1. NAME OF PROPERTY

Historic Name: Nuestra Señora Reina de la Paz

Other Name/Site Number:

2. LOCATION

Street & Number: 29700 Woodford Tehachapi Road Not for publication:

City/Town: Keene

State: California County: Kern Code: 029 Zip Code: 93531

3. CLASSIFICATION

Ownership of Property		Category of Property	
Private:	X	Building(s):	X
Public-Local:	___	District:	___
Public-State:	___	Site:	X
Public-Federal:	___	Structure:	X
		Object:	___

Number of Resources within Property

Contributing	Noncontributing	
23	1	buildings
1	2	sites
3	1	structures
0	0	objects
27	4	Total

Number of Contributing Resources Previously Listed in the National Register: 26

Name of Related Multiple Property Listing:

4. STATE/FEDERAL AGENCY CERTIFICATION

As the designated authority under the National Historic Preservation Act of 1966, as amended, I hereby certify that this ____ nomination ____ request for determination of eligibility meets the documentation standards for registering properties in the National Register of Historic Places and meets the procedural and professional requirements set forth in 36 CFR Part 60. In my opinion, the property ____ meets ____ does not meet the National Register Criteria.

Signature of Certifying Official Date

State or Federal Agency and Bureau

In my opinion, the property ____ meets ____ does not meet the National Register criteria.

Signature of Commenting or Other Official Date

State or Federal Agency and Bureau

5. NATIONAL PARK SERVICE CERTIFICATION

I hereby certify that this property is:

___ Entered in the National Register
___ Determined eligible for the National Register
___ Determined not eligible for the National Register
___ Removed from the National Register
___ Other (explain): _____

Signature of Keeper Date of Action

6. FUNCTION OR USE

Historic:	Commerce Domestic Domestic Education	Sub:	Organizational Single Dwelling Institutional Housing
Current:	Commerce Domestic Domestic Education	Sub:	Organizational Single Dwelling Institutional Housing

7. DESCRIPTION

ARCHITECTURAL CLASSIFICATION: Bungalow/Craftsman
Mission/Spanish Colonial Revival
Modern Movement
Ranch Style
No Style

MATERIALS:

Foundation:	Concrete
Walls:	Wood, Stucco
Roof:	Asphalt
Other:	

Describe Present and Historic Physical Appearance.

Summary

Nuestra Señora Reina de La Paz ("La Paz") is nationally significant under NHL Criterion 1 for its association with events that have made a significant contribution to the nation's past and under NHL Criterion 2 for its association with Césario Estrada Chávez (1927–1993), the acclaimed union leader and labor activist. As the leader of the United Farmworkers of America (UFW) and as a voice for the disenfranchished and poor, Chávez played major roles in the labor movement, the civil rights movements, the Chicano movement, and the environmental movement. At La Paz the United Farmworkers of America (UFW) grew and expanded from its early roots as a union for farm workers to become a voice for the poor and disenfranchised.

Present and Historic Physical Appearance

Nuestra Señora Reina de La Paz encompasses 187 acres of rolling hills, rock outcrops, oak woodland, and oak savanna in the Tehachapi Mountains of eastern Kern County, California. The county government began to develop this remote property in 1913, constructing four wood-frame buildings to serve the operations of a rock quarry located nearby. Five years later, the county closed the quarry operations, remodeled the buildings, and re-opened the property as a tuberculosis sanatorium named Stony Brook Retreat. During the 1920s and 1930s, the sanatorium's administrators constructed a wood-frame hospital building with rooms for fifty-five adult patients, a reinforced-concrete preventorium with beds for forty-four children, and twelve wood-frame residential and support buildings. A final period of expansion in the 1950s brought the construction of a central cafeteria building and additions to several existing buildings. Soon thereafter, advances in medical treatment began to make the rural facility obsolete. After years of declining admissions, the county closed the sanatorium and vacated the property in 1967.

The National Farm Workers Service Center, Inc. acquired the property in 1970, renamed it, and converted it into the national headquarters of the United Farm Workers of America. With its residential buildings, administrative spaces, maintenance shops, water supply system, sewage treatment plant, and boiler plant, the property was able to support a new community almost immediately. César Chávez and his family moved to the property in 1971, and a fluctuating population of union employees, members, and supporters made "La Paz" their home as well. By the late 1970s, the union had razed two pre-existing buildings, rehabilitated and remodeled many of the rest, constructed three new buildings, and sited as many as twenty manufactured homes in a central residential area. The property has undergone only minor changes in the decades since, the most notable of which were the removal of most of the manufactured homes, the reconstruction of the union's administration building, and the creation of a memorial garden surrounding the gravesite of César Chávez.

Nuestra Señora Reina de La Paz derives its national historical significance from its association with César Chávez and the farmworker movement that he led. It achieved this significance over a fifteen-year period, 1970 to 1984. Twenty-seven resources that were in use during this period retain substantial levels of integrity and therefore contribute to the exceptionally-high level of integrity retained by the property as a whole. Nuestra Señora Reina de La Paz offers an outstanding opportunity to conserve and commemorate several important dimensions of modern American history.

History of the Property Prior to 1970

By the time that the United Farm Workers of America (UFW) established its national headquarters at Nuestra Señora Reina de La Paz, the union had become well known for its defense of farmworkers' rights, its

commitment to nonviolence, its powerful boycotts, and its unprecedented victory in July 1970 over the table-grape growers of California.[1] With this victory, the union had become a formidable organization and gained a significant measure of security. However, the UFW also now began to face some of its greatest challenges: a territorial raid by the Teamsters, a nationwide boycott of non-union lettuce, a series of state-level political battles over anti-union legislation, and the need to administer new contracts covering thousands of table-grape workers. These challenges meant that the union had limited resources with which to modify its new headquarters to replace aging buildings with modern facilities.

History of the Property Before 1971

In 1913, the Kern County Board of Supervisors authorized the county highway department to open a rock quarry and construct a rock crusher in the Tehachapi Mountains near the small town of Keene, thirty miles southeast of Bakersfield on Highway 58. Workers sited the quarry and crusher on a mountainside, above a line of the Southern Pacific Railroad.[2] They began to develop the property below, building an entrance road, a water supply system, a septic tank, and four wood-frame buildings: a bunkhouse, an administration building, a single-family house, and a dining hall.

The four buildings were utilitarian, but they showed Craftsman/bungalow-style influences, including board-and-batten exterior siding, low-pitched roofs with wide eaves, and long porches with square columns. The bunkhouse was a single-story, cross-gabled structure, measuring 150 feet by 35 feet. It had front entrances and porches on the east side. Sited on a slope, its foundation was largely exposed on the west side.[3] The administration building was sited 15 yards east of the bunkhouse; it appears to have been converted into a residence and moved 120 yards northwest of its original location. The one-and-a-half story building had a cross-gabled roof and porches on the front (south) and rear (north) sides. The building measured 30 feet by 40 feet. The single-family house, sited 60 yards northeast of the bunkhouse, was a single-story structure built on an elevated wood foundation. It had a hipped roof and a wrap-around porch on the south and east sides. The building measured 35 feet by 20 feet. The dining hall, a rambling, L-shaped structure, is non-extant.

Wartime restrictions on competition between public operations and private companies prompted the county to suspend the quarry's operations in 1917. The following spring, county supervisors closed the quarry permanently so that Edythe Tate Thompson, head of the California Bureau of Tuberculosis, could convert the property into the county's first tuberculosis sanatorium. Tate Thompson thought that the remote property's location and elevation (2,600 feet) were ideal for a sanatorium.[4] Work crews remodeled the interior of the bunkhouse to create an infirmary with separate wards for men and women. They remodeled the interior of the administration building, creating a reception room, an office, a sewing room, and a bedroom for the superintendent. They also converted the single-family house into a nurses' residence and modified the interior of the dining hall to increase seating capacity. Tate Thompson named the new institution "Stony Brook Retreat." [5]

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[1] On the history of the United Farm Workers see Raymond W. Rast, Gail L. Dubrow, and Brian Casserly, "César Chávez and the Farmworker Movement in the American West," Theme Study, draft ms. (2004), National Park Service.

[2] The rock quarry and crusher were located about three miles west of the Tehachapi Loop (where the railroad gains elevation and crosses over itself in pigtail fashion). The Tehachapi Loop, completed in 1876, has been designated a National Historic Civil Engineering Landmark and a California Historical Landmark.

[3] This building recently was razed and replaced with a replica.

[4] See Mary Wilson, "Early History of Stony Brook," *Keene Courier* 1 (Nov. 1933): 1; and *Bakersfield Californian* (March 18, 1918): 1.

[5] Ibid, 1.

The sanatorium admitted its first patients in 1918, and its population grew quickly. By 1922, 50 patients were in residence, and a new wood-frame building had been constructed to house young children.[6] This small building was sited 10 yards north of the infirmary with front entrances on the east side. Like the pre-existing buildings, the children's unit showed Craftsman/bungalow-style influences, including board-and-batten exterior siding and a low-pitched roof. The building measured 60 feet by 10 feet. The roof was cross gabled, with a center section that extended several feet to the rear and provided partial cover for a patio. At a later point the rear patio was fully enclosed (creating an extension 10 feet deep). A longer room (20 feet deep) was added to the front, giving the building the shape of a cross.

As demands for admission increased, the sanatorium's superintendent, Edward Schaper, recognized the need for new facilities. He supervised the construction of a 25-bed hospital building in 1927 and a 30-bed addition in 1932.[7] This building was designed to harmonize with the other buildings on the property. Built on a concrete foundation, the single-story, wood-frame structure had board-and-batten exterior siding and a low-pitched, cross-gabled roof. Sited twenty yards west of the infirmary on the same sloping terrain, the T-shaped building completed in 1927 had a front entrance on the east side and a basement in the rear (west) wing that was exposed and accessible through a separate entrance. The 1932 addition, attached to the north end of the original structure, was T-shaped as well but slightly larger. Its completion created an unbroken eastern façade that measured 200 feet. This front section of the expanded building was 25 feet deep. The northern rear wing extended 50 feet, and the southern rear wing extended 40 feet. The sloping terrain allowed for a basement and sub-basement in the northern rear wing. The former was accessible by a wooden staircase and the latter through a ground-level entrance. The south wing and south side of the rear (west) wing of the 1927 building featured patios originally covered by cloth awnings. The front patio was at ground level. The rear patios were formed by elevated, outward extensions of the concrete foundation.

By 1927, seven other buildings had been constructed, most for residential purposes. One of these buildings, a house, is extant in its original location, 80 yards northwest of the infirmary. The single-story wood-frame structure measured 15 feet by 20 feet. It showed Craftsman/bungalow-style influences, including a low-pitched, front-gabled roof and a wrap-around porch with square columns. Sited on a steep slope, the building had a front entrance on the east side and an enclosed basement exposed on the south and west sides. An addition was later attached to the south side of the building. A second building, originally a schoolhouse, was sited 30 yards northwest of the infirmary; it appears to have been converted into a residence and moved 60 yards north of its original location. This single-story wood-frame structure measured 40 feet by 30 feet. It had a low-pitched, side-gabled roof and a porch with square columns. Five other buildings constructed prior to 1927 are non-extant.

In 1928, Schaper decided to construct a substantial facility that would serve young children at risk for (or recovering from) tuberculosis. He purchased 100 acres of land immediately north of the sanatorium increasing the property's size to 187 acres and supervised the construction of a 44-bed preventorium.[8] The preventorium was conceived as a separate institution. It was isolated from the sanatorium proper by a half mile of hilly terrain, its architecture showed a stylistic departure, and its design accounted for independent function. Described upon its completion in 1929 as "one of the finest institutions for its purpose in the United States," the

[6] E. A. Schaper, "A Short History of Kern's Two Institutions at Keene," *Keene Courier* 1 (July 1933): 1.
[7] Schaper, "Short History," 2.
[8] See *Bakersfield Californian* (Feb. 9, 1929): 1; and Schaper, "Short History," 2.

preventorium was built at a cost of $110,000 (close to $1.2 million today). Charles H. Biggar of Bakersfield was the primary architect.[9]

Sited amidst scattered oak trees on gently sloping terrain, the preventorium was comprised of three buildings constructed with reinforced concrete. The design of the buildings reflected Mission Revival influences. The exterior walls were finished with earth-toned stucco and the side-gabled roofs were covered with red, ceramic-clay, curved tiles.

The main building was constructed in the shape of a cross oriented toward the south. The bottom (south) arm, entered through a front doorway flanked by two large windows, included a reception area, dispensary, offices, and examination rooms. The arm measured 40 feet by 50 feet. The roof on this arm was flat. The side arms provided space for dormitory wings. Each arm included an expansive room lined on three sides with large, square windows. Exposed roof beams and rafters enhanced a sense of spaciousness. Each side arm measured 100 feet by 35 feet, and each included a built-in patio along the entire length of the front (south) side. The top (north) arm provided space for an isolation wing with 9 rooms. This arm measured 40 feet by 55 feet. A finished basement beneath the north arm included rooms for x-ray equipment, laboratory work, laundry, storage, and living quarters for orderlies and maintenance workers. A small second story at the center of the building contained four bedrooms and two bathrooms for the preventorium's nursing staff. A square water tower adjacent to this story echoed in appearance the bell tower of a Spanish colonial mission.

Two small buildings were sited immediately to the northwest and northeast of the preventorium's main building. Covered walkways connected these out-buildings diagonally to the center of the main building. The northwest building measured 40 feet on each side. It had separate rooms for a kitchen and pantry, a dining hall, and a cook's residence, and it had a basement utilized for storage. Short flights of stairs along the west and north exterior walls provided access to the main floor, and a doorway at the west end of the north wall provided external access to the basement. This building originally had flat roofs at two elevations; the higher roof covered the kitchen and dining hall and the lower roof covered the residential quarters. (Side-gabled roofs at different elevations later were constructed over the kitchen and the dining hall.) The northeast building measured 40 feet by 30 feet. It contained two classrooms and residential quarters for two teachers. Sited on an elevated and extended concrete foundation, it had covered patios along the north and south walls and a flat roof. A side-gabled roof was added later.

Schaper supervised the continued expansion of the sanatorium's facilities during the 1930s.[10] Two small, wood-frame houses were built north of the infirmary. One of the houses, sited 120 yards north of the infirmary, measured 25 feet by 20 feet. It had a side-gabled roof and a front entrance on the east side. A small addition later was attached to the north side of the building. The second house was sited 40 yards north of the infirmary; it appears to have been moved 60 yards west of its original location. It was a compact, L-shaped building measuring 20 feet by 30 feet on its longest sides. This house also featured a low-pitched, cross-gabled roof and a covered patio. A third house was sited 5 yards east of the infirmary; it appears to have been moved 40 yards north of its original location and then 40 yards northwest to its current location. This wood-frame building measured 12 feet by 20 feet. It had board-and-batten exterior siding, a low-pitched roof, and a covered patio on the front side.

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[9] *Bakersfield Californian* (Feb. 9, 1929): 1. See also Charles H. Biggar, "Preventorium, Stony Brook Retreat, For the County of Kern, California," building plans (dated June 2, 1928), copy on file at Stony Brook Corporation offices, Nuestra Señora Reina de La Paz, Keene, Calif.

[10] See Pablo Pasente de Riachuela de las Piedras, "Survey of Stony Brook," *Keene Courier* 10 (Jan. 1942): 1; Pablo Pasente de Riachuela de las Piedras, "On Don Pablo: Further Survey of Stony Brook," *Keene Courier* 10 (March 1942): 1; and "The Map of Stony Brook Retreat," *Keene Courier* 10 (May 1942): 1.

Other additions to the property during this period included several structures used as garages or storage units. Two long, wood-frame, multi-vehicle garages were sited 140 yards north of the infirmary. The northernmost structure measured 70 feet by 15 feet and the other measured 50 feet by 15 feet. A third storage building was located near the house sited 80 yards northwest of the infirmary. This building measured 18 feet by 12 feet. A fourth structure (likely but not definitively constructed during this period) was sited 10 yards beyond the northwest building of the preventorium. This multi-vehicle garage was constructed with concrete walls, finished with stucco, and covered with a red-tile roof to match that of the preventorium. The building measured 40 feet by 15 feet.

A final period of expansion occurred during the 1950s, coinciding with the sanatorium's period of peak activity.[11] The largest addition to the property was a new cafeteria building, sited on level terrain 40 yards north of the infirmary and finished in 1954. Designed by Robert N. Eddy of Bakersfield, the cafeteria building showed the influences of California ranch-house style.[12] The building was a single-story, wood-frame structure with a low-pitched, front-gabled roof; overhanging eaves; a long, low roof-line that emphasized the building's horizontal reach; and a front (west) façade dominated by two large banks of windows. The building was square in shape (measuring 42 feet on each side) except for a 28-foot-long front (west) section that sat forward an additional 12 feet.

Other additions to the property during the 1950s included a Quonset hut, a swimming pool, and a new boiler plant. The Quonset hut was sited 120 yards south of the infirmary, near the property entrance. It was manufactured with curved, corrugated metal and anchored to a raised, concrete foundation. The in-ground swimming pool was located on a hillside 140 yards southwest of the preventorium. The new boiler, housed in a small brick structure, was located on the preventorium grounds, in the space between the top (north) arm of the main building and the northwest out-building.

Modifications to many of the buildings were completed during this period. The main hospital building underwent the most notable changes. External walls on the west side of the building were moved outward, enclosing former patio spaces and eliminating the overhang of the eaves. A 40-foot-long addition was attached to the south end of the building, providing space for a kitchen. An unknown number of internal walls were removed to increase bed capacity. The basement of the 1927 building was finished, the entire building's roof was reconstructed, and the building's external walls were covered with stucco. Four other buildings were expanded with additions: the original administration building, the original children's unit, the house located 80 yards northwest of the infirmary, and the house located 120 yards north of the infirmary. The exterior walls of four buildings were refinished with stucco.

Four buildings were relocated. Two houses were removed from the site of the cafeteria building in 1954. The original administration building and the original schoolhouse, both converted into residences, were relocated adjacent to each other, 100 yards northwest of the infirmary. By the end of this period, five structures had been razed: the dining hall built during the 1910s, the original boiler plant, and three other buildings constructed prior to 1927. The property's road system was well-established by the end of this period as well, and many of the roadways through the main cluster of buildings were paved with concrete or gravel.

Despite these and earlier changes, the property's character changed little since the 1920s. The populations of Tehachapi and Keene grew, Highway 58 carried more automobile traffic, and the noise of passing trains

[11] The sanatorium admitted 353 patients during fiscal year 1952-53 and discharged 364, beginning a trend of annual net losses in population. See "Stony Brook Retreat Making Great Strides in Cure of TB," *Tehachapi News* (Dec. 31, 1953), unpaginated copy in "Keene" vertical file, Jack Maguire Local History Room, Beale Memorial Library, Bakersfield, Calif.

[12] See Robert N. Eddy, "Kitchen Facilities Building, Stony Brook Retreat," building plans (dated March 17, 1954), copy on file at Stony Brook Corporation offices, Nuestra Señora Reina de La Paz, Keene, Calif.

increasingly punctured the bucolic quiet, but the property retained its sense of isolation. Changes in the natural environment were even less perceptible. Oak trees grew and erosion became more noticeable around the foundations of many buildings, but the mountain setting that Edythe Tate Thompson thought ideal in 1918 seemed to remain much the same.

UFW Modification of the Property, 1970-1984

After years of declining admissions, Stony Brook Retreat closed in 1967. Three years later, the National Farm Workers Service Center, Inc. (NFWSC), acquired control of the 187-acre property and its 21 buildings.[13] The UFW began to make limited use of the property in May 1970, naming it "Nuestra Señora de La Paz Educational Retreat Center" and organizing weekend training conferences.[14] But the union was not in a position to make any immediate changes to the property itself.

Chávez moved his offices and residence from Delano, California, to "La Paz" as the property became known in the spring of 1971, and a small number of union employees and their families moved with him. A few months later, Federal agents uncovered a plot to assassinate the union leader. They advised Chávez to leave La Paz and to keep his whereabouts unpublicized while the plot was investigated.[15] By December, however, Chávez had decided that he could not allow threats on his life to continue to impede his work. He returned to La Paz, and his family joined him.[16] During his absence, the union made its first minor additions to the property: a high, chain-link fence around the perimeter of the lawn surrounding the Chávez home (where his German Shepherds could roam) as well as a gate and security shed (staffed 24 hours) where the entrance road crosses Tehachapi Creek.[17] Upon Chávez's return, the union decided to officially transfer its headquarters to La Paz. The union now began a broader, on-going effort to adapt the property to its needs.

The union had limited money with which to modify its new headquarters. Rather than raze dilapidated buildings and construct modern facilities, the union simply rehabilitated extant buildings as much as possible and remodeled their interiors only as necessary. "[When] we moved up there officially," Richard Chávez, recalled, "we knew [that the property] had a lot of possibility. . . . Some of those buildings were built in the 1920s, . . . some were built in the early '30s. So they were old buildings. Some of them were built very well, others not so well." Before joining the union's full-time staff, Richard had worked as a carpenter. He agreed to quit his building job if he could take any carpentry work that might come along. "That was my thing . . . so that was the agreement," he explained. "Anytime there was a little carpentry work to do I would do it; I still had my tools and all of that." Thus Richard and his work crews "made [the buildings] . . . workable again."[18] At the same time, César, Richard, and other union leaders agreed that the original character of the property matched what they had been looking for.[19] "The old wood-frame hospital buildings are scattered in one corner of a rolling . . . [187-acre] plot," an observer wrote in February 1972. "The white buildings with green roofs blend into the forest around them, and the pine-studded Tehachapi foothills give La Paz a sense of quiet

[13] The NFWSC is a non-profit organization affiliated with the UFW. The organization's acquisition of the property is discussed in Section 8. The number of extant buildings (21) is confirmed in *Bakersfield Californian* (May 13, 1968): 14

[14] See *Bakersfield Californian* (May 21, 1970): 11.

[15] See Levy, *César Chávez*, 443-46; and Susan Ferriss and Ricardo Sandoval, *The Fight in the Fields: César Chávez and the Farmworkers Movement* (New York: Harcourt Brace, 1997), 176-77.

[16] *César: The Oral History of César E. Chávez* [video] (Los Angeles: César E. Chávez Foundation, 2004), Part II.

[17] Ronald B. Taylor, *Chávez and the Farm Workers* (Boston: Beacon Press, 1975), 24-25.

[18] Richard Chávez, interview transcript (Sept. 16, 2004), 23.

[19] This sentiment and exceptions to it are discussed in Section 8

isolation."[20]Reflecting on the property and its character, Richard spoke for César and others when he told a Bakersfield reporter, "We just love it."[21]

The modifications to La Paz begun in 1972 included the razing of two buildings constructed prior to 1927: a building located immediately north of the Quonset hut and a house located nearby.[22] Richard rehabilitated most of the other buildings and remodeled interiors as his schedule permitted. Some of this work was superficial. After the farmworkers acquired the property in the spring of 1970, hundreds of windows were broken by vandals. Richard and his volunteer crews replaced them. [23]They also scraped and repainted interior and exterior walls, replaced floors, and refinished roofs. Larger projects included the construction of a front-gabled roof on the bottom (south) arm of the preventorium's main building (compare photographs 14 and 15) and an extensive remodeling of the cafeteria building's interior.[24] "I remodeled the kitchen [building]; that was the biggest [project]," Richard noted. "I just tore it out [and] did it nice."[25]

The union gradually adapted the buildings to their needs. The infirmary building became the union's administration building, with César's office located in the northwest corner. The nurses' residence became the trust funds building. The children's unit became the financial management building. The main hospital building became a dormitory. The Quonset hut became the security headquarters. The preventorium buildings housed classrooms, conference meetings, legal offices, religious services, and social events and became known as the "North Unit." Houses, garages, storage units, and the cafeteria served their customary functions.

The only building constructed on the property during the early 1970s was a small, metal-frame structure sited 200 yards north of the union's administration building. Originally used as a graphics shop (for the production of shirts, hats, and buttons), the single-story building had a concrete foundation, metal siding, a front entrance on the south side, and a flat roof that sloped slightly southward. Additions in the late 1970s and early 1980s have obscured its original dimensions. The union also moved as many as 20 manufactured homes to the property, siting them in a concentrated area 200 yards northwest of the administration building. Union volunteers prepared the area by leveling the ground and installing hook-ups for water and electricity. Most of the structures were single-wide or double-wide mobile homes, prompting Richard to name the area "tin town."[26]

Modifications to La Paz continued throughout the 1970s. One of the most notable was the development of a large community garden 120 yards north of the North Unit. Food harvested from this garden supplemented that served at the central cafeteria. The union added another storage unit to the property, immediately south of the two long garages across from the Chávez home. The union also installed a new water tank on a hill northwest of the cafeteria building.

The final changes to La Paz associated with its national historical significance occurred during the late 1970s and early 1980s. The union expanded the building that housed the graphics shop two times, adding a large section to the west side of the building and another large section to the east side. These sections were constructed with materials matching those of the original building. The eastern addition created a low-pitched, side-gabled roof on the eastern half of the building. The flat roof on the western side of the building sat at a slightly higher elevation. The completed building measured 90 feet by 75 feet. (This building serves as the

[20] *Los Angeles Times* (Feb. 14, 1972): section I, 3.
[21] *Bakersfield Californian* (May 21, 1970): 11.
[22] Refer to Paul Chávez, interview transcript (Sept**. 16, 2004), 9.**
[23] *Los Angeles Times* (Oct. 12, 1973): section II, 1.
[24] Rudy Delgado, interview transcript (Sept. 17, 2004), 5.
[25] Richard Chávez, interview transcript (Sept. 16, 2004), 23.
[26] Richard Chávez, interview transcript (Sept. 16, 2004), 24.

current administrative headquarters.) The union constructed a microwave telecommunications building and installed two satellite dishes. The building was a small, single-story, concrete structure sited in a remote area near the southwest corner of the property. The satellite dishes were sited 180 yards to the northeast. The union also finished developing the road system, bringing it to its current condition. Most of the roadways through the main cluster of buildings were paved with concrete or gravel. The remainder are unpaved.

Evolution of the Property Since 1984

Nuestra Señora Reina de La Paz has remained in continuous use by the UFW and affiliated organizations since 1984. Thus many of the buildings and structures on the property have undergone changes associated with routine maintenance e.g., the replacement of windows and the repainting of walls. The interiors of the current administration building and one house have been fully remodeled. Other buildings have fallen into limited use (such as storage) or disuse, including the dormitory, the North Unit, and the microwave telecommunications building. These buildings show minor signs of neglect such as peeling paint and broken windows. The community garden, the satellite dishes, and the swimming pool (a non-contributing resource, not used since the 1960s) also show signs of disuse.

More significant changes to the property as a whole include the removal of the gate and security shed installed in 1971 and the removal of all but four manufactured homes. The manufactured housing area itself remains evident. Leveled lots and utility hook-ups mark the locations of non-extant homes.

In 2001, the César E. Chávez Foundation (working with the NFWSC) began an effort to transform the property into the "National Chávez Center at Nuestra Señora Reina de La Paz." The first phase of this effort began with the development of a memorial garden around the gravesite of César Chávez. Upon his death in 1993, Chávez was buried in a rose garden immediately east of the (former) administration building. Eight years later, landscape architect Dennis Dahlin oversaw the construction of memorial space that incorporated the gravesite and garden and added elements such as perimeter walls finished with stucco, stone fountains and sculptures, an arbor constructed with redwood beams, and native vegetation.[27] Associated landscaping work included the pavement of pathways north of the garden, the repavement of the parking lot south of the garden, and the creation of a picnic area south of the parking lot. An ancillary project resulted in the development of a playground area 40 yards north of the cafeteria building.

The first phase of redevelopment concluded with the opening of a visitors' center in 2004 on the site of the former administration building. Given the prohibitive expense of renovation and the Foundation's limited funds, the Chávez Foundation elected to raze the building and construct a replica on the same site. Although the building itself lost all integrity, the Foundation protected the integrity of the property as a whole by constructing a building with dimensions, roof lines, and siding that matched those of the original. The Foundation also built a replica of César's corner office and refurnished it to match its appearance upon his death in 1993.

A second phase of redevelopment began in the spring of 2005. The Chávez Foundation plans to renovate and remodel the buildings of the North Unit in order to create an independent conference and retreat center. The Foundation plans to retain the buildings' exterior materials and architectural characteristics. The interiors will be redesigned to provide meeting spaces and amenities for dining, lodging, and recreation. The Chávez Foundation anticipates a third phase of redevelopment that will include the construction of a cultural center, a central plaza, a chapel, and an open-air meditation space; the rehabilitation of the community garden; the paving

[27] See Dennis Dahlin, "Grassroots Design at the National Chávez Center," *Landscape Online* (June 2005), available at http://www.landscapeonline.com/research/article/5274 (last accessed July 23, 2005).

of primary roadways; and the transformation of secondary roadways into hiking trails.)[28] To date, changes associated with the redevelopment project have not detracted from the integrity of the property as a whole.

Assessment of Integrity

Nuestra Señora Reina de La Paz retains an exceptionally-high level of integrity from the period in which it achieved national historical significance, 1970-1984. Certainly, many of the property's features originated in earlier periods. César Chávez and other leaders, members, and supporters of the farmworker movement preserved and enhanced these features, by necessity but also by choice. They added new features as well. In doing so, they defined the character of the property associated with its national historical significance. Evidence of this character in the property's location, design, setting, materials, workmanship, feeling, and association remains clear and abundant. As the preceding discussion notes, the integrity of some of the property's individual resources has been diminished or lost. These changes, however, have not detracted in any significant way from the integrity of the property as a whole.

The property retains the integrity of its location. Its current boundaries are the same as they were between 1970 and 1984.

The property retains the integrity of its design. César Chávez and other union leaders decided in the early 1970s to retain the pre-existing design of the property, characterized by a winding entrance road that crosses Tehachapi Creek; a main cluster of wood-frame, Craftsman/bungalow, green and white buildings in the southeast corner of the property; a tight cluster of concrete, Mission Revival buildings in the remote northeast corner of the property; and wide swaths of rolling hills, rock outcrops, oak woodland, and oak savanna. The property has retained all of these design features since 1984.

The property retains the integrity of its setting. Surrounded on three sides by undeveloped ranch land and bordered on the fourth side by Tehachapi Creek and the small town of Keene, the property conveys the bucolic isolation that made it an appealing site for sanatorium administrators and labor union leaders.

The materials used in the buildings on the property between 1970 and 1984 including those used in extant buildings that were constructed prior to 1970 retain an exceptionally-high level of integrity. The primary materials are wood (used in the dormitory building, 6 homes, the cafeteria building, and 5 supporting buildings), concrete (used in the North Unit and 3 other buildings), metal (used in the administration building and the Quonset hut), stucco (covering 9 buildings), synthetics (used in the manufactured homes and in the roofs of 14 other buildings), and glass (used in every building on the property). The use of all of these materials remains evident.

The buildings on the property and other features of the landscape constructed between 1970 and 1984 (and many of those constructed prior to 1970) retain the integrity of their workmanship. The skill employed by union volunteers is evident, for example, in the solid simplicity of the current administration building, the front-gabled roof added to the main building of the North Unit, the tiled stairs on the south side of the cafeteria building, and the rock walls and leveled lots that define the manufactured housing area.

The exceptionally-high levels of integrity of the property's location, design, setting, materials, and workmanship contribute to the historic feeling that the property evokes. A visitor can walk around the property and gain a powerful sense of the property's physical conditions during the period in which it achieved national

[28] See "Master Plan: Nuestra Señora California" (2001), copy on file at Stony Brook Corporation offices, Nuestra Señora Reina de la Paz, Keene, Calif.Reina de La Paz, César E. Chávez Education and Retreat Center, Keene,

historical significance. Specifically, the preserved locations of the property's buildings, the materials and workmanship that formed the buildings, and the relationships between the buildings and their environment convey what the property's conditions were like during the 1970s and early 1980s.

The integrity of feeling that the property evokes has allowed it to retain the integrity of its historic association. Because the property continues to evoke the historic feeling associated with the period during which it achieved national historical significance, it can convey that association to visitors today. A visitor to the property can gain a clear sense of how the property evolved before and after 1970 and why it developed such meaning to César Chávez and other leaders, members, and supporters of the farmworker movement.

The following description includes 30 resources and moves geographically from the south side of the property to the north side.

1. Quonset Hut (contributing building)

The Quonset hut is located at the southeast corner of the property, near the main entrance. It sits on a raised, concrete foundation. It has a curved, corrugated metal roof and sides, doorways on the north and south ends, and windows on the south end, east side, and north end. The south end also features a brick façade roughly three feet high. A small, flat patio roof attached to the east side and south end of the building is covered with red, ceramic clay, curved tiles associated with Spanish Colonial Revival style. The Quonset hut was constructed during the early 1950s. The UFW added the brickwork and roof during the 1970s.

2. Visitor Center (noncontributing building)

The visitor center building is located near the southeast corner of the property, approximately 100 yards north of the Quonset hut. Completed in 2004, the visitor center is a noncontributing yet highly compatible building constructed on the foundation and to the specifications of a building constructed in 1914 and razed in 2003. The visitor center building, like the original building, is sited on a slope, with its concrete foundation largely exposed on the west side and its main entrances on the east side. The rectangular, single story building measures approximately 150 feet by 35 feet. The wood-frame building features Craftsman/California Bungalow elements that characterized the original building, including board-and-batten exterior siding, a low-pitched cross-gabled roof, and a porch on the east side.

The original building served as a bunkhouse for rock quarry workers during the 1910s and then as an infirmary between the 1920s and the 1960s. The UFW moved its main administrative offices (including the office of UFW President César Chávez) into the building during the early 1970s. By 2003, the original administration building had deteriorated to such a degree that renovation of the building had become financially impossible; the UFW's decision to rebuild this building as a visitor center reflects both the emergence of La Paz as a pilgrimage site for union and labor leaders as well as the union's financial restraints during this later period.

The new building preserves the overall design of the property associated with its period of significance (specifically, the concentration of buildings near the southeast corner) and the overall feeling of the property associated with its period of significance, thus preserving valuable opportunities for historical interpretation. However, César Chávez's office and library, housed in the northwest corner of the building, were preserved exactly as it was the last day he left it. The walls themselves were left intact when the structure was razed and the new building went up around them. Staff from the Smithsonian

Institution had carefully catalogued all the artifacts and books before the building was razed. Following the completion of the new building, the artifacts and books were replaced exactly as they had been during the period of significance.[29]

3. The Chávez Memorial Garden

The Chavez Memorial Garden is located near the southeast corner of the property, approximately 100 yards north of the Quonset hut and immediately east of the visitor center. Encompassing more than 1000 square feet, the memorial garden includes the Chávez burial site, several beds of specialized roses, stone fountains and sculptures, native vegetation, an arbor constructed with redwood beams, and perimeter walls finished with stucco. Upon his death in 1993, Chávez was buried in a rose garden that had been cultivated at this location. Landscape architect Dennis Dahlin designed and supervised the construction of the expanded memorial space in 2001.

4. Dormitory Building (contributing building)

The dormitory building, the largest building on the property, is located near the southeast corner of the property, approximately 20 yards west of the visitor center. The building, originally constructed as the first dedicated hospital building on the property, consists of two T-shaped buildings attached side by side. The unbroken eastern façade (the tops of the two Ts) measures approximately 240 feet in length, and this section of the building is approximately 35 feet deep. The southern rear wing extends 40 feet further, and the larger, northern rear wing extends 50 feet further. The single story building sits on a concrete foundation, though the sloping terrain allows for rear entrances to the basement and sub-basement of the building. The wood-frame building is finished with stucco, and features a low-pitched, cross-gabled roof and more than 130 windows.

The main entrances to the building are located on the eastern side, with additional entrances to the main floor located on the north and south sides and rear (accessible by stairs). Construction of the first T-shaped building was completed in 1927, and the second T-shaped building was attached to the north end of the original structure in 1932. The 55-bed building was renovated and expanded again during the 1950s; exterior walls on the west side of the building were moved outward (enclosing former porch spaces), a 40-foot addition was attached to the south end of the building, the roof was reconstructed, and the original board-and batten exterior was replaced with stucco. The UFW converted this building into a dormitory during the early 1970s and used it for that purpose into the 1980s.

5. Financial Management Building (contributing building)

The financial management building is located approximately 20 yards northeast of the dormitory building. Constructed during the early 1920s, the cross-shaped, single story building sits on an elevated wood foundation. The building measures approximately 60 feet from north to south, with one arm extending 10 feet to the rear and another arm extending 20 feet to the front. The wood-frame building shows Craftsman/California Bungalow influences, including board-and-batten exterior siding, a low-pitched roof, and overhanging eaves. The main entrance is located on the east side of the south arm (an exterior wall that also features 9 windows and an incomplete brick façade). Additional entrances are located on the west and north arms. The building was originally constructed as a children's hospital. The

[29] Email from Marc Grossman, Communications Director, César Chavez Foundation to Alexandra M. Lord, Branch Chief, National Historic Landmarks Program, September 6, 2011.

UFW located its financial management services in the building during the 1970s. The building's roofing was replaced in 2004.

6. Trust Funds Management Building (contributing building)

The trust funds management building is located approximately 20 yards northeast of the financial management building. Constructed in 1914, the rectangular, single story building sits on an elevated, wood foundation. The building measures approximately 35 feet by 20 feet. The wood-frame building shows Craftsman/California Bungalow influences, including board-and-batten exterior siding, a low-pitched roof with wide eaves, and a wrap-around porch on the south and east sides. Entrances are located on the south and east sides. Originally constructed as a single-family dwelling, the building served as a nurses' residence between the 1920s and the 1960s. The UFW located its trust funds management operations in the building during the 1970s. The building's roofing was replaced in 2004.

7. Cafeteria Building (contributing building)

The cafeteria building is located on level terrain approximately 40 yards north of the dormitory building. Designed by architect Robert N. Eddy of Bakersfield and constructed in 1954, the single story building is square in shape (measuring 42 feet on each side) except for a 28-foot-long front section (on the west side) that extends forward an additional 12 feet. The wood-frame building sits on a concrete foundation and shows influences of California Ranch style, with a low-pitched, front-gabled roof; overhanging eaves; a long, low roof line that emphasizes the building's horizontal reach; and a front façade dominated by two large banks of windows. The UFW completed an extensive interior remodel of the building during the early 1970s and continues to use it as a dining facility named "Pan Y Vino." The building's roofing was replaced in 2004.

8. House (contributing building)

This house, constructed during the 1920s, is located approximately 40 yards west of the cafeteria building. The one-and-one-half story building sits on a concrete foundation. The original, rectangular section of the building measures approximately 15 feet by 20 feet; a smaller rectangular addition attached to the south side of the building during the 1950s gave the structure its present L shape. The wood-frame building shows Craftsman/California Bungalow influences, including a low-pitched, front-gabled roof and a wrap-around porch with square columns. Sited on a steep slope, the building has a main entrance on the east side and a basement exposed on the south and west sides. An addition was attached to south side of the building, and the entire structure was refinished with stucco, during the 1950s. The building's roofing was replaced in 2004.

9. House (contributing building)

This house was constructed during the 1930s and moved to its current location, approximately 45 yards west of the cafeteria building, during the 1950s. The L-shaped, single story building sits on a concrete foundation and measures approximately 20 feet by 30 feet on its longest sides. The wood-frame building shows Craftsman/California Bungalow influences, including a low-pitched, cross-gabled roof and a covered patio.

The building's board-and-batten exterior was replaced with stucco during the 1950s. The building's roofing was replaced in 2004.

10. Storage Unit (contributing building)

This building is located approximately 50 yards west of the cafeteria building. The rectangular, single story building sits on a concrete foundation and measures approximately 18 feet by 12 feet. The wood-frame building features a low-pitched, side-gabled roof. The building was constructed during the 1950s. The building's roofing was replaced in 2004.

11. House (contributing building)

This house was constructed during the 1930s and moved to its current location, approximately 80 yards northwest of the cafeteria building, during the 1950s. The rectangular, single story building sits on a concrete foundation and measures approximately 12 feet by 20 feet. The wood-frame building features board-and batten exterior siding, a low-pitched roof, and a covered patio on the front side.

12. House (contributing building)

This building was constructed during the 1930s and moved to its current location, approximately 70 yards northwest of the cafeteria, during the 1950s. The rectangular, one-and-one-half story building sits on a concrete foundation and measures approximately 40 feet by 30 feet. Originally constructed as a schoolhouse, the wood-frame building features a low-pitched, side-gabled roof and a front porch. The building was converted into a residence, expanded with a front porch and side room (attached at the east side), and refinished with stucco during the 1950s. The building's roofing was replaced in 2004.

13. House (contributing building)

This building was constructed in 1914 and moved to its current location, approximately 70 yards north of the cafeteria building, during the 1950s. The rectangular, one-and-one-half story building sits on a concrete foundation and measures approximately 40 feet by 30 feet. Originally constructed as an administration building (for the rock quarry operation), the wood-frame building features a cross-gabled roof and porches on the south and north sides. The building was converted into a residence and refinished with stucco during the 1950s. The building's roofing was replaced in 2004.

14. Chávez House (contributing building)

This house, the residence of César Chávez and his family, is located approximately 75 yards north of the cafeteria building. Constructed during the 1930s, the rectangular, single story building sits on a concrete foundation and measures approximately 32 feet by 20 feet (including an 8-foot addition attached to the north side of the building during the 1950s). The wood-frame building features a side-gabled roof, a front entrance on the east side, and large windows on the east, south and west sides, including a distinctive bay window at the southeast side. The building's roofing was replaced in 2004.

15. Storage Unit (contributing building)

This building is located approximately 85 yards northeast of the cafeteria building. Constructed by the UFW during the 1970s, the rectangular building measures approximately 10 feet by 15 feet.

16. Garage (contributing building)

This building is located approximately 90 yards northeast of the cafeteria building. Constructed during the 1930s, the rectangular building sits on a concrete foundation and measures approximately 50 feet by 15 feet. The wood-frame building features a side-gabled roof and two large doors (for automobile access). The building's roofing was replaced in 2004.

17. Garage (contributing building)

This building is located approximately 100 yards northeast of the cafeteria building. Constructed during the 1930s, the rectangular building sits on a concrete foundation and measures approximately 70 feet by 15 feet. The wood-frame building features a side-gabled roof and four large doors (for automobile access). The building's roofing was replaced in 2004.

18. Administration Building (contributing building)
The administration building is located approximately 150 yards north of the cafeteria building. Constructed in several phases during the 1970s and early 1980s, the rectangular, single story building sits on a concrete foundation and measures approximately 90 feet by 75 feet. The metal-frame building features metal siding, a front entrance on the south side, a flat roof (on the western portion of the structure), and a low-pitched, side gabled roof (on the eastern portion of the structure).

19. Playground (non-contributing site)

This site, located approximately 100 yards northwest of the cafeteria building, was developed into a small playground (featuring a play structure, park bench, and boundary marked by recycled rubber tires) in 2003.

20. House (contributing building)

This house is located approximately 100 yards west of the cafeteria building. Constructed during the 1970s, the rectangular, single story building sits on a concrete foundation and measures approximately 30 feet by 25 feet. The wood-frame building features a low-pitched, side-gabled roof. The building's roof was replaced in 2004.

21. Manufactured Housing Unit (contributing building)

This manufactured housing unit is located approximately 140 yards northwest of the cafeteria building. One of more than twenty such units moved to the property during the 1970s, the rectangular, single-wide unit measures approximately 50 feet by 12 feet.

22. Manufactured Housing Unit (contributing building)

This manufactured housing unit is located approximately 150 yards northwest of the cafeteria building. One of more than twenty such units moved to the property during the 1970s, the rectangular, single-wide unit measures approximately 50 feet by 12 feet and features a porch attached to the south side.

23. Manufactured Housing Unit (contributing building)

This manufactured housing unit is located approximately 160 yards northwest of the cafeteria building. One of more than twenty such units moved to the property during the 1970s, the rectangular, double-wide unit measures approximately 50 feet by 24 feet and features a side-gabled roof.

24. Water Tank (contributing structure)

The water tank, located on a hill north of the manufactured housing units, was installed during the 1970s.

25. Satellite Dishes (contributing structure)

Two large satellite dishes, located west of the manufactured housing units, were installed during the late 1970s.

26. Telecommunications Building (contributing building)

The microwave telecommunications building is located near the southwest corner of the property. Constructed during the late 1970s, the rectangular, single story building sits on a concrete foundation and measures approximately 25 feet by 15 feet. The concrete-brick building has a front-gabled roof and a metal door on the north side but lacks windows. A fence encloses a small area north of the entrance.

27. Swimming Pool (noncontributing structure)

The in-ground swimming pool, located near the center of the property, was installed during the 1950s but fell into disuse during the 1960s. The pool was not used during the property's period of significance.

28. North Unit (contributing building)

The North Unit, recently renamed the Villa La Paz Conference Center, is located near the northeast corner of the property. It is situated amidst scattered oak trees on gently sloping terrain and separated from the main concentration of buildings by a half mile of hilly terrain. Designed by architect Charles H. Biggar of Bakersfield and constructed in 1929 as a 44-bed children's preventorium, the North Unit consists of four separate buildings. The main building is cross-shaped. The south and north arms measure approximately 40 feet by 50 feet, and each side arm measures approximately 100 feet by 35 feet. The center of this building has a second story, and the north arm includes a finished basement. Two small buildings, each measuring approximately 40 feet by 30 feet, are sited in the northwest and northeast quadrants created by the arms of the main building; these buildings are connected to the main by covered walkways. A smaller fourth building, sited near the northwest building and constructed during the 1950s, housed a boiler. The three large buildings are constructed of reinforced concrete and sit on concrete foundations. These buildings reflect Spanish Colonial Revival influences, including side-gabled roofs covered with red, ceramic clay, curved roof tiles; exposed roof beams (inside the side arms of the main building); large windows; covered patios; and a square water tower designed to resemble a bell tower.

The UFW used this building for educational and administrative purposes during the 1970s and 1980s, but the building fell into disuse during the 1990s. A restoration project completed in 2010 now allows

the building to be used as a full-service conference and retreat center. This project of an accessibility ramp, the addition of a staircase on the south side of the west arm, the addition of railings along the south side patios on the east and west arms, modest landscaping work south of the building, and the paving of a parking lot east of the building.

29. Garage (contributing building)

This building is located immediately northwest of the North Unit. Constructed during the 1930s, the rectangular building sits on a concrete foundation and measures approximately 40 feet by 15 feet. The wood frame building features four large openings for automobile access and red, ceramic clay, curved roof tiles.

30. Road System (contributing structure)

The road system grew with each phase of the property's development but was generally in place by the 1970s. The road system connected the various buildings on the property, but the roads, most of which have remained unpaved, also defined the property's open spaces and provided pathways for walking.

8. STATEMENT OF SIGNIFICANCE

Certifying official has considered the significance of this property in relation to other properties:
Nationally: X Statewide: _ Locally:

Applicable National Register Criteria:	A X B X C _ D
Criteria Considerations (Exceptions):	A _ B _ C _ D _ E _ F X G
NHL Criteria:	1, 2
NHL Theme(s):	II. Creating Social Movements and Institutions 2. Reform Movements IV. Shaping the Political Landscape 1. Parties, protests and movements V. Developing the American Economy 4. Workers and work culture 5. Labor organizations and protests
Areas of Significance:	Industry, Social History, Ethnic Heritage: Hispanic, Politics/Government
Period(s) of Significance:	1971-1984
Significant Dates:	1971, 1975
Significant Person(s):	César Chávez
Cultural Affiliation:	
Architect/Builder:	Richard Chávez (Builder) Charles H. Biggar (Architect) Robert N. Eddy (Architect)
Historic Contexts:	XXI. Social and Humanitarian Movements H. Labor Organizations I. Farmers' Organizations M. Civil Rights Movements

State Significance of Property, and Justify Criteria, Criteria Considerations, and Areas and Periods of Significance Noted Above.

Nuestra Señora Reina de La Paz ("La Paz")[30] is nationally significant under NHL Criterion 1 for its association with events that have made a significant contribution to the nation's past and under NHL Criterion 2 for its association with Césario Estrada Chávez (1927–1993), the acclaimed union leader and labor activist. Under the NHL Thematic Framework, La Paz reflects the NHL Theme *Creating Social Movements and Institutions*. As the leader of the United Farmworkers of America (UFW) and as a voice for the disenfranchished and poor, Chávez played major roles in the labor movement, the civil rights movements, the Chicano movement, and the environmental movement. At La Paz the United Farmworkers of America (UFW) grew and expanded from its early roots as a union for farm workers to become a voice for the poor and disenfranchised.[31]

Initially, members of the farm worker movement fought only for their collective bargaining rights—rights that the National Labor Relations Act of 1935 had specifically denied to farm workers. Upon encountering staunch opposition from not only growers but also judges and law enforcement officers, members of the farm worker movement expanded their fight into the realm of civil rights. Insisting upon their rights to free assembly and free speech, farm workers responded to grower intransigence, court injunctions, and police brutality with the nonviolent tactics long associated with the civil rights movement. The farm workers' commitment to justice also instilled a sense of pride in members of the burgeoning Chicano movement. With the support of Chicano student activists, politically-informed sympathizers and consumers across the country, members of the farm worker movement achieved unprecedented successes—including the creation of the first permanent agricultural labor union in the history of the United States (the United Farmworkers of America) and the passage of the first law in the continental U.S. that recognized farm workers' collective bargaining rights, the California Agricultural Labor Relations Act of 1975. Both Chávez's role as a voice for America's disenfranchised and the farm worker movement's interwoven relationships with other reform movements, its unprecedented successes, and its enduring legacies illustrate the extraordinary national significance of Chávez and the UFW.

During the 1970s and up to Chávez's death in 1993, La Paz was at the forefront of the American farm worker movement. Thousands of farm workers and their supporters from California and across the country streamed through La Paz to meet with movement leaders, learn from other farm workers, devise strategies, negotiate contracts, receive training, volunteer their time, and celebrate meaningful events. Throughout this period, La Paz became a symbol of the movement's most significant achievements and its expanding horizons. Members of the farm worker movement celebrated victories such as the passage of the Agricultural Labor Relations Act at La Paz, and it was at La Paz that they began to turn their attention toward other marginalized groups, including those most threatened by poverty. For Chávez, La Paz also served as a refuge, providing him the respite he needed to continue serving the farm worker movement.

César Chávez and Migrant Labor

The second child of Librado and Juana Chávez, César Chávez was born in 1927, a few years before the onset of the Great Depression. Soon after their first daughter (Rita) was born in 1925, Librado and Juana Chávez had purchased a business that included a grocery store, an auto repair shop, and a pool hall in the North Gilla Valley, some twenty miles from Yuma, Arizona. With a growing family, Librado decided to expand his business. The family borrowed money and purchased forty acres of land surrounding the property. Librado, however, also extended credit to his relatives and friends, many of whom became destitute as the Great

[30] The name translates to Our Lady, Queen of the Peace.
[31] Substantial portions of Section 8 were drawn from the National Register Nomination for Nuestra Reina La Paz (submitted 2011).

Depression deepened. Late in 1932, Librado's debts forced him to sell his property and move the family back to the Chávez family homestead located one mile away; there, they lived for the next six years.

In 1937, when Librado Chávez was unable to secure a loan to pay off the four-thousand-dollar debt he had accumulated, the state took legal possession of the Chávez homestead. Librado managed to forestall eviction for another year and a half. But by the summer of 1937, he was forced to join the stream of "Okies" and other migrants heading to California; there he hoped to earn enough money as a migrant worker to save the family's land. After finding a job in Oxnard and a dilapidated house to rent in the local barrio (then known as "Sonoratown"), Librado sent for Juana and the children. In California, Chávez discovered the realities of life as a migrant worker:

> That winter of 1938 I had to walk to school barefoot through the mud, we were so poor. After school, we fished in the canal and cut wild mustard greens—otherwise we would have starved. . . . [W]e had no money for transportation. When everyone else left [the labor camp], they shut off the lights, so we sat around in the dark. We finally got a few dollars from some relatives in Arizona and bought enough for gas for our old Studebaker to get us to Los Angeles. . . . [M]y mother sold crocheting in the street to raise the money for enough gas to get to Brawley. We lived three days in our car in Brawley before we found a house we could afford to rent.[32]

It soon became clear that plans for returning to Yuma with money to save the farm would not work out, and the family returned to the homestead penniless.[33]

In March 1939, a grower whose land bordered the Chávez homestead bought the farm at public auction for $1,750. A few days later a deputy sheriff delivered the final eviction notice. For Chávez, "the full significance of the family's eviction from the rambling adobe ranch house that had provided not only shelter but also a sense of place and social perspective was not at once apparent." Only with additional years of exposure to the spectrum of emotional and material hardships faced by migrant farm workers—racial minorities in particular—would Chávez gain a deeper sense of the meaning of his family's eviction from the land his grandfather had claimed three decades earlier. Still, the force with which Chávez later fought to help farm workers gain economic stability can be traced, in large part, back to his memories of the day on which the Chávez family was formally evicted.[34]

Migrant Labor in California

During the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, settlement patterns in California led to a concentration of land in the hands of a few growers. By the late nineteenth century, Chinese immigrants dominated the ranks of agricultural laborers on these large farms. When the Chinese Exclusion Act in 1882 caused a shortage of Chinese workers, growers initially turned to Japanese laborers to replace their Chinese workers. However, the Alien Land Acts in other western states and Federal restrictions on Japanese immigration under the Immigration Act of 1924 gradually led to a decline in the Japanese farm labor force[35] and by the 1920s, California growers had turned toward Filipinos and Mexicans to replace their Japanese workforce.

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[32] Quoted in John Gregory Dunne, *Delano*, rev. ed. (New York: Farrar, Straus and Giroux, 1971), 5.
[33] See Levy, *César Chávez*, 34-35; and Ferriss and Sandoval, *Fight in the Fields*, 16-17.
[34] Daniel, "César Chávez," 352.
[35] See Daniel, *Bitter Harvest*, 47; McWilliams, *Factories in the Fields*, 110-24; Kushner, *Long Road to Delano*, 12-13; Jenkins, *Politics of Insurgency*, 54; Tomás Almaguer, *Racial Fault Lines: The Historical Origins of White Supremacy in California* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1994), 184-87; and Matt Garcia, *A World of Its Own: Race, Labor, and Citrus in the Making of Greater Los Angeles, 1900-1970* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2001), 56-58. On Japanese control of farm acreage refer to Garcia, *World of Its Own*, 274n26. Convention speaker quoted in McWilliams, *Factories in the Fields*, 114.

Following the American takeover of the Philippines in 1898, Filipinos were classified as U.S. "nationals." As such, they were free from immigration restrictions. By 1930, thirty-thousand Filipinos resided at least part of the year in California. Ninety-four percent of them were men, eighty-four percent of them were under thirty years old, and eighty percent of them were migrant laborers. However, like other Asians in America, Filipinos were politically disempowered—they could not vote, own land, or apply for citizenship. Regarded as hard-working, docile, and willing to accept low wages, Filipino provided growers with the labor they needed, but racist hostility and the economic downturn made these workers, like their predecessors, targets of attack. Years later, UFW Vice-President Philip Vera Cruz described the difficulties that Filipinos faced in a typical California town during the 1930s:

> In those depression years, Filipinos were blamed for taking the Anglos' jobs. Racist growers and politicians picked on the Filipino minority as . . . [an] easy target for discrimination and attack. Filipinos were harassed and driven from their jobs. They were pushed to the wall and the whole town was against them. . . In those race riots staged in their camps, some were hurt and one was shot.

As Vera Cruz explained, Filipinos were forced from the fields, but "the sad thing was they didn't have anywhere to go." Most Filipino farm workers responded to racist attacks by banding together even tighter, establishing a pattern of union organization that would strengthen Filipino farm workers' resolve to begin the Delano grape strike thirty years later.[36]

Large-scale growers had begun recruiting farm workers from Mexico in the 1910s (when social and economic instability caused by the Mexican Revolution also fueled immigration) but after the Immigration Act of 1924 began to curtail Japanese immigration Mexican laborers appealed to growers even more. Mounting anti-Filipino sentiment further fueled this turn toward Mexican labor. As one agricultural industry booster concluded in 1929, "the Filipino has not given general satisfaction—his susceptibility to disease has necessitated federal restrictions. The Mexican is our only recourse." Growers viewed Mexican immigrants as the "perfect solution" to their perennial demand for farm workers deemed cheap and docile. One industry observer crowed that "no labor that has ever come to the United States is more satisfactory under righteous treatment." The Mexican farmworker "is the result of years of servitude, has always looked upon his employer as his *padron*, and himself as part of the establishment." The fact that Mexican farm workers lived so close to their native country, moreover, seemed to absolve growers of any responsibility for their employees once harvests were over—just as geographical proximity appeased racists who never wanted nonwhite workers to settle permanently in the U.S.[37]

By the eve of the Depression, Mexican farm workers greatly outnumbered Filipinos in California.[38] But as the Great Depression deepened during the following decade, hundreds of thousands of Anglo-Americans were thrown out of work. As in decades past, white workers and their demands for jobs fueled hostility toward Mexican laborers. Facing declining agricultural markets, drought and Dust Bowl conditions, and even the effects of crop subsidies under the New Deal's Agricultural Adjustment Act (which rewarded landowners who removed land from agricultural production, even when they evicted tenant farmers to do so), hundreds of

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[36] See Maram, "Negotiating Identity," 5, 25; Kushner, *Long Road to Delano*, 14; and McWilliams, *Factories in the Fields*, 130-33. Vera Cruz quoted in Kushner, *Long Road to Delano*, 16.

[37] See Vicki L. Ruiz, *Cannery Women, Cannery Lives: Mexican Women, Unionization, and the California Food Processing Industry, 1930-1950* (Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 1987), 48; and Ruiz, *From Out of the Shadows*, 132-33. Booster quoted in Garcia, *World of Its Own*, 59. Industry observer quoted in Kushner, *Long Road to Delano*, 18. Editorial quoted in McWilliams, *Factories in the Fields*, 126.

[38] Between 1924 and 1930, approximately 150,000 Mexican men, women, and children worked in the California agricultural industry annually. McWilliams, *Factories in the Fields*, 125.

thousands of whites and African Americans from Oklahoma, Arkansas, Texas, and Missouri flooded the cities, towns, and agricultural valleys of California, looking for work. More than one hundred thousand of them ended up in rural areas. Between 1935 and 1940, the San Joaquin Valley alone attracted more than seventy thousand emigrants searching for opportunities in the state's agricultural industry. In this context, Mexican migrants were seen as unwelcome competitors for agricultural work that could be done by displaced white Americans.[39] Beginning in February 1931, thousands of Mexicans, many of them American citizens, were deported to Mexico. An average of almost eighty-thousand individuals returned to Mexico every year from 1929 to 1937.[40]

Despite the increasing pressure on Mexican migrant laborers, not all families blindly accepted the harsh realities of racism, dangerous working conditions and low wages. The Chávez family was among those who refused to succumb. "We were probably one of the strikingest families in California, the first ones to leave the fields if anybody shouted '*huelga!*' [strike!]" César recalled with pride. "If any family felt something was wrong and stopped working," he continued, "we immediately joined them even if we didn't know them. And if the grower didn't correct what was wrong, then they would leave, and we'd leave." This militancy stemmed in part from the family's somewhat unique position as former landowners with strong social ties. As César noted, "we were constantly fighting against things that most people . . . accept[ed] because they didn't have that kind of life we had in the beginning, that strong family life and family ties which we would not let anyone break." Chávez was exposed to the labor movement's efforts to organize farm workers in California when organizers working with the United Cannery, Agricultural, Packing and Allied Workers of America (UCAPAWA) came to the Chávez home to speak with César's father and uncle. Librado Chávez joined UCAPAWA and ended up paying dues to several different unions throughout the 1940s and '50s. Librado's strong conviction that unionism was a manly act of resistance made a lasting impression on his young son.[41]

By 1941, the dynamic in the fields appeared poised to shift yet again as World War II sparked a nation-wide demand for both labor and military recruits. Like hundreds of thousands of young Mexican Americans, César Chávez saw enlisting in the military as both an escape from the fields and an opportunity to develop new job skills. But Chávez discovered that within the military, opportunities for minorities to advance were no better than they were within American society overall. Following his honorable discharge from the Navy in 1946, a discouraged Chávez returned to California where he married Helen Fabela. Within the next few years as his family grew, Chávez found himself following the path of many other migrant laborers.

The Birth of Labor Unions for Migrant Workers

During the 1940s and 1950s, growers used the Bracero Program to control labor. Established by Congress in 1942, this program provided growers with a reliable source of labor at a time when military industries offered American workers much higher wages and better working conditions. In creating the program, Congress promised the Mexican government that growers would pay braceros prevailing wages (and never less than thirty cents per hour), provide transportation and cover living expenses, and only hire braceros when local labor shortages developed (not to break strikes). All of these promises were broken. Still, Congress extended the program to 1950 and, following the outbreak of the Korean War, formalized the program and extended it indefinitely through Public Law 78, an act to "regulate the flow" of imported labor.[42]

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[39] See Gregory, *American Exodus*, 3-40.

[40] Refer to McWilliams, *Factories in the Fields*, 125; Kushner, *Long Road to Delano*, 19; and Garcia, *World of Its Own*, 72. Editorial quoted in Garcia, *World of Its Own*, 72.

[41] See Terkel, *Hard Times*, 53-56; Daniel, "César Chávez," 355; and Levy, *César Chávez*, 80. Chávez quoted in Levy, *César Chávez*, 78. The efforts of UCAPAWA and other unions are discussed in the following section of this essay.

[42] Ernesto Galarza, *Merchants of Labor: The Mexican Bracero Story* (Santa Barbara: McNalley and Loftin, 1964), 115. See also Kushner, *Long Road to Delano*, 97-100; and Jenkins, *Politics of Insurgency*, 78-81.

Efforts to terminate the Bracero Program greatly influenced and shaped Chávez's attempt to organize labor. Indeed, the termination of the Bracero Program in 1964 cleared a path for the farm workers' successes of the 1960s and '70s.[43] Early attempts at unionizing farm workers, such as the National Farm Labor Union (formerly the Southern Tenant Farmers Union),[44] had demonstrated the importance of recruiting a coalition of supporters, The NFLU also introduced farm workers to tactics such as the consumer boycott of specific agricultural crops and the secondary boycott of grocery stores. The union's successes demonstrated that giant agribusinesses giants were not too big to confront.

During the 1950s, as Chávez became increasingly interested in the idea of organizing as a means of addressing the many problems facing migrant workers, he become active with the Community Service Organization (CSO). The CSO dealt with issues related to civil rights, voter registration, housing discrimination, and police brutality. Through this work, Chávez became acquainted with Dolores Huerta, the daughter of a union activist. After working briefly as a teacher, Huerta left the profession in the hopes of addressing her students' poverty through different means. By the late 1950s, Chávez, Huerta, and others had come to see the Bracero Program as the cause of many of the problems facing migrant laborers.

In the winter of 1962, the CSO board of directors finally agreed to support a pilot project to organize farm workers, but with two conditions: that Chávez's salary be paid from farm workers' dues and that a majority of the CSO membership vote to endorse the project. The membership considered the proposal at the annual convention in March 1962 but voted against it. Most members wanted to maintain the CSO's focus on urban and civic issues—not on the plight of rural labor. On the final day of the convention, Chávez approached the podium one last time. "I have an announcement to make," he said. "I resign."[45] Dolores Huerta and Gilbert Padilla left the CSO not long after César did in order to become co-leaders of this new effort. Between 1962 and 1965 César Chávez worked to build the National Farm Workers Association (a forerunner to the United Farm Workers). This focused effort was a continuation of successful organizing efforts Chávez had begun as a member and executive director of the CSO, which had trained its members to deal with issues related to civil rights, voter registration, housing discrimination, and police brutality.

Following the decision to leave the CSO, Chávez and his wife, Helen, chose Delano, a small town in Kern County thirty-three miles north of Bakersfield, as the site from which they intended to build their new organization. Chávez had familial ties to the area but he also had tactical reasons for picking Delano. By the 1960s, the area's vast acres of grapes, which require constant tending, provided year-round employment for several thousand Mexican-American and Filipino farm workers.[46]

In 1965, Filipino farm workers affiliated with the AWOC unexpectedly initiated the Delano grape strike , beginning what would become a five year campaign to bring the California table-grape industry—and 70,000 farm workers---under union contracts.[47] The Delano agricultural economy employed a stable labor force, and many of the Filipino farm workers in the area had called Delano their home for some thirty years. Still, most of these farm workers were aging bachelors who had nowhere to live except in the labor camps located on Delano

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[43] The federal government granted a special exemption allowing growers to import braceros again in 1965 (under the McCarran Act).

[44] The NFLU was an outgrowth of the Southern Tenant Farmers Union, founded in Arkansas by Harry Leland Mitchell in 1934. The union focused for many years on protecting the rights of sharecroppers, but Mitchell decided in the 1940s to redirect the union's energy toward agricultural wage workers. In 1945, he renamed the union the NFLU and rechartered it with the AFL. Two years later, Mitchell, Hank Hasiwar, and other NFLU leaders decided to move west, and they began establishing locals throughout California.

[45] See Levy, *César Chávez*, 145-48; Taylor, *Chávez and the Farm Workers*, 105; and Ferriss and Sandoval, *Fight in the Fields*, 62. Chávez quoted in Levy, *César Chávez*, 148; Rast et al., *César Chávez and the Farmworker Movement Theme Study (draft)*, 44-45.

[46] See Hammerback and Jensen, *Rhetorical Career*, 63.

[47] Rast et al., *César Chávez and the Farmworker Movement Theme Study*, 46.

ranches, which presented a challenging situation. If a strike was called, growers could respond by shutting off the electricity and gas to the workers' bunkhouses or by evicting them outright. In the face of this, the workers' courageous vote to go on strike was, in the words of former UFW Vice-President Philip Vera Cruz, "one of the most significant and famous decisions ever made in the entire history of the farm workers' labor struggles in California."[48] One week later on September 16, 1965, members of the NFWA voted to join the strike.

With the support of Mexican American community leaders, Filipino labor leaders, Chicano student activists, as well as politically-informed sympathizers and consumers across the country, members of the farmworker movement achieved unprecedented successes. They created the first permanent agricultural labor union in the history of the United States, the United Farm Workers of America. This union secured contracts that raised farm workers' wages above the poverty level, replaced a labor-contracting system with union-run hiring halls, established grievance procedures, funded health care plans for farm workers, mandated the provision of clean drinking water and restroom facilities in the fields, regulated the use of pesticides, and established a fund for community service projects. Union leaders directed this fund, in large part, toward the development of service centers that provided an array of goods and services for farm workers—including gasoline and groceries, health care, banking services, legal assistance, child care, automobile repair, and low-income housing.[49]

Forty Acres

In the spring of 1966, the farmworker movement acquired an unremarkable parcel of land on the outskirts of Delano, California. Most people looking at the property would have seen nothing but a sun-scorched patch of alkali land overgrown with weeds and littered with debris, but Chávez looked at the property and envisioned a place that would be as inviting, useful, and meaningful to farm workers as the union they were building. "This place is for the people, [so] it has to grow naturally out of their needs," Chávez explained as the property began to take shape a year later. "It will be kind of a religious place, very restful, quiet," he continued. "It's going to be nice here."[50]

Members of the National Farm Workers Association (NFWA) had felt a pressing need for such a place since voting on September 16, 1965 to join Filipino farm workers and their families on strike in Delano.[51] The first six months of this strike were especially arduous for the NFWA. Members of the fledgling union lacked the institutional support that their Filipino counterparts affiliated with the Agricultural Workers Organizing Committee (AWOC) received from the AFL-CIO. The NFWA's membership base was strong, mushrooming to 2,700 farm workers on the eve of the strike. But the NFWA's finances were tight, its meeting and administrative spaces were small, and its capacity to sustain a strike was limited.[52]

Writing in 1980, historians José Pitti, Antonia Castañeda, and Carlos Cortés recognized that the Forty Acres embodied the early period of the farmworker movement. "In essence," they explained, "[the] Forty Acres is a visible manifestation of the *campesinos*' struggle to organize their own union, to bargain collectively, to labor with dignity, . . and to determine their own destiny."[53] The Forty Acres is a manifestation of struggle, but it is

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[48] Vera Cruz quoted in Scharlin and Villanueva, *Philip Vera Cruz*, 35. Itliong quoted in Ferriss and Sandoval, *Fight in the Fields*, 87.

[49] Vera Cruz quoted in Scharlin and Villanueva, *Philip Vera Cruz*, 35. Itliong quoted in Ferriss and Sandoval, *Fight in the Fields*, 87.

[50] César Chávez quoted in Peter Matthiessen, *Sal Si Puedes (Escape If You Can): César Chávez and the New American Revolution* (New York: Dell Publishing Co., 1969), 27. On this point see also Paul Chávez interview, Keene, California, September 16, 2004.

[51] The following discussion draws heavily on Rast et al., "César Chávez and the Farmworker Movement," 58-75.

[52] Ganz, "Resources and Resourcefulness," 1031-37.

[53] José Pitti, Antonia Castañeda, and Carlos Cortés, "A History of Mexican Americans in California" (1980), in *Five Views: An*

also a product of purposeful strategies. Leaders of the farmworker movement knew that farm workers did not have significant financial resources, but they had time and patience, they were willing to work hard and make sacrifices, they were willing to ask for help, and they had growing legions of supporters prepared to give it.[54] The history of the property's construction clearly reflects the movement's financial restraints. But the property and its resources also reflect the farm workers' efforts to make the most out of the resources that they had.

The Move to La Paz

In 1970, "the Forty Acres" still served as the national headquarters of the United Farm Workers Organizing Committee (forerunner to the UFW), but it was becoming increasingly clear that this property could not offer Chávez all that it had once promised. Located just a few miles away from Chávez's home in Delano, the Forty Acres had become the headquarters of the UFWOC in 1969. It had also become a service center for farm workers themselves—a place where they could find employment assistance, health care, a credit union, legal assistance, and other services. As Richard Chávez has explained, local farm workers "would come in and we would help them [with paperwork and other needs], and many times César *personally* would sit down with a person." But soon enough "everybody that came to the Forty Acres wanted to talk to César," and the union leader found himself stretched too thin.[55]

At the same time, Delano itself remained in the spotlight as the center of the union's ongoing strike against table-grape growers. Despite victories elsewhere, the union's efforts often were associated only with the area around Delano. Chávez began to think that a move away from the area might allow the union to broaden its profile and thereby improve its ability to serve farm workers in other parts of the state and nation.[56] Chávez also longed for a personal refuge away from Delano and other battlefields. He needed a place that would allow him to rise above the daily fray: "to reflect on what was happening, to shed all of those million little problems, and to look at things a little more dispassionately."[57] After much deliberation, he decided to move his office and residence away from Delano. He sought a place where he and other leaders, members, and supporters of the farmworker movement could turn inward and find renewal even as they pushed the boundaries of their movement outward.

In the spring of 1970, Leroy Chatfield (director of the National Farm workers' Service Center) learned that the Kern County Board of Supervisors was considering a Caliente rancher's offer to purchase the county's 187-acre property near Keene for $200,000. County officials quietly advertised for competing bids, but they had decided to sell the property to the rancher. When Chatfield expressed interest in the property, county officials refused to show it. Chávez thus solicited the support of Edward Lewis, a movie producer who had offered to help the union acquire land in order to develop an educational retreat center. Concealing his association with the union, Lewis contacted county officials and expressed his own interest in the property. He accepted an offer to tour the property, but he was not sure what to look for. Richard volunteered to accompany him under the guise of a chauffeur. Relishing the opportunity to outwit county officials, Richard made discrete observations and hid his growing excitement over the potential of the undervalued property. After a spirited bidding war, Lewis bought

Ethnic Sites Survey for California (Sacramento: State of California, Department of Parks and Recreation, Office of Historic Preservation, 1988), 231.

[54] My understanding of the farmworker movement's limited financial resources and its members' resourcefulness has been shaped by Marshall Ganz, "Resources and Resourcefulness: Strategic Capacity in the Unionization of California Agriculture, 1959-1966," *American Journal of Sociology* 105 (January 2000): 1003-62.

[55] National Register of Historic Places Nomination for La Paz, p. 13.

[56] Paul Chávez, interview transcript (July 19, 2005), 8.

[57] César Chávez quoted in Levy, *César Chávez*, 377.

the property at auction for $231,500. He donated the down payment to the NFWSC and leased the property to the organization with intent to sell.[58]

Richard thought that the property could become exactly what César sought. With its residential buildings, administrative spaces, maintenance shops, water supply system, sewage treatment plant, and boiler plant, the property could support a year-round community of movement leaders and union employees—and a fluctuating population of movement members and supporters—almost immediately. The property's distance from Delano (sixty miles) seemed ideal as well; it was short enough to drive whenever necessary, but long enough to discourage frequent social visits. The bucolic setting had its own appeal, one that would resonate with members of the farmworker movement in ways that an urban campus would not. In the spring of 1971, César announced his decision to move his office and residence from Delano to the new property, "Nuestra Señora de La Paz Educational Retreat Center." The transfer of the UFW's national headquarters and central administrative functions would become official in January 1972.

Not everyone thought that the move was a good idea. Larry Itliong, a longtime movement leader and union officer, worried that the move would create too much distance between the movement's leaders and its members—especially its Filipino members.[59] Helen Chávez was reluctant to move to La Paz for other, more personal reasons. She stayed in Delano with the couple's eight children, but the family reunited on weekends. She finally relented in December 1971, when César decided to return to the property despite the threats on his life: "One day he said, 'I'm not going to run. . . . I don't care if they kill me. If that's God's will, let it be.' And so then I said to myself, 'Helen, you're being selfish. If he's willing to give his life for what he believes in, something that you vowed to help him with, you should go back.' So I did." Helen and the children joined César at La Paz. The family lived in the modest, two-bedroom house north of the administration building. (Helen still lives there today.)[60]

During the 1970s, as César traveled constantly, meeting with union members, labor leaders, public officials, community organizations, church groups, and industry representatives, he made the most of his time at La Paz. He spent long hours in strategy sessions, conferences, and meetings in his office, with its bare floors and secondhand furniture. Still, he made time to be with his family, to walk the dirt roads, to climb the mountainsides and meditate, to read and reflect, to work in the gardens, to train his German Shepherds, to attend weekly Mass, and to join in celebrations. Indeed, César's presence helped define La Paz, just as La Paz helped César define himself. "[F]or my dad, La Paz was . . . a refuge," Paul Chávez explained. "[H]e used to get up early in the morning and go up on the hills across from his office and meditate and watch the sun come up. And it would give him strength and give him the ability to establish a calm. I think . . . a lot of people . . . got burned out during the struggle, because they didn't have the ability to disengage, [and] when things become too frantic you can lose your center." For César, La Paz was a place where he could disengage from the turmoil of constant conflict, restore his sense of perspective, and "recharge his batteries."[61] Chávez frequently met with and talked to visitors both inside of his office as well outside of his office on the grounds of La Paz itself.

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[58] See Richard Chávez, interview transcript (Sept. 16, 2004), 22; Edward Lewis interview in *César*, Part II; *Bakersfield Californian* (March 17, 1970): 9; and *Bakersfield Californian* (May 20, 1970): 13.

[59] See Taylor, *Chávez and the Farm Workers*, 267; and Anne Meister and Dick Loftis, *A Long Time Coming: The Struggle to Unionize America's Farm Workers* (New York: Macmillan, 1977), 176.

[60] Helen Chávez interview in *César*, Part II. See also Paul Chávez, interview transcript (July 19, 2005), 8. Paul soon moved out of the house and into a dormitory room with Dolores Huerta's son Emilio.

[61] Paul Chávez, interview transcript (July 19, 2005), 10. See also Arturo Rodríguez, interview transcript (Sept. 18, 2004), 10; and Paul Chávez, "Remarks from Chairman Paul. F. Chávez, César E. Chávez Foundation, April 24, 2004—National Chávez Center," copy in authors' possession.

But La Paz was not just a place that allowed César to turn inward; it was a place that helped him push the boundaries of the farm worker movement outward. He spoke of this effort in 1975. "After we've got contracts, we have to build more clinics and co-ops," he told writer Jacques Levy. "Then there's the whole question of political action, so much political work to be done taking care of all the grievances that people have, such as the discrimination their kids face in school, and the whole problem of the police. . . . We have to participate in the governing of towns and school boards," he continued. "We have to make our influence felt everywhere and anywhere. It's a long struggle that we're just beginning, but it can be done because the people want it."[62] César viewed La Paz as a place in which to prepare farm workers and their allies for this struggle. It was a place where he could bring people in and "put them in a new surrounding where he could work with them to develop the skills necessary to move things forward," Paul Chávez explained. "And so he always had conferences here to pull people in. You could get [them] out of the heat, and I'm not talking just about the temperature, I'm talking about the *battle* of fighting. . . . You pull them up here and give people a chance to really disengage and take a deep breath . . . and look at things more strategically." For César, La Paz was a great place "to bring people and to work with them, and to teach them, prepare them, and inspire them to go back and re-engage in the good work."[63]

Life at La Paz

If the effort to acquire La Paz reflected the farm worker movement's resourcefulness in the face of opposition, the acquisition of the property itself reflected the full emergence of the UFWOC as a permanent labor union. As Richard Chávez explained, La Paz quickly became significant "because that's where we moved when we really had arrived. We were really a serious union and we had arrived." He associated the acquisition of La Paz with the arrival of the union but also with the beginning of far-reaching changes in the farm worker movement. "We started changing. Our lives changed and everything changed, [including] our way of doing things."[64] Many of these changes turned La Paz into the crossroads of the movement. Hundreds of men, women, and children called La Paz their home, but thousands more came from around California and the rest of the country to learn how to operate their union and increase their own capacity to affect social change. As Richard's comments indicate, La Paz also became a symbol of the movement. It became associated with past achievements and with new horizons, including the modernization of the union and the broadening of the movement.

By the spring of 1972, a new community had begun to form at La Paz . "When we moved in . . . there were some families living here already," Paul Chávez recalled. "And so I remember when we moved in it was home right away, because we were around people that were working for the movement. It was a real community."[65] All of the UFW's central administrative staff eventually moved to La Paz: the board of directors and their offices, the accounting department, the trust funds (health care and pension plans) management department, the legal department, the membership department, the contract negotiation department, the boycott organization department, the records department, and the training department. Other organizations within the farm worker movement opened offices at La Paz as well, including the NFWSC, the movement newspaper (*El Malcriado*), the *huelga* school for younger children, the Fred Ross School for training labor-contract negotiators (funded by the AFL-CIO), and the movement radio station (Radio Campesina).[66]

[62] César Chávez quoted in Levy, *César Chávez*, 537.
[63] Paul Chávez, interview transcript (July 19, 2005), 10.
[64] Richard Chávez, interview transcript (Sept. 1, 2004), 24.
[65] Paul Chávez, interview transcript (July 19, 2005), 8.
[66] For a glimpse of the operations at La Paz in a typical year see *Los Angeles Times* (March 19, 1979): section I, 17.

All of this activity produced a population of year-round residents that hovered around two hundred. It was a diverse mixture. "[T]here were people from all over," Paul explained. "There were priests and nuns, and there were ex-nuns that were married now, and there were a lot of folks from the Bay area with real long hair, kind of hippie-ish, and there were Chicano militants here, and there were farm workers here, and there were Anglo supporters here. There was just a whole bunch of different people working here." Many of the residents moved their spouses and children. For them, the decision to relocate was perhaps more difficult. Susan Drake, César's personal secretary, expressed some of her anxieties in a poem: "César is moving all central administration / to the mountains. / I must move up or give up / the job that all my other jobs / have prepared me for. . . . / I don't want to move but / Matthew and Tommy see / rocks to climb, rattlesnakes to torment, / rivers in the creek bed, / a salvageable swimming pool, / abandoned buildings complete with bats. . . ."[67] Although they might not have faced the same anxieties, as many as two dozen young families made the same decision to relocate—reinforcing historian Vicki Ruiz's observation that the farm worker movement involved entire families at every level.[68] The NFWSC accommodated these families by converting some of the houses into duplexes and then creating a residential area filled with manufactured homes. At the same time, the NFWSC converted the main hospital building into a dormitory for scores of unmarried residents and for those visiting La Paz for meetings, conferences, and training. "[T]hat was a happening place," Paul noted.[69]

This year-round community continued to evolve, giving La Paz a constant energy—an energy that fueled Chávez and other leaders, members, and supporters of the farm worker movement. "[I]t was a community," Chris Hartmire explained, "and that's what César loved. It was part of his stamina and his spiritual strength, just having the elements of people just living and working together and worshipping together on Sundays and having community meetings on Fridays."[70] Indeed, it was a community that cohered through shared work and shared life—not only the routines of office work but also the work parties to make flags for a march; the Saturday mornings spent in the community garden; the meals shared in the cafeteria building; and the weddings, quinciañeras, and first communions celebrated at the North Unit. "The movement is not just work," Arturo Rodríguez explained. "The movement involves doing a number of different things simultaneously." Chávez believed that "you don't just appeal to people by trying to change their lives and improve their lives and better their situation by what you do every day in the office. It's much more than that."[71] Thus Chávez and other movement leaders constantly reached out to farm workers and their allies and found ways to bring them to La Paz which now stood as a tangible symbol of the union's success and progress.

By the early 1970s, in places where farm workers worked under a union contract, there were water jugs in the fields, portable toilets nearby, and mandatory breaks for rest. Hiring halls replaced labor contractors as well as the favoritism and exploitation associated with them. Ranch-committee members represented their co-workers and handled their grievances. Growers and their foremen began treating farm workers with more respect, even if growers still privately complained about unionization. As a result of these improvements, the union had grown larger and stronger. In 1971, this growth had paved the way for its admission into the AFL-CIO as a fully independent affiliate. Renamed the United Farm Workers of America (UFW), the union now had a voice in directing federation policies and operations but the union was also required to forfeit a ten-thousand-dollar monthly subsidy it had continued to receive as an organizing committee. This shift, which occurred along with the move to La Paz, reflected the union's maturation.[72]

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[67] Susan Samuels Drake, "*Nuestra Señora de La Paz* (Our Lady of Peace)," in *Fields of Courage: Remembering César Chávez and the People Whose Labor Feeds Us* (Santa Cruz, Calif.: Many Names Press, 1999), 84.

[68] Vicki L. Ruiz, *From Out of the Shadows: Mexican Women in Twentieth-Century America* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1998), 132.

[69] Paul Chávez, interview transcript (July 19, 2005), 8.

[70] Chris Hartmire interview in *César*, Part II.

[71] Arturo Rodríguez, interview transcript (Sept. 18, 2004), 4.

[72] See Ferriss and Sandoval, *Fight in the Fields*, 180; Taylor, *Chávez and the Farm Workers*, 271, 294; and Levy, *César Chávez*,

The Battle to Ban Pesticides and the Agricultural Labor Relations Act

Despite passage of the first UFWOC contracts, the situation of most farm workers in American fields had changed little since the early 1960s: "farm workers [who were not unionized] still toiled in poverty, encountered unsanitary working conditions, and faced repeated exposure to hazardous pesticides."[73] For Chávez, this last issue was of special concern. In the decades following World War II, American farmers had increasingly turned to new pesticides to control plant and animal pests. By the late 1960s, over a billion pounds of pesticides were being sold and used each year. Yet even as the use of pesticides increased during the 1960s, growing numbers of Americans had begun to question their use. Spurred in large part by the publication of Rachel Carson's *Silent Spring* in 1962, more and more Americans saw pesticides as a serious threat to the natural world and, indirectly, to human health. [74]

Policy makers in Washington DC found themselves trapped between the demands posed by Americans' growing environmentalism and the desire of growers to maximize productivity and crop yields. Nowhere was this split more evident than in the U.S. Department of Agriculture itself. Although the agency was tasked with oversight for pesticides, banning or even limiting the use of pesticides was at odds with the Department's mission to increase agricultural productivity. At the state level, the situation was similar, with the power of the California Department of Food and Agriculture resting in the hands of the growers themselves. Growers were, not surprisingly, more eager to maximize productivity than to limit the use of pesticides. Consequently, protecting workers, and also consumers, from dangerous pesticides would require a "comprehensive effort to redistribute power in California agriculture."[75]

In California, where the UFW contracts established during the table grape strike and boycott were about to expire, Chávez saw pesticides as a serious and continued threat to the health of farm workers. Adding to this concern was the powerful alliance between the Western Conference of the International Brotherhood of Teamsters (the IBT) and California agribusiness. In the face of these challenges, Chávez was convinced that the "unity which the union movement can have with the environmentalists…[is] crucial to our survival."[76] A coalition of environmental groups and the UFW could, Chávez believed, ward off undue intrusions by the Teamsters while protecting the health of farm workers. Chávez's belief that environmental organizations would support the battle to protect workers rested on the perceived common ground shared by environmental groups and farm workers.

The battle that ensued revealed schisms between the predominantly white, college-educated upper/middle class, membership of environmental organizations such as the Sierra Club and the minority, non-educated, working class members of the UFW. Unlike the UFW which was politically linked to the left wing of the Democratic Party, the Sierra Club believed that its role as an apolitical defender of the environment would be undermined by a strong and direct association with labor disputes (even when those disputes were linked to environmental issues). Fearing that the "left wing social action" of groups such as the UFWOC could alienate their members, groups such as the Sierra Club failed to take up the cause of farm workers and their union.[77] Confronted with

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[73] Robert Gordon, "Poison in the Fields: The United Farm Workers, Pesticides, and Environmental Politics," *Pacific Historical Review*, 1999, p. 51.

[74] J. Brooks Flippen, "Pests, Pollution, and Politics: The Nixon Administration's Pesticide Policy," *Agricultural History*, Vol. 71, No. 4, Fall 1997, p. 442.

[75] Robert Gordon, "Poison in the Fields: The United Farm Workers, Pesticides, and Environmental Politics," *Pacific Historical Review*, p. 58.

[76] César Chávez quoted in "Poison in the Fields: The United Farm Workers, Pesticides, and Environmental Politics," p. 52.

[77] Ibid, p. 58.

this stalemate, the UFW shifted its attention to the ongoing struggle to broaden the unionization of farm workers; this shift in focus would have significant consequences for the future of the UFW as a voice of the nation's farm workers. Ultimately, it would lead to the passage of the California Agricultural Labor Relations Act in 1975.

Since the 1960s, a major jurisdictional battle with the International Brotherhood of Teamsters' (IBT) had been brewing. In July 1970 the IBT's Salinas-based local had just renegotiated contracts covering workers in the area's canneries, packing sheds, and frozen-food processing plants as well as field-truck drivers and packing-carton stitchers. As these negotiations ended, representatives of the Growers-Shippers Vegetable Association (GSVA) asked the Teamsters if they might also sign a contract covering field workers. Since field workers comprised the UFWOC's organizational territory, such a move would violate accepted trade-union policy. Nevertheless, William Grami, director of organizing for the Western Conference of Teamsters, recognized in the request an opportunity to expand his power base and challenge that of Western Conference director Einar Mohn. He sent word to the GSVA that he was willing to sign recognition agreements immediately.[78] Reflecting the IBT's status as one of the nation's most corrupt unions, the IBT's contracts were widely regarded as "sweetheart deals" for the growers that would not protect workers.

"The grape boycott scared the heck out of the farmers," Salinas Valley lettuce-grower Daryl Arnold explained. "[T]hey thought if they could sign a contract with [the Teamsters] it would forestall César trying to come in and take over the industry." The growers miscalculated in two ways. First, they underestimated the strength of the UFW's organizational base, which Manuel Chávez and Gil Padilla had begun building in the area several months earlier. Second, they underestimated the anger with which farmworkers would respond to the contracts when they learned that they had been signed by Teamsters officials and growers without farmworkers' consent. "The rage of the workers was just palpable," former Salinas newspaper reporter Eric Brazil remembered. "They had really been stabbed in the back."[79] A national call for a boycott of lettuce was now issued as the UFWOC pushed back against the IBT's intrusion into their territory.

In 1973, as the grape contracts the UFW had negotiated began to come up for renewal, the Teamsters once again intervened and grape growers signed contracts with the IBT, not the UFW. In response, the UFW voted to strike against any grower who signed a contract with the Teamsters. Three days later, one thousand farm workers walked off their jobs, beginning one of the most turbulent periods in the history of the farmworker movement. While the AFL-CIO intervened and sent assistance to the beleaguered farm workers, the IBT brought in bikers and others from Los Angeles to fight the strikers. By the time Chávez ended the union's strikes against table-grape growers five months later, two UFW members had been killed, hundreds more injured, and more than thirty-five hundred arrested for violating court injunctions against picketing and other demonstrations of protest.[80]

Despite skeptics' belief that the union's battle against the alliance of growers and Teamsters was hopeless, the boycott gained momentum. By the end of 1974, a Louis Harris poll revealed that twelve percent of the country's adult population (or seventeen million Americans) had stopped buying grapes and eleven percent (fourteen million people) had stopped buying lettuce. The union estimated that growers had lost at least four million dollars in sales. Still, the union's leaders realized that the boycott alone would not force growers to recognize the union or allow elections. To beat the Teamsters and gain leverage with the growers, the union needed a state law that would level the playing field and regulate the players. During the 1974 legislative

[78] See Meister and Loftis, *Long Time Coming*, 166; and Taylor, *Chávez and the Farm Workers*, 254-57.

[79] See Taylor, *Chávez and the Farm Workers*, 252-54; and Ferriss and Sandoval, *Fight in the Fields*, 161-62. Arnold quoted in Ferriss and Sandoval, *Fight in the Fields*, 161. Brazil quoted in Ferriss and Sandoval, *Fight in the Fields*, 162.

[80] See Meister and Loftis, *Long Time Coming*, 185. Chávez quoted in Levy, *César Chávez*, 478.

season in California, Jerry Cohen pushed a bill that would have given the union secret-ballot union-recognition elections. Cohen's bill was defeated in the state senate, but not before gaining the endorsement of the former secretary of state and current gubernatorial candidate, Jerry Brown.[81]

Following Brown's election, the new governor and his secretary of agriculture organized a series of public hearings at the capitol along with private negotiating sessions at both the governor's home near Hollywood and his Sacramento apartment. Cohen served as the union's lead negotiator on the bill, and he pushed the UFW's demands effectively. By the end of May, the UFW had gotten what it wanted: binding, timely, secret-ballot elections; the right to boycott; voting rights for seasonal workers; protection for organizers in the fields; and the establishment of a government agency to certify election results and enforce the law's provisions. Growers, for their part, were satisfied that the legal framework would curtail the constant disruptions of strikes and boycotts that hampered their harvests and cost the industry millions of dollars. They were pleased, too, with the creation of a five-person supervisory board appointed by the governor. The bill survived a special legislative session and, on June 5, 1975, Gov. Brown announced the remarkable political achievement—the signing into law of the Agricultural Labor Relations Act. "[T]oday marks a victory, not only for the legislature, not only for the farm workers, but for all the people of California," Brown declared. The bill marked a victory for Brown as well, one of the first significant accomplishments of his administration.

The California Agricultural Labor Relations Act of 1975 became the first law in the U.S. that recognized farm workers' rights to organize and engage in collective bargaining. The ALRA promised to help remedy a forty-year injustice, the exclusion of farm workers from the protections of the National Labor Relations Act of 1935. The law recognized the rights of farm workers in the state of California to organize unions, to participate in secret-ballot elections that would determine union representation, to receive certification of election results, to appoint representatives to bargain with their employers for better wages and working conditions, and to authorize their representatives to sign contracts with their employers reflecting their agreements.[82] Passage of the ALRA was celebrated at La Paz and the site became a physical symbol of the ALRA and the growth of the UFW as a mature union.

The passage of the ALRA allowed Chávez and other movement leaders to focus on further modernizing the UFW. As Chávez observed in 1977, "much of the fight is being transferred from the picket lines and the boycotts to the courts and the hearing rooms [of the new Agricultural Labor Relations Board]."[83] Union leaders calculated that they could shift much of their own energy from organizing in the fields to gaining greater leverage within the political system. They would intensify their efforts to train farm workers themselves how to recruit new members and administer contracts. They also would invest in new technologies that would enhance the union's ability to reach supporters and to operate within the political arena. These initiatives were manifested at La Paz in the Fred Ross School housed in the North Unit, in the microwave telecommunications system installed in the southwest corner of the property, in the massive printing press used for direct mailings, in the $300,000 computer system that would enable the creation of a database of members and supporters (and potential supporters) across the country, and in the radio broadcasting studio installed in the basement of the southern rear wing of the dormitory building.[84]

Along with the passage of the ALRA in 1975, two subsequent victories—the Teamsters' decision to withdraw from the fields in 1977 and the signing of new contracts with lettuce growers in 1979—allowed Chávez and

[81] Consult Taylor, *Chávez and the Farm Workers*, 328-30; and Ferriss and Sandoval, *Fight in the Fields*, 193.

[82] Ibid., 103. On the failure to enforce the ALRA see Ibid., 104-15 passim. For a fuller history of the ALRA begin with Philip L. Martin, *Promises to Keep: Collective Bargaining in California Agriculture* (Ames: Iowa State University Press, 1996).

[83] César Chávez quoted in *Los Angeles Times* (Aug. 27, 1977): section II, 16.

[84] For discussion of these initiatives refer to Rudy Delgado, interview transcript (Sept. 17, 2004), 1; and *Los Angeles Times* (Oct. 25, 1981): section I, 20.

other leaders to broaden their focus. Chávez believed that the union's battles with particular growers and industries, its battles in the courts and the hearing rooms of the ALRB, its efforts to target new supporters, and its alliances with sympathetic politicians were worthwhile, but he had long sensed that these efforts were only a beginning. In order to affect social change, the movement would have to confront the fundamental problem of economic inequality. "Effective political power is never going to come, particularly to minority groups, unless they have economic power," he had concluded by the mid-1970s. "As a continuation of our struggle, I think that we can develop economic power and put it into the hands of the people so they can have more control of their own lives, and then begin to change the system."[85] La Paz now became associated with this broader struggle through its training facilities and programs, some of which were funded through Federal grants. These programs trained farm workers and other men and women to work as union organizers and contract administrators but also para-legals, credit-union workers, cooks, mechanics, and in other occupations that would enable them to earn better incomes, educate their children, and contribute to progressive social change.

Competing Visions

In the late 1970s and early 1980s, Chávez began trying to chart a course for the UFW that encompassed both union work and a broader social agenda.[86] In response, a number of leaders and staff members who thought that the UFW could no longer be both a labor union and a social movement decided to resign, and not always on good terms. Some internal critics insisted that the UFW was becoming too bureaucratic and falling out of touch with its roots as a social movement. Others thought that the union remained too close to its roots and that it needed the guidance of a professional management team. Marshall Ganz and Jessica Govea, both highly-respected board members, decided to leave the union because they thought that it was not doing enough to support grassroots organizing among farmworkers out in the fields. Attorney Jerry Cohen left as well, in part because he disagreed with the union policy of paying staff members as if they were volunteers rather than professional managers. Even Gil Padilla, one of the original founders of the FWA, decided to resign after disagreeing too often with Chávez and the rest of the board over policy decisions. These departures undoubtedly hurt the union.[87]

Divisions between the executive board and local union representatives in the Salinas Valley hurt the union as well. These divisions first emerged during the summer of 1979, when local strike leaders rejected Chávez's proposal to shift union resources from the picket lines to the boycott. After the union won its contracts, many of these local leaders were elected as union representatives and began pressing the La Paz organization for help in setting up a credit union and dealing with a membership base that had grown by the thousands. When the executive board was slow to respond, the representatives decided to challenge three board positions on Chávez's slate at the union's convention in 1981. The surprise move failed, and the Salinas delegates walked out of the convention. Chávez, suspecting that the move was the work of grower-paid saboteurs, fired seven field representatives from the Salinas Valley. This well-publicized battle continued into 1982, when a judge ordered the union to reinstate the representatives and give them back pay on the grounds that they had been elected and thus were not subject to termination from the executive board.[88]

By the end of 1983, the union's strength was waning and its organizing efforts were spiraling downward. However, the union decided to take up an unresolved battle from the late 1960s: the unrestricted use of pesticides. Chávez believed that the UFW's opposition to unrestricted pesticide use still provided a common

[85] César Chávez quoted in Levy, *César Chávez*, 538
[86] Chávez quoted in Levy, *César Chávez*, 538.
[87] See Ferriss and Sandoval, *Fight in the Fields*, 226; Griswold del Castillo and Garcia, *César Chávez*, 133; and Coplon, "César Chávez's Fall from Grace, Part II," 19. Kircher quoted in Coplon, "César Chávez's Fall from Grace, Part II," 19.
[88] Consult Ferriss and Sandoval, *Fight in the Fields*, 228-29; and Coplon, "César Chávez's Fall from Grace, Part II," 20.

cause with environmental and consumer safety groups. An estimated three hundred thousand farm workers across the country suffered illnesses caused by pesticide exposure every year, but millions of tons of pesticides spread through the air and groundwater, and millions of Americans ate grapes and other produce items contaminated with pesticide residues. With promises of support from church groups and high expectations of support from other organizations, Chávez called for a national boycott of California grapes on June 12, 1984. The union planned to rely heavily on their computerized databases and a newly-acquired knowledge of advertising techniques. As César vowed, "we will use modern techniques of direct mailings, media advertising and other means of once again bringing together liberals, church groups, workers and others to support us until the full meaning of the California labor law is restored and provides protections workers must have." This campaign—the "high-tech boycott" centered at La Paz with its focus on pesticides—would help define the union through the rest of the decade.[89]

Chávez noted that the union's traditional allies—racial minority groups, labor unions, and church groups—were providing their support, but so too was "an entire generation of young Americans who matured politically and socially in the 1960s and '70s—millions of people for whom boycotting grapes and other products became a socially accepted pattern of behavior." More than sixteen years after the beginning of the first boycott, Chávez explained, these men and women "are still inclined to respond to an appeal from farmworkers. The union's mission still has meaning for them." Chávez concluded that many of these supporters were responding because the union's boycott was "high-tech." It was a boycott "that uses computers and direct mail and advertising techniques which have revolutionized business and politics in recent years."[90]

The boycott which followed included a very public fast by Chávez in 1988 as well as an attack on Dolores Huerta when she attended a rally for George H. Bush (who opposed the table-grape boycott) that same year. In the months and years that followed, Chávez continued to talked about the struggles of farm workers and the history of the union, the tragedies caused by pesticide poisoning and the refusal of the state to pass and enforce restrictions on the use of pesticides, and the broader problems faced by farmworkers, Latinos, other racial-minority groups, and the poor. He called for increased concern for public health and the environment, greater state investment in public education, greater support from the state and private industry for affordable housing for lower-income Americans, and more job training and job opportunities for the unemployed. But although he drew large audiences wherever he went, and commanded the respect due a labor leader and civil rights leader of his stature, this boycott failed to have the impact the UFW had hoped.[91] Even Chávez's death in 1993 did little to rejuvenate the boycott. At the time of the boycott's conclusion in 2000 (some sixteen years after it had been launched), fewer than 5% of American consumers were aware of the boycott and the UFW had dwindled in size.

As part of this slow decline, the UFW underwent a difficult transition during the 1970s and early 1980s. These transitions and tensions emerged at La Paz more clearly than at any other property associated with Chávez or the UFW during this period. As two *Los Angeles Times* reporters noted, "La Paz in its isolation seems to symbolize the UFW's determination to remain a social protest movement." Yet even as the UFW struggled with declining membership during the late 1970s and 1980s, Chávez's involvement in an array of reform movements made him the most important and most easily recognizable Latino leader in the United States.

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[89] See César Chávez, "Address to the Commonwealth Club of San Francisco" (speech delivered Nov. 9, 1984), reprinted in Jensen and Hammerback, *Words of César Chávez*, 127. Chávez quoted in Griswold del Castillo and Garcia, *César Chávez*, 135.

[90] Chávez, "Address to the Commonwealth Club," 127.

[91] Refer to Ferriss and Sandoval, *Fight in the Fields*, 247. See also, for example, César Chávez, "Speech at Pacific Lutheran University" (speech delivered March 1989), reprinted in Jensen and Hammerback, *Words of César Chávez*, 140-50.

La Paz continued to attract thousands of farm workers and other members of the movement from California and other parts of the country who came for meetings, conferences, and training during this period. Although visiting La Paz was, for most farm workers, more difficult and rarer than a visit to the one of the union's field offices or one of the movement's service centers, visits to La Paz had a different purpose. Farm workers went to field offices and service centers to receive assistance with their problems. They went to La Paz to receive the training they would need to solve problems themselves—and to help their fellow workers do likewise.[92] Visits to La Paz took on the qualities associated with a pilgrimage. One member of the movement summed up her feelings about the site by saying that "a trip to La Paz . . . [was] a journey to Mecca." As the young union volunteer explained to a Los Angeles reporter in the spring of 1972, La Paz was "so peaceful. And once you visit it you just feel . . . more tuned in to the whole movement."[93] Over the years, thousands of men and women shared this experience. La Paz, Paul Chávez noted, was an "exciting place" in the 1970s and early 1980s because interesting, hard-working, and socially-engaged people constantly were passing through.[94]

As these comments indicate, La Paz became more than a place to visit during the 1970s and early 1980s—it became a powerful symbol associated with what the movement had achieved. It was at La Paz during these years that union leaders planned their strategies in campaigns against the growers of Salinas, Delano, Coachella, and elsewhere; against the Teamsters who sought to raid the UFW's organizing territory; against the executives of large corporations whose subsidiaries refused to recognize farm workers' rights; and against the conservative politicians of California, Florida, Arizona, Oregon, and other states who sought to shackle the union through legislation. It was at La Paz that leaders, members, and supporters of the farm worker movement celebrated victories in these campaigns. It was at La Paz that the movement orchestrated its own legislative push for the first law in the continental United States that would recognize and protect farm workers' rights to organize a union and negotiate contracts with their employers. And it was at La Paz that leaders, members, and supporters of the movement celebrated the passage of the California Agricultural Labor Relations Act (ALRA) the movement's greatest victory.

Chávez Legacy

Upon Chávez's death in April 1993, President Bill Clinton noted that Americans had lost "a great leader." Recognizing that Chávez was "an authentic hero to millions of people," Clinton encouraged all Americans to take pride in the fact that Chávez brought "dignity and comfort" to "so many of our country's least powerful and most dispossessed workers." Chávez, Clinton added, "had a profound impact upon the people of the United States."[95] In August 1994, Chávez posthumously received the Presidential Medal of Freedom and in January 1999, the U.S. Department of Labor made Chávez the first Latino member of the Labor Hall of Fame. In April 2003, the U.S. Postal Service issued a stamp that honored Chávez.

Even before his death, Chávez became the subject of more published work than any other Latino leader, past or present. Since his death, historians and other scholars have continued to affirm Chávez's national significance. In 1994, historian Richard Griswold del Castillo observed that "César Chávez's place as a major figure in American history is assured." Chávez "changed the way a whole generation thought about farm workers." Chávez, moreover, "was responsible for changing the nation's consciousness about the social and economic problems of Mexican Americans."[96]

[92] See for example *Los Angeles Times* (March 19, 1979): section I, 17.
[93] *Los Angeles Times* (April 6, 1972): section IV, 8.
[94] Paul Chávez, interview transcript (July 19, 2005), 9.
[95] Clinton cited in Griswold del Castillo, "César Estrada Chavez," p. 200.
[96] Ibid, p. 200.

As "a leading reformer, a major activist, and a well-known minority leader," Chávez "became the . . . best-known Chicano" in the U.S.[97] In 2006, historian Dan La Botz explained that Chávez represents to Mexican Americans what Martin Luther King, Jr., represents to African Americans. As a result of Chávez's efforts during the 1960s and 1970s, "the concerns of Mexican American and other Latino peoples in the United States were, for the first time, brought into the national political debate."[98] And in 2008, writer Randy Shaw affirmed that Chávez "remains America's most famous Latino." Shaw's closer examination reveals, more importantly, that Chávez's imprint on twenty-first-century political and social movements is inescapable, "from the reshaping of the American labor movement to the building of state and national Latino political power."[99]

César Chávez's attachment to La Paz only grew stronger over the years. La Paz remained a refuge and a training ground, but it also was a place where he engaged in his life's work. It was a place where he celebrated victories and mourned losses. It was a place where he watched his union endure and modernize. It was a place where he watched his children grow up, marry, and begin to raise children of their own. That Chávez wished to be buried at La Paz upon his death is an enduring testament to the strength of his association with the property. The years between 1970 and 1984 constituted a distinct chapter in both the productive life of César Chávez and the history of the United Farm Workers union. This decade brought new battles—against growers in other parts of the state, against rival unions, against the use of dangerous pesticides, and against conservative politicians in California and beyond. At the same time, the union faced several internal challenges, including the need to administer contracts, organize new workers, and manage its own growth. By the early 1980s, these external battles and internal challenges had begun to change Chávez and the UFW in fundamental ways. Yet even as the union's power began to wane, efforts to modernize the union provided new reasons for optimism.

Conclusion

The historic association between La Paz, on the one hand, and César Chávez and the United Farm Workers, on the other, has given the property connections to four areas of significance: Industry, Social History, Hispanic Heritage, and Politics/Government. The property's association with César Chávez and the UFW connects it to the agricultural industry in the U.S. West and beyond. During the twentieth century, agriculture was one of the most important industries in California and other western states. The complex process of producing agricultural commodities, moving them to markets, and making them available to consumers relied on the difficult, poorly paid, seasonal labor provided by farmworkers. By the 1970s, Chávez and the UFW had secured contracts that increased farmworkers' pay and improved their working conditions. Growers and investors in this industry, including those who had not yet faced a UFW strike, were forced to take notice. From California to Florida, across the Midwest, and north to Washington, the agricultural industry adapted to a new era of labor organizing.

Chávez and the UFW sought to promote the welfare of farmworkers and their families, but this vision grew during the 1970s and early 1980s to include all workers and all consumers as well as the victims of poverty and racism. Even as the UFW continued to wage traditional campaigns for contracts, Chávez and other union leaders at La Paz began to focus their efforts on expanding the union's service centers, raising awareness of the dangers of pesticides, developing educational strategies, and experimenting with community gardening.
The property's association with César Chávez and the UFW connects it to the ethnic heritage of Hispanics in the United States. Chávez disavowed leadership of the Chicano movement, and the UFW always embraced the full racial and ethnic diversity of its membership. Nevertheless, Hispanics during the 1970s and early 1980s pointed to Chávez and the UFW with a particular sense of pride. By the 1970s, Chávez had appeared on the cover of *Time* Magazine and was, arguably, the most famous Hispanic in the U.S. Likewise, the UFW—with its

[97] Richard Etuain, "Preface" in Etulain, ed. *César Chavez*, p. vii.
[98] La Botz, César Chavez, p. xi-xii.
[99] Shaw, *Beyond the Fields*, pp. 4-5.

visible ties to Mexican roots, Hispanic culture, and Catholicism—signaled the coming political, social, and economic power that Hispanics would begin to claim.

The property's association with César Chávez and the UFW connects it to national politics and government. The most famous battles that Chávez and the UFW fought, especially during the 1960s and early 1970s, were for contracts that would increase wages and improve working conditions. But many battles were fought further from the headlines, especially in the capitals of California and other western states. The most significant fallout from these battles was the Agricultural Labor Relations Act passed in California in 1975, but political campaigns waged in Arizona and other states had their own impact on voter participation, Democratic Party successes, and farmworkers' growing sense of political empowerment. La Paz became a physical representation of not only these important battles and their success but also the struggles the union faced in its later years.

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Previous documentation on file (NPS):

__ Preliminary Determination of Individual Listing (36 CFR 67) has been requested.
_X_ Previously Listed in the National Register.
__ Previously Determined Eligible by the National Register.
__ Designated a National Historic Landmark.
__ Recorded by Historic American Buildings Survey: #
__ Recorded by Historic American Engineering Record: #

Primary Location of Additional Data:

__ State Historic Preservation Office
__ Other State Agency
__ Federal Agency
__ Local Government
__ University
__ Other (Specify Repository):

10. GEOGRAPHICAL DATA

Acreage of Property: 187 Acres

UTM References:

	Zone	Easting	Northing
A	11	358300	3899900
B		358280	3898710
C		357420	3899290
D		357520	3899700

Verbal Boundary Description:

The boundaries of the property are identified on the accompanying sketch map. The northern and eastern boundaries are formed by the property line that lies 100 feet from the center of the adjacent railroad track. The southern boundary follows the property line along Tehachapi Creek. The western boundary follows the property line indicated on the map.

Boundary Justification:

The boundaries of the property are based on the property lines of the parcel of land leased by the National Farm Workers Service Center Inc. in 1970 and made available to the United Farm Workers of America.

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NATIONAL HISTORIC LANDMARKS PROGRAM
September 9, 2011

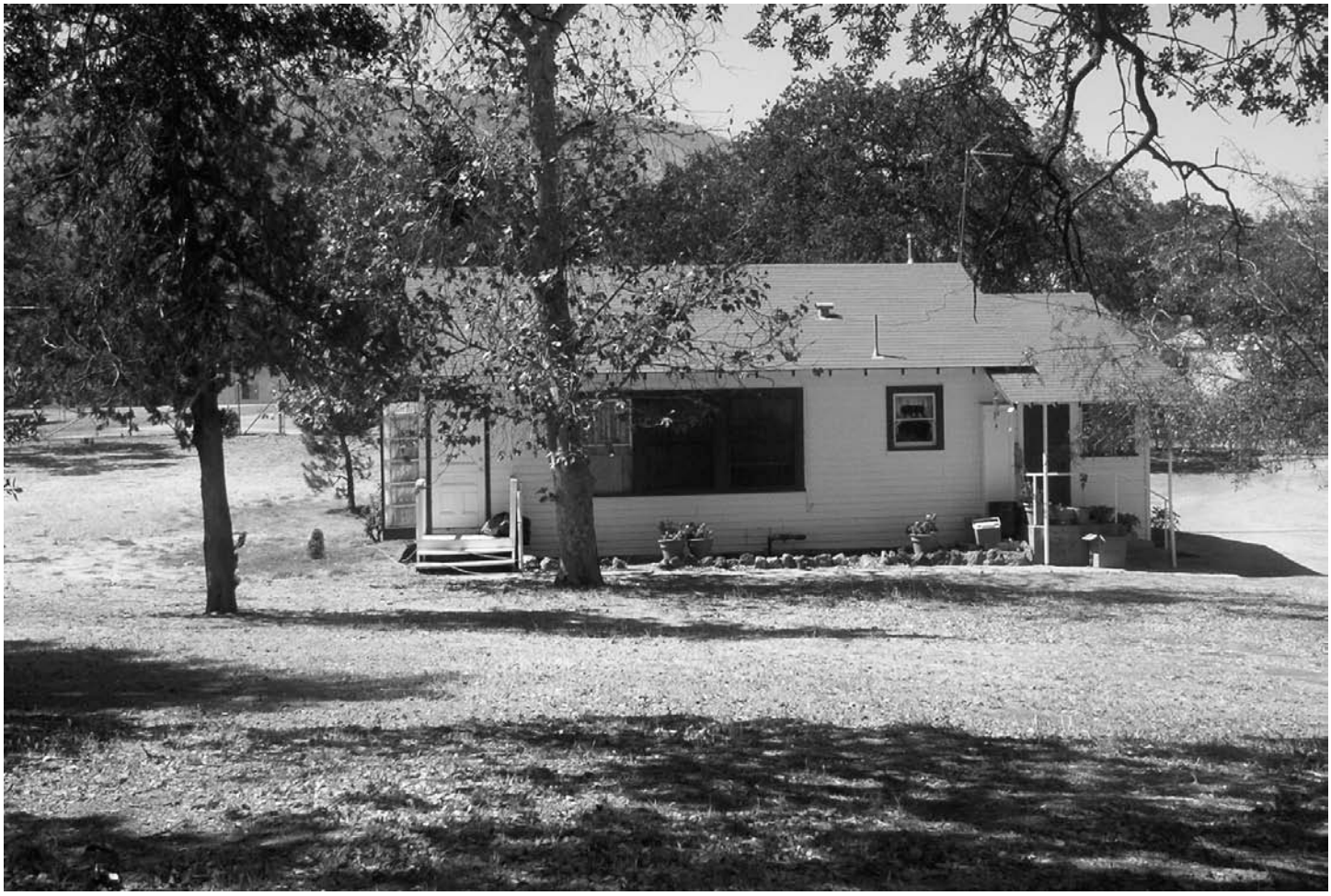


Photo 1. Chavez House.

Photo 2. Chavez Memorial Garden.

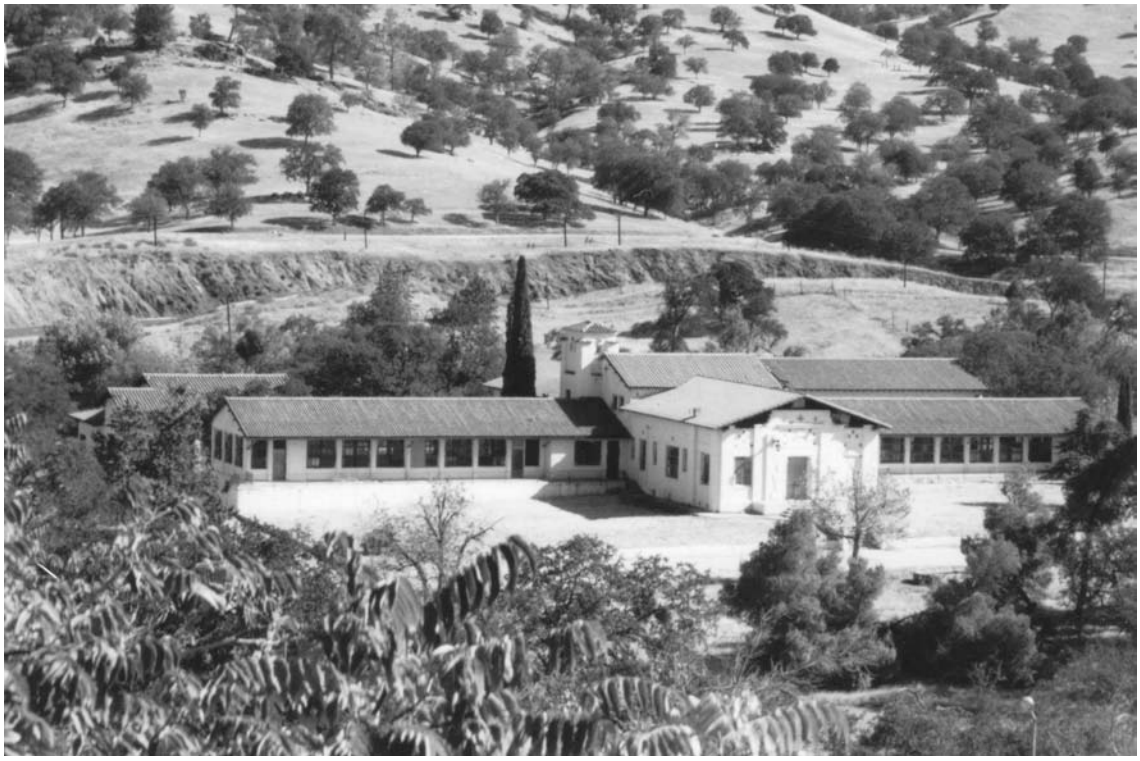


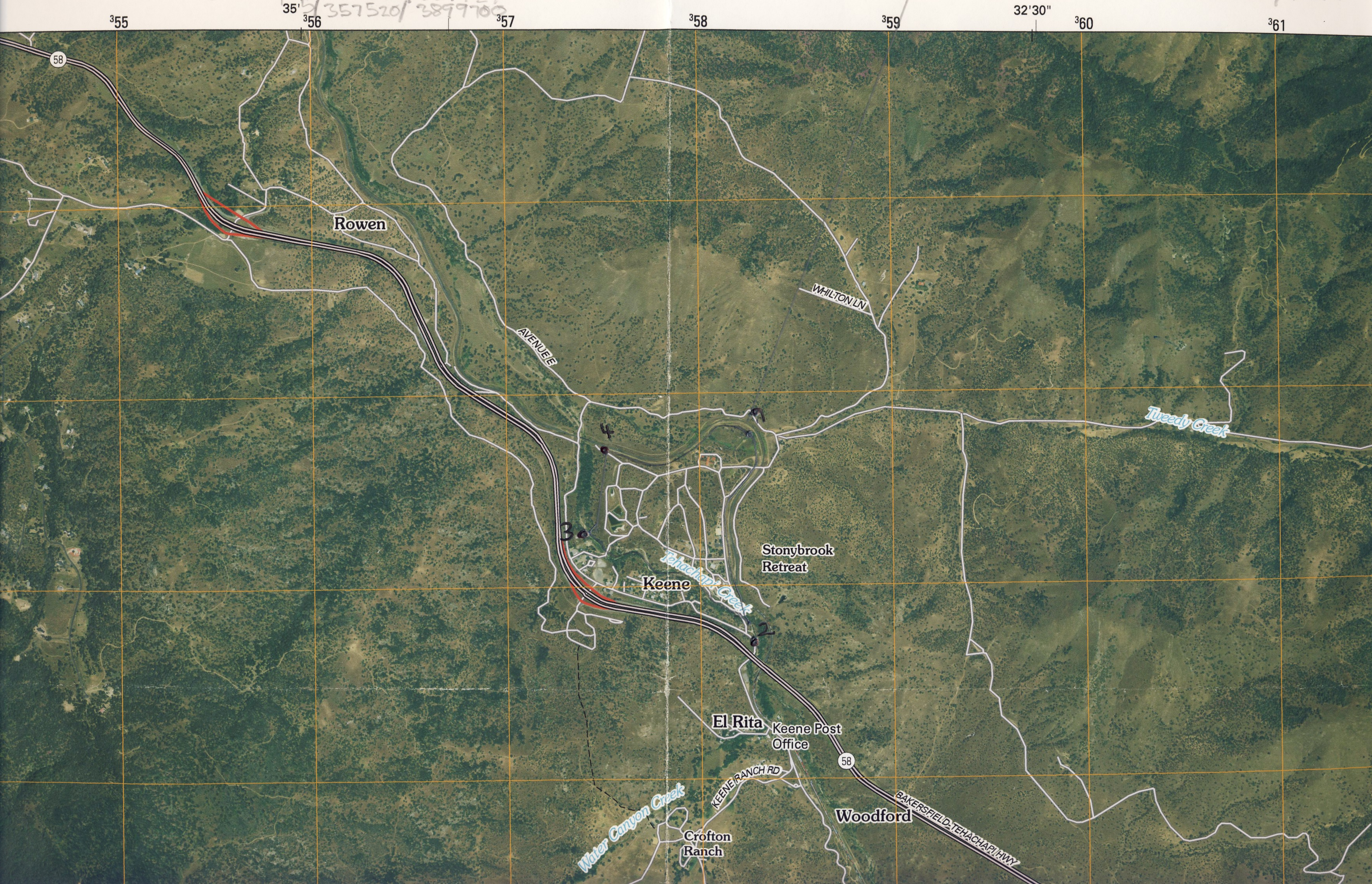
Photo 3. North Unit.

Photo 4. Dormitory Building.

Photo 5. Telecommunications Building.

THE INTERIOR
SURVEY

UTM References
1 5/358300/3899900
2 5/358280/3898710
3 5/357420/3899290
4 5/357520/3899700

The National Map

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