

Eleven More Events that Have Shaped Sacramento's Human Landscape

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Abstract

An earlier article in *The California Geographer* (Dilsaver, Wyckoff, and Preston 2000) identified fifteen historical events that triggered significant changes to California's human landscape. Building on that base, this article focuses on the four-county Sacramento region and adds eleven more events that have shaped its human landscape. The eleven events involve race-based slavery, the state capital, chain businesses, redevelopment, public higher education, the expanding medical sector, the U.S. immigration system, historic preservation, deindustrialization, restaurants, and human-driven drought. Each event has left its mark on places in the Sacramento area, as well as more widely across the state. Many of the events reveal important social and institutional, as well as economic and technological, aspects of Sacramento and California. These eleven events and the fifteen earlier identified reveal the multi-scalar and often conflicting values and forces that produce human landscapes and related spatial patterns.

Introduction

IN THE RETROSPECTIVE SPIRIT of a new millennium, *The California Geographer* published an article on "Fifteen Events that Have Shaped California's Human Landscape" (Dilsaver, Wyckoff, and Preston 2000) (Table 1). Inspired by that piece and the upcoming (2018) annual California Geographical Society meeting in Sacramento, this article recognizes eleven additional events that are strongly revealed in the Sacramento landscape (Table 2), "strong evidence of the kind of people we are, and were, and are in process of becoming" (Lewis 1979, 15). Because the focus of this article is a metropolitan area, the human landscapes under discussion are more often urbanized than was the case in the earlier work. Dilsaver, Wyckoff, and Preston observed that their selected landscape-shaping events tended to involve economic development, technological innovation, and conservation. Those forces are critical to events in this article too, but also highlighted are landscape-shaping processes with more explicitly social dimensions, such as racial discrimination, education, health care, immigration, and commemoration. Often the evidence of change in these aspects of California society is best seen in cities. The focus on a smaller extent of territory also gives more attention to the

role of local agents, as they intersect with state, national, and transnational events and forces, in creating the places around them.

For purposes of this discussion, the boundaries of Sacramento are those of the Sacramento-Roseville-Arden Arcade Metropolitan Statistical Area, which consists of El Dorado, Placer, Sacramento, and Yolo Counties (Office of Management and Budget 2013, 46) (see Figure 1). While this region inspired the choice of events discussed here, they generally have, like the fifteen originals, wide significance across California. The article presents its case for the newly selected events and then describes two places within the region, Folsom in the Sierra Nevada foothills and Woodland in the flatlands of the Sacramento Valley, where landscapes molded by the original article's fifteen events and this article's eleven events can be easily experienced in a few hours of exploration.

Table 1.— Fifteen Events that Have Shaped California's Human Landscape.

1. Settlement by the First Peoples, 13,000 Years Ago
2. Cabrillo's Landfall at San Diego, September 28, 1542
3. The Discovery of Gold at Sutter's Mill, January 24, 1848
4. Initiation of the US Public Land Survey, July 17, 1851
5. San Francisco Takes Water from Lobos Creek, September 17, 1858
6. Creation of Suburbs, 1864
7. Yosemite State (and National) Park, June 30, 1864
8. The Coming of the Transcontinental Railroad, May 10, 1869
9. Electrification of Market Street, April 9, 1874
10. Passage of the Wright Irrigation District Act, March 7, 1887
11. San Gabriel Timberland Reserve, December 20, 1892
12. Sale of First Model T, 1908
13. Wartime Buildup Begins, June, 1938
14. National Environmental Policy Act, January 1, 1970
15. Production of the Intel 8080 Microprocessor, December 1973

Source: Dilsaver, Wyckoff, and Preston 2000.

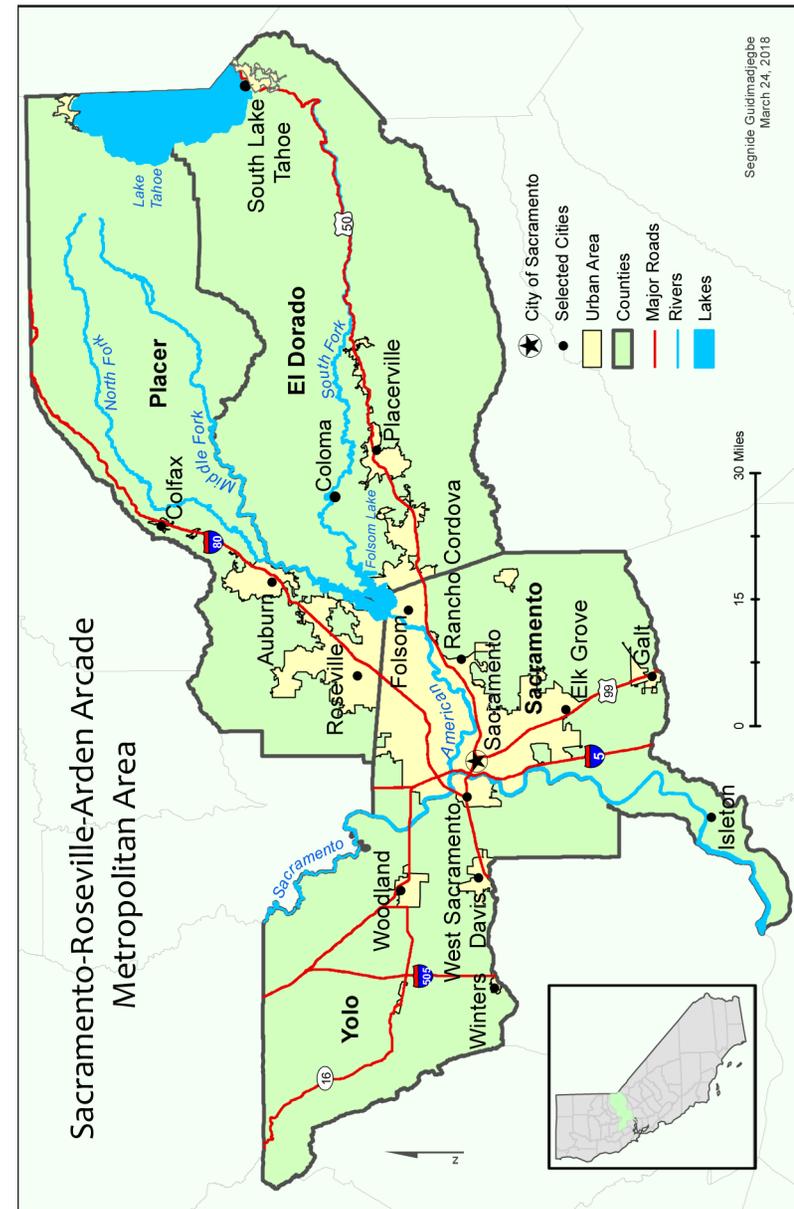


Figure 1.— The four-county metropolitan area used in this study. (Segnide Guidimadjebe map)

Table 2.—Eleven More Events That Have Shaped Sacramento’s Human Landscape.

16. Spanish merchant Juan de Cordoba sends the first enslaved Africans to the Americas, 1502.
17. Governor John Bigler signs legislation making Sacramento the permanent capital of the state of California, February 25, 1854.
18. The Great Atlantic and Pacific Tea Company (A&P) becomes America’s first chain retailer, 1871.
19. Governor Earl Warren signs into state law the California Community Redevelopment Act, 1945.
20. The California Master Plan for Higher Education is submitted to the governor and legislature, February 1, 1960.
21. President Lyndon B. Johnson signs into law Medicare and Medicaid on July 30, 1965.
22. President Lyndon B. Johnson signs into law the Immigration and Nationality Act (the Hart-Celler Act), October 3, 1965.
23. President Lyndon B. Johnson signs into law the National Historic Preservation Act, October 15, 1966.
24. Car Shop 9 at the Sacramento Southern Pacific Rail Yards closes, 1980.
25. The City of Sacramento’s Planning Department begins issuing permits for restaurant sidewalk seating, 1988.
26. A prolonged drought grips California, October 1, 2011–September 30, 2016.

Event #16: Spanish merchant Juan de Cordoba sends the first enslaved Africans to the Americas, 1502

While they arrived from Spain, it was not long—1517—before slaves were sent directly from Africa to work on Spain’s Caribbean plantations, marking the start of the systematic capture, enslavement, and transport of millions of Africans by Europeans to the Americas (National Humanities Center 2006). In 1619, enslaved Africans were transported to Jamestown, making Virginia the first British colony in North America to import them. In 1636, the first American slave carrier, named *Desire*, was constructed and launched from Massachusetts, and five years later, Massachusetts became the first American colony to legalize slavery (Draper 2018). Eventually, 12.5 million enslaved Africans were shipped to the Americas. While under half a million are estimated to have come directly to North America, their descendants today number 42 million African Americans (Gates 2014). Colonists and later settlers also enslaved Native Americans, a practice that continued well into the nineteenth century in the Southwest and California (Gates 2014b;

Lindsay 2012). California eventually entered the Union as a free state in 1850, but at the price of a harsher Fugitive Slave Act (originally passed in 1793).

Intellectual justification for Black slavery was rooted in the Enlightenment idea of the great chain of being, “a God-given hierarchical ordering of the world that included human races” (Greiner 2014, 165). Inequality among the peoples of the world was explained as a result of natural differences in their abilities; White people were at the top of the human segment of the chain and “whiteness became a standard against which others were measured” (Greiner 2014, 165). This way of thought resulted in spatial arrangements and human landscapes that created separate and unequal places for Whites and Blacks (and other people of color); these supported the power of the former and the oppression of the latter across empires, into post-imperial spaces and times, and up to the present day.

Many types of landscapes reveal differences between the lives of Whites and Blacks (or Native Americans or Asians or Latinas/os) across the United States and in California: residential neighborhoods, workplaces, schools, shopping districts, recreation areas, churches, and more. California cities, for various historical reasons, generally do not show the most-extreme levels of segregation nor the greatest contrasts among racialized places (Dingemans and Datel 1995); however, they still have plenty of landscapes that reveal the contours of White privilege. Work on Sacramento’s histories and geographies of redlining, racially restrictive covenants, urban redevelopment, and subprime mortgage lending show that the same racial groups, and often the same neighborhoods, repeatedly have been targets of unfair, racially biased government programs and private-sector practices (Hernandez 2009). Again and again, people of color have been denied the better schools, safer neighborhoods, superior public services, higher-paying jobs, and higher rates of home-ownership that have paved the way to wealth accumulation by Whites.

Sacramento has no high-rise public housing estates that in many U.S. cities are quickly read and denigrated as “the projects.” Most people of all races and ethnicities live in post-World War II tract houses and garden apartments (Dingemans and Datel 1995). Still, it is not difficult to read the socio-economic level of a Sacramento neighborhood, nor to see that the poorest neighborhoods are occupied disproportionately by people of color. Neighborhoods with many vacant lots, visibly deteriorated properties, boarded-up structures, substandard public infrastructure, limited commercial investment, chronic problems with illegal dumping, and increasing numbers of homeless people are part of the regional mix.

The City of Sacramento is highly diverse racially and ethnically and has, by American standards, low levels of segregation; in fact, it was reported by *Time* magazine, based on a Harvard study, to be the most integrated city in America (Stodghill and Bower 2002). (The study was silent on integration at the scale of the metropolitan area.) A fairly recent report on the segregation of California's public schools points out that the Sacramento area's several large districts (Sacramento Joint Unified, Elk Grove Unified, and San Juan Unified) are among the most integrated in the state (Orfield and Ee 2014, 4). While compared to other places, Sacramento does better, its patterns of segregation are recognized as contributors to social inequalities; warnings sound from those looking at housing and school trends that policies can change and progress can be reversed (Garvin 2017a; Garvin 2017b; Reese 2014.)

To take another example, geographers and others have analyzed juvenile halls, jails, and prisons as racialized landscape features (Gilmore 2007). The Sacramento region's famous federal penitentiary at Folsom stands out on a map of race—a substantially Black (and to a lesser extent, Latino) “neighborhood” surrounded by much Whiter suburbs (see Figure 2). The block that contains Sacramento County's downtown jail also stands out as significantly Latino and Black when compared to nearby blocks with more Asian and White residents (Weldon Cooper Center for Public Service 2013). Ongoing concerns about school-to-prison pipelines and differential rates of arrest, conviction, and imprisonment for Whites and people of color, as well as high-profile fatal shootings of unarmed men of color by local police, locate places of incarceration in Sacramento's landscapes of racialized injustice (Mott 2018; Vera Institute of Justice 2018; Parvini, Morin, and Winton 2018). Among recent efforts to address some of the racial abuses of the criminal justice system is Sacramento's attempt (following models in Oakland and San Francisco) to redress the unfair impacts of the War on Drugs on people of color by giving those with minor marijuana convictions some preference in issuing licenses for pot shops (Mock 2018). Sacramento is also a sanctuary city in a sanctuary state, where temporary landscape manifestations, such as rallies and vigils, signal support for policies that restrict local law enforcement from working with federal immigration authorities. Several local jails and juvenile halls are targets for those who argue that they should not have detention contracts with federal Immigration and Customs Enforcement (Ternus-Bellamy 2018).

The inequalities created by institutionally embedded racism over hundreds of years across the U.S. are pernicious and persistent. While the Sacramento



Figure 2.—The City of Folsom prefers that its famous state prison be viewed through the lens of Johnny Cash's music, and it recently opened up a recreational trail with that theme. America's and California's heavily racialized criminal justice systems provide more uncomfortable lenses to look through. (Author photo)

region is a place where those inequalities are in many instances smaller and represented less dramatically by landscapes of segregation than in many other American cities, they remain significant features of the lived experience of its people.

Event #17: Governor John Bigler signs legislation making Sacramento the permanent capital of the state of California, February 25, 1854

The 1849 constitutional convention met in Monterey, the capital of Mexican Alta California. It named San Jose, another Mexican settlement, as state capital. San Jose was not ready to host the state government, and out of the ensuing competition emerged the City of Vallejo. However, it, too, was unready, presenting an opportunity for Sacramento, where the state legislature met briefly in early 1852. Flooding sent it packing to Benicia, which was judged to be too small a town for the state capital. Sacramento offered its newly constructed county courthouse and a block of city land on which to build a permanent capitol building. This offer was accepted, and even though that courthouse burned to the ground, the state government came to rest in the replacement courthouse in 1855. The major flooding of

1861–62 led to one final hiatus, in San Francisco, but the state government's return to Sacramento in January 1863 proved permanent. In 1869 it moved into the building still occupied today by the legislature and governor (Avella 2003, 41-43) (see Figure 3).



Figure 3.—As the seat of state government, Sacramento has a large lobbying force and experiences numerous promotional efforts such as this “Be Californian—Buy California Grown” event on the grounds of the Capitol. (Author photo)

Capturing the state government function would prove among the most important events in shaping Sacramento's human landscape up to the present time. When Sacramento became the state capital, the role of state government and the financial resources it commanded were modest. Nearly all state offices were housed in the Capitol building until what are now called the Stanley Mosk Library and Courts Building and the Jessie M. Unruh State Office Building were constructed in the 1920s. The role of the state government continued to expand during the Great Depression, World War II, and California's post-World War II boom. Numerous additional structures were built for the state in the 1950s and 1960s, with others added at a more modest rate subsequently. The state has also rented millions of square feet of space in Sacramento's core through the decades. It has bought up many blocks near the Capitol and created a joint-powers authority with the City of Sacramento, the Capitol Area Development Authority, to manage this

property. CADA turned out to be one of the few entities that developed new housing in the core during several decades when most residential builders abandoned it (Datel and Dingemans 1994, 572).

The presence of the state of California has made Sacramento the largest, most prosperous, and most culturally diverse city in California's Central Valley. The presence of state government has meant a solid base of middle-class, white-collar and blue-collar, unionized jobs that have helped buoy the city core and grow the suburbs. Yes, corporate headquarters and billionaires are thin on the ground, a fact frequently regretted by those seeking charitable contributions. Yes, a lot of the area's elected power-elite have loyalties to other regions, to which they and their staffs intermittently decamp. Yes, Sacramento seems like a Midwestern version of California. But if Sacramento were not the state capital, the city would be even less like coastal California—it would have less money, a less educated workforce, less cosmopolitanism, and less political power.

This event, so critical to the Sacramento region, was not particularly significant to other places in the state, except in the sense that it helped spread some of the state's wealth and power into the interior, so that coastal California did not become even more dominant. It makes the point that there are factors like this for many cities—that some specialized feature or function often sets them apart from a more generalized portrait that emerges from state- or national-scale forces.

Event #18. The Great Atlantic and Pacific Tea Company (A&P) becomes America's first national chain retailer, 1871

The predecessor of the A&P grocery store chain was a single New York store in the 1850s, a local chain of five stores in 1863, and a nationwide mail-order company by 1866. Then, following the Great Chicago Fire of 1871, it quickly opened its first out-of-state stores in the recovering city. At that point, it was still largely a purveyor of tea. By 1884, its chain had links as far as Atlanta and Kansas City. By 1900, the company had incorporated, operated 198 stores, and was becoming the country's first grocery store chain. By 1925, it had 13,961 stores, consolidated into 4,000 supermarkets and 500 small stores by 1950. By the end of that decade, A&P had survived multiple anti-trust lawsuits brought against it by the federal government (Levinson 2011).

This event was not selected because of A&P's presence in California, although it did operate in the southern part of the state until 1969 (grocceteria.com 2009). It was selected because, as the country's first extensive retail chain, it kicked off the chaining of America by retailers, restaurants, and, increasingly,

service firms. By 1997, 61 percent of retail business in the United States was done by chains (Jarmin, Klimek, and Miranda 2005). And in the process of becoming economically dominant, these businesses also came to be major shapers of America's, California's, and Sacramento's commercial streets and shopping centers.

Of the world's top ten retail firms (by revenue) in 2017, seven are present in the Sacramento landscape: Walmart, Cosco, Kroger (owner of locally present grocery store chains Ralphs and Food4Less), Walgreen Boots Alliance, The Home Depot, Aldi (owner of Trader Joe's), and Amazon (which has a fulfillment center in Sacramento) (Deloitte 2017). The country's top ten brick-and-mortar apparel sellers are all well represented in local malls (Laney 2015). Of the top hundred fast food chains on Wikipedia's list, the Sacramento region has outlets of most of those headquartered in the United States as well as some headquartered abroad. Because of its crossroads location, Sacramento has long had many hotels and motels. Most of these once-independent hostelrys are gone or now provide low-end, longer-term accommodation, while a steadily increasing share of rooms belong to international hotel/motel chains.

The transformation of Sacramento's oldest shopping center and the opening of its newest one embody the chain business trend. Often identified as one of the oldest shopping centers west of the Mississippi and the oldest in California, Town & Country Village opened in 1946 in Sacramento's northeast suburbs. Using salvaged materials, builder Jere Strizek crafted a low-slung ranch-style complex of white stucco walls, red tile roofs, dark beams and posts, and displays of Westerniana. Through most of its decades, the shopping center housed about sixty independent businesses. Gradually they slipped away, and now, in blandly remodeled larger spaces, are Trader Joe's; TJ Maxx; Bed, Bath, & Beyond; and Ross Dress for Less, among other chains. Many regrets have been expressed for the loss of characterful buildings and shops: "the shopping center has been highly modified beyond its original state already. Perhaps the saddest part of the story is how individual and unique local boutiques have been pushed out by franchises" (SacMod 2012). Unlike San Francisco, Sacramento has not intervened to regulate "formula retail" (Lagos and Dineen 2014). In addition to invading many older spaces, it entirely fills new shopping centers: Delta Shores, a new one-million-square-foot shopping center on the southern edge of Sacramento, currently is being leased (see Figure 4). Of the sixty-eight spaces taken up so far, nearly every one is a chain retailer, a chain restaurant, or a chain service provider (Delta Shores 2018). The commercial landscapes, especially in shopping centers



Figure 4.—Signs at Delta Shores, Sacramento's new, one-million-square-foot shopping center on the city's south side, display familiar national or regional names. Although not fully leased, the center's current mix is 100 percent, or nearly so, chain businesses or "formula retail." (Author photo)

and malls, of much of the Sacramento region increasingly look like those of every other American metropolitan area. People across the country have more in common, but local strength of character is reduced.

Event #19: Governor Earl Warren signs into state law the California Community Redevelopment Act, 1945

This law allowed any California city or county to establish a redevelopment agency (RDA) with power to declare areas "blighted" and to create programs to remedy those conditions. Redevelopment agencies could tap into federal funds made available under the Housing Act of 1949 for slum clearance and the construction of public housing. Additional state legislation in 1951 and an amendment to the state constitution in 1952 made it possible for redevelopment agencies to use Tax Increment Financing (TIF) to fund their projects. Typically, they would sell bonds in order to obtain the money needed for a project, and then pay off the bonds using the additional property tax revenue generated by the improved property in the redevelopment area (Black 2014).

Redevelopment came to have a significant impact on California cities, particularly their older, inner districts. In 1966, there were twenty-seven redevelopment project areas in California; in 1976, 229; and in 1988, 524 (Blount et al. 2014, 1–2). All four counties and nineteen of the twenty-one cities in the Sacramento metropolitan area had redevelopment agencies at some point. None had a bigger impact than that of the City of Sacramento.

From the late 1940s to the late 1950s, various Sacramento civic leaders prepared for redevelopment, undertaking social and economic studies; entertaining various proposals by architects, planners, and developers; and working on financing strategies. During this period a whopping 233 blocks—about a third of the entire Old City (a now largely unused name for the part of Sacramento that occupies the twenty-six- by thirty-one-block grid laid out in 1848)—were identified in various plans as blighted and in need of redevelopment (Avella 2003, 127). Many blocks of the West End, the area between the Capitol building on Tenth Street and the Sacramento River waterfront, were targeted. For years, civic leaders had complained that the West End was a shameful slum greeting visitors entering Sacramento from the west, a rotten setting for the jewel of the state Capitol building. It was also an economically important part of Sacramento, packed with small businesses, many owned by immigrants, and home to a large casual labor market serving Central Valley agriculture and industry. Diverse ethnic groups, including African American, Chinese, Japanese, Filipino, Mexican, Native American, Portuguese, Slavic, and South Asian, shared the space.

Despite considerable opposition from many residents, local business owners, and anti-tax groups, redevelopment plans were adopted and financing was secured, pleasing developers, contractors, large West End and downtown property owners, and many civic leaders. In 1957, the ceremonial demolition of a Victorian structure at Sixth and Capitol marked the start of the radical transformation of many of Sacramento's oldest blocks (Avella 2003, 128–129) and their replacement with what a visitor sees today: a rather sterile, broad, office-tower-lined boulevard leading to the Capitol building and grounds, additional blocks of offices and other commercial buildings, a pedestrian mall on K Street, a local government precinct, a convention center, some low-rise and midrise housing, and several blocks designated an Old Sacramento historic district (Simpson and Prince 2013). Aiding and abetting this radical transformation of Sacramento's West End was the construction of Interstate 5 and the W-X (US 50 and Business 80) freeways.

Redevelopment's imprint on many blocks of Sacramento's Old City is easy to see. For the impacts of redevelopment's displacement of thousands of residents, one must look more carefully. What resulted was their replacement with far fewer people, who were Whiter and wealthier. The ethnic mix of those displaced underwent a process of sorting as they moved out, often without financial help. As redevelopment removed one single-room occupancy hotel after another in the downtown, many former occupants were added to the homeless population. African Americans were steered to Oak Park and Del Paso Heights, neighborhoods that already had some Black residents. Mexican Americans moved to Alkali Flat and Washington in the Old City, as well as to Franklin Boulevard outside it. Chinese, Japanese, and Filipina/o settlement shifted southward, both within the Old City and beyond (Dingemans and Dattel 1995).

Later, redevelopment areas were established beyond the Old City in some of the neighborhoods whose social character had been changed in part by those displaced from the West End, including Oak Park, Del Paso Heights, Franklin Boulevard, and Stockton Boulevard. Federal and state regulations increasingly forced projects to be somewhat more responsive to local residents' needs and wishes. Later projects did a somewhat better job of embracing what was supposed to be one of redevelopment's first priorities, the production of affordable housing. Unfortunately, in Oak Park, among the sites chosen for public housing were stretches of Thirty-fifth Street, the neighborhood's traditional "Main Street," so the area lost big pieces of its most economically and culturally valuable townscape (see Figure 5). Suburban-style housing complexes now sit where previous generations shopped in the five-and-dime, ate chop suey, watched movies, and sipped the output of Sacramento's first espresso machine—and where Black activists organized for political and social change (Dattel 2010).

Also changing over time was redevelopment's emphasis on demolition and new construction. In Sacramento, as all across the U.S., a grassroots historic preservation movement rose up against the destruction wrought by "the federal bulldozer." This story will be picked up below under event #22. Collectively, redevelopment projects across the region delivered a mix of enhanced infrastructure, new construction, and rehabilitated older buildings.

Redevelopment suffered from economic and power abuses (Blount et al. 2014). Because of that and the state subsidies it received, it fell from grace during tough budget times, and Governor Jerry Brown axed it in 2011; all RDAs in California have been dissolved. Left behind in the Sacramento re-



Figure 5.—Redevelopment in Sacramento’s Oak Park neighborhood included the construction of affordable housing units such as these. To build them, stretches of Oak Park’s “Main Street” were demolished, removing both evidence of the area’s history, including important Black history, and potential economic resources. (Author photo)

gion and elsewhere in California are patterns of property ownership, property value, social geography, land use, and landscape altered by redevelopment.

Event #20: The California Master Plan for Higher Education is submitted to the governor and legislature, February 1, 1960

As part of California’s post-World War II major infrastructure investment, the state made a substantial commitment to the expansion of public higher education. Recognition of the central importance of California’s colleges and universities to leadership, citizenship, and economic development was already widely shared by voters and legislators, having been an important part of the state’s progressive agenda in earlier decades. The University of California (UC), the proto-California State University (CSU), and junior colleges (later the California Community Colleges, CCC) had been evolving vigorously and multi-locationally for decades when Clark Kerr became the UC president. He called for a higher-education plan to guide the growth and integration of a complex system already bursting with veterans and increasing numbers of high-school graduates (Thelin 2017).

A Master Plan Survey Team produced a 246-page report, *A Master Plan for Higher Education in California, 1960–1975*. This report was approved by the State Board of Education and the UC Board of Regents. The Donahoe Act, passed by the legislature, put into statutory law some of the plan’s provisions, including the differentiation of the missions of the three pre-existing systems. It was signed by Governor Pat Brown on April 14, 1960. A constitutional amendment was passed by the voters of California in November of the same year; this created a new Board of Trustees for what is now the California State University. Additional legislation followed quickly that approved increased funding, increased student aid, and three new UC campuses, four new CSU campuses, and twenty-two new community college campuses.

California’s higher education infrastructure was admired as accessible (initially it was tuition-free at all levels), excellent, and full of options. It became a key part of the California Dream. It has been widely recognized as a key contributor to California’s world-class economy (UC Office of the President 2011; CSU Office of the Chancellor 2010). Despite problems of accessibility and affordability that have emerged over several decades (starting with property-tax-cutting Proposition 13 in 1978), California’s higher education landscape is critical to the state’s prosperity and society.

Sacramento’s four-county region is home to UC Davis, CSU Sacramento, and approximately a dozen community colleges and outreach centers in five community college districts (see Figure 6). UC Davis has the most students (about 38,000), the largest campus (two campuses, in fact: the main campus in Davis, and the medical campus in Sacramento), the biggest budget, the biggest regional economic impact, and the highest-profile amenities used by the public, which include nature reserves, an arboretum, performance and sports venues, galleries, and an annual open house called Picnic Day (University of California, Davis, and UC Davis Health System 2016). UC Davis makes Davis a college town, one with progressive politics, thousands of bikes, and dozens of inexpensive restaurants and cafes (Gumprecht 2009, 145–188). As a regional university, Sacramento State has a hefty local economic impact, producing a high percentage of the area’s workers with college degrees, including many of its police, teachers, nurses, and state employees (California State University Office of the Chancellor 2010). Its sports and recreational facilities and spaces for the arts make important contributions to Sacramento’s athletic and cultural life. This is true of many community colleges as well, which not only have provided two-year degrees and many certificates to their students (now about 75,000 in the Los Rios district alone) as well as readiness to transfer to four-year institutions, but



Figure 6.—Community college districts have spread their influence by building outreach centers that bring opportunity to many quarters of the Sacramento region. Shown here is Sacramento City College’s West Sacramento’s center, where good bus service and a growing network of bike lanes contribute to an affordable landscape of higher education. (Author photo)

also have provided their neighbors with diverse educational, social, and cultural programming.

Because of the affordability and geographic spread of community colleges to the suburbs and outlying towns, accessibility to these resources has been high. UC Davis, Sacramento State, the region’s community colleges, as well as many of its high schools, also should be recognized for their leadership of progressive social movements, such as the Black student unions of the 1960s and 1970s that promoted civil rights protest and the establishment of ethnic studies departments (Covin 2009, 26). These programs, by making higher education more welcoming to people of color, helped change the faces of higher education in Sacramento and beyond. Today, the campuses provide progressive leadership in environmental sustainability (Cosumnes River College 2018; California State University Sacramento 2018).

Event #21: President Lyndon B. Johnson signs Medicare and Medicaid into law on July 30, 1965

Medicare is federally funded health insurance for the elderly, and Medicaid is state and federally funded health insurance for low-income people. Federal and state commitments to health insurance expanded with further amendments to the Social Security Act; at the same time, private health insurance, often employer-provided, increased in popularity. By 2009, third parties paid almost 90 percent of the total cost of health care in the United States (Fuchs 2012, 977). The spread of public and private health insurance, together with more technology and more specialization, are the main culprits in the dramatic increase in the share of the GDP accounted for by health expenditures: 4.6 percent in 1950 versus 17 percent in 2009, “a larger share than all manufacturing, or wholesale and retail trade, or finance and insurance, or the combination of agriculture, mining, and construction” (Fuchs 2012, 973).

The Sacramento region’s economy and landscape reflect the importance of the health sector in today’s metropolitan areas. In Sacramento County, four of the top ten employers (as measured by number of local employees) are large medical providers: Kaiser Permanente, UC Davis Health, Sutter Health, and Dignity Health, each with 8,000 to 11,000 local employees. In each of the metro area’s three other counties, two or three medical providers or insurers are among the top ten employers (Sacramento Business Journal 2017, 65–71). The large healthcare providers also have important philanthropic arms that provide major funding for healthcare programs and health education to schools, local governments, and community non-profit organizations working to reduce health disparities among population subgroups and neighborhoods.

Major healthcare providers’ large building complexes, plus the additional care-related businesses and facilities that cluster around them, are among the most impressive examples of specialized commercial land use in the region today. Established neighborhoods in Midtown and East Sacramento have had to accommodate their growth, and the development of outer areas has been stimulated by the construction of newer suburban campuses in Roseville and South Sacramento. Kaiser Permanente has announced a commitment to build a large new campus in the deindustrialized railyards district just north of downtown Sacramento (see event #24), while Dignity is planning a major expansion in Folsom. Most impressive has been the growth of the UC Davis Medical Center on inner Stockton Boulevard, made possible by its acquisition of the old state fairgrounds (see Figure 7). The evolution of



Figure 7.—The University of California-Davis Sacramento [Medical] Campus tripled its size to 3.4 million square feet from 1990 to 2010. Highly visible, large medical complexes are increasingly important economically and socially to the Sacramento region's cities. (Author photo)

this complex from its first appearance in 1852 as the Sacramento County Hospital into today's mammoth health campus combining treatment, teaching, and research has attracted ancillary land uses and stimulated demand for housing in surrounding areas, thus contributing to the gentrification of northern Oak Park and other nearby neighborhoods (UC Davis Health System 2010; Maciag 2015). Programs in numerous fields of medicine and medical research have been started or expanded at all levels of the region's higher-education system, reflecting an important education-medicine nexus (see event #20).

Event #22: President Lyndon B. Johnson signs into law the Immigration and Nationality Act (the Hart-Celler Act), October 3, 1965

This legislation, which today remains the basis of U.S. immigration policy, changed the origins of most immigrants to America, as well as significantly enlarging their numbers. These outcomes were unexpected at the time: "The bill that we sign today is not a revolutionary bill," President Johnson said during the signing ceremony. "It does not affect the lives of millions. It will not reshape the structure of our daily lives, or really add importantly to ei-

ther our wealth or our power." Senator Ted Kennedy (D-MA), the bill's floor manager, stated: "It will not upset the ethnic mix of our society" (quoted in Chishti, Hipsman, and Ball 2015).

In 1921, Congress had put into place a system that favored immigration from Northern and Western Europe. Annual quotas were set at 2 percent of the foreign-born population of each nationality, as counted in the 1890 Census (notice the choice of Census year, before the large influx of people from Eastern and Southern Europe). Immigration from the latter, as well as from Asia (also excluded by earlier legislation), Africa, and the Middle East, was severely limited. In 1952, when Congress passed another immigration bill, they missed a chance to overhaul this approach.

By 1965, voices raised against the racist and eugenicist thinking behind the 1921 system had grown more insistent, both inside and outside the country. Its biased quota system became an embarrassment to a United States that claimed to be a beacon for equality and fairness. The new legislation scrapped the old quota system, and instead a system of preferences based on family relationships to U.S. citizens or legal permanent residents, and on job skills, was enacted. Caps were placed on the total number of immigrants from the Eastern Hemisphere (170,000) and from each country therein (20,000). For the first time, flows from the Western Hemisphere came under immigration law, with a cap of 120,000. A later amendment added the 20,000 cap per country to that region. Spouses, minor children, and parents of U.S. citizens were in all cases not counted under the caps.

The effects of this were surprising to many, including those who voted for the bill. It was conservatives who had argued for prioritizing family reunification over job skills, hoping to preserve the White Anglo-Saxon Protestant population as much as possible. However, demand for immigration to the U.S. from Europe dropped off, while it soared from other regions, particularly Latin America and Asia. The year 1965's nearly 300,000 new greencard holders ("lawful permanent residents") more than tripled to about 1 million per year by the mid-2000s. The 9.6 million foreign-born citizens in 1965 more than quadrupled to an all-time high of 45 million in 2015 (Chishti, Hipsman, and Ball 2015).

California's population is now 27 percent foreign-born, while Yolo County's stands at 22.2 percent, Sacramento County's at 20.5 percent, Placer County's at 10.5 percent, and El Dorado County's at 9.4 percent (American Factfinder 2018). Asia (41 percent), Latin America (33 percent), and Eastern Europe (11 percent) together were the sources for 85 percent of the four-county

Sacramento region's foreign-born population. As of 2005, the share of the Sacramento region's foreign-born population that lived in the suburbs (72 percent) was not far behind that of the native-born population (79 percent). Some foreign-born groups were more suburbanized than native-born residents, including Koreans, Ukrainians, and South Americans. In other words, newcomers and their landscape tastes were not concentrated in central city enclaves, but widely spread across the region (Datel and Dingemans 2008).

Because of these residential patterns, the presence of diverse immigrant and refugee groups is widely seen and felt. While, overall, groups tend to live in loose clusters and be intermixed with other groups, it is possible to encounter a block of single-family homes or an apartment complex occupied almost entirely by one group. More obvious to outsiders are the immigrants' contributions to commercial, religious, media, sports, and festival landscapes. Sacramento's Vietnamese (and other Asian and non-Asian) immigrants and their families have created a nationally significant "Little Saigon" commercial district along Stockton Boulevard; the metropolitan region also houses more modest clusters of Latino businesses (Franklin Boulevard and Woodland) and Slavic enterprises (northeast Sacramento County). Places of worship for communities from all over the world dot the Sacramento landscape; among the largest and most prominent are some very large churches that are home to refugee Slavic Protestant congregations (see Figure 8). Sporting events and festivals involving immigrants and their children and grandchildren fill urban and suburban playing fields, parks, community centers, school playgrounds, and shopping-center parking lots. Loci of "Establishment History," such as Old Sacramento, host the music, costume, dance, color, and food of diverse cultures that are layering their cultural representations on top of those of the Gold Rush and transcontinental railroad. Dozens of languages can be heard or read in local media, and many schools in the Sacramento region have sizable cohorts of English Learners. Today, Sacramento's ethnic diversity and the landscapes associated with it, enabled by the 1965 changes to U.S. immigration law, are important dimensions of its place identity (Datel and Dingemans 2008).



Figure 8.—Places of worship are major landscape expressions of immigration in Sacramento. The Evangelical Christian Baptist House of Prayer, also called Bryte Church, reflects the repeated history of West Sacramento's Bryte neighborhood as a destination for Russian immigrants. (Author photo)

Event #23: President Lyndon B. Johnson signs The National Historic Preservation Act into law, October 15, 1966

In the face of losses of valued sites and landscapes, powerful voices called for strengthened federal leadership in the realm of historic preservation (United States Conference of Mayors 1966). While those losses could be laid at the door of broad forces of population growth and economic expansion, they also could be traced to specific federal government programs, including urban renewal, freeway construction, and large dam projects. The 1966 Act created a National Register of Historic Places to which diverse types of cultural and historical properties of local, state, or national significance could be nominated. If eligible for listing, a property would receive certain protections and resources. Each state would have a State Historic Preservation Office to administer the new federal preservation programs.

Nationwide, more than 90,000 properties representing 1.4 million individual resources—"buildings, sites, districts, structures, and objects"—have been listed (National Park Service 2018a). The four-county Sacramento region has 171 individual entries, as well as properties that are part of statewide

multiple resource listings (e.g., Carnegie Libraries of California or Highway Bridges of California) (National Park Service 2018b). Many have been protected from damage by federally financed or regulated activities. Many have benefited from preservation tax credits, grants, and/or the use of special historical building codes (see Figure 9). Extensive professional research has been undertaken in archaeology, architecture, history, and related fields as communities all over the country have inventoried, documented, evaluated, nominated, and preserved their cultural resources with help from federal and state governments. The legacies of diverse regions, peoples, events, social movements, technologies, and architectural styles have been recognized and protected because of the National Historic Preservation Act of 1966.



Figure 9.—The distinctive Jackson Apartment building is part of Woodland’s Main Street historic district, which is listed on the National Register of Historic Places. Historic preservation has helped maintain the area’s classic “Main Street” morphology, including supporting renovation with federal tax credits. (Author photo)

Alongside federal efforts, grassroots historic preservation movements and local government preservation programs have flourished across the U.S. and in Sacramento (Datel and Dingemans 1980). Though the first local historic district was created by the City of Charleston, South Carolina, in 1931, most of the 2,300 local governments with preservation ordinances passed them

in the 1960s or later (Beaumont 2002). The City of Sacramento temporarily protected twelve blocks of the West End threatened by redevelopment in 1960, while the details of preserving part of the area were worked out, and in 1968, Old Sacramento became the first historic restoration project in the western U.S. to receive federal urban renewal funds (Datel and Dingemans 1980, 239). By 1975, the city was ready to pass an ordinance that allowed it to designate and regulate qualifying landmarks (individual properties) and districts anywhere in the city. Currently, there are thirty-two districts and hundreds of landmarks, mostly located in the city’s original grid. Sacramento is a “Certified Local Government,” which means its historic preservation program meets certain federal criteria and gains access to extra resources. Davis and Elk Grove in the Sacramento area also have this status.

A great deal of the energy behind Sacramento’s historic preservation success has been provided by the Sacramento Old City Association (SOCA). This organization was founded in 1972 by a handful of young, White, well-educated households who wanted to live close to their work downtown in up-until-then underappreciated old Victorians. They fought redlining, finally persuading financial institutions to loan them money to buy, repair, and often un-subdivide these structures. They grew their organization into a successful lobbying force in favor of preservation and other policies favoring in-town living, such as traffic calming, downzoning, and mixed-use development (Datel and Dingemans 1994).

Several decades of SOCA’s activism contributed to a livelier Old City without much gentrification (Datel and Dingemans 1994; Maciag 2015); the story has been different in the new millennium. One study, using home values and educational attainment as indicator variables, concluded that six of twelve census tracts in the Old City had gentrified between 2000 and 2009–13 (Maciag 2015). Preservation helped make the Old City an attractive place to live again for people with numerous choices, and the area has received a lot of new residential, commercial, culinary, and cultural investment.

Now preservation, like redevelopment, has moved beyond the Old City, into neighborhoods of 1940s romantic cottages and 1950s mid-century moderns. SOCA has become Preservation Sacramento, a name change reflecting the organization’s interest and activism beyond the Old City (Preservation Sacramento 2018). In the region beyond the City of Sacramento, although only a few local jurisdictions have preservation ordinances with teeth, every city and county in the metropolitan area has some policies in place to protect cultural resources. Many have found ways to invest in individual

landmarks and historic districts. And all jurisdictions are subject to the provisions of the National Historic Preservation Act of 1966 that constrain the federal government from financing or permitting careless destruction of landscape elements that offer a sense of orientation to the American people (Datel 1985).

Event #24: Car Shop 9 at the Sacramento Southern Pacific Rail Yards closes, 1980

The completion of the first transcontinental railroad in the United States is event #8 in Dilsaver, Wyckoff, and Preston (2000). To Sacramento, the railroad meant not only radically improved connectivity, but also local industrialization. The city's Central Pacific, later Southern Pacific (SP), shops became one of the largest industrial complexes in the western U.S. They manufactured virtually everything needed to run a railroad, including locomotives and diverse types of freight and passenger cars. For decades, SP was the largest employer in town: "it appears that between the 1880s and the 1920s about 15% of Sacramento's workers worked in the shops, though around 1900 this figure may have been as high as 25%" (Dougherty 2002, 5). SP was a major driver of immigration to Sacramento, shaping the ethnic character of various neighborhoods, and it was a powerful force in state and local politics.

The last locomotives to be built by the Sacramento SP shops were completed in the 1930s. As early as the 1940s, the Sacramento shops had begun phasing out the construction of more-complicated types of freight cars (Dougherty 2002, 7). By 1980, the manufacturing function of the shops was gone, although they continued to do repairs and maintenance until the final closure of the whole complex in 1999. Some of those jobs were retained in the region, relocating to the J. R. Davis classification yard in Roseville, the largest on the West Coast (Union Pacific 2018). The few remaining buildings on the 240-acre site will be preserved and become part of the nearby California State Railroad Museum (see Figure 10). Visitors will be able to observe restoration and maintenance work being done on old rolling stock. Instead of manufacturing, there will be the commemoration of manufacturing. Progress has been made on cleaning up the toxic byproducts left by over a hundred years of railroad work, and new infrastructure is in place, awaiting the construction of an almost entirely new, mixed-use landscape adjacent to Sacramento's central business district (Downtown Railyard Venture LLC 2018).

Canning was another major manufacturing industry in Sacramento that has largely disappeared. The closure of the last remaining large facilities,



Figure 10.—Some historic buildings remain after the deindustrialization and clearance of the Sacramento Railyards (formerly the Southern Pacific Company Sacramento Shops). They provide a backdrop for Sacramento's growing homeless population living in tents, in this case staked on new transportation infrastructure built to serve future development. (Author photo)

Libby, McNeill & Libby, Calpak/Del Monte, and Bercut Richards, in the 1980s and 1990s reflected customer migration to frozen and fresh fruits and vegetables, as well as mechanization and consolidation of canning operations (Armstrong 2013; Armstrong 2015; JRP Historical Consulting LLC 2006). Blue Diamond Almonds and Campbell's Soup were the last large canning operations left in Sacramento. Campbell's had arrived in 1947, choosing a trackside location south of downtown Sacramento. That choice influenced Sacramento's social geography, including anchoring Latino neighborhoods nearby. The cannery was the oldest Campbell's plant in the U.S. when it closed in 2013 (McCoy 2012). Today it has been divided up into smaller spaces. The largest tenant is Macy's, which operates a fulfillment center for their online sales. Now only Blue Diamond survives, supported by California's impressive expansion of almond acreage in recent years.

Sacramento once had a piece of the "military-industrial complex." Mather Air Force Base (peak employment 22,000), McClellan Air Force Base (6,000-7,000), and the Sacramento Army Depot (4,000) were major employers in

the area (Avella 2003, 104–105). Like the railroad, these employers shaped the immigration story of Sacramento, most notably in the case of African Americans, who arrived in large numbers during and after World War II. All three of the military installations have been decommissioned, peace dividends of the end of the Cold War. While some space in these facilities has been filled with jobs in the manufacturing sector, the total jobs provided remain way below those on offer to civilian and military employees during their active years. Private company Aerojet General, located in the suburb of Rancho Cordova, once employed 22,000 people in the design, manufacturing, and testing of aerospace products, including rocket engines that took America to the moon (Avella 2003, 118, 148). Aerojet shed labor for decades after its peak employment in the 1960s and announced in 2017 that most remaining jobs were moving elsewhere. Those left behind would manage the sales of the company's large land holdings, which are likely to become mostly residential developments (Glover 2017).

Deindustrialization has made possible the increasing use of the Sacramento River waterfront for leisure activities. Old Sacramento is an example of that, and plans are in place for compatible development to the south, where the California Automobile Museum is already located, and to the north, where a science center is planned in an old power station (Lillis 2017). Across the river, the City of West Sacramento has vigorously pursued the deindustrialization and redevelopment of its waterfront, in some cases clearing shuttered manufacturing facilities and in others subsidizing the moves of still-functioning businesses, thus freeing up the waterfront for residential, commercial, office, and entertainment functions (Locke 2017).

A final example of the Sacramento region's deindustrialization has occurred in the R Street industrial corridor, which developed along the Sacramento Valley Railroad that connected Sacramento to Folsom in 1856. As manufacturing businesses, such as iconic Palm Iron Works (b. 1886, d. 1993), closed or relocated to truck-friendly sites in the suburbs or farther afield, preservation advocates lobbied successfully to protect the area from being bulldozed and filled with speculative office buildings (Vellinga 1993; Dattel and Dingemans 1994, 572). Today many formerly gritty industrial buildings now provide an "industrial chic" setting for restaurants, bars, clubs, art studios, and artist lofts.

In 1910, 32 percent of the American labor force worked in the manufacturing sector; today 9 percent do (US Bureau of Labor Statistics 2016). In metropolitan Sacramento, the share is only 3.5 percent (US Bureau of Labor

Statistics 2018). The causes of deindustrialization are complex, and no one single causal event could be identified; thus, the end of manufacturing in Sacramento's historic railyards stands as an example of the process. Like many other deindustrialized spaces in the region, the railyards eventually will make major new economic contributions while preserving some evidence of its past. That evidence should be used in part to tell the stories of the work and workers no longer present.

Event #25: The City of Sacramento's Planning Department begins issuing permits for sidewalk seating to restaurants, 1988

Prior to 1988, a sidewalk seating permit had to be obtained from the Department of Public Works, whose priority was keeping sidewalks clear; consequently, "there was just an unwritten policy that opposed all outdoor cafés," according to Dick Hastings, head of the city's Design and Preservation Division (Vellinga 1994). Sometime earlier, Masako Yniguez, owner and operator of Capitol Palm Café at Thirteenth and O Streets, found herself fighting health inspectors over her pioneering outdoor seating, but they relented when she agreed to bring the chairs and tables in by mid-afternoon (Burg 2013, 149). By 1987, the city was looking for ways to animate the downtown, and the Planning Department took over the issuance of permits for sidewalk dining. Soon, demand spread the option to elsewhere in the city (Vellinga 1994). Today, sidewalk eating and drinking are widespread throughout the region (see Figure 11). Many restaurants have also put seating in courtyards, patios, porches, and other outdoor spaces.

The diffusion of sidewalk seating for cafés and restaurants made more visible the growing significance of eating and drinking establishments in the social life and economy of Sacramento. With so much manufacturing disappearing from the urban scene, the activities of cooking and serving loom larger; it has even been said that "restaurants are the last bastion of urban manufacturing" (Feldman 2015). And now that a great deal of retail has decamped to the Internet and warehousing districts, restaurants are even more critical occupiers of commercial space: "restaurants are woven into city planning, neighborhood development, and real estate unlike any other time in history" (Feldman 2015). At the same time, American families are pressed for time and do less cooking; in fact, they spend as much money now on eating out as on eating in (Thompson 2017). Housing units in expensive urban markets, which include central Sacramento, have begun to shrink, so that residents are more inclined to do their entertaining at their favorite "third space" rather than at home (Butler and Diaz 2016). Yet another contributing factor to the rise of the restaurant city is the fact that



Figure 11.—Sidewalk seating awaits patrons in historic Folsom. The metro area's pre-automobile urban fabric with high walkability, whether in central city or suburb, has been especially successful in creating clusters of restaurants, but automobile-oriented locations have also experienced the "restaurantization" of commercial districts. (Author photo)

other status-conferring goods, such as music, have now lost their ability to exclude (anyone can access virtually any music they want instantly, and for a modest price, online), but expensive dining preserves its ability to confer status on the prosperous and discerning (Wei 2015).

Restaurants, cafés, bars, and now craft breweries are widely understood to be important place-makers, for both residents and visitors. Neighborhood reputations are made via their eating and drinking spots (Flint 2014). The cool restaurants and bars in Sacramento's R Street corridor, once a trackside industrial area, have helped attract additional commercial and residential development. Hipster-oriented coffee places, restaurants, and breweries are signs of gentrification in Sacramento's North Oak Park neighborhood, an area long associated with poverty, drugs, and crime. Milagro Centre, a new shopping center consisting entirely of restaurants, bars, a public market, a demonstration kitchen, an event center, and outdoor seating areas, opened two years ago in one of Sacramento's older outer suburbs and markets itself as "Carmichael's Gathering Place" (Milagro Centre 2018).

The opportunity to provide a "European" sidewalk café experience in Sacramento happened about the same time as the appearance of several now-iconic restaurants that are still on the scene today: Paragary's (1983), Biba (1986), and the Tower Café (1990). The city was also experiencing a major influx of refugees and immigrants from Asia, and Vietnamese, Chinese, and Thai restaurants multiplied and diversified in type and location. Choices in Mexican food did likewise. Cuisines less commonly encountered in Sacramento, such as Indonesian and Ethiopian, also appeared (Corn 2009). The offerings of immigrant entrepreneurs served the appetites not only of their own co-ethnics, but of an increasingly open-minded broader public seeking meals out multiple times a week. Growing numbers of restaurants, farmers' markets, community gardens, and local organic growers contributed to a new branding of Sacramento as the "Farm-to-Fork Capital" (Breton 2017).

While permitting restaurant sidewalk seating back in 1988 was a small gesture, it significantly enlivened public space and both increased and exhibited the enjoyment of eating out. It was an early push toward the Sacramento region's formation of impressive landscapes of food and drink preparation and consumption (Schmandt, Datel, and O'Sullivan 2012).

Event #26: A prolonged drought grips California, October 1, 2011–September 30, 2016

The authors of "Fifteen Events" decided against including any natural occurrences as triggers for human landscape change. However, strong evidence points to a mix of natural and anthropogenic causes of this drought, qualifying it as a human-caused event:

Persistent hot and dry weather led to five years of acute drought in California from 2011 through 2016, an event worsened by climate change. The fingerprint of climate change is seen in the rising temperatures and changing atmospheric patterns conducive to diminishing rains. The first link is firmly established, and there is a considerable and growing body of evidence supporting the second. Weather records tend to be broken when both natural and human-driven trends run in the same direction, in this case, towards warmer temperatures that are increasing California's drought risk. (Climate Signals 2017)

California experienced five years of high temperatures and low precipitation from October 2011 through September 2016. That period included the state's hottest (2014), second-hottest (2015), fifth-hottest (2012), and ninth-hottest (2013) years since records began in 1895 (Climate Signals 2018). The year 2014 marked the driest annum on record and 2015 the second driest. Paleoclimate research identified this drought as the most extreme in the past

1,200 years and emphasized that the sustained high temperatures were the main culprit (Griffith and Anchukaitis 2014). In May 2014, the drought conditions for all of California were classified by the US Drought Monitor as severe, extreme, or exceptional, the top three categories. This was a first for the state. The four counties of the Sacramento region were all in the area of extreme drought (Thompson 2014).

The drought's impact was visible on the landscape in several ways. In the Sierra Nevada portion of the metropolitan area, the most dramatic evidence was widespread stands of dead trees, 102 million of them in November 2016 (US Forest Service 2016). The hardest-hit parts of California were the central and southern Sierra, including Placer and El Dorado Counties. The drought seriously undermined the ability of pines and firs to fight off various endemic species of bark beetles, resulting in high tree mortality. Despite the creation and ongoing operation of a state Tree Mortality Task Force, the number of dead trees continues to increase (Tree Mortality Task Force 2018). The impacts of these dead trees, on the viewsheds of beauty spots such as Lake Tahoe and on the functioning of forest ecosystems and fire dynamics, will continue for the foreseeable future. Even before the drought, funding for improving forest health was inadequate, especially in the face of climate change, and it remains a major challenge.

In the urbanized areas of the Sacramento metro, perhaps the largest single visual impact was the very low water level of Folsom Lake. Dramatic scenes of exposed lakebed, parched and cracked in the heat, with pre-reservoir landscape artifacts occasionally exposed, became favorite newspaper images of the drought (Fagan 2015). Low flows on the American River were reminiscent of pre-Folsom Dam days when “in the hot Valley summer, . . . the river dwindled to a warm trickle” (Dillinger 1991, 3).

More-widespread evidence consisted of thousands of yards and other areas landscaped with turf lawns that were allowed to turn brown. The broad grass median of Sacramento's Capitol Mall, the formal entrance to the city and the state Capitol district, went unwatered to comply with first voluntary and then mandatory water conservation orders. Many property owners during the drought and subsequent to it went well beyond letting their lawns become brown in the dry months. Numerous government agencies and volunteer organizations offered information and courses on how to kill a lawn and replace it with drought-tolerant landscaping. Some jurisdictions offered grants, rapidly exhausted, to property owners to remove turf and install smart watering systems (Seapy 2015).

Today, California cities and counties must have in place a Water Efficient Landscape Ordinance of their own or must use the model provided by the state. It tightly regulates water use on all new landscapes of 500 square feet or larger, applying to all residential, commercial, industrial, and institutional projects that require a permit, plan check, or design review (California Department of Water Resources 2015). Landscaped areas in the Sacramento region are being forced to evolve away from thirsty turf to alternatives that range from decomposed granite and bark to myriad types of drought-tolerant plants. Many new residential subdivisions and commercial properties are now entirely lawn-free (see Figure 12).



Figure 12.— Water-efficient landscapes dominate new housing developments of widely varied prices across the Sacramento region, including this one, Heritage at Del Paso Nuevo, in the generally low-income Del Paso Heights area of Sacramento. Recently installed, drought-tolerant landscaping dots older, established neighborhoods; those dots will become denser over time. (Author photo)

Finally, it is important to note that California's big drought prompted initial steps toward regulation of California's groundwater. The Sustainable Groundwater Management Act of 2014 set in train a long process to achieve sustainable groundwater usage by 2042. Reducing the use of groundwater, however, may lead to other problems, such as more economic pressure to export additional surface water from the Sacramento-San Joaquin Delta,

already facing major environmental degradation (Nelson 2016). Substantial reductions in groundwater use will require changes in agricultural technologies, crops grown and animals raised, and some abandonment of lands currently in production. While drier regions of the state will see more change, some of it will come to the Sacramento region. Will the region's move toward more permanent crops, such as grapes, almonds, and olives, which are only sustainable through drought periods by the use of groundwater, be reversed?

Two Sacramento Area Microcosms

Many places in the Sacramento region embody the legacies of the fifteen events written about by Dilsaver, Wyckoff, and Preston (2000) as well as the eleven discussed in this article. Many of the examples used here have come from the City of Sacramento, as it is the biggest and most complex place in the region, easily revealing the impacts of all twenty-five events somewhere in its territory. Described here, by way of conclusion, are two other, smaller places whose landscapes exhibit the same impacts in more compact spaces: the Folsom and Woodland areas.

Folsom. Now part of Sacramento's northeastern suburbs, the City of Folsom has about 77,000 residents, and its undeveloped foothills—covered in imported annual grasses from Eurasia and dotted with oak trees once used by Native Americans as food sources—are slated for more development and population in the years ahead. Mining camps sprouted on the American River shortly after gold was found in nearby Coloma in 1848. The land on which the town was developed was purchased from the estate of a Mexican land-grant recipient, William Leidsdorff, whose mixed Danish and Black Caribbean heritage presaged future immigrant diversity. In 1856, the town became the terminus of the first railroad in the West, the Sacramento Valley Railroad, designed by engineer Theodore Judah before his work on the transcontinental line.

The area has a long history of manipulating and managing American River water for mining, agricultural, and urban purposes. During the dredging phase of gold mining, tailings were deposited nearby and are still visible today. In 1895, a new use for the water of the American River was found by H. P. Livermore, who oversaw the building of a low dam and powerhouse (partly using the labor of nearby Folsom Prison inmates) that sent hydroelectricity twenty-two miles to downtown Sacramento; this was one of the world's pioneering long-distance electricity transmissions. Visitors to the Folsom Powerhouse State Park can experience this important landmark of engineering history. Sixty years later, the Central Valley Project's 340-foot-

high Folsom Dam was completed, providing a new scale of hydro power for the region, as well as a reservoir of water for urban, agricultural, and recreational uses and enhanced flood control for Sacramento. Visitors can also experience the upper end of the American River Parkway, a wildlife and recreation corridor unparalleled in any other western American city and a local version of our national parks (see event #7) (Save the American River Association 2017).

Additional features of today's Folsom that can be traced back to key events identified by Dilsaver, Wyckoff, and Preston or by this article include: historic Sutter Street (Folsom's "Main Street") improved and preserved in part by RDA financing, the Folsom Auto Mall, Folsom Lake Community College, Mercy Hospital of Folsom (part of Dignity Health), Intel's Folsom research and development facility, and Folsom Premium Outlets. Following US 50 eastward, one of those modern highways that follows aboriginal routes, a drive up to Lake Tahoe will reveal landscapes shaped by the several pieces of federal and state park, timber preserve, and environmental legislation identified by Dilsaver, Wyckoff, and Preston as well as the climate-change-related tree die-offs attributable to this article's event #26.

Woodland. Still separated from Sacramento and Davis by open space, Woodland retains some of its traditional character of county seat and agricultural service center (Datel, Dingemans, and Krabacher 2011). Yet, increasing numbers of its 59,000 residents commute to those cities from growing suburban developments, which fit into one-square-mile frames, courtesy of the US Public Land Survey. At the heart of the city is a Main Street-focused National Register historic district whose buildings are occupied mostly by local enterprises, including independently owned eateries with sidewalk seating. As you travel to the west, automobile-oriented neighborhood shopping centers and smaller commercial strips dot the landscape, offering a mix of local and chain enterprises. Some reveal the large Latina/o population of Woodland, many of whose families have come to the U.S. under the rules of the US Immigration Act of 1965. A southward turn on Cottonwood takes you to Woodland Hospital, at the heart of a healthcare cluster. Continuing westward on Main, you reach the end of town and enter orchards and fields of introduced species—almonds, tomatoes, wheat, and more. Nearby is the Cache Creek Nature Preserve, which displays and interprets impacts of Spanish and Anglo approaches to water usage and (gravel) mining, as well as Native American relationships with the creek. Continuing west to the Capay Valley in the Coast Range on Highway 16, you pass by the Yocha Dehe Wintun Nation's Cache Creek Casino Resort. The fruit and nut orchards and small

towns of the valley were creatures of the railroad (now gone) that arrived in the 1880s and water diversions from Cache Creek.

If, instead of traveling west on Main, you travel east, you will pass by the Sacramento area's sole remaining tomato cannery and Woodland's impressive warehousing district, many serving chain stores and online retailers. Along with the warehousing, only one of nine mobile-home factories that existed in 1974 remains. The city's big-box stores, such as Walmart, Home Depot, and Costco, are located on this side of town, as is Woodland Community College. Continuing eastward, Main Street becomes County Road 22, which runs parallel to I-5 as it crosses the Yolo Bypass, a major feature of the region's local, state, and federal water engineering.

Conclusion

Dilsaver, Wyckoff, and Preston (2000) noted that, over time, the California landscape bears the brunt of ever-more people, more powerful technology, and more demand for resources. This look at eleven additional events that have shaped the Sacramento landscape cannot take issue with that conclusion, especially given the mixed results to date of the region's "smart growth" plan, the Sacramento Regional Blueprint, which aimed to reduce the environmental impacts of growth (*Sacramento Bee* Editorial Board 2015). Still, the events noted in this article reveal more strongly the service orientation of today's economy and a greater emphasis on infrastructure that involves meeting social needs. Looking forward, we may wonder how California's and Sacramento's landscapes will be further transformed to meet their populations' social needs, such as affordable housing and a reformed immigration system, while managing the biggest human environmental impact of all time: global climate change. What will be the roles of local, state, national, and transnational forces, and of private versus public actors? Federal actions were key in many of the landscape-transforming events discussed in Dilsaver, Wyckoff, and Preston and in this article, but recently California has followed its own reform path in the areas of climate change, criminal justice, and immigration. While the state's commercial landscapes have converged with those of the rest of the U.S., it remains to be seen whether its actions in these other areas will bring significant divergence from other parts of the country. Or perhaps California is, as it has been in the past, the origin or early adopter of ideas that will diffuse elsewhere.

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