

Between the Gulches

The Twin Fates of Live Oak Cityhood and the Broadway-Brommer Road

“We’re all children of landscapes.”

—Robert Moor, *On Trails: An Exploration*

For most of human time, mountains and waterways have challenged our footsteps and tracks, forming natural boundaries to our perceived territory and shaping the geography of our communities.

Along the north Monterey Bay, hills, rivers, estuaries, and gulches defined the edges of our settlements. And while year-round creeks and rivers inspire bridges, gulches can lead the wanderer into believing there’s a pathway through intriguing shadows.

Gulches provide nature’s backdrop to the question of why Live Oak, the densely settled unincorporated area between Santa Cruz and Capitola, was never annexed to Santa Cruz. It’s a story of why Live Oak itself has not incorporated as a municipality, and why most people who live there think they live in the City of Santa Cruz.

Bridging the gulches—or not—anchors a twin story of the road that was planned to connect Live Oak with Santa Cruz across Arana Gulch. The Broadway-Brommer Road was never built. Instead, in 2015, a new pedestrian and bicycle path opened along the road’s former right-of-way, traversing the eastern Santa Cruz Greenbelt.

The Gulches of Rancho Los Esteros

It was never easy to get here, or there, depending on your point of view.

Located between two of Santa Cruz County’s broadest and deepest gulches, Arana and Rodeo, Live Oak is known today by the name of its local school district.¹

Live Oak originally consisted of two Mexican ranchos: on the west, Rancho Los Esteros (ranch of estuaries or lakes), granted provisionally by Governor Alvarado to Alejandro Rodriguez in 1837, and Rancho Arroyo del Rodeo on the east, granted to his brother Francisco Rodriguez.² Alejandro eventually changed the name of his rancho to “Rancho Encinalitos,” ranch of little live oaks, but he neglected to record the grant properly, causing subsequent problems with land ownership. The boundary between the two ranchos was at Rodeo Gulch.

Arana Gulch, together with Hagemann Gulch and Woods Lagoon, served as Live Oak’s western boundary and has been, for the past hundred or so years, the designated city limit between Santa Cruz and formerly rural Live Oak. The Santa Cruz city limits now terminate on the Live Oak side of the harbor, which used to be Woods Lagoon, one of the original Twin Lakes. Leona Creek Gulch descends into Schwan Lake, the single surviving lagoon of Twin Lakes State Beach.

This account generally uses ‘Live Oak’ to refer to the entire unincorporated, urbanized area located between the current city limits of Santa Cruz and Capitola.³

Part 1

Annexation and Incorporation

For the greater part of the 20th century, local folks assumed the City of Santa Cruz would eventually annex growing Live Oak—it was just a matter of when. Key factors in the eventual annexation puzzle were

Between the Gulches

competition for anticipated 41st Avenue sales tax revenues, surcharges levied on non-city water customers, development of the new University, and the cultural and regulatory shift toward preserving natural environments. For a short while, in the early 1970s, some people thought Live Oak should become its own city. Today, Live Oak is a densely populated unincorporated area sandwiched between Santa Cruz and Capitola.

1905: Santa Cruz Annexes Seabright and the Eastside to Arana Gulch

Following a spirited campaign, Santa Cruz city fathers enthusiastically celebrated the 1905 election annexing a portion of the Eastside by a vote of 778 to 184.⁴ The city boundary moved from Ocean Street east to Seabright and Woods Lagoon, and northward through the middle of Arana Gulch to DeLaveaga Heights—natural boundaries of the day. The Live Oak/Twin Lakes Baptists, belatedly hoping to be included in the annexation, were told they “can come in later.”⁵

In anticipation of subsequent annexations marching eastward and in order to “still closer identify this rapidly growing section with the City of Santa Cruz,” in 1908, the County Board of Supervisors named all Live Oak north-south streets between the Soquel Road (now Soquel Avenue/Drive) and the bay with a sequential numerical system (e.g., 7th Avenue, 17th Avenue, 41st Avenue).⁶ This numerical system was already in place just beyond newly-annexed Seabright Avenue and into Twin Lakes on the other side of Woods Lagoon (the city’s new 1905 boundary). The Supervisors action extended the numbered streets from Santa Cruz all the way to 49th Avenue at Soquel Creek near Camp Capitola.⁷

Santa Cruz expanded city water service to parts of growing Live Oak in 1932, charging a ten percent non-city customer surcharge as a “guaranteed return” on the city’s investment.⁸

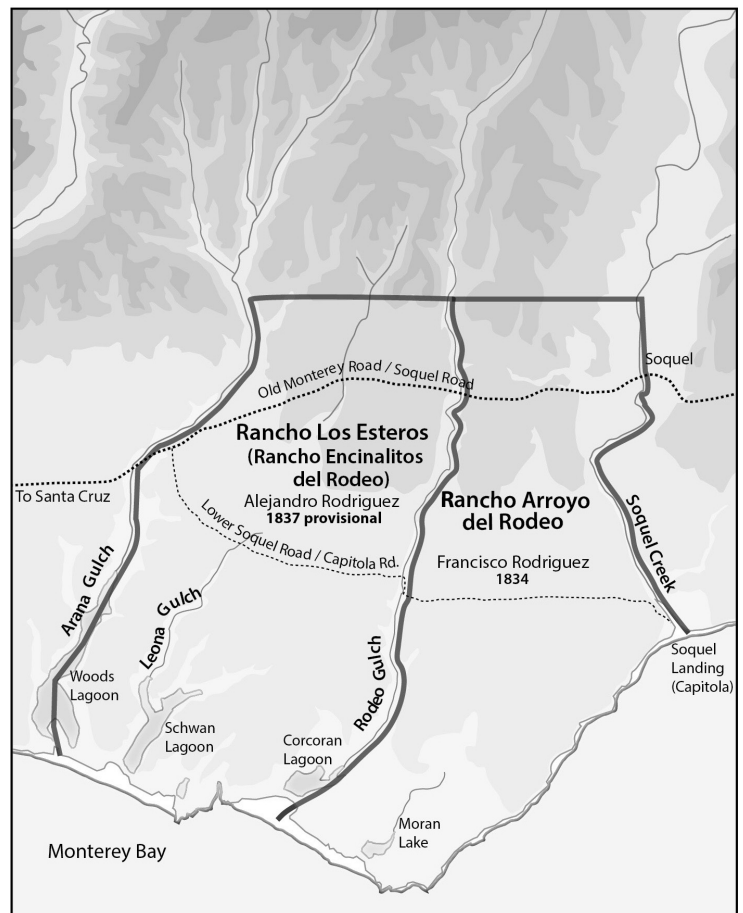
The 1905 Seabright/Eastside annexation was the city’s last for more than 50 years.

1960: *Santa Cruz of Tomorrow* Plan Endorses Annexation of Live Oak

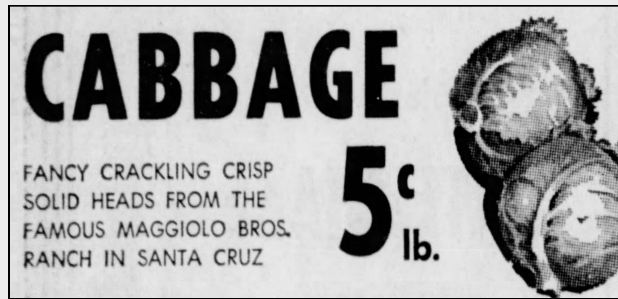
California’s post-WWII population boom inspired the state to issue a call for local governments to adopt master plans for future development, including identifying a “sphere of influence” to mark their planned future city boundaries.

In 1959, Santa Cruz sponsored a planning process involving “The Committee of One Hundred,” referring to the approximately 100 businessmen and civic leaders who met nearly weekly for a year to craft a plan for “Santa Cruz of Tomorrow.” The 1960 draft *Tomorrow* plan recommended “immediate annexation” of Live Oak and Twin Lakes to Rodeo Gulch/Corcoran Lagoon.⁹ Capitola subsequently announced its own annexation plan for Soquel and Opal Cliffs.¹⁰

Inopportunistly, in December 1960, less than one month after the initial *Tomorrow* plan was adopted by the Santa Cruz City Council, the University of California Regents announced their decision to establish a new UC campus on the Cowell property adjacent to the city’s upper westside. In the “be-careful-what-you-ask-for” panic that surely ensued at city hall, the Santa Cruz of Tomorrow Committee hastily accepted a new assignment as the city’s University Planning Committee, and the city’s attention shifted way from Live Oak toward westside Santa Cruz.¹¹



The Ranchos of Live Oak. (Map by Norman Poitevin)



From Ebert's Super Shopping Center advertisement,
Santa Cruz Sentinel, 1959

The Genoa Farmers at 7th and Brommer

Live Oak farmers Emilio and Rose Maggiolo (pronounced ma-JOE-lo) don't have a street named after them, but if you happened to frequent Shopper's Corner in the 1950s and 60s, you couldn't have missed the displays of Maggiolo Bros. popular 'truck farm' produce. Maggiolo Bros. provided fresh produce to Santa Cruz City Schools, Dominican Hospital, Santa Cruz Hotel and other local enterprises.

The Maggiolo's lived on a 10-acre farm on the Live Oak side of Arana Gulch at the corner of 7th Avenue and Brommer Street. They shared the land and the work with Rose's parents, Giacomo (Jack) and Maria Ceresetto, who helped establish the original Santa Cruz Farmer's Market in 1932. In those years, news of a new road crossing Arana Gulch into Santa Cruz along the north side of the Ceresetto property led Jack and Maria to not plant that portion of their farm. During the following decades, when the city and county indicated that the road was coming but they weren't sure when, the Ceresettos went ahead and planted the entire hillside down to Woods Lagoon.

For the Ceresetto and Maggiolo families, the possibility of this new road took on a wishful-thinking quality, tinged with some good-natured eye-rolling.

In 1967, when farming there was no longer profitable, Emilio and Rose Maggiolo built Sorrento Oaks Mobile Home Park on Brommer Street. They were one of the first owners to convert their park to resident self-ownership.

Emilio Maggiolo was a long-serving Live Oak School Board member and President of the Live Oak Improvement Association, the group that first filed for Live Oak incorporation in 1970.

Santa Cruz 95062

In 1963, the US Postal Service established a new zip code system throughout the United States. Santa Cruz city was numbered 95060 within roughly the area of the pre-1905 city limits, while the city's eastside and unincorporated Live Oak, all the way to Capitola, were unified under a second "Santa Cruz 95062" postal code.

One can imagine the postal service rationale: Santa Cruz had declared its intention in the *Santa Cruz of Tomorrow* plan to annex Live Oak. Also, a small town along Highway 99 near the Feather River had already incorporated in 1947 as "Live Oak," ergo, that name was not available. So, while other unincorporated areas along

the rapidly urbanizing Santa Cruz County coast were assigned their own name and zip code (e.g., Soquel 95073, Aptos 95003), Live Oak ended up being part of Santa Cruz 95062. Many people living in Live Oak still wonder why Santa Cruz City Council candidates don't appear on their ballots at election time.

1963: Annexation Fever - Santa Cruz and Capitola Vie for Live Oak

In 1962, in response to California's phenomenal population growth during the 1950s and early 1960s, the state legislature started considering proposals to systematize urban development, municipal and special

Between the Gulches

district annexations, and city incorporations.¹² Municipal governments were, and still are, understood as the most efficient and democratic form of local government in urbanized areas.¹³

Wary of state legislation proposing the establishment of new Local Agency Formation Commissions (LAFCO) that would oversee and approve future annexations and incorporations in each county, in 1963, the cities of Santa Cruz and Capitola embarked on annexation binges of their respective adjacent unincorporated areas.

For University-focused Santa Cruz, this meant trying to advance the city's westside up the north coast as well as looking eastward toward Live Oak.¹⁴ The City Council discussed (and eventually passed) an increase in non-city customer water rates "to encourage annexation to the city."¹⁵

In April 1963, the cities of Santa Cruz and Capitola each presented their rationale for Live Oak annexation to over 200 people at a forum sponsored by the Live Oak Improvement Association.¹⁶ Santa Cruz City Manager Dave Koester indicated that the city "is not actively seeking annexation of areas east of its boundaries," but went on to present arguments for preferring city annexation to the unincorporated status quo or Live Oak incorporation as its own city. Capitola officials presented their vision for a mid-county city as a "merger of Live Oak, Soquel, Opal Cliffs and Aptos . . . with Capitola as the operating headquarters."¹⁷ Some local residents voiced satisfaction with the status quo; First District County Supervisor, Robert Burton, representing Live Oak, declined to take a position.

At that meeting, Vernon Berlin, owner of KSCO radio station on Corcoran Lagoon, advocated for immediate annexation of Live Oak to Santa Cruz. Perceiving a lukewarm local response to annexation, Berlin subsequently initiated a more limited "East Cliff" annexation effort for the area south of the railroad tracks, between Rodeo Gulch/Corcoran Lagoon and the current city limits at the soon-to-be-opened Santa Cruz Harbor.

A petition from Live Oak residents and businesses protesting the proposed East Cliff annexation was presented to the City of Santa Cruz Planning Commission in May 1963. Petitioners were informed that their action was "premature" and the complicated steps toward annexation enumerated. City Attorney Rod Atchison pointed out that annexing an "uninhabited" area is much simpler than annexing a populated one.¹⁸

Later that month, the Santa Cruz City Council authorized circulation of a petition for the East Cliff annexation. According to staff reports, annexation "would appear to provide immediate gains," but "a minus for the city would be the fact that water department revenue would drop since water users in the area pay a higher, out-of-city rate."¹⁹

Perhaps also sensing an apparent lack of enthusiasm in Live Oak for annexation, Capitola's first major target became Soquel. Capitola was originally known as Soquel Landing and for a century was tightly linked with the older logging village. But the Highway 1 freeway had recently bisected the mid-county and Soquel wasn't at all interested in being part of Capitola.²⁰

Following its unsuccessful attempt to annex Soquel, Capitola turned its attention eastward toward Seacliff and westward toward Rodeo Gulch. Sometimes referred to as Doyle Gulch, Rodeo Gulch offered a natural boundary for Capitola's westward annexation push, eventually confirmed in its *1964 General Plan*.²¹

The State Legislature passed LAFCO legislation in late 1963. The new Santa Cruz County Local Agency Formation Commission held its first meeting at the end of the year with the county clerk as its executive secretary and a Commission membership of two county supervisors, two City Council members selected by a committee representing the then-three cities in the county, and one public member selected by the four elected officials. The first public member on LAFCO was future Santa Cruz County Supervisor and California State Senator Henry Mello of Watsonville.

To this day, LAFCO is the sole entity overseeing local government and special district annexations throughout the county.

1964: Cities (Briefly) Agree on Future Boundaries

Santa Cruz adopted its first General Plan in April 1964. The plan noted that:

New thoroughfare connections from Santa Cruz easterly through Live Oak will provide closer ties with the rest of the city, and annexation to the city is recommended.²²

The plan also affirmed that the city's sphere of influence extended east to Rodeo Gulch. Three months later, Capitola adopted its General Plan with its westward sphere of influence boundary also at Rodeo Gulch.

Between the Gulches

It was to be the last time in two decades that the two cities agreed on their future mid-county boundary. Two weeks after Santa Cruz approved its new General Plan, Worth Brown of Brown Bulb and Dairy Ranch announced his family's intention to join with Palo Alto-based Sutter Hill developers to build a regional shopping mall on the west side of 41st Avenue between Capitola Road and the freeway.²³

By May 1965, Santa Cruz had shifted its sphere of influence boundary eastward to 41st Avenue, setting itself up for a fight with both Capitola and the county over future revenue from the new mid-county business district, and further straining its Live Oak annexation intent.

Consistent with its push eastward, in 1967, the City of Santa Cruz purchased the privately-owned Beltz Water Company in central Live Oak, adding a groundwater resource to the city's water system. A 35 percent non-city surcharge for "higher and more uniform pressure" was levied on 1,500 new Live Oak customers.²⁴

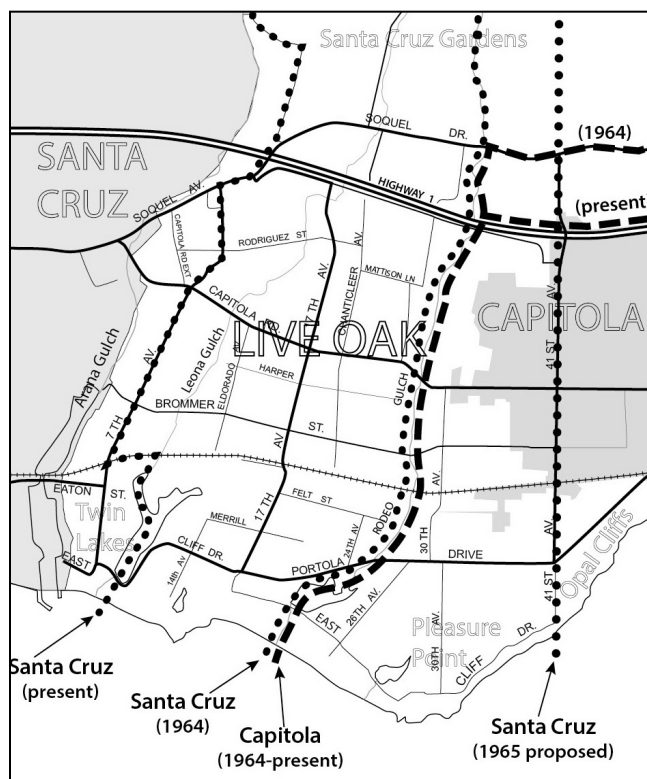
1968: Santa Cruz County Government, *The Years Ahead*

Rapid growth and haphazard urbanization were taking a toll on the multi-level relationships between city and county governments in Santa Cruz County.²⁵

In 1967, responding to Chamber of Commerce and Grand Jury concerns, the county initiated a study to understand how county government could modernize as its population continued to grow. Rumblings about the effectiveness of local government had started with the establishment of a "Government Research Council" back in 1961, with "ousted" County Administrative Officer Richard O'Reilly serving as the group's executive secretary.²⁶

The county's new Committee on County Government Organization, a small group of community leaders including former Santa Cruz Mayor Norman Lezin (the Government Research Council's first president), Philips Patton (father of future county supervisor Gary Patton), and Robert Swenson, President of Cabrillo College, worked together with management consultants on recommendations for *Santa Cruz County Government, The Years Ahead*.²⁷

A key recommendation of the 1968 report was that the county establish "county service areas" as a way to provide and manage urban-level services to unincorporated as well as municipal areas, thereby replacing the confusing and overlapping boundaries of



Santa Cruz and Capitola Sphere of Influence Boundaries for Live Oak, 1964–present. (Map by Norman Poitevin adapted from map courtesy of Santa Cruz County LAFCO)

over 160 multifarious special districts.²⁸ This recommendation ran somewhat contrary to prevailing state policies that emphasized consolidation of urban and municipal services within cities.

While not overtly rejecting new city annexations or incorporations, the county report leaned heavily on LAFCO as "the key in this proposal."²⁹

New LACFO Director Promotes Municipal Planning

Implementation of the County Government study was not easy going. The Aptos area was recommended as a "test model."³⁰ A candidate for County Supervisor in the Second (Aptos) District sent letters to the board members of fire, water, and other special districts warning of a "county takeover proposal."³¹

Santa Cruz initiated new annexation studies of Live Oak, Pasatiempo, Dominican Hospital and Santa Cruz Gardens.³²

In June 1968, LAFCO contracted with Ed Hanna, consultant for the Board of Supervisors on water issues, to work part-time as its new executive director. Hanna

New Regional Shopping Center at 41st Avenue

The Ow family, enterprising survivors of the Monterey Bay area's once robust Chinese community, opened their Kings Market at the southwest corner of Capitola Road and 41st Avenue in 1963, thereby marking the beginning of our local version of the newly-conceived regional shopping center. Other commercial centers were also popping up in Live Oak: El Rancho Center on Portola in 1960 and East Cliff Village in 1961.

The County of Santa Cruz and City of Capitola were just beginning to recognize the potentially huge regional shopping opportunity along 41st Avenue with its half-cloverleaf freeway interchange; this sort of freeway-facilitated automobile access was a brand new factor in retailing. The two local jurisdictions became fierce competitors for new commercial development both north and south of the Highway 1 freeway, with Capitola trying to annex land of occasionally unwilling property owners, and the county trying to retain potentially lucrative land within its unincorporated boundaries.

In Santa Cruz, a sense of dread set in: just as city leaders were dealing with service extensions generously offered (but more difficult to actually deliver) to the new University-on-the-hill, this new shopping trend threatened to shift significant retail business revenue away from Downtown. The East Cliff annexation drive had also apparently failed, tossing a glitch into the city's eastward annexation intent.

was a former San Benito County Road Commissioner, Los Altos City Manager and Hollister City Council member. He was "an old-style engineer" according to current LAFCO Director Pat McCormick.³³ Former County Planning Director Henry Baker recalled, "he knew where the power was."³⁴

In addition to proposing a countywide sewer master plan and a consolidated central county water agency, Hanna didn't waste time diving into the Santa Cruz-Live Oak-Capitola-Soquel-Aptos urbanization conundrum. At an August 1968 meeting about a countywide water master plan, Hanna charged "the city [of Santa Cruz] is using high outside-city water rates as a club to force annexation."³⁵

At the end of 1968, LAFCO requested that Santa Cruz and Capitola agree on their Live Oak sphere of influence boundaries. On the day after Christmas, the *Santa Cruz Sentinel* supported Live Oak's annexation to Santa Cruz.³⁶

In early 1969, both cities responded during presentations to LAFCO with the same sphere of influence lines they had drawn in 1965: for Santa Cruz, 41st Avenue; and for Capitola, Rodeo Gulch.³⁷

Within Live Oak, there were too many divergent opinions for the Live Oak Improvement Association to take a position on the annexation proposals. Also, further confusing matters, representatives from an Aptos-focused Mid-County Incorporation Study

Committee were urging in-depth study of a new "Cabrillo City."³⁸

As a result of Santa Cruz and Capitola's unwillingness to agree on their future common boundary, as well as the uncertainty within Live Oak about which direction would be best for its residents and businesses, in March 1969, LAFCO imposed a six-month moratorium on any annexations of Live Oak land between Santa Cruz and Capitola. During the ensuing, eventually unsuccessful but passionate two years of multiple annexation studies, incorporation efforts, and occasionally-coordinated-but-most-often-competing committee efforts, the LAFCO-Live Oak moratorium was extended twice. It was finally lifted in March 1971, without resolution.

1969: UCSC Study Recommends A Single Mid-County City

The first LAFCO study of the mid-county problem was an inspired attempt to direct UCSC student brainpower toward gathering data and analyzing options at little or no cost. Led initially by visiting Regents Professor of Government and editor of *Harper's Magazine*, John Fischer, the student researchers and their advisors amassed a large volume of demographic, financial, and special district information.³⁹

The UCSC study compared the annexation and sphere of influence proposals submitted to LAFCO

earlier in the year by Santa Cruz and Capitola, as well as the option of Live Oak incorporation and the concept of a new mid-county city, which would include Capitola and have an estimated population of 47,000 (compared with Santa Cruz at 32,000 in 1970).

The draft study rejected Capitola's plan to annex to Rodeo Gulch because Santa Cruz had said it wouldn't annex Live Oak without 41st Avenue, thereby leaving a still-unincorporated Live Oak between the two gulches. The Santa Cruz annexation plan, while receiving a thumbs-up in terms of services and efficiency, was in the end rejected because the students perceived a wariness in Live Oak about how enthusiastically an established, downtown-focused civic culture might welcome its new citizens.⁴⁰

An incorporated Live Oak City was rejected as not financially feasible. Due to its location adjacent to the City of Santa Cruz and its unplanned, rapid transition from a rural, farming area to a more densely-developed residential area, Live Oak had a paucity of businesses as well as common urban amenities such as sidewalks, drainage systems, parks, libraries, etc. The students' assessment of the financial infeasibility of incorporation rested on the estimated cost to construct and operate municipal services into the future, compared with estimated revenues from sales and property taxes to pay for those services.

The UCSC student effort culminated in the September 1969 report, *Mid-Santa Cruz County To Seek A Shape For The Future*, favoring establishment of a new mid-county city and citing a favorite example of Ed Hanna's: the City of Fremont in the east San Francisco Bay area.⁴¹ Hanna hailed the report as "a professional job," adding, "seeing the final copy of the UCSC study gives one confidence in our educational system."⁴² The LAFCO-Live Oak annexation moratorium was extended another six months.

Live Oak Improvement Association Initiates Incorporation Request

Emilio Maggiolo had been a board member of the Live Oak Improvement Association (LOIA) since 1961, and was currently its president. It seemed like the city and county were finally moving ahead with the Broadway-Brommer Road that would physically tie Live Oak and Santa Cruz more closely together: the county had recently purchased a right-of-way option for a portion of his family's land at 7th and Brommer.⁴³ At the

moment, however, it wasn't at all clear where things were headed within Live Oak itself.

In spite of the negative UCSC study recommendation, in October 1969, the Live Oak Improvement Association, responding to vocal "self-rule" advocates in the community, submitted a request to LAFCO for authorization to start incorporation proceedings. Maggiolo told LAFCO, "This doesn't say that we are going to incorporate, or that we can incorporate," but the goal is rather to "bring this whole thing to a head."⁴⁴

In the following days, representatives from Santa Cruz Gardens, north of the Highway 1 freeway, indicated they weren't interested in joining in the incorporation effort, noting that Live Oak had drainage, sewage and road problems "that Santa Cruz Gardens doesn't have. We're a plum [for Santa Cruz]. Everything is already in."⁴⁵

At a LOIA meeting the following Monday, Worth Brown, representing 41st Avenue developer Sutter Hill, informed the group of Sutter Hill's opposition to being part of a new Live Oak city, saying they "might seriously consider annexing to Capitola if Live Oak incorporates on its own," but adding "we have no intention to go into a city and are satisfied with the way things are under county jurisdiction."⁴⁶

Members of the decade-old Association were not in agreement about what was best for Live Oak's future. Some wanted to go along with the Cabrillo City idea. Some felt strongly that Live Oak ought to figure out a way to take charge of its own destiny by looking toward 41st Avenue for additional business revenue. Others, by now used to the Santa Cruz 95062 zip code and probably looking forward to lower water bills by annexing to the Santa Cruz, either quit the organization or kept quiet for fear of alienating their more vocal neighbors.⁴⁷ Still others, including Maggiolo, felt they needed more information in order to agree to any of the options. First term Live Oak (First District) Supervisor Dan Forbus wanted "to remain neutral on this matter."⁴⁸

The passion of the moment, however, was with Live Oak incorporation and Cabrillo City advocates, representing two fundamentally different options. In late October 1969, the pro-incorporation members of the LOIA split off to form Live Oak Citizens Aligned for Local Government (LOCAL-G), which then filed its own request to LAFCO for incorporation.

LOCAL-G Attempts Live Oak Incorporation, Twice

Over the next year and a half, LOCAL-G made two attempts to petition LAFCO for an incorporation vote.

In November 1969, LAFCO approved new, significantly more complicated incorporation forms but refused Hanna and Supervisor Forbus' request that the county assist the Live Oak groups in completing the forms.⁴⁹ In spite of this clear indication of an unsympathetic LAFCO, LOCAL-G nevertheless threw itself into the incorporation effort.

Leaders of the Live Oak Improvement Association had dropped their own incorporation effort in favor of starting a Committee on Mid-County Progress with others interested in exploring a single mid-county city. However, in April 1970, Capitola's mayor declared that, contrary to its earlier position, the city was no longer interested in being part of a larger mid-county incorporated city. "There was a time when Capitola would reach out and grab anything," but "the city is not now willing to give up its identity," said Mayor John Lappin.⁵⁰

Due to LAFCO hearing delays in favor of waiting for a county staff analysis comparing the Live Oak City proposal with the single mid-county city proposal (county staff eventually opposed both options), in May 1970, LOCAL-G withdrew their first submittal and initiated a second, following the second extension of the LAFCO-Live Oak annexation moratorium. Hanna

recommended approval, and in June, the LAFCO board agreed, thereby allowing LOGAL-G to move toward signature gathering. The Live Oak Improvement Association, on the other hand, opposed the LAFCO action.⁵¹

Further delay was caused by disagreements about the proposed Live Oak City boundary along 41st Avenue, continued acrimonious debate on all sides, and scrambling to agree on a name for the new city (because, as noted earlier, "Live Oak" was already taken).⁵² Finally, in October 1970, LOCAL-G reached the stage of attempting to gather signatures of "not less than 25 percent of the qualified landowners representing at least 25 percent of the valuation of land in the area."⁵³

In April 1971, the Board of Supervisors (curiously, this was their responsibility, not LAFCO's), on a 3–2 vote, declined to extend the signature-gathering deadline for LOCAL-G. Watsonville (Fourth District) Supervisor Henry Mello, voting with the majority, commented, "The picture is clear." Live Oak citizens aren't interested in cityhood, he said, because "if they were, they would flock to sign petitions."⁵⁴

The Live Oak incorporation effort was over. Although Santa Cruz and Capitola's conflicting spheres of influence remained unchanged, the LAFCO-Live Oak annexation moratorium was lifted. Moving onto a new tack, Ed Hanna and Santa Cruz City Manager Dave Koester started talking publicly about including Santa Cruz in the single city concept—an idea not at all

Growth and Mobile Home Parks

From Santa Cruz to Watsonville, people were migrating by the thousands into coastal Santa Cruz County. The county's population nearly tripled between 1950 and 1980, growing from 66,500 to 188,000, primarily in mid-county unincorporated areas.

In addition to apartments, a popular affordable housing option of the 1960s and 1970s was an updated version of the older "trailer park"—the modern mobile home park. Vacant land at the edges of urbanizing areas throughout California was a perfect location for the new parks.

A 1966 study by the Bank of America Small Business Owner Report noted: "...the mobile home park usually faces local zoning problems since there is still a reluctance to recognize the new parks as residential developments rather than trailer camps." While many incorporated cities (including Santa Cruz and Capitola) eventually prohibited new mobile home parks within their boundaries, adjacent unincorporated areas, many with still-unspecified zoning designations, offered new owners or renters lower property taxes combined with utility services and access to nearby towns.

Between 1960 and 1980, approximately 50 new mobile home parks were built in Santa Cruz County, many of them on the abandoned chicken ranches and farms of Live Oak.

(Santa Cruz County Planning Department, Mobile Home Park Inventory, 1998)

Between the Gulches

avored by LAFCO Chairman and Capitola City Councilman John Lappin. Capitola reacted a week later by proposing to annex Live Oak all the way to Arana Gulch.⁵⁵ By this time, however, apparently no one took the offer seriously.

In lieu of Live Oak residents being able to vote on either incorporation or annexation, in May 1971, the *Sentinel* conducted a poll: the results were reflective of the continuing conundrum, with the possible exception of a higher-than-expected vote for “the big city idea.” Emilio Maggiolo, now past President of the LOIA, was concerned that so many of his neighbors wanted to remain in an unincorporated area: “I think that staying as we are is not the right thing.”⁵⁶

1971: Single City Study Committee – LAFCO’s Last Gasp Effort

With the now two-year long LAFCO-Live Oak annexation moratorium expired, in September 1971, Ed Hanna tried to salvage his good government, single-city idea with a local tradition: he set up a large citizens committee. With five topical subcommittees and more than 60 members, over the following year LAFCO facilitated development of a mid-county municipal government plan via the Local Government Structure (“Single City”) Study Committee, chaired by Santa Cruz attorney Austin Comstock. Capitola refused to appoint members to the committee.

The effort eventually collapsed in 1972, with attrition of most of its members and an inconclusive draft report.⁵⁷

Capitola Annexes 41st Avenue

In 1974, the county was completing a draft environmental impact report (EIR) for Sutter Hill’s proposed 41st Avenue regional shopping mall. Watsonville County Supervisor Henry Mello was running for the California State Assembly, and Lighthouse Point attorney Gary Patton was running for Third District (Santa Cruz) County Supervisor. They both won in November 1974, buoyed by new, younger voters and significantly changing the composition of the County Board of Supervisors for the coming decades.⁵⁸

In January 1975, the new board declined to approve the Sutter Hill/41st Avenue development application and sent the matter back to the County Planning Commission, which had conceptually approved the mall project a month earlier. As Pat McCormick tells the story, “Fearing further continuances and not able to

count three votes in support at the Board,” Sutter Hill approached the Capitola city manager and asked, “If Sutter Hill annexed to the City of Capitola, would the city allow a mall to be built? The answer was ‘yes.’”⁵⁹

The City of Santa Cruz, threatening a lawsuit, argued that LAFCO had never resolved the conflicting sphere of influence issue. Bert Muhly, Santa Cruz mayor and former county planning director, stated, “If the revenue rich commercial area were to be annexed to Capitola, there will be no incentive [for Santa Cruz] to annex the remaining already-developed Live Oak areas.”⁶⁰

In March 1975, LAFCO voted to authorize Capitola to annex the Brown Bulb Ranch and adjacent properties.⁶¹ After resolution of procedural challenges to the LAFCO decision, Capitola eventually approved the annexation in February 1976. Construction on the Capitola Mall started in mid-1976, following a Superior Court decision to uphold LAFCO’s approval.

1977: Santa Cruz Considers Annexing Live Oak One Last Time

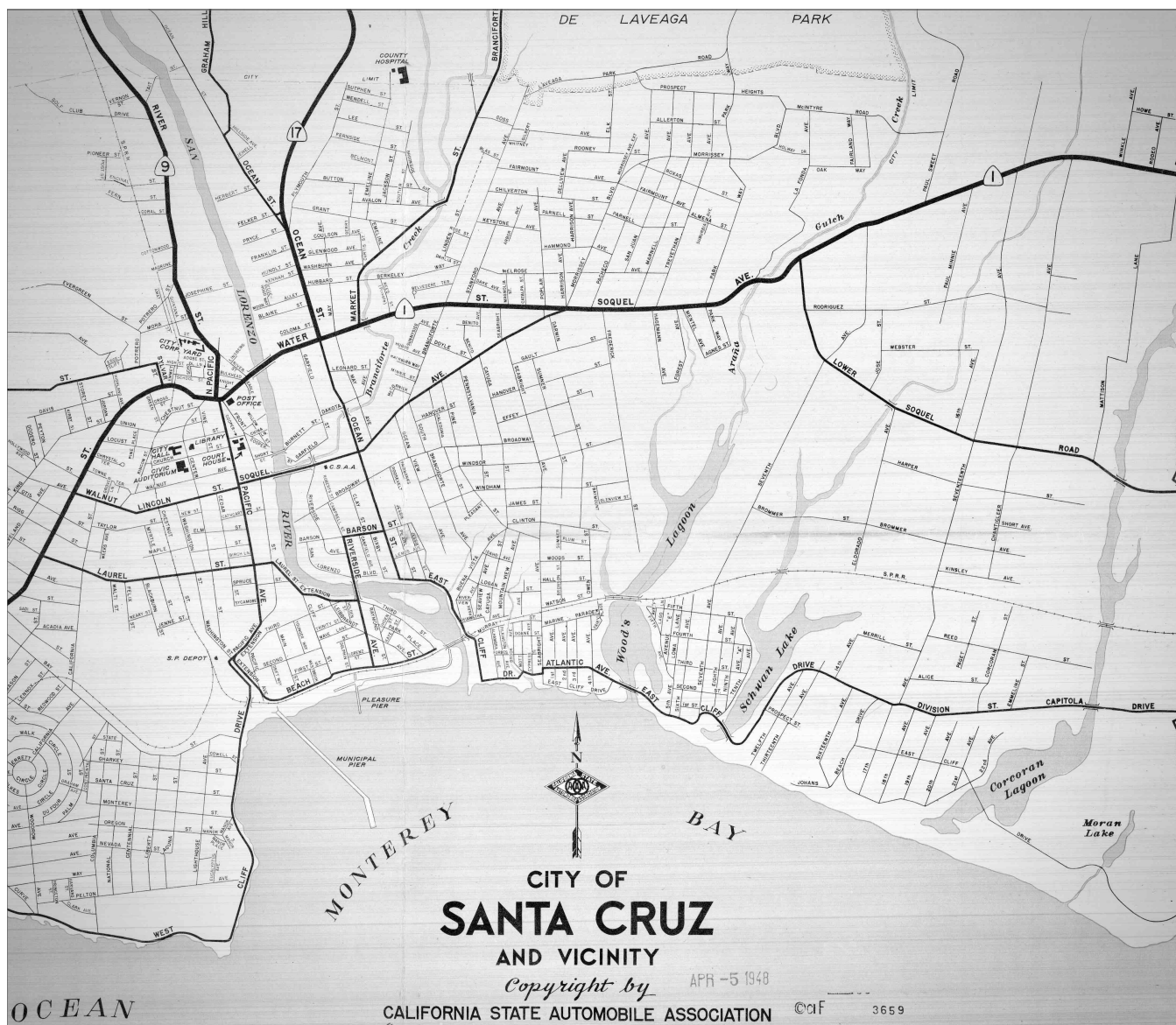
In 1977, the City of Santa Cruz, during a general plan update process, conducted a *Fiscal Impact Analysis* about the feasibility of annexing Live Oak. The report negatively concluded that Live Oak annexation would result in an approximately one percent net loss to the annual city budget.⁶² The amount of the projected loss was equivalent to the revenue the city received from the surcharge it levied on non-city water customers, which the city had increased in May 1976 to 100 percent (i.e., double the in-city rate), with the rationale that non-city customers are not entitled to the benefits of municipal ownership.⁶³

Live Oak annexation was not included in any of the city’s 1977 general plan alternatives.⁶⁴ That general plan did however include the Broadway-Brommer Road, even though the city’s hope of building the road to Live Oak and 41st Avenue had collapsed in 1975, around the same time as the Capitola Mall decision. But that’s another story . . . the following one, in fact.

Part 2 The Broadway-Brommer Connection

The gap along Arana Gulch between East Cliff Drive and Soquel Avenue is long and wide. Arana Gulch, the natural boundary of nearly 200 years

Between the Gulches



Excerpt from 1948 Street Map, "Santa Cruz and Vicinity." The new Highway 1 freeway is not yet completed, and Soquel Avenue is still State Route 1. The boundary between Santa Cruz and Live Oak follows Arana Gulch and Woods Lagoon (now the Santa Cruz Harbor). © 1948 CSAA (AAA Northern California, Nevada & Utah). Used by permission.

between Santa Cruz and Live Oak, was not to be easily bridged.

A New Road Is Proposed Across Arana Gulch

Early on, Live Oak folks made do with the Old Monterey Road on the northern side of Live Oak, eventually known as the Soquel Road and then Soquel Avenue/Soquel Drive. The coast-hugging, lagoon-skirting route on the south, variously called East Cliff Drive, Atlantic Avenue, Lakeview, Lakeside, 11th Avenue, Division Street and Capitola Drive, was built with private funds in the 1890s.⁶⁵ Both roads were

notoriously unreliable in the era before concrete and engineered grading.

The gulches and Southern Pacific Railroad, built in 1875, constrained Live Oak's internal road system. The only "main" roads crossing the railroad tracks between Arana and Rodeo Gulches were 7th and 17th Avenues, which is still the case today. Chanticleer and El Dorado end at the railroad tracks. Shorter east-west roads branched out from these, but due to the gulches, did not traverse the whole community. Also, as a rural area, Live Oak roads in those days weren't paved, although occasionally they were "oiled"; 17th Avenue, the area's primary north-south street, was still called Oiled Road

Between the Gulches

for years after its renaming. Until the 1960s, 7th Avenue was a narrow country lane with cattails growing in the drainage ditches alongside.⁶⁶

In 1915, ladies of the Live Oak School PTA proposed to the Board of Supervisors that Brommer Street be extended west through Arana Gulch into Santa Cruz.⁶⁷ Up until then, Brommer was a short dirt road located between Chanticleer Avenue and Leona Creek Gulch (near El Dorado Avenue). Responding to the PTA, the county extended Brommer Street west to 7th Avenue that same year by appropriating the driveway of a Rodriguez family descendant.⁶⁸

Twenty years later, in 1935, during the Great Depression, Rose Rostron, Santa Cruz County Supervisor for the Branciforte (First) District, tried to obtain federal WPA funds to follow through on the extension of Brommer Street across the Gulch to town.⁶⁹ Although unsuccessful in that endeavor, Rostron was able to ensure that both the city and county shared the cost of keeping the Soquel Road (called “Slaughterhouse Curve” at the steep, accident-prone crossing of Arana Creek) and East Cliff Drive at Woods Lagoon moderately drivable.⁷⁰

By WWII, the east-west routes through Live Oak were the still the Soquel Road, Capitola Road, and Atlantic Avenue/East Cliff Drive along the coast.⁷¹ Brommer Street, centrally located north of the railroad tracks, now connected 7th and Chanticleer Avenues.

After the war, in 1949, the new road across the Gulch continued to be supported as an eastward extension of Broadway or Windham. John A. Cruze wrote:

Traffic congestion in the Morrissey-Soquel-Water Street area is increasing with each succeeding year: the torturous route through Twin Lakes and Seabright districts is likewise getting out of hand . . . The crossing of Woods Lagoon at or near the mouth of Arana Gulch has been considered from time to time for generations. All these efforts failed not for lack of merit . . . but (1) for lack of cooperation between city and county authorities and (2) for lack of funds.⁷²

Most pressing at that time, however, was fixing the Soquel Road crossing of Arana Creek at Slaughterhouse Curve. State and federal funds, together with local property tax assessments, financed a modern cut-and-fill design for the old, dangerously steep and unreliable creek crossing. The 1959 project created a new connection from Soquel Avenue to Capitola Road

through the upper Gulch, easing access to and from town as well as along Soquel Road/Soquel Drive. The Highway 1 freeway was also completed in 1958, from its 1949 limit at Morrissey Avenue to Highway 17.



1959 Cut-and-fill Capitola Road project connecting Soquel Avenue at “Slaughterhouse Curve” (upper left) with 7th Avenue (lower right). The original Lower Soquel/Capitola Road is on the right—now Capitola Road Extension. (Courtesy of Covello and Covello Photography)

Proposed Live Oak Expressway and a New Harbor and Bridge

Building new roads and bridges was a big part of life in the 1950s and 1960s. President Eisenhower championed building a new Interstate Highway System in 1956, and city and county plans were on the drawing board for freeway improvements to State Highways 1 and 17, as well as a proposed “Beach Loop” freeway to the Santa Cruz Boardwalk, an expressway through the upper Westside, and a similar “Live Oak Expressway” crossing Woods Lagoon and Schwan Lake, connecting with East Cliff Drive near 17th Avenue.⁷³

Manifesting a post-WWII vision of a local yacht harbor, the Santa Cruz Port District was formed in 1950. Port District Chairman and Republican Party activist Worth Brown led a sustained and eventually successful effort to replace Woods Lagoon, straddling the city’s 1905 Arana Gulch boundary, with a \$4.5 million (1958 dollars) state-of-the-art small craft harbor.⁷⁴ Santa Cruz Mayor, Salz Tannery President, sailor, and liberal activist Norman Lezin joined

Republican activist Worth Brown in dedicating the gleaming new harbor in April 1964.

As part of the harbor project, state funds were secured for a new bridge at the northern end of the (lower) harbor adjacent to the railroad bridge. The Murray Street Bridge was dedicated in 1963 as the Glenn Coolidge Memorial Bridge, replacing the old, unreliable East Cliff Bridge at the outlet of Woods Lagoon (now the harbor mouth), and further easing travel to and from town.⁷⁵ Construction of the upper harbor was already conceived at this point, but not yet designed or funded.

1965: Santa Cruz Bond Starts Paving the Way to 41st Avenue

With city merchants welcoming the first UC Santa Cruz students in September of 1965, Santa Cruz could take a deep breath and begin serious planning for its move eastward across Arana Gulch to Live Oak and 41st Avenue.

In October 1965, responding to a reinvigorated proposal for a new bridge over the San Lorenzo River at Laurel Street, city residents passed a \$2.6 million transportation and city improvement bond that included funds for the new bridge connecting with East Cliff and Broadway; a new four-lane section of Broadway on the Eastside between Darwin and Frederick Streets; and purchase of land at Arana Gulch as right-of-way for a new cut-and-fill Broadway-Brommer Road reaching into Live Oak toward 41st Avenue.⁷⁶

At that time, Brommer Street still ended at Chanticleer Avenue. The county, in cooperation with the city's recently initiated public works efforts, responded by hastily designing a project to extend Brommer Street east through Rodeo Gulch to 41st Avenue . . . so hastily, in fact, that the county public works department didn't notify property owners along the new right-of-way of the county's need to purchase their land: it just sent out letters threatening condemnation.⁷⁷

The new segment of Brommer Street, the new Laurel Street Bridge, and the new four-lane extension of Broadway to Frederick were all completed in 1968.

Bumps Along the Broadway-Brommer Road

A bit earlier, in 1966, two years after opening its new harbor, the Port District was immersed in plans to expand into the upper harbor, and already considering a possible Phase 3, extending even deeper into Arana Gulch. To the city and county's dismay, in 1967, the Port

District passed a resolution supporting a bridge instead of the proposed cut-and-fill design for the Broadway-Brommer Road, in the event Phase 3 of the harbor panned out (it didn't, because elevations in the upper gulch were too high).⁷⁸

Nevertheless, in 1967, the city and Port District optimistically agreed to construct the upper harbor access and Broadway-Brommer Road as a "single integrated project" so that the Port District could include the new road, or bridge, in its upper harbor financing package. The county resolved to purchase right-of-way for the proposed road on its side of Arana Gulch, including a portion of the Maggiolo/Ceresetto farm at 7th and Brommer.⁷⁹

The city was starting to run into problems acquiring right-of-way for the road on its side of Arana Gulch. Three property owners along the planned Broadway-Brommer route (specifically, the First Christian Church on Frederick Street, Janet Gunn, and Ernest and Margaret Kinzli, together with their respective lawyers and, in the church's case, a vocal congregation) confounded the city with their refusal to negotiate mutually beneficial purchase agreements.⁸⁰

In 1968, SCOPE, a Santa Cruz business organization promoting "Progress and Euthenics," joined the Port District in advocating for a bridge, as did also the County Parks and Recreation Commission, both citing aesthetic reasons.⁸¹ The city, however, continued to press forward with cut-and-fill. "That's what we did in those days . . . we didn't have money for bridges," recalled Bob Scott, a former city public works engineer.⁸²

More Bumps Along the Broadway-Brommer Road: The 1970 California Environmental Quality Act

"Nothing kills a project like time." –Bob Scott

The National Environmental Policy Act (NEPA) was enacted on January 1, 1970, at the end of President Nixon's first year in office. The California Environmental Quality Act (CEQA) followed soon thereafter during election year for Governor Ronald Reagan's second term. The new laws required that a governmental jurisdiction approve an environmental impact statement (EIS for NEPA) and/or environmental impact report (EIR for CEQA) prior to approving new major public or private development.

The Port District was unsuccessful in obtaining funds for the Broadway-Brommer Road as part of the

Between the Gulches

upper harbor project. They were nevertheless dependent on the road for access into the upper harbor, and were still on record advocating for a bridge.

Between 1968 and 1970, the City of Santa Cruz Public Works Department continued to purchase land for the road, mostly via *eminent domain*, and was working with the county and Port District on design. Over on the county side of Arana Gulch, the grandiose plan for a Live Oak Expressway was running into serious problems, including opposition to paving over Schwan Lake for the expressway as well as for a parking lot for the upper harbor.⁸³

In April 1970, the city and county approved a joint powers agreement for Broadway-Brommer engineering: the city would do the work and the county would reimburse the city for the county's share. In January 1971, the city sent a draft financing cooperative agreement over to the county, but the Board of Supervisors didn't approve it until two and a half years later, in June 1973. This delay later became a key point

of contention between the city and the county vis-a-vis the requirement that the road project obtain a permit from the new Coastal Commission (see Coastal Act below); if the agreement had been signed before the Coastal Commission was formed, the city believed that an exception to the new permit requirement would have been granted.

The city and county jointly requested state funds for the road in early 1971, holding a public hearing on August 12, at which the only opposition was from the unhappy property owners.⁸⁴ State funds for the new road were approved for the Fiscal Year 1972–1973 state budget, with the stipulation that an EIR be prepared for the project per new CEQA legislation.⁸⁵ Matching funds were obtained via a new quarter-cent transportation state sales tax which was distributed locally by the newly-formed Santa Cruz County (Regional) Transportation Commission.

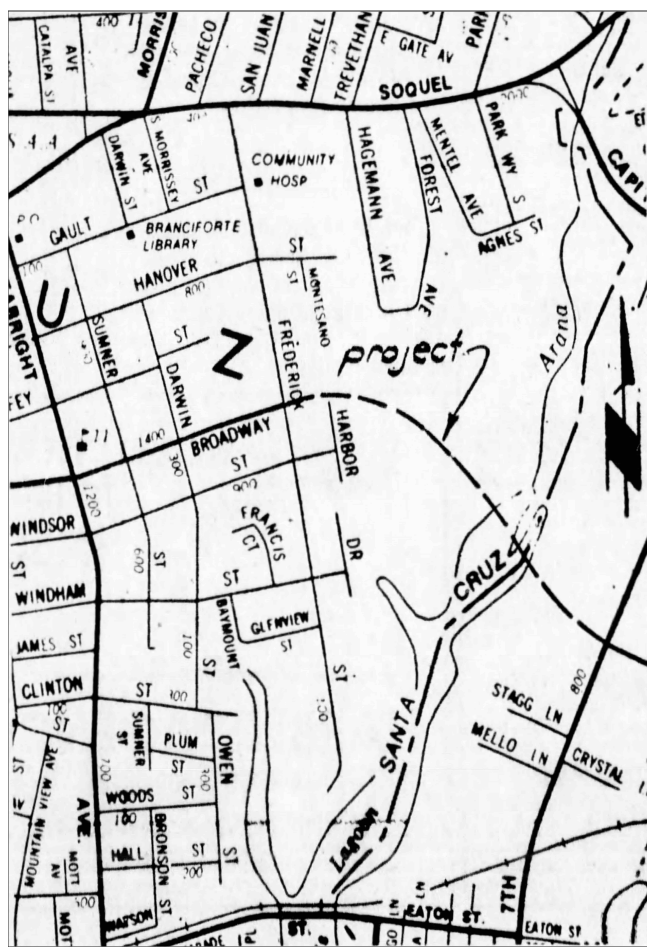
In 1971, the city prepared its first ever draft EIR, noting that bridges had been considered but rejected due to their high cost. By then, however, the city's own General Plan Citizen's Planning Advisory Committee had taken a position in favor of a bridge and even the County Public Works Director was having second thoughts.⁸⁶ The Board of Supervisors decided that it was up to the city to determine whether the Broadway-Brommer Road would be cut-and-fill or a bridge through the Gulch, because 90 percent of the crossing (and therefore also the non-state cost) would be in the city.⁸⁷

In the meantime, absent the road, the Port District still needed access into its new upper harbor. With the fill-or-bridge question still unresolved, the city and county agreed to allow the Port District to construct its own access road from 7th and Brommer, next to the Maggiolo/Ceresetto property along county's portion of the Broadway-Brommer right-of-way.⁸⁸

The upper harbor access road ended up being the only part of the Broadway-Brommer Road that was ever built.

The city issued a Final Draft EIR in September 1971. In December, the U.S. Army Corps of Engineers, designers of the original harbor that drained and demolished Woods Lagoon, suggested that the EIR should discuss what impact the fill would have on Arana Gulch marshlands.⁸⁹

The city and county continued negotiating their draft funding and construction agreement for the road into 1972. County Planning Director Walter Monasch delivered a petition to the city from Brommer Street



Map of Proposed Broadway-Brommer Road from Public Hearing Notice. (*Santa Cruz Sentinel*, 1971)

residents worried about impact of the new road, and in October 1972, he sent a letter to the city stating that the draft EIR was “missing some essential information.”⁹⁰

The Final Roadblock: California’s 1972 Coastal Act

In November 1972, responding to congressional action creating a federal Coastal Zone with the intent of balancing rapid economic growth and development with environmental and aesthetic considerations, California voters passed Proposition 20, the Coastal Zone Conservation Act, establishing the California Coastal Zone Conservation Commission (later shortened to “California Coastal Commission”) and authorizing the development of a Coastal Zone Conservation Plan over the next four years.

At the beginning of May 1973, the city filed an application with the Central Coast Regional Coastal Commission for a Coastal Permit for the Broadway-Brommer Road project. According to Gerald Bowden, a former Santa Cruz city attorney and planning commissioner, who at that time worked in the California Coastal Commission’s new San Francisco office, “There was no way they were going to approve anything like that . . . they were on a holy crusade.”⁹¹

By the end of May, the city had retracted their application for the cut-and-fill road and instead filed a Claim of Exemption to the Coastal Permit requirement. Within a week, Coastal Commission staff recommended denial of the request, but a year passed before a hearing was held (—the Coastal Commission was considering the city’s Lighthouse Point Convention Center during this same time period). In May 1974, the Commission staff recommendation to deny the city’s exemption request was approved by the Regional Coastal Commission. The city immediately appealed the decision to the California Coastal Commission, which in July upheld the regional decision.

The city appealed the State Commission’s denial in Superior Court. After the court ruled in February 1975 that the road project was not exempt from the Coastal Act, the city filed a motion for reconsideration, and when that was denied, a motion for a new trial. This final motion was denied in April 1975.

The city was continuing to have right-of-way acquisition problems for the road.⁹² Also, in 1974, the County Board of Supervisors had linked its approval of the state-local transportation funding agreement with a stipulation that a new EIR be prepared in “accordance

with 1974 requirements and a road design in which the fill is at the approximate elevation of the present fill of the upper harbor.”⁹³

In October 1975, a few months after LAFCO approved Capitola’s bid to annex 41st Avenue, the City of Santa Cruz, unwilling to apply for a Coastal Commission permit for the Broadway-Brommer Road or to update the draft EIR, requested that the Regional Transportation Commission transfer local funds designated for the road project to the West Cliff Bike Path, declaring, “there appears to be no reasonable probability that the . . . Project will be carried out in the near future. . . .”⁹⁴

State funding for the road was lost in 1976 and the city and county terminated their cooperative agreements soon thereafter. The Broadway-Brommer Road remained in the long-range *Regional Transportation Plan* until 1980, when a bicycle and pedestrian path was shown instead along the road’s former alignment through Arana Gulch.

. . . AND LIFE GOES ON . . .

Proposition 13, Measure J, Water Surcharge Lawsuit, The Greenbelt, and Redevelopment

California’s Proposition 13 passed in June 1978, severely limiting the ability of local governments to use property taxes as a source of civic improvement and enhancement. Santa Cruz County’s growth management system, Measure J, was approved during that same election. Measure J established a fixed countywide urban services boundary that coincided with city and special district boundaries at that time.

The County Board of Supervisors adopted a Live Oak General Plan in 1978. Also in 1978, a group called DROP (Double Rates Oppress People) filed a class action suit in Superior Court challenging the Santa Cruz non-city water surcharge. The county joined in the suit, and in 1980, the city lowered the surcharge to around 55 percent.⁹⁵ In 2016, the surcharge was set at 14.5 percent for all non-city customers.

In order to protect Pogonip and north coast areas adjacent to the University from development, a greenbelt boundary around the city was proposed in 1978. With an objective of forever defining the city’s limits, and in light of the failed Broadway-Brommer Road project and the city’s post-Capitola Mall disinclination toward Live Oak annexation, Arana Gulch offered up the perfect eastern Santa Cruz greenbelt.

Between the Gulches

Interestingly, the City Council still supported the road (which by then was designated a two-lane bridge) but not the proposed greenbelt, and continued to secure parcels via *eminent domain* for the right-of-way.⁹⁶ At the very end of December 1978, the Port District declined to dedicate the last right-of-way parcel that the city needed for the Broadway-Brommer Bridge.⁹⁷

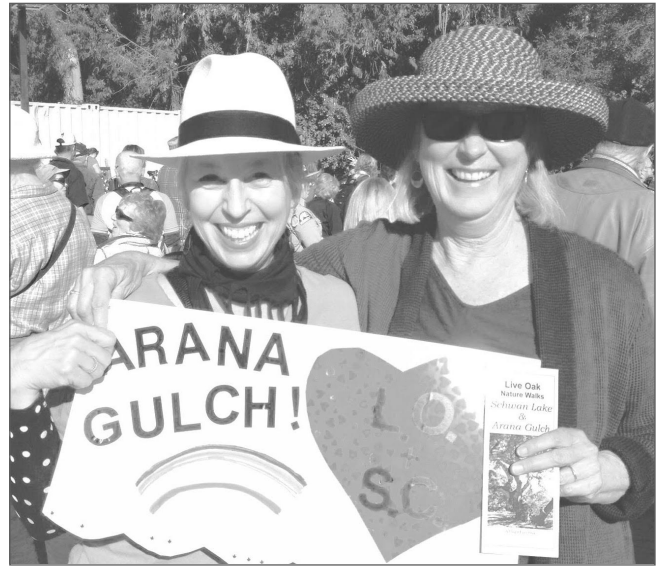
In 1979, city voters passed Measure O, establishing a Santa Cruz greenbelt. The city's general plan was amended to delete the Broadway-Brommer Bridge. The Kinzli family challenged Measure O as an uncompensated taking of their Arana Gulch property; they sued and appealed and lost all the way to the U.S. Supreme Court.⁹⁸

In 1986, the county established a Redevelopment Agency for the purpose of improving urban infrastructure in the Live Oak and Soquel unincorporated areas. During the following 25 years, the Redevelopment Agency invested over \$215 million in roads, sidewalks, parks, libraries, drainage, the Simpkins Family Swim Center, the Live Oak Boys and Girls Club, and other urban area improvements.⁹⁹ The Redevelopment Agency purchased the entire Maggiolo property at Brommer and 7th in 2006.¹⁰⁰ The state dissolved redevelopment agencies in 2012.

2015: Arana Gulch Park and Pathway

The city opened the Arana Gulch Park and Multi-Use Pathway in January 2015 after 35 years of dogged efforts to fund, design and obtain various local, state and federal permit approvals for the project. Concerted community advocacy, for and against the project, stands as a testament to the significance of Arana Gulch in the hearts of its surrounding communities.

The Arana Gulch pathway now finally connects Live Oak with Santa Cruz, traversing Hagemann Gulch with a modern suspension bridge, and offering scenic vistas of Arana Creek at a second bridge skirting the upper



Editor Elizabeth Schilling and author Linda Wilshusen at the Arana Gulch Park and Multi-Use Pathway grand opening, 2015. (Photo by Ken Thomas)

harbor. The grand opening celebration occurred 100 years after the ladies of the Live Oak PTA first proposed building a road to town across the gulch.

Postscript

Brommer and 7th is still a four-way stop, and vacant fields surround the old Maggiolo/Ceresetto home on the corner. Ed Hanna has a bridge named after him in San Benito County. Capitola still hasn't annexed to Rodeo Gulch.

A desperate wish for easier travel through mid-county remains something most people can agree on. Personally, I'm betting on the coast rail line. It already bridges our deep, beautiful gulches.

Acknowledgments

The author very much appreciates the assistance and encouragement of her friend, neighbor, and mentor Norman Poitevin, Live Oak historian.

For additional images related to this article go online to the History Publications page of the MAH website, at: <https://santacruzmah.org/learn/history-publications/landscapes/>

Notes

¹ Live Oak School opened in 1873 under the leadership of Martin Kinsley, who went on to become a county supervisor in the First District, known then as Branciforte (which was also the original name for Santa Cruz County). While Santa Cruz was "town," centrally located Live Oak School became the rural community's social hub. According to Phil Reader (*History of Live Oak School, 1872-1972*), before the new school was built on property donated by the Kinsleys, "the kids [attending school in Soquel] would have to leave home just after dawn and not return until late afternoon or early evening."

Between the Gulches

-
- ² Joan Martin, “Rancho Bolsa del Pajaro,” *Santa Cruz Museum of Art & History Journal* #8, *Do You Know My Name*, 2016, 48.
- ³ “Unincorporated” means not located within the boundaries of a municipal (city) government. “Urbanized” means areas that are developed at residential and commercial densities commonly found in cities.
- ⁴ *Santa Cruz Morning Sentinel*, January 18, 1905, 1. Women were granted voting privileges in California in 1911, and nationwide in 1920.
- ⁵ *Evening Sentinel*, January 4, 1905, 2.
- ⁶ *Santa Cruz Evening News*, February 21, 1908, 1.
- ⁷ Camp Capitola, formerly known as Soquel Landing, was established in 1874. Capitola incorporated as a city in 1949.
- ⁸ *Santa Cruz Evening News*, January 12, 1932, 2.
- ⁹ *Santa Cruz Sentinel*, July 31, 1960, 17.
- ¹⁰ *Santa Cruz Sentinel*, November 22, 1960, 1.
- ¹¹ *Santa Cruz Sentinel*, August 13, 1961, 5. The City Council fired City Manager Peter Tedesco, who was considered too young and inexperienced for the current challenges (*Santa Cruz Sentinel*, June 15, 1962, 1), and hired Dave Koester of Roseville, a key player in the events that followed.
- ¹² “Incorporation” means to set up a new municipal (city) government. “Annexation” is when new land is added to an already existing city or district.
- ¹³ Alvin D. Sokolow, “Caring for Unincorporated Communities” *California County*, March-April 2000.
- ¹⁴ *Santa Cruz Sentinel*, May 14, 1963, 1.
- ¹⁵ *Santa Cruz Sentinel*, December 18, 1962, 1.
- ¹⁶ The Live Oak Improvement Association incorporated as a nonprofit in 1958. It dissolved after the divisive Live Oak incorporation effort.
- ¹⁷ *Santa Cruz Sentinel*, April 16, 1963, 1.
- ¹⁸ *Santa Cruz Sentinel*, May 9, 1963, 1.
- ¹⁹ *Santa Cruz Sentinel*, May 15, 1963, 20.
- ²⁰ *Santa Cruz Sentinel*, April 23, 1963, 1. Feelings were running high in that area: Clifford Meidinger, a Capitola resident and Soquel business owner who opposed the Capitola’s bid to annex Soquel, was kicked off the City Planning Commission without notice.
- ²¹ Soquel attempted its own incorporation, also unsuccessful, but Scotts Valley’s incorporation effort, initiated in 1963, was eventually approved by LAFCO in 1966.
- ²² City of Santa Cruz, *General Plan for Future Development*, Resolution No. NS-7489, April 28, 1964, 5.
- ²³ *Santa Cruz Sentinel*, April 23, 1964, 1.
- ²⁴ *Santa Cruz Sentinel*, July 28, 1965, 1 (re: surcharge), and June 9, 1967, 24 (re: Beltz). The City purchased the Santa Cruz Gardens’ well system in 1969. Capitola considered purchasing the Beltz Wells in 1965 (*Santa Cruz Sentinel*, September 21, 1965, 7).
- ²⁵ City-County relationships were challenging on many fronts: in addition to competing for sales tax revenue (particularly from auto dealers and later, regional shopping malls) and a local airport (which eventually turned out to be successful only in Watsonville), the cities and the county had to work together on sewers and sanitation districts, water supply and water districts, libraries, fire districts, school districts, location of new high schools, law enforcement and police protection districts, lighting districts, garbage collection districts, parks, overlapping utility districts and annexations, and, particular to Santa Cruz, relocation of the county courthouse in the new post-1955 flood city redevelopment area, the possible relocation of juvenile hall to Delaveaga Park (which was originally jointly owned by the city and county), UCSC development, North Coast development, 41st Avenue, the Broadway-Brommer Road, and last but not least, the Veterans Building.
- ²⁶ *Santa Cruz Sentinel*, August 11, 1961, 1.
- ²⁷ Santa Cruz County Government, *The Years Ahead, A Report to the Board of Supervisors from the Committee on County Government Organization*, February, 1968.
- ²⁸ *Santa Cruz Sentinel*, March 19, 1968, 21.
- ²⁹ Santa Cruz County Government, *The Years Ahead*.
- ³⁰ *Santa Cruz Sentinel*, April 18, 1968, 13.
- ³¹ *Santa Cruz Sentinel*, May 23, 1968, 7.

Between the Gulches

-
- ³² *Santa Cruz Sentinel*, June 20, 1968, 1.
- ³³ Pat McCormick, Personal Communication, August 5, 2017.
- ³⁴ Henry Baker, Personal Communication, March 27, 2017. Ed Hanna had been working closely with Supervisor Henry Mello on the controversial San Filipe water import project.
- ³⁵ *Santa Cruz Sentinel*, August 2, 1968, 6.
- ³⁶ *Santa Cruz Sentinel*, December 26, 1968, 33.
- ³⁷ *Local Agency Formation Commission, Chronology of Actions Affecting Annexations in the Live Oak Area, 1964-1971.*
- ³⁸ *Santa Cruz Sentinel*, March 18, 1969, 13.
- ³⁹ John Fischer, "A different kind of campus: The experiment at Santa Cruz," *The Easy Chair, Harper's Magazine*, July 1969, 12-18.
- ⁴⁰ *Mid-Santa Cruz County To Seek A Shape For The Future, Staff Report to the Local Agency Formation Commission*, September 1969, 103-105. Also, the Pacific Garden Mall had opened in 1969.
- ⁴¹ *Mid-Santa Cruz County To Seek A Shape for the Future*, 124-160.
- ⁴² *Santa Cruz Sentinel*, September 3, 1969, 6.
- ⁴³ *Santa Cruz Sentinel*, August 14, 1968, 5.
- ⁴⁴ *Santa Cruz Sentinel*, October 16, 1969, 1.
- ⁴⁵ *Santa Cruz Sentinel*, October 17, 1969, 3.
- ⁴⁶ *Santa Cruz Sentinel*, October 21, 1969, 1.
- ⁴⁷ *Santa Cruz Sentinel*, October 23, 1969, 24.
- ⁴⁸ *Santa Cruz Sentinel*, September 9, 1969, 5.
- ⁴⁹ *Santa Cruz Sentinel*, November 20, 1969, 23.
- ⁵⁰ *Santa Cruz Sentinel*, April 19, 1970, 36.
- ⁵¹ A Felton citizen's committee also submitted its incorporation application in June 1970; later in the year, Sealiff filed an application for annexation to Capitola.
- ⁵² *Santa Cruz Sentinel*, February 19, 1970, 1. Name options for a new Live Oak City included Vera Cruz, Chanticleer, Gardenside, Los Encinos, MerriOaks, Parkwood, and Oakmont.
- ⁵³ *Santa Cruz Sentinel*, July 16, 1970, 1, 24.
- ⁵⁴ *Santa Cruz Sentinel*, April 14, 1971, 2. Live Oak Supervisor Dan Forbus voted against the motion, together with George Cress (San Lorenzo Valley). Mello was joined by Third District Supervisor, Phil Harry (Santa Cruz), and Second District Supervisor, Ralph Sanson (Aptos), the same Board majority that a month earlier requested that Highway 17 be removed from the state freeway system. (*Santa Cruz Sentinel*, March 24, 1971, 1.)
- ⁵⁵ *Santa Cruz Sentinel*, April 27, 1971, 12.
- ⁵⁶ *Santa Cruz Sentinel*, May 30, 1971, 1, and June 7, 1971, 1.
- ⁵⁷ Local Agency Formation Commission, *Single City Study Committee, Draft of Final Report*, June 1972.
- ⁵⁸ The 26th Constitutional Amendment passed in 1971, lowering the national voting age to 18.
- ⁵⁹ Pat McCormick, *The Establishment of the Capitola Mall, A Personal View from Inside City Hall*, May 2000. McCormick was Capitola Planning Director during the 41st Avenue annexation to Capitola. (Copy on file at the Capitola Historical Museum and Santa Cruz Museum of Art & History.)
- ⁶⁰ *Santa Cruz Sentinel*, February 26, 1975, 1.
- ⁶¹ Due to the threatened-and-now-activated Santa Cruz lawsuit, the initial LAFCO vote authorizing Capitola to annex the Capitola Mall site was later rescinded and replaced with an August 1975 vote that ironically dropped a tax-sharing provision between Capitola and the county.
- ⁶² City of Santa Cruz, *Preliminary Cost/Revenue Study: The Fiscal Impact of Annexing Live Oak to the City of Santa Cruz*, April 1977, and *Fiscal Impact Analysis: The Feasibility of Annexing Live Oak*, October 1977.
- ⁶³ *Santa Cruz Sentinel*, March 15, 1976, 19; May 5, 1976, 1; and May 21, 1976, 4.
- ⁶⁴ *Santa Cruz Sentinel*, July 22, 1977, 6.
- ⁶⁵ *Santa Cruz Daily Surf*, July 8, 1889.
- ⁶⁶ Linda Maggiolo Fields, Recorded Interview, June 18, 2017.

Between the Gulches

-
- ⁶⁷ *Santa Cruz Evening News*, January 8, 1915, 7.
- ⁶⁸ Norman Poitevin, *Historic Live Oak*, 2017, 169. The new segment of Brommer Street separated Alfred Rodriguez’s house from his barn.
- ⁶⁹ Mrs. Rostron, the first woman to serve on the Santa Cruz County Board of Supervisors, focused her efforts on improving the poor condition of roads in her mostly rural district. The *Santa Cruz Sentinel* supported Mrs. Rostron’s election and re-election bids in part because she “has accomplished much in the way of road improvements, which is one of the outstanding problems of her district.” (*Santa Cruz Sentinel*, March 6, 1932, 7.)
- ⁷⁰ *Santa Cruz Sentinel*, September 15, 1934, 4.
- ⁷¹ Known earlier as Lower Soquel Road, Capitola Road connected during that time with Soquel Road at what is now known as Capitola Road Extension.
- ⁷² *Santa Cruz Sentinel*, August 14, 1949, 11.
- ⁷³ The Soquel Road was called Highway 5, then Highway 1, but the new Highway 1 freeway forged its own alignment through the mid-county. County of Santa Cruz, *General Plan for 1985, 1960*, and City of Santa Cruz, *General Plan 1990, 1964*.
- ⁷⁴ A state loan, a commitment of Port District property tax revenue, a popular erosion control plan for Seabright Beach, and a long-term, no-cost lease with the California Department of Parks and Recreation for Woods Lagoon allowed the harbor to begin construction in 1960. The harbor eventually purchased the lower harbor property from the state.
- ⁷⁵ State Assemblyman Glenn Coolidge, a former Felton real estate and investment broker, was the legislator responsible for securing state funds for replacing the Woods Lagoon Bridge that harbor construction had permanently removed. Coolidge died unexpectedly before the bridge was completed during a campaign for congress. A road on the UCSC campus is also named in his honor.
- ⁷⁶ “Cut-and-fill” is an at-grade construction strategy whereby the amount of material from cuts roughly matches the amount of fill needed, thereby reducing labor and cost.
- ⁷⁷ *Santa Cruz Sentinel*, July 13, 1966, 4.
- ⁷⁸ *Santa Cruz Sentinel*, March 1, 1967, 2, and February 28, 1969, 2.
- ⁷⁹ *Santa Cruz Sentinel*, August 14, 1968, 5.
- ⁸⁰ Kinzli attorney, John Barber, was a former city attorney. Negotiation and, eventually, condemnation procedures for the road right-of-way continued into 1978. The Kinzli family was not new to condemnation: the county condemned some of their property to build the new Soquel Avenue/Capitola Road intersection in 1959 and when the intersection was widened in 1972. The Port District was also involved in condemning Kinzli property for the upper harbor.
- ⁸¹ *Santa Cruz Sentinel*, April 7, 1968, 42. Eugenics is defined as the “study of methods to improve human well-being.” SCOPE started in 1963. Linda Wilshusen, *Chronological Index of Documents relating to Kinzli v. City of Santa Cruz (Broadway Extension)*, Author’s Draft, November 1982, 6. (Copy on file at the Capitola Historical Museum and Santa Cruz Museum of Art & History.)
- ⁸² Bob Scott, Recorded Interview, April 12, 2017.
- ⁸³ *Santa Cruz Sentinel*, April 1, 1965, 1; January 15, 1967, 6; and January 31, 1967, 5.
- ⁸⁴ *Santa Cruz Sentinel*, July 12, 1971, 15, and Wilshusen, *Chronological Index*, 14.
- ⁸⁵ Wilshusen, *Chronological Index*, 14.
- ⁸⁶ Wilshusen, *Chronological Index*, 12.
- ⁸⁷ *Santa Cruz Sentinel*, January 13, 1971, 18. The cost was approximately \$1.8 million for one bridge and \$2.7 million for two, compared with \$550,000 for the cut-and-fill design. (1971 dollars)
- ⁸⁸ The Harbor was annexed to the city in 1971. The city constructed a permanent access road in 1975.
- ⁸⁹ Wilshusen, *Chronological Index*, 15.
- ⁹⁰ Wilshusen, *Chronological Index*, 17.
- ⁹¹ Kay and Gerald Bowden, Recorded Interview, June 5, 2017.
- ⁹² Condemnations continued with the Kinzli’s, the Church, and Janet Gunn—with the latter now receiving some state interest in her claim of a historically significant barn.
- ⁹³ Wilshusen, *Chronological Index*, 24.
- ⁹⁴ Santa Cruz City Council, *Resolution No. NS 11,717*, October 14, 1975.
- ⁹⁵ *Santa Cruz Sentinel*, March 17, 1980, 1. During that time, the non-city surcharge varied by area.

Between the Gulches

⁹⁶ Wilshusen, *Chronological Index*, 36.

⁹⁷ Wilshusen, *Chronological Index*, 38.

⁹⁸ The City of Santa Cruz purchased Arana Gulch in 1996.

⁹⁹ Betsey Lynberg, Santa Cruz County Public Works Department, Personal Communication, June 5, 2017.

¹⁰⁰ Santa Cruz County Redevelopment Successor Agency, *Long-Range Property Management Plan, 2013*. RDA paid \$6.6 million for the Maggiolo property with the intent of constructing a park and visitor-serving uses adjacent to the upper harbor.



Aerial view of Twin Lakes taken in 1957. On the left is Woods Lagoon (now the Santa Cruz Small Craft Harbor) and on the right is Schwan Lake. The Boadway-Brommer Road would have crossed Wood's Lagoon in roughly the middle of the picture. (Courtesy of John Law Smith and Norman Poitevin)