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## Trade Warrants in Depression Era Santa Cruz

By Frank Perry



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In 1933 the Chamber of Commerce in Santa Cruz, California, paid laborers for a public works project with trade warrants instead of cash. The inovative program was widely accepted and successful in many ways, but was not without disadvantages and setbacks.

## Introduction

Many people today are unfamiliar with trade warrants. Yet, they were one of the early tools used by communities to put people back to work and give a boost to businesses during the Great Depression.

In early 1933, the Santa Cruz Chamber of Commerce, seeing a successful trade warrant program on the Monterey Peninsula, decided to try them in Santa Cruz. It was a carefully devised program that provided jobs to reduce the number of unemployed, funded a local public works project, boosted trade at participating businesses, and cost the Chamber of Commerce almost nothing. In fact, it probably made a slight profit.

To understand how the program worked, five surviving warrants were examined along with contemporary newspaper accounts. The warrants examined are in the collection of the Capitola Historical Museum (number 131), the Santa Cruz Museum of Art & History (number 1064), and in a private collection (numbers 602 and 870).

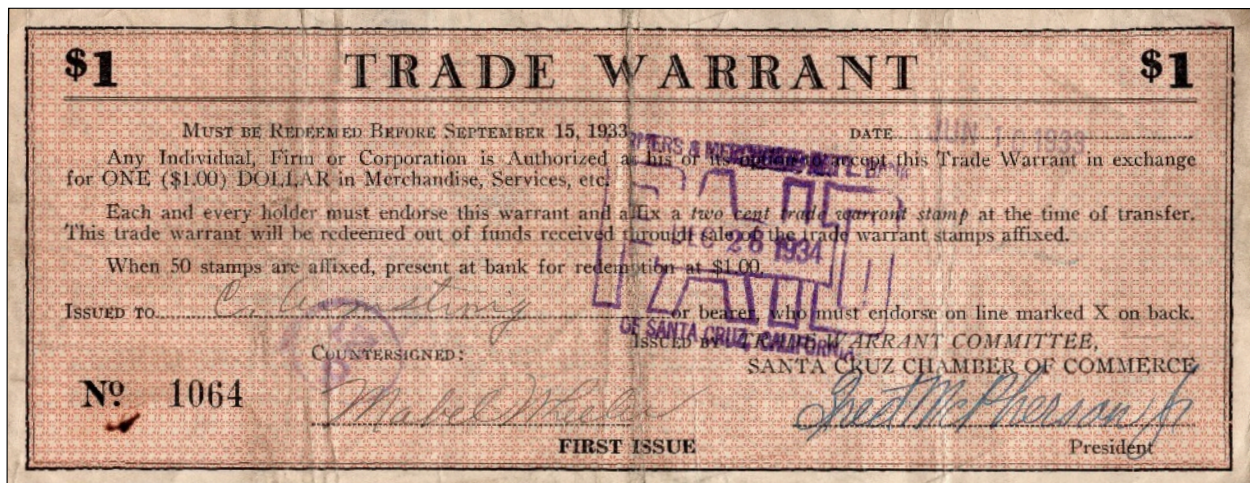
The trade warrants were only issued for two months, but circulated for at least a year and a half. In a small way, they helped launch Santa Cruz on the road to economic recovery while waiting for President Roosevelt's big federal programs (NRA,

PWA, WPA, CCC, etc.) to help improve the slumped economy.

## Background

The term "warrant," as used here, refers to a document that is a substitute or alternative to legal tender. Such warrants, also known as "scrip," entitle the bearer to receive goods, money, or services in exchange. Warrants were not entirely new to Santa Cruz. In the late 1800s, cash-strapped schools paid teachers with warrants with the understanding that they could be exchanged for cash at a later date.<sup>1</sup>

The warrant program of 1933 was more complicated. It was an ingenious system, adapted from ones tried in other cities, that began to grab Santa Cruz's attention early that year. "Santa Cruz has not felt the depression so keenly as have numerous other California cities. . . . Without so severe a problem to meet here, it would be well to be very careful about trying any plan of this sort. . . . However, if other cities, similar[ly] situated, find that such undertakings prove to be a help to local business, it would pay Santa Cruz to investigate," said a newspaper editorial.<sup>2</sup> Since scrip was inflationary, the economy had to be in pretty bad shape to resort to this type of program.



Front of Trade Warrant Number 1064 showing signatures of Mabel Wheeler and Fred D. McPherson, Jr. (Santa Cruz Museum of Art & History collection)

In 1933, the Santa Cruz Chamber of Commerce, with its headquarters in the Palomar Arcade, was a political powerhouse. The chamber addressed many important local issues of the day. In late March 1933, President Lester Wessendorf appointed a committee to investigate the issuing of trade warrants. It consisted of Mabry S. Bibbins, Noel Patterson, Mervin S. Kerrick, Leland F. Hinds, and Samuel Leask, Jr.<sup>3</sup> Chamber Executive Secretary Mabel Wheeler was promptly dispatched to Monterey to research the program there, and she reported back favorably. It had put 200 persons to work and put in circulation “money” that would not otherwise be spent.<sup>4</sup>

The plan proposed for Santa Cruz was modeled after the successful program in Monterey. Here’s how it would work:<sup>5</sup>

1. A certain number of trade warrants would be issued to local unemployed men in exchange for labor. They would be in denominations of one dollar.

2. The men would be put to work on a public works project, such as improvements to the San Lorenzo River, De Laveaga Park, or cleaning the beach. These would be projects that would not otherwise be carried out. The labor provided would therefore not be in competition with those working for cash.

3. Local businesses would be asked to accept the warrants as payment for goods and services.

4. Once in circulation, the warrants could be used for up to 50 transactions. Each time it was used, however, the person passing the warrant had to sign it and affix a two cent stamp. The special stamps were also issued by the Chamber of

Commerce and could be purchased there or from local banks. Basically, this amounted to a 2% charge for using the warrant.

5. When 50 stamps had been applied, the warrant could be cashed at any bank for its face value of \$1.

The goal of the program was to provide employment for men in the community who were without a job. Supposedly, businesses using the warrants would more than make up for the 2% cost through increased trade. And of course, the program would make possible a public works project that would benefit the community.

There were, however, some disadvantages. The scrip would only be good locally, and although everyone was strongly encouraged to accept it, there might be some who would not. There would also be the nuisance of endorsing the warrant every time it was passed, plus buying and applying the two-cent stamps. Scrip was certainly not as convenient as cash.

## The Program Proceeds

The program got a big boost in early April when the Santa Cruz City Council went on record in favor of the plan.<sup>6</sup> Soon, warrants and stamps were printed and the Chamber of Commerce announced that the program would begin on Tuesday, April 11, 1933.<sup>7</sup>

The first project would be construction of a scenic walkway along part of the San Lorenzo River suitable for pedestrians and fishermen. The boardwalk would be 800 feet long, 8 feet wide, and situated on the south bank of the river between Riverside Avenue and a point opposite the stairway



40	<i>Wm. C. Bodys</i>	Signature	2c--Trade--2c Santa Cruz C. of C.
41		Signature	2c--Trade--2c Santa Cruz C. of C.
42	<i>W. J. B.</i>	Signature	2c--Trade--2c Santa Cruz C. of C.
43	<i>Thompson</i>	Signature	2c--Trade--2c Santa Cruz C. of C.
44		Signature	2c--Trade--2c Santa Cruz C. of C.
45	<i>Roberts &amp; Rice</i>	Signature	2c--Trade--2c Santa Cruz C. of C.
46		Signature	2c--Trade--2c Santa Cruz C. of C.
47	<b>A. D. SGARLATO</b>	Signature	2c--Trade--2c Santa Cruz C. of C.
48	<b>BRETT'S QUALITY</b> 17 Church St. Santa Cruz	Signature	2c--Trade--2c Santa Cruz C. of C.
49	<i>Brunetti's</i>	Signature	2c--Trade--2c Santa Cruz C. of C.
50	<i>Modern Balance</i>	Signature	2c--Trade--2c Santa Cruz C. of C.

This Warrant is issued to accomplish a very worthy purpose and to furnish additional employment to persons in need.

No individual, firm or corporation can be expected to accept more warrants than they can dispose of in their regular course of business and full cooperation between the persons involved in the transfer of the warrant should accrue.

The public is earnestly requested to accept this warrant in "change" so as to aid unemployment relief.

Back of Trade Warrant Number 1064.

leading down Beach Hill from Cliff Street.<sup>8</sup> This was no small undertaking and, of course, needed materials as well as labor. The city agreed to supply \$700 worth of materials (eventually more like \$1,000) and have its engineering department oversee design and construction.<sup>9</sup> With little cash on hand, it was up to City Engineer Roy Fowler to get creative. Steel angle brackets would be made

from old wagon-wheel rims stored at the city corporation yard. "The wagon rims have lain idle since the popularization of the automobile, but are now destined to be cut into pieces with a blow-torch and bent into braces," reported the newspaper.<sup>10</sup> The Seaside Company donated steel piles from "The Chutes," a failed amusement ride near the river that had only operated for one year.<sup>11</sup>

On April 11, six men were hired to begin clearing the site.<sup>12</sup> The men were selected from a list at the Central Welfare Bureau by the Chamber of Commerce.<sup>13</sup> They then reported to the city corporation yard for their job assignment. At the end of the day, they received a time slip which they presented to the Chamber of Commerce. They were paid in scrip at the rate of 25¢ per hour, or two dollars for an eight-hour day.<sup>14</sup> This was minimum wage at that time.

Also on April 11, the chamber began selling the stamps so that those businesses that accepted the scrip could pass it on. The workers who initially received the scrip as payment did not need to affix a stamp, but others needed them. "Frank G. Wilson had the honor yesterday of buying the first dollar's worth of stamps which are affixed to the 'scrip,'" said the *Sentinel*.<sup>15</sup> Wilson was in the real estate business.

By April 15, \$40 in trade warrants had been released, and some had been used several times. By April 18, \$85 in warrants had been released. "Already, 15 families have been helped by the giving of employment to men, some of whom have been out of work for many months."<sup>16</sup> The most frequent use was to buy groceries, but one worker even used it to help pay his rent.<sup>17</sup>

Key to success of the program was widespread and frequent use. "Don't let them accumulate, but pass them along," said Mabry Bibbins, chairman of the trade warrant committee.<sup>18</sup> The warrants needed to be redeemed by September 15.<sup>19</sup>

The chamber tried to spread the work around to as many men as possible. There was soon a large pool of workers, representing every conceivable trade and profession.<sup>20</sup>

By April 25, \$200 in trade warrants were in circulation.<sup>21</sup> A group called the San Lorenzo Improvement Club voted to donate \$50 towards the boardwalk.<sup>22</sup>

Both daily newspapers, the *Santa Cruz Evening News* and the *Santa Cruz Sentinel*, gave the program good news coverage. Not surprisingly, the program received the most coverage from the *Sentinel*, where Fred McPherson, Jr., chamber president starting



ENDORSEMENT OF FIRST HOLDER X *C. Crumshaw*

SUBSEQUENT ENDORSEMENTS—USE ONE LINE ONLY. Endorsement does not constitute a guarantee. NO STAMP REQUIRED FOR THIS SIGNATURE

1	<i>Ed. W. H. H. H.</i> Signature	14	<i>Shoom...</i> Signature	27	<i>M. ABRAMS</i> Signature
2	<i>Ed. W. H. H. H.</i> Signature	15	<i>Shoom...</i> Signature	28	<i>SANTA CRUZ EVENING NEWS</i> Signature
3	<i>Ed. W. H. H. H.</i> Signature	16	<i>Shoom...</i> Signature	29	<i>G. W. Kennedy</i> Signature
4	<i>Ed. W. H. H. H.</i> Signature	17	<i>Shoom...</i> Signature	30	<i>Shoom...</i> Signature
5	<i>Ed. W. H. H. H.</i> Signature	18	<i>Shoom...</i> Signature	31	<i>Shoom...</i> Signature
6	<i>Ed. W. H. H. H.</i> Signature	19	<i>Shoom...</i> Signature	32	<i>Shoom...</i> Signature
7	<i>Ed. W. H. H. H.</i> Signature	20	<i>Shoom...</i> Signature	33	<i>Shoom...</i> Signature
8	<i>Ed. W. H. H. H.</i> Signature	21	<i>Shoom...</i> Signature	34	<i>Shoom...</i> Signature
9	<i>Ed. W. H. H. H.</i> Signature	22	<i>Shoom...</i> Signature	35	<i>Shoom...</i> Signature
10	<i>Ed. W. H. H. H.</i> Signature	23	<i>Shoom...</i> Signature	36	<i>Shoom...</i> Signature
11	<i>Ed. W. H. H. H.</i> Signature	24	<i>Shoom...</i> Signature	37	<i>Shoom...</i> Signature
12	<i>Ed. W. H. H. H.</i> Signature	25	<i>Shoom...</i> Signature	38	<i>Shoom...</i> Signature
13	<i>Ed. W. H. H. H.</i> Signature	26	<i>Shoom...</i> Signature	39	<i>Shoom...</i> Signature

Interior of Trade Warrant Number 1064 showing endorsements and stamps.

April 10, was managing editor. Many of the stories were anecdotal, but kept the warrant program in the public eye. One story related how Mervin Kerrick, a member of the trade warrant committee, used trade warrants to help pay a bill at Herb Coats's store. "Kerrick had hardly returned to the Kerrick Laundry, when Herb Coats sent over the payment of a laundry bill, and behold, here were the warrants which had just left the laundry, duly stamped and endorsed and back in the till at Kerrick's," said the *Sentinel*.<sup>23</sup>

By the end of April, 40 men had been employed on the project.<sup>24</sup> The only problem was that it was impossible to give employment to all in need of a job, but every effort was made to give at least some work to as many as possible.<sup>25</sup>

A second project was added—cleaning the main beach—and there was talk of further expanding the program. Mayor Fred Swanton proposed that City Hall (then located in the former F. A. Hihn residence) be repainted by using scrip to pay the

workers and buy the paint.<sup>26</sup> This plan, however, was later dropped when volunteers agreed to do it.

By the end of May, the boardwalk was nearly done, with only the painting remaining. About \$900 in warrants had been issued to workers building the boardwalk and cleaning the beach.<sup>27</sup>

Not until June 3 was the first warrant redeemed for \$1. The warrant was number 205 and it was submitted by Lawrence A. Cullom, an employee of the Coast Counties Gas and Electric Company.<sup>28</sup>

### Problems Arise

Two months after it began, the trade warrant program encountered its first setbacks. On June 12, with the boardwalk completed, the Chamber of Commerce voted not to issue any more warrants unless a new project was approved. The city, however, being short on funds, was unlikely to supply materials for another project. In the meantime, the president of the Coast Counties Gas

and Electric Company announced that it would no longer accept warrants as payment for utility bills. Too large a proportion of them were being used to pay gas and electric bills said the company.<sup>29</sup> It was also noted that the city, which had endorsed the project, refused to accept the warrants for payment of city bills.

The vast majority of the warrants issued, however, were still in circulation. “The trade warrants are still being widely received and many of the merchants have volunteered statements that they are glad to accept them in trade and are more than willing to pay the two-cents for the stamp with the indorsement [sic],” said Mabel Wheeler.<sup>30</sup> “No matter what is said about the Chamber of Commerce and the ‘trade warrant’ idea, the city has a specific improvement at the San Lorenzo river of which it may well be proud,” said a *Sentinel* editorial. “There are laborers in Santa Cruz who have received \$1,100 in commodities which they would otherwise not have been able to secure.”<sup>31</sup>

With so many warrants still in circulation, promotion of the program remained essential. In early July, stamp sales were still brisk.<sup>32</sup> People could even order stamps by phone, and the chamber would deliver them.<sup>33</sup> By the end of the month the chamber had worked out a deal with the city whereby \$1 in scrip could be used to pay a typical \$1.50 water bill. For bills over \$10, up to 10% could be paid in scrip.<sup>34</sup> A similar deal was struck with Coast Counties, limiting the percentage of each bill that could be paid in warrants.<sup>35</sup>

As mid-September grew closer, another problem arose: the warrants were set to expire. “While the expiration date calls for September 15, the committee has extended the date indefinitely, and with complete cooperation by the merchants they can be completed soon,” said Mabry Bibbins.<sup>36</sup>

The completed warrants continued to trickle in, with nearly \$40 worth being redeemed in the last week of November.<sup>37</sup> Bibbins reported that each warrant typically passed through from 40 to 45 hands, indicating wide distribution and acceptance.<sup>38</sup> In one case, the user did not have a stamp, so pasted two pennies to the warrant.<sup>39</sup>

### The Program Winds Down

Clearly, the program was lasting much longer than originally planned. In March 1934, Mabel Wheeler reported that about ten warrants were being redeemed each day, and that stamp sales were still brisk.<sup>40</sup> In April, Fred McPherson, Jr. turned over his position as chamber president to Frank

Gibson. In handing over the gavel, he reflected on the past year. “The first thing taken up was the issuance of trade warrants to give some employment to those in need. The city supplied the material, and the board walk along the river was built under this plan, nearly \$1,100 being issued. The trade warrants are being rapidly retired.”<sup>41</sup>

As the program wound down, the warrants started to become collector’s items. A number of local citizens said they planned to keep one or more, and a request even came in from Pennsylvania for some warrants as souvenirs.<sup>42</sup> If the chamber kept some of the redeemed warrants, they could have sent these to collectors. Perhaps that is the origin of some of those now in museums. If a warrant was filled with stamps but not redeemed, then it amounted to a \$1 profit for the Chamber of Commerce. It is probably impossible to know when the last one was redeemed, but warrant number 1,064 (issued June 10, 1933, two days before the Chamber of Commerce stopped issuing them) was not redeemed until December 28, 1934, undoubtedly making it one of the last ones turned in.

The trade warrant program is but a tiny footnote to Santa Cruz County history, but serves as an example of ingenuity during a time of economic hardship. If such a program is proposed in the future, it would be worthwhile to examine those elements of the program that did and did not work well during the Great Depression.

### Appendix A: List of the trade warrants examined for this article:

Warrant Number: 131

Value: \$1

Date Issued: April 20, 1933

Date Redeemed: July 24, 1934, Farmers and Merchants National Bank

Issued To: H. B. Thompson

Collection of the Capitola Historical Museum

Warrant Number: 407

Value: \$1

Date Issued: April 29, 1933

Date Redeemed: October 10, 1934, Farmers and Merchants National Bank

Issued to: William Davis

Collection of the Capitola Historical Museum

Warrant Number: 602

Value: \$1

Date Issued: May 9, 1933

Date Redeemed: May 23, 1934, Farmers and Merchants National Bank  
Issued to: E. J. Hill  
Private collection

Warrant Number: 870  
Value: \$1  
Date Issued: May 27, 1933  
Date Redeemed: February 14, 1934, Farmers and Merchants National Bank  
Issued to: Joe Michaud  
Private collection

Warrant Number: 1064  
Value: \$1  
Date Issued: June 10, 1933  
Date Redeemed: December 28, 1934, Farmers and Merchants National Bank  
Issued to: C. Armstrong  
Collection of the Santa Cruz Museum of Art & History

## Appendix B: Names on the Warrants

The five warrants examined were issued to five different workers: E. J. Hill, Joe Michaud, William Davis, H. B. Thompson, and C. Armstrong.

E. J. Hill was Elmer J. Hill, who was born in Sutter Creek, California, in about 1895.<sup>43</sup> He served in World War I and settled in Santa Cruz around that time.<sup>44</sup> Hill's occupation, according to the 1933 city directory, was riveter. In 1934, Hill made the news when he unsuccessfully claimed favoritism and discrimination because San Francisco rather than Santa Cruz riveters were hired for water-tank construction at De Laveaga Park. The project was administered by the city and funded by the Public Works Administration.<sup>45</sup> Hill died in 1942 at age 47 while engaged in defense work in the San Francisco Bay area.<sup>46</sup> He left behind a wife and four children.

Joseph L. Michaud was born in Texas in about 1910 and moved with his family to Watsonville in 1920.<sup>47</sup> He was a builder, as was his father. Michaud helped his father construct Chaminade (a Catholic school) in Santa Cruz in 1929-1930. He was a member of Carpenters Local 829 and died in 1992 at age 82.<sup>48</sup>

William Davis was probably William H. Davis (wife, Clara). Davis was born in about 1886 and had several different jobs (cook, clerk, and laborer) according to 1930s city directories. The 1940 census lists him as being engaged in "road work," with an

annual income of \$250. By this time he was living in Watsonville and was employed for 26 weeks during 1939.<sup>49</sup> There was also a William H. Davis in the 1934 and 1935 directories who was a chauffeur and a William E. Davis (1932 to 1936 directories) listed as a store manager.

The 1933 city directory lists a Carrie Armstrong and a Charles L. Armstrong (manager Central Supply Co.), neither of whom are a likely match for the "C. Armstrong" on warrant 1064. There is no record of the warrant program hiring women. Charles L. Armstrong, being a manager, would probably not be seeking work, though it is possible. Also, no match was found for "H. B. Thompson." It is possible these people were residents for only a short time.

All the warrants were signed by Fred D. McPherson, Jr., president of the Santa Cruz Chamber of Commerce, and Mabel Wheeler, executive secretary.

Fred D. McPherson, Jr., was a member of the well-known McPherson family, who for four generations were publishers of the *Santa Cruz Sentinel*. In 1933 McPherson was managing editor of the *Sentinel* (his father being publisher). McPherson was *Sentinel* publisher from 1940 to 1970 and from 1975 to 1982, and was involved with many civic organizations.<sup>50</sup> McPherson was active with the Santa Cruz Chamber of Commerce for several years before being elected vice president in 1932, and president on April 10, 1933, the day before the trade warrant program began.<sup>51</sup>

Mabel Wheeler's official title was executive secretary, but according to drugstore owner and Chamber of Commerce member Melvin McRae, Wheeler was in complete charge of the organization from 1928 to 1935.<sup>52</sup> Wheeler was



Mabel Wheeler. (*Sentinel*, March 14, 1937, p. 4)

born in Iowa in about 1886 and came with her parents to Santa Cruz in 1909.<sup>53</sup> She helped organize the first Miss California Pageant in the 1920s, and the annual Santa Cruz Birthday party and parade in the 1930s.<sup>54</sup> She was a member of the Santa Cruz Business and Professional Women's club and several other organizations. Although she moved to San Francisco in 1942, her whereabouts and activities continued to be



reported in local papers until her death in 1968.<sup>55</sup>

The five warrants provide a sampling of the diversity of businesses and individuals who participated in the program. Below is an alphabetical list assembled from the five warrants. For some, additional information has been provided, based mostly on the 1933 city directory. Some businesses accepted the same warrant as many as five times (ie. Producer's Creameries, warrant number 131), but most names appear just once or twice. The list is alphabetical by business name and the last name of individuals, though sometimes it was hard to distinguish between individuals and businesses. Some names were illegible, so are not included here. Annotations are in brackets.

H. L. Abrams [Hyman L. Abrams, Morris Abrams Dept. Store]  
M. Abrams [Morris Abrams, Morris Abrams Dept. Store]  
Mrs. C. A. Anderson [Mrs. Cecil A. (Ella M.) Anderson]  
A. Antonelli [perhaps the Antonelli Hotel on Front St.]  
H. A. Barrington [Harry A. Barrington, gas station]  
Mrs. Guy Bibbins [Mrs. Guy E. (A. Ocleta) Bibbins]  
Bibbins Service [Bibbins Tire and Electric Service Station, Mabry Bibbins, proprietor]  
Earl Blair [probably W. Earl Blair, auto machanic]  
F. G. Blair [Fred G. Blair, printer, *Santa Cruz Morning Sentinel*]  
Bond's Tailor Shop  
Teresa Bovee [laundry worker]  
Brown Hardware [& Paint Co.]  
Brown Ranch [sold dairy products and flower bulbs]  
E. Brunetti [Enrico Brunetti, clerk]  
Byrne Bros. [hardware and plumbing]  
Clyde C. Carmean [dentist]  
Central Supply Company  
City Water Works  
Coast Counties Gas and Electric  
Herb Coats [radios, sporting goods, refrigerators]  
Costella Bros. [men's clothing]  
Cunnison Bros. Inc. [garage]  
V. Dakan [Verla D. Dakan, stenographer, Coast Counties Gas & Electric Co.]  
Mrs. C. B. Dodge [Mrs. Condace B. Dodge]  
Norman C. Doughty  
Davenport & Sons [William Davenport]  
Economy Drug Co. [in Watsonville]  
Elsom's [Nina M. Elsom, women's clothing]

Hiram F. Faneuf [gas appliances, plumbing & sheet metal]  
George Finch [George F. Finch, linotype operator, *Santa Cruz Evening News*]  
Flannery's [George Flannery, grocer]  
Roy Fox [grocer]  
French Laundry [Santa Cruz French Laundry]  
Ed Fritz Emma  
Effie Frye [Effie L. Frye]  
Goebel's [restaurant near wharf, George Goebel, proprietor]  
Gosliner Estate  
Elmer Hall [Elmer T. Hall]  
Alfred C. Handley [batteries]  
Harris Bros. [men's clothing]  
Hartley Hardware Co.  
Hebbron Lumber Company  
H. O. Heiner [Harold O. Heiner, vice president, Santa Cruz County Title Co.]  
Ernest Hilliker [Ernest A. Hilliker, pressman, *Santa Cruz Sentinel*]  
H. B. Hogue [Helen B. Hogue, bookkeeper, Santa Cruz Securities Co.]  
C. W. Hughes [Charles W. Hughes, grocer]  
Huston & Weymouth [Walter A. Huston and Alvin L. Weymouth, automobile repair]  
E. H. Huxtable [Evan H. Huxtable, gas station]  
Izant & Wilson [plumbers]  
Mrs. Wm. James [Mabel L. James]  
Jensen Bros. [Ford motor cars, sales and service]  
W. R. Kaylar [possibly Raymond W. Kaylar, blacksmith]  
M. Kelsey [Madeline Kelsey, clerk]  
G. W. Kennedy [could be Grace Kennedy, or husband, Warren G. Kennedy, linotype opporator]  
Kerrick Ldry & Dry Cleaners [owner Mervin S. Kerrick was on the Chamber of Commerce trade warrants committee]  
Mrs. R. Kirby [could be wife of Raymond Kirby]  
Landess & Touhy [aka Landess Grocery, Julian W. Landess & Rollin R. Touhy]  
Lease & Wettstein [grocery, Rupert I. Lease & P. P. Wettstein]  
J. C. Lester [James C. Lester, laborer]  
Melvin's [Melvin's Drug Store, Melvin C. McRae, proprietor]  
D. R. Minogue [Daniel R. Minoque, grocer]  
Modern Bakery [aka Modern Baking Company]  
Harry E. Murray [agent, Guaranty Building & Loan Association]  
T. V. Mathews [Theodore V. Mathews, accountant, Byrne Bros.]



Thos. McHugh [Thomas McHugh, reporter, *Santa Cruz Evening News*]  
Miss McLeod [Rose F. McLeod, clerk, J. C. Penny Co.]  
McNeils Auto Body Works [Thomas L. McNeil]  
S. Moren [Stella Moren, fitter at Elsom's]  
F. D. McPherson [signature matches Fred D. McPherson, Jr., managing editor, *Santa Cruz Sentinel* and president, Santa Cruz Chamber of Commerce]  
C. L. Montgomery [Cliff L. Montgomery, gas station]  
Ed Nelson  
Owens Bros. Transfer and Storage [David A. and James B. Owens]  
Palmer Drug Co. [P. J. Freeman]  
Mrs. J. Pedemonte [there was a Jacob, James, John, and John, Jr. in Santa Cruz]  
Plaza Grocery [Fortunado Beltrami and Herman Mortara, proprietors]  
Pieracci Bros. [wholesale produce, Alfonso Pieracci, manager]  
J. F. Preston [J. Floyd Preston, driver]  
Producers' Creameries, L. G. Royse, Mgr. [aka Producer's Creamery]  
The Quality Store [department store, Theodore R. Ebert, proprietor]  
L. G. Royse [Leonard G. Royse, manager, Producer's Creamery]  
Mrs. L. Royse [Mrs. Leonard G. (Ruth) Royse]  
Rittenhouse Bros. [men's clothing, Floyd O. Rittenhouse, proprietor]  
Roberts & Rice [Porter C. Roberts and E. Russell Rice, Jr., welders]  
Mrs. Ed Root [Irene Root, wife of Edward Root, news vender]  
Samuel Leask & Sons [department store]  
S & M Bakery [Mabry Bibbins, proprietor; also chairman of the Chamber of Commerce trade warrants committee; Commissioner of Streets and Parks]  
Santa Cruz Auto Parts [S. L. Leach]  
Santa Cruz Bakery cant find  
Santa Cruz Chamber of Commerce  
*Santa Cruz Evening News* [H. R. Judah, business manager, E. J. Devlin, editor]  
Santa Cruz Floral Co. [florists, M. Clare Fagen, proprietor]  
Santa Cruz Printers [aka Santa Cruz Printery, C. N. Kilfoyl, proprietor]  
Walti Schilling [Walti Schilling Co., Inc.; Fred W. Walti, president, Mrs. Clara Pearson, secretary; El Dorado Market]

Irene Schlichting [bookkeeper, Morris Abrams Department Store]  
D. Sgarlato [probably August D. Sgarlato, Pacific Motor Sales]  
Sharp & Molitor [Carroll F. Sharp and Raymond P. Molitor, grocers]  
S. H. Shatkin [Samuel H. Shatkin, manager of The Hub]  
Mary E. Smith [clerk, Economy Drug Store, widow of Pinkney Smith]  
Smith's Groc. [three different Smiths were grocers]  
J. Spencer [Jos C. Spencer, Deputy County Assessor]  
Stikeman & Pierce [grocery store]  
Sweet Service Co. [R. W. Sanford and F. M. Chandler, auto supply]  
Sreeter's Quality Press [C. M. Streeter, printer]  
C. C. Tyler [Charles C. Tyler, meats]  
The Union Ice Co.  
Walnut Avenue Bakery [E. C. Dakan, proprietor]  
Whitney Bros.  
Mrs. L. E. Whitney  
Williamson & Garrett [James R. Williamson and J. H. Garrett, grocers]  
Mable B. Wilson  
Wood Brothers [George W. Wood and Arthur R. Wood, lumber and mill work]  
Mrs. J. A. Woods [Marguerite Woods, wife of Joseph A. Woods]

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## About the Author

Frank Perry was born and raised in Santa Cruz and has long been a student of the region's natural features and cultural history. He is the author of several books, including *Lighthouse Point: Illuminating Santa Cruz History*, *Notes From Santa Cruz: The County's Music History*, *Lime Kiln Legacies: The History of the Lime Industry in Santa Cruz County* (co-author), and *A Companion To Capitola*. He is a volunteer with the Friends of the Cowell Lime Works Historic District, the Soquel Pioneers, the Santa Cruz Museum of Natural History, and the Santa Cruz Museum of Art & History. Since 2013 he has served as curator of the Capitola Historical Museum.

## Notes

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- <sup>1</sup> See for example, “Here, There & Everywhere—The following, . . .” *Santa Cruz Sentinel*, October 4, 1879, 3:5.
- <sup>2</sup> “Editorial,” *Santa Cruz Sentinel*, February 5, 1933, 10:1.
- <sup>3</sup> “Plan for Scrip in Connection with Civic Work,” *Santa Cruz Sentinel*, March 28, 1933, 5:1; The members were associated with the following businesses: (Mabry S. Bibbins) Bibbins Tire and Electric Service Station, (Noel Patterson) Hihn Realty Interests, (Mervin S. Kerrick) Kerrick Laundry and Dry Cleaning, (Leland F. Hinds) Farmers and Merchants National Bank and People’s Savings Bank, (Samuel Leask, Jr.) Leask’s Department Store.
- <sup>4</sup> Ibid.
- <sup>5</sup> This description is adapted from an editorial in the *Santa Cruz Sentinel*, March 28, 1933, 8:1.
- <sup>6</sup> “Council Goes on Record Favoring Trade Warrants,” *Santa Cruz Evening News*, April 7, 1933, 3:2.
- <sup>7</sup> “First of Scrip to be Put Out Next Tuesday,” *Santa Cruz Evening News*, April 8, 1933, 2:3.
- <sup>8</sup> “Work Started on Board Walk at River Bank,” *Santa Cruz Evening News*, April 11, 1933, 5:3.
- <sup>9</sup> “Trade Warrant Plan to Start on River Walk,” *Santa Cruz Evening News*, April 10, 1933, 6:1; “First of Scrip to be Put Out Next Tuesday,” *Santa Cruz Evening News*, April 8, 1933, 2:3.
- <sup>10</sup> “Work Started on Board Walk at River Bank,” *Santa Cruz Evening News*, April 11, 1933, 5:3.
- <sup>11</sup> Ibid. “Giant Chutes at River Beach Now Being Dismantled,” *Santa Cruz Sentinel*, October 4, 1932, 6:5-6; “Seaside Company Gives Chute Rails For River Walk,” *Santa Cruz Evening News*, February 14, 1933, 3:7; “Derrick Hoists Old Iron Rails From Beach Sand,” *Santa Cruz Evening News*, March 9, 1933, 2:4.
- <sup>12</sup> “San Lorenzo River Board Walk Work Starts under ‘Scrip’ Plan,” *Santa Cruz Sentinel*, April 12, 1933, 7:8.
- <sup>13</sup> “First Scrip is Put in Trade Channel Today,” *Santa Cruz Evening News*, April 14, 1933, 2:1.
- <sup>14</sup> “San Lorenzo River Board Walk Work Starts under ‘Scrip’ Plan,” *Santa Cruz Sentinel*, April 12, 1933, 7:8.
- <sup>15</sup> Ibid.
- <sup>16</sup> “Scrip is Moving Splendidly for New Board Walk,” *Santa Cruz Sentinel*, April 18, 1933, 7:7.
- <sup>17</sup> Ibid.
- <sup>18</sup> Ibid.
- <sup>19</sup> This was printed on each warrant.
- <sup>20</sup> “Trade Warrant Plan Meeting Great Success,” *Santa Cruz Sentinel*, April 19, 1933, 3:6.
- <sup>21</sup> “Trade Warrants For \$200 Are Now In Circulation,” *Santa Cruz Evening News*, April 25, 1933, 4:8.
- <sup>22</sup> “San Lorenzo Booster Club Aids New Walk,” *Santa Cruz Sentinel*, April 26, 1933, 3:7.
- <sup>23</sup> “Piles All Driven For Foundation For the New Board Walk Along River,” *Santa Cruz Sentinel*, April 28, 1933, 9:6-7.
- <sup>24</sup> “40 Men Given Work on River Improvements; Trade Warrants Move,” *Santa Cruz Sentinel*, April 30, 1933, 9:6-7.
- <sup>25</sup> “Board Walk Along San Lorenzo River Being Pushed To Completion,” *Santa Cruz Sentinel*, May 4, 1933, 7:2-3.
- <sup>26</sup> “Editorial,” *Santa Cruz Sentinel*, May 3, 1933, 8:1.
- <sup>27</sup> “Painting Begun on New River Board Walk,” *Santa Cruz Evening News*, May 31, 1933, 2:2.
- <sup>28</sup> “First of C. of C. Trade Warrants Turned in For \$1,” *Santa Cruz Sentinel*, June 3, 1933, 2:7.
- <sup>29</sup> “Trade Warrant Plan Has Not Been Dropped,” *Santa Cruz Sentinel*, June 13, 1933, 7:4.
- <sup>30</sup> “All Outstanding Trade Warrants To Be Redeemed,” *Santa Cruz Evening News*, June 14, 1933, 2:1.
- <sup>31</sup> “Editorial,” *Santa Cruz Sentinel*, June 15, 1933, 10:1.
- <sup>32</sup> “Trade Warrant Use Shown by Demand for Paster Stamps,” *Santa Cruz Evening News*, July 8, 1933, 3:3.
- <sup>33</sup> “Local Script [sic] is Now Accepted on Water Bills,” *Santa Cruz Sentinel*, August 1, 1933, 7:5.
- <sup>34</sup> Ibid.
- <sup>35</sup> Ibid.
- <sup>36</sup> “Trade Warrants Still Good As Time Extended,” *Santa Cruz Sentinel*, September 16, 1933, 2:2.
- <sup>37</sup> “Merchants Urged to Cash City’s Trade Warrants,” *Santa Cruz Sentinel*, November 30, 1933, 5:5.
- <sup>38</sup> “Trade Warrants Are Gradually Being Completed,” *Santa Cruz Sentinel*, December 12, 1933, 3:8.
- <sup>39</sup> “Pennies Wrapped In Cellophane On A Trade Warrant,” *Santa Cruz Sentinel*, December 21, 1933, 3:6.

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- <sup>40</sup> “Trade Warrants Coming In Daily Full of Stamps,” *Santa Cruz Evening News*, March 1, 1934, 6:1.
- <sup>41</sup> “Frank Gibson Elected President of the Santa Cruz Chamber Commerce,” *Santa Cruz Sentinel*, April 24, 1934, 3:2-3.
- <sup>42</sup> “Bibbins Urges Acceptance of Trade Warrants,” *Santa Cruz Sentinel*, December 7, 1933, 2:6.
- <sup>43</sup> “Hill,” *Santa Cruz Sentinel*, Dec. 15, 1942, 7:1.
- <sup>44</sup> “Elmer J. Hill Of Hagemann Ave. Dies At Age Of 47,” *Santa Cruz Sentinel*, December 16, 1942, 5:1.
- <sup>45</sup> “Claims Outside Help is Given Job Preference,” *Santa Cruz Sentinel*, June 5, 1934, 1:2.
- <sup>46</sup> “Elmer J. Hill Of Hagemann Ave. Dies At Age Of 47,” *Santa Cruz Sentinel*, December 16, 1942, 5:1.
- <sup>47</sup> “Funerals: Michaud,” *Santa Cruz Sentinel*, Nov. 18, 1992, 8:4; “Obituaries: Joseph Michaud,” *Santa Cruz Sentinel*, November 18, 1992, 8:1.
- <sup>48</sup> Ibid.
- <sup>49</sup> United States Federal Census, Watsonville, California, 1940.
- <sup>50</sup> Robert Mittendorf, “Name-dropping,” *Santa Cruz Sentinel*, August 20, 1991, 7:1-4.
- <sup>51</sup> “McPherson New Head Of C. of C,” *Santa Cruz Evening News*, April 10, 1933, 1:7.
- <sup>52</sup> “Mabel Wheeler Will Mark 80th Birthday,” *Santa Cruz Sentinel*, January 30, 1967, 4:2-3.
- <sup>53</sup> “Mabel Wheeler, Former C of C Aide, Dies At 81,” *Santa Cruz Sentinel*, July 19, 1968, 22:6.
- <sup>54</sup> “Mabel Wheeler Will Mark 80th Birthday,” *Santa Cruz Sentinel*, January 30, 1967, 4:2-3.
- <sup>55</sup> “Mabel Wheeler Sells Home Here,” *Santa Cruz Sentinel*, August 24, 1945, 11:1. (This article says that she moved to San Francisco three years earlier.)