



THE NAVEL OF CALIFORNIA AND OTHER ORANGES: IMAGES OF CALIFORNIA AND THE ORANGE CRATE¹

*Paul F. Starrs**

Oranges in California have always been more than just fruit. For better than sixty years, from the 1870's through the 1940's, orange groves distilled the uniqueness of California into a powerful living symbol. Where the Gold Rush had been a rural phenomenon, ephemeral and boisterous, orange growing was permanent, city-based, and demonstrably cultured. William A. Spalding and other boosters of nineteenth-century California offered remarks which proved more prophecy than hucksterism. "There is that about the cultivation of the orange," insisted Spalding in an 1885 treatise, "which attracts people."² An unmutated admiration developed between Californians and orange growing, an admiration that found its fullest expression in the zincography-produced, ten-by-eleven-inch, multi-colored orange crate labels printed in California between 1877 and 1950.³ These labels were a remarkable symbol of widespread changes in California, changes tallied in this geographical biography of California orange culture.

Somewhat grandly, recent commentators have classified the analysis of people changing the land as they

*Paul F. Starrs recently completed his Ph.D. in Geography at the University of California, Berkeley, where he is teaching as a lecturer.

themselves, in turn, change as "environmental history."⁴ Geographers, by contrast, have long understood that agriculture entails direct connection to the land, usually with powerful ancillary psychological implications. Analyzing how these connections build and develop is among the activities essential to geographical culture history.⁵ This study lays out the thoughts and aspirations of both a people and an era, as given life in their planted culture.⁶

The subject material may seem esoteric; in fact, it describes how images of California, presented to a wider American public, helped to bring legions of migrants to the Golden State. California's draw of the 1850's was gold, pursuit of which forged a trail of mining enthusiasts from San Francisco Bay to the Sierra Nevada foothills. Looking for a nugget was a gamble, a search for something that was by its nature both elusive and exclusive. Orange growing, as the gold boom's successor, was much more democratic.⁷ The orange grove was attainable; anyone, in theory, could become an orange grower. That, precisely, was part of its attractiveness. A society as dramatically urbanized as contemporary California sometimes forgets that raising agricultural crops—especially *certain* crops—develops special connotations and prestige. Essentially Californian, "Orange Culture" was everything impossible back home, the perfect symbol of a new, a California, way of life.⁸ It was nothing less than the creation of what J. B. Jackson has called "the landscape of desire," an attempt to re-create Heaven on earth.⁹

Pundits of the *Megatrends* generation are beginning today to see in California ever more of the national melting pot, as the state becomes more like every place else.¹⁰ Whether California is changing and being watered down, or whether the rest of the country is simply catching up, is irrelevant.¹¹ Many of the great Southern California symbols—Hollywood, the Southern Pacific Railroad, colony towns and water grabs, and acre upon acre of orange groves—have become relicts, supplanted by smog, free-

ways, and a magnificent urban agglomeration. Perhaps the universalizing of California warrants little lament; the locals are happy, and with rare departures like the rock and roll recollections of the Eagles' *Hotel California*, Southern California lives with an enigmatically ahistorical memory.¹²

Both as substance and symbol, orange groves are fine subjects, mappable, unambiguous, and long-lived. Local changes in orange cultivation are a testament to Southern California's urban growth and agricultural decline. A case in point is Riverside. The nation's richest city in per capita income in 1895, Riverside had 19,000 acres of oranges planted inside the limits of a city of 3,300 people (Figure 1). Whether praised in fiction, fact, or poetry, Riverside's superior qualities as a city are linked historically to its agricultural bounty. By 1984, as the city's population climbed



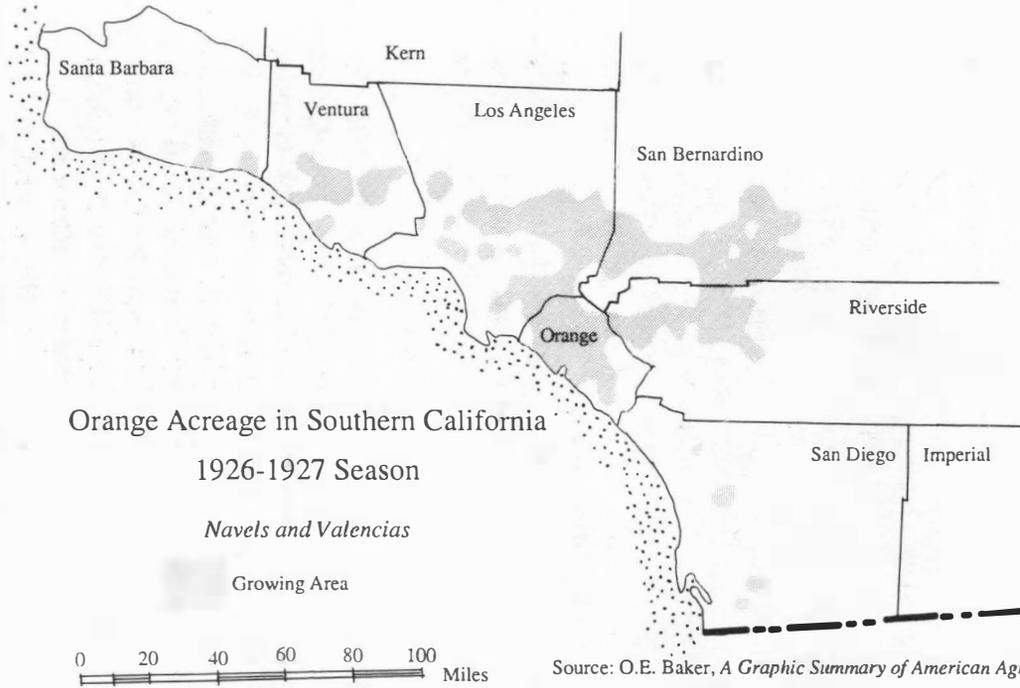
Figure 1: Orange groves and aqueducts were notable tourist attractions in Southern California. Harriet S. Tolman and her family visited Riverside orange acreages during an 1888-1889 cross-country trip. (Courtesy of the Bancroft Library, Pictorial Collection, 1905.6484-35.)

to 180,000 residents, only 265 acres of oranges survived.¹³ Yet the history of oranges in California is more than the age-old story of agriculture giving way to cities.

Oranges were a living and dramatic statement of the differences between Southern California and the rest of the country (Figure 2). Admittedly, oranges are long-standing products in Florida where, although big business, they remain only a crop.¹⁴ At once magnet, tourist attraction, and moneymaker, California's groves offered what Richard Lillard has dubbed a "picture postcard reality"¹⁵; and like a postcard, orange crate labels not only recorded a time and a place, but also advertised Southern California's attributes.

Newcomers to Southern California typically brought with them two immediate ambitions: picking an orange from a living tree, and taking the Pacific Electric Railway tour of the Los Angeles Basin, which wended its way through towns set in orange groves. Luxurious houses, vistas of the San Gabriel or San Jacinto ranges, and orange acreage divided only by distant roads, impressed all.¹⁶ The major growing centers, a number of which had started life as health-seekers' communities or colony centers, included Pasadena, Anaheim, Monrovia, Glendora, San Dimas, Pomona, Upland, Redlands, and Riverside. Later, on a more modest scale, a second wave of citrus towns developed, many of them in the San Joaquin Valley, whose names like Sunkist, Garden Grove, Citrus Heights, Seville, Highgrove, and Valencia, displayed affection for a fruit grower's life.

While orange groves had an essential charm and allure, orange-growing towns developed truly star quality. Their names were carefully promoted to household status by ever-present developers' promotional literature and, unwittingly, by the likes of Floyd Young. Remembered for KFI radio broadcasts as the "Frost Freeze Warning Man," U.S. Weather Bureau meteorologist Young nightly recited the low temperature forecasts for citrus communities. The



PFS

Figure 2: Orange acreage increased rapidly in Southern California from 1880 on. The greatest boom came between 1914 and 1940, with a nearly astronomical growth as groves moved into the San Fernando Valley and, by the mid 1920's, to Riverside and San Bernardino counties. The four Los Angeles Basin counties alone totalled 115,000 acres in 1924.

frost report, later picked up by comedian Jack Benny in one of his routines, always started with the same famous names, "Anaheim, Azusa, Cucamonga," before continuing down the list of Southland citrus communities.¹⁷ The reading was a litany of towns and temperatures, taken from reports of some 20,000 thermometers. Experienced listeners knew just when to tune in for the local forecast, which served to make Young's monotone as well-known in the Southland as the voice of Edward R. Murrow, Orson Welles, or Jack Benny himself.

California offered orange towns, orange festivals, orange shows, orange groves, and, of course, orange fruit. Easterners and Middle Westerners were compelled to make do with eating oranges, experiencing "The Golden State" vicariously. Nationally, diet changed; consumption of oranges in the United States rose from no oranges per capita in 1890 to forty oranges per American in 1914. The essence of California was boxed and sent to the whole country. The details of the message were spread by a singular vehicle: orange crate labels. More than 2 *billion* labels went out on wooden orange crates; the number of different styles is variously counted as between 8,000 and 15,000.¹⁸

Oranges and the Selling of California

Orange crate label themes were numerous to the point of being almost uncountable. All drew on California's unique qualities: climate, beauty, wealth, opportunity, glamor. There was the hard-riding, romantic, western cowboy, the fast-living Forty-Niner, and sumptuous renderings of various movie stars. Natural scenery, with an implied offering of California's healthfulness, adorned a whole suite of orange crate labels (Figure 3). Popular labels might portray the familiar story of Ramona, or life in mission-era California, or play on the attractions of tourism and a wild and unspoiled nature. El Capitan, the Sierra Nevada, Mount Baldy, the San Jacinto Mountains,

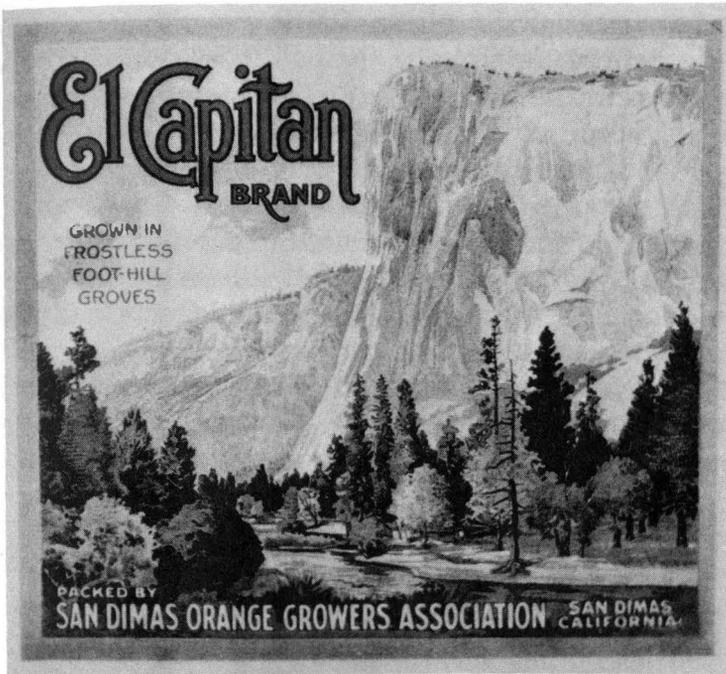


Figure 3: Particularly during the first thirty years of orange exports, labels emphasized California's natural scenery, paralleling the turn-of-the-century boom in western tourism. As enthusiasm for outdoor activity built nationwide and the national park movement gained strength, labels like the "El Capitan Brand" could draw on readily recognizable symbols of California.

desert vistas, and literally dozens of suburban scenes were a visual plea by growers for brand name recognition. Oranges were sold by selling images of California; any purchaser could embrace a vision of California and travel there by diet.

Labels sometimes promoted images of California more fanciful than frank, but there was always truth enough to spark recognition in a larger public. Under the bombast of publicity lay substance. In the 1934 movie *It's a Gift*, W. C. Fields sells a midwestern grocery, makes the great move to California, occupies a handsome, if small, orange grove, and after considerable high jinks, makes a fortune. The

great resources of Southern California advertising were turned particularly toward the Midwest during the early twentieth century, and W. C. Fields' message repeated the theme of some of the more successful labels—"I Grow These Myself in California." (Figure 4.)

Much was made of the accessibility of California's suburban life, with all it represented. The California bungalow in the "Suburban Brand" label shows an orange grove at the doorway. "Rose Brand," with a dozen small orange-grove homes, has a cottage for every hundred trees, while the "California Dream" label places a pair of peacocks, tails fanned, before a modest—and presumably typical—Cal-



Figure 4: The Schmidt Lithograph Company of San Francisco pioneered the multiple-stone technique of label lithography, which produced stunningly vivid art. Label artists were numerous, but they early-on mastered the technique of effective promotion.

fornia castle. On the "Nightcap Brand" label of the Anaheim Growers' Association, a husband and wife, she in her nightgown, he in his robe, partake of late evening orange juice. For all the allure of the suburban Southern California home, there was also great glamor in mobility, rendered in the "Yorba Linda Brand" label by a handsome couple in an open coupé whisking through orange groves. For many Americans, these labels crystallized the special qualities of the Southland.

The variation in labels was nearly endless. Individual growers often put as much energy into label design as they might a family coat of arms. Label artists and techniques changed over seventy years of label production, but the general themes varied less (Figure 5). California really did have film stars, marvellous scenery, and suburban orange groves to see, which only made label imagery more powerful. If buying an orange offered someone outside the state a window into an exotic reality, then the element of voyeurism was justified.¹⁹

Above everything else, however, the orange crate label popularized a vibrant Southern California culture. Suburban living, outdoor life, climate and athleticism, California's Hispanic heritage, and the exoticism of the state all grappled with the larger theme of the Southland's vigor. Label vitality condensed some of the region's sun-loving qualities. What was Southern California if not, as Charles Fletcher Lummis' magazine claimed in its title, the *Land of Sunshine*? The massive organization established to grade and market oranges took "sun-kissed" as a theme, and later made "Sunkist" their highest grade of fruit.²⁰

Early boosters stretching for similes touted citrus as a distillation of California sunshine. Much of the clientele attracted by California citrus growing was nothing if not educated, and literate newcomers found clean parallels for orange growing in classical antiquity. One of Hercules' labors was to steal fruit from a tree in the Garden of the



Figure 5: Images of an attractive Southern California, complete with idyllic homes set in orange groves, were common themes. The "Home Brand" label suggests many of the orange grove's vaunted qualities. What is rarely shown in labels are the connections, particularly the trolley lines of the Pacific Electric Railroad, that made living outside the city plausible. Although rural, orange grove homes were still within easy access of the greater city.

Hesperides, killing the garden's dragon protector.²¹ California orange enthusiasts were quick to argue that the fruit had to have been an orange. Numerous labels took up the orange's supposed mythic qualities, while simultaneously presenting California as the new Eden.

Parallels between California and distant lands served as selling points. Ham Hall, the State Engineer, published a glowing report in 1886 on the irrigation possibilities of Southern California.²² It was one of two volumes, the companion to a similar analysis of Italy, Spain, Portugal, and Greece. The comparison was impossible to miss. Over

and above its classical qualities, California was a better Mediterranean, with added elements: there was "English spoken here," anyone could buy land, and in terms of everything from architecture to the open road, the sky was the limit. Promotion of California, over and above orange crate labels, was tremendous. More than ten million Americans saw exhibits of California oranges, grapes, and walnuts at World Fairs and Expositions during the early decades of the twentieth century. Advertising was directed especially at Midwesterners, a stunning number of whom voted with their feet, selling prosperous farms to move to the West. From 1900 to 1930, the population of Los Angeles County alone multiplied fourteen times, to 2.3 million. Upper Midwesterners were proportionately never less than a third of all newcomers.²³

A grouping of orange trees approached the creation of sacred space; taken together, the trees were, after all, always a grove and never an "orchard." The word choice is telling. "The groves were God's first temples," William Cullen Bryant claimed in *A Forest Hymn*; and the Oxford English Dictionary cites a grove as "a small wood, a group of trees affording shade or forming avenues or walks." A subsidiary definition identifies the grove as "commonly planted by heathen peoples in honor of deities to serve as places of worship or for the recognition of images," and the twin meanings point to the small size of orange plots and the symbolic qualities of the plantings.²⁴ The trees were prized, cosseted, even, in keeping with their more than economic importance. In the lexicon of the day, oranges were never just oranges, they were "golden orbs," or "choice fruit," addressed in terms of endearment.

Origins of Citrus in California

Citrus trees were an integral part of early California mission agriculture, grown along the coastal strip and the interstices of the Coast Ranges. Mission San Diego de Alcalá records growing oranges in 1769, the earliest pos-

sible date in Alta California mission history. All but three of the Upper California missions had orchards, and each of these attempted citriculture. Missions have been too rarely looked at as prototype agricultural experiment stations, a rôle they fulfilled admirably. In 1803, a major grove of Mediterranean Sweet Orange trees was planted on the grounds of Mission San Gabriel, establishing beyond any doubt the suitability of the Los Angeles Basin for citrus growing.²⁵

Even then, though, Anglo orange growing was imminent. William Wolfskill, a Kentucky trapper turned Southern Californian, established seedlings taken from Mission San Gabriel at Central and East Fifth in Los Angeles in 1841, quickly expanding them to forty-one acres. By 1862, an estimated 25,000 citrus trees were bearing fruit, most of them in the Los Angeles Basin. Taking a chance, Wolfskill shipped a rail car load of oranges to St. Louis in 1877. Commercial orange growing in California had begun.

Though hardy, eminently shippable, and tangy, mission oranges never developed as an export product. Commercial horticulturalists went across the Atlantic for new varieties of the Mediterranean Sweet, but growers following Wolfskill's lead preferred two alternatives that have since proliferated: the navel and the valencia. Navels are winter-ripening inland trees that do best in the hotter upland climates but are tolerant of occasional frost. Valencias ripen in the summer, prefer a steadier climatic regime, and grow well in coastal fog, although from the first valencias and navels have been grown nearby in various mixtures.

Navel oranges made widespread orange growing in California possible. Formally known as the Washington Navel, the orange has also been called the Riverside Navel, for its first California planting, or the Bahia Navel, after its place of origin. The navel orange is truly a New World variety, a mutant bud sport that developed from

the Selecta variety of oranges in 1810. The seedless navel was recognized by an American Presbyterian missionary interested in horticulture, who in 1870 sent twelve newly-budded trees from Brazil to the United States Department of Agriculture, in Washington, D.C. William Saunders, superintendent of the experimental gardens, described the oranges in departmental literature, which was sent to agriculturalists in California. Established in 1873, the so-called parent, or "pioneer" navel orange, planted at Magnolia and Arlington in Riverside, still stands.²⁶

To make a long story short, the navel orange was a hit, with commercial production beginning in 1875 (Figure 6). The valencia, introduced to California in 1876 by a San Gabriel judge, was no less a success. By 1881, Los Angeles County supported a million and a half orange trees, and

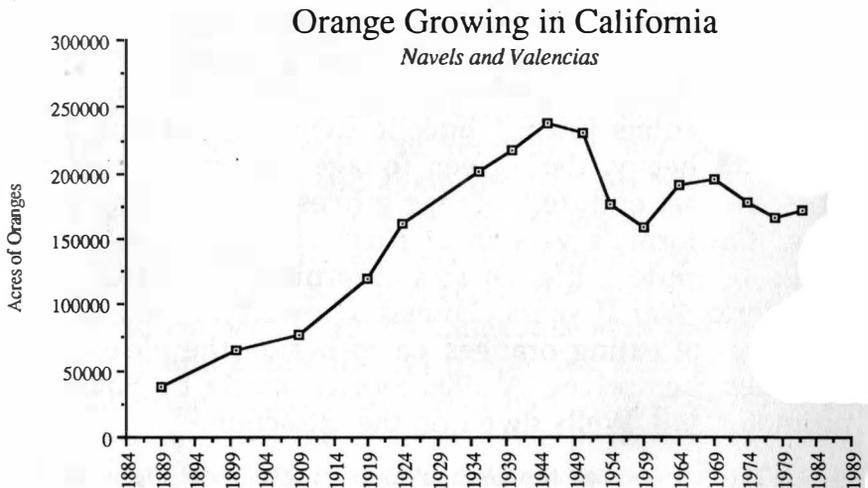


Figure 6: Orange acreage in California rose steadily from the late nineteenth century until after World War II. Increases in San Joaquin Valley acreage have largely kept pace with the decline in Los Angeles Basin oranges. Catastrophic frosts in the last several years have devastated Florida's Indian River orange-growing district, so that a renewed planting of oranges in Tulare, Kern, and Fresno counties is likely.

California was on its way to eclipsing Florida citrus production. Then, there was the image of California. Southern California was just coming into its own in the 1870's. The 1870 Census records less than 20,000 residents for San Bernardino and Los Angeles counties (Riverside and Orange did not yet exist as separate entities). Completion of the transcontinental railroad to Southern California helped spur growth, but the attraction to the Southland was unfocused. Northern California drew the bulk of attention; but then came orange growing. For quite some time, increases in the human population of Southern California paralleled the rise in orange acreage, doubling by 1880, increasing threefold again to 150,000 in 1890.

Orange Culture and the Orange Grower's Dream

Groves were highly protected, sometimes by fence or force.²⁷ Recognized as the prima donnas of the fruit grower's world, the trees were intensely sensitive to water, soil, microclimate, and cultivation. Land suited to orange growing was scenic, above the valley floors, away from pooled cold air, in precisely the localities that migrants with aspirations toward bucolic living would find alluring. With heavy, dark-green foliage and sweetly-scented blossoms that endured, orange groves were a living promise of California's version of rural virtue, a new form of civilized, genteel, life. Or so Californians from 1880 up to the World War II years claimed. Growers argued that the pleasures of eating oranges paled beside the pleasures of the trees themselves. A 1906 *Sunset* article by Southland promoter A. J. Wells dwelt on the attraction:²⁸

The 'climate of the orange' is a phrase that might well stand beside Von Humboldt's 'climate of palms,' a charm of sky and air which he says 'first fascinated him to travel.' Like the date palm, the orange wants moisture at its roots, but drought in the air, water to fill the veins of its root system and the heat of a long, cloudless summer in which to elaborate its juices and distill their flavor. The orange tree will do well in 1000 loca-

tions, but you must ask the orange itself to report the worth of climate and soil for commercial purposes. An elect fruit, it chooses and rejects with an infallible judgement. You may cheat the orange grower, but not the orange.

Culture and symbolism aside, orange growing was an intimate economic part of Southern California's reality. The Southland offered a developer's dream, especially to the land-owning and freight-carrying railroads—and most of all, of course, to the Southern Pacific Railroad, which established *Sunset* magazine partly to spread word of the possibilities of the Southern Pacific's largest market. Los Angeles County Chamber of Commerce promotions, billboard advertising, and aggressive campaigns in the Midwest, testified with *Sunset* to California's distinctiveness. The Southern Pacific Railroad passenger division produced a series of glass lantern slides in 1905, which gave visual testimony to the virtues and profits of orange growing (Figure 7). As word went out to "bring the folks," the accompanying promise, coined by a sharp mind at the Fruit Growers' Exchange, offered "Oranges for Health, California for Wealth."²⁹

Orange growing was the California expression of a bucolic fascination with the yeoman farmer, a Virgilian ideal picked up time and again through American life and made most famous by Thomas Jefferson.³⁰ That ideal came fast and hard to Southern California, particularly as the Southern Pacific Railroad reached across the continent in 1881, to connect Southern California with the Midwest. The Southland's agricultural properties were recognized with increasing excitement; what had been a health frontier in no time was the greatest locale in the United States for mixing urban convenience with a perceived rural virtue. The combination made Southern California singularly attractive; one writer would call Los Angeles "The most American of all United States cities."³¹ No hard sells were needed; the people came—fourteen and some million today in the Los Angeles-San Diego area. They came



Figure 7: For ten years following 1906, the Southern Pacific Railroad produced hundreds of glass lantern slides designed to promote California. Many of them embraced scenes of agricultural prosperity, and fruit culture was a particularly favored theme. Acres of Sierra Nevada foothill orange groves in Tulare County are shown here, in what was originally a hand-tinted view.

for many reasons, often chasing images that appeared in boldly-colored orange crate labels. As Homer Aschmann has pointed out, with characteristic insight into the peculiarities of the Southland, "the boorish provincialism of Los Angeles has long been contrasted with the urbane sophistication of San Francisco, but it was to Los Angeles that people chose to come."³²

No sympathy with agrarian and physiocratic principles is needed to recognize the strength of their presence in Southern California; and in Southern California agriculture, romance did not preclude growth. For half a century, Los Angeles County was more often than not the first county nationwide in agricultural income, with the bulk of that wealth attributable to oranges. Orange County

often ranked second; and when it was not, it might be surpassed by Riverside or San Bernardino.³³

If today's surviving, single orange tree, prominently placed in the front yard, testifies to California's allure and the endurance of California-inspired suburban life, then the orange grove, extending distantly toward the horizon, is a symbol with deeper roots. California has been the greatest battleground in the country between city or suburban development on the one hand, and the maintenance of a dispersed, educated, rural agricultural society on the other. For a time, perhaps the last twenty years, it seemed that California's coastal cities had won. However, the jockeying of population between city and countryside continues, not just in California, but throughout the western United States. A renewed American rural society is developing, in poorly resolved ways, and offering itself in revealing glimpses that are beginning to get further attention from geographers as well as a few perceptive journalists. It is culmination to a much longer process.³⁴

Agrarian Idylls in the Golden State

Promotional literature on orange growing started in California in the 1870's, but was a warning trickle heralding a flood. The first volume was a translation of George Gallesio's 1811 French *Treatise on the Citrus Family*, and Gallesio was followed by dozens of books and pamphlets.³⁵ The titles of these documents had a common theme. All dwelt on "orange culture," and many took advantage of dual meanings attributable to "culture." Guidebooks to orange growing, these were also advertisements for a way of life promoted by the authors as Californian.

Additional titles singled out specific areas; several concentrated on the health-restoring aspects of the orange grower's life. In *The Great Interior Fruit Belt and Sanitarium of Southern California*, published in 1882, L. M. Holt described Southern California's citrus groves as a haven for middle-class Americans fazed by the rigors of city life.³⁶

Southworth published *California for Fruit Growers and Consumptives* in 1883.³⁷ Neither health nor financial gain uniformly dominated public praise of the orange grower's life. Admittedly, William Andrew Spalding was quick to describe how his health, damaged by newspaper work, was restored by working outdoors as a citrus grower. Spalding elaborated: "Call it a glamor or what you will, the fact remains that many who have hardly given a second thought to horticulture their whole lives long, seeing the orange tree, fall beneath its spell, and become henceforth its most ardent devotees."³⁸ Here was agriculture in a new or at least renewed form. Somehow genteel, it affirmed the innate value of working the land, combined with a sophisticated, city-educated population.



Figure 8: The cornice of Hilgard Hall reads in full, "To Rescue for Human Society the Native Values of Rural Life," a suitable title for what was originally the College of Agriculture building under the administration of "fruit culture" promoter and agriculturalist Edward J. Wickson. Already, at the turn of the century, there was sentiment afoot that California rural life was in need of rescuing.

"The native values of rural life" echoed through the literature of orange growing and the testimonials of converts (Figure 8).³⁹ The exhortations to come and see were effective, for farmers, business people, and uncountable numbers of visitors—in the millions—arrived to look at the orange groves that were filling the Los Angeles Lowlands. Some did more than look. Realtors promised a match of investor to orange grove, and in the later years fraud was surprisingly absent.⁴⁰ There were alternatives to manual labor.⁴¹ For orange grove proprietors who preferred a regimen of minimal work, custom orange-growing firms would maintain the trees, bring in the harvest, and market the crop, for a management fee.

"California," claimed C. Earle Rumsey, retired executive of the National Biscuit Company, "is the only place where a man can have a lovely country home where winter consists of only a few March days, and where he can have interest in the house he lives in and on the stable his horse lives in, if he builds both in the best orange grove he can find."⁴² Then, too, there was Spalding as the exponent of California life:⁴³

In most parts of the United States the tendency of population is toward the city . . . the farmer himself, arrived at a comfortable affluence, is often disposed to move into town. . . . In California, the movement is in the opposite direction. People go from the city into the country. Our fruit colonies are filled up with retired professional and business men. . . . Some of them, possessed of wealth, education, and refinement, seek the country for the delights nowhere else to be found.

If long-time residents are thus drawn away from the city, attracted by the charm of out of door life and the pleasure of horticulture in this semi-tropical climate, what wonder that many who come from the snow-bound East and North are captivated and impelled in the same direction!

"Orange culture," Spalding concludes, "must continue as it has begun, an industry suited to the most intelligent and refined people. It is better adapted to small farms than

large. It produces better results under the eye and hand of the master than when delegated to hired labor. As it requires both skill and industry, it gives healthful occupation to the mind as well as the body."

First among promoters of agrarian life was Edward J. Wickson. A classicist, Wickson was also a firm believer in agriculture as a builder of a superior culture. Originally a New York journalist, Wickson moved to California in 1875 and quickly assumed editorial control of the *Pacific Rural Press*. He stayed on for forty-eight years. California agricultural journalism, begun with the *California Farmer* (which since absorbed the *Pacific Rural Press*), has always set superlative standards. Wickson added to them, developing innovations like the immensely popular advice to readers column. This journalism of a higher order was aimed at a largely middle class and literate audience, and perfectly suited former city dwellers who had turned to agricultural life in California. The *Pacific Rural Press* was a lobbyist for creation in California of a new rural society, much as Spalding and others had promised.

For all his greater service to agriculture, Wickson is best known for his publication of *The California Fruits and How to Grow Them*, which went through nine editions and sold better than 46,000 copies.⁴⁴ It was no mistake that the frontispiece illustration to Wickson's volume was a Washington Navel, for orange growing stood at the apex of Southern California agricultural society. "Wickson," writes Kevin Starr, "believed that in agriculture all the details, all the prudent choices, coalesced to create a landscape and a way of life that promoted civility, prosperity, and good order."⁴⁵ Wickson's point was simple: small-scale agriculture and ranching were more than economic pursuits. They offered as well a life of social and cultural significance.

Orange-growing society was unlike modern-day Southern California life. Take, for example, the city of Pasadena. Originally the "California Colony of Indiana," established

in 1872, it developed into an orange grove town inhabited by prosperous, conservative, professional people. A bird's-eye view map of Pasadena, lithographed in 1893, suggests the community's mature reality, with its endless expanse of groves with houses scattered hither and yon reaching toward Mount Wilson and Mount Lowe (Figure 9).⁴⁶ Resort hotels, especially the prominent Huntington and the Green, were built in the late nineteenth century. The Tournament of Roses came to Pasadena in 1890; but the pinnacle of Pasadena social climbing was an address on Orange Grove Avenue, the acknowledged "Millionaire's Row." Playground of the rich and famous, Pasadena had its origins in orange culture.⁴⁷ Competing with Pasadena was San Bernardino, which hosted dozens of National Orange Shows, bringing visitors from throughout the United States to a Southern California city which could, with no exaggeration, claim shirt-sleeve weather in February, with a backdrop so attractive that it still draws praise. The city of Orange launched great claims to fame, as did Anaheim and a slew of other contenders; but their tone would be muted.

Agriculture to Asphalt: Grower's to Developer's Dream

Without an entire portfolio of historic photographs, it is difficult to do justice to the sheer spectacle of orange-growing Southern California. The initial concentration of citrus growing in the Los Angeles Basin broke down by 1890. Acreage continued to increase dramatically, peaking in the Southland in 1945 when Orange, Riverside, San Bernardino, and Los Angeles counties altogether held 165,000 acres of orange groves. As the climatic preferences of the navel were discovered, oranges advanced into the foothill region at the base of the San Gabriel Mountains.⁴⁸ The swelling orange census in the San Gabriel Valley slowed urban growth. It took decades for subdivision land to reach a value comparable to orange yields, and cities like Glendora peeked timorously out from a veil of dark-

green orange trees and disheveled eucalyptus groves, planted as windbreaks and to help protect oranges from frost.

What happened to orange growing in Southern California is perhaps predictable: a triumph of the adage that nothing fails like success. The favorable image of California promoted by orange labels, the railroad, and *Sunset* brought people in numbers too large to be denied. Newcomers needed housing space, and they found it in the subdivision of orange groves. To the Los Angeles Basin was coming the city, and in the post-World War II days, orange groves began disappearing ever faster.⁴⁹

Los Angeles County went first, and it went hard. The glut of residents was hit in 1941, in a decade during which the population of Los Angeles County increased from 2.7 to 4.2 million residents (Figure 10). Nor did Orange County lie far behind, merely a matter of six or seven years (Figure 11).⁵⁰ Anaheim, once the orange capital of Orange County, turned to new prospects: Disneyland and Knott's Berry Farm displaced orange groves.⁵¹ Some trees carefully maintained for decades were removed outright; others, unwatered, were left to die on their own.

Oranges did not disappear from California. In fact, they remain in the top ten agricultural products of California year after year. As orange culture left Orange and Los Angeles counties, and then drifted from San Bernardino and Riverside, it moved across the Transverse Ranges into the San Joaquin Valley (Figure 12). The problem with orange growing in the Central Valley had long been winter cold—catastrophic freezes that killed sometimes eight of ten trees in a stand. The solution was to go up the fans and into the foothill country, slightly above the valley floor, where tule fog moderated the climate and pooling of cold air was less a problem. The technique was markedly successful; and during the last forty years, trees in the so-called "Thermal Belt" of the San Joaquin have formed vast acreages.⁵² Technological innovation has been part of



Figure 9: Bird's-eye views were immensely popular with growing nineteenth-century cities. This portion of the Woods and Church lithograph of Pasadena, drawn by B. W. Pierce in 1893, focuses on Orange Grove Avenue, with its resplendent mansions. No city, unless it was perhaps Riverside, so embodied the hopes and possibilities of the orange grower's world as Pasadena. (Courtesy of the Bancroft Library, Honeyman Collection)

Oranges & Population in Los Angeles County

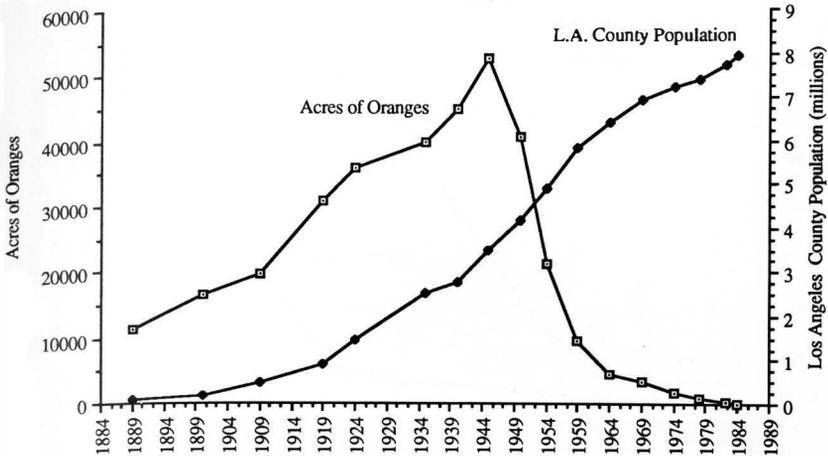


Figure 10: Until the mid-1940's, orange acreage and population in Los Angeles County rose in parallel. While pundits held after World War II that the Los Angeles population should drop as defense industries shrank, the reality was something else again. Los Angeles had made converts during the war years. Veterans and their families returned to the Southland, and they were more interested in industrial jobs than rural idylls. As land prices rose, developers bought and subdivided orange grove acreage.

the citrus industry in California from the start, so that drip and sprinkler irrigation are virtually the rule through the orange groves of Tulare, where in areas like Exeter the strictures of flood irrigation once confined orange groves to much leveler ground (Figure 13).

Porterville is the acknowledged center of today's California navel orange growing, and Tulare County is the state's largest producer of valencias, surpassing Ventura County by a two to one margin. The dominance of Tulare County, especially along the Kings River fan, will continue, with Kern and Fresno counties quickly muscling up to respectable status as California's major citrus growing centers (Figure 14). For the foreseeable future, the Valley will be ascendant, as growers still think of new ways to slice farther uphill into the annual grassland of the foothills.

Oranges & Population in Orange County

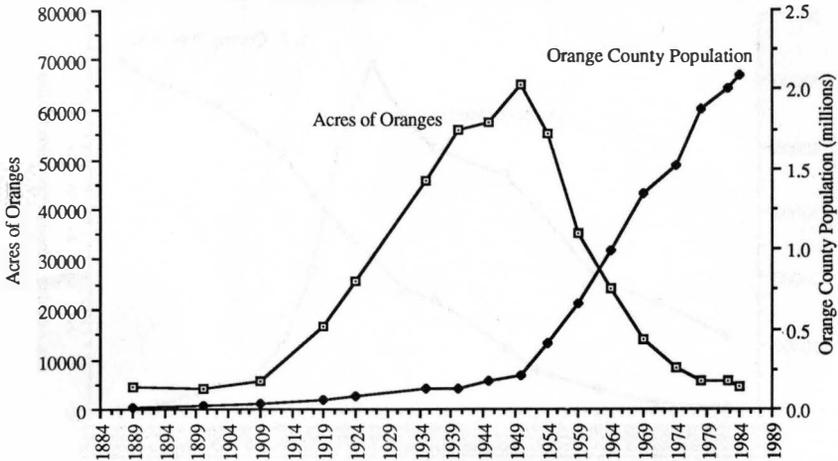


Figure 11: Orange County was only a matter of half a decade behind Los Angeles in its patterns of growth. Aside from the delay, the rise and decline in orange grove acreage is almost perfectly parallel. (Note scale difference in the two graphs.)

Conclusion

Was Southern California orange growing *really* an idyllic world of small-holder orange growers? Certainly not everywhere, but the concern here has been how images create a special reality. The importance of these images, while difficult to measure precisely, should never be underestimated. Movement to California was never entirely rational, as economists or sociologists might define reason. Climate and legends, opportunity and hope, were no less real than dollars and jobs to potential California migrants.⁵³ A sense of place, which included appreciation for the unique and distinctive in the Southland, weighed heavily in the public imagination.

Californians still believe in the agricultural dream, and some still claim to be able to find it. Oranges remain popular crops, although their San Joaquin Valley locale is, to a few minds, less than idyllic. There are modern alternatives. Raising grapes for "boutique" wine carries much of

Changing Venues of Orange Culture By Growing Region

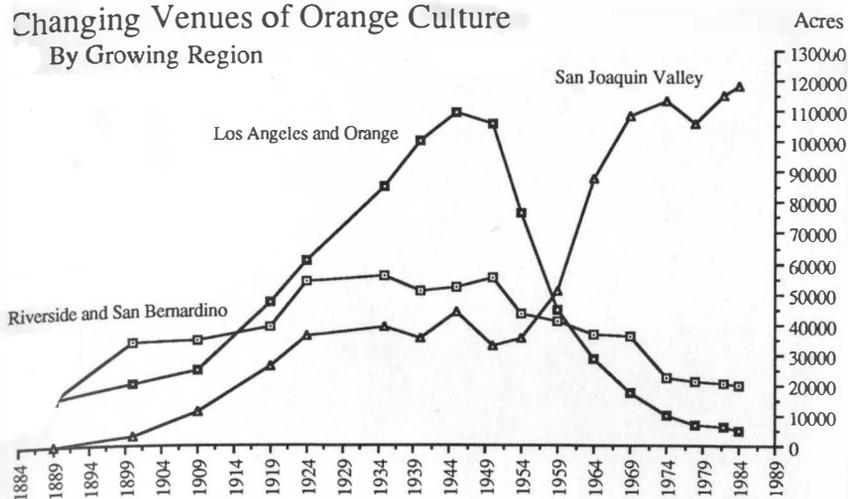


Figure 12: As oranges left the Southland, they moved across the Transverse Ranges to the Sierra Nevada foothill country of the San Joaquin Valley, in Kern, Tulare, and Fresno counties. It was particularly commercial growers who were willing to make the move into the San Joaquin, where they joined orange cultivators who had been active in Tulare County since the turn of the century.

the trappings of genteel farming; and Napa, Sonoma, and Mendocino counties count among their grape growers a hefty share of hobby farmers who are either retired or bent on enjoying the good life.⁵⁴ There is, however, a difference between orange growing and viticulture. Grape growing hearkens to European origins and aristocratic pretensions, unlike the freewheeling "Americanness" of orange growing. Nothing is Old World about either orange crate labels or the messages implicit in them. Viticulture, though, carries with it the carefully preserved cachet of the French chateau, peasant cultivation of the land, and the perpetuation of a social elite. Geographically, wine growing is predominantly a northern California pursuit, while oranges were conspicuously Southern Californian. Perhaps the recent boomlet in Sacramento Valley kiwi fruit cultivation, with its very high initial capital investment, its small scale, and opportunities to raise a crop

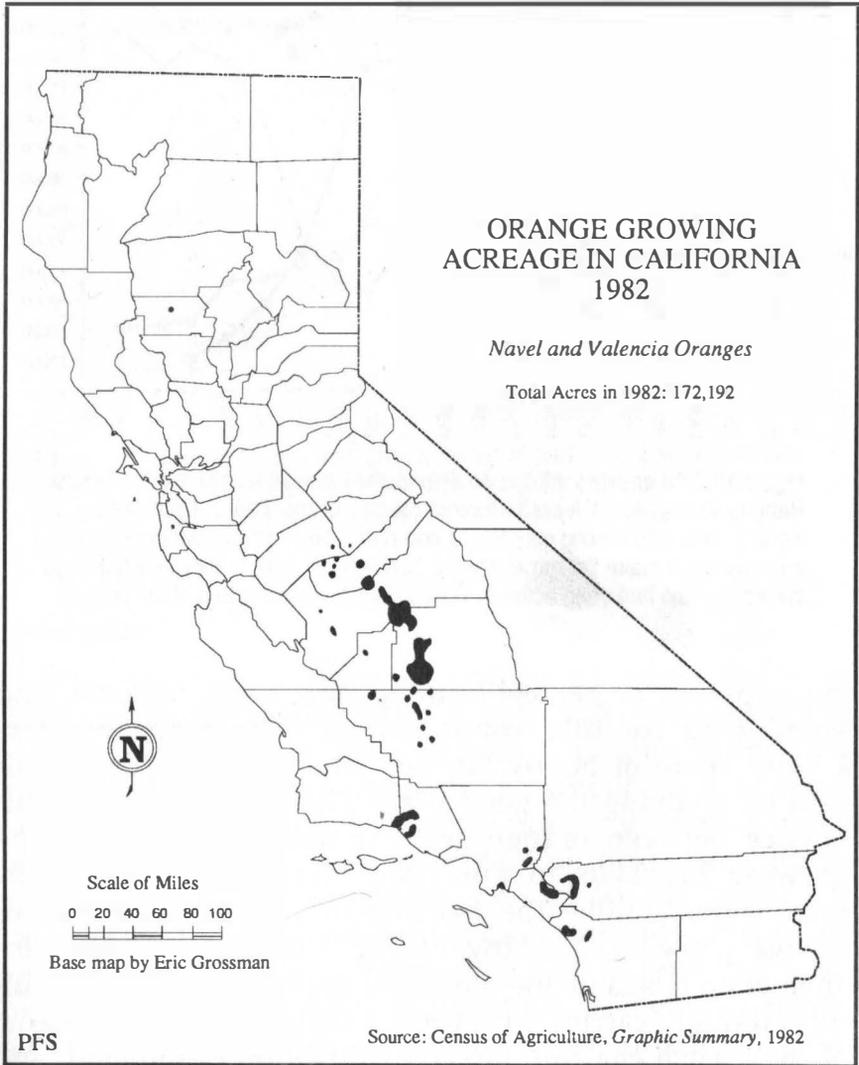


Figure 13: While California's total acreage in navel and valencia oranges did not decline from 1926-1927 to 1982, it has been redistributed. Only very small pockets of oranges are left in the Southland, and even these are disappearing where local zoning permits further subdivision.

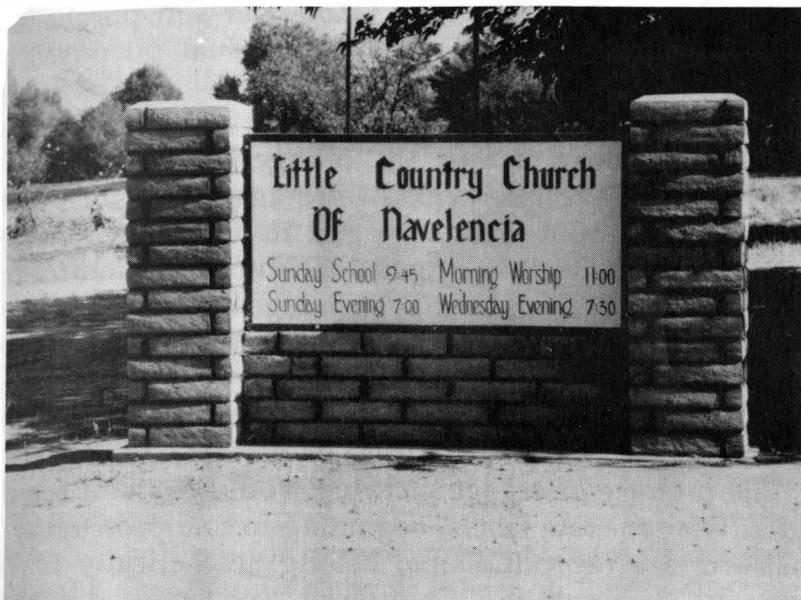


Figure 14: Navelencia, a small growers' town in Tulare County, is a surviving example of the exurban society that orange culture's promoters hoped to make widespread.

while living in the middle of it, more nearly matches some of the traits dear to the orange grower.

Ultimately, crate labels were not fictive; they played to a vision of California rooted in fact. Palms, movie stars, a Hispanic heritage, natural and human beauty, all were real, as was the Californian's prodigious mobility. Health, domestic happiness, prosperity, and respectability were as available in Southern California as anywhere else. The vistas, beaches, scenery, and history of Southern California were different and they were alluring. Orange crate labels furthered a thousand images of California: glorifying the suburb, popularizing a new sense of the West, replacing the Gold miner with the orange grower, locking into memory the California ideal.

Oranges and their crate labels presented a land new and attractive. At one level the rôle of the orange crate

label was simple, to catch the wholesaler and purchaser's eye, and stir name recognition—the usual purposes, in short, of advertising. Oranges were part of the California produce that changed the country's diet in the first half of this century. Beyond this, the orange crate label had a parallel effect, like Hollywood's self-aggrandizement, like the literature about California and its novelties, like the promotions of the Los Angeles Chamber of Commerce, the California Fruit Growers' Exchange, and the Southern Pacific Railroad, all of which spilled east in a torrent from the Pacific Slope. By moving an image of California into the mundane grocery store, the fruit and its catchy label furthered yearning for a paradise on earth.

The promise of orange growing would resound for decades. Orange crate labels, beginning to reappear today in postcard-size reproductions, belong aesthetically to the same era as Raymond Chandler's mysteries, the great palm-planting and California bungalow days of the Southland, the prime of studio-system Hollywood, and the heyday of the Egyptian Revival and Streamlined Moderne architecture, which perfected the Art Deco of Los Angeles. Like much great art, orange groves and orange crate labels were in their way also transcendent. Orange growing paralleled the fastest years of growth in Southern California. Southland oranges were harbinger and herald; but timeless, oranges were not. In the last twenty years, orange groves have all but disappeared in the greater Los Angeles area. Gone as well is the Pacific Electric Railway, gone are weeks on end of crystalline Southern California air, and gone, too, is most of Hollywood's glamor. The historical legacy is memory.

Yet, the sentiments produced by orange crate labels work at another level. Orange crate labels symbolized a time and a place idealized by a great many Americans; perhaps, like the west of the American cowboy, it was an era admired by the entire world. Orange growing Southern California style, so neatly rendered onto paper in

those orange crate labels, captured sixty of the most remarkable years in American history, years that made rural life and urban life one and the same, seamless and without compromise. The orange grove was simultaneously farmstead and suburb: partly rural, partly city, partly suburb. It was the perfect expression of the "middle landscape," at equipoise between city and wilderness, that Thomas Jefferson captured in words for generations of Americans. The orange grower's town was a garden city—literally—incorporating a greenbelt within the town itself. Orange crate labels showed a world that grew up cooperatively or organically; rarely were all-powerful planners involved.

Orange culture and the orange crate label were two expressions of a special time in Southern California, a time and a place for orange groves that even hard-boiled, modern-day, detective novels reflect on fondly:⁵⁵

Like Montecito and Palos Verdes Estates, Serra Retreat was one of those rare places in Southern California that still reminded you of the dream the world once envied. It felt as though you were in a time warp, driving through a classic orange crate label to a sylvan world.

Californians since Gold Rush days have lived in ways that develop symbolic importance outside of the state itself. No other symbol, not even a highly abstracted vision of Hollywood, has summoned the power and weight of orange culture. Visions and versions of reality do, indeed, shape what we see and do.⁵⁶ Cultural historians, folklorists, and cultural anthropologists are beginning to grapple with the complex blending of people, land, movement, and imagery that we call "daily life"—but no group has better qualifications than geographers for analyzing the linking of land and life. The mantle is one we might happily assume.

NOTES

1. Based on a talk presented at the Annual Meeting of the Association of Pacific Coast Geographers, at Davis, California, in September, 1987, in a special session dedicated to James J. Parsons.
2. William A. Spalding, *The Orange: Its Culture in California* (Riverside: Press and Horticulturist Steam Print, 1885), p. 1. Few agricultural topics evoke such reverence as "orange culture." Cattle ranching is one, viticulture another, but the conspicuous similarity between these crops is a lengthy establishment period and long life span. Nowhere is the discussion so eloquent as in geographer J. Russell Smith's, *Tree Crops: A Permanent Agriculture* (Covelo, California: Island Press, 1987 [1978, 1950, 1929]).
3. Two handsome volumes reproduce orange crate labels, while offering little in the way of content or geographical analysis: Gordon T. McClelland and Jay T. Last, *California Orange Box Labels* (Beverly Hills: Hillcrest Press, 1985), and John Salkin and Laurie Gordon, *Orange Crate Art: The Story of the Labels that Launched a Golden Era* (New York: The Warner Press, 1976), pp. 7-17. A fine evaluation of the Southland's changing images, strongly based on the graphic arts, is Judith W. Elias' *Los Angeles: Dream to Reality, 1885-1915* (Northridge: Santa Susana Press, 1983). Her epigraph is Carey McWilliams' apt comment that "Los Angeles did not acquire an image so much as it projected an image which produced a city," p. v. California's orange crate labels profit immensely by comparison with Florida's less imaginative offerings; see, for contrast, Marilyn C. Russell with Nancy Hardy, *Classic Crates from Florida* (Orlando: The Florida Citrus Showcase [Southern Lithographing], 1985).
4. Richard White, "American Environmental History: The Development of a New Field," *Pacific Historical Review*, Vol. 54 (August, 1985), pp. 297-335; Donald Worster, "History as Natural History: An Essay in Theory and Method," *Pacific Historical Review*, Vol. 53 (January, 1984), pp. 1-19.
5. The blending of cultural geography, history, and material culture into studies of a sense of place has a promising literature. For examples, see Peirce Lewis, "Defining a Sense of Place," *Southern Quarterly*, Vol. 17:3-4 (Spring/Summer, 1979), pp. 24-46, and Yi Fu Tuan's *Topophilia: A Study of Environmental Perception, Attitudes, and Values* (Englewood Cliffs, New Jersey:

Prentice-Hall, 1974), pp. 92-120, 192-244. The interpretation of material artifacts and their human producers has supporters in diverse academic fields. The most adept in any realm is Henry Glassie, whose distinctive works linking folklore, geography, and the history of ideas are classic. His most recent sustained essay is *Passing the Time in Ballymenone: Culture and History in an Ulster Community* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1982).

6. The cultural geography of Carl Sauer and the so-called "Berkeley School" dwells often on the changing personality of place. Witness Sauer's own "Status and Change in the Rural Midwest, a Retrospect," *Selected Essays, 1963-1975*, edited by Bob Callahan (Berkeley: Turtle Island Press, 1981), pp. 78-91, originally published in modified form in 1963.
7. The comparison is by no means far-fetched. J. M. Guinn notes, in "From Cattle Range to Orange Grove," *Historical Quarterly of Southern California*, Vol. 8 (1911), pp. 145-157, "The story of the orange groves of Southern California—of trees laden with the golden apples of the Hesperides in mid-winter—of groves white with bloom and the air filled with perfume in the land of sunshine, 'when the bleak winds of March' made the dwellers in the Eastern communities 'tremble and shiver'—like that other California tale of long ago, of golden nuggets picked up in river beds and cañons, appealed to the imagination and to the pockets of home-seekers." [The quotation is from p. 151.]
8. No short work on California's peculiar qualities equals James J. Parsons,' "The Uniqueness of California," *American Quarterly*, Vol. 7 (1955), pp. 45-55. The dean of critical commentaries on California is Carey McWilliams, *Southern California: An Island Upon the Land* (Santa Barbara: Peregrine Smith, 1973 [1946]), pp. 205-226, and *California, the Great Exception* (Santa Barbara: Peregrine Smith, 1979 [1949]), pp. 344-347. McWilliams is bettered on the Southland and its oranges, however, by Richard G. Lillard, whose *Eden in Jeopardy, Man's Prodigious Meddling with His Environment: The Southern California Experience* (New York: Knopf, 1966) is superb, especially Part II: "The Time and Place for Orange Groves." California's most prominent social and cultural historian is Kevin Starr, whose *Inventing the Dream: California through the Progressive Era* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1985) is at once useful, elegant, and perceptive.

9. J. B. Jackson, "Human, All Too Human Geography," *Landscape*, Vol. 2:2 (Autumn, 1952), p. 5.
10. The distinctiveness of California, and the watering down of that distinctiveness, has earned considerable peripheral comment, but relatively little direct confrontation. As emblem and trend setter, California is clearly still influential. Consult the uncannily perceptive essays on California and its electoral districts in *The Almanac of American Politics, 1988*, by Michael Barone and Grant Ujifusa (Washington, D.C.: National Journal, 1987). For a more abstract and analytical view from a geographer's perspective, see Donald W. Meinig, "Symbolic Landscapes," in D. W. Meinig, editor, *The Interpretation of Ordinary Landscapes* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1979), pp. 164-192. The problem appears in a wider literature: Raymond D. Gastil, *Cultural Regions of the United States* (Seattle: University of Washington, 1975), pp. 289-306; Joel Garreau, *The Nine Nations of North America* (New York: Avon Books, 1981); Richard Louv, *America II* (New York: Penguin Books, 1983); and John Herbers, *The New Heartland: America's Flight to the Suburbs and Beyond* (New York: Times Books, 1986).
11. Consult Neil Morgan, *The California Syndrome* (Englewood Cliffs, New Jersey: Prentice-Hall, 1969), and its spiritual successors, which include "California, The Pacific Republic," Chapter 4 of Peter Wiley and Robert H. Gottlieb's *Empires in the Sun: The Rise of the New American West* (New York: G. P. Putnam's Sons, 1982), pp. 77-117; Wallace Stegner's "California Rising," *California Magazine*, Vol. 6 (October, 1981), pp. 187-188; and Charles Lockwood and Christopher B. Leinberger, "Los Angeles Comes of Age," *The Atlantic*, Vol. 261:1 (January, 1988), pp. 31-62.
12. Joan Didion, Carey McWilliams, and Neil Morgan are pessimistic commentators on the preference of Californians for living in the present, an attitude that foreshortens knowledge of history into, at best, nostalgia. For an academic historian who shares their unease, consult William Irwin Thompson, "Looking for History in L.A.," in Jonathan Eisen and David Fine, eds., *Unknown California* (New York: Macmillan, 1985), pp. 176-184, originally in *The Antioch Review*, Vol. 28 (Fall, 1968). The paradox, of course, is that state residents—particularly the 80 percent living within an hour's drive of the coast—have a reputation for narcissism that elsewhere might blossom into a sense of history.

13. Orange acreage and population figures are from the *Census of Population, Census of Agriculture*, and California Department of Finance, Population Research Unit, all for various years. A good general secondary source on oranges and acreage is Clifford M. Zierer's "The Citrus Fruit Industry of the Los Angeles Basin," *Economic Geography*, Vol. 10:1 (January, 1934), pp. 53-73.
14. John McPhee, *Oranges* (New York: Farrar, Straus, Giroux, 1967).
15. Lillard, *Eden in Jeopardy*, note 8, p. 53.
16. The oral history of early impressions of Southern California is as stunning as it is too little documented. Even second generation Californians, growing up in the Southland in the 1960's, lay claim to a heritage of orange and avocado orchards, typically encountered while on horseback and at breakneck speed. By the mid-1970's, these were no more.
17. David Clark and James J. Parsons, personal communication. Floyd Dillon Young, of the U.S. Weather Bureau, was known to Southlanders as the "Frost Freeze Warning Man" for better than twenty-five years (Obituary, *Los Angeles Times*, Wed., June 17, 1959, Part I, 21:1-2). Frost cautions received notice in the Southern California Writers' Project, *Los Angeles: A Guide to the City and Its Environs* (New York: Hastings House, 1941), p. 289. Suspended years ago, frost warnings are again in demand; see letter from Alex Catania, *California Farmer*, Vol. 267:9 (December 12, 1987), p. 6.
18. Both McClelland and Last, *Orange Box Labels*, and Salkin and Gordon, *Orange Crate Art*, note 3, discuss label numbers, production, and purpose. Content analysis goes so far as putting the labels into different periods, but little farther.
19. Label symbolism and semiotics is a ripe but largely unexplored field. Kevin Starr makes a start in *Inventing the Dream*, note 8, pp. 162-165; but a better effort is Jill Marks' "Citrus Art: Reflections of the California Dream," *Empire* 7:9 (September, 1982), pp. 78-79.
20. Numerous sources examine the history of the California Fruit Growers Association. See, in particular, Kelsey B. Gardner and A. W. McKay, *The California Fruit Growers Exchange* (Los Angeles: G. Rice and Sons, 1925). A summary treatment is Vincent Moses' "Oranges for Health, California for Wealth: The Billion-Dollar Navel and the California Dream," *The Californians*, Vol. 3:4 (July/August, 1985), pp. 27-37.

21. The mythical matching of oranges to the classics was a favored pastime during the Golden Era of Los Angeles orange growing (see note 7). A general treatment of classical parallels appears in Alfred C. Andrews, "Acclimatization of Citrus Fruits in the Mediterranean Region," *Agricultural History*, Vol. 35 (January, 1961), pp. 35-46; typical of the developer's literature and its take on the classical roots of orange growing is the Southern Pacific Railroad's *California for Health, Pleasure and Profit: Why You Should Go There* (San Francisco: H. S. Crocker Print, 1893), p. 74.
22. William Hammond Hall, *Report of the State Engineer of California on Irrigation and the Irrigation Question* (Sacramento: State Printing Office, 2 Vols., 1886-88).
23. Robert M. Fogelson, *The Fragmented Metropolis: Los Angeles, 1850-1930* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1967), pp. 70, 81.
24. J. B. Jackson has noted that the word "Grove," especially in eastern place names, often signals the site of religious revival meetings. In California, appending "Grove" as the second part of a name generally had more secular meanings (Garden Grove, Oak Grove, Highgrove, Hillgrove, Richgrove, Lemon Grove, etc.). However, see J. B. Jackson, "The Sacred Grove in America," *The Necessity for Ruins* (Amherst: University of Massachusetts, 1980), pp. 77-89.
25. Numerous authors have summarized the history of orange growing and citrus introductions into California. The standard account is Herbert J. Webber and Leon D. Batchelor, *The Citrus Industry* (Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press, 2 Vols., 1946).
26. The parent orange is a favored theme of crate labels. Riverside kept a formal position in the town hierarchy for the "pioneer tree warden"—see *California Citrograph*, Vol. 1:1 (October, 1915). *The History of Citrus in the Riverside Area*, edited by Esther Klotz, Henry Lawton, and Joan Hall (Riverside: Riverside Museum Press, 1969) is standard but uncritical. Remarkably good on citrus and its history are early issues of *Sunset*, reflecting the strong interests of the Southern Pacific Railroad.
27. The militant aspects of orange grove defense are unquestionable. Richard G. Lillard's *Eden in Jeopardy*, note 8, pp. 78-80, offers details, as does Carey McWilliams in *Southern California*, note

8, where he comments that the three transcendent images associated with the citrus belt are "the church, the orange, and the No Trespassing sign," p. 223. Yet the individual, or suburban, orange was always subject to pilfering—see Homer Aschmann's "Proprietary Rights to Fruit Trees Growing on Residential Property," *Man: A Monthly Record of Anthropological Science*, Vol. 63:84 (May, 1963), pp. 74-76, where he discusses youthful procurement of unclaimed fruit.

28. Tulare County Board of Trade, *The Orange in Tulare County* (Visalia: Board of Trade, 1915), p. 4, attributes the quotation to "J. A. Wells." The author was actually Andrew Jackson Wells, *Sunset*, Vol. 17:4 (August, 1906), "Oranges in the Foothills," pp. 171-174. A frequent contributor to the "Development" section of *Sunset*, Wells produced promotional text of high caliber and style. Equally typical is "The Orange Empire," *Sunset*, Vol. 24:1 (January, 1910), pp. 105-112:

If anywhere in the world one hears the call of the country clearly and sympathetically, it is in this delectable region where the farm has become the orange grove, and one does not need to study the seed catalogues to find out the difference between beets and beans, or read a hand book on "How To Tell the Crops from the Weeds." . . . There will always be two opinions about the country—save in an orange grove. . . . The orange grove is the big ranch cut up into small farms . . . the orange grove becomes the very poetry of horticulture. [The quotation is from p. 105.]

29. The adage may instead be a Southern Pacific Railroad product. It developed during a 1907 Iowa advertising campaign jointly undertaken by the Fruit Growers and the Southern Pacific; Josephine Kingsbury Jacobs, "Sunkist Advertising," unpublished Ph.D. dissertation, University of California at Los Angeles, p. 1.
30. Discussion of the comparative advantages of rural and urban life is both timeless and nearly endless. A superb geographical treatment, with some acerbity, is James Vance, Jr.'s, "California and the Search for the Ideal," *Annals of the Association of American Geographers*, Vol. 62 (June, 1972), pp. 185-210. Placing the theme in a more general, American context are Henry Nash Smith, *Virgin Land: The American West in Symbol and Myth* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1970 [1950]); Leo Marx, *The Machine in the Garden: Technology and the Pastoral Ideal in*

- America* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1964); and geographer Yi Fu Tuan, *Topophilia*, note 5.
31. Hamilton Basso, in *Holiday* (January, 1950); quoted in Howard J. Nelson and William A. V. Clark, *The Los Angeles Metropolitan Experience: Uniqueness, Generality, and the Goal of the Good Life*, Association of American Geographers Comparative Metropolitan Analysis Project, (Cambridge: Ballinger Press, 1976), p. 60.
 32. Homer Aschmann, "Purpose in the Southern California Landscape," *Journal of Geography*, Vol. 66 (September, 1967), pp. 311-331; quoted is p. 311. The battle of wills between northern and Southern California is partly a test of identity. For at least eighty years the lower half of the State has been designated by capital letters, never so the north. Perhaps, Southern California deserves recognition as the more originally "American" part of California. From its writers to its architects and "grand culture," the San Francisco Bay Area sustains pretensions that it is a great city in the European sense of the term—a pretender, possibly, to the title shared by Paris, London, or Rome. Justly or not, Los Angeles has averred its stand-alone distinctiveness.
 33. McWilliams, *Southern California*, note 8, p. 213; the dates he cites for Los Angeles' dominance are 1890-1938.
 34. Suburbanization and Los Angeles were for a time synonymous. Three treatments, each dramatically different, summarize the process involved: David Brodsky, *L.A. Freeway: An Appreciative Essay* (Berkeley, University of California Press, 1981); Kenneth T. Jackson, *Crabgrass Frontier: The Suburbanization of the United States* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1986); and Robert Fogelson, *The Fragmented Metropolis*, note 23.
 35. Conte Giorgio Gallesio, *Citrus Culture: A Treatise on the Citrus Family*, translated from French, 1811 (Jacksonville, Florida: The Florida Agriculturist, 1876).
 36. Lester M. Holt, *The Great Interior Fruit Belt and Sanitarium, Southern California, San Bernardino Valleys and Tributaries Thereto* (San Bernardino: Times Book and Job Print, 1885).
 37. Samuel Seaman Southworth, *California for Fruit Growers and Consumptives* (Sacramento: no publisher listed, 1883).
 38. Spalding, *The Orange*, note 2, p. 1.

39. It is no coincidence that "To preserve the native values of rural life" appears on the frieze of Hilgard Hall (established as the College of Agriculture building) at the University of California at Berkeley. California's pioneer soil scientist Eugene Hilgard hired Edward J. Wickson of the *Pacific Rural Press* (see Starr, *Inventing the Dream*, note 8, and Wickson, note 44, below), as an instructor at Berkeley in 1879. The two men shared confidence in the humanizing virtue of agriculture as a pursuit, as well as a faith in the rationalizing power of agricultural science. Wickson not only became head of Agricultural Extension Services, but also director of all University Agricultural Experiment Stations and, succeeding Hilgard in 1905, Dean of the College of Agriculture.
40. "California looks upon every traveller as a tourist, and to the very last hopes to transform him into a resident," noted C. Earle Rumsey, a converted tourist himself. Rumsey's comment appears in the job-printed pamphlet, "The Evolution of a Tourist and Civic Improvements," (Riverside: privately printed, circa 1911); quoted is p. 1. A copy is in the Riverside Municipal Museum (Courtesy of Vincent Moses, Curator of History). See also note 42.
41. Carey McWilliams, in *Southern California*, note 8, pp. 211-213, touches on the management companies and growers' associations.
42. Cornelius Earle Rumsey came to California from New York in the late nineteenth century, retired in the Pasadena area, and soon became owner of ten acres of oranges, on Victoria Avenue, whence he shipped oranges around the United States under his "Landscape Brand" label (see McClelland and Last, *Orange Box Labels*, note 3, p. 85). Rumsey's was another of the minor triumphs-by-conversion to California orange culture, according to Elmer Wallace Holmes, *History of Riverside County with Biographical Sketches* (Los Angeles: Historical Records Company, 1912), pp. 351-353. Rumsey's comment is in "The Evolution of a Tourist," note 40, p. 3.
43. Spalding, *The Orange*, note 2, pp. 1-2.
44. Edward J. Wickson, *The California Fruits and How To Grow Them* (San Francisco: Pacific Rural Press, 1889).
45. Starr, *Inventing the Dream*, note 8, p. 137.
46. The clearest of several different lithographed bird's-eye views of Pasadena is the B. W. Pierce rendering, No. 52-E, published by Wood & Church in 1893.

47. Federal Writers' Project, *The WPA Guide to California* (New York: Pantheon, 1984 [1939], originally published as *California: A Guide to the Golden State*, see pp. 245-249 on Pasadena). The *Guide* also notes that by 1939 the title of richest city in per capita income in the United States had passed from Riverside to Pasadena. For a visual, and particularly photographic, evaluation, see Ann Scheid's *Pasadena: Crown of the Valley* (Northridge: Windsor Publications, 1986).
48. H. F. Raup, "Piedmont Plain Agriculture in Southern California," *Yearbook of the Association of Pacific Coast Geographers*, Vol. 6 (1940), pp. 26-31. See also Carey McWilliams, *Southern California*, note 8, pp. 206-208, on the phenomenon of California's remarkable agricultural "Belts."
49. Rodney Steiner, *Los Angeles: The Centrifugal City* (Dubuque, Iowa: Kendall/Hunt, 1981).
50. Geographers have approached changes in Southern California citrus with varying levels of perceptiveness: Paul E. Griffin and Ronald L. Chatham, "Population: A Challenge to California's Changing Citrus Industry," *Economic Geography*, Vol. 34 (July, 1958), pp. 272-276; William S. Kerr, III, "Impact of Urbanization on Agriculture in Orange County, California," *Yearbook of the Association of Pacific Coast Geographers*, Vol. 34 (1972), pp. 161-170.
51. The exchange of real for surreal, of orange grove to Disneyland, bears further evaluation. The photographic evidence is compelling, as in *Disneyland: The First Quarter Century* (Los Angeles: Walt Disney Productions, 1979), photos on pp. 13, 17, and 22; or see even the frontpiece photo of Norman Eugene Nygaard's *Walter Knott: Twentieth Century Pioneer* (Grand Rapids, Michigan: Zandervaan Publishing House, 1965). Both volumes bear witness to the conversion process from agriculture to funhouse.
52. Short treatments of regional variation appear in David Lantis, Rodney Steiner, and Arthur E. Karinen's *California: Land of Contrast* (Dubuque, Iowa: Kendall/Hunt, 1981 [1977]), under the appropriate regional sections.
53. "An important part of the migration to California has been of a hedonistic rather than a primarily economic character and has been motivated more by climate and legend than by superior job opportunities," wrote Margaret L. Bright and Dorothy Thomas, in "Interstate Migration and Intervening Opportunities," *Amer-*

ican Sociological Review, Vol. 6 (December, 1941), pp. 773-783; quoted is p. 781.

54. Wine grape growing is as old in California as orange growing; older, perhaps, as a commercial activity (see Starr, *Inventing the Dream*, note 8, pp. 147-158). Starr also raises the issue of differences between wine and orange growing. They personify, he argues, the contrasts of the Europe-directed San Francisco Bay Area and a Southern California less concerned with emulation than recreation.
55. Roger L. Simon, *The Straight Man* (New York: Warner Publications, 1986), p. 141.
56. Janice Monk and Vera Norwood, "Angles of Vision: Enhancing Our Perspectives of the Southwest," in *Old Southwest, New Southwest: Essays on a Region and Its Literature*, edited by Judy Nolte Lesnik (Tucson, Ariz.: The Tucson Public Library, 1979), pp. 39-48; see p. 38. For a truly synoptic view, read Peirce Lewis' "Learning from Looking: Geographic and Other Writing about the American Landscape," *American Quarterly*, Vol. 35:3 (1983), pp. 242-261.