

# 240 Years of Ranching

## Historical Research, Field Surveys, Oral Interviews, Significance Criteria, and Management Recommendations for Ranching Districts and Sites in the San Diego Region



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## ABSTRACT

Livestock have grazed on the grasslands of Southern California from the time the first Europeans arrived in the 1700s until the present day. Within a few years of the establishment of the first Spanish missions, thousands of horses, cattle, and sheep grazed on the coastal mesas, inland valleys, and mountain foothills. After the Mexican revolution in 1821 and the subsequent secularization of the missions, the California *rancheros* continued raising livestock on the open range. Thus, during the Spanish and Mexican periods, from the 1770s until the 1840s, the base economy of California depended on open-range cattle. During this time, cattle were primarily raised for their hides, some used locally, but the majority brought by the thousands to the coastal ports and traded to Americans for transport to the United States East Coast. After the American takeover of California in 1848 and the discovery of gold in Northern California the following year, the cattle industry continued to prosper by producing meat to feed the thousands of emigrants and gold-rushers in Northern California. Although impacted by droughts in the 1860s, the cattle meat industry continued to be viable until the 1880s.

In the late nineteenth century, as a result of the rampant promotion of Southern California by land speculators and several years of exceptional rains that supported dry-land farming, much of the prime agricultural land of Southern California was homesteaded by American farming families. These farmlands were the former free-range livestock pastures of the Spanish, Californio, and earliest American settlers. Although dry spells at the end of the century forced many families to give up dry farming and some farm areas reverted to livestock grazing, most of the livestock industry was concentrated in the interior of Southern California by the turn of the twentieth century. Many of these lands were the former ranchos of the Mexican period that had transferred to American ownership from the 1860s through the 1880s. Large tracts such as Jamul, Cuyamaca, Laguna, Santa Maria (Ramona), San Vicente, Santa Ysabel, San José (Warner's), and San Felipe continued as large cattle enterprises into the twentieth century.

During the late nineteenth century and early twentieth century, there were new challenges to maintaining a viable ranching enterprise that necessitated constant flexibility, negotiation, and adaptation. One recurrent theme is the movement of cattle throughout the inland ranges to take advantage of seasonal pasturage and to meet business needs. Ranchers regularly moved herds between coastal, mountain, and desert lands, which they owned or leased, as the weather determined the viability of pasturage. Calves were sometimes obtained from Mexico and Arizona,

grown on pastures throughout the southland or finished on feedlots in Arizona, then driven to San Diego or Temecula for slaughter or shipping. Thus, the cattle industry in the twentieth century was characterized by many large dispersed pasture lands and only a few central bases where the families and ranch hands lived and major maintenance activities, such as sorting, branding, or doctoring, took place. In the twentieth century, such bases of operation existed at Jamul (Daley), Peñasquitos (Peavey/Sawday), Witch Creek (Sawday/Cummings/Starr/Tulloch/Tellam), Warner's (Vail/Sawday), San Felipe (Dukey/Starr/Rutherford), Campo (Clark/Campbell/Chillwell/Kemp), Borrego (McCain), and Vallecito (Campbell/Spencer).

Another recurrent theme of this period's ranching history is the interpersonal negotiation and cooperation that were inherent in such a flexible and adaptive system. Twentieth-century ranching in Southern California was significant economically. However, it was also interwoven with a vibrant social system that maintained the family and friendship ties within which the economic system operated. Families worked together to move cattle, negotiate land and water usage, and construct improvements. Friendships between the landowners and the ranch managers and cowboys lasted a lifetime. Many of the ranching families were tied together through marriage, and business arrangements often reflected friendship and family relationships. The ranching industry in Southern California cannot be understood without consideration of both the economic and social systems with which it is interwoven.

After World War II, increasing population and escalating land values put tremendous pressure on the Southern California cattle industry. The few remaining coastal ranches, such as Peñasquitos and Rancho Bernardo, were sold in the 1960s and 1970s for residential and commercial development. Many of the inland ranches were subdivided to distribute to children and grandchildren. Children who had no interest in continuing ranching in Southern California often sold their portions. In contrast to the coastal situation, the backcountry ranches have primarily been sold to land preservation conservancies and public agencies. Jamul, Ramona, portions of the original Cuyamaca, Santa Ysabel, San Felipe, and Vallecito Ranches are now owned by California State Parks, California Department of Fish and Game, the County of San Diego, and The Nature Conservancy. The public agencies have removed grazing from most of these ranch properties and The Nature Conservancy allows grazing where it is necessary for vegetation management. Characteristic ranch structures—windmills, troughs, corrals, loading chutes, fences—once integral features of the ranching landscape and emblematic of the rancher's resourcefulness, are disintegrating through neglect and natural processes. Warner's Ranch, owned as watershed by the

Vista Irrigation District and operated as grazing land for dairy cattle, is one of the few remaining large-scale cattle operations remaining on original rancho lands in San Diego County. Other family ranch enterprises continue to operate in Campo, Witch Creek, and west Santa Ysabel. However, at the end of the twentieth century and after over two centuries of livestock grazing on the land, for the first time, ranching is no longer the primary component of the Southern California economic and cultural landscape.

It is the premise of this study that the story of ranching in the San Diego region is important historically. Equally important, however, the ranching story contains important lessons for today's world. First it is the story of a foundation economy for Southern California's "cow counties" explaining much about how the San Diego county region developed into its present form. Second, it is a story of how an industry adapted to the variable environmental conditions in the San Diego region. Third, ranching history tells the story of incredibly hardy and resourceful people who, faced with challenges and shortages, figured out a way to "make it work." They were the original recyclers. Fourth, ranching is the story of how economic, social, and family ties blended together to form the fabric of a community, a concept that is particularly relevant to today's fragmented society. And finally, ranching has left an indelible imprint on the environment that, for better or worse, needs to be acknowledged, understood, and considered in land management planning. For these reasons, which will be further explored in the pages of this report, ranching history and its physical remains on the landscape are important cultural resources that need to be preserved in the San Diego region.

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## I. INTRODUCTION

In 2000, the Colorado Desert District of California State Parks purchased what was dubbed the “Sentenac Acquisition”—a property that was originally a part of the San Felipe Ranch. This was followed in a short time by acquisition of the Lucky 5 (originally a part of the Harper Ranch), then the Tulloch Property (originally part of the Cuyamaca Rancho), and then the Vallecito Property (originally a part of the Campbell Ranch). Throughout the eastern County, California Department of Fish and Game and the County of San Diego purchased other ranches: the Barnett, the remainder of the San Felipe, the Santa Ysabel, and Monte Vista. In less than a decade, thousands of acres of eastern San Diego County’s historic ranch lands had transferred from private livestock ranches to public ownership and management.

On each of these properties remained the physical features of its ranching history: windmills, water tanks, drinkers, troughs, reservoirs, water flumes, land clearing equipment, feeders, corrals, loading chutes, squeeze chutes, fences, barns, outbuildings, and ranch houses. What also remained was the ambiance of nearly two centuries of ranching history. The open landscape, dotted with occasional windmills or tall loading chute, was still reminiscent of what Robert Cleland titled, “Cattle on a Thousand Hills.”

However, soon after coming into public management, maintenance needs suggested removing barbed wire and many other features that, without consideration of their ranching history, were considered “trash.” A 2001 State Parks Maintenance Department request to remove “trash” and other “nuisance debris” from the newly acquired Lucky 5 was the genesis of the present report. Clearly, to assist land managers in making historically informed decisions, the area’s historic ranching context needed to be documented. In National Register eligibility terms, we needed to know what were the important events in the history of ranching, who were the people and families important to that history, what constituted architectural significance on the ranching landscape, and what physical and archaeological data sources remain to document the history. With this information, land managers could make informed decisions regarding what is “trash” and what ranching features and artifacts are historically significant. Volume I of this report documents the results of our research, synthesizes the important historic themes that emerged from that research,

and suggests approaches to determining National Register of Historic Places and California Register of Historical Resources eligibility criteria and integrity aspects.

The study began by consulting the ranchers who had worked the lands until their recent acquisitions by the agencies. Many continue active ranching on the remaining portions of their lands. From 2000 until 2003, Colorado Desert District cultural staff Sue Wade and Heather Thomson interviewed 19 members of 11 of the oldest ranching families in the San Diego County region. Heather Thomson transcribed these interviews and the compilation of interviews with summary histories of each family is included with this report in Attachment I. The information in these interviews was combined with primary and secondary historic research by historian Stephen Van Wormer to prepare Chapter II, Historic Background. Also, over these three years, Colorado Desert District cultural staff Sue Wade, Heather Thomson, and Bonnie Bruce conducted field surveys and recorded as many ranching features in the District as could be located. The resulting DPR 523 Resource Record Forms are included in Attachment II. A summary of the physical features that were documented was prepared by Heather Thomson and is included in Attachment III. A synthesis of the field report is presented in Chapter III, Field Results.

What we never foresaw, as we were completing the ranching feature documentations, was the impending destruction of a majority of the historic ranching resources in western Anza-Borrego Desert State Park and all of Cuyamaca Rancho State Park. In two days in October 2003, as a result of the Cedar Fire, all of the wooden ranch features of the Tulloch property, the Lucky 5 property, and the Cuyamaca Rancho were destroyed. The photo and graphic documentation that were completed by State Parks in the three years previous were all that remained of all of the wooden ranching features in these parklands. While metal chutes and water tanks, concrete drinkers and troughs, the stone skeleton of the Dyar House, and the land modifications such as earthen dams and reservoirs remain, the historic ambiance has been severely affected. The landscape has overgrown after the fire in buck brush, which has also changed the ambiance of the ranching landscape. These changes on the land have been also sadly reflected by the passing of several of the “old-timers” we interviewed from 2000-2003. The cultural staff at Colorado Desert District is grateful to have had the opportunity to explore and document the ranching features in the field and to have visited with

the old time ranchers before they were gone. We are equally grateful that the stories and documentation have been recorded in this report for the future.

As this context study is written, now in 2009, there was another devastating fire season in 2007. As noted by the State Historic Preservation Officer after the Witch and Poomacha fires, San Diego County again lost a regrettable number of its historical structures in the backcountry—largely those that were a part of the ranching landscape. Few of them had any documentation at all, except for in the memories of the long-time ranchers who still live and run cattle in the backcountry. The dwindling number of ranch-related structures emphasizes the importance of preserving for the future, those that still remain. Significant ranching landscapes, features, and artifacts still remain at Warner's, Santa Ysabel, Witch Creek, Ramona, Cuyamaca, Laguna, Campo, Jamul, Coyote Canyon, Sentenac, Vallecito, and Carrizo Creek. As public agencies review project development plans, identify cultural contexts, develop management plans, propose preservation strategies, and create educational and interpretive plans, we hope that the information in the following document will provide guidance to evaluate importance and support preservation. It is a significant history that the public should have the opportunity to learn about and experience in the field as well as in the archives.

## **II. HISTORIC BACKGROUND**

### **A. Introduction**

The purpose of this section is to provide an overview summary history of ranching in San Diego County's backcountry, and details of the history of some of the major ranches and livestock pioneers. This narrative is not intended to be a complete or final history of this subject, which would indeed fill volumes. The study has focused on the area east of Pine Valley and Ramona, on those ranch lands that are under the control or within the sphere of influence of the California State Parks Colorado Desert District. While it highlights some of the prominent ranching families and properties, we also have tried to recognize the small operations and less visible cattlemen such as local Indian and Mexican ranches and cowboys.

There are three distinct parts of this historic background. A summary history of ranching in the county is followed by histories of individual ranches. These have been grouped into two sections; the northern ranches, which are located north of the San Diego River and San Felipe Creek, and the southern ranches south of those watercourses. The northern ranches were settled earlier and originated as Mexican period land grants while the southern ranches were generally settled later by American period pioneers.

The goal of this historic background section has been to provide accounts that can be read as a continuous narrative, or as stand alone sections. This has resulted in the repetition of some of the same information in different sections. An additional goal has been to provide as complete a history as possible of each ranch within the discussion of a particular grant or ownership parcel. For this reason other aspects of the development of certain parcels beyond the specifics of livestock grazing are presented. For example knowledge of the displacement of Native Americans, or the overland migrations, trails, and stage routes, are as critical to the understanding of grants like Warner's ranch, or some of the tracts in the southern portion of the county, as are livestock endeavors. It is for this reason that extensive discussions of those and other activities are also a part of this narrative.

Ranching constitutes an important heritage of San Diego County. Most of coastal and mountain Southern California was settled by Europeans and Americans as grazing land, and in the

backcountry this tradition has continued to the present day. The activity has occupied thousands of acres and many pioneer families, a number of which have been involved in the business for over 100 years. It has been, and continues to be in many parts of the study area, the major economic activity of the region. Its practitioners exhibited remarkable abilities to manage the landscape, develop water sources, corrals, feeding facilities, and home bases, in regions that necessitated an intimate knowledge and understanding of thousands of acres and hundreds of square miles of vast and varied terrain, while at the same time exhibiting abilities as business entrepreneurs. The cattlemen and women of San Diego County are unique individuals with their own extraordinary history, whose story remains generally unknown to the larger public.

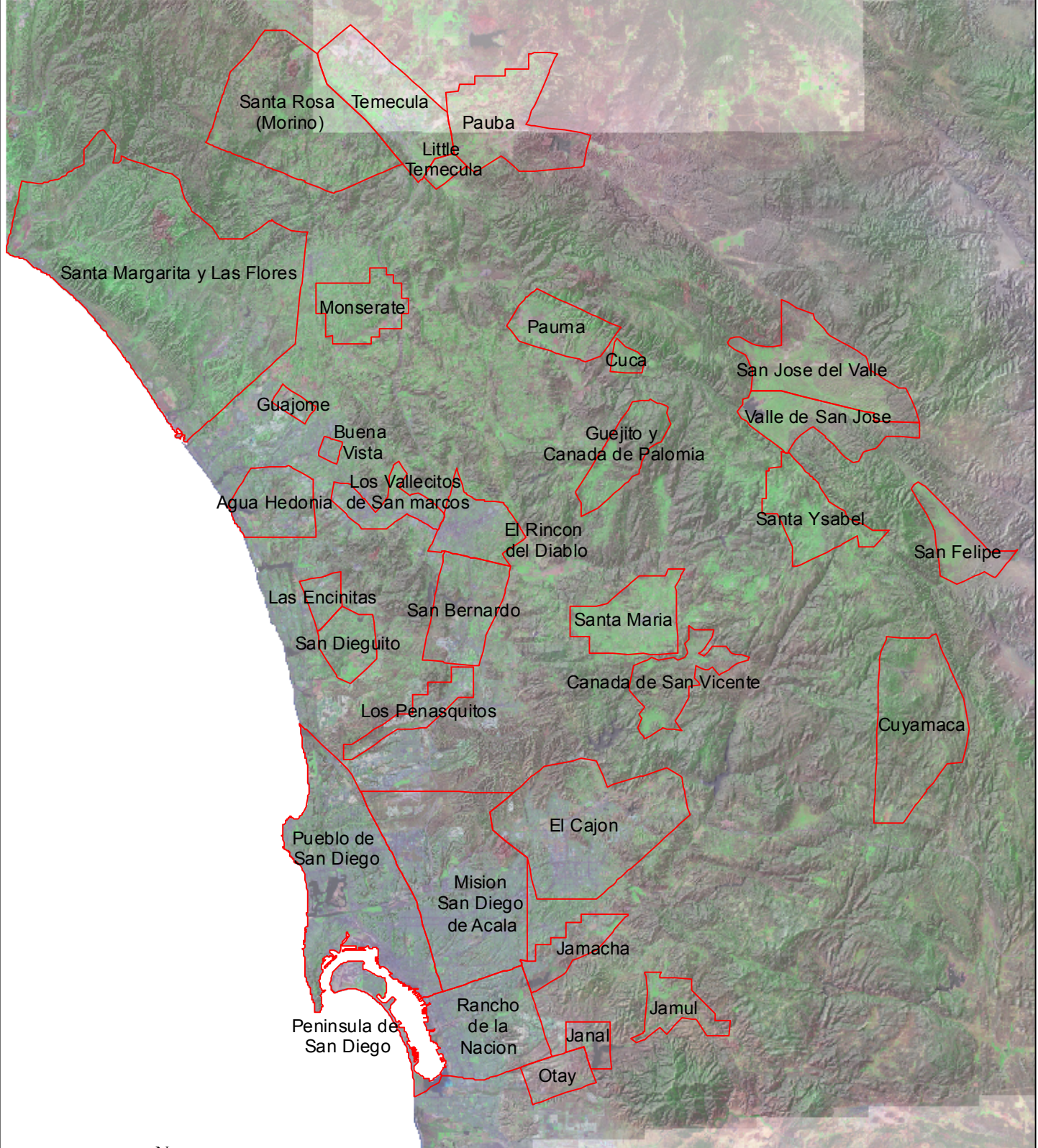
## **B. Summary of the History of Ranching in San Diego County**

### **1. Introduction**

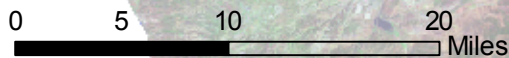
The first one hundred years of European settlement in southern California (1769 – 1870) has been called the pastoral era (Reed 1946). Livestock raising dominated the period, although three successive groups practiced it: Spanish missionaries, Mexican rancheros, and American ranchers. Each dominated for a specific period of time, and each raised livestock differently. The manner in which each chose to raise livestock reflected their cultural values adapted to their economic opportunities and available agricultural circumstances. Map 1 illustrates the relevant place names associated with this era.

Over the second 100 years, from 1870 to 1970, livestock ranching continued to thrive in San Diego County but also competed with expanding crop agriculture and urbanization. Although remaining as an important industry, diversified crops ranging from dry farmed grains to intensively irrigated vegetable farms and citrus orchards became the dominant agricultural industries. Since 1970 livestock ranching gradually declined in importance as increased pressure from urbanization reduced the available large tracts of grazing land required for successful ranching, and the economic and cultural complexion of the modern world have overcome the motivation to continue the family ranch business. Map 2 illustrates the relevant place names associated with this era.

# Ranchos of San Diego Area

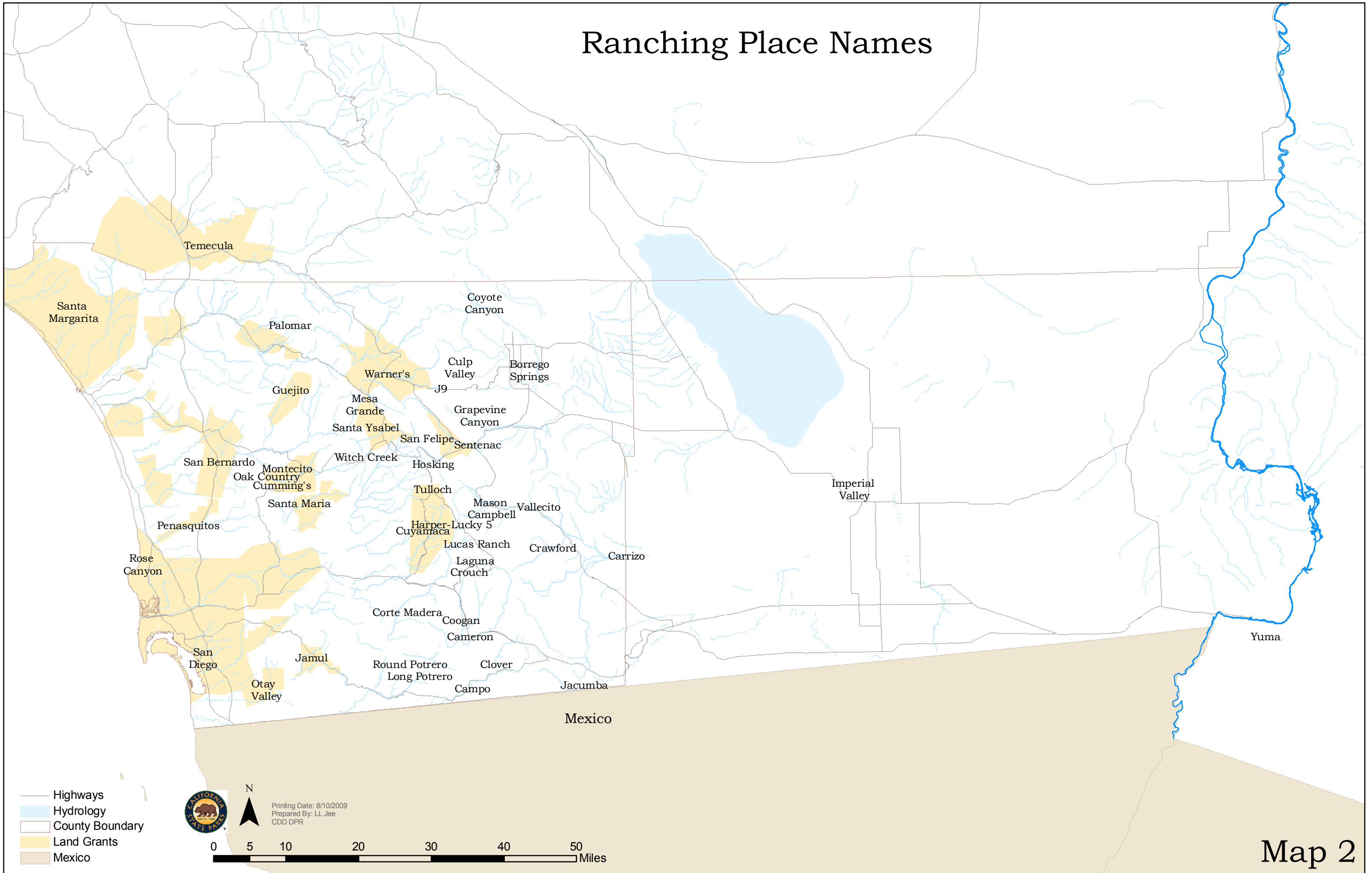


Ranchos



Map 1

# Ranching Place Names



## 2. Mission Period

With the founding of a Spanish presidio and mission at San Diego in July 1769, agriculture was introduced to the southern California coast (Jelinek 1979:11). The combined system of missions, presidios, and pueblos was a tested institution by which Spain had successfully extended its colonial frontiers and established Spanish law, language, and culture among the native tribes of her American possessions (Bolton 1917: 45, 47). To the Spaniard, the Native Americans existed without law or religion, living in unorganized settlements with little apparent sense of moral decency. The Spanish, therefore, believed that rather than imposing their ways upon an existing culture with its own values and social institutions, they were giving the natives civilization and moral salvation (Heizer 1978). The goal of the mission was to convert Indians to Christianity and to educate them so that they could eventually lead useful and productive lives as Spanish settlers. In this manner the frontier could be colonized with its original population (Bolton 1917:46). The inducement offered by the missionaries for aboriginal culture transformation was agriculture and livestock. Spanish colonization had demonstrated that native religious and cultural conversion rested upon the Spaniards' ability to feed and clothe the Indian (Jelinek 1979: 11).

Missionaries saw field cultivation as vital to the establishment of any successful mission. However, due to its dependence on irrigation in the arid Southern California climate, farming was confined to areas adjacent to the mission compounds, with the result that livestock became the primary emphasis (Jelinek 1979:13).

Cattle and horses were the missionaries' first priority. Mission Indians became excellent horsemen and herders, allowing missions to expand their pasturage well beyond the immediate church compound. Eventually, the missionaries introduced sheep, goats, and swine. These herds prospered and soon numbered in the thousands. Sheep were needed to supply the mission looms with wool and were seldom butchered (Jelinek 1979:13). Cattle supplied a ready source of meat and provided tallow for candles and soap and hides for leather. During the early 19th century herds at San Diego included 14,000 cattle, 1,500 horses and 32,000 sheep. Livestock was kept at various ranches that included Santa Monica (El Cajon), Santa Ysabel, San José (Warner's Ranch), San Bernardo, San Dieguito, San Pasqual, San Alejo, and Soledad (Engelhardt 1920:244).



Spanish missionaries began to explore present-day northern San Diego County's backcountry during the late 18<sup>th</sup> and early 19<sup>th</sup> centuries. In 1795 Father Juan Mariner of San Diego Mission and Captain Juan Pablo Grijalva of the San Diego Presidio led an exploring party into the mountains through present-day Santa Ysabel and the San José Valley, currently known as Warner's Ranch. Native American settlements were recorded at *Elcuanam* in the Santa Ysabel Valley. In addition 10 other native villages were noted in the San José Valley as well as the hot springs at Agua Caliente (Pourade 1961:115; Roth 1981:179; Hill 1927: APX. I; Rush 1965:56-57). San Diego Mission priests grazed their livestock at Santa Ysabel. In 1818 they built an adobe chapel and by 1822 several houses and a granary had been constructed (Moyer 1969). The neighboring San José Valley came under the jurisdiction of Mission San Luís Rey, which used the valley to graze cattle and sheep (Englehardt 1920:223-225; Pourade 1961:122).

Another important Mission period ranch was San Felipe, located to the south east of San José Valley along the base of the east slope of Volcan Mountain. Priests from San Diego Mission baptized Indians in this valley as early as 1818. In September 1821 an exploring party led by Fathers Mariano Payeras and José Sanchez, along with six soldiers and two other civilians, visited the area and described the Cañada de San Felipe, noting that there was very little timber except for a few poplar trees (Rush 1965).

San Felipe and Santa Ysabel marked the southern limit of mission control in the mountains. The area east of El Cajon Valley that was bounded on the south by the San Diego River on its west side and by Volcan Mountain, and current Banner and San Felipe Creeks on its east side, formed the southern boundary of missionary influence in the backcountry.

The territory to the north of these watercourses was occupied by the Ipai, Luiseño and Cupeño Native American groups. The Tipai or Kumeyaay occupied the area to the south of these territories (Luomala 1978: 592-609). Although the latter occupied territory extending to the coast and south of the present international border into Baja California, the mountain tribes, or Eastern Kumeyaay, remained exceptionally hostile and aloof during the entire Spanish and Mexican periods and the missionaries were not able to establish permanent contact with nor convert them (Van Wormer 1986a).

The missionaries ultimately decimated the California natives under their control (Cook 1976; Guest 1979). They subjected the Indians to unaccustomed labor and disease and disrupted family ties, social relationships, and cultural values. This resulted in the physical and cultural decline of the aboriginal population (Heizer 1978). At their peak, the 21 California missions controlled approximately 74,000 neophytes (Bolton 1917). By 1834, the year before secularization took the institution from the missionaries, only 17,000 natives remained within their sphere (Heizer 1978). At San Diego, the death rate amounted to half the number of baptisms between 1769 and 1800, and constituted 35 percent of the aboriginal population by 1820 (Bancroft 1886 I: 565; 2:346). Between 1791 and 1800, for example, there were 1,320 baptisms and 628 deaths (Bancroft 1886 I: 655). In the mountain valleys of San Diego county, where mission influence was less, populations were not as badly affected and a large number of native communities survived in the Santa Ysabel, San José, and San Felipe Valleys, as well as the areas south of San Felipe and Banner Creeks and the San Diego River throughout the Spanish period and well into the closing years of the 19<sup>th</sup> century.

### **3. Mexican Ranchos**

The late 1820s and early 1830s saw a gradual decline in the mission's economic strength and rise to power of a secular ranchero aristocracy. The power base of privately owned ranchos came from mission secularization and the hide and tallow trade. Mission secularization resulted from long-standing hostilities between Spanish missionaries and the civilian population of Alta California. By the time Mexico achieved independence from Spain, in 1821, California missions were facing an alarming decline in native population, while the number of civilians residing in the province numbered over 3,000. As the civilian population grew, their need for land increased. Frustrations mounted because the missions owned most of the desirable land (Jelinek 1979:15).

Civilian agitation resulted in the Mexican government's secularization of California missions by 1835. Following secularization, former mission lands became the property of a small ranchero aristocracy who controlled large estates of grazing land consisting of thousands of acres each. Ranchos were several miles from each other and depended upon a few coastal pueblos that served as ports, markets, towns, and social centers (Jelinek 1979:15). By 1846, thirty ranchos had been granted in San Diego County and were served by the small pueblo of San Diego (Pourade

1963:61-76). Those ranchos within the area of this study included (from north to south) Rancho San José, and Rancho San José del Valle (which together became Warner's Ranch), Santa Ysabel, San Felipe, Cuyamaca, and Tecate (Pourade 1963:72).

The Mexican period ranchos in California have commonly been called "Spanish land grants." This is incorrect. With very few exceptions these ranchos were granted during the Mexican period from 1821 to 1846. Los Peñasquitos, which Francisco Maria Ruíz received in 1821, was the first privately owned rancho in San Diego County. These tracts were, in actuality, Mexican land grants and had nothing to do with Spanish law or colonization (Brigandi 1995; Bancroft 1886-1888: VI: 531-2).

The rancho aristocracy established a society based on that in Mexico (Figure 1). During the



Figure 1: Painting by James Walker depicting a well-dressed Californio caballero on his horse, ca. 1840 (courtesy California Historical Society)

Colonial Period, Spaniards used various methods of land allotment known as *Encomienda*,

*Repatriamiento*, and *Hacienda*.

Although used in various geographical regions and at different periods in colonial development, all three methods were based on large tracts of land, an Indian labor force, and agricultural production, usually involving a single cash product

(Burns 1972:21-41). The system was patriarchal with the male landowner exerting control over his land,

family, and Indian work force

(Burns 1972:37). California

ranchos were a re-establishment of these institutions. The patriarchal

ranchero family controlled large tracts of land and numerous Indian servants and Indian vaqueros (Pitt 1966:30).

The California ranchero put little effort into improving his surroundings, allowing cattle and horses to roam freely over open ranges, feeding and reproducing naturally. Cultivation amounted to planting only enough food for the small population. Grain and other produce for export or livestock feed were not grown and manufacturing was almost nonexistent (Cleland 1969).

The chief economic activity consisted of exporting hides and tallow. Mexican independence in 1821 opened California ports to foreign trade and coincided with the expansion of the American shoe industry. Cowhides, one of the few items California produced in abundance that could withstand the long transportation by ship to market, were suddenly in great demand (Francis

1976:21-55). By the late 1820s, cattle were raised specifically for their hides (Figure 2), and approximately 40,000 hides were exported annually (Bandini 1828). For the first time Californians began to enjoy the benefits of a reliable source of manufactured goods from the East Coast and a ready market for their



Figure 2: Painting of a Spanish Rancho cattle round-up, 1840-1880 (courtesy California Historical Society)

products. The California economy, however, was a neocolonial one, dependent on a single product controlled by Boston merchants and the needs of the New England leather market. Neocolonial economies dominated by either the United States or Great Britain was common throughout Latin America during the 19th century (Burns 1972:53; Ogden 1927, 1929; Dallas 1955).



Figure 3: Drawing depicting vaqueros roping a steer, ca. 1849 (courtesy California Historical Society)

Secularization of the missions in 1835 radically changed the hide trade. The missions were no longer the economic centers of the province, nor the chief producer of hides. Rancheros quickly replaced the missions for hide

production (Figure 3), and middleman merchants

replaced the missions as the economic focal points. Middleman merchants, such as Thomas Larkin of Monterey and Henry Delano Fitch of San Diego, purchased trading vessels' cargoes and sold them to the local inhabitants, thereby acting as a collecting point for hides and other products. In addition, sea captains sold goods directly off the ship while on the coast. Civil strife and drought during the 1840s caused a decline in the hide trade, and it ceased altogether with the outbreak of war in 1846 and the resulting American conquest of the region. Immigration during the 1849 Gold Rush so drastically changed the social and economic systems of California that former patterns of commerce never resumed. California was radically brought into the complex social and economic North American community in which it had marginally participated for almost 30 years (Dallas 1955).

#### 4. 1850s Cattle Boom

The American takeover of California, combined with the discovery of gold in the foothills of the Sierra Nevada Mountains in 1848, dramatically changed the nature of cattle ranching in California. Rancheros in Southern California did not fare badly during the early years of the 1850s. The lack of mineral wealth and water deterred prospective miners and farmers, and the large population in the north sent beef prices soaring so that southern rancheros actually prospered during the first half of

the decade. Cattle were now valuable for their meat rather than simply their hides (Pitt 1966:105; Hughes 1975:11). The number of livestock in San Diego County in 1850 included: 5,164 cattle, 1,172 sheep, 1,767 horses, 2,962 mules, and 904 cows (Bureau of the Census 1852:983). Herds were being imported from Lower California and driven north. In August 1853, Able Sterns brought in a herd of 400 cattle from Baja California, which he sold to Don Santiago Arguello of Rancho La Punta for \$12,000. The same month Don Juan Bandini sold 100 cows to a driver named Turner for \$30 each. Mr. Turner added these to a larger herd he then drove to San Francisco (*San Diego Herald* 8-31-1853).

In April 1854 the *San Diego Herald* reported that "Drovers from upstate" had purchased cows and calves in the county, "paying an average \$32.50 per head." They also bought horses and mares. Don Santiago Arguello of La Punta sold them 300 head (*San Diego Herald* 4-15-1854 2:3). In June 1855, 150 beef cattle were driven from the ranch of Don Juan Bandini at Guadalupe in Lower California to San Francisco. The same month Dr. Thomas Spence stopped to rest a herd of 100 head at Santa Ysabel (*San Diego Herald* 6-16-1855).

## **5. Gila Trail**

Dr. Spence's herd had probably been driven overland from the east on the Southern Overland or Gila trail. This route became a major thoroughfare for emigrants and livestock herds from 1848 through the mid 1870s. Beginning with the Mexican-American War of 1846-1848, and until the completion of the Southern Pacific and Santa Fe railroads in the mid 1870s, the San Felipe and San José Valleys became part of a major corridor for overland migration and communication along the Gila River route to California. The movement began with military expeditions. Following earlier trails established by Spanish and Mexican explorers and Santa Fe traders, invading American armies marching to California established the overland trail through Arizona along the Gila River to where it joined the Colorado River at present-day Yuma, Arizona (Trafzer 1980). From the junction of the Gila and Colorado the trail followed an already well established route across the Colorado Desert and northward along the east side of the peninsular range through the San Felipe Valley, Warner's Pass, and San José Valley. The trail to San Diego forked off at this point running through Santa Ysabel, while the main road continued northward to Temecula and Los Angeles

(Warner 1886:1-6, 19-20; Bibb 1995). General Stephen W. Kearney's Army of the West passed through the valley in early December 1846 followed by General George Cook's Mormon Battalion in January 1847. The Mormon Battalion's mission was to open a wagon road to California (Pourade 1963:124; Beattie 1925; 1933). In 1848 T.J. Trimmer drove 500 head of cattle from Texas to California. The Gold Rush opened new markets in Northern California and livestock herds continued to be driven down the trail after the main surge of immigration had subsided (Brigandi 1995:29-35).

In July 1853 the *San Diego Herald* reported that crossing the desert via the Gila River route were 8,262 cattle, 2,300 sheep, and 350 other animals as well as 143 wagons, 353 individuals, and 4 carriages (*San Diego Herald* 7-9-1853 3:2). In October the paper noted that a herd of 1200 Texas beef cattle was in on its way to San Diego from the Colorado River. Part of the herd had already reached Warner's Ranch (*San Diego Herald* 10-22-1853). The following month George Tollman, who had recently arrived in San Diego via the southern route, stated that each family of emigrants on the trail traveled with herds of 50 to 200 head of cattle (*San Diego Herald* 11-12-1853 5:2). On November 11 the paper noted that over 6,000 head of stock had crossed the Colorado River at Yuma during the last eight weeks. Most of the herds came from Texas. The majority of the emigrants and stock were continuing to northern California via Los Angeles (*San Diego Herald* 11-11-1854). During 1854 over 61,000 cattle crossed the Colorado River into California. Herds ranged in size from 600 to around 1,000 head. Traffic declined in the late 1850s due to a drop in prices.

These cattle drives could be costly. In February 1854 a herd of 500 head was camped at La Playa. The cattle had traveled some 1800 miles and more than half the stock had been lost. The owners expected to lose even more before reaching their destination (*San Diego Herald* 2-11-1854 2:3). Travel over the Gila Trail declined during the 1860s as a result of the Civil War. Following the war the market returned and in 1868 an estimated 50 to 55,000 head of cattle were on the trail from Texas to California.

With the completion of the Southern Pacific railroad the major cross country cattle drives ceased but local livestock raisers continued to cross the desert with their herds (Figure 4).

As late as 1919, cattle were still being driven across the desert between Carrizo Creek and Yuma (Brigandi 1995:29-35).



Figure 4: Cattle of the California and Mexican Land and Cattle Company, Calexico, ca. 1910 (courtesy California Historical Society)

## 6. Loss of Ranchos

In spite of the limited prosperity that they enjoyed during the early 1850s, California rancheros ultimately found the American take over to be a very mixed blessing. The conquest of the Southwest by the United States represented more than just a transfer of territory. An aggressive capitalistic society replaced the existing feudalistic Mexican one (Garcia 1975:55). Social, political, and economic factors combined so that most Mexican rancheros and their descendants lost their large ranches. They were unfamiliar with American capitalism, especially the consequences of borrowing large sums of money at high interest, the pitfalls that the combination of large debt and an unfamiliar and complicated court system could bring, and the nature of the boom and bust cycles that characterized the 19<sup>th</sup> century American economy, especially on the frontier. As a result most fell heavily into debt and lost a large portion, if not all, of their property. Oftentimes the large ranchos became property of Northern California financiers whose interests were in subdividing and selling. The assets that remained in the family often passed into the hands of American sons-in-law.



The land policy of California that favored Midwestern and eastern settlement patterns consisting of small farms became the most significant of these factors. The state land policy resulted from pressure by many newly arrived Yankee immigrants who could not accept the fact that 13 million acres of the best land was controlled by a few hundred Mexican ranchos (Morefield 1955:22; Garcia 1975).

This pressure from immigrants resulted in the Land Act of 1851, which required an investigation into the legitimacy of all land claimed under Mexican Period grants. Rather than a quick and speedy process, the law was written and executed so that the ordeal of investigation and confirmation took decades. Until a grant had been confirmed, claimants could not sell their land, forcing many ranchers to borrow money and mortgage their property to cover court costs (Morefield 1955:22; Garcia 1975).

Another factor that brought hardship to the Californios was a dramatic decline in cattle prices during the second half of the 1850s; by 1855 livestock prices dropped as sheep and cattle herds from Texas, New Mexico, and Arizona were driven to northern California. This was combined with local drought in Southern California that further drove prices down. The drought hit Los Angeles County in the spring of 1856 when the newspaper stated ranchers in Los Angeles, whose cattle were dying for want of food, had been sending large herds of stock into the San Diego region where good pasturage could still be found (*San Diego Herald* 4-26-1856 2:1). Undoubtedly many were driven to higher pastures in the mountains.

The situation soon became worse. By April of 1856 the shortage of rain had ruined all grain crops and dried up pastures so that livestock was being sold at any price offered. Cattle were so cheap it did not pay to feed them and many were left to die of hunger (*San Diego Herald* 4-11-1857).

The devastating conditions continued for another eight years. A massive flood in the winter of 1861 to 1862 then drowned many of the cattle that had survived the drought. This was followed by another dry spell from 1863 to 1865 that killed even more. So, by the mid-1860s the Southern California cattle industry had been devastated (Guinn 1911; Cleland 1926, 1969).

The most thrifty and frugal of businessmen would have been hard pressed under such circumstances. For the Mexican Californians, who were unfamiliar with American capitalistic

business practices and traditionally followed a value system that emphasized spending over savings or reinvestment, the result was disastrous. With the high rise in cattle prices during the early 1850s the rancheros had sold most of their livestock. Few had bothered to restock their ranges or develop alternative sources of revenue. The majority simply spent their cash and then mortgaged their land on an ill-placed faith in the future (Pitt 1966:108-109). When the price of beef fell in 1855 most of the southern California rancheros were already in debt. The successive years of flood and drought finished off the small herds of livestock that did remain, and soon mortgages and taxes, combined with an inability to sell off portions of their holdings to raise cash due to ongoing litigations resulting from the Land Act of 1851, forced many Californio land holders to relinquish their property (Pitt 1966:108-109; Cleland 1969:49; Guinn 1907:202; Van Wormer 1984; 1986a).

And, as alluded to above, another means by which land passed from Mexican Californians to Yankees was through marriage. Many rancho daughters married ambitious young American men who came to control large portions of the family estates when the Land Commission confirmed titles in the 1870s (Morefield 1955:33).

## **7. Late 19<sup>th</sup> and Early 20<sup>th</sup> Centuries**

The last half of the 19<sup>th</sup> century continued to be one of hardship for the cattle industry. The series of natural disasters that had begun in the 1850s continued. Droughts occurred again in 1870, 1873, 1876 to 1877, and 1898. This devastation was compounded by disease. A number of large ranches turned to alternative sources of revenue such as the cultivation of grain and the raising of sheep.

The drought of 1862 to 1864 brought an end to the dominance of cattle on Southern California ranges for the remainder of the 19<sup>th</sup> century. Like cattle, the Franciscan Missionaries who raised them for their wool had introduced sheep into the region. After its revival in the 1850s, sheep raising expanded year by year. With the disruption of the cotton trade as a result of the Civil War sheep replaced cattle as the dominant livestock in Southern California (Cleland 1969:139-140).

Although more profitable and slightly more drought tolerant than cattle during this period, the sheep industry also eventually suffered catastrophic setbacks. Profits remained high until 1872 when the price of raw wool reached 40 to 50 cents a pound. That year prices suddenly collapsed in the face of another severe drought, which killed many of the flocks. This caused only a temporary setback.

Five years later, in 1877, however, sheep raisers suffered a major disaster as another drought combined with a smallpox epidemic destroyed the herds (Cleland 1969:208 – 209).

Throughout the closing years of the 19<sup>th</sup> century disease continued to plague the cattle industry as well. There is very little mention of sickness among California cattle prior to 1868 and the herds appeared to be generally disease free. From 1870 to 1884 sickness caused thousands of dollars in loss. In 1884 2.3 percent or 22,659 cattle in the state died from disease (Pulling 1965).

The greatest scourge of disease among California herds was that of Texas or Southern fever. Almost equal in its destruction was blackleg hemorrhagic septicemia, which attacks only fat young cattle (Figure 5). The lean, tough, lanky cattle of the Mexican Rancheros had not been susceptible to it, but with the crossing of those cattle with more flesh producing strains that immunity was lost. Anthrax was also a problem during this period. The degree of prevalence of blackleg and anthrax among cattle in the state during this period is difficult to determine. Similar symptoms and somewhat similar modes of infection led cattlemen to believe they were identical diseases, until 1875 when the two were differentiated by Bollinger (Pulling 1965).

Newspaper accounts give some idea of the constant threat disease posed to cattlemen from the 1870s through the 1890s. In 1876 the *San Diego Union* noted that a disease among cattle in Santa Barbara was affecting new stock while the older strain "Spanish" stock was not touched by the malady (*San Diego Union* 8-17-1876 3:2). Other mentions of cattle disease in the paper from this period are listed below:

Spring Valley and Neighborhood: There has been considerable sickness among the cows in the country of late, generally ending fatally . . . (*San Diego Union* 9-5-1883 3:2).

Items from Poway: A fatal disease, perhaps the same described by a recent correspondent, has prevailed somewhat among cattle in this vicinity; C. Paine lost several head here some weeks ago and a still larger number at his ranch on Volcan Mountain, and a few days since C.C. Watson lost 2 of the best animals in his herd; it is said that cattle in the finest condition are the most liable to be attacked (*San Diego Union* 9-19-1883 3:3).

Aphteuse fever has broken out among the cattle in and around the San Joaquin valley, has been gradually making its way southward. The disease is not necessarily fatal in its results; in every day parlance it is known as the foot and mouth disease (*San Diego Union* 7-31-1884).

A cattle disease; appearance of a mysterious epidemic in Santa Maria valley reports the *Nuevo Sentinel*; disease seems to affect the kidneys and bladder; all well known remedies

for inflammation of these organs have failed to give relief; all that can be done is to simply watch the progress of the disease and skin the carcasses when they are ready for the buzzards (*San Diego Union* 8-25-1894).

Nuevo Sentinel: More cattle are dying in this section from the diseases described in last week's issue (*San Diego Union* 9-3-1894, 2:3; 9-10-1894 5: 1).

Texas fever is becoming epidemic among the cattle in the neighborhood of Julian; quite a number have died and a good many are sick and are not expected to last long; no remedy has yet been found (*San Diego Union* 8-8-1898 8:1).

Campo stockman report the loss of quite a number of animals from a disease resembling "black-leg" when an animal is attacked, it usually dies in two or three hours from the first symptom (*San Diego Union* 8-15-1898 5:1).

Number of fine cattle belonging to Mr. Doane of Smith Mountain died recently of bloody myrrh; many cattle are dying through out the county this year from various diseases (*San Diego Union* 8-15-1898 5:1).

In 1900, Walter L. Vail, president of the land and cattle company that leased Warner's Ranch and owned several ranches in Riverside County reported that losses on those ranches from black leg often ran as high as ten percent of the years increase (Puling 1965).

Finally, in 1896 Victor A. Norgaard, chief of the Pathological Division of the Bureau of Animal Industry, perfected a vaccine for the disease, which required a single injection. The Bureau of



Figure 5: Treating a steer for blackleg – Warner’s Ranch – 1919

Animal Industry began free distribution of the vaccine in August 1897. Before that time the estimated loss among cattle had been 21 percent. By the end of June 1903, the estimated loss among unvaccinated cattle was reduced to 2.36 percent. This success had been

achieved even though only a small

number of the cattle in the state had been vaccinated. An aggressive vaccination campaign continued and by 1910 the loss due to black leg had reached so low a point that statistics were no longer published. In 1881 Louis Pasteur succeeded in developing a vaccine for immunization against anthrax. Continued use of the vaccine and its improvement during the early 20<sup>th</sup> century eventually controlled the disease by 1909 (Pulling 1965).

Texas fever was also conquered during this period. In 1888 Theobald Smith discovered the direct cause of the disease to be an intracorporal parasite transmitted by the cattle tick. California quickly took steps to stop the further introduction of the cattle tick into the state. In March 1893, the State Board of Health established a quarantine against the entry of cattle from March to November from areas known to be infested with the tick, specifically Texas, New Mexico, and Mexico. In addition, cattlemen began to cleanse the ranges by deliberately avoiding known infested areas until the ticks had died. Chemical dips of petroleum and arsenic were used to eradicate ticks among individual herds (Pulling 1965).

In March 1907, through the efforts of the State Veterinarian, the California Legislature passed a law prohibiting the movement or exposure of tick-infested cattle in such a manner as to infest other cattle. The law of 1907 also required the disinfection of cattle by dips prepared according to the directions of the State Veterinarian. Cattlemen who had previously been skeptical of the value of the arsenical dips were now forced to use them. The work of tick eradication proceeded rapidly in southern California counties, and by April 1 of that year only San Diego, Orange, Santa Barbara and a portion of San Luis Obispo counties remained under quarantine (Pulling 1965).

The reason for the lack of success in San Diego and Orange counties lay in part in the fact that reinfestation of tick-free herds occurred repeatedly from the mingling of those herds with those of Lower California. Along the international boundary line there was no fence to separate the cattle, and Lower California was badly tick infected and had instituted no program of eradication. The various quarantines and laws against the transportation of cattle put even more hardships on San Diego County livestock men who had been accustomed to passing their herds freely into Lower California and back (Pulling 1965).

Oftentimes pasture was available south of the border when it could not be found in the mountains of San Diego County. Items published in the *San Diego Union* in the spring and summer of 1875 gave testimony to the popularity of taking herds into Lower California:

Last week 1,300 head of cattle, passed through Campo, came from the north and were on their way to Lower California (*San Diego Union* 6-5-1875 3:2).

Passed border into Lower California since the first of May 5,000 head of cattle (*San Diego Union* 6-9-1875).

Since June first, 2,144 head of cattle have been taken to different places in Lower California (*San Diego Union* 7-7-1875).

The *San Diego Union* noted in August 1887 that the tick law left cattlemen along the border "without means of revenue." The problem appears to have been temporarily resolved during the mid to late 1890s. In September 1895, 225 head of cattle were admitted from Lower California and driven to Los Angeles by J.E. Dunn, agent for the Cudahy Packing Company (*San Diego Union* 9-1-1895 5:2). In January 1899 the paper reported that Descanso ranchers "Robert Benton and Mr. Silsbee are going to the desert in company with inspectors, custom house collectors and Mexican officials, to bring 1,000 cattle across the Mexican line into this country" (*San Diego Union* 1-29-1899 5:3). In August of that same year the paper noted that ranchers and merchants "on both sides of the line" planned to "erect a tank for the purpose of dipping animals infested with the 'brindle tick'," (*San Diego Union* 8-7-1899 5:3). In September, Mr. Akin, who had hoped to erect the tank near Campo received word from the Secretary of Agriculture stating that results of the dip were not satisfactory and cattle would not be allowed to pass (*San Diego Union* 9-6-1899 3:2).

The solution was to slaughter the livestock on the Mexican side of the border and pass the dressed carcasses into the United States. In December 1900 "Fifty-one head of fat beef cattle were driven in from the New River country" near Calexico by Frank Thing. ". . . the cattle are in fine condition, and will be slaughtered at the line; this is the second bunch of cattle brought in by Thing, and it is understood that he has three more drives to make (*San Diego Union* 12-20-1900 6:4-5). In May 1901 a slaughter house was established "at the Lower California line near Tia Juana; this one will be for Charles S. Hardy, and will be used as are others, for the slaughter of cattle coming from Lower California, which can be brought that far but can be admitted no further as cattle, though they may come in as dressed beef" (*San Diego Union* 5-19-1901 7:2; 5-24-1901 8:1).

In 1909 the Bureau of Animal Industry began construction of a border fence. This proved to be a great aid in the fight for tick eradication. On June 30 1917 Southern California was declared to be free of cattle ticks and all remaining quarantines were lifted (Pulling 1965).

Numbers of sheep continued to be almost equal to or greater than those of cattle in the livestock industry throughout the 1870s and early 1880s. Cattle, however, remained important. In 1870 livestock in the county included 19,556 cattle, 16,443 sheep, 5,687 horses, 723 mules, and 1,268 cows (Bureau of the Census 1870). Livestock men from other areas still found the county mountain pastures provided food when other parts of the state were dry. The newspaper noted in May 1877 that stockmen from outside the area were looking for grazing land in the Cuyamacas (*San Diego Union* 5-20-1877 1:5). In spite of the popularity of sheep, cattle still remained important. In June 1877 the *San Diego Union* noted "Pine Valley Rancher, captain Emery has a splendid ranch with fine cattle" (*San Diego Union* 6-2-1877 1:5). Campo stock was reported in good condition: "M.D. Haydon went through Campo with a drove of fat steers for the San Diego Market" (*San Diego Union* 6-2-1877 1:6). Don Juan Forester shipped 150 head of cattle every week to San Francisco and Mrs. Coats of Guajome Rancho sold 300 head to a Los Angeles buyer and had another 200 head for sale at \$10.00 a head (*San Diego Union* 6-2-1877 1:6).

Sheep came to dominate the livestock industry during the 1870s and by 1880 the number of cattle in the county had fallen to 10,124 while the number of sheep peaked at 148,252; horses numbered 4,782. Other livestock included 350 mules and 3,662 cows (Bureau of the Census 1883:145). During the 1880s cattle began to make a come back and by 1890 numbered 40,973 while the number of sheep in the county had fallen to 26,990. Other livestock included 11,280 horses, 700 mules, and 6,722 cows (Bureau of the Census 1890:278, 239, 320).

By the first decade of the 20<sup>th</sup> century cattle had once again become the dominant livestock in San Diego County. The control of disease combined with modern pumping equipment that allowed some limited pasture irrigation and the development of wells for water supply to mitigate some of the more severe swings in climate helped stabilize the industry although weather still continued to play an important part in the fluctuations of the industry. By 1910 the number of cattle in the county numbered 48,154, while sheep had fallen to 290 head. Other livestock included 11,498 horses, 766 mules and 10,633 cows (Bureau of the Census 1913:151). By 1920 the number of cattle

had fallen, somewhat, to 34,644, and the quantity of sheep had increased slightly to 7,311. There were 9,739 horses, 1,026 mules, and 11,904 cows (Bureau of the Census 1922). In spite of fluctuating numbers from decade to decade cattle would remain the prominent livestock on San Diego County ranches throughout the remainder of the 20<sup>th</sup> century. Large ranchers who amassed amazingly large tracts of land and ran thousands of cattle dominated these decades. These operations are exemplified by the Vail Ranches in Riverside County and the cattle empire of George Sawday in San Diego County.

In the summer George sold off cattle that had matured to the point that they could be marketed. Herds of five to six hundred head a week would be driven to Temecula, weighed, and loaded onto train cars. Some years George would remain at Warner's and continue to "cut out" cattle from the herds while his cowboys were still on the trail to Temecula. During these seasons as many as two train loads a week would be shipped (Sawday and Sawday 2000). In the mid-1930s the overland cattle drives ended when ranchers began hauling cattle in trucks (Tellam 2000). Occasionally, in the 1940s, cattle would be shipped to Campo on the San Diego and Arizona Railroad and trucked to Sawday's holdings in the southern part of the county such as Coogan, Cameron, and Laguna ranches (Sawday and Sawday 2000).

Formation of the Cleveland National Forest in 1908 changed the availability of grazing lands. The Cleveland National Forest was formed to protect watershed in San Diego, Orange and Riverside counties. San Diego had no other source of water except for the watershed and some local wells. There were two major concerns for water shed protection: fire and overgrazing.





Figure 6: Cleveland National Forest, Crouch Valley, grazing in the 1920s (courtesy U.S.D.A. Forest Service. Cleveland National Forest)

Stockmen regularly burned brush to improve forage. Burning brush allowed easier access and grass to grow.

It was the custom among many ranchers to use a range for four

years, abandon it for three to five years, and then reburn it to promote new pasture. Of forty-eight fires in the National Forest in 1911 six had been purposely set by cattlemen, and ranchers were suspected for another twenty-four. Gradually, education and public relations efforts improved relations between the Forest Service and stock raisers and burning in the forest was reduced. Many, however, continued to believe that brush fires were beneficial to the range by promoting grass lands, increasing ground water, and preventing the accumulation of large fuel loads which made extremely large and dangerous fires more probable (Sakarias 1975; Sawday and Sawday 2000; Tulloch 2002). Time has proven the later belief to be right.

Overgrazing did have a detrimental effect on the backcountry. A report in 1912 observed that no new oak seedlings could be found in the Laguna Mountains (Figure 6). As soon as the new trees sprouted they were eaten by stock. The forest service enforced limits on the number of stock that could be grazed on their land. In 1911 a maximum of 5,000 cattle and 500 sheep was set for the entire forest, which included lands in Riverside and Orange counties. Permits were issued for 3,700 head of cattle and just a few sheep. By contrast, around 30,000 head of cattle foraged on combined public and private lands within the National Forest boundaries. Restrictions were implemented in some areas that had been set aside for recreational purposes. Creation of the National Forest, therefore, severely limited the cattleman's ability to manage grazing lands through burning brush,

decreased the number of livestock that could be kept on government land, and prohibited grazing on some tracts that had been designated for recreational use (Sakarias 1975).

Throughout the 1930s and 40's beef production was one of the most important agricultural industries in San Diego County. Of its 3 million acres approximately two-thirds provided good cattle range. Ranchers imported large numbers of yearling "feeder calves" for fattening. After two to four years they were sold to the Los Angeles markets. In 1931 the beef cattle population of the county varied from 34,000 to 50,000. In 1948, the average number of cattle was 60,000 with actual counts varying between 40 and 75 thousand depending on range conditions and the market. Big ranches with large herds dominated the industry; including the Santa Margarita Ranch Corporation in Oceanside, the Otay Agricultural Corporation, George Sawday at Witch Creek, Sawday Sexton and Company at Rose Canyon and Peñasquitos, George Daley of Jamul, the Mendenhall Company of Palomar Mountain, Arthur Stone of Mesa Grande, Ralph Jasper of Ranchita, and E.W. Campbell of Vallecito. Smaller ranches also played an important role in the industry as more than 1200 farms reported maintaining cattle in the census of 1930. The industry employed between three and five hundred people (*San Diego Union* 1-1-1931; 4-28-1935; 8-14-1949 B1).

On the smaller scale, cattle provided a living for numerous rural communities during the Great Depression. Importantly, cattle were a large component of the survival of Indian peoples on the remote back country reservations. On Los Coyotes Indian Reservation, the Siva family continued the tradition of moving livestock with the seasons between the reservation lands in the mountains northeast of Warner Springs and the well-watered desert pastures in Coyote Canyon. As Alvino Siva recalls about the early twentieth century, beef was essential to providing food for his family. Small herds were kept at many of the San Diego County reservations in the early to mid-twentieth century. When men left for World War II in the 1940s, several of the herds were disbursed. After the war, many of the families never restarted their cattle herds (Siva 2007).

In the 1930s modern technology began to replace some aspects of traditional cattle ranching. Livestock trucks were introduced to transport cattle, replacing the long overland drives. Jeeps and pickups also replaced the traditional cow pony and horse drawn wagons in more accessible areas. Chutes and squeeze gates were employed to hold the steers at branding time, eliminating the colorful roping and bulldogging of traditional rodeos. Windmills and gasoline and electrical



Figure 7: Brush Rake, Cleveland National Forest (courtesy U.S.D.A. Forest Service, Cleveland National Forest)

powered pumps allowed irrigation of pasture and the replenishment of waterholes from well water in arid areas so that some effects of the fluctuating weather cycles could be mitigated (*San Diego Union* 8-14-1949:B1; *Union Title and Trust* 1950). As well, private and public land managers implemented mechanical land clearing mechanisms including brush raking and chaining (Figure 7).

### 8. The Sawday Cattle Empire

The story of George Sawday is truly remarkable (Figures 8 and 9). Starting with just a few cows a



Figure 8: George Sawday circa 1900 (courtesy Julian Pioneer Museum)

small number of acres in the early 1900s he developed the largest cattle operation in Southern California and one of the largest in the West. He was well known throughout Southern California, Arizona, Utah, and Nevada as a cattle buyer, and for many years had been a director of the California Cattleman's

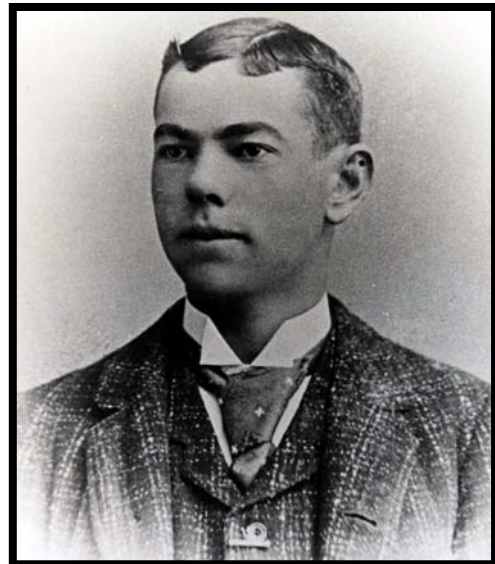


Figure 9: George Sawday, age 21 (courtesy Ramona Pioneer Historical)

Association. Although many smaller ranches continued to thrive throughout the region, Sawday's holdings and

operations dominated San Diego County from the 1920s to his death in 1949. His heirs continued to play a major role in the cattle industry through the remainder of the century.

George Sawday, the eldest of five brothers, was born in Julian on October 6, 1876. His parents, Fredrick and Sarah Sawday, had emigrated from England. They ran a store in Julian and operated a sheep ranch nearby. The family moved to Witch Creek and opened a store and trading post along the main road between Julian and San Diego. Witch Creek became George Sawday's lifelong home. George received his early education at the hands of an English tutor. Later he attended Ballena and Witch Creek grade schools. He attended and graduated from Woodbury College in Los Angeles (Sawday Bio File n.d.).

In 1904 George married Elizabeth Crouch of Oceanside. They had been childhood friends. Elizabeth's father, Herbert Crouch, was a sheep rancher. He kept his flocks at Oceanside during the winter and took them to summer pastures in the Laguna Mountains. His entire family would make the biannual trek, staying at an inn in Witch Creek until the sheep had arrived at their destination. Through these encounters the Sawday and Crouch families became friends.

George and Elizabeth lived in a house he built at Witch Creek on the site of his fathers' original



store (Figure 10).

Elizabeth and George were life long partners and she was instrumental in his success. After his death she continued

Figure 10: Witch Creek (courtesy Garry McClintock and Granny Martin)

to run the vast cattle empire

with the help of her daughters, Lucy and Mary, and sons in law, Orville Cumming and Hans Starr (Sawday 1957).

As a boy George had begun to acquire a small herd by obtaining orphaned calves. After he and Elizabeth were married he continued to expand his herd. He bought calves for a dollar a head from a dairy at Santa Ysabel, putting them with his cows to nurse (Sawday 1957). He kept acquiring cattle and augmented the family income by hauling machinery to Julian and Cuyamaca. As his herds increased he enlarged his holdings through purchase or lease.

There wasn't room for many cattle on the 1,000 acres at Witch Creek so Sawday formed a partnership with Rancho Santa Fe owner George Gilbert, and leased the Hoskins Ranch, near Julian. Soon they leased the San Felipe Ranch where they put 500 head of cattle.

In 1913, George Sawday took over the lease on Warner's Ranch, which had been previously held by Walter Vail who had extensive holdings in Riverside County and Arizona. In 1921 he acquired Peñasquitos Rancho with Oliver V. Sexton. From this point Sawday's cattle business expanded at a phenomenal rate and soon he controlled by ownership or lease the majority of the grazing land in the County. A complete list of his holdings has not been compiled. It included in part: Los Peñasquitos ranch to which was added 11,000 acres, Rose Canyon, portions of Rancho Bernardo (these ranches were known as the coast operation), several ranches along Highway 80 in Southern San Diego County (including the Coogan and Cameron ranches), Crouch Meadow in the Laguna Mountains, 16,000 acres of Rancho Cuyamaca, Corte Madera, San Felipe Rancho, Warner's Ranch, Volcan Mountain, Pine Hills near Julian, Rancho Guijito, Fairbanks Ranch, and Santa Maria Rancho near Ramona. In addition he was part owner of dairies on Santa Ysabel ranch and had interest in feedlots in the Imperial Valley. Sawday grazed at least 10,000 cattle, mostly Herefords, on 2,000,000 acres (Lyons 1996; Sawday 1957; Sawday and Sawday 2002; *San Diego Union* 5-13-1962; Tulloch 2002; Sawday Bio File n.d.; Friends of Rose Canyon 2004).

It has often been repeated that a person could travel from the Riverside County line and the Mexican Border and not leave land that George Sawday either owned or leased. His nephew Charles Sawday explained how this was possible:

There is a story they used to tell about Uncle George that he could drive from the Riverside County line to the Mexican border and never get off the land he either owned or leased. Uncle George had a lease on the Warner's Ranch. . . . , then he owned the San Felipe ranch down in the desert . . . he owned ¼ interest in the Santa Ysabel ranches, there were four dairies there, then he had a lease on the Hoskins property, which came down right across the canyon from the top of Santa Ysabel grade. . . and then he had the Tellam country leased, then out on Engineers Road he had all that leased from old Charley Fletcher and then that went to Cuyamaca Rancho and before Old Dyer bought that he could drive cattle on that. Then between that and I think the Crouch he had a Forestry Service lease, then he had the Kemp property where the lakes are on the Laguna, and then there was the Crouch property, then on down was Kitchen Creek ranch and then a little bit farther down at Boulevard – then he had the Kemp property at Campo leased so that puts him at the Mexican border (Sawday and Sawday 2002).

The above description does stretch almost the entire length of San Diego County and yet it describes only a portion of Sawday's holdings. It does not include the vast tracts of the coast operation.



Figure 11: Sawday herd on leased Warners ca. 1930s (Courtesy Ramona Pioneer Historical Society)

For his backcountry holdings, Warner's was the focal point and headquarters of George Sawday's ranching operations. George did not breed cattle. He purchased yearlings in Arizona, New Mexico, and sometimes as far east as Texas, and had them shipped by rail to Temecula. From there his cowhands drove them across the hills to Warner's.

It took three days. The new arrivals would be held at Warner's for a few months and fed a high protein diet of cottonseed cakes to supplement the range grass (Figure 11). Then they were moved to other pastures that included portions of Cuyamaca and Laguna in the summer, or lower elevation pastures at San Felipe or the Coogan and Cameron Ranches in the winter (Sawday 1957; Sawday

and Sawday 2000). The steers were kept for three or four years, and when they had reached a weight of between 1,200 to 1,400 pounds, sold to meat packers in Los Angeles. His nephew Charles recalled: ". . . he told me one time, Charley, . . . I make my money buying cattle out in Arizona or someplace and I fatten them up and I sell them to the butchers. This is about as good of explanation of Uncle George that I can give" (Sawday and Sawday 2002).

In the summer George sold off cattle that had matured to the point that they could be marketed. Herds of five to six hundred head a week would be driven to Temecula, weighed, and loaded onto train cars.<sup>i</sup> Some years George would remain at Warner's and continue to "cut out" cattle from the herds while his cowboys were still on the trail to Temecula. During these seasons as many as two train loads a week would be shipped (Sawday and Sawday 2002). In the mid 1930s the overland cattle drives ended when ranchers began hauling cattle in trucks (Tellam 2000). Occasionally, in the 1940s, cattle would be shipped to Campo on the San Diego and Arizona Railroad and trucked to Sawday's holdings in the southern part of the county such as Coogan, Cameron, and Laguna ranches (Sawday and Sawday 2000).

George Sawday's expertise and involvement went beyond cattle ranching. He served as director of the Union Title Insurance and Trust Co., the Milk Producers Association of San Diego County, and the San Diego Production Credit Association. He was president of the California Cattleman's Association in 1935 (Sawday 1957). He was even well known among some entertainment celebrities including Will Rogers and John Wayne who both visited his operations at Warner's. John Wayne liked George's hat and traded his for the cattleman's. He later wore the hat in his movies (Sawday 1957; Sawday and Sawday 2000).

In spite of his extensive commitments, George Sawday personally oversaw the minute details of running his cattle ranches. His grandson Fred Tellam recalled "To show you the extent that my grandfather dominated everything, my stepfather, who was foreman on the ranch – every morning he would go up and talk to my grandfather – so up to the Sawday house, he would talk to my grandfather and my grandfather would tell him what every man was to do that day" (Tellam 2000).

George literally wore more than one hat. He dressed as a cattleman on the range but donned a conservative suit for his business obligations in the city. He conducted much of his business

without contracts and purchased thousands of cattle with just a handshake. He built his business so solidly that it continued after his death in 1949. With the exception of Warner's Ranch most of his domain continued to be owned or leased by his heirs through the 1960s (Lyons 1996; Sawday 1957; Sawday and Sawday 2002; *San Diego Union* 5-13-1962; Tulloch 2002; Sawday Bio File nd; Friends of Rose Canyon 2004).

## **9. Decline of Cattle Ranching**

Since the end of World War II, cattle ranching in San Diego County has declined dramatically, especially along the coast. Primary has been the pressure from housing development as a result of the post war population boom that swept over Southern California and continues to the present day. As land became valuable for housing, values and taxes increased, making it more difficult to continue their use as grazing lands and providing a powerful incentive to sell. At the same time, increasing populations imposed problems such as liability lawsuits and vandalism. This resulted in sale and development of almost all grazing land along the coast, and by the end of the 20<sup>th</sup> century was affecting the use of land as far east as Ramona, Lakeside, and Alpine. In addition, the reluctance of public agencies to renew grazing leases has also reduced available pastureland. The combination of sale to developers and reduction of cattle on public lands has had a compounding effect on the decline of ranching. As grazing lands decreased it has become more difficult to maintain large herds of cattle profitably. Some who have wanted to stay in the business have sold land in San Diego County to invest in ranch lands in other parts of the country. This has brought the sale of large tracts of land in San Diego County, not only to developers, but also to public agencies. In recent years the San Felipe, Tulloch, Lucky 5, and portions of Santa Ysabel ranches have been acquired by California Fish and Game, State Parks, and San Diego County Parks.

In spite of the almost total loss of grazing land along the coast by the end of the 20<sup>th</sup> century and increased pressure to sell east county property, there is still a viable ranching industry in San Diego County's backcountry. As indicated in the table provided in Figure 12, the number of cattle in the county between 1995 and 2005 declined only slightly (from just over 29,000 to 24,000), and the amount of rangeland showed an increase (from 95,000 to 207,000 acres).



This apparently stable situation cannot continue. As development pressure in the backcountry continues, ranchers will be given more incentives and fewer options than to sell out, as they have done on the coast. In other states, government agencies have realized that keeping ranchers on their land is one of the most economic ways to slow development and preserve open space. In San Diego County it has become imperative that federal, state, local government agencies, and environmental groups work with ranchers to keep cattle on their ranges. If this cannot be accomplished the day will soon arrive when development will cross the mountains and spill into the deserts, and the “backcountry” will cease to exist.

year	Cattle & calves				Land (acres)		
	# head	Total weight	\$ per CWT	total	Irrigated pasture	range	silage
1995	29,850	223,875	60	\$13,432,500	2,800	95,000	35
1996	28,989	217,418	56	\$12,175,408	2,800	95,000	34
1997	29,005	217,538	59	\$12,834,742	2,750	95,000	36
1998	28,500	213,750	62	\$13,252,500	2,750	95,000	32
1999	27,050	202,875	64.85	\$13,156,444	2,750	95,000	32
2000	29,000	217,500	71.08	\$15,459,900	2,500	95,000	35
2001	27,000	202,500	73.82	\$14,948,550	2,500	135,000	32
2002	31,000	232,500	69.87	\$16,244,775	2,650	158,000	30
2003	26,000	195,000	85.4	\$16,653,000	2,489	198,000	30
2004	28,000	210,000	91	\$19,110,000	2,475	202,000	28
2005	24,000	180,000	94	\$16,920,000	2,481	207,000	27

Figure 12: San Diego County Cattle Statistics 1995-2005 (compiled from San Diego County Farm Bureau website)

## C. Northern Ranches

The ranches in this study area that lie north of the San Diego River and San Felipe Creek include Warner's, San Felipe, and Santa Ysabel. These ranches have several elements in common. They are within the area that came under the influence of the Spanish missionaries, which resulted in the establishment of livestock grazing on these tracts much earlier than in the southern part of the back country. In addition, they were traversed by parts of the Southern Overland Trail, and they were all part of the vast ranching empire of George Sawday. Because of the existing Southern Overland route, the northern ranches had easy access to the slaughterhouse and rail heads in Temecula.

### 1. Warner's Ranch and the Southern Overland Route

Most of the following narrative history of Warner's Ranch has been taken from a 1998 Historic American Building Survey (HABS) study of the Warner's Ranch House (Figure 13) prepared by Van Wormer for the National Park Service.

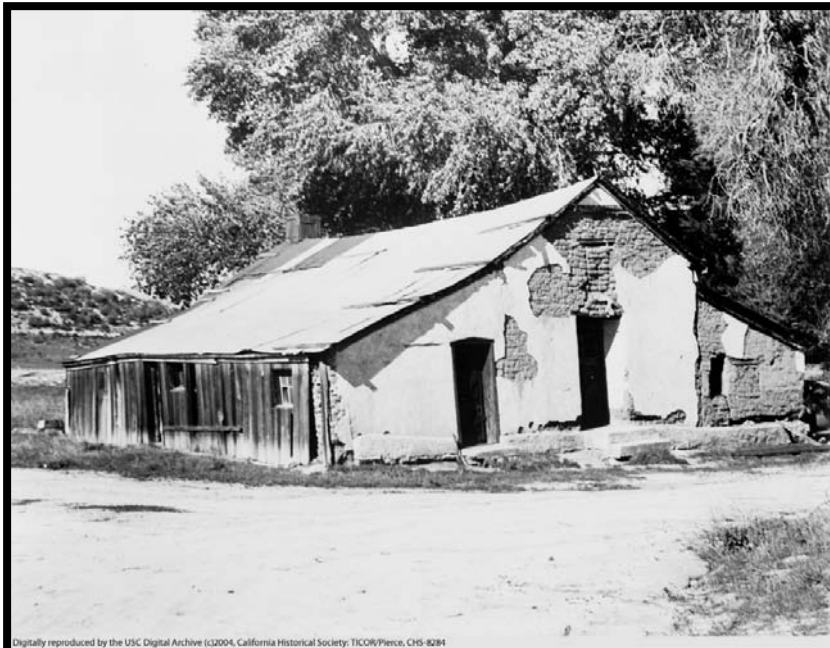


Figure 13: Warner's Ranch House, ca. 1940 (courtesy California Historical Society)

Spanish missionaries began to explore present day northern San Diego County's backcountry during the late 18<sup>th</sup> and early 19<sup>th</sup> centuries. The San José Valley, currently known as Warner's Ranch, was discovered in 1795 during an exploration expedition conducted by Father Juan Mariner of San Diego Mission and Captain Juan Pablo Grijalva of the San Diego Presidio. They named the place El Valle de San José and

recorded 10 Indian villages as well as the hot springs at Agua Caliente (Pourade 1961:115; Roth 1981:179; Hill 1927: APX. I). By the 1820s San Diego and San Lu s Rey missions used the valley to graze cattle and sheep (Englehardt 1920:223-225; Pourade 1961:122).

In the 1820s explorations established San Jos  Valley as a gateway through the mountains for an overland trail to Sonora and the Mexican interior. In 1825 Alferez Santiago Arguello, in pursuit of Indian horse thieves, discovered the pass leading from Valle de San Jos  to the desert via the San Felipe Valley. Further exploration by Jos  Romero, captain of the Tucson Presidio, and Lt. of Engineers Romualdo Pacheco established the trail via the San Jos  Valley through Santa Ysabel and to San Diego as the official route for overland travel from Sonora to California. An alternative route for travelers wishing to bypass San Diego and reach the coast at a more northerly point led from el Valle de San Jos  through Puerta La Cruz, Ca ada Aguanga, and Temecula to San Gabriel and Los Angeles. This would become the main branch of the overland trail 20 years later (Warner 1886:3; Beattie 1925, 1933; Pourade 1961:174).

The corridor became a major trading route for livestock. Travel between California and Sonora remained infrequent through the 1820s. In the early 1830s, however, the Sonora trail became the path of overland traders. In 1832 the Jackson-Young party from Santa Fe, New Mexico followed the old Anza Trail along the Gila River through present-day central Arizona to its junction with the Colorado River. They then crossed the desert along the route established by Romero and Pacheco to the San Jos  Valley from where they continued to Los Angeles. As a member of this expedition Jonathan Trumbull Warner first crossed the valley that would later commonly be known as his ranch. Jackson returned by the same route with six hundred mules and 100 horses. Traffic over the route seems to have increased during the 1830s and 40s as livestock traders from Sonora and New Mexico journeyed to California (Beattie 1925; Cleland 1963:236-237; Smythe 1908: Weber 1982:135).

Beginning in the mid 1830s, the valley came under control of private individuals. Silvester de la Portilla received a grant for the southern part of the valley consisting of approximately 17,634 acres called Rancho Valle de San Jos . In 1840 Jos  Antonio Pico received a grant for the northern half of the valley including the area around present-day Warner's hot springs known as Rancho San Jos 

Del Valle. Both tracts had been abandoned in 1844 when they were granted to Juan José (Jonathan Trumbull) Warner (Moyer 1969:11; Hill 1927:143).

A native of Connecticut, Jonathan Trumbull Warner had journeyed west to Saint Louis in 1830 and became a clerk on a trading expedition to Santa Fe, New Mexico for the famous mountain man Jedediah Smith. As already noted, he then continued westward with the Jackson-Young Party, arriving in California in March 1832. Warner remained in California, settling in Los Angeles. In 1836 he returned to the "states" where he delivered a lecture on the far west in Rochester, New York, advocating American acquisition of California and construction of a transcontinental railroad. Later that year he returned to Los Angeles and married Anita Gale, a daughter of sea captain William Gale. Anita had been raised by the mother of Pio and Andres Pico. By 1844 Warner had become a naturalized Mexican citizen and had assumed the name Juan José Warner (Bancroft 1886, V:766; Roth 1981:190-191; District Court, Case 56, Statement of Case).

In August 1844 Juan José Warner petitioned governor Manuel Micheltoarena for the tract of land known as el Valle de San José. The request included the entire Valley, which he described as vacant and "surrounded by the mountains with entrances from San Felipe on the east, from Temecula on the north, from Pala on the west and from Santa Ysabel on the south" (Petition 1844). The governor granted his request on November 28, 1844 (Grant 1844). Warner moved into the valley during the winter of 1844 to 1845 and lived with his family in an adobe house in the Indian village of Cupa at the Agua Caliente Hot Springs (Warner 1886:30; Ortego 1856; Bibb 1976; Roth 1981:194). By receiving the land grant Warner became part of the *ranchero* aristocracy that had developed in California since the mid 1830s.

Beginning with the Mexican-American War of 1846-1848, and until the completion of the Southern Pacific and Santa Fe railroads in the mid 1880s, the San Felipe and San José Valleys became part of a major corridor for overland migration and communication along the Gila River route to California. The movement began with military expeditions. Following earlier trails established by Spanish and Mexican explorers and Santa Fe traders, invading American armies marching to California established the overland trail through Arizona along the Gila River to where it joined the Colorado River at present day Yuma, Arizona (Trafzer 1980). From the junction of the Gila and Colorado the trail followed the already well established route across the Colorado Desert and

northward along the east side of the peninsular range through the San Felipe Valley, Warner's Pass, and San José Valley. The trail to San Diego forked off at this point running through Santa Ysabel, while the main road continued northward to Temecula and Los Angeles (Warner 1886:1-6, 19-20; Bibb 1995). General Stephen W. Kearney's Army of the West passed through the valley in early December 1846 followed by General George Cook's Mormon Battalion in January 1847. The Mormon Battalion's mission was to open a wagon road to California. The widening and leveling of the original trail so that wagons could pass made possible the incredible overland migration that would occur in less than decade (Pourade 1963:124; Beattie 1925; 1933).<sup>ii</sup> Lt. Emory, with the Army of the West, wrote the following passages while marching from San Felipe to Warner's Ranch at the hot springs on December 2 and 3, 1846. They provide a candid glimpse of the valley and its occupants.

We commenced to ascend another divide and as we approached the summit the narrow valley leading to it was covered with timber and long grass. On both sides the evergreen oak grew luxuriantly, and, for the first time since leaving the States we saw what would even there be called large trees. Emerging from these we saw in the distance the beautiful valley of Agua Caliente, waving with yellow grass, where we expected to find the rancharia owned by an American named Warner. . . . The rancharia was in charge of a young fellow from New Hampshire named Marshall. We ascertained from him that his employer was a prisoner to the Americans in San Diego, that the Mexicans were still in possession of the whole country . . . that we were in the heart of the enemy's stronghold, . . . and that we were now in possession of the great pass to Sonora . . . .

To appease hunger, however, was the first consideration. Seven of my men eat, at one single meal, a fat full grown sheep. Our camp was pitched on the road to the Pueblo [Los Angeles], leading a little north of west. To the south down the valley of the Agua Caliente, lay the road to San Diego. Above us [at the hot springs Indian village] was Mr. Warner's backwoods, American looking houses, built of adobe and covered with a thatched roof. Around were the thatched huts of the more than half naked Indians (Emory 1848:104).

From this passage it is obvious that Warner was living at the Indian village at Agua Caliente hot springs in an adobe house surrounded by the thatched huts of the natives. The fork in the road to San Diego where he would soon build a trading post lies to the south (Wright 1961; Roth 1981). Thousands of head of livestock would be driven over this trail over the next 25 years.

Within three years Warner would move to the fork in the road and build an adobe house and trading post to take advantage of the commercial opportunities resulting from the massive overland migration to the northern California gold fields. On January 24, 1848, nine days before the Treaty

of Guadalupe Hidalgo ceded the present southwestern portion of the country to the United States and ended the Mexican War, gold was discovered at Sutter's Mill in northern California, launching the California Gold Rush. Within a year 80,000 people had traveled to California from around the world (Greeley 1987:14). Thousands of gold rush emigrants from the U. S. and Mexico used the Gila River overland trail. Exact numbers are difficult to estimate. Some sources claim that between six and ten thousand Sonorans from Mexico followed the route during 1849 and 1850. Traveling in family groups many of the Mexicans migrated to the Northern California gold fields each spring and returned to Sonora in the fall (Roske 1963:198-199; Beattie 1925; Kenny 1967). Another source says that over 12,000 Argonauts followed the route in 1849 (Pourade 1963:142). Dr. A.L. Lincoln, who had established a ferry to cross the Colorado River at its junction with the Gila, claimed that in three months during 1850 he had crossed over 20,000 people (Roth 1981). This would have averaged over 200 a day.

San José Valley, by this time more commonly known as "Warner's" or "Warner's Ranch," was the first well watered camping spot that the emigrants reached after weeks of crossing cactus and creosote covered desert sands. Both livestock and travelers needed rest and refurbishment. The area provided abundant pasturage and many camped in the southern portion of the valley to let their livestock graze and regain strength while they attempted to restock badly depleted supplies. What must be clearly understood is that by this time the overland trail through the San José Valley had been changed and by passed the Agua Caliente Indian village where Warner was living when Kearney camped there in 1846. Instead it crossed directly from the western end of Cañada Buena Vista to the entrance of Cañada Aguanga at Puerta La Cruz (Warner 1886:1-6, 19-20; Wright 1961). In addition, William Marshall, who had been foreman of the ranch when Kearney passed, had now married a Cupeño Indian woman and ran his own store at Agua Caliente.

In order to better compete against Marshall and maximize the commercial opportunity the emigrants' needs represented, Warner established a trading post on the main overland trail. He located his home and store near the western end of Cañada Buena Vista precisely at the point where the San Diego road branched off from the main route (Wright 1961; Coutts 1856; Hayes 1850; Aldrich 1849; Warner 1886:15-17). The trading post carried flour, liquor, arms and ammunition, and other supplies. Warner brought cattle from the Santa Margarita Rancho of his wife's

stepbrother Pio Pico, near present day Oceanside, in order to provide fresh beef (Aldrich 1849; Hayes 1850).

Overland journals indicate Warner built the trading post sometime between September and November of 1849. When the parties of William H. Chamberlain, L.N. Weed, and a group of unidentified travelers interviewed by Cave J. Coutts passed through the valley on August 18, September 9, and September 16 of that year no structures existed at the fork in the road leading to San Diego (Chamberlain 1849; Weed 1849; Coutts 1849). By November 28, 1849, however, he had completed the building and was open for business when Lorenzo Aldrich stopped there, noting in his journal "Provisions could be obtained at high rates" (Aldrich 1849). Another traveler who felt Warner's prices were high was Cornelius C. Cox who noted on December 28, 1849: "Arrived at Warner's Ranch and finding good grass, lay by one day. The road here forks, one leading to San Diego, the other to Los Angeles. Warner has established a grocery and butchery for the accommodation of the emigrants - and this being the first place at which supplies can be obtained, the emigrant has been subjected to the severest extortion . . ." (quoted in Wright 1961:22, ft 1).

The trading post consisted of a rectangular adobe building with a thatched roof divided into two rooms. A thatched ramada (described as a shed by Benjamin Hayes in 1850) on the front covered an exterior patio and work area. When Benjamin Hayes visited the building in December 1850 he saw several partially cured hides pinned down in front of the patio. Freshly butchered beef hung on a pole in the shade under the ramada near the building's front door (Hayes 1850).

Additional outbuildings were located around the structure but details of their function and location have not been recorded<sup>iii</sup> (Sacket 1856).

According to the 1850 census the house and store were occupied by Warner, his wife and three children and several hired help including Joseph Manning, an overseer from Missouri, laborers José Urbano de Jesus, Francisco Verdugo, and Ignacio Chapa, and three male and three female Indians (Roth 1981). The number of hired help as well as resident Indians, who were probably additional hired laborers or servants, also suggests outbuildings existed for their quarters which passing immigrants failed to note.

In December 1850, Benjamin Hayes arrived at Warner's, recording over a period of several days what is probably the most detailed account of the valley and trading post made by any Gold Rush immigrant. On January 13 he noted that other 49'rs camped in the valley "have obtained good beef and salt - nothing else to be had they say. Some have been over to the Indian rancheria Agua Caliente getting flour at \$2.00 per almud from the store kept there (the trading post at the hot springs run by Marshall).<sup>iv</sup> Warner's beef is disappearing by wholesale." The following day he went to the trading post at the fork in the road and saw Warner "A tall man dressed a'la California - short blue jacket, trousers broad at the bottom of the legs - half Californian, half sailor I thought." When they entered Jonathan Warner was seated at breakfast, "which probably had put him in his best humor. Quite talkative: said he would let us have milk tomorrow morning; and at some inconvenience to himself, sugar and salt. He examined Major Shepherds gun and offered to mend it. His reception was very courteous: we formed a favorable impression of him." Warner commented that he had no more cattle "fit to be slaughtered" and could not go himself to Santa Margarita, for cattle as his "whites" were not yet "Californized" enough for California labor. He offered "to guarantee any man \$100 per thousand, who will stop and cut lumber! His house is upon one of the beautiful, high rolling hills, without other vegetation than bunch grass. . . . It is precisely at the point where the old main road branches, one fork to the town of San Diego, the other to Los Angeles - convenient for the supply of emigrants." Warner said that he would find something to trade with the emigrants as fast as they arrived. "None shall starve. Several sold their pistols to him for food, some of whom started with plenty of money." On January 17 Hayes and his companions dined with Warner eating soup, corn-beef, pumpkins, coffee with milk and dried grapes. Two days later on the 19 both Marshall and Warner purchased some immigrant wagons. As a comment on the variety of items the desperate Argonauts traded for supplies Hayes noted "In fact Warner's house is a perfect bazaar of emigration - almost every species of mechanics tools - and an armory in the way of everything except 24 pounders" (Hayes 1850 quoted in Hill 1927:120-129).

The overland immigrant trade began to make Warner quite prosperous. Research by historian Linda Roth concluded that in 1850 he was one of the wealthiest landowners in San Diego County. In early 1851 the county tax assessor valued Warner's Ranch at over \$30,000. This made him the second wealthiest man in the county, surpassed only by Pio Pico's Santa Margarita Rancho at



\$84,990. Since Warner's beef came from Santa Margarita the immigrant trade undoubtedly made a substantial contribution to Pico's affluence (Roth 1981:204). Warner's assessment included:

Rancho containing 10 leagues	\$30,000
Houses and Improvements	\$500
35 team horses at \$30	\$1,050
193 mares and colts at \$7	\$1,351
5-1/2 yoke of oxen at \$50	\$275
20 milch cows at \$20	\$400
160 wild cattle at \$8	\$1,280
75 sheep at \$3	\$225
7 hogs at \$8	\$56
<u>Farming utensils</u>	<u>\$200</u>
Total	\$35,337

Warner's prosperous trading post would come to a sudden and abrupt end as a result of an Indian uprising. Beginning in November 1851 and continuing through mid-January of the following year, Antonio Gara, chief of the village at Agua Caliente Hot Springs, organized local tribes in an unsuccessful revolt to oust American settlers from the land (Carrico 1985:67; Roth 1981:205-209). On the night of November 21 Gara's followers at Agua Caliente murdered four Americans who had gone to the Hot Springs to rest. Early the next morning they attacked Warner's trading post (Bibb 1976; Moyer 1969:13; Phillips 2004). The pueblo of San Diego was alerted on the morning of November 27, when the *San Diego Herald* reported "Our city was thrown into a high state of excitement, on Sunday afternoon last, by the arrival of an express from Agua Caliente, the residence of Hon. J. Warner, State Senator, conveying the intelligence that Indians, who are numerous in that vicinity, had risen and attacked his ranch, destroying all his household property, and running away his stock, consisting of large and valuable bands of cattle and horses." Rumors of an uprising had been prevalent for weeks and on the 20th Mrs. Warner had been warned by a "friendly Indian" that members of his village intended to attack their residence and store. Warner sent his wife and children to San Diego and began to "place his house in a state of defense." The cattle were corralled and four horses saddled and tied next to the door. At approximately 2 a.m. on the morning of November 22, an estimated 100 Indians surrounded the house and drove off the cattle. Warner and

two "employees" opened fire. Four natives and one of Warner's party were killed. Warner and the remaining survivor fled on horseback. The Indians "rifled" the house of everything it contained (*San Diego Herald* 11-27-1851). They then set it on fire. Warner managed to run off his herd of brood mares before the natives could capture them. However, he lost everything in the house and an estimated 400 cattle (District Court, Case 56, Statement of Case; Sacket 1856; Ortego, J. 1856; Ortego, A. 1856; Warner 1886:45-46). By January the rebellion had been put down and the instigators arrested. Antonio Gara, Warner's former overseer at the hot springs William Marshall, and several others were executed the following December (Roth 1981:209; Bibb 1976).

Juan José Warner never returned to live permanently at the ranch. His family remained in San Diego. Warner had been elected to the State Senate and spent most of his time in Sacramento and San Francisco (Couts 1856; Witherby 1856). In addition he served on the San Diego County Board of Supervisors. During his tenure as Supervisor of Highways in 1853 the overland trail from San José Valley to Yuma was declared a public road (Roth 1981:211; Morrison 1962:50). He returned to San Francisco to resume duties in the State Senate in June 1853 where he remained for 18 months. In 1855 the family moved to Los Angeles (Roth 1981:211).

In February 1852 Russell Sacket passed through Warner's Ranch and saw the former trading post and store "destroyed and in ruins, and not occupied" (Sacket 1856). The following year other visitors noted the abandoned ruins of Warner's former store. During the early 1850s, the United States government commissioned several railroad surveys in order to find suitable passes through the California mountains from the desert to the Coast. An expedition led by Lt. R.S. Williamson examined the Gila trail through Warner's pass and San José Valley. On December 17, 1853 Lt. Williamson passed through the valley and recorded: "We descended the western side of the mountain and passed the ruins of Warner's adobe house, but instead of turning north to our former encampment in the valley, turned off to the south on the road to Santa Isabel" (Williamson 1856:125). On another trip along the immigrant trail a member of Williamson's expedition noted: "We passed the ruins of Warner's adobe house, which it is said was burned by the Indians, and soon reached the camp of the main party" (Blake 1857:109). The overland trail through the valley continued to be an important corridor. In the mid 1850s, it became the route for transporting thousands of sheep and cattle into California (Roth 1981:213; Bell 1932).

By the end of the decade Warner would lose all title to the valley that still bears his name and the ruins of his home and trading post at the fork in the overland trail would be rebuilt as a ranch house and stage station.

Warner, although originally an American citizen, found himself suffering the same fate as his adopted Californio countrymen and lost his holdings as a result of debt and what appear to be unsound court decisions. Left financially stressed after the loss of his trading post and livestock in 1851, the drop in cattle prices made it as difficult for him to regain a financial footing as the native Mexican Californios.

During the mid 1850's, Juan J. Warner mortgaged Rancho Valle de San José to American speculators. On November 11, 1854 he signed a note for 11,000 dollars payable in one year with interest at 3 percent per month, which if not paid would be added to the principal and draw interest. Warner failed to pay anything for almost two years so that by September 1856 he owed 21,709 dollars. The mortgage was foreclosed and a tract of 7,500 acres located in the southwestern portion of the valley sold at auction on December 23 1859 (District Court, Case No. 56, Complaint of April 1, 1860; Deed Books E: 91, 436; 1:386). In the meantime, on the 29th of November 1858, Warner incurred a second debt to cattle baron John Rains for \$1,800, payable in one year with monthly interest at one and one half percent (District Court, Case No. 56, Complaint of April 1, 1860). Rains already had livestock in the valley. In 1854 Tax Assessment Rolls, he was assessed for the following property on "Warner's Ranch."

100 cows at \$10 per head	\$1,000
4 mules at \$25	\$100
<u>1 wagon at \$75</u>	<u>\$75</u>
TOTAL	\$1,175.00

In 1860, Tax Assessment Rolls indicated Rains had 100 wild horses in the valley.

Warner still retained some livestock on the ranch during this period and spent time there. He was in the valley for eight months in 1856 when the county tax assessor recorded the following personal property owned by him on Rancho Valle de San José (Couts 1856):

Improvements		\$50.00
Mares and Colts	75	no value given
Horses	5	no value given
Wild Mules	4	no value given
Gentle Mules	1	no value given

In 1858 Warner removed his remaining stock from the ranch and resided with his family in Los Angeles (Warner 1886:40, 73).

Convoluting decisions in the land courts combined with the mortgage to John Rains soon took Rancho Valle de San José from Warner. The events have been painstakingly researched and presented by historian William Wright in his 1961 study *The Warner Ranch Stage Station Puzzle*. One of the original Mexican grantees, Silvestre de la Portilla, who had abandoned the Rancho in the 1840s, made a claim before the U.S. Land Commission contending prior ownership and contesting Warner's right to Rancho El Valle de San José in the southern portion of the valley. The Land Commission rejected Portilla's claim and confirmed Warner's in 1854. In 1856 the District Court reviewed both claims and upheld Warner's title. Then on February 23, 1857, the district court surprisingly, and without explanation, reversed the previous decision of the Land Commission and itself and granted four leagues of the Rancho Valle de San José to Portilla. The land included the southern portion of the valley including the ruins of Warner's trading post at the mouth of Buena Vista Canyon. Warner's remaining portion of the valley was redesignated Rancho San José Del Valle (Patent Book 2:73, 84; Wright 1961:8). On November 6, 1858 Portilla deeded Rancho El Valle de San José to Vicenta Sepulveda de Carrillo (Deed Books 1:279). Portilla had been residing on the property prior to the sale (Warner 1886:40). The Carrillos rebuilt and occupied Warner's old home and trading post at the fork in the overland trail (Wright 1961:8). In 1861 John Rains foreclosed mortgages he held on both Warner's and the Carrillo's property in the San José Valley and controlled the majority of area by the end of the year (Wright 1961:11 Roth 1981:212). With

this act Juan José (Jonathan Trumbull) Warner's association with the valley that still bears the name of his ranch ended.

From 1857 to 1861, the Gila trail was used by the overland mail service. First carried by the San Antonio and San Diego Mail Line from July 1857 through August 1858 and then the Butterfield Overland Mail Company from September 1858 through June 1861, establishment of the overland mail constituted the first communications and transportation link across the continental United States. In the mid 1850s, creation of a transcontinental overland mail service became a priority of Congress. With such a large population now residing in California as a result of the Gold Rush, the long delays of several months to send mail by sea routes was unacceptable. During 1856, four overland mail bills were submitted and on August 18, Congress passed an amendment to the Post Office bill authorizing establishment of an overland mail route between the Mississippi River and San Francisco. It also authorized the Postmaster General to immediately initiate an interim service to provide adequate mail connections between East and West until the route between the Mississippi and San Francisco could be established. A contract for the interim service was awarded to James Birch who formed the San Antonio and San Diego Mail Line. The first eastbound mail left San Diego on August 9, 1857 and followed the wagon road via Santa Ysabel, Warner's Ranch and San Felipe. The same route was followed into San Diego by the first westbound mail, which had left San Antonio on July 9 and arrived in San Diego on August 11 after a trip of 34 days (Pourade 1963:220-225).<sup>v</sup>

On July 7, 1857 the Postmaster General awarded the contract to provide overland mail service between San Francisco and the Mississippi to a combine headed by John Butterfield of New York. This group collectively controlled the most powerful express companies on the east coast. The San Antonio to San Diego line continued to operate through August 1858 while the Butterfield Company established a 2,800-mile stage route from Tipton, Missouri to San Francisco. Trains would carry the mail between the railhead at Tipton and the Mississippi River. Most of the route followed the Gila overland trail through the desert wilderness of the southwest. The tasks included building and stocking 139 stations, along with associated corrals, wells and cisterns, and assembling 1,200 horses, 600 mules, and 100 coaches. The company hired 750 employees to run the stations. Stages were expected to complete a one-way trip between the two terminuses in 25 days. The first

stage left Tipton on September 16, 1858. The route now passed through Warner's Ranch and Temecula to Los Angeles rather than taking the Santa Ysabel cutoff to San Diego. Stations in present-day San Diego County included Carrizo Springs, Vallecito, San Felipe, Warner's, and Oak Grove (Pourade 1963:224-225). Warner's functioned as a changing or "swing" station to replace worn out teams with fresh horses: not as a meal stop. The first westbound Butterfield stage completed the journey in 24 days, arriving at Warner's on October 6, 1858 (Moyer 1969). After crossing the desert, the only through passenger on this trip, Waterman L. Ormsby, special correspondent for the *New York Herald*, recorded a similar favorable response to the San José Valley as had the Gold Rush Argonauts of a decade before: "Warner's Ranch is a comfortable house situated in the valley, in the midst of a beautiful meadow, and with its shingled roof looked more like civilization than anything I had seen for many days. There were hundreds of cattle grazing on the plain, and everything looked as comfortable as every natural advantage could secure" (Ormsby 1858:111). Historian William Wright presented well-documented evidence in his 1961 study to indicate that during the entire Butterfield operation the Overland Mail Company leased the reconstructed Warner trading post and store, now occupied by the Carrillo family as the "home-owned" Butterfield Station on Warner's Ranch. The main evidence for this was:

- (1) The official distances on the Overland Mail Company schedules from Warner's to Oak Grove and San Felipe which correspond with the distances of the existing Warner's Ranch House to these locations.
- (2) Waterman L. Ormsby's description, when he stopped at Warner's in 1858.
- (3) County tax records that indicate that Carrillo's ranch reached its peak development in the Butterfield years. "Its Improvements had been valued at \$50.00 under Warner and zero under Portilla . . . But in 1858 Vicenta Carrillo was charged with \$800 in improvements and in the peak Butterfield years of 1859-61 they were assessed at \$1,000. In 1862 the values slumped to \$500" (Wright 1961:10).

The house and site no longer resembled their appearance of the Gold Rush years. Physical evidence indicates that when the Carrillos rebuilt the ruined adobe they added the northern portion of the house to the original two room rectangular core that Warner had built. Other outbuildings must also have existed to house employees as well as the livestock, hay, grain, and other supplies of the Overland Mail Company.<sup>vi</sup>

The 1860 Federal Census lists Alex Vance as station keeper and the only Overland Mail employee at Warner's. He received \$40 a month. The company had invested \$1,000 in the site, an additional indication that other outbuildings probably existed. The census taker recorded twelve tons of barley and 12 tons of hay on hand and four horses in the corral (Stott 1950; Wright 1961:9; Census 1860a). The Carrillo family living in the Warner's Ranch House included the following individuals (Census 1860b):

<u>Name</u>	<u>Age</u>	<u>Sex</u>	<u>Occupation</u>
Ramon Carrillo	40	m	Ranchero
Ramon	11	m	-
Maria Y.	10	f	-
Encarnacion	9	f	-
Flosinedo	8	m	-
Alfreda	7	f	-
Felindad	3	f	-
Nathalia	2	f	-
José Antonio Yorba	21	m	-

With John Rains' control of Warner's Ranch in 1860 the valley had become part of a vast cattle empire. Rains owned large ranches in Chino and Cucamonga. He moved sizable livestock herds from these holdings to Warner's. Ramon Carrillo remained on the ranch as foreman and his family continued to occupy the adobe (Wright 1961:11). By 1862 Rains had over 5,000 head of cattle in the valley (Hayes 1869). John Rains was murdered in November 1862 and Ramon Carrillo suffered the same fate two years later (Wright 1961:15). The Carrillo family remained on the ranch until at least 1868 tending their own cattle herds as well as those of the Rains estate (Tax Assessment Rolls 1860-1868).<sup>vii</sup>

During the late '60s and early 1870's Warner's Ranch became divided among several individuals. An 1872 report claimed the ranch contained 26,608 acres. Owners included Thomas Sanchez, 1,000; J.G. Downey 4,439; Olivera 4,439; Lewis Phillips 4,439, Prudent Beaudry 4,439, unknown 7,873 (*San Diego Union* 2-23-72). By 1875 Downey and Phillips had gained complete control of Ranchos San José Del Valle and Valle de San José (*San Diego Union* 6-14-74, 3:2; Moyer 1969:15; *Union Title Trust Topics* Sept-Oct 1950:6; Hill 1927:153). By the end of the decade Downey, a former Governor of California, owned both tracts (Hill 1927:153; *San Diego Union* 2-6-1879, 1:5).

In the early 1870's Downey and Phillips used the valley for grazing wild horses (Tax Assessment Rolls 1871-1874).<sup>viii</sup> During the late 1870s and through the 1880s, the emphasis changed to sheep. The series of natural disasters that began in the 1860s continued through the 1870s. The climatic extremes that had caused the droughts and floods of 1861 through 1865 continued through the 1870s with severe droughts occurring again in 1870, 1873, 1876, and 1877. In addition, cases of disease among cattle during this period reached epidemic proportions (Pulling 1965:20-24). The majority of large ranchers began to raise sheep, feeling that they could better withstand the erratic climatic extremes and would bring a better price than beef (Pitt 1966:253-254; Burcham 1961). During the late 1870s and through the 1880s, Downey's herds of sheep at Warner's Ranch produced some of the largest annual wool clips in San Diego County (Roth 1981:222; *San Diego Union* 5-22-79, 1:4; Reed 1967:140; Gunn 1887:124-125).

By 1870 Charles R. Ayres, a 34 year old Virginia native hired by Downey to supervise his stock lived at the ranch house with his wife, Jesusa, age 23, and their three year old daughter, Mary (Flanigan 1996; Census 1870). By the end of the decade, the Warner's Ranch House was apparently unoccupied. In 1878 surveyor William Minto recorded the final boundaries as approved by the Land Commission for Ranchos, San José Del Valle and Valle de San José. He recorded on both maps and in his field notes that J.J. Warner's former house was in ruins (Mento 1878).<sup>ix</sup>

In 1888 the emphasis on livestock in San José Valley changed from sheep back to cattle when Arizona cattleman Walter Vail leased Warner's Ranch from John G. Downey. The valley was once again part of a large cattle empire. Vail and his partner Carol W. Gates owned the Empire ranch in Arizona and acquired Ranchos Temecula, Little Temecula, Pauba, and Santa Rosa in present day southern Riverside County totaling 87,500 acres (Rush 1965:29). The best evidence available indicates that with the Vail operation the Warner's Ranch House was rebuilt to its present appearance to be used as a foreman's house and headquarters, and the large peg timbered hay barn located to the east of the building constructed. The earliest photos of the adobe are from this period (mid 1890s) and show the barn and house. The large barn is not architecturally consistent with Overland Mail station structures and would not have been required during the Downey period when the emphasis was on sheep more than cattle. The Vail operation began the return of grazing thousands of head of cattle on the ranch that continues to the present day, requiring a large facility



to store hay and other feed. The house had the general configuration of its present floor plan with the exception of a wooden addition on the west side. Close up photographs of the house during the first two decades of the 20th century show it to be very well maintained although by 1906 corrugated sheet metal covered the wooden shingle roof. In addition to the large barn, other out buildings included animal coops and storage sheds as well as a smaller wooden barn located on the north side of the structure. A split rail corral was located on the east side of the large barn and a combination rail and picket fence separated the south side of the compound from the road. By 1910 these had been replaced by a wire fence.

By the time Vail leased Warner's Ranch, the Southern Pacific Railroad had been completed and the long overland cattle drives along the old Gila River trail were no longer conducted.<sup>x</sup> Vail and Gates shipped Empire Ranch cattle by rail to Beaumont, California, from where cowboys drove them overland through Lamb Canyon into the Hemet-San Jacinto Valley, then through the Sage area and on through Aguanga and Oak Grove to Warner's Ranch (Reed 1963). In the fall of 1890, the Southern Pacific Railroad raised freight rates for Arizona cattleman shipping stock to California. The Vails decided to use the old methods rather than pay higher railroad fares and drove a thousand steers along the Gila River overland route to Warner's Ranch in January 1891. Shortly thereafter the railroad lowered its rates (Reed 1963; 1967 Vail 1974).

From 1888 to 1894, Jim W. Knight was foreman at Warner's Ranch and probably living in the ranch house (San Diego County Directories 1892-1894; Vail 1974; Reed 1967). In 1895 Sam Taylor, a cowboy in Vail's employ, became foreman of Warner's Ranch and had moved into the ranch house by the end of the decade (San Diego County Directories 1894-1910; Reed 1967). Taylor was from Missouri. In 1892 he had married Mary Helm, a native of the Warner's Ranch area. They lived at "El Rincon" near the northwest corner of Rancho San José Del Valle. While there, their first three children, Lillian, Samuel ("Bud") and Charlie were born. All three children had been born by 1897 (School Census Marshal's Report 1897) and according to the Federal Census Charlie was three years old in 1900 (Census 1900). This would place the family's occupancy of the Warner's Ranch House circa 1897-98. After they moved into the ranch house five more children were born: John,

Mildred, Henry, Banning, and Arthur (Reed 1967: 145) (Figure 14). The 1900 Federal census lists the following Taylor family members residing in the adobe (Census 1900):

	<u>Name</u>	<u>Relation</u>	<u>Age</u>	<u>Occupation</u>
	Taylor, Samuel B.	Head	39	Stock herding
"	Mary J.	Wife	29	-
"	Lily G.	Dtr	6	-
"	Samuel	Son	4	-
"	Charley	Son	3	-
"	John	Son	2	-
"	Mille	Dtr	5/12	-
"	Helm (Illegible)	Sister-in-law	18	-



Figure 14: Taylor family at Warner's Ranch, circa 1900 (courtesy Heather Thomson)

In addition to pursuing his duties as ranch foreman Sam Taylor actively participated in the local rural community around Warner's Ranch. In 1902 he was elected Justice of the Peace for Agua Caliente Township (*San Diego Union* 11-16-1902, 6:5). In 1894, 1897, and 1916, he served as trustee for the Warner's School District (School Census

1894-97; Taylor Biographical Files 1916). Located about two miles east of the ranch house, like many one room rural schools, the Warner's school house served not only to educate children but as a public building for community meetings and celebrations. During the period when the Taylor family was at Warner's Ranch, dances were held in the school. San Diego County backcountry historian Lester Reed and his sister Gertrude played the violin and piano at the dances. They lived in Shaw Valley some distance to the north of Warner's Ranch and so spent the night with the

Taylor. Lester Reed recalled "Many were the happy hours that I spent with the Taylor family when they lived in the old trading post and stage station building, and Sam Taylor was the Vail Company's cattle foreman. . . ." (Reed 1967: 145).

Little has been recorded on the routine of daily ranch life for the Vail ranch period. In 1894 the *San Diego Union* reported that "for years" cattle thieves had annoyed the owners of Warner's Ranch to the extent that losses averaged a thousand dollars a year (*San Diego Union* 6-24-1894, 5:5). The following 1898 article gives a rare glimpse of the annual spring round up:

#### THE SPRING ROUND UP - SCENE OF GREAT ACTIVITY ON THE WARNER RANCH

The Warner Ranch Company has just closed its spring round up. It has lasted four or five days and about thirty vaqueros engaged. It was one of those occasions becoming quite rare in California owing to the cutting up of cattle ranges into farms and town sites. . . . The work this year was much greater than in former years, on account of the company having used the vaccine treatment for Texas Fever. . . . Mr. Gates, brother of one of the owners of the ranch, superintended the inoculation.

The round up is the incentive that brings out the aspiring vaqueros of the hills. It is a good chance to display practiced prowess with the rope. There is plenty of cattle and several days, so that there is no excuse for lack of opportunity. But a novice soon quits for there are several men over there who seldom miss a throw. Tuesday was the most exciting day of the round up. The cattle were driven down into the bottom near Puerta La Cruz and a cordon of cowboys placed around them, while the most experienced rode through the bunch and cut out the cows and calves. Then these were run down a few hundred yards and held in a bunch while the yearlings were cut out. By noon the parting was all completed and the stock driven into corrals for handling. Some lively sport was had in lassoing the calves for branding.

An accident happened Monday that came very near being fatal. Tom Fuentes, who was in charge of Bixby's cattle, was on his large pinto in the corral. He had his rope on a calf and the calf ran around the horse, which was thrown, falling on Fuentes' leg. The horse sprang to its feet. Fuentes' foot was fast in the stirrup. The horse began to kick and struck him on the leg just below the knee. It was thought at first the leg was broken, but he was taken to the ranch house and examination showed that no bones were broken (*San Diego Union* 6-6-1898).

In October 1899 the same paper noted that J. Downey Harvey, heir to the estate of Governor Downey, had been at Warner's Ranch for two days rounding up cattle, accompanied by his half brother Peter and George Maxwell who was a buyer for Samuel Meyers wholesale butcher in Los Angeles. Maxwell bought several hundred head for shipment to Los Angeles. The article also reported that "Walter Vail, the cattle king of this coast, and member of the firm of Gates and Vail, which firm is part owner of the cattle on the Downey Harvey place, also accompanied the party. Mr. Vail owns big cattle ranches all over the state, also in Arizona. After a jolly time at the old

ranch house, and business over, the merry crowd drove back to Temecula and took the train back to L. A., the L. A. races requiring their presence" (*San Diego Union*, October 29, 1899, quoted in Roth 1981:238).

Between 1900 and 1920, ownership of Warner's Ranch changed several times. It finally came under the control of the San Diego County Water Company that built Henshaw Dam across the outlet of the San Luis Rey River near the southwestern corner of the valley in 1922 (*San Diego Union* 7-22-1902:5; 7-15-1961, 2:6; Gunn 1946). In 1918 the company leased grazing rights in San José Valley to San Diego cattleman George Sawday (Rush 1965:63). Sam Taylor and his family left the ranch house and it became the main bunkhouse for Sawday's operation. His foreman, Ed Grand, and cowboys Harold Smith, Ralph Campbell, Gabriel La Chussa, Bartol Duro, Conrado Hide, Jim McDermit, Max Bowen, and Charley Ponchetta occupied the dwelling (Reed 1967: 151-161).

In 1913 San Diego County cattleman George Sawday obtained the lease on Warner's Ranch. During Sawday's tenure the ranch house does not appear to have been as well maintained as during the Vail ranch period. Photographs show that by the late 1920s most of the exterior lime plaster had fallen away from the west side of the house and had not been replaced. Large sections of the east wall also remained unplastered, while the wood siding along the south wall was weathered, unpainted and pulling away from the wooden wall frame. These deteriorating conditions continued to progress through the 1930s so that by the early 1940s the building had a ramshackle and neglected appearance. By 1928 a small shingle bungalow guesthouse had been built to the northwest of the original Warner's Ranch House. Outbuildings included the large peg timbered barn, corrals, and two additional hay barns to the north of the adobe (Aerial Photograph 1928). Around 1929 a previously existing hay barn to the northeast of the guesthouse was replaced with a new wood framed barn (Candelaria 1996).

In the spring of 1928, Sawday hired Edna Califf Morse to cook for the cowboys living in the ranch house. She arrived from Los Angeles with her husband Rupert Freeman Morse and their daughter Shirley. Edna received \$25 a month and room and board. They occupied the southwest bedroom of the adobe. Ed Grand had the middle bedroom on the south side. Approximately five to six cowboys slept on cots in the central east bunkroom. The main central room served as a

combination dining and living room where everyone was fed at a single table. The northern central and eastern rooms were kitchen and pantry respectively. Rupert left the family shortly after their arrival at Warner's Ranch. After about two years Edna and Shirley moved into the small cottage guesthouse to the northwest of the adobe. It had been used to board cattle buyers such as Riley Beauchamp of Cudahay Packing Company when they stayed at the ranch. After Edna and Shirley moved into the guesthouse the entire adobe became a bunkhouse. Some rooms may also have been used as storage. In the kitchen of her cottage, Edna prepared and served meals for the ranch hands (Candelaria 1996).

During the late 1920s and early 30s, as many as 10 cowboys lived at the ranch, depending on the time of year and type of work that needed to be done. A core crew of two to four men worked year round. They received \$50 a month with room and board. In addition to grazing on the naturally growing range grass, cattle ate hay and cottonseed cakes. Hay was raised on the ranch and the men took shifts irrigating it. Occasionally in the early '20s ranch hands took some cattle overland to the Cudahay packing plant in National City. Usually they drove the herds to the railhead at Temecula. In the early '30s the big cattle drives ended when semi trucks began hauling cattle. The loading chute east of the hay barn was built at this time (Candelaria 1996).

Edna Morse and her daughter led a typical backcountry lifestyle. The location was remote. Shirley attended one-room country grade schools. She went to Witch Creek for third and fourth grades where her teacher was Mrs. French. She skipped fifth grade and attended Warner's School, then located between the ranch house and the hot springs, for 6th grade. Edna, Shirley, and the cowboys ate a diet that consisted mostly of beans, potatoes, and meat. Edna also canned fruit. On the ranch they raised and butchered hogs and their own beef. Chickens were kept for eggs and meat. Milk cows grazed in the pasture north of the ranch house compound, and were brought into a corral north of the hay barn for milking. When ranch hands worked in the field Edna would take lunch to them. The cowboys tended to be young - in their twenties through mid 30s. Shirley remembered them as reserved and polite with a cruel sense of humor. Edna eventually married Ed Grand. They bought a ranch near Campo and moved there with Shirley in 1935 (Candelaria 1996).

After Ed Grand left Warner's Ranch, George Sawday's son-in-law, Hans Starr, became foreman (Reed 1967:151-161; Candelaria 1996). In 1946 the Warner's Ranch House was still used by

George Sawday as a headquarters building. Sawday died in 1949. By 1950 the ranch house was no longer used as a hired hands quarters and had become a storage facility (*Union Title Trust Topics*, Sept. – Oct. 1950:3). Sawday's heirs continued to lease Warner's until January 1, 1961 when the El Tejon Cattle Company of Bakersfield, California obtained grazing rights to the ranch (Rush 1965:63).

With the takeover of cattle grazing in San José Valley by El Tejon Cattle, active use of the adobe appears to have ended. Vista Irrigation District, who acquired the property in 1946, realized the historic importance of the Warner's Ranch House and adjacent peg timbered barn and excluded them from the lease (*San Diego Evening Tribune* 12-6-1960). Hired help that resided on the site occupied the small bungalow and used the smaller barns north of the adobe.

During the 1950's and early 60's a historical controversy centered around the site. It was claimed by some area residents that the nearby Wilson - Kimball store had been the Butterfield stage station on Warner's Ranch and not the ranch house. A plaque commemorating the site as the Butterfield Stage Station had been placed at the Wilson Store in 1930 (*San Diego Evening Tribune* 12-6-1960; Wright 1961). As previously discussed this controversy was resolved by historian William Wright in 1960 when he proved convincingly that Warner had originally built the structure as a trading post in 1849 and that it had been rebuilt in the late 1850s by the Carrillos and used as a stage stop by the Overland Mail Company (Wright 1961; *San Diego Union* 9-18-1960). In January 1961 the Interior Department selected the Warner's Ranch House as one of 51 sites in the nation recommended for nomination as a registered national historic landmarks for "possessing exceptional historic and archaeological value" (*San Diego Union* 1-24-1961:13). An estimated 150 people attended the ceremony in November 1962 that dedicated the Warner's Ranch House as an official national landmark (*Vista Press* 11-22-1962). A plaque placed on the site to record its status proclaimed that the building posed "exceptional value in commemorating and illustrating the history of the United States" (*San Diego Union* 6-7-1969). In November 1964 the San Diego County Historical Marker Committee placed a plaque at the ranch house. By this time the building and site had also been designated California State Registered Landmark No. 311 (Ward 1975).

In spite of its well-deserved recognition of historical significance, since the 1960's the ranch house and adjacent barn have been allowed to deteriorate through neglect. In 1963 the barn and house

were surrounded by a chain link fence after they had been damaged by vandals (*San Diego Union* 6-7-1969). By 1965 original blocks in the northeast corner of the house had been replaced with modern adobes (James 1965). By 1969 the original adobe wall at the building's southeast corner had completely fallen away leaving a large gaping hole (*San Diego Union* 6-7-1969). A *San Diego Union* article in June 1969 reported: "The Warner ranch house, a rambling adobe building that played an important part in San Diego County history is slowly disintegrating here and hopes to save it are dimming. . . . Little has been done to preserve the buildings and today they are crumbling back into the earth. Visitors are kept away by a high wire fence and the plaques supply disappointingly little information." After reviewing the history of the site the article noted that the Vista Irrigation District was looking for a group or agency to restore and maintain the structures. The irrigation district workers had braced sagging roof beams and "oiled" the adobe blocks against the weather in an effort to stave off deterioration (*San Diego Union* 6-7-1969). In 1971 the *San Diego Evening Tribune* reported that the ranch house and barn at Warner's Ranch "have been allowed to fall into ruin. They are becoming heritage lost" (*San Diego Evening Tribune* 12-9-1971). There was at this time some hope that deterioration could be reversed. Vista Irrigation District was in the process of implementing a \$6,500 stabilization plan that included installation of a four-inch steel pipe frame work in the barn to support the original wooden columns and placement of new galvanized roofing over the original shake shingle roof on the house. Steel pipe braces and tie wires were used to hold the galvanized sheets in place during the strong Santa Ana windstorms that periodically sweep through the valley. The Warner's Springs Lions Club proposed a plan to restore the ranch house and San Diego County Department of Parks and Recreation also expressed interest in acquiring the adobe (*San Diego Evening Tribune* 12-9-1971, 6-17-1972; *Escondido Times Advocate* 2-24-1972). Since stabilization by the Vista Irrigation District in the early 1970s no other efforts have been made to maintain the Warner's Ranch House or the adjacent peg timbered barn and their condition has continued to deteriorate.

In conclusion, Warner's Ranch House played several important roles in the development of California and San Diego County's backcountry during the 19th and early 20th centuries. Built by J. J. Warner in the fall of 1849 to serve Gold Rush immigrants, it was the first trading post where overland travelers journeying to the northern California gold fields could resupply after weeks of

crossing the arid deserts of the southwest. The building served in this capacity, and as the primary residence of Warner and his family, until local Native Americans destroyed it during an uprising in November 1851. Rebuilt in 1858, the former trading post became a ranch house and station for the Butterfield Overland Mail from 1858 to 1861, thus serving as part of the first major transcontinental communication link in the United States. Apparently abandoned circa 1870, the building again fell into ruins. Around 1888 it was rebuilt to its present general configuration by the Vail Ranch Company and functioned as foreman's home, headquarters, and bunkhouse for the ranching operations of both Vail and Gates (1888-1918) and George Sawday (1918-1961). The building thereby made a major contribution to the success of two of the largest cattle ranching businesses in Southern California between the late 1880s and 1961. In spite of its well-deserved recognition by various agencies and organizations as a place of historical significance, the building has been neglected and allowed to deteriorate over the last 35 years.

## **2. San Felipe**

Another important Mexican Period Rancho was San Felipe, located to the southeast of the San José Valley along the base of the east slope of Vulcan Mountain. It was the eastern most of the ranchos granted during the Mexican period (Brigandi 1995). Priests from San Diego Mission baptized Indians at San Felipe as early as 1818. In September 1821 an exploring party led by Fra. Mariano Payeras and Fra. José Sanchez, in the company of six soldiers and two other civilians visited the area and described the Cañada de San Felipe, noting that there was very little timber except for a few poplar trees (Rush 1965).

The first grant of the Valle de San Felipe was made in 1834 to Luís Arenas, who had come to Los Angeles from Mexico that same year. Arenas was involved in numerous other land grants over the years, including the Rancho Pauba at Temecula. How much use he made of the Valle de San Felipe is unclear; there does not seem to be any record of his ever grazing stock there. Sometime prior to 1844, Arenas sold his rights to Valle de San Felipe to Felipe Castillo, a native of Sonora, Mexico, who had come to California around 1835. In 1846, Castillo requested his own grant for the Valley. With Arenas' consent Governor Pio Pico authorized the grant for three leagues "east of the frontier" on May 13, 1846. Castillo's 1846 grant became the basis for all subsequent ownership of the



rancho. After his death in 1847 or 48, his son Loreto sold the rancho to Juan Forster for \$1,500 – half in cash, half in cattle. Forster was an early English settler who came to own several large ranchos in Southern California, including Rancho Santa Margarita y Las Flores (now Camp Pendleton) and Rancho de La Nación where the current metropolises of National City and Chula Vista are now located (Brigandi 1995).

In 1852 Forster petitioned the United States Land Commission for a confirmation of the grant of the Rancho Valle de San Felipe. Among the witnesses that testified on Forster's behalf was Santiago Arguello of San Diego, who recalled being at San Felipe in 1844 when he "saw the Mayordomo [foreman] of Felipe Castillo there with the workmen in his employ." Like many rancheros, Castillo continued to live in Los Angeles, but Arguello added that he ". . . was frequently" at San Felipe, and "sometimes stayed a while on the rancho." "He had a wooden house there," and "a corral and some small pieces of land enclosed and cultivated. There were horses and cattle on the place . . . ." Later Arguello recalled that Forster had built a new house at San Felipe after he acquired the ranch (Brigandi 1995). On October 27 1850 Major Heintzelman passed through San Felipe while traveling between San Diego and the Colorado River. He recorded that "At 4 P.M. we reached Forster's Place at San Felipe." The house was built of "of rushes, twenty-five feet long and twelve feet wide with five feet to the eaves" (Heintzelman 1850). On May 22, 1855 the Land Commission confirmed the grant of Rancho Valle de San Felipe, as well as Forster's ownership of it. Official boundaries were then set, and the land surveyed. It totaled out to 9,971.08 acres and included all the best pasture land and water in the valley (Brigandi 1995). In 1858, the *San Diego Herald* reported that cattle were grazed on Rancho San Felipe (*San Diego Herald* 3-6-1858).

In 1859 Juan Forster mortgaged San Felipe, along with another of his San Diego County ranchos, the Rancho de la Nación, to J.B. Bayerque, and his partner F.A.L. Pioche, a well-known San Francisco capitalist. By the end of the year Pioche, Bayerque & Co. owned both ranchos outright. They were investors who hired men to manage their properties, or leased them to others (Brigandi 1995).

During the 1850s San Felipe Valley became a major thoroughfare of the Southern Overland Trail that led from the desert to Warner's Ranch. At this time the valley was also known as Warner's

Pass. As early as the late 1840s travelers noted a permanent village of Native Americans in the southern end of the valley near present day Scissors Crossing.

One of the earliest records of this village was made by members of Kearney's Army of the West who arrived there on the evening of December 1, 1846. By this time the village was well known. Henry Smith Turner noted, "We expected to find an Indian village in this valley, but are disappointed in finding the Indians have all deserted. Their habitations, . . . built somewhat after the fashion observed among the Pimas and Maricopas, are standing about in groups" (Turner 1846). Dr. Griffin noted the remains of a cornfield and pea patches. He also stated that the country surrounding the village was destitute of timber so they destroyed the deserted lodges for firewood (Griffin 1846).

Following behind the Army of the West, Cook's Mormon Battalion came in contact with members of the Native American band residing at San Felipe while camped 20 miles to the south at Vallecito. On December 10 Cook recorded:

The Indian Alcalde of San Phillipi, brought me a letter, but three days old, from Commander Montgomery of the Portsmouth, and governor of San Diego; he writes that my party arrives on the 14th instant, welcomes my approach, promises refreshment, etc., for the battalion. The Alcalde, and his interpreter, also a San Phillipian Indian, are fine looking men, nearly naked, hair long, and faces painted in red spots; their language seems a bad one, somewhat resembling that of the Apaches (Cook 1847).

Cook's comments reflect a fact born out by other journalists, that by 1846, the natives of San Felipe had experienced several decades of prolonged and close contact with European culture. Many, like the interpreter mentioned above, could speak Spanish and perhaps some English. They also grew European introduced crops, such as watermelon, and some wore western made clothing. San Felipe appears to have been the frontier between the Ipai or Northern Digueño, and the Tipai, or Eastern Kumeyaay who occupied the southeastern portion of present San Diego County.

In August 1849 William Chamberlain's party found the valley occupied and noted that the village of San Felipe consisted of " a few miserable looking huts, built of reed. The inhabitants cultivate a little corn, a few melons, etc. They also live upon mesquite beans, prickly pears, etc. . . " (Chamberlain 1849).

When Amiel Whipple of the United States Boundary Commission passed through the valley the following month on route from San Diego to the Colorado River, he also found the village inhabited. His notes confirm that San Felipe was on the frontier between the missionized "Diguenos," who acknowledged the authority of their chief "Tomaso," and the "rest belong to the tribe of the desert called Como-ye`i, or Quemeya, speaking a different language, and totally ignorant of Spanish. To my surprise the women were neatly dressed in calico frocks; and, notwithstanding the streaks of tar with which they paint their faces, some were quite good looking. Their zandias [water melon] were all "verde", [verde, Spanish for green] and they had nothing else to sell." Whipple noted that at this place they would take leave of the "Diguenos" (Whipple 1849). The same month George Evan's party also passed through San Felipe on their way to the northern California gold fields. He recorded:

An Indian town, buildings all huts or sheds. These Indians wear clothes enough to hide their nakedness, but otherwise are extremely poor, many of them having no corn and no wheat. The grass at this camp is poor and the water very good and cold, but sulfurous. . . . I have had some opportunity during the afternoon of examining into the customs of the Indians residing at this place, and, however incredible some things may appear, they must be told to illustrate the manner of living from day to day. Acorns, pounded into flour, serve as bread, and while some are engaged at this, others are roaming over the mountains and hills searching for worms. These worms resemble such as are frequently found on the anise plant and are as much like the tobacco as any. They are numerous; consequently, baskets of them are brought in and form the staple of every meal, and they relish them much, smack their lips, and cry "*Buena! mucha buena!*"

The following day Evans noted "Indian señoritas have paid us a visit in the Mexican style, but wore dresses made to order of some American lady and by her sold to these people" (Evans 1849).

In 1857, San Felipe became a stop on the overland mail routes and passengers on the San Antonio and San Diego line found the station to be "an adobe house, brackish water, and poor grass, like that usually growing in salty land." The proprietor, a German called Dutch Bill, "occupied the aforesaid adobe house and supports himself by selling necessaries to travelers" (*San Francisco Herald* 12-27-1857; *San Diego Herald* 5-29-1858).

With the establishment of the Butterfield Overland Mail service in September 1858, San Felipe became the major change station west of Fort Yuma. The division agent, Warren G. Hall, resided there as well as five other employees - the station keeper (also called an agent), a hotel keeper, a

cook, a harness maker, and a stage driver - with their families. The company had invested \$5,000 in the station. The post had 48 tons of barley, 36 tons of hay, 19 horses, and two coaches. The remaining stops functioned as changing or "swing" stations to replace worn out teams with fresh horses. Most had a single keeper, identified as a hostler, who took care of the livestock and helped change the teams. Exceptions were at Vallecito, where two hostlers, a cook, and a merchant resided; Sackett's Station (Wells) with a hostler, station keeper, and blacksmith; and Indian Wells, with a hotelkeeper, two hostlers, and a cook. The swing stations kept four to five horses and 12 tons each of barley and hay. Company investment in each station ranged between \$1,000 and \$1,500 dollars (Census 1860a; 1860b). The presence of employed cooks listed on the 1860 census, as well as descriptions, indicate Yuma, Cooke's Wells, Indian Wells, Vallecito, and San Felipe provided meals (Ormsby 1858; Tallack 1860; Farwell 1858).

With the outbreak of the Civil War and the closing of the overland mail along the southern route, the San Felipe Valley became an important post for the supplying of Fort Yuma. Once again national affairs changed the dynamics of travel across the Colorado Desert. Although emigrants and livestock herds still continued to move westward toward the California Coast, now large groups began to move eastward across the trail. First came southern sympathizers returning home to fight for the Confederate States, followed by U.S. Army troops intent on securing the southwest for the Union.

In October 1861, the First Infantry of California Volunteers received orders to relieve the regular troops at Fort Yuma. They left Camp Wright near Warner's Ranch and made the crossing to Yuma the last week of October. The next four years saw a constant stream of men and supplies, dispatched from Drum Barracks in Wilmington, near Los Angeles, moving across the desert. They supported Union military actions in Arizona and New Mexico (Tamplin 1979:94).

When the first detachments of California Volunteers marched eastward to replace regular troops at Fort Yuma, they found the former Overland Mail stations along the road abandoned. Many still had stored forage left by the Butterfield Company (Davis et al. 1897 - West to Cutler 11-7-1861:709). By December the Army had taken over the stations as supply depots to support troops and wagon trains in route to Fort Yuma (Davis et al. 1897 - Warner to Carlton 12-23-1861:783).

In February 1862 Confederate Captain Sherrod Hunter occupied Tucson. In response, U.S. Army Colonel James H. Carleton mounted an expedition against the Confederates in Arizona. Fort Yuma served as the "jumping off point" for the expedition. Here the force of 2,500 men along with the arms, supplies, wagons, and animals required to keep them in the field was assembled.

With hundreds of troops and large wagon trains of supplies moving from the coast to the Colorado River, maintenance of the road and the establishment of supply lines became imperative. Stores of hay and barley were kept at all the former overland stage stations between San Felipe and Fort Yuma. Special detachments were sent to clean out and repair all the wells between Carrizo Creek and the fort. Water barrels were put into the ground at many of these locations. Troops and wagon trains crossing the desert were ordered to send an advance party one day ahead to fill the barrels so that the water would be available upon arrival of the main force. Upon leaving, enough water was to be left in the barrels so that they would not dry out and fall apart (Davis et. al. 1897- Carlton to West 3-16-1862:932, West to Cutler 3-16-1862:933, 4-2-1862:978, Rigg to Carleton 3-20-1862:939, 3-21-1862:942. 3-25-1862:950). In the spring of 1862, the garrison at Fort Yuma was largely increased in preparation for the Arizona campaigns against the Confederates occupying Tucson.

By the end of 1861, San Felipe Valley had come under the control of Louis Yager (also spelled Iager or Jager). His ownership of the property is not clear. He probably leased the valley from Pioche and Bayerque, who had purchased it from Forester in 1859. They were assessed for taxes on the rancho in 1861, however in 1863 "L.J.F. Iager" was assessed for San Felipe (Brigandi 1995). Pioche & Bayerque continued to be listed as owners of the San Felipe following the Civil War, so Yager's tenancy appears to have ceased with the end of the War and the urgent need to supply Fort Yuma and the Union Forces in Arizona and New Mexico (Brigandi 1995; *San Diego Union* 2-23-1872).

Details on Yager's operations are sketchy and come mostly from military correspondence. He apparently was supplying a lot of cattle to the Fort Yuma garrison which were purchased from various locations and gathered at San Felipe, from where they were driven across the desert to Yuma. Hay was also supplied to some of the former stage stations, now under the control of the army as supply depots, on the western side of the desert. Yager supplied hay to those depots on the

eastern side of the desert from hay fields in the Colorado River flood plain near Yuma. Yager also acquired Rancho Santa Ysabel at this time and grazed cattle there.

Yager continued to live at Yuma and had two employees, Mr. George Williams, who was identified as his agent, along with a Mr. Albright who resided at San Felipe (Davis et al. 1897 - Warner to Carlton 12-23-1861: 783, Carlton to West 3-16-1862 p. 932). In January 1862 Colonel Carlton was informed that in spite of severe damage caused by flooding at Fort Yuma which drowned a large portion of Yager's stock, the situation was not a crisis because the ferryman had enough cattle "in his corral to meet any demands upon him, besides fifty head on the desert coming over, unless New River or Carriso Creek are impassable . . ." (Davis et al. 1897 - Rigg to Carlton 1-23-1862: 815). The next month Yager agreed to provide Colonel Carlton "beef cattle . . . on foot for your use on your way up the Colorado River for \$25 per head, weighing from 250 to 400 pounds, in any quantity from 25 to 200 head. He cannot kill on that route at a reasonable price, because he has not force enough to drive them. He will require fifteen days notice to have any number over fifty head delivered here [at Yuma] (Davis et al. 1897 - Rigg to Carlton 2-15-1862: 869) In March 1862 Yager's agent, Williams, agreed to deliver hay to Carriso Creek, Sackett's Wells, and Indian Wells from San Felipe. Colonel Carlton offered to pay what the "Overland Mail Company last paid for hay delivered at those points (Davis et al. 1897 - Carlton to West 3-16-1862: 932). That same month Yager informed the military commanders at Yuma that he could have 200 head of beef-cattle at the fort "in a very short time" and could "furnish as many more as may be required by sending word to his agent B. Weld, San Felipe. He can concentrate any number at that point where good grazing can be procured. He suggests that from that point he can forward in six days in good order as many as will be required from him" (Davis et al. 1897 - Rigg to Carleton 3-21-1862: 942).

Throughout the closing years of the 19<sup>th</sup> century San Felipe continued to be used as a cattle ranch while passing through various ownerships. In 1872 the *San Diego Union* reported that the tract was still controlled by Pioche and Baquerque, who owned 9,080 acres. An additional 892 acres were in the hands of unknown owners (*San Diego Union* 2-23-1872).

In 1882 the ranch was listed for sale (*San Diego Union* 6-11-1887, 5:2). There was little interest and in June 1884 an advertisement ran in the *San Diego Union*: "To sheep or cattle men; for rent for the ensuing year the Rancho San Felipe, in San Diego County, 10,000 acres, the ranch can be

bought for \$3.50 per acre, apply to Charles Crocker, San Francisco, A.B. Hotchkiss, San Diego." The tract now contained 15,000 acres "suitable for all kinds of agriculture as well as grazing purposes" (*San Diego Union* 6-11-1884). The ranch remained for sale for several years (*San Diego Union* 1-1-1885). In June 1887 the *Union* announced its purchase by "a gentleman named Estes of Los Angeles" (*San Diego Union* 6-11-1887: 5:2). In 1894 Jonathan Bixbee, "a large cattle and sheep owner of Los Angeles," leased the San Felipe (*San Diego Union* 4-16-1894, 5:2).

Beginning in the 1880s, San Diego rancher Fred Grand ran cattle on the San Felipe for the better part of 20 years, leasing it from various owners. He was a native of France, who settled in the Julian area around 1878. He may have been at San Felipe as early as 1883, when Helen Hunt Jackson reported that the grant was "leased to a Frenchman" (Jackson 1883:25). By 1885 he had also started a ranch of his own in Arkansas Canyon, just off the San Felipe Grant to the west, at the base of Volcan Mountain. In 1889 he had 4,000 sheep, and 600 cattle, and some horses grazing on the San Felipe. By 1894 he signed a new lease and continued to run cattle on the rancho. The *San Diego Union* noted in September 1894 that "Fred Grand of San Felipe made a drive of sixty head of beef cattle to Temecula this week to be shipped from there to Los Angeles" (*San Diego Union* 9-30-1895 2:1). Other lessees also sometimes took advantage of the San Felipe's grazing land. On December 20, 1894 the *Ramona Sentinel* reported: "The Santa Ysabel Rancho Co. have sent 300 head of their cattle to San Felipe, to tide them over the winter." Grand last leased the San Felipe in 1904, paying \$150 a month for the grazing rights. At the end of that year Thomas Duque, who then controlled the rancho through the San Felipe Land and Water Company, decided to go into ranching himself and refused to renew the lease. Grand moved about 275 head of his cattle down to Mason Valley, and also leased land at Vallecito. He died just a few years later in 1907 (Brigandi 1995).

It was also during this time that the Native Americans whose village had been located in the southern portion of the valley for thousands of years lost the rights to their homeland. In 1891 the San Felipe Land and Water Company made the first attempt to remove the natives. In 1903 the Indians of San Felipe, along with the Cupeño at Warner's Hot Springs were evicted and removed to reservations (Brigandi 1995).

Tomas Duque kept the San Felipe Land and Water Company intact until about 1913. Eventually he was forced to give up many of the company's other properties, but held on to the ranch. It was



Figure 15: San Felipe Ranch House, 1948 (courtesy San Diego Historical Society)

during this period that Duque built a new two-story wood and adobe house on the rancho, which still stands (2004) (Brigandi 1995; Tulloch 2002) (Figure 15).

Duque's entry into the cattle business was short lived. By 1908 he had leased the grant to Witch Creek cattle man George Sawday, who hired Fred Grand's son, Ed, to work there. Eventually Duque took the San Felipe back,

but then in 1928 Sawday began renting it again. Finally, about 1945, Sawday bought the San Felipe Ranch outright from Duque's heirs and the property became part of his large cattle empire (Brigandi 1995) (Figure 16).

On the San Felipe Sawday ran mostly Herefords. The valley was used as winter pasture. In the summer cattle were driven up Banner Grade to grazing lands Sawday controlled on Volcan Mountain and at the Lucky Five Ranch in the Cuyamaca area (Tulloch 2002). After George Sawday's death in 1949, Emily Sawday continued in the cattle business along with her daughter and son-in-law, Lucy and Orville Cummings. Her other daughter, Mary, and her husband Hans Starr, took their share of the estate and started their own cattle company in partnership with Ed Rutherford. The San Felipe was split up as part of this deal, into the Starr Rutherford Cattle Company, taking the northern end, and the Sawday Ranches controlling the lower portions. By



1995 San Felipe was the only surviving desert cattle ranch in the Anza-Borrego area. The southern end of the ranch was owned by the C. & E. Cattle Company, a successor to George Sawday's

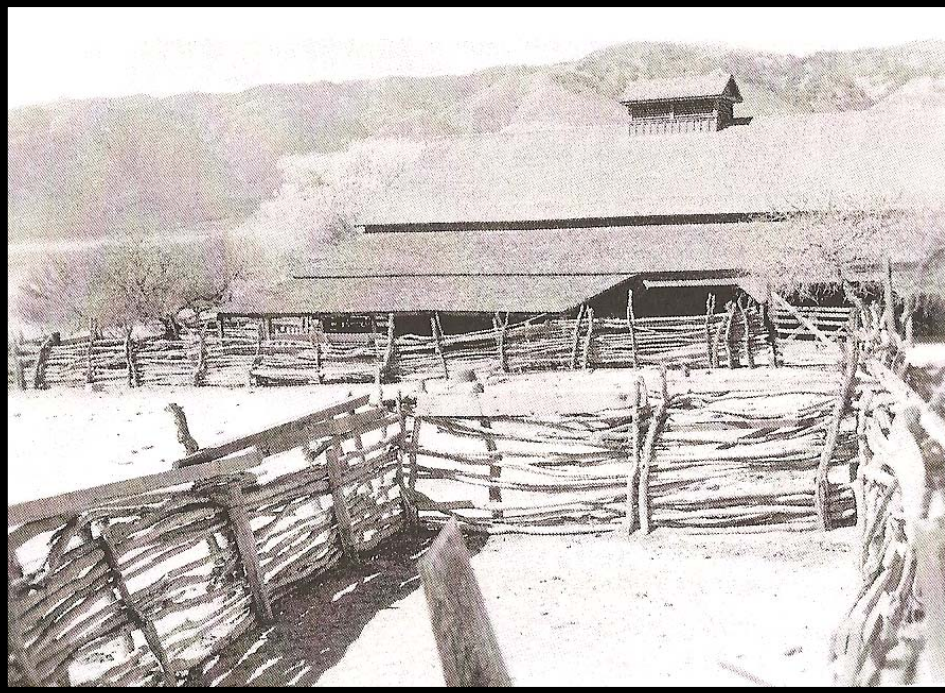


Figure 16: San Felipe Ranch corrals, 1948 (courtesy San Diego Historical Society)

company, and sold to California State Parks in 1999. The northern portion remained in the hands of the Rutherford family. Cattle still grazed here, as they had for over 150 years (Brigandi 1995). In 2004 the Rutherford ranch was purchased by California Department of Fish and Game.

### 3. Santa Ysabel Rancho

In 1795 Santa Ysabel Valley was discovered by Europeans when Fathers Juan Mariner and Pablo Grijalva, from mission San Diego, led an exploring party into the mountains. They arrived at the Indian village of Elcuanam and named the valley Santa Ysabel (also spelled Santa Isabel), Spanish for Saint Elizabeth. On this same expedition, they continued northward into the San José Valley where Warner's Ranch is now located (Rush 1965:56-57).

During the early 19<sup>th</sup> century Santa Ysabel became an *asistenica*, or outpost, of the San Diego Mission. Large herds of cattle and sheep grazed in the lush valley during the summer when there was not enough grass to support these herds and flocks near the coast. Many Natives lived in the

area and the missionaries constructed an adobe chapel in the valley in 1818. By 1822 there were several houses, a granary, a cemetery, and about 450 Indian converts (Rush 1965:56-57).

During the late Mexican period the valley became a privately owned rancho. In 1844, Edward F. Stokes, an English merchant ship captain, and José Joaquin Ortega, his father-in-law, applied for and received Santa Ysabel Rancho, as a land grant of 17,719 acres, from Governor Manuel Micheltorena. The previous year Stokes and Ortega had been granted Santa Maria Rancho, where the town of Ramona is now located. Stokes and Ortega stocked the Santa Ysabel with cattle and sheep, and operated it in conjunction with the Santa Maria. They believed the two ranchos joined, but later surveys showed the boundaries were several miles apart (Moyer 1969; Rush 1956: 56-57). By this time Mission involvement in the valley had ceased and the former Indian asistencia consisted of "a few crumbling walls and two vineyards." The mission gave up rights to the valley on the condition that Stokes and Ortega would "leave free the lands actually occupied by the natives . . . and will leave for the benefit of the Mission 150 cows which Ortega will give the community of Indians and the Mission" (Olivas 1844 in Le Menager 1989:48).

In 1849, Lt. Cave Coutts recorded, "Santa Ysabel is a fine valley, large, fertile, elegantly watered, excellent grazing and well wooded property of Joaquin Ortega. It is an Indian rancho and the natives are far ahead of the common rancheros of the country. They have an abundance of chickens, eggs, melons, grapes, pears, etc. They are well dressed (some even dandily), and their Captain General (old Tomas Chihu) is our guide" (quoted in Rush 1965: 56-57). The current Santa Ysabel Indian Reservation was set aside by President U.S. Grant in December 1875 (Rush 1965:56-57).

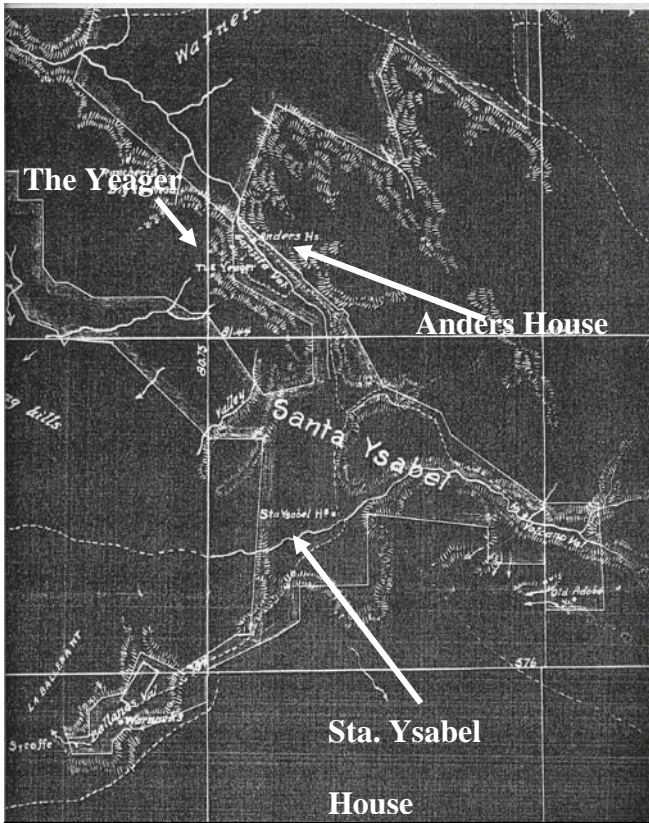
After the American conquest of California, the Ortega and Stokes families continued to operate the two ranches (Rush 1965: 56-57). Title passed between various family members during this period (Deed Books C:343, E;297, 1:282).<sup>xi</sup> The tax records indicate the value of improvements, number of livestock, and various individuals involved in grazing livestock on the Santa Ysabel through the early 1860s. In addition to members of the Ortega and Stokes families other individuals involved in the rancho included Major J. McKinstry, John Rains, and his agent Francis (Frank) Stone (Tax Assessment Rolls 1854-1858).<sup>xii</sup>

During the late 1850s through the mid 1860s the ranch was purchased by L.J. Yager (also spelled as Jager or Iager) through a series of transactions between Jager and various family members dating from 1863 through 1867 (Deed Book 2:91, 171, 217, 312).<sup>xiii</sup> Yager used the Santa Ysabel as part of a large livestock operation that also involved Rancho San Felipe and land he owned on the Colorado River near Yuma, known as Rancho La Mesa. He supplied large numbers of cattle to the army at Fort Yuma as well as hay and livestock feed. During the period he was assessed (Tax Assessment Rolls 1864-1867) for the following value of improvements at Santa Ysabel:

Year	Land	Improvements
1864	\$3328.50	\$300.00
1865	\$2000.00	\$100.00
1866	\$4000.00	\$100.00
1867	\$300.00	\$100.00

For more details on Yager’s operations see the section of this report on Rancho San Felipe.

Yager sold Santa Ysabel to Alfred Wilcox as the result of a bankruptcy settlement. This was

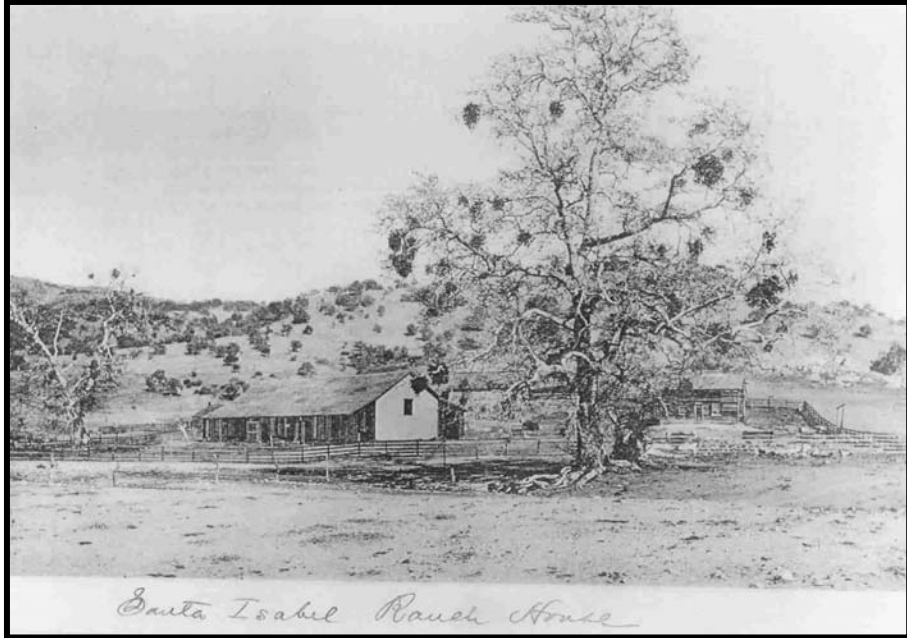


accomplished through two different transactions dated April 22, 1858 and May 22, 1869 (Deed Books 3:125, 5:446). A county map from that year showed some of the buildings then located on the ranch (Figure 17). What appears to have been the main ranch house was located on the west side of the road between San Diego and Warner’s Ranch on the north side of Santa Ysabel Creek. It is identified on the map as “St. Ysabel Hs.” It may be the same building shown in an undated photograph and identified as the “Santa Isabel Ranch House,” from the collection of the San Diego Historical Society (Figure 18). L.J. Yager’s name is listed on the north end of the

rancho in the narrow valley leading

Figure 17: Portion of the 1869 San Diego County Map showing Rancho Santa Ysabel (Hoffman 1869)

to Warner’s Ranch. This suggests he had structures on that portion of the rancho. A building identified as “Ander’s” house is also shown on this portion of the Santa Ysabel on the east side of



the San Diego to Warner’s Road. A third “Old Adobe” house was shown at the extreme southeast corner of the ranch (Hoffman 1869).

Figure 18: Photograph of an adobe ranch house at Santa Ysabel, undated (Courtesy of San Diego Historical Society)

For 1868 and 1869 Wilcox was assessed (Tax Assessments 1868-

1869) for the following improvement values on Santa Ysabel:

<u>Year</u>	<u>Land</u>	<u>Improvements</u>
1868	\$7100.80	\$150.00
1869	\$10,652.40	\$500.00

Wilcox also owned Rancho La Punta at the mouth of the Otay River. In 1871, the *San Diego Weekly Union* described Santa Ysabel as a mountain valley with about 17,000 acres of land at 2,957 feet above sea level. “Streams of water run through it” and about 200 Indians lived there. Owners were Captain A.H. Wilcox of San Diego and B.M. Hartshorne of San Francisco, who used the tract mostly for stock raising (*San Diego Weekly Union* 12-7-71: 1:6). In 1876 a transaction between Wilcox and Edward R. Stokes also conveyed title of Santa Ysabel to the former (Deed Books 28:427). What interest the Stokes family retained in the ranch at this date is not clearly understood. Wilcox died in 1883. In 1885 Charles Martin, Barney Brackett, and James Bloom, all of Petaluma in Sonoma County, purchased the Santa Ysabel from Wilcox’s widow for 75,000 dollars (Deed

Books 49:163, 260, 270, 280; *San Diego Union* 4-24-1885, 6-30-1890). They stocked the ranch with dairy cattle and constructed several buildings, including the present main ranch house and dairy complex near the intersection of Highway 79 and Mesa Grande Road in addition to the old post office and trading post, now the Santa Ysabel Store, about a mile south of the ranch buildings at the intersection of current Highways 76 and 79, and two other dairy complexes. An 1899 map of the ranch showed the three Santa Ysabel dairies (Figure 19) (Survey Map 1899). The complex at the junction of the San Diego to Warner’s highway and the road to Mesa Grande was clearly labeled “Main Dairy.” A second dairy was shown to the southwest on Santa Ysabel Creek, while a third

was located to the west along the Mesa Grande Road (Survey Map 1899).

The new owners were highly successful dairy operators and real estate investors in Marin and Sonoma Counties of northern California, where a large colony of Swiss-Italian immigrants had

become established in association with the dairy industry.

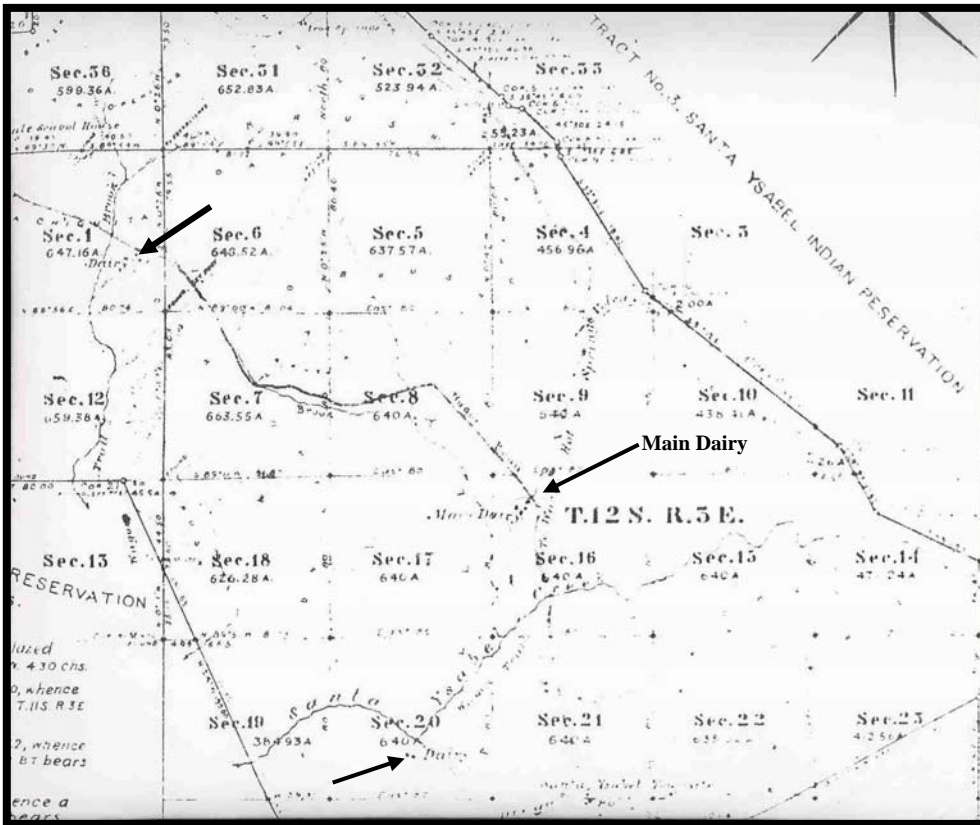


Figure 19: Portion of a survey of Rancho Santa Ysabel dated 1899 showing Main Dairy and two others, one to southwest along Santa Ysabel Creek and one to the west along the road to Mesa Grande (courtesy San Diego County, Cartographic Services)

This immigrant colony would provide much of the labor for the Santa Ysabel dairies. Successive generations of Swiss-Italian immigrants would come to the United States and make their homes on the ranch (*San Diego Union* 6-30-1890).

By 1890 the Santa Ysabel Dairies produced 20,000 pounds of butter annually; half was shipped to San Diego and the other half sold locally in the Julian area. Samuel Rotanzi was superintendent of the operation. The business employed 25 dairymen in addition to herders. Rotanzi lived at the main dairy complex known as Dairy No. 1. At this location he had 12 employees. They arose every day at 4 a.m. and went to the fields to drive the herd of milking cows into a corral to be milked. This task was usually completed by around 8 o'clock. After filling a pail, each man poured the milk into a pipe that ran from the corral to a large tank with a strainer in the dairy house or creamery. Here the milk was put into pans placed on racks where they sat while the cream separated and rose to the top. The "waste milk" next was poured off the pans and into a pipe, which carried it to a trough in a hog pen (*San Diego Union* 6-30-1890).

The cream was then put into a funnel that fed a pipe, which conveyed it to a churn box in the cellar of the building. The churn was a 3 by 10 foot wooden box revolving on a frame, rotated by a belt on a shaft that passed outside the building where it was turned by horsepower. The churn had a capacity of 300 pounds. However, the average churning was for about 100 pounds of milk, which took about an hour and a half to complete (*San Diego Union* 6-30-1890).

When the butter had finished forming it was extracted by a dairyman who inserted his head and shoulders through "a hole in the center of the churn . . . so he can reach all around in it with a short handle wooden paddle to gather every particle" of butter. Finally the buttermilk was drained off and fed to the hogs (*San Diego Union* 6-30-1890).

After being taken from the churn, the butter was washed and salted, and cut into chunks, which were placed into two-pound molds. "The ends are lopped off, butter cloth dipped in brine wrapped around it, the Santa Ysabel stamp firmly pressed into one end, and the product ready for market" (*San Diego Union* 6-30-1890).

Successive generations of Swiss-Italian immigrants came to work on the Santa Ysabel Dairies. Some of these and their descendents eventually acquired ownership of the ranch. In 1910 Samuel Rotanzi still managed the farm and lived at the main dairy (Figure 20). He was listed on the federal census for that year as a 53 year old Swiss Immigrant. Although married his family did not reside with him on the dairy. His “household,” all of males, consisted of three other Swiss-Italians:



Figure 20: Santa Ysabel Dairy, 1900 Courtesy of San Diego Historical Society)

Bartolomeo Magini, age 55, 46 year old Federico Bolla, and 45 year old Sylvio Tonini, in addition to 19 year old Alexander and 17 year old Lucas Carrisoza who had been born in California.

In 1920 Samuel still lived at the main dairy. The household now included his wife Catherine,

aged 60, and 36 year old daughter Maria. Both worked on the dairy. In addition was Swiss-Italian immigrants Roco Strobino, age 50, John Daparro, age 58, forty-eight year old Fred Bollar, and 75-year old Peter Perinoni. Fifty-five year old Benito Pena was a California native.

Over the next 10 years the dairy would come under the control of the Moretti family. In 1930 the Rotanzis were no longer living in Santa Ysabel. Catherine and Maria are listed on the 1930 census as living in the city of San Diego, and Samuel is not listed, suggesting he passed away sometime during the decade (Census 1930). By the mid-1920s another Swiss-Italian immigrant, Florenzo Moretti, was living at the main dairy and supervising the operations.

Florenzo had immigrated to the United States in 1888. Two years later, he was 28 years old and living and working on a large dairy in Santa Cruz with over 16 other Swiss-Italian coworkers (Census 1900). By 1903 he had moved to the Santa Ysabel area, living in Mesa Grande, as reported in the county directory for that year. In 1910 he was working as a “dairyman” living in Santa Ysabel (San Diego County Directories 1903, 1910). On the census of that year he is listed as the

proprietor of a dairy that he rented in Mesa Grande. This suggests he was living and employed at the Santa Ysabel Dairy complex on the western portion of the ranch along Mesa Grande Road. The household was made up of Florenzo, age 38, his 34 year old wife Emelinda, who had been born in California of Swiss-Italian immigrant parents, and the hired help consisting entirely of Swiss-Italian or Italian immigrants. These included Florenzo's cousin, Romelda Cavalli, age 34, who worked as a cook and chamber maid; his brother 21 year old Felix; 37 year old Armando Scarpellini; Severo Sartoriu, age 24; Gaicamo Della Meddalena, age 24; twenty-seven year old Luigi Giolzetti; and Giovanni Gafforni, age 19 (Census 1910).

In 1920 Florenzo was listed on the census as owner of the dairy. The household still included his wife Emelinda, brother Felix, and cousin Romilda. In addition there were two other family members. Another brother, Felipe Moretti, and a cousin, Louis Cralli (Cavalli) had also joined the household and worked at the dairy. Both were 36 years old. Other hired help living at the dairy included California Natives Peter Ponietta, age 23, Sebastian Lachuse, age 24, and Francisco Osuna, age thirty-five (Census 1920).

In 1922, another cousin from Switzerland, Victor Cauzza, was working on the dairy. By 1930 he was living in the Moretti household, which now appeared to be located at the main dairy formerly occupied by the Rotanzis. Florenzo had passed away and the household now consisted of his widow "Linda" (Emelinda on previous census listings), age 52, who was the dairy farm manager, and the hired help including Swiss-Italian immigrants Florinde Dalessi, age 38, twenty-six year old Victor Cauzza, 19 year old Elmo Cauzza, Aide Segni, age 28, and Romildo Seni, age 20. Other members included German immigrant Jacob Feigel, age 26 and 20 year old Dan De La Chapa, a California Native American (Census 1930).

By the mid 1920s, production at Santa Ysabel had changed from butter to milk. In 1924 the dairies began sending milk to San Diego in 10-gallon cans. Milk continued to be the main product. By the early 1960s the operations had become thoroughly automated and mechanized. The ranch was owned by Mr. and Mrs. Orville Cummings (daughter and son-in-law to George Sawday), Phillip Moretti, the estate of Mrs. Linda Moretti, and Victor Cauzza, who lived at the main dairy complex with his wife and step children and worked as the ranch manager (undated newspaper clipping circa 1962) (Figure 21). Victor was a well-known leader in the Santa Ysabel-Julian community. He was



named to the first soil conservation committee in the Julian and Ramona area and served as director from 1942 to 1982. The Soil Conservation District honored him in 1982 for his many years of service. He was also a member of the Julian Union High School Board, the Julian Chamber of Commerce, the Farm Bureau, the Cattleman's Association, and the National Federation of Independent Businesses. In addition he supported the Future Farmers of America, the 4-H Club, and the Santa Ysabel Mission (*San Diego Union* 6-12-1991).

During the mid 20<sup>th</sup> century George Sawday acquired an interest in Santa Ysabel as part of his vast cattle empire. Other owners included two other well-known San Diego County ranching families, the Martins and Morettis. After George Sawday's death in 1949 his interest passed to his daughter and son-in-law, Mr. and Mrs. Orville Cumming. Owners of the ranch lands in 1965 included Mr. and Mrs. Cumming, Victor Cauzza, and the estates of Mrs. Linda Moretti and Philip Moretti. Livestock on the tract consisted of "fine herds" of both beef and dairy cattle owned by the Santa Ysabel Ranch, Inc. of which Victor Cauzza was president and manager, and Orville Cumming secretary-treasurer (Rush 1965: 56-57).



Figure 21: Santa Ysabel Ranch House (Courtesy of San Diego Historical Society)

Victor Cauzza died in 1991 at the age of 87 (*San Diego Union* 6-12-1991). Dairy operations continued on the Santa Ysabel through the early 1990s. Currently the ranch is used for cattle grazing and still owned and managed by members of the Cauzza family.

## D. Southern Ranches

The history of livestock grazing southeast of the San Diego River and San Felipe Creek differs somewhat from that of the ranches in the northern part of the county. Because of the hostility of Native Americans in this area, it was not heavily settled during the Spanish and Mexican periods, so that livestock raising did not generally begin until after 1850, when the Indians began to be displaced, and indeed, not until after 1870 in the most southern portions along the Mexican border. Except for Cuyamaca, the remaining ranches in the region were not parts of large Mexican Period land grants, and were settled by individual families or groups of American homesteaders. Juan Bandini had attempted to develop a ranch at Tecate during the 1830s, but was forced to abandon it because of harassment from Native Americans. For this reason, the history of ranching in this area involves many more small ranches and individuals than does the development of the northern tracts. In addition, except for ranches located on the desert, in the extreme eastern portion of the region, these tracts were not along the Southern Overland Trail, and were not affected by large overland migrations.

### 1. Displacement of the Native Americans

Displacement of the Native Americans in southeastern San Diego County after 1860 allowed establishment of the ranching industry there. The southern part of present inland San Diego County did not see the exploration, settlement, and establishment of ranchos during the Spanish – Mexican period that occurred in the Warner's Ranch, Santa Ysabel and San Felipe regions. Originally, the Tipai, or Eastern Kumeyaay (also identified as the Southern Diegueño) occupied this region. Unlike their Pacific Coast counterparts, many of whom came under control of Spanish missionaries, the Eastern Kumeyaay remained relatively unaffected by the Spanish occupation of the California coast. Early records and historical accounts of the region refer to the native inhabitants as Indians of the Cuyamaca and Jacum (Jacumba) Mountains, or the Milquatay and Jacumba Valleys. Because their territory was situated south and east of major routes of colonial travel, missionaries and Spanish soldiers generally ignored these Indians and they remained aloof and independent of Spanish influence. In 1787 Pedro Fages of the San Diego Presidio noted: “This tribe, which among those discovered is the most numerous, is also the most restless, stubborn, haughty, warlike, and

hostile toward us, absolutely opposed to all rational subjection and full of the spirit of independence . . ." (Rensch 1950: 2, quoted in Bloomquist 1966).

The hostile reputation of the natives inhabiting the eastern mountains and western Colorado Desert continued well into the 19<sup>th</sup> century. Don Juan Bandini of San Diego, who established a ranch at Tecate, first penetrated the region in 1830. Bandini soon began to complain that the natives were stealing livestock from his ranch. Then, in 1837, the mountain tribes attacked Tecate and Jamul Ranchos. Dispatched from the San Diego Presidio, a force of 18 Mexican soldiers and 30 Christian Indians pursued the hostile mountain tribes through Tecate, Las Juntas, Milquatay, and Cuyamaca, engaging in several small skirmishes. A decisive battle occurred in the Jacum Mountains where the pursuing troops were ambushed and natives seized their ammunition, forcing the soldiers to abandon their horses at night and return to San Diego.

During this period the presidio soldiers also undertook a campaign into the Cuyamacas. They traveled through Pine Valley, Jamatayune (Samagatuma) and into the Cañada Verde (Green Valley). A few miles beyond, in the valley of the Cuyamaca they found:

. . . the Indians were more numerous than at any other place. Their principal rancheria (Cuyamaca) was in a pile of rocks just north of a high sharp-pointed peak (Stonewall).... We had a fight with the Indians here; killed some of them. They finally submitted to our terms, promising not to molest the settlements further. We remained here in all about five days (Rensch 1950 quoted in Bloomquist 1966).

Two years later, in 1839, a group of Indians who comprised eastern mountain and western Colorado Desert Kumeyaay clans attacked the coast and burned Rancho Tia Juana (Van Wormer 1986b). As late as 1840, the area and its inhabitants remained basically unknown to outsiders. Vicente Romero, a soldier from the San Diego Presidio, remembered:

The Indians . . . living among the Cuyamaca Mountains were still gentiles. The missions . . . could do nothing permanently with them. At the Presidio or Mission of San Diego they had no intercourse and kept themselves entirely apart from Indians of the San Felipe, Santa Ysabel, and other points then more or less Christianized. Even in going only as far as the Valle de Las Viejas it was considered dangerous and the greatest caution was used (Romero 1871: 32-34).

No known attempts were made to resettle the backcountry south of Volcan Mountain until the very end of the Mexican era. Rancho Cuyamaca, a grant of 8 square leagues (35,501.32 acres) was granted to Augustine Olvera on August 11, 1845, slightly less than a year before U.S. military troops occupied San Diego on July 29, 1846 (Rush 1965; Martin 1971; Hughes 1975). Although Olvera took possession of and surveyed the grant in the spring of 1846 he had no time to develop the ranch prior to the American conquest that followed just a few months later (Martin 1971).

In spite of limited and often times hostile contact, the native subsistence pattern was significantly changed during the Mexican period. By the 1830s the Eastern Kumeyaay had developed a taste for domestic livestock, especially horses and cattle, procured through raids. An even more significant alteration had occurred by the mid-1840s, or perhaps earlier, with the adoption of agriculture. American troops, while camped at Vallecito in 1846, noted the presence of "several old cornfields...cultivated by the Indians" (Griffen 1846). When Pedro Fages of the San Diego Presidio had first visited Vallecito in the fall of 1772, he made no mention of cultivated fields. Given the Spanish preoccupation with the discovery of areas that could support agriculture, if any sign of cultivation had existed at this time it certainly would have been recorded. The traditional hunting and gathering subsistence system of the natives had therefore been replaced by a three-component subsistence system composed of hunting and gathering, agriculture, and foodstuffs from Mexican society in the form of stolen livestock. The eventual conquest of California by the United States, resulting in the subsequent settlement of Anglo-Americans in present-day southeastern San Diego County, eventually brought these Native Americans into permanent contact with Western Civilization and resulted in their ultimate confinement on reservations as their territory was taken over as livestock range (Van Wormer 1986b).

The conquest of Alta California by the United States resulted in American penetration of present-day southeastern San Diego County. With the arrival of new settlers, the newly dominant Anglo-American culture from the eastern United States introduced ranching and forced the aboriginal population to make significant changes in their subsistence and social systems. Anglo-American contact with native peoples throughout the Southwest resulted in alterations of aboriginal lifestyle because of white attitudes towards the Indians and the environment (Van Wormer 1986b).

Many American settlers felt that the Indian had no legal or moral right to land he neither fenced, farmed, permanently occupied, nor altered in any other fashion. These settlers also failed to recognize or understand that the Indian migratory pattern meant that uninhabited dwellings were not abandoned, just waiting for the occupants to return when the seasons changed. In addition, the Western ethic that stressed man's dominance over nature resulted in the destruction of many traditional food sources, specifically through farming and livestock grazing. Also, Anglo-American settlement restricted native mobility, thereby increasing the difficulty of obtaining those few resources that remained. In southeastern San Diego County, these changes resulted in the native's eventual placement on reservations and a dependence on Anglo-American charity (Van Wormer 1986b).

The eastern Kumeyaay first came into contact with American settlers at their winter campsites on the Colorado Desert that were on or near major overland trails. The first recorded contact between the natives and American frontiersmen occurred in November 1846, when General Stephen W. Kearny's Army of the West traveled through the Carrizo Corridor, camping along Carrizo Creek and at Vallecito. Carrizo Creek, Palm Springs, and Vallecito became popular camping spots on the immigrant trail, and the Butterfield Overland Mail Company established stage stations at these locations. Meanwhile the army established a mail route between San Diego and Yuma by way of the Tia Juana River, Campo, and Jacumba, and established a small pack station at Jacumba in 1853 (Van Wormer 1986b).

While camped at Vallecito in December 1849 Cave Coutts recorded the following description of the natives living there. Unlike the Indians living to the north at San Felipe, the people at Vallecito appeared to have had only limited contact with the Spanish and Mexican settlements on the coast:

The Indians about our camp (a branch or clan of Jumas, I think) are still more destitute than those on Colorado. Wear their hair the same way and are uncommonly indolent, live on rabbits, or hares exclusively, probably on roots also, now and then a party will cross the mountains, west, and return loaded with *acorns* which they are *very* fond of. There are but few of these and they live in a little nook or gorge in the mountains, not over 50 acres, where the water breaks out in several places (salt and sulphur) but none good. About half of it is good land upon which a small quantity of cane grows and thick with grass. Here the partridges which were spoken of on the Gila are very numerous, and rabbits! Both the jack and Molly cottontail, like never was seen. The Indians catch them by several getting together and running them down. When they are nearly exhausted they use a small *crooked*

stick, which is thrown with the unerring aim of a Kentucky rifle. They use blood generally for painting and are so filthy that their presence is nauseating. They watch the slaughter ground, and whenever a beef is butchered secure the entrails, the whole of them, and when the blood has cooled and begins thickening, clogging up, they scoop it up with both hands, as we do water in washing, and rub it over their entire face and neck, then with their fingernails make waving lines over their cheeks and forehead. Blood is frequently made to stick until quite an inch thick. The women although they use the same for painting ordinarily do not clot it upon their faces as the men, except during the time of their *course* when they invariably do it, and it is probably required of them by their men.

The winters are probably colder than in Tennessee, yet there is no wood within reach. Their huts are most miserable and wretched, nothing in comparison to the little temporary one which the men have thrown up of water willow, for protection against the snow in the absence of their tents. Mule meat is regarded by them as the greatest delicacy, [they] keep a constant lookout over the pasture to find a dead mule or horse, and then come in to bring us wood for him. The only wood to be had is the prickly pear which when dry burns equal to pitch pine, but is consumed in a moment. They seem to know something of the value of money but do not care for it. Will bring more wood for a red rag or a rag of any kind than for a handful of money. The mountains are as bare of vegetation as the surface of water. Nothing remains but immense piles of rocks, sand, and loose dirt higher than those stupendous fellows about Monterey (Couts 1849).

The great influx of abandoned livestock onto the desert, as a result of the thousands of immigrants that traveled the Southern Overland Trail between 1848 and 1851, provided a previously scarce source of food, in what seemed to be never ending quantities, for Native Americans. Benjamin Hayes saw an encampment at Big Lake. On the New River, in January 1850:

There were a good many of them altogether at this place – we could see their smoke among the mesquite from our camp. They call themselves San Diego's. They seem to prowl about here, depending in a measure for subsistence on mules, oxen, &c., which give out on the road. They get the seeds of a large weed, which grows abundantly here, grind it & soften it, and make bread of it [amaranth]. There was a horse just killed and cut up at their camp. In the hollow at our camp at Camp Salvation we found some of them cutting up a mule which had mired (Hayes 1850).

Contemporary reports indicate that contact between Anglo-American immigrants and the aboriginal inhabitants resulted in continued changes to the native's culture and lifestyle. While camped at Vallecito in 1852, John Bartlett of the Boundary Commission recorded that the natives wore clean white or fancy calico shirts. This description is dramatically different than that made by Cave Coutts just four years earlier. They continued to farm, and cultivated beans and pumpkins and procured an occasional mule to eat. Still hunters and gatherers, their main source of food consisted of acorns, which they collected in the mountains and stored in large baskets (Bartlett 1854).

During the late 1840s and early 1850s, many of the eastern Kumeyaay abandoned the Cuyamaca Mountains, with the exception of East Mesa, and appear to have joined groups still residing in the Lagunas and at Milquatay and Jacum in the region of present-day Campo and Jacumba. Evidence for this consists of the following. Around 1847 or 1848, the owner of Cuyamaca Ranch, Agustin Olvera, sent an employee, Ceserio Walker, to set up a sawmill in the Cuyamaca Mountains. At this point the Indians were still in residence and hostile to intruders and drove him out (Bloomquist 1966; Olvera 1873). By the early mid-1850s, however, large numbers of natives no longer resided in the Cuyamaca region and ranchers began to graze their livestock and settle there unopposed. In 1854, James Lassator became the first non-native to settle in Eastern Kumeyaay territory when he established a ranch along the Overland Trail at Vallecito. From February to August 1856, Carlos Eschrich lived in a tent at the abandoned mountain village of Pamauama (Pam-mum-Am-wah) at Mitaragui in present-day Green Valley (Eschrich 1871:60-65; Bloomquist 1966:23). The following year James Lassator, and his son-in-law John Mulkins took up 160 acres in Green Valley. They purchased the land from the few local Native Americans still in the area, which included the abandoned village of Mitaragui, and built a stone house there (Bloomquist 1966; Mulkins 1871).

During the 1850s and 60s, other settlers in addition to Lassator and Mulkins, began to use and reside in the Cuyamacas. In 1859 Moses Manassee, Julian Machado, Trinidad Rodriguez, and several others, lived in Guatay



Figure 22: Jack Normal at Cuyamaca before the damming of the lake with a load of wild grass hay (courtesy Garry McClintock and Granny Martin)

Valley at present-day Descanso (McCoy 1871, Exhibit 20; Bloomquist 1966:23).

Around 1857 a man named Eugene Stockton, who also went by the name of Eugene Edmonds, cut hay in Cuyamaca Valley and sold it to the Overland Mail Company in the same manner as Lassator and Mulkins. He resided there at least through January of 1861. At that time there was no livestock grazing in the valley to interfere with his haying operations. Stockton farmed two locations. He had a house and hay camp on the north side of the base of "third peak" in a small valley with a "cienega" or meadow in it. This place may also have been known as the Pinery. Stockton also grew hay in the Cuyamaca Valley at a location later known Tally's. He had a second house about a mile south of Cuyamaca Lake (then known as Laguna que se Seca) on a site later known as Skidmore's, near the Stonewall Mine. In 1861 James Gray, John Mayo, and John Baker lived near Stockton's house in Cuyamaca Valley (McCoy 1871, Exhibit 20; McKinstry 1871, Exhibit 23; Machado 1871, Exhibit 26; Swycaffer 1871:55; Eschrich 1871:60-65) (Figure 22).

Clearly by the mid-1850s and early 1860's the Eastern Kumeyaay no longer occupied the Cuyamaca Mountains in great numbers and non-native settlers were able to settle there unopposed. The documentation of abandoned villages at this time suggests the natives may have suffered a dramatic population decline during this time and left the area to join other Eastern Kumeyaay settlements in the Laguna Mountains and further south in the Campo and Jacumba region. During this period the Indians at Laguna built permanent housing that would enable them to stay year-round in the mountains to protect their traditional lands (Lucas 2000).

Following the American Civil War ranchers and homesteaders moved into the Laguna, Campo, and Jacumba areas. These valleys had been named and were still occupied by the Kumeyaay Indians. The Gaskill brothers settled in Milquatay Valley at Campo, the McCains homesteaded a ranch north of Campo in what is now McCain Valley, and was the location of the native village of Sacatoon, and Peter Larkin occupied Jacumba. By 1870 there were 25 family groups in the Milquatay Valley. The influx of settlers had a dramatic effect on the natives, and brought a relationship of turbulent coexistence between local natives and Anglo-American settlers for approximately 20 years, ultimately ending with the Indians' confinement on numerous small reservations (Van Wormer 1986b).



Within twelve years after the first American homesteader settled in the Campo – Jacumba area in 1868, a significant portion of the native population had been reduced to a state of destitution and in need of charity, because white settlers had utilized most of their lands for livestock grazing. In the fall of 1880, as winter once again drew near, a segment of the local white population became concerned. The outrage of one citizen (Rufus K. Porter of Spring Valley) was clearly expressed in the following letter to the *San Diego Union*:

Would it not be well through your columns, if possible, to call attention of the "Indian Agent" or of the proper authorities at Washington . . . to the condition of the Indians living at Conejo and many of the little villages in the vicinity of Campo? . . . the acorn crop has failed, water has been scarce the whole year, so that hardly anything in the way of corn or beans could be produced by the Indians. . . . there ought to be something done for the relief of the poor Indian. Can we not hear from the Indian Agent? (*San Diego Union* 11-12-1880:4).

Increasingly, demands were made for the Indian agent to resolve the problem. A letter from Campo in March of 1880 had stated: "We have heard that there is an Indian agent somewhere in San Bernardino but he does not appear to be aware of any Indians on this side of the county line" (*San Diego Union* 3-18-1880:4). Indian agent S.S. Lawson was apparently concerned with only former Mission Indians for whom a few reservations had recently been created. In his opinion, the native inhabitants of present-day southeastern San Diego County were not the responsibility of the United States Government and belonged to Mexico. In 1881, Lawson claimed that Indians living along the Colorado Desert were a "renegade class" unconnected with the Mission Indians (*San Diego Union* 6-17-1880:4; Lawson 1881:14).

The government continued to neglect the Eastern Kumeyaay, who were overshadowed by negotiations attendant to the former Mission Indians. In 1882, the government commissioned Helen Hunt Jackson and Abbott Kinney to ascertain whether land could be found for enlarging reservations used by Mission Indians as well as provide reservations for those Indians who had none. Still, Jackson and Kinney ignored the natives residing along the Colorado Desert and Mexican border in their subsequent investigation and report (Price 1884:xxxvii; Jackson and Kinney 1888). It was not until 1888 that the Mission Indian Agency recognized these neglected

groups. In that year they were included on the agency's census as "Diegueno," with a population of 150 (Preston 1888).

When the Mission Agency accepted responsibility for these natives, a pathway was opened for the Eastern Kumeyaay to become established on reservations. The agency hoped that the creation of reservations would give the natives a base from which they could support themselves. In 1891, the government made a second investigation concerning the need of relief for San Diego County Indians. As a result, the natives of southeastern San Diego County were established on the reservations of Manzanita, Campo, Laguna, Cuyapaibe, and La Posta (Morgan 1891:47; Estudillo 1893:26; San Diego County Board of Supervisors 1932:36).

The penetration of Eastern Kumeyaay territory by American ranchers had resulted in a drastic alteration of their aboriginal lifestyle. White settlement reduced native mobility and provided tempting herds of livestock, resulting in outbreaks of violence, starvation, and finally a dependency on charity and placement of the natives on reservations.

The establishment of reservations in southeastern San Diego County in 1893 gave the native inhabitants of that region legal equality with former Mission Indians. However, the reservations of La Posta, Cuyapaibe, Laguna, Manzanita and Campo have stood apart from other San Diego County reservations by their impoverished condition. Although conditions on most Indian reservations have been poor, when compared to Anglo-American society, except for a brief period in the late 1930s and early 1940s, these reservations have always been considered the poorest in the County (Van Wormer 1986b). Hopefully, with the recent establishment of Indian gaming in California and the construction of the Golden Acorn Casino at Campo Indian Reservation, these conditions may improve.

In conclusion, the establishment of ranching in southeastern San Diego County forced the Native Americans of that region off their traditional lands and brought their confinement on small reservations where they have generally been subject to a life of poverty. It was their displacement from their native home lands that allowed the ranching industry to flourish.

## 2. Cuyamaca, Vallecito, and Ranches along the Western Edge of the Colorado Desert

Rancho Cuyamaca, a grant of 8 square leagues (35,501,32 acres) was granted to Augustine Olvera on August 11, 1845, slightly less than a year before U.S. military troops occupied San Diego on July 29, 1846 (Rush 1965; Martin 1971; Hughes 1975). Although Olvera took possession of and minimally surveyed the grant in the spring of 1846 he had no time to develop the ranch prior to the American conquest that followed just a few months later (Martin 1971).

Around 1847 or '48, Olvera's agent, Ceserio Walker, set up camp on the Cuyamaca Grant at Mataragui to begin lumbering operations. He intended to construct a water-powered sawmill. Still aggressive toward outsiders, the local Eastern Kumeyaay made their dislike of the intruders known and "being afraid of the Indians, who made a revolution . . . [Walker] abandoned the place." The Indians also destroyed Walker's adobe house (Bloomquist 1966).

Olvera never occupied his Cuyamaca property and had no other activities on the grant after Walker's attempt at timber cutting. However, he did permit other ranchers to graze stock on his unfenced land. The reliability of the meadowlands of the Cuyamacas became famous in southern California during the later part of the 19<sup>th</sup> century, and in dry years cattle and sheep were driven from as far north as Los Angeles. Cowboys on the long drives from Texas to the California Gold Fields would sometimes pause to rest and fatten their stock in the lush highland valleys (Bloomquist 1966). From February to August 1856, Carlos Eschrich lived in a tent at the abandoned Indian village Pamauama (Pam-mum-Am-wah ) at Mataragui also known as Cañada Verde or Green Valley (Eschrich 1871:60-65; Bloomquist 1966:23).

The earliest permanent Anglo-American settler in the Cuyamaca Mountains as well as on the western edge of the Colorado Desert was James Lassator. His houses in the mountains at Green Valley and at on the edge of the desert at Vallecito were on an ancient Native American trail that ran from the Colorado River via the Carrizo Corridor and over the Cuyamacas to the coast villages of San Diego. Sections of these trails later became portions of the Southern Overland Trail and Lassator established a ranch in the mountains to provide feed and livestock for travelers and overland stage lines using these routes. Lassator and his stepsons, Andrew and John Mulkins, first

settled at Vallecito in 1854. They soon learned of the trail from Vallecito to Cañada Verde, or Green Valley as it came to be called by the Americans, from Indians who annually traversed Oriflame Canyon to harvest the acorns from Cuyamaca's oak forest. Between 1854 and 1857, military couriers taking mail between San Diego and Fort Yuma used the route. Between Green Valley and San Diego the road roughly paralleled Highways 79 and 80 (Rensch 1957a, 1957b; Bloomquist 1966:21).

In 1857, a year after Eschrich had lived there in a tent at the abandoned rancheria of Pamauama, Lassator and John Mulkins took up 160 acres of land in Green Valley. They purchased the land from the local Native Americans, which included the abandoned Indian rancheria of Mitaragui, and built a stone ranch house near the junction of Cold Stream and the Sweetwater River, the first permanent building in the Cuyamaca Mountains. Lassator and his family may have run stock there prior to that date (Bloomquist 1966; Mulkins 1871). James Lassator lived there with his wife Sarah and their children. His stepsons, James and Andrew Mulkins, continued to reside at and manage Vallecito. Lassator was appointed Judge of the Plains for Agua Caliente Township by the San Diego County Board of Supervisors. Green Valley became the scene of annual rodeos, when as many as 1,000 head of cattle were gathered up annually from the open ranges of the mountains. Green Valley provided pasture when other areas in the region on the coast and in the desert were parched with drought. Hay was cut in Green Valley and sent to Vallecito and Carrizo for the use of immigrants and the Overland Mail companies (Rensch 1957a; 1957b; Wray 2000, 2004).

In 1857 Vallecito and Lassator's Green Valley ranch became important stops on the San Antonio and San Diego Overland Mail line. The mail was forwarded to San Diego by mule trail via the hay road Lassator used from Vallecito to Green Valley. Passengers who wished to continue the entire way by coach continued northward by way of San Felipe and Warner's Ranch (Rensch 1957a; 1957b).

Traveling eastward in 1858, Charles F. Running, correspondent for the *San Francisco Chronicle*, rode the stage to Lassator's ranch at Green Valley and then traveled by mule down Oriflame Canyon to Vallecito on the desert.<sup>xiv</sup> The first day "We made twenty-one miles that p.m. and stopped at Ames Ranch. For supper we had jerked beef, tea, and algunas tortillas mal hechas (some badly made tortillas). Our landlady was an Indian woman." The next day they journeyed another

twenty-seven miles to Lassator's, where they arrived late at night and "slept in low hut with fire in the middle, Indian fashion. Had a good supper and breakfast – fresh butter, bread, mutton, coffee" (Running 1858).

Here they left the stages and "rode on horseback" for eighteen miles, "three of which were over snow, and we had a very steep hill to go down. The country is very hilly and almost destitute of vegetation. . . ." Upon reaching Vallecito in the evening they slept in the sod house built there by James Lassator in 1854, "on a hard dirt floor and had a tolerably good supper in the shape of 'ragout,' good coffee and butter. Here we met passengers coming from the other end of the route, five in number; they complained very much and had had a very hard time of it. I thought it a pity for one was a newly married lady, and I thought it must have been a rather dangerous honeymoon. However, she was fat and hearty and had got along better than any of the men" (Running 1858).

During the 1850s and 60s other settlers, in addition to Lassator and Mulkins began to use the Cuyamacas. In 1859 Moses Manassee, Julian Machado, Trinidad Rodriguez, and several others, lived in Guatay Valley at present day Descanso. William Williams then lived at Valle de las Viejas where he had a gristmill and raised wheat (McCoy 1871, Exhibit 20; Bloomquist 1966:23).

Around 1857 a man named Eugene Stockman, who also went by the name of Eugene Edmonds cut hay in Cuyamaca Valley and sold it to the Overland Mail Company in the same manner as Lassator and Mulkins. He resided there at least through January of 1861. At that time there was no livestock grazing in the valley to interfere with his haying operations. Stockton farmed two locations. He had a house and hay camp on the north side of the base of "third peak" in a small valley with a "cienega" or meadow in it. This place may also have been known as the Pinery. Stockton grew hay in the Cuyamaca Valley at a location later known Tally's. He had a second house about a mile south of Cuyamaca Lake (then known as Laguna que se Seca) on a site later known as Skidmore's, near the Stonewall mine. In 1861 James Gray, John Mayo, and John Baker lived near Stockton's house in Cuyamaca Valley (McCoy 1871, Exhibit 20; McKinsty 1871, Exhibit 23; Swycaffer 1871:55; Machado 1871, Exhibit 26; McIntyre 1872: 154-158; Eschrich 1871:60-65).

Beginning in the 1850s, Cuyamaca Rancho and the surrounding area was intensively used as summer pastures for sheep and cattle. In 1856 Carlos Eschrich left Green Valley where he had

resided in a tent for the summer and moved to a location north of Cuyamaca called Assaya by the Indians on a portion of a tract known as San Luís. It was about a mile from where the mining town of Julian would be established, and seven miles from Santa Ysabel Rancho where he built an adobe house. Approximately three fourths of a mile northeasterly from his house, Eschrich constructed corrals. He raised cattle, horses, and sheep.

In 1856 Olvera asked Francisco O'Campo to occupy Cuyamaca with cattle in order to validate his claim to the grant. In 1860 Eschrich moved to Santa Ysabel and left the house and corrals to O'Campo. Francisco O'Campo grazed around 2,000 head of cattle and three to five hundred horses in the mountains. He lived in Eschrich's adobe house and built another of logs for his ranch hands. He may also have had a corral at Laguna (Eschrich 1871:60-65; McIntyre 1872: 154-158; O'Campo 1870:158; Stone 1870).

The cattle roamed freely and were collected every spring at rodeos. O'Campo held them regularly and they were also held at Guatay and Green Valley. In 1858 over a thousand head were rounded up and brought to Green Valley for a rodeo sponsored by J.R. Lassator, Francisco O'Campo, W.W. Ware, Julian Sandoval, José Antonio Serrano, Jesus Machado, and Joseph Manasse (Manasse 1871:65-66; Eschrich 1871:60-65; McIntyre 1872: 154-158; O'Campo 1870:158). In 1859 or '60 around five to six hundred head were collected for a rodeo at Guatay (Swycaffer 1871:55).

Cattle continued to be an important livestock in the Cuyamacas. The following testimony from a land case contesting the boundaries of the Cuyamaca grant provide evidence to the extent that cattle occupied the country in the early 1870s:

During the present year, Robert Kelly and myself had a camp for cattle purposes at a place about two miles southward from the Laguna que se Seca. In the month of May of the present year we took there to graze a quantity of cattle of Francis Hinton (now deceased); we kept them there till July last then moved then northward completely out of Cuyamaca Valley and towards Santa Ysabel (Smith 1871, Exhibit 21).

I have kept cattle and horses as well as sheep (on Cuyamaca) (Manasse 1871, Exhibit 26).

My age is twenty five. I am well acquainted with the tract known as Cuyamaca. I have been on it very often since I was 12 years of age. I was in the habit of going there when young with my father, Julian Ames, who kept his stock in that neighborhood. Last year I kept here some stock of my own. Last year Col. Cave J. Coutts had about 300 head of cattle at the Laguna on the east side of the tract and in the sierra of Jacupin (or Agua Caliente). Kelly kept about 2,000 head of cattle in and immediately around Cuyamaca Valley. Hollister had

some 4,000 head of sheep near Green Valley . . . , Jesus Machado kept some sheep on the Mesa of Huacupin and on the same mesa other persons had several thousand head. . . . About 2,000 head of cattle with horse stock were grazed last summer in Cuyamaca Valley (Ames 1871, Exhibit 26).

Sheep were also important in Cuyamaca and the Laguna Mountains. Thousands of head were grazed at Cuyamaca in the summer during the sheep boom of the 1860s and 1870s. Testimony from the Cuyamaca grant boundary case also provides evidence for the importance of these livestock in the region:

Since 1859 and for several years, I have at times kept my sheep as follows: At Samatagume, on mesa of Huacupin, at Valle de los Pinos, around the Laguna in the Agua Caliente of Jacupin mountain, in Rattlesnake Valley, and around Green Valley. In 1868 I had about six thousand sheep at the Laguna and the adjacent range; this range is very extensive and abounding in grass and water, whether for sheep or cattle (McCoy 1871, Exhibit 20).

Hollister had some 4,000 head of sheep near Green Valley . . . , Jesus Machado kept some sheep on the Mesa of Huacupin and on the same mesa other persons had several thousand head (Ames 1871, Exhibit 26).

Last year I was in charge of about one thousand head of sheep belonging to Don Jesus Machado, of San Diego; we kept them through the whole summer on the mesa of Huacupin. During the same time one American kept there some four thousand head of sheep. Frank Stone, Pancho Ames, and Jesus Machado, during the same summer, kept a large number of horses there (Romero 1871:32-34).

James McCoy, late Sheriff of San Diego County, in 1860 and 1861, grazed his sheep all over the mountains, on the lands ranging from Santa Ysabel rancho and Julian and the neighborhood of Eschrichs's house toward the third Cuyamaca peak (McIntyre 1872:154-158).

Thus, throughout the 1850s and '60s, the Cuyamaca region had become settled by livestock men. Most grazed their herds and flocks there seasonally but many had come to live there year round. In 1870 James Mulkins described the following people living in the area or using the Cuyamaca and surrounding areas:

José Antonio Espinosa lives at Samatagume. Between that place and Guatay Valley live two other Spanish families; at Guatay Valley live Richard Siddles and Juan Pablo Sandoval; at little Guatay is Peter Willetts and family. On the west side of mesa of Huacupin are five small Indian planting grounds on some little mesas, about two miles from my house . . .

The mesa of Huacupin has good land and water. It is best for sheep; there are several thousand sheep upon it this year, some belonging to Major Utt. . . . From my house across the mesa of Huacupin to Laguna in the Sierra of Jacupin the distance is about eight miles . . .

Laguna always has plenty of water and grass. The whole Sierra de Jacupin abounds with grass, water, and timber. Since 1856 there have been sheep kept around the Laguna. James McCoy kept sheep there.

Francisco Ames has kept horses on the mesa of Jacupin several years. Nearly every year old Julian Sandoval (who lived in Guatay Valley) kept his horse on the mesa.

Samuel Ames has been in these mountains off and on every year. Samuel Ames kept cattle with me on shares; he speaks the Indian language.

I know Robert Allison, understood to be one of the proprietors of the Cuyamaca Grant. I know Dr. Harper, who now has two fields and a house two and one half miles below mine, on the main road from Guatay Valley. Allison and Harper are brother's-in-law. From my house it is about four miles by the main road to the sawmill of Alison upon the first Cuyamaca ridge. . .

Cuyamaca Valley must have more than a league of good grazing land. Dolores Sepulveda was of Los Angeles County; he grazed cattle and horses there about 1864-65. Robert Kelley, John Forster and others now have cattle there (Mulkins 1871, Exhibit 18).

Another source of information on early settlers in the Cuyamacas is Tax Assessment Rolls. In addition to parties already discussed the following individuals are listed as either residing or having stock in the Cuyamaca area between 1854 and 1872: José Clowdy (1860), Green Valley; William James (1862), Green Valley; William James and John Place (1863, 1867), Green Valley; W.C. Greenwood (1867) Green Valley; William J. Kolb (1867), Green Valley; Charles Smith (1867) Green Valley; William Bunch and Turner Helm (1868) Green Valley; A.W. Lukett – Lukett's Station (1868, 1869, 1872-73), Green Valley; Frank Adran (1869), Green Valley; William L. Edgar (1869), Green Valley; Robert Allison (1872-73), undivided interest in Rancho Cuyamaca; Isaac Dean (1872-73), Cuyamaca Valley; W.H. Greenwood (1872-73), Cuyamaca Mountain; Mitchell & Dickman (1872-73), Green Valley; N.M Sorrells (1872-23), Cuyamaca Valley; and H.E. Taver (1872-72), three miles north of Green Ranch. <sup>xv</sup>

#### **a. Cuyamaca Land Grant Trial**

During the 1850s and '60s Augustine Olvera found himself defending his right to Rancho Cuyamaca before the Land Commission. Like most of his Mexican California countrymen, he found the ordeal to be a great financial burden (Bloomquist 1966:23). In 1850 the Land Commission rejected Olvera's claim citing insufficient evidence. In 1858 the case was reheard on appeal, the claim was upheld, and the grant eventually confirmed. In 1869, Olvera sold the land to various people. He gave one third to Isaac Hatman in April 1869, for legal services the latter had rendered. In July 1869 he sold the remaining two thirds to Samuel Stewart for twenty thousand dollars. Stewart then conveyed one half of his two thirds to Allison for eleven thousand dollars and



one quarter to John Treat for six thousand dollars. He later sold the remaining one fourth to Alison and Luco jointly for five thousand dollars (Martin 1971). The following year gold was discovered in the Julian area north of Cuyamaca. In May 1870, the owners of the ranch claimed that their northern boundary encompassed the area of the Julian mines and demanded royalties from the miners. The rancho owners based their claim on descriptions written by Ortega in 1846 stating that the northern edge of the ranch bordered around or was in the vicinity of Rancho Santa Ysabel. A survey by James Pascoe, dated June 9, was based on the 1846 description by Ortega and showed the mining district within the Cuyamaca Rancho boundaries (Martin 1971; Bloomquist 1966).

In late July C.J. Fox completed another survey map. He based his measurements on a Mexican period *diseño*, or sketch map, of the ranch. His results conclusively showed that the mining district was situated around five miles north of the Cuyamaca Grant. After several years in the courts the Pascoe survey was rejected in November 1873 and the Fox survey confirmed (Martin 1971). As surveyed, the grant contained 35,501.32 acres and included North Peak and all of Cuyamaca Valley to the north, Rattlesnake Valley to the east, and Guatay or Descanso Valley and part of Samagatuma Valley to the south. The current area of Cuyamaca Rancho State Park is only a portion of the original tract. In 1966 it included 20,735 acres (Bloomquist 1966).

#### **b. Formation of Cuyamaca Rancho State Park**

During the closing years of the 19<sup>th</sup> century cattle continued to graze on the Cuyamaca. In 1879 the grant was subdivided into fourteen parcels that were distributed among ten owners: Wallace Leach, John Treat, Robert Allison, Juan Luco, Eli Harper, and John Mulkins in addition to four others. Pastures in the mountains were still used as summer grazing lands. In the spring of 1896, three large herds numbering over a thousand cattle each were driven from Rancho Santa Margarita, at present-day Marine Corps Camp Pendelton, to Cuyamaca Rancho (*San Diego Union* 5-25-1896).

The rancho became best known as the location of Stonewall mine, which began operation in 1871. In 1886 former California Governor Robert Whitney Waterman purchased the mine and 26,000 acres of the ranch. This parcel would eventually become Cuyamaca Rancho State Park. Waterman developed the Stonewall, which produced over \$900,000 in gold between 1888 and 1891. In 1903 the Sather Banking Company acquired the property and reworked the tailings with cyanide (Figure 23). When the mine closed for good in 1908, it had produced around \$2,000,000. In 1917 Colonel

A.G. Gassen of San Diego acquired the property. Six years later, in 1923, he sold the land to Ralph M. Dyer, who built a large two-story house of native stone. In March 1933 the Dyer family donated one half of the appraised value of the land to the state of California, allowing for the creation of

Cuyamaca Rancho State Park (Bloomquist 1966:30).



Figure 23: Stonewall Mine, 1915 (courtesy California State Parks Photographic Archives)

As a condition of acquisition, livestock grazing rights were allowed to continue within Cuyamaca State Park following its establishment.

George McCain and Bert Moore ran cattle on Cuyamaca under lease

prior to and during Dyer’s ownership and Bert Moore ran cattle under lease with the State Park. Harvey Moore, who had cowboeyed and managed the ranch and cattle under Dyer since 1925, managed the State Park grazing leases after 1933. As Wes Cater, Cuyamaca park ranger in the 1950s and 60s, said in a recent interview “Harvey came with the park...he was always a cattle man” (Cater 2008). Harvey lived in one of the Dyer outbuildings that he moved up to the Cuyamaca Lake area (where Marty Minshall lived in later years) and ran a few cattle on that property. Cater recalls that cattleman Ralph Jasper had cattle throughout the park (Figure 24) and that a major component of the ranger’s duty in those days was mending fences. There were fences along the roads and surrounding all park use areas. Many of the downed barbed wire of these fence lines is still regularly encountered in the field. Prior to 1951 Mr. Ralph Jasper had been granted a five-year grazing concession at Cuyamaca Rancho State Park. He canceled his agreement that year. In 1952 high bidder Mr. Hans Starr won a four-year grazing lease. Three hundred cattle grazed within the

park in 1956. Harvey Moore recalls that under the leases at this time the park was severely overgrazed. “They worked the cattle into the park and they grazed this thing off so close that the cattle ate the leaves off the cherry trees” (Moore 1974). The cattle congregated in meadows and near springs and streams. This discouraged visitors from entering or lingering in these areas, which were some of the most appealing parts of the park.

In the 1950s the conflict between grazing and other park needs came to a head. By this time grazing was seen as incompatible with the purposes for which the park was established: To preserve outstanding examples of



Figure 24: Ralph Benton, Auntie McCoy, and Ralph Jasper branding cattle in 1927. The brand is Campo Cattle Company (Garry McClintock and Granny Martin)

California's scenic heritage in a natural condition. At Cuyamaca studies had shown that cattle grazing was damaging to physical and esthetic elements and interfered with public use of the park. Following the Starr lease, grazing was to be permanently discontinued in the park. All grazing ceased in the park in July 1957, following a decision by the State Park Commission (Bloomquist 1966 b: 11-16).

### c. Tulloch - Sawday's Cuyamaca Ranch and the Lucky 5 Ranch

The discontinuance of grazing within Cuyamaca Rancho State Park did not stop all livestock ranching in the area. Two private parcels held by the Sawday and Luckman - Daley families continued to be used as summer time pastures. Sawday's Cuyamaca Ranch, now known as the Tulloch Ranch, consisted of 2,100 acres at the northern end of Cuyamaca Lake. George Sawday purchased the property in 1943 and it became part of his vast San Diego County cattle empire. The Cuyamaca pasture was used in conjunction with Sawday's San Felipe ranch. Herds that wintered at San Felipe were driven up Chariot Canyon to Cuyamaca in the spring. From here some might be

driven further south down Sunrise Highway to pastures Sawday controlled in the Lagunas (Tulloch 2002). In recent years the Nature Conservancy acquired the ranch and it is now a part of Anza-Borrego Desert State Park (*San Diego Union* 1-29-2002).

The Lucky Five Ranch consists of approximately 2,200 acres on the east side of Cuyamaca



Figure 25: Eli Harper (courtesy Julian Pioneer Museum)

Reservoir. It borders Tulloch Ranch along its northern edge. This tract was originally known as the Harper Ranch and settled in the 1870s or early '80s by Dr. Eli A. Harper (Figure 25). The following history is taken largely from a study by Phil Brigandi (1995).

Dr. Harper had settled in San Diego with his family in 1868. His brother-in-law, Robert Allison, was one of the partners who had purchased Rancho Cuyamaca from Olvera and attempted to "float" the rancho's boundaries to include the Julian Mining District. Allison's involvement in the area brought Dr. Harper to the mountains and by 1870 he had a house and fields south of Green Valley (Brigandi 1995).

By 1885 Eli Harper and his sons had established a new ranch in Rattlesnake Valley, where the Lucky 5 Ranch is now located (Figure 26). As was the usual practice, the Harpers used their Cuyamaca pastures for summer grazing and wintered their stock on the desert. In 1899 they filed a water claim at Harper's Well situated in "the second large canyon" between Carrizo Creek and Palm Spring. The Harpers may be best known for the

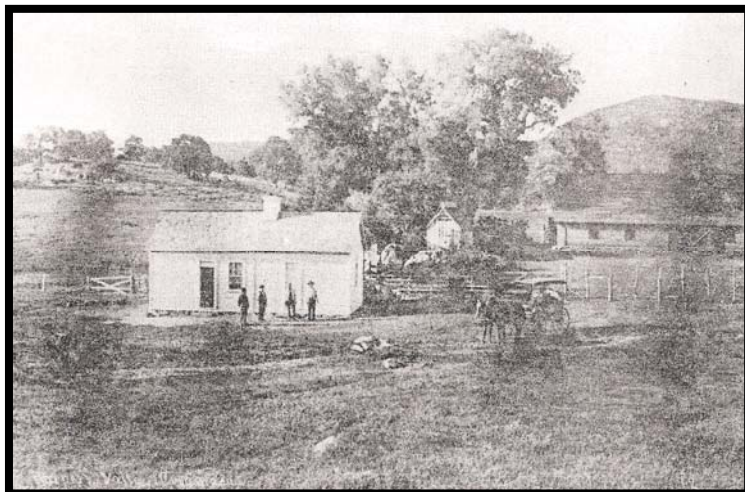


Figure 26: Harper Ranch, 1890 (courtesy San Diego Historical Society)

construction of two concrete dams intended to retain water for cattle at Harper Flats above Earthquake Valley. The Harpers ran between 800 and 1000 head of cattle. By the early '30s, the size of the herds had been reduced to around 300 head. In 1940 the Harpers sold the ranch to Charles Luckman (Brigandi 1995).

The Luckmans lived primarily in Boston and a foreman, Ray Anderson along with his wife Marian, managed the ranch. They continued to run between 400 and 500 head of cattle. The Luckman family would spend summers on the ranch and Mr. Luckman added on to the original Harper Ranch house, creating an elegant large ranch house and swimming pool for their use. Charles Luckman received a grazing concession from Anza Borrego State Park and his cattle wintered in the Mason Valley and Box Canyon areas. In 1954 Luckman sold the ranch to George Daley who owned Rancho Jamul. Daley continued to use the tract as a cattle ranch and had grazing concessions in Oriflame Canyon, Rodriguez Canyon, Mason Valley and Box Canyon. In 2002 the Lucky 5 Ranch was acquired by Anza Borrego State Park (Luckman 2003; Brigandi 1995:247-249).

Ownership of the Tulloch and Lucky 5 Ranches by the Nature Conservancy and California State Parks has ended over 100 years of livestock grazing on these acreages. They are now part of a growing network of protected open spaces that connect Cuyamaca Rancho and Anza Borrego State Parks (*San Diego Union* 1-29-2002).

#### **d. Vallecito – Mason Valley**

Although connected to Rancho Cuyamaca in their historical development, Vallecito and Mason Valleys followed a different historical evolution than the mountain pastures in Laguna and Cuyamaca. Much of the following has been taken from Brigandi's 1995 study.

While prospecting in Arizona in 1863, James Lassator was murdered and the Vallecito and Green Valley ranches became the property of John Mulkins (Rensche 1957b; Brigandi 1995; Wray 2004). In 1871, regarding Green Valley in Cuyamaca, Mulkins declared: "My improvements, besides said house, and out-houses, consists of a garden and other grounds enclosed, of about 20 acres, around my dwelling and a barley field of about 20 acres, at the distance of three fourths of a mile up a little cañada, leading from the dwelling (Mitaragui) . . ." (Mulkins 1871).

Shortly thereafter John Heart purchased the old Vallecito Station and ran it with his wife. Several short-lived stage lines running from Los Angeles and San Bernardino to Arizona used Vallecito, as well as most of the other old overland mail stations. In September 1867 the *San Bernardino Guardian* commented:

Vallecito is an old government reserve, but now a mail station and a resting place for weary travelers, the hospitality of which is ably and gracefully administered by a lady well worthy the confidence and support of the traveling community (quoted in Brigandi 1995:174).

John Hart died in 1867. A few months later his widow married John C. Wilson, a stage driver. He was probably a brother of the Henry Wilson who then ran the station at Carrizo. The completion of the Southern Pacific Railroad between Los Angeles and Yuma in 1877 marked the end of the use of the Southern Emigrant Trail. Hart's widow abandoned the station and sometime in the late 70's Charles Ayres, a former postmaster at Warner's Ranch (1870 – 1875), and his family settled at Vallecito, where he raised cattle and mules (Brigandi 1995).

Around 1878 James E. Mason visited the area on a prospecting trip. He soon settled at Vallecito and may have originally lived with the Ayers. Mason kept cattle, running his together with Ayers' livestock. In 1879 Mason filed a homestead claim on 160 acres that included the stage station. He received a patent for the land on November 1, 1884 (Brigandi 1995). A year later, Charles Ayres abandoned his wife and children, and left the state. His wife, Jesusa Ayres, obtained a divorce in 1888, and then married James Mason. They had at least two children of their own, Jessie and Ed (Brigandi 1995).

That same year the Masons sold their Vallecito homestead to San Diego lawyer Christian F. Holland, who had represented Jesusa in her divorce from Charles Ayers. A few years later he acquired an additional 640 acres in the center of the valley. Holland was not a rancher and did not keep cattle at Vallecito. He rented the property to area ranchers. From 1907 through 1931 it was leased to the Campo Cattle Company for \$750 a year. They used the area for winter pasture and ran as many as 1,000 head at Vallecito (Brigandi 1995).

In 1934 Holland deeded six acres, along with the dilapidated old stage station (Figure 27), to the County of San Diego, paving the way for the creation of Vallecito County Park. With funds from

the county and the S.E.R.A. (State Emergency Relief Agency), the old stage station was

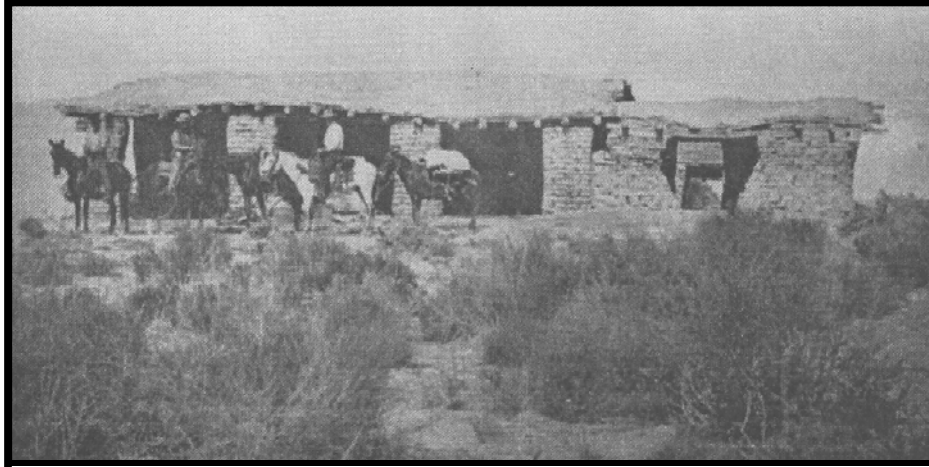


Figure 27: Campo Cattle Co. at Vallecito, 1910 (courtesy Garry McClintock and Granny Martin)

reconstructed under the supervision of nearby rancher Everett Campbell. Bob Crawford who was ranching in Canebrake Canyon was hired as caretaker at \$20 a month (Brigandi 1995).

About a mile to the south of Vallecito stage station

is the Olin Bailey homestead site. Olin Bailey of Julian took up this homestead around 1900. He came to control 640 acres in the valley and ran cattle on his land. Bailey eventually left but the cabin was used by cattlemen including Granny Martin (Figure 28), who lived there while managing cattle for the Campo Cattle Company (Woodson 2001). The remains of this house still stand at Vallecito (Brigandi 1995:178).

After the Masons sold their Vallecito homestead in 1888, the family moved to the next valley north of Vallecito, which is known today as Mason Valley. James filed a preemption claim for 160 acres near the canyon between the two valleys. Holland was one of the witnesses when he proved up in 1890. Jesusa Mason filed her own claim for 160 acres at the lower end of Mason Valley, and a patent was issued to her

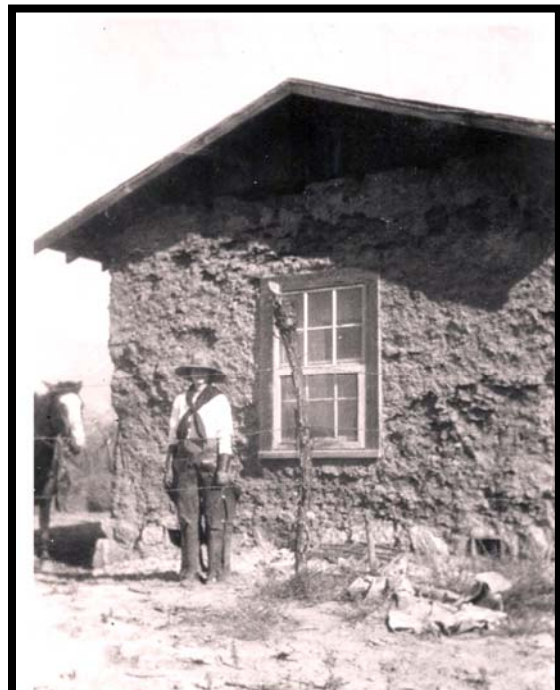


Figure 28: Mollie Martin at Bailey Cabin “Headin’ to Carrizo to check on cattle” (courtesy Granny Martin and Garry McClintock)

in December, 1890. The Masons built a new adobe home back in a little cove at the southeast end of the valley near a large spring (Figure 29). This spot had been known as El Puerto during the Gold Rush and had been a favorite camping spot on the overland trail (Brigandi 1995).

James Mason continued to run cattle. By 1889 he had 300 head (*Julian Sentinel* 9-27-1889). Mason also sometimes rented out his land to other cattlemen, and for a fee would tend their stock for them. In 1905 he leased the ranch to some men from San Pasqual, and in 1906 he tended cattle for Fred Grand. Sometime after 1905 Jesusa Cariaga Ayres Mason died, and was buried there at their home site. Desert artist John Hilton saw it in 1939, and noted, "A wooden fence that once

surrounded the grave has been broken down by range cattle."



Figure 29: Mason Homestead (courtesy San Diego Historical Society)

James Mason later moved to Banner where he worked in the mines. Eventually he moved to Los Angeles. He died in Glendale in the early 1930s. George McCain later acquired the Mason properties, which he willed to his daughter, Lena, who with her husband Everett Campbell established the Campbell Ranch in the northern portion of Vallecito Valley (Brigandi 1995).

### e. Campbell Ranch

The following history of Campbell Ranch is taken directly from Phil Brigandi's 1995 study.

For more than 40 years the Campbell Ranch was one of the best-known stopping places on the western edge of the Anza Borrego Desert. Everett and Lena Campbell first settled there in the spring of 1916, and built up a successful desert ranch. "The business of the Campbells is cattle raising," author Marshal South reported in 1939. "It is a romantic enough job, but it is also hard work."



Everett Campbell had been born in Colorado in 1886, and grew up working with cattle. He was educated as a chemist and worked for the Imperial Irrigation District and Savage Tire Company. Lena Campbell was the daughter of George McCain of McCain Valley near Campo. Her grandfather George W. McCain had originally homesteaded that area in the late 1860s. Everett Campbell saw how he could develop a water supply to the uppermost end of Vallecito Valley, so resigned his job as a chemist "and embarked upon the hazardous occupation of desert ranching. On the 17<sup>th</sup> of March 1916, the Campbells settled in their present location and broke ground for their home" (South 1939) (Figure 30).

Campbell dug out a spring and installed a pipe down to his home. He also diverted water from Mason Valley down to this new ranch. In 1918 a USGS geologist reported: "The owners have a dam across a canyon between Mason and Vallecito valleys and divert water through a pipe line for the irrigation of a small area. Water for domestic use is obtained at a spring west of the ranch house" (Brigandi 1995).

Lena Campbell's cousin, Lester Hook, lived on the ranch for five years. "He had a lot of water," he remembered, "and he had lots of alfalfa and we raised a little bit of everything. Had maybe some Capricorn, or sometimes maybe that Sudan Grass. The lower end of the stream comes out of Mason Valley then comes in around in a ditch, and then down into the reservoir. So we had lots of water there to raise lots of alfalfa. Of course the weather was warmer and it was earlier to cut than here" (in the mountains).

Marshal South claimed that it cost \$10,000 for Campbell to install a 10" pipe down to the reservoir on his ranch, and by 1939, "Lush alfalfa fields, dotted with sleek, grazing cattle, were found below the reservoir."

Originally, the Campbells ran a dairy ranch, and hauled sour cream to Julian twice a week to ship to San Diego. When their daughter, Orva, got old enough, she hauled cream as she drove back and fourth to attend Julian Union High School. Then, in 1933, Everett broke his leg. Lena was unable to keep up the milking on her own while he was recuperating, so they traded their dairy stock to the Santa Ysabel Dairy for Herefords and went into raising beef and veal. Unlike some ranchers,

Campbell ran a little of everything over the years – Herefords, Brahmas, Durhams, even some wild Mexican cattle from Sonora.

Campbell lived in the desert and rented the Lucas Ranch on Mt. Laguna as a summer range. They drove cattle over the Laguna Trail up Storm Canyon to pasture them there out of the desert heat. In the fall the cattle went back to Vallecito.

As mentioned above, Lester Hook worked on Campbell Ranch between 1935 and



Figure 30: Campbell Ranch, 1937 (courtesy California State Parks Photographic Archives)

1940. He recalled the following:

I didn't work for wages there, I just worked and run cattle. I was there for about five years straight. . . . I'd get up, get the juice out of an old cow, have some breakfast, then go out, catch a horse, maybe make a 20 mile circuit, then come back at night. We both run cows together . . . from Vallecito, on up to Mason Valley and all.

I'll tell you about that trail (from Campbell Ranch to Lucas Ranch). The first cattle that ever went down there - long before my time - people name of Campbell, they owned the Laguna, and they had their cattle there. So they decided to take 'em down and winter 'em down to Vallecito. They were the first cattle that went down that trail. So anyway, dad was worken for Campbell's . . .

Then there was a trial up Oriflame - that's at the north end of Mason Valley there. They got a road up there now, but the old trail, they called it the Hay Road, I've had to take cattle up and down that, taking them up for Bert Moore, someplace on the Cuyamaca.

When they had the good rains, the beef was ready to go by June. And back in those days, we used to truck 'em out. We'd load 'em up there at Everett's, get 'em out before daylight, then get 'em up there into Mason Valley, up where that road goes, and I'd have to ride the back end of the truck. . . . We used to send 'em to National City, the beef and calves too, and sell them as veal, and sometimes we butchered them ourselves. . . . That was back in the Depression there, and we used to dress out our own veal and sell to Young's Market there in

San Diego . . . I think we were getting about \$15 a head, so that's pretty good . . . (Brigandi 1995).

Everett Campbell had a hand in almost everything that went on in the area in the 1930s. He was deputy sheriff, did roadwork, supported the creation of the Anza Borrego State Park, and lobbied the State Fish and Game Commission to establish a game refuge on his land. He also supervised the work of rebuilding the old Vallecito stage station.

In 1951 the Campbells started to take things a little easier. They bought a trailer, and began touring the United States. Everett sold at least some of the cattle to Elmo Cauzza of Santa Ysabel. Cauzza then took a lease on the ranch and ran cattle there. In 1959 the Campbells sold their 5,572-acre ranch to Catherine Spencer of Guatay, who owned several ranches in the county. Under the direction of Sandy Kemp, her ranch manager, the old fields were expanded and reworked, and an underground water system installed to increase the growing capacity of cattle pasturage on the ranch. After their retirement, the Campbells moved to Chula Vista. Lena Campbell died some years before Everett, who died in 1977 at the age of 90.

#### **f. Canebrake**

The following history of Canebrake Ranch is taken largely from Brigandi's 1995 study:

The last of the desert ranchers to settle in the Anza Borrego area were Robert and Grace Crawford, who filed an 80-acre homestead in upper Canebrake Canyon in 1932. The Benton's Campo Cattle Company, Sam Thing, and the McCains had used the canyon and the Inner Pasture above it for grazing since the turn of the century.

A native of Washington State, Crawford had come to San Diego in 1909, and was working as a stocks and bonds salesman at the time of the crash on Wall Street. The resulting depression brought the Crawfords to the desert. They moved to Canebrake in April 1933 and lived in a tent near the mouth of Canebrake Canyon. The first years were hard. Their grazing leases included several hundred acres of BLM land, but the weather was dry and the amount of feed small. They built a house farther up the canyon and allowed other people's cattle to graze on their land in return for the calves. Soon they were able to sell their own cattle. The Crawfords later added to their holdings by purchasing another nearby homestead owned by the Masons.

Besides his work as a cattleman, Crawford was involved with the reconstruction of the Vallecito Stage Station, and then became its caretaker for the county. This job allowed him to survive in the desert during the first several years while establishing the ranch. He also served as the local deputy sheriff. In 1945 Randall Henderson noted,

Crawford makes his headquarters at the old Vallecito stage station and patrols the entire area as far east as the Imperial County line near the site of the Carrizo Stage Station. He knows every canyon and waterhole in this region, and is a friendly source of information for visitors who come this way (*Desert*, March 1945).

Crawfords sold the ranch in 1973 to Peter Marston. Marston had a ranch in Thing Valley and grazed cattle at Canebrake in the winter and spring. Around 75 head were driven overland from Thing Valley and kept at Canebrake for about three months; later, trucks were used to transport the cattle. The Crawfords remained on the ranch after Marston's purchase and resided in the canyon until 1983 when they moved to San Diego (Brigandi 1995). In 1985 the ranch was purchased by Don Kramer from the estate of Peter Marston. He ran around 25 head of cattle. In 1993 he sold it to Lawrence and Shirley Weisser of Bonita. The Weissers also grazed around 25 head of cattle until their grazing concession on 5,700 acres adjoining the 240-acre ranch was revoked (Weisser 2005).

### **3. Campo – Jacumba – Laguna**

Ranchers began to establish themselves in the Laguna, Campo, and Jacumba areas after the Civil War. Between 1868 and 1869, American homesteaders began to move into the region. They settled in valleys named and occupied by the Kumeyaay Indians. The Gaskill brothers settled in Milquatay Valley at Campo, the McCains homesteaded a ranch north of Campo in what is now McCain Valley, and Peter Larkin occupied Jacumba. By the end of 1869, the San Diego to Yuma Stage passed through the region, and by 1870 there were 25 family groups in Milquatay Valley. With the influx of settlers into the region a dramatic effect on the native inhabitants took place, resulting in a relationship of turbulent coexistence between local natives and Anglo-American settlers for approximately 20 years that ultimately resulted in the Indians confinement on reservations (Van Wormer 1986b).

As with all of California, many of the first Anglo settlers to make their homes in the backcountry did so as squatters. Generally, squatters moved into an area, found a parcel of land to their liking, and built a house. The first dwellings were often spartan, constructed from materials available in the surrounding areas. Anglo-American settlers migrated into the Campo region from two directions. Some families, for example the Buckmans, came by way of northern California, stopping first at San Diego. Other families came directly from the east via the Southern Overland Trail, then proceeded up Mountain Springs Grade (Vezina 1989).

Because it was the area's most accessible valley, Milquatay, as it was called by the Eastern Kumeyaay, became a center of commercial and social activity. A school district was formed, and a post office established. Local residents petitioned San Diego to bring a new road through Milquatay Valley. In 1869, the community organized a prayer revival meeting, an event that drew people from throughout the county. By the 1870s, Milquatay was a small town with a general store serving the needs of people living in the surrounding valleys. Milquatay's location between two important transportation routes, coupled with its close proximity to Mexico, were significant factors in the community's early development, promoting growth that eventually led to Campo.

By the mid 1860s, Anglo settlers were well entrenched throughout the entire back country. In Milquatay (Campo), George W. Lawrence was one of the first Anglo settlers. Born in Austin, Texas in 1847, Lawrence traveled by oxen to Milquatay in 1866. During this same period, Sam and Annie Grumels came into the area, and constructed a house on property currently known as Starr Ranch. The Smith Morris family settled in the vicinity of Campo Mill. According to Lester Hook, the Cline family resided in a natural cave, since destroyed by road construction crews, in the early part of the twentieth century (Vezina 1989).

Around 1870, James D. and Rebecca (Johnson) Hook moved into the area and settled at La Posta near the north end of Milquatay Valley. For a few years, James Hook operated a grist mill at La Posta, charging local residents one-half of their grain "for the grinding of what he called the other half." His wife, Rebecca, was born in Alabama. In the fall of 1868, Thomas and Mary (Lee) Cameron moved from Yuma, where Tom had worked on a riverboat, to Motiguwhat, a valley to the north of Milquatay. In 1869, John and Sarah (Clifton) Williams arrived in the Campo area from Texas (Vezina 1989).

Early Anglo settlers in the present-day Old Campo Indian Reservation included Alonzo and Carla Warren, Jacob Hauser, Martha Doblner, Berthold Klingele, Rufus Clark, Wilbur Grigsby, A. McGregor, and the Cameron family. Early Anglo settlers in the vicinity of present-day New Campo Indian Reservation included such individuals as the Elliott family, Jesse Garner, Christ Ashler, John Carruth, the Miller family, the Hills family, George Dyball, Horace G. Smith, Peter Peterson, William Holland, James Powers, William Stewart, George Morrison, Archie Chillwell and others (Vezina 1989; Jacques 1982).

#### **a. The McCains**

One of the more influential ranching families who settled in the Campo – Jacumba region was the McCains of McCain Valley. They were one of many immigrant families that came from Texas and Arkansas after the Civil War.

George Washington McCain (born 1810) and his first wife Margaret had originally come to California in 1850, driving herds from Arkansas on the Overland Trail to northern California markets. Their sons included Noah, George, Peter, James, Laurence, John and Charles, some of whom would play roles in the later settlement of McCain Valley. Margaret died giving birth to an eighth son on the trip to California. George returned to Arkansas five years later in order to obtain more cattle for another trip back to California, as beef was in great demand in Mendocino County where gold mining was active. In Arkansas, George remarried. His new wife's name was Martha. Upon reaching California in early 1858, the McCains settled in Mendocino Country. William, Henry and Horace McCain were born to the couple there (Jacques 1982).

In 1868, desiring to return to Arkansas, the McCain family again headed east. Upon hearing the devastation of their homeland as a result of the Civil War, however, they decided to turn back to California, and headed for "unsettled country near the border of Lower California in San Diego County" (McCain 1955:101). The McCains settled in the Tule Creek area of what is today the northwest end of McCain Valley, very near the Indian village of Sacatoon, using springs along Tule Creek as a source of water (Jacques 1980).

The McCains built a temporary shelter upon their arrival. Robert L. McCain was born in this shelter (McCain 1955:102). In the winter of 1870, the McCains built a permanent adobe house at

the site. The ranch had brush corrals and fences, enabling the McCains to raise grain and a garden (Jacques 1980).

The original adobe McCain ranch house was located in Section 15, Township 16 south, Range 6 east. A wooden structure had been added in the 1880s, probably after the death of George W. McCain. In 1882, the wooden structure was split in half and moved to what is now known as the McCain Ranch within Manzanita Indian Reservation (McCain 1979). On November 6<sup>th</sup> of 1886, Peter McCain with his wife and two children, declared a homestead, consisting of 160 acres of the South West Quarter of Section 23 in Township 16 south, Range 6 east. Cattle, sheep, and horses were raised at McCain Ranch in the 1880s. The wooden McCain ranch house was a one-room structure with "part bath." There was never electricity, running water, or a phone in the house (Jacques 1980).

The McCains became active in the community of Campo to the southwest, holding offices, driving stages and delivering mail from San Diego to Campo. On the McCain ranch they raised cattle, sheep, horses and geese. Martha McCain made butter and sold it to the miners in Julian in the 1870s and 1880s, as well as the natives of the Manzanita area. At the ranch the McCains boarded teachers from Manzanita School, one of the first schools in the Milquatay district (Jacques 1980).

#### **b. Laguna**

Cattle were first grazed in the Laguna Mountains following the Gold Rush of 1849. The meadows of the Laguna Mountains began to see use as temporary grazing ranges for the thousands of sheep and cattle being driven to the Gold Fields over the western extension of the Gila Trail (Lindsay 1973:61). Cattle ranching in Southern California boomed until the drought of 1856-57.

Subsequently, however, improved breeding, increases in the northern California herds, and the drought of 1863-64 wiped out the southern industry. While Southern California cattle ranching declined as a whole, higher ranges such as Laguna Meadows continued to be used through the 1870s. In the drought of 1876-77, for example, cattle from Los Angeles County were brought to graze in the Lagunas and Cuyamacas (Burkenroad and Van Wormer 1981).

Wool became the leading export of California after the Civil War. Spurred by the War's demand for uniforms and the collapse of the cattle industry, the 1870s became known in California as the

"decade of wool." Although the sheep industry was centered in Monterey, San Diego County also saw a great increase in the sheep population. In 1871, the local flocks began to be improved with Merino and other imported breeds (*San Diego Union* 1-2-1871, 1:1; 9-7-1871, 3:2). Englishman Jean Barron ran 6,000 sheep at Agua Caliente, just south of Laguna Meadow (*San Diego Weekly Union* 11-2-1871, 2:3). Two years later Herbert Crouch purchased the Agua Caliente, built a ranch house, and lived there permanently after 1874 (Crouch 1915). Crouch Valley, as Agua Caliente came to be known, was one of the earliest settlements of the Laguna area (Burkenroad and Van Wormer 1981). It was on one of the sheep drives from the coast to Laguna that Herbert's daughter Emily met George Sawday, to whom she was later married and became a life-long partner in the Sawday cattle empire.

The permanent Anglo-American settlement of Laguna Meadow began at about the time Crouch bought Agua Caliente. James A. Gray (or Grey) may have been the first settler. Gray seems to



Figure 31: John Gray's Cabin, 1898 (courtesy San Diego Historical Society)

have raised horses. His house, probably built in 1871, was constructed out of wood hauled up a wagon road through Kitchen Creek Valley (Figure 31). Gray was murdered in 1873. After his death his son John took over the homestead. Kitchen Valley, to the south, was also settled in the early 1870s by Texas cattleman Augustus Caesar Kitching – Kitchen being a corruption of his name – who later sold out to George Williamson and William H. Chowing. The 1879 Surveyor General's map of Township 15 South, Range 5 east shows the houses of Gray, Crouch, Ames, Chowing and Williams (probably Williamson), as well as

Burgess' and a vacant house. Surveyor Wheeler reported in 1878: "The settlers are engaged entirely in stock raising" (Burkenroad and Van Wormer 1981).

In 1876 William Chilwell and Archibald Campbell appeared in Crouch Valley looking for grazing land. Chilwell, an Englishman, and Campbell, a Scot, were among the many younger British sons



who emigrated to the West in the decades following the Civil War. Familiar with stock raising in their homeland, they took it up in America. At the time they appeared in the Lagunas, the price of wool was still high, and they went into the sheep business. Herbert Crouch advised them to see Williamson in Kitchen Valley, who rented his land to them (Burkenroad and Van Wormer 1981).

In 1879 Crouch reported that the prized grazing land of Laguna Meadow changed hands:

Chilwell and Campbell made a trade with Johnny Grey for the La Posta. Chilwell came up to me and told me they were offering to give him the right to the Laguna for the La Posta, but he did not seem to want to do it. I told him not to be a fool, but you go make the deal directly, that I could not think Johnny Gray was such a fool to offer such a thing, or make such a trade. Johnny told me afterwards what a fool he was to give up the Laguna, but I never heard Chilwell and Campbell express any regret (quoted in Burkenroad and Van Wormer 1981).

Fixing and enlarging Gray's cabin, Chilwell and Campbell established Laguna Ranch. Wool continued to bring good prices in the early 1880s. In 1880 Chilwell and Campbell formed a formal partnership for the purpose of dealing in sheep and wool and of acquiring land and pastures (*San Diego Union* 1880). Frequent references to their partnership and its activities were made in contemporary newspapers. By 1889 most of the valuable grazing land in Laguna Meadows had been patented in their names (Burkenroad and Van Wormer 1981).

Large-scale sheep raising in the Lagunas was ended by the terrible winter of 1886, the worst Crouch ever experienced "on our mountain." Also contributing to the collapse of the sheep business were troublesome burrs in the brush, and the wool tariff cut implemented by President Grover Cleveland's administration. By 1887 cattle were once again being grazed on the Lagunas. "It was a lonesome job, up on the Laguna surrounded by cattlemen," wrote Crouch in 1915. Chilwell and Campbell rented the Agua Caliente from Crouch and brought cattle to Laguna Ranch (Burkenroad and Van Wormer 1981).

William Chilwell died in October 1888, at Laguna (*San Diego Union* 1888). Crouch, who had been working and staying with him, reported:

The last conversation we had was about the change from sheep to cattle. He said, "I don't like cattle as well as sheep. This going after cattle is dangerous. A man who is not used to it might get thrown off and break his neck." And it happened he was thrown off and broke his neck at noon on the 20<sup>th</sup> (Crouch 1915:72, quoted in Burkenroad and Van Wormer 1981).

Chilwell was buried on a knoll overlooking Laguna Meadow. His partner Campbell and several of their descendents were later buried there also. After Chilwell's death, his wife Louisa married his partner Archibald Campbell, who continued ranching. In September 1895 the *San Diego Union* noted: "Archibald Campbell of Laguna drove a large bunch of cattle through here a few days ago; there were 218 head in the band" (*San Diego Union* 9-23-95 5:1). Chilwell's son Archie and son-in-law Trevor Kemp continued the ranching operations (Burkenroad and Van Wormer 1981).

Exact population figures for the Laguna area are not known. Somewhere between one and several dozen people made their home in the Laguna Meadow area late in the nineteenth century.

McKenny lists the Summer Brothers and five others at Laguna Ranch in 1884. In the last decades of the nineteenth century, the area's population was sufficient to warrant the establishment of a school located in Joy Meadow. School records indicate that in the early 1890s, the Campbells and their four children, and Mrs. Jacobson and her daughter lived at Laguna Meadow. Several families lived to the south of the meadow including the Crouch family, who resided at Crouch Valley until 1887; William Chowing, whose house had been located about a mile and a half north of Laguna Ranch in 1879, and later lived in Kitching Valley; Mrs. J. Ritter; Sam and John Ames; the John Grays at La Posta, and Lee Morris. A number of Kumeyaay lived at Laguna rancheria; in 1893 fifteen Native American children were attending the Laguna Mountain School (Burkenroad and Van Wormer 1981).

The Campo Cattle Company succeeded Chilwell and Campbell's ranching operations in the twentieth century (Figure 32). Operating informally beginning about 1901, the company was formally incorporated on April 19, 1905. The company was originally capitalized at \$60,000, stockholders being W.H. Jones, Thomas J. Gray, and one time San Diego Mayor James A. Kemp. Cattleman Robert Benton bought into the company soon thereafter, and Archie Chilwell came into shares because of the land that he owned. About a thousand head of cattle were grazed on the leased meadow pasture in the summer months, from April-May through August-November. According to Trevor Kemp, the yearly pattern was to gather cattle from the Campo ranges at La Posta, where they would be bedded down for the night. Previously cattle had been brought directly from Canebrake Canyon through Cuyapaipe. The next morning the cattle were driven up the Kitchen Valley road to the meadow. Only one or two men were needed to take care of the cattle on



Figure 32: Campo Cattle Company, Ralph Jasper, Arizona Boy 1, Arizona Boy 2, Roy Benton, Ben Sweeney, Til Vasquez, Pete Ortega, Ralph Benton, Salamon Casanova, Taken at Hardy's Packing House, San Diego, 1907" (courtesy Garry McClintock and Granny Martin)

the meadow. In the winter the cattle were taken to lower elevation pastures, including the McCain and Campo Valleys and Baja California to the south, the eastern desert washes at Canebrake and Vallecitos, and present day Imperial Valley. Traditional Kumeyaay trails were used to drive the cattle. When ready to be sold, the cattle were taken to Temecula for the Los Angeles market (see *San Diego Union* 9-30-1895, 2:2), or to Charlie Hardy's slaughterhouse in San Diego (Fulmer et al. 1979). After the San Diego and Arizona Railroad reached the backcountry in 1916, cattle were driven to the railhead at Campo. Trucking replaced most of the overland cattle drives, but as late as the 1980s, the Kemps continued to drive cattle overland between Campo and Laguna Meadow (Burkenroad and Van Wormer 1981).

The charter of the Campo Cattle Company was forfeited to the State in March 1916, but was reinstated two months later by a group of men led by Ralph Benton, and also including Helene Benton, W.R. Rodgers, and two prominent San Diego business and civic leaders, E.B. Gould and Roscoe Hazard. The company had in about 1915 taken out a ten-year lease on the Laguna meadowland from Archibald Campbell. Ralph Benton was the man in charge of the outfit and Archie Chilwell was the cowboy boss. In the early 1900s, great chunks of Southern California land were placed under the control of the National Forest Service to protect the watershed. One of the

principal changes that took place after World War I was that the meadow was fenced at the order of the Forest Service (Burkenroad and Van Wormer 1981).

### **c. Benton – Campo Cattle Company**

During the late 19<sup>th</sup> and early 20<sup>th</sup> century Robert Benton and his sons developed an extensive cattle empire that encompassed southern San Diego and Imperial Counties and northern Baja California. The size of this operation was equaled only by George Sawday's vast enterprise during the early to mid 20<sup>th</sup> century. The following history of the Benton Cattle Company has been taken from Phil Brigandi's 1995 study.

Robert H. Benton has been called "one of the best known cattlemen in the Southwest" and one of the county's most successful cattlemen. For him the Laguna Mountains and Anza Borrego Desert were part of a series of ranges in his extensive operations.

Robert was born in Minnesota in 1858. Benton's family pioneered in Nebraska when he was just five years old. Later he moved to Kansas. In 1876 he made his first stock drive from Texas to Kansas up the Old Chisholm Trail. Around 1895 he recalled:

I came to California in 1881, and in 1882 Willetta Flinn and I were married at her father and mother's ranch house at Flinn Springs, twenty-two miles east of San Diego. I was twenty-four years old then.

We moved into the San Diego Mountains where I bought some land and leased some more. Then we went into the cattle raising business.

I have fattened many cattle and have bought and shipped cattle all over the southwest. I have done business with a fine lot of men . . . .

Mrs. Benton and I have been married over fifty-three years. Our three sons, Ralph S. Benton, Roy S. Benton, and R.H. Benton Jr. have all followed the cattle business . . . many cattle men in the southwest know them.

Robert Benton began taking cattle down to the desert in what would later be dubbed the Imperial Valley in 1891. He had cattle grazing near Cameron Lake in 1892, and wintered cattle in the valley again in 1896. In 1902, after reclamation of the valley began, he began renting and buying pasturage there to feed cattle on.

With his two sons he formed the Campo Cattle Company around the turn of the century, which was the basis for most of his operations in the Anza Borrego area. Roy Benton later recalled:

Our family ran cattle in the San Diego Mountains from Descanso and Cuyamaca to Laguna and Campo and down on the desert foothills from Carriso to Vallecitos and also in Mexico from 40 miles below the border to the mouth of the Colorado River to Ojos Negros 35 miles east of Ensenada.

As early as 1905 the Campo Cattle Company was buying rangeland in Upper Canebrake Canyon, and the family still owned property there as late as 1925. The Bentons also leased land at Vallecito for winter grazing from 1907 to 1931.

When the children began growing, up the Bentons left their Descanso Ranch and moved in to San Diego. In 1910 Mr. and Mrs. Benton moved to a Lower California ranch, returning again to San Diego in 1923. They settled at Mission Beach and have lived there ever since, except for periods when they traveled. Robert Benton died December 5, 1939. His obituary in the *San Diego Union* reads in part:

Mr. Benton was one of the few surviving pioneer cattleman in this part of the state, who perhaps was in the cattle business on a bigger scale than any other living cattleman today. His activities extended far down into Mexico to Diamond Bar and Circle Bar ranches where he often had as many as 15,000 head of cattle. In Glendo Wyoming, he was head of another big cattle co. where he had from 3000 to 5000 head of cattle. But at Corte Madera, in Pine Valley, Mr. Benton was better known by San Diego County people. There he operated the Campo Cattle Company for a number of years. For 20 years Mr. Benton was associated with the late Charles S. Hardy. His busiest period was during the war.

After entering the Cattle business on a large scale, Mr. Benton at times leased from Governor Andrade in Lower California, as much as 1,000,000 acres of land for grazing purposes. That was about 1898.

In Imperial Valley Mr. Benton's activities were widely known. At that time there was no irrigation and water for a thousand cattle was a real problem. Mr. Benton was fortunate in having three stalwart sons to assist him in his extensive cattle business.

## E. Conclusions

In conclusion, ranching has been practiced in San Diego County since Spanish colonists arrived on California's coast in 1769. The first one hundred years of European settlement in southern California (1769 – 1870) has been called the pastoral era (Reed 1946). Livestock raising dominated the period, although it was practiced by three successive groups: Spanish missionaries, Mexican rancheros, and American ranchers. Each dominated for a specific period of time, and each raised livestock differently. The manner in which each chose to raise livestock reflected their cultural values adapted to their economic opportunities and available agricultural circumstances.

Over the second 100 years, from 1870 to 1970, livestock ranching continued to thrive in San Diego County but also competed with expanding crop agriculture and urbanization. Although remaining as an important industry, diversified crops ranging from dry farmed grains to intensively irrigated vegetable farms and citrus orchards became the dominant agricultural industries. Since 1970 livestock ranching has gradually declined in importance as increased pressure from urbanization has reduced the available large tracts of grazing land required for successful ranching.

Ranching constitutes an important heritage of San Diego County. Most of coastal and mountain Southern California was first settled as grazing land, and in the backcountry this tradition has continued to the present day. The activity has occupied thousands of acres and many pioneer families, a number of which have been involved in the business for over 100 years. It has been, and continues to be in many parts of the study area, the major economic activity of the region. Its practitioners exhibited remarkable abilities to manage the landscape, develop water sources, corrals, feeding facilities, and home bases, in regions that necessitated an intimate knowledge and understanding of thousands of acres and hundreds of square miles of vast and varied terrain, while at the same time exhibiting abilities as business entrepreneurs. The cattlemen and women of San Diego County are unique individuals with their own extraordinary history, whose story remains generally unknown to the larger public.

Since the end of World War II, cattle ranching in San Diego County has declined dramatically, especially along the coast. The primary reason for this has been the pressure from housing development as a result of the post war population boom that swept over Southern California, and continues to the present day. As land became valuable for housing, values and taxes increased, making it more difficult to continue their use as grazing lands and providing a powerful incentive to sell. This resulted in development of almost all grazing land along the coast, and by the end of the 20<sup>th</sup> century was affecting the use of land as far east as Ramona, Lakeside, and Alpine. In addition, the reluctance of public agencies to renew grazing leases has also reduced available pastureland. The combination of sale to developers and reduction of cattle on public lands has had a compounding effect on the decline of ranching. As grazing lands decreased it has become more difficult to maintain large herds of cattle profitably. Some who have wanted to stay in the business have sold land in San Diego County in order to invest in ranch lands in other parts of the country

where development pressure is not so great. As the older generation of ranchers is retiring from active management, the younger generation is often not interested in ranching and is willing to sell. This has brought the sale of large tracts of land in San Diego County, not only to developers, but also to public agencies. In recent years the San Felipe, Tulloch, Lucky 5, and portions of Santa Ysabel ranches have been acquired by California Fish and Game, State Parks, and San Diego County Parks.

In spite of the almost total loss of grazing land along the coast by the end of the 20<sup>th</sup> century and increased pressure to sell east county property, there is still (2009) a viable ranching industry in San Diego County's backcountry. The number of cattle in the county between 1995 and 2005 declined only slightly and the amount of rangeland showed a slight increase.

This apparent stable situation cannot continue. As development pressure in the backcountry continues, ranchers will be given more incentives and fewer options than to sell out, as they have done on the coast. In other states, government agencies have realized that keeping ranchers on their land is one of the most economic ways to slow development and preserve open space. In San Diego County it has become imperative that federal, state, local government agencies, and environmental groups work with ranchers to keep cattle on their ranges. There is some indication, based on recent innovative land management strategies by County Parks and The Nature Conservancy, that cooperation is being explored. If this cannot be accomplished the day will soon arrive when development will cross the mountains and spill into the deserts, and the "backcountry" will cease to exist. Not only will a way of life that has continued for over 200 years be gone, but the loss of open space to the people of San Diego County will never be replaced.

### **III. RANCH MANAGEMENT IN THE TWENTIETH CENTURY**

As the twentieth century ended in San Diego County, much of the backcountry ranching industry was still operational. Although many of the large ranches in the coastal region had been given over to urban development, cattle and cowboys and ranch structures were still notable features on the backcountry landscape. As the first decade of the twenty-first century has progressed, and several large ranches in the backcountry have transferred to public ownership, many ranch features are no longer being used and have fallen into disrepair or have been removed from the landscape by fire or demolition. As a part of the current study, from 2001 through 2008, Colorado Desert District archaeologists inventoried surviving ranch structures that are character-defining features of the ranching landscape. Chapter IV will provide an overview of the variety of these ranch features, primarily on State Parks Lands but also in several important ranch locations throughout the County. The cultural resource record forms for these features are included with this report as Attachment II. A narrative compilation, “A Roundup of Ranching Features in San Diego’s Backcountry,” is included as Attachment III.

To place the features that characterize ranching in context, this chapter provides background on the character of the ranching enterprise in the twentieth century, the types of ranches in operation today, the role of the various physical features that are still necessary to manage cattle, and some innovative Working Landscape strategies being explored for management of former ranch lands that are now publicly owned open space preserves. From 2001 until 2008, California State Parks archaeologists compiled information on San Diego County’s twentieth century ranching. The primary source of information was a collection of oral interviews conducted with many of the “old-timers” in backcountry San Diego County. The majority of these interviews were with ranchers whose families were involved with cattle through the twentieth century. The transcriptions of these interviews, each introduced with background information on the interviewees and their family history, were compiled into a single document and are attached to this study as Attachment I. Combined with the small amount of secondary literature on ranching history that is currently available, these interviews provided background information for the following description of San Diego County’s backcountry ranching industry in the twentieth century.



The California Cattlemen's Association describes the California ranching enterprises as being as diverse as any in the world (CCA 2008). California's geographical diversity, political complexity, and its climatic and environmental variability, have resulted in the state's highly complex livestock production industry. Although ranchers own and/or manage over 38 million of the State's more than 100 million acres of land, most California ranches in the twentieth century are family owned and operated. The Association notes that many ranch enterprises have been in the same family for four or five generations (CCA 2008). This is certainly true in San Diego County. The Sawday family, for four generations (including the second generation Cummings, Starr, and Tellam families; the third generation Tulloch and Rutherford families, and the fourth generation Drown family), has operated the largest ranch enterprise in the county and one of the largest in the state. The family ranch home and barns are a familiar feature along Highway 78 in Witch Creek just west of Santa Ysabel. Other smaller twentieth-century family ranch operations included Moretti and Cauza in Santa Ysabel, Jasper in Ranchita, Kemp in Laguna and Campo, Harper/Luckman in Laguna and Anza-Borrego, Campbell and Spencer in Vallecito, Bailey in Coyote Canyon and Vallecito, and McCain in Boulevard and Anza-Borrego. Cattle were also an economic mainstay for the Cahuilla and Kumeyaay Indian families who ran cattle in Coyote Canyon (Siva 2008), Santa Ysabel, Mesa Grande, Viejas, and Barona. Multiple generations of cowboys and their families also had long-standing associations with ranches such as Taylor and the Poncheti at Warner's and Culp Valley, Paroli at San Pasqual and San Felipe, and Peavey at Rancho Peñasquitos. Family and friendship relationships were the basis on which many of the ranches operated in the twentieth century.

However, in San Diego County, the region's unique environmental, economic, and social fabric has necessitated management strategies in addition to the traditional family ranch. The unpredictable environment required that large tracts of lands in variable environments be available for rotating livestock. The Vail operation dealt with the unpredictable environment as a corporation and moved cattle between its Temecula and San Diego ranches of Pauba, Pechanga, and Warner's to the Empire Ranch in Arizona. In the mid-twentieth century, the Daley family (Lawrence and Don) purchased and held land for future commercial development. One Daley brother operated the development company while the other ran livestock operations to minimize their land's taxes and liability (Reece

2004). Daley lands on the coast developed shortly after World War II into the San Diego urban communities of Clairemont and Rancho Bernardo. Backcountry Daley lands such as the Lucky 5, Rancho Jamul, Escondido, and Mason Valley have supported livestock through the twentieth century. Because the lands were being held for future development, long-term viability of the land was apparently not a priority and many abusive land clearing activities, such as chaining, were employed. In the mid-twentieth century, the Vista Irrigation District (VID) acquired the Warner Ranch to protect the watershed of the Lake Henshaw reservoir that it manages. The VID has in place grazing licenses with the Mendenhall Cattle Company and Hein Hettinga dairying operations to pasture the dairy cattle during certain breeding and growing seasons when cows are not at the dairy on the milk line. This arrangement benefits both the dairy and the VID and has ensured that cattle, cowboys, and cattle management features continue to be present on the Warner Ranch (Dorey, personal communication 2001, VID 2008). Star B Buffalo Ranch purchased a portion of the Sawday holdings inherited by son-in-law Hans Starr to raise buffalo. Currently the ranch operates as a breeding farm for seed stock sent out of the County for sale to stock ranches.

A primary method of dealing with the need for large tracts of land to ensure viable pasturage involved the use of public lands for grazing. As the California Cattlemen's Association notes, of California's 38 million acres of range and pasture lands, approximately half are owned by the federal government, making many California ranchers heavily dependent on the availability of federal grazing permits (CCA 2008). In the early years of the twentieth century, grazing fees were implemented on federally owned forest reserve lands (now Forest Service lands) and by 1934 (with the Taylor Grazing Act) on Bureau of Land Management lands. Sawday, McCain, Kemp, Crawford, and Campo Cattle Company maintained their cattle operations utilizing federal grazing leases primarily in Laguna, the Boulevard and Campo area, and the Anza-Borrego Desert. Jasper ran cattle under lease on Cuyamaca Rancho State Park until the 1950s. Environmental preservation activities in the later half of the twentieth century have influenced renewals of cattle leases, arguably affecting the viability of the San Diego County ranching industry. United States Department of Agricultural (USDA) studies of the economic effects of changes to public grazing policies (such as grazing fee increases or reductions in grazing allotments) on livestock-based rural

communities, generally show reduced ranch incomes (USDA 2002). All of the San Diego County operations noted above have been affected by non-renewal of grazing leases.

Perhaps the most unexpected development in the most recent years has been the willingness by San Diego County Parks and The Nature Conservancy to reinstitute grazing as part of the land management strategy for Open Space Preserves (Technology Associates 2007; Van Cleve 2008). A major reason is clearly wildfire fuel management; over 250 years of livestock grazing has altered the natural environment such that when cattle are removed, there is no remaining adequate natural mechanism for brush and grass control. The recent wildfires have resulted in pressure to reduce fuel loads and to reinstating grazing on public lands. In addition, the current scientific data on habitat management often supports the positive influences of reintroducing cattle grazing. For the recently acquired Santa Ysabel Ranch—now San Diego County Open Space Preserve—the biological data suggests that grazing can actually benefit habitats for such sensitive species as Stephen's kangaroo rat (Technology Associates 2007:5). For the Ramona Grasslands properties being held by The Nature Conservancy, research indicates that grazing promotes conservation for such resources as vernal pools (Van Cleve 2008).

San Diego County Parks and Recreation has developed an Adaptive Management strategy whereby, in the face of the uncertainty of radically changing the land use of the Santa Ysabel Ranch (removing cattle grazing after over 200 years), cattle-grazing can be instated and the results can be monitored and necessary adjustments can be implemented based on the outcomes. As stated in the County's Grazing Plan document:

Because there is inherent uncertainty about the effects of new management techniques on biological resources, resource managers must be flexible and able to adapt management methods based on conditions on the ground. At present, the available scientific literature regarding the effectiveness of livestock grazing as a habitat management tool in Southern California is incomplete. As a result it is critical that resource managers must be able to adapt to new scientific data, and incorporate experimental design into the management of rangelands and habitats employing livestock grazing as a management tool (Technology Associates 2007:6).

Clearly implementation of such an Adaptive Management strategy will involve San Diego County Parks and the cattle-grazing interests working together to merge science and historic land management practices to develop a working cultural landscape. In the past, because cattle managers have distrusted public agency input on grazing activities, and because agencies have often

implemented heavy-handed management strategies, such working relationships will undoubtedly require years to develop.

In summary, today, in Southern California, there are basically four types of cattle operations. The California Cattlemen's Association describes the four traditional cattle operations as cow-calf, seed stock, stocker, and feedlot. As described in the above paragraphs, today's San Diego County ranches operate within this framework, although somewhat modified to adapt to today's environmental, economic, and political circumstances. The cow-calf operation maintains a breeding herd of cows, replacement heifers (young females), and bulls. Steer calves and most heifer calves are sold, but some may be selected to enter the breeding herd. Calves are sold at weaning (typically 205 days of age) or are retained for an additional forage production season as stockers. On Warner's Ranch, Mendenhall Cattle Company, in cooperation with Vista Irrigation District, is a variation of this type of operation with the goal to produce lactating cows for milk production. Seedstock production is a specialized cow-calf operation that produces purebred or registered cattle. The goal of seedstock production is to make genetic improvements in cattle that benefit the entire beef industry. Seedstock are marketed as bulls and replacement females to other seedstock producers or to cow-calf producers. For example the Star B Ranch, a portion of the Sawday Ranch, breeds high quality buffalo that are marketed as seed stock to developing buffalo ranches in the mid-west. Stocker operations grow steer and/or heifer calves or yearlings on rangeland or other roughage. Generally, cattle are purchased following weaning in the fall and are wintered on low quality feed until new grass can support the animals' nutritional requirements. Stocker cattle are normally marketed or transported to feedlots at the end of the grazing season when nutritional quality of the forage begins to decline. Most of the San Diego County ranch operations today raise stock cattle for beef production. Most stock operations rely heavily on the availability of public lands to augment pasturage. Included in these are the remaining Sawday operations, and portions of the Warner's Ranch. In the current political scene, some of the reduction in public lands formerly leased for grazing is off-set by land conservation entities and the County of San Diego who are allowing grazing. Feedlots are facilities designed to meet the feed, water and care requirements of large numbers of cattle held in confinement. Feedlots utilize abundant sources of feed grains and by-products to efficiently feed large numbers of cattle. The Vail operation was characterized by

shipping cattle between California and Arizona, and finishing cattle at the feedlots in Imperial County.

As can be seen from the foregoing discussion, San Diego backcountry ranchers have, through the twentieth century, continued to modify ranch operations to adapt to inconstant environmental and political circumstances. This adaptability and resourcefulness characterizes the history of the ranching industry and as will be seen in the next chapter, is reflected in the physical components of the ranching operation on the landscape.

## IV. RANCHING RESOURCES ON THE SOUTHERN CALIFORNIA LANDSCAPE

As is evident from the 240-year history of ranching presented in Chapter II above, the livestock industry in Southern California is characterized, indeed dependent upon, the rancher's resourcefulness and creativity. The area's unpredictable and variable natural, cultural, and political environment provided never-ending challenges for ranchers. **Water** has always been a challenge in Southern California and wet and dry weather cycles ensured that no water source could be taken for granted. The same weather vagaries impacted the availability of **pasture** for grazing, and successful stock-raising depended on the accessibility of a variety of seasonal locations where pasture was available. Beginning in the nineteenth century and increasingly in the twentieth century, resourceful cattlemen augmented the natural resources to keep their ranches viable. Ranchers developed irrigated pasture lands and hay fields, built structures for supplemental feeds, improved springs, dug wells, and worked with the government to dam water courses.

There were also a number of ranch **structures** built to manage cattle. At certain times, the cattle needed to be gathered to vaccinate, doctor, or load for shipping. A number of recycled materials were used to build corrals, gates, chutes, squeezes, and of course the miles of fencing necessary in the twentieth century to separate cattle from urban areas and traffic. In the center of all the many outlying pastures, water sources and gathering facilities, were the **ranch complexes** where the families and ranch hands lived. A typical ranch complex could include the family's home, barn for housing feed and livestock, assorted outbuildings, bunkhouses, and pens and corrals. As the ranching industry changed in configuration through time, the functions of many early ranch complexes changed. In early years, family ranches were smaller and more numerous. By the mid-twentieth century many smaller ranch buildings were being used as outlying bunk houses by ranch hands and the large ranch families occupied only a few of the base ranch complexes.

Finally, at the heart of an industry that adapted to ever changing natural resource availability, ingeniously developed cattle management structures, and established ranch complexes and outlying line shacks, lay the ranch **people** themselves - the ranchers, cowboys, and ranch women. The ranchers of Southern California established an industry that has dominated the state's economic,

cultural, and political scene for over 150 years. The indispensable cowboys, whose commitment to the cattle kept the ranch functioning, established a way of life that is emblematic of Southern California history. And the ranch women, who maintained the home and nurtured the family and social ties, formed the base of a culture that functioned on family and social relationships.

## A. Water

Water is the critical resource that determined the land's capacity to support livestock. In the early mission and rancho days, natural springs and streams provided water sources for free-ranging cattle. As increased population circumscribed ranch lands and as ranchers attempted to expand livestock production, water sources were increasingly developed to expand the use of the available grazing lands. To bring livestock to outlying pasturage, water sources had to be provided. The resourceful ranchers developed wells and windmills and troughs, dammed stock ponds and reservoirs, and improved springs to pipe water to troughs. Examples of water features on California State Parks lands are located in Culp Valley, Tulloch Ranch, Lucky 5, Campbell Ranch (Vallecito), Grapevine Canyon, and Sentenac in Anza-Borrego Desert State Park and on West Mesa, East Mesa, and Merrigan in Cuyamaca Rancho State Park.

In Culp Valley, year round springs were abundant. Cattleman Charlie Ponchetti diverted water from Bubbling Spring, to supply the two troughs constructed of concrete and lined with white ceramic tile (recorded as site P-37-026466). Rancher Alfred Wilson



Pena Spring

used a concrete trough to impound water from Cottonwood Spring (recorded as site P-37-026468). A wooden water trough is filled via pipe from Pena Spring (recorded as site P-37-026467). The Sawday family



Tulloch Drinkers

constructed concrete pipe drinkers to contain water from nearby springs on the Tulloch property. A redwood spring box located in the creek supplied water to three concrete drinkers located downstream. Water was piped from the spring box to the drinkers, each one filling and flowing into the next with the overflow running back into the creek from a pipe located in the last drinker (recorded as site P-37-026455). Similar features, taking advantage of natural springs located on both East and West Mesa in Cuyamaca, were likely constructed by Jasper in the mid-century. On the west side of Lucky 5, in the Cuyamaca Meadow, water from an improved spring was gravity fed to two concrete troughs (recorded as site P-37-026462). Ranchita cattleman Ralph Jasper developed natural springs in Grapevine Canyon, now a part of Anza-Borrego Desert State Park. These include Angelina Spring (P-37-018339), Bitter Spring, and Stuart Spring. At Campbell Ranch in the Anza-Borrego Desert, a series of round metal troughs were fed by spring water piped from springs in the mountain foothills nearly three miles to the west (P-37-028211).



Where there was no natural water, ranchers dug wells and pumped the water with windmills into storage tanks and from storage into troughs. On the Tulloch Ranch, east of SR79, water was pumped from a well into a tank that in turn supplied water to a concrete reservoir (recorded as site P-37-026454). South of Sunrise Highway on Lucky 5, a windmill-driven pump brought water out of an adjacent well to a nearby water trough. The well also supplied water to a large tank located on the hill to the north. The tank gravity-fed two troughs located ½ mile northwest on Sunrise



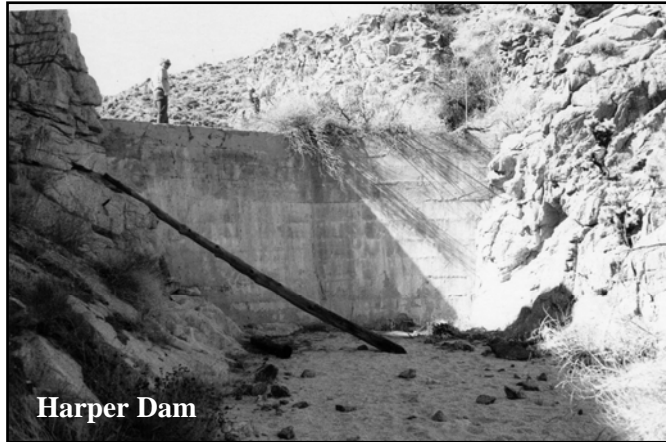
Highway (recorded as site P-37-025131). The tank had an ingenious float attachment that raised and lowered a hubcap on a cable on the outside of the tank. The height of the hanging hubcap enabled the ranch hands to determine the water level from a distance. At Campbell Ranch in Anza-Borrego Desert State Park, a windmill supplied water to two connected troughs. The rear trough was constructed using corrugated sheet metal as forms for poured concrete. The sheet metal was then used to construct the round trough in the foreground. On the Sentenac property in Anza-Borrego Desert State Park, the Sawdays constructed a wooden windmill tower that dates to at least as early as 1935



when it was depicted on a 1935 road map (recorded as P-37-023838).



Water was also provided by impounding water in reservoirs or stock ponds. Early in the 1920's the



Harper Brothers attempted to use the area that is now known as Harper Flat for winter graze, expanding their operation from their Cuyamaca ranch later known as the Lucky 5. They constructed dams to store water, but failed when the reservoirs silted in after a heavy rain. Beginning during the Depression, numerous soil conservation dams were built in the backcountry. The Soil Conservation

Service provided the engineering, and men who were participating in Work Project Administration

(WPA) and Civilian Conservation Corps (CCC) programs as well as other Post World War II projects, provided the labor. The dams were intended to catch silt and sediments before being carried downstream into the larger reservoirs such as Cuyamaca or El Capitan. These reservoirs became a natural water source, impounding waters from the winter and spring rains. The Tulloch reservoir is an excellent example of



a Post-World War II soil conservation project. The headwaters of Boulder Creek filled the reservoir and still provide water, for the most part, year-round (recorded as site number P-37-026456).

## B. Feed

At the heart of the ranching enterprise in San Diego County was the ability to graze cattle on the



open range. Ranchers would pasture their herds in the mountains of San Diego during the summer months. There the cattle could graze on needle grasses, bunchgrasses, wild oats, and fescues, as well as shrubs like mountain mahogany. Early accounts of Cuyamaca Rancho cattlemen extolled the “well-watered pasture” in East Mesa and

Cuyamaca Valley, where cattle and sheep were grazed by the 1860s. In many cases, before the snow came, the cattlemen would drive the herds down to the desert. There, the cattle would graze on mesquite, galleta grass, deer weed and screw bean, as well as flowering plants. Jack Graves, son-in-law of Robert Darrel McCain, has seen cattle eat young cattails during hard times. Boots Paroli recalled that during the summer monsoon season in the desert, he and his father would drive the cattle that were on the San Felipe down to Blair Valley and Little Blair Valley to feed on the “6-week grass” (Paroli 2004). In an account written in 1916 by a visitor to Campbell Ranch, the writer tells of cattleman burning the cholla. When burned and free of the stickers, the cattle would in her words, “just go for them and eat them up” (Annon. 1916:11-12).

In some instances, prescribed burns kept heavily vegetated areas open. Regular burning would clear the under story and open up areas to grazing with fresh new browse. Granville Martin, a long time backcountry resident and self-proclaimed “vaquero” said that when leaving the mountains for the desert, they would “set the land on fire” (Martin 1983). In later

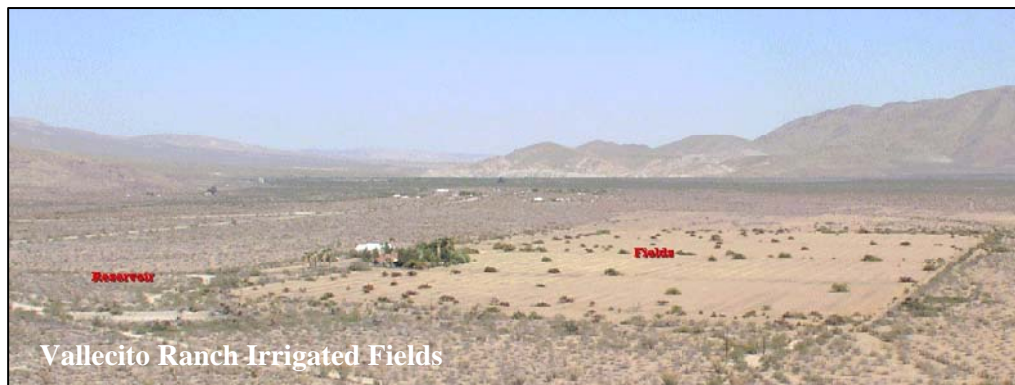


years, prescribed burns were conducted in cooperation with agency brush management programs. By the late 20th century, the land was often cleared of brush using many ingenious, albeit destructive, methods. For example, on Lucky 5, the Daleys used a method called “chaining” to create pasture. Each end of an enormous chain (still located on the ranch and recorded as site P-37-026,460) was attached to tractors. The tractors then dragged the chain across the land to clear brush and open pasture. The cleared land on the Lucky 5 was then seeded in “tall wheat grass,” a hardy and productive perennial feed grass.



Another method of knocking down brush on the Lucky 5 was to attach two large orange buoys to a tractor and drag them around on the hillsides, crushing and clearing anything in their path. These buoys still remain on the Lucky 5 Ranch (recorded as site P-37-12,124).

In only a few instances was it attempted to pasture cattle on the same lands year-round. Several attempts at cultivation of cattle feed were made in the desert. At Campbell Ranch, in Vallecito, now part of Anza Borrego Desert State Park, Everett Campbell constructed a dam across Vallecito Creek in the lower end of Mason Valley. A rock lined concrete ditch was used in connection with



an impressive wooden flume. The flume was designed to avoid ditch excavation in solid rock or along hillside contours. Water

was then piped to a reservoir on his ranch at the foot of the Campbell Grade and used to irrigate his

fields. When the desert browse was exhausted, cattle would be let into the alfalfa fields to graze. This enabled Campbell to keep cattle in the desert for longer periods of time. To get his cattle out of the desert during the hottest part of the year, Everett would drive them up Storm Canyon to Laguna, where he rented the Lucas Ranch as summer range. When the Spencer family acquired the ranch in the 1950's, the fields were expanded and wells were drilled to supply the increased amount of water that would be needed for irrigation. At Carrizo in the 1950's, Buster McCain cleared land and planted alfalfa (ABDSP Ranger Reports 1956). The tractor he used to accomplish this remains in the area, on the other side of "Clay Hill", at the old Graves camp. To irrigate his field, Buster created a berm around the bottom of the east side of the clay hill. The plan was for rain run-off to be channeled to a small earthen dammed reservoir he had constructed at the southern end of the hill. This grading is what destroyed a large portion of what remained of the Carrizo Stage Station (Van Wormer et al. 2007).

To supplement pasture, ranchers provided additional nutrition to cattle on open range. Jim Kemp



recalled that, "sometimes, particularly during drought years, cattle were fed a mixture of salt and cottonseed cake to supplement the desert pasture. The cottonseed was highly nutritious and the salt kept the cattle from eating it all at once" (Kemp 2004).

Additional nutrition needed to be provided to calves. Ranchers built small structures ("creep feeders") to allow calves to "creep" in for special feeds but kept full grown cattle from pushing their way inside. Unfortunately the creep feeder built by Charles Luckman on the Lucky 5 was destroyed by the Cedar Fire in 2003.



## C. Corrals and Loading Chutes

One of the most recognizable features on the ranching landscape is the corral and loading chute complex where basic herd maintenance activities took place. When it came time to gather the cattle for sorting, branding, castrating, inoculations, doctoring, or loading to change locations, cattle management structures were essential.

Although construction materials and techniques varied, most corrals have some basic components in common. A working corral should have an access or collecting alley to bring cattle from the pasture to the holding pen. There should be at least one holding pen sized to hold the herd and preferably a second pen for sorting. A crowding pen and gate are necessary to force cattle into the working chute. The working chute leads cattle from the holding pen to the squeeze. Blocking gates prevent unwelcome animal movement. They are usually placed at the entrance and exit of the working chute. One way gates in working chutes allow cattle to move forward in the chute, but by design prevent them from backing up. A cutting gate is located part way along the chute for releasing particular animals. Herd health care is virtually impossible without a head gate and/or squeeze for restricting cattle. A cage (basket) in front of the head gate will stop an animal and prevent it from getting through. Palpation gates at the rear of the squeeze serve to block the working chute and provide access to work at the rear of an animal. A loading chute should be located with easy stock trailer access for loading.

One thing all cattlemen had in common was that they used whatever suitable building materials they could get, wherever they could get them...and the cheaper the better! Because these unique structures reflect the personalities of their builders, the discussion following is organized by the ranching families who built them. As will be seen through the discussion, the corrals are a reflection of the individual character of the ranch operation and its owners and cowboys.

Seldom was a ranching operation in a position to invest substantial capital in construction of corrals. The quintessential “resourceful rancher” was George Sawday (1876-1949) who ran one of - if not *the* - largest cattle ranching operation in the history of San Diego County. When George was in his 20's, he began running cattle on the family ranch in Witch Creek. Soon, his ranch holdings stretched from Warner's Ranch in the north all the way south to the Mexican border. It has been

said, that a man could ride from the Riverside County line clear to the Mexican border and not step



foot off of property that Sawday either owned or leased. Several of the Sawday operation's corrals were constructed of demolition materials acquired when the Cottonwood Bridge near Lake Morena was rebuilt sometime in the late 1940's. George Sawday bought the bridge for \$1.00. The Cottonwood Bridge timbers were subsequently incorporated into his corrals at the Tulloch Ranch (recorded as site P-37-026455), which was purchased by State Parks in 2001, and in San Felipe (recorded as site P-37-023839), which Sawday leased from 1915 until he eventually purchased the property in 1945 (Schwaderer 2001).

George Sawday, and later his family, leased

Warner's Ranch from 1913 until 1960. The "Big Corral" was initially constructed in early



twentieth century and has been added onto, repaired and modified throughout the years. It is constructed using assorted salvage materials such as power poles, well casing, railroad ties and naturally, the ever-present bridge lumber. Not the Cottonwood Bridge however; the materials were from the bridge at Moretti's Junction, located at the southern end of the Warner Ranch.



The next generation of the Sawday family continued to search out demolition materials for corral construction. Hans Starr was a son-in law of George Sawday (married to Mary Sawday) and built at least two corrals in the 1960s from railroad boxcars, one at San Felipe and one at Hosking Ranch (recorded as P-37-025402). The circular configuration of this corral was beneficial due to the fact that cattle do not have the opportunity to bunch up in a corner as in a rectangular



out of used runway materials, well pipe, telephone poles and assorted lumber (included in site CA-SDI-17169).



corral. However, because the interior walls were straight and tall with no footholds for an easy exit, it was not the best configuration for the cowboy's safety.

Orville Cumming (1904-1987) was the second son-in-law to George Sawday (married to Lucy Sawday). The 1940s corral on the Cumming Ranch in Ramona is constructed





A considerable source of materials for corral construction became available when Camp Lockett in Campo decommissioned at the end of World War II. The corrals on Lester Hook's "place" were augmented by wood plank panels and corrugated metal sheets from the Camp Lockett housing, cavalry, and infrastructure buildings. The diagonal planks are an unusual construction technique observed in the remaining mobilization construction buildings (Wade 2003). These panels, combined with local cottonwood limbs are a unique feature of those ranch structures used by Sandy and Jim Kemp.



Ranchers in the Colorado Desert faced special challenges of the extreme desert climate and



remoteness. In the case of George McCain and the Carrizo pastures, natural resources provided the needed corral construction materials. George Washington McCain (1810-1882), was a pioneer, settler, and cattleman in the back-country of San Diego County. Like many ranching families, members of the McCain family used the desert for winter pasture. At the Carrizo Creek site (now part of Anza-Borrego Desert

State Park), Buster McCain (G. W. McCain's great-grandson) constructed his corrals, holding pens, and barbed wire fence posts out of mesquite poles (recorded as site P-37-026458).

Everett Campbell married into the McCain family. His wife Lena was the granddaughter of George W. McCain. The couple settled in Vallecito Valley in the Anza Borrego Desert, on what came to be known as the Campbell Ranch. The property is now a part of Anza-Borrego Desert State Park. The

corral located at the Campbell home site was built in the first part of the twentieth century (recorded as site P-37-028210). First constructed as part of the dairy operation, it was later modified for use



in the stocker operation run by the Campbells until the 1940s and by Sandy and Jim Kemp as a part of the Spencer operation until the 1960s.





Charles Luckman acquired the Lucky 5 in 1940. As a successful businessman, he was financially able to construct ranching structures from new materials. The quality

construction and durability of the corrals located on the Lucky 5 property were apparent when they were recorded by State Parks archaeologists in 2002. The Lake Pasture corral was built during the Luckman period of ownership in the 1940's. Unfortunately, all the wooden components were burned during the 2003 Cedar Fire.

#### D. Fences

On February 14, 1872, California passed the "no-fence" law. To protect agriculture from grazing cattle, and to prevent trespassing of animals upon private property in the County of San Diego, the burden was placed on the rancher to either enclose their herds or assume liability for damages to farmer's crops. The switch from open range to an industry governed by private property rights meant a change in



ranching forever. It also meant hiring more cowboys and putting in miles of costly fence. The invention of barbed wire in 1873 made fencing large areas affordable for the first time. Today, although you might see the occasional pasture enclosed by white rail fencing, the standard is still



barbed wire. Just as corrals were of a variety of materials, we see the same unique assortment used for posts when erecting fences.

## E. Barns and Bunkhouses

At some of the ranches in outlying areas, bunkhouses were needed to shelter the ranch hands, and barns were sometimes used to stable horses as well as to store tack and feed. The Warner Ranch adobe has been home to the ranch foreman and bunkhouse to ranch cowboys since the nineteenth century.

Sam Taylor became foreman for Vail and Gates, owners of Warner Ranch at



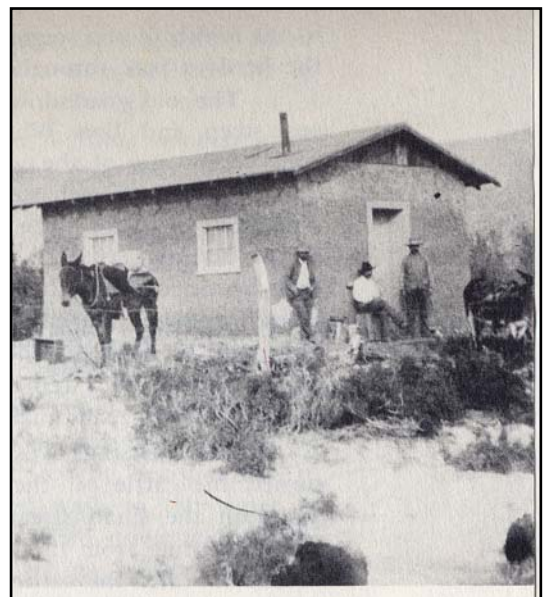
the turn of the century. He and his family lived in the ranch house until 1916 when Sawday acquired the lease. During Sawday's tenure at the ranch, the old adobe ranch house became a bunkhouse, used to house countless men who worked as cowboys for Sawday. The adjacent barn was used to stable horses and also to store hay.

Everett and Lena Campbell built the existing ranch house at Vallecito in 1948 after their original house was destroyed by fire. The Campbell family lived there until 1959 when the ranch was sold to Catherine Spencer. It was then used as a bunkhouse for the cowboys who worked for Spencer. The milking barn dates to about 1916 when



Everett and Lena Campbell settled on the ranch and began their dairy. During the Spencer tenure, Sandy Kemp was ranch foreman and according to his brother Jim who also worked at the ranch at that time, the barn was used to store feed and also fertilizer for the Bermuda fields.

Olin Bailey, one of several brothers who ranched in the Anza-Borrego Desert, took up a homestead in the east end of Vallecito Ranch and ran cattle in the early 1900's. He built a unique earthen structure, likely of rammed-earth construction. Later Granny Martin and Mollie Birdsell spent their honeymoon in the cabin while also



tending to Campo Cattle Company cattle. The building, one of few such earthen structures in existence, was recently protected by State Parks with a shelter and is recorded as site P-37-028213.



The cowboys at Carrizo, working under Buster McCain and his brother-in-law, Al Kalin, were



housed in a Quonset hut that was surplus material from World War II. Kalin was the owner of the San Pasqual Land and Cattle Company, a feed yard located in Brawley (IV Cattlemen 149-150).

## F. Cowboys

A successful cattle ranching operation requires good men to take care of the cattle and handle chores such as mending fences and transporting the herd. Although open ranges and cattle drives have been replaced by fences, motorized transport, and feed lots, it still takes a few good men to manage herds. George Sawday's grandson, Willie Tellam, and great-grandsons, Steve and Mike Tellam, run a sizable herd of cattle without a large crew. The father son team tends herds of cattle, located on different ranches and spread throughout the back country. When it comes time to move herds or it is branding time, cattlemen still come together as they have for years to pitch in and help each other out.



Mike, Willie, and Steve Tellam working steer in squeeze chute

The 45,000 acre Warner Ranch is owned by Vista Irrigation District. Hein Hettinga and



Warner's Ranch

Mendenhall Cattle Company lease the ranch for pasture for cow and calf and steer operations. Ranch foreman Stan Ring, and cowboys Rudy Osuna and Alvin Guacheno handle the cattle and perform essential daily duties.



Roping

the pen and roped one-by-one.

While the horses hold the calf, the ground team tags the ear, brands, inoculates and castrates the calf. The calf is then turned loose to return to the herd.

Alvin Guacheno and Rudy Osuna work together, along with other cowboys and women from around the San Diego back country, at a 2006 round-up in Mesa Grande. The calves were separated from the cows and then sorted out of



Holding



Branding



Innoculating





The Tulloch's ranch in Witch Creek is used as a base of operations. When it is time to move the herd, the whole family pitches in and handles the chore.



This photo taken in 2001 shows the Tulloch cattle being loaded for the move from Witch Creek to the "North End". This would ultimately be the last season cattle would be grazed on the Tulloch Ranch in Cuyamaca.

## V. MANAGEMENT CONSIDERATIONS

It is apparent from the foregoing discussions, that twentieth-century ranching has left an indelible mark on the social, political, and economic landscape of the San Diego County region. The impacts of cattle ranching on the region's history as well as the environment are profound, and arguably irreversible. Although San Diego County has encountered intense population increase and urbanization, a large segment of its character and culture is still rural; the San Diego back country is still California's "Cow County." It is the purpose of this study to demonstrate the value, to the public and to the land, of preserving the history of ranching in San Diego County.

Evaluating the importance of the variety of resources that comprise the ranching landscape—districts, sites, buildings, structures, and objects—requires consideration of the criteria of eligibility for the California Register of Historical Properties and the National Register of Historic Places as well as evaluation of integrity. The National Register criteria are presented below followed by a discussion of five ranching historic themes that emerged from the research completed for this context study. Types of buildings, structures, objects, and artifacts that could contain significance in the context of those themes, according to National Register criteria, are also described as well as the aspects of integrity that could determine if resources retain the ability to convey the context theme.

### A. The National Register of Historic Places

The National Historic Preservation Act and California Environmental Quality Act Guidelines specify the criteria under which potentially historic properties are evaluated for eligibility or significance. The California Environmental Quality Act Guidelines include evaluation procedures that address eligibility for the California Register of Historical Places. The California Register eligibility criteria were formulated to be comparable with the National Register eligibility criteria; thus, the numerous guidance publications published by the National Parks Service (NPS) are also useful in working with California Register historical properties. The following discussions of significance/eligibility will focus on applying the National Register criteria as outlined in NPS National Register Bulletins 15 (How to Apply the National Register Criteria for Evaluation),

Bulletin 16A (How to Complete the National Register Registration Form), Bulletin 16B (How to Complete the National Register Multiple Property Documentation Form, Bulletin 30 (Guidelines for Evaluating and Documenting Rural Historic Landscapes), and Bulletin 32 (Guidelines for Evaluating and Documenting Properties Associated with Significant Persons).

To be considered eligible for the National Register of Historic Places, a property must be evaluated within its historical context, retain integrity, and meet one of four significance criteria. As stated in Code of Federal Regulations, Title 36, Part 60 and in National Register Bulletin 15,

“The quality of significance in American history, architecture, archaeology, engineering, and culture is present in districts, sites, buildings, structures, and objects that possess integrity of location, design, setting, materials, workmanship, feeling, and association, and:

- Are associated with events that have made a significant contribution to the broad patterns of our history; or
- Are associated with the lives of persons significant in our past; or
- Embody the distinctive characteristics of a type, period, or method of construction, or that represent the work of a master, or that possess high artistic values, or that represent a significant and distinguishable entity whose components may lack individual distinction; or
- Have yielded, or may be likely to yield, information important in prehistory or history.”

The foregoing pages of this report have detailed 240 years of ranching history and properties, providing a contextual framework within which to evaluate historic ranching resources for eligibility. The following paragraphs discuss five San Diego County ranching context themes that were brought to light during this study; others will likely be identified in the future. The following discussion of each theme will also identify the significant historic events, people, construction, and information that embody those themes; and addresses relevant criteria of integrity.

## B. San Diego Ranching History Themes

The historical and field research, documented above in Chapters II, III, and IV, identified five historical themes that define San Diego County's ranching context. Interestingly, each defining theme was reiterated through each of the research spheres: the archival research, the oral interviews, and the field documentation. Each theme also has implications for inspirational public education as well as effective land management.

It is important to note that the events, people, architecture, and archaeology identified in the current study were focused on Colorado Desert District parklands, although other important areas were also included. While the study synthesized five important historic ranching themes; revealed many of the important events in the County's ranching history; identified the large and some of the small ranching enterprises and families; and inventoried a representative sample of the types of districts, sites, buildings, structures, and objects that characterize and document the history; the report is by no means exhaustive. There are many other themes within the ranching context that remain to be explored. Two areas that were not thoroughly explored include the interaction between the ranches in Baja and Alta California and the importance of ranching to Indian peoples, particularly on reservation lands. There are undoubtedly others that will warrant further exploration in the future.

The following discussion identifies the five ranching themes followed by a discussion of the resources that might be considered eligible under that theme and aspects of integrity necessary to convey the theme.

### 1. Economic Impact

**Ranching has constituted a major section of the base economy of San Diego County for 240 years.**

In the Mission period, cattle and sheep were the mainstay of the mission, pueblo, and presidio economy. Cattle and sheep provided the raw material for food as well as clothing and other essential goods. Within a few years of the founding of the Mission San Diego de Alcalá, thousands of sheep and cattle were grazing San Diego's valleys from Santa Ysabel to the Mission. In the Californio and early American period, hides and tallow were the currency that was traded for nearly

all imported goods. Although in the later nineteenth century, the base agricultural economy expanded to include farming, mining, and other extractive industries, sheep and cattle remained a mainstay industry. Into the twentieth century, large family-owned commercial operations as well as small family ranches constituted a major economic land use in the County.

Ideally, to illustrate the evolution of this theme, examples from the Mission, Rancho, and American periods would be necessary. With the exception of the few remaining Mission and Rancho structures in Southern California, the majority of the features remaining on the landscape illustrating the economic importance of ranching are related to the American period. Important within this period would be the ranch headquarters associated with the large enterprises (Warner Ranch, Temecula, Witch Creek, Jamul, and San Felipe) as well as the smaller family operations (Vallecito, Lucky 5, and Bailey).

Aspects of integrity necessary to convey the economic theme would be retention of the original location, design, setting, materials, and workmanship of the ranch headquarters buildings. The structure complex should also retain the feeling and association with the particular economic enterprise it represents. For example, the Witch Creek ranch complex represents the hub of the George Sawday family cattle empire that stretched across Southern California. Important to convey this theme are the headquarters/family home buildings that evolved over several generations. These buildings retain the original rural location and setting along State Route 78, the signature green-painted, multi-addition building design and workmanship, and the evidence of on-going ranch operations that convey the feeling and association of Sawday family ownership and operation.

## **2. Environmental Adaptation**

### **Ranching's seasonal land use patterns were a highly effective strategy for adapting to the diverse and unpredictable San Diego County environment.**

In early Mission and Californio periods, open ranges allowed the grazing of cattle wherever conditions were favorable. In the late nineteenth and twentieth centuries, as urban and farm communities constrained the open ranges, ranchers were constantly adapting to environmental

conditions by moving herds through winter, spring, summer, and fall pastures. The proximity of coastal, mountain, and desert environments provided ranchers with the ability to constantly adapt to changing conditions by moving herds to more favorable pastures.

Large landscapes most effectively illustrate this theme. Trails that connected the seasonal pastures are important examples of this theme, including the mountain to desert trails such as Coyote Canyon, Indian Canyon, Palm Canyon, San Felipe Canyon, Chariot Canyon, Oriflame Canyon, Cottonwood Canyon, Storm Canyon, and Carrizo Gorge. As well, the former pasture lands in the desert, mountains, and coast, with their diverse forage types and seasons illustrate this theme. Aspects of integrity to convey this environmental adaptation theme would include the large scale location, design, setting, feeling, and association of the pastures and connecting trails. Included features, such as gathering pens and water features would need to retain integrity of material and workmanship. For example, the landscape of the San Felipe and Cuyamaca pastures connected by the Chariot Canyon trail retains the location, connecting design, setting, and feeling of the large scale seasonal movement of cattle. The corrals, water features, and fences retain integrity of materials and workmanship in San Felipe, although the damage from the Cedar Fire has seriously impacted these aspects for the features in the Cuyamaca pastures.

### **3. Individual Resourcefulness**

#### **Ranching was most successful where ranchers were the most resourceful.**

Managing large herds of livestock requires substantial infrastructure, the financing of which was beyond the capabilities of most ranching operations in San Diego County's unpredictable natural political, and economic environment. In the Mission and Californio periods, the large Indian labor force provided the minimal infrastructure that was required while the ranges were still open. However, in the twentieth century, providing corrals, fences, water systems, and feed required materials and labor that would have been prohibitively costly. As noted above, adaptive management strategies such as pasture rotation were employed. However, the evidence of recycling bridges, boxcars, surplus buildings and other materials reflect a resourcefulness and work ethic on the part of the ranchers and cowboys that is exceptional. Indeed, these resourceful ranchers defined the idea of recycling.

Resourcefulness is the theme best illustrated by the various vernacular buildings, structures, and objects that comprised the water, feed, corral, fence, and housing feature systems recorded during this study. Although in many cases they exist as scattered individual features, when taken as a whole they provide a glimpse into a way of life that got the job done with whatever materials were at hand. In a few unique situations, existing feature systems are still part of a working ranch. This is the case at Warner's Ranch, Campbell Ranch, San Felipe, and likely at Witch Creek and other ranches still in private ownership.

Aspects of integrity necessary to convey this theme of individual resourcefulness would be retention of the original location, design, setting, materials, and workmanship of the many vernacular structures and the landscapes on which they exist. For example, the Campbell Ranch complex represents the epitome of resourcefulness in making a living on the Colorado Desert, particularly with regards to providing water to livestock in a water-starved environment. Important to convey this theme are the numerous water feature systems on the ranch including reservoirs, troughs, flumes, pipelines, developed springs, wells, and windmills. These structures retain the original desert location and setting in Vallecito Valley, the ingenuity and hard work of Campbell's design and workmanship, and the feeling and association with the Campbell Ranch operation.

#### **4. Social and Cultural Influence**

**Ranching was not only an economic enterprise, but comprised a social, cultural, family, and friendship network that spanned the southland.**

Beginning in the Californio and early American period, ranching operations became based on family and friendship associations. Many of the Californio rancheros used marriage relationships to try to preserve their lands. By 1870, a majority of the intact ranchos were owned by Americans because of their marriages to rancharo daughters. In the twentieth century, movement across the landscape, unique work environment, commitment to the lifestyle, and lifelong work associations, resulted in an industry that was primarily family based and depended on a workforce that was tied to the industry through friends and family. Cowboys and ranch managers many times had worked for various aspects of the ranches all of their lives. George Sawday had several friend and family associates that were integral to his operation including Oliver Sexton, Russell Peavey, Bill Paroli

and Fred Grand who managed Sawday and Starr Ranches in San Pasqual, at Warner's and at San Felipe. Sam Taylor ran Warner's under Walter Vail. Charles Ponchetti ran cattle for years under Ralph Jasper. Walt and Harvey Moore managed cattle for the Dyars on Cuyamaca. These friend and family associations spanned generations. It was a time in San Diego's history where business relationships were completed with a handshake as they were founded on friendships and family relations.

The family and social history that is associated with ranching is also most effectively illustrated by the physical connections between ranches, such as trails and open landscapes, as well as the base ranch complexes themselves. Other structures that facilitated the social and family network, such as general stores, schools, and churches are also important representations of this connectedness.

Aspects of integrity necessary to convey the socio-cultural theme would be retention of the original location, design, setting, materials, and workmanship of the landscapes, ranch complexes, and other associated structures that demonstrate this connectedness. For example, several episodes in the history of Warner Ranch include social and family relationships: between Vail and Taylor as well as between Sawday and Paroli and others. Important to convey this theme are the landscapes that include the Warner's Ranch headquarters, connecting roads and trails, and other buildings where social functions were held such as the Santa Ysabel church, school, and store. The Warner Ranch buildings retain the original rural location and setting along State Route 78 and San Felipe Road as well as integrity of design and workmanship. Many of the connecting roads, trails and other community buildings retain the feeling and association that convey the longtime connectedness of the social and family ranching community.

## **5. Environmental Impact**

**Ranching and grazing have had a profound and irreversible impact on the natural environment of San Diego County.**

The livestock brought into San Diego County during the Spanish and Mission periods initiated the widespread replacement of native grasslands with non-native grasses. The impact of livestock on



the land progressed slowly during the Rancho period. However, by the twentieth century, active efforts to expand grasslands included such destructive methods as “chaining” and land modification with heavy equipment. Stock was encouraged to move into outlying areas by improvement of springs and development of reservoirs. Today’s land management strategies and natural resource restoration efforts must recognize these substantial historical effects and incorporate that knowledge into the land management plans.

The artifact and feature evidence of these activities, such as the chains and buoys at the Lucky 5 and developed springs and reservoirs in Cuyamaca, remain on the ground today. On the Lucky 5, the introduced “tall wheat grass,” a hardy perennial cattle feed, is still the dominant vegetation. These remnants have a powerful story to tell about man’s effects on the environment as well as data to inform restoration efforts.

Aspects of integrity to convey this environmental impact theme would include location, design, setting, feeling, and association of the many natural areas that were altered and developed for grazing. Included features and artifacts such as the mechanical equipment and developed features would need to retain integrity of material and workmanship. For example, the altered landscape of the Cuyamaca Rancho, including the chained fields and “tall wheat grass” of the Lucky 5, the plowed fields of Cuyamaca and Green Valley, the erosionally-downcut Sweetwater River drainage, retain the location, design, setting, and feeling of environmental alteration. Features and artifacts such as the reservoirs and developed springs in West and East Mesa, and the buoys and chains on the Lucky 5, retain integrity of materials and workmanship that communicate their use.

## **VI. SUMMARY AND CONCLUSIONS**

The history of ranching has important messages to impart to today’s world, both positive and uplifting and environmentally detrimental. The industry not only was a major component of the region’s economy for 240 years, but also exemplified the ethics of hard work, resourcefulness, family and social cooperation, and connection to the region’s unique landscape. As well, the industry unquestionably created irreversible changes in the region’s natural environment.

The material remains of ranching on the landscape are important representations of these stories. Individual artifacts and features such as windmills and troughs, flumes and reservoirs, trails and pastures, fences and corrals, are fragments of the history that additively can explain how ranching enterprises functioned as well as the story of the cowboys and other ranch hands who kept the operation running. The base ranch complex reflects the management and workings of the ranch business at its hub and the history of the long-time ranching families who operated it. These types of buildings, structures, objects, and artifacts may be eligible for the National Register of Historic Places individually, but are more likely eligible as contributors to larger districts and landscapes. Within the larger ranching landscape, for example at Warner's Ranch or Campbell Ranch, the larger story of the ranch operation is represented. In the context of the ranching landscape the story of the relationships of managers and cowboys, base complex and outlying feature systems, and use of the landscape from the coast to the desert can be told. These large ranching districts and landscapes, containing representative elements of the sites, buildings, structures, objects and artifacts that comprised the ranch operation, are clearly eligible for the National Register of Historic Places. They may be eligible as representative of significant events in the ranching story such as those identified in the themes above or in others that will develop as further research is undertaken. They may be eligible for associations with major ranching families such as Sawday or Vail, or with smaller operations such as Campbell or Jasper, or less visible ranching enterprises such as the Indian cowboys at Los Coyotes. The ranch houses and barns may be eligible for significant architectural styles or the feature systems may be eligible for their functional designs. Artifact deposits may exist that contain data to expand our knowledge of back country ranching lifestyles. Clearly, it is imperative that land managers recognize the importance of the ranching history to the San Diego region, evaluate ranching properties for eligibility and integrity, and endeavor to preserve eligible properties so the ranching history can be told to future generations.

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## Notes

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<sup>i</sup> We would weigh them at Temecula and that was the sales weight. Because they had been off water for about three hours by that time. It was an arrangement. We would weigh at Temecula with no water after 1:00 pm (Charles Sawday in Sawday and Sawday 2002).

<sup>ii</sup> Cook followed the road north to Temecula before turning south to San Diego. The trail from Valle de San José to San Diego via Santa Ysabel did not become a wagon road until 1849 (Bibb 1995).

<sup>iii</sup> ". . . the said house and other buildings had been destroyed by the Indians. . . . he was again at the site of the house . . . on the Rancho Buena Vista in the month of February 1852 and found the house and other buildings destroyed and in ruins . . ." (Sacket 1856).

<sup>iv</sup> Almod is an archaic unit of measurement that varies in capacity depending on the time and location. In 20<sup>th</sup> century Mexico it was a unit of dry capacity, approximately 7.568 liters (approximately 6.87 U.S. dry quarts).

<sup>v</sup> The San Antonio and San Diego Mail soon stopped using the road through San José Valley and took a more direct route over the Cuyamaca Mountains and down Oriflamme Canyon to Vallecito (Pourade 1963:215-231).

<sup>vi</sup> . See Van Wormer 1998 for a description of the physical evidence.

<sup>vii</sup> . Tax assets for Vicenta Carrillo include the following (San Diego Historical Society Tax Assessment Rolls):

1860

San José 4 leagues, 17754 acres Value: \$2,663 Improvements: \$1000

Personal Property

Wild Horses	60	\$480	Oxen	20	\$350
Gentle Horses	20	500	Sheep	100	150
Wild Cattle	150	1,050	Gentle mules	60	
Gentle	100	1,200			

1864

Valle de San José 2 leagues Value: \$2,000 Improvements: \$200.00

Personal Property

Wild Cattle	100	\$200	Gentle Mules	2	\$60	Wagons	2	150
Gentle Cattle	40	240	Oxen	6	60			
Wild Horses	45	120	Asses	1	15			
Gentle Horses	8	120	Sheep	250	125			

1865

Buena Vista 2 leagues Improvements: \$350.00

Personal Property

Wild Cattle	150	\$450
Wild Horses	40	200
Oxen	4	60
Wild Mules	2	20
Asses	1	20
Sheep	1	20
Wagons	2	150

1866

Warner's Ranch 2 leagues Improvements: \$200

Personal Property

Wild Cattle	50	\$500
Gentle Cattle	40	600

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Gentle Mules	2	60
Oxen	10	200
Asses	1	30
Sheep	500	500

1867

Buena Vista 2 leagues Township: Agua Caliente Value: \$200 Improvements: \$200

Personal Property

Wild Cattle	40	\$400	Wild Mules	4	\$80
Gentle Cattle	20	300	Oxen	4	18
Wild Horses	20	460	Sheep	400	500
Gentle Horses	3	60	Wagons	1	40

1868

San José 2 Leagues Township: Agua Caliente, Value: \$3550.40 Improvements: \$200.00

Personal Property

Wild Cattle	50	\$500	Wild Mules	6	\$90
Gentle Cattle	20	300	Gentle Mules	4	120
Wild Horses	25	200	Oxen	4	80
Gentle Horses	10	200	Asses	1	30
Goats	600	600			

viii. Tax Assessments for J. G. Downey (San Diego Historical Society Tax Assessment Rolls):

1871

Warner's Ranch 1 league, 4439 acres Value: \$3,329 Improvements; 0

Personal Property

Wild Mares 100 no value given

1871

Downey and Griffen

Located at Warner's Rancho

Wild Mares	150	\$1200	Asses	2	\$250
Gentle Horses	5	150	Stallions	2	200
Gentle Mares	2	60			
Wild Mules	50	600			

1874

Downey and Haywood

Undivided Interests 1 league in Warner's Ranch, San José Del Valle, 4444 acres

Value: \$5,555 Improvements: \$50.00

Personal Property

Goats- cashmere	1	\$40
Goats-common	100	75

1874

Downey and Griffen

Warner's Ranch

Horses - American	2	\$100	Jacks and Jennets	2	\$60
" - Halfbreed (wild)	20	200	Mules	20	400
" - Spanish (mares)	50	350			
Colts	30	90			

ix. Field Notes of the final survey of the Rancho Valle de San José by William Minto:

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Nov. 20-29 1878: "... Cañada Buena Vista ... Leave level Cañada bearing E. and W. for rolling hilly land Ruins of J.J. Warner's house bears s. 5 chains ..."

<sup>x</sup>. With the completion of the Southern Pacific's line from Los Angeles to Yuma in the 1870s overland travel via northern San Diego County and Yuma ceased and the road between Warner's Ranch and Fort Yuma was considered to be impassible by 1880 (Wallbridge 1880).

<sup>xi</sup>. Title transactions for Santa Ysabel during the period included the following:

Book C:343

José Joaquin Ortega

Maria Pico de Ortega (his wife)

José Joaquin Ortega

Refugio Ortega Stokes (widow of Edward Stokes)

by her attorney (José Joaquin Ortega) and for herself and children Adolpho Stokes, Alfredo Stokes and Edwardo Stokes to Edmund L. Hardcastle

All that ranch known as Santa Ysabel

April 4, 1851

\$1500.00

Book E:297

José Joaquin Ortega

Susan McKinstry by her attorney Justin McKinstry

Rancho Santa Ysabella (sic.) of Santa Isabel containing 4 square leagues of land with cattle.

June 21, 1855

Book 1:282

Justus McKinstry and Susan McKinstry (his wife), Defendants

George Lyons, Sheriff of San Diego County California

to

Antonio Maria Ortega

Rancho of Santa Ysabel ctn 4 sq leagues of land

\$1500.00

Dec. 28, 1858

<sup>xii</sup>. 1854 Tax Return of Maj. J. McKinstry, agt.

San Ysabel Rancho

470 head of sheep @ \$3.00 \$410.00

9 Tame Horses @ 25.00 225.00

30 Wild Mares @ 10.00 300.00

2 Wagons @ 75.00 150.00

4 Mules @ 25.00 100.00

250 Cows & Calves @ 10.00 2500.00

ranch Improvements: none listed

I could not obtain from Mr. McKinstry agt, any information respecting the property on the

Ranch. I had to have the above from others - Mr. Mc referred me to Maj. MK in San Diego.

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1856 Tax Return of Refujio Ortega Stokes

Santa Maria	2 leagues	Improvements: \$300.00
Santa Ysabel	2 leagues	Improvements: none listed
Oxen	8	
Gentle Cattle	50	
Wild Horses	90	
Gentle Horses	8	

1858 Tax Return of Bafueis Stokes (sic.)

Santa Maria	2 leagues	Improvements	\$300.00
Santa Ysabel	2 leagues	Improvements: none listed	
Wild Cattle	48		
Wild horses	44		

1859 Tax Return of John Rains

At Santa Ysabel

Wild Horses	250
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Frank Stone Agent

1860 Tax Return of Francis Stone

San Ysabel	Improvements: none listed	
Wild Cattle	230	\$1,610.00
Gentle Cattle	50	750.00
Wild Horses	5	90.00
Gentle Horses	8	160.00
Gentle Mules	4	120.00
Total		\$2,730.00

1860 Tax Return of John Rains

San Ysabel	Improvements: none listed	
Wild Horses	125	\$1,000.000



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Francis Stone Agent

<sup>xiii</sup> . Jager purchased the rancho through the following transactions:

Book 2:91

José Joaquin Ortega

Maria Pico de Ortega (his wife)

Agustin Olvera

Refugio O. de Olvera (his wife)

To

L. J. Jager

The undivided  $\frac{3}{4}$  of the Rancho El Rincon de San Ysabell (sic) ctg. 4 sq leagues of land more or less

July 21, 1863

\$258.00

Book 2:171

Aldolfo Stokes

to

L.J.F. Jager

All his interest in the Rancho Santa Ysabel

Feb. 28 1865

\$966.00

Book 2:217

A.S. Stokes

to

Lewis Jager

All his interest in the Rancho Santa Ysabel

Dec. 4, 1865

\$966.00

Book 2:312

Agustin Olvera

Guardian of Edwardo Stokes a minor

to

L.J.F. Jager

El Rancho Santa Ysabel (sic), ctg 4 sq leagues.

March 17, 1858

Rcd. May 13, 1867

<sup>xiv</sup> . At first Isaiah Woods hoped that the Oriflamme Canyon trail could be improved so that coaches could travel this way and bypass Warner's Ranch. An article in the *San Diego Herald* of September 19, 1857 noted:

The New Road to the Desert

The stage conductor of the overland mail train, on this end of the route, left here on Sunday afternoon, accompanied by Judge Morse and several other citizens to examine the new route to the Desert, with a view to take their coach train over that road on the 9th of next month. As this road cuts off one day travel between this place and Carriso Creek, we suppose it will be for the interest of the Stage Company to join with the citizens and complete the improvements already projected, when it will be one of the finest roads in the county. ..when this is done, we may confidently expect a through mail, (in coaches) regularly in 28 days.

P. S. The expedition sent out by the Stage Company to examine the various trails in the immediate neighborhood of Cariso Creek, returned last night, they report passing over and returning by an excellent trail following which a road can be made at a very moderate expense in a distance of seventy-five miles from San Diego to the Desert at Cariso.

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In the present state of this trail, the Stage Company estimate that they can take the mail from here to Fort Yuma in 2 1/2 days, by crossing the mountains at the point examined, which is nearly due east of San Diego. A glance at the map will show the cut off which this makes when compared with the old road via Warner's Ranch.

<sup>xv</sup>. Tax assessments for Cuyamaca from 1854 to 1873 include:

1854

Lassiter, Slasson & Co. – Vallecito

11 Horses	\$15 per head	\$165.00
16 Oxen	\$45 per yoke	\$360.00
3 Cows & Calves	\$10 per head	\$30.00
Merchandise		\$250.00
2 Wagons	\$110	<u>\$100.00</u>
		\$915.00

1860

José Clowdy

Green Valley (Cañada Verde)

Improvements		\$100.00
Gentle Cattle	8	\$100.00
Wild Horses	10	80.00
Gentle Horses	1	30.00

J. M Lassator

Green Valley 160 acres government land	Improvements	\$100.00
Vallecito 160 acres government land	Improvements	\$300.00
Gentle Cattle	43	\$516.00
Oxen	6	90.00
Gentle Horses	6	150.00
Hogs	50	125.00
Other Personal Property		100.00
Total		\$1381.00

J.B. Lassator & Co.

Green Valley

Wild Cattle	1	\$8.00
Gentle Cattle	23	\$276.00
Oxen	3	45.00
Gentle Horses	6	150.00
Goats	12	2.00
Sheep	400	600.00
Goods		200.00
Other Personal Property		60.00
Total		\$1351.00

1862

William James

Cañada Verde	Improvements	\$100.00
Gentle Horses	1	\$20.00
Oxen	2	30.00
Hogs	25	50.00
Wagons	1	20.00
Total		\$120.00

J.R. Lassator

Vallecito Government Land	Improvements	\$400.00
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Green Valley Government Land		Improvements	100.00
Merchandise		\$200.00	
Gentle Horses	10	200.00	
Wild Horses	1	200.00	
Gentle Cows	40	480.00	
Wild Cattle	60	240.00	
Oxen	10	150.00	
Hogs	200	300.00	
Wagons	1	100.00	
Total		\$2175.00	

1863

James Place (William James &amp; John Place)

Green Valley	Improvements	\$100.00
Wild Cattle	4	\$16.00
Gentle Cattle	2	16.00
Gentle Horses	3	36.00
Oxen	8	120.00
Hogs	4	8.00
Wagons	1	10.00
Personal Property		100.00
Total		\$406.00

1864

J.R. Lassator

Vallecito Improvements		\$300.00
Green Valley Improvements		200.00
Wild Cattle	190	\$950.00
Wild Horses	3	15.00
Gentle Horses	13	130.00
Hogs	70	140.00
Sheep	600	300.00
Personal Property		100.00
Total		2135.00

1867

J.R. Lassator

Green Valley		
Gentle Cattle	3	\$45.00
Gentle Mules	1	30.00
Wagons	1	20.00
Total		\$95.00

W.C. Greenwood

Green Valley		
Gentle Cattle	2	\$30.00
Wild Horses	1	10.00
Gentle Horses	1	20.00
Gentle Mules	2	60.00
Wagons	1	30.00
Total		\$150.00

John Hart

Vallecito		
Improvements		\$100.00

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Horses	4	60.00
Wagons	2	75.00
Merchandise		20.00
Personal Property		255.00

## William J. Kolb

Green Valley		
Gentle Cattle	2	\$30.00
Hogs	7	21.00
Total		\$51.00

## J. W. Mulkins

Green Valley 160 acres, value \$50.00, Improvements \$75.00

Gentle Cattle	3	\$45.00
Wild Horses	5	40.00
Gentle Horses	15	300.00
Hogs	2	6.00
Stallions	1	75.00
Wagons	1	40.00
Buggies	1	10.00
Total		\$641.00

## John Place

Green Valley 160 acres, Improvements \$200.00

Wild Cattle	14	\$140.00
Wild Horses	4	32.00
Gentle Horses	2	40.00
Oxen	12	210.00
Hogs	20	60.00
Wagons	1	50.00
Personal Property		50.00
Total		\$832.00

## Charles Smith

Green Valley		
Wild Cattle	1	\$10.00
Gentle Cattle	1	15.00
Gentle Horses	2	40.00
Oxen	6	105.00
Hogs	10	30.00
Wagons	1	15.00
Total		\$215.00

## 1868

Bunch &amp; Helms (William Bunch &amp; Turner Helm)

Green Valley	Improvements	\$250.00
Gentle Horses	2	\$40.00
Hogs	2	4.00
Total		\$294.00

## A. W. Lukett

Green Valley	Improvements	\$100.00
Wild Cattle	8	
Wild Horses	8	\$64.00
Gentle Horses	1	20.00
Wild Mules	1	15.00

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Oxen	2	40.00
Asses	1	10.00
Wagons	1	50.00
Total		\$329.00

## John W. Mulkins

Green Valley	Improvements	\$50.00
Wild Cattle	6	\$60.00
Gentle Cattle	1	15.00
Wild Horses	19	152.00
Gentle Horses	20	400.00
Hogs	12	24.00
Sheep	160	160.00
Stallions	1	75.00
Wagons	1	\$40.00
Total		\$976.00

1869

Frank Adran

Green Valley

Sheep	950	\$1425.00
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William L. Edgar

Green Valley

Sheep	500	\$1750.00
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A.W. Lockett (Lockett's Station)

Green Valley

Improvements		\$100.00
Wild Horses	3	30.00
Gentle Horses	3	60.00
Wild Mules	1	10.00
Oxen	3	60.00
Asses	1	5.00
Hogs	10	20.00
Wagons	1	50.00
Personal Property		50.00
Total		\$388.00

1872-73

Robert Allison

Undivided Interest in Cuyamaca Rancho 11356 acres @ \$1.25 per acre \$141.95

Machinery \$25.00

Also lots in Hortons Addition.

Resides in San Francisco.

Isaac Deen

160 acres of unsurveyed land in Cuyamaca Valley on the road running between Julian and the Stonewall mine. Residence Julian

Improvements		\$150.00
Wagons & vehicles	1	\$40.00
Horses	9	100.00

W.H. Greenwood

160 acres of unsurveyed government land at the base of the north peak of Cuyamaca mountains Agua Caliente township @ \$1.00 per acre.

Improvements		\$80.00
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Wagons	1	\$50.00	
Horses	1	\$15.00	
Oxen	8	\$175.00	

Residence 3 miles south of Julian City.

A.W. Lockett  
Green Valley  
160 acres west of Littlepaz, east of McIntash, south of M.N. Casacy? , value \$100.00

Improvements		\$150.00	
Wagons	1	\$25.00	
Horses	2	50.00	
Fire Arms	1		5.00

Mitchell & Dickman  
Green Valley 160 acres valued at \$100.00

Improvements		\$100.00	
Wagons	1	\$25.00	
Horses	2	30.00	
Cows	2	30.00	
Stock Cattle	2	16.00	

J.W. Mulkins  
160 acres unsurveyed government land valued at \$120.00

Improvements		\$150.00	
Horses	50	350.00	
Cows	15	180.00	
Calves	15	45.00	
Stock Cattle	20	160.00	
Goats	40	30.00	
Sheep	500	750.00	
Lambs	50	120.00	
Hogs	50	125.00	

N.M. Sorrells  
160 acres of unsurveyed government land in Cuyamaca Valley one mile southwest of Frary's mine valued at \$100.00

Improvements		\$75.00	
Wagons	1	\$75.00	
Horses	3	60.00	
Cows	1	12.00	
Calves	1	3.00	
Mules	5	125.00	

Residence Cuyamaca Valley

H.E. Taver  
160 acres of unsurveyed government land lying and being on Laguna Mountain 3 miles north of Green Ranch, Milquatay Township, valued at \$1.00 per acre.

Improvements		\$20.00	
Horses	5	\$60.00	
Stock Cattle	1.5		12.00

Lassator & Co.

Sheep	482	\$482.00	
Gentle Horses	6	74.00	
Wild Horses	1	5.00	
Wagons	1	30.00	
Total		\$591.00	

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J.R. Lassator		
Green Valley	Improvements	\$100.00
Vallecito	Improvements	\$200.00
Gentle Cattle	140	\$700.00
Wild Horses	2	5.00
Gentle Horses	10	125.00
Oxen	8	120.00
Hogs	175	350.00
Bacon	350 lbs	350.00
Wagons	2	105.00
Buggies	1	25.00
Merchandise		100.00
Personal Property		30.00
Total with improvements		\$2210.00

**240 Years of Ranching:  
Historical Research, Field Surveys,  
Oral Interviews, Significance Criteria, and  
Management Recommendations for Ranching  
Districts and Sites in the San Diego Region**

**\*\*\*Included as Separate Volumes\*\*\***

**Attachment I**  
**San Diego County Ranching Interviews**  
**Conducted and Prepared by**  
**Heather Thomson and Sue Wade**

**Attachment II**  
**Ranching Resource Record Forms**  
**(Confidential)**

**Attachment III**  
**A Roundup of Ranching Features**  
**In San Diego's Backcountry**  
**Prepared by Heather Thomson**