a function of their intellectual capability to restructure the environment. This meant, in practice, that existing institutions were not immutable but would respond to reform. Social engineering and national planning were given a theoretical justification in a world described by Darwin. With the hold of orthodox Darwinism broken, economists, led by Richard T. Ely and Simon Patten, worked out ways to introduce ethical standards into the dismal science; so that, for example, wage rates could be measured by the yardstick of "fairness," and labor assured a fair share of the production of wealth. In law, advanced concepts of relativism, introduced by Oliver Wendell Holmes in the 1880s, led to sociological jurisprudence based on the evolving realities of an industrializing society – rather than on an absolute standard. The basis of law slowly shifted to human experience. This opened the way for the law to be used to restructure society rather than to preserve the status quo. When Clarence Darrow based his case for regulating the hours and working conditions of women on an accumulation of actual case studies, rather than the abstract law, he put the implications of the new jurisprudence into full effect. In theology, the rise of the Social Gospel movement hallmarked the change of direction. Though the nation's religious establishment remained primarily conservative, an influential minority of ministers, along with some sociologists, began redefining sin and evil in sociological rather than theological, terms. A new emphasis on reforming this world, rather than waiting for the rewards of the next, joined the spiritual agenda of the nation. The 1880s and 1890s introduced such Christian reformers as Josiah Strong, Washington Gladden, and others who were calling for comprehensive reforms within the capitalist system. Out of such intellectual and moral ferment the reforms in politics, economic life, and society that are summed up under the label of "progressivism" gained their momentum as the new century began. Of note, the intellectual trends of this era presaged a greatly expanded role for government in the 20th Century.

The Road to Reform

The chief engine behind the intellectual changes of the 1880s and 1890s was the reality of social unrest. The celebrations of industrialization in 1876, at Philadelphia, and Chicago, in 1893, were followed by hard times and portentous events.[25] In 1877 a violent railway strike affected nearly two-thirds of the nation's rail mileage. In 1886, though times were again prosperous, the issue of the eight-hour day led to strikes all over the country. In Chicago, where the McCormick Harvester workers were on strike, a meeting in Haymarket Square ended with a bomb being thrown at police, presumably by anarchists. In 1892 the Carnegie Steel Company was rocked by a bitterly violent strike against its Homestead plant. Workers and Pinkerton guards hired by the company clashed murderously in pitched battle. In 1894, when another depression was hitting the nation, the Pullman strike, aimed first at the wage-cutting policies of the paternalistic George Pullman, led to a railroad strike that spread from coast to coast and was only overcome after federal troops were called up. America seemed to be producing a proletarian class in the growing cities and seemed headed toward the class society of Europe. The implications were frightening. The unrest was no mirage. The industrial wage earners had considerable reason for unhappiness.

Yet, contrary to some popular impressions and socialist theorizing, the long-range trends were in the direction of rising living standards. Thanks to technological advances worker productivity had made life better for most workers. The period from 1870 to 1890 brought about a significant and steady decline in prices. Even without an increase in dollar income, real wages increased by up to 20% during the 1870s – and by more than 25% from 1880 to 1890. But it is probable that aspirations grew at an even faster pace during these years, creating a widening

gulf between what wage earners enjoyed and what they thought was rightfully theirs. More tangible reasons also assist in explaining the widespread labor unrest. An enormous and widening difference existed between average worker wage levels and the income of business and industrial leaders. Some skilled workers did relatively well, especially in unionized crafts. But as late as 1900 the average annual wage in manufacturing in the United States was $435.[26]

Labor unrest was one of the most disturbing aspects of the emerging industrial society, but there were others. The expanding cities became not only magnets for foreign immigration but far more complex places, as well. Old urban problems were exacerbated and new concerns added: traffic, sanitation, housing, education, transportation, social services, water, gas, electricity, street construction and maintenance, and a multitude of others. Building and administering cities became a highly technical and lucrative business – a sort of golden age of municipal corruption ensued. Toward the end of the 19th Century an urban reform movement began emerging from the chaos and corruption.[27] In Chicago a nonpartisan municipal Voters' League wrested control from a city council that had busied itself selling valuable franchises for bribes. By 1897 the city had a reform mayor who, at least temporarily, cleaned up one of the most corrupt of the nation's cities. In Minneapolis, New York City, San Francisco, Los Angeles, and elsewhere, the mainly middle class reformers challenged boss rule and were generally successful.

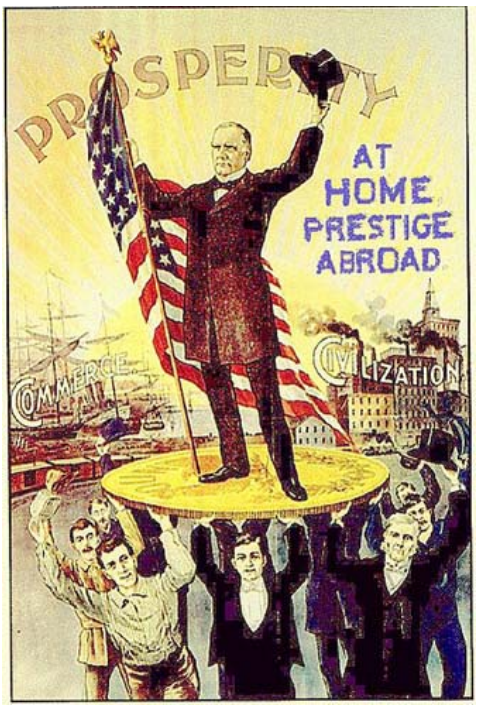
The movement necessarily spread to state government; for it was impossible to consolidate local gains where state governments held power over city charters and could stymie institutional reforms. Moreover, state governments also suffered from bossism and political corruption. In Missouri, for example, railroad and other business interests effectively controlled the state legislature through well-placed bribes; and in New Jersey the railroad lobby was so powerful that it appointed the state's chief justice, attorney general, controller, and other high state officials. The reformist revolt at the state level gathered momentum between 1900 and 1910, all over the nation. The Midwest states led the way. In Wisconsin, Robert M. La Follette became governor in 1900, destroying the existing political setup that had placed the state in the grip of railroad and lumbering interests, and bringing the insights of such intellectual reformers as Richard T. Ely to address government issues. Iowa, Arkansas, Oregon, Minnesota, New York, even New Jersey in 1910, joined the growing ranks of states reformed by "progressive" administrations. The "Wisconsin idea," with its emphasis on technical expertise, regulated government, and attacks on the political power of great corporations, spread nationwide as government began to adjust to the needs of industrialized America.

The decade of 1900-1910 was the reformist energies at work on the national level in the administration of Theodore Roosevelt, president from 1901 until William Howard Taft's tenure began in 1909. Known as a "trust buster" because of a few highly publicized antitrust actions taken against some corporate giants during his first administration, Roosevelt had no dislike of big business itself, preferring to make distinctions between those that were "good" and "bad." Regulatory commissions, in particular a Bureau of Corporations and an Interstate Commerce

Commission with new powers over railroad operations, designed to harmonize the interests of business and government, became important features of the federal government's activities. In his second administration, 1905 – 1909, Roosevelt moved perceptibly to the left, backing social and economic legislation that expressed the tendencies of many intellectual reformers. Though he was not the most enthusiastic backer of some reform for which he is popularly accorded credit, such as the landmark pure food and drug legislation of 1906, Roosevelt did advocate for: federal income and inheritance taxes; federal protection of certain workers' rights; increased regulation of large corporations; and meaningful "control over very wealthy men of enormous power in the industrial and, therefore, in the social lives of all our people." Moreover, he was a powerful and enthusiastic backer of the conservation movement, which was a major focus of progressive attention.

After he left office, national progressivism continued in the Taft administration, though Roosevelt's dramatic style was notably absent. After 1912, with the election of Woodrow Wilson, progressive policies continued despite a change of party. When the movement began to decline is hard to pinpoint. Much depends on how the movement is defined in terms of policy direction, ultimate goals, and participation. The closing year of the 1900 – 1910 decade does not correspond with the movement's culmination, either nationally or in California, where the statewide movement was still in its formative stages.

The World and the Nation: A Summary



To this point we have concentrated on the background for the interpretive period outside of California. This is important because, as unique as the California experience was in some ways, the state at the turn of the century was heavily influenced by outside actions, trends, and thought. It seems helpful to summarize certain of these before turning our attention to the state itself.

The world and the nation around 1900 were a blend of elements, both familiar and unfamiliar to our own experience. In terms of world power distribution, European hegemony was peaking, and western imperialism was already encountering barriers to further expansion. Great Britain, with its incomparable naval forces, was without a doubt the most important world power. But France, Belgium, Russia, Germany, and, after 1905, Japan, were all laying claim to foreign territories. China was regarded as a dying dynasty that they fought over. Africa was divided, almost entirely, among the English, Belgians, and Germans. Industrialization in the last two decades of the 19th Century led to a surge of expansionism. The United States, emerging as the greatest industrial power at the century's end, and, with its continental empire already conquered, belatedly joined the scramble for empire. In 1900 the United States was consolidating an empire in the far Pacific, had become part of the power equation on the Asian mainland, and began suffering certain of the headaches of international politics. Our interests were concentrated on the Pacific, on the imagined markets of China, and on an inexorable westward movement of what were believed to be civilization and progress.

The era was, as was always characteristic of the Industrial Revolution, a wild mixture of the old and new, confidence and anxiety, stability and dizzying change. The European and American societies consisted of contradictory elements. The social and political leadership was typically still in the hands of royalty in Europe, though the movers of society were in commerce and industry. The interrelated dynasties were superficially united in a family relationship of nations that were generating dangerous energies and acquiring great power. The archaic social leadership was to disintegrate in the cauldron of World War I, only a few years away, but this was inconceivable at the turn of the century when the old order seemed unshakable. The Industrial Revolution had, nevertheless, already worked immense change. In Europe and the United States a general movement from farms to cities accelerated, and a huge industrial working class emerged to pose social and economic problems – which were being addressed by theorists but not by statesmen. In Europe socialism took root and class division hardened. In America, where optimism ran higher and a tradition of social mobility continued to provide hope for the lower working class, a reform ideology, rather than a revolutionary one, took root and culminated in progressivism.

Business leadership in the United States feared the social unrest in the cities and the challenges to unbridled enterprise represented by the trade union movement. The wage earning classes cursed the trusts that mysteriously controlled the necessities of life and held wages down. The American middle class feared, both, the giant combinations above and the seething mob below. Beginning in the late 1870s the specter of urban riots was a real one. Certain instances required federal troops to dampen the threat. The tensions were compounded by nativist and racist sentiments. In the South the African American population was controlled with pervasive, vicious efficiency, with Jim Crow segregation flowering into a caste system more detailed and inventive than anything that had existed under slavery. African Americans were rural dwellers and they were constantly terrorized into submission. New and unfamiliar immigrants, from southern and eastern Europe or from Japan in the West, posed the livelier threats to Anglo-Saxon dominance. It was an age of definite anxiety.

Coinciding with such tensions there existed a sense of power, optimism, exhilaration, and unimaginable possibilities. Industrialization fostered this sense of enthusiasm and confidence. Railroads, electric lighting, telegraphs, telephones, improved industrial processes, and other marvels of technology had transformed the world during the lifetime of the women and men who lived in 1900. When times were bad, as during the economic depressions of the 1870s and 1890s, the sense of pessimism grew; but in the good days the technical marvels were worshipped as the highest achievements of the human race, and the future seemed full of more – much more – of the same. As the nation entered the new century times were getting better than they had been throughout most of the 1890s, and the coming years were to provide even more wonders.

V. CALIFORNIA FACES THE NEW CENTURY

The Troubled 1890s

The worst depression of the 19th Century began in 1893, with the financial panic that followed the collapse of a prestigious London banking house. Employers slashed wages and thousands became unemployed. Reliable employment statistics are not available for this period, but by one crude reckoning unemployment in the civilian labor force (over 14 years of age) ascended to more than 18% in 1894. In 1892 it was at 3%.[28] Bad times had come to California, exacerbated by the collapse of a real estate boom in Los Angeles, in 1888, that wiped out $14,000,000 in property values within a single year. By the spring of 1892 there were already 35,000 unemployed in San Francisco. Imagine the chaos as many unemployed descended on the city after having, literally, been driven out of Sacramento.[29]

The nation was in the firm grip of depression in 1894 as conditions continued to deteriorate. The genesis of the progressive reform movement can be discerned by the understandable discontent that emerged among businessmen, farmers, and laborers. They began to focus their discontent on the widespread political corruption and the state's largest corporation, the Southern Pacific Company. As elsewhere, unemployment created an army of drifters who moved into and throughout the state. The Pullman strike, expanded into a general railroad stoppage, reached California, and inevitable disturbances arose in the state's major cities. Anxiety was accentuated due to the social unrest and the fear of communism or anarchy. Writing as the worst uprisings were subsiding, Theodore Hittell tried to sum up the emotions of propertied Californians by contending in the summary of his four-volume history that they had an unequaled respect for the honest worker. But the tenor of the times may have been captured best by the commentary of David Star Jordan, in 1898, upon observing that 30,000 to 50,000 unemployed had ended up in San Francisco. He stated that they ". . . have no real

business in San Francisco. They live hand to mouth, by odd jobs that might be better done by better people."[30]

Across the nation the depression rolled back wage rates such that as late as 1900 statistics revealed that recovery to the 1892 wage levels had not yet occurred. Records for team railroads, for example, indicated an average annual wage of $563 in 1892. In 1900 the figure was $548. For a cross section of industrial and agricultural employment, the average wage dropped from $445 to $438 in that eight-year period. Perhaps a more accurate measure of the depression's impact appears in the figures for the valuation of personal property, including money. In 1891 the total for California stood at more than $190 million. It descended to $173 million in 1893 and fell to $158.6 million prior to the recovery that began in 1898.[31]

San Francisco's Stature

San Francisco suffered the most dramatic impact of the hard times. Inherent to an understanding of the 1900 – 1910 decade is an appreciation for the relationship between this city and the state as a whole. From the days of the gold rush, real estate speculators understood the area's strategic location as one of the few natural harbors on the Pacific Coast. The city's population mushroomed throughout most of the 19th Century, advancing from 30,000 in 1850 to 149,473 in

1870 and to 298,977 in 1890. Though the building of a railroad network on the west coast limited San Francisco's command of the hinterlands, no city in the region could compare with it. By this time it enjoyed the reputation as the greatest of the nation's cities west of Chicago. By 1880 it was the 9th largest city in the United States. With the physical restrictions on its size, created by its location on a narrow peninsula, San Francisco spawned many satellite communities around the Bay. The largest of these, Oakland, became a transportation and industrial center. In the 1880 of the Far West, Oakland was second only to San Francisco in size. At the turn of the century, San Francisco and the other Bay Area communities held nearly 40% of the state's population.[32] But along the west coast, particularly within the Bay Area, San Francisco seemed to be losing its grip by the 1890s. The city's population reached 342,782 in 1900; however, the population increase of 44,000, since 1890, was a disappointment when compared to nearby growth. During the same period, Berkeley grew from 5,101 to 11,214, and Oakland grew from 48,682 to 66,960 – to select only Bay Area comparisons.

A similar story can be told of manufacturing. During this period San Francisco dominated manufacturing in the state. By one estimate, the value of its manufacturing in 1900 was more than $133,000,000. Its closest competition, Los Angeles, was a distant second with $21,300,000. But changes following 1890 told a different story, for Los Angeles' industrial production had increased 115% over the decade, while San Francisco's had suffered a net decline of 2%. Analysis of the conditions for businesses, workers, and wages confirm that the city weathered a real battering during the 1890s. The number of businesses fell from 4,059 to 4,002; workers descended in number from 48,446 in manufacturing to 41,988; and wages fell precipitously from$30.9 million in 1890 to $22 million in 1900.[33]

San Francisco remained unrivaled in the western United States, by almost any measure. In 1900, its most valuable industry, sugar and syrup manufacturing, produced $17 million in products. The printing industry was worth $7 million, and the city's foundries and machine shops produced iron and steel products valued at more than $7.5 million. At the turn of the century each of the following industries were producing $3 million in value: beer, boots and shoes, coffee and spices, fruit processing, gas and electric products, ship building, and women's clothing. Combined, this business enterprise evidenced the diversity and magnitude of local manufacturing.[34] San Francisco also retained overwhelming dominance as a cultural center. Not counting branches of the public library within San Francisco's city limits, a statewide survey of libraries at the turn of the century identified 23 libraries in operation throughout the city, compared to only 58 in the rest of the state. Upstart Los Angeles boasted only 3, of which only one was available to the public free of charge.[35] Yet, San Francisco was sorely tested during much of the troubled 1890s. In a state already known for its boosterism and self-congratulation, that San Francisco had been staggered was disconcerting news to many. This is important for understanding the status of San Francisco's position as California's great city in the decade of 1900 to 1910, especially as it relates to appreciating the impact that the 1906 earthquake had on the entire state.

Future Prospects

The return of prosperity to California got underway in 1897 and 1898. With this came a sense of optimism that was solidly grounded in the changed conditions of the new century. Good fortune, industrial progress, and the nation's new role in the world combined to brighten San Francisco's and the state's future. Several far-reaching circumstances were significant in the improving conditions. The Klondike gold strike in Alaska opened up new commercial opportunities and increased the available money supply. The Spanish-American War brought business to the nation's most important gateway to the Pacific. The annexation of the Hawaiian Islands occurred during this period. There was the opening of the fertile and promising agricultural lands of the Imperial Valley. Development of hydroelectric power was creating a unique excitement. Fast expanding petroleum production was California's contribution to the energy revolution of the 20th Century. Economic news had turned positive. Between 1897 and 1899 bank clearings increased by 74%. That last year of the century produced the lowest rate of business failures for the past quarter century, along with new railroad mileage not seen since before the 1890s.[36]

When the results of the 1900 census became known, there was even more reason for optimism. For fourteen leading statewide industries the 1890 to 1900 decade had been far from stagnant. The number of business establishments had increased by 41.8%; capital investment was up by 42.6%; the average number of wage earners increased by 34.6%, even though the average earnings slightly declined over the decade. For industry as a whole, the pleasant news of the preliminary census reports was that a 59% increase over the decade had left California with 17,582 manufacturing establishments.[37] In the spring of 1900, Collis P. Huntington declared to men who ran the Southern Pacific Railroad under his leadership, "As I traveled up through the state on my way here last March I

could not help looking about me amazed – as I have been many times before – at the changes which time and human energies have brought about."

Despite San Francisco's disappointing showing in comparison to growth in the rest of the state for the decade of the 1890s, the encouraging economic signs focused attention on the prospects for the city's future prosperity. The dream of the Asian trade produced the greatest well of confidence. Californians may have despised and feared the Chinese and Japanese in their midst, but lucrative trade relations was another matter entirely. The gaining of entry to China, together with America's emergence as a Pacific power, made long-standing Asian trade dreams, which dated back to post-Revolutionary War years, seem close to realization. As an additional impetus, the huge American production of industrial and consumer goods had raised anxieties about the social necessity for expanding exports. It was widely believed that domestic consumption could never absorb such a flood of goods without markets abroad. The only alternative to expanding exports was believed to be eventual depression on the home front. It was these developments in foreign affairs and worry over unrest at home that helped shape California's perception of the future.

"It is not too much to say that San Francisco will be the future seat and center of a world's commerce," mused some Californians. Its customers and trading partners included the expected population of Siberia, the Japanese, and, in China, ". . . four hundred million of the most patient and industrious people on God's footstool."[39] In 1903, President Roosevelt visited San Francisco to dedicate the Dewey monument in Union Square. He was, of course, fully attuned to these hopes and spoke of a future for San Francisco, ". . . so great that the most sanguine among us cannot properly estimate it." As the Panama Canal construction got underway, toward the end of the decade, San Francisco loomed even larger as a trading center. There would be, it was repeated with comforting assurance, ". . . a commerce so vast that nobody can estimate its extent and value." The prospects for increased trade because of the canal had tangible impact throughout coastal California. A refurbishing of San Francisco's harbor facilities eventually occurred. Hopes of attracting some of the sea borne commerce spurred a Los Angeles drive to consolidate harbor operations with San Pedro and Wilmington. As San Pedro developed, the rivalry between San Francisco and the upstart southern metropolis grew more intense. But it was still a time of northern California hegemony.[40]

In terms of wealth, production, population, and potential, the San Francisco Bay area was still regarded by most as the essential California. This was already changing prior to the turn of the century, but the orientation was to fade only slowly. Another important aspect is worthy of attention. The way in which the industrial revolution had altered attitudes toward the future and remade the everyday world of ordinary people was quite evident. The future was beyond conception in this age of wonder piled on wonder. This grandiose sense of what lay ahead, rooted in the experiences of the past and in the desire to put the troubled 1890s far behind them, became a key element in much of the state's

economic, social, and political development during the 1900 – 1910 decade. The 20th Century was inaugurated with exalted yet reasonable visions. Governor George C. Pardee, an exemplar of the age, summed it up well. “It will not be many years – our children will see the day – until California will be the greatest State in all this Union,” he wrote in an essay for a promotional tract in 1904. “Her territory is an empire. Her possibilities are unthought-of.”[41]

VI. THE DEMOGRAPHIC REVOLUTION

Population Growth in Perspective

With what was regarded as a reckless prediction in 1904, a Professor E. J. Wilson studied the population densities of France and other nations and concluded that, by the end of the 20th Century, California would be home to 20,000,000 people.[42] The idea was outlandish at the time, but history has shown that these apparently wild imaginings of future reality were too modestly scaled. By the mid-1970s California had surpassed the professor's prediction by a figure exceeding the entire population of the state in 1900. In 1962 California had become the most populous state in the nation, with a population density surpassed only in New Jersey and Rhode Island. Within the lifetime of an Angelino born at the turn of the century, the sprawling city went from a bare 100,000 residents to the nation's second largest city.[43] Since the days of E. J. Wilson's observations, and even earlier, California has been undergoing a demographic revolution.

California's population in 1850 was noted in the census of that year as 92,597, though a more realistic assessment is about 165,000.[44] From 1850 to 1900 the state grew at a pace far exceeding the nation as a whole, except for the decade of the 1890s.

	California (approx.)			**United States (approx.)**		
Year	Population	Increase	Percent	Population	Increase	Percent
1860	380,000	----------	----------	31,443,000	8,251,000	35.6
1870	560,000	180,000	47.4	39,818,000	8,375,000	26.6
1880	865,000	304,000	54.3	50,156,000	10,337,000	26.0
1890	1,213,000	349,000	40.3	62,948,000	12,792,000	25.5
1900	1,485,000	272,000	22.4	75,995,000	13,047,000	20.7

The figures for the 1890 to 1900 decade reflect the impact of the hard times of that period. However, the 22.4% gain was better than the nation's average by a tenth. In retrospect, it was the calm before the storm of an astounding demographic change in the 20th Century, as is depicted in the following chart

California				**United States**		
Year	Population	Increase	Percent	Population	Increase	Percent
1910	2,378,000	892,000	60.1	91,972,000	15,978,000	21.0
1920	3,427,000	1,049,000	44.1	105,711,000	13,738,000	14.9
1930	5,677,000	2,250,000	65.7	122,775,000	17,064,000	16.1
1940	6,970,000	1,230,000	21.7	131,669,000	8,894,000	7.2
1950	10,586,000	3,679,000	53.3	150,697,000	19,028,000	14.5
1960	15,850,000	5,264,000	49.7	179,323,000	28,626,000	19.0
1970	19,071,000	3,221,000	20.3	203,392,000	24,069,000	13.4
1980	23,668,000	4,597,000	24.1	226,546,000	23,154,000	11.4
1990	29,760,000	6,092,000	25.7	248,710,000	22,164,000	9.8
2000	33,872,000	4,112,000	13.8	281,422,000	32,712,000	13.2
2010	37,254,000	3,382,000	10.0	308,746,000	27,324,000	9.7

The purpose of these charts is to place the demographic changes of the 1900 – 1910 decade in some perspective. From the point of view of California boosters in 1900, the population gain of the previous decade was a distinct disappointment. But a population of nearly 1.5 million was a remarkable accomplishment. With a history to date of outpacing the rate of national growth, itself impressive, California's importance in the nation was bound to grow. The size of the 1900 population, in relation to the size and complexity of the state, elicits a different reaction from us today than it did from the residents of 1900. They viewed the state, not so much as a small and manageable entity, as possessing an ongoing and enormous capacity for growth.

But it is imperative to note that statistics demonstrate that the population growth during the 1900 - 1910 decade was unprecedented. With the exception of the earliest years of statehood, the 60% increase in population established an unmatched record. Later decades, particularly the 1920s, were characterized by even more spectacular growth. The extraordinary population increases following World War II have dimmed the memory of all previous growth patterns. Yet, the 1900 – 1910 decade produced a profound change in California's population. In 1860, the average population density was that of a spare 2.4 people per square mile. By 1900 it had already grown 9.5 individuals per square mile, and in 1910 it stood at 15.2 people. Following the 1910 census California gained four congressional seats. With 12 representatives in Congress, the state matched Iowa, Wisconsin, and Kentucky. California's population ranked it as 20th in the nation in 1900, but this had increased to a position of 12th after the 1910 census. The state's entry to the 20th Century was accompanied by the launch of spectacular population growth.[45]

Why They Came

What drew people to California in this era? The state's natural advantages were attractive enough. However, when packaged in persuasive promotional material,

they became irresistible to all types of people, particularly to prosperous Midwesterners who were not far removed from the call of the West.[46] In that first decade of general national prosperity, migrants were enamored by California to a greater extent than they were forced out of conditions of adversity. Of the older attractions gold was no longer a great draw, but the climate and a healthier appearance of life remained potent lures. Well into the 20th Century promotional literature described the state as "an almost universal sanitarium," in which the common experience of settlers was that of gaining weight and strength.[47] California definitely offered prosperous conditions. It was a good place for the earnest, self-made person to realize the American dream. Literature emphasized the state's vast resources and potential for development. Even more was promised. The quality of life, rather than the mere accumulation of riches, was highlighted. The climate appealed to farmers who battled the freezing winters of the Midwest. The natural wonders were advertised in word and pictures, which found a receptive audience in a nation that had changed its perception of the west. It was no longer regarded as a brutal adversary to be subdued but as a submissive domain to be revered, preserved, and romanticized. California's attractions served them well as that picture began to prevail.

During the 1900 – 1910 decade, Lake Tahoe was already a premier resort area, while, along the Pacific Coast the 17-mile drive was a chief attraction for Monterey. Tahoe was accessible from San Francisco via an overnight train that traveled the Southern Pacific's line to Ogden, Utah. Travelers transferred to a narrow gauge line in Truckee, which then continued south to Tahoe City. At the lake one could choose from many resort hotels. Among them were the Bijon, the Brockway, the Deer Park Inn, and Tahoe Tavern. Board and lodging were available for a rate beginning at $3.50 per day. Though camping sites were available, it is likely that the tourists who, in 1903, could afford the round trip transportation fee of $16.50 preferred more luxurious accommodations. The Tahoe Tavern would have been a good choice. In 1907 it boasted about a new casino with, "bowling alleys, lounging rooms for ladies and gentlemen, ballroom, billiard rooms, buffet and curio shop." The dining room was impressively lit with hundreds of electric light bulbs set in deer antlers. The twin-screw steamer, *Tahoe*, afforded a 70-mile tour of the lakeshore. For the adventurous, an hours-long stagecoach ride, from Glenbrook on the Nevada shore, took passengers to Carson City. For the same $3.50 daily fee at Lake Tahoe, a tourist could enjoy the Hotel Del Monte at Monterey, where they could arrange for transportation along the 17-mile drive. A group of 25 visitors could choose to hire the largest available horse driven vehicles for $1.25 per occupant. More expensive options included renting a saddle horse for $2, a horse and buggy for $3, with an additional $1 for a driver, or a carriage with four horses and a driver, with sufficient seating for six people, at $10. In 1903 the Southern Pacific fare from the San Francisco station at Third and Townsend was $3, each way.[48]

The message of awaiting prosperity, fulfillment of the American dream, social mobility, serene and healthful surroundings – in short, the good life – was delivered nationwide and abroad. This was provided by the writings of publicists, novelists,

and poets in the publications of the Southern Pacific Railroad, *Sunset* magazine, and through the efforts of private business interests and the state government. Los Angeles County was particularly assiduous in such efforts, having launched in the mid-1890s a publicity campaign on behalf of southern California that, by the early 20th Century, had become the most successful in the state. When the California Fruit Growers Exchange, in 1907, aimed the beginning stage of a national campaign on behalf of orange sales at Iowans, the Southern Pacific joined in. Orange sales in Iowa shot up by 50%, while the campaign succeeded in luring thousands of sun seekers to the Pacific Coast. By 1910, as the motion picture industry took root in California, the most effective program of all had begun, with scenes of California in such movies as D. W. Griffith's *In Old California*.

The advertising of California by the state's boosters was very successful, as evidenced by the fact that the overwhelming contributor to population growth was immigration. Immigration had been the primary source for growth since the 1850s but became even more crucial after 1900. For example, in the decade from 1890 to 1900, 65.6% of the increase in population was due to immigration. During the changing circumstances of 1900 to 1910, the figure was 87.1%;[49] this is critical for grasping the context for the 1900 – 1910 decade. The result was a reversal of the trend toward a population native to the state. In 1880, 37.7% of Californians were born in the state. This increased to 44.5% by 1900. But migration patterns by 1930 diminished native-born Californians to 34.1% of the overall population. The people then being served by state government were more likely than in many years to be non-natives.

Another discernable trend became important. Until 1900 the migration from outside California consisted, roughly, of equal numbers of individuals born in other states and those born in foreign countries. Because total migration was about twice that of the natural increase, California's 19th Century population growth was nearly equally divided between natural increase, foreign immigration, and migration by natives of other states. The migration pattern shifted sharply in the 20th Century, because migration from other states began to dominate migration. In 1880 the foreign born in the state accounted for approximately one-third of the population. In 1900 this was down to a bit under 25%. In 1930, by which time immigration restrictions, even for Europeans, was in effect, the figure stood at 18.9%. To come full circle, the 1900 – 1910 demographic trend was toward a population born in other states within the United States.[50] These out-of-staters were largely from the nation's Midwest. The states of Ohio, Indiana, Illinois, Michigan, and Wisconsin contributed 31.5% of migration from other states during the decade from 1900 to 1910. The states of Iowa, Missouri, Kansas, Nebraska, and the Dakotas accounted for an additional 26.5%. Therefore, the arch-typical Iowan, who in legend peopled early 20th Century Los Angeles, made up the greatest single portion of in-migration. How this has impacted the history of the state is largely a matter of speculation. It seems logical, though inconclusively evident, that the state's politics have reflected these demographic influences.[51]

Distribution by Sex

Study of the population mix for Californians during the first decade of the 20th Century leads to a consideration of age, sex, and ethnic and racial distribution. Males outnumbered females in the general population throughout the period. In 1900 there was a proportion of 123.5 males to 100 females. This compared to a national status of 102.6 males to 100 females. [52] By 1910 the preponderance of males had increased to a rate of 125.5 per 100 females. The national trend was similar, though the disparity of 106 males to 100 females remained less stark. In California the various racial groups differed greatly in the proportion of males to females. Among Caucasians the ratio of males to females was 107.7 in 1900 and 108.7 in 1910. Conversely, foreign-born Caucasian men outnumbered foreign-born Caucasian women by more than 50%. Even more startling was that of Chinese men outnumbering Chinese females by more than 10 to 1. Among the actively immigrating Japanese, males outnumbered females 17 to 1, but in 1910 that figure had reduced to a ratio of 5.6 to 1. It is interesting to note that the modern ratios for Caucasian males to females are the reverse of the earlier period.

The lifespan of males exceeded that of females in 1910. Significantly, as the childbearing years were traversed, the numerical edge for males was increased. The juxtaposition of 1910 and 1975 national figures for Caucasians between the ages of 45 and 64 dramatizes the sea change of the ratios between the sexes. The 1910 ratios for that age group were 114.4 males to 100 females; in 1975, females 100 to 92 outnumbered males. The difference this has made in attitude and behavior is probably conjectural. The presence of women was valued in every newly settled community, and special promotional literature was directed toward luring them to the state. One might also assume that the deference men paid to women as civilizing agents had, at least, some relationship to their relative scarcity.

Distribution by Age

In comparison to the nation at large, the California population of 1900 to 1910 was significantly older. The United States' general population in 1900 indicated that 54% were less than 25 years of age. The corresponding figure for California was 44%. The 25 – 44 age group for the United States in 1900 represented 28% of the population, but in California they only provided 22.2% of the population. This can be understood by the impact of immigration, particularly as it related to the lack of small children but the presence of older, presumably health-seeking individuals. The long-range trends in, both, the nation and the state were toward an older population, but California consistently exceeded national averages. In 1920, 26.3% of California's population was more than 44 years of age, and only 38.9% were younger than 25. Corresponding national figures were 20.9% and 49.5%.

Contrary to beliefs that the West was a place for the young, Californians were relatively mature individuals. This likely indicated that they had been on the earth considerably longer than they had been in California. The importance of immigration in this respect is clarified by estimates of ages for immigrants from elsewhere. Between 1900 and 1910 individuals who were 40 and older comprised more than 25% of the immigration. This compares to a corresponding figure of 17.8% for the general population. During the 1900 - 1910 decade the majority of immigrants were adults between the ages of 20 and 40. One-third of all immigrants were people in their 20s.

Ethnicity and Race

Racial and ethnic profiles also enlighten us as to the Californians of the 1900 – 1910 decade. For it is here that we find some interesting contrasts to the national picture and, of course, to our own generation.[53] Due to the workings of migration, California's Caucasian majority, 88.7% of the population in 1880, had grown to 94.5% by 1900. Migration in the decades that followed altered that majority by less than 1%, until the wartime years of the 1940s. So what were the minority groups that comprised the remaining 5.5% of the population in 1900? Chinese, with approximately 3% of the population, were the largest single racial minority. This was, however, a minority whose numbers were in decline. In response to a recent influx of approximately 40,000 Chinese immigrants, an anti-Chinese immigration law was passed in 1882. Twenty years prior to this the Chinese comprised 8.7% of the population. Native Americans comprised the second largest population of non-Caucasians in 1900, at 1%, but their numbers were also diminishing. In 1860, they accounted for 4.7% of the population, but by 1920 that figure stood at a mere .5%. The remaining minority population consisted of Japanese and African Americans. Japanese were the newcomers, since they didn't begin appearing in California until the 1890s. Their population of 304 in 1890 grew to 10,151 at the turn of the century. Unique among the minority groups during our 1900 – 1910 period, their numbers rapidly increased to 41,356, or 1.7% of the population in 1910. That growth's impact on public affairs was far beyond what the figures suggest, as will be addressed later because of the anti-Asian sentiment that festered during these years.

The African American population in the California of 1900 was 11,045. Their numbers increased to 21,645 in 1910. By 1920 they represented slightly more

than 1% of the overall population. While the African Americans shared certain demographic similarities with the Japanese, they met with a different response during the decade of 1900 to 1910. This was likely due, in large part, to the fact that Japanese were small in number in the United States but heavily concentrated in California. For example, in 1900 the Japanese population in California was approximately 10,000; by comparison, New York with the next largest population in the nation had only 350. In contrast, the percentage of African Americans was much smaller than elsewhere in the nation. In 1900, while .07% of the state's population was African American, the corresponding national average was 11.6%. But the African American experience in early California will also be discussed in more detail in a later chapter.

To reiterate, during this era the United States experienced a flood of immigration form Europe, which was labeled the "new immigration." California was significantly isolated from the impact of southern and eastern Europeans, because migration to the state largely came from native-born Americans. It is notable that the percentage of foreign-born Caucasians in the state's population declined during this period. From 1890 to 1900 their population grew from 293,553 to 316,505. Yet, during our 1900 – 1910 decade the foreign Caucasian population in California underwent a growth of only .5%, to 517,250. The balance in migration between native-born and foreign-born remained virtually the same from 1900 to 1910, at a ratio of 75.3% to 24.7%.

1910 data related to San Francisco and Los Angeles clearly depicts the distribution of European ethnic groups in these cities at the close of our 1900 – 1910 decade. With its southern location and lack of international status, Los Angeles differed in interesting ways from San Francisco. More than 20% of the Los Angeles population was foreign-born. The comparable figure for San Francisco was 30%. For the final third of the 19th Century, San Francisco had the highest rate of foreign-born residents of all the nation's major cities, including New York. By 1900, New York, Chicago, and Boston surpassed it in this regard, but it remained one of the most polyglot cities in the nation.

Another difference between San Francisco and Los Angeles involved the origin of their foreign-born. Germans topped the nationality groups, with more than 9,500 or 16% of the population. English and Canadians made up 25%. The Irish totaled 6.4%. Mexicans numbered 5,611, which was barely 2.8% of the city's general population. San Francisco was populated by a somewhat different cross-section, reflecting the national trends in immigration from Europe and other Caucasian areas.

In 1910, the single largest Caucasian immigrant group in San Francisco was the Germans, at 18.4%. The English and Canadian figure was approximately 12%. The Irish contributed 17.7%. As to the "new immigration," only the Italians arrived in significant numbers. Their population was nearly 18,000 or 13% of the total. These statistics underscore that a significant part of California's urban population was foreign-born, but this impact becomes even clearer by identifying European ethnic or nationality groups. In Los Angeles, by adding the Caucasian Americans

with one or both parents foreign-born, the proportion of those with foreign ethnic ties increases from slightly more than 20% to 42%. The comparable change in San Francisco was from 30% to 68%. At this time, the foreign-born Caucasian population in California numbered 325,417 or 24.5%. Emphasizing this perspective, the native-born American population of Los Angeles exceeded that of the state at large – San Francisco less so.

Urban versus Rural Distribution

Where the Californians of our 1900 – 1910 decade resided within the state is an interesting question. The state was best known for its productive agriculture. Wheat was still a dominant crop, but, increasingly, agriculture was specializing in a number of lucrative crops that were in demand in commercial markets outside of the state. The number of individual farms increased in proportion to the growing use of irrigation, which enabled the production of these specialty crops. From 18,716 farms in 1860, the number steadily grew to 72,542 in 1900. The figure reached 88,197 during the decade that followed.[54] These years were marked by a decrease in farm acreage but an increase in agricultural land value. The average California farm of 1900 was 397.4 acres in size. Ten years later it was 316.7 acres. During this span of time the average value per acre increased from $24.56 to $51.93. However, while the rural population was growing and farm values were rising, the percentage of the overall population engaged in farming was becoming smaller and smaller. It was becoming considerably more expensive to enter farming as an entrepreneur. The average farm of 1900 delivered a value of approximately $9,760. Its lower acreage counterpart in 1910 was valued at $16,446. Also the lure of urban areas was immense.

By this first decade of the 20th Century, California had become significantly urbanized, an apparent paradox since the state was famous for its agricultural production.[55] Urban-dwellers, which at the time was defined as those living in communities of more than 2,000 in population, did not become predominant in the United States until the 1920 Census. But 52.4% of California's 1900 population

resided in urban areas. That figure increased to 61.8% in 1910 – compared to a national average of 45.8% This movement to urban areas during that first decade of the 20th Century was characterized by a net loss of population in the, by then, sparsely settled counties that had relied on gold and other mineral development. The Chinese exodus was a key factor in this change. During the 1900 – 1910 decade the counties of Alpine, Amador, Calaveras, El Dorado, Lake, Mariposa, Nevada, Trinity, and Tuolumne lost population; ranging from 8.1% for Lake County to 39.2% in Alpine County. Though these losses were numerically small (Alpine County's actual decline was 200) the significance of the movement invites our attention. Economically, socially, and politically, California was rapidly moving in new directions.[56]

The sea change that was occurring was readily observable in urban counties and areas being transformed by new industries and technologies. The population of Alameda County increased by 89% during this period, to reach 246,131. Fresno realized a gain of nearly 100%. Residents of Kern County, where petroleum fields had begun to appear, increased from 16,480 to 37,715. Imperial County, prospering from the new marvel of irrigation, went from a status of virtually unpopulated to 13,591. The San Francisco Bay area and such interior counties as Sacramento, 47.6%, were experiencing growth, but the phenomenal gains were mainly in the southern portion of the state. Our 1900 - 1910 decade was characterized by the following increases in population: Orange County - 74.8%; Riverside County – 93.9%; San Bernardino County – 103%; and Los Angeles County an astounding increase of 196%. Numbers for that last increase rocketed from 170,296 to 504,131, accounting for 37% of the statewide population increase during the first decade of the 20th Century.

Within the population growth counties, California's small and medium-sized cities realized most of the growth. Immediately following the findings of the 1910 Census, newspapers were proclaiming that over the past decade the number of towns with more than 5,000 residents had climbed from 19 to 31.[57] Indeed, the changes were sometimes spectacular. From our current day vantage point the 1910 population for various cities may seem almost amusing by comparison. Imagine the quaintness of Long Beach, with a population of 17,809, or Bakersfield as an overgrown village of 13,000 residents. These statistics suggest a small, relatively uncomplicated life, with correspondingly minimum demands on government or other services. But such an outlook misses the flavor of the times. How Californians reacted to the population changes occurring during our 1900 - 1910 decade can be understood by what they could review from their recent past. Some of what they saw was:

City	1890	1900	1910
Bakersfield	2,626	4,836	12,727
Berkeley	5,101	13,214	40,434
Long Beach	564	2,252	17,809

City	1890	1900	1910
Los Angeles	50,395	102,479	319,198
Oakland	48,682	66,960	150,174
Sacramento	26,386	29,282	44,696

Even in the hard times of the 1890s the state had grown, cities even more impressively than the state. Everyone living during the prosperous years of our 1900 - 1910 decade witnessed an explosive growth. They must have wondered what the future would hold. It is understandable if they regarded this exciting growth with some uneasiness as they weighed potential problems. With respect to government, change had outpaced existing institutions. They must have wondered if the existing distribution of power was still in accord with the dramatically changing conditions in California. It is likely that they knew life was becoming vastly more complicated, commercially dependent on distant market forces. This would have contributed to a growing need for requiring greater and greater expertise in analyzing the changes, as well as impatience for enduring the casual handling of limited vision or self-serving dilettantes and swindlers. The demographic change of 1900 to 1910, part of a larger temporal transformation that included the state's industries, agriculture, society, and politics, depict for us the quantitative evidence of an encompassing re-ordering and re-definition of the state itself. Major political adjustments were to be made after our 1900 – 1910 decade, but throughout this decade, as will be described later, the tensions and the energies capable of generating solutions were, both, gathering strength and receiving expression.

Race and Urbanization

It is helpful to note from California's early urbanization which of these tended to concentrate in the cities versus in the rural areas.[59] Caucasians in 1910 were located in proportion to the state's urban/rural averages, represented only slightly more in the cities. Foreign-born Caucasians were more likely to live in urban areas than were the native-born, by a ratio of 64.1% to 61.7%. Of the small percentage of minorities, the African Americans were the most heavily concentrated in urban areas, at a rate of 85%. The Chinese, formerly heavily involved in agriculture and mining, were becoming more urbanized while their overall numbers were shrinking, with nearly 67% of their group living in towns and cities. In the last decade of the 19th Century their corresponding percentage had been 53%. The number of urban Chinese remained virtually static throughout the 1900 – 1910 decade, at approximately 24,000. Native Americans were at the opposite end of the urbanization scale from the African Americans, because only .05% of them lived outside of rural areas in 1910. These statistics are instructive as it relates to the state's social dynamics, especially in conjunction with other detail regarding the settlement patterns for out-of-state migrants to California. These facts indicate that Caucasian migration from other states was more inclined to an urban setting than was the Caucasian population at large. Out-of-state African Americans were even more likely to gravitate toward urban areas than was true for their group at large. Among Native Americans, though out-of-state migrants in 1910 accounted for only 6.4% of their number, they comprised 43.9% the urbanized Native American population. To summarize, the migrating population of minorities from out-of-state, though lured by attractive agricultural opportunities, were more likely to become urban dwellers than were their peers who were already California residents. No matter the demographics, out-of-state migration helped fuel the urban explosion.

These city dwellers were likely to have previously been from rural locales. For African Americans the move to California represented, in one way or another, all three of the primary demographic tendencies of 20th Century America: the move from east to west; the change from a rural to an urban setting; and, sociologically speaking, the outpouring from the south to the north. This detail also dramatically illustrates the extent to which Native Americans were isolated from the population mainstream, since they were still primarily living on reservation lands. At a time of phenomenal growth throughout the state the Native American population increased by less than 7%. In an era when nearly half the state's American-born population was from out-of-state, the corresponding figure for Native Americans was 6.4%. It is important to note that during this period of urbanization Native Americans were 99.5% rural; however, a relatively large percentage of in-migrating Native Americans became urban dwellers – 33.8% versus 3% for those native to the state. In-migrating Native Americans were 1,000 times more likely to chose an urban existence than were those already residing in the state.

An earlier passage recorded that population increases between 1900 and 1910 were characterized by explosive growth in Los Angeles and other southern parts of the state. Closer examination of this development evidences one of the most significant of the demographic changes. Among many other considerations, this era set in motion historic consequences for California politics that are still unfolding. The state was in the very early stages of a transfer in power and influence that continues to alter the general perception of what California is all about.

Geographical Distribution

Northern California dominated the state during its earliest history, but after 1870 the rate of the growth in the south state, beginning with a much smaller base, outpaced the north, which became particularly relevant in the 1880s.[60] Over the late 19th Century south state growth far exceeded that in the north, as a percentage of population growth. The growth in the south was concentrated in the larger urban areas, particularly Los Angeles. Steady growth was established for the proportion of California's populace living in the southern counties.[61] The area realized a population growth of 9.5% in 1880, which rose to 19% in 1890 and 23% in 1900. In 1910, the statewide rate of population increase was 60% and the southern counties contributed 34.3% of that growth. It was during the decade of the 1920s that the center of population for California permanently shifted to the south. Though throughout the 1900 – 1910 decade northern California retained its dominance within the state, an enduring rivalry emerged between north and south, as a transitory equilibrium was nearing. This rivalry became characterized by the mutual antagonism between Los Angeles and San Francisco. The decade was to become one of considerable unease for San Francisco, despite the 40.6% increase in the Bay Area's population. South of the Tehachapi's the population grew by 146.9% - tripling the pattern in the Bay Area. The earthquake of April 1906 immensely impacted San Francisco's position in the state, but the rising profile for Los Angeles was an even more definitive influence.

After an absence of 40 years, an 1890 visitor remarked that the City of the Angels had become, ". . . a city of hustling mortals." The city was boasting about its 100,000 people, its 175 miles of graveled or asphalted streets, and its position as a major rail center.[62] Changes observed by T. S. Kenderdine seemed so different

from conditions that he remembered in1850 that he found the city unrecognizable. In the late 1860s the city had fewer than 1,000 citizens. Aided by the arrival of the Southern Pacific's southern extension in 1876, linking with the Texas and Pacific Railroad in 1881, and the entry of the Santa Fe Railroad in 1887, the city experienced its first era of fluctuations between boom, bust, and repeated boom. Prime advantage was afforded by a coterie of tireless boosters, formed into a Chamber of Commerce, and the leadership of that consummate booster, Harrison Gray Otis, of *Los Angeles Times* fame. In that last decade of the 19th Century, it was only Seattle among west coast cities that experienced a more rapid rate of growth. By our 1900 – 1910 decade, the Los Angeles transportation system, based on inter-urban trains and electric street railways, was one of the nation's best.[63] Simultaneously; it doubled its industrial capacity and began breathing down the necks of those in the north. Attempts to lure migration to Los Angeles aroused anxieties and jealousies in San Francisco. Promotional groups also represented them, though not advancing the cause for any particular section of the state, by distinctly beating their drums for the Bay Area.[65]

San Francisco During 1900 - 1910

Throughout our 1900 - 1910 decade auguries of the future were unmistakable, but the end of the first decade of the 20th Century San Francisco reigned as the city of the West Coast. This was true despite the combined assaults of the Angelinos and natural disaster. The meteoric rise of Los Angeles followed that of San Francisco. Between 1870 and 1890, San Francisco's population had virtually doubled to 298,977. It is helpful to keep in mind that the 1890s were disappointing to the city, with its population reaching 342,782 or a mere 14.6% for the decade. The interpretive decade brought improvement, with a growth rate of 21.6% and a 1910 population of 416,912. The geographically confined peninsula had by this time reached a density of 8,870 people per square mile, compared to the

statewide average of 15.2 people.[66] With 23% of Californians living within its city limits at the turn of the century, San Francisco was, unquestionably, the state's vital center. The numbers alone were not what gave it prominence. In 1899 it ranked among the top twelve manufacturing cities in the nation. Its impressive share of the state's population accounted for 42.2% of California's wage earners and 41.6% of its manufacturers. It was the state's financial, commercial, and industrial headquarters.

The city had become cosmopolitan, polyglot, stimulating, sophisticated, hedonistic, cultured, but it was also seething with corruption, reform, unrest, and inventiveness. It had no peer on the continent, west of Denver. When Great Britain's Fabian Beatrice Webb visited the city in 1898, she found it:

". . . out and away the most cosmopolitan city I have yet come across. It has not standards, no common customs; no common ideals of excellence, of intellect, or manners – only one universal anarchy, each race living according to its own lights, seeing that all alike are free from their own racial public opinion. To the person who wishes to live unto himself without any pressure of law, custom, or public opinion, San Francisco must be a Haven. If he combines with this 'individualism' a Bohemian liking for variety of costume, manners, morals, and opinions, San Francisco must be a veritable paradise."

Hopes for the future greatness and prosperity of such a city at the turn of the century were intoxicants to those who breathed them. It was not alone in contributing to California's magnificence, but cities and towns in its general area had grown and were thriving. 40% of Californians lived in the city's shadow and under its domination. New Yorkers are often stereotyped as egocentrically comprehending the world with their city not only at the center but constituting its best part. Bay Area residents during our 1900 – 1910 decade viewed their premier city similarly. This is emphasized because the perceptions of the state at that time differ considerably from those of today. San Francisco has lost little of its luster and maintains many of the qualities that were witnessed by Beatrice Webb in 1900. However, the fish did not – could not – grow with the pond, and the pond grew astoundingly.[67]

The excitement of visiting the city during the 1900 – 1910 decade, an age in which vicarious experience was largely limited to printed material and in which great cities were objects of awe and wonderment, is difficult to recapture or understand by modern standards. One could celebrate that age of new industry and technology by savoring the 300-foot high Call Building, with its sky-scraping dome and sixteen stories. The visitor could ride an elevator to the top (at no charge) and enjoy a meal (at a charge of $1 or more) at a café with a commanding view of the city. The Ferry Building was a significant landmark since it was the depot for 90% of those entering the city. From its six ferry slips, boats maintained a regular schedule to and from the cities of the Bay and the trains that served them. At the foot of its Market Street location, the Ferry Building was accommodated by a fleet of taxis, lined up one-horse brougham behind another, on either side of the street.

An arriving visitor could also save a sizeable portion of the $1 fare by accessing the street railway that connected to the city's core.

The accommodations and attractions were worthy of the great cities of Europe. The Palace Hotel was unequaled. From the corner of Montgomery and Market Streets, it charged a variety of rates, from $1.50 a day for a room to $6 a day for the American Plan package. The Fairmont Hotel was still under construction in 1903, but there were a number of other luxurious accommodations. The Lick House, at Sutter and Montgomery Streets, offered variations of the European Plan from $1 to $5 a day, depending on the number of guests sharing a room. The Golden West had a bargain low rate of 50 cents a day for only a room, but meals and an upgraded room were also available to guests at $2.50 a day. If one chose to dine outside of the hotel, San Francisco offered many excellent restaurants. Among the French restaurants in the city were those notorious for sexual appetizers and desserts, but dinners were also available. Dining was also available at Delmonico's on O'Farrell Street for a fee of $1; for 75 cents at Jack's Rotisserie on Sacramento Street; or for as little as 50 cents at the St. Germain. Theatre visits often capped off a day in San Francisco. The Alcazar on O'Farrell Street sold seats for as little as 25 cents or as much as $1. At premiere locations the prices were between $1.50 and $1. The Chutes Theatre on Fulton near 10th Avenue exacted an additional 10 cent fee for reserved seats.

There were seemingly endless choices available for the city's visitors. Among the most memorable experiences was a visit to the famous Sutro Baths, near the Cliff House along the Pacific Ocean. In an era addicted to water cures and measuring value by size, capacity, and cost, the Sutro Baths provided a particular delight. The gigantic salt-water pool was unmatched, with a length of 500 feet, a width of 254 feet, and a capacity of more than 1.8 million gallons of heated seawater. The main tank had dimensions of 300 feet in length and a maximum width of 175 feet. The top floor for this huge building housed the famous Sutro Museum. Ten cents secured admission for both the baths and museum. For 25 cents the visitor received bathing privileges, a bathing suit, and use of the bathhouse facilities.

To travel from one city attraction to another, when public transportation was unavailable or inconvenient, visitors were able to hire a carriage with driver for a variety of hourly rates. A drive from downtown to Golden Gate Park was available for $5 in a two-horse brougham. A round-trip to the Cliff House and Sutro Baths cost between $6 and $8. $10 provided a carriage tour of the Cliff House, Fort Point, and the Presidio, as well as a trip through the Park. Such luxuries were a part of the era's reality, because the times were prosperous. There were those, while a definite minority, who could afford a $10 afternoon ride in a two-horse carriage on a languid tour through this queen of western cities.

San Francisco was alive with motion and change. The rebound from the doldrums of the 1890s enabled a sizeable population growth, with 30,000 new migrants annually. By 1906 the city reached a population of nearly 500,000.[68] Business interests were struggling for control with a powerfully organized labor movement, whose political clout had captured the city government for the Union Labor Party

in the 1901 elections. For the next several years intractable and growing urban problems were virtually ignored, while Mayor Eugene Schmitz and political mastermind Abraham Ruef guided an administration that seemed more interested in graft and payoffs than with maintaining services needed by a modern city. In retrospect, for the first half of the 1900 – 1910 decade, San Francisco was headed toward overwhelming crisis. The city was basking in a golden age, encouraged by new national status as a world power, the dreams pertaining to the Asian market, and the promise of the Panama Canal. San Francisco had completed the 19th Century with rapid growth, and it was still regarded as a model of California's enticing future, throughout the rest of the nation as well as to Californians. Yet, it was also an age when social tensions were intensifying rather than dissipating. Professionals and businessmen of the middle and upper classes were vying for control of the city with a highly organized labor movement on one hand and, on the other, the power of the Southern Pacific Railroad. Additionally, in spite of impressive growth, there was underway an inexorable shift of power away from San Francisco, because Los Angeles and other cities were growing at an even more frenetic rate. But the watershed feature for the 1900 – 1910 decade was neither social nor political in origin. It was an act of nature, the earthquake of April 18, 1906.

The Impact of the 1906 Earthquake

The nation's attention was riveted on the earthquake's devastating results in San Francisco. It was, incomparably, the worst natural disaster to have struck a city of the United States. By the time that the fires ignited by tremors from the earthquake were brought under control three days later, 28,000 buildings had been destroyed and 4.7 square miles of the city were virtually leveled. The area destroyed by fire was half again larger than that involved in the 1871 Chicago conflagration. Initial indications were that between 400 and 500 lives had been

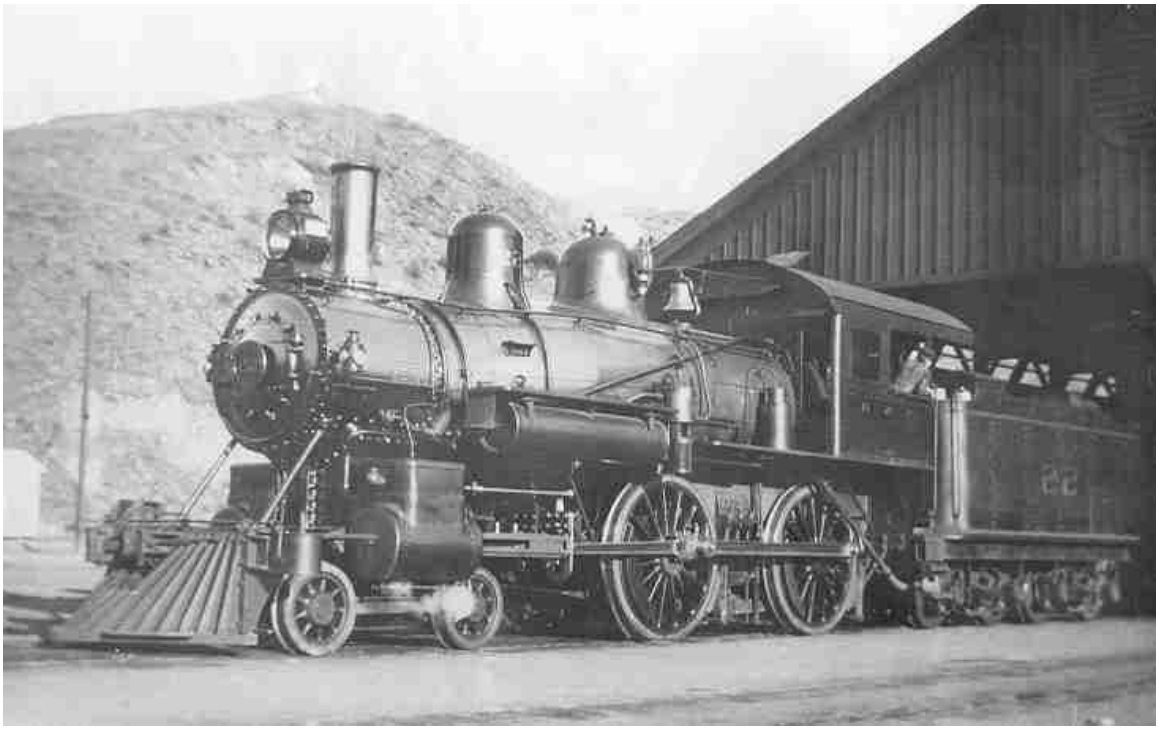
lost, but historic analysis has placed the figure nearer 3,000. Estimates of the total loss ran as high as $500 million.[69] Viewing this frightening destruction from afar requires an examination of other affects of the earthquake. For understanding the full impact of the earthquake, it is important to keep in mind that San Francisco's overall status had been slipping since the 1880s. San Francisco was already becoming less dominant as it related to the state's cultural, economic, and political life. Its prospects for future prosperity and growth were simply becoming indistinguishable from that of the state itself. There remained a dramatic contrast from the depression dynamics of the 1890s. Additionally, the city's ensuing, Phoenix-like emergence from the ashes has tended to obscure the blow that the disaster dealt to San Francisco's place in a growing state.

Prior to the earthquake, the city's relative status as a manufacturing center had already declined from the 1900 rankings. The earthquake caused the decline to accelerate. In 1904, the city was ranked 13th among the nation's manufacturing cities. In 1909, following vigorous rebuilding and considerable publicity about the city's miraculous recovery, that ranking had declined to 16th place. In 1909 and 1910, the city's industrial production was still 25% below 1900 figures and six of its fifteen leading industries were operating below their 1904 levels. To summarize, in 1900 San Francisco accounted for 41.6% of the state's total manufacturing value and 42.2% of its wage earners. The corresponding figures for 1909 were 25.1% and 24.5%.[70]

Demographically, the earthquake accelerated the rate for population shifts. The effect was to lessen the relative status of the city as it related to the greater Bay Area. From 500,000 inhabitants prior to the earthquake, people deserted the city in large numbers because of uninhabitable ruins, and the population descended to 175,000.[71] By the time of the 1910 Census the population had rebounded to 416,912 – still less than the pre-earthquake numbers of 1906. The decade's population increase of 21.6% was disappointing, because that was only half of the percentage immediately preceding the earthquake. The Bay Area, including San Francisco, experienced an impressive population growth of 40.6% for the decade. In contrast, by removing San Francisco from the equation the Bay Area counties chalked up a population increase of more than 61%. That reflected in no small measure a relocation of previous San Francisco residents to other cities in the area. With potential for considerably more, Oakland, for example, had a population of 66,960 in 1900. Prior to April 18, 1906 there was little indication that Oakland was soon to become an independent and significant city. But thousands of people deserted San Francisco and permanently moved to the East Bay, and Oakland dates its period of rapid expansion to that time. Berkeley also experienced explosive growth, particularly as earthquake refugees helped set off a real estate boom. It became the fourth fastest growing city in the United States, and its 1900 population of 13, 214 expanded to 40,343 in 1910. The rather bizarre attempt to move the capital from Sacramento to Berkeley in 1907, alleged, in part, to have been the scheme of Berkeley real estate interests, likely had more than a coincidental relationship to this city's post-earthquake boom.

VII. CALIFORNIA IN THE INDUSTRIAL AGE

An Economy in Transition



The expanding population was accompanied by impressive economic growth in agriculture, mineral extraction, manufacturing, transportation, and communications. Yet, the 1900 – 1910 decade is sometimes regarded as falling between two great eras of spectacular change and growth, which thoroughly transformed the state. First was the gold rush era, marked in its earlier stages by the emergence of a railroad network, the opening of a transcontinental line, and the development of large-scale grain- and fruit-growing agriculture. The second emerged after World War I and created momentum for the California of today; with its dazzling technological achievements, its reliance on petroleum, automobiles, airplanes, electronic communications, and massive urbanization. Between these two eras there occurred events and changes that by superficial comparison seem less revolutionary.[72] In general terms, California, during our 1900 – 1910 decade, was in transition from an economy based on agriculture and mineral extraction to one characterized by diversity and expansion. Agriculture continued to grow in value and production, but there was an immense increase in the importance of industrial and technological factors. One respected student of California's economic growth suggests that the turn of the century roughly

corresponds with the emergence of an industrial economy in the state.[73] As with our current "information age," this period in history was difficult to label.

How to designate this period of history contributes to its particular fascination. It was a time of seeding and early germination. It juxtaposed the old with the new, and a result was that people were finding that the terms for their lives were changing. This period can accurately be thought of as a bridge between the old century and the new, between outgoing and emerging technology. Telephones and bicycles were on the scene but there was also the excitement of radiotelegraphy and the automobile. The old did not necessarily disappear but neither did the new immediately dominate. In 1903, for example, Marconi's initial patent for wireless telegraphy was already seven-years-old. That was also the year in which the Wright brothers introduced the airplane; the first automobile trip was made across the United States; and Talley's Phonograph and Vita-scope Parlor in Los Angeles provided a glimpse of what we now know as the motion picture industry. Still, automobiles were regarded as futuristic novelties, little more than toys for the wealthy. But the increasing number of key inventions during this period introduced dynamics that would soon alter the terms of everyday life.[74] The appeal of this era is that much which is distinctly modern and recognizable shared the stage with what we now look upon as quaint.

Agricultural Basis of Prosperity

Throughout the 1900 - 1910 and preceding decades, agriculture provided the foundation for the state's prosperity. Promotional tracts were designed to appeal to farmers or aspiring growers; predominantly depicting west coast wonders, with agriculture receiving the major billing. T. G. Daniells' 1909 description of the state, written for the Alaska-Yukon Exposition, devoted 65 of its 174 pages to agriculture. Of the remaining pages, 10 covered lumbering; 6 addressed extractive industries; but there were only 4 pages where commerce was described as distinct from agriculture. A major selling point for promotional brochures was the potential for the future in land not yet worked. "The unimproved, untaken land of California," promised a Southern Pacific publication, "has less price set against it in proportion to its real value than any other (on) earth."[75]

Throughout the United States, these were good years for agriculture endeavors, and California farmers and growers enjoyed a prosperous decade. Farm property values in the state increased by 102.7% between 1900 and 1910 – from $796,500 to $1,600,000.[76] Significant to this increase was a 108.9% rise in land values. Average farm values increased by 66.7%, such that buying the hypothetical farm required more than $18,000 in 1910. That purchase of an average farm would have been even more expensive absent the decline from 397 to 317 acres over the span of that first decade in the 20th Century. The availability of new land was

not the agent for the decrease in farm size. Over that decade there was a net decrease in the number of farms with more than 260 acres, while there was a 21.6% increase in the overall number of farms. The value of farm animals also substantially increased over the decade – but not at the pace of land value. In December 1909, average livestock prices in California included: $105 for a horse; $122 for a mule; $38.40 for a milk cow; and $3.30 for a sheep. The unprecedented 3.1% decrease in actual farm acreage posed an interesting contrast to the record of expanded enterprise and increased values. Farms covered 28.9% of the state's land volume in 1900. The corresponding figure for 1910 was 28%. That decrease would have been even larger had it not been for the consumption of 281,000 acres for the creation of the Salton Sea.

Slightly decreasing farm acreage was in no way indicative of the substantial gains being posted by California agriculture during the 1900 – 1910 decade. The state boosters reveled in the statistics revealing astounding increases in agricultural value and production over the decade. Dairy farming, between the years of 1898 and 1908, realized an increase in butter production of 105%, while Central Valley dairies were experiencing an increase of 378%.[77] Viticulture and winemaking were also on the rise. In 1900, the state produced 27,000,000 gallons of wine and brandy. By 1910 that production had reached 48,000,000 gallons. One 1909 source estimated that unimproved land suitable for grape culture could be obtained for between $40 and $100 an acre. The field crops of barley, hay, wheat, and beans yielded nearly two-thirds of the state's agricultural value, even though rice was not yet a major contender.[78] Orchard crops, especially citrus, had become one of the major agricultural developments at the turn of the century.

Peach and prune trees dominated among the deciduous fruits. Superb taste and health considerations made these a popular commodity in and out of the state. Prune growers, organized as the California Cured Fruit Association, combining their advertising efforts with the Southern Pacific, claimed that prune eaters had clearer complexions and healthier stomachs than less fortunate folks, by declaring, "Prunes make people well. Prunes make people strong. Ask your doctor what he thinks about prunes."[79] In 1910, California could account for 9,000,000 prune trees in its orchards, a figure that was only exceeded by peach and orange trees, each of which numbered 11,000,000. In terms of production value, oranges far outpaced the others.

Development of Citrus

The most significant agricultural news regarding crop development and marketing during the 1900 - 1910 decade was the growth of citrus, impressively led by oranges.[80] There were only 4,000 orange bearing trees in California in 1860. Two innovations during the 1870s and 1880s initiated large-scale production: irrigation of upland tracts such as those in Riverside; and the introduction of new fruit strains, particularly the Washington naval and Valencia oranges. The development of refrigerated railroad cars opened new possibilities for serving distant markets. Large-scale production was on the scene by 1880, concentrated in southern California; and by 1886 out-of-state shipments totaled 2,500 carloads. By 1909 the volume had increased to 29,497. The orange had become a staple of the diet in states to the east, removing its status as a luxurious novelty of the Christmas season.

Credit for the remarkable marketing success belongs to the 1905 creation of the California Fruit Growers' Exchange, a cooperative of commercial citrus growers. To ensure that the oranges were delivered to the most lucrative markets the Exchange set standards for shipments. By controlling shipments and sales, and by undertaking sophisticated advertising and promotional campaigns, the Exchange created and managed a growing commercial market for California oranges. It is helpful to reiterate that the initial Exchange sales campaign, in Iowa in 1905, was held in conjunction with the advertising of California as a place to live. It was at this time that the trade name *Sunkist* was first employed. (In 1952, the Fruit Growers' Exchange was renamed the Sunkist Fruit Growers' Exchange.) The decade had launched the widespread sale of California oranges. In 1909, the

agricultural value of California oranges was $13,000,000. Over the exceptional decade that followed for these growers that value had increased to $42,700,000. Sunkist's story during the decade of 1900 – 1910 exemplified the overall extraordinary trends for California agriculture. Earlier than in other states, California's agriculture was becoming a highly technical, specialized, commercial enterprise; which heavily relied on scientific business management, cooperation, and marketing expertise. In this respect, California had set a standard for the rest of the nation, as well as the world.

Irrigation in California

The growth of the citrus industry highlights the importance of irrigation, without which the scale of orchard production that was achieved would have been impossible. Irrigation grew to prominence during the 1880s and 1890s, mainly in Southern California and the San Joaquin Valley.[81] Riverside, with its burgeoning citrus production, provided an inspirational model. By the turn of the century, nationally and in California, irrigated agriculture had become a crusade. Its leading advocate was William E. Smythe, who had invested with high moral and

political content. Irrigation was seen as a force for a Jeffersonian democracy, based on small, individual holdings or utopian-like cooperative efforts. National efforts culminated in the Newlands Act of 1902, which provided for federal reclamation projects directed toward encouraging small landholdings in the western states.[82] During our 1900 – 1910 decade the use of irrigation grew impressively in California, from 1.4 million acres to 2.6 million acres - a gain of 84.2%. By 1910, 23.4% of all improved farmland in the state was being irrigated.[83]

The single most dramatic application of irrigation during this decade was in the Imperial Valley, where a vast tract of arid land was irrigated by Colorado River water. George Chaffey, the foremost reclamation engineer in the West, designed this project. A speculative venture funded entirely by private capital; the Imperial Valley project became a spectacular showcase for irrigation practices. In early 1901, the Imperial Valley had no Caucasian settlement. In June of that year, the first Colorado River was flowing onto the Valley's soil. Impressive salesmanship brought ambitious growers to the once forbidding valley – even the name Imperial was specifically chosen as part of the promotion. Between 1903 and 1905 the Caucasian population soared from 2,000 to 10,000, and by 1905 120,000 acres were under cultivation by 14,000 people. A temporary panic in 1902, brought on by pessimistic reports of high soil alkalinity, failed to permanently dampen enthusiasm. Flooding that devastated the Imperial Valley for several years during this period also failed to reverse the wheels of progress, even though it was this natural disaster that converted the Salton Pink to the Salton Sea. In 1907, success for the area was crowned by the creation of Imperial County.[84] That Governor Pardee became an active participant in the national irrigation movement was more than a coincidence. "Irrigation" and "reclamation" were terms that had taken on considerable emotional content. Advocates considered themselves to be engaged in the progressive cause of enhancing democracy and material prosperity.

Extractive Industries

Another excellent example of substantial growth in California's economic activity during our 1900 – 1910 period involved the existing sector of mining for metal, mineral, and other natural resources. Gold was the highest profile metal, and in 1910 was also the most valuable. However, this precious metal experienced its halcyon days in the 1850s. The high of $81,000,000 in production value in 1852 declined to an annual figure of $10,000,000 in the 1860s. The easy pickings had become exhausted and mining became a highly technical and costly process, with the advent for an era of destructive hydraulic mining. In the 1890s, annual production hovered between $12 and $13 million. The first decade of the 20th Century began with an annual production of $15.8 million and drew to a close with an output of $20.2 million. Gold mining remained the most valuable of the extractive industries, a mature enterprise that many out-of-staters associated with California.

The traditional focus on gold somewhat obscured significant growth in industries involving other minerals and metals. By 1910, excluding petroleum, the value of California mineral production stood at $50.7 million. Prominent among these rising industries were: cement, ascending from 1.6 million barrels in 1908 to 5.4 million in 1910; and copper, a new industry centered in Shasta County with a production value of $6.7 million at the end of the decade. In 1910, California led the nation in mineral production. But it was lumbering that realized the most valuable production in the state at the end of our 1900 – 1910 period. Logging, sawmill,

planing mill, and wooden box manufacturing employed 23,000 wage earners – nearly 20% of all those employed in manufacturing – and in 1909 produced $45,000,000 in product value. As with irrigation, lumbering became a major concern for progressive reformers. Awareness of the need for the conservation and scientific management of forests led to the eventual creation of the United States Forest Service, within the Agriculture Department, under Gifford Pinchot, one of Theodore Roosevelt's key associates. Under Governor Pardee, a California State Forestry Board was established in 1905, providing the introduction of modern conservation in California.[88]

Transportation Systems

Similar to agriculture and natural resources, the legacy for transportation during the 1900 – 1910 decade mainly consisted of improvements in 19th Century methods, rather than revolutionary change. Water and railways remained the major conduits for long-distance transportation. Despite the problems caused by debris from hydraulic mining, at the turn of the century the Sacramento River continued to serve as the state's principal navigable river. Regular sailings of flat-bottomed steamers connected Sacramento with the bays of Suisun, San Pablo, and San Francisco. This waterway was also plied by many smaller sailing craft. The steamer trip from San Francisco to the capital city took 12 hours, covering a distance of 122 miles. Fare for the trip was $1.50, with an extra charge of 50 cents for meals and a berth. Smaller sailboats and light draught steamers traversed the Sacramento River as far north as Red Bluff.[89] This was regarded as a pleasant means for casual travel.

The previous half-century development of steam train travel along railways had familiarized people with a more comfortable means for travel. By the turn of the century the United States railroad network was the wonder of the world. California, with its growing population and vast stretches of land, was well served by its share of railway. Though claiming only 2% of the nation's population toward the end of the decade, California enjoyed 3% of the nation's railway system. [90] In 1910, 7,300 miles of main-line track served California, while branch tracks and sidings added another 2,800 miles. This network continued to grow, with 464 miles of track added from 1910 to mid-1911. The giant among railroad operations

in the state was the Southern Pacific Company. By 1910 it was a huge holding company, controlling 35 different railroads. During our 1900 – 1910 decade the Southern Pacific and its rivals completed the state's rail system. In 1902, the Southern Pacific completed the San Francisco to Los Angeles coastal route; and in 1905 the San Pedro, Los Angeles, and Salt Lake City route was completed, under Union Pacific control – a unit in the Edward Harriman empire, of which Southern Pacific was the jewel. Rival railroads penetrated the state and rivaled the monopolistic control of Southern Pacific. The Santa Fe Railroad had been welcomed by Los Angeles in the 19th Century. In 1909, after considerable resistance from Southern Pacific, George Gould's Western Pacific connected Oakland to Salt Lake City and Denver, forging the fourth link to the East from the state. Only two counties in California were without steam railroad service at the end of this first decade in the 20th Century.

Trains helped knit the state together, as well as end it isolation from the East. San Francisco and the Bay Area were the main terminus point. Until the completion of the Dumbarton cut-off, south on the peninsula, which made possible direct train access to San Francisco from the East in 1910, all trains coming into California via the Ogden and Shasta routes over the Sierras traveled on to Benicia. From this location, the giant ferry, *Solano*, reputed to be the largest of its kind in the world, often handled passengers from two full trains and transport across the Carquinez Straits. Accessing another ferry in Oakland enabled travelers to complete their trip to San Francisco.[91]

Passengers were solicited during this golden era of railroad travel. Luxurious touches, especially on the longer routes, provided for their comfort. In 1907, the Southern Pacific's *Overland Limited* to Chicago featured a parlor observation car, a library and café, a reading room, a ladies parlor, and electric lights in every berth. For those who could afford to get away from it all, the Southern Pacific's *Sunset Limited*, during the winter months traveled a northerly route from New York via New Orleans and Washington, D.C. The train originated in San Francisco on Tuesdays and Fridays throughout the winter season. Travel times were impressive, though published schedules were not always maintained. The *Sunset Limited*, for example, which embarked from San Francisco on Tuesday, at 5 P.M. arrived the following Monday in New York at 12:43 P.M. a bit more than six days.[92] That was, in 1900, within the lifetime of many individuals whose youth was characterized by overland transportation that was, essentially, what it had been since the invention of the wheel and oxcart. The Chicago trip took less than three days in 1907. Fares that may seem reasonable by today's standards were steep when converted to current cost-of-living rates. In 1903, the trip between Los Angeles and San Francisco cost $15 or $13, depending on whether one wanted to travel by first- or second-class. In 1908, the Southern Pacific lowered its New York fare to $59.20. The wild era had ended for destructive railroad competition that sometimes led to rate wars between competing lines. In the 1880s, when the Santa Fe reached Los Angeles to compete with the Southern Pacific for transportation to the east, a rate war temporarily lowered the fare between Los Angeles and the Mississippi River to $5.[93]

A technological breakthrough in rail transportation that enabled fast, efficient urban and inter-urban mass transit arrived approximately ten years before the turn of the century.[94] Horse-drawn railways came into use in the cities in the 1850s. Attempts to use steam railways met with mixed success; in New York and elsewhere elevated lines proved to be noisy, dirty, and dangerous. Scottish immigrant and San Francisco wire-rope manufacturer Andrew Smith Hallidie's invention of the cable car overcame these disadvantages, while offering speeds that were twice as fast as horse-drawn conveyances. In the 1890s a number of cities installed cable car systems. The Far West had 217 miles of cable car track at one time, but the disadvantages of high expense and relative inflexibility caused San Francisco to be the only city in the west to retain cable car service. The application of electric power to railways became the answer to urban and inter-urban transportation for this era. Richmond, Virginia blazed this pathway in the late 1880s. By 1895, 850 United States cities had 10,000 miles of electrified trolley systems. Within a few years, horse-drawn cars nearly disappeared from the scene, while electric power was applied for 97% of urban tracks.

While San Francisco retained the cable car, electric trolley and inter-urban systems were enthusiastically installed throughout the other major urban areas. Los Angeles was well served by a streetcar system known as the Los Angeles Railway. In San Francisco in 1902, Patrick Calhoun organized the local transit operators to consolidate the city's electric street railways as the United Railroads. Attempts to tie together the state's metropolitan regions were met by mixed results in San Francisco, because local politics and the opposition of the Southern Pacific combined to prevent completion of a comprehensive regional transit system.[95] The experience was different in Los Angeles. Overseen by Henry Huntington, the impressive Pacific Electric line was installed, providing the region with one of the best rapid transit systems in the world. As elsewhere, electrified railroads and urban trolley systems enabled the growth of suburbs around the core city. A pioneering study of the time documented that the results for Boston, Los Angeles, and other cities included the social stratification of urban regions into core cities housing relatively poor people and suburbs populated by middle class citizens. In Los Angeles, the urban sprawl, for which the automobile has been held accountable, began with the success of these earlier versions of fast-moving inter-urban transportation.[96] The extent of electric inter-urban service is indicated by the 1,750 miles of track in service in 1910. Among the 35 major roadways throughout the state, the United Railroad had 270 miles, Oakland Traction had 170 miles, and the Northern Electric line serving Sacramento and the upper valley had 140 miles. The Pacific Electric and Los Angeles Railway, both controlled by Huntington, dwarfed them all with its 1,220 miles of track.[97]

Petroleum

The greater part of our 1900 – 1910 decade was distinguished by substantial, mainly quantitative, changes in agriculture, resource exploitation, and transportation. But there were hints of transforming changes in other areas. Prominent among these were developments in petroleum production and electric power. The petroleum industry had experienced a slight boom as early as the 1860s and 1870s, but the modern era of production dates to major oil discoveries in Los Angeles in the 1890s – and, toward the end of that decade, in Fresno and Kern Counties.[98] Production of crude petroleum was skyrocketing by the turn of the century. From 1.2 million barrels in 1895, production in 1990 reached 4.3 million barrels – an impressive growth but barely 2.3% of national production. In 1901, production leaped to 8 million barrels and 24.4 million in 1903. This phenomenal growth continued, with 40.1 million barrels in 1908 and 77.7 million in 1910 – by which time California accounted for more than 37% of national production. Among the leading extractive industries in the state, petroleum, for the first time, exceeded gold in production value in 1907. With increases in production, however, unit prices fell. In 1900, the well head price for a barrel of oil ranged from 10 cents to $1, with an average of 70 cents according to one estimate. The 77.7 million barrels produced in 1910 sold at an average rate of 49 cents a barrel.

The refined product enhanced the value of crude oil. Throughout our 1900 – 1910 decade crude petroleum was put to different uses than those of today. Asphalt was a major product on the West Coast. The low-cost availability of crude oil for the production of asphalt played a huge role in the state's successful improvement of its roads. Gasoline, during these earliest days of the automobile, did not

compare in volume to the production of lubricating and illuminating oils (e.g. kerosene). The 1909 national production of nearly 33 million barrels of illuminating oils underscores the extent to which electric lighting was still in its embryonic stages. The increasing availability of petroleum products was of considerable consequence during this time in history. The western railroads were leading the nation in the conversion from coal to diesel oil; while California industries, Southern California in particular, gained access to energy supplies that simply weren't available during the coal age. By 1909, nearly 8.9 million barrels of petroleum products were in use by the state's industries. The largest portion of this during the 1900 - 1910 decade was the crude oil used to produce energy for fire steam engines. For example, in 1907 half of the crude oil production provided fuel for western railroads. Hotels, gas plants, and shipping vessels were also major consumers. Noteworthy for this moment in history is the extent to which other fuels such as coke, coal, and wood were being displaced. For all practical purposes, the petroleum industry was launched during this first decade of the 20th Century.

Electricity

Increasing reliance on electric power, particularly hydroelectric, was another augury of the magnitude of change during this era.[99] Between 1900 and 1925, hydroelectric power generated in the state rose from 30,500 kilowatt hours to 1,366,000. Enterprises throughout California far outpaced the national average in adopting its use. In 1899, steam engines provided approximately 80% of industry's energy requirements, compared to 12.4% by electricity. Ten years later, while industry's energy output increased by 260%, electric engines had increased in number from 281 to 12, 393 and accounted for 35.4% of the power in use. However, the conversion from steam to electric power remained incomplete, and steam prevailed as the more important type of engine for California industry. But the tide was changing and California led the way. In 1899, electricity had supplied only 7.6% of the state's manufacturing needs. By 1904 that rate had increased to 18.7%. Corresponding figures for the United States were 1.8% and 3.3%. Electrically generated industrial power exceeded 33% in 1909, but the United States average was only 9.4%. It required another decade for the rest of the nation to achieve similar levels for industrial use of electrical power.

Electric lighting also became more common during our 1900 – 1910 period. In 1900 the nation was poised on the precipice of an extraordinary expansion in the application of electricity. Between 1890 and 1900, the value of electrical apparatus production rose from $19.1 million to $91.3 million and the number of manufacturers multiplied from 189 to 580. With the industry centered in New

Jersey, Ohio, and Massachusetts, more than $4 million in incandescent bulbs were produced in 1900. By comparison, California produced $60,000 in electric light fixtures, far less than New York's nation-leading output, but more than New Jersey and only $19,000 less than Massachusetts.[100]

Trends in Economic Development

The rise in new sources of power, in conjunction with the excellent development of water and rail transportation systems, and the noteworthy opening of national and international markets, did much to free California from conditions that in earlier years restrained manufacturing growth throughout the state. With its influx of population in the 1900 – 1910 decade, the stage was set for the meteoric rise of California as an industrial center. As noted earlier, this did not occur during the 1900 – 1910 decade, but growth, with few exceptions, was exceptional and in pattern with previous years. While the industrial revolution hadn't quite arrived, there was a widespread understanding that the terms of California's economic life were in flux. Having overcome the problem of inexpensive and inadequate power, few roadblocks for future economic expansion were in sight. The optimism with which California entered the 20th Century was as strong at the end of the decade as at its beginning, and the populous was even more sanguine in its expectations for industrial progress. The state, remarked businessman, former governor, and later United States Senator George C. Perkins, in 1909, ". . . now has within its borders all that is needed for unlimited development." The coming half-century, he predicted, ". . . will witness an expansion here, on all industrial lines, that will vastly transcend anything which has gone before."[101]

Manufacturing predictions for the decade offered similar promise. From 1899 to 1904, the value of the state's manufacturers rose from $257,386,000 to $367,218,000 – or 42.7%. By 1909 that value had increased to $529,761,000 – delivering an additional increase of 44.3% Even by accounting for a rise in prices

over the decade, industrial production values outpaced the remarkable increase in population over the period.[102] By most yardsticks there were impressive gains throughout the decade. From 1899 to 1909, the value of manufacturing firms rose from $92.5 million to $204.5 million; wages from $39.9 million to $84.1 million; and capital investment from $175.4 million to $537.1 million. By dividing the decade roughly in half, the years 1899 to 1904 were characterized by a higher rate of growth than was true for the period of 1905 – 1909. In value added by manufacturing, one of the best indications of economic growth, the gains during the first part of the decade outstripped those of the second by 63.8% to 35%. Conversely, the rate of capital investment during the second half of this decade was 50% greater than in the first half. Another interesting change, mirroring national developments, was the trend toward economic concentration in the hands of relatively large businesses. Between 1899 and 1909 the average investment in industrial establishments rose from $35,114 to $70,131.

Many industrial achievements reflected the overriding importance of agricultural and extractive industries to the state's economy. California was the national leader in the production of explosives at the turn of the century, mainly due to mining operations. At this same time, the state also led in canning and wine production, ranked fourth in slaughtering, and held fifth place in sugar and molasses refining. The state's leading manufacturing industries generally followed a similar pattern. In 1900, agriculture and horticulture were the sources for five of the fourteen leading industries. Sugar and molasses refining was a leader at the time, employing 1% of the wage earners but producing products valued at $15.9 million. Centered in the Bay Area, this industry used sugar shipped to San Francisco from Hawaii, as well as the large sugar beet production of domestic growers. Performance of the slaughtering and meat packing industry was only slightly behind that of the frontrunner. Forestry product manufacturing held third place in 1900, but it ascended to a position of leadership by the end of the decade. Logging, sawmill, planing mill, and related activities enormously increased in production value. This was particularly true between 1899 and 1904, when this industry's production value rose by an astounding 89%. In 1909 the industry turned out $45 million in products and employed 23,000 wage earners, which was nearly 20% of the entire industrial work force. Statistics for this key California industry evidenced the demands on natural resources that were posed by the nation's expanding cities and growing population. The compelling story from the state's industrial and economic growth and change during the 1900 – 1910 period is that of its movement toward a sophisticated, urban, industrial society. The ability to produce goods and the necessity for planning, management, and other service-related skills grew in tandem. The full picture was still developing, but the trend, as touched on earlier in other contexts, was unmistakable. How the work force earned its living is one of the best indicators of an historic change from a rather simple, agrarian society to one that was becoming urbanized and complex. In this first decade of the 20th Century, the state's population rose by 60.1% and the work force increased by 69.6%. Wild variations that are extremely instructive were characteristic of these dramatic increases. The agricultural work force increased by only 21.7% and extractive industry workers by 14.2%. By

comparison, the manufacturing work force increased by 72%, those in transportation and communication by 93.5%, and employment in the building trades by 152.9%. Further accentuating the change underway, those employed in public administration increased in numbers by 140.3% and clerical workers by 260%.

An Outpouring of Invention

162—Completed Product of a Great Automobile Factory Ready for Delivery, Detroit, Mich.

How were ordinary people's lives affected by these developments? The impact was probably never more tangible in that era than that posed by new products and inventions. The change was of such consequence throughout the 19th Century that, in everyday life, adjusting to the wonders and dilemmas of technology became a necessary skill. During the 1900 – 1910 decade, some of the new "miracle" inventions had been around for years and had already become deeply rooted. Others, like motion pictures, were still in their early and formative stages. The impact on everyday life varied depending on the particular invention. The phonograph, for example, immensely changed the use of leisure time and direction for popular culture. Nationally, the phonographic industry made great strides during the first decade of the 20th Century, realizing a five-fold increase in the value of its products between 1899 and 1909 – from $2,246,274 to $11,725,996. United States manufacturers in 1909 produced more than 344,000 phonographs and more than 27,000,000 records and recording blanks.[103] But the phonograph had less impact than the fields of transportation and communication. Among the more important of these were the increasing use of typewriters, the continued growth of the telephone industry, and the development of bicycles and

automobiles. Each of these had an immense impact on the everyday life of most citizens. They caused important social or economic changes, and a consideration of their effect helps illuminate this fascinating age. They can each be introduced while providing interpretation for the museum rooms at the Capitol. Telephones and typewriters are a part of the museum furnishings. Visitors may find it interesting that Governor Pardee's stenographer, E. G. Twogood, frequently rode a bicycle to work; and Governor Pardee suffered through an increasingly common association with the automobile, because his oldest daughter was killed in one of the most publicized accidents of the era.

Typewriters

Functional typewriters had been in existence since the 1820s, but their drawbacks prevented significant use.[104] Wisconsin printer C. T. Sholes, after years of experimenting, devised a machine with two critical features: the keys worked according to piano principles and the carriage bearing the paper moved, rather than the paper stock as in earlier models. Patented in 1867, the machine was designed for writers and ministers, with no thought as to its possibilities for public agency or private offices. The Remington Company, in 1873, created a subsidiary company to manufacture and market Sholes-patent machines, but discouraging sales led to the parent company selling off its typewriter operations. The resulting and independent Remington Typewriter Company benefitted from the parent company's difficult and unrewarded attempts to develop a mass market for the device. In the late 1880s, United States businesses began turning to the use of these machines. The key aspect of this development was not that of a new

technological breakthrough, but, rather, the growth of paperwork as an important activity. The success of sales to this growing market attests to the larger success of 19th Century business expansion within the United States and the emergence of large-scale enterprises. Once this market opened mass production and competition by other manufacturers satisfied demands. Those newer manufacturers won patents for slightly different designs that were almost entirely based on the Sholes innovations. By the early 1890s, typewriters were becoming common in well-equipped offices, and, incidentally, so, too, was the female secretary. In the California of 1900 there were six businesses that were each employing an average of sixteen men for the repair and maintenance of these machines. In that year they garnered $22,250 for this work.[105]

Telephones

Another modern instrument common to government, business, and private homes was the telephone.[106] Patented by Alexander Graham Bell just prior to the nation's centennial celebration, in 1876, the telephone rapidly established its place for commercial use. Excellent promotion of his invention led Bell's rival, the Western Union Company, to form the America Speaking Telephone Company in 1879, despite the fact that Bell's company owned the key patents. Within months Bell and Western Union agreed to form a joint company. Commercial telephone service was underway only a few years after the initial invention of this instrument. The swiftness with which the telephone reached full-scale use is stunningly revealed in statistics for 1880, which recorded 148 different companies or concerns, more than 54,000 telephone sets, and 34,000 miles of telephone wire.

Put in perspective, there were only 1.1 telephones per 1,000 United States citizens in 1880 and the potential for growth was apparent. By 1890 there were 234,000 telephones, nationwide, and in 1900 there were approximately 1,356,000 – or 17.6 telephones per 1,000 in population. In 1900 the Bell system accounted for 1,500 exchange center operations and the placement of 1,254,203 miles of wire – over which two billion messages were sent.

The story of the telephone in relationship to life in Sacramento and the Capitol will come later. That story is included in the enormous growth for use of the telephone throughout our 1900 - 1910 period and the unusual extent of the invention's adoption in California. In that first decade of the 20th Century per capita statistics document an increase from 17.6 telephones per 1,000 in population to 82. No other decade matches this per capita growth, During that period the absolute number for telephones in use increased from 1.3 million to 7.6 million. It should be emphasized that phones were far from becoming as ubiquitous as they have become in modern times. The costs were expensive in terms of real income, and the 1910 per capita figure pales before the corresponding 2000 figure of 566.1, with telephones in 97.6% of the nation's homes. In 1910 California was a national leader in phone use. San Francisco had a per capita ratio of one phone per twelve people, the highest rate in the world at the time.[107] The city's first switchboard, connecting eighteen telephones, went into operation in 1877. The operating company was Western Union's America Speaking Telephone Company.[108] The following year it was servicing 178 subscribers. The National Bell Telephone Company began operations in the city at about the same time. The two bitterly competed until 1880, when as a consequence of the merger of Bell and Western Union subsidiaries the Pacific Bell Telephone Company was formed. Shortly after that merger women began to replace teenage boys as operators, since females had been found to be more civil than male in dealing with patrons. As use increased in the 1880s the rates fell. Telephone poles along the streets, initially, supported wire and, eventually, insulated cables. (Prior to 1880 it was customary to string wire from rooftop to rooftop.) An era began in the cities of telephone company expansion and long distance service through exchange centers. This was especially true after 1883 when Pacific Bell incorporated the Sunset Telephone and Telegraph Company to operate outside of San Francisco. Sunset's primary objective was that of absorbing the many private and small companies that had been servicing areas outside the city. In 1883, San Francisco, Oakland, San Jose, Hayward, and Benicia were merged into an interconnected telephone network. By 1892, telephone cables were being installed underground in special clay conduits. In 1890, Pacific Bell changed its name to Pacific Telephone and Telegraph in anticipation of major growth. In 1890, new subscribers who could not afford single-line rates were attracted through the introduction of four- and ten-party lines, as well as a partial phone service known as the "kitchen telephone." This service, for 50 cents a month, accommodated only outbound calls, had no bell, and operated on a line shared by as many as twenty subscribers. These low-cost enticements paid off by acclimating the public to the use of phones and in converting them step-by-step to full-service patronage. By 1898 San Francisco had more than 11,000 telephones.

By the time of the great 1906 earthquake, more than 50,000 phones serviced San Francisco's 400,000 people. The earthquake and fire of April 1906 put every one of them out of service, because lines had come down and most of the system's machinery and facilities, including some of its main exchange buildings, were destroyed. A temporary line was laid over the ruins of the city, terminating at the Ferry Building where it was connected to Oakland via an underwater cable. One week after the disaster the first post-earthquake directory was issued – a card bearing 30 numbers associated with the relief effort.[109] When Governor Pardee arrived in the Bay Area he established headquarters in Oakland, which, through telephone and telegraph communication with San Francisco, served as the communications link between the stricken city and the rest of the world.[110]

Bicycles

Developments in transportation during that first decade of the 20th Century proved dynamic and attention grabbing. Just as with manufacturing and communications, for transportation the decade was part of a transition period between salient California developments of the 19th and 20th Centuries. In and of themselves they didn't necessarily constitute revolutionary change. Within the transportation industry the railroads, as previously indicated, had achieved significant maturity. For several more years the railroad network proved to be adequate for the needs of the time. But revolutionary changes, only hinted at during the 1900 – 1910 decade, began to assert themselves. Though not immediately recognized as foreboding, these changes would soon end the dominance of rail transportation as the prime means of rapid transit. Throughout the first decade of the 20th Century,

the main outlines for change involved developments in wheeled transportation: the bicycle and the automobile.

Enthusiasm for the bicycle was already waning as the 20th Century got under way. Its rage had begun with the breakthrough development of the essentially modern "safety bicycle" in 1885 and it reached a climax in the late 1890s. Bicycles brought a major change in personal transportation, and they were considered a serious response to the need for swift, economical, and convenient transportation. While cycling remains a major pursuit in modern times, it is difficult to imagine how the generation of the 1900 - 1910 decade regarded the machine. 17,500 employees were engaged in bicycle manufacturing at the end of the 19th Century, which was ten times the number of only one decade earlier. The value of the 1.1 million bicycles produced in 1899 by more than 300 manufacturing establishments, was $31,915,908, The League of American Wheelmen was formed during this period as one of the by-products of this machine's popularity with the riding public. At its peak, this organization's membership stood at 100,000. The initial lobbying for improved roads was conducted by its members and came to fruition as automobiles came into greater use. "It is safe to say," noted the 1900 Census revue of the industry, "that few articles ever used by man have created so great a revolution in social conditions as the bicycle.[111]

The love affair with the bicycle cooled rather precipitously over the next few years, possibly due to saturation of the market.[112] Between 1899 and 1904, the number of manufacturers descended from 312 to 101; those employed in the industry fell from 17,525 to 3,319; and the number of bicycles manufactured went from 1.1 million to 230,000. The decline continued throughout the decade, with production in 1909 reduced to 170,000 machines. While bicycling diminished in overall popularity during this first decade of the 20th Century, it remained an important factor in transportation and social life. It is difficult to pinpoint the status of the industry in California at the end of the decade. 1910 Census data documented that there were five bicycle manufacturers in the state, with 19 employees and capital investment of approximately $23,000. In 1900, there had been four manufacturers, with a similar number of employees, and capital investment of $19,254. This comparison masks a significant decline for bicycles, because these manufacturers also produced motorcycles. In 1909, the nationwide production value for the industry stood at $10.7 million, of which bicycles contributed only $2.4 million. The golden age for bicycling had virtually ended by the dawn of the 20th Century.[113]

Automobiles

The new and exciting innovation during the early years of the 20th Century was the rise of motor-powered, individual transportation. Production of motorcycles increased from 160 in 1899 to 18,628 in 1909. This figure was 2,300 in 1904, which indicates that production gained momentum throughout the decade. This trend for motorcycles paralleled the much more significant development of the automobile.

While the revolutionary impact of the automobile didn't really gain traction until subsequent decades, the 1900 - 1910 decade was marked by a transition for the automobile from that of a rare novelty to a rapidly expanding industry of major proportions. Automobile production generated the highest percentage of growth among all national industries. The gross value of products skyrocketed to a figure in 1909 that was fifty times that of 1899. In the 1910 Census the automobile industry ranked 19th among United States industries, with an average employment of 75,721.[114] The industry originated in 1885, when German innovations led to a vehicle powered by an internal combustion engine.[115] By 1890, the French were

also producing automobiles. Successful electric, steam, and internal combustion engine experiments in the United States resulted in the domestic manufacture of 4,000 automobiles in 1900. The annual production numbers accelerated throughout the decade, with figures of approximately 126,000 in 1909 and 186,000 in 1910. In the next decade, annual production nearly reached the 2,000,000 mark.

The decisive shift to internal combustion engines occurred during the 1900 – 1910 decade. Of the 4,100 automobiles produced in 1900, vehicles powered by steam and electricity outnumbered those with gasoline engines by roughly 3,200 to 900. In 1909, 120,000 of the 126,000 vehicles produced featured internal combustion engines.

During the 1900 to 1910 decade the "horseless carriage" evolved into vehicles in various forms: buggies; runabouts; touring cars; limousines; cabs; ambulances; patrol wagons; and trucks of varying types. However, trucks lagged far behind other vehicles for transporting people, with only 700 produced in 1904 and 3,200 in 1909.

Whether for private transportation or the movement of goods, horse-driven wagons remained prominently on the scene for the majority of the decade. The automobile did not become a significant player until toward the close of the 1900 – 1910 decade. In 1899, more than 900,000 horse-drawn carriages and an additional 570,000 wagons were manufactured in the United States. In 1904 those figures had increased to 937,000 and 643,000, respectively. By 1909 the presence of the new-fangled automobile began to take effect, and the increase in automobile production ushered in a decline in the production of horse-drawn vehicles. Though the collapse of the wagon and carriage industry didn't occur until the decade between 1910 and 1920. In 1909, 828,411 carriages and 587,685 wagons were produced. Rapid decline was much in evidence in 1919, when the respective figures had declined to 216,000 and 196,000.

Though the automobile may not have revolutionized transportation in the 1900 – 1910 decade, it did introduce a new feature to California life. Californians reacted early on, with the same enthusiasm that later made the state legendary as the most automobile-crazy spot on earth. The automobile's introduction to California can be traced to the mid-1890s. It is noteworthy that the state did not become a significant manufacturer of the automobile. The first recorded manufacture of an automobile was in southern California, by Samuel Sturgis in 1897. And there is record of only six vehicles manufactured in the state in 1900, all powered by internal combustion engines. It was not until the spring of 1900 that the first appearance of an automobile was reported in Sacramento.[116] However, the automobile had begun to have its impact despite initial adverse reactions and high prices, restrictions on its use, and the abominable condition of California's roadways. The average price of a domestically produced automobile in 1900 was $1,558, with unit prices fluctuating between $650 and $5,000. Foreign cars were even more expensive, ranging from $2,500 to as much as $25,000. Only a small number could afford them, and it is understandable that these prices caused

resentment and the widespread opinion that automobiles were a rich man's toys. But sufficient numbers of Californians, particularly southern Californians, purchased them as to encourage the formation of the Automobile Club of Southern California, in October 1900.

In Los Angeles, the first speed limit for automobiles was 10 miles an hour, with a 4 mph maximum at intersections. In nearby Long Beach, 8 miles an hour was the maximum, and street parking was restricted to 15 minutes. This latter regulation was from concern regarding parking congestion and the fear that oil dripping from vehicle engines would eat holes in the town's asphalt paving. These archaic laws were soon repealed and the automobile generation was allowed full sway. In 1902, Los Angeles had its first serious automobile accident, and the resulting multiple collision resulted in chaos and panic. An automobile struck a buggy, throwing its two occupants to the street, and the horse pulling a Chinese merchant's wagon became frightened and broke loose, careening into a third vehicle.

California began registering automobiles in 1905. At that time there were 2,475 vehicles in the state, and the pressure for improving the roadways, already strong because of the demands of bicyclists, was on the rise.

Roads

California is legendary for a number of reasons, but its modern highways and freeways play a dominant role in its image. While freeways did not become part of the picture until the Pasadena Freeway was constructed in Los Angeles in 1930, the 1900 – 1910 decade was a pivotal time in the development of the state's road system.[117] The impetus for improving state roads, as noted earlier, came from the *Wheelmen* who wanted the state government to get into the road making business, a province of local government until that time. A "Good Roads" Convention was held in the Senate Chamber of the Capitol in 1893, and a second was convened in San Francisco the following year. Official action was initiated following a third convention that was held in Sacramento. In 1895, state legislation

created a three-member State Bureau of Highways, whose main function was that of traversing the state to survey existing roads. Traveling by buckboard wagon, the commissioners visited every county in the state and then called for an ambitious program of construction. The *San Francisco Call* found, ". . . something fascinating in the declaration . . . that it is the intention of the bureau to see that a fine macadamized highway is built from one end of the state to the other." Shortly thereafter the Bureau of Highways was disbanded, replaced by a Department of Highways, and no action was taken regarding its extensive recommendations.

However, within the decade advent of the automobile era brought even more pressure for good roads. In 1909, Governor Gillett, in his biennial address to the legislature, championed a modern highway system. Gillett, a longtime advocate of better roads, signed a bill into law on March 22, 1909 that, when ratified by the public in the November 1910 general election, led to an $18 million bond issue for state roads construction overseen by the new California Highway Commission. Little had been accomplished since agitation by the Wheelmen during the 1890s, as was evident in reports by the Commission, which, like its predecessor, conducted a survey of road conditions. "We covered six thousand eight hundred and fifty miles on our tours," wrote a weary member,. "We were kicked off mountain roads by mules, we were stuck in river fords, we slid around dangerous mountain grades, we broke our windshield and holes were punched in the bottom of our gasoline tank by rocks in the desert." Such were the conditions of California roadways during the 1900 – 1910 decade, which was also the dawn of the automotive era and the apex of the railroad's golden era.

As a result of this initial bond issue, construction began on two north/south highways. One was designed to run through the interior valley and the other along the coast. Both would span the length of the state, with connecting roads radiating to county seats lying to the east and west. The project exceeded the $18 million budget, and additional funds were required over the years ahead. This construction of what became Highways 99 and 101 began shortly after the end of the 1900 – 1910 decade and fulfilled the dream of road enthusiasts. California had launched its legendary reputation as a great builder of roads and its commitment to efficient automobile transportation for its citizens.

In a number of ways, our 1900 - 1910 period was California's "coming out party" for the industrial era. Citizens of that era witnessed such new and high impact inventions as the telephone, typewriter, bicycle, and automobile. They were able to marvel at the mastery of powered flight, the breakthrough in wireless communication, and the infancy of the motion picture industry. That first decade of the 20th Century provided a bridge forward to industrial revolution maturity: epitomized by the marvelous railway network that provided connections throughout the state; and the dominance of San Francisco as a great urban center. This was an age of technological wizardry, growing affluence, heightened energy generation, expanding metropolitan areas, automobiles, enhanced roadways, and so much else that contributes to our modern era comforts – and challenges. In this generally heady decade, characterized by optimism and fascination with the

transforming possibilities of science and technology, attention was afforded more readily to benefits than to costs. That was probably appropriate, because it was certainly a time during which most people were experiencing a quality of life that was better than ever before. This is not to imply that life was ideal, but the passing of years has obscured and softened our modern day perspective. There were those who were not included in the unprecedented prosperity, or upon whose backs the good times were supported. Behind the razzle/dazzle of all the new machinery were the laborers who kept it all working.

VIII. SOCIAL REALITIES

"Information Age" is a term that has been applied to our current era. Because this new age follows the Industrial Era the world continues to experience a reworking of the terms for human life. People often assume that our contemporary social conditions must differ greatly from those of previous generations. While specifics in everyday life have undergone definite change, most of our day-to-day concerns have remained constant over the years. By looking at certain social features during the 1900 - 1910 decade we can enhance our understanding of the changes that have occurred. To that end, let's examine such matters as: marriage and divorce; housing; questions regarding health; life and death considerations; broad questions involving gainful employment; wages; working conditions; survival in the larger economy; women in the work force; and the impact of unionization. The place for children in society provides another important and interesting consideration. We will explore the problem of child labor, a daunting social issue during our 1900 – 1910 period, as well as the issues of crime and punishment. Because racial animus seems a constant in human affairs, we will also review the discrimination confronted by California's Asian community – largely as it relates to the Chinese and Japanese.

Marriage and Divorce

Contemporary California life is characterized by a high divorce rate. As a no-fault state, California no longer maintains divorce statistics; however, it is commonly believed to significantly exceed the national figure of 52%. By comparison, the 1910 statewide divorce rate was less than 1.5 per thousand of population. The trend for marriages to end before "death do us part" can be traced to the

progressive era and the 1900 – 1910 decade.[118] In the middle of that first decade of the 20th Century there were approximately 18,000 marriages, but that figure had increased to slightly fewer than 24,000 as the decade ended. The growth in the rate of divorce that accompanied that increase in marriages was disconcerting to the many who were concerned with maintaining traditional family life. This trend was becoming apparent in the previous decade, during which the divorced persons in the nation, as a percentage of married persons, increased from .05% to .07%. In 1905-1906, divorces in California numbered 2,133, or 13.1% as a percentage. The following year that number rose slightly to 2,177, although the uptick in marriages from 17,932 to 22,734 masked the increase. By the end of the decade the divorce ratio had climbed to 14.1%, which constituted a nearly 50% increase in the number of divorces between 1907 and 1910. Divorce was not so rare an event as one might suppose during the decade of 1900 - 1910. Statistics by the end of the decade documented that: for every seven marriages there would be one divorce in Los Angeles; and one divorce for every five marriages in San Francisco. The wife was the plaintiff in the majority of these cases. Husbands initiated only 846 of the 3,087 divorces in 1908-1909. Marriages between their fifth and tenth years represented more than 23% of the divorces that year.

Home Ownership

Housing was necessary whether one was married or not. Among the farming minority in the state in 1910 the dwelling was likely to be owned by its occupant, because 76.9% of the farms were operated by their owners and only 23.1% by tenant farmers.[119] Nationwide, only a small percentage of the non-farming population were able to enjoy home ownership. In 1900, 63.1% of the homes in towns or cities were rented rather than owner occupied. The figure fell to 61.6% in 1910. It was not until after World War II that the owner occupied figure reached 50%. By 1970, the ratios of 1910 were virtually reversed with an owner occupied

rate of 62.9%. [120] Despite what to our modern era eyes may appear to be attractive home prices during the 1900 – 1910 decade, home ownership remained beyond the reach of most individuals. When our attention turns to incomes for the period it will be readily apparent why that part of the American dream was still so elusive.

Mortality

Death was closer at hand during the opening years of the 20th Century than it would become during subsequent decades. Decimating epidemics of disease continued to ravage vulnerable populations, because the enormously beneficial medications and inoculation that we sometimes take for granted in modern times were still to come. Among the most dreaded of these diseases was tuberculosis, which, nationwide, claimed 194.4 lives per 100,000 in population in 1900. Improved health and sanitation measures were finally beginning to bring that killer under control. At the end of the decade the death rate had descended to 153.8 per 100,000.[121] Typhoid, diphtheria, measles, pneumonia, and influenza were also major killers. However, throughout the decade the death rates for these diseases significantly declined, with typhoid diminished by two-thirds and diphtheria by one-half. Measles continued to plague the population at an alarming rate. Influenza, which claimed 202.2 lives per 100,000 in population in 1900 had been reduced to 155.9 in 1910. On the rise during this period were cancer and cardio-vascular diseases, deaths by accident, and automobile fatalities. Cardio-vascular disease was the greatest single cause of death in 1900, with a death rate of 345.2 per 100,000 in population. Though still the largest single cause of death in the United

States, medical advances have contributed to a 2007 rate of 189.1 deaths per 100,000 in population. It is a bit of a jolt to note that in 1900 the rate of death from cancer was 64 per 100,000 in population, with a corresponding 2007 figure of 173.2 deaths per 100,000 in population. The nation began to tabulate automobile accident deaths in 1906, at which time the death rate was .4 per 100,000 in population. As the automobile age began to assert itself in 1910 that rate climbed to 1.8 deaths per 100,000 in population. This particular death rate remains disconcerting though improving over the years; with the same measurement's death rate at 10.3 in 1920, 26.9 in 1970, and 11.7 in 2007.

Infant mortality was high by present standards. In 1900 the infant mortality rate was approximately 100 per 1,000 births, which by comparison stood at 6.89 deaths per 1,000 births in 2005. Because of our justifiable concerns with present day suicide rates, it may be surprising to learn that the suicide rate in 1900 was 10.2 per 100,000 in population. That rate had increased to 15.3 suicides per 100,000 in population in 1910, which compares to a 2007 national rate of 11.3 suicides per 100,000.

Life Expectancy

Life expectancy for the 1900 - 1910 decade was a reflection of those death rates. At birth a Caucasian male had a life expectancy of 49.3 years, while females could expect 52.5 years. The corresponding figures for 2011 were 75.4 and 80.5 years. This does not indicate, of course, that there were no individuals living past their 50s in the 1900 to 1910 period; but, rather, that they comprised a much smaller percentage of the total population than is the case today. By making it

past infancy, or for women making it past the childbearing years, life expectancy during the 1900 - 1910 decade became more comparable to present day statistics. A 40-year-old male in this decade had a life expectancy of another 27.6 years. That status in 2011 pointed to an additional 37.8 years. It can be seen that the pattern remains of women outliving men, but it is the declining death rate from childbirth that has increased this disparity. For a Caucasian married couple, age 40, during the 1900 – 1910 decade, the expectation was that the woman would die a widow at approximately 69 years of age – or 1.5 years after her husband. The 2011 projections translate to four years as a widow, before her death at 80 years of age. Conquering many diseases and improving medical treatments has delivered numerous benefits over the years but hasn't dramatically increased the years of widowhood.

Patent Medicine Age

The relatively high mortality rates and uncontrolled diseases during those early years of the 20th Century were accompanied by a patent medicine industry that advertised miraculous cures in a bottle, for anything from headaches to cancer. There was a ready market of desperate individuals grasping for worthless nostrums or the latest fads in therapy, such as various electric devices supported by claims for invigorating the life forces in "wasted" men. Patent medicines, in particular, had become big business over the second half of the 19th Century. In 1869 there were 319 manufacturers of these items, providing a product value of more than $32.6 million, nationally. In 1909, the corresponding figures were 2,838 manufacturers and $83.7 million in production value.[122] The business was immensely profitable, because the expense for ingredients was minimal. Newspapers carried a full complement of patent medicine advertisements. "Mormon Bishops' Pills" were advertised, for example, as having been used by Mormon church leaders for 50 years, and claims regarding their efficacy included cures for: "Lost manhood . . . impotency . . . evil desires . . . constipation" and even "nervous twitching of the eyelids."[123]

But the 1900 - 1910 decade also brought about the demise of the patent medicine circus. Following years of agitation at the national level by the chief chemist of the U.S. Department of Agriculture, Dr. Harvey W. Wiley, and with the backing of the American Medical Association, one of the numerous professional organizations that came into being in the 19th Century, a *Pure Food and Drug Act* was passed by Congress and signed into law by President Theodore Roosevelt in 1906. This law establishing the basis for federal regulation of drugs and medicine is best known for its influence on Upton Sinclair's *The Jungle*, with its concern for meat industry regulation.[124] In California these same issues were becoming important concerns for the state government, as noted in the 1907 inaugural address by Governor Gillett. With the extension of state and federal regulation into this area of previously unbridled free enterprise, and with the disappearance of egregious hyperbole in advertisements, modernism began to progress by significant steps. The 1900 - 1910 decade had, again, served as a constructive bridge between 19th and 20th Century society within the United States.

Education

The decline of the patent medicine era was representative of a growing sophistication and awareness in society. This was a by-product of industrialization, because an increasingly educated citizenry characterizes technological societies. California's emphasis on the importance of its system of education became increasingly obvious during these years. By current standards, the state was only beginning to modernize during the1900 – 1910 decade, but those years were remarkable for their introduction of a coherent and articulated elementary and primary school system; a growing number of high schools; the introduction of teacher training institutions; and the advent of its superb university system.

During that first decade of the 20th Century most school buildings were small, inadequate, and relics of a pastoral age.[125] For example, in 1904 only 163 schools

were constructed of brick, while nearly 3,800 were wood structures. That same year the Superintendent of Public Instruction called for a “decent building” to replace the “miserable quarters” that were housing the San Francisco Normal School. A year or two later an architect remarked that it was “. . . not uncommon to find a country school sadly lacking in . . . high class construction, lighting, heating, and sanitation.” Another feature of the lingering, pre-industrial value system was teachers’ pay. Despite the return of prosperity perceptible increases in the cost of living by 1900, teachers’ salaries remained virtually unchanged for the first half of the decade. The major contributor was that, unlike the present decentralized system, salaries for primary and grammar school instructors were mainly paid via the State School Fund, which supplied $7 per annum per student – most of which went to salaries. Statewide in 1904, monthly salaries during the school year for primary school teachers stood at approximately $65. Only minor progress had been achieved by 1908, when the average, annual income for primary school teachers was still less than $650. An attendant hurdle was the status of students during that era. 90% of school children never went beyond elementary schooling. In 1908 there were fewer than 32,000 high school students within a school age population of 457,000.

There were, however, a number of encouraging signs and significant accomplishments. The high school movement, for example, was rapidly gaining steam. In 1902 there were only 14,500 students and state support for the movement was not initiated until 1903, which also required a constitutional amendment. While salaries were low and few men could be lured into public school teaching – of the 8,602 elementary school teachers in 1908, 7,763 were women – the standards for teacher education were on the rise. That was due in large measure to the existence of normal schools and the University of California.

The state provided five Normal Schools in the 1900 – 1910 decade; at San Jose; Los Angeles; Chico; San Diego; and San Francisco. The first of these was established in San Jose. It had been housed in San Francisco before it moved to San Jose in 1871. The Los Angeles school was organized in 1882; Chico in 1889; San Diego in 1897; and San Francisco Normal in 1899. By 1908, these institutions had supplied the state with more than 8,000 teachers for its elementary schools. The status of Normal Schools as teacher training institutions was clear, but where they stood in the spectrum between kindergarten and the graduate schools of the University was indefinite. They basically functioned as junior colleges, with a four-year course of study and applicants needed only a grammar school education. Graduation from a high school accredited by the University was considered equivalent to the first two years of normal school. It it noteworthy that standards for normal schools were still being established as the 20th Century began. The five schools that were in existence at this time eventually became four-year colleges in what is now the State University of California. During the 1900 – 1910 decade, it was the University of California that provided the state with many of its better-trained teachers.

The University of California was a far more prestigious institution than were the normal schools. Instruction began there in 1869, and by 1906 more than 2,500 students were served at its Berkeley campus. It was a co-education institution, with a female enrollment of approximately 40%. Many of these women were preparing for the teaching profession, and they comprised 73% of all undergraduates in the College of Social Science. By contrast, males dominated such fields of study as Commerce – 149 to 5, and Civil Engineering, where the 267 male undergraduates had no female counterparts. Tuition was free to those state residents who were accepted. The Berkeley campus was also home for some 350 graduate students, but there were even more students enrolled in the professional schools that the University maintained in San Francisco. Those institutions included: a school of medicine; a school of dentistry; a school of pharmacy; the Hastings College of Law; and the Mark Hopkins Institute of Art. Between 1904 and 1906, the University, as a whole, conferred more than 1,100 degrees, nearly evenly divided between men and women.

The University was widely regarded as the state's 'jewel in its crown," and it continued to grow. In November of 1905, the University purchased the Bancroft Library. Having escaped destruction during the San Francisco earthquake and fire, it was moved to Berkeley where it became the nucleus for one of the greatest collections of research materials on the American West. Throughout the decade a building program was under way at the main campus. The Greek Theater, built from funds donated by William Randolph Hearst, opened in 1903. Other donations from private benefactors led to the construction of the Doe Library and Boalt Hall. The University expanded beyond the Bay Area, presaging the day when full campuses would be located throughout the state. A University Farm, purchased for $100,000, became the nucleus for what we now know as the University of California, Davis. An agricultural experimentation center was also approved for Riverside. While modest by current standards, the University of California had become a thriving and expanding institution.

Stanford University represented the only real competition in California, but at this time it was an even more modest institution. Stanford had opened its doors to students in 1891 and served a student body of 559 during that first year. That enrollment had grown to 1,100 when the economic troubles of the 1890s brought stagnation to the Palo Alto campus. The institution began to grow at the turn of the century. There were approximately 1,800 students enrolled in 1906 and plans for expansion were underway. The 1906 earthquake destroyed substantial parts of the campus but posed only a temporary setback. Stanford differed in important ways from the University of California. It was a private institution and charged tuition. By contrast, even out-of-state students attending the University of California were charged only $10 per semester. Stanford placed little emphasis on graduate training at the turn of the century, and it did not provide a set of course requirements. To qualify for a degree, students had but to complete 120 semester units of study, with at least 30 of the units concentrated on a major field of study.

Wages in Relation to Prices

The limited enrollments at University of California and Stanford during the 1900 - 1910 decade highlight the difference between the role of education today and that of this earlier era; as well as, indirectly, the gap in technical sophistication between the two periods. Most people were engaged in some form of skilled or unskilled manual or industrial labor. The post-industrial age of white-collar dominated employment was yet to come. Agricultural, manufacturing, construction, and railroad wage earners were far more common than clerical workers or those employed by government. In 1910, 26.5% of California's gainfully employed worked in manufacturing and mechanical trades, while only 6.1% were clerical workers and 2.2% were employed in government service.[126]

How well were these non-college trained people coping with their lives? To what extent did their wages permit a comfortable life? To the casual observer the cost of living appears to have been almost amusingly low. In early 1901, retail food prices in Sacramento included: flour at fifty pounds for a dollar; onions at 3 cents per pound; American cheese at 17 cents a pound; prime rib roast and rib lamb chops at 15 cents a pound; and porterhouse steak at 18 cents a pound. Certain prices were higher than one might expect, including some items that since the 1900 - 1910 decade have undergone fundamental changes in production that vastly improved the economics of production. Spring chickens were 50 cents each, and fresh California eggs sold for 40 cents a dozen.[127] The real cost of food staples is better analyzed by including a comparison of typical incomes than by an item to item comparison with 2013 food costs. By that standard prices were far from cheap. Relatively speaking, wages were even more modest than prices, which caused food to be more expensive from 1900 – 1910 than it is today.

Reviewing wages for various occupations accentuates that last point. In 1900, average annual earnings for men in the United States were $490.[128] This figure confronts us with the ever elusive "average," but it provides some idea of what a dollar was worth during the first decade of the 20th Century. There was an upward trend throughout the decade. Average annual earnings for the nation's full-time agriculture employees rose from $178 in 1900 to $223 in 1910; in manufacturing from $487 to $651; in construction from $593 to $804; and in railroad work, $536 to $662. Wage rates in California and all along the Pacific Coast exceeded national averages. For example, blacksmiths in 1900 earned a minimum of 7 cents an hour in the West, but their counterparts in the East earned a standard minimum of 5 cents an hour. Most blacksmiths in the west earned considerably more, with 90% earning at least 17 cents an hour, with top earners receiving 25 cents an hour and an elite 1% earning 28 cents an hour.[129] The 1900 Census reported $589 as the average annual earnings for an adult male in California, compared to that previously reported nationwide figure of $490 in 1900. This relative advantage for California wage earners also held true for the meager earnings of women and children. Railroads in the state employed nearly 50,000 workers by the end of that first decade in the 20th Century. Average daily wages for this industry's workers ranged from $1.40 for trackmen to $4.66 for the elite enginemen and $3.92 for machinists.[130] In 1902, when pick and shovel workers were badly needed in Santa Monica and recruitment was being pursued with newspaper ads throughout the state, the offered wage was $2.25 a day or 22 ½ cents an hour for a 10-hour day. This was comparatively good pay for this work at that time.[131]

In this era prior to unemployment insurance an employee did not receive pay when they were absent from work. There are no reliable statistics for determining the unemployment rates for the 1900 – 1910 period. However, limited data and literature addressing the issue provide strong indication that many workers found themselves, at least temporarily, out of work at some point during a year.[132] The 1900 Census documented that 22.2% of the nation's workers had been out of work for part of that year. California workers were recorded at an unemployment rate of 19.8%. A U.S. Bureau of Labor survey in 1901 identified an alarming 29.1% of heads of households unemployed at some point during that year.

How well ordinary working class people coped with the cost of living in the face of all the foregoing is summed up in statistics that tracked city wages and clerical worker, nationwide, in 1901.[133] A family with an annual income of $651 (comprised of averages between $200 and $1,200) spent approximately $618 of it for immediate consumption. (The comparable 2013 annual income for this "average" family is $17,284.) Nearly 41% of total income was spent on food – or $266. Other major items included rent at $112, or less than $10 a month; clothing at $80; fuel at $28; and lighting at $7. "Sundries" required an additional $124. It is difficult to comprehend how they managed with only $33 remaining for all other purposes, including savings. Mercifully, taxes did not play a role in this dismal picture. Regarded since 1895 as unconstitutional, there was no federal income tax. There were existing tariffs on imports and excise taxes on alcohol and tobacco,

but a federal inheritance tax imposed during the Spanish-American War was repealed in 1902, and the largest portion of state income came from property taxes. There was no state income, sales, or inheritance tax during the 1900 – 1910 decade.[134] This was of little consequence or assistance to ordinary people, because a relatively strong economy and quaint prices (from our modern vantage point) did little to ease the daunting task of making ends meet.

Working Hours

Most wage earners, especially the non-unionized, had grievances beyond that of inadequate pay. Despite the national movement toward an 8-hour workday, which had been underway since the labor disturbances of the mid-1880s, the average work week far exceeded 48 hours for a six-day work week. [135] For most workers in California's manufacturing industries, the typical six-day workweek consisted of 54 to 60 hours – or 9 to 10 hours daily. Approximately 28% of these workers experienced a shorter workday, but 8.8% faced workdays of more than 10 hours. Brewery, printing, publishing, and a few well-organized industries were characterized by a 48-hour workweek – or even less. Lumber, meatpacking and slaughtering, and the canning industries maintained a 60-hour standard. Men typically worked 9-hour days for six days a week in the railroad repair shops of the day. Prevailing hours differed throughout the state. San Francisco, relatively well unionized, generally had a shorter workday than did Los Angeles. More than 90% of San Francisco iron and steel workers experienced an 8-hour workday, while only 1.3% worked a 10-hour day. In Los Angeles, only 5.6% of their iron and steel workers had won an 8-hour workday, while 65% worked 9 hours and nearly 30% worked 10 hours daily.

Abuses **in Employment Practices**

Wage payment abuses by employment agencies and the operation of "private hospitals" by employers were among the concerns of this era's labor reformers.[136] Much of the recruitment for unskilled and semi-skilled labor was conducted by private employment agencies, and these abuses became more evident as the state grew. One of their many schemes was a "registration system," to which job applicants made payments to be placed on lists for jobs that seldom materialized. Instances were recorded of unsuspecting applicants being sent on "wild goose chases" for non-existent positions as distant as Arizona and Nevada, while the fees were retained by the larcenous agencies. Job seekers were often misinformed by agencies as to who was actually hiring them, such as in a reported case of sub-contractors doing work for the giant railroad companies. There was frequent collusion between agencies and employers that resulted in applicants being directed to promised employment, only to be discharged far from home. The victims were usually penniless, after having been given only enough work to cover the fees for the agencies, transportation advances, board, and hospitalization fees. Employment fees paid by applicants were commonplace, and it was only in special circumstances when the fees were not levied, notably the situation after the San Francisco earthquake when the need for labor gave them an all too rare advantage with employers,

The situation with employment agencies was openly scandalous, forcing the state to become more active in their regulation. "A great number of employment agencies," the State Bureau of Labor Statistics reported in 1906, "are corrupt and take advantage of workmen on every occasion possible." The Bureau led the fight for regulation of the agencies. In 1903, the state's legislature passed a law placing

some restrictions on agency operation. The law was revised to meet a constitutional challenge in 1905, and for the remainder of the decade the Bureau recommended additional legislation for tightening control over agency operations. By legislative action in 1909, bureau agents were granted police powers, and a state-licensing requirement for the agencies was instituted. The increasing regulation of employment agencies during the 1900 – 1910 decade is an example of how increasing complications for a modern and industrializing state required the involvement of government and its assumption of entirely new responsibilities.

Even after workers were placed in jobs they were often subject to dishonest settlement of wages and to unfair expenses imposed by employers. Throughout the state an all too common practice was to require a long waiting period before paying workers who had either quit or been discharged – sometimes extending for as much as three months. Far too frequently, these payments were only available at a distant location. Often the only evidence that workers had for the money due them were slips of paper or brass checks issued to them by job foremen. The Bureau received more than 1,000 complaints related to these abuses in 1909, but they were powerless because laws did not yet exist for regulating the manner in which wage earners were to be paid. Another increasingly nettlesome problem during this period involved a practice by construction companies. Especially those employing temporary help were setting up “hospitals” as a form of medical coverage for employees, which enabled them to encumber wages earned as a form of prepaid health coverage. This was a scheme for funneling money back to the employers, because the “hospitals,” in the words of the Bureau, “. . . are merely pretentions.”

Women's Earnings

It was usually male workers who suffered from such treatment, because women comprised less than one/seventh of the workforce.[137] While 87% of the state's men over 13-years of age were employed in 1900, the comparative figure for women was less than 19%. This disparity was reduced only slightly during our 1900 – 1910 decade, with 1910 figures of 86.% for men and 20.7% for women. These state trends paralleled the nations, except that California's employment of women lagged several percentage points behind national figures. Women trailed far behind men in average annual earnings, which in 1900 were $273 nationally and $278 in California, compared to corresponding figures for men of $490 and $589. Interestingly, on a national scale women were being paid at 55% of the rate for men, but the 47% figure in California was even more abysmal. This was likely impacted by the fact that the state was experiencing a shortfall in filling positions that were believed in that era to require skills unique to men.

Unionization and Wage Rates

Unionization provided the most effective response to low wages and poor working conditions.[138] Mirroring national developments, it was mainly skilled workers in California who ensured success for organized labor in the 19th Century. Bricklayers, ironworkers, carpenters, and the construction-related trades were organized at numerous locations throughout the state. As economic recovery gained steam following the depression years of the 1890s, there was a burst in union organizing activity among previously neglected occupational groups. Probably unmatched anywhere else in the nation at the time, the benefits of unions began to touch the lives of butchers, teamsters, carpet workers, laundry workers, and many others. By 1902 there were approximately 495 labor organizations in California, and membership exceeded that in 1900 by 125%. Unions were active in every major population center. In 1902, San Francisco had 125 unions; Los Angeles, 68; Sacramento, 45; and Oakland, 36. Statewide, unions were operating in behalf of 149 separate occupations. San Francisco had become the state's most highly unionized city, with trades organized into various councils and wielding a powerful influence on local politics.

Unions delivered two clear effects on economic life during the 1900 – 1910 decade: wages rose for many occupations, and strikes became commonplace events. Briefly reviewing wage rates among unionized workers during the decade illustrates this impact. The 8-hour day had become standard for nearly every unionized skilled trade. Within the San Francisco workforce: carpenters were earning $5 a day; electrical workers, $3.60; and steamfitters approximately $6. Wage levels for similar work in cities were generally lower. In Los Angeles, carpenters and electrical workers earned $3.50 per day and plumbers approximately $4.50. Plasterers were among the highest paid skilled workers, with average salaries of $7 a day. Predictably, women did not fare nearly as well by becoming unionized. In San Francisco, female soap wrappers who had organized into unions within the soap manufacturing industry were paid $1.50 for an 8-hour day. They did not staff the more lucrative soap maker positions reserved for men,

who were paid $5 for the same workday. Female union members earned less even when engaged in the same occupation as males. For example, male retail clerks in Vallejo earned $80 a month, compared to the 44% lower rate of $35 for women.

The 1906 earthquake had an immense, temporary influence on wage rates in the Bay Area. This caused considerable concern in Sacramento during the 1900 – 1910 decade, because renovation of the Capitol was negatively affected by construction workers abandoning this project to participate in the rebuilding of San Francisco. By late October 1906, 35,000 men were employed in reconstructing the city's buildings and streets. Six thousand buildings had been replaced by this time. In the short period between June 10 and August 20, 1906, carpenters wages rose from $4 a day to $4.50; laborers from $2 to $2.25; and electricians from $3.50 to $5. Average wages for the construction industry rose by 15% to 20% during that 70-day interval. In context, these workers also dealt with the substantially higher rents that followed in the wake of the disaster. The September monthly rental rate had been raised to $35 by one seven-room house on Capp Street, compared to a pre-earthquake fee of $25. On McAllister near Fillmore, rental rates for some five-room houses soared by 155% - from $30 to $76.50. But increased costs did not dampen the appeal of high wages, and workers assembled in numbers that on occasion drove employers into bankruptcy.

Labor Strikes

STRIKE CALLED

ALL UNIONS TO GO OUT

Seattle Union Record

SIXTY THOUSAND TO RESPOND TO CALL

NO CONSTRUCTIVE LEGISLATION YET

ANNOUNCEMENT OF STRIKE

35,000 SILK MILL WORKERS STRIKE

The most potent tool in the hands of the workforce had become that of striking for high wages and improved working conditions. Labor unrest was much in evidence during those early years of the 20th Century, and the growing trend was that strikes were initiated where unions had been organized. Unions initiated 70.4% of the strikes in California in 1901. That percentage rose to a mid-decade figure of 93.1%. It is not surprising that San Francisco experienced the most strikes – 111 of the 298 strikes in the state from 1901 to 1905. 1901 was a particularly difficult year for San Francisco in this regard because of a number of long and bitter disputes. Workers struck for a variety of reasons but higher pay were the objective in one-third of the strikes. Many other reasons were prominent, such as shorter hours; sympathy with other strikes; and anti-Chinese sentiment. The success rate for these strikes was highest during the first half of the decade, with a third of the instances resulting in victory for the strikers. The success rate in San Francisco was even higher at 45%. Conversely, in the unfriendly territory of Harrison Grey Otis' *Los Angeles Times* only one in twelve strikes was successful.

Unions were active in California during the 1900 – 1910 decade, and workers had at least a fair opportunity for gaining ground with their demands. Not only was union membership expanding, particularly in San Francisco where it grew from 20,000 to 50,000 during the decade, but the nature of leadership began to change because labor organization administration was emerging as a specialized occupation. In the 1890s, most labor leaders had been either politicians or workers who spent most of their energy on their primary occupation. By 1910, with

San Francisco as the most advanced setting, there was an emergence of, ". . . a corps of salaried organizers, business agents, secretaries, and legislative representatives." In terms of equality at the bargaining table with business, the 1930s marked the coming of age of the American labor movement. But attesting to the vitality of California's labor movement, between 1901 and 1905 some 54,000 of the state's men and women had been involved in strikes.[139]

Child Labor

The American economy had a great need for workers during the good times that characterized the 1900 – 1910 decade. Businesses often preferred the young over the mature. In Santa Monica near the turn of the century there was a soldiers' home where many aging and forgotten veterans of the Civil War lived out their lives waiting for pension payments and the chance they provided for temporary oblivion at a friendly saloon.[140] Meanwhile, children throughout the state were working full-time.[141] Traditionally, children had long worked in agriculture, but the employment of young minors by the growing manufacturing industries was regarded differently. By the turn of the century pressures were growing to regulate child labor. The 1900 Census reported that there were 2,114 children under the age of 16 at work in the state's manufacturing industries. California did not begin compiling data on the employment of minors until 1905. In a Bureau of Labor Statistics survey of retail stores, canneries, laundries, can and glass factories, clothing and shoe manufacturing, and iron trades within the state, children under 18 years of age were found in each of these enterprises. Laundries had the smallest percentage of minors, but canneries had the highest – with one Stockton operation at 37.9%. This problem was on the wane by the mid-decade, according to a federal census of manufacturers. California passed its first law regulating child labor in 1905.

Governor Pardee approved this law on February 20, and it was designed to track minor children by three age groups: 12 to 14; 14 to 16; and 16 to 18. Under its

provisions, minors less than 18 years of age were restricted to a maximum workday of 9 hours and a workweek of 54 hours. Additionally, those between 14 and 16 were prohibited from employment in the manufacturing and retail trades between the hours of 10 P.M. and 6 A.M. as well as during regular school hours, unless, ". . . he or she can read English at sight and can write legible and correct simple English sentences," or attends night school. Children under the age of 14 were prohibited from employment outside of agricultural or domestic work. An exception was made for children between 12 and 14 years of age, who could be given special dispensation by the courts for work that their parents were unable to do because of illness - or at any approved occupation during summer school recesses. Agricultural work by minors was regulated only to the extent that work during regular school hours was prohibited. On occasion the law was frustratingly difficult to enforce. Employers particularly disliked the maximum hour provisions, and parents who benefitted from the income of their children were uncooperative with authorities. The 1909 – 1910 biennial report of the Bureau of Labor Statistics wryly observed that children regularly passed, ". . . from the age of eleven or twelve years to the prescribed age of 14 without due regard for the Gregorian calendar." Amendments in 1909 strengthened the law and closed some loopholes, but illegalities continued throughout the decade, with incidents such as children as young as nine employed in canneries.

Growing Need for Government

The issue of child labor will be of particular interest to many Capitol visitors, but, more broadly, because it reveals so much about the dynamics that characterized the 1900 – 1910 decade. As previously noted, most changes were of an incremental nature and the decade was part of the long transition from the Gold Rush economy to an industrial economy. It cannot be over emphasized that this transition took place in the context of the industrial revolution and that this fundamental condition of western society powerfully molded values and actions. The physical evidence of this revolution have been noted by previous population

and production statistics. No aspect of life, it seems fair to note, remained untouched, and every change made society more complicated and interrelated in its parts. Society was becoming more technical and more reliant on expert management than at any previous time in human history. In modern times even the industrial age seems more and more a part of a bygone era, which should challenge the tendency to regard modern conditions as the immutable state of humankind. Often, a series of sometimes-painful adjustments have created our present values. As the 19th Century progressed it became evident that practices like child labor were incompatible with the needs of an industrial society that was becoming increasingly technical and urbanized.

On one level, the palpable advances of the 19th Century, as represented by rising living standards, gave rise to an optimism that eventually matured into the reform impulse that was in full swing at the end of the century. The principle that humankind was a product of environmental forces was receiving increased attention. Reform Darwinism, sociological jurisprudence, and the Social Gospel movement contributed to a growing public consensus involving the status of children. Unlike agricultural societies, a sophisticated urban civilization could not support vast numbers of uneducated children. As is true today, continuity for industrial societies was predicated on a supply of educated workers and technicians – people trained to cope with complex social and economic mechanisms. The regulation of child labor, as California's experience evidences, was closely tied to the economic and social necessity for compulsory school attendance. By design, regulation of school attendance was kept separate from child labor regulation. This was important because there were other rationales for employment regulation, such as those relating to health (both physical and mental) and the safety of minors. But it is not a coincidence that the compulsory attendance law was also passed during the 1905 legislative session. It was approved March 24, 1903 and amended in 1905 and 1907. The law required school attendance for children between 8 and 14 years of age who lived no more than two miles from a school, which dovetailed its provisions with those of the Child Labor Law. In addition, the Compulsory Education Law automatically ended the practice of employing small children, not covered by the labor law, for the sale of newspapers and matches on city streets.

State government was the agency for enforcing these laws. This is a concrete example of how the state's urbanization expanded in direct proportion with the growth of its economy and population. As the era of industrialization began to mature, the role of state government expanded to meet the increased scale of life and to assume new responsibilities.[142] This trend emerged prior to the 1900 – 1910 decade, and contemporary efforts to roll back "big government" have failed to reverse its course. Most levels of government grew to meet new responsibilities, but the influence of industrialization highlighted the fact that the effective handling of certain key matters required the involvement of state government. The state was becoming an integrated segment of society as improvements in communications and transportation brought an end to insularity. In this rapidly growing society where the interests of all could be affected by the actions of

individual communities. For example, it was unproductive to cede the question of education or labor legislation to county and municipal governments. Only the state could muster the necessary resources for certain jobs, and it was only the state that could assure uniformity in compliance. The consequences of disharmony and lack of uniform direction were no longer as tolerable for an interrelated industrialized society as they were for the relative simplicity of agricultural societies. “If left to the (individual counties) there would most likely be fifty-eight different ideas or plans put into operation, except that in some counties there would be neither plan, nor idea, nor any considerable effort made to enforce the law if there were not direct state control.”

The palpable effect of government assuming new responsibilities did not go unnoticed. Voices were raised in protest and they reached staccato levels when the self-interests of particular groups or individuals were affected. But responsible government was not to be deterred. “The tendency in most of the states, and to some extent in California, is toward the passage by law-making bodies of laws covering almost every conceivable subject,” wrote the officials who enforced the child labor provisions. Shortly after the 1900 – 1910 decade this salient tendency of the century received a thoughtful analysis by the progressive weekly, *California Outlook*, when it commented after the culminating experience of the the 1911 legislative session, “Our social order is coming to be fearfully and wonderfully complicated. We touch each other at ten thousand more points than we did in the pioneering times when horse stealing occupied the premier position on the criminal calendar.”[143]

Crime and Punishment

Apart from the education and child labor issues, the state was taking an interest in the relationship between crime and minors. Crime created increasing concern throughout our 1900 – 1910 decade as society became more sophisticated. Though continuing commitments to the state prisons at San Quentin and Folsom kept pace with the growth in population, and at no time was the situation as dangerous as it became in the 1890s. In 1900, approximately 500 individuals were sentenced to state prison; 700 in 1901; 875 in 1905; and nearly 1,000 in

1908. Sentencing increased by more than 100% in the decade, while population grew by approximately 60%. It should be noted that allusions to high crime rates among the Asian population were ill placed. Studies indicate that these rates were not exceptional, and, especially among the Japanese, they were much lower than the average for all racial groups.[144] Standard sentences ranged between two to five years of imprisonment. Of the 792 felony convictions in 1905 – 1906, 486 individuals, or 61.3%, received sentences of five years or less. Life imprisonment was infrequently administered, with only .2% of offenders receiving this sentence. The death sentence was invoked only six times – or well under 1% of the time. This general pattern for sentences held true throughout the 1900 – 1910 decade. There were 978 felony convictions in 1909 – 1910, but only 5 death sentences were meted out. Hanging was inflicted as the death sentence at this point in California's history.

There was little concern about misdemeanor crimes by children, because they committed them to a lesser degree than did older age groups. In 1905 – 1906, for example, individuals less than 20 years of age accounted for only 6.9% of the convictions; although, this may be a bit misleading because the tendency was to ignore offenses like brawling among youngsters, which among adults often resulted in arrest. This status became quite different, of course, when serious felonies were committed. In mid-decade, boys between 12 and 20 years of age accounted for 24% of felony convictions. Within that grouping, it was the 15 to 19 year old boys who were the most crime prone, and, in fact, were the age group with the highest felony crime rate in the state. California maintained two state reformatories for young offenders, at Ione and Whittier. The hardened criminals among them were often sent to prisons rather than the reformatories, especially those in the 15 to 19 year-old group. Commitments to the state reformatories far outstripped population growth over the decade, rising from less than 100 in 1900 – 1901 to more than 300 in 1909 – 1910. A study conducted on that latter group indicated that nearly 200 never advanced beyond the 6th grade in school, and most of them had been engaged in some form of employment. Youngsters were providing an unsettling picture of the extent to which society was failing to adequately adjust to the new and changing characteristics of an industrialization and urbanization

Native Americans

With respect to an interest in the status of groups left out of the mainstream developments during othe 1900 – 1910 decade; a cursory review of the experiences of Native Americans, Latin Americans, African Americans, women, and Asian Americans can help in creating an historic perspective of the times.[145] Native Americans in California constituted only 1% of the population in 1900. They were the least urbanized among ethnic groups at this time, because they had been forced onto undesirable land where they subsisted on a combination of agriculture and the production of, hopefully marketable, homemade craft items. They were still plagued by the poverty, disease and social disorganization that brought about the severe decline in their numbers during the 19th Century. These conditions made it almost impossible for them to share the fruits of an increasingly healthy economy. Only 17,000 Native Americans remained in California in 1900. Though destitution was widespread in the reservation lands inhabited by most of them, only one-third of them received any form of government assistance from the Indian Service agency. The vast majority of their population was impoverished and demoralized. The most coherent federal policy directed toward improving this situation was focused on assimilating Native Americans into the dominant culture. That policy met with considerable resistance because it required the abandonment of their tribal organization and the surviving remnants of their culture.

There were a few hopeful signs. Scientific ethnology got underway during the 1900 – 1910 decade, with its focus on native culture. Additionally, little remained of the earlier hostility toward Native Americans because of the threat that they had posed to Caucasian dominance. A romanticized image of Native Americans began to capture the attention of Caucasians, a few of whom grew sympathetic to their plight. By 1910, Native Americans in California were able to capitalize on this development by appealing for support in the improvement of their living conditions. It was during this first decade of the 20th Century that the first federally funded water projects were originated on Native American land. This delivered a temporary easing of poverty for some locations. In 1906, the U. S. Congress passed the first of a series of laws directed toward providing homeless Native American Californians with land. Northern California populations were affected. By 1930, three-dozen sites had been set aside in northern counties, ranging in size from five to a few hundred acres. Most Native Americans in California during the 1900 - 1910 decade continued to suffer under deplorable conditions.

Latin Americans

The remaining *Californios* whom had held control prior to the Mexican-American War constituted another shrinking segment of the population. This group had assimilated through marriage into all levels of society in the state, after more than 50 years of Yankee control. Generally, and perhaps inevitably, they suffered decline as a group, particularly in southern California where in previous decades the large ranchos had been carved into smaller farms and subdivisions. This group either became members of the Yankee majority or, increasingly, identified with Mexican immigrant laborers. Upon the advent of the 20th Century, these pre-statehood Californians had ". . . virtually ceased to exist as an identifiable ethnic group."[147] During this same period, a new migration from Mexico was taking place. There were already substantial Mexican American communities in southern

California. This population experienced racial and ethnic antipathy, though discrimination toward them did not compare to the anti-Asian sentiments that were so prevalent during the 1900 – 1910 decade. But barrios already existed in major southern cities, within which Mexican Americans were largely confined to the lower occupational levels. A pattern of growth in the old central city districts had set in, and this clearly delineated Mexican American communities from the surrounding areas.

Migration from Mexico increased after the turn of the century. Between 1901 and 1910, approximately 93,000 Mexicans legally entered California. They were immediately subjected to the prejudices that existed in California against people of Mexican extraction. The discrimination took place in spite of the fact that they were largely a law-abiding, religious, hard-working people – widely regarded as more tractable than the Japanese. They primarily dwelled in rural areas and eventually formed the backbone of California's agricultural labor force. When the Mexican Revolution of 1911 burst on the scene, poverty and political unrest accelerated migration to California. Between 1911 and 1914, 77,000 Mexicans migrated to California, followed by an additional 137,000 over the rest of the decade. Origins for the large and growing Latino population in modern California can be traced to patterns that began during the early years of the 20th Century.

African Americans

The massive migration to the state by African Americans did not occur until after the 1900 – 1910 decade. However, similar to Mexican Americans, many of their predecessors had been in California since the earliest days of Spanish occupation. Significant change in this population occurred between 1900 and 1920. Demographically, the population of African Americans native to the west coast dropped from 37% to 25%, while this ethnic group's population of individuals born

in the south increased to 58%.[148] That migration from the south and movements within the state during the troubled 1890s led to another significant change, the emergence of Los Angeles with the largest population of African Americans. They comprised nearly 2% of that city's population in 1900, while statewide they numbered less than 1%. African Americans had definitely become the most urbanized of all ethnic groups in California.

Their social experiences in Los Angeles were typical for developments during the 1900 – 1910 decade. In contrast with that to which Asians were subjected during the 1900 to 1910 decade, African Americans were received with remarkable tolerance – especially given the indiscreet bigotry of that era. Racism was rampant in the south at this time, Jim Crow segregation was practiced throughout much of the nation, and African Americans were systematically excluded from political participation. Racially motivated lynching had become commonplace. Throughout the nation the black man's position had reached its nadir. In California, the racism endured by African Americans elsewhere was absorbed in Asian animus. As late as 1910, for example, African American settlement in Los Angeles evidenced few signs of the rigid segregation confronted by the Japanese and Chinese. It is ironic that African Americans during the 1900 – 1910 decade were relatively free from the residential segregation that had become such an important instrument of racial hostility. That, of course, was to change.

Between 1910 and 1920, a pattern of exclusion emerged that led to the growth of the first black ghettos. During World War I, when many southern African Americans arrived in Los Angeles in a quest for work, the previously Caucasian section that we now know as Watts began to emerge as the major black ghetto in the state. Though this era's African Americans in California were freer to move about, they suffered other forms of discrimination. As a rule, they occupied the lower rungs on the occupational ladder, and they were basically excluded from many lines of employment. In 1910 Los Angeles there were only 28 African Americans among the city's 6,177 store salesmen. One third of African American males were employed as janitors, porters, waiters, or house servants. To whatever extent this ethnic group shared occupational status disadvantages with other minorities, they differed in one important regard.

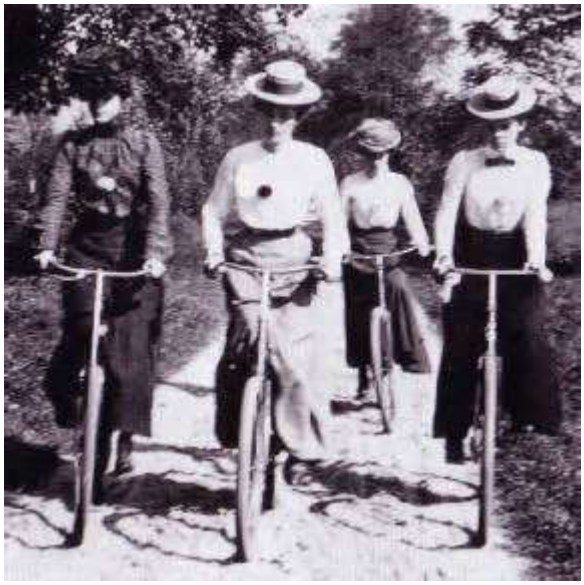
Alone among California's racial minorities, African Americans could participate in the political process. During the Reconstruction years they had learned how important political power is in safeguarding rights. Some of them struggled to retain this ability in the face of growing restrictions. California was one of the few places where it was possible to do so. The reality for African Americans who had remained in the deep South was that citizenship could not be exercised. Booker T. Washington became their undisputed spokesman. His message of accommodation and concentration on economic rights appealed to a white population with a promise of quietism, as well as to African Americans who clung to the myth of the self-made person. Their population was torn between insisting on active political involvement and concentration on economic opportunity, between militancy on one hand and accommodation on the other. Washington's

doctrines were dominant during the 1900 – 1910 decade, but the rise of W. E. B. DuBois and the founding of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People, in New York City in 1909, presaged the wave of the future. In California, a vocal minority of African Americans struggled to be heard within the Republican Party. (The transition to the Democratic Party by African Americans did not occur until 1936.) An Afro-American Council was founded in the 1890s, whose leaders attempted to trade loyalty at the polls for patronage jobs.[149] While the African American vote remained solidly Republican, and in times of close elections could prove invaluable, the overall results were disappointing. Certain of this was due to splits within the Council between Los Angeles and Bay Area activists. Whatever the reason, African Americans benefitted from precious little of the pie that they helped create. A year of futile attempts on the part of southern Council members to secure a position for their leader resulted in correspondence to Frank P. Flint, in 1904, which noted that, despite the African American contribution to George Pardee's election,

". . . our only candidate endorsed by our local and state organization for any position was James Alexander, he had had enough letters sent in his behalf to almost paper the Harbor Commissioner's Office, and yet he has not received any assurance."[150]

Despite Mr. Alexander's disappointment, some state positions were reserved as plums for African American patronage. These were the same types of jobs that African Americans held in the private economy: janitorial or messenger work. The best of these, apparently, was the position of governor's messenger. Jacob Soares, a mulatto born in the West Indies, occupied this position during the 1900 – 1910 period.[151] Earlier, Soares moved from San Francisco to Los Angeles, where he worked for many years as a waiter or janitor. Literate, intelligent, ambitious, and ingratiating, he became an influential figure among the Negro Independent Order of Oddfellows in Los Angeles. Henry Gage, campaigning for governor in 1898, enlisted Soares' support with a promise to award him the messenger's position should Soares succeed in turning out the African American and Latin American votes. Soares apparently succeeded and became Gage's messenger, remaining on during the succeeding Pardee and Gillett administrations – thanks to the quality of his work. Soares possessed abilities that were at least equal to others in the governor's office, but he rose no higher than the messenger's position. Governor Pardee once described the job as, ". . . more in the nature of janitor work than anything else."[152] That attests to the limits of opportunity that were available to racial minorities. Soares eschewed active politicking in favor of a comfortable, subordinate life. It was not until years after his death, in 1932, that opportunity began to widen for African Americans.

Women



Women achieved progress toward equality much sooner.[153] Despite the stereotypical genteelness of pretentious San Francisco women who, in the words of an acerbic social critic, led lives, ". . . of external superficialities , like so many frolicsome kittens," the industrial revolution introduced a radical transformation for women. By the late decades of the 19th Century, a class of advantaged and educated women were finding their way into the professions and escaping the bonds of domestic duties. Local women's clubs, culminating in the 1889 creation of the General Federation of Women's Clubs, served to widen female horizons, to include community affairs and politics. It was that liberalizing energy that was channeled into a drive for voting rights. This early emphasis on suffrage reform as the key to equality among the sexes produced a few victories, but a pattern was established in 1878 for the consistent defeat of attempts to advance women suffrage bills through the U. S. Congress.

California was in sync with these national developments. A women's suffrage bill was introduced in the state legislature in 1896. It was in the 1900s that 40 separate women's clubs from throughout the state, with their 6,000 members, formed the California Federation of Women's Clubs. Many of those club members were suffragists; however, the separate organizations were ostensibly social in

nature and through equal suffrage committees worked toward winning the vote in California. Their legislative supporter was the unpredictable Grover Johnson, who regularly introduced a suffrage amendment. The required two-thirds vote for advancing a constitutional amendment through the state legislature failed to materialize during the 1900 – 1910 decade. The 1905 legislature declined to consider a proposal, in spite of a petition drive by the California Equal Suffrage Association and the support of outgoing Governor Pardee. In 1907, James Gillett pledged support for the suffrage movement at the Republican Convention in Santa Cruz, but apparently reneged on the commitment the following year when an amendment was again defeated. That amendment was passed by Assembly members but was defeated by two votes in the Senate. Another attempt failed in 1909, and the decade ended with women still disfranchised. But momentum for the movement resulted in victory only shortly thereafter. 1911 brought that success, with the remarkable outpouring of progressive legislation that characterized the Hiram Johnson administration.

Chinese Americans

In 1903, the Poodle Dog Restaurant in Sacramento advertised that it employed only those of Caucasian descent.[154] Californians at the time understood that such policies were directed against Asians. The animus toward this ethnic group was California's counterpart for the national discrimination against African Americans, and it poses the greatest shame to characterize the 1900 – 1910 decade. The Chinese were not latecomers to California. The state owes much of the credit for construction of our earliest railways to this ethnic group. But the hard times of the 1870s became a convenient focus for working class rage. Chinese immigration was suspended by the first of a series of increasingly restrictive federal laws as a response to public demands.[155] But that exclusion did not ease vicious anti-Chinese outbreaks in the state, which during the 1880s forced an increasing number of Chinese to relocate from smaller communities to the cities. That movement produced an enlarged and eventually chaotic Chinatown in San Francisco. Disease and crime were prevalent in the resulting ghetto by the turn of

the century. In 1900, a bubonic plague began in Chinatown, became one of the controversial issues of the day, and was not settled until the state submitted to intense national and international pressures.[156] The secretive tongs – warring organizations that fought over control of prostitution, drugs, and other criminal activities – created Chinatown as a law unto itself. City police pocketed payoff money in return for conscientiously maintained disinterest. Like a purifying fire, the 1906 earthquake reduced the entirety of Chinatown to cinders. The long nightmare ended when the new Chinatown rose from the ruins, perhaps less flavorful than the old but considerably more sanitary and life supporting. Today we are able to enjoy its quality as a famous tourist attraction.

During the same years that the Chinatown ghetto was destroyed and rebuilt, the statewide Chinese population was steadily shrinking from the pressure of exclusion policies. In 1900, there were 45,753 Chinese in California, but that had decreased to 36,248 in 1910. Aging male Chinese were returning to China to live out their days. Newly arriving Asians were usually California residents returning from extended visits in the old country. And the pattern continued of more Chinese leaving the state than those entering. This created an abnormal age and sex distribution among the remaining Chinese population. In a 1906 survey of Chinese in San Francisco, it was discovered that the majority were middle-aged, married males. Their wives, however, by a ratio of 9 to 1, had left California and returned to China. In 1910, there were only 3,245 females among the state's Chinese population of 36,248. During the 1900 – 1910 decade, the vast majority of California's Chinese were born in China.[157] In a state that was open to migrants from other ethnic groups, the Chinese were perpetually treated as strangers and aliens – finally impelled to leave.

Chinese in the rural areas continued in agricultural vocations. Temporary and permanent agricultural workers received similar pay, but, as usual, less than Caucasians working under equal terms. In mid-decade, the standard rates were $1.50 a day for Caucasians and $1.25 for Asian Americans. When board was included for Caucasian workers their wages were reduced to the Chinese rate without board. The most common occupations for Chinese in the cities were: storekeeping; laundry work; clothing and cigar making; cooks; waiters; and servants. Chinese who owned small businesses employing other Chinese usually worked right alongside their employees, almost always providing board. As a result, the Chinese frequently lived at the location for their employment and in the company of fellow workers, rather than in families. The pay for urban employment varied little from that in agriculture – often even less. In 1906, cigar makers earned $1 to $1.10 a day; garment machine operators in Oakland earned $1.25 daily; while those skilled in tailoring earned $2 a day.

Japanese Americans

While the Chinese were decreasing in numbers the Japanese were increasing. This more recent wave of immigration began as a trickle in the 1880s, and by 1900 there were 10,151 Japanese in California – approaching the number of African Americans. Between 1900 and 1910 this immigration reached its apex, and at the end of this period 41,356 Japanese lived in the state. Racism that had been primarily directed toward the Chinese was expanded to include the Japanese, and they were soon as reviled as the Chinese – and feared even more. The stunning results of the Russo-Japanese War raised the specter of Asian hordes on the march – a Yellow Peril challenging the influence of Anglo-Saxon civilization.[158] Closer to home, Caucasians in California were frightened by the newcomers' startling talents as practitioners of the puritan virtues. They worked hard; they saved; they invested; and they knew how to delay gratification. They were perceived as doing everything needed to achieve success. Since they were successful, fear and resentment grew among other Californians.

The Japanese initially competed against the Chinese, replacing them in agriculture and in urban businesses. Prior to the 1906 earthquake, for example, the Japanese were already operating laundries in competition with the Chinese. Rates for wages were the same for both, and, of course, lower than those for Caucasians in the same industries. The Japanese invested heavily in updated machinery and their nine modern steam laundries in San Francisco were more

than an economic match for the Chinese method of hand laundry. The efficiency of the Japanese was a disturbing marvel for many Americans. A group of Japanese men living together could run several businesses out of one residence, working days at one and nights at another, ". . . in quarters no more than adequate for housing one American."[159] In agricultural endeavors, the Japanese were far less passive than were the Chinese, usually tightly organized under Japanese bosses and willing to strike when necessary or desirable. Additionally, the Japanese sought to climb from agriculture laborer status to that of independent growers. That success brought them into competition with Caucasian entrepreneurs whose original hope had been to find in the Japanese an answer to the chronic shortage in agricultural laborers.

By the middle of the decade resentment was strong and growing, as Caucasians drew lessons from such places of Japanese activity as the Vaca Valley. The Japanese began to appear in Vacaville in 1890, initially working as low-paid agricultural laborers. As their numbers increased they displaced Caucasian labor. Through severe frugality they accumulated savings that enabled them to begin renting orchards for cash in advance. This made it possible to outcompete the Chinese who generally worked orchards on a sharecropping basis. The Vacaville area became a major center for the Japanese, with many of the surrounding orchards leased to them. By 1900 the Japanese were opening stores in Vacaville, and by mid-decade it was believed that they controlled half the general merchandise trade and almost all of the farm supply business. Though they were criticized as indifferent cultivators who mishandled their leased orchards and lowered property values, the underlying perception of Caucasians was that the Japanese were unfair or at least too effective as competitors. The suggested solution was that of attracting Caucasian families under favorable conditions, ". . . putting small farms on the market at reasonable prices, and making an especial endeavor to attract men with families who can raise small fruits, sweet corn, poultry, etc. among the large fruits."

As the influx of Japanese continued, pressure grew to apply an immigration exclusion policy, as had proved so effective with the Chinese.[160] By 1900, anti-Japanese agitation was off and running in San Francisco. The Japanese government announced a suspension of emigration "for the present," but they continued arriving on the West Coast via Hawaii. In early 1905, increased agitation for reversing the influx took the form of demonstrations by the Japanese and Korean Exclusion League. The California legislature, in chorus with other western states that had sizeable Japanese populations, petitioned Congress for exclusion. But congressional action was stymied by President Roosevelt's outlook, since he was primarily concerned with international politics.

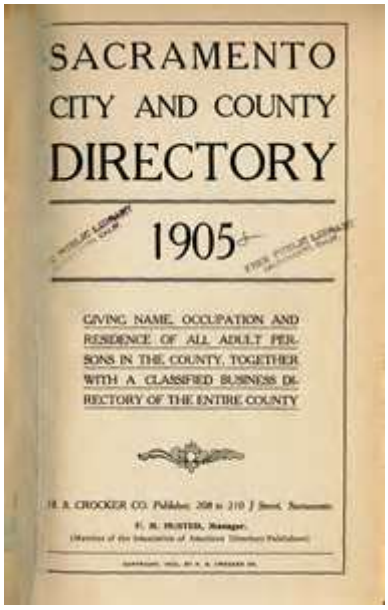
The crisis came to a climax in 1906, when the San Francisco School Board decided to require all Japanese children to attend the Oriental school in Chinatown, to prevent impressionable white youngsters from "association with pupils of the Mongolian race." At that time there were only 93 Japanese pupils in the school system, of whom 25 were American-born and, therefore, native citizens.

Charges were trumped up regarding Japanese immorality. An even more accentuated attack involved the presence of older Japanese pupils in lower-grade classes. Though a rare occurrence, there was an instance of a 21-year-old Japanese trying to enter a first grade class. The segregation of Japanese students became popular. Even Governor Pardee, a man of decent instincts and a supporter of Roosevelt's politics, came out in its support.[161] The Japanese government bristled at this insulting action by the school board and protested. With his Asian policy in jeopardy, President Roosevelt invited the school board to Washington, D.C. and secured a reversal of their position by promising an end to the immigration of Japanese laborers.

Between February 1907 and February 1908, this initiative was negotiated in delicate and face-saving fashion with Japan. The result was a gentlemen's agreement, which left it up to the Japanese to cut off the stream of emigrants. By October 1908, the influx of Japanese was under control and departures began to exceed arrivals. However, Japanese brides were admissible, and as they arrived to form unions with the overwhelmingly male-dominated Japanese population in the United States, the Japanese birth rate soared to heights that alarmed Americans worried about racial survival. The movement to suppress Japanese in California continued well past the 1900 – 1910 decade. By 1910, California's Japanese population of 41,356 was double that of African Americans and significantly more than that of the Chinese. In 1913, state law denied "aliens ineligible to citizenship" (read: Japanese) the right to purchase land. In 1920, the alien Japanese was also denied the right to lease land. But the Japanese had become established in the state, and another chapter in their presence remained to be worked out in the shattering events of the 1940s.[162]

IX. THE CAPITAL CITY, 1900 - 1910

General Perspective


SACRAMENTO
CITY AND COUNTY
DIRECTORY
1905

GIVING NAME, OCCUPATION AND RESIDENCE OF ALL ADULT PERSONS IN THE COUNTY, TOGETHER WITH A CLASSIFIED BUSINESS DIRECTORY OF THE ENTIRE COUNTY

H. S. CROCKER CO. Publishers

The city that developed around the state Capitol was no backwater settlement during these years. It was a growing community that reflected almost every influence that was transforming life throughout the state. Through an examination of Sacramento during the 1900 – 1910 decade, we are able to examine: a specific example of growth and expansion; the impact on everyday life of all the fruits of 19th Century technology; the development of an industrial base, with its urbanized workforce; and the struggle to keep a city livable under the pressures of expansion, while improving the quality of life of its citizens. For Sacramento, as with the rest of California, the decade brought change and promised even greater change for the future, but there was no watershed between a quaint past and a familiar present. What we can know is that modern Californians would not feel entirely at home in those years.

That which we consider ordinary in our everyday life existed only in part during the 1900 – 1910 decade. As the 20th Century got underway there were no refrigerators in Sacramento homes; no radios; no televisions; and no plethora of electric gadgets to wash, dry, chop, slice, drill, etc. There were also: no parking meters; no traffic lights; no airports; no freeways; no blood bank; no super markets; no fast food outlets; and, assuredly, no suburban shopping centers. Features that they did enjoy were: paved streets; electric lighting; indoor plumbing; telephones; bicycles; phonographs; and, as the decade progressed, automobiles, movies, and hints of suburban sprawl. This was a citizenry, with

needs and desires that were akin to our own, who worked, sought comfort, found diversion, and were active in the marketplace.

One significant difference, of course, is that the population was much less than it is today. The 2010 Census recorded a Sacramento County population of 1,418,788, of whom 466,488 resided within the city limits.[163] In 1900, the county population was less than 46,000, and 29,000 resided within the city limits. By comparison, we now have 31 individuals for every one who resided in the county in 1900 – or 16 to 1 in the city. During this early decade of Sacramento's history, the city and county experienced a virtual explosion in population growth. The county increased to 67,806 residents, or by 47.6%; and the city grew to a population of 44,696, or by 52%. While these growth rates were lower than the state's overall population rate of 60.1%, in northern California the achievement was more than respectable.[164] (It is noteworthy that the relative importance of the city, measured by population, was much higher during the 1900 - 1910 than during modern times. In 1910, 35% of the county's population lived outside the city; in 2010, that figure stood at 67%.) The growth between 1900 and 1910 was cause for celebration, because the economic stagnation of the 1890s seemed to hit Sacramento particularly hard, with the city's population increasing by less than 3,000 over the decade. That unimpressive status was explained away with angry accusations that the 1900 Census was incorrect and that the population was nearer 35,000.[165] Few in 1900 denied that the county beyond city limits had rich potential that had ". . . never been even half developed," but the optimism of the new decade deemed that this potential was near at hand.[166]

Agriculture

During the 1900 – 1910 decade there were approximately 500,000 acres of farmland in the county, of which 230,000 was being highly cultivated. In 1900,

values varied from $50 to $100 for an acre of wheat and hay land to fruit-growing land that might sell for $1,000 an acre. The most desirable among these acres were in the delta region, at the county's southwest corner. In that locale, the prosperity of growers was expressed in fine homes and land prices that were unmatched elsewhere. Stretching eastward from the city, along the banks of the American River, was another fruit-growing region.[167]

The city of Sacramento directly benefitted from the agricultural production of the county, as well as from throughout the Sacramento Valley, by serving as a shipping and distribution center. Sacramento shipped more deciduous fruit by rail to the East than any other western city.[168] Chinese and Japanese labor had been crucial to the county's agricultural production for decades. As the Chinese population declined due to the policies of exclusion, the numbers of Japanese serving this industry continued to grow. During these years the corresponding figures were: 1890, 4,371 Chinese and 51 Japanese; 1900, 3,254 Chinese and 1,209 Japanese; and in 1910, only 2,143 Chinese were still engaged in the industry, while the Japanese number had increased to 3,874.[169]

Ethnic Profile

During the 1900 – 1910 decade Sacramento's population was the fourth largest in the state, behind San Francisco, Los Angeles, and Oakland.[170] What was the ethnicity of the city's residents during this interesting period? It was primarily a city of Caucasian people, with the native- and foreign-born of their population totaling between 93% and 94% of the overall population. Foreign-born Caucasians increased from 5,413, or 18.4% of the population in 1900, to 8,885 in 1910 – or 20% of the population. Chinese, Japanese, and Native American residents made up, according to census information, 4.7% of the 1900 population and 5.6% of the 1910 population. That slight increase in Asian American population was dominated by Japanese growth. The African American population in 1900 was 402, or 1.3% of the population; and, in 1910, 486, or 1.1%. Records from this period are sketchy and may pose some inaccuracies, but it remains valid to understand that Sacramento's overwhelmingly dominant ethnic group during this

turn of the century decade was Caucasian. The racial breakdown for the period roughly corresponds to the statewide population distribution; with the exception of the Asian Americans and African Americans, who were represented in the city at the time by slightly higher percentages.[171]

The population as a whole was literate, becoming more so over the decade.[172] In 1900, the city identified 847 illiterate residents, or 3.4%; and by 1910 this had declined to 534, or 1.4%. The native-born Caucasian population must have been nearly 100% literate, because it was the foreign-born Caucasians, African Americans, and Asian Americans who accounted for most of the illiteracy. The historically despised Chinese continued to bear the brunt of anti-Asian sentiment. Confined to a "Chinatown" along I Street in the old downtown business section, they specialized in their usual occupations, notably hand laundry operations. In 1899, the city adopted an ordinance, ostensibly a health measure, directed at the practice by Chinese laundrymen of spraying water from their mouths on clothes while they were ironing. Violating this onerous regulation could result in draconian fines of up to $100 or 100 days in jail.[173]

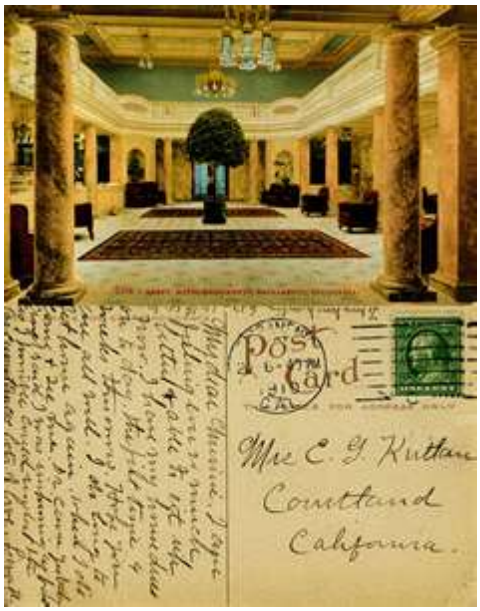
As the numbers of Japanese continued to rise between 1900 and 1910, this racial animus was slowly shifting toward their community. Gradually, newly arriving Japanese began building a strong ethnic community in the older area of the city. "Japan Town" eventually spread over the blocks between 2nd and 5th Streets, on the east and west, and L and O Streets on the north and south. This settlement was concentrated on L and M Streets, between 3rd and 4th Streets.[174] While there had been racial antipathy toward this community for some time, the blossoming of widespread hatred and fear of the Japanese in Sacramento occurred in this decade. In 1893, the *Sacramento Bee* had greeted the newcomers by contrasting them with the Chinese with respect to docility and obedience. As late as 1905 the same newspaper described a gathering of local Japanese in celebration of the Port Arthur victory in the Russo-Japanese War as "a swell affair."

What was likely not expected is that the Japanese proved to be assiduous and ambitious. They opened numerous businesses in the city and entered service professions, which eventually brought them into conflict with Caucasian competitors. It became, in most regards, a repeat of the difficulties that the Chinese had encountered earlier. This became true even though most Japanese businesses were clustered in Japan Town and served a virtually exclusive Japanese clientele. In the early 1890s, the first boarding houses and provisions stores catering to the Japanese were opened. By 1911 there were 37 boarding houses in the city. But the most significant businesses, economically, were the provisions or grocery stores. These stores sold imported Japanese products and handled the produce of the area's 80 Japanese truck farmers. In 1905, the first Japanese bank was listed in the City Directory. By 1911 there were nearly 200 Japanese businesses in Sacramento, including dozens of restaurants and barber shops and some 12 grocery stores.

These developments, along with the competition that Japanese labor posed in some urban occupations for the Caucasian majority, sparked a full-blown anti-

Japanese movement. One Caucasian laundry operator reported that, ". . . on L Street, from 2nd to 4th Streets, you will find nothing but Japanese, and in such numbers that it is certainly alarming." But it was within Caucasian unions that the strongest resistance arose. In 1905, resentment against Japanese competition among barbers led to the forceful closing of Japanese barber shops on Sundays. In April 1907, when Caucasian laundry workers went on strike, their customers turned to the Japanese laundries. "We have always fought the Chinese and Japanese," remarked the head of the striking laundry workers while discussing their predicament. By 1908 Sacramento had its own Its own local chapter of the Asiatic Exclusion League. Virulent anti-Asian sentiments had become a durable part of Sacramento life.

The Tourists' Sacramento



In keeping with the spirit of the times, Sacramento's boosters never tired of championing their city to new residents and visitors. Shortly following the close of the decade a visitor's guide advertised it as, ". . . an ideal city for the home seeker, the most healthful spot the sun ever shone on, with everything from a progressive and ambitious population to a perfect sanitary system."[175] Hyperbole aside, it was a pleasant place for tourists. They could select from a number of fine hotels. At the turn of the century, probably the most glamorous one was the Western Hotel on K Street between 2nd and 3rd Streets. William Land, one of Sacramento's most prominent entrepreneurs, had constructed the hotel and its 350 rooms had beds to accommodate 500 guests. Room and board could be obtained for $1.50 a day and, in keeping with the wonders of the age, it was advertised as, ". . . lighted

throughout with electricity."[176] The Golden Eagle Hotel, at the corner of 7th and K Streets, in 1902, charged $2.50 and upwards for rooms, and this lodging was a favorite of state legislators during their biennial sessions. All the city's hotels were clustered in the downtown area, mainly on the strip bordered by Front and 10th Streets and J and K Streets. Sacramento was still characterized by a definable center in the older part of the city.

The State Capitol dominated the skyline, and it provided the most prominent architectural feature within the city. The surrounding park was a great source of civic pride, with its unrivaled collection of trees, flowers, and unusual plants. The State Insectary, located on the grounds along 13th and L Streets, was used for propagating useful insects for the protection of the state's agriculture. It was available for visits on weekdays - free of charge. The first floor of the rotunda of the Capitol featured the statuary *Columbus' Last Appeal to Isabella*, which had been donated by Darius Ogden Mills in 1883 and was regarded by many as irrelevant. "The statue," suggested the 1911 Guidebook, in accord with an age that had a firm sense of its values, "is estimated at $30,000." The nearest architectural rival to the State Capitol was the gothic-style Roman Catholic cathedral at 11th and K Streets. Its spire, like the Capitol dome, soared over surrounding structures and was visible for miles from all directions. Other tourist attractions that we still enjoy today included the Crocker Art Gallery, donated to the city in 1885, and Sutter's Fort, which was reconstructed in the early 1890s and was owned by the state. Both of these attractions were available to the public free of charge. Certain attractions during this period no longer exist. Between W and X Streets, along 10th Street, there was an ostrich farm, which sheltered up to 100 birds whose plumes were sold to the public at a showroom on the premises. Near that same area of the city, along Riverside Drive, was a large public bath, Sacramento's more modest version of San Francisco's Sutro Baths. This operation featured 550 dressing rooms. Its admission, including the use of a bathing suit, was 25 cents – which was reduced to 10 cents by bringing one's own suit.

Visitors found Sacramento a pleasant place for recreation and shopping. Fine furniture was available at John Breuner's and clothing at Weinstocks and Lubin – two establishments that are no longer a part of Sacramento's retail economy. The distance Sacramento had traveled from the antiquated merchandising of 50 years earlier was in evidence at Lavenson's Shoe House at 7th and K Streets. Advertised as "California's greatest retail shoe store," it occupied 5,000 square feet of floor space and provided every modern comfort associated with a first-class establishment in 1900: "A ladies' waiting room, complete with all toilet accessories; a ladies' shoe polishing stand, with attendant; and local or long distance telephones.[177]

Leisure Time

Permanent residents enjoyed these attractions, as well as many others. Filling leisure time was far from the pursuit that it has become in modern times. There was less time for leisure, and public events were the most common form of entertainment. In this era of non-digital entertainment, in which print was the only mass medium, public celebrations and mass entertainment played important roles as social diversions. The elaborate inaugural parade and ceremony for incoming Governor Pardee, in 1906, is best understood in this context. There is a tendency to romanticize the entertainment of previous generations. A walk during the evening hours along the streets or in a park, where band concerts were offered from May to October, were part of life's fabric in these days prior to television, radios, and air conditioning.[178]

More than two-dozen churches served Sacramento, including the Cathedral of the Blessed Sacrament and four other Roman Catholic congregations, the full range of protestant churches, and a synagogue. There were also "spirit" comforts of

another sort, dispensed by a small army of saloons.[179] Live theater was also on the scene. At the end of the decade Sacramento residents could enjoy vaudeville at the Grant Theater and the Pantages Theater, both located near the 7th and K Street intersection. The Theatre Diepenbrock offered plays presented by the Henry McRae Stock Company, at popular prices. There was, the 1911 Guidebook assured readers, "No interior city in California with so fine a theatre, nor one housing a company more capable." The older Clunie Theater, or opera house, was the city's major theater during the 1900 – 1910 period, offering everything from legitimate theater with Sarah Bernhardt, to symphonic concerts, to minstrel shows. The emphasis on public display and spectacle as a key element in popular entertainment is exemplified by the manner in which the Clunie advertised its attractions. For example, early in the decade when the 50 "prominent kings of minstrelsy" of the "famous Georgia Minstrels" appeared at the theater, the booking was inaugurated with a grand march through the streets. Though the march was free to the public, tickets to the show ranged from 75 cents for the best seats down to 25 cents. Prices varied from show to show at the Clunie, but over the decade they apparently remained stable.[180]

Perhaps fees for these earlier forms of entertainment were a reaction to the advent of new forms of amusement. Over the following decades the means for entertainment were destined for a revolution, particularly by the impact of the phonograph and motion pictures. By the turn of the century, an Edison Phonograph Parlor at 6th and K Streets sold *mutoscopes* and *artoscopes* that were offered to the public as, ". . . artistic, cultivating, and entertaining," The motion picture industry virtually accompanied the entry of the 20th Century. This industry was recognized as a separate entity by data compiled for the 1910 Census. By 1909, it was circulating $4.2 million in annual products. It was in the 1900 – 1910 decade that southern California began to emerge as a center for motion picture production. In 1908, the Selig Polyscope Company began filming in Los Angeles out of headquarters in a barn on Olivera Street. In 1910, D. W. Griffith's Biograph Company began filming in California and by example convinced others to locate in the state. But the introduction of Hollywood postdates the decade. In 1911, a New Jersey film company moved to set up shop there. In 1913, Cecil B. DeMille arrived and a new age was launched. In Sacramento the impact was noticeable through the opening of motion picture houses. At the close of the decade there were at least eight throughout the city. With such names as Majestic, Lyric, and Edison, they were clustered along J and K Streets, mainly between 3rd and 6th Streets. In 1900 there had been no motion picture theaters anywhere in the state, but the first of these opened in Los Angeles in 1902.

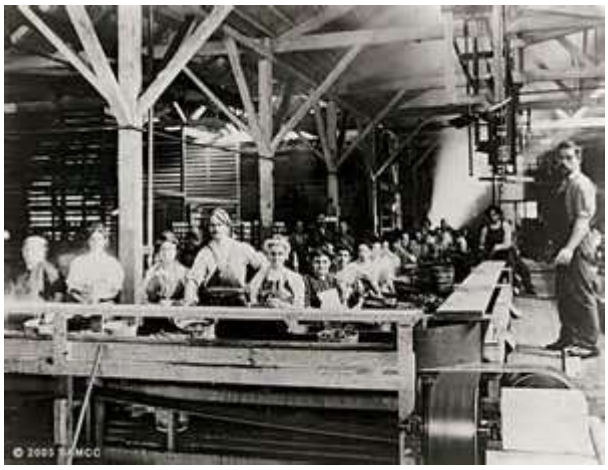
Economic Foundations

The economy that sustained Sacramento's population was only partially based on the presence of the state government. Though as true in those times as today, when in session the legislature had a real impact on local business. The session of 1903 provides a representative picture. As legislators arrived back in town, the Barton-Fisher Candy Company advertised bakery specialties for "Legislative Session Receptions." The Union Laundry, at 10th and O Streets, solicited the solons soiled wardrobes. D. Johnston and Company, Stationers, addressed their advertising to new legislators and their wives, offering visiting cards, diaries, pens, and a full line of office supplies and equipment. Hotels and restaurants found the legislative sessions to be prosperous seasons for their business. With the legislature in session for only a few months every other year, special sessions aside, senators and assemblymen lived in rented quarters and dined at restaurants. Private homes also vied for this business.[182] But the overall prosperity of central Sacramento depended far less than now on local expenditures by the state government.

The city occupied a strategic location at the crossroads of commerce. Sacramento's annual trade at the turn of the century was $70,000,000, and its manufacturers value represented an additional $9,495,000.[183] Though the city was home to no giant industries, with the exception of the Southern Pacific Railroad yard, and industrial growth in the decade was somewhat mixed, the 1900 – 1910 period provided the benefit of an increasing diversity in the city's economy. The number of manufacturing establishments increased from 111 to 211 and the value of products from $9.4 million to $13.9 million. The Southern Pacific Railroad was the most important enterprise by far. It employed a workforce between 2,000 and 3,000 for its various activities; which included a machine shop, iron and brass foundries, and a rolling mill.[184] Its payroll at decade's end had reached $7,000,000. Overall, at the decade's end more than 5,000 Sacramento residents were employed by local industries, including 533 salaried employees and 4,514 hourly employees. It is noteworthy that the Southern Pacific Railroad employed approximately half of the city's industrial workers at the time. Other important

industrial enterprises, based on the size of their workforce and the value of products, included: flour and grist milling; carpentry; printing and publishing; wholesale slaughtering and meat packing operations; and canning. Over the decade, value added to finished products produced by manufacturers (as distinct from the total value of products, which includes the cost of materials and tends to create an unreliable impression of actual productivity) increased by approximately 70%, compared to a population increase of 52%. Workers were able to gradually share in this successful growth, with an increase in annual industrial wage of $683 in 1899 to $702 in 1904 and $867 in 1909, an overall increase of 28.2%.

Wages and Hours



The size of the workforce's salaries and the difficulties encountered in their work can be understood through details provided by the State Board of Labor Statistics during the decade.[185] Trends during the 1900 – 1910 period moved in the direction of higher wages and shorter workdays. Only a few examples are needed to demonstrate the extent of these changes. One 1906 survey of meat cutters documented a 12-hour workday, with common weekly wages ranging from $15 to $18. A follow-up survey in 1909 – 1910 documented a standard workday of 10 hours, with weekly wages now ranging from a low of $15 to a high of $25. Machinists experienced similar trends. In another survey from that earlier period machinists were found to be working 9-hour days and earning a weekly salary between $12 and $18. From the 1909 – 1910 surveys, a study of the machinists revealed that the majority was still working 9-hour days, but a significant number of them were by then earning a weekly salary between $21 and $25. By the close of the 1900 – 1910 period, the Labor Bureau survey of 4,491 Sacramento employees revealed that 68.2% were working an 8- or 9-hour day, though 8.2% were still experiencing 12-hour workdays – or more. It can be seen that the 8-hour

workday did not become the rule during the 1900 – 1910 period, but it did bring that goal into focus.

Weekly wages varied greatly, depending on the length of the workday, the category of labor, and the sex of he employee. The range was broad and went from .3% earning less than $3 a week to the elite 14.6% who earned more than $25 weekly. Nearly 50% of the surveyed workforce earned more than $15 a week. Based on those working an average of 9-hour workdays and 6-day workweeks, the average hourly salary in Sacramento was approximately 28 cents. Again, women were commonly paid less than men. Among bookkeepers in stores and offices where 75 men and 65 women were surveyed, men worked an additional hour a day on average; however, while only three women earned more than $25 a week, forty-five men were in that select category. The same general trend was true in other occupations.

There were 62 women stenographers surveyed in Sacramento during the Labor Bureau's 1909 – 1910 study. This was a field in which women were rapidly gaining dominance. It is singled out because Governor Pardee's stenographer was male, Edward G. Twogood, and it is interesting to compare salaries within the governor's office to those on the outside that were performing ostensibly similar work. Two-thirds of this group's female stenographers worked an 8-hour day and the overwhelming percentage of them earned a weekly salary of between $12 and $15. Analyzed on a 52-week basis, annual wages for stenographers in Sacramento averaged $780. Twogood's 1903 starting salary had been $1,600.

Male and Female Occupations

Additional insight regarding life as an employee in Sacramento during this era is gained by considering the general division of labor into spheres of male and female.[185] Certain professions were exclusively in the hands of males. In 1900, males were the only occupants among the city's: 19 architects; designers and draftsmen; 37 dentists; 72 electricians; and its 55 bank or company officials. In like manner, there were no women among Sacramento's 131 bartenders; 136 saloonkeepers; 390 machinists; and 305 blacksmiths. Women were also barely represented in other careers. There was only a single woman among the city's 97 attorneys, and only one woman among its 115 watchmen, police officers, and fire fighters. And there were only two women among Sacramento's 83 physicians and surgeons; similarly, only two women among its 18 undertakers. Fields where women monopolized were evident in: 304 dressmakers; 68 milliners; and 94 of the 106 nurses and midwives. As touched on earlier, women were coming into dominance as stenographers and typists. 1900 Census data revealed that there were 35 men and 77 women employed in those two careers.

Earnings and Prices

Some familiarity with the actual earnings of ordinary people makes it easier to achieve an accurate assessment of the cost of living during this earlier era. Among the quaint characteristics of the 1900 – 1910 period, as viewed from our 21st Century perspective, probably none surpass that of the prices for goods and services. What was it that one could purchase on an hourly wage of 27 cents or a weekly income of approximately $15? Quite a bit, given the price structure of the decade. Prices and wages that rather dramatically increased during these generally prosperous times remained notably stable in comparison with later years. Conversely, living costs were not cheap relative to earnings. For most people the cost of living at that time was similar to today – in the words of an old joke, everything you've got. By briefly turning our attention to typical prices, especially those of food, clothing, and shelter, we can achieve an appreciation for their standard of living during this period – as well as a flavor for life at the time.

Newspapers

SACRAMENTO DAILY RECORD-UNION.

Sacramento residents during the 1900 – 1910 period certainly depended more on the daily newspaper than is true today. Newspapers delivered advertising, classifieds, local and national news, and they had not yet been exposed to the competition of either electronic or digital media. They were at that time powerful factors in forming public opinion, and they figured prominently in the political history from this era. This was a time of revolutionary changes in publishing, a sort of golden age with tarnish. Technical improvements for high-speed presses opened the way for circulation wars and the growth of newspaper chains. By the 1890s, California's William Randolph Hearst had established the *San Francisco Examiner* as a prototype of the modern, sensationalized product soon to be given the nickname of "yellow journalism." By 1900, newspapers were rapidly taking on essentially modern formats, including: eye-catching headlines; sophisticated advertising copy; special features; magazine sections; circulation-building contests; comic sections; and photography. Though not all newspapers moved in lockstep along these paths. Photography replaced engraved illustration of news stories only as individual newspapers were able to acquire the requisite modern equipment. Examples of combining the two were evident throughout the transition that characterized the1900 – 1910 period.

Sacramento also hosted a number of weekly publications during this decade. The *Sacramento Union* was published as a daily morning newspaper, and the

Sacramento Bee was circulated as a daily evening newspaper. The 1910 presence of two daily newspapers in a city of less than 30,000 residents attests to the importance of this media in Sacramento. Subscription rates were reasonable. The *Sacramento Union*, publishing daily throughout the period, maintained an annual subscription price of $6 – or 1.6 cents a day. The technological breakthroughs of the late 19th Century combined with advertising based on mass circulation to deliver this reasonable price.[187]

Food

Food prices from this decade are fascinating for modern shoppers.[188] In 1900, Curtis and Company Market advertised whole turkeys at 18 cents a pound. This was regarded as remarkably expensive for the time, because in 1905 one could get premium Eastern ham for only 13 cents a pound. Actually, factory-like

production was still in the future for the poultry industry, and, along with it, the mass production of turkey and chicken meat at the relatively low prices that we are accustomed to today. The extravagance of the “chicken in every pot” promise made by Herbert Hoover in 1928 would have been far more understandable in 1900 than it is in 2013. Butter was available for similarly high prices, as related to income, at 55 to 60 cents for a two-pound brick. Translated, that meant that the ordinary laborer in 1901 had to work for an hour to buy one pound. Eggs, to which the remarks regarding poultry apply equally well, cost 35 cents a dozen, though these were “fresh ranch eggs,” or so went the claim. In continuing a comparison to today’s prices, sugar was cheap at 5 or 6 cents a pound, but an average laborer earned only enough in an hour to make an equivalent purchase in today’s market of $7.50. Nor was gasoline cheap. Increasingly in demand as the automobile came into prominence, it was available in stores that sold other petroleum products. In January 1905, Straith and Housel, grocers at 726 K Street, dispensed gasoline at 95 cents for five gallons. (That rate of 19 cents a gallon converts to a rate of more than $5 a gallon by 2013 standards.) An average employee in the 1900 – 1910 period would have had to work nearly four hours to make such a purchase.

Liquor was consumed in sizeable quantities, though the era was part of a long-term decline for hard drinking among Americans. In early 1902, the Sanitary Liquor Store, at 320 K Street, advertised 9-year-old Kentucky whiskey for $3.50 a gallon – a $1.50 discount from the regular price. Residents of the time may have settled for Rye, at $2.25 a gallon, or port, at a mere 75 cents a gallon. Good California wine was already a well-established product. Sonoma County Riesling was offered at $1 for three bottles. Most dining was done at home. But the city’s complement of 136 saloonkeepers and 131 bartenders in 1909, when compared to its 50 restaurants, suggests that this didn’t appear to be true for its drinkers. But travelers, state legislators, and those using such temporary facilities as hotels and boarding houses could choose from a variety of eating-places. Prices for the average dinner hovered around 25 cents. In 1902, Wallis Restaurant, at 3rd and K Streets, offered “turkey, chicken, pig, or duck” dinners at that price. Gala events were, of course, more expensive. A 1908 New Year’s Day dinner at the Peerless Restaurant, at 720 K Street, cost $1.

Clothing

If food was cheap when compared to today's prices but not by those of the 1900 – 1910 period, the same can be said for the necessity of clothing – and, with a little less accuracy, shelter. In 1903, Weinstock, Lubin Company offered $10 overcoats on sale for $6.95 and $45 overcoats for $30. Tuxedos sold for $25 at the time. Men's shoes cost $2.50 to $3.50 and upwards. Women's shoes were similarly priced, though they could be found for as little as $1.50. These were leather shoes, of course, and owners were more likely to resole them than is true today. The Boston Shoe Store, at 511 K Street, replaced half soles for a minimum of 35 cents. Prices offered by the Sears Roebuck catalogue were generally lower, if one was prepared to deal with mail-order houses. Men's wool suits sold for $4 to $10, for Sears "Finest All-worsted Suit."

Evidence suggests that housing costs were cheaper in real dollars than they are today; however, this impression is not totally accurate.[189] In 1900, a house in Washington, now known as Broderick, on the Yolo County side of the Sacramento River, rented for $13 a month. In 1901, a five-room flat in Sacramento was available for $15 a month, which in 1903 cost $17. Judging by newspaper postings, rents averaged 1% of selling prices. Reliable estimates indicate that Sacramento residents spent approximately one-quarter of their incomes on housing costs, which is a little less than similar housing costs today. In this context it is appropriate to reiterate that nationwide statistical averages in 1901 recorded that a "normal family" with an income less than $1,200 (the average was $651) spent approximately 17.2% of their gross income for housing. The experience for Sacramento residents was very close to that mark.

But purchasing a single-family residence at the time was an entirely different matter. This feature existed even though housing prices were not disproportionate to rental costs. In 1903, a 14-room house on L Street, said to rent for $40 a month, was placed for sale on the real estate market at $4,200. Three others along M Street were each offered at $6,000, with rents for each advertised at $64 a month. Compared to Sacramento's more recent real estate history, inordinate inflation pressures did not plague the real estate activity during the decade. In 1905, a 7-

room house was placed on the market at $3,000. In 1909, a four-year-old, 5-room cottage, advertised as equipped with gas, electric lighting, and hot and cold water, was placed on the market at $3,250. That housing was so difficult to purchase was a result of hard-pressed incomes and inflexible mortgage instruments that did not provide a viable alternative to renting. Available statistics for the county in 1900 clearly illustrate the difficulty for becoming a homeowner during the 1900 – 1910 decade. Owner occupied homes throughout the Central Valley mirrored national characteristics. In 1900, there were 7,831 non-farm families residing in Sacramento County, but the majority lived in the city. 2.982 of these families lived in homes that they owned and 4,312 lived in rented property – interestingly, the status for 547 families was not identified. From the available data it appears that 38% of non-farm families enjoyed home ownership, which indicates that 62% of the remaining population lived in rentals. The relatively modest number of homeowners who possessed unencumbered title to their residence is just as significant. Of the 2,982 homeowners, 2.030 owned their properties free and clear. Of the identified owner occupied residences, only 30% were dependent on mortgage arrangements.[190]

Despite the absence of income taxes, higher education costs, and the expensive appliances on which modern households are so dependent, the impression of the "good old days" is a beguiling image, and we are best served by recognizing that Sacramento residents during this earlier age had to struggle to make ends meet. Life's necessities, especially food and clothing, were expensive, and relying on the simple foods and staples of that era required most families to depend on meals prepared from scratch at home. Housing may have been less of a financial burden than it is today, but home ownership, one of the greatest lures used to attract residents to the state, simply was not within the means of a majority of urban dwellers.

Labor Unrest

Times were good and filled with optimism about the future. 1900 - 1910 was a period of expectations for even better times ahead and of comforting comparisons with the economic depression and pessimism of the 1890s. An indication of this invigorated spirit was the proliferation of labor unions and the frequency of strikes. Sacramento experienced what was perhaps less than its fair share of labor unrest, and in 1906 was ranked 8th for strikes among the state's major cities. Only seven strikes took place in the city from 1901 through 1905.[191] In the spring of 1902, 250 carpenters and painters successfully struck to resist owners' demands that they perform no work for businesses not members of the Employers' Association. That same year more than 50 cooks and waiters were on strike for two months in a bid to establish a union shop among 15 Sacramento establishments, to secure an increase in wages and a reduction in work hours, and to force all of the Chinese competition out of the restaurant trade. They lost. In April 1904, 62 harness makers walked out of one establishment to secure a signed contract for their union and an increase in wages. The strike lasted until October 17th and ended in failure. The well-organized plumbers conducted the biggest strike in Sacramento during the first half of the decade. While demanding increased wages and the establishment of a union scale, 30 plumbers walked out on March 1, 1904. This action eventually succeeded for the union, but it did not end until December 1905 – a 20-month strike that constituted the longest in the state during this period. Sacramento was basically average in the prospect for union victories and success, with some 38% of work stoppages ending in success. San Francisco provided a more favorable battlefield for organized labor, with its 45% success ratio. Los Angeles, the considerably different city in the south, was a graveyard for the hopes of strikers, with a rate of only 8% success by striking groups.

City Government Faces the Future

Another significant reaction to new conditions ushered in by the 20th Century was a flowering of civic energies that continued to parallel the needs of a growing city throughout the decade. Sacramento provided the full range of services required by major cities. It had a Board of Health, made up of five physicians under whom a Health Officer served as superintendent for the wholesomeness of food and milk - a body which also sought control over infectious diseases by establishing quarantines. The city featured a library providing free services to the public, which had become recognized as an important public function during the closing decades of the 19th Century. The school system that had been established consisted of K – 8 primary schools; grades 6 through 9 grammar schools; and a high school, for which an impressive building was constructed toward the end of the decade.[192] The number of these schools remained at less than a dozen throughout the 1900 – 1910 decade, with six or seven primary schools sending students on to three grammar schools. Additionally, the city maintained a small, ungraded school, a class for children with hearing impairments, and a one-teacher Chinese school. There were also several private schools within the city.

The fire department proved to be up to the task at hand. By 1908, it boasted four steamers; four hose wagons; two hook and ladder trucks; and an automobile for the fire chief. The assistant chief was supplied with a horse and buggy. There was even a fire alarm operation in place, which depended on a coded bell system to quickly locate the area for a reported fire. More than 70 public alarm boxes were installed by the end of the decade. The device located at the Capitol was coded 1 – 2 – 1.

In 1901 and 1902, the city's leaders were planning such essential urban improvements as a new sewer system; a water supply system; municipal buildings; a new high school; and improved streets.[193] In practice, it required the

entire decade to clear these initiatives from the urban agenda. For example, the new high school, which occupied the block between K and L and 18th and 19th Streets, was not completed until 1910, at a cost of $150,000. “It is generally admitted,” the Sacramento boosters allowed, “that this high school is one of the finest in the West.” The original City Hall still serves as a part of the city government’s central administrative complex, and that facility was constructed between February 1909 and March 1910 – at a cost of $200,000.[194]

Crime and Punishment

Law and order, of course, was a more established and even more necessary concern. Statistics for the county indicate that Sacramento was right on par with crime rates throughout the state. In 1905 – 1906 there were 276 misdemeanors that were primarily committed by men in their 20s and 30s.[195] Vagrancy, petty larceny, and disturbing the peace accounted for most of these offenses. It is probably not surprising that laborers constituted the primary population of these offenders. Sentences were rather severe, with 118 (or 42%) of the offenders receiving jail terms of more than two months. In 1909 – 1910 Sacramento misdemeanor statistics reveal a meteoric rise to approximately 2,400 convictions – ten times the figure of only a few years earlier. Only 85 of that number were not males. The main reason for this increase was a crackdown on drunkenness, for which offense there were 1,705 convictions. Suspended sentences represented another sharp contrast from circumstances in 1905 – 1906. That seems to have become the standard punishment for drunkenness. Felony convictions were on the rise during the decade, as well, ascending from 10 in 1905 – 1906 to 54 in 1909 – 1910. As with statewide practices, most state prison sentences were for terms from two to five years. Men in their 20s were accountable for more than half of these cases. Of the 59 individuals convicted of serious crimes in 1909 – 1910, only one was a woman. Burglary and grand larceny were the most common of

these more serious crimes. There were four rapes and two murder convictions that year.

Police

Public safety over the decade was the responsibility of a small police force, which seems to have grown little in response to a steadily growing population. In 1899, when Sacramento had a population of approximately 27,000, twelve officers and two senior officials staffed the department. They were kept busy with an annual average of 3,000 arrests.[195] By 1901, the force had grown to 22, including a chief, three sergeants, one detective, a court bailiff, two patrol drivers, a day and a night station officer, and twelve patrolmen. In 1905 growth of the city resulted in the addition of two patrol officers. A review of the actual patrol beats at mid-decade sheds light on how police problems and the concentration of crime were much different than those of today.[1196] At that time the foot patrolmen worked in day and night shifts, with the city divided into seven beats. The downtown beats were the smallest, because it was there that crime or the need for police presence was the most concentrated. Inebriated and disorderly individuals frequented the stretches along J and K Streets into the downtown area. The 6th and 7th Street beats covered the entire city between 12th and 31st Streets and A to Y Streets. Presented a little differently, at this mid-point in the decade, two officers on foot patrolled nearly 40% of the remaining territory within the city limits. Sacramento in this era had not yet experienced expansion by annexation. Though available city lots were being filled in by residential settlement, it was the long established

commercial and governmental core where things were happening – where the city had its center.

Gas and Electric Utilities

Lighting became as essential to public safety as the presence of police. During the later decades of the 19th Century, the extent to which a city was lighted, and by what means, became a primary indication of its vitality and progressive spirit.[197] Lighting for 19th Century cities was transformed, first by the use of gas and then by electricity. Sacramento was no exception. The Sacramento Gas Company had begun service at the end of 1855, supplying the lights needed for such commercial customers as hotels. In 1863 the era for gas streetlights was initiated by the city contracting with the gas company to install 45 street lamps that were to operate only during the sessions of the state legislature. (Parenthetically, can there be any doubt as to the long-standing nature of the state legislature's impact on Sacramento life?) A second gas company, closely associated with Central Pacific Railroad interests, began a competitive service in 1871 but merged with the pioneer company in 1875. In 1887 the consolidated company began providing electric service, as well, after merging with two competing firms that had begun providing electric-arc street lighting in 1884. It was in that year that one of the merged companies had staged an arc-light demonstration by erecting two light poles on the Capitol terrace and illuminating the Capitol with electric light for the first time. The first electric lighting of city streets was put in place in February 1885. By 1890 Sacramento's public street lighting, consisting of 135 arc lamps, had been completely converted from the use of gas.[198] By the early 1890s the incandescent bulb was in use in the capital city, and in 1892 the Capitol was equipped with electric outlets sufficient for 1,400 of them. On January 1, 1893 the building interior was illuminated for the first time by incandescent bulbs. The final triumph of electric lighting for this era came in 1895 with the long-range transmission from Folsom of electric power for Sacramento.[199] This was hailed as

a major demonstration of the feasibility for high voltage transmission over long distances, and it inaugurated the era of central hydroelectric power plants in California. By the turn of the century the combination of incandescent lighting and central hydroelectric power had caused the lighting of Sacramento homes to seem like a necessity. Plumbers performed much of the retrofitting work. As Tom Scott, the gentleman who handled Governor Pardee's bat problem at the Steffens house and one of the city's major plumbers, stated in a 1900 advertisement, "A telephone, call bells, burglar alarm, electric lights, and other appliances are no longer luxuries restricted to a few."[200]

The company delivering power from Folsom was one of two competing electric suppliers who vied for Sacramento's business between 1897 and 1903. In March 1903, the more successful among the company's backers sold out to the immediate predecessor of Pacific Gas and Electric. This 1903 consolidation marked an important stage for the maturity of electric use in the city. That is true because, between 1897 and 1899, the supply of electric power had been a competitive business, engaged in by the two electric companies and the Capital Gas Company. So 1903 was, indeed, the end of an era. It was a local manifestation for consolidation trends in electric and gas supply throughout the state, as well as for American enterprise in general.[201]

Telephones in Sacramento

Telephones served as yet another agent of transformation.[202] This exciting and new instrument appeared in Sacramento approximately a year after its invention. In June 1878 the first advertisement for telephones appeared in local newspapers. In 1880 a viable telephone exchange was established at a store on J Street. The following year, on the heels of the consolidation of the Bell Telephone Company and the American Speaking Telephone Company, the exchange became part of the Bell System. In 1883 this Sacramento Bell Telephone affiliate was reorganized

as the Sunset Telephone and Telegraph Company. The reader may recall that this company was operating as Bell's extension of service all along the Pacific Coast beyond San Francisco. A long distance line to San Francisco was put into operation in early 1884. Certain business and technical innovations occurred in 1894, after ten years of a monopoly by the Bell System. Technological improvements of switchboards made it possible to alert the switchboard operator simply by removing the receiver from the hook. Until then it had been necessary to operate a magneto activated by a crank attached to the phone. Expiration of the Bell patent provided another change, leading to the establishment in 1895 of a competing telephone service, the Capital Telephone and Telegraph Company. The new company had expanded to 1,500 subscribers by January 1901, with customers located throughout the city and surrounding areas.

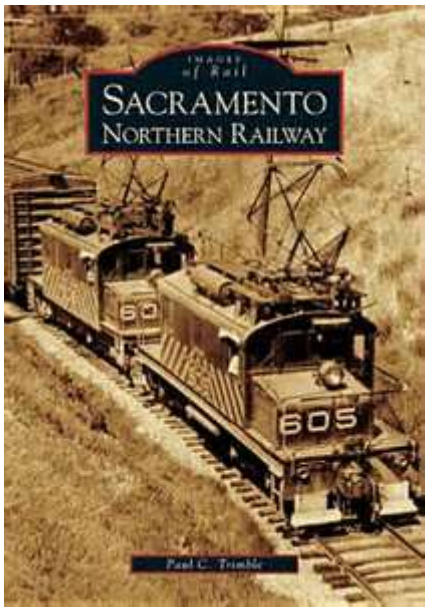
Rates were surprisingly modest; although, in relation to wages, they were higher than today's real costs. During the 1900 – 1910 period the Capital Company offered service at a monthly fee of either $1.50 or $2.50, which included the rental of a telephone. The higher rate was for a two-party line, with each subscriber's telephone having an individual bell. For the $1.50 fee, a subscriber accessed via a party-line serving as many as ten different telephones. In these instances, instead of a separate bell for each subscriber, the bells on each telephone rang every time that there was a call for any of them. In order to differentiate one telephone from another, each party on the same line was assigned a different number of rings, resulting in such telephone directory listings as 375-4 – the first number designating the line and the second number indicating the specific telephone. Subscribers needed to count the rings to determine the desired contact.[203] Basic rates did not include outgoing calls. In 1903 local calls within Sacramento's city limits cost 25 cents for the first three minutes and 5 cents for each additional 30 seconds. Long distance rates were more expensive. Calls to San Francisco cost 25 cents for the first 30 seconds and 40 cents for the first minute, with an additional 10 cents for subsequent minutes. These were rates administered by the Sunset Company in 1903, but they changed little as the decade progressed. (One exception at decade's end was that calls to San Francisco were charged 15 cents for additional minutes.) Due to common wages during this period, the charges levied precluded casual use of telephones by the vast majority of the population, and evidence suggests that extension of telephone service did not outpace population growth in Sacramento during this decade. Though this would have been counter to trends recorded elsewhere in the nation at the time.

The 1903 Sunset directory listed 3,325 telephones in service in Sacramento. It is noteworthy that the 1901 Capital Directory listed 1,500 telephone numbers. In 1902 the smaller, independent company merged with Sunset, which ended a difficult period of competition. Many businesses had found it necessary (and expensive) to carry service from both companies, because their lines were not shared. It can be seen that the merger resulted in a decrease in the number of telephones necessary following the consolidation. In 1906 the Sunset Company (Pacific States Telephone and Telegraph Company) was absorbed within its parent company, which was renamed Pacific Telephone and Telegraph Company.

In 1910 the company listed approximately 5,800 telephone numbers, indicating a growth since 1903 of 74%.[204] There were 28 public telephone installations in Sacramento at the end of the decade, although there is no record of this service at the Capitol.

State government officials were among the earliest beneficiaries of telephone service, with the governor's office having been supplied with one in 1880. Since the governor's office was not on the 1901 Capital Directory list of six telephones in service at the Capitol, it appears that the Sunset Company must have also been involved. The 1903 Sunset Directory lists 19 telephone numbers, all Main exchanges, including the State Printing Office. By 1910 the Capitol was equipped with its own internal switchboard, which was reached at Main 831.[205]

Railroads and Interurban Lines



Modern communications were matched by excellent railway transportation, which consisted of railroads serviced by steam engines, interurban electric trains, and streetcars. Steamer travel to San Francisco was also available, which featured a one-way fare throughout the decade of $1.50. These steamers departed Sacramento on a daily basis, at 10:30 A.M. and 5 P.M. The late steamer arrived on the coast between 5 and 6 A.M. the following morning, because this trip took twelve to thirteen hours. Berth rentals and meals on board each cost an additional 50 cents. The day trip was particularly delightful in the spring, when the Sacramento River was running high within its banks and passing through rich delta lands featuring the green of fresh plantings and the pastel hues of the great orchards in bloom.[206]

Steam-engine railroad service was excellent, with Sacramento serving as a key switching point in the state's rail system. Lines to the north, south, and west from the capital area, as well as the pioneering road to Folsom in the east, were controlled within the monopoly of the Southern Pacific Railroad Company – until the Western Pacific Railroad infringed on that monopoly in 1909. Superimposed over this web of railway lines were the interurban electric railways that linked Sacramento with other Central Valley cities. By 1911 Sacramento had two such lines in operation, both using the electric railway terminus at 8th and J Streets. One of these lines accommodated the Central California Traction Company, which initiated service between Sacramento and Stockton on August 29, 1910. It operated eight trains, daily, to and from Stockton by way of Lodi. This trip took approximately two hours. The Northern Electric Railway Company served the northern Sacramento Valley, connecting Marysville, Oroville, and Chico. The trip to Marysville took approximately one-and-a-half hours and on to Chico in approximately three hours. Passengers could choose between seven daily trains, with departures from 7:45 A.M. to 8:45 P.M. Because the terminus at 8th and J Streets also served this line, Sacramento was the interurban train connecting point for the Central Valley, from Chico to Stockton. These companies also operated street railway lines within Sacramento. Central California Company ran streetcars from the 8th and J Street terminal to Colonial Heights via tracks shared with the Northern Electric Company, passing through the new city suburb of Oak Park. The Northern Electric Company operated in a zigzag fashion: proceeding along I Street from the terminal to 15th Street; then over to D Street; then to 17th Street; and, finally, east on C Street to McKinley Park and 31st Street. These were only two of the 12 streetcar routes in Sacramento at the time. The Sacramento Electric, Gas and Railway Company, better known since 1906 as PG & E.[207], operated the remaining ten.

Streetcars

Sacramento's first horse-drawn railway system appeared in 1870. In 1880 an extension to the City Cemetery traveled along 10th Street and passed the Capitol. Until 1887 horse-drawn railway service was regarded as a supreme form of transportation. By 1890, following an unsuccessful attempt with battery-powered electric cars, the city was introduced to its first electric trolley lines. In 1892 the Sacramento Electric Power and Light Company acquired the streetcar franchise, which, assisted by the successful transmission of electric power from Folsom in 1895, introduced a new era for electric street railways. The Sacramento Electric, Gas and Railway Company acquired the streetcar system the following year. A streetcar and railway yard shop was set up at 29th and N Streets (RTD now has administrative and service operations in this general area) and implements for street railway care for the growing system were manufactured at this site. Cars were largely of wood construction, and it was not until 1916 that the first steel car came into use. For some time fares were maintained at 5 cents. Fare boxes were not introduced until around 1920. Two men staffed the cars, one collecting fares while the other steered it. By the end of the 1900 – 1910 decade, Sacramento's streetcars enabled comfortable travel to most parts of the city. The PG&E cars operated from 5:30 A.M. until midnight. To make route identification easier signs affixed to the cars were color-coded. Colored lights were used at night. Streetcars serving the J Street route to Oak Park featured green signs in daylight and an electric light of the same color at night. To enable access to connecting lines transfers were issued when fares were collected.

Streets

During the early years of the 20th Century streetcars were the preferred means of transportation, because the city's streets were still in the process of being paved with asphalt – a movement that was initiated in 1885.[208] Slightly more than one-third of the streets had been paved by as late as 1890. 42 of the city's 140 miles of streets were paved with gravel but only four were macadamized (rock bound by asphalt). Wood streets had been eliminated in Sacramento by this time and there were only two miles of cobblestone. The principal business streets were covered by asphalt at the turn of the century. Of these, K Street handled the heaviest wagon traffic through town, because, unlike J Street, a street railway did not impede its traffic. Only a few of the residential streets were paved by asphalt, with more serviced by the macadamized process.

The improvement of street paving was a primary objective of municipal government, and there were impressive changes to the city's streets during the 1900 – 1910 period. In 1902 traffic flow, paving, and general street improvements were among the major concerns of the city trustees. There were appeals for relieving K Street traffic by improving L Street between 15th and 28th Streets with crushed rock surfacing. It was apparently still being maintained as a dirt street. 12th Street handled heavy traffic and was noted to be in bad repair; F Street was only paved to 12th Street; there were "practically no sidewalks" along 21st Street; and N Street and those to its south "needed to be improved and made passable." There was a decision made during this period to level the old levee running up to R Street, to accommodate the increasing traffic south of R Street – where considerable construction activity was underway.

Bicycles

Accelerating the movement for improved paving of streets was given important impetus by the increased use of bicycles and automobiles during this era.[209] Following the introduction of the modern "safety" bicycle, Sacramento enthusiasts founded the Capital City Wheelmen in 1886; although it was not until 1892 that cycling became a high profile feature of Sacramento social life. Mass bicycle "runs" had become popular weekend activities by this time, in which dozens of cyclists pedaled to such locations as Roseville, Woodland, and Folsom. The Wheelmen sponsored even lengthier trips to as far away as Marysville, and by the turn of the century they had instituted bicycle races that brought thousands of Sacramento residents out to line the city's streets. Membership in the Wheelmen declined to some 100 members as the bicycle craze subsided in the early 1900s, but the races continued to be a highlight of Sacramento life throughout the decade.

Automobiles

Just before the turn of the century an electric machine owned by a visiting circus became the first automobile to appear in the Sacramento Valley. The first documented appearance of an automobile in Sacramento was in 1900. The intriguing invention remained a rarity for the next three years, despite occasional demonstrations and their participation in such events as the Floral Parade in May 1902. Sacramento's first automobile dealership opened its doors in 1903. Inevitably, interest grew, especially as it related to the gasoline-powered machines that were to dominate production by the close of the decade. A particularly notorious event, in November 1904, helped publicize the machine, when Barney Oldfield arrived with a troupe of auto racers. Parked outside the Golden Eagle Hotel, the racing cars attracted curious and admiring crowds. One of the drivers considered the moment ripe for an impromptu demonstration and blasted off through downtown. The police waited until the driver brought the racing car to a stop, after backing away from an initial and forlorn pursuit. The authorities charged the impetuous fellow with reaching speeds of 40 miles per hour, endangering the "life of horses and citizens alike." At mid-decade, when the state launched vehicle registration, Sacramento was on record with 27 of the state's 2,475 motor vehicles. In 1905 a Ford agency opened its doors for business in the city, and a spectacular auto parade, featuring more than 100 automobiles, was held in September.

The antagonistic responses that the presence of the earliest automobiles engendered (they were a fascinating but deeply disturbing invention) began to dissipate as they became a familiar part of the scene. The changes introduced by their presence remain irreversible. The use of horses for transporting people and goods began to decline. This was measurable by the decline of the blacksmith trade from 21 smiths in 1900 to 16 in 1910, as well as in the dwindling manufacturing numbers for carriages – from 18 in 1900 to 8 in 1910. The devastating impact that automobiles were to have on rail passenger traffic was still in the future, but already, as in southern California, "motor stages" were competing for passengers with the rail line to Folsom. In 1909 four independent entrepreneurs vied for this traffic, using Buicks, Mitchells, Wintons, and Reos.[210]

The roadways were still grossly inadequate, and motorists continued the agitation for road improvements that had been initiated by the cyclists. It only follows that the state highway program was launched during the following decade. In Sacramento the upshot included one of the first modern highway construction programs to be conducted on an ambitious scale. In 1908 the county government issued $600,000 in road construction bonds and $225,000 for bridges.[211]

Suburban Growth

Aided by the automobile, Sacramento continued to attract new residents to the city and its surrounding suburbs and satellite towns.[212] Certain of this predated the 20th Century. Orangevale, 18 miles to the east and enjoying proximity to the American River, was a planned community by small orange growers that had begun as a real estate venture of the 1880s. The depression of the 1890s had prevented rapid growth, but the area remained a center of early season orange production until the 1930s. By 1900 Fair Oaks, also known for its fertile fruit growing land and climate, founded in 1895 and 1896, was a prospering community of 300 residents. During the 1900 – 1910 decade Sacramento expanded toward its first suburb, Oak Park. By the end of the decade the city and Oak Park blended as one. Oak Park had approximately 7,000 residents, two churches, and its own private water supply. New subdivisions were developing in Fair Oaks and in Roseville – another new settlement.[213] Real estate prices were attractive. In 1908 lots in Fair Oaks were advertised at prices from $200 to $500, while in Roseville a lot with a cottage on it was available at $900. In 1909, Sacramento real estate agent D. W. Carmichael purchased a 2,000-acre tract for $75 an acre. It grew slowly, as Carmichael tried subdividing the land into 10-acre tracts and hoped to mirror the experiences of Orangevale and Fair Oaks. Unlike the older subdivisions, advertising for the area was directed toward automobile owners and presented as convenient to downtown Sacramento – only 10 minutes away. 20th Century expansion of settlement beyond the central core was on its way in Sacramento.[214]

The tangible characteristics of urban expansion were another augury of a promising future, and it fueled the expansive hopes of Sacramento residents. The area's growth was similar to that throughout the state, if not quite so frenetically as

in the southern part. It fully shared in the wonders and improvements of the age, even leading in some. Among the many ways in which Sacramento was sharing in the growing prosperity of the United States were: electricity; mass rail transit; automobiles; modern buildings; adequate services, including a decent sewer system; and a growing economic base to support an increasing population. In most ways the city of 1910 posed no revolutionary contrast to what it had been 10 years before, with the exception of the advent of the automobile. Change was great but largely incremental, following trends set in the previous century. However, early in the second decade of the 20th Century Sacramento became the site for remarkable political revolution. As the progressive movement came to the forefront throughout the state, frustrations that had been building for decades were suddenly and dramatically being addressed.

X. PROGRESSIVE POLITICS

The Context of Politics

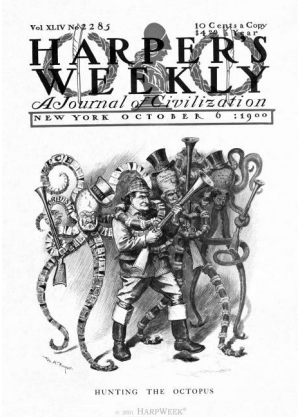
During the first years of the 20th Century, California continued to be perceived by many as a backwater far removed from the nation's political or social centers. The New York newspapers, remarked a prominent Californian of the day, thought the state newsworthy only when it served as the location for "an earthquake, a murder, or a birth of a two-headed cow."[215] Of course, the Gold Rush of a half-century earlier had molded a powerful impression for the populace in the East, and California shared the benefits of the romantic veil that Americans draped over most things associated with the West. But there also existed in the older areas of the nation a disdain for what was regarded as the state's pretentions, which was a mixture of self-satisfaction and an equally ingrained uneasiness that painted an unflattering portrait of the golden state. That stereotype regarding California at the turn of the century rankled Davis Starr Jordan, as he made clear in a passage summarizing the outsiders' critique:

"Thus to say that California is commercially asleep, that her industries are gambling ventures, that her local politics is in the hands of professional pickpockets, that her small towns are the shabbiest in Christendom, that her saloons control more constituents than her churches, that she is the slave of corporations, that she knows no such thing as public opinion, that she has not yet learned to distinguish enterprise from highway robbery, nor reform from blackmail -- all these statements . . . the Californian may admit in discussion, or even say for himself, but he does not find them acceptable from others."[216]

The portrait was brutal and must have stung the state's boosters. Characteristically, the assertions were not entirely accurate or justified. If the state's economy had slumbered through the 1890s, which was not really the case, it was nonetheless able to exploit the opportunities of the new century. California rewarded its gamblers handsomely, as was evidenced in the decades to follow. Conversely, the upright migrants who were pouring in from the Midwest, inheritors of revered Puritan virtues, were already setting a different tone for the future. But it is likely that the best defense for the political reputation of the state in 1900 was that of silence. However, as to whether the state's politicians were pickpockets or counterfeit reformers, and as to whether its large corporations snapped a whip over the heads of a servile citizenry, it was understandably contended that things were much the same elsewhere in the country. But the general indictment of the state could not be dismissed out of hand. If Americans in general were inaccurate with their blanket view of California and its citizens at the dawn of the new century, they were on target in judging the state's politics.

California was not an isolated case of aberrant politics. It is more reliable, as has characterized the writings of 20th Century authors, to view 1900 - 1910 California as the epitome of this earlier age. It was a place where the present (and perhaps the future) was essentially revealed as wanting for improvement but exciting. California simply contributed to the epoch that we now know as industrialization's coming of age. Politics was certainly noted for its corruption, greed, and cynicism. Although circumstances of a political system in equilibrium may have made even adequate and honest practitioners appear to be lower in quality than those of earlier generations.[217] It is important to not miss the contrast between the apparently colorless men who held office and the ruthless, dynamic entrepreneurs who assembled the nation's industrial economy. Between the administrations of Ulysses Grant and William McKinley; Rockefeller, Carnegie, Morgan, Hill, Harriman, and Huntington seem to have had more to do with shaping the nation than did the occupants of the White House. It was as though the most capable men sought out the positions of greatest power and reward during this period of freewheeling enterprise. As the 19th Century yielded to the new century this major accretion of power in private hands created the social problem of monopoly. But the industrialization of the United States was not a private affair in which the government took no part. Tariff policies, court decisions, and land grants all attest to the participating role of government. But private hands controlled ownership, to an extent that was unequalled in other countries. The railroads, those first huge national corporations, harbingers of the best and the worst of the industrial era, provide an excellent example. With risks underwritten by government assistance at every level, though federal and state subsidies dried up following the hard times of the 1870s, railroads were built at a faster pace in the United States than anywhere else in the world.

The Southern Pacific "Octopus"



In no other place was the rapid rise of railroads truer than in California. The state became headquarters for a corporation spawned by industrialization in the Civil War era, known later in the century as the Southern Pacific Railroad. Everything that was good or bad about huge corporations was to be found in the relationship between the state and this company. This railroad was the major factor in the state's economic development. So crucial to prosperity and growth was its presence that the path for its railway tracks determined the future for cities. Competing urban centers vied for the railroad's favors, most notably Los Angeles in the 1870s; which, in its struggle to gain dominance over San Diego in the south, granted subsidies and similar inducements to the Southern Pacific.[218] By providing essential transportation the company met one of the state's key needs, but in doing so it became a curse as well as a blessing. A principal manifestation of the curse was that of the company's involvement in politics. To reiterate, the Southern Pacific Railroad became the dominant player in California state and local politics. Its economic practices were wielded to greatly impact the operation of government. It stood alone as a corporate giant, an "Octopus" as Frank Norris termed it, and it became ubiquitous in the state's political and economic life. An outcome was that of corrosive and seemingly incurable corruption. Here, again, California provided a quintessential example of an unfettered drive toward industrialization. California politics were uniquely corrupt, even in an age notable for corruption.

Focusing on this situation is required for an effective understanding of the dynamics that were unfolding during the 1900 – 1910 decade, but it may be even more important to consider the forces that existed in the background. Primary among these were economic interests. The Central Pacific owners, as the original company of the Big Four, intended it to function as a construction venture rather than as an operating railroad.[219] The construction of railroads was at this time a wildly speculative business, especially risky in unpopulated areas where the railways preceded traffic. No railway was more speculative than in its

transcontinental form. Inducements must have been powerful for construction by private enterprise. Though this business was also characterized by a variety of public subsidies, including land grants and low interest loans. But the even more powerful inducement was that of construction profits. Return on investments were much more lucrative in the construction side of the business than in the operation of railroads. Initial corruption appeared in the form of inflated construction billing by the companies contracted to build the railways. Because the same men owned the railroads and the construction companies, the arrangements provided huge profits for the Stanfords, Hopkins, Crockers, and Huntingtons. The extraordinary opportunities captured by these men were not confined to California. This resulted in United States railroads that were constructed with amazing speed and energy – perceived by most as the sure hand of individual enterprise. But the resulting railways were defective from the moment that they began to operate, because the profits of the builders had led to enormous overcapitalization. Far more money had been invested in the construction of the railways than the ordinary operation of free enterprise could justify. It is understandable that the history of railroads in the post-Civil War era is recorded as a triumph in construction and a disaster in operation. The owners of the Central Pacific, having made fortunes constructing their railroads, were well aware of the challenges immediately ahead. Their marketing efforts were unsuccessful in downplaying the challenge, and they were forced to operate the railroads themselves.

Profitable operation under such circumstances required a transportation monopoly, just as construction had required special opportunities for the unprecedented profits. Elsewhere in the nation the results of railroad competition were ruinous to the railways, and railroad operators struggled to control competition through collusion, most of which were illegal and became failures.[220] In California a more favorable situation existed for the railroads, because there was little competition. By beginning with a monopoly the problem facing the Big Four, as the corporation continued to grow in California and the west, became that of protecting their ability to dictate rates in the absence of competition. To protect their interests this required constant vigilance in suppressing competing lines and the entry by the corporation into state politics. These endeavors by Southern Pacific probably came closer to success than those pursued by any other corporate entity of the era.

By the turn of the century the company seemed to virtually own the state. It controlled the Oakland waterfront and monopolized San Francisco's rail and sea transportation. It controlled interior river traffic through its California Steam Navigation Company, and either constructed its own lines throughout California and the west or bought out competitors. Examples of the latter were: the California and Oregon Railroad – the "Shasta Route;" the Los Angeles and San Pedro Railroad; and even the Valley Railroad, the "People's Road," which in the 1890s had been constructed with the avowed purpose of loosening the Southern Pacific stranglehold. The interurban and city trolley lines were not immune to these dynamics. In 1903 Southern Pacific held 50% ownership of the Pacific Electric, the greatest of the interurban and city trolley lines. Additionally, the

company had become the largest, single, private landowner in the state, at one time controlling approximately 20% of all privately owned land. Clearly, during the 1900 – 1910 decade Southern Pacific was the single greatest economic power in California.

The Roots of Disaffection: Farmers, Workforce, and the Middle Class

The climate that evolved because of dominance by the few was thoroughly resented throughout California. Farmers hated the railroad, because the absence of competition had rendered them impotent in affecting the fees being charged. In a national movement during the 1870s to regulate railroad rates the Grangers were only able to achieve the passing of some usually ineffective state laws. For California this included the establishment of a rate-regulating Railroad Commission. The state's cities also bridled under the Company's control of their destinies. With devastating opposition from the Southern Pacific, San Diego was prevented from becoming the terminus for a competing transcontinental railroad. Los Angeles in the 1890s fought a hard and ultimately unsuccessful battle to have its major port facilities established at San Pedro, rather than at Santa Monica where the railroad controlled property. Oakland, notably during the tenure of Mayor George Pardee, attempted to break Southern Pacific's grip on the waterfront. San Francisco also resisted the corporation's control, with no more success. Grumblings of rebellion and expressions of outrage had become common. But as the years passed what the conglomerate had most to fear were the inevitable results of the economic change and growth that it had been so instrumental in producing. As California grew and prospered so did the number and power of the Southern Pacific's enemies.

The resulting watershed is important to emphasize, because it became a driving force during the 1900 – 1910 decade. The societal changes that were occurring explain, at least in part, the political paradox of the decade, which was embodied

in parallel between the growth of Southern Pacific's power and influence and the undermining of its dominance. That reality draws together the disparate strands of the period's historical development. It also takes us down a pathway for interrelating the demographic and technological dynamics of the era, with its social and economic situation on the one hand and the rising reform spirit on the other. This status figured prominently in the growth of progressivism during the 1900 – 1910 decade. California also shared in national developments, which are reflected in the politics of the era.

An array of new inventions enhanced living conditions for most individuals in industrial societies. Yet, while wealth increased as Henry George described in his *Progress and Poverty*, so, too, did poverty and misery. Portions of this perception were soundly based. Production of wealth had come at a price, including the rise of cities with large concentrations of people who worked long hours of stringently disciplined labor in factory settings. As cities grew, so did problems associated with: water; sewage; police; transportation; education; health; and construction of streets, sidewalks, and similar items on urban agendas. Among the results was the rise of urban political machines controlled by "bosses" with talents similar to those of entrepreneurs in private business. This reinforces awareness that there were many similarities between making a great city function and running a successful corporation. Additionally, the day-to-day lives of poorer people declined in quality, if due to nothing more than the shift from rural to urban poverty. But a definite measure of the perceptions of increasing poverty was in a certain sense psychological. The improved availability of goods raised expectations for a better life than was previously possible. People felt deprived and excluded from the prosperity that their labors were creating as they regarded the industrial fortunes that were being garnered by an elite few. The growth of a vast, complex industrial order imparted a sense of individual impotence, because it was occurring at a time when the opportunity to rise from the laboring to the entrepreneurial class was constricting. The ideology of the self-made man was being outpaced by the realities of an impersonal industrial order.

Workers responded to these developments, in part, by uniting together in labor unions. Because of the repressive legal climate the power of unions was often more evident in good times than in bad. At the turn of the century union organization and strike activity began to pick up steam. Relatively full employment improved workers' prospects for winning disputes, and the rising price for goods impelled them to seek better wages. In its California setting this phenomenon was already solidly in place. Nationally, the American Federation of Labor increased its membership from 265,000 in 1897 to 548,000 in 1900, and it reached 1,676,000 in 1904.[221]

Businessmen were quick to organize an effective resistance. By 1903 the National Association of Manufacturers was leading a national drive to establish an "open" shop, within which non-union working conditions could be maintained. The objective was that of preserving an economic advantage over workers, but the drive was fueled by accentuated insecurities and fears. Socialism, with its specter

of social revolution, was already on the rise in Europe. Though socialism in the United States was largely indigenous, the various branches of the movement were labeled as insidious foreign imports, a charge that struck home in an age of the "new immigration" and panic-stricken nativism.

Conservative concern was heightened during the 1900 – 1910 decade because of important organizational developments in the nation. In 1905 an amalgamation of several groups created the Industrial Workers of the World (IWW) that was not only socialist but also avowedly revolutionary. In 1901 the political counterpart of socialist unionism had organized as the Socialist Party of America. It was comprised of moderate and non-doctrinaire former members of the more militant Daniel De Leon's Socialist Labor Party and Eugene V. Debs' Social Democratic Party. Though the Socialist Party eschewed violent revolution, defenders of the economic status quo took little comfort because its growth during the decade was perceived to reflect the increased interest of workers in its call for the public ownership of corporate monopolies. By 1908 the party had 58,000 members, which reached 126,000 in 1912. Gaining even more attention was the increase in socialist votes during presidential elections. Debs, the party's perennial candidate, won 94,768 votes in 1900; 402,460 votes in 1904; and 897,011 votes in 1912. During the decade socialist mayors were elected in several large United States cities. Berkeley, California joined these ranks in 1912. Los Angeles, shortly after the decade, came very close to electing Job Harriman as its first socialist mayor. The nation and California seemed threatened by plutocrats and proletarians alike.

During the 1900 – 1910 period many thoughtful people worried that national principles were being endangered by labor **and** capital. These fears were appropriate for a people accustomed to identifying good citizens as members of the middle class. This outlook by society at the turn of the century became a significant impetus for the movement known as "progressivism." In California some otherwise comfortable and financially secure middle-class people ". . . felt (themselves) hemmed in, and (their) place(s) in society threatened by the monopolistic corporations on the one side and by organized labor and socialism on the other."[222] Typical progressives, George Mowry explained in his seminal study of reform politics in the state, yearned for the remembered age of pre-industrial individualism and expressed that longing in a reverence for democratic government and faith "in the fundamental goodness of the individual." They hoped to achieve a redressing of the social balance by opposing "class" oriented government, while through peaceful reform they cleansed capitalism of its inequities. The responses to industrialization's moral dilemmas by social gospel adherents and Reform Darwinists were attractive to progressive reformers. They blended romantic individualism with a view of government as a tool for managing the social environment in which individualism could flourish. In this they were joined by what has been called the new middle class, college trained professionals who espoused "efficiency" and saw the California under Southern Pacific domination as a social malaise precipitated by a lack of rational planning. But these reformers had been on the scene for some time, as had been their rural allies, first organized in the Grange and more recently under the Populist banner.

What, then, made the 1900 – 1910 decade so special for the fortunes of political reform?

The Influence of Demographic and Economic Change

California's growth through migration and economic development created circumstances that defied even Southern Pacific's capacity for control. Those dynamics ultimately weakened the corporation's relative status in the state.[223] Up to one-fourth of California's electorate during 1900 – 1910 consisted of migrants who arrived during the decade. It is possible that during that decade's elections migrants constituted as much as 40% of actual voters. Direct evidence that in-migration had a direct impact on voting. What that impact was is more difficult to discern but some logical inferences are possible. Judging from the mainly rural and geographical origins for the majority of new migrants, most of the new voters were likely Republican. This would have given them additional clout, because that party had dominated the state since the mid-1890s. Additionally, some were imbued by Midwestern populism, with its rejection of control by large corporations – railroads in particular. Even among those who were unsympathetic toward agrarian-based reform there may have been many who, having pulled up stakes in the East to move to California, evinced an individualism that harkened back to Jeffersonian-Jacksonian democracy.

That these were the proclivities of the incoming Midwest and middle class migrants is a conclusion mainly drawn from impressionistic data, but there is more to the demographic argument. By outsiders unfamiliar with the state's politics streaming into California the migration probably made it increasingly difficult for the Southern Pacific to maintain political quietism through its control of the press. As Franklin Hichborn remarked about the pivotal 1910 primary race, ". . . almost half of the people of California were new-comers, ignorant of state history, traditions, or prominent individuals." California had a number of important anti-railroad newspapers. It is likely that these newspapers were accepted as shapers of the public opinion among newer arrivals, and it is indisputably true that

independent newspapers supervised by reformist editors played a crucial role in the agitation for reform. That was certainly believed by the contenders for control of public opinion. The Southern Pacific worked hard at nurturing a friendly press through the use of various carrots and sticks. Through its subsidiary, Pacific Improvement Company, the *Sacramento Union* had been partially owned by Southern Pacific since 1875. From that time until the early 1900s, an informed observer noted, it can be assumed that its editorial policy ". . . was shaped directly by the railroad." However, this became a game that more than one could play. When the rival Western Pacific was attempting to build its way into California during the 1900 – 1910 decade its managers shrewdly orchestrated newspaper support all along the proposed route. They successfully wooed the *Sacramento Union* to their camp when Colonel E. A. Forbes assumed control.[224]

Beyond this, migration accelerated the urbanization of the state. This had two effects. First, it encouraged municipal corruption, as had been true for urban expansion elsewhere. Secondly, it encouraged municipal reform as a reaction. As Richard Hofstadter noted, it was the urban origins of progressivism that distinguished it from the movements of the previous century.[225] It was in the cities that 20th Century reform realized its first successes. It will be noted that the problem of municipal corruption and subsequent reform in Los Angeles and San Francisco played a key role in the rise of California progressivism during the decade. Increasing population; expanding the electorate with reformist or independent-minded former Midwest Republicans; creating an eager audience for newspaper editors not beholden to the Southern Pacific; and growth of the cities, which exacerbated the state of municipal corruption as well as inciting reform; each of these fed the demographic revolution of the 1900 – 1910 decade that contributed to the preconditions for political reform.

However, it is necessary to point out that these earlier theories that progressive support was particularly strong in the cities or in the areas settled by the moralistic Midwest migrants have come under persuasive attack. Voting analyses of the 1910 gubernatorial primary and general elections point out that Progressive Hiram Johnson's most substantial support came from rural counties and farmers. Additionally, though Johnson carried Los Angeles in the primary election, his percentage of the vote was equally as high in northern California. The bases of progressive support underwent significant change after 1910. Southern California support declined while labor support, concentrated in northern cities, increased. It is important to understand that simply studying this period's reform leadership patterns is not sufficient for identifying the "people" to whom Progressives appealed.[226]

The expansion and growth of the state's economy, in large part a function of the population change, also profoundly altered the political ecology, making it increasingly inhospitable for the continued dominance of Southern Pacific. This growth was across the board. Mature industries such as mining and meat processing continued to expand. Stimulating considerable interest, the changes introduced by the innovations of new industry created an expansion in the sources

for wealth – a significant and invigorating development. Traditional views of the nation's growth during this period focus on the way that it accommodated powerful corporations, and it is suggested that this charted the course for monopoly capitalism. However, historian Gabriel Kolko postulated that the appearance of new industrial forces actually challenged the dominant position of major corporations at the turn of the century.[227] Whether one accepts Kolko's views regarding the sources for national progressivism or not, a compelling argument can be made that the economy was growing too rapidly for businesses who regarded the status quo as operating to their advantage.

That outlook seems particularly applicable to the Southern Pacific. As evidenced by the introduction of the Pacific Gas and Electric Company, the railroad conglomerate worked in close harmony with corporate interests that evolved over the years. The railroad and the gas, light and telephone companies often sought similar advantages through shared techniques of bribery and intimidation, and they were collectively labeled by opponents as the "Associated Villainies," and consistently regarded as a monolithic political "machine." But this concord of interests was only part of the story. As cities, industry, and agriculture prospered, so, too, did a number of new economic interests that banded together in effective associations, such as Chambers of Commerce and the various fruit growers' exchanges of the time. The proliferation of an industrial labor class and the formation of unions also posed rival centers of power and organization. Even the Panama Canal augured ill for the railroad, by threatening the company's transportation monopoly. Long-range results altered the relative status for the Southern Pacific Company. As Mowry noted, for years prior to 1900 it had been a ". . . corporate giant living in a land of business pygmies. Now in the 20th Century, with the introduction of new industries and the consolidation of old ones, its relative size and social power did not loom so large even in the business world."[228]

These characteristics of the era's political life posed major sources of tension. And there were several possibilities for manifesting that tension during the 1900 – 1910 decade. One of these possibilities was racial, directed primarily at the Japanese. Another was the upswing in lower class radicalism, as many interpreted labor union activity and increasing interest in moderate socialism. A third focus was on corporate monopoly and the Southern Pacific Railroad. There was considerable attention to each of these conditions during the decade. Californians' ability to deal with the Japanese as they would have preferred was severely restricted by federal control over immigration and involvement with the imperatives of international politics. But concern regarding the Japanese was a galvanizing issue within state politics at the time. Even the Progressives, whose rhetoric emphasized human equality, engaged in attacking the Japanese. They did not initiate the movement in California but, rather than see it as an exclusive weapon in the hands of their opponents, they seized on it with enthusiasm.[229] Unlike the resulting restraints necessary with the Japanese, heavy-handed tactics were used for dealing with the threat from labor. The interests of businesses of all sizes and the established middle class needed no sensitizing about the dangers

of “monopoly labor.” They feared it and worked to destroy it in, both, San Francisco and Los Angeles. The leaders of what became the progressive movement, in many instances conservative men of considerable wealth, shared this attitude toward the lower classes. This was true even as they railed against the Southern Pacific, which threatened them from another direction. But the salient political focus for the decade’s tensions was on neither the Japanese nor the unions, but on the Southern Pacific.

Machine Politics

PARKER: "Will he stand without hitching?"
HERRIN: "Sure! See that collar."

When Hiram Johnson ran for governor in 1910 his fellow progressives found it difficult to convince him to discuss any issue other than the need to get Southern Pacific to "keep its dirty hands out of politics." Though mainly a commentary on the stature of Johnson's character, it is important to understand how determined and pervasive the political hand of Southern Pacific had been. To protect its widespread interests the corporation had unhesitatingly entered state and local politics. Because all other reforms depended on wrestling political control from it, the "machine" became a surrogate for everything that was wrong with California

society. The company had been masterful at imprinting itself on every level of politics for many decades. Collis P. Huntington and Leland Stanford, of the Big Four, worked in behalf of Southern Pacific's interests in Washington, D.C. Stanford became a United States Senator and Huntington the key lobbyist and dispenser of bribes. Huntington's activities in particular proved devastating for the railroad's public image during the last decades of the 19th Century, but Southern Pacific's heavy hand at the national level continued to be felt into the years of the McKinley administration. When Huntington died in 1900 the Southern Pacific was absorbed into Edward H. Harriman's railroad empire, which included the Union Pacific. This did not loosen the Southern Pacific's political grip. Harriman had little to learn from the ruthless business practices of Huntington, and the head of the legal department, William F. Herrin, oversaw the political interests of the railroad within California.

Herrin, a brilliant attorney, assumed control of political operation in 1893, and he directed the "machine's" work with the effectiveness befitting one of the nation's largest corporations. Herrin actually perfected a system of political domination that was already in place.[230] Political bosses controlled both major parties at the county level. The company strongly supported its agents in dominating local party affairs, particularly in the selection of candidates for office. Herrin, a Democrat, played no favorites. With pragmatic nonpartisanship he closely monitored the situation in both parties, assuring Southern Pacific victory no matter who won an election. Occasionally, county bosses were powerful enough to create machines independent of railroad control, notably in San Francisco. Relations between these bosses and the company were sometimes stormy. But these instances were unusual. Southern Pacific's efforts paid off handsomely more often than not. Among the more prominent methods of control that were perfected over the years were: working with county bosses; allying with other large corporations whose needs corresponded with its own; offering "retainer fees" to attorneys who were newly elected to public office; taking special care that members of the state Railroad and Banking commissions were sympathetic to the company's need for remaining free of unwanted interference while strangling bank credit to its opponents; controlling the courts through the election of acceptable judges (Stephen J. Field, the most prominent California jurist of the 19th Century and a faithful servant of Southern Pacific, eventually became a leading voice on the U.S. Supreme Court for corporate interests); buying off newspapers throughout the state with advertising subsidies and other forms of bribery; and leaving passes on the desks of state legislators for pleasant weekends in San Francisco. It was a remarkably effective political operation commensurate with Southern Pacific's all-encompassing need for friendly government. The need grew in common with California's growth. All corporations performing pubic services depended upon government regulation and favor. Southern Pacific, the behemoth among businesses, was only doing what came naturally in the economic and social context of the 1900 – 1910 decade. Accompanying this was the growing resentment of its enemies and their determination to get out from under it.

Urban Reform

Abe Ruef listens to whispered instructions from attorney Henry Acht.

Opposition was first effective in the major cities. It was there that machine dominance was most evident, because corporations depended on amendable government for privileges and profits. Los Angeles was a perfect case in point.[231] When the city was a sleepy village in the 1850s and 1860s government had little to do and few people showed an interest in it. This changed as population grew following the Civil War. How were water, gas, and electricity to be provided? Who would operate street railways and under what conditions? When population concentration caused saloons, houses of prostitution, and gambling to become matters of governmental concern, leading to regulation and police involvement, a whole new group of interests became dependent on local city officials. By 1900 water, gas, electric, street railway, alcohol, gambling, and other self-serving interests had perfected their political roles, just as with the Southern Pacific. Working toward the same general ends, they cooperated as the "machine" that effectively controlled the city. The same was true for San Francisco, Sacramento, and other cities. To be expected, the cities also housed the "machine's" opponents, men of wealth and ambition who sought to expand opportunities for themselves – or were at least individuals sensitive to the intellectual trends of late 19th Century reform. College-educated, middle class, small businessmen inhabited the cities, and they were committed to upward mobility and known for placing high value on cheap and efficient government. Machine-dominated government did not attend to that objective. Industrialization had either satisfied these people or frightened them into becoming reformers by creating an urban lower class and an upper class involved with corporations. What they rebelled against was the reservoir for urban corruption, the Southern Pacific machine.

Concentrated in San Francisco and Los Angeles, that rebellion reached a watershed in 1906. It had begun in 1894 with the election of Adolph Sutro as the Populist mayor for San Francisco. Sutro represented the independent capitalists who were to become Southern Pacific's undoing. Owning one-twelfth of the city's real estate, he became infuriated when a street railway, a subsidiary of the Southern Pacific, refused to maintain a low fare for the round-trip to some property that he had set aside as a park. He responded by building his own parallel line to the property. This was analogous to the city merchants who a few years earlier had banded together to break the company's monopoly over the sea lanes - a little later this same group built the Valley, or "People's," Railroad in an attempt to similarly impact Southern Pacific's unyielding control over rail transportation. James D. Phelan, a young reformist financier whose millions made him, like Sutro, independent from the political machine, won the mayoralty election in 1897. But Phelan's administration was hammered in 1901 by the city's widespread labor unrest. Although his instincts leaned toward maintaining official neutrality in the spreading conflict and he refused to ask for outside troops to end the strikes, he authorized use of police escorts for non-striking teamsters and was met by the enmity of organized labor.

This was, of course, the dilemma that commonly faced the urban reformers. Ultimately, the strike was broken, but a Union Labor Party emerged from the bitterness to capture the city government for the infamous political machine of Abraham Ruef and Mayor Eugene Schmitz. Elected first in 1901, Schmitz won a third term in 1905, carrying into office with him the entire Union Labor Party slate for the Board of Supervisors. Ruef's urban machine was a profitable venture for all participants. Reuf provided a ready audience for the public service interests that were seeking contracts and franchises. Bribes opened doors and the city was on the move with what George Mowry described as, ". . . the lubricant of graft and privilege."

It was the demands for a share of the booty associated with the vast opportunities for corruption following the 1906 earthquake that set in motion the engine of reform. Fremont Older, editor of the *San Francisco Bulletin,* and the middle class reform movement with its wealthy backers, notably Rudolph Spreckles, were already opposing Reuf's machine. The result was the convening of a special grand jury, in November 1906, to investigate charges of illegal conduct. The subsequent trials dragged on through five years. In the end it was Reuf, alone, who went to prison. Though conservative San Francisco residents turned against the prosecutions because the zealous prosecutor, Francis J. Henry, brought the bribers as well as those bribed before the bar of justice, the long-range result was to discredit the operations of the "machine." Because Southern Pacific was implicated in the scandals, the trials had the effect of creating a reform camp and spotlighting the railroad's transgressions.

Events with a much lower profile but of equal importance were taking place in Los Angeles. The first significant stirrings against machine dominance emerged in the wake of the urban explosion of the 1880s. A number of reform organizations were

formed during the 1890s. But not until the interests of Los Angeles' businessmen came into direct conflict with the Southern Pacific over the issue of harbor facilities did the movement gain the sense of direction that it needed. During the 1890s Collis Huntington attempted to have the federal government improve harbor facilities at Santa Monica where the company he represented dominated the railways, rather than at San Pedro where the Terminal Railway Company provided the city with a competing line. The resulting fight highlighted the arrogance of the Southern Pacific and the economic necessity of freeing Los Angeles from its control. Significantly, independent business interests represented by the Chamber of Commerce helped spearhead the ultimately successful battle in Congress to obtain an appropriation for improving San Pedro.[232]

Early in the 20th Century, aided by the organizing efforts of Dr. John Randolph Haynes, the reformers loosened the "machine's" grip on municipal government by securing the adoption of the initiative, referendum, and recall in the new city charter of 1903. The Southern Pacific and allied corporations still controlled the city, but in the 1906 election the reformers, by then organized as the Non-Partisan Committee of One Hundred, won most city offices except for that of mayor. That office fell to the reformers when the "machine's" successful candidate resigned in the face of a recall campaign. The new reform mayor, George Alexander, faced strong socialist opposition at a recall election in 1909 but managed to prevail. Attacked by working class groups and socialists on the one hand and the "machine," along with maverick reactionaries like Harrison Grey Otis of the *Los Angeles Times* on the other, reform elements in Los Angeles had succeeded in reclaiming control of the city. This represented the classic California example for the nature of early 20th Century urban reform. Ambitious businessmen who were independent from the political machine and who wanted cheap and efficient municipal government spearheaded action. And predominantly middle class men with professional training provided organization. This movement battled organized labor and socialist movements with a zeal akin to that previously reserved for the Southern Pacific.

Emergence of a Statewide Reform Movement

The separate reform movements in San Francisco and Los Angeles, both culminating in important achievements by the close of 1906, were related to the beginnings of a statewide progressive movement for which 1906 had been a watershed. This progressive movement, culminating in the 1910 election of Hiram Johnson, took place within the Republican Party. Strong progressive forces also characterized the Democratic Party, and their candidates during the gubernatorial races of the 1900 – 1910 decade were usually regarded as more progressive than their Republican counterparts. But the salient fact about this decade's politics was that the Republican Party was dominant.[233] It had held this position since the critical election of 1896 that weakened the Democratic Party at the state and national level. Between 1898 and 1910, the Democrats failed to win even one statewide race, though some were very close. While California Democrats succeeded in placing 5 members in the U.S. Congress during this period, 49 Republicans were successfully elected. So wrestling political control from the Southern Pacific depended on insurgents within the Republican Party, and by 1906 that revolt had materialized. Governor Pardee, not a reliable railroad ally in spite of his debt to Herrin for the 1902 gubernatorial nomination, was invited to lead the opposition to the political machine by taking a forthright stand while seeking nomination for a second term. While he did not agree to do so, he had become anathema to the Southern Pacific. In a brutal exhibition of political muscle they denied him the nomination at the Republican State Convention at Santa Cruz in August.

But Southern Pacific's ability to deny Pardee the nomination and hand it to James Gillett masked the growing tide of resistance to the "machine's" control over statewide politics. The fact that arm-twisting was conducted in public was a sign of desperation rather than confidence. Additionally, with the paramount importance of San Francisco in California, Abraham Ruef went to the convention as a major figure with his usual wherewithal for trading his support for a valuable consideration. Southern Pacific did not control Ruef's Union Labor organization, and it was only after a $14,000 payoff that their political machine could secure his cooperation. Signs were becoming evident of slipping hegemony. Ruef's organization and the Pardee reform-leaning delegates represented the underlying reality that growth and change in California were placing strains on "machine" dominance, which even Herrin could not resist indefinitely. As Gladwin Hill later remarked with malevolent relish, the Santa Cruz specter was one of the ". . . final fetid gasps of the Southern Pacific political machine."[234] But only retrospect has made this apparent. In the November 1906 elections Gillett narrowly won the gubernatorial race, and a Republican majority was returned to both chambers of the state Legislature. From all appearances in 1906, the " machine" was still at the apex of its power.

The session of 1907 provided the fruits of Southern Pacific's labors in the previous year, but it also planted the seeds for a future harvest of progressive reform. This resulted from a combination of heavy-handed "machine" dominance, the venality of legislators who responded to the leadership provided by Southern Pacific lobbyists by presuming that there were no other masters that they needed to heed, and the presence in the state of a progressive movement with growing momentum. Among the worst excesses employed by the independent press was an orgy of patronage.[235] More than 500 jobs were bestowed, many of them simply devices for bilking the state treasury. One senator appointed his son, a high school student, to a committee clerkship. Another appointed a grandson to a stenographic position. It seemed to matter little that this fellow was already in Southern Pacific's employ. Reform-minded newspapers ensured that these excesses were broadcast throughout the state.

Legislative accomplishments were focused on benefitting the Southern Pacific political machine by concentrating on protecting its privileges. Five anti-railroad bills, as well as proposals to outlaw racing and gambling, were dutifully defeated. With the political machine's support, a notorious attempt was successful in placing on the Legislature's docket the question of moving the Capital to Berkeley.

However, before that year's session ended, the Sacramento Grand Jury began an investigation of alleged illegal activities by Southern Pacific's lobbyists. One step in the direction of reform survived this disreputable session, a constitutional amendment, which, when approved by the voters in 1908, empowered the legislature to pass a mandatory primary election law. Even here the ubiquitous hand of the political machine was evident, because a corresponding amendment to the 1906 Republican platform was designed to put such a primary law into immediate effect. Legislators adjourned that session in March, to the catcalls of an

unfriendly press. The embittered former Governor Pardee delicately suggested at the start of the session that none of the legislators "would steal a horse, but as they adjourned the *Sacramento Bee* sighed in relief as the "petty larcenists" departed. The renovation of the Capitol that was underway in 1907 required the legislature to meet in the new Red Men's Hall. The *Sacramento Bee* reported that little besides plumbing and doormats remained in the building, with the latter "securely padlocked to the floor."[236]

Styled the "worst" legislative session in the state's history, the 1907 spectacle became the catalyst for reform. Two newspapermen, Edward Dickson of the *Los Angeles Times* and Chester Rowell of the *Fresno Republican*, were able to combine their efforts while covering the session for their papers. They agreed to work together in behalf of a statewide reform movement. Rowell and Dickson had vehemently criticized the political machine for years, and their newspapers were fiercely independent of the railroad. The *Fresno Republican*, published in a town that would double in population during the decade, was an influential organ of opinion in this state of newcomers. Dickson's publisher, Edwin T. Earl, fully backed the crusading editor. Earl, in fact, epitomized the sources of Southern Pacific's rising opposition. He not only bridled at their political machine's stranglehold on Los Angeles but, as the largest orange grower in the state, he also had basic economic interests that were far different from the railroad.[237] His was too independent and wealthy a voice for even Southern Pacific to silence. The previous year Dickson had taken the lead in organizing the reformer's political activities in Los Angeles, while Rowell had been involved in the attempt to interest Pardee in leading a statewide revolt just prior to the 1906 earthquake.

The key organizing meetings were held in 1907 as a result of the accomplishments of Dickson and Rowell. The first was in Los Angeles in May, attended by some fifteen men, including eight newspapers' publishers. A second was held in August in Oakland. The League of Lincoln-Republican Clubs was organized, an alliance of rebellious Republicans who invoked the names of two admired party men. By this time President Roosevelt had clearly moved to the head of the national progressive movement. Advertising their loyalty to him enabled these Californians to identify themselves with the trend of national events, lending momentum to wider reform in California than could have been claimed otherwise. Rowell and Dickson worked tirelessly to build locally based infrastructures for the League. While sometimes difficult to accomplish, the final results were heartening. In the fall of 1907, after Dickson had helped organize Sacramento progressives, the reform forces hand Southern Pacific Railroad a stunning defeat in the capital city's municipal elections. Clinton T. White won election as Sacramento's first reform mayor and the movement's first victory at the polls.[238] In 1908 the Lincoln-Republicans succeeded in winning important representation among delegates to the Republican national convention, and they were responsible for the election of a number of members of the 1909 Legislature.

Progressive Victory

By the time that the 1909 session convened, the pressures for reform were insistent and compelling.[239] Initially, it seemed that little had changed since 1907. The Southern Pacific's lobbyists were still in evidence, and their political machine had organized the legislature to its satisfaction and helped George Perkins succeed in his election to another term in the United States Senate. But a "People's Lobby," funded by wealthy reformers like Earl, Haynes, and San Francisco's Rudolph Spreckels, publicized the legislature's every move and provided free access to newspapers throughout the state for progressive-leaning accounts of these activities. The combined reform pressures handed the Southern Pacific some notable defeats. A primary election law, the Wright Bill, was referenced as ". . . the first significant anti-railroad legislation measure that the California Legislature had passed for many years." This historic legislation also contained an anti-gambling measure. Jere Burke, who oversaw the Assembly for the Southern Pacific, had retained an office directly across the hall from the Speaker's office, but the legislature, for the first time, barred lobbyists from the floor of both chambers.[240] It was as though the legislature had set out to match the Capitol's renovation with one of its own.

California progressives won a monumental victory in the following year's statewide elections. After considerable maneuvering, the Lincoln-Roosevelt Republicans had settled on Hiram Johnson, prosecutor of Abraham Ruef, as its candidate for the party's nomination. The choice was scheduled for the first primary election mandated by the 1909 legislation. By placing the nominating power directly in the hands of the electorate the law undercut the basis for

Southern Pacific's control of the party. No longer did aspiring candidates need to be approved by Walter Herrin or his associates. This created a scramble for the gubernatorial nomination. Former "machine" stalwart, Secretary of the State Charles F. Curry, announced in chorus with several others his intention to become the nominee. With the political machine in disarray victory was within the grasp of the progressives. Johnson took nothing for granted and waged an intense, non-stop campaign across the state in the spring of 1910. Another enemy of the railroad assisted him in this: technological change. The bellwether Highway Act of 1909 had yet to have its impact on the state's roadways, but Johnson refused to travel by rail. Instead, he toured the state by automobile, ostensibly proclaiming his independence from the railroad. Drum and fife corps heralded his "red devil" touring car as it went from town to town. After hammering away at the evils of railroad domination, almost to the exclusion of other progressive issues, he was successful with this campaign and won the nomination. In the November general election he defeated a Democrat running on an equally progressive platform, and an overwhelmingly progressive legislature was carried into office with him.

The 1911 legislative session trumpeted the opening of a new era. A new breed of legislators descended on the capital: attorneys; writers; and self-confident, upper middle class businessmen, of whom three-fourths were college educated. With a flood of legislation and proposed constitutional amendments, the progressives labored to acclimate the government of California to the new realities of the 20th Century. Their initiative produced twenty-three amendments to the state constitution. Women suffrage was instituted, along with control of public utilities; worker's compensation; tax revisions; a State Board of Control; and a variety of other reforms reflecting an urban reform agenda. What the future held none could say but that it would be very different from the past was beyond dispute. For the progressives it was clear that much more had been won than a local victory of one group of partisans over another. This was, to them, one battleground in a nationwide struggle. Writing to Robert LaFollette, Johnson drew parallels to the progressive drive in the Midwest by observing, "They are making the same fight we are making in California, a fight against the interests and the system – and for true democracy.[241]

NOTES

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17 *Ibid,* p. 163*; and* Link, *op. cit.* p. 19

18 Mowry, *op. cit.* p. 13.

19 Link, *op. cit. pp. 25 – 29;* and Garraty, *op. cit.* pp. 517 – 520. Additionally, attention is invited to the helpful account: Jones, Maldwyn Allen, *American Immigration* (Chicago and London: The University of Chicago Press, 1960).

20 Garraty, John A. *The New Commonwealth, 1877 – 1890* (New York: Harper & Publishers, 1968) p. 96.

21 *San Francisco Examiner*, January 28, 1894, p. 58; and Marlow, Will A. *California Sketches* (Cincinnati: Editor Publishing Co. 1890) p. 135.

22 Wyllie, Irvin G. *The Self-Made Man in America: The Myth of Rags to Riches* (New York: The Free Press, 1954 and 1966).

23 Hefstadter, Richard, *Social Darwinism in American Thought*, rev. ed. (Boston: Beacon Press, 1955).

24 Commager, Henry Steele, *The American Mind: An Interpretation of American Thought and Character Since the 1880s* (New York: Bantam Books, paperback edition, 1970). (Originally published in 1950).

25 Garraty, *op. cit. The New Commonwealth pp. 128 – 178.*

26 Bureau of the Census, *Historical Statistics of the United States, Colonial Times to 1970,* Part 1, p. 168

27 Glabb, Charles N. and Brown, A. Theodore, *A History of Urban America* (New York: The Macmillan Company, 1967) pp. 201 – 229; and Link *op. cit.* pp. 83 – 101.

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28 Census Bureau, *Historical Statistics, 1970*, Part 1, p. 135.

29 Cleland, Robert Glass and Hardy, Osgood, *March of Industry* (San Francisco: Powell Publishing Company, 1929) p. 138; and Cross, Ira B. *A History of the Labor Movement in California* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1935) p. 217.

30 Staniford, Edward, *The Pattern of California History* (San Francisco: Canfield Press, 1975) pp. 254 – 255; and Hittell, Theodore H. *History of California*, v. 4 (San Francisco: N. J. Stone & Company, 1897) p. 721; and Jordan, David Staff, *California and the Nation* (San Francisco: A. M. Robertson, 1907) p. 37. (Jordan's observations had been printed originally in the *Atlantic Monthly*, November 1898.)

31 All such statistical evidence must be used with great caution and, at best, as indicating trends rather than revealing accurate data. Average wages are not precisely comparable between 1890 and 1900, due to changed collection criteria and other factors. The personal property estimates are actually from state tax valuation tables. Yet, the general statement that the depression of the 1890s was severe and its effects were felt over a 5-year period seems a justifiable conclusion, even from such data. See Census Bureau, *Historical Statistics, 1970*, Part 1, p. 168; and Cleland *March of Industry*, p. 280.

32 Glabb and Brown, *op. cit.* pp. 121 – 122; *Statistics of California Production, Commerce and Finance for the Years 1900 – 1901* (San Francisco: Barnet and O'Leary, 1901) p. 8.

33 *Ibid. Statistics of California*, pp. 8, 79, and 159. For a subsequent discussion of the rise and relative fall of San Francisco in the 19th Century, see Kahn,

Judd, *Imperial San Francisco: Politics and Planning in an American City, 1897 – 1906* (Lincoln and London: University of Nebraska Press) pp. 5 – 28.

34 *Ibid. Statistics of California* pp. 79 – 80.

35 Library Association of California *Libraries in California in 1899* (San Francisco: Library Association of California, April 1900).

36 Cross, *op. cit.* pp. 218, 228; and Kahn *op. cit.* p. 30.

37 United States Census Office, *Twelfth Census of the United States,1900: Manufactures*, Part 2, pp. 34 – 35; and Barnet and O'Leary *op. cit.* p. 159.

38 Published text of Collis P. Huntington's speech, "California – Her Past, Present and Future," presented before the Southern California Railroad Company, May 16, 1900. (Copy in California Section, California State Library.)

39 Barnet and O'Leary, *op. cit.* p. 100.

40 California Promotion Committee, *San Francisco and Its Environs* (San Francisco: The California Promotion Committee, 1903) p. 17 quotes Roosevelt. And the later prediction is from T. G. Daniells, ed. *California: Its Products, Industries and Attractions* (Sacramento: Superintendent of State Printing, 1909) p. 117. The impact of the Panama Canal receives comment in G. Allen Brad's article, "Opening a New Frontier: San Francisco, Los Angeles and the Panama Canal, 1900 – 1914," *Pacific Historical Review*, 47 (August 1978) pp. 407, 423.

41 "Land of Opportunities," *California of Today* (California Press Association, 1904).

42 *Ibid.*

43 Information on the population statistics for more recent California history, unless otherwise noted, is from Staniford's, *The Pattern of California History* pp. 589 – 591.

44 Statistics on the state's population, the United States population, and population densities are drawn from: California Development Board, *California, Resources and Possibilities, Annual Report 1910* (San Francisco: California Development Board, 1911) p. 9; Kidner, Frank L. *California Business Cycles* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1946) p. 11; and Gordon, *op. cit.* p. 4.

45 Beach, *op. cit.* p. 284.

46 *Ibid*. unless otherwise noted, pp. 26 – 70.

47 Daniells, *op. cit.* p. 19.

48 Lake Tahoe is described in "San Francisco and Its Environs," p. 81; and *California of Today* (California Press Association, 1907).

49 McEntire, Davis, *The Labor Force in California: A Study of Characteristics and Trends in Labor Force, Employment and Occupations in California, 1900 – 1950 (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1952) p. 78*

50 Gordon, *op. cit.* pp. 161, 163. Also see Beach *op. cit.* p. 16.

51 Beach, *op. cit.* pp. 243 – 287.

52 The statistics on the sex and age of the population are drawn from: Gordon, *op. cit.* p. 164 Table A-11; Bureau of the Census, *Twelfth Census of the United, 1900: Abstract of the Census . . . with Supplement for California* (Washington: Government Printing Office, 1913); and Bureau of the Census, *Statistical Abstract of the United States, 1976* (Washington: Government Printing Office, 1976) p. 25.

53 Statistical information on race and ethnic identity has been taken from: *Statistical Abstract of the United States, 1976* p. 25; and *Census of 1910, Abstract of the Census*, pp. 82, 592 (the latter notes the ethnic composition of San Francisco and Los Angeles); Gordon, *op. cit.* p. 165. For San Francisco see Kahn, *op. cit.* pp. 25 – 26.

54 California Development Board, *California Resources and Possibilities, Annual Report 1911* (San Francisco: California Development Board, 1912) p. 7.

55 Unless otherwise indicated, this discussion on the extent of urbanization is based on Thompson, Warren S. *Growth and Change in California's Population* (Los Angeles: The Haynes Foundation, 1955) pp. 40 – 41; and Kidner, *op. cit.* p. 13.

56 County population statistics are noted for 1900 – 1910 in California Development Board, *Annual Report, 1911*, p. 10.

57 *Sacramento Bee*, January 4, 1911, p. 1.

58 The figures are taken from *Census of 1910, v.9 Manufactures, 1909*, p. 78; and *Census of 1900, Population, Part I, p. 439.*

59 *Census of 1910, Abstract of the Census*.

60 Thompson, *op. cit.* pp. 14, 16 – 17, 33, and 41; and Gordon, *op. cit.* p. 164; and California Development Board, *Annual Report, 1910*, p. 11.

61 Imperial, Inyo, Kern, Los Angeles, Orange, Riverside, San Bernardino, San Diego, San Luis Obispo, Santa Barbara, and Ventura counties.

62 Kenderdine, T. S. *California Revisited, 1858 – 1897* (Newtown, Penn: Doylestown Publishing Company, 1898) p. 146.

63 Glabb and Brown, *op. cit.* pp. 120 – 121; and Fogelson, Robert, *The Fragmented Metropolis: Los Angeles, 1850 – 1930* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1967) pp. 85 – 92.

64 Cleland, *op. cit. p. 146.*

65 Beach, *op. cit.* p. 59. The author notes that the California Board of Trade, the Manufacture and Producers Association, and the California Promotion Committee had overlapping memberships, including a heavy representation from San Francisco. Governor George Pardee was a board member for each of the agencies.

66 Unless otherwise indicated, the population statistics for San Francisco and the other Bay Area cities and counties are from Barnet and O'Leary's *Statistics of California*, p. 8; and California Development Board's, *Annual Report, 1910*, pp. 10 – 12.

67 *San Francisco and Its Environs, op. cit*. pp. 25 – 26. Unless otherwise noted, the descriptive passages regarding San Francisco prior to the 1906 earthquake are drawn from the 1903 city guidebook. The quote from Beatrice Webb is in Kahn's, *Imperial San Francisco*, p. 26.

68 Beach, *op. cit.* p. 178; and Daniells, *op. cit.* p. 160.

69 Kahn, *op. cit.* p. 130.

70 *Census of 1910, Manufactures*, v. 9, p. 78; and Beach, *op. cit.* p. 187.

71 Daniells *op. cit. p. 160;* and Beach *op. cit.* p. 11 – 12.

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72 Caughey, John W. *California: A Remarkable State's Life History*, 3rd edition (Englewood Cliffs, New Jersey: Prentice-Hall, Inc. 1970) p. 352.

73 Nash, Gerald D. "Stages of California's Economic Growth, 1870 – 1970: An Interpretation," George H. Knoles, ed. *Essays and Assays: California History Reappraised* (San Francisco: California Historical Society, 1973) p. 42.

74 Cleland, Robert Glass, *California in Our Time, 1900 – 1940* (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1947) p. 7.

75 "California for the Settler Primer," Southern Pacific Company, 1903, n.p.

76 *Census of 1910, Abstract of the Census*, p. 622. Information on farm size, values, animals and similar matters is from this source, as well as the California Development Board's, *Annual Report*, for 1910 and 1911. Figures are approximate.

77 Daniells, *op. cit.* p. 84.

78 Cleland, *op. cit.* p. 264.

79 "California Prune Primer," San Francisco: Southern Pacific Primer Series, n.p.

80 Nash, *op. cit.* pp. 43 – 44; and Caughey *op. cit.* pp. 354 – 357.

81 *Ibid.* p. 359.

82 Daniells, *op. cit.* pp. 25 – 27.

83 *Census of 1910, Abstract of the Census.*

84 Caughey, *op. cit.* pp. 359 – 360; Beach, *op. cit.* pp. 117 – 120; and Daniells, *op. cit.* pp. 28 – 29.

85 Yearly gold value statistics are in Cleland, *op. cit.* p. 276. Petroleum treated separately, but in this context it is noted that it was running approximately double the value of gold in 1910.

86 California Development Board, *Annual Report, 1911*, p. 40; Daniells *op. cit.* pp. 30 – 32.

87 *Census of 1910, Manufactures,* v. 9, p. 70.

88 Staniford, *op. cit.* pp. 291 – 292.

89 Bryan, W. H. *Sacramento Through the Camera (San Francisco: Sacramento Daily Record-Union*, 1901) p. 8; and *California of Today*, p 71.

90 Statistics on California steam railroad miles of track are from Daniells, *op. cit.* p. 145; California Development Board, *Annual Report, 1910*, p. 51 and *Annual Report, 1911*, p. 46.

91 Daniells, *op. cit.* pp. 145 – 146.

92 The *Overland Limited* to Chicago is referenced in *California of Today*, n.p. The *Sunset Limited* was advertised in the *Sacramento Union*, January 1, 1900, p. 1.

93 Fares are described in *California of Today op. cit.* p. 85; the *Sacramento Union*, January 1, 1908, p. 12; and Glabb and Brown *op. cit.* p. 120.

94 *Ibid.* pp. 148 – 152.

95 Staniford, *op. cit.* p. 304.

96 Fogelson, *op. cit.* p. 165; and Glabb and Brown, *op. cit. pp. 155 – 159.*

97 California Development Board, *Annual Report, 1910*, p. 51.

98 The text's passages and statistics involving petroleum production and use are drawn from: Barmet and O'Leary, *op. cit.* pp. 46 – 47, 50; Daniells, *op. cit.* p. 35; California Development Board, *Annual Report, 1910*, p. 44; Gordon, *op. cit.* p. 98; *Census of 1910, Manufactures*, v. 8, p. 452 and v. 9, p. 85; Caughey, *op. cit.* pp. 364 – 366; Nash *op. cit.* pp. 45 - 46; and, in particular, Andreano, Ralph, "The Structure of the California Petroleum Industry, 1895 – 1911," *Pacific Historical Review*, 39 (May 1970) pp. 171 – 183.

99 Electrical power generation and industrial use figures are taken from: Gordon, *op. cit.* p. 99; and Cleland, *op. cit.* n.p.; and *Census of 1910, Manufactures*, v. 9, p. 85.

100 *Census of 1900, Manufactures*, Part 1, p. 7, Part 4, pp. 174, 177.

101 Perkins is noted as the author of the section on commerce in Daniells, *op. cit.* p. 121.

102 *Census of 1910, Manufactures,* v. 9, p. 70. Material for this portion of the discussion involving California industrialization and the labor force for the 1900 – 1910 period is drawn from this volume of the census. Additional sources were: *Census of 1900, Manufactures*, Part 2, section on California, pp. 33 – 37; *Census of 1910, Abstract of the Census,* p. 677; Gordon, *op. cit.* p. 172; Kidner, *op. cit.* p. 15; and California Development Board, *Annual Report, 1911*, p. 47.

103 *Census of 1910, Abstract of the Census*, p. 510.

104 Wilson, Mitchell, *American Science and Invention: A Pictorial History* (New York: Bonanza Books, 1954) pp. 252 – 255.

105 *Census of 1900, Manufactures*, Part 2, pp. 46 – 47.

106 Wilson, *op. cit.* pp. 280 – 284; Census Bureau, *Historical Statistics, 1970*, Part 2, pp. 783 – 784; and Census of 1900*, Manufactures*, Part IV, pp. 178 – 181.

107 There is a bit of disparity in the census figures regarding this point. The 1970 *Historical Statistics* volume notes the 1900 per capita figure of 17.6 telephones per 1,000 population, nationally. The narrative discussion in Census 1900*, Manufactures*, Part IV, p. 179, states that the correct figure is 25 per thousand – a figure that was reached between 1901 and 1902 according to the 1970 publication.

108 Masters, R. S.; Smith, R. C.; and Winter, W. E. *An Historical Review of the San Francisco Exchange* (San Francisco: The Pacific Telephone and Telegraph Company, 1927) pp. 43 – 74.

109 *Ibid.* pp. 79 – 81 describes the rebuilding of telephone service after the quake.

110 Hudson, James J. “The California National Guard in the San Francisco Earthquake and Fire of 1906,” *California Historical Quarterly*, 55 (Summer 1976) p. 138.

111 Census of 1900*, Manufactures*, Part IV, p. 329.

112 Statistics on industry production are from: Census of 1900*, Manufactures*, Part 2, pp. 40 – 41 and Part 4, p. 328; Census of 1910*, Manufactures*, v. 10, pp. 825, 827; and Bureau of the Census, *Historical Statistics*, 1970, p. 695.

113 Down but not out, bicycle production revived and reached 400,000 in 1919. Sales in 1925 totaled 300,000, compared to 1909’s 170,000.

114 Census of 1910*, Abstract of the Census,* p. 442. Statistics pertaining to automobile production are from: Census of 1900*, Manufactures*, Part 4, p. 256; Census of 1910*, Abstract of the Census,* p. 505 and *Manufactures*, v. 10, pp. 807, 818, 831; and Bureau of the Census, *Historical Statistics* (1970) pp. 696, 716.

115 *Rae, John B.* “The Internal Combustion Engine of Wheels,” Melvin Branzberg and Carroll W. Pursell, Jr. eds. *Technology in Western Civilization* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1967), p. 120.

116 Information on the early impact of automobiles is drawn from: Hanna, Phil Townsend, “The Wheel and the Bell,” *Westways*, 42 (December 1950) pp. 41 – 56; and McGowan, Joseph A. *History of the Sacramento Valley, 3 vols. (New York and West Palm Beach: Lewis Historical Publishing Company, 1951) v. 2 p. 70.*

117 The section on the development of California roads is taken from: Blow, Ben, *California Highways: A Descriptive Record of Road Development by the State and by Such Counties as have Paved Highways* (San Francisco: 1920) pp. 1, 12 – 18, 27; Hunt, Rockwell Dennis and Ament, William Sheffield, *Oxcart to Airplane* (San Francisco: Powell Publishing Company, 1929) pp. 204 – 206; and Clar, Raymond C. “Folsom to Sacramento: Some Forgotten

History About a 'Model' Highway," (Carmichael, California: Sacramento Corral of Westerners, Publication Number Four, 1980) pp. 15 – 16.

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118 *San Francisco Examiner*, September 26, 1980, p. B1. The 1910 divorce rate is the author's estimate. Statistics pertaining to marriage and divorce are drawn from: Census of 1900*, Population*, Part 2, p. XCII; California Bureau of Labor Statistics *Twelfth Biennial Report of the Bureau of Labor Statistics of the State of California, 1905 – 1906* (Sacramento: Superintendent of State Printing, 1906) p. 53; and that same bureau's biennial report for 1909 – 1910, pp. 358, 422.

119 California Development Board, *Annual Report, 1910,* p. 14.

120 Census Bureau, *Historical Statistics, 1970*, Part 2, p. 646.

121 Morality statistics are drawn from Bureau of the Census, *Historical Statistics, 1970*, Part 1, pp. 56 – 58.

122 Census of 1910, *Manufactures*, v. 8, p. 452.

123 *Sacramento Union*, January 1, 1904, p. 2.

124 Mowry, *op. cit.* pp. 207 – 208.

125 Information regarding the educational system is drawn from material scattered in the essays and statistical tables of the following: State of California, Department of Education, *Twenty-First Biennial Report of the Superintendent of Public Instruction for the Year Ending June 30, 1903 and June 30, 1904* (Sacramento: Superintendent of State Printing, 1904); *Twenty-Second Biennial Report, 1905 – 1906;* and *Twenty-Third Biennial Report, 1907 – 1908*, all *passim.*

126 Kidner, *op. cit.* p. 15

127 *Sacramento Union*, January 1, 1901, p. 7.

128 Bureau of the Census, *Historical Statistics*, 1970, Part 1, p. 66 and Census of 1900, *Manufactures,* Part 1, p. CXVI, contain statistics on average income. The 1900 statistics contain figures for previous census years; however, because of differences in the gathering of data, figures are not comparable from decade to decade. This is unavoidably important because, superficially, the statistics indicate that average income in 1900 was lower than that of 1890, and something of a stir regarding the meaning of the apparent drop ensued when the data became public.

129 United States Census Office. *Twelfth Census of the United States, Taken in the Year 1900: Employees and Wages* by Davis R. Dewey (Washington: U. S. Census Office, 1903), p. 145.

130 California Bureau of Labor Statistics, *Biennial Report, 1909 – 1910,* p. 298.

131 *Sacramento Union*, January 1, 1902, p. 5.

132 Gordon, *op. cit.* Table 16.

133 Bureau of the Census, *Historical Statistics, 1970*, Part 1, p. 321.

134 The federal taxes on imports and the luxuries used by lower and middle class people were undoubtedly real burdens on the classes that could least afford them. The Dingley Tariff of 1897 caused rates to ascend to historic highs and remained in substantial effect throughout the 1900 – 1910 decade. Link *op. cit.* p. 105.

135 The cited data regarding California working hours is from Census of 1910, *Manufactures*, v. 9, p. 77; and the comparison of San Francisco and Los Angeles prevailing hours is from California Bureau of Labor Statistics, *Biennial Report, 1909 – 1910,* pp. 140, 153.

136 California Bureau of Labor Statistics, *Biennial Report, 1905 – 1906,* pp. 177 – 182; and *Biennial Report, 1909 – 1910*, pp. 36 – 45.

137 Women's participation in the labor force is addressed in McEntire, *op. cit*. pp. 69, 77, 83; figures for women's wages are from Census of 1900, *Manufactures,* Part 1, p. CXVI. Caution is reiterated in connection with these latter figures.

138 Information involving unions in California is based on: Cross, *op. cit.* p. 229; California Bureau of Labor Statistics, *Biennial Report, 1905 – 1906,* pp. 183 – 211, which details strikes in the state from 1901 to 1906; *and Biennial Report, 1909 – 1910,* in which material related to the hours and wages of unionized workers, provided by location and occupation, is available.

139 For the earthquake's effect on rental prices and prevailing construction industry wages, see California Bureau of Labor Statistics, *Biennial Report, 1905 – 1906,* pp. 218 – 221. The impact on the renovation of the Capitol, including the failure of contractors whose workers deserted to San Francisco, is described by Lucinda Woodward's document, *State Capitol History.* Strikes are recorded in the *Biennial Report, 1905 – 1906,* pp. 183 – 211. The emergence of a professional union bureaucratic class is noted by Alexander Saxton, "The San Francisco Labor and the Populist and Progressive Insurgencies," *Pacific Historical Review*, 34 (November 1965) pp. 434, 437.

140 Kenderdine, *op. cit.* pp. 197 – 198.

141 Information regarding child labor in California is based on: California Bureau of Labor Statistics, *Biennial Report, 1905 – 1906,* pp. 174 – 175, and the text of the Child Labor Law of 1905, pp. 223 – 227; *Biennial Report, 1909 – 1910*, pp. 19 – 32, 328 – 329; and Census of 1900, *Manufactures,* Part 2, p. 33.

142 The theme of government concerns expanding to incorporate labor-management problems, child labor, workers' compensation, private employment agencies, and related matters is addressed in: Nash, Gerald D. "The Influence of Labor on State Policy, 1860 – 1920," *California Historical Society Quarterly*, 42 (September 1963), pp. 241 – 257.

143 Quoted from: California Bureau of Labor Statistics, *Biennial Report, 1909 – 1910,* pp. 26 – 27; and *California Outlook*, April 8, 1911, p. 5.

144 California Bureau of Labor Statistics, *Biennial Report, 1909 – 1910,* chart opposite p. 411. Statistics focused on crimes are drawn from the various charts and discussions in this volume and that of 1905 – 1906, especially pp. 46 – 52. For a statistical account involving Asian crime during this period, see: Beach, Walter G. *Oriental Crime in California: A Study of Offenses Committed by Orientals in That State, 1900 – 1927* (Palo Alto: Stanford University Press, 1932) p. 27.

145 Information regarding the status of women, African Americans, Latinos, Native Americans, and Asian Americans is based on: Staniford, *op. cit.* pp. 332 – 341, *passim*. Detailed statistics regarding Asians and the discussion of Japanese activities in special areas in California is from: California Bureau of Labor Statistics, *Biennial Report, 1905 – 1906,* pp. 61 – 71, and *Biennial Report, 1909 – 1910,* pp. 48 – 49 with demography of these groups discussed on pp. 30 – 31, 33 – 34.

146 For a brief overview of Native Americans in California, see: Forbes, Jack D. "The Native American Experience in California History," *California Historical Society Quarterly*, 50 (September 1971) pp. 234 – 242. The text pertaining to Native Americans during the 1900 – 1910 period relies heavily on: Castillo, Edward D. "The Impact of Euro-American Exploration and Settlement," in Robert F. Heizer, ed. *California*, v. 8 of *Handbook of North American Indians*, William C. Sturtevant, general editor (Washington: Smithsonian Institution, 1978) pp. 118 – 119.

147 Quote from Charles Wollenberg, "Ethnic Experience in California's History: An Impressionistic Survey," *California Historical Society Quarterly*, 50 (September 1971) p. 227. Regarding migration from Mexico, see Manuel P. Servin, "The Pre-World War II Mexican-American: An Interpretation," *California Historical Society Quarterly*, 45 (December 1966) p. 327.

Dynamics for working class Mexican immigrant life in California are analyzed by: Albert Camarrillo, *Chicanos in a Changing Society: From Mexican Pueblos to American Barrios in Santa Barbara and Southern California, 1848 – 1930.* And for older Californios, Leonard Pitt, *The Decline of the Californios: A Social History of the Spanish-Speaking Californians, 1846 – 1890* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1968).

148 DeGraaf, Lawrence B. "The City of Black Angeles: Emergence of the Los Angeles Ghetto, 1890 – 1930," *Pacific Historical Review*, 39 (August 1970) p. 331.

149 *The San Francisco Pacific Coast Appeal*, a major African American weekly, commented about the Afro-American Council that, ". . . it is dominated by politicians who are seeking any and everything in the shape of a job from the reportership at the State Capitol to a janitorship on the water front." See issue of April 19, 1902, p. 4.

150 Committee of the Afro-American Council to Frank P. Flint, February 23, 1904, George C. Pardee MSS, Bancroft Library.

151 Information on Jacob Soares is largely drawn from a taped interview with his daughter, Laura Williams, Los Angeles, January 18, 1981.

152 Pardee to Charles F. Williams, January 4, 1903, Pardee MSS.

153 Apart from the source noted in footnote 145, the textual passage is based on information in, Donald Waller Rodes, "The California Woman Suffrage Campaign of 1911," (unpublished MA thesis, California State University, Hayward, 1974) pp. 27 – 36. The author gratefully acknowledges Dorene Askin for the use of her notes on this subject.

154 *Sacramento Union,* January 1, 1903, p. 5.

155 Jones, *op. cit.* p. 249

156 Staniford, Edward F. "Governor in the Middle: The Administration of George C. Pardee, Governor of California, 1903 – 1907," (Ph.D. thesis, University of California, Berkeley, 1956). pp. 151 – 153 includes commentary regarding the plague controversy during the administrations of Governors Gage and Pardee.

157 California Bureau of Labor Statistics, *Biennial Report, 1905 – 1906,* pp. 61 – 66. This reference contains the results of a survey of 818 Chinese, as well as 199 Japanese.

158 Jones, *op. cit.* p. 264. Specifically, "The possibility of war with Japan, which was widely discussed in the United States after the Russo-Japanese War of 1905, produced in California a frenzied fear of Oriental inundation. The spectre of a 'Yellow Peril' resulted in an unbridled display of antipathy toward the resident Japanese population and an almost universal demand for exclusion."

159 California Bureau of Labor Statistics, *Biennial Report, 1905 – 1906,* pp. 67 – 71.

160 This discussion of the San Francisco School controversy and the Gentlemen's Agreement are based on Clyde, *The Far East,* pp. 464 – 470; and Cleland, *California in Our Time,* pp. 242 – 251. The increasing anti-Japanese sentiment on the West Coast is also noted by Jones, *American Immigration*, p. 264.

161 Political gain was the motivation for the governor and local San Francisco politicians. Pardee linked up with a popular bandwagon, because any other stance would have been political suicide. For the San Francisco politicians, ". . . the timing seems to suggest a desire of a Union Labor Party official to draw attention away from the growing scandal and corruption charges. See Roger Daniels, *The Politics of Prejudice: The Anti-Japanese Movement in California* and *The Struggle for Japanese Exclusion (*Berkeley: University of California Press, 1962) pp. 31 – 33. Pardee tried to capitalize on the argument that what was at stake was keeping children from association with adults in the classroom: "I don't think the President nor the people of the East understand the question. They do not understand, as we do, that it is

not do to have adult Japanese, adult Chinese, or adult whites for that matter, attend school with little children. The rule applies to all. No elderly children should be sent to the same classes with young children. We understand that perfectly here, but the President and the Eastern people do not appear to understand it. I do not see how the treaty with Japan has anything to do with it. It is entirely a State matter." See *San Francisco Call*, December 6, 1906, p. 1. Though Pardee's successor, James Gillett, was also in the main stream of anti-Japanese sentiment, he took action to prevent passage in the 1907 and 1909 legislative sessions that sought to end Japanese land ownership and otherwise ending civil rights – which would have inflamed international enmity. Additional anti-Japanese action did not come, ironically, until the progressives took power under Hiram Johnson. See *Sacramento Bee,* March 11, 1907, p. 1.

162 Marvin Brienes, in his article "The Alien Land Law of 1920" (*Capitol Restoration Project,* October 15, 1980) presents a summary of the history for alien legislation in California – major studies of the question are cited and provide helpful additional reading.

THE CAPITAL CITY, 1900 – 1910

163 2010 Census, United States Census Bureau, U. S. Department of Commerce.

164 For the sources for these population statistics, the reader is referred to the footnotes for Chapter VI.

165 Bryan, *op. cit.* p. 11, charged: "The population measured by the registered voting list and the school census is 35,000. The latest census gives Sacramento less, but it is notoriously in error. It was taken at a most unfortunate time, in the midst of the vacation season, and is contradicted by established facts."

166 *Sacramento Street Fair and Trades Carnival, April 1900: Official Program* (Sacramento: News Publishing Company, 1900. Copy in the California Section, California State Library.

167 Barnet and O'Leary, *op. cit.* p. 21; Census of 1910, *Abstract of the Census*, p. 637; *Sacramento Street Fair, op. cit.*

168 McGowan, *op. cit. v.1, p. 383*

169 Census of 1900, *Population*, Part 1, p. 565; and Census of 1910, *Abstract of the Census*, p. 596.

170 Census of 1910, *Manufactures,* v. 9, p. 78 illustrates the following for California cities in the 1900 – 1910 period:

City	1910	1900	City	1910	1900
San Francisco	416,912	342,782	Long Beach	17,809	2,252
Los Angeles	319,198	102,479	Riverside	15,212	7,973
Oakland	150,174	66,960	San Bernardino	12,779	6,150
Sacramento	44,696	29,282	Bakersfield	12,727	4,836
Berkeley	40,434	13,214	Eureka	11,845	7,327
San Diego	39,578	17,700	Santa Barbara	11,659	6,587
Pasadena	30,291	9,117	Vallejo	11,340	7,965
San Jose	28,946	21,500	Santa Cruz	11,146	5,659
Fresno	24,892	12,470	Redlands	10,449	4,797
Alameda	23,383	16,464	Pomona	10,207	5,526
Stockton	23,253	17,506			

Note that although Sacramento retained its fourth place position in 1910, both Berkeley and San Diego were closing the gap. It seems reasonable to assume that the rivalry between Sacramento and Berkeley for fourth place had something to do with the attempt during the decade to relocate the capital to the Bay Area upstart.

171 Racial breakdown of Sacramento obtained from: Census of 1900, *Population*, Part 1, p. 648; and Census of 1910, *Abstract of the Census,* p. 95.

172 Literacy figures obtained from: Census of 1900, *Population*, Part 2, p. 449; and Census of 1910, *Abstract of the Census*, p. 251. The figures seem a bit misleading, and for 1910 may not take Asians into account, because the data documents that of the 534 illiterate citizens in 1910, 373 were foreign-born Caucasians. That leaves only161 illiterate citizens among the "colored" (African Americans, Native Americans, Chinese, Japanese) population of nearly 3,000, or approximately 5.3%.

173 *Sacramento Union,* January 1, 1900, p. 3.

174 Cole, Cheryl L. *A History of the Japanese Community in Sacramento, 1883 – 1912: Organizations, Businesses, and Generational Responses to Majority Domination and Stereotypes (Saratoga, California: R and E Research Associates, 1974) pp. 8, 9, 11, 18 – 21.*

175 *Sacramento Souvenir Guide* (Sacramento: William E. Terwilliger, May 1911) *passim. Also: San Francisco and Environs*, p. 80; and Bryan, *op. cit.* p. 12.

176 *Sacramento Union*, January 1, 1900, p. 3.

177 *Sacramento Street Fair Program and Trades Carnival*.

178 Bryan, *op. cit.* p. 12

179 United States Census Office, *Report on the Social Statistics of Cities in the United States at the Eleventh Census: 1890,* (Washington: Government Printing Office, 1895) p. 115.

180 Advertisement in *Sacramento Union*, January 1, 1900, p. 4.

181 *Sacramento Union*, January 1, 1900, p. 4; Census of 1910, *Manufactures*, v. 8, p. 492; Beach, *op. cit.* pp. 217 – 218. Robert Cleland identifies the Electric Theater as California's first movie house and quotes from the *Los Angeles Times*, April 16, 1902, in his *California in Our Times*, p. 265:

ELECTRIC THEATER 262 S. Main Off Third Street

NEW PLACE OF AMUSEMENT

Up to date High Class Moving Picture Entertainment Especially for Ladies and Children. See the capture of Biddle Brothers, New York in a blizzard and many other interesting and exciting scenes. An hour's amusement and genuine fun for all

10 Cents Admission
Evenings 7:30 to 10:30

182 *Sacramento Union*, January 7, 1903, p. 6; January 12, 1903, p. 3; *Sacramento Bee*, January 6, 1903, p. 4; *Sacramento Union*, January 1, 1901, p. 5.

183 The trade value is referenced in the *Sacramento Street Fair* program. Information regarding manufactures in Sacramento between 1899 and 1909i is from: Census of 1900, *Manufactures*, Part 2, pp. 50 – 51 and *Population*, Part 2, pp. 587 – 589; Census of 1910, *Abstract of the Census,* v. 9, p. 99; Bryan, *op. cit.* p 11. For Sacramento's key location in the commercial transportation network, see: Clar, "Folsom to Sacramento," p. 7.

184 V. Aubrey Neasham and James E. Henley, *The City of the Plain: Sacramento in the Nineteenth Century* (Sacramento: Sacramento Pioneer Foundation, 1969) p. 176. The Southern Pacific yard payroll total is recorded in the *Sacramento City Directory, 1910,* pp. 171 – 178.

185 *Biennial Report, 1905 – 1906,* pp. 124 – 129; and *Biennial Report, 1909 – 1910*, pp. 171 – 178.

186 Census of 1900, *Population,* Part 2, pp. 587 – 589, provides a breakdown of occupations, by sex. This covers compelling and revealing information regarding how people earned their livings during the early part of the 1900 – 1910 period.

187 General information on the newspapers of the era is from: Staniford, *op. cit.* pp. 348 – 350.

188 Prices have been compiled via advertisements in the January 1, 1900 – 1910 editions of the *Sacramento Union, Sacramento Street Fair Program* and similar sources, including: *The 1902 Edition of the Sears Roebuck Catalogue* (New York: Crown Publishing Inc. 1969).

189 *Ibid. Sacramento Union.*

190 Census of 1900, *Population*, Part 2, p. 666.

191 California Bureau of Labor Statistics, *Biennial Report, 1905 – 1906*, pp. 184 – 211. The National Bureau of Labor gathered the detailed information on strike activity that is presented in this biennial report, because the 1906 earthquake destroyed state data.

192 The *Sacramento City Directories, 1900 – 1910* contain details regarding the school system in their introductory sections. This same source was used for information pertaining to the police department and fire service.

193 Bryan, *op. cit. p. 14;* and *Sacramento Union*, January 1, 1902, p. 2.

194 *Sacramento Souvenir Guide, 1911*, pp. 13, 26.

195 Statistical data regarding crime is from: California Bureau of Labor Statistics, *Biennial Reports, 1905 – 1906* and *1909 – 1910*, as cited in footnote 144.

196 Ibid.

197 The cited information on the police department is from the *Sacramento Union*, January 1, 1901, p. 3 and January 2, 1905, p. 5.

198 These sections on lighting, electricity, and gas are drawn from: McGowan, *op. cit.* II, pp. 29 – 30; and Charles M. Coleman, *PG&E of California: The Centennial Story of the Pacific Gas and Electric Company* (New York: McGraw-Hill Company, Inc. 1952), pp. 34 – 36, 77 – 81, 116 – 125, 157 – 159. Apropos to electric lighting as a measure of urban prestige is the following citation from the *Grass Valley Tidings*, 1887, quoting Coleman, *PG&E*, p. 103: "Woodland, Chico, Marysville, and other towns smaller than Grass Valley are lighted by electricity, and Grass Valley, the Quartz-Crowned Empress of the Temperate Fruit Zone, should not be behind the Mud-Hen Infested Villages of the Valley in point of enterprise and progress."

199 Census of 1890*, Social Statistics of Cities,* p. 66. Although Sacramento had switched completely over to arc lighting for its streets, gas lighting was still in use elsewhere. At this same time, for example, San Francisco had 5,323 street lamps, of which only 123 housed the electric arc. The other 5,200 were lit by gas. Gas lighting extended well into the period of electric lighting, importantly assisted by such technological innovations as the Welsbach mantle, a lace-like hood of asbestos that, when fitted over a gas jet, increased candle power by 600%. (See Coleman, *PG&E*, p. 81.) Celebrations in Sacramento involving the spectacular lighting of the Capitol occurred when Folsom power was accessed by the city in 1895. See Rowena Wise Day, "Carnival of Lights," in Jesse M. Smith, ed., Sketches of Old Sacramento: A Tribute to Joseph A. McGowan (Sacramento: Sacramento County Historical Society, 1976).

200 *Sacramento Street Fair Program.*

201 The debate regarding business consolidation involved the merits of choice and competition versus the efficiency of regulated monopoly in the form of public utilities. The same situation obtained in Sacramento telephone service. Hardly conceivable today as a rationale system, Sacramento citizens at the turn of the century could find in the various forms of power and the separate companies operating in the field, a source of pride. See Bryan, *op. cit.* pp. 13 – 14: "The city is one of the best lighted in the world. It enjoys the advantage of four fine lighting systems, tow of which are electrical; one supplies coal gas and one natural gas."

202 Information on telephones in Sacramento is drawn from: McGowan, *op. cit.* v. II, pp. 19 – 22; Census of 1900, *Manufactures*, Part 4, pp. 178 – 180.

203 Information on the fees charged for specific telephone numbers is drawn from the following telephone directories in the California Room of the State Library: *Capital Telephone Directory* for January 1901; *Sunset Telephone Directory*, March 1903; *Pacific Telephone and Telegraph Directory,* October 1910.

204 The author's estimate, based on examination of the October 1910 directory.

205 Phone numbers for Capitol offices are in the various surviving directories. The use of an interior switchboard by 1910 at the Capitol indicates a somewhat tardy adoption of this innovation. It allowed interior connections, enabling communication within the building without switching at the telephone company's exchange, thus facilitating interior communication and doubtlessly bringing about significant changes in the use of messengers in the building. Occurring prior to the turn of the century, the use of interior switching systems was an important innovation. By 1900 in New York City they had become so common in hotels and large offices that private exchanges employed more operators than did those of the telephone company. This earlier prevalence of the private exchanges suggests that it was adopted at the Capitol well before 1910, though the 1903 *Sunset Directory* does not evidence it having been established by that date. Concerning the effect of private exchanges, the 1900 Census report references: "Just as in its broader field the telephone message has largely taken the place of the telegram and the district messenger, so in interior work, the telephone lessens considerably the sphere of the office boy and call boy, and is another illustration of the tendency of machinery to release human labor from certain classes of occupation."

206 Information on the steamboat, railroad and street car systems of Sacramento is drawn from: *Sacramento Souvenir Guide, 1911*, pp. 18, 24 – 25, 34 – 35, 39; and the *Western Railroader*, 19 (October 1956) in which the main subject is the street railway system of Sacramento, pp. 3, 17.

207 The organizing entrepreneurs of Pacific Gas and Electric bought out the Sacramento Electric, Gas and Railway Company in March 1903. See Coleman, *op. cit.* p. 159.

208 *Sacramento Union*, September 26, 1885, p. 3. Street paving information is from: Census of 1890, *Social Statistics of Cities*, p. 61, and several issues of the *Sacramento Union*, especially January 1, 1902, p. 2; and Bryan, *op. cit.* p.

11. For evidence of street paving activity during the decade, see *Sacramento Union*, September 17, 1904, p. 4. It should be noted that, despite the beginnings of asphalting in 1885, the 1890 *Social Statistics* report listed no asphalt-paved streets in Sacramento.

209 Information on the early experiences with bicycles and automobiles in Sacramento is drawn from: McGowan, *op. cit.* v. II, pp. 60 – 66, 69 – 71.

210 *Sacramento Union*, January 3, 1910, p. 5.

211 Blow, *op. cit.* p. 204. For an informative account of a specific example of Sacramento area road construction, see: Clar, *op. cit.* Eloquent evidence of the state of long-distance motoring can be found in the surviving motorist touring map guide of the era. Roads were not only unpaved but unidentified, perhaps an adequate situation for purely local traffic but intolerable for long distance drivers in which motorists were confronted by dangerous and anonymous roads. Additionally, the complete absence of long-distance road planning often made trips circuitous between points. The trip from Sacramento to Oakland, for example, could only be made via Stockton and it covered approximately 126 miles. See *Automobile and Motorcycle Road Book* (Oakland: Hancock Bros. 1907). Copy in California Section, State Library.

212 McGowan, *op. cit.* v. I, pp. 409 – 412.

213 *Sacramento Union,* January 1, 1908, p. 8. There was a noticeable increase in real estate activity in 1906 – 1907, partly related to the advent of suburbs, but also in relation to building within the city. It was at this time that the southern portion of the city, especially that part south of R Street, began to fill in with houses. A realty firm in early 1907 noted that the area, ". . . is rapidly building up, not with shacks, but with nice, large modern homes." See *Sacramento Union*, January 1, 1907, p. 12.

214 *Sacramento Union*, January 4, 1910, p. 11; *Sacramento City Directory, 1910*, p. 16.

PROGRESSIVE POLITICS

215 Benjamin Ide Wheeler, quoted in George E. Mowry, *The California Progressives* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1951) (Quadrangle Paperback edition, 1953) p. 2.

216 Jordan, *op. cit. pp. 9 – 10.*

217 Garraty, *op. cit.* pp. 226 – 229.

218 Fogelson, *op. cit*. pp. 43 – 62 contains a detailed description of the role the railroad played in the destinies of San Diego and Los Angeles. It seems in order to provide a note regarding the sources for this chapter. The section on the state's political system in 1900 – 1910 is intended to provide a broad interpretation of events and not to include a very detailed accounting of familiar events. For these, the reader is referred to some well-known accounts on which I have relied for factual data. See Mowry, *op. cit.* which contains the classical account of California progressivism; Bean, *op. cit.*; Fogelson, *op. cit.*; Remi Nadeau, *Los Angeles from Mission to Modern City* (New York: Lingmans, Green and Co., 1960); Staniford, *op. cit.;* and Beach, *op. cit. pp. 243 – 272, which contains that author's interpretation of progressivism as an outgrowth of demographic change.*

219 The owners of the Central Pacific incorporated in Kentucky in 1884 under the name of the Southern Pacific Company, from which time the various holdings under their control were known jointly as the Southern Pacific.

220 Kirkland, Edward Chase, *Industry Comes of Age: Business, Labor and Public Policy, 1860 – 1897* (New York: Holt, Rinehart and Winston, 1961) pp. 81 – 88.

221 Link, *op. cit.* p. 58.

222 Mowry, *op. cit.* pp. 86 – 104.

223 A number of historians have noted the apparent connection, notably Beach in his "Transformation of California." The quote is from: Franklin Hichborn, *California Politics, 1891 – 1939* (Typescript on microfilm at the California State Library, Sacramento, 1939) v. 2, p. 236

224 *Ibid.* v. 1, p. 661; Southern Pacific's control of the *Sacramento Union* is noted in Richard Orsi's, "The Octopus Reconsidered," *California Historical Society Quarterly*, 54 (Fall 1975), p. 215.

225 Hofstadter, *op. cit. p. 131.*

226 Michael Paul Rogin and John L. Shover, *Political Change in California: Critical Elections and Social Movements, 1890 – 1966* (Westport, Connecticut: Greenwood Publishing Corporation, 1970) pp. 35 – 44.

227 Kolko, *op. cit.*

228 Mowry, *op. cit.* p. 21. The Southern Pacific, significantly, had fought against a canal project in the 19th Century. The economic world and the requirements of world power status for the nation were outstripping even the SP. See Greb, "Opening a New Frontier," p. 410. It may be helpful with this consideration to note that some revisionist thinking has been applied to the whole question of Southern Pacific's role in California. The traditional view held that it was a corporate "Octopus" that completely and ruthlessly dominated the state and was intent on squeezing it dry for every cent of profit. Some historians look more kindly on the picture, however, pointing out that railroad political domination was never so complete and secure as reformers maintained. These historians counter the reputation for economic exploitation with a contention that the health of California's economy was in the self-interest of the Southern Pacific. For some expansion of this view, see: Orsi, "The Octopus Reconsidered," pp. 197 – 200 and W. H. Hutchinson, "Southern Pacific: Myth and Reality," *California Historical Society Quarterly*, 48 (December 1969) pp. 325 – 334.

229 It was not unusual for progressives to explore all three avenues of attack (against the unions, the Railroad, and the Japanese) as the activities of

James D. Phelan attest. For progressive attitudes, see Daniels, *Politics of Prejudice*, p. 49.

230 Royce D. Delmatier, Clarence F. McIntosh, and Earl G. Waters, eds. *The Rumble of California Politics* (New York: John Wiley & Sons, Inc. 1970) pp. 125 – 126.

231 Fogelson, *op. cit.* pp. 205 – 206.

232 Naleau, *Los Angeles, pp. 88 – 89; Delmatier, The Rumble of California Politics*, pp. 130 – 131.

233 The beginnings of the era of Republican dominance of California politics in the 1896 election are analyzed in Rogin and Shover, *Political Change in California*, pp. 35 – 44.

234 Gladwin Hill, *Dancing Bear: An Inside Look at California Politics,* (Cleveland and New York: The World Publishing Company, 1968) p. 39. Pardee arrived at the convention with 215 ½ votes; J. O. Hayes had 34; while Ruef controlled 156 of San Francisco's 159 votes. These combined forces controlled 425 ½ votes, while the SP dominated machine entered with 420 ½. Neither was enough to ensure control, though it was a bit more than the minimum necessary to nominate. Unsure of its ability to hold all these votes, the Railroad tried but failed to get Pardee to withdraw. Only then did it strike the infamous deal with the Curly Boss. With Ruef's votes the SP was able to steamroll Pardee 591 ½ to 233 ½. "We met the enemy and we were his on the first ballot," remarked the dejected Pardee. See Hichborn, "The Party, the Machine, and the Vote," *California Historical Society Quarterly*, 39 (March 1960) p. 20.

235 The text for these passages regarding the Legislature of 1907 draw from Dorene Askin, "The 1907 Legislature" (unpublished research paper, Capitol Restoration Project, July 1980) and Mowry, *op. cit.* pp. 62 – 64.

236 Quoted in Askin, "1907 Legislature," p. 41.

237 The source of citrus grower animosity was demonstrated in 1909, when, after passage of the Payne-Aldrich Tariff, the Southern Pacific raised its freight rates to exactly match the raise in tariff on imported lemons. The Railroad, by its transportation monopoly, sought to use the perceived protection of the Act against the growers, to its exclusive advantage.

238 Spencer C. Olin, "Hiram Johnson, The Lincoln-Roosevelt League and the Election of 1910," *California Historical Society Quarterly, 45 (September 1966), p. 225.*

239 Material on the 1909 Legislature is drawn from Dorene Askin's, "The 1909 Legislature" (unpublished research paper, Capitol Restoration Project, July 1980).

240 Mowry, *op. cit.* p. 81.

241 Olin, *op. cit. p. 231.*

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