CHAPTER SEVEN

COLLECTED MEMORY AND THE CONTINUED LEGACIES OF BOOSTERISM

The past is past, but this section of Fair Oaks with the winding streets, hills and Carmel-like setting, still holds charm.

DICK HILL, "FAIR OAKS VILLAGE," 1988[1]

Historian Michael Kammen once observed, "Societies in fact reconstruct their pasts rather than faithfully record them, and that they do so with the needs of contemporary culture clearly in mind—manipulating the past in order to mold the present."[2] Although his observation sounds rather ominous, a dominant cultural memory, or what some like Foucault have called a "dominant tradition," concerning the past provides the building blocks for the construction and reconstruction of memory works in Ontario, Orangevale, and Fair Oaks. The process by which these agriburbs (re)constructed their past occurred within (and contributed to) a process of formalization and ritualization. The depiction of the past in them resulted from routinization as much as it did from some purposeful—and, even worse, deceitful—manipulation of the past.[3] The themes of Ontario's, Orangevale's, and Fair Oaks's foundations as laid out by their boosters became authoritatively common as they emerged to shape a dominant cultural memory. The narratives and representations of both the boosters and those who since have reconstructed the past is certainly a teleological story that positions

the agriburbs, not to mention the residents, as forward-looking but traditional, backward-looking but modern, and forever on a course of progress, the foundation for what famed philosopher Friedrich W. Nietzsche called "monumental history."[4]

Nietzsche noted that interpreters of history are, and have been, affected by the sheer volume and weight of history. Accounts of the agriburbs and their past provided by the boosters became the resources of others, whose memory works then became the resources of others, and so on. This resulted in "collected memory" as memory works became Ontario's, Orangevale's, and Fair Oaks's main archival resource when seeking to (re)construct a historical understanding about their past. A dominant cultural memory, then, played a role in a long history of directing people to remember in similar ways, favoring some themes while discarding others, favoring certain people while silencing others, and fostering a template that influences how these communities, as well as scholars, reassemble the past in the present. Ontario, Orangevale, and Fair Oaks, in other words, got branded, hot for historical consumption. A unitary voice emerged that became authoritative, if only by repetition and as persuasive discourse. As a consequence, any silencing, marginalization, or errors in historical fact were passed down through the years and through various memory works, which then made and make them all the more difficult to overturn.

If communities do manipulatively reassemble the past, as Ontario, Orangevale, and Fair Oaks did (and still do) then they do so out of an inherited dominant cultural memory that they further (re)make and further legitimize through the continued production of memory works. This phenomenon in Ontario, Orangevale, and Fair Oaks is comparable to what sociologist Paul Connerton labels "structural amnesia." Specifically, structural amnesia, like collected memory, suggests that what is available concerning the past, such as memory works, affects how communities and individuals remember and forget or advance and discard historical information. The historical representations about agriburbs hence became standardized, making it easier to forget their suburban origins.[5]

In Ontario, Orangevale, and Fair Oaks, the use of the past has been to reify and diffuse a dominant cultural memory that resulted in a "monumental" history. This monumental history provides an element of local community identity. Moreover, it constitutes the basis for the grander formation of an "imagined community," that famed phrase and conception of Benedict Anderson's to highlight the power of narratives and other representations to anchor the maintenance of groups—what centers solidarity and likeness in the Durkheimian tradition.[6] This relates to another famous phrase and idea, that of "invented tradition," which, according to historian Eric Hobsbawn, "is taken to mean a set of practices, normally governed by overtly or tacitly accepted rules and of a ritual or symbolic nature, which seek to inculcate certain values and norms of behavior by repetition, which automatically implies continuity with the past."[7]

Indeed, as explored in works by the likes of Barraclough, Berglund, Deverell, Glassberg, Kropp, Norkunas, Otero, and Stanton (see the introduction), the invention of tradition and the shaping of an imagined community imply some serious consequences, ranging from inculcating individual values and societal norms, to the formation and upholding of community. Moreover, memory works, which constitute the invention of tradition (i.e., a dominant cultural memory), are part of sustaining an imagined community. In agriburbs, we have already seen what invented tradition looks like, as well as its cost: forgetting the suburban side of their origins. Nonetheless, other costs and consequences are detectable.

The costs of a dominant cultural memory in agriburbs are also weighed in the continued silencing and marginalizing of ethnoracial minorities and women in these communities. In this context, historian Blake McKelvey provides a somber warning: "Escape from the past is scarcely more possible for a community than for an individual." He continued, "New growth is ever occurring but generally as an outgrowth of vital [invented] traditions or latent capacities. . . . [T]he community's [invented] tradition (its own story, its history) is then part of its character."[8] Looking to memory works is thus a good way to dissect a community's character or, as Hobsbawn pointed out, its values and norms. Again, doing so might not tell us the whole story, but it still tells us plenty. It provides a snapshot into the soul of a community, what they value through what they choose to preserve and present as factual and as history. It is in this context, then, that the affirmation of suburban memory's existence is decisive. Yet there is no pretense that such a memory is present and accounted for and embraced by every suburbanite in these communities. Still, as this chapter shows, a dominant cultural memory clearly still prevails as evidenced by the continued production of memory works, most of which take place at the local, suburban scale.

Taking note of the fact that ethnoracial minorities are not a part of any agriburbs' dominant cultural memory is important for several reasons and hence figures prominently in reviewing memory works in this chapter. First, it tells us a lot about who does and who does not have power and influence in these communities (a glimpse of cultural hegemony in practice), at least regarding who produces the memory works at the local level. Second, because of the first, it may be tempting to throw our hands up and shout "racists!" Yet, as notions of collected memory and cultural memory make clear, that would be too simple. The intent is not to say this is true in any way, nor false in any way; no doubt, champions of social justice live in agriburbs. Rather, the intent is to say that by reviewing why and in what ways memory works exclude ethnoracial minorities, we can further dissect the many meanings of a dominant cultural memory, particularly for those who continue to spread it. Ultimately, what emerges is a dominant cultural memory continuing to divert attention from the suburban origins, admittedly, but it is also a memory most meaningful and useful to a white middle class, perhaps validating Kammen's assertion about the manipulation of historical representations.

FIGURE 30

George Chaffey Statue, erected in 2005. The statue sits in front of Upland City Library (formerly North Ontario and formerly Ontario) on Euclid Avenue. The Chaffey statue is a 13-foot-bronze depiction of the founder standing firm on an outcropping of rocks (San Gabriel Mountains) looking gallantly out on the San Gabriel Valley as he holds a compass in one hand and a surveyor's scope in the other. Behind Chaffey is a cactus carving as they both rest atop a circular base of gliding fish. The statue's plaque states, "George Chaffey, Jr. / 1848–1932 / Man of Vision / Land, Water and Power / Father of The Model Colony." Photo taken by author, 2007.

Trends in public memory works since World War II receive attention for chronicling the prevalence of a dominant cultural memory, bringing it up to the more recent past and in more recent mediums, like the Internet. The goal of studying the preponderance of a dominant cultural memory in the postwar era is to highlight memory works produced by suburbanites themselves, which typically take us beyond textual memory works into elements such as pageantry and historic preservation, conclusively revealing how suburbanites themselves aid in propagating a dominant cultural memory. Finally, by explicitly pointing out the gross marginalization and erasure of minorities from the dominant cultural memory espoused in agriburbs, deeper meanings of dominant cultural memory emerge, specifically as they relate to issues of race and class. As discussed in the introduction, however, the perhaps ironic result of my analysis is the further marginalization and erasure of minorities by not digging up their history in these pages. The aim below, however unsatisfying or not, is to explore as fully as possible the words and deeds of those who were able or had the means to talk about the agriburbs and then to break down what they were actually saying. Doing so provides another way for understanding the continued legacies of boosterism in these suburbs.

One of the more outstanding examples of the constant influence of a dominant cultural memory in Ontario returns us to a discussion of George Chaffey, the celebration of him as a pioneer, and the erection of a statue to him.[9] On October 15, 2005, 200 people gathered in front of Upland City Hall on North Euclid Avenue for the unveiling

of a statue to Chaffey. Upland, as noted, had once been a part of Ontario, founded by Chaffey and others in 1882.[10] Behind Chaffey is a cactus carving, both of them at rest atop a circular base of gliding fish. The statue's plaque states, "George Chaffey, Jr. / 1848–1932 / Man of Vision / Land, Water and Power / Father of The Model Colony." Six bronze reliefs also adorn the statue's pedestal showing the SS *Geneva*, long-distance telephone, Chaffey College of Agriculture, Euclid Avenue, hydroelectricity, and a recreational vehicle. Chaffey's statue memorializes him as an entrepreneur ahead of his time.

Conveying how many others have remembered and exalted George Chaffey and the establishment of Ontario, Susan Chaffey Powell, great-granddaughter of the "Man of Vision," commented to the crowd during the statue's unveiling, "Not only do you care about your past but you care enough to do something."[11] Former mayor of Ontario, Robert E. Ellingwood, in an effort "to remember Ontario's most prominent citizen with a proper tribute," stated, "Rancho Cucamonga has its Jack Benny statue, and San Dimas its Jedediah Smith statue; surely Chaffey's amazing life and contributions to Ontario and Southern California deserve similar recognition."[12] Earlier he had guessed the statue would cost $80,000 and recognizing city governments (i.e., Upland and Ontario) could not fund it all, Ellingwood imagined private donations sufficient, including "hopes the children will respond by saving their pennies."[13]

Interpretation of the statue can vary, but clear themes do emerge that reveal Chaffey, and by implication Ontario (and Upland), is considered exceptional and discernibly modern for the era in which he lived. The base of fish, for example, represents Chaffey's irrigation efforts and maritime love, while the bronze carvings depict "Chaffey's accomplishments" and memorialize his role in building up the community through the consortium of Euclid Avenue (good roads), Chaffey School of Agriculture (education), and telephone service and electricity (modern technologies). Novel topics are depicted as well, including his connection to the SS *Geneva*—the fastest ship of the day—and the growing popularity of recreational vehicles, with one plaque stating: "First RV, 1920."[14]

The statue that local children donated pennies for thence seems priceless. The statue's sculptor, John Edward Svenson, who had virtually channeled Chaffey sitting under some trees, stated, "I hope they look at this as representing a man who had a vision for what this area could and did become."[15] His statement again illustrates how the Chaffey statue, as well as other memory works concerning Ontario, celebrates progress. Chaffey stands in front of a cactus and majestically on a mountaintop, holding a scientific tool, looking down upon a land in need of improvement. His legacy in Ontario and the region is that of an entrepreneur who improved upon what he had found, particularly through irrigation, as the cactus represents a dry, barren land.

A celebration of progress also affects how minorities are remembered in Ontario's past and, by implication, how they are largely thought of in the present

and future. A focus on material improvements and social civilization forgets the presence and role of minorities. Instead, the focus is on so-called civilization and progress, which repeats the nomenclature of white middle-class America at the turn of the twentieth century. While some recent historical narratives have highlighted minorities in Ontario, most concentrate on minorities' early role as laborers and not community fellows or, more to the point, co-benefactors. Native Americans therefore receive attention so that progress and civilization can arrive. Likewise, Mexicans, Chinese, Japanese, etc., and their descendants only receive mention when toiling in the fields or operating factory devices. They are distinguished only for their service to the so-called progress and advancement

FIGURE 31

Bronze Reliefs, Chaffey Statue. These six bronze reliefs adorn the pedestal of the statue showing Chaffey's so-called visionary "accomplishments." They are (top, L to R): Chaffey College; a recreational vehicle; (middle, L to R) Euclid Avenue; Hydro-electricity; (bottom, L to R) long-distance telephone; and *S.S. Geneva*. Photos by author, 2007.

of Ontario, whether harvesting citrus or grapes, shaping irons at Hotpoint, or performing domestic work for Ontario's "best class of people."[16]

Recent preservation efforts in Ontario, in fact, ignore the potential places and sites possibly important to minorities, particularly a growing—and vast majority—Mexican-American population (69 percent as of 2010; up from 59.9 percent in 2000), as well as African Americans (6.4 percent) and Asian Americans (5.2 percent).[17] Ontario's preservation efforts show one representation of the past—a white, mainly male, middle-class conception of a rural Garden of Eden. Recall that Euclid Avenue, "the most beautiful" and "famous" street, was Ontario's latest National Register nomination. Other sites include the Frankish Building (listed on the National Register of Historic Places in 1980) and Hofer Ranch (listed on the National Register in 1993). Both receive recognition because of their connections with the early growth and development of Ontario. Specifically, the Frankish Building links with early businessperson Charles Frankish's commercial astuteness in early Ontario. Representatively, he provides Ontario with a sophisticated business core again remarkable for a booming "agricultural colony."[18] The Hofer Ranch links to Ontario's agricultural heritage and, according to the nominator of Hofer Ranch to the National Register, "stand[s] out in a rapidly urbanizing landscape." Neither structure, needless to say by this point, represents women or minorities, nor do they account for a suburban past.[19]

When researching for this book, the Ontario Planning Commission had developed six historic districts featuring mostly bungalows and other homes occupied primarily by the middle class in Ontario's past.[20] The districts are within the older downtown, and the Planning Commission, at the time, hoped to expand on these while also creating six more nearby.[21] Implicit here is the primacy of middle-class conceptions of aesthetic value and history. While interest in minority workers in Ontario's early years exists, few memory works have materialized. Most striking is the silence of minority voices and counter memories. To be clear, a focus on silence here does not affix blame or point fingers at Ontario's commission officials and staff as if they are members of some Gramscian-bourgeois capitalist elite who are consciously villainous and purposely deceitful in controlling and holding down minorities. Rather, the silence of minorities—or the deafness of others—reveals the saliency of middle-class sensibilities and historical consciousness, both present in various memory works characteristic of Ontario's dominant cultural memory. Nonetheless, the activities of the commission, most notably its drive for the creation of historic districts in a historically white middle-class downtown area, illustrates the pervasiveness and dominance of a white middle-class perception of history that seemingly yearns to preserve the rural, nonindustrial side of its past. If not clear by now, it reveals the power of the original boosterism.

FIGURE 32

Mule Car Exhibit along the grass of the double-drive of Euclid Avenue. Also added to the main image is (on the left) one of the plaques outside the exhibit, atop the stone marker and (on the right) a panel about the Mule Car that sits inside the exhibit, which is just to the right of the mule in the main photo. Photos by author, 2007.

While not capturing the voices of past minorities, some questions with them in mind suggest ways in which Ontario's memory works ignore many of its citizens and diverse ethnic and cultural history. To start, where did most of the Mexican American and Chinese Americans live? Some sources cite communities in Upland.[22] And what places would Mexican Americans and Chinese Americans, who likely built Ontario's railroad lines and spurs, Euclid Avenue, and street railway, consider worth preserving? Even if they did not live in the Ontario city limits, would they have traveled the street railway or faced restrictions? For those who labored in the orchards and vineyards, provided laundry services, or worked as servants, which places had aesthetic value or provided a sense of history? Did (a) particular community center(s) or gathering place(s) exist where the working class and ethnically and racially diverse minorities could meet, converse, and exchange information? Such places may have been crucial in developing a sense of self for these groups, as well as a sense of collective identity. Even if such places are gone, commemoration and memorialization creates public spaces, especially in that they do more than simple plaques or texts in a museum, as Ontario has done.[23] Likewise, the mule car, in operation for a scarce nine years, prominently stands protected today in a glass showcase in the center of Euclid Avenue, praising the work of two mules in a public space. One may wonder where the public-space commemorations of Ontario's hundreds, to eventual thousands,

of agricultural and even early industrial laborers, are. Perhaps allotments of public spaces could establish some form of celebration of Mexican field workers who toiled on Ontario's many farms, or of Chinese Americans who, in the agricultural and domestic industry, serviced the fantasies of a "better class of people."

While the planning commission seeks political support for the preservation of Ontario's heritage, one has to ask whose heritage they attempt to preserve.[24] Playing cards produced by the commission to educate the public about architecture and preservation underscore this point. Four architectural types are highlighted, one for each suit. Each suit contains a photo for visual representation, lists the years of principal construction, and briefly describes "common features." The types are Neoclassical Revival (1905–1920), Craftsman (1895–1920s), Mediterranean Bungalow (1900–Present), and Colonial Revival Bungalow (1890–1915). The houses listed are ones usually occupied by the middle class and represent, for the most part, a small window of time in Ontario's history. Note, however, other than the Hofer Ranch, no agricultural homesteads receive attention, not to mention prefabricated or self-built houses popular among working-class people.[25] Implicit here is what the commission considers architecture: buildings built only by professionally trained architects for a well-to-do consumer. Indeed, the

FIGURE 33

Ontario Planning Commission's "City of Ontario, CA Celebrates Historic Preservation" Playing Cards. These playing cards were created by the Ontario City Planning Department's Historic Preservation Commission to help "educate" the public about the "historic and cultural resources" in Ontario. Cards in possession of author.

commission's mission statement for historic preservation asserts, "The program seeks to preserve & protect the significant architectural, historical, & cultural resources, which reflect Ontario's unique character & heritage."[26] Architecture in this context does not represent all buildings in Ontario, as evidenced by what the department has sought to preserve. Likewise, historical and cultural resources reflect physical and conceptual boundaries reserved for the white middle class—their exclusive character and heritage. Based on what they have preserved already, as well as what the commission hopes to preserve in the future, "significant architectural, historical, & cultural resources" are those that are significant to a middle-class notion of an idealized rural past. This point underscores the saliency of the historical narrative as first established by the boosters. The adoration of agriculture and urban amenities directs citizens and other interpreters to narrow their preservation efforts and memory works to the homes of the more affluent and white residents of Ontario's past.

Expanding preservation efforts to include the broader cultural and ethnic landscape and history of Ontario could provide the political and public support the commission desires. For example, reinterpreting the importance of downtown to include

FIGURE 34

Packing citrus in Upland, ca. early twentieth century. This rare photo of minority laborers, besides the white driver, shows Asian workers, likely Chinese, Japanese, Filipino, or some mixture thereof, picking and packing produce for the Upland Citrus Association. Remember, Upland was not only once a part of Ontario, but also, according to several local sources, where most minorities that worked in Ontario lived. Courtesy of the Robert E. Ellingwood Model Colony History Room, Ontario City Library.

a more diverse cultural and ethnic landscape would be prudent. Downtown Ontario served as a business center and the culmination of Ontario's middle-class aspirations. It is doubtful that downtown provided jobs to white middle-class men only. Further, one has to wonder if any women or minorities ran businesses. If so, perhaps Ontario could honor, recognize, and commemorate these aspects of the community, including the creation and dedication of public spaces. If not, perhaps Ontario could reinterpret existing places or a general area to appeal to a more diverse audience today. For example, a public mural placed in the middle of Euclid, or possibly near the run-down Hotpoint factory, could feature information and works of art devoted to Mexican Americans, explaining their role in the growth and development of the community.

Preservation reflects the needs of the present, and preservation efforts in Ontario ought to reflect the needs of a present community whose majority population is Hispanic, as well as address the contributions of women and other minorities.[27] Admittedly, more questions arise than answers. Still, the underlying point is that Ontario's memory works continue to perpetuate a white middle-class perception of history. Public commemoration and memory works in Ontario, in fact, further tease

Figure 35

Sponsor Plaques, Chaffey Statue. Markers such as these surround the Chaffey statue and show the various names of sponsors and their "levels" of support. "Benefactors," as well as "Executive" and "Corporate" sponsors also receive recognition. Such sponsor plaques signify investment into the culture and history of the community and, possibly, signal to others that any given sponsor deserves special recognition for participation and investment. Photo by Author, 2007.

out the nature of political power and beg the question of who exercises it. The building of the Chaffey statue with markers devoted to highlighting donors underscores this point. The statue and the markers reinforce a sense of community among the donors and designate their special position in the community as keepers of the cultural memory. Preservation efforts in Ontario underscore the same thing. Middle-class (mainly) white people are deciding on the use of public resources to preserve a white middle-class sense of history. Because the political power belongs to them, their heritage graces plaques, appears in marble, and receives protection—as collected memory.

A noticeable lack of memory works is a symptom of Orangevale's recent, post–World War II memory activities. While not entirely absent, there has been a dearth of memory works, which may have a lot to do with the fact that Orangevale's population from 1990 to 2010 actually slowed in comparison to earlier years. It did grow 0.30 percent per year since 1990, from 26,266 to 33,960, but it grew astoundingly at 0.76 percent per year from 1960 to 1990, almost doubling the population from 11,722 to 20,585. Moreover, Orangevale remains a largely white community with 87.4 percent of the population recorded as white in the 2010 census, with 10.2 percent Hispanic or Latino, 3.1 percent Asian, and 1.4 percent Black or African American. Economically, Orangevale, according to the 2010 census, had a median household income of $71,136 as compared to the national average of $60,833. In contrast, Sacramento County—which does not include all the areas of the Sacramento metropolitan area,

TABLE 5

Population and Growth Rate of Orangevale and Sacramento County, 1950–2010

ORANGEVALE			SACRAMENTO COUNTY		
Year	Population	Growth Rate from Previous Decade	Year	Population	Growth Rate from Previous Decade
1950	1,600	n/a	**1950**	277,140	0.63
1960	11,722	6.25	**1960**	502,778	0.81
1970	17,222	0.48	**1970**	634,373	0.26
1980	20,585	0.20	**1980**	783,381	0.23
1990	26,266	0.28	**1990**	1,041,219	0.33
2000	26,705	0.02	**2000**	1,223,499	0.18
2010	33,960	0.27	**2010**	1,418,788	0.16

SOURCES: *For all of Orangevale's population numbers and Sacramento's following 1980, see endnote no. 28 for this chapter. For Sacramento County, 1950-1980, see U.S. Census Bureau, Table 2, Land Area and Population: 1930 to 1980, Characteristics of the Population, vol. 1, Number of Inhabitants, ch. A, California, part 6, 1980 Census of Population (Government Printing Office, Washington, D.C.: U.S. Department of Commerce and Bureau of the Census, issued March 1982).*

such as the rapidly growing areas of Roseville and Rocklin and their more than 1750,000 residents—experienced a per-year growth rate of approximately 0.36 percent from 1990 to 2010—1,041,219 to 1,418,788—with 57.5 percent white, 21.6 percent Hispanic or Latino, 14.3 percent Asian, and 10.4 percent Black or African American. The median household income for the county came in at $56,439.[28]

The relatively limited growth of Orangevale over the past twenty years compared to a boom earlier, as well as its racial homogeneity, particularly when contrasted with its location within a larger diverse and growing metropolitan region, is suggestive. With little change in demography, not to mention economic trends, infrastructure, and political culture, nothing has fundamentally posed a significant threat to the historically salient cultural, economic, political, or social hierarchies and power structures in Orangevale.[29] Because Orangevale has retained a white, conservative, middle-class makeup and power structure, the need of this particular social group to affirm its place atop the local power structure, which would include the production of memory works, is minimal. Not many minorities or other groups outside the dominant white middle-class population have moved in or made their presence felt in any overtly public forums or ways. "It is always possible," wrote Sigmund Freud, "to bind together a considerable number of people in love, so long as there are other people left over to receive the manifestations of their aggressiveness."[30] The lack of any great outpouring of memory works in Orangevale may be simply a result of the lack of pressure to do so, or it could be due to the relative—nonobjective—sense of satisfaction with contemporary community identity and the stability of various mechanisms of the dominant power structure. In Freudian terms, then, the need to bind together, and, for our purposes, to create memory works that could foster the creation and maintenance of imagined community, is lacking because there is an absence of someone—or some group(s) of people—to hate or feel anxious about.

Despite no largesse of memory works in Orangevale in more recent years, it would be wrong to say that none exists. The influence of a dominant cultural memory is still evident in events, community organizations, and cultural-resources management reports. This moves us beyond (but still includes) literary texts, toward a look at the activities of suburbanites themselves. Indeed, Orangevale holds an annual community celebration called the Orangevale Pow Wow Days. The name itself is suggestive, as it references a Native American gathering and festivity. As one historian put it, "[P]laying Indian is a persistent [white American] tradition."[31] Native Americans are often treated "like parts of the natural landscape—like antelopes and cougars, if you will, sometimes threatening and sometimes benign . . . [i]t is this very naturalizing that leads a lot of White Americans to claim some Native ancestry" (usually to a female Cherokee). In a postindustrial and postmodern world, white Americans often appropriate Native American customs and rituals, or at least what they believe are such

FIGURE 36

Orangevale Pow Wow Days. This picture provides a small glimpse into some of the meanings attached to Pow Wow Days. The image is from the Pow Wow Days parade in 1969 and reveals a bit about what parade participants have looked like over the years, and how Pow Wow Days and parades encompass and disseminate (romantic) representations of scenes from history, particularly through rich costumes. Notice how the image shows a woman and girl dressed as "pioneers," complete with bonnets and flowing dresses, a wagon train, participants marching with the American flag, all while they traverse a paved road with palm trees and shrubbery and power lines. Courtesy Center for Sacramento History, Drawer 85, Row 6, Neibaur, May 1969, no. 12/17/1969.

(including genealogical claims), because being "Native American, unlike to be Black, is to be naturally, primordially part of America."[32] Being Native American or to correlate a community gathering to a Native-American gathering is somehow being more authentically American. Pow Wow Days started in 1963 as Chuck Wagon Days—another quintessentially American reference, this time to a romanticized westward movement that echoed the theme of Manifest Destiny. That Pow Wow Days/Chuck Wagon Days began in 1963 should not surprise. From 1950 to 1960, Orangevale had just experienced its largest period of growth, with an increase of about 6.5 percent per year (1,600 to 11,600).[33] In 1964 the name Chuck Wagon Days fell to Fiesta Days (perhaps homage to California's Spanish, Mexican, and Californio past—and thus a naturalizing claim to the California landscape). Fiesta Days then fell out of use to Pow Wow Days in 1965.[34]

During Pow Wow Days, locals and visitors gather for several days of games, shows, food, horse shows, and carnival rides. One of the highlights of the Pow Wow Days celebration is a parade. Beginning with the inaugural celebration in 1963, the route traversed one of Orangevale's historic "good roads," Central Avenue, also the location of the historic Orangevale Water Company, ending at the Orangevale Youth Center on Hazel Avenue, arguably Orangevale's second largest thoroughfare. The parade route moved to the main thoroughfare of Greenback Lane by 1965 to likely accommodate larger crowds and then to Oak Avenue in 1971, returning to its current route on Greenback Lane in 1974. Parade members have included an astonishingly large amount of variety, including representatives from local clubs, emergency services, schools, sports clubs, and children. While the parade features many notable older clubs, organizations, and services, the celebration is the result of cultural memory and a cultural performance of how the community of Orangevale has narrated its past, what it imagines itself to be in the present, and what it fantasizes about being in the future. Specifically, through Pow Wow Days, Orangevale projects a self-image of an archetypal American small town that is semirural and values community cohesion (real or imagined), neighborliness, and, seemingly, an aura of "traditional" simplicity. Like one observer said in a 1972 *Sacramento Union* article, "Show me a man with a pickup truck, a gun rack, a cowboy hat and a pair of boots, and I'll show you the spirit of Orangevale." The observer concluded, "If the man doesn't live there, he probably wishes he did."[35]

As suburbia's critics—from Frederick Lewis Allen to William H. Whyte to Betty Friedan—have made clear, the "Orangevale spirit" could not be further from the so-called negative images of suburbia. The "spirit of Orangevale" is a romanticized American ideal of a rural community where one could pass through old streets, stop and buy fruit and get a story from old Mr. Tomich just off Greenback Lane, and visit local shops where locals gather to gossip. Forget, for the moment, that SUVs, baseball hats and visors, Nikes, and cell phones long ago replaced pickup trucks, cowboy hats, boots, and gun racks. Never mind, for the moment, that Orangevale sits within a large metropolitan community of about 1.5 million people (twenty-eigth largest in the nation). In fact, if one extends the area to include the Roseville area, which the US Census Bureau does, then, according the 2000 census, the Sacramento metropolitan region was the twenty-seventh largest metropolitan area in the United States, with 1,796,857 people; twenty-sixth in 2007, with 2,091,120; and twenty-fourth in 2010, with 2,149,127.[36] Moreover, if one extends the area to run east to include the Gardnerville Ranchos area in Nevada and north to include the Yuba City area in California, which the US Census Bureau does, then the region, with 2,461,780 people according to the 2010 US Census Bureau, is the eighteenth largest combined statistical area in the United States.[37] It is this growth bordering Orangevale that has given traction to the celebration of small-town America, of Orangevale as a semi-rural community amid an incessantly mounting urban and metropolitan jungle. Indeed

recall that in 1976 the Sacramento Community Planning Department drafted a report for planned growth and zoning in Orangevale that stated two goals for the community: (1) "To protect and enhance the high quality rural lifestyle available in the Orangevale area"; and (2) "To provide opportunity for bona fide agricultural pursuits in the Orangevale community."[38] At all costs, then, and despite suspicions to the contrary, Orangevale needed to remain rural and middle class, steeped in fantasies of renewed agricultural prowess. This fantasy and self-image, perhaps, are contributing reasons to why Orangevale has failed to grow much in terms of human population—including diversity. Putting aside other seemingly obvious factors as real-estate prices and location vis-à-vis place of work, Orangevale's "rural lifestyle," which encompasses Orangevale's white middle class sense of history, in an otherwise budding metropolitan area of considerable diversity, may not appeal to many people. Specifically, it may not appeal to anyone other than a white middle class who are in search of a "rural lifestyle" among a predominantly white community that celebrates, overtly, white-middle-class conceptions of the past.

Performance is not the only way cultural memory is sustained and further disseminated in Orangevale. Memory works are, by definition, diverse and dynamic. Institutions deeply rooted in a celebratory past in Orangevale help sustain cultural memory as well. Longtime community organizations also remain vibrant and active in Orangevale and provide the community with a sense of continuity with the past. Of the many organizations, perhaps none (besides several churches and schools) seem as vibrant and important to the community as the Orangevale Water Company, the Woman's Club, and the Grange. These organizations dominate historical publications and, as such, deserve attention as the premier institutional and popular representations offered up by locals and meant to characterize their community both to themselves and to any potential reader.

The Water Company began in 1896 under the leadership of George Katzenstein, a member of the OVCC, and still services the community today. It has also published two impressive historical accounts concerning Orangevale: *Information Bulletin* and *One Hundred Years of Service*. The Woman's Club, still in existence as well, began in 1913 when locals met at the home of Mary Alice Calder to discuss the formation of a club that, they said, put their talents toward building up the community. The Orangevale Grange organized in 1910. Among other things, the Grange has been an indispensable champion of the development of Orangevale, assisting in bringing a library to the area, sponsoring local youth groups, such as the Boy Scouts, helping Orangevale become part of the Citrus Heights Fire District, awarding scholarships to local students, and supporting local events. Together, the Water Company, the Woman's Club, and the Grange, not to mention churches and schools, such as the Orangevale Open Elementary School (established in 1890), provide community members with a sense of continuity with the past.

But again, they represent a particular past. With the Grange, continuity is rooted in an agrarian past, lifestyle, and the adoration of agriculture. With the Woman's Club, continuity stems from middle-class values. Moreover, despite being one of the most clear and uniquely historically rooted organizations planned and maintained by and for women in an otherwise masculine landscape, the club is an organization largely devoted to, and characterized by, service. With the Orangevale Water Company, there is continuity with the so-called colonizers and innovation, with modern technology and business savvy that seems innovative in an otherwise small, semi-rural community. Other institutions such as the Orangevale Library (established in 1912) and churches, such the Orangevale Methodist Church (established in 1890), convey and project themes of innovation, refinement, and "traditional" morality as well.

Another manifestation of cultural memory in Orangevale concerns historic preservation. Again, cultural memory manifests through a variety of mediums and in a variety of situations and sociocultural practices. Specifically, looking at performance and institutional representations, and now preservation, reveals that history books alone clearly do not embody cultural memory. Certainly many books (or least coverage within books) exist about Orangevale. Nevertheless, deconstructing cultural memory as is appears in other types of memory works underscores the depth to which cultural memory exists within this particular suburb. With that said, it would be a gross error to slight the many local and even academic—"outsider"—history books. Rather, especially with preservation in mind, history books help sustain the dominant themes, institutions, and even people covered or accounted for in cultural performances, institutional representations, and in preservation. These other manifestations of memory both result from each other and, in turn, contribute to the manifestation of each other. This marks the duality of memory works, certainly, but also the dynamism of cultural memory as that much more powerful.

Perhaps obviously, the above also represents moments of transmission when cultural memory is indeed open to some kind of change or alteration. That the dominant cultural memory mostly does not alter much, if at all, from memory work to memory work thus reveals the emotive staying power of a dominant cultural memory not in just Orangevale, but also Fair Oaks and Ontario. Preservation efforts reviewed below have focused on institutions, individuals, or dominant themes that have also characterized the coverage within history books. The themes originated with the original boosterism but have remained present in locally produced historical representations, as well as in historical works produced by outsiders—most often as such are part of larger pieces of scholarship, typically those about metropolitan Sacramento. The point is that preservation concerns follow the lead of previously written history books and other memory works by narrowing in on what these previous works have marked as historically significant. Moreover, outsiders have led these preservation efforts, which points to the influence locally produced memory works

have had on affecting perceptions of what is historical and thus revered concerning Orangevale. So looking to the work of outsiders is really another way of highlighting the spread of locally constructed cultural memory, which, again by implication, circles back into maintaining a memory meaningful to locals.

The context for the preservation efforts in Orangevale follows the suburb's growth from the mid-1970s to 1990, a rise of about 18,000 people in 1975 to 26,266 in 1990. Orangevale also experienced material growth in terms of buildings, houses, commercial businesses, and infrastructure, such as road expansions. As a result, and concerning national laws (Section 106 of the National Historic Preservation Act) and state laws (Section 15065 of the California Environmental Quality Act), this material growth required historic surveys to determine if any historic connection to the past would be adversely affected and potentially cause a great cultural loss to the community. Of those surveys that are on file, three places were reviewed. There are two main reasons these places stood out. First, historical narratives, especially within history books, continually mention them. Second, preservationists took a particular interest in these three locales as opposed to others because of their susceptibility to being threatened by growth projects.

In 1990, at the close of Orangevale's last significant population growth spurt, the Sacramento-based firm of Historic Environmental Consultants surveyed the Warhaftig House, the Villa, and the Serve Our Seniors Complex. The Warhaftig House, which included a packing shed nearby, was one of the original houses built by the OVCC in 1888. In fact, according to the survey's author, ". . . it was one of the

FIGURE 37

Villa, ca. 1894. This rough image actually comes from a booster publication about the entire Sacramento region, Sacramento County and its Resources, published by the *Sacramento Bee* (1894), underscoring the use of rural suburbs like Orangevale as crucial elements in selling a metropolis. Courtesy Center for Sacramento History.

first four constructed by the company in its initial development and promotional activities." In addition, the house may have served as a local headquarters for the OVCC. By the late 1890s, Sol (Peter) Warhaftig assumed ownership of the house, and the family remained there, even using it as an office for their own fruit packing endeavors, until 1960. The house's importance, according to the survey, was in its connection to the OVCC and the Warhaftig family itself, particularly Peter. The family was "prominent in the development and growth of the Orange Vale Colony and its surrounding area," particularly as they ran a fruit packing business, which employed local women and girls in addition to family members, and because of Peter's service to the Orangevale Water Company from 1924 to 1951. In the end, the survey concluded that the Warhaftig House merited listing on the National Register of Historical Places because it "is an important remnant of its [the OVCC's] existence and influence, and represents a principle aspect of the area's settlement. . . . [A]nd [it] represents the theme of settlement." The house also has historical significance because of Peter Warhaftig, "an influential and important figure in the growth and development era of the community" (though the 1950s were far more explosive in terms of actual growth and development). Warhaftig's chief importance was attached to his connection with the Orangevale Water Company, which "allowed" for Orangevale's "extensive agricultural development." Finally, the deteriorating packing shed nearby got marked as historically significant for its association with early agricultural activity.[39] The Warhaftig House's importance, then, lay in its connection to the celebrated and revered colonization company and its founders, to an early pioneer, to agriculture, and to innovation.

The Villa, a stick-style structure built about 1888, originally stood along the bluffs overlooking the American River. The OVCC's investors and clients used it to entertain before a later owner moved the house to Greenback Lane in 1916, and it became a private residence. The Villa again moved and currently rests on Oak Avenue under private ownership. While the survey concluded that the Villa warranted importance for its association to the colonization company and "settlement" of the area, it did not get listed on the National Register for such (because it moved). Nevertheless, because the Villa represented "a particularly fine example" of a stick-style structure rarely found in the Sacramento area, yet alone in a "rural" area, the Villa receives demarcation as historically significant. Indeed, stick-style architecture grew from the picturesque Gothic ideals of famed landscape designer Andrew Jackson Downing (who was, recall, a key figure in popularizing the Romantic suburban ideal) and flourished in house pattern books of the 1860s and 1870s, peaked in construction in the 1880s, but fell out of fashion by the 1890s with the rise of the Queen Anne movement. A structurally sound balloon-framed house, elaborate stick work and ornamentation that served no structural purpose distinguished the stick style—favorably and unfavorably. Ultimately, stick-style houses were the quintessential

TABLE 6

Population and Growth Rate of Fair Oaks and Sacramento County, 1960–2010

FAIR OAKS			SACRAMENTO COUNTY		
Year	Population	Growth Rate from Previous Decade	Year	Population	Growth Rate from Previous Decade
1960	1,622	n/a	**1960**	502,778	0.81
1970	11,256	6.10	**1970**	634,373	0.26
1980	22,602	1.01	**1980**	783,381	0.23
1990	26,867	0.19	**1990**	1,041,219	0.33
2000	28,008	0.04	**2000**	1,223,499	0.18
2010	30,912	0.10	**2010**	1,418,788	0.16

SOURCES: *For all of Fair Oaks, as well as Sacramento County from 1990-2010, see endnote no. 42 for this chapter. For Sacramento County, 1950-1980, see U.S. Census Bureau, Table 2, Land Area and Population: 1930 to 1980, 1980 Census of Population.*

favorites of middle-class audiences and tastes at the time that Downing himself had helped fuel. In Orangevale, then, a stick-style house such as the Villa emerges as unique—innovative and remarkable of course—in an otherwise rural community, not to mention it goes back to the early founders.[40] In fact, upon reviewing the Serve Our Seniors Complex, originally a residence, built in the 1910s, preservationists determined the structure had limited historical significance. Nonetheless, because the property the house stood on had been associated with the early founders and subsequent development of the area, it merited review for potential preservation.[41]

Fair Oaks has been far more active in the reproduction of memory works as compared to Orangevale. As with Orangevale, the answer perhaps emerges from glancing at the census data. In 1960, Fair Oaks reportedly had 1,622 people and grew by an astounding 6.1 percent per year until 1970 when the population reached 11,256, while Sacramento County grew at a rate of 0.26 percent (502,778 to 634,373). While the growth per year dropped to 1.01 percent per annum from 1970 to 1980, the population nonetheless more than doubled from 11,256 in 1970 to 22,602 in 1980, while Sacramento County grew at only a 0.23 percent rate per year (634,373 to 783,381). In the thirty years since, Fair Oaks has grown modestly with growth rates of 0.19 percent from 1980 to 1990, 0.04 percent from 1990 to 2000 (28,008), and 0.10 percent from 2000 to 2010 (30,912). During the same time span, Sacramento County, as noted before, grew at a rate of 0.36 percent (from 1990 to 2010). As of 2010, Fair Oaks's population was 85.7 percent white, 9.6 percent Hispanic or Latino, 4.2 percent Asian,

and 2.4 percent Black or African American, and the median household income was $73,583 as compared to the national average of $60,833.[42]

While one can easily get lost in the numbers, the data reveals some suggestive information that can help explain why Fair Oaks experienced a greater outpouring of memory works as compared to Orangevale. Specifically, while Orangevale only experienced a growth rate of 0.20 percent from 1970 to 1980, adding just more than 3,000 people (17,222 to 20,585), Fair Oaks actually doubled in size, from 11,256 to 22,602 and grew at a rate of 1.01 percent per year.

The epoch of growth is what makes this increase seem significant. As historian John Bodnar has chronicled so well, the lead-up to and culmination of the bicentennial celebration in 1976 resulted in an outpouring of not only national attention and celebrations of the past, but also local memory works that exalted both the national story and the local story as it connected to larger national themes such as early pioneers cast as patriots and the adoration of small-town America.[43] Against this backdrop, the Fair Oaks Historical Society formed in the spring of 1975 for preserving and presenting Fair Oaks's history. At a time in which Fair Oaks experienced growing pains, a nationwide spread of nostalgia and patriotism soared. For some, the community ties that bind, the security of localized relations and mechanisms of power, seemed under threat, or at least potentially threatened, by a doubling of the local population. Specifically, this occurred during a patriotic era when many Americans looked to the past for meaning in the present. A surge in memory works resulted in Fair Oaks to seemingly counter, alleviate, or cope, or some combination thereof, with an explosion in population that could potentially threaten to transform, even dismantle, localized power structures in a time of reverent nostalgia. Some local Fair Oaks residents, it seems, decided to turn to the production, organizational manipulation, and memorialization of the past to maintain some semblance of the status quo and social order. They seized control of the culture and, more importantly, the cultural production process in Fair Oaks. In the years between 1960 and 1980, the growth rate reached 12.94 percent (1,622 to 22,602). During that time, Fair Oaks suburbanites published the most circulated and frequently cited memory work, *Fair Oaks and San Juan Area Memories,* in 1960, a collection of newspaper articles featuring tales about "settlement" from original "colonists" and "pioneers." They also formed the most powerful organization devoted to (re)producing representations concerning the past: the Fair Oaks Historical Society (FOHS) in 1975.

Some recent activities of the FOHS reveal the continued effect of a dominant cultural memory. Besides running the History Center (a repository and museum that has moved around several times in the past few years in search of a permanent home), the FOHS published a book, *Fair Oaks: The Early Years*, organized a walking tour, and strengthened and updated the organization with collections management policies and

training and archival cataloging guides and practices. Society members received computer and software instruction, and they have created and maintained a vibrant website: www.fairoakshistory.org. At the website, a visitor can print out the walking tour map and guide and peruse society newsletters; a history of Fair Oaks by a local historian; historic photographs and images both from primary and secondary sources; as well as a detailed index, *Fair Oaks and San Juan Area Memories* (which I found very useful of course). The "History of Fair Oaks," found on the FOHS website, the walking tour, and the "Old Homes of Fair Oaks" section in the society's newsletter reveal just what the FOHS considers "historical," particularly as its mission focuses on the "collecting, preserving and presenting [of] the historical record of Fair Oaks and its inhabitants."

In the "History of Fair Oaks," written by a local historian, Fair Oaks' "history," as with the walking tour and "Old Homes of Fair Oaks" newsletter piece, is distinctly limited in time, roughly the 1890s to 1930s, and in scope—a celebration of agriculture, local pioneers, and early infrastructure and buildings predominantly important to a white middle class. The "History" does begin with a single sentence on the local Native Americans, the Maidu, who occupied the land "for at least 10,000 years we are told." While Maidu use of the land, 10,000 years' worth, receives acknowledgment, such a scant reference unfortunately trivializes it (not to mention further dismisses it with the phrase "we are told"). Representations like this can seem obligatory and marginalize the historical actors, effectively recasting

FIGURE 38

The Murphy-Scott Building. Originally built in the early 1900s, this building has served Fair Oaks as a store building and public hall where Fair Oaks residents have, over the years, been able to buy groceries, visit a doctor, get ice cream, socialize, buy hardware, purchase insurance, and down a cold beer at Stockman's bar. Photo taken by author before going to Stockman's bar, 2006.

them as caricatures familiar in the histories of most places in the United States. Furthermore, the reference seems more to serve the purpose of establishing a basis from which to highlight and measure Fair Oaks's Anglo-American growth—the now-familiar narrative of the triumph of American social civilization and material progress as brought to fruition by Fair Oaks's so-called pioneers. The "History" is largely devoted to the "colonization" story, the arrival of "colonists," the establishment and maintenance of farms, the construction of houses, and the creation of the "physical and cultural needs" of the community, such as a merchant store, churches, and schools. One sentence, presumably in an attempt at equity, informs the reader that much of the labor came from minority groups.

"History" ends with that "devastating freeze" in 1932, which, if you recall, destroyed most of the crops in Fair Oaks. "So[,] Fair Oaks life changed forever," the author concluded. "But if one takes a slow walk around town, one can see the vestiges of the orange groves, [and] the olive and almond orchards. Some original buildings hide under several layers of remodeling. A lucky visitor might meet some [white] folks who were born in the 1920s and 1930s and who can tell tales first hand of what life was like when Fair Oaks was fulfilling its original design." Otherwise stated, if visitors were "lucky," they could visit a quaint semi-rural community steeped in a past of agriculture, which, ultimately, was its "original design."[44]

FIGURE 39

The Fair Oaks Fruit Packing Plant and Workers, ca. early 1900s. This image shows a rare glimpse inside the Fair Oaks Fruit Packing Plant, also known as Pioneer, which often employed female Japanese immigrants to help sort, pack, and ship produce. Courtesy Center for Sacramento History, Paul Sandul Collection, no. 2006/030/553.

The walking tour, a self-guided one, and the "Old Homes of Fair Oaks" section of the newsletter reveal not only what the FOHS considers "historical" but also "architecture." One critic of the tour, a graduate student, concluded in a thesis, "[T]he walking tour is a good addition to the publications of the society, but it still covers too many places of interest for a quick tour through town."[45] Indeed, the tour consists of forty-seven "places of interest," all of which are located primarily, though not entirely, in the Fair Oaks "Village" area. The observation has merit. The forty-seven sites are perhaps too much for even the most stalwart of Fair Oaks history enthusiasts to take in—at least within a short amount of time. Even more telling, the forty-seven sites run the gamut from a cemetery to old buildings and commercial sites important to the early years of Fair Oaks's so-called colonization to schools, churches, and houses. (To view the walking tour map and descriptions, visit the FOHS website at http://www.fairoakshistory.org/.)

Noticeably absent from the tour is any potential site(s) important to minorities, particularly those who toiled in the fields, worked the packing sheds, and served in domestic roles. There are at least a few images and family stories, such as those of the Dewey family, that document and thus show the presence and roles of minorities in Fair Oaks. For example, Fair Oaks had Chinese and Japanese laborers, like the Chinese immigrant Jim Gee who worked for and lived with the Dewey family, domestic servants for the celebrated local "pioneer" Buffum family, and female Japanese immigrants or those of Japanese ancestry who worked at the Fair Oaks Fruit Packing Plant of Pioneer.[46] Admittedly, FOHS and others may not know of any sites that were of possible significance to Fair Oaks's forgotten residents and laborers, who themselves could have likely told a "lucky visitor" of tales from when Fair Oaks fulfilled its "original design." In addition, it is likely that no such sites remain or are in good condition. Nevertheless, FOHS, through its walking tour, still managed to demarcate the sites of buildings, houses, and even a tennis court that are no longer there. Indeed, it may seem striking, on the surface of things, that the walking tour memorializes a tennis court while no ethnoracial site, even presence, is mentioned. When we consider the power of collected memory and of a dominant cultural memory, however, which celebrates Fair Oaks as, among other things, cutting edge in an otherwise rural landscape, the celebration of a defunct and departed tennis court is not at all that striking. It distinctly represents a white middle-class heritage working to preserve a white middle-class legacy.

Regardless of the dismissive tendency of the dominant cultural memory, there are ways alternate to actual preservation efforts for communities to celebrate minority and other forgotten groups. For example, public art could easily be produced and could supplement, or fill in, for the lack of physical structures. Museum exhibits, more attention in publications, and lectures, which the FOHS sponsors at annual society meetings, could all enhance the current dearth of attention paid to minority groups in Fair Oaks. At the least, Fair Oaks and the FOHS could be more blunt and honest to the public about its failures and lack of knowledge concerning minority

groups, including women not part of the local women's organization—the Woman's Thursday Club—or some early "pioneer" families.[47] Indeed, the Hermitage site of President Andrew Jackson's plantation in Nashville took this approach in recent years. They informed visitors, through publications, word of mouth, and billboards on the ground at the Hermitage, that they had failed to represent slaves and slave life of the Hermitage adequately and were, finally, excavating so they could thoroughly represent this reality to future visitors.[48]

The "Homes of Fair Oaks" piece in the FOHS newsletter began in January 2005. According to the newsletter, "A committee has been formed to record the old homes of Fair Oaks from 1920 through the 1940 [*sic*]." All the "homes" (not merely houses, mind you) have been of a dominant white middle class and do not include houses or "homes" or at least possible gathering places to which minority groups were somehow connected. The houses include a colonial (built in 1928); bungalow (1928); cottage (1921); farm house (1906, outside the originally stated period of focus); other bungalows built in 1907–11, 1921, and 1922; folk houses (ca. 1895 and 1890s); Payday Shack (1898); prairie style (after 1907); craftsman prairie ("after 1910"); pioneer (1894); and craftsman (1915–20). There was even a section on homes that burned down, but none included a home of anybody not white. Even if a home associated with a minority family still stands, it did not receive attention like the so-called old homes that burned to the ground. Without exception, each home belonged to a white family, often associated with cultural leaders in the community, such as "Farmer Bob," a long-time beloved figure and citizen of Fair Oaks; business owners, such as the home of a local florist; and FOHS members. Such a reality, however, is not such a surprise, as the "Homes of Fair Oaks" simply appears in a newsletter designed and intended for group members of a particular club. Nevertheless, the failure to remember—or more appropriately, the successful effort to forget—"homes" of those outside the dominant white middle class, or at least sites important to them, further marginalizes the presence and significance of minority groups in Fair Oaks. Moreover, and perhaps most striking, the memorialization of middle-class homes is yet another example of how paradoxical an agriburb's representation and celebration of the past can be. Specifically, this seems so striking and paradoxical because such middle-class houses further demonstrate that these communities actually began as planned suburbs.[49]

In Ontario, Orangevale, and Fair Oaks, memory works have shaped cultural memory, and in turn, cultural memory further shapes memory works (this is the duality of cultural memory). The dominant cultural memory of agriburb communities encompasses four major themes that, as collected memory, direct people to remember, and forget, the histories of these communities in similar ways. Foremost among the things, people, and developments forgotten is the suburban side of these

communities' origins. This further demonstrates the power and lasting consequences of the original boosterism whereby boosters, spurred by market strategies, or perhaps humanitarian motives, created narratives that have cast a long shadow. Specifically, they created an imagery and narrative template for talking about, thinking of, and representing the past in the present. As more memory works came about, and took their cues from the original packaging of place, a retransmission of a dominant cultural memory reified, legitimized, and sanctified the original boosters' conception of place.

The cultural cost of a dominant cultural memory, amplified when a larger pool of memory works mostly works in concert to disseminate it, to emerge as collected memory, manifests in numerous ways. Of those highlighted, the continued influence on the production of memory works in more recent decades reveals the importance of local history and representations of the past to a community and, more importantly, to at least some of the individuals residing within. A surfeit of information, as embodied in more than a hundred years' worth of memory works in agriburbs, can further work to marginalize, even trivialize, minority groups not typically represented, if at all, in current understandings of the past. Much of this might result from a willed or intended action, while much of this might also result from the desire of those who produce memory works to satisfy their own understandings of the past, as a possible investment in cultural and/or social capital. The result may be no less unsatisfactory, at least regarding remembering the role of minority groups and the suburban side of agriburb communities' past. Nevertheless, the results might not be the sole result of some purposeful, even malicious (or racist or sexist), attempt to misrepresent the past, forget historical phenomena and factual details, and dominate those on the lower levels of the power hierarchy. Perhaps more tragically, the devil is in the details. A dominant cultural memory and its continued dissemination and influence suggests it has become institutionalized, that it works to direct people to represent the past likewise. To produce counter narratives, then, becomes not impossible but that much more difficult to do, particularly when facing over a century of productions and reproductions of the past that portrays it in strikingly similar ways. This, then, is a legacy of boosterism.