"THERE ARE NO BLACK PEOPLE IN NAPA": A HISTORY OF AFRICAN AMERICANS IN NAPA COUNTY

By

Alexandria Laurel Coleman Brown

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ABSTRACT

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Africans first arrived in California with the Spanish explorers in the sixteenth century. Since then, they have developed communities, cultures, and shared experiences unique from the white majority. Their histories reveal what it meant to be African American in a largely racist society from arrival to present day. They have always been a small minority in Napa County, which made them easier to ignore and overlook. Yet Black Napans proved determined to embrace their individual identities while pursuing the American Dream. For them, Napa was home. By citing census records, newspapers, oral histories, and other documentary evidence within the larger context of state and national issues, the experiences of African Americans in Napa can finally be told.

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Amy Poehler and Kelly Sue DeConnick, thank you for keeping me sane.

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Introduction

The historical West, according to Walter Prescott Webb, was characterized by its relative lack of "water, timber, cities, industry and Negroes."[1] Even as late as the 1940s, academics were claiming that, despite all evidence to the contrary, "Negroes did not participate in the settlement of the West."[2] Frontier historians did not see African Americans (or, really, anyone not a cisgendered, heterosexual, white male) not because they were not present or influential but because the historians themselves simply chose not to see them. The history of race in California is a long and complicated story full of inexplicable hatred, unconscionable violence, and willful ignorance. The stain of slavery spread as far west as Napa County, though the community has largely expunged those memories from local histories.

By 1870, every state and territory had Black residents and settlements. Unlike white pioneers with their wagon trains, most Black migrants walked, rode the rails, or sailed by ship.[3] They farmed, of course, and homesteaded on the frontier, but even more settled in urban areas. Many of the pioneering African American communities in the California interior dwindled or disappeared by the mid-twentieth century for a variety of reasons, but populations in major cities like San Francisco, Sacramento, and Los Angeles grew as more and more came seeking employment and culture. Western African Americans were as diverse as white settlers, and "these contrasting images of black cowboys, homesteaders, and urban workers remind us that 'multiple' Wests often existed side by side."[4] Black women like Mary Ellen Pleasant, Bridget Mason, and Charlotte Brown fought for racial equality in California's public policies and legal system, while

the rest quietly insisted on a decent education for their children and earned their own money through domestic service and skilled trades.

In the decades between the two world wars, tens of thousands of African Americans heard the siren call of the Golden State. They abandoned the Jim Crow South with dreams of streets paved in gold and opportunities ripe for the plucking, only to be confronted with the same racism, bigotry, and disenfranchisement they thought they left behind. Race riots in Los Angeles, the Port Chicago mutiny, and whites-only San Francisco unions caused turmoil in metropolitan California. But for a small, rural, and fairly isolated county like Napa, such chaos was as distant and foreign as the growing storm of violence in the Eastern hemisphere. Napa simply had too few African Americans – too few people of color in general – for such racially charged events to garner more than passing notice by the white population, and the local Black community was too busy working menial, low-paying jobs to have the time or energy to insist on equality. More than three million African Americans set out from the south from 1940 to 1960.[5] This Great Migration brought many southern Blacks to northern cities, but most went West. In the 1940s, California's Black population grew by 272 percent, with the Los Angeles region rising by 168 percent and the San Francisco Bay Area increasing a shocking 798 percent.[6] Most African Americans headed to the Golden State seeking employment in the booming military industrial complex. Seventy percent of incoming African Americans in the Bay Area worked in the shipyards.[7] As Black soldiers and seamen were released from military service in Western bases, they often settled where they landed and sent for their families.

Many white Napans expressed little interest in participating in the Civil Rights Movement. All of the large-scale protests took place outside the county borders. The closest one was a thousand-person march in Vallejo on August 28, 1963, set to coincide with the much larger March on Washington. One marcher carried a sign with the slogan "Jim Crow Must Go," while another held a banner reading "We can work together."[8] When Reverend Tom Turnbull, the white rector of St. Mary's Episcopal Church left Napa to participate in the Selma, Alabama, bus protests, one angry parishioner called his wife, Mary Jane, and told her they should to move to Vallejo (a nearby city with a longstanding African American community) under the rather childish pretense that if they like Black people so much maybe they should go live with them.[9] That prejudice still permeates race relations in Napa.

This thesis has two main goals. First, it aims to resolve once and for all whether or not there was ever a history of African Americans in Napa County. It seems like a relatively simple question with an obvious answer, yet the population has always been so small that even Black Napans often joke with each other, "What Black people?" When white people are asked to discuss local African Americans, they usually either recite an urban legend about the Black woman doctor driven from St. Helena by racists or engage in a debate as to whether or not Willie the Woodcutter was really guilty. (Willie the Woodcutter, whose real name was Walter Boyd Williams, was an African American man who murdered a white female Pacific Union College student in 1971.) Long forgotten are John Grider, a Bear Flagger and one of the first African Americans in Napa, Frederick Sparrow, the first Black man in the county to register to vote, the Canner family who came to Napa as slaves and stayed for three generations, Matilda Seawell

who was beloved by all and affectionately known as Aunt Tillie, and the thousands of others who have lived and worked here for the last 169 years. Recovering their stories and relationships is important to move the discourse away from the sensational.

Second, this thesis examines contemporary race relations in Napa County from the perspective of African Americans who lived here over the last four decades. White Napans often believe themselves to be either liberals free of bigotry, racism, and sexism, or conservatives defending traditional values. Neither case is really accurate, as the interviews will show. Napa, both as a county engaged in its own internal debate about race and as part of the statewide conversation, expresses "many of the forces and dynamics posited to be the engines of 'racial progress': a generally liberal political culture, a relatively robust economy, and increasingly diverse populace, and well-organized civil rights leadership. Yet…nearly every major civil rights and racial justice issue put before a vote [in the last few decades]…has failed."[10] Napa's current racial conflicts are not isolated events devoid of historical context but part of a centuries-old continuum of white privilege and minority oppression. They are part of a larger social "effort to turn back the clock on the state's history of racial progress," and unfortunately, that effort has thus far succeeded.[11] Napa County has come a long way in terms of race relations between African Americans and whites, but still has a very long way to go.

Until now, no one has attempted to understand why Black people came to Napa, why they chose to leave, and what ultimately brought them back. No one has written a history of the Black Napan from the perspective of a Black Napan. The author – who was raised in Napa and is Black, white, and Cherokee – has combed through books, websites, census records, newspapers, microfilm, voter registers, grant deeds, and

countless other sources looking for records of those experiences. This paper is just the tip of the iceberg. It offers a glimpse into the Black experience in Napa County from the county's earliest beginnings to its recent past. It is by no means exhaustive, but does attempt to provide a basis, a starting point, for compiling a heretofore untold story. This is a story of Napans, for Napans, by a Napan.

Notes on Terminology and Methodology

Some readers may be confused or offended by the variety of racial terminology employed herein. Terminology is a complicated subject even within the African American community – so much so that there is even a disagreement as to whether it should be spelled "African American" or "African-American." *Black* or *African American* are used because they are the author's personal preference. The term *Black* is always capitalized by the author as opposed to the lowercase *white* as a matter of cultural pride. *Blacks* can be seen as offensive because it relegates a group of people to their skin color rather than their community characteristics, so when the plural form is needed, *African Americans* is used instead. *Negro* and *colored* are used in their historic context. Some Black interviewees use *Nigger* to reference the derogatory manner in which white people treat them; it is also used by the author in a historical context. In quoted material, racial terms are capitalized or uncapitalized as per the original author.

Research was conducted in the Napa County Historical Society research library and archives (where the author is employed as the Research Librarian), the California Digital Newspaper Collection, the Napa County Assessor Division, and the microfilm collections of local newspapers in the Napa County Library and the St. Helena Public Library. Several interviews were conducted from 2013 through 2015 of white and Black people from or living in Napa County. Only two monographs address the African American experience in Napa, and they are more concerned with the greater Black experience in California or the North Bay counties rather than Napa specifically. Much information was uncovered for Black Napans in the nineteenth century, and the interviews covered the Civil Rights Movement through the present, meaning the only gap

in research is from about 1910 to 1960. There are very few recorded transactions or newspaper references, no letters of correspondence, and most of those who lived in that era have passed on or moved away. Some of the information from the mid-twentieth century is indistinguishable from rumor, and no records have thus far been located to prove or disprove the claims. Black LGBTQ is another gap that needs to be addressed, but so far data and documentary evidence remains elusive. Research notes and further evidentiary support not included with this document will be archived at Napa County Historical Society.

The population statistics from 1852 through 1940 were gathered by manually counting each person in the census records on Ancestry.com. The first census for California, taken in 1850, recorded no African Americans, and was therefore not included. Detailed information was recorded on anyone listed as "Negro," "Black," "Mulatto," "Quadroon," or "Octoroon" regardless of their place of origin. Later, those who were actually Filipino, Native Hawaiian, Mexican, Portuguese, or of other ethnicities not African American (as determined by their place of birth) were weeded out. There may still be a few foreign-born people counted as Black who were actually of another ethnicity, but unless their ethnicity could easily be determined as *not* African American – such as a person listed as "Negro" but born in the Sandwich Islands or the Philippines at a time when Native Hawaiians and Filipinos were migrating into California in large numbers – they were left in the list. When the 1950 census records are released in 2020, it would be fascinating to see how much the demographics changed between then and 1940 for Napa's Black population.

From 1950 to 2010, the census totals were taken from BayAreaCensus.ca.gov, a website maintained by the Metropolitan Transportation Commission and the Association of Bay Area Governments of selected census data covering the nine counties of the San Francisco Bay Area. Earlier census totals from this website did not match the totals gathered by counting people in the census records. Censuses are notoriously incomplete and inaccurate, especially for people of color. Even back in 1870, the Black newspaper *The Elevator* complained about poor census-taking for African Americans, claiming that recorders overcounted in some Bay Area cities and undercounted in others.[12] Population rates should not be treated as inviolable but as best guesses. Further, since censuses only record every ten years, the ideas the data inspires should be taken as theories rather than concrete facts. It is not uncommon to see names misspelled, birthdates guessed, and places of origin written down wrong, particularly when tracing a person through multiple census years (see Appendix 7 for a list of all African Americans recorded in Napa County, 1852-1940). Lastly, there is a gap in the census records between 1880 and 1900. Nearly the entire 1890 federal census was destroyed by fires and flooding. Of the 63 million names recorded, barely more than 6,000 remain, and none are from California.[13]

Chapter 1: Exploration and Enslavement: 1500s to 1860s

In order to fully understand the Black experience in Napa County's history one must start with the European discovery of California. Native Americans had claimed California tens of thousands of years before the first Europeans stumbled upon it. The Spanish explorers, sent on a quest by Hernán Cortés, conquistador and conqueror of the Aztecs, landed on the Baja California peninsula in 1539 and mistook it for an island in the Pacific Ocean, specifically the fabled Island of California from the chivalric romance novel *Las sergas de Esplandián* by Garci Rodríguez de Montalvo. In the book, published in 1510, the island was ruled by Queen Calafia: "Know ye that at the right hand of the Indies there is an island called California…inhabited by black women without a single man among them, and they lived in the manner of Amazons. They were robust of body with strong passionate hearts and great virtue. The island itself is one of the wildest in the world on account of the bold and craggy rocks."[1] After a few months the explorers realized the territory was not an island, mythic or otherwise, but a peninsula. However, the name "California" stuck and maps of the region continued to depict it as an island for at least another century (and in the case of at least a few Asian maps, well into the 1860s).[2] This well-known European understanding of and incursion into California provides the first context for Black migration into California.

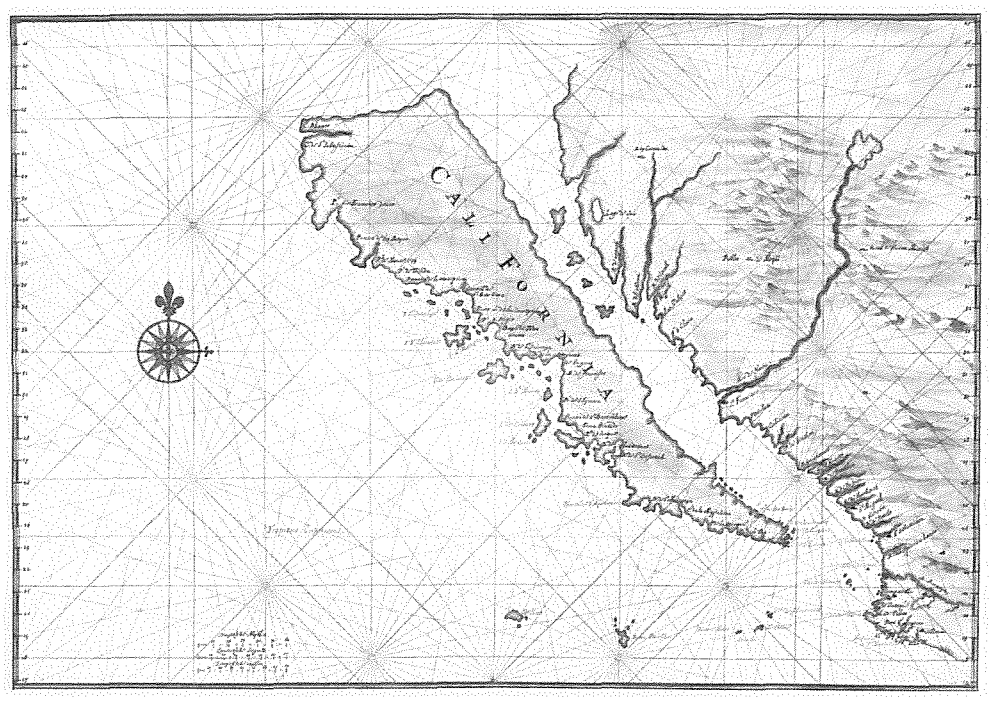


Figure 1. Map of the Island of California (restored) by Johannes Vingboons, ca. 1650[1]

These early Spanish explorers often brought with them African men acquired as slaves. As the Spanish conquered, converted, and slaughtered their way through the New World, African slaves and Indigenous people journeyed with them. The first known African to land on the shores of North America was "Esteban the Moor" (also known as Estevancio or "Black Stephen") from Azamor, Morocco. (There was apparently much disagreement in the twentieth century as to whether Esteban was African, a Spanish Moor, Arabic, or another ethnicity altogether. The general consensus today is that he was African.[2]) Esteban washed ashore on Malhado (the "Island of Ill Fate" – present-day Galveston Island, Texas) after a storm in the Gulf of Mexico in the winter of 1528. He landed along with his master, Captain Andrés Dorantes, and fourteen other men after an expedition into the panhandle of Florida led by Spanish conquistador Pánfilo de Narváez failed spectacularly and bloodily. The survivors eventually made their way inland where they

were captured by the local Native Americans. By 1534 only four men – Esteban, Dorantes, Alonso del Castillo Maldonado, and Álvar Núñez Cabeza de Vaca– were left from the original expedition of 400. They were able to escape to a more hospitable tribe further inland, and over the next two years the men journeyed across Texas and Mexico before finally arriving in Mexico City, the former capital of the Aztec Empire, Tenochtitlán.[3] While the others were free to choose their own paths, Esteban was sold to a Franciscan friar and used as a guide and interpreter as they travelled through northern Mexico and the American Southwest. It was a role he was well-versed in, for he had become highly respected as an ambassador of sorts between the tribal representatives and the Spanish explorers during his earlier wanderings. He also acted as a scout and medicine man.[4] Esteban was later killed by Zuni near the present-day Arizona-New Mexico border.[5]

The first Black people to set foot in California are believed to be the four slaves in the company of English explorer Sir Francis Drake. Sent by Queen Elizabeth I in 1577 to plunder Spanish ships in the West Indies, Drake eventually circumnavigated the globe. He likely captured the slaves in one of his raids against either the Spanish or Portuguese.[6] After abandoning his search for the fabled Northwest Passage, he and his crew harbored near or in what is now known as Drake's Bay on Point Reyes, Marin County, for repairs to their ship, the *Golden Hind.* He claimed the land for Queen and country, dubbed it Nova Albion, and, after some cursory exploration, left. Drake next landed at the Farallon Islands just off the San Francisco coast, but never made it to the mainland because of the region's now infamously dense summer fog. Details about the slaves – three men and one woman – are sparse, but they also apparently landed on Catalina Island off the

Southern California coast. In 1602, explorer Sebastian Vizcaino landed on Catalina and was greeted by Native Americans with Chinese silks similar to what Drake had on board and "white and blonde" children. The Tongva (also known as Kizh and Pimuvit) villagers also mentioned the four black slaves with the sailors.[7]

Throughout the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, the Black population in the West continued to grow. In Coronado in Southern California there was a "Negro Priest" who settled with Padre Juan de Padilla and Padre Luis de Escabona. This group also included "two Negroes, one with his wife and children."[8] Slaves, former slaves, and free people of color intermarried with Native women and Spanish settlers. They and their biracial descendants became soldiers, explorers, and traders – and, in the case of Manuel Victoria and Pío Pico, even governors – but many suffered in slavery. Nearly a quarter million African slaves were shipped to the Spanish colonies between 1521 and 1821, and by 1810, 10 to 30 percent of the Mexican population had African ancestry.[9] After years of tense relations with Spain, Mexico declared independence and began a bloody, eleven-year long revolution. Two years after winning its freedom, Mexico made slavery illegal in Alta California.

Americanos had been excursioning in Mexico since the early 1800s, and they often had a difficult time coming to terms with the fledgling nation's unstandardized yet intricately delineated *castas*, their hierarchical racial classification system. There were dozens of different terms which varied by locality and whether they classified by skin color, anatomical characteristics, or societal contempt (such as *tente-en-el-aire* or "hold yourself in midair;" *no-te-entiendo*, or "I do not understand you;" and *zambo*, a "very ferocious specie of large African monkey with a dog-like head").[10] For a few decades,

Mexican California was a mix of skin colors, from white to brown to black, as citizens intermingled and intermarried. A few slaves were granted freedom and citizenship before constitutional emancipation, and just as many free and enslaved Black seamen deserting their ships, including many from the United States, washed up on the coast. William Warren, a runaway sailor, "lived eighteen years in California under Mexican rule and twenty-nine under American."[11]

During this time, much of Alta California was broken up into municipalities that had grown up and around the now-secularized Spanish missions and extensive land grants called "ranchos." Ranchos were given to successful and prominent Mexican citizens, often to those with a military background. As long as they converted to Catholicism and adopted Mexican citizenship, even *Americanos* and Europeans could receive a rancho. North Carolinian George Yount did just that and became the first rancho owner in Napa County in 1836. One of the most famous *Californios* at the time was General Mariano Guadalupe Vallejo, a well-respected battle hero and one of the most influential men in Alta California. He and his brother, Colonel Salvador Vallejo, owned extensive property throughout Napa, Solano, and Sonoma counties, including Ranchos Napa and Yajome.

Although the long presence of people with African heritage in California is well-documented, it is difficult to determine who was the first to arrive in what was then known as "Nappa Valley." One claim to that distinction is a man named George Washington. Historian Richard Dillon claims he was "loaned to the Canadians" in the Buenaventura Brigade, led by Alex McLeod, by Abel Stearns, and that Washington "had already been in California for six years. He knew the country and he spoke Spanish."[12]

The trouble with this theory is that Dillon is the only person to mention Washington, and since he cites no source for this claim, it remains unverified. The more likely claim lies with Anderson Norris. Norris was a cook on the sloop-of-war *USS Cyane*. He jumped ship in Sausalito and fled north to Calistoga. According to Henry Fowler, an early settler in northern Napa Valley, Norris took up with some hunters before he was tracked down by Col. Vallejo.[13] Vallejo executed Norris against the wishes of the white mountain men, Ezekiel Merritt in particular.

African Americans also arrived in California as slaves of white *Americanos*. In Napa, John Grider (sometimes Gryder) arrived with his owner, Major George H. Wyatt (sometimes Wyeth), in 1845. They came through Mexico in a party following Captain John Frémont, the man who would officially claim California for the United States the following year.[14] About the same time Grider and Wyatt arrived in Napa, John B. and Mary E. Scott sold for $9,548 their rights to and interest in 34 slaves (see Appendix 1). The transaction is often referenced as the only example of slavery in Napa County, however, there is no evidence the slaves ever left Virginia. They were sold to Charles S. Carrington, a Virginia slaveholder and farmer who would later go on to fight for the Confederacy in the Civil War. There is no evidence he left Virginia outside of the war, and it is doubtful he ever travelled to California. The Scotts were recorded in Napa on the 1860 federal census, and for whatever reason decided to have the 1845 deed from Mecklenburg County, Virginia, re-recorded in Napa in 1861. The deed states that John Scott signed the paperwork at the Virginia court, so it is probable he and Mary were still living there when the slaves were initially sold. Either way, it is highly unlikely the slaves ever set foot in Napa County.

On the heels of legal immigrants were the illegal ones: squatters, mountain men, and traders who came to California with little interest or regard for prior Mexican claims. A year after Grider and Wyatt arrived in Napa County, a group of brave American patriots – or a band of drunken hooligans, depending on which source one relies – stormed Mariano Vallejo's Sonoma fort, arrested him and his brother, and claimed California for the U.S.. (One of those men was Ezekiel Merritt, who still held his grudge against Col. Vallejo.) In brief, the rebellion was led by "American adventurers in California…[who sought] to take advantage of the deteriorating relations between Mexico and the United States and [were] fearful of repression of California's Mexican authorities."[15] Grider was one of eight Black men – including Jacob Dodson, James Duff, Charles Gains, Billy Gaston, Joe McAfee, and a bodyguard named Ben – who participated in the Bear Flag Revolt, though how much they were involved in the planning and how willing they were to be involved in the rebellion in the first place is unknown. Grider was charged with obtaining paint for the rebel flag, and served as flag bearer in the revolt.[16] The rebellion lasted about a month before the *Americanos* declared victory. For the month of July 1846, California was an independent nation with William B. Ide as president, but once the United States and Mexico went to war, the revolutionaries had California brought in as a U.S. territory.

Unlike the other Western states, California did not initially enact legislation to block migration, education, and other rights, making it attractive to African Americans in particular. Not that conservative politicians did not try; in the April 19, 1850, edition of the *Daily Alta California*, the "Legislative Proceedings" column mentioned a bill moving through the House Assembly to ban free people of color from immigrating to the state.[17]

Anti-miscegenation statutes were on the books in California as early as 1850, and by 1872 the law specified that, "All marriages of white persons with Negroes or mulattoes are declared to be illegal and void." ("Mongolians" were added to the list in 1905, as were "members of the Maylay race" in 1933.[18]) The law forbid new interracial marriages in California, but did not invalidate those that took place where it was legal. Elizabeth Stringer, an African-born housewife in Napa in 1870, was married to a white English laborer named Harry, and they had one child. She must have been light-skinned, for in 1880 her race was recorded as "white." North Carolinian Penelope Weimer was married to and had a child by a German immigrant named Henry in 1880. Two other interracial marriages were recorded in the twentieth century. The bans on interracial marriage in California were not struck down until 1948 when the California Supreme Court heard *Perez v. Sharp* and ruled that the ban violated the Fourteenth Amendment. It was not until 1963 with the Supreme Court case *Loving v. Virginia* that the laws were finally eradicated nationally.

By 1847 San Francisco had ten free Black citizens, and five years later the number had soared to 464.[19] These urban residents owned businesses, were employed in domestic service, or took menial labor on the waterfront and in the fields. Many were free people from the North or mixed-race African Americans from former Spanish colonies, and a number were Southern slaves and ex-slaves. This latter group most often arrived with Southern overland parties along the southern routes to the Southern Mines, forced to walk across the country carrying heavy loads. Black historian Rudolph M. Lapp quotes a journal entry by a white Northerner of his encounter with a Black slave woman in the Humboldt Sink, an arduous crossing in northwestern Nevada:

> For some three miles I waded on before I overtook the last straggler of the day and she was a woman alone and heavily loaded and almost in despair. Cheering her drooping spirits with the hope that the end could not be far ahead, I relieved her of her load and we trudged on with renewed courage…we found…only the camp of a low-bred Missourian and his family, owner of the female chattel we had assisted, and without thanks or even a cup of coffee or a morsel of the bacon I had carried, we delivered her over to their clutches.[20]

A few free people of color also made the trek, usually by taking employment in a party of whites. In one case, a free Black woman and her daughter were left to fend for themselves on the Gila route after being fired by an army major. Lapp suspects she had been hired as a domestic servant but was abandoned for her "proud spirit;" a white man in a nearby overland company from New York took in the women.[21]

With the Gold Rush, most African Americans, like everyone else, made their way to the mines. In Gold Country, "Black New Englanders met slaves from Missouri, New York blacks met black Jamaicans, and free blacks from Ohio met free Spanish-speaking blacks from south of the border."[22] More than half of all African Americans working in the Mother Lode were free, and most of those were miners.[23] Although most white miners bought mining stock – "Nothing but war news could check the perpetual talk of 'feet,' 'outcroppings,' 'indications,' 'sulphurets,' and 'ores.'" – few Black miners did.[24] Of course, some burned through their profits with women, whisky, and cards, but most "had more sacred duties to perform."[25] They spent their money buying freedom for themselves or family members or donated to the California Colored Conventions (CCC) and local Black organizations. Where whites saw the Gold Rush as a chance to seek their fortune, African Americans saw it as an once-in-a-lifetime opportunity for freedom and personal betterment.

The census records for 1850 did not note any people of color in Napa County. That is not to say there were no Native Americans, African Americans, Mexicans, or any other non-white people in the county, but that they were just not recorded. There were most certainly a few hundred California Indians still living in and around present-day Yountville. Alfred Kroeber estimated that there were less than 3,000 Wappo and Patwin – the two dominant tribes in Napa County – by the 1840s, although Yount liked to claimed that "a couple of thousand warriors could be gathered at a given point on a day's notice, by signal fires along the hills."[26] The 1852 state census recorded only 258 California Indians. In that same census, nine African Americans were counted, all but two working as laborers or servants. There were likely also slaves present, but because California was a free state, there was no option to record them. By 1860 forty African Americans were counted, with most working in domestic roles in private households or as day laborers and a few employed in skilled trades.

Most free African Americans arrived by ship, as crossing by land meant risking one's freedom while travelling through slave states, but sailing was also more expensive than the overland route. Not until the transcontinental railroad was completed in the late 1860s did African Americans travel by land in great numbers, and generally only the middle-class could afford it.[27] They came in such numbers that derogatory place names sprang up almost overnight. The Mother Lode is riddled with Negro Hills, Gulches, and Creeks, each representing "sites where a black man made a lucky strike or where groups of black men lived and mined."[28] In Rough and Ready, Nevada County, Nigger Creek was so named as recently as 2011.[29] Somehow the creek was overlooked when the Board of Geographic Names ruled that "Nigger" be replaced by "Negro" on all official maps

back in 1962. As of 2015, "Nigger" and "Jap" are the only words deemed offensive enough for replacement by the board.[30]

Just off Steele Canyon Road near the southwestern edge of Lake Berryessa is an area called Negro Canyon. In 1876 and 1895, Negro Canyon was part of one of three vast parcels owned by George W. Chapman, a trader from Virginia. A Black trader from Kentucky named William Chapman appears on the 1852 state census (George Chapman appears in the 1852 census for San Francisco, not Napa). William Chapman owned a ranch in Napa County in 1880. The similarities between the two Chapmans indicate William may have been the "Negro" from whence the region took its name. Further research is needed to determine if the area was formerly known as "Nigger Canyon."

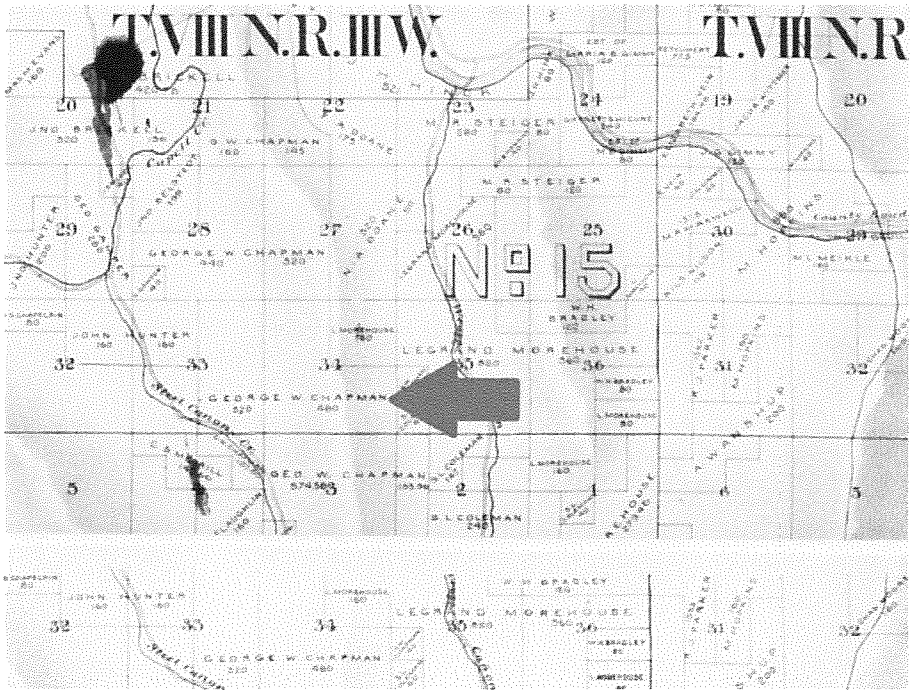


Figure 2. The approximate location of Negro Canyon on the 1895 county parcel map[31]

In 1852, Assemblyman Henry A. Crabb (no relation to Napa vineyardist H. W. Crabb) passed the Fugitive Slave Law in the state legislature, inspired by the federal

Fugitive Slave Act of 1850. The Act and Law gave white Americans the ability to declare ownership over an African American as long as they could not produce papers proving their freedom. Not only did the laws not prevent slave owners from bringing their slaves to California on false promises of freedom, but there also was no limit to how long a slave owner could sojourn in California with their slaves. They also forbade African Americans from crossing state lines to escape to freedom and harshly punished anyone who either aided or failed to turn in a suspected escaped slave. Because slavery was, on paper, illegal, there was no agency to recapture and return runaway slaves. Making matters even more complicated, enforcement of anti-slavery legislation was few and far between. Slavery was barely monitored or slaveholders prosecuted, and buying, selling, and trading human chattel was frequent enough that many whites felt comfortable enough to advertise in newspapers. Kentucky slaveholder Robert Givens wrote a letter in 1852 regarding the pros and cons of keeping his slave in California: "Under the present law it is impossible to hold a slave any longer than the expiration of the present year. I don't consider there is any risk in bringing Patrick alone, under the law as no one will put themselves to the trouble of investigating the matter."[32]

Lapp estimates up to 600 Black slaves participated in the heydays of the Gold Rush, including those who were sent back to slave states before their indenture was ended. The true figures will never be known, however, as many slaveholders stashed their slaves in isolated areas so as to not attract undue attention.[33] Delilah S. Beasley, one of California's first Black female historians, described the situation bluntly:

> the majority of the white settlers at that period in California belonged to either the northern element who were opposed to slavery from principle, or they were opposed to it because they were too poor to own slaves, while the other half of the white settlers in the Territory of California were

> for bringing their slaves because they saw a possibility of working the mines and reaping a fortune through slave labor.[34]

Many slaveholders tried to keep their slaves by forcing them into bondage contracts, and "Under these arrangements, enslaved people ostensibly agreed to work for a period of months or years in the mines or to make a sum of money equivalent to their purchase prices. Masters, in turn, promised to emancipate slaves once they served their terms or earned the cash."[35] Recording these transactions with state officials was an attempt by the masters to not only legitimize Black indenture but also to enforce contracts and discipline African Americans who tried to break them.[36] Dozens of cases were tried in state courts, but the outcome varied depending on whether the case was held to Mexican or California rules and whether the judge was more sympathetic to Southerners or abolitionists. Nevertheless, slaves continued to escape, and free people of color and white allies alike aided them in their flight, came to their rescue in court, wrote tragic accounts of the conditions of slavery, and established active underground railroads. A German visitor to California observed that "The wealthy California Negroes…exhibit a great deal of energy and intelligence in saving their brethren."[37]

Mary Ellen Pleasant, the mother of Civil Rights in California, first gained notoriety when she harbored Archy Lee, a runaway slave in San Francisco. Pleasant began life as a slave herself, but was freed as a child and raised by Quaker abolitionists. She regularly employed former slaves in her businesses. By 1868 she had solidified her reputation as an activist when she won her lawsuit, *Pleasant v. North Beach & Mission Railroad Company*, and desegregated public conveyances in San Francisco.[38] Pleasant died destitute in 1904, but her friend Olive Sherwood of Napa had her interred in the Sherwood family plot in Tulocay Cemetery. Pleasant was in good company with Black

San Franciscans like Bridget Mason and Charlotte Brown, all of whom fought for racial equality in California's public policies and legal system. Pleasant, Mason, Brown, and other Black women defied the stereotypes of women of color. In 1860, not only were 11 percent of African Americans in California women, but 74 percent were literate.[39]

Some slaves did manage to pull themselves out of servitude. By 1850 John Grider had earned enough working at Murphy's Diggings in the Southern Mines to purchase his and his mother's freedom for $800. Caroline soon retired to Marysville, Yuba County.[40] Wyatt, meanwhile, had just built the Central Hotel (also known as Wyatt's Hotel) in Vallejo, with a livery and stable on Virginia Street. Grider took employment as hostler there, and outlasted several hoteliers. He was well-known locally as an excellent roughrider, and was regularly seen driving stages around town.[41]

Figure 3. John Grider[42]

For many years he worked on various California ranches, usually with horses, and at one point even for a mulatto family, Henry and Charles Hannibal, near the Flemingtowne

neighborhood in Vallejo. In the 1880s Grider shifted careers to work at Vallejo Steam Laundry. He retired in the late 1890s or early 1900s, but remained in Vallejo until his death in 1924.[43] Unfortunately, his impact on local history remains mired in obscurity to the wider public even though he was admitted into the Vallejo Society of Pioneers, an organization requiring its members to have been in California before 1849.

Sometime in the late 1850s after buying his freedom, Grider returned the favor by looking out for the welfare of four slaves held on a ranch outside of Napa City. Aaron Rice, Old Man Sours, Wash Strains, and Old Man Sydes were owned or leased by William Rice, a farmer from North Carolina who had acquired at least Aaron Rice and his family after relocating to Missouri and marrying his wife, Louisa Ish. Sometime between 1855 and 1860, the Rices packed up and headed for California, where they settled first in Napa. When Grider contacted Reverend Thomas Starr King about the human rights violation, King personally went to Napa and had the men emancipated. King was a Unitarian minister and fiery orator against slavery, and was so imposing a speaker that he once claimed, "Though I weigh only 120 pounds, when I'm mad, I weigh a ton."[44] What happened to three of the men next is lost to history, but Rice remained in Napa as a free man. Aaron and his teenage son Nathaniel had further legal troubles in August 1860. Aaron petitioned the county court to free his son, and an arrest warrant was put out for William Rice. The local judge ruled against Aaron, saying there was no evidence that William had illegally held Nathaniel (whose middle name, incidentally, was also William). Historian Stacey L. Smith rightfully points out that "In reality, there was probably considerable evidence of the men's enslavement, it was just not admissible in California's courts. The state's refusal to allow African American testimony against

whites…prevented Aaron and Nathaniel Rice from taking the witness stand."[45] Not only did William Rice force Nathaniel to work through the remainder of his indenture contract, he also brought perjury charges against Aaron.[46] Eventually Nathaniel and the rest of the Rices were freed, and they stayed in Napa County at least through the 1880s.

Napa City was frequently used as a jumping off point for miners headed north to Gold Country, as well as a wintering spot away from the freezing mountain temperatures and snowstorms. For the first few years after its founding in 1848, not only was the city the only organized and heavily populated area in the county – which at that time also included part of Lake County – but its population consisted largely of transient young men living in a "tent city" in what is now downtown Napa, with only a few hundred permanent residents. Back then, "Most everybody had a pocket full of silver, or some other California coinage, which came easy and went still more. They bucked...drank freely, worked hard, enjoyed themselves hugely, and were ready for any semi-innocent piece of devilment."[47] By 1860 the population had exploded to nearly 6,500 residents, with an increasing number of planned neighborhoods, banks, churches, schools, and other permanent structures. With only 53 Black and mulatto residents in the county, resources and opportunities were few and far between, and community development was only just getting underway. Once President Lincoln signed the Emancipation Proclamation in 1861 and the end of the Civil War in 1865, the Black population in Napa County grew by leaps and bounds.

What is especially interesting about the African Americans in the 1852 state and 1860 federal census for Napa County is where they came from. Thirty-seven percent hailed from states where slavery was legal while 63 percent were born in states where

slavery was illegal. A more granular look reveals that of the latter group, only 5 percent were from places where slavery was deeply embedded (Washington D.C., South Carolina, and Mormon-controlled Utah Territory), while 61 percent came from border states (mostly Missouri and Virginia). Those from free states tended to be from Massachusetts or New York, not counting the majority who were born in California – all of whom were children three years and under. 1860 is one of the most interesting decades in terms of "types" of African Americans living in Napa. There were still slaves or indentured servants – 18 year old Charity from Missouri, 36 year old Charles with no known place of birth, and 17 year old Martha from Kentucky had no recorded surnames and were living as employees in white households. At the same time, however, pioneering Black families were finally recorded on the federal census. There are eleven families noted, with about half of the couples working in white households as free people and the rest settled on their own land.

Chapter 2: Jim Crow and Jazz: 1860s to 1940s

Although some of its citizens trundled off to the frontlines during the Civil War, most Californians chose to wage ideological warfare rather than engage in armed conflict. As the war dragged on, cries for splitting the state in two were renewed. Before California became a state there had been some interest in creating two separate states: Southern California, a heavily agricultural region with many Black slaves and Southerners, and Northern California, a more urban region with many free African Americans. Like Texas and its repeated calls for secession, Californians are constantly demanding to break up the state based on its demographic regions; as late as 2014 there was a proposal that very nearly made it onto the 2016 ballot to divide the state into six smaller states. California was officially a Union state, but historian B. Gordon Wheeler emphasized that with so many slaves and slaveholders going up against abolitionists and free people of color, "California was a border state, fairly evenly divided between Union and secession sentiment."[1] This era of Black history in Napa, from the declaration of the Emancipation to the dawn of World War II, saw precipitous growth and collapse. In many ways, African Americans travelled full circle, from subservient roles to a cultural renaissance then back to service in eight decades.

African Americans in numerous Golden State cities tried to volunteer their services to the Union, and all were turned down or ignored. At a committee meeting at Mary Ellen Pleasant's San Francisco home, they drafted a proposal to the War Department seeking permission to raise "from 5,000 to 10,000 free black men" to fight under President Lincoln. Their offer was similarly rejected.[2] Eventually they broke through military discrimination, and nearly a third of the 16,000 or so Californians who

enlisted were African American. Some were stationed in frontier garrisons while others saw combat back east. Twelve were part of the California Column who successfully quashed a Confederate invasion attempt in New Mexico. Black women's groups collected money to support the families of men in the military, supported injured vets, offered aid to other African Americans seeking refuge in the state, sent thousands of dollars to former slaves still trapped in the South, and even travelled into the Deep South to become teachers in newly freed regions.[3]

One of the most important side effects of the growing call for national emancipation was the repeal of California's ban on African Americans testifying in court. In a speech delivered to the state assembly in early February 1863, Honorable J. H. Warwick demanded that the law "which is a burning shame on our humanity, a disgrace to our intelligence, and a foul blot on the fair escutcheon of the land, shall be expunged, obliterated and erased from among the statutes of the State."[4] A month later, noted abolitionist and editor of the *San Jose Mercury News*, J. J. Owen, spoke to the state assembly, saying, "The man who is not an Abolitionist to-day, has been left behind to grope, with benighted footsteps, amid the decaying forms of dead ideas that slumber in the musty ruins of the past…From the moral chaos of the present will evolve a world of resplendent beauty, whose sun shall be constitutional liberty, and whose moon shall be equal liberty to all men."[5] In his *History of California*, published in 1866, Franklin Tuthill describes the legislation as "a cruel wrong to humanity, and the jealous whites suffered their share of its evil; for, though a negro saw a man, white or black, murdered by a negro, his lips were sealed in the witness-box, and justice cheated of her penalty."[6]

The law that prevented Nathaniel Rice from gaining his freedom was finally repealed on March 21, 1863. It is not insignificant that this legislation was passed under the supervision of Leland Stanford, California's first Republican governor (elected 1862), and that Napa County was staunchly Republican at the time. It was so anti-Democratic that a summary of a June 1865 *Napa Register* article, the local Republican newspaper, stated that the Democratic Party "has the treachery of [President James] Buchanan, the rascality of [John B.] Floyd and the treason of Jeff Davis all emblazoned on its tombstone, must be bold and unblushing indeed to attempt to creep out of its coffin – ten fathom's deep in a nations curses."[7] It is also worth mentioning that while African Americans were permitted to testify in court, the bill upheld the provision blocking the same rights to Native Americans, Chinese, and "Mongolians," proving once again that California is a state of two steps forward, one step back.[8]

The Thirteenth Amendment in 1865 suddenly freed hundreds of thousands of African Americans, and Black Californians began to actively participate in the political and legal processes. In San Francisco, Black activists began dismantling segregation in public transportation by filing suit against racist streetcar companies. In 1866, Pleasant, Charlotte Brown, and Emma J. Turner were made to disembark from a streetcar because of their race; within two years Pleasant had won her lawsuit, *Pleasant v. North Beach & Mission Railroad Company*, and public conveyances in San Francisco were desegregated.[9] It took almost thirty years of near constant suits before a state-wide anti-discrimination law was passed.

Napa County had a county-wide railroad by 1868 and electric commuter rail by the early 1900s, and no evidence has been found showing that African Americans were

barred from riding, forced to ride in the back, or sit in segregated cars. In fact, when the commuter rail was closed down in 1937, the last rider was Charles C. Courtney, a biracial man from Vallejo, who also held the distinction of being the first rider on that same route on July 4, 1905.[10] According to the federal census records and voter registries, Courtney was born in Kansas in 1865 to a Black man and his white wife, both from Missouri. The couple married about 1865 and had at least four children. From 1890 to 1920 Courtney migrated north through Visalia, San Francisco, Oakland, and finally he and his first wife settled in Vallejo where he worked at Mare Island Naval Yard as a janitor.

Even though they had won their freedom and, with the passage of the Fourteenth Amendment in 1868, secured full citizenship, African Americans were still excluded from voting, accessing equal education, and homesteading, among other rights white Americans enjoyed unencumbered. Nevertheless, California African Americans strove to better their lives and the lives of their children. In 1865, they were required to pay school taxes like everyone else, but state laws barred them from enrolling in white schools, and any desegregated public school could have all state funds cut off. A separate school could be set up if there were at least ten Black children in the district, but no public funds would be available.[11] African Americans took matters into their own hands and opened colored schools to ensure the next generation had even more opportunities than the previous. The first colored school opened in 1854 in San Francisco, the St. Cyprian Methodist Episcopal Church, a private school with twenty-three students.[12] The problem with most colored schools is that while they separate, they were hardly equal. The *Pacific Appeal* lamented the state of San Francisco's Black schools in 1874:

> There has been no improvement made in the condition of the main school on Russian Hill, which resembles a picture of Noah's Ark landed on

> Mount Ararat, and the other, a small room rented by the Board of Education, in a dwelling house in the neighborhood of Fifth and Folsom streets. There are 43 or more splendidly built school houses in the city suited or adapted to every neighborhood, while colored children have to travel the two extremes of the city to gratify the prejudices of proscription…but not one step has been taken by the Republican Board of Education to make the least improvement in the condition of either colored school over that which was visible before the slaveholders rebellion in 1861.[13]

Napa's colored school, located on Randolph Street, began operating January 20, 1868, as evidenced by letter by Joseph Hatton printed in *The Elevator*, a Black newspaper whose slogan was "Equality before the Law": "I am also happy to inform you that the school for the education of our children opened on Monday, with a white lady as teacher, and a fair prospect of continuing for some time."[14] A year later an advertisement was placed for "a colored teacher to take charge of a school in Napa city with a good recommendation. Apply to J.S. Hatton, Main Street, Napa City."[15] Napa's colored school was largely successful during its brief existence. Out of about a dozen or more children under the tutelage of Fannie Hackett, four made honor roll in 1875: Lizzie and Lilla Bowser, Edward Hatton, and Adeline West.[16]

The state supreme court agreed to hear a case in 1872 about a Black girl named Mary Frances Ward who tried to enroll in the all-white Broadway Grammar School in San Francisco. The case was funded in part by African American families state-wide – including, possibly, William Veasey, a Napa barber born a free man in Pennsylvania who was Napa's representative on the Executive Committee of the Educational Committee of the CCC.[17] The state supreme court sided against Ward, stating that segregation *had not* violated her Fourteenth Amendment rights, a decision reminiscent of *Plessy v. Ferguson*, passed nearly two decades later. In essence, Chief Justice Wallace believed Ward "was

entitled to an education and due equal facilities but did not have to be admitted to the regular schools to get them."[18] However, the ruling also specified that "In school districts where there was no school for black children (the law required no separate school for blacks if they numbered fewer than ten), the community was *compelled* to let the black children enroll in the white schools."[19] As with what would happen half a century later, many white parents across California withdrew their children from their newly integrated schools in protest, but for the most part integration went relatively smoothly. The Vallejo school district was the first in the North Bay to desegregate its schools, although as Sharon McGriff-Payne notes, it had less to do with racial equality than frugality: "[By] eliminating the teacher's salary and the 'heavy rents' [which] paid for the separate facility, the cash-strapped district was able to save on costs."[20]

In July 1878 the Napa school district closed the colored school due to the financial strain of running segregated schools: "One important change which has been made is the abolishing of the separate school…for African children, who now go into the regular schools with the white children. The separate education of these 12 negro children has cost as much heretofore as the education of the fifty white children, hence the change."[21] There are no further references to segregated schools in the newspapers, and given how few Black children lived outside Napa city limits in the nineteenth century, it is doubtful there were any other Black-only schools elsewhere in the county. Regardless, the students in the colored school transferred with no issues to the white schools, and Napa was fully integrated. Black children were attending and graduating from predominately white schools in Napa City.

Figure 4. Irene Veasey, second row, far left, in a class photo, possibly of a school in St. Helena, ca. 1885[22]

Although many African Americans in California went on to attend trade schools and prestigious universities, there is no evidence any of Napa's Black citizens persued such interests. The census records show no adults attending school until 1880, despite the presence of Napa Collegiate Institute (today Napa Valley College) and many secretarial and trade schools throughout the valley. Not until 1930 is there any record of a Black person attending the county's only four-year institution of higher education, Pacific Union College, a private religious school. What can be gleaned from the changes in school attendance and literacy rates in the census records is that Napa's African American young people graduated from grammar or high school and went straight into the workforce. By the early twentieth century, education was important but not as much of a priority as economic stability.

At the same time they sought desegregated education, African Americans pushed for their own churches. Thousands of Black congregants voluntarily left integrated houses of worship under the Baptist, Presbyterian, and Methodist Episcopal to form their

own organizations. Churches were the first Black organizations to develop in Northern California, and the first Black church founded in the state was likely the African Methodist Episcopal Church (AME) in Sacramento.[23] AME had its origins in eighteenth century east coast white church goers refusing Black congregants, so it is more than a little ironic that California's AME churches were established under willing and eager segregation.[24] AME has traditionally always been a politically and socially active church, focusing on education, political involvement, and community engagement. Religion remains a key facet of life for many African Americans, and for many the church continues to serve as a center of community.

In Napa, Black Methodists attended alongside their white fellow congregants, but in 1867 they collected funds to establish their own AME Zion (AMEZ) church. A solicitation note in the *Napa Daily Register* read:

> Our colored people are passing around a subscription paper, or, rather, collecting money to pay for the church they lately purchased from the M. E. congregation in Napa. We hope they will be successful in their efforts. Our citizens generally, should contribute to this enterprise. Give what you can, and let the colored people have a house of worship of their own. As a people they have never before made an appeal to our citizens, and have always given their mite towards celebrations and paying church debts. We should return their favors.[25]

Apparently they were successful in their request, for they relocated the Methodist church's old wooden structure to a site near Washington Street in Napa. The segregation of churchgoers seems to have had less to do with racial tensions and everything to do with wanting a church to call their own. Bishop J. J. Clinton gave two speeches at the two Methodist churches in 1868, and attracted such attendance that many people attended both engagements – the white church was full of Black congregants for the morning service, and the tiny AMEZ church was packed with white attendees in the evening.[26]

Despite having a population who claimed to be "religious and strictly moral" and deserving of "all commendation for industry, sobriety, intelligence and moral worth," attendance faltered at the Black church.[27] They were also unable to secure a permanent minister, although Reverend Robert Rice, Aaron's father, frequently officiated.[28] They may have been unable to pay for a college-trained rector out of their local tithes and were dissatisfied with the less qualified options. Many Black preachers, including Rev. Rice, lacked formal theological training. Some were, "in the words of Darius Stokes, 'all sound and no sense, depending upon stentorian lungs, and a long-drawn mourn, for their success.' Under such pastors, church services tended to become intensely emotional, with trances and weird singing."[29] What Napa's African Americans needed was a community leader and organizer, not a layperson or performer, and the congregation floundered. By 1881, the church was "the abode of bats and mice, being entirely dilapidated."[30] According to the oral tradition of Kyle's Temple AMEZ church in Vallejo, its first congregation in the late nineteenth century was comprised of some of Napa's AMEZ members. So far, no evidence has turned up to either prove or disprove that theory, but it is possible given the Black flight out of Napa and into Vallejo in the years before Kyle's Temple was founded.

On March 30, 1870, just five years after the end of the Civil War, the Fifteenth Amendment was ratified, granting all citizens the right to vote regardless of race, ethnicity, or if they had once been enslaved. Philip A. Bell, editor of *The Elevator*, wrote, "PROGRESS OF LIBERTY! Gloria Triumphe! We are free! The Fifteenth Amendment…has received the ratification of the requisite number of States; and when officially announced by the Secretary of State will become the law of the land and *must*

be obeyed – the special pleadings of Gov. Haight and the fulminations of the Democratic majority of the Legislature of California…to the contrary notwithstanding."[31] In Napa, the passage of the Fifteenth Amendment was marked with multiple celebrations. The *Napa County Reporter* recorded the events in detail, including unnecessary casual racism:

> At about noon a couple of anvils were brought into requisition, and made to play the part of a cannon. At or near 1 o'clock in the afternoon the exercises of the day commenced in Hartson's Hall. Prayer was offered up to the Most High, and was followed by singing. Fred Sparrow acted as President of the day and Joseph Hatton as Vice President. Thomas Gains read the 13th, 14th, and 15th Constitutional Amendments. Music. Then came the oration by Mr. Hillery of San Francisco – a genuine but pretty smart darkey. Hillery is a good speaker, and as he was speaking in behalf of his own race his remarks brought forth the most enthusiastic applause from his colored countryman. Like most darkies Hillery has a full appreciation of the humorous, and besides is something of a wag himself; consequently he kept quiet a crowd in a good humor for some time. We will not refer particularly to his remarks, but [unreadable] say his reflections upon foreigners was entirely out of place, more particularly as there were a number present. If the negro expects to be a good citizen he must not allow prejudice to get the better of him. The festivities of the day passed off agreeably to the colored people, and nothing occurred to mar or interfere with their jollification. In the evening they set a collation in Quinn & Williams Hall, and sang, marched around the room and enjoyed themselves until near midnight.[32]

The quip about not offending foreigners carries the sting of irony, given white Californians reprehensible treatment of Chinese immigrants, including several arson fires set at the two Chinatowns in the valley.

Shortly after the Fifteenth Amendment reaffirmed his rights as an American citizen, Frederick Sparrow, a 27-year-old barber in Napa City, became the first African American to register to vote in the North Bay.[33] Joseph Hatton, another middle class Black barber, recorded thirty-eight eligible voters in Napa County in November 1869, just prior to ratification: James Anderson, G. W. Ashley, J. H. Baker, William L. Bayley, George W. Bently, James Boadley, A. Brock, George W. Brown, William Brooks, Paul

Canner, Richard Canner, Thomas E. Gaines, Hiram Grigsbey, Edward G. Hatton, Joseph S. Hatton, James Holman, Armstead C. Jones, Peter Lancaster, John Moore, James E. Nicholas, Henry Pearsall, Jerry Pearsall, Jerry Preston, Aaron Rice, Nathaniel Rice, Rev. Robert Rice, William Russell, George W. Scott, Abraham Seawell, M. Solaman, Frederick A. Sparrow, John St. Clair, A. F. Starkey, Samuel Starr, Robert Taylor, G. W. Want, James Williams, and John Wright.[34] Ten of these men appear on no census records for Napa County, and of the remaining twenty-eight, only six were born free.

Voting was practically a sacred act for African Americans, and an incident the following election year shows just how seriously they took it. There were three fights during that particular day of ballot-casting, one of which involved "three of the 'best' men of the [Black] community…By very strenuous efforts of bystanders and friends, a serious affray was prevented."[35] The article went on to describe the circumstances leading to the fracas:

> Last Wednesday morning one of our colored citizens assuaged the privilege of voting for a Democrat, and he soon ascertained that he had entered upon a dangerous road, for, on arriving on Main Street where some of his own people were discussing the subject, one of them called him an ugly name and a fight ensued. We didn't see it, but understand that one of the people received a gash over the eye and a severe bite in the breast. His eye was doubtless black next morning.[36]

Not everyone in Napa was pleased with African American men having the right to vote. A few months before the aforementioned fight,

> the colored voters took a lively interest in the Republican primaries, and one or two of them drained the cap of enthusiasm to the dregs. One of this class engaged in a lively passage of words with a Republican who didn't like negro suffrage. A third party of foreign descent interfered with a little good advice for the purpose of soothing the angry feelings which were risking and met with the following pungent rebuke: 'Look yer, Mr. ---, dar's a difference twixt me and you. I'se an American and you's an Englishman; dat's the difference.' Verily, the Star of Empire is moving.[37]

In the nineteenth century, the right to vote – and the fight to secure the right to vote – was intended as a strictly male activity. Participation in the political process, as Barbara Y. Welke explains, "was a defining rite of manhood. To be excluded from exercising those rights was to be emasculated."[38] Black women were excluded from such political activity, but found other ways of pressing for civil rights. While Black men were demanding the rights to vote and to testify in court "as rights of manhood…the right to be a passenger, to sit, to be carried on a streetcar [was] a distinctly female right."[39] Yet even the right to travel unencumbered could be framed from the male perspective, as a Black woman turned away from public transport and forced to walk impinged upon her husband's dignity and made him look like a failed provider.

The passage of the Thirteenth, Fourteenth, and Fifteenth Amendments should have heralded the beginning of Napa's Black Renaissance, and the county's early Black pioneers certainly believed it would ensue. After a visit to the Napa Valley, Philip Bell proclaimed that Napans "seemed to vie with each other in conducing to our comfort – white as well as colored," and that "We have never visited a more delightful locality in this State, or out of it, than Napa Valley, for beauty of situation and salubrity of climate. May its inhabitance ever enjoy the highest favor of our *great benefactor*."[40] He visited Napa again in October 1873, and reported that the Black population of the city was "between eighty and ninety, and they poll thirty-seven votes, all Republican. This is a very fair proportion; above the general average. They have a colored school, numbering fifteen scholars. There is no colored Sunday School here, and we are glad of it. [Edward] Hatton's children, and some others attend the Episcopal Sunday School."[41] Yet by the dawn of the twentieth century, Napa County's Black population had dwindled to

pre-Civil War rates. Not only were economic opportunities extremely limited, but African Americans who had settled there had a hard time recruiting new citizens. Bell, after a visit to the Napa Valley in 1865, wrote "We were informed by some of our colored farmers, that they would like often to give employment to our own brethren, but they cannot get them to leave the city of San Francisco to go into the country to work. Why will not our young men, at least, leave the cities and look for higher positions in living pursuits, than our large cities can afford?"[42]

In the South, the Exodusters, 20,000 to 40,000 ex-slaves, fled the Jim Crow laws for Kansas in 1879, prompting a white backlash. "When the white South realized it was in danger of losing its labor force, it reacted violently. Klansmen in Mississippi threatened to sink any boat on which Black migrants were found. Other Exodusters were beaten, and some were murdered for attempting to leave. The Democrats in Congress demanded an investigation, claiming the Exodus of 1879 was a Republican plot to wreck the southern economy."[43] A Black mother who had fled the region was offered a free ride back home, and she exclaimed that "she would rather starve than go back to the South."[44] Napa's African American community likely had many discussions about Black migration out of the South, as the topic was often coupled with the desire to see more African Americans continue their migration to the Golden State. Articles about it appeared in Black San Francisco newspapers as early as 1871, and their flight was supported with resolutions passed at the 1879 National Colored Convention in Tennessee.[45] California African Americans recognized that the West "was more open and more free. One had choices of lateral mobility unavailable in the East. And for blacks, since there were so few of them until the second world war, they suffered discrimination but they were never

perceived as a threat by whites. It was a relatively benign and comfortable place, so white and blacks could indulge a kind of complacency."[46]

After the Civil War, there were two groups of African Americans who settled in Napa County: the former slave and the free person of color. The ex-slave was brought to California from a slave or border state by their master, and after emancipation continued to work in labor and menial jobs. Many never became literate themselves, but ensured that their children were educated. Free, middle-class African Americans arrived with the twin goals of community growth and racial progress in mind. In Napa, they were active in Black organizations, devout, educated, and favored civic engagement in the Black community. They freely associated and intermarried with former slaves with no obvious class issues, as exemplified in the union between the Seawells (born into slavery) and Hattons (born free).

Until the 1860s, the Black population in Napa County had been increasing only gradually. By the 1870s, the population had more than doubled. With 101 African Americans counted on the 1870 census, this marked the highest number of Black people ever counted in Napa County – a designation that would hold for the next 80 years. Many arrived during or just after the Civil War. What was most remarkable about this new group of African Americans was the increase in skilled workers and literacy. Those noted as illiterate tended to be the ones old enough to have been born into slavery. Their children and grandchildren were, more often than not, literate and/or attended school. The increase in population meant an increase in families, and better paying jobs meant more wives could be stay-at-home mothers without suffering from the loss of dual

income. Most adult men worked as laborers, as opposed to the previous decade when most were in domestic service.

Figure 5. One of the Pearsalls (possibly Henry or Jessie), top row, second from left, in a Sawyer Tannery employee photo, 1881[47]

Figure 6. Clayton Jones, top row, center, in a Sawyer Tannery employee photo, 1899[48]

The remainder of the nineteenth century was a period of rapid decline for Napa's African American community. The population rates fell to historic lows, economic

opportunities collapsed, and those who could afford to leave most often did. With the dawn of the twentieth century white Californians enjoyed the fruits of new technologies and better living conditions while African American development stalled. In urban areas like Los Angeles, San Francisco, and Sacramento, "Black Californians, having been driven out of the 'clean' and better-paid occupations, had little opportunity to better themselves economically. Other than servant, janitor or boot-black, employment prospects for California's African-Americans were practically non-existent."[49]

Herbert G. Ruffin, historian and author of *Uninvited Neighbors: African Americans in Silicon Valley, 1769-1990*, identifies four main reasons why rural communities failed to grow their African American populations, and two of them could just as easily be applied to Napa County as Santa Clara. While economic opportunities seemed vast and enduring compared to the South and even the North, ultimately they were just as finite in California as in the rest of the nation. African Americans in the Golden State were "limited to domestic work, manual labor, and a small pool of skilled professionals and entrepreneurs."[50] In Napa, most of the professionals who owned their own businesses were barbers – at one point in the 1870s there were three Black barbers in downtown Napa alone – while the rest operated farms outside city limits, were domestic servants or laborers, or were employed by white entrepreneurs in menial or trade positions. There were no Black-owned groceries, pharmacies, or dry goods stores in Napa County, and the Black community was too small and spread out to have their own neighborhoods with businesses catering specifically to them. By 1880 there was more diversity in employment, and a few business owners were able to branch out of barbering. Edward and Susan Hatton owned the Arcade Restaurant in downtown Napa.

Pennsylvanian Charles Stewart operated a dance house and hotel in Spanishtown (see Appendix 5). Spanishtown's borders shifted frequently, but generally speaking it was just north of downtown Napa and included Caymus Street, Pueblo Avenue, and Lincoln Avenue. The neighborhood was almost entirely Mexican, with some African Americans, and also contained the bulk of the city's houses of ill repute as late as the mid-twentieth century. Stewart, a mulatto, and his Mexican wife, lived in Spanishtown close to the Sparrows, Pearsalls, and other interracial Black families.

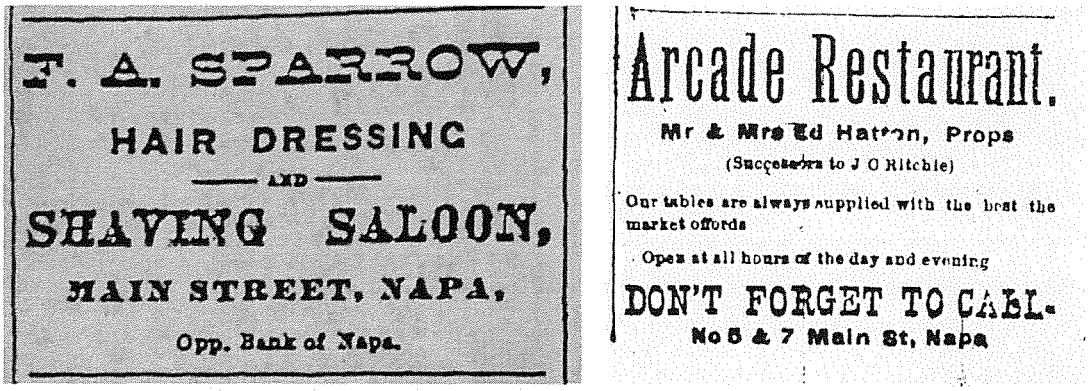


Figure 7. Advertisements for Sparrow's barbershop (1878) and the Arcade Restaurant (1887)[51]

There was plenty of room for lateral movement in Napa County, but vertical movement was virtually impossible. The economic glass ceiling was low, and the longer educated and politically active African Americans remained in Napa the more frustrating and restrictive it must have felt. Ruffin's fourth reason points out that not only did African Americans tend to settle in cities with convenient transportation and waterfront employment, but they also sought to establish Black communities. Although Napa's railroad connected the county with Vallejo and the journey was less than half an hour long, getting to the farms in the surrounding countryside was more challenging. Without a large and diverse Black community with its own entertainment, recreation, services, or resources, it became increasingly difficult to both attract new African Americans and

retain those the county already had. Agriculture (including viticulture) has always been the dominant feature of Napa County, and even today those who long for the hubbub of city life are often disappointed by the quietness of its country life, regardless of race.

1880 was Napa's golden year for African Americans. It had the second highest number of African Americans recorded in the census records between 1852 and 1940, the greatest diversity in employment, the highest rate of children attending school, and the first year where adults are recorded as attending school. In the nineteenth century (save 1860), the majority of African Americans in Napa County worked in unskilled labor or trade jobs like mail carrier or "laundress.". The median age began to rise as well, as fewer young couples with children lived in the valley. Edward and Susan Hatton arrived in Napa County in the mid-1850s (see Appendix 2), where Edward established a barbershop. He also worked as the Napa and Vallejo agent for *The Elevator* and *Pacific Appeal*, two African American newspapers.[52] He moved to Vallejo in 1865 after giving his shop to his son, Joseph, and daughter-in-law, Esther Seawell. Edward later went on to represent Vallejo on the organizing committee for the CCC. In 1867, he wrote an impassioned letter to the editor of *The Elevator* pressing for Black suffrage, writing, "Why should we of this State be treated with so much injustice? Are we not as intelligent as any class of the community, and are we not taxed as well as others? Why this distinction? I think it is time we should be doing something for ourselves."[53] He later relocated to San Francisco where he worked first as a stone-cutter and later in an insurance office. When he died of rheumatism in 1889, he left behind his wife, two daughters, and ten grandchildren.[54]

Joseph and Frederick Sparrow both served as delegates from Napa at the CCC. Joseph had been mining in California since 1849. He and his family left Napa City for the countryside to try farming, but by the early 1900s he, too, had left the county for Marysville.[55] Sparrow was married with three children, and was educated in one of the first schools for Black children established in the 1850s. According to census records, voter registries, and burial records, by 1900 Joseph Hatton and his family also left Napa for Marysville. His wife, Esther Seawell, died in a Spanish Influenza outbreak in 1915, and Joseph passed away a year later. By 1910, Frederick Sparrow and his second wife Jennie B. Hall were living in the hamlet of Glen Ellen in Sonoma; he died the following year. William Veasey, his wife Relieoia, their three children, and his wife's aunt arrived in St. Helena in the late 1860s, and were the only Black family in town. He ran a barbershop on Main Street (see Appendix 3).[56] Two of their children died young, and William passed in 1890.

Of course, not all African Americans abandoned Napa County. Esther Hatton's aunt and cousin, Matilda and Abraham Seawell, had both been brought to Napa as slaves in the 1850s by brothers William and Major Seawell. "Aunt Tillie" was the aunt of Joseph Hatton and Abraham Seawell, and passed away in 1880 in the former's home after a brief but fatal illness. "Uncle Abe" had already lost his wife and one of his two children by the time he fell ill in the early 1890s. "He was a very popular old man, with always a pleasant word for everyone. Of a generous nature, his house was always open and he was always willing to share what little he had with those who needed assistance."[57] He died at 80 years old in his home.

Nathaniel Rice, his wife Annie, and his father Aaron remained in Napa until their deaths. Nathaniel outlived the rest of his family, and by 1900 had moved in with the Canners. Paul Canner came to the valley after the Civil War. He had been a slave in Missouri, and was given some money and livestock upon being freed. He and his wife Julia lived on a ranch out in Dry Creek where Paul hauled tanning bark and worked as a teamster for neighboring ranchers. Some of that property became the Enterprise School, a one-room school house that produced "an electrical engineer…[a] school teacher, registered nurse, school principal, a prominent real estate broker in Napa, and a civil engineer."[58] When they realized their children would not receive an adequate education in the country, they relocated to a house on Napa Street just north of downtown Napa near the fluctuating borders of Spanishtown where Wesley Jennings was born.

The Canners moved to St. Helena in 1893 when Wesley was six months old. As an adult, he was a skilled musician and worked as an electrician – it is said he built the first radio in town, installed the first sound film at the theater, and wired for electricity many of the old wineries. Eva, his wife, hailed from Texas, her parents also born into slavery, and came to the county looking for work as a nurse.[59] She was employed by one of the owners of the former Schramsberg Winery, then a private residence, when they met at a dance at Tucker Farm Center where Wesley was performing with his band.[60] The couple spent the rest of their lives living together in St. Helena. Lucinda "Lou" Strickland O'Connor, one of Paul and Julia's daughters, also lived in Napa City for many decades. Lou was widowed twice, and her daughter, Mazie Barfield (née Strickland), lost her husband after only a few years of marriage. The mother-daughter pair lived together most of their lives in rental homes on Napa and Yajome Streets. Lou worked at

a glove factory before retiring, and Mazie spent much of her working life as a fruit packer at Sunsweet Growers, a fruit company on Jackson Street.

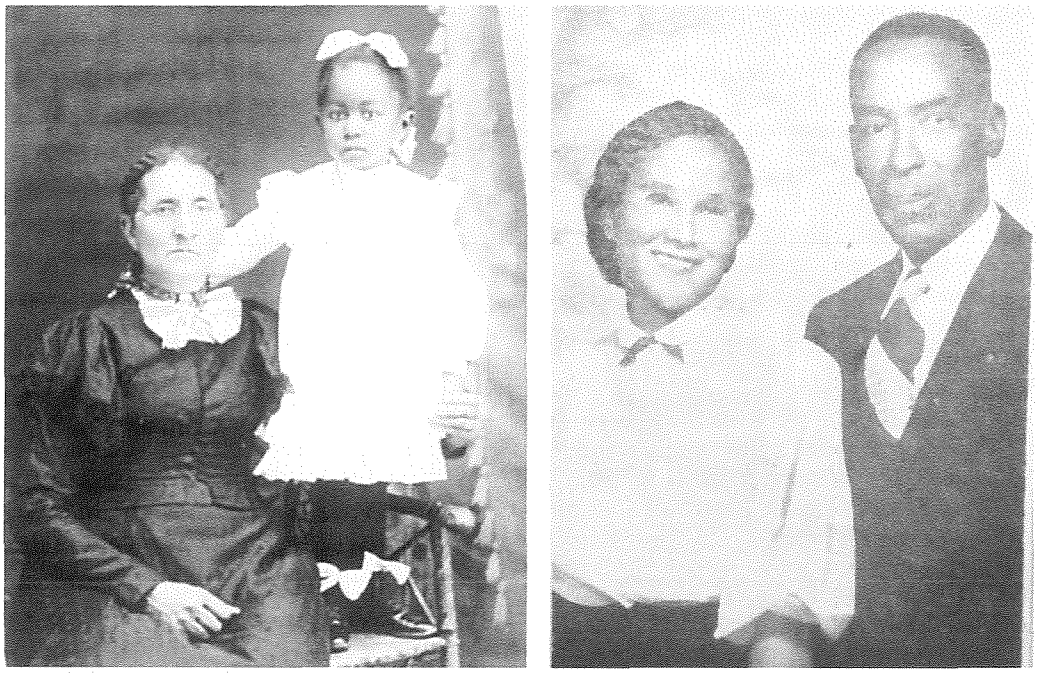


Figure 8. Left: Julia Canner with her granddaughter Mazie Strickland. Right: Wesley and Eva Jennings on their 25th wedding anniversary.[61]

Hiram Grigsby was likely brought to Napa by the prolific Grigsby family, part of the Grigsby-Ide wagon train, the first group to travel overland to California. In 1871 he was awarded 133 acres near Yountville through the Homestead Act of 1820 (see Appendix 4). Although an 1872 notice in the newspaper requested any information on his wife and children from back home (Patsey Stokes and Margaret, Amos, and Hiram Jr.), Hiram married two more times in California, first to Lucy and later to Anne Hudges, a free woman and widow from New York who had settled in Napa as a cook. Hiram was later declared insane – a catchall term for a host of physiological and psychological ailments – and he and Annie are both gone from the records by 1900.

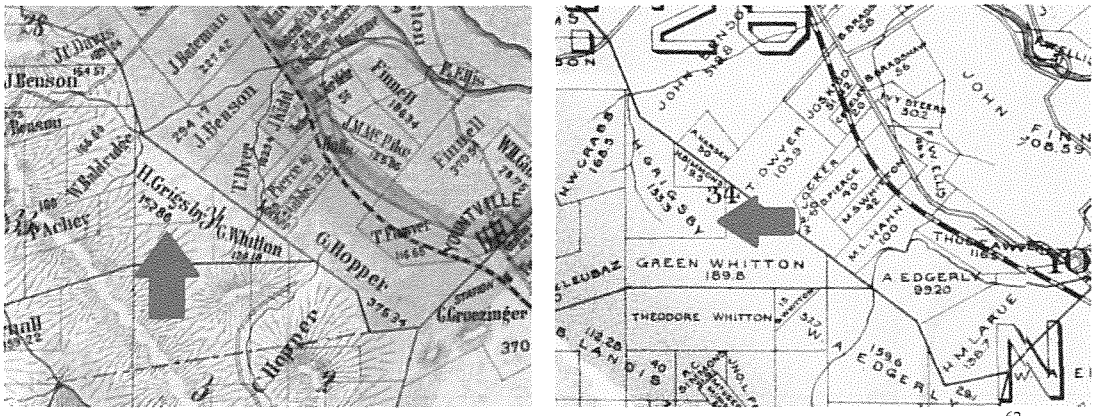


Figure 9. The location of Hiram Grigsby's Yountville farm in 1876 (left) and 1895 (right).[62]

Events that rocked the rest of the state and nation – the Spanish-American War in 1898, the 1906 San Francisco earthquake, the formation of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People in 1909, W.E.B. Du Bois' exuberant trip West in 1913 – passed by Napa's dwindling Black population with little to no discernible effect. Only one Black Napan served in World War I: Wesley Jennings. He had tried to enlist alongside his friends in the Napa Ambulance Company, but was rejected because of his race. He was soon drafted anyway.[63]

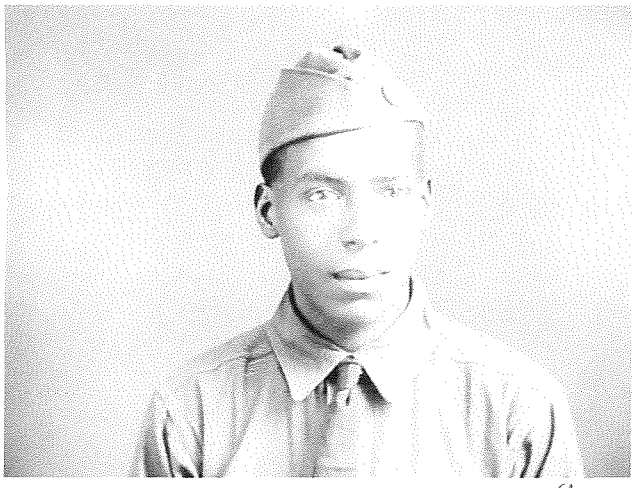


Figure 10. Wesley Jennings during World War I[64]

Even Prohibition (1920 to 1933), which devastated Napa County's viticulture so much that it took nearly half a century to fully recover, had no direct impact on local African

Americans, as none appear to have owned vineyards, wineries, or cellars. The census records do not note any working in the wine industry; if they worked as agricultural laborers, it was nearly always as day laborers or ranch/farm hands. The new generation of Black Napans had no interest in pushing socio-economic boundaries or improving race relations, and the old generation had failed to secure a place for themselves in local politics or community development. While the rest of the (white) world modernized, African American life in Napa County turned the clock back as most of the successful families relocated elsewhere or passed on.

The Roaring Twenties marked a decade where half the country seemed determined to hold on to the "good old days" while the other half sacrificed their blood, sweat, and tears in a push for cultural revolution. While Black Americans tended to support nationalism and conservatism as much as their white counterparts, they wanted little to do with the traditions that had held them down for centuries. The 1920 federal census marked the first time more than half the population lived in urban areas rather than rural, a shift which suddenly brought people of all races, religions, and economic stations in direct contact with each other. African Americans flocked to manufacturing and mechanical industries, and from 1910 to 1920, the rate employed in such work "increased by 40 percent, from 631,280 to 886,810."[65] Many southern Blacks working in agriculture in the 1920s were sharecroppers, which trapped them in an annual cycle of debt and repayment to their plantations.[66] Poverty was exacerbated by a boll weevil infestation and other natural disasters, the worst of which was the Great Flood of 1927. It smothered 27,000 square miles, displaced 700,000 people, killed another 246, and cost $347 million.[67] The rest of the U.S. was entrenched in racism, but the level and

frequency of violence was much lower than in the South. That, along with more employment opportunities and greater access to better education, drove 1.5 million Black people out the South and into the North and West between 1915 and 1930.[68]

The 1920s was more than just the Age of Wonderful Nonsense, it was also the Age of Intolerance. Traditionalists used increasingly drastic attempts to curb the alternative lifestyle of the bright young things and activists through a blood and fear-soaked counterrevolution of suppression. Fears of communism, socialism, fascism, and anarchy had everyone on edge, especially against "hyphenated Americans," but it was mostly the saturation of the job market – too many lower paid immigrants and people of color competing for jobs previously held by higher paid white Americans – that stoked the nativist flames. According Mae Ngai:

> Labor shortages in the North during World War I created opportunities in northern cities for one and a half million African Americans eager to leave the Jim Crow South. Over 500,000 Mexicans entered the United States during the war years and through the 1920s, working in agriculture, industry, and railroad work in the Southwest and Midwest…Before the war most Americans viewed the nation's "race problem" in sectional terms. There was a "Negro problem" in the South; a "Mexican problem" in the Southwest; an "Asiatic problem" on the Pacific coast; an "immigrant problem" in northern cities. Relatively few people of color lived outside of these regional contexts. But in the 1920s race became a national "problem" and required adaptations and clarifications of policy.[69]

The Ku Klux Klan saw a great resurgence after its reestablishment in 1915, heralded in part by D. W. Griffith's Klan homage film *Birth of a Nation*. Many Americans were fearful of the violent and chaotic events taking place on the world stage and reacted by adopting isolationist rhetoric.[70] This overinflated sense of patriotism coupled with unsubstantiated xenophobia was fueled by the rapid influx in immigrants. The KKK latched onto that paranoia. Where the old guard used terrorism to enforce Redemption

(the period after Reconstruction where Southern Democrats reinstituted their pre-Civil War power structures), the reborn Klan looked beyond white supremacy and "championed themselves as defenders not of a racial or caste system but of traditional values. This vision allowed the Klan to win the support of people who would not normally have supported it. New recruits saw modernization, not necessarily racial minorities, as a threat to their traditional ways of life."[71] Before its collapse in 1928, the KKK had from two to five million members throughout the country, at least half in cities with populations exceeding 50,000. Their Western membership included the governors of Oregon (Walter M. Pierce, 1923-1927) and Texas (Dan Moody, 1927-1931), and the mayor of Denver (Dewey C. Bailey, 1923-1931).[72]

Yet African Americans still went west, for they knew they had no chance in the South and at least some in the West, no matter what the restrictions. James Weldon Johnson, NAACP national secretary, said in 1925 that "Your West is giving the Negro a better deal than any other section of the country. I cannot attempt to analyze the reasons for this, but the fact remains that there is more opportunity for my race, and less prejudice against it in this section of the country than anywhere else in the United States."[73] Many African Americans believed him, and while it was true to some extent, they still experienced detrimental discrimination, racism, and restrictions of their civil rights. Suffering less is always preferable to suffering more, but it is still suffering.

At the same time Mazie, Lou, Wesley, and Eva were living unobtrusive lives as productive, tax-paying members of society, the KKK was flexing their weight in the valley. Italian, German, French, and Swiss immigrants flocked to Napa County in the 1880s through 1920s, so much so that Napa City even had its own "Little Italy." In the

decade between 1870 and 1880, the county-wide population nearly doubled from about 7,600 to just over 15,000, and by 1920 jumped again to over 20,000. Many of these immigrants worked in the wine industry, and they suffered the hardest during Prohibition, from the loss of their family fortune that had been tied up in grapes and bootlegging arrests. The Klan held two major rallies in Napa County during those years, both of which were covered by the *St. Helena Star*. The Klan attracted a handful of followers in Napa during the few years they managed to keep a chapter active. The first rally took place on October 20, 1923, in a field near Napa State Hospital. For two hours, 200 Klansmen paraded around "like phantoms in the moonlight."[74] Of the participants, more than 100 were initiated into the order, including 25 Navy seamen from Mare Island. Those sailors likely interacted with some of the Black Napans who did the manual labor at the shipyard in the 1920s, men like Jackson Bell, a rigger, Isaac Barnes, a roadworker, and Chester and Frank Patterson, general laborers. The *Star* estimated 2,000 spectators watched the rally from a nearby hillock as the Klan lit a 20-foot tall cross on fire.[75]

On August 2, 1924, another rally was held, this time near St. Helena in a field owned by H. J. Lewelling. This time 8,000 to 10,000 onlookers goggled at the proceedings. The Napa chapter even rented a three-car electric train for the journey to celebrate the initiation of 60 new members. The keynote speaker, Dr. J. Rush Bronson, a notable KKK lecturer, gave a "temperate but firm" speech that was "an appeal for law and order, [and] a refutation of the charge that the Klan was against the Catholics and Jews but was merely a protestant order in which Catholics and Jews are not received" (a distinction Napa Catholics and Jews likely found rather meaningless in practice). He went on to insist that "the Klan stands for upholding the constitution, believes that all

aliens should be educated to read and write in English so that they may be good citizens and be deported if they will not be so educated. He said that the Klan is against the bootleggers and warned any if such were in the audience, to beware as the Klan would get them."[76]

Between 1923 and 1924, the Ku Klux Klan initiated at least 160 people in Napa County – four times the number of African Americans recorded on the 1920 federal census. What attracted Napans was less the violent racism and bigotry against people of color, Catholics, and Jews (the county had long-standing, fairly good-sized populations of all three groups), and more of the conservative moral imperatives they preached. The Klan's opposition to taxation and frustration with unassimilated immigrants struck a chord with traditionalists. Despite earning much of its agricultural revenue from wine, many Napans were teetotalers who voted "Dry," disdained the non-protestant "huddled masses yearning to be free" who worked in the fields and factories for little pay, and loathed bootleggers, especially recent Italian immigrants who were unlucky enough to be poor, Catholic, unwilling to shed the cultural traditions of their homeland, and unable to comprehend Prohibition as a moral imperative. Fortunately, Napa's period of active Klan activity was short-lived. Unlike some cities in California, Napa's KKK chapter did not control or even greatly affect local politics. The Klan very nearly died out in the late 1920s after David Stephenson, the head of the Indiana branch who was accused of raping his secretary and causing her suicide, revealed the organization's vast corruption. In Napa, the excitement was over and the spectacle had lost its curiosity. A Klansman ran for Napa city council in 1926 but lost handily. A few Napa African Americans claim to have had recent encounters with local Klansmen, but according to the most recent

statistics provided by the Southern Poverty Law Center, there are no active, organized chapters in California.[77]

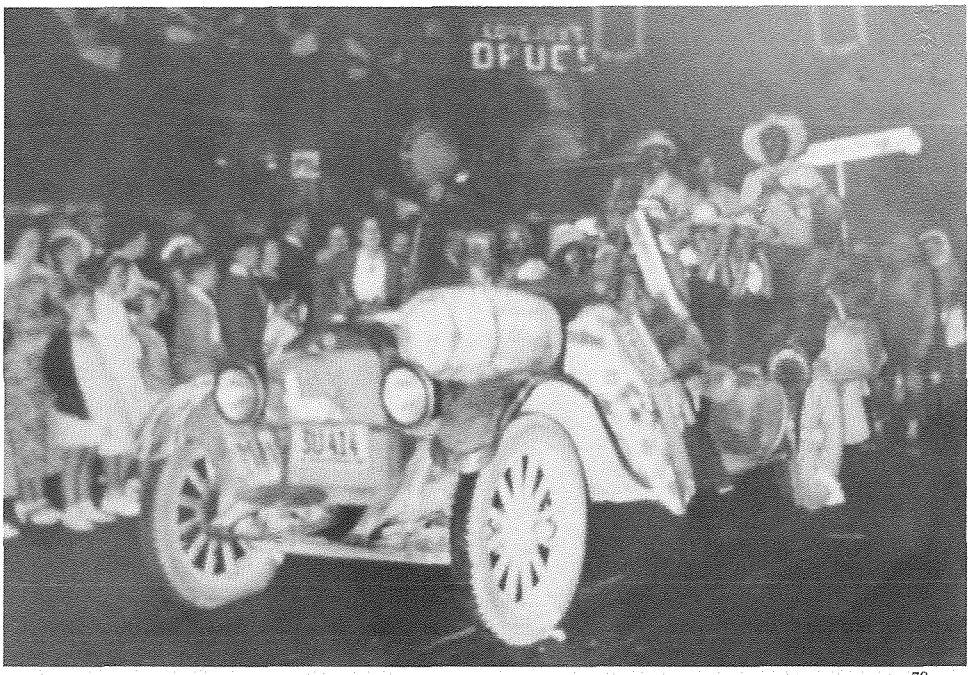


Figure 11. Parade in Downtown Napa, 1936, photo captioned "Darkies in the dark?"[78]

The Great Depression hit the Golden State hard. California African Americans struggled to gain employment in urban centers and keep their farms in rural areas. President Herbert Hoover was not only unable to combat the worst of the Great Depression, but his poor treatment of African Americans and anti-Black behavior pushed even the most resolutely Republican Black Californians to Franklin Delano Roosevelt.[79] Roosevelt ousted Hoover in 1932, but it took several years for all the policies enacted in his first one hundred days to take full effect. Not surprisingly, Black people were disproportionately affected by the Great Depression: "among male workers in thirteen large cities in 1931 the [unemployment] rate was 31.7 percent for whites and 52 percent for blacks. And in spring 1933 while the general unemployment rate was 25 percent, for blacks it was 50 percent…In 1935, 25 percent of the black population was receiving

welfare as opposed to 15 percent of whites."[80] While the New Deal programs were targeted at the poor and working classes, none were designed specifically to aid people of color. FDR insisted the "alphabet agencies" provide aid to all people equally regardless of race, but local officials rarely practiced what their president preached. "In direct relief...California's African-Americans faced little discrimination, but in work relief, black people received few skilled-labor or white-collar jobs."[81] Roosevelt's Social Security Act of 1935 was intended to provide unemployment and old-age insurance for workers, but only for regularly employed commercial and industrial workers. Farm workers and domestic servants – two predominately African American fields – were excluded. Nationwide, 65 percent of African Americans did not qualify for social security, with 70 to 80 percent of them in the South.[82] Furthermore, commercial and industrial workers were excluded if they could not show consistent employment.[83]

One architect of the laws believed Southern politicians and employers feared that if Black workers had the opportunity to choose low-paying service and labor jobs or federal benefits, they would choose the latter, thus hurting white Southern business owners, an argument which sounds eerily similar to ones used to justify slavery in the nineteenth century.[84] Roosevelt passed the act against the opinion of the Committee on Economic Security, who wrote that "agricultural workers, domestic servants, home workers, and the many self-employed people constitute large groups in the population who have received little attention. In these groups are many who are at the very bottom of the economic scale."[85] Elderly African Americans were more often than not disqualified because they could not meet the requirement that they earned "insufficient income to provide reasonable subsistence compatible with decency and health."[86]

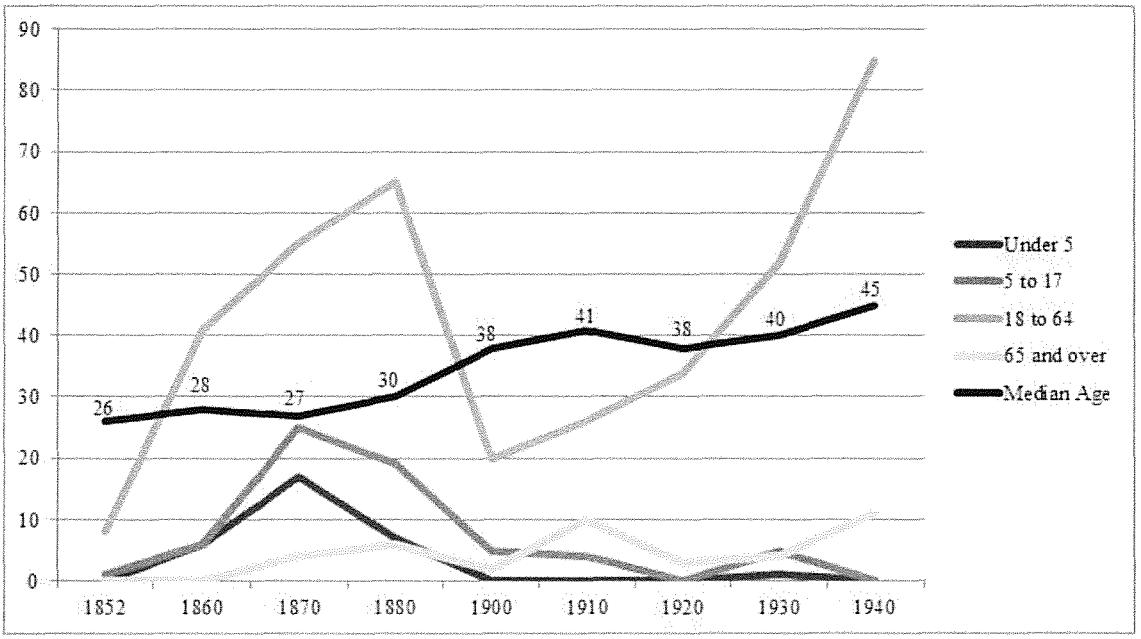
White workers frequently reacted with hostility when Black laborers were hired, and threatened to walk off the job if a person of color was promoted to a supervisory position. Though African Americans tended to be anti-union, it was not so much that they were against organizing as they were constantly refused entry.[87] The only union to welcome African Americans in the 1930s was the International Longshore and Warehouse Union. They flung open their doors after the 1934 West Coast waterfront strikes, which began May 9 and, over the course of the next 83 days, closed every Pacific port save San Pedro. Over 100,000 workers walked off the job in San Francisco and Alameda Counties.[88] At the time, Black laborers in San Francisco could only work on the Panama Pacific and Luckenbach Line piers. The rest were whites only, and the rules enforced by dock bosses. Strike leader Henry Bridges foresaw the necessity of having Black longshoremen fill the union ranks to offer more power over the bosses, so he campaigned for their applications in many of the Black churches, saying, "if only two longshore workers are left on the docks, one would be Black and the other white."[89] The union remains strongly supportive of its Black members, so much so that after the assassination of Martin Luther King, Jr. (an honorary member of Local 10), the Oakland and San Francisco international ports shut down for 24 hours.[90] African Americans in Napa likely knew of the struggles with unions, but if there was any talk about unionizing or bettering the employment opportunities of African Americans, it was likely spoken of as an abstract national concept rather than as a plan of action.

In San Francisco and Los Angeles, Black unemployment was at 18.3 percent and 33.1 percent, respectively; within six years it had jumped to 26.8 percent and 34.1 percent.[91] Napa County survived the Great Depression better than many rural regions,

but the rest of the nation suffered tremendously. Of course, many Napans did lose their jobs, but community aid organizations readily assisted migrant laborers and local families. The Depression took longer to strike the county, and the blow was much less painful than in other parts of the state. The biggest employers at the time (discounting agriculture) were hospitals, manufacturing, and tanneries, sectors which saw a downturn but never collapsed. Local legend holds that Mrs. Gifford raised chickens in the carriage house on her property in downtown Napa to feed the hungry, and some old timers in Napa Junction recall their parents boarding "hobos" riding the rails in exchange for labor.

Napa's African American unemployment crisis hit earlier and lasted longer than whites. By the tail end of the Great Depression, unemployment was at a record low for Napa's Black residents fourteen years and older, but for the first time since 1860 more African Americans worked in domestic service and service industry jobs (like janitors, chauffeurs, and porters) than in any other field. The median age increased as well, going from twenty-six in 1852 to forty-five in 1940. It is no coincidence that the year with the highest rate of children five to seventeen years of age, 1870, was also the year where the proportion of Black men and women was nearly equal. For the years of available census data, the average percentage of men to women was 63 percent to 37. As employment opportunities contracted, the rate of childless adults (that is to say, those who either never had children or were no longer living with them) increased.

Table 1. Age range fluctuations, 1852-1940



Sources: U.S. Federal Census, 1860-1940, and California State Census, 1852.[92]

Table 2. Population percentages, 1852-1940

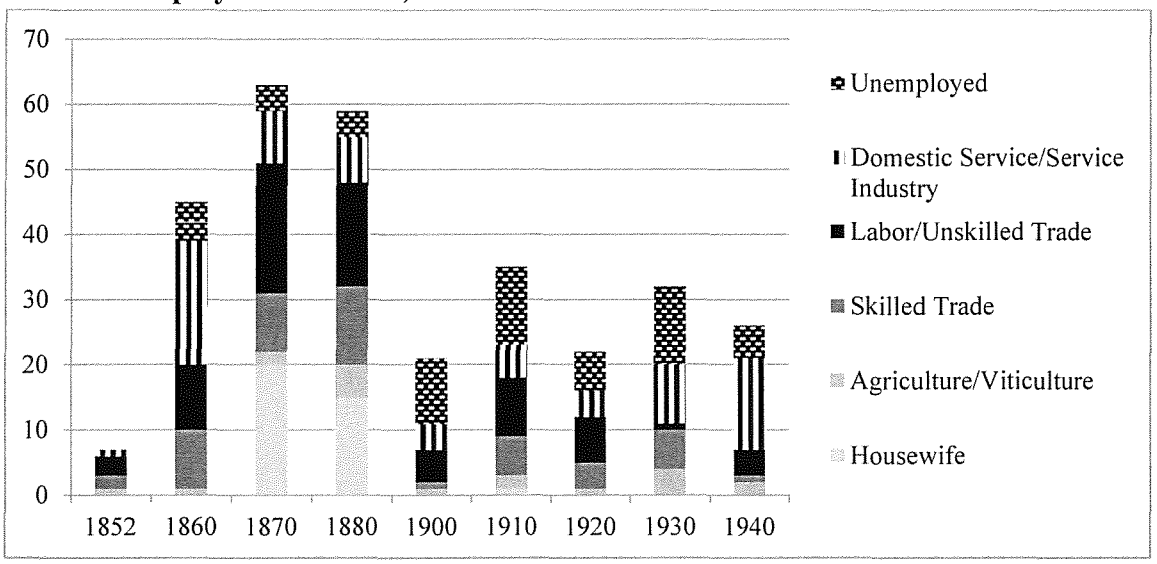
	Gender		*Marital status*			
Year	Women	Men	Married	Single	Widowed	Divorced
1852	10	90	---	---	---	---
1860	40	60	---	---	---	---
1870	47	53	---	---	---	---
1880	35	65	35	51	11	0
1900	46	54	46	43	7	0
1910	41	59	54	34	7	3
1920	42	58	34	39	11	8
1930	39	61	39	39	19	5
1940	29	71	42	42	15	4

Sources: U.S. federal census, 1860-1940, and California state census, 1852.[93]
Note: "Marital status" percentages do not add up to 100 percent because the data on persons with unknown status – most often patients at Napa State Hospital – were left out of this table. Marital status was not recorded on the census until 1880.

At the turn of the century, high unemployment forced into the workforce women who might otherwise have remained at home and those who might have sought higher

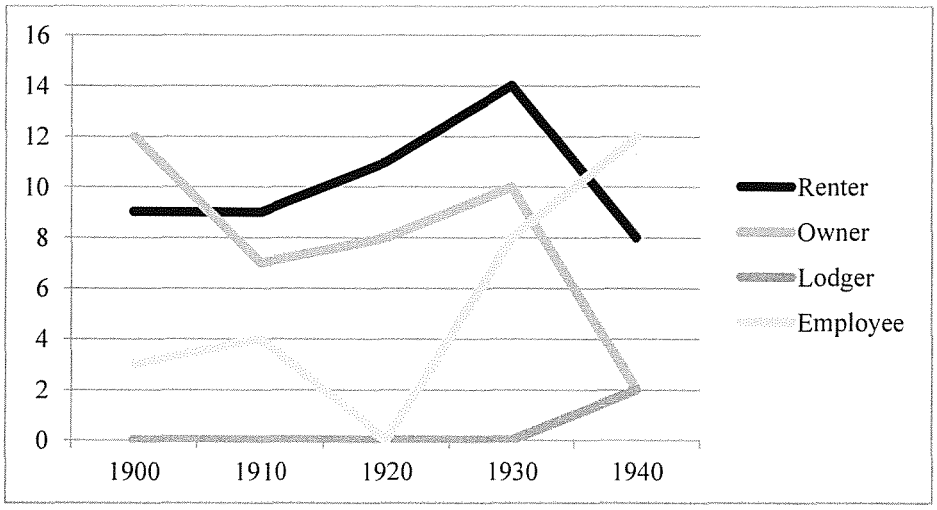
education. A not inconsequential number of women in California in the nineteenth century who worked outside the home did so as prostitutes, but Black female prostitutes were few and far between until the turn of the twentieth century, and even then it was mostly confined to San Francisco and west Oakland.[94] Most Black women in California worked in service, either for businesses like hotels or restaurants or in private homes. By 1930, the only types of employment on the rise were service work and unskilled labor. Because so many Black Napans were employed in domestic service, rates of renters and homeowners plummeted while rates of lodgers and those living in the same home where they were employed soared.

Table 3. Employment sectors, 1852-1940



Source: U.S. federal census, 1860-1940, and California state census, 1852.[95]

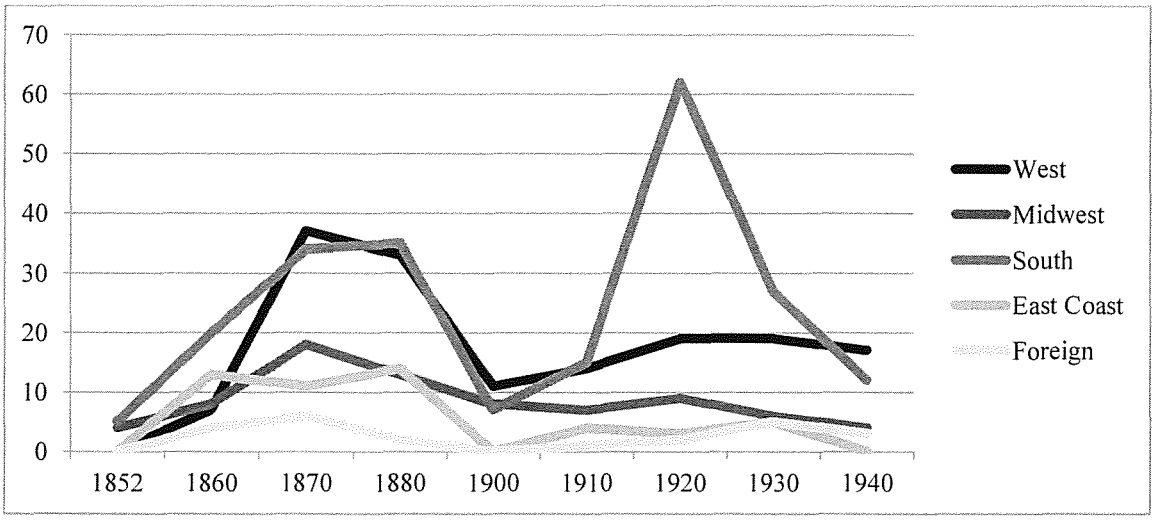
Table 4. Residential status, 1900-1940



Source: U.S. federal census, 1900-1940.[96]
Note: Residential status was not recorded on the census until 1900.

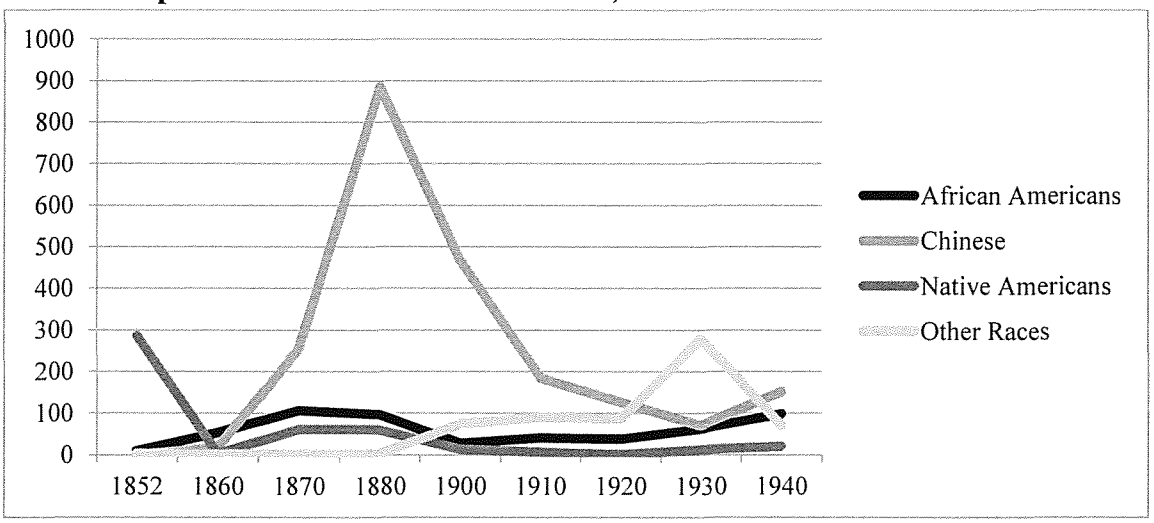
Many of these low-wage, low-skill jobs were filled by Southerners. In 1940 an African American in Napa was more likely to have been born in California or relocated from Texas or Mississippi than anywhere else. Only four reported living in Napa since 1935, two of whom were long-term patients at Napa State Hospital. In 1940, 82 percent of Black residents from various California localities, 9 percent from the South, 5 percent from the Midwest, and 3 percent each from the East Coast and other Western states.

Table 5. Places of birth, 1852-1940



Source: U.S. federal census, 1860-1940, and California state census, 1852.[97]

Table 6. Population rates of racial minorities, 1852-1940



Source: U.S. federal census, 1860-1940, and California state census, 1852.[98]

For a young couple from Mississippi like William and Sarah Ratlif, recorded on the 1940 census for Napa City as a cook and gardener for a white family on Seminary Street, it must have seemed almost welcoming to trade the South's Jim Crow laws for Napa's "separate but equal." Though the Great Depression was officially over in 1939, Americans needed something drastic to pave the road to recovery. Little did they know that change would come harder and faster than they could anticipate.

Chapter 3: Exploitation and Patriotism: World War II

Even though African American women and men have participated and distinguished themselves in every American war since the Revolution, the issue of whether or not they should serve was still continuously being debated. When Black men were finally admitted into general service, their numbers were initially restricted to their proportion of the national population. As the *California Eagle*, a Black newspaper out of Los Angeles, noted, "A Negro American soldier is still first a Negro and then a soldier."[1] The U.S. Army stuck with its "separate but equal" segregated regiments, but when it came to the administrative side of the selective service offices, hiring discrimination was non-existent.[2] The U.S. Navy at first relegated new recruits to shore-based messmen, but by 1942 began admitting them to basic training. However, they were still sequestered from the white crew and were often left with the worst and most dangerous jobs, like handling ammunitions and loading ships. In WWI, Wesley Jennings was one of the 400,000 African Americans to serve. Out of that number, only 10 percent were sent to active combat, including Jennings, while the rest were assigned to service units. More than one million Black men served in World War II, but nearly all of those sent to the Navy served on mess duty or in labor battalions.[3] Robert L. Allen pointed out the similarities in racial difficulties between Black military personnel and civilians: "Segregated units, discrimination in pay, discrimination in promotions and ratings, the lack of black officers – these and other grievances of black soldiers corresponded closely to the grievances of black workers in civilian life. But whereas civilian workers may resort to various forms of protest, including strikes, to improve their conditions, the forms of protest allowed in the military are virtually nonexistent."[4]

Hitler may have gotten Black women "out of the white folks' kitchen," but for Black men the only thing that changed was the color of their service uniform.[5] The Port Chicago explosion in July 1944 killed 320 men, 202 of them Black, and was the tragic result of ordering undertrained men into "manifestly unsafe working conditions at the base where only blacks were assigned the dangerous duty of loading ammunition."[6] The *Napa Daily Journal* described the explosion in sensational detail, although it also curiously never mentions African Americans at all:

> Only a moment before quiet and deadly in the holds of two ammunition ships at Port Chicago, tons and tons of TNT, destined to shatter the bodies of Japanese in the far reaches of the Pacific, turned its insensate fury on its handlers Monday night in one of the greatest catastrophes ever recorded in annals of the United States Navy…In Napa, rumor immediately placed the blast at Mare Island Navy Yard, and scores of frightened citizens thronged the street in front of the police station seeking official word and news of kin employed on the shipyard night shift…
>
> Plainly visible here was the towering pillar of flame that flared into the southern sky. The hills of the Napa Valley were momentarily illuminated as by sunlight. Scores of persons, convinced that an earthquake was imminent, ran from their homes in their night clothes.
>
> Damage here was slight, with only a few windows shattered…One man, a resident of the Atlas Peak district, was so certain that the Japs had come, that he telephoned Undersheriff John Claussen and breathlessly reported three 'Jap' planes had roared close overhead just a few minutes after the blast. How he could have identified the planes even if they were Jap was not made clear.[7]

When the men were sent back to loading ammunition a few weeks later, 258 refused. Fifty were "single out, charged with mutiny, court-martialed, convicted, and handed sentences ranging from eight to fifteen years imprisonment."[8] Before their court-martial, many of the Black seamen were transferred to barracks at Mare Island Naval Shipyard. What Napa's Black residents – especially those working at Mare Island – thought of the

mutiny has not been discovered, but they must have had some interesting conversations. No local newspapers appear to have covered the trial results, either.

World War II changed everything for Napa County. While the United States did not officially enter the war until after the Japanese bombed Pearl Harbor in December 1941, the national defense program had already been in progress for nearly a year. Under programs like the Lend-Lease Act, FDR could further American self-interest (by profiting off the war effort and creating jobs for the unemployed) while simultaneously appealing to its sense of global altruism (which was growing at the same time its isolationist mentality was shrinking). California especially benefitted from the defense program. With the new Great War, the military industrial complex suddenly had a mighty need for aluminum, magnesium, steel, and oil, all resources readily available in the West. The federal government sunk $40 billion into war production from 1940 to 1945 by utilizing said resources and setting up shipbuilding and aircraft manufactories. It also added over three million military personnel and tens of thousands of wartime laborers.[9] Plants were built throughout the state to supply *matériel*, and shipyards converted or expanded their dockyards to service Navy contracts. Basalt Rock Company, founded in Napa in 1924, participated heavily in the defense program before and during the war. In the months before Pearl Harbor, Basalt constructed twelve barges for the Navy.[10] Once the U.S. formally entered the war, Basalt was awarded contracts to build Auxiliary Repair and Salvage vessels, some of which went to foreign allies. No one really knows how many vessels were built for the Navy between 1940 and 1946, but the general consensus between ex-Basalt employees was 150.[11] An article in the *Basalt Beacon*, the company newspaper, described the changeover from quarrying to

shipbuilding: "It took many months to build that first [barge] because those builders were grocers, farmers, clerks, service station operators, and truck drivers. That was the first one – after that, those same men and women presented a different story. Slack was taken up, and schedules were met with amazing regularity, and the 'cow pasture shipyard'…assumed a place of importance in the shipbuilding world."[12] At Mare Island, ships built in Napa were launched to great fanfare and sent to battles all over the world.

Despite all this activity and job creation, African Americans did not initially benefit. At the start of the national defense program, 90 percent of the contract holders had "no African Americans at all or confined them to unskilled or custodial jobs. The National Defense Advisory Commission recommended to contractors that they adopt equal employment practices, but the new war industries evoked an old standby: the hiring of black people was 'against company policy.'"[13] When 100,000 Black people – 8,000 of whom were from California – threatened to march on Washington in 1941, FDR issued Executive Order 8802. The order reaffirmed his insistence on nondiscrimination by establishing a Committee on Fair Employment Practice. In turn the Committee provided Black women with government office jobs and Black men with training in industrial skills, which led to higher-paying jobs. Companies like Kaiser Steel (which eventually purchased Basalt) littered the South with pamphlets proclaiming "There's a job of vital importance to your country waiting for you in the Richmond shipyards. You can learn a trade, get paid while you're learning, and earn the highest wages for comparable work anywhere in the world."[14] These same shipyards often enforced petty delineations between African American and white labor: "black workers could build ships but not repair them; clean ships but not paint them; or weld steel plates but not pipes."[15] White

women could weld, but Black women did the back-breaking, filthy work of scaling, sweeping, and painting the hulls of ships. African Americans were second class citizens militarily, politically, economically, legally, racially, and in employment. There is at present no evidence of African Americans working at Basalt, although former employees claim at least a few were employed during the war. Kaiser Steel's Richmond shipyards, in contrast, employed 18,000 African Americans.[16] Elsewhere in the state, African Americans flooded into cities like San Francisco, Los Angeles, and Oakland to work in defense.[17] An overwhelming majority of African American workers moved to large port cities with established Black communities, which often caused conflict with those used to a certain lifestyle and treatment by whites. Historian Gretchen Lemke-Santangelo quoted a Black Californian named Virginia Cravanas who said of the situation,

> Before the war blacks had to do for themselves. In California we didn't have anything. We just got the crumbs…We resented the influx because we thought we were doing the right thing. But we weren't doing a thing. We were really the bottom of the bucket, working as stock clerks and maids. Newcomers came in and called attention to what we were denied. When they came out here, they felt this was the land of milk and honey, and they were going to get some because they never had anything anyway.[18]

Tensions that began back when the Great Migration began in the early twentieth century, both between whites and African Americans and established and incoming African Americans, were exacerbated by the deluge of wartime migrants. It soon became clear to all African Americans that California was a land of opportunity, but only for whites.

Smaller Bay Area municipalities also saw an increase in Black residents, often going from few to no African Americans to a multitude. In Marin County, Mill Valley and Sausalito barred African Americans from residing within their city limits. Their unwillingness to set aside racial prejudice for the greater good forced the development of

Marin City to house the workers of color at Marinship. Marin City was the first integrated federal housing project in the county, but was mostly white, with only 10 percent Black and 5 percent Chinese.[19] Most Black Marinship workers commuted from San Francisco, especially from Japantown, which had been emptied of its residents by the Internment Camp program and subsequently filled by newly arrived African Americans. Many of Napa's new defense workers relocated to Napa specifically for jobs at Basalt and Mare Island, causing the city to be designated "a 'defense housing area,' which meant that people could buy homes with only a 0 to 5% down payment."[20] The *Napa Register* remarked that "In October 1942, the city of Napa marked a statistical accomplishment it will never know again: It was the third-fastest-growing municipality on the West Coast, trailing only Los Angeles and Oakland."[21] Basalt received a Navy contract to build Shipyard Acres in 1943 on part of their property near the Napa River. The housing development consisted of 400 units for nearly 1,400 workers and their families, and included a post office, daycare, medical office, grocery, and school. (After the war, the development was gradually dismantled, and by the mid-1950s was completely gone.[22]) Oddly enough, although Basalt built Roosevelt Terrace, a 600-unit development for Navy officials in Mare Island, they did not construct Shipyard Acres – the Navy sent them prefabricated homes instead.

Chapter 4: Redlining and Riots: Postwar Growth through the Civil Rights Movement

As the population soared in the West during the war, so too did the rise of race-based zoning restrictions. Prior to the 1940s, many Northern and Midwestern middle- and lower-class neighborhoods were ethnically mixed or had small, fairly homogenous enclaves within larger neighborhoods. In Napa, although most people of color lived in and around Spanishtown, many white families also lived in the neighborhood. Thomas J. Sugrue identifies three main causes of racial segregation in housing in his book *Sweet Land of Liberty: The Forgotten Struggle for Civil Rights in the North*: federal housing programs, the manipulative intervention of real estate agents and realtors, and restrictive covenants attached to housing developments that were, until 1948, legally enforceable.[1] The combined effort of these policies ensured unchecked housing segregation and contributed significantly to the ghettoization of African Americans nationwide.

Two of Roosevelt's New Deal programs, the Home Owners' Loan Corporation (HOLC) of 1933 and the Federal Housing Administration (FHA), fundamentally altered the mortgage market. These programs were intended to help Americans become homeowners, particularly in suburbia, but residents in racially mixed neighborhoods were generally ineligible for federally backed loans and mortgages. Joseph R. Ray, the Housing and Home Finance Agency Racial Relations Adviser, acknowledged that "the public housing program accepted the 'separate but equal' doctrine and, through its equity policy, undertook to insist upon uniform enforcement of the 'equal' while allowing local communities to decide upon the 'separate.'" This decision "rested upon no sound legal theory…but rather reflected 'political expediency.'"[2] The HOLC created color-coded

maps and assigned neighborhoods grades based on the amount of housing available and the ethnic, racial, and class makeup of the residents. "The presence of even a single black family rendered a whole neighborhood 'actuarially unsound,'" and was graded 'D' for its population of "inharmonious racial and ethnic groups."[3] FHA literature used militarized terms like "invasion," "infiltration," and "control" to reinforce their negative response to the geographic mobility of people of color.[4] In 1938, an editorial entitled "Ghettoes, American Style" in the Black newspaper the *Los Angeles Sentinel* bitterly complained that Americans distraught over "Hitler's despicable plan to herd German Jews into ghettoes will be surprised to learn that their own government has been busily planning ghettoes for American Negroes through the Federal Housing Agency [sic]...The American plan lacks the forthright and brutal frankness of Hitler's plan, but in the long run it is calculated to be as effective."[5] In the Bay Area, HOLC maps were drawn for San Francisco, Oakland, Berkeley, and San Jose. No examples of HOLC maps for Napa have thus far been uncovered.

Real estate brokers and property developers were the other primary instigators of discriminatory housing. With the backing of the FHA's 1938 *Underwriting Manual*, developers inserted restrictive covenants into their deeds. The *Underwriting Manual* provided an example covenant that prohibited "occupancy of properties except by the race for which they are intended," suggested the covenants cover twenty-five to thirty years, and recommended imposing "a blanket encumbrance against all lots in the subdivision" since restrictions were "most effective...[when they] apply over a broad area."[6] Ten years later in the landmark case *Shelley v. Kraemer*, the Supreme Court ruled that racially restrictive covenants violated the Fourteenth Amendment and could not be

legally enforced. Despite obvious federal and real estate policies, most white Americans remained blissfully unaware of the engineering behind and the extent of social discrimination. Sugrue noted that "Whites saw residential segregation not as the result of public policy but rather as…the result of separation by class and the sum of individual choices about where to live."[7]

Several subdivisions in the city of Napa built to meet wartime and postwar housing needs supposedly inserted restrictive covenants into their property deeds, including, according to local tradition, Shipyard Acres, Westwood, and Alta Heights. All homes on Shipyard Acres were rentals, therefore any declarations of exemptions would have been informally recorded and not filed with the County Assessor; in other words, it is entirely possible people of color were prevented from renting in Shipyard Acres due to pressure from white residents and real estate agents, but such a ban was not officially backed by the Navy or formalized in deeds. A sampling of Alta Heights and Westwood addresses showed no such covenants restricting racial diversity, and although several county assessors recalled coming across exclusionary covenants in past research, they could not remember in which neighborhoods or addresses they were found. South Gordon Terrace, a housing development encompassing part of Minahen Street, was built in 1950 by Samuel P. Gordon, a San Francisco developer who also had constructed the Gordon Building and the old Merrill's Drugs building on First Street. The south extension of Gordon Terrace included a restrictive covenant in the declarations of restrictions barring African Americans (see Appendix 6). This subdivision was built two years after *Shelley v. Kraemer*. The Black population in Napa undoubtedly struggled with the shackles of housing discrimination, though the statistics on home ownership

rates and restricted neighborhoods in the postwar era is currently unknown. The data in the 1950 federal census should shed some light on this topic when it is released in 2020. Analyzing the rate of white flight out of the more heterogeneous Bay Area metropolises like Oakland, San Francisco, and Berkeley to rural/suburban Napa in 1950 would also reveal the underlying current of Napa's racial exclusion.

Some have called Napa a sundown town, a designation not far off base. In the late nineteenth century, African Americans were welcomed as much as any other immigrant group (save the Chinese), that is with civil tolerance and a "separate but equal" approach. However, based on the definition provided by James W. Loewen in *Sundown Towns: A Hidden Dimension of American Racism*, Napa fits the bill in a general sense: "A sundown town is any organized jurisdiction that for decades kept African Americans or other groups from living in it and was thus 'all-white' on purpose."[8] Loewen goes on to explain that while sundown towns typically allowed a few people of color to reside within their borders, they were the exception to the rule. There were no signs at the Napa County borders declaring "Nigger, Don't Let the Sun Go Down on You," but all of the real estate agents were white, and almost all of them adhered to the unwritten rule of redlining. Napa County population centers were not fully sundown towns like Sausalito and Mill Valley, but many locals recall hearing that police or sheriff's deputies targeted unknown African Americans driving into town on the Napa-Vallejo Highway and sent them back from whence they came.

Being a collection of relative sundown towns was not what initially drove the Black population down – the restrictive covenants do not appear prior to the 1940s – but it did restrict the remaining Black community. Those living in Napa in the early to mid-

twentieth century endured under an inflexible economic system from which they were unable to benefit at the same rate as their white neighbors. Enough were able to settle in the county, and by 1950 the Black population had nearly quintupled in just ten years.[9]

Table 7. Number of people of various racial/ethnic groups, 1852-1940

Year	African Americans	Chinese	Native Americans	Other Races	Whites	Total Population
1852	9	0	285	3	788	1,085
1860	53	17	2	0	6,450	6,534
1870	106	254	61	0	7,242	7,663
1880	97	884	60	2	14,053	15,096
1900	28	467	13	74	16,368	16,950
1910	41	184	6	90	19,467	19,788
1920	38	126	1	87	20,474	20,726
1930	62	70	12	278	21,925	22,347
1940	98	151	20	69	27,813	28,151
1950	408	236	43	171	45,745	46,603
1960	552	281	118	324	64,615	65,890
1970	516	323	215	1,133	76,950	79,140
1980	1,030	710	911	5,299	91,249	99,199
1990	1,065	644	775	9,631	98,650	110,765
2000	1,645	---	1,045	22,193	99,396	124,279
2010	2,668	---	1,058	35,233	97,525	136,484

Sources: U.S. Federal Census, 1860-1940, and California State Census, 1852.[10]
Notes: After 1990, the census ceased differentiating between Asian ethnic groups, creating a single category: Asian. "Other Races" includes all non-Chinese Asian ethnicities prior to 2000 and Chinese after 1990. From 1980 to the present, the former category "Indian" is broadened to include Native Americans, Alaskan Natives, and Aleut. From 1980 through 1990, Pacific Islanders and Native Hawaiians are part of the "Asian" category.

Postwar California saw a flurry of court decisions which ended bans on interracial marriage, blocked restrictive covenants in housing, and desegregated public schools. The *Los Angeles Sentinel* had such high hopes for the demise of racial discrimination and inequality that in 1948 they declared "Jim Crow is just about dead in California."[11] By the 1960s, however, California's skilled-trade apprenticeship program under the Fair Employment Practices Commission had established itself as a "curious and almost unapproachable island of segregation" and was little more than "genteel apartheid."[12]

The carpenters, ironworkers, plumbers, and other skilled workers building up the state's infrastructure were almost exclusively white – including those working at Kaiser Steel in Napa. Unions were just as discriminatory, so much so that Loren Miller, a civil rights lawyer in Los Angeles, bemoaned that it was "easier for a camel to pass through the eye of a needle than for a Negro to gain admittance to the portals of some unions." Those who forced their way in were treated as second class citizens; "he is the governed, never the participant in government."[13]

When Civil Rights topics were covered by the local newspapers, they were nearly always pre-packaged reports from Associated Press or United Press International and with no Napa context. An editorial column in the *Napa Register* written during the Los Angeles race riots in August 1963 brushed aside the violent reactions against desegregation at Little Rock, New Orleans, and Selma as "disturbances," then went on to make the unabashedly ironic statement, "Riots and revolutions have never been the American way of accomplishing anything."[14] Reverend Norman M. Redeker, pastor at St. John's Lutheran Church in Napa, hinted at his county's own shameful history with race in a statement given after the assassination of Martin Luther King, Jr. in April 1968: "As long as there are communities that subtly restrict civil rights, who subtly note that the problem must be somewhere else, the problem will not be solved."[15] Comparing race relations in Napa in the 1960s to those of the 1870s and 1880s indicates that Napa actually backslid in terms of attitudes and mentalities. The county went from one where both races practiced "separate but equal" yet generally treated each other with respect and civility to one where race and racism was outright ignored. No longer was Napa a "delightful locality" with a growing Black middle class of businesspeople and farmers.

Instead, it had become a place where people of color were reduced to menial labor and service to whites who behaved as if there was no discrimination whatsoever.

In preparation for this thesis, the author conducted interviews with several people of various ages, races, and positions in the social strata. In an interview with Mary Jane Turnbull Fay, the widow of Reverend Turnbull whose story will be told shortly, she summarized the view of many non-Black women about the Civil Rights Movement: "I didn't listen to the news, I didn't know what was going on, I was just minding my own business."[16] Though all of the women interviewed are politically active and well aware of social issues and their complexities today, at the time it was neither expected nor necessary for a middle class woman in Napa County to be interested or involved in such activities, as she was too busy running the household, raising children, or working, nor did she discuss the issues with her peers or husband.

County Supervisor Brad Wagenknecht was a young adult in the 1960s, so much his impressions of the issues came from adults. He recalled:

> I felt…kinda ashamed to be from Napa because we were known at that time, what I had heard – no one ever said that at the conference [on youth leadership, held in Sacramento], but what I had heard was Napa was the Selma of California at that point [in the late 1960s]…I haven't heard it since, but at that moment when I was there I was very cognizant of it…It [the Civil Rights Movement] was an esoteric discussion, an intellectual exercise…it wasn't happening here, and it wasn't, you know, affecting daily commerce here. It was an upset to the whole system, the nationwide system, but, you know, in Napa it wasn't.[17]

Likewise, City Councilor and former fire captain of the Napa Fire Department, Scott Sedgley, who is two years older than Wagenknecht, described a similar experience:

> Looking back being a middle class white kid growing up in Napa during the 1960s America's civil rights struggles didn't seem to have much impact on myself or my immediate friends. It was not due to indifference it's just the fact that I was young, the atrocities are happening at a far and

distant place and there were no black families in Napa. We were led to believe local realtors wouldn't sell to blacks.[18]

Figure 12. Images from the 1963 Civil Rights March in Vallejo[19]

Napa was rarely violent in its racism, but when the majority began insisting on integration, a vocal minority pushed back. As mentioned previously, it has long been believed that the local real estate agents zoned against African Americans. Of the dozen or so people interviewed by the author, every single person made the same claim. When the author questioned former local high school history teacher Henry Michalski about the real estate question, he wrote this:

> I arrived in Napa in 1968 and wondered why there were no black families living here. In fact, there were few families of any color residing here. Apparently there was an unwritten covenant or "gentlemen's agreement" among the realtors that Blacks, Mexicans, Jews were generally not welcome. In the period of the 1920s into the fifties, many Jewish families abandoned the Napa Valley feeling the place unfit to raise a child. Harvey Abramowicz and his partner Marvin Winograde [prominent Jewish Napans] of Associated Realtors, to the best of my knowledge, were the first to break the color barrier by selling and renting to blacks.[20]

During their tenure as Realtors, Abramowicz and Winograde likely encountered this industry brochure from the National Association of Real Estate Boards covering a Realtor's ethical guidelines:

> [a Realtor] should never be instrumental in introducing to a neighborhood a character of property or occupancy, members of any race or nationality, or any individual whose presence will be clearly detrimental to property values in a neighborhood…The prospective buyer might be…a colored man of means who was giving his children a college education and thought they were entitled to live among whites…No matter what the motive or character of the would-be purchaser, if the deal would institute a form of blight, then certainly the well-meaning broker must work against its consummation.[21]

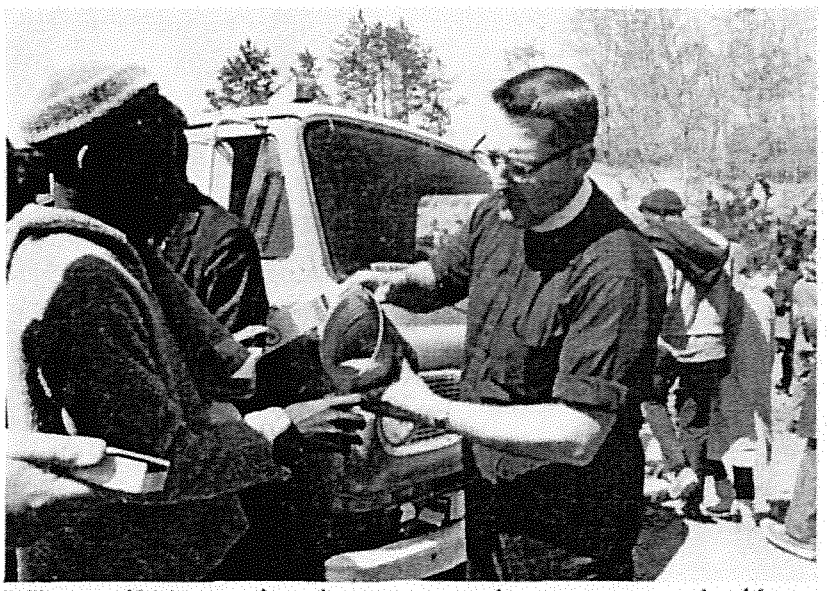
Abramowicz and Winograde disagreed strongly with their discriminatory cohorts. They may have experienced the same segregationist tactics as children, as Jews were often subject to restrictive covenants to keep them out of Protestant neighborhoods.

A local legend that tells of a prominent, educated, wealthy black family who supposedly bought a house upvalley in the late 1970s (one or both of the spouses is said to be a physician or psychiatrist at Napa State Hospital) who was so pressured to move out of St. Helena that they left the county entirely. Although that story remains unsubstantiated, given Napa's history of housing issues, it is neither impossible nor improbable. Local historian Lauren Coodley described another attempt to end real estate zoning in the County:

> Reverend Juvenal was appalled by the housing segregation he witnessed, and created an Ecumenical Race Relations Committee in 1960. He requested that the congregation sign a pledge to buy and sell to anyone, regardless of race. Many people left his church in protest; in the summer of 1963, Juvenal's house was firebombed. The arsonist left crosses and Ku Klux Klan literature on the lawn.[22]

Rev. Turnbull's widow recalled that he surprised her at work one afternoon with the news he had decided to go support the nearly 50,000 protestors in the Selma to

Montgomery Bus March in 1965 after Reverend Martin Luther King, Jr. put out a nation-wide callout. He requested no financial assistance from his parishioners, nor did he ask anyone else to go with him. Turnbull stayed in the South for nearly a month. *Ebony Magazine* later covered the events, and featured the reverend with a photograph and quote: "We have lost the meaning of democracy. The church, government and the people have failed. This is a land of desolation and emptiness and God only knows how long it will take to bring happiness to the faces of whites and blacks down here."[23] Mary Jane described the reaction of Napans to be mixed but mostly positive. "Most of the people were supportive and happy that he did it. There were a few phone calls…and there were a couple parishioners that left the church. They were upset…90 percent of the people in the parish supported him and were happy that he did it." [24]



Rolling up shirtsleeves, white clergyman pours the orange juice as breakfasting marchers prepare to hit road again. White participants did most of manual work. Many were sent back to Selma as march approached two-lane road, limiting number.

Figure 13. Rev. Turnbull in Selma, May 1965[25]

City Councilor Sedgley wrote in depth about his outlook and reactions to the Civil Rights Movement as a child and teenager growing up in Napa City:

> President Johnson signed the Civil Rights Act in 1964. Now, at Ridgeview Junior High School, we discussed the Acts' significance and believed the law was just and long overdue. The following year we watched the Watts riots unfold. My reaction, as was my father's, was anger towards the rioters.
>
> During the mid 1960's Governor George Wallace is getting a lot of press during presidential primaries preaching segregation. I believed this guy was bad. Then in 1968, Martin Luther King is murdered, more riots. A few months later Robert Kennedy is murdered. This is a whole lot of craziness for any teenager and I'm being pulled back and forth as to where I stand with Bay Area activists like Huey Newton and Bobby Seale and the Black Panthers.
>
> At Napa High one afternoon a group of black students from Vallejo High arrived on campus and staged what could be called a small Sit-in on the front lawn. I believe the Vallejo students had been invited by some of our students. As I remember teachers and administrators handled things calmly and there was no trouble, no police. When playing football against Vallejo the games were moved to Saturday days. Prior to my high school days it was said there had been fights between student spectators.[26]

The memories and recollections of Mary Jane Turnbull Fay, Scott Sedgley, and Brad Wagenknecht about Napa during this tumultuous time perhaps best describes the local mentality of most Napans of the period. It is an ideology both contradictory and complicated, one troubled by the seemingly inexplicable hatred but also uncluttered by local interests or concerns. It is a perspective probably held by residents of many isolated rural/suburban cities throughout the nation, or at least in California, but one that perfectly matches with the unique identity of people born and raised in Napa County. This viewpoint is saturated with indifference and ambivalence, compassion and empathy, and confusion about how to help and what to do. Certainly Napans could have done more and been more active and vocal about supporting civil rights, but there is comfort knowing that at least they did not, as a whole, resist or refute social reform.

Chapter 5: Racism and Microagressions: Contemporary Race Relations

By the late 1970s, most residents of Napa County had begun to attempt to rectify the most obvious systemic infections of racism, bigotry, and prejudice. In 1989 the White Aryan Resistance attempted to hold a white supremacist "Woodstock" on private land in the Jameson Canyon area of southeastern Napa County. For days leading up to the event, Napans were up in arms over the festival. The protest spurred the creation of a new community group, Citizens Against Racism, while white supremacist Tom Metzger, founder of the White Aryan Resistance and the festival's biggest supporter, countered "that the affair was 'invitation only,' that he was 'not here to argue or discuss our ideas'…But John Hughes asked the Supervisors not to let him 'hide behind freedom of speech,' saying that he had 'no right that causes others to commit violence against minorities'."[1] Metzger's words sounded strikingly similar to those of Dr. Bronson in his speech at the Napa KKK rally in 1924. It is also the same line the Klan uses today. They can claim they "do not hate anyone," are "not racist," and are simply a "fraternal organization [that does] good works," while knowing full well their organization killed, beat, bombed, and terrorized countless people of color, immigrants, non-Protestants, and white allies since its formation in 1873.[2] Also similar to the 1920s rallies, neither the white supremacists nor the news reports indicated any interest in the nearly 1,100 Black Napans. Mary Jane Turnbull Fay did not protest the rally, but her son did. Brad Wagenknecht also participated in the protests. The Napa County Superior Court won a temporary injunction against the festival, and although the rally eventually took place, it was barely attended, achieved nothing, and the group never came to the county again.

Not long after the Aryan protests, siblings Deneen, David, and Coral Brown (no relation to the author) established Brown Estate Vineyards. The Browns had operated a vineyard as early as 1980 on a historic property known as the Hopman-Chrochat Place on Sage Canyon Road.[3] The winery, world-renowned for its zinfandel, is believed to be the first and only Black-owned estate in California to this day. Another step forward was the election of American Canyon city councilmember Ben Anderson to mayor in 1992. Anderson served in the Navy in the 1960s and 1970s. Like many Black Napans before him, Mare Island Naval Shipyard drew Anderson to Napa County. As a councilmember, he was a key force in getting American Canyon incorporated as a city, and was "actively involved in the development of schools and libraries, a gym and swimming pool, and a series of commercial ventures that have brought flourishing businesses to the city."[4] Upon receiving the Certificate of American Canyon Pride in 2012, the committee wrote "Mr. Ben Anderson, you are truly an amazing man. Thank you for your service, dedication and commitment to our country, to our city and to all of the members of this community. Your service is greatly appreciated and does not go un-noticed."[5] It should be noted that both the Brown family and Ben Anderson have transcended Black stereotypes through Black Exceptionalism, whether intentionally or otherwise. But what of the Napa African Americans who did not find fame or fortune?

Today, there is little overt or violent racism against African Americans in Napa, but the residents are often affected by racial microaggressions, "brief and commonplace daily verbal, behavioral, or environmental indignities, whether intentional or unintentional, that communicate hostile, derogatory, or negative racial slights and insults toward people of color."[6] Contemporary racism "is more likely than ever to be disguised

and covert," and "has evolved from the 'old fashioned' form, in which overt racial hatred and bigotry is consciously and publicly displayed, to a more ambiguous and nebulous form that is more difficult to identity and acknowledge."[7] One interviewee, Ernest Abbott, said what makes microaggressions so insidious is that "It's your human ego that gets damaged."[8] A person can resist bigoted language and can fight back against racist violence, but microaggressions wear down the soul. Just because Napa vocally condemns public acts of racism does not mean private acts bigotry of are not occurring at an alarming rate. At the same time white Napans were attempting to block the Aryans from their racist festivities, they were also discriminating against Black individuals.

Beverly Brown Healey, a clinical laboratory scientist from Connecticut who lived in Napa from 1971 to 2005 (and is the author's mother), experienced a constant stream of microaggressions as a Black woman. In an email to the author, she wrote about some of racist incidents she heard about:

> In the 1990's a black Clinical Lab. Tech named "C" was interviewed for a job at QVH [Queen of the Valley Hospital]. Dr. Gifford was the Pathologist. During the interview, "C" told me he was asked if he "drank a lot" and beat his wife because Dr. Gifford had heard that this is what black men did. "C" (one of the best lab techs) did not take the job. I also heard about a teacher at Napa College who sued for discrimination and won. I did not know him…There were not many black people in Napa at that time so I'm not sure of overall treatment. I only heard about some black students from Vallejo visiting friends at Vintage high. They were told to go back to Vallejo.[9]

Beverly also explained how she felt her knowledge, experience, and field expertise were regularly questioned by her white supervisors, and in several instances led to her seeking new employment or threatening legal action if they continued to underpay her. Demanding civil rights is a trait she inherited from her mother, Alberta Brown, "a union activist [who] fought for the rights of women to do the same factory jobs men did, for the

same pay as men during and after WWII."[10] Beverly attributes the condescending attitudes of her white male supervisors to her gender first and her intersectionality as a Black woman second. Some supervisors did support her, and she felt comfortable enough that the racism, sexism, and microaggressions were outweighed by the satisfaction of a good job, welcoming church, and better educational opportunities for her daughter. "Overall, I felt peaceful, safe and welcome in Napa…I have never lived in a predominately black community and would never use that as criteria for selecting a place to live. My belief is that your home is where your job and heart are, and I loved living in beautiful, quiet Napa."[11]

Curlie Jean Abbott, was "pretty satisfied living in Napa."[12] Her family left Georgia for postwar jobs at the Mare Island shipyard, and she came with them. They were seeking a better life and more opportunities, and she soon met Ernest Abbott, who was at the time a Naval officer at Mare Island. When she and Ernest married and moved to Napa in the early 1970s, the racism she experienced in Napa was significantly lower than in Georgia. "Well, a couple of times in Napa…a kid called me a nigger on the street, and I just said, 'Your mother,' and kept going."[13] When asked to describe her overall experience of racism in Napa County, she said,

> Long as you don't bother me, I don't bother you. So, I can't say what other people have experienced in Napa, you know, being Black, just what I have, and it's been pretty good…I try not to let too many things bother me, because I could be putting that energy into something else…You can call me all the names you want. I can get over that.[14]

For Curlie Jean and many other Black Napans, the verbal abuse in Napa trumped the physical violence in the Deep South.

Black men in Napa seem to have had more hostile experiences than Black women. Ernest Abbott, Curlie Jean's husband, settled in Napa after being hired as a professor at Napa Valley College in the early 1970s. He is very aware of the systemic racism in national politics, and is keen to discuss the macro and micro issues surrounding race. He and his family struggled to find a place to live in Napa when they first arrived. "It wasn't as definitive as all that, but being a sensitive man, I knew what was going on…Before American Canyon started to build up and be a decent place, I tried to get there, and found a place. But I did have difficulty getting into Napa."[15] After years of being unable to buy a home in Napa, he purchased a country lot on the newly developed Circle Oaks neighborhood, about halfway between downtown Napa and Lake Berryessa. Building his own home solved the problem of redlining altogether. Like Beverly, Ernest moved to Napa and stayed because he wanted to best for his family. He recalled:

> You asked why did I come to Napa: I would have anyway. There are not as many pitfalls for youngsters, and there's good schools and so forth. That was my rationale for settling here. And I got hired at Napa College, you know, but I was glad of that because we had come from Vallejo, and you really have to watch yourself if you're a young Black person in Vallejo. You can get in trouble like that. And several other cities are the same way. But here they get in trouble for one reason: being anti-racist! [laughter] So there was no real choice if you thought it through.[16]

When asked why he thought Napa's African American population was so small, Ernest had some very strong opinions:

> Well, you know, that doesn't surprise me that you won't find a population of Black people in Napa. [Some of the Black people living in Napa today] are willing to believe that the worm has turned, that they're really looked on as equals. Every Black person in Napa is looked upon as a buffoon. Now, whether that comes out strongly or not depends on the person emitting the thing. Now, some of them really believe we're equal, but some don't, and they try to pretend so they can be "good people." You know, I just, I feel that they are good people for even trying, but it's obvious to me they're trying.[17]

Not every person, white or Black, would agree with that statement, but the point is not whether or not his claims are true but that he feels that way in the first place. It should be a humbling experience to realize that a person of color has been put down and put upon by white people so much that they view all race relations through a lens of bitterness. That is what years of microagressions will do to a person. Ernest Abbott went on to say that in terms of whether race relations are better today than in the 1970s, "The only difference are the subtleties. It used to be that a white person could let their feelings be known very vocally and aggressively, but they can't anymore. But it's still there…You just have to develop a thick skin and ignore it. But there are good white men and good white people. I've been fooled a couple of times, but not normally."[18]

Amar Abbott, one of Ernest and Curlie Jean's sons, recalled an incident in the early 1980s at a local bowling alley where a white clerk called his father "boy," and the verbal altercation that ensued between the two men. "I mean, here my dad was a lieutenant in the Navy in the hardest time you could possibly be a Black man in the Navy, made officer, a professor at the College, highly educated, and to be reduced down to a "boy" by some white guy is utterly ridiculous knowing that he was probably more educated than that man was ever gonna be." That same sentiment of having one's intelligence and expertise constantly questioned was echoed by Beverly Brown Healey, a woman who also has a Master's degree in her professional field.

Dr. Bill Weddington is the professor from Napa Valley College referenced by Beverly who successfully sued the College in 1985 over racial harassment. Dr. Weddington was recruited to work at the College a few years before Ernest Abbott by Harvey Abramowicz and others specifically to diversify the city and school. Dr.

Weddington found that Napa's redlining was so pervasive that he was unable to find a place to live, and seriously considered refusing the job. He recounted one incidence where he stopped at a local gas station to ask for directions to an apartment on Pueblo Avenue, and the attendants told he must be looking for the road in Vallejo (Pueblo Way runs between Vallejo and Benicia) rather than the one in Napa. The attendants insisted there were no streets named "Pueblo" in Napa.[19] Abramowicz happened to be a realtor and gave Dr. Weddington his house in Browns Valley as an enticement to stay. Dr. Weddington theorized about the reasons behind racism and the Black experience in Napa:

> In every city I've lived in, being a Black person dealing with a white population, I've always felt like there was an issue of privilege, and there was an issue of either intended racism – intended discrimination – or unintended. In Sacramento, simply because there were more Black people didn't seem to make a difference. Racism is racism wherever you find it, whether it's intended or unintended…People change their *modus operandi* depending on how and if they believe they're gonna be confronted. If you're in an area where there's only one Black person and there's a large population of whites, they become emboldened in their attitudes and in their ways. If the population is diluted a little bit more that embolden-ness kinda goes away.[20]

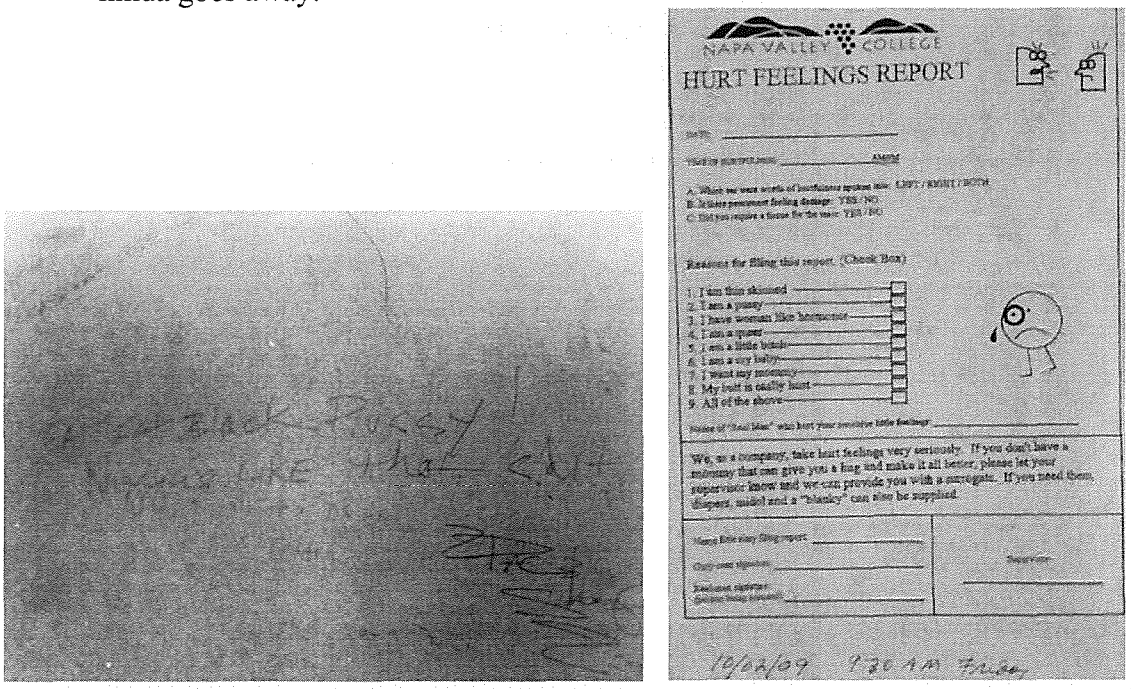


Figure 14. Harassment documents left by anonymous persons at Napa Valley College for Dr. Weddington[21]

Amar Abbott was born on Travis Air Force Base in Fairfield, and was very young when his parents relocated to Napa. He and his siblings also had run-ins with racist white Napans in the 1980s and 1990s. Amar wrote,

> Yes, many times I was called a nigger, stupid nigger, porch monkey and many other derogatory terms related to my ethnicity. It often led to some kind of conflict whether verbally or actual physical violence. Several times, when my older brother and I walked to the bus stop, we had to fight to the bus stop, other times from the bus stop, and on those special occasions to and from the bus stop on the same day.
>
> Often, from when I was a teenager to my mid-20s I was profiled in various different supermarkets and retail stores. I remember one instance when my brothers were profiled at Safeway on Trancas Street…Occasionally, I still see the man who profiled my brothers walking around town...
>
> It wasn't until I was older that some of the stories came out. They were usually told to me by my Dad's coworkers about how the house on 658 Acosta Dr. had racial epithets put on our lawn or eggs thrown at our house things of that nature. My father and mother never said a word to me about it; it might've been because I was so young…When I got older, I started hear stories about Dr. Bill Weddington's running with the gun and his dog alongside Napa River [after being threatened with violence by a white person]. White people always seemed a little pissed off when a black kid is starting to get [on the] bus to Vintage [one of the two public high schools in Napa City] from American Canyon. Other black kids told me how they were treated when they came to Napa from Vallejo.[22]

Today, Amar also works at Napa Valley College, and is pursuing his doctorate in Learning Technologies in Education from Purdue University.

Amar Abbott was not the only person to have a racist experience at a Napa Safeway. Dr. Weddington once encountered a young boy at the branch that used to be on Jefferson Street who shouted,

> "'Mom! There's a nigger there!' [laughter] That's exactly what he said, and his mom went, 'Robbie!...You're not supposed to do that.' I said, 'Well, you know, obviously he had to learn that from someplace.' And she just kinda turned red in the face and took him by the arm and jerked him and walked away."

> When I first came here, that was not unusual. People would stare, people would stop and stare at you. I mean literally stop and stare. If they were driving in a vehicle and they thought that there was no chance of you getting to them, they'd howl out some obscenity. That went on. Not so much of that today. I could walk into a store, people are checking out to see if I'm going to take something…'Are you sure you're a doctor?' I get that. If I drive my car around I'll get questions about, 'Oh, where'd you get that car from?' you know? And now and then I have some interaction with the police department.[23]

Dr. Weddington was also not the only African American in Napa to sue a school for discrimination. In 1978, a former student at PUC filed a lawsuit claiming his South African English teacher falsely accused him of plagiarism and that she failed him because he was Black.[24]

As liberal as California is on most social aspects, on moral, religious, and racial issues, the state is decidedly antiquated. Such contradictions could only come from a state that passed Proposition 14 in 1964, a bill which abolished the 1963 Rumford Fair Housing Act and exempted most real estate transactions from anti-discrimination laws, while simultaneously voting for Democratic presidential candidate Lyndon B. Johnson, who signed the Voting Rights Act of 1965. California has always been bipolar on its politico-cultural ideologies, and while the roots of its contemporary race relations lie in the Mexican caste system and early American racial subjugation, it was allowed to flourish under policies backed by Southern Californian evangelicals.

Just as African Americans fled the South, so too did Southern Whites. By the late 1960s, more southern-born Americans – 800,000 African Americans, 1.7 million whites – lived in California than in any state in the South. In 1969, Southern California alone held more southerners than Oklahoma City, Oklahoma, and Little Rock, Arkansas, combined.[25] These Southern evangelicals first arrived while FDR was reinventing the

American political system and the Democratic Party was splintering in two. Conservatives and Southerners objected to many of the New Deal programs birthed in the "Roosevelt Revolution" for a variety of reasons – not the least of which was that if left unmolested, they might benefit people of color as much whites – and for much of the mid-twentieth century Democrats and Republicans traded adherents. By the time Reagan was elected, the party that was once progressive enough to push for emancipation was now conservative enough to demand the New Jim Crow. Reagan's political maneuvering blended religious fundamentalism and political conservatism and became the tool (or weapon, depending on one's perspective) to "get socialism and secularism out of the community, and God back in."[26]

Their version of the Judeo-Christian God had more in common with the Calvinist God than the humble, welcoming Jesus of Protestantism, and fundamentalists dedicated themselves to dismantling or blockading any progressive social policies that might infringe upon their religious independence even if the legislation benefitted the wider populace. In the years following the Civil Rights Movement, California laid the foundation for the "Reagan Revolution" of the 1980s by banning mandatory desegregation in schools and repealing a state statute that pushed for racial balance in schools (Prop 21, 1972), blocking state courts from ordering desegregation in schools beyond federal requirements (Prop 1, 1979), increasing sentences and penalties for repeat criminals and juvenile offenders (Prop 184, 1994, and Prop 21, 2000, respectively), and cancelling affirmative action for public and contract hirings and in public education (Prop 21, 2000).[27] Through these acts, California proved itself to be less a melting pot and more a cauldron.[28] In Napa, racial discrimination in housing reared its ugly head through

redlining and restrictive covenants. The covenants only appear in the first decade or so after World War II, but redlining went on until at least the 1980s for people of color.

In 1965, Assistant Secretary of Labor Daniel Patrick Moynihan produced a controversial and scathing report for the Office of Policy Planning and Review for the Department of Labor. Moynihan's predictions for the future of African Americans and post-Civil Rights Movement race relations in the United States have come true with frightening accuracy:

> In this new period the expectations of the Negro Americans will go beyond civil rights. Being Americans, they will now expect that in the near future equal opportunities for them as a group will produce roughly equal results, as compared with other groups. This is not going to happen. Nor will it happen for generations to come unless a new and special effort is made.
>
> There are two reasons. First, the racist virus in the American blood stream still afflicts us: Negroes will encounter serious personal prejudice for at least another generation. Second, three centuries of sometimes unimaginable mistreatment have taken their toll on the Negro people. The harsh fact is that as a group, at the present time, in terms of ability to win out in the competitions of American life, they are not equal to most of those groups with which they will be competing. Individually, Negro Americans reach the highest peaks of achievement. But collectively, in the spectrum of American ethnic and religious and regional groups, where some get plenty and some get none, where some send eighty percent of their children to college and others pull them out of school at the 8th grade, Negroes are among the weakest.
>
> The most difficult fact for white Americans to understand is that in these terms the circumstances of the Negro American community in recent years has probably been getting *worse, not better*.[29]

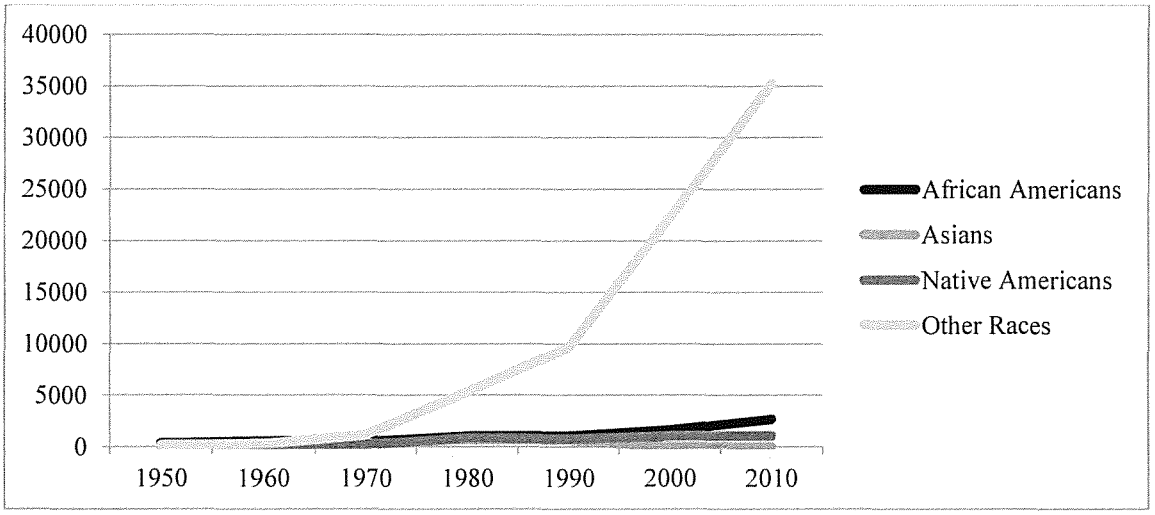
The racial disparities in California in education, housing, employment, reproductive rights, LGBTQ rights, and criminal justice are directly linked to white supremacy.[30] California and Napa tolerates and supports the racial hierarchy by electing officials to proceed with the status quo by inflicting punishments on those already being held down

by the white-dominated system, and it does this while simultaneously praising itself for its liberal attitudes toward prejudice, bigotry, and racism.

Joan Didion famously remarked in *Where I Was From* that "One difference between the West and the South I came to realize in 1970 was this: in the South they remained convinced that they had bloodied their land with history. In California we did not believe history could bloody the land, or even touch it."[31] As hard as it may be to accept, that statement fits Napa a little too well. It is a county of political whiteness – "a political subjectivity rooted in white racial identity, a gaze on politics constituted by whiteness" – in a state entrenched in blue state racism where "Colorblindness limits political criticism of racism almost entirely to individual actions and beliefs" and "Charges of racial subordination are largely inadmissible in the dominant political discourse unless accompanied by some evidence of deliberate and malicious intent."[32] A recent poll conducted by the University of Southern California Dornsife and the *Los Angeles Times* showed that a majority of voters think race relations are stable or improving, except in regards to police enforcement where 43 percent believe the cops are harder on African Americans than any other group. Almost half of Black voters reported experiencing regular discrimination, but while most voters say their neighborhoods are diverse less than half engage with people of difference races in private or social events.[33] In other words, while their environment is ethnically diverse, their personal lives are not. This faux diversity allows Californians – and Napans – to feel like race relations are improving through the establishment of welcoming communities, in reality people of all races tend to circle the wagons and stick with their own. As the following chart shows, people identifying as "American Indian and Alaskan Native," "Native Hawaiian and

Other Pacific Islander," "Some other race," or "Two or more races" and those identifying as "Asian" had the greatest population increase in Napa County. Although the African American population has increased by 62 percent in the last ten years, nearly all of that growth was centered in American Canyon (incorporated as a city in 1992). Napa City's Black population grew by 28 percent, while American Canyon went up 114 percent. With so few Black people in Napa, it can feel incredibly isolating to constantly be surrounded by white people.

Table 8. Population rates of racial minorities, 1950-2010



Source: U.S. federal census, 1950-2010.[34]

Conclusion

The running theme through the stories of African Americans in Napa is the overwhelming desire to call it home. Despite the racism and microagressions, discrimination and redlining, and the violence and threats, the economic and educational opportunities and security of suburban life in Napa allowed African Americans to build a life much more easily than in other cities. Wesley Jennings, who lived in Napa long enough to see Jim Crow blossom into the Negro Revolution then wither and rot into the New Jim Crow, saw the valley as his home and never wanted to leave: "'I've always been workin' and busy. I never thought of travelin',' he says. The one time that he did venture from his native soil, it was to serve his stint with the U.S. Army in World War I. That tour ended in France with a near-death experience when, like many other soldiers, he was the victim of mustard gas. 'After France I wanted to stay home for sure,' he emphasizes."[1] After the Civil War, Black Napans believed they lived in a place where they could secure their rights to life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness. Those who realized just how little they had actually achieved and how far they still had to go left town for places with more opportunities. The two greatest scourges of Black life in the United States – the ghettoization and criminalization of the Black community through discriminatory local ordinances, electoral practices, and political fearmongering – are non-existent in Napa, not because white Napans are exceedingly liberal but because there are not enough African Americans upon which to inflict such policies.

Nearly all African Americans living in Napa today came here from somewhere else. They chose Napa for the same reasons as their forbearers, and many have discovered the same underlying current of bigotry and racial ignorance. Employment and

educational opportunities are better today than in 1870, and with the American Dream now firmly entrenched in suburbia, Napa seems like the perfect place to live. As Dr. Weddington put it:

> It's dealing with all their false beliefs and bigoted intentions and thoughts and having them expose without them even realizing they're exposing them until you comment on something they've said. Then all of a sudden they see it and they say 'Well, I didn't mean that. I'm not a racist.' You know, they go to that place, and it opens up dialogue. Would I have the chance to open that dialogue as often, say, in Sacramento or in LA or in San Francisco or even at Berkeley? To me, this is where the work needs to be done, and that's why I'm here…My sense is that some people are just not wanting to put up with the bigoted ways that they experience here. For those who need a little bit more freedom and a little bit more, great, then they need to go.[2]

For these contemporary Black Napans, this county is their home now. If they leave Napa, they want it to be of their own accord, not because they were pushed out. Many Black Napans did leave – including the author, although even she has moved back to her hometown in recent years – but they did so because Napa did not feel like home. Surely Matilda Seawell and William Veasey thought being called "darkey" and being unable to move beyond labor and service positions was more acceptable than Black Codes and Jim Crow. Today, being called "Nigger" and being the recipient of offensive notes is better than the threat of riots, police brutality, and economic and educational oppression. There are worse places than Napa for African Americans to live in California, but Napa should want to be better than "not terrible." As Amar Abbott wrote, "Living in Napa gave me the capability of living anywhere, I honestly believe that. Growing up in Napa has shaped me in many ways. It has given me the ability to be able to transverse the white and black community effortlessly. That was not always the case when I was younger, in Napa I was a Nigger and a Vallejo I was not black enough."[3]

APPENDICES

Appendix 1. Deed from John B. Scott and Mary Scott to Charles S. Carrington, recorded in Napa County May 27, 1861.

113

Deed of Trust
John B. and Mary C. Scott To Wm. H. James

This Indenture made and entered into this 15th day of January 1846, by
and between John B. Scott of the first part, Charles S. Carrington of the second
part and Mary Scott, wife of the said John B. Scott, and John S. Field of
the third part. Witnesseth that whereas the said Mary as one of the children
and legatees of the said Chas G. Field, and as one of the heirs of her deceased
brother Thomas L. Field has a right and interest in remainder in a num-
ber of slaves now held by Martha C. Field as her dower or distributable share
for life in the Estate of the said Charles G. Field, and the said John B. Scott
wishing to convert the said interest into more productive capital it was
agreed by him and the said Mary that he might sell it and that she would
unite with him in making title to a purchaser upon his making her
compensation by conveying to a trustee for her separate use other slaves equal
in value to the rights and interests so surrendered and conveyed by her;
and the said John B. Scott having sold the said rights and interest to John
S. Field for the sum of nine thousand five hundred and forty eight Dol-
lars, the said Mary by deed bearing the date of these presents has surrendered
and conveyed to the said John S. Field her rights and interest in the said slaves.
Now, in consideration of the said agreement, and as a just compensation to
the said Mary for the rights surrendered by her, and for the further consider-
ation of the sum of ten dollars in hand paid by the said Charles S. Carrington
to the said John B. Scott before the ensealing and delivery of these presents, the
receipt of which is hereby acknowledged, he the said John B. Scott has given
granted, bargained and sold and by these presents doth give, grant, bargain,
sell, and convey unto the said Charles S. Carrington, the following slaves, to
wit, Moses and Judy his wife and the seven children of Judy to wit,
Tyree, Tom, Douglass, Claiborne, Moses and Martha, Stephen and Rebecca
his wife, and her three children, Nat, Lewis and Ora, William and Eliza his
wife, and her children, Ephraim, Robin and Sophia his wife and their
three children, Washington, Peggy and Patsey, Letitia and her child Minerva,
Mildred and her child Nancy, Thomas, a man, and Catherine, Harriet
Allen, Bartlett and Charity, and her two children, Martha and Elizabeth, and
a man named Cupid, to him the said Charles S. Carrington, his heirs
and assigns forever, with all the increase of the female slaves in absolute
property; and a good and sufficient title to the said slaves, with the increase
of the females, he, the said John B. Scott binds himself his heirs representa-
tives forever to warrant and defend to him the said Charles S. Carrington
his heirs and assigns forever against the claim and demand of all
and every person whomsoever; But it is distinctly agreed and understood
that the said Charles S. Carrington is to hold the said slaves with the increase
of the females for the sole and separate use of the said Mary Scott for
and during her natural life, appropriating their hires and profits to
her support and maintenance, permitting her to have the use, possession
and control of them as if she were a feme sole, but not to be subject to the
debts, contracts or liabilities of any other person whatever, and upon the death

Such assignment and transfer both as to the form and subject thereof to be settled by this Court in case the parties differ about the same; and that thereupon the Plaintiff shall be discharged from the said trusts, and from all liability on the account thereof. And the Court doth hereupon further order adjudge and decree, that the said John B. Scott, as such New Trustee, do, upon the completion of such assignment and transfer, make out and cause to be recorded in the Recorders Office of the County of Mariposa wherein the parties reside, a full and complete inventory of the said trust property to be signed by the defendant Mary B. Scott, and also by the said defendant John B. Scott as such trustee, and acknowledged and approved in the manner required by law for the acknowledgment or proof of a Conveyance of Land and accompanied by a copy of the Deed in the said Complaint mentioned, and by Copies of this order appointing the said Plaintiff a trustee to execute the said trusts, and of this Decree

D.O. Shattuck

Judge.

Endorsed

Filed December 24th 1856

J.B. McMinn Clerk

J. Hannah D.C.

Clerks Office of the Superior Court
of the City of San Francisco

I James B McMinn, Clerk of said Court do hereby certify the foregoing to be a true and correct Copy of the Decree this day rendered in the above entitled Cause

Witness my hand and seal of said Court this 24th day of December AD 1856

James B McMinn Clerk

J. Hannah D.C.

In the Superior Court of the City of San Francisco.

At a general term of the Superior Court of the City of San Francisco, held in and for the said City on the 5th day of July A.D. 1856

Present:

The Honorable D.O. Shattuck - Judge of the said Court.

In the matter of the Petition of
Mary B. Scott and her husband
John B. Scott

Order appointing a Trustee

On reading and filing the petition of Mary B. Scott and her husband John B. Scott praying that a trustee may be appointed in the place of Charles Pennington of the County of Halifax in the State of Virginia to execute the trusts imposed upon the said Trustee by a decree bearing date on the 15th day of January A.D. 1856, executed by Mary B. Scott and John B. Scott and recorded in the County of Mecklenburg in the said State of Virginia

a copy of which deed is filed in this Cause, the Court doth adjudge order and Decree that William H. James be and he is hereby appointed a trustee to execute the trusts imposed by the said Deed and to receive the funds that may be transmitted under the Order of the Circuit Court of the said County of Halifax upon certain proceedings to be instituted in the said Court for procuring an order for the transmission of the proceeds of the sale of the property in the said deed mentioned to a trustee resident in this State; And the Court doth further adjudge order and Decree that the said William H. James execute bond in the penalty of Forty five thousand Dollars ($45,000 00/100) with good Security to Mary E. Scott and John B. Scott, Conditioned to execute faithfully the trusts imposed by the said Deed and Order.

D. O. Shattuck
Sole Judge of the Superior Court

"Endorsed"

Filed July 3rd 1856
James B. McMinn Clerk
Henry G. Daniels Dc.

Clerk's Office of the Superior Court
of the City of San Francisco

I James B. McMinn Clerk of said Superior Court do hereby Certify the foregoing to be a true, full and Correct Copy of the Original Order made in the above Cause and now on file in my office.

In Witness whereof I have hereunto set my hand and Seal of said Court this 24th day of December 1856.

(L.S.)

James B. McMinn Clerk
Henry G. Daniels Dc.

Filed for record April 8th 1857 at 1 O'clock P.M. and recorded at the request of John B. Scott.

A true Copy of the original.
Attest, A. J. Watson Recorder
By R. Crooch Deputy

Deed
Martha H. Ritchie To Saml Brannan

This Indenture Made the Sixth day of April in the year one thousand Eight hundred and fifty Seven Between Martha H. Ritchie widow of Archibald A. Ritchie deceased of the City and County of San Francisco and State of California party of the first part, and Samuel Brannan of the same City & County and State party of the second part Witnesseth, That the said party of the first part for and in Consideration of the sum of Ten Dollars lawful money of the United States of America to her in hand paid by the said party of the second part, at or before the ensealing and delivery of these Presents the receipt whereof is hereby acknowledged, has granted, bargained, sold, released, remised and Conveyed, and by these presents doth grant, bargain, sell, release

Appendix 2. Deed from Chancellor Hartson Edward Hatton, recorded in Napa County December 1, 1855.

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wise appertaining. To have and To hold unto the said Frederick A. Sawyer his heirs and Assigns to his and their sole use, benefit and behoof forever. And I the said Julius K. Rose for myself, my heirs executors and administrators hereby covenant promise and agree to and with the said Frederick A. Sawyer his heirs and assigns that the above mentioned and described premises and every part and parcel thereof are now free of and from all charges and incumbrances of every name and nature made committed executed or suffered by me. In Witness whereof I have hereunto set my hand and seal on the eleventh day of January AD one thousand eight hundred and fifty three.

Sealed & delivered in presence
of Geo. T. Knox
the word "Napa" erased & the word "Mondecino" interlined
G. T. K.

Julius K. Rose [Seal]

State of California
County of San Francisco ss. On this 11th day of January AD 1853 before me a Notary Public in and for said County personally appeared Julius K. Rose known to me to be the individual described in and who executed the foregoing instrument and acknowledged he executed the same freely and voluntarily for the uses and purposes therein mentioned.

Witness my hand and official Seal the day and year aforesaid.

[Seal]

Geo. T. Knox
Notary Public

Filed for record Nov 30th AD 1855 at 9 o'clock & 20 minutes A.M. and recorded at the request of H. S. Jacks

Deed
C. Hartson To Edward Hatton

This Indenture made the twenty first day of September in the year one thousand eight hundred and fifty five Between Chancellor Hartson of the County of Napa and State of California party of the first part and Edward Hatton of the same place party of the second part Witnesseth That the said party of the first part for and in consideration of the sum of one hundred and fifty dollars lawful money of the United States of America to him in hand paid by the said party of the second part at or before the ensealing and delivery of these presents, the receipt whereof is hereby acknowledged hath remised, released and quit claimed, and by these presents doth remise release and quit-claim unto the said party of the second part and to his heirs and assigns forever

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All that certain tract of land lying and being situated in the County of Napa and State of California. Known and described as Lot No. two in Block No. nineteen of Napa City according to the plan of the same. said Lot is one hundred and twenty feet square. and lies on Pearl and Brown Streets of said City on each of said Streets one hundred and twenty feet. Together with all and singular the tenements, hereditaments and appurtenances thereunto belonging or in any wise appertaining, and the reversion and reversions, remainder and remainders, rents, issue and profits thereof And all the estate right title, interest, property, possession, Claim and demand whatsoever, as well in law as in Equity of the said party of the first part of in or to the above described premises and every part and parcel thereof with the appurtenances To have and to hold all and singular the above mentioned and described premises, together with the appurtenances unto the said party of the second part his heirs and assigns forever

In witness whereof the said party of the first part hath hereunto set his hand and seal the day and year first above written

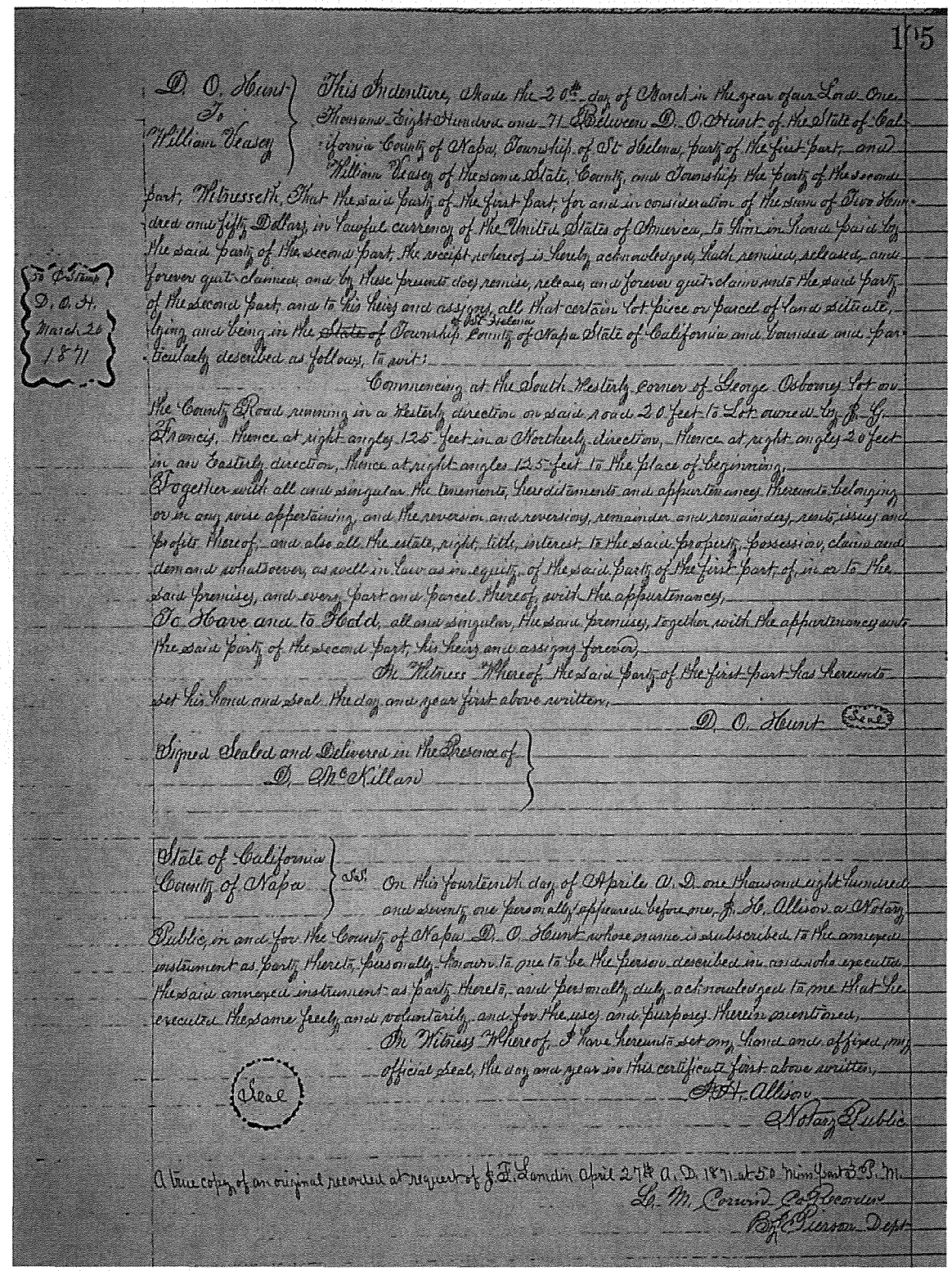
Sealed and delivered in the presence of
Louis Brück
C. Hartson (Seal)

State of California
County of Napa } On this the 5th day of Oct. AD. 1855 personally appeared before me A. B. Walker Justice of the Peace in & for said County Chancellor Hartson known to me to be the person described in and who executed the within Instrument, and who acknowledged to me that he executed the same freely and voluntarily and for the uses and purposes therein specified.

Given under my hand Oct 5th A.D. 1855.
A. B. Walker
Justice of Peace

Filed for record Decr 1st A.D. 1855 at 11 o clock am and recorded at the request of Edw. Hatton

Appendix 3. Deed from D. O. Hunt to William Veasey, recorded in Napa County April 27, 1871.



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D. O. Hunt
To
William Veasey

This Indenture, Made the 20th day of March in the year of our Lord One Thousand Eight Hundred and 71 Between D. O. Hunt of the State of California County of Napa, Township of St Helena, part of the first part, and William Veasey of the same State, County, and Township the part of the second part, Witnesseth, That the said part of the first part, for and in consideration of the sum of Five Hundred and Fifty Dollars, in Lawful currency of the United States of America, to Him in Hand paid by the said part of the second part, the receipt whereof is Hereby acknowledged, Hath remised, released, and forever quit-claimed, and by these presents does remise, release, and forever quit-claim unto the said part of the second part, and to his Heirs and assigns, all that certain lot piece or parcel of land situate, lying, and being in the ~~State of~~ Township of St Helena County of Napa State of California and bounded and particularly described as follows, to wit:

To Estimate
D. O. H.
March 20
1871

Commencing at the South Westerly corner of George Osborne's Lot on the County Road running in a Westerly direction on said road 20 feet to Lot owned by F. G. Mowry, thence at right angles 125 feet in a Northerly direction, thence at right angles 20 feet in an Easterly direction, thence at right angles 125 feet to the place of beginning.

Together with all and singular the tenements, Hereditaments and appurtenances thereunto belonging or in any wise appertaining, and the reversion and reversions, remainder and remainders, rents, issues and profits thereof, and also all the estate, right, title, interest, to the said property, possession, claim and demand whatsoever, as well in Law as in equity, of the said party of the first part, of in or to the said premises, and every part and parcel thereof, with the appurtenances,

To Have and to Hold, all and singular, the said premises, together with the appurtenances unto the said part of the second part, his heirs and assigns forever.

In Witness Whereof, the said part of the first part has hereunto set his hand and seal the day and year first above written,

D. O. Hunt (Seal)

Signed Sealed and Delivered in the Presence of
D. McKillop

State of California
County of Napa } ss.

On this fourteenth day of April A. D. one thousand eight hundred and seventy one personally appeared before me, F. H. Allison a Notary Public, in and for the County of Napa D. O. Hunt whose name is subscribed to the annexed instrument as party thereto personally known to me to be the person described in and who executed the said annexed instrument as party thereto, and personally duly acknowledged to me that he executed the same freely and voluntarily and for the uses and purposes therein mentioned,

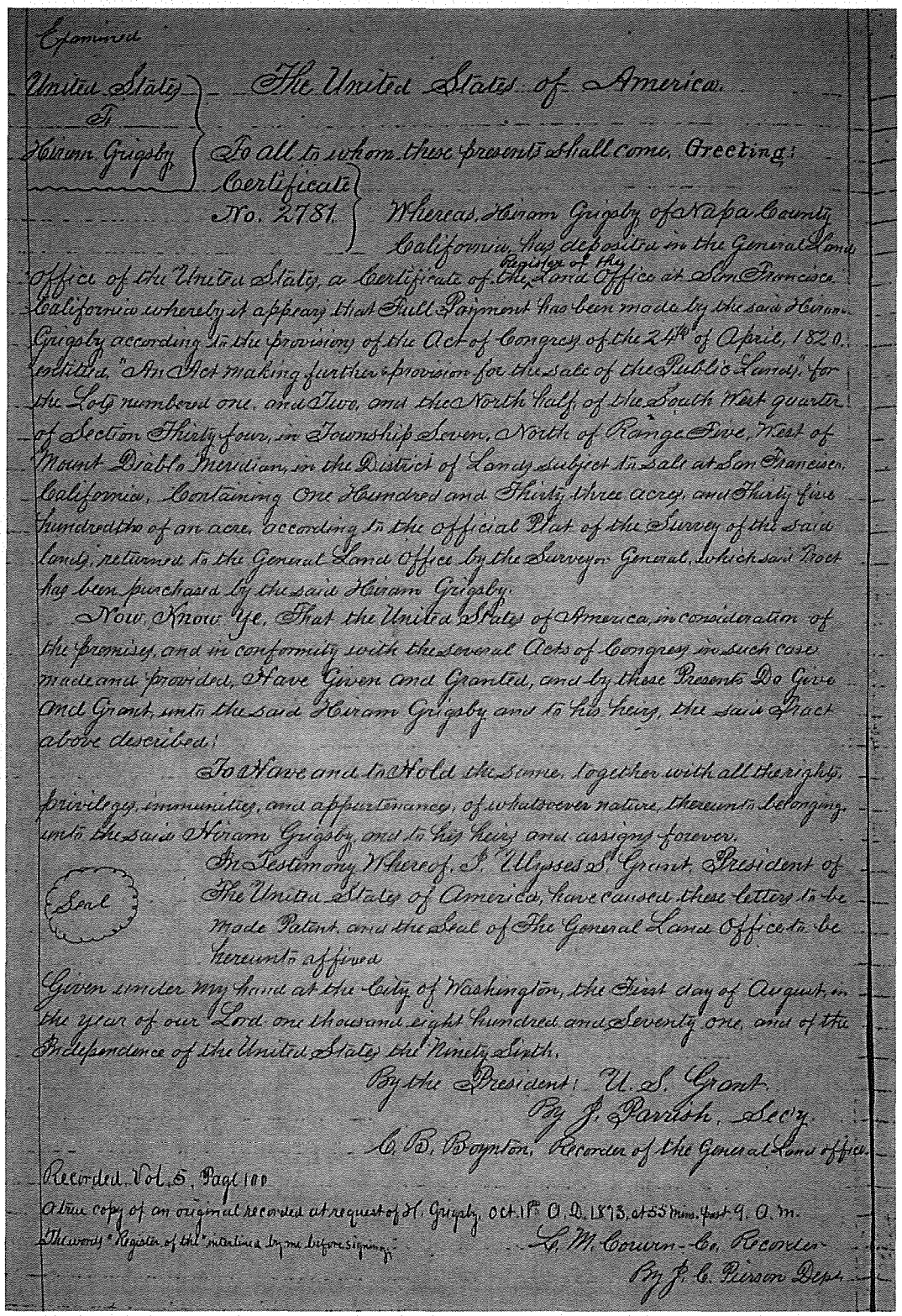
In Witness Whereof, I have hereunto set my Hand and affixed my official seal the day and year in this certificate first above written,

Seal

F. H. Allison
Notary Public

A true copy of an original recorded at request of J. P. Lamdin April 27th A. D. 1871 at 50 min past 8 P. M.
G. M. Correia Co Recorder
B. F. Pierson Dept

Appendix 4. Homestead Patent from the United States of America to Hiram Grigsby, recorded in Napa County October 11, 1863.



Examined

United States } The United States of America.
To }
Hiram Grigsby } To all to whom these presents shall come, Greeting:
Certificate
No. 2781. } Whereas, Hiram Grigsby of Napa County
California, has deposited in the General Land
Office of the United States, a Certificate of the Register of the Land Office at San Francisco
California whereby it appears that Full Payment has been made by the said Hiram
Grigsby according to the provision of the Act of Congress of the 24th of April, 1820,
entitled, "An Act making further provision for the sale of the Public Lands," for
the Lots numbered one, and two, and the North half of the South West quarter
of Section Thirty four, in Township Seven, North of Range Five, West of
Mount Diablo Meridian, in the District of Lands subject to Sale at San Francisco,
California, Containing One Hundred and Thirty three acres, and Thirty five
Hundredths of an acre, according to the official Plat of the Survey of the said
Lands, returned to the General Land Office by the Surveyor General, which said Tract
has been purchased by the said Hiram Grigsby.

Now, Know Ye, That the United States of America, in consideration of
the premises, and in conformity with the several Acts of Congress in such case
made and provided, Have Given and Granted, and by these Presents Do Give
and Grant, unto the said Hiram Grigsby and to his heirs, the said Tract
above described:

To Have and to Hold the same, together with all the rights,
privileges, immunities, and appurtenances, of whatsoever nature, thereunto belonging,
unto the said Hiram Grigsby, and to his heirs and assigns forever.

In Testimony Whereof, I, Ulysses S. Grant, President of
(Seal) The United States of America, have caused these Letters to be
Made Patent, and the Seal of the General Land Office to be
hereunto affixed.

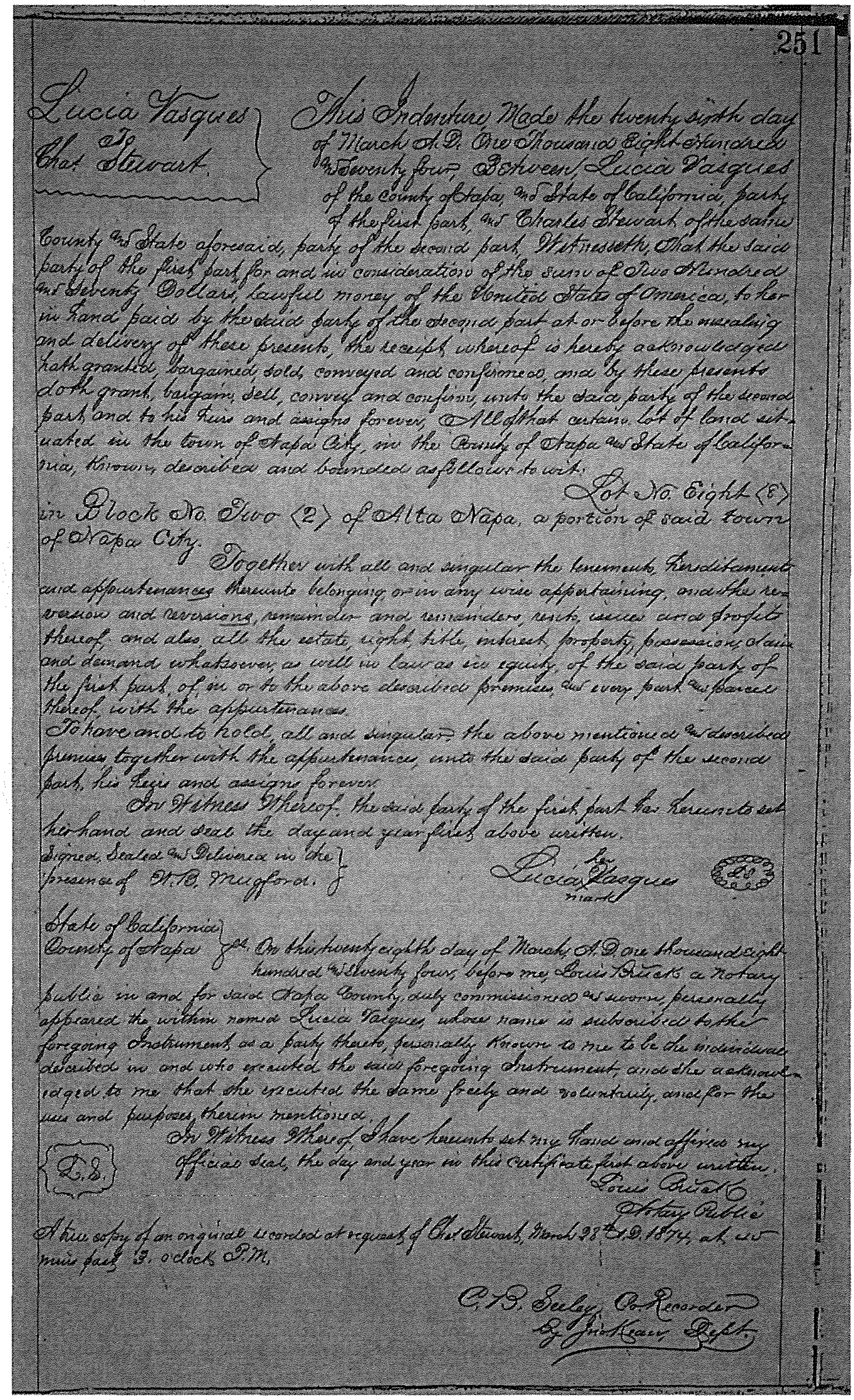
Given under my hand at the City of Washington, the First day of August, in
the year of our Lord one thousand eight hundred and Seventy one, and of the
Independence of the United States the Ninety Sixth.

By the President: U. S. Grant.
By J. Parrish, Sec'y.
C. D. Boynton, Recorder of the General Land Office.

Recorded Vol. 5, Page 100

A true copy of an original recorded at request of H. Grigsby, Oct. 11th A. D. 1873, at 55 mins. past 9, A. M.
The words "Register of the" initialed by me before signing.
L. M. Cowen - Co. Recorder
By J. C. Pierson Dep.

Appendix 5. Deed from Lucia Vasques to Charles Stewart, recorded in Napa County March 28, 1874.



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Lucia Vasques
To
Chas. Stewart.

This Indenture Made the twenty sixth day of March A.D. One Thousand Eight Hundred and Seventy four, Between Lucia Vasques of the County of Napa, and State of California, party of the first part, and Charles Stewart of the same County and State aforesaid, party of the second part, Witnesseth, That the said party of the first part for and in consideration of the sum of Two Hundred and Seventy Dollars, lawful money of the United States of America, to her in hand paid by the said party of the second part at or before the ensealing and delivery of these presents, the receipt whereof is hereby acknowledged hath granted, bargained, sold, conveyed and confirmed, and by these presents doth grant, bargain, sell, convey and confirm, unto the said party of the second part, and to his heirs and assigns forever, All that certain lot of land situated in the town of Napa City, in the County of Napa and State of California, known, described and bounded as follows to wit:

Lot No. Eight (8) in Block No. Two (2) of Alta Napa, a portion of said town of Napa City.

Together with all and singular the tenements, hereditaments and appurtenances thereunto belonging or in any wise appertaining, and the reversion and reversions, remainder and remainders, rents, issues and profits thereof, and also, all the estate, right, title, interest, property, possession, claim and demand whatsoever, as well in law as in equity, of the said party of the first part, of, in or to the above described premises, and every part and parcel thereof, with the appurtenances.

To have and to hold, all and singular, the above mentioned and described premises, together with the appurtenances, unto the said party of the second part, his heirs and assigns forever.

In Witness Whereof, the said party of the first part has hereunto set her hand and seal the day and year first above written.

Signed, Sealed and Delivered in the presence of W. B. Mugford.

her
Lucia Vasques (L.S.)
mark

State of California
County of Napa } ss. On this twenty eighth day of March, A.D. one thousand eight hundred and Seventy four, before me, Louis Brück a Notary public in and for said Napa County, duly commissioned and sworn, personally appeared the within named Lucia Vasques, whose name is subscribed to the foregoing Instrument, as a party thereto, personally known to me to be the individual described in and who executed the said foregoing Instrument, and she acknowledged to me that she executed the same freely and voluntarily, and for the uses and purposes therein mentioned.

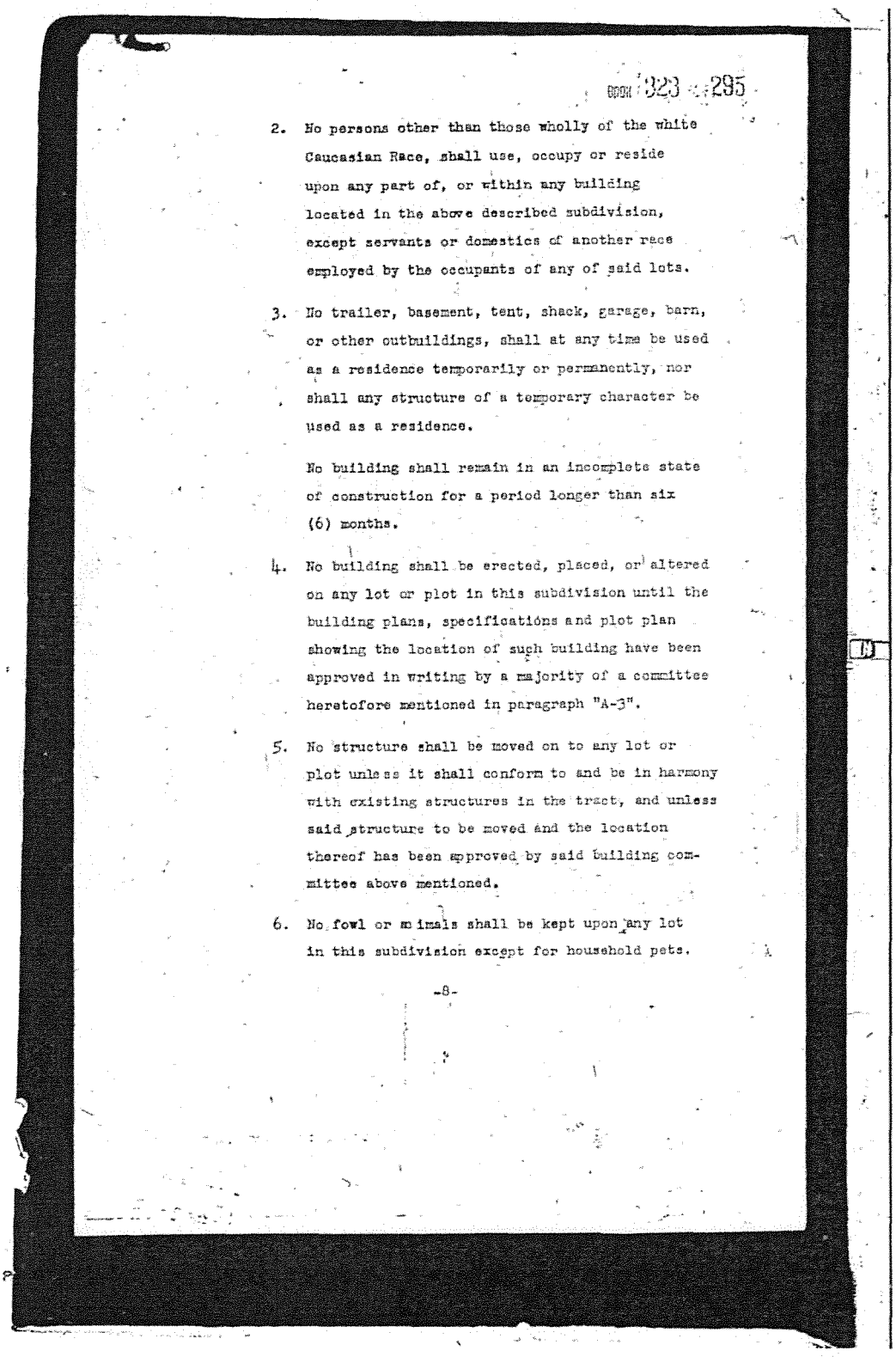
(L.S.) In Witness Whereof, I have hereunto set my hand and affixed my official seal, the day and year in this certificate first above written.

Louis Brück
Notary Public

A true copy of an original recorded at request of Chs. Stewart, March 28th A.D. 1874, at 25 mins past 3. o'clock P.M.

C. B. Seeley, Co. Recorder
By Jno Kean, Depty.

Appendix 6. Pages 8 and 9 of the Declaration of Restrictions for 348 Minahen Street in the South Extension of Gordon Terrace, recorded January 30, 1950.



BOOK 323 PAGE 295

2. No persons other than those wholly of the white Caucasian Race, shall use, occupy or reside upon any part of, or within any building located in the above described subdivision, except servants or domestics of another race employed by the occupants of any of said lots.

3. No trailer, basement, tent, shack, garage, barn, or other outbuildings, shall at any time be used as a residence temporarily or permanently, nor shall any structure of a temporary character be used as a residence.

No building shall remain in an incomplete state of construction for a period longer than six (6) months.

4. No building shall be erected, placed, or altered on any lot or plot in this subdivision until the building plans, specifications and plot plan showing the location of such building have been approved in writing by a majority of a committee heretofore mentioned in paragraph "A-3".

5. No structure shall be moved on to any lot or plot unless it shall conform to and be in harmony with existing structures in the tract, and unless said structure to be moved and the location thereof has been approved by said building committee above mentioned.

6. No fowl or animals shall be kept upon any lot in this subdivision except for household pets.

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7. Sewage disposal shall be by means of public sewer facilities only.

8. These covenants are declared to run with the land and are for the mutual benefit of each lot in the subdivision and shall be binding on all parties and all persons claiming title to any of said lots in said subdivision until January 1, 1970 at which time the same shall be extended for successive periods of five (5) years automatically unless a majority of the then individual lot owners subject thereto agree to change the said restrictive covenants in whole or in part.

9. If the parties hereto, or any of them, or their heirs, or assigns, shall violate, or attempt to violate prior to January 1, 1970, or during any of the extended periods of time for which said restrictive covenants are in force, it shall be lawful for any person owning any real property subject thereto to commence and prosecute any proceedings at law or in equity against the person or persons violating or attempting to violate any of said covenants and to either prevent him from so doing or recover damages for said breach, or both, or any other remedy available at law therefor.

The foregoing restrictions and reservations shall apply to and be binding upon all of the future owners of lots or plots

Appendix 7. List of all Black Napans to appear on the censuses, 1852-1940.

1852

Name	*Age*	*Sex*	*Place of Birth*	*Occupation*	*Ethnicity*	*Notes*
Barnes, Howard	34	M	MO	Laborer	Black	
Chapman, William W.	24	M	KY	Trader	Black	
Edwards, John	26	M	OH	Baker	Black	
Fox, Archa	24	M	VA	Shoemaker	Black	
Negro Billy	21	M	MO	Laborer	Black	
Negro Girl C.	11	F	MO	none	Black	
Sanity [sp?]	34	M	KY	Servant	Black	
Sewell, Abraham	34	M	TN	Farmer	Black	
Thomas, T. F.	36	M	MD	Laborer	Black	

1860

Name	*Age*	*Sex*	*Place of Birth*	*Occupation*	*Ethnicity*	*Notes*
Barber, Richard	28	M	VA	Servant	Black	
Bell, John E.	23	M	Africa	Cook	Black	
Black, John	30	M	RI	Servant	Black	
Brooks, William	40	M	VA	Day Laborer	Mulatto	
Carrol, Paul	27	M	MO	Servant	Black	
Cartright, H. C.	30	M	KY	Teamster	Black	
Clarke, May A.	30	F	KY	Cook	Black	
Clayton, Ormstead	23	M	VA	Day Laborer	Black	
Dorsey, Tilman	48	M	MD	Day Laborer	Black	
Easton, W.	29	M	MD	Barber	Black	
Grigsby, Hiram	30	M	TN	Chain Maker	Black	
Grigsby, Lucy	46	F	VA	none	Black	
Hall, Catherine	18	F	MO	none	Mulatto	
Hall, Charles	3	M	CA	none	Mulatto	
Hall, Milling	24	M	MO	Servant	Black	
Hatton, Edward	44	M	MA	Barber	Black	
Hatton, Elanora	2	F	CA	none	Black	
Hatton, Esther P.	25	F	TN	none	Black	
Hatton, Joseph F.	23	M	MA	Barber	Black	
Hatton, Mary L.	3	F	CA	none	Black	
Hatton, Susan F.	28	F	MA	none	Black	
Hudges, Ann	30	F	NY	Cook	Black	

Jackson, William	35	M	Bermuda	Carpenter	Black	
Johnson, Ann	30	F	NY	Chamber Maid	Mulatto	
Johnson, Edward	40	M	MA	Servant	Black	
Lebo, Emiline	16	F	VA	Servant	Black	
NONE, Charity	18	F	MO	Servant	Black	
NONE, Charles	36	M	unknown	Cook	Black	
NONE, Martha	17	F	KY	Servant	Black	
Parks, Richard	35	M	Jamaica	Boot Black	Black	
Penn, Joseph	35	M	NY	Servant	Black	
Penn, Martha	25	F	PA	Cook	Black	
Phillips, R. B.	38	M	MD	Barber	Black	
Rice, Charlotte	48	F	VA	Servant	Black	
Rice, Haron	45	M	SC	Day Laborer	Black	
Rice, Louis	12	M	MO	none	Black	
Rice, Nathaniel	14	M	MO	Servant	Black	
Robinson, Mary J.	1	F	CA	none	Black, Native American	
Robinson, Samuel	23	M	DC	Day Laborer	Black	
Seawell, Abraham	48	M	TN	Farmer	Black	
Seawell, Judy	40	F	TN	none	Black	
Seawell, Matilda	50	F	TN	Servant	Black	
Silverthorn, John	3	M	CA	none	Mulatto	
Silverthorn, Rodin	20	F	MO	none	Mulatto	
Smith, James	10	M	Utah Territory	none	Mulatto	
Stewart, Anna	17	F	NY	Servant	Black	
Stewart, Charles	45	M	PA	Dance House	Mulatto	Mexican spouse
Stewart, Jasper	44	M	PA	Day Laborer	Black	
Stewart, Mary E.	0.25	F	CA	none	Black	
Stone, William	30	M	MO	Blacksmith	Black	
Stoveale, Daniel	53	M	KY	Day Laborer	Mulatto	
Taylor, Catherine	22	F	MA	Laborer	Mulatto	
Taylor, William	28	M	Saint Kitts and Nevis	Laborer	Black	

1870

Name	*Age*	*Sex*	*Place of Birth*	*Occupation*	*Ethnicity*	*Notes*
Ashley, George	23	M	KY	Steward on Steamer	Black	
Ashley, Maria	20	F	MO	Keeping House	Black	

Bailey, Letha	24	F	MD	Keeping House	Black
Bailey, William L.	28	M	KY	Blacksmith	Black
Bently, Charles	9	M	CA	At Home	Black
Bently, Emaline	25	F	MO	Keeping House	Black
Bently, George	27	M	VA	Laborer	Black
Bently, Nellie	5	F	CA	At Home	Black
Brooks, Elizabeth	60	F	VA	Keeping House	Black
Brooks, William	55	M	VA	Laborer	Black
Brown, George	57	M	MA	Laborer	Black
Brown, Mary Ann	40	F	NY	Keeping House	Black
Canner, Julia	27	F	MO	Keeping House	Black
Canner, Mary E.	0.25	F	CA	At Home	Black
Canner, McWilliam	1	M	CA	At Home	Black
Canner, Paul	34	M	MO	Laborer	Black
Dallas, Alexander	4	M	CA	At Home	Black
Dallas, Emma	8	F	CA	At Home	Black
Dallas, Evaline	29	F	MO	Domestic Servant	Black
Dallas, James	6	M	CA	At Home	Black
Dorsey, Lloyd	59	M	MD	Domestic Servant	Black
Foantain, Annie S.	5	F	CA	At Home	Black
Gaines, Thomas	40	M	NY	Keeping House	Black
Grant, Joseph	30	M	VA	Laborer	Black
Grant, Joseph	30	M	MD	County Hospital	Black
Grigsby, Anna	40	F	PA	At Home	Black
Grigsby, Hiram	43	M	TN	Laborer	Black
Hatton, Edward	8	M	CA	At Home	Black
Hatton, Esther P.	37	F	MO	Keeping House	Black
Hatton, John Sauly	3	M	CA	At Home	Black
Hatton, Joseph S.	33	M	MA	Barber	Black
Hatton, Joseph S. L.	6	M	CA	At Home	Black
Hatton, Thomas Stark	1	M	CA	At Home	Black
Hawkins, George	48	M	NY	Boatman	Black
Hawkins, Lilla	8	F	CA	At Home	Black
Hawkins, Malissa	11	F	CA	At Home	Black
Hawkins, Sarah	29	F	NC	Keeping House	Black
Holman, George	16	M	MO	Laborer	Black
Holman, James	19	M	MO	Laborer	Black
Holman, Mary	10	F	CA	At Home	Black
Holman, Nancy	12	F	CA	At Home	Black
Holman, Sarah	7	F	CA	At Home	Black

Holman, Willie	3	M	CA	At Home	Black	
Howe, Ellen	48	F	MD	Nurse	Black	
Jones, Clayton	39	M	VA	Janitor	Black	
Lewell, Abraham	35	M	TN	Laborer	Black	
Lewell, Juda	48	F	TN	Keeping House	Black	
Lewell, Ruda S.	23	F	MO	Laundress	Black	
Milburn, Elizabeth	40	F	Nova Scotia	Keeping House	Black	
Milburn, Richard	36	M	NY	Laborer	Black	
Moore, John W.	40	M	MA	Laborer	Black	Native American spouse
Nelson, George	30	M	LA	Cook	Black	
Nicholas, James E.	47	M	MD	Barber	Black	
Pursall, Charles	2	M	CA	At Home	Black	
Pursall, Henrietta	1	F	CA	At Home	Black	
Pursall, J	30	M	KY	Laborer	Black	
Pursall, Vine	26	F	MO	Keeping House	Black	
Remens, Richard	17	M	MO	Race Rider	Black	
Rice, Aaron	49	M	NC	Laborer	Black	
Rice, Charlotte	58	F	VA	none	Black	
Rice, Dilcey	74	F	NC	Keeping House	Black	
Rice, Nathaniel	24	M	MO	Laborer	Black	
Rice, Robert	70	M	NC	Farmer	Black	
Scott, George	40	M	Canada	Domestic Servant	Black	
Sewell, Matilda	70	F	MO	Domestic Servant	Black	
Sinclare, David	0.67	M	CA	At Home	Black	
Sinclare, Elizabeth	3	F	CA	At Home	Black	
Sinclare, John	40	M	MO	Laborer	Black	
Sinclare, John William	13	M	CA	At Home	Black	
Sinclare, Josephine	6	F	CA	At Home	Black	
Smith, Isabella	50	F	NY	Domestic Servant	Black	
Snowden, William	45	M	DC	Laborer	Black	
Solomon, Harriett	0.5	F	CA	At Home	Black	
Solomon, Isabella	40	F	KY	Keeping House	Black	
Solomon, Moses	38	M	TN	Farmer	Black	
Sparrow, Alice	22	F	DC	Keeping House	Black	
Sparrow, Fred A.	27	M	MO	Barber	Black	
Sparrow, Frederick L.	4	M	CA	At Home	Black	
Sparrow, Ida May	0.25	F	CA	At Home	Black	

Sparrow, Nellie	63	F	NC	At Home	Black	
Sparrow, Nellie F.	3	F	CA	At Home	Black	
Starr, Cesar	35	M	TN	Laborer	Black	
Starr, Edward	10	M	MO	At Home	Black	
Starr, Emily	31	F	MO	At Home	Black	
Starr, Robert	7	M	MO	At Home	Black	
Stringer, Elizabeth A.	54	F	Africa	Keeping House	Black	English white spouse
Stringer, Harry W.	13	M	Africa	At Home	Black	
Taylor, Robert	26	M	MD	Boot Black	Black	
Togod, Ella	8	F	CA	At Home	Black	
Veasey, Cora A.	1	F	CA	At Home	Black	
Veasey, R. Josephine	21	F	MA	Keeping House	Black	
Veasey, William	30	M	PA	Barber	Black	
Want, Adaline	6	F	CA	At Home	Black	
Want, Albert	1	M	CA	At Home	Black	
Want, George	30	M	West Indies	Blacksmith	Black	
Want, George	2	M	CA	At Home	Black	
Want, Louisa	30	F	Chile	Keeping House	Black	
Washington, C.	13	F	CA	Domestic Servant	Black	
Washington, Charlotta	12	F	CA	At Home	Black	
Washington, Doritha	30	F	VA	Keeping House	Black	
Washington, William	40	M	MD	Cook on Steamer	Black	
Washington, William	8	M	CA	At Home	Black	
Williams, Emma	5	F	CA	At Home	Black	
Williams, Harriett	56	F	SC	Keeping House	Black	
Williams, James	48	M	MD	Laborer	Black	
Wright, Maria	68	F	VA	County Hospital	Black	

1880

Name	*Age*	*Sex*	*Place of Birth*	*Occupation*	*Ethnicity*	*Notes*
Allen, James	63	M	Ireland	Cook	Mulatto	
Allen, James	1	M	CA	none	Mulatto	
Allen, Richard	30	M	KY	none	Black	
Ashley, George	31	M	KY	Cook	Black	
Ashley, Mrs.	25	F	NY	Keeping House	Black	
Bales, R. A.	67	M	VA	none	Black	

Banks, Elizabeth	80	F	VA	none	Black	
Barry, John	25	M	PA	none	Black	
Boone, Samuel	32	M	MO	Laborer	Black	
Booth, Mary E.	32	F	MD	none	Mulatto	
Brown, George	63	M	MA	Laundryman	Black	
Brown, Mary	50	F	NY	Laundrywoman	Black	
Burbank, Clara	22	F	CA	Keeping House	Mulatto	
Cage, John D.	25	M	CA	Works on Farm	Mulatto	
Cage, John D.	3	M	CA	none	Mulatto	
Cage, Robert W.	27	M	CA	Works on Farm	Mulatto	
Canner, Alice	7	F	CA	none	Black	
Canner, Fannie	4	F	CA	none	Black	
Canner, Julie	36	F	MO	Keeping House	Black	
Canner, Lucinda	5	F	CA	none	Black	
Canner, Mathew	2	M	CA	none	Black	
Canner, Paul	41	M	MO	Laborer	Black	
Canner, Richard	3	M	CA	none	Black	
Canner, W.	11	M	CA	At School	Black	
Cole, Benjamin	55	M	VA	Cook	Black	
Crow, Henry	30	M	MO	Coachman	Black	
Davis, Hannah	38	F	NY	Keeping House	Mulatto	
Davis, Thomas	48	M	NY	Barber	Mulatto	
Doolan, Thomas	31	M	MO	none	Black	
Dorsey, T.	69	M	MD	Servant	Black	
Grigsby, Annie	58	F	PA	Keeping House	Black	
Grigsby, Hyraim	56	M	TN	Farmer	Black	
Hatton, Edward	19	M	CA	At School	Black	
Hatton, Esther	43	F	TN	Keeping House	Black	
Hatton, Joseph	17	M	CA	At School	Black	
Hatton, Joseph	45	M	VA	Barber	Black	
Hatton, Maud	6	F	CA	At School	Black	
Hatton, Sandy	13	M	CA	At School	Black	
Hatton, Thomas	11	M	CA	unreadable	Black	
Jacobs, Ellen	18	F	NC	none	Black	
Jones, Amsted	40	M	VA	Kalsominer	Black	
Jones, Annie M.	28	F	DC	Keeping House	Black	
Kelly, John	30	M	SC	none	Mulatto	
King, David	26	M	AL	none	Black	
Lancaster, Peter	35	M	MD	Laborer	Black	Native American spouse
Miller, Margaret	28	F	DC	Dress Maker	Mulatto	

Miller, Richard H.	11	M	CA	At School	Mulatto	
Nelson, George	40	M	CA	Laborer	Mulatto	
Nickles, J. E.	58	M	MD	Barber	Black	
O'Collins, Jesse	26	M	MO	none	Black	
Payner, Thomas	27	M	CA	Teamster	Mulatto	
Pearsall, Charlie	13	M	CA	At School	Black	
Pearsall, Henrietta	11	F	CA	At School	Black	
Pearsall, Henry	31	M	KY	Laborer	Black	
Pearsall, Henry	8	M	CA	At School	Black	
Pearsall, Jessie	40	M	KY	Tanner	Black	
Pearsall, Josephine	17	F	CA	Keeping House	Black	
Pearsall, Melvina	36	F	MO	Keeping House	Black	
Pearson, Charlotte	32	F	CA	At home	Black	
Pearson, Henry P.	26	M	NC	Carrier	Black	
Pearson, Thomas	23	M	NC	Cook	Black	
Philips, Edmund	53	M	MD	Laborer	Black	
Phillips, Edmund	53	M	MO	Book Black	Black	
Phillips, Elsie	13	F	MO	At School	Black	
Pointer, Nathan	35	M	PA	none	Black	
Preston, Jessie	36	M	MD	Farm Laborer	Black	
Rice, Aaran	59	M	NC	Laborer	Black	
Rice, Annie A.	28	F	MA	Keeping House	Black	
Rice, Nathaniel	33	M	MO	Teamster	Black	
Saintclare, David	10	M	CA	At School	Black	
Sampson, William	26	M	LA	none	Black	
Sewell, Abraham	62	M	PA	Laborer	Black	
Sparrow, Fred L.	14	M	CA	At School	Mulatto	
Sparrow, Jennie	28	F	NY	Keeping House	Mulatto	
Sparrow, Nellie F.	12	F	CA	At School	Black	
Sparrow, Willie	84	M	NC	Keeping House	Black	
Starr, Czar	33	M	NC	Laborer	Black	
Starr, Emily	40	F	MO	Laundress	Black	
Stewart, Charles	68	M	PA	Hotel Keeper	Mulatto	Mexican spouse
Stewart, George	26	M	MO	Sheep Herder	Black	
Thull, Mary	63	F	NY	none	Mulatto	
Tillison, Henry	57	M	MD	Porter	Black	
Torres, Urvano	40	M	Mexico	none	Mulatto	
Veasey, Coreall A.	10	M	CA	At home	Black	
Veasey, Elmira Katrina	4	F	CA	At home	Black	
Veasey, Garnet Irene	2	F	CA	At home	Black	

Veasey, Orlean (?) Relieoia	9	F	CA	At home	Black	
Veasey, Relieoia (?) Josephine	30	F	MA	Keeping House	Black	
Veasey, William	40	M	DE	Barber	Black	
Wakefield, Cornelius	50	M	NC	Laborer	Black	
Washington, Doretha	53	F	VA	Keeping House	Black	
Washington, William	18	M	CA	Blacksmith Apprentice	Black	
Weimer, Florence P.	6	F	CA	none	Mulatto	
Weimer, Penelope	27	F	NC	Keeping House	Black	German white spouse
William, Harvy T.	47	M	MI	Barber	Black	
Williams, Mary	67	F	MD	none	Black	
Young, Alexander	60	M	KY	Laborer	Black	

1900

Name	*Age*	*Sex*	*Place of Birth*	*Occupation*	*Ethnicity*	*Notes*
Cambell, Lewis	N/A	M	not noted	none	Black	
Canner, Hattie J.	17	F	CA	none	Black	
Canner, Julia E.	56	F	MO	none	Black	
Canner, Paul	67	M	MO	Teamster	Black	
Canner, Polly A.	19	F	CA	none	Black	
Carillo, Madiline	70	F	FL	none	Black	Mexican spouse
Crown, Henry	64	M	MO	none	Black	
Hall, Samuel W.	64	M	MD	Day Labor	Black	
Hutton, M. Lois	23	F	CA	Nurse	Black	
Jennings, Fannie	24	F	CA	none	Black	
Jennings, Henry	33	M	MO	Janitor	Black	
Jennings, Vernia	5	F	CA	none	Black	
Jennings, Wesley	7	M	CA	none	Black	
Johnson, Joseph	58	M	MI	Laborer	Black	
Johnson, Lizzie	54	F	MI	none	Black	
Jones, Annie	42	F	DC	none	Black	
Jones, Clayton	56	M	VA	Laborer (Tannery)	Black	
King, David	46	M	AL	none	Black	
Natton, M. E.	47	F	unreadable	Servant	Black	
Payne, Blanche M.	14	F	CA	At School	Black	
Payne, Carrie	38	F	DC	none	Black	
Payne, Cora E.	17	F	CA	At School	Black	

Payne, Dennis	45	M	DC	Barber Proprietor	Black
Payne, William C.	20	M	CA	none	Black
Priceal, Charles	34	M	CA	Laborer (Farm)	Black
Rice, Nathaniel	53	M	MO	Day Laborer	Black
Robinson, Pearl	36	M	CA	none	Black
Walker, James	35	M	MI	Cook	Black

1910

Name	*Age*	*Sex*	*Place of Birth*	*Occupation*	*Ethnicity*	*Notes*
Anderson, Joe	16	M	CA	Labor - Farm	Black	
Bedell, Aimee	25	F	IA	None	Black	
Biter, Louisa	13	F	CA	None	Black	
Brown, Henry T.	36	M	KY	Labor - Odd Jobs	Black	
Canner, Julia	65	F	MO	None	Black	
Canner, Paul	69	M	MO	None	Black	
Douglas, Alexander	N/A	M	OH	Labor	Black	
Fowler, Ethel	28	F	TX	None	Black	
Fowler, Wiley	28	M	GA	None	Black	
Freeman, James	74	M	RI	None	Black	
Green, Virgie M.	35	F	TX	Kitchen Helper at Boarding House	Black	
Harris, Sarah S.	53	F	MD	Laundress	Black	
Harris, Walter S.	65	M	VA	Labor - General	Mulatto	
Henston, Charles	44	M	CA	Hostler	Black	
Henston, Hattie	26	F	CA	None	Black	
Hurd, Sidney S.	73	M	NY	None	Mulatto	
Ikard, Eliza	65	F	NY	Housewife	Black	
Jennings, Emily E.	36	F	CA	None	Mulatto	
Jennings, James H.	42	M	MO	Labor - General	Mulatto	
Jennings, Leroy L.	17	M	CA	Glove Maker at Glove Factory	Mulatto	
Johnson, John	48	M	CA	Labor	Black	
Jones, Clayton	68	M	VA	None	Black	
Jones, Sam	26	M	VA	None	Black	
Mitchell, Charles	66	M	MD	None	Black	
Ortega, Jose	81	M	CA	Labor	Black	
Payne, Blanche M.	21	F	CA	Teacher - Music	Mulatto	
Payne, Carrie	45	F	VA	None	Mulatto	
Payne, Cora E.	23	F	CA	Dressmaker - at	Mulatto	

				home	
Payne, Dennis	54	M	VA	Barber	Mulatto
Payne, William	27	M	CA	Barber	Mulatto
Powell, Augustus C.	46	M	LA	Bootblack	Black
Raney, Lee	58	M	CA	Labor - General Farm	Mulatto
Safford, Florence	40	F	GA	Housework - Private Family	Black
Shepard, James	30	M	West Indies	Labor	Black
Strickland, Lucinda	37	F	CA	Machine Operator at Shirt Factory	Black
Strickland, Mary M.	8	F	CA	None	Black
Taylor, Zacharia	55	M	VT	Labor	Black
Thornton, Annie L.	26	F	FL	Chamber Maid at Boarding House	Black
Washington, Joseph	70	M	SC	None	Black
Young, Rebecca	60	F	MO	Housekeeper - Private Family	Black
Young, Tilford	31	M	MO	Janitor	Black

1920

Name	*Age*	*Sex*	*Place of Birth*	*Occupation*	*Ethnicity*	*Notes*
Barnes, Annie	39	F	KY	Laborer - House Work	Black	
Barnes, Isaac W.	43	M	KY	Roadworker - Navy Yard	Black	
Bell, Ida	30	F	CA	N/A	Black	
Bell, Jackson H.	38	M	CA	Rigger - Navy Yard	Black	
Brown, Samuel	87	M	GA	N/A	Black	
Daniels, Charles	46	M	IN	N/A	Black	
Dawson, Bessie	29	F	CA	N/A	Mulatto	
Green, Albert	51	M	TX	N/A	Black	
Hamilton, Vivian B.	29	F	Jamaica	Laborer - Farm	Black	
Harris, Sarah	60	F	U.S.A	N/A	Black	
Harris, Sarah	59	F	MD	N/A	Black	
Harris, Walter S.	85	M	VA	Laborer - Farm	Black	
Huston, Charles	54	M	CA	Laborer - Navy Yard	Black	
Huston, Hattie	34	F	CA	N/A	Black	
Jennings, Henry J.	53	M	MO	Caretaker	Black	
Jennings, Wesley L	27	M	CA	Machinist	Black	

Johnson, Carrie	56	F	LA	N/A	Mulatto
Jones, George	36	M	GA	N/A	Black
Jones, Sam	35	M	VA	Laborer - Truck Farm	Black
Lee, William	56	M	KY	N/A	Black
Mason, Ben	35	M	KS	N/A	Black
McCloney, Viola	40	F	CA	N/A	Black
Moore, Egbert	69	M	AL	N/A	Black
Moore, Raymond	25	M	CA	Ward Porter - Asylum	Mulatto
Morris, Arthur	59	M	New Brunswick, Canada	N/A	Black
Morris, Robert	25	M	Jamaica	Teacher at PUC	Mulatto
O'Connor, Lou	43	F	CA	N/A	Black
Patterson, Chester	27	M	CA	Laborer - Navy Yard	Black
Patterson, Frank L.	25	M	CA	Laborer - Navy Yard	Black
Patterson, Mary	59	F	MO	Cook	Black
Payne, Blanche	26	F	CA	N/A	Mulatto
Payne, Cora	28	F	CA	N/A	Mulatto
Payne, William	59	M	U.S.A	Barber	Mulatto
Payne, Willie	32	M	CA	Helper - Barber Shop	Mulatto
Scott, Alice E.	34	F	CA	N/A	Black
Smith, Hazel	23	F	CA	N/A	Black
Strickland, Mazie	18	F	CA	Operator - Glove Factory	Black
Washington, Horace	N/A	M	KY	Ward Porter – Asylum	Black

1930

Name	*Age*	*Sex*	*Place of Birth*	*Occupation*	*Ethnicity*	*Notes*
Anderson, John	33	M	NY	N/A	Black	
Andrews, John	33	M	NY	N/A	Black	
Barfield, Mazie	27	F	CA	Packer - Fruit Company	Black	
Barros, Manuel	51	M	Cape Verde Islands	Laborer - Farm	Black	
Beatty, Harry D.	11	M	CA	N/A	Black	
Beatty, Heamoleter	8	F	CA	N/A	Black	
Beatty, Manuel Jr.	3	M	CA	N/A	Black	
Beatty, Maud	38	F	TX	N/A	Black	

Beatty, Nathaniel K.	20	M	TX	Laborer - Farm	Black	
Beatty, Ruben	50	M	KY	N/A	Black	
Brown, Ben	72	M	MO	N/A	Black	
Brown, Henry T.	56	M	KY	Teamster - Veterans Home	Black	
Buchanan, John	30	M	Jamaica	N/A	Black	
Campbell, Edward D.	49	M	MO	N/A	Black	
Clark, Annie B.	54	F	TX	N/A	Black	
Conway, John J.	26	M	CA	N/A	Black	
Davis, Edward	80	M	GA	N/A	Black	
Demond, Marie	40	F	VA	Servant - Private Family	Black	
Dennis, Robert	53	M	FL	Orderly - Veterans Home	Black	
Dent, Joseph	23	M	GA	N/A	Black	
Doe, John	20	M	MS	N/A	Black	
Douglas, Stanley	25	M	LA	N/A	Black	
Evans, Barney	63	M	HI	N/A	Black	
Freeman, Robert C.	62	M	Canada	Farmer	Black	Sister is white
Greenlee, Charles C	43	M	NC	Cement finisher - Ship Yard	Black	
Greenlee, Hattie J.	44	F	CA	N/A	Black	
Henderson, Jerry	58	F	TX	N/A	Black	
Hill, Anna	46	F	TX	Servant - Private Family	Black	
Houston, Paul	54	M	MO	N/A	Black	
Howley, Emma	76	F	IL	N/A	Black	
Jenning, Dorthey	11	F	OK	N/A	Black	
Jenning, Eva H.	30	F	TX	not noted	Black	
Jenning, Wesley L	37	M	CA	Electrician	Black	
Jennings, Emily	53	F	CA	Cook	Black	
Lee, William	64	M	KY	N/A	Black	
Malcolm, George C.	40	M	CA	N/A	Black	
Martin, Carolina	40	F	LA	Servant - Private Family	Black	
McDonald, Gilmore	22	M	NY	N/A	Black	
Minis, Evera	17	F	LA	N/A	Black	
Mitchell, Louise	60	F	CA	N/A	Black	
O'Conner, Lou	55	F	CA	N/A	Black	
Payne, Blanche	36	F	CA	Musician in an Orchestra	Black	
Payne, William C.	40	M	CA	Barber	Black	White spouse
Pettis, Cora	39	F	CA	N/A	Black	White spouse

Raymond, Manuel	47	M	CA	N/A	Black
Reese, Nathaniel H.	20	M	TX	Gardener - Private Family	Black
Reeves, Mattie	70	F	KY	N/A	Black
Renn, Bass C.	53	M	GA	N/A	Black
Richards, Irene M.	26	F	Jamaica	Student Nurse - Sanitarium	Black
Roberts, Leroy	59	M	OH	N/A	Black
Roderick, Molita	28	F	CA	Servant - Farm	Black
Roderick, N.	31	M	Cape Verde Islands	Laborer - Farm	Black
Shannon, Ballard	55	M	WV	N/A	Black
Smallwood, George	22	M	NY	N/A	Black
Smith, G. W.	41	M	GA	Servant - Private Family	Black
Smith, Lillie B.	29	F	AL	Servant - Private Family	Black
Sneed, Abraham S.	61	M	KY	N/A	Black
Starnes, Bettie E.	35	F	CO	not noted	Black
Starnes, Wallace H.	38	M	KS	Service Man - Gas Company	Black
Starnes, Walter	16	M	CA	not noted	Black
Vanderburg, Bert	59	M	VT	N/A	Black
White, Cindy	40	F	LA	N/A	Black

1940

Name	*Age*	*Sex*	*Place of Birth*	*Occupation*	*Ethnicity*	*Notes*
Anderson, Clifton	63	M	MI	N/A	Black	
Bake, Frank W.	71	M	HI	N/A	Black	
Barfield, Maizie	39	F	CA	Packer and Sorter - Fruit Packing	Black	
Bell, Oscar	22	M	TX	N/A	Black	
Binion, Fred	27	M	VA	N/A	Black	
Blake, Frances E.	31	F	AL	Odds and Ends at PUC	Black	
Bobins, Isiah	50	M	NM	N/A	Black	
Bowie, Edward T.	65	M	MO	N/A	Black	
Butler, Henry G.	64	M	TN	N/A	Black	
Calip, Lulu	29	F	KS	Presser - Veterans Home Laundry	Black	
Calvin, Samuel	51	M	CA	N/A	Black	
Carter, Sam	20	M	TX	N/A	Black	

Clark, Joseph	53	M	MS	N/A	Black
Clements, Jennie	85	F	MD	N/A	Black
Cole, Chester J.	43	M	IL	N/A	Black
Countee, Joel	44	M	LA	N/A	Black
Courtney, John	42	M	TX	Servant - Private Family	Black
Courtney, Mamie	45	F	KY	Cook - Private Family	Black
Cousins, Leodard L.	38	M	VA	N/A	Black
Dozier, Joseph	60	M	GA	N/A	Black
Duni, John H.	58	M	ME	Labor - Ranchwork	Black
Erco, Williams	51	M	MS	Labor - Vineyard	Black
Evans, John R.	62	M	LA	N/A	Black
Fontaine, Horace	46	M	SC	N/A	Black
Foote, Mary	42	F	AR	N/A	Black
Geling, Manuel	59	M	N/A	N/A	Black
Gray, Thomas	32	M	TX	N/A	Black
Henderson, Walter T.	42	M	TX	N/A	Black
Henderson, Zera	53	F	TX	N/A	Black
Hogan, Willie	45	M	AR	N/A	Black
Isom, Catherine	19	F	OK	Nurse - Private Family	Black
Jackson, James	32	M	VA	N/A	Black
Jackson, Stonewall	24	M	AL	N/A	Black
Jenkins, John	37	M	CA	N/A	Black
Jennings, Eva	40	F	TX	Nurse - Private Family	Black
Jennings, Wesley W.	46	M	CA	Electrician - Gas and Electric	Black
Johnson, A. J.	36	M	AR	N/A	Black
Johnson, Eddie	61	M	MS	N/A	Black
Johnson, Eliza	39	F	VA	Housekeeper - Private Family	Black
Jones, George	39	M	GA	N/A	Black
Jones, Jasper A. B.	34	M	NJ	N/A	Black
Locket, Joseph	46	M	MI	N/A	Black
Manuel, Edward	28	M	CA	N/A	Black
Manuel, Fred	55	M	CA	N/A	Black
Martin, Thelma	30	F	MS	N/A	Black
Mason, Ben	55	M	KS	N/A	Black
Mayfield, Tim	32	M	LA	N/A	Black
McDaniel, Eddie	46	M	SC	N/A	Black

McGuire, Henry	46	M	KY	N/A	Black
Mitchell, Louise	67	F	CA	N/A	Black
Nelson, Tom	31	M	CO	N/A	Black
Nichols, Bynum D.	62	M	SC	N/A	Black
Nuby, John W.	82	M	AR	N/A	Black
O'Connor, Lou	64	F	CA	N/A	Black
Odom, William	65	M	GA	N/A	Black
Oliver, Joe L.	22	M	MS	N/A	Black
Palmer, Clifford F.	55	M	IL	N/A	Black
Penkins, Turner	52	M	KY	N/A	Black
Perry, James	73	M	KY	N/A	Black
Perry, Marguerita	29	F	OK	Cook - Private Family	Black
Perry, Wilson	35	M	OK	Chauffeur - Private Family	Black
Pointer, John	33	M	CA	N/A	Black
Ratlif, Sarah	25	F	MS	Cook - Private Family	Black
Ratlif, William	30	M	MS	Gardener - Private Family	Black
Reason, Alice	45	F	LA	N/A	Black
Reeves, Mattie	79	F	KY	N/A	Black
Rhubart, Fuller	69	M	GA	N/A	Black
Rice, Moffett	69	M	VA	N/A	Black
Richards, Edward K.	32	M	Jamaica	Laundry man at PUC	Black
Rivers, Morris	26	M	SC	N/A	Black
Robinson, Madeline	31	F	CA	N/A	Black
Robinson, Oma	44	F	TX	Maid - Private Family	Black
Robinson, Tomila	29	F	CA	N/A	Black
Rogers, James	60	M	Jamaica	N/A	Black
Ross, Cecil F.	N/A	M	N/A	N/A	Black
Rucker, Mary	58	F	AL	N/A	Black
Sims, William C	57	M	PA	N/A	Black
Smith, Mayme	51	F	CA	Housekeeper - Private Family	Black
Stamps, Hillis	45	M	TX	N/A	Black
Standford, Rose	42	F	MD	N/A	Black
Stringer, Adam	49	M	TN	N/A	Black
Stringer, Robert E.	39	M	TX	N/A	Black
Sutton, Carrie	59	F	SC	N/A	Black
Taylor, George	59	M	AL	N/A	Black
Taylor, Tecumsey J.	52	M	CA	N/A	Black
Thompson, Elizabeth	31	M	MO	N/A	Black

Tolles, L.	N/A	F	N/A	N/A	Black
Trotman, Gustaves	57	M	CA	N/A	Black
Walton, Tom	33	M	OK	Janitor-Porter - Hotel	Black
Washington, Horace	56	M	KY	N/A	Black
Whaley, Hazel	31	F	MO	Cook and Housekeeper - Private Family	Black
White Pinkie	50	F	LA	N/A	Black
White, Anna	62	F	CA	N/A	Black
Williams, Frederick	41	M	NC	N/A	Black
Williams, James	35	M	TX	Porter - Railroad Transportation	Black
Williamson, Frank	74	M	AZ	N/A	Black
Wilson, Lem	43	M	LA	N/A	Black
Woodall, Norman	45	M	NC	N/A	Black

NOTES

Introduction

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Chapter 1: Exploration and Enslavement: 1500s to 1860s

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[28] Jewelle Taylor Gibbs and Teiahsha Bankhead, *Preserving Privilege: California Politics, Propositions, and People of Color* (Westport, CT: Praeger, 2001): 1.
[29] Daniel Patrick Moynihan, *"The Moynihan Report": The Negro Family, the Case for National Action*, Office of Policy Planning and Research, U.S. Department of Labor, March 1965, http://www.dol.gov/dol/aboutdol/history/webidrpage.htm.
[30] A future examination of Black Napans should include a thorough look at their intersectionality with the LGBTQ community. Surely there must have been at least a few hundred gay African Americans in the county throughout its history, however, there is no known evidence of their experiences.
[31] Joan Didion, "Where I Was From," in *We Tell Ourselves Stories in Order to Live: Collected Nonfiction* (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 2006): 996.
[32] HoSang, *Racial Propositions*, 20; HoSang, *Racial Propositions*, 265.

[33] Michael Finnegan, "Poll: Race Relations in California Better than Elsewhere in U.S., Voters Say," *Los Angeles Times*, April 13, 2015, http://www.latimes.com/local/politics/la-me-pol-race-poll-20150413-story.html.
[34] 1950-2010, U.S. census, Napa County, California, population schedule.

Conclusion

[1] Hunter, "Native Son and St. Helena Music Man."
[2] Weddington, interview with author.
[3] Amar Abbott, Facebook correspondence with author.

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