Ashley M. Lambert, Eastern Washington University, undergraduate student, “Cesar Chavez: The 1965 Grape Boycott and the 400-Mile Pilgrimage”

Abstract: In 1962 Cesar Chavez, a Latino civil rights leader for Mexican and Filipino workers, formed the National Workers, a small coalition of poorly paid migrant farmers. Chavez sought to ameliorate the harsh working conditions and wages for grape workers in California’s Kern County. Soon afterwards he merged the National Farm Workers Association with the Agricultural Workers Organizing Committee, creating the powerful United Farm Workers’ Union. By using nonviolent tactics, inspired by Martin Luther King and Rosa Parks, Chavez sought to reform California labor conditions, forcing the grape growers to sign contracts only with the United Farm Workers Union. Beginning in Delano California, Cesar Chavez organized several demonstrations including the Grape Strike of 1965, at the Schenley Grape Company, and later a 400-mile pilgrimage to California’s state capitol, Sacramento. With help from numerous civil rights advocates, including Dolores Huerta and various university students, Cesar Chavez fought for worker’s rights. In my paper I will explore this question: just how effective were the march and the boycott in winning support for the workers and concessions from the owners?
Cesar Chavez:
The 1965 Grape Strike and the 400-mile Pilgrimage

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Abstract

In 1962, Cesar Chavez, a Latino civil rights leader for Mexican and Filipino workers, formed the National Workers, a small coalition of poorly paid migrant farmers. Chavez sought to alleviate the harsh working conditions, wages, and Union contract for grape workers throughout California, beginning his Delano California mission. By merging the National Farm Workers Association with the Agricultural Workers Organizing Committee, he created the influential United Farm Workers’ Union. By using nonviolent civil protests, in the 1965 Grape Strike on The Schenley Grape Company, Cesar Chavez was able to reform contract stipulation and obtain the ability to have farmworkers contracts be crafted only with the United Farm Workers Union. In my paper, I will describe the events of the 1965 Grape Strike and march and how the 1965 Grape Strike of Delano and the 400-mile Pilgrimage initially helped the farmworkers, and its lasting effects?

On March 31, 1927, in the North Gila Valley near the foothills of the Laguna Mountains just outside Yuma, Arizona, a boy named Cesar Chavez was born to Juana Estrada and Librado Chavez. Growing up with six siblings, Cesar’s childhood home was a small quaint “adobe” house that sat on a “forty-acre” plot of land.” As children of immigrant workers, Cesar Chavez and his siblings were subjected to racial discrimination from “Anglo” Americans. As a child Cesar remembers attending “thirty-seven” different schools, most of which were “segregated,” employing abusive teachers inclined to corporal punishment. These circumstances led Cesar to despise public school, describing himself as “a monkey in a cage” when it came to attending educational institutions. Cesar Chavez’s childhood was increasingly focused on Anglo Americans’ crass behavior perpetrated towards Mexican Filipino working communities.
Becoming a civil rights activist as an adult, Cesar fought for the revision of union contracts for Mexican-Filipino working communities within Delano. Stipulating an increase in the minimum wage and better living and working conditions for workers within union contracts, primarily focusing on the Schenley Grapes Company. Using prominent civic ideologies from Mahatma Gandhi, Cesar Chavez formed the 1965 Grape Strike of Delano California and the 300-mile pilgrimage to California state capitol, Sacramento.

Activism, Legislation, Ideologies

Chavez's experience of racial mistreatment and discrimination in his early years was a key influence for his chosen vocation. A child of Mexican domestic farm laborers, Cesar’s parents frequently migrated throughout the Southwest United States in search of seasonal work. Cesar remembers his father and uncle joining several agricultural unions, which ultimately “proved to be ineffective” in their methods of fighting agricultural farm growers for higher working wages and healthier working conditions. Witnessing the repeated failure of so many unions compelled him into a lifelong career of union activism. Joining the “National Agricultural Workers Union” or the NAWU by the age of “nineteen,” Chavez began his “career as a community organizer.” Though the NAWU later failed, Cesar saw it as the moment that started everything.

By 1952 Cesar and his wife, Helen Fabela, lived in the part of San Jose known as “Sal Si Puedes, get out if you can.” It was shortly after his arrival in San Jose that Cesar Chavez met two individuals who would become the most influential idols in Cesar Chavez’s development as a civil rights organizer, Father Donald McDonnell, and Fred Ross. Father McDonnell was a
“Roman Catholic priest” who frequented “Sal Si Puedes,” spreading the words of “Pope Leo XIII’s Rerum Novarum,” this encyclical outlined the Catholic church’s support for industrial workers protesting oppression. It was during Donald McDonnell’s numerous trips to Sal Si Puedes, that Chavez became acquainted with the priest and his teachings, which would later give him “an intellectual and moral basis for organizing worker.”

While Father McDonnell gave Cesar the “moral basis” to build upon, Fred Ross gave him the experience needed to become an “effective” coordinator. Ross was a veteran “grassroots organizer for the Community Service Organization” (CSO). Becoming an “unpaid organizer” under the supervision of Ross, one of Chavez’s first tasks was to register Mexican Americans to vote and gain citizenship. With much success, Chavez was able to register “four thousand” Mexican Americans, giving them the right to citizenship and voting. As a direct response to Chavez’s first triumph, he became a “full-time CSO organizer,” traveling to “Oakland and San Joaquin Valley” rapidly improving his skills, pulling from his studies of “great leaders in history,” including the works of “Thomas Aquinas, Saint Paul, and Eugene V. Debs.” Furthermore, Chavez felt acutely drawn to Mahatma Gandhi’s writings and nonviolence tactics. For Chavez, the image of “frail Gandhi” in his attempt and defeat of the influential British motivated him to challenge agricultural interests within the United States.

While immersed in the CSO, Cesar Chavez worked alongside fellow organizer, Dolores Huerta who would later become his friend and confidant during the 1965 Grape strike. While quickly rising through the rank’s leadership in the CSO, Chavez gained the essential experience needed to coordinate “voter registration drives, help individuals acquire citizenship” in addition to “old-age pensions” for the elderly. One of Chavez’s primary aspirations in life was to organize agricultural workers into unions. When Chavez’s proposed the creation of a union to
the CSO, the organization “resisted Caesar's desire,” displeased, Chavez resigned his position from the CSO.

Moving his family to Delano, California, Chavez sought to organize and transform “a seemingly powerless group of migrant farmers into a union strong enough to match the power of the growers.”16 Once settled, Chavez’s first action was to “learn the California region's physical makeup.”17 With the help of Dolores Huerta and Gilbert Padilla, Chavez consistently organized “one-on-one discussions and meetings inside homes of industrial labor workers” in an effort to plant the seeds of unionism within the community.18 In September of 1962, after long complex discussions, Chavez, Huerta, Padilla, and “232” of Chavez's supporters established the National Farm Workers Association (NFWA) “inaugurating Cesar Chavez as its president and Huerta and Padilla as vice presidents.”19 After winning his first official strike against California rose growers, an unforeseen event would pull him into an unexpected strike.20 On September 8, 1965, in Delano, “2000 Filipino members of the Agricultural Workers Organization Committee (AWOC) walked out on their jobs in protest over collecting lower salaries than that of the contemporary bracero worker from Mexico.21 In response, the head of the Agricultural Workers Organization Committee (AWOC), Larry Itiong, extended an exclusive invitation to Chavez and NFWA, to organize a much larger strike against Schenley Grape Industries. Chavez agreed.

Contract Legislation

The California industrial industry on average, made “4.08 billion-a-year22. For industrial growers, annual crops drew in over “one-billion dollars” of revenue, to the San Joaquin Valley.23 “Federal poverty levels” rested at “3,100” dollars, with 84% of migrant agricultural workers
receiving less than ‘378 dollars, on average, annually. 24 Likewise, 83% of Mexican and Filipino workers within the San Joaquin Valley and Kern country during the 1960s, made only “1.20 per hour in addition to 10 cents per box of picked grapes.”25 To improve low wages for industrial grape workers, Chavez created and fought for union contracts that stipulated and enforced working conditions according to federal law, in addition to an increase in minimum hourly wages to “1.40 cents” increasing the sub-payment of every box picked to “25 cents.”26

The working environment for the San Joaquin Valley was inhumane for Mexican and Filipino workers. Field hands would charge workers “twenty-five cents for a cup of water,’ resulting in heatstroke for many.27 Furthermore, Delano area grape growers did not provide the sanitary means of “portable field toilets,” posing extra hardships for women.28 Chavez viewed this treatment as fraud generated by the wealthy grower.29 It was the callousness of the Schenley Grape Industries that motivated Chavez to create the NFWA. Chavez, with the help of colleagues and the 1965 Grape strike and Pilgrimage to Sacramento, forced Schenley Grape Industries to sign only with union representatives, ensuring enforcement of contract standards.

The Grape Strike

On the crisp fall morning of September 19, 1965 at four-thirty a.m. in Delano, California, 200 Filipinos and Mexicans stood below the NFWA offices, holding signs inscribed with one word; “Huelga, or strike.”30 Handed a piece of paper, with a location etched on it, the individuals dispersed accordingly. Divided into “four quadrants” the locations were “twenty” some odd vast agricultural fields within the Kern County.31 Protestors surveyed “hundreds of acres of
vineyards” in search of labor crews. Once found, the demonstrator would report back to “strike headquarters.” This allowed an alternate “picket line to be dispatched.”

Once at the Schenley Grape farm, demonstrators formed long lines along the roadside plantations. Yelling through megaphones, in the attempt to coax working “sabs” to join the strike. Their failure to convince stab laborers to walk off the job bewildered the protesters. In retaliation, Schenley Grape Industries defended their agricultural compounds by hiring “armed guards,” sprayed strikers with sulfur, and unleashed dogs upon them. Union spokesmen reported various stories of growers firing on demonstrators' groups, though later when asked, growers accused strikers of the same accusation. It was not uncommon for demonstrators to experience both verbal, physical threats.

The difficult strike lasted 5 years. Continuously struck down by Delano Chamber of Commoners” numerous demonstrations were publicly condemned. By March of 1966, Chavez lost many strikers and supporters to the fields, who needed food, money, and resources to feed their families. Roberto Bustos describes Chavez’s worker support during this time as “5,000 workers were not on strike.” In an effort to revitalize his movement, Chavez created a march to Sacramento, California.

300-Mile Pilgrimage to Sacramento California

Alone at his desk at the UFWA headquarters in Delano, a bushy wide-eyed young Roberto Bustos shuffled through countless maps and papers, answering phone calls while simultaneously jotting down notes and scripting memos. Visiting headquarters, Chavez approached Bustos’ desk exclaiming, “We are going to go to Sacramento!” Chavez was not disheartened by the mammoth 300-mile pilgrimage in which Chavez insisted upon walking on
foot. As an original striker and proud supporter of his cause, Bustos himself “was very enthusiastic about the idea,” readily waiting to “pack his car with all of his belongings.” 39 Chavez decided upon a straightforward approach, to gain the most publicity, knowing full well that the planned route would “pass through 245 miles of farmworker communities,” which he saw as a way to secure more local and national “press coverage,” furthering recognition for this Filipino–Mexican cause.40

On March 17, 1966, Chavez and “70 farm workers and volunteers” embarked on the painstaking pilgrimage to the state Capitol with “sleeping bags slung over their shoulders and clothes carried in paper bags.”41 Walking along the “Garces Highway,” “15 miles a day” Chavez lead his procession to cities such as “Ducor, Terra Bella, Visalia, and Fresno, for a minimum of “25 days” 42 After leaving the city of Freeport, “a line of over 400 people” were seen walking single file alongside Chavez behind a banner of Mexico’s patron saint, “the Virgen de Guadalupe.” 43 Though many protesters only joined in the demonstration for “a block, a mile, or a day, Chavez’s supporters mounted in numbers. 44 His idea of a pilgrimage was a “tradition of religious culture.” 45 Drawing from Spanish culture, every evening of the march Chavez, rallied his support reading sentiments from Emiliano Zapata’s, “Plan de Ayala,” duplicating Zapata’s revolutionary ideologies, he created a version of his own entitled, “Plan de Delano.” Within the “plan de Delano,” Chavez narrates the following, “we seek out basic, God given rights as human beings… We shall be heard, God shall not abandon us… we shall endure, united we stand.”46

For the next five-years, Chavez continued to urge strikers at the local and national level to boycott the consumption and purchasing of “table grapes and grape wine, produced by the
Schenley Grape Industries throughout the states of “Texas, Florida, Colorado, Arizona, Washington, Oregon, and Idaho.” However, it was not until 1970 that the fight for civil rights with Delano agricultural working communities, was won. Certifying the NFWA as a union Chavez changed the name of the organization to the “United Farm Workers” or the UFW. So, how effective was Cesar Chavez’s 1965 grape strike and pilgrimage in Sacramento in obtaining union contracts with the Schenley Grape Industries? Within the state of California, a healthy majority of agricultural growers signed and maintained the standard and condition of labor contracts. Though Chavez made enormous progress in the fight for union rights. Cesar’s efforts did not completely fix the union contract's issues and standards. For some agricultural workers, many hardships were not lessened. For other working employed outside the state of California, the agricultural farm grower did not sign a contract through workers' unions. See this as another mountain to climb; Cesar knew that his work within activism was never done. In the words of Cesar Chavez, “Preservation of one’s own culture does not require contempt or disrespect for other cultures.”

38 United Farm Worker Archive, “Getting the Nation to Pay Attention to Farm Workers.”
39 United Farm Worker Archive, “Getting the Nation to Pay Attention to Farm Workers.”
42 The Times, “Striking Grape Pickers Begin Protest March to Sacramento.”

45 The Times, “Striking Grape Pickers Begin Protest March to Sacramento.”
47 Asbury Park Evening Press, “Opponents Battle Farm Workers.”
Bibliography

Primary Sources


- Roberto Bustos was an original striker involved with Cesar Chavez’s grape strike of 1965 and 300-mile pilgrimage to Sacramento. This document contains the scripted speech of Roberto Bustos while attending the two-day celebration of the 40th anniversary of the Delano grape strike. Within his speech, Bustos recalls the excitement and zeal he had for active protesting. In short, Bustos called the long 25-day march through towns like Decor, Terra Bella, Visalia, and Fresno, among others.


- Reuther was the Vice President of A.F.L.C.I.O., in December of 17, 1965, The New York Times printed this newspaper describes Reuther sentiment of offering 5,000 dollars a month to help vineyard workers. While describing the uses for his money, Reuther also mentions past minimum wage and the stipulation of the new control demand for higher wages.


- This book is an autobiography of John Dunne's account of Cesar Chavez and his fight for civil leadership, directing the Grape Strike of 1965 and the 300-mile pilgrimage to California state capitol, Sacramento. Also, Dunne goes into in-depth detail, outlining every step that Cesar Chavez and the NFWA took in preparation for the grape strike in Delano.


- In addition to Roberto Bustos, Andy Imutan was also a grassroots protester. Speaking alongside Bustos on September 17th, 2005, at the 40th anniversary of the Delano grape strike. As A leader of AWCO and Vice President of the United Farm Workers. In short, Imutan participated in more than just the Delano grape strike. In addition, Imutan, also boycotted other agricultural growers in Baltimore and New York boycotts.

- This Newspaper article written by Lawerance Davies was published on December 17th, 1965; the article was written just four months after the start of the Grape Strike. The article notes Reuther, the Vice President of A.F.L.C.I.O., supporting 10,000 dollars for food and support for the striking Filipino strikers.


- This Newspaper article can be found printed in the March 17th, 1966 edition in “The Time” publication. With the article outlines the beginning stages of the Sacramento pilgrimage. The article highlights the milage and length of the Delano Grape strike of 1965 and the pilgrimage to Sacramento. The article describes the national public limelight Cesar Chavez given to him by his radical protesting.


- This primary source can be found within The Farm Workers Association's official website and archive. It is found under the section entitled Education of the Heart. This document consists of m this is a list of Cesar Chavez's quotations categorized into different headings such as Commitment, Culture, Farmworkers, Non-Violence, and Organizing. This source is an excellent primary source because it scripted numerous quotes from Chavez and gave the reader insight into his thinking.


- This newspaper article can found printed in the September 26th, 1972 of the Asbury Park Evening Press. This article mentions partition and boycotts, and oppositions made by the agricultural grape growers in the attempt to protect their public interests. However, some words of comfort are mentioned within the text, showing Cesar Chavez's unwavering courage to continue against the opposition.


- Published in The Sacramento Bee, on April 11th, 1966. This newspaper editorial describes the swelling of support of Cesar Chavez and his ranks as he moved through Sacramento, eventually swallowed up by the immersed crowd of protest sympathizers. Nevertheless, this newspaper editorial also notes the different phrases and chants such as “Huelge,” a term used by Caesar’s supports in many demonstrations.

- This newspaper editorial was written by Van Nuys, located in the September 26th 1968 publication of the Valley News. The article states that there will be a meeting the next day in response to answering questions such as: what is the truth about the situation in Delano, Are the grape grower really on strike or do they strongly oppose the strike and boycott.

Secondary Sources


- Published in 2002, this book gives a step-by-step narration describing the events, legislation, and boycott of Delano California. This book primarily draws on documents that Cesar presented or wrote, this book comprises the Plan de Delano and the Sacramento March Letter.


- This source entitled; The Crusade of Cesar Chavez, was written by Mariam Pawel. The Book outline experience of of Cesar Chavez within public life and activism. This book lays out a blueprint of Chavez’s life; the text notes information about Chavez’s lineage and his admittance into the CSO and the most notable strikes, i.e., the grape strike and the 300-mile pilgrimage to Sacramento, California. In addition to the continuous ongoing battle for union contracts and how they tie into civil rights activism today.


- Publish within the United Farm Workers Union’s official archive, this document is writing by the United Farm Worker employee. The reader gains a prospective of what Cesar Chavez’s childhood and young adult life were like within the document. In addition, the document narrates the beginning of Union activism and the ideological method such as fast that Chavez later took up as a way to enforce walk-outs.