Authors' Guide to Changes in
The Elusive Eden: A New History of California
Fifth Edition

Instructors familiar with the fourth edition of Elusive Eden will appreciate this detailed
guide to changes in the fifth edition.

PART I: PROLOGUE

CHAPTER 1, CALIFORNIANS AND THEIR HISTORY: MYTHS AND REALITIES

As in previous editions, Chapter 1 explains the philosophy of The Elusive Eden. We feel
that earthquakes, revolutions, and elections are certainly important, and that it is important to
know the activities of well-known individuals. But we feel it is just as important to consider
lesser events, and to explore the worlds of the not-so-famous.

Chapter 1 acknowledges the explosion of excellent scholarship in recent years. The field
was very different when Elusive Eden first appeared in 1988. Since that time, new generations of
scholars have reshaped the ways that we think about California history. Contemporary
treatments, for example, show greater sensitivity to the impact on Native peoples of the arrival of
European and American explorers and settlers. Also it is now commonplace to treat women--
onece all but invisible in state narratives--as legitimate historical actors. We have tried in this
dition to blend in as much of this new scholarship as we could (without adding another 100
pages of text!) while building upon the original research present in the earliest editions of
Elusive Eden.

CHAPTER 2, THE NATURAL SETTING

As before, this chapter describes the physical nature of California. Almost all content
from the fourth edition remains, with text edited and compressed to create room for new
information. Reflecting recent interdisciplinary scholarship, new content has been added:
increased emphasis on the natural and historical importance of the Sierra Nevada, in addition to other mountain ranges, particularly southern Transverse Ranges, and forests in general, on the state’s climate, topography, settlement history, economies, and socio/political development (pp. pp 15-16). Notable among additions are reconsideration of floods (p. 19) and megadroughts (pp. 19-20), and a thorough examination of the state’s potential for future climate extremes, particularly flood and drought, with their potential for radical natural and human upheaval. These changes provide context for extended discussion of the state’s combat against contemporary climate change (see Chapter 28, below). A related addition is increased attention to the impact of the state’s historic water-resource development (pp. 20-21).

CHAPTER 3, THE NATIVE PEOPLES

As before, in this chapter we discuss Native Americans in what would become the state of California. We also address earlier assumptions by anthropologists and others about the relationship between Indians and their environment. We incorporate recent scholarship on Native ecology, and early residents’ manipulation of species and entire landscapes to attain resource abundance and security for their largely subsistence economies (pp. 28-29). We highlight as well the sometimes severe effects of past megadroughts on natural and human life; the ecological roles of Native women (pp. 31, 35); and the overall influence on the state’s environmental history of thousands of years of habitation by indigenous peoples.

PART II: EUROPEANS AND INDIANS: THE CALIFORNIA EXPERIENCE

CHAPTER 4:

The chapter was lightly edited for clarity and concision. Brief additions were made to highlight the significance of Estanislao’s rebellion, as a case study of general Indian resistance to
Spanish and Mexican colonization, and especially to the mission system.

**CHAPTER 5:**

We edited the chapter for clarity and brevity. Additional emphasis was given to the ways that Indian resistance delayed Spanish exploration and settlement of California for nearly two centuries (pp. 62-63), when the empire was crumbling and no longer powerful enough in the New World to fully support and protect its fledgling colony. This helps to account for the economic, social, and military weakness of California under Spain and then under its successor, Mexico, paving the way for conquest by the more aggressive United States. One of the volume’s overall themes--the significance of Native peoples in shaping California history--is thus highlighted more effectively in this chapter.

**CHAPTER 6:**

The chapter was comprehensively edited for clarity and some shortening of text. We expanded and refocused attention to the emergence of a multi-racial, multi-ethnic colonial society. Changes to the boxed feature essay “Junípero Serra: Saint . . . or Sinner?” (pp. 67-68) are among the most important changes we made, not just to Chapter 6, but to the book as a whole. When the fourth edition was published in 2012, canonization of Serra had been stalled for years at “Step 2” and it seemed likely to remain there forever. Pope Francis's sudden revival and completion of the steps to sainthood in 2015 was a major event, now incorporated in the fifth edition. Importantly, this essay (along with related revisions to Chapter 11) directly addresses the currently contentious historiographic issue of genocide (p. 68) in the history of European and American relations with California's Native peoples.

**PART III: THE PASTORAL ERA**

**CHAPTER 7, THE BEAR FLAG REVOLT**
For the most part, no significant changes have been made to this chapter. Rather, the narrative has been sharpened and clarified by the insertion of helpful geographic and chronological signposts to guide readers as they follow the rapidly shifting events covered by the chapter. The most significant revision made in Chapter 7 is the addition of three new concluding sentences (p. 96) which provide a quick history of the Bear Flag itself, the official state flag of California since 1911, and by far the most enduring legacy of the Bear Flag Revolt, which otherwise was preempted by the outbreak of war between the United States and Mexico.

CHAPTER 8, MEXICAN CALIFORNIA, 1821-1848

For the most part, this chapter remains largely unchanged, save for several minor corrections or clarifications. In the boxed feature essay on Rancho San Pedro, some important details were added regarding the Battle of the Old Woman’s Gun, along with a reference to today’s California State University, Dominguez Hills (pp. 107-108). The main chapter’s most significant change occurred in the final section on “Rancho and Pueblo Society” (pp. 104-109), where new material regarding rancho labor relations was added to explain the prevailing system of debt peonage, which legally bound Indian workers to their employers, transforming them into unfree laborers.

CHAPTER 9, FOREIGN PENETRATION OF CALIFORNIA

Largely unchanged, this chapter now contains several significant clarifications regarding Thomas Larkin’s diplomatic appointments by presidents John Tyler and James K. Polk. These appear in the sections subtitled “The Hide and Tallow Traders” (pp. 111-112) and “American Interest” (pp. 118-119). New details and clarifications have also been added to the account of the Bidwell-Bartleson Party’s overland journey of 1841 that appears in the “Frontier Settlers” section (pp. 115-117).
PART IV: GOLD AND THE AMERICANIZATION OF CALIFORNIA

CHAPTER 10, DAME SHIRLEY: A YANKEE LADY IN THE CALIFORNIA MINES

The fifth edition retains this chapter with little revision. The narrative account of an especially observant and articulate woman pioneer has long been a favorite among instructors and students.

CHAPTER 11, THE NEW EL DORADO

This chapter covers in detail the epic California gold rush. It also discusses race relations in gold rush California by focusing on the often violent conflicts that broke out between white Anglo Americans, Spanish-speaking Californios, and, most disastrously, with Native Americans. The sections devoted to the Gold Rush and to the Californios remain essentially unaltered, save for a few scattered clarifications. Regarding Native Americans, however, significant revisions have been made in the chapter’s final two sections, subtitled “‘Diggers’ in the Mines” (pp. 151-152) and “Solving the ‘Indian Problem’” (pp. 152-155). The most important changes bring the Elusive Eden up-to-date with the most recent—and prolific—scholarly research on the controversial issue of Native American genocide in California. The fifth edition now offers a clear, frank, and balanced summary of the latest findings from the still-growing field of Native American genocide studies. Meanwhile, the most extensive revision in this chapter focuses on yet another controversial issue that, like genocide, has received considerable scholarly attention in recent years: Indian slavery. The revised chapter now includes a new special boxed feature essay entitled “Free State Slavery: California’s Indian Act of 1850” (pp. 152-153). As the title indicates, the essay focuses on the notorious laws governing Indians passed by the first
California legislature. Among other things, the law established three types of racially based unfree labor that allowed white employers to legally bind Native Americans as leased convicts, debt peons, indentured servants, or “apprentices.” As the essay demonstrates, California was not truly a “free state” in the decade preceding the Civil War.

CHAPTER 12, THE THIRTY-FIRST STATE

This edition adds new detail regarding the first state legislature in “Statehood” (p. 159). The chapter clarifies operation of the 1851 Land Grant Act (p. 168). We made the difficult decision to cut the boxed essay “Tom Maguire, Frontier Impresario” in this edition, in the interests of adding new research in other areas (e.g., Chapter 11’s “Free State Slavery” boxed essay).

PART V: THE RAILROAD ERA

CHAPTER 13, CONFRONTATION AT MUSSEL SLOUGH

We edited and repositioned some text for greater clarity and concision (pp. 178, 187), and further illuminated aspects of railroad land-grant legislation and procedure (p. 179), as it affected the Southern Pacific Railroad.

CHAPTER 14, THE COMING OF THE RAILROAD

This chapter is essentially the same but lightly edited for concision and clarity.

CHAPTER 15, CALIFORNIA'S RAILWAY ERA: ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT AND SOCIAL UNREST

The chapter was lightly edited for clarity and concision.

PART VI: CALIFORNIA AND THE NATION, 1880-1920

CHAPTER 16, THIS WAS OUR PLACE: ASIAN IMMIGRANTS AND DELTA AGRICULTURE
In this edition, we replaced our former Chapter 16, “San Francisco’s Blind Boss” with a new Chapter 16 examining the history of Asian immigrant agriculture in the Sacramento-San Joaquin Delta (pp. 235-244). It considers the paradox of California agriculture, in which white Californians viewed nonwhite labor as an economic necessity and, at the same time, a threat to their livelihoods and racial identity. The story of how the small farming town of Florin became a site of anti-Japanese uproar and the showpiece of Secretary of State William Jennings Bryan’s visit to Sacramento in 1913 is based on author Cecilia Tsu’s original archival research. The chapter covers the central role of Chinese immigrants in swampland reclamation; the agricultural enterprises of Chinese and Japanese farmers who prospered by growing previously neglected niche crops (such as asparagus and potatoes) in the challenging physical environment of the Delta; and the mounting nativism and racism of the early twentieth century, resulting in alien land laws designed to curtail Asian immigrant success in agriculture. Despite economic marginalization and discriminatory state and federal legislation, Asian immigrants remained a vibrant presence in the Delta, as exemplified by the town of Locke. A rural Chinatown founded in 1915, Locke was built by and exclusively for Chinese immigrants and became a place where they found leisure, community, and sustenance. As this chapter shows, the Delta was a place of rigid racial hierarchy and economic exploitation, while also a testament to the struggle and resilience of Asian Californians.

CHAPTER 17, BEGINNINGS OF MODERN CALIFORNIA

This edition eliminates the boxed essays “Kaweah: A Quest for Utopia” and “Anna Morrison Reed: The California Girl” to make room for additional details concerning inroads made by California women into traditionally male occupations (pp. 257-258), the battle for woman suffrage (pp. 258-259), and the activism of Katherine Phillips Edson (p. 259).
CHAPTER 18, PROGRESSIVE CALIFORNIA

We substantially revised this chapter’s explanation of “progressivism” (p. 261) and edited “Abe Ruef and the Union Labor Party” for greater clarity and concision (p. 262). We added a full discussion of the finally successful state campaign for woman suffrage (pp. 265-266); added the section “The Sixth Star: California Women Gain the Vote” (pp. 269-271); and added the boxed essay “California’s ‘First Four’: Anna Saylor, Elizabeth Hughes, Grace Dorris, and Esto Broughton” (pp. 271-274), which details the successes and failures of the first four women Californians elected to the state legislature.

CHAPTER 19, SUPER SISTER: AIMEE SEMPLE MCPHERSON IN LOS ANGELES

This chapter has been edited for clarity and style. It also includes new biographical details and interpretations drawn from recently published historical works on Aimee Semple McPherson.

PART VII: CALIFORNIA BETWEEN THE WARS, 1920-1940

CHAPTER 20, PROSPERITY AND THE RISE OF SOUTHERN CALIFORNIA

This chapter remains largely unchanged with the important exception of some added extended coverage related to race and ethnicity. It clarifies the role of race and racism in early Hollywood productions, as sparked in particular by D.W. Griffith’s The Birth of a Nation and the rise of the Ku Klux Klan in California (p. 307 and 311). The revised chapter includes updated and more accurate coverage of Japanese migration to California, highlighting demographic change that occurred with the arrival of “picture brides,” which peaked in the 1910s, and led to the transformation of the Japanese immigrant community from predominantly male to one that increasingly consisted of young families (pp. 308-309). The chapter links these demographic shifts and the contributions Japanese immigrants made in California agriculture to a burgeoning
anti-Japanese movement and the passage of the state’s alien land law in 1913, followed by an even stricter version in 1920 (p. 308-309).

CHAPTER 21, THE DEPRESSION DECADE

The chapter contains edits for clarity throughout. There is an easier-to-follow, more concise narration of the 1934 strike in San Francisco that began with longshoremen under the leadership of Harry Bridges and grew into a general strike after “Bloody Thursday” (p. 327). This chapter explains in more detail how the New Deal’s exclusion of agricultural workers from the right to organize and bargain collectively had significant ramifications for California farmworkers, most of whom were people of color. It includes new information about deportation campaigns targeted at Mexican immigrants and Mexican Americans during the Great Depression. The chapter narrates the formation of the Associated Farmers in suppressing farm labor organization in the state (pp. 329-331). It also draws on new scholarship on the rise of the conservative movement in California as state business leaders, fearing socialist control and the popularity of Upton Sinclair’s radical platform to end poverty, poured millions of dollars into thwarting Sinclair’s bid for governor (pp. 331-332). A completely revamped feature essay considers the intersecting lives and significance of two California women during the Depression Era, the established and celebrated photographer Dorothea Lange, and the subject of her iconic photograph, Florence Thompson, the “Migrant Mother” who came to symbolize the suffering and trials of the Depression era. The essay juxtaposes the two women’s lives after their brief 1936 encounter at a farmworker’s camp near Nipomo as Lange’s career and reputation soared, while Thompson worked multiple jobs to keep her family financially afloat and, later in life, attempted unsuccessfully to seek compensation for her appearance in Lange’s famous image (pp.
PART VIII: WORLD WAR II AND POSTWAR EXPANSION

CHAPTER 22, A QUESTION OF LOYALTY

Loyal readers will be glad to see that we have kept this compelling chapter on the wartime incarceration of two Japanese American families, the Uchidas and Wakatsukis. Based on the original research of late author Richard B. Rice, this chapter contains minimal revisions for accuracy and clarity.

CHAPTER 23, WORLD WAR II: THE BEGINNING OF AN ERA

This chapter on World War II in California has been revised to incorporate more extensive coverage of race and ethnicity, drawing from rich recent scholarship. It includes a clarification of bracero program terms and details how California growers’ took advantage of a temporary wartime measure to make record profits into the 1960s (p. 356). The zoot suit riots in Los Angeles and wartime violence against Mexican Americans is also discussed (p. 360). The account of the uprooting and incarceration of Japanese Americans in California has been rewritten and expanded based on new scholarship. It narrates the rise of wartime hysteria following Japan’s attack on Pearl Harbor, growing views of Japanese Americans as national security risk, and the impact of Roosevelt’s Executive Order 9066, which targeted the Japanese population on the Pacific Coast Japanese for removal and incarceration in wartime camps (pp. 359-360). Japanese Americans mounted legal challenges to internment; several Supreme Court cases are discussed, including that of Fred Korematsu, quoted in his own words (p. 359). The chapter further notes the military service and impressive war record of Nisei Californians who fought in Europe while their families were detained in internment camps (p. 361). Details about
the experiences of other Asian populations in California and their contributions to the war effort appear in the new edition as well (p. 360).

CHAPTER 24, AMAZING GROWTH: CALIFORNIA AFTER WORLD WAR II

The structure and content of this chapter on postwar California remains largely unchanged. We added new material highlighting the emergence of LGBTQ civil rights activists (p. 365); the entrance of growing numbers of women into the waged labor force (pp. 365-366); and the post-WWII marriage and baby boom in the section “Housing Boom” (p. 367). We included a clearer, more concise explanation of the 1960 Master Plan for Higher Education (pp. 370-371). We added new material highlighting the anti-Communist crusade and the House Un-American Activities Committee (HUAC) hearings in Hollywood, which produced conflict and division within the film industry, along with the blacklisting of screenwriters, actors, directors, and producers (pp. 371-374).

PART IX: THE 1960S AND AFTER

CHAPTER 25, PROLOGUES TO VIOLENCE: GENESIS OF A Ghetto

We substantially revised this chapter, which now includes a detailed discussion of the Los Angeles Police Department (LAPD) (pp. 380-381; 386; 389-391); conscious efforts to create all-white neighborhoods in 1920s Los Angeles (pp. 381; 386-387); early black residential patterns in Los Angeles (pp. 381-382); a table detailing the city’s phenomenal population growth (p. 382) as well as detailed information regarding the emergence of black neighborhoods (pp. 382, 387) the first and second “Great Migrations” of African Americans out of the South (pp. 383-384; 389) and how black migration into previously white communities spawned race riots and increasingly oppressive police interactions with communities of color (p. 386); and the emergence of a powerful Ku Klux Klan movement in World War I-era Los Angeles (pp. 384-
The chapter concludes by bringing discussion of the Watts Riots into the present day, with consideration of contemporary concerns over fatal encounters between law enforcement and often unarmed persons (393-394).

CHAPTER 26, DREAMS DEFERRED: THE 1960S

This chapter has seen extensive revision. We made the painful decision to delete the boxed essay, “Eric Hoffer: Uncommon Common Man.” We eliminated the section heading “The Election of 1958,” streamlined discussion of political infighting between Republicans and Democrats (pp. 395-396), and abbreviated biographical data in the section “The First Governor Brown” (pp. 396-397). We added more details regarding the first African American women that Californians elected to state and national office (p. 403), and the “Civil Rights” section offers an expanded discussion of Latina/o activism (pp. 399; 405; 409); adds a new boxed essay, “Walkout!” (pp. 405-408); and adds additional information regarding efforts to organize farm workers (p. 409).

CHAPTER 27, ERAS OF LIMITS: REAGAN, BROWN, AND DEUKMEJIAN

We added information regarding dismantling of the state’s mental health program during Ronald Reagan’s first term as governor (p. 417). To the section “The Election of 1974” we added details concerning elections of African Americans to state office (p. 420) and the election of March Fong Eu as secretary of state, the first woman elected to that office as well as the first Chinese American that Californians elected to state office (p. 420). Despite Eu’s example, we updated this chapter with details on California women’s long and often unsuccessful efforts to win political office (p. 420). In the section “After Thirteen,” we added details concerning the long-term impact of Proposition 98, passed in 1988 (p. 428). We revised and updated the section formerly known as “High Tech,” now called “A Technology Revolution” (pp. 429-432). The
section formerly known as “Cultural Maturity and Diversity” is now “Cultural Diversity,” and includes and revised and expanded discussion of Latina/o political activism (pp. 436-437). We added expanded coverage of the origins of tribal gaming nationally and in California (p. 439).

PART X: ENVIRONMENT AND SOCIETY: CRISIS IN THE MOST POPULOUS STATE

Chapter 28 remains our "environmental chapter," as it was before. The most significant addition is discussion of global climate change (pp. 442). We updated discussion of zero emission vehicles (p. 449). We updated discussion of the Peripheral Canal to include the proposed Peripheral Tunnels (pp. 460-461). We reorganized the section “Parks and Wilderness Areas” (pp. 457-459) to bring pro- and anti-environmental laws and efforts into the present day. We updated the section “Reaction Against Environmentalism” to bring it into the present day (pp. 461-463). The most significant addition to the book as a whole is this chapter’s new section, “‘There Is No Plan B’: California and World Climate Change” (pp. 463-467).

CHAPTER 29, FIN DE SIÈCLE CALIFORNIA

We have extensively revised this chapter. We began with a new section “Demographic Shifts” (pp. 468-469) to explain the changing character of the state’s population, including national origins. We expanded the next two sections, “Recession in the 1990s” (p. 469) and “Base Closures,” the latter now including expanded discussion of the conversion of San Francisco’s Presidio army base to a self-supporting national park (p. 470). We updated “Transportation” to include extensions of public transit systems (pp. 470-471). We reorganized the section “Recession-Era Politics” (pp. 471-473) to focus on specific elections, legislation, and budget battles. We updated the section “The Election of 1994” to consider the financial consequences of “three strikes” legislation (pp. 473-474). We updated the section “The New
Economy” (pp. 476-477). Much of the cultural information previously included in the section “Recession-Era Politics” we reassembled under a new section title, “Change and Resistance” (pp. 477-478), including the emergence of an LGBTQ voting bloc, demographic shifts, the police attack on motorist Rodney King, the decline of African-American office holding, and the emergence of a powerful Latina/o voting bloc. We updated the section “Education” to discuss means of measuring the success of California’s public K-12 education system (pp. 478-479). We consolidated discussion of changes in farm-worker leadership and Latina/o political office-holders in a new section, “Awakening ‘the Sleeping Giant’” (pp. 480-481).

CHAPTER 30, CALIFORNIA IN THE NEW MILLENIUM

We substantially rewrote this chapter to bring it through the 2016 state and national elections. Like Chapter 29, we began this chapter with “Demographic Shifts,” which discusses the censuses of 2000 and 2010 (pp. 483-485). We updated “New Century, Old Politics” to include the slow inroads of California women into elected office (p. 485), and ongoing efforts by the state’s LGBTQ leaders to gain equal rights (p. 485). We updated the section “High-Tech Boom” (pp. 485-487). We combined the sections formerly called “A Second Davis Term … Almost” and “The ‘Governator’.” The new section title, “Recalling a Governor,” discusses the recall of Gov. Gray Davis and election of his replacement, Arnold Schwarzenegger (pp. 489-490). To the section “Another Great Recession” we added discussion of “The Housing ‘Bubble’,” popular discontent with the “1 percent,” and the “Occupy” movement (pp. 490-492). We added the section “The Legacy of Progressivism” which discusses the legacy of direct democracy measures such as the voter initiative (pp. 493-494). We updated the section “Education” to discuss school vouchers (p. 494); the Academic Performance Index (p. 494); efforts to reorganize California community colleges through “Guided Pathways” (p. 495);
analysis of California’s per-pupil spending (pp. 495-496); and the consequences of rising college costs (pp. 496-497). The new section “Jerry Brown, Again” discusses the 2016 governor’s race (p. 497), and Brown’s success in changing the state’s tax structure (p. 497). We added the section “Is the Great Recession Over?” to discuss California’s economic winners and losers, and the impact of globalization on economic inequality in the state (pp. 498-501). We added the section, “Homelessness,” to discuss the consequences of rising housing costs (pp. 501-502). “The 2016 Elections” is also a new section (pp. 502-504), which discusses the election of president Donald J. Trump and the status of female candidates for political office. This section discusses the impact of the “Me Too” movement on the California economy and in politics (pp. 503-504). The final section, “California in the Age of Trump,” considers legal and political conflicts between state leaders and the Trump administration (p. 504).

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The Elusive Eden charts the historical development of California, beginning with landscape and climate and the development of Native cultures, and continues through the census of 2010 and the election of Jerry Brown to his third term as governor. Elusive Eden portrays a land of remarkable richness and complexity, settled by waves of people with diverse cultures from around the world. The text is organized in 10 parts; each part develops a major theme or issue in the chronological development of the state. In Parts II through IX the first chapter is an in-depth narrative that spotlights an individual or group at a critical moment of historical change. In Parts I and X the first chapter frames the narrative and helps to place California's whole story in context.

New to this edition

- Coverage continues through 2018, with new material on political upheavals, the global
banking crisis, changes in education and the economy, and California's shifting demographic profile.

- The Suggestions for Further Reading have been updated to reflect recent scholarship.

**Features**

- The organization of *Elusive Eden* is unique. Detailed narratives present key issues, from Indian resistance to colonization, to women's experience in the Gold Rush, to the Watts Riots of 1965, in the opening chapters of Parts II through IX, followed by two chronological chapters that place the episode discussed in its historical context. The text weaves these important themes into the chronological material through each of the ten parts.

- Alongside the stories of European conquerors and well-known political figures are the experiences of lesser-known men and women, the poor and working class, and people of color--Natives, Spaniards and Mexicans, African Americans, and Asians. Because each is integral to the real history of California, their stories are seamlessly integrated throughout the text.

- As in previous editions, *Elusive Eden* emphasizes the geographical and climatic forces that shaped California history. While exploring complexities of environmental history, the text also gives attention to regional issues, moving from the metropolitan areas to the state's rural and desert areas.

- Although the text was expanded and updated, through judicious editing the fifth edition is no longer than the fourth. This edition retains many of the elements that have long made *Elusive Eden* a favorite among instructors and readers: the sensitivity to race, class, and gender that set the book apart when it first appeared in 1988; the lively, readable text that makes vivid the connections between past and present; the emphasis on the land itself, the deserts, mountains, and shoreline that make California unique; and the Feature Essays, short but colorful narratives
that give readers unique insights into California's people and places.