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CALIFORNIA RANCHOS AND FARMS
CALIFORNIA
RANCHOS AND FARMS
1846—1862

Including the Letters of
JOHN QUINCY ADAMS WARREN
of 1861, Being Largely Devoted to
Livestock, Wheat Farming, Fruit Raising,
and the Wine Industry

EDITED WITH AN EXTENDED INTRODUCTION BY

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MADISON
THE STATE HISTORICAL SOCIETY OF WISCONSIN
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Preface

The Letters of J. Q. A. Warren first came to my attention when I was leafing through the important farm journals published before 1860 in preparation for the writing of The Farmer's Age: Agriculture, 1815–1860. Among these periodicals was the rare American Stock Journal, in which Warren's letters appeared. Several summer visits to the Huntington Library, the Bancroft Library, and the California State Library to study the disposal of the public lands in California made me aware of the uniqueness of these letters with their detailed description of the agriculture of the rapidly growing West Coast commonwealth. A grant from the Huntington Library in 1965 permitted me to edit the letters under the delightful and stimulating conditions which that library assures to scholars. I am most grateful to John Pomfret and to many members of the staff of the Huntington for the numerous favors they did for me.

I take pleasure in paying tribute also to the library staff of Cornell University: Stephen McCarthy, who planned marvelously; Felix Reichmann, who buys books joyously; Edith Fox, who has built up a unique manuscript collection; and the reference department, which deserves very high praise. I have also drawn heavily on the fine collection of works on agricultural history in Mann Library of Cornell's College of Agriculture.

My thanks are due to Cornell University for the aid it provided me in preparing this manuscript for the press. To Lillian, who reads patiently, revises brutally, and invariably improves my writing, acknowledgment and thanks.

Ithaca, New York
December, 1966

Paul W. Gates
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Introduction

FEW EVENTS were as dramatic in their occurrence or as far reaching in their significance as the discovery of gold at Coloma in 1848. The resulting rush of population to the mines of California has absorbed the interest of succeeding generations of Americans as have few other topics. Letters and diaries written by emigrants on their way to the mines and later reminiscences have been published and republished and early editions have become collectors' items giving rise to excited bidding at Sotheby's and Parke-Bernet's. The literature of the gold rush from the first excited news stories in San Francisco and eastern papers to the extensive contemporary accounts in American and English periodicals and the flood of books on the subject in more recent times reflect long sustained interest. But while mining was receiving its due other developments in California that were to prove of more lasting importance were taking place without attracting the attention they deserved. Not only was there gold in the hills, there was gold in other forms in the soil of the valleys and it was to outdistance by far the value of the rich take of minerals.

Few contemporaries noted the transformation that was occurring on the large ranchos where enterprising Yankees were swiftly eliminating the inferior native cattle, sheep, and horses and substituting grade or purebred Shorthorns, Merinos, and Morgans. Thousands of acres of rich but never before cultivated land were being brought under the plow, producing millions of bushels of wheat that soon were to find a market abroad. Fruit culture, wine making, and irrigation were being undertaken on a scale never before witnessed.

The promotional and hortatory work of James Lloyd LaFayette Warren was doing much to encourage the diversification as well as the intensification of agriculture in Cali-
California Rancho and Farms, and the letters of his son John Quincy Adams throw much light on that early development.

James Lloyd LaFayette Warren, a Massachusetts nurseryman with a famous garden in Brighton where he introduced the tomato and had huge displays of tulips in season, also a dry goods merchant and proprietor of a horticultural store under Tremont Temple in Boston, joined the rush to California in 1849. Upon arrival there he set himself up in business at Mormon Island selling groceries and supplies from a tent. Subsequently, he established stores in Sacramento and San Francisco, gradually concentrating on farm and horticultural tools, seeds, plants, and journals useful to farmers, gardeners, and nurserymen, and organizing personally conducted agricultural fairs in connection with his other business that were the forerunners of the State Fair of 1854.

1 California Imprints, 1833–1862: A Bibliography, edited by Robert Greenwood (Los Gatos, 1961), lists the following items published by or for Warren & Company and the California Farmer:

256. Warren & Company. Good news for miners. New goods, provisions, tools, clothing, etc. etc. Great Bargains! Just received by the subscribers, at the large tent on the hill, a superior lot of new, valuable and most desirable goods for miners . . . Warren & Co. Excelsior Tent, Mormon Island, January 1, 1850. [San Francisco]: Alta California press, 1850. Broadside.


367. Warren & Company. A card to advertisers in the California Farmer. [Sacramento, 1852.] [But the California Farmer was not started until 1854.] 4 pp.


433. Warren & Company. Dear Sir. We are desirous at this time to collect from all parts of California, such data relative to agriculture as may most conduce to the advancement of this great interest . . . San Francisco, November 15, 1853. 4 pp.

602. California State Agricultural Society. Official report of the California Agricultural Society's third annual agricultural fair, cattle show and industrial exhibition, annual meeting, &c. held at San Jose, October 7th, 8th, 9th, and 10th, 1856. [San Francisco]: Printed at the California Farmer Office, [1856]. 80 pp.


Introduction

By 1854 Warren & Co. had become Warren & Son, the addition to the firm being James’s son, John Quincy Adams Warren, who, however, seems to have remained in the East buying goods and handling the firm’s business in Boston. In January, 1854, the elder Warren and John G. Morse established the weekly California Farmer which they edited jointly for eight issues when Warren & Son became both publishers and editors, while continuing to maintain their farm store, nursery business, and exhibition hall.

From its first appearance the California Farmer ranked with such ably edited agricultural journals of the East as the Rural New Yorker, the Country Gentleman, and the American Agriculturist. Much of its material was original, fresh, and informative and, unlike most writings in farm journals, dealt with controversial questions intelligently, especially the land question that wracked California for a generation. In his journal and in his public addresses Warren repeatedly criticized the owners of the large ranchos who permitted them to remain relatively undeveloped and who harassed and drove off settlers who were looking for land. His trenchantly written editorials and news columns in the California Farmer were made more effective by his visits to numerous farmers where he gleaned information and subscriptions. The associations he formed through his nursery, seed, farm implement, agricultural book, and periodical business and his leadership in the State Agricultural Society and his editorship of the California Farmer made Warren a prominent and influential figure in the State.

J. Q. A. Warren, as he signed himself, is an elusive figure, not easy to trace. Though in 1853 he appeared as a partner with his father, there is no evidence that he was in California at that date. In 1856 he maintained quarters in Boston as associate editor of the California Farmer and corresponding

agent for the eastern states. He seems to have given considerable time to visiting the best-known stock farms of the East, such as those of L. G. Morris and Samuel G. Thorne, gathering information on different breeds of cattle, their advantages and disadvantages, their prices and the cost of transporting them to the West Coast. A result of his investigations may be seen in the descriptions, pedigree, and illustrations of purebred Devon and Shorthorn bulls, and Berkshire hogs and Southdown bucks which enlivened the pages of the Farmer and doubtless had their part in the importation of stock that was underway at the time. The younger Warren maintained an "Agricultural Book Depot" at 119 Washington Street, Boston, where he carried agricultural and scientific books, many of which he listed in the Farmer. He offered to take orders for Concord grapes and to secure for Californians seed provided by the United States Patent Office.

In 1856 Warren was in California entering sheep at the State Fair at Marysville and managing an agricultural bookstore and in 1859 he visited San Jose and acted in San Francisco as general agent for the American Stock Journal. In 1860-1863 he conducted a publishing and magazine business on Montgomery Street, San Francisco, and an agricultural warehouse at 111 Warren Street. He published Thomas Rowlandson's Sheep Breeder's Guide.

Warren encouraged California stockmen to write in detail for the American Stock Journal of their successes and failures in relation to the sharp declines in prices for cattle, and the ravages of the drought and the great flood on the Sacramento of 1862 which brought huge losses to cattlemen. The Journal published not only Warren's letters on California but also long extracts taken from Rowlandson's book, four articles on California horses by "Tally-Ho," the articles of a "California Stockman," and clippings from the California Farmer. No American farm journal gave as much attention to a state remote from its publishing base as the American Stock Journal gave to California, all resulting from the younger Warren's influence.

It was a common practice for editors of agricultural journals to tour areas in which their journals were taken, visiting subscribers, and subsequently, in letters to their journals, describing the farms in a flattering tone commenting on the livestock and giving special attention to the more successful farmers and their operations. One object of these tours was to secure new subscribers and to retain the support of old ones. Some of these letters constitute the most interesting information in these agricultural journals. Herbert Kellar, a leading agricultural historian, found the letters of Solon Robinson to the editors of the Albany Cultivator, the American Agriculturist, and the Prairie Farmer so valuable as to justify editing and publishing them in two richly informative volumes. Like Robinson's letters, those of A. B. Allen in the American Agriculturist and of S. B. Rockwell in the Rural New Yorker have high value for historians.

Though we do not know how the younger Warren came to write the letters for the American Stock Journal during the years 1860-1862, it is fortunate that he did so, for they provide an insight into farming in California that excels any other contemporary account. His acquaintance with the relatively small size of farming activities characteristic of agriculture in New York and New England did not prepare him for the grandiose scale on which the farming operations of the great California ranchos were conducted.

Herds of thousands of cattle and sheep, grain fields extending over thousands of acres, large vineyards and orchards, and the lush production amazed him. He was a shrewd collector of information, not just gossip, and knew well how to present it in an effective and useful way. He gave particular attention to the great rancheros of the south, including Governors Pío Pico and John G. Downey, Andrés Pico,
William Workman, Henry Dalton, Joseph H. Hollister, Isaac Williams, Louis Robidoux, John Rains, Jonathon Trumbull Warner, and Abel Stearns. One might wish that he had told us something about the personality and traits of these men but this was not his purpose. Naturally he gave his closest attention to the livestock ranches, but the rapidly expanding vineyards, the wine industry, and the fruit ranches, particularly the new orange groves, were not overlooked in his letters.

Warren first visited the ranchos in Los Angeles, San Bernardino, and San Diego counties and then turned north where he traveled through Santa Clara and San Joaquin counties. Their purebred Shorthorn and Devon cattle, their Morgan horses, and the fairs of the agricultural societies, which did so much to popularize high-quality stock, won his commendation. Colusa County was his next stop and though he found some excellent quality Merino sheep there, he was not impressed with the county’s slow economic progress and, somewhat indiscreetly, did not hesitate to say so. Farther up the Sacramento River he made an extended stop at the Richard J. Walsh rancho where he was lavishly entertained. He repaid his hosts by giving undue space in his letters to their purebred Shorthorns, which had won many firsts at the fairs, their Morgan horses, Berkshire and Suffolk pigs, and Southdown sheep, and orchard, apiary, and spacious, handsome dwelling with its rich library.

Red Bluff, then at the head of navigation on the Sacramento, was the next stop on Warren’s itinerary. Here he met some of the leading politicians of the Valley, toured their ranchos, and collected information concerning their livestock. He visited the Nome Lackee Indian reservation, then in a state of utter neglect with influential stockmen grazing their sheep on the reserve and threatening punishment to Indians who resisted their intrusions. Tehama County and Red Bluff are well covered in the letters, but some of the largest ranchos were not visited.

Warren’s tour of Marin County brought him into an area where the largest proportion of the land was in Mexican land claims. Dairy farming early developed on these ranchos because the rain and heavy fogs throughout much of the year assured excellent forage for livestock and the location close to San Francisco provided an expanding market for butter, cheese, veal, and pork. But it was very different dairy farming from that in the East where farmers kept a dozen milking cows and the milk was used in the home to make cheese and butter. Here the ranchos carried as many as 150 to 200 milk cows—in some instances up to 3,000—and thousands of pounds of butter and cheese were produced annually on a near factory basis. Warren could not but marvel at the size of these operations.

The last two letters of this series are devoted to the extensive sheep farms in Monterey County owned by W. H. Hollister and the Flint-Bixby group and to the sheep-shearing festival put on at Marysville by the veteran Vermont sheep fancier, Alonzo L. Bingham, then one of the principal importers into California of Vermont-bred Merinos.

Almost simultaneously with J. Q. A. Warren’s tour of the ranchos of Southern California, the Alta California had a representative visiting many of the same ranchos and communities and providing some of the same information, but Warren’s letters are the more informative. The large size of the ranchos of Southern California did not bother Warren, but when he visited San Joaquin County where Mexican grants were already being somewhat broken up he called it a serious “drawback to have too much . . . land devoted to one estate or ranch . . . when, if . . . divided into smaller farms, and improved and cultivated by enterprising, persevering men . . . the wealth of the county and State would materially increase.”

Warren’s travels in California, his experience with the California Farmer, and his writings for the American Stock Journal encouraged him to set up as a publisher of the Sheep Breeder’s Guide and then as both editor and publisher of the California Wine, Wool and Stock Journal, which flourished for twenty-one months from January, 1863, to September, 1864. This journal, first started as the California Wine and Wool Register, was intended to supplement the
American Stock Journal, but the disappearance of that periodical at the end of 1862 induced Warren to enlarge the scope of the Register and to broaden the name. He devoted much space to wine making, ran some useful articles by Arpad Haraszthy, gave considerable attention to hops, tobacco, and even coffee as possible crops for California, and included some additional travel letters following the same general pattern of those included in the American Stock Journal. By late 1863 the California Wine, Wool and Stock Journal was on the road to becoming a general farm journal seemingly rivaling the California Farmer of his father. Though he made only one curt mention of the latter periodical in 1863, he tried to convey the impression that his journal was being widely patronized and was gaining ground as a periodical much favored by agricultural interests. He inserted a note in the August number of the Journal announcing: "The publisher of the Wine, Wool and Stock Journal is not Col. Warren. Having been confounded with the California Farmer, it is necessary to state that the two journals have no connections whatever with each other. Our readers will please bear this in mind."

Files of the California Wine, Wool and Stock Journal are even rarer than are those of the American Stock Journal. The Harvard School of Business Administration had an apparently complete set but in the process of having it microfilmed it disappeared and has not been found. Furthermore, the microfilm which was made has also been lost. The San Francisco Public Library has the first volume complete, but no other copy of the 1864 numbers is known to be in existence.

With the suspension of his editing and publishing business in 1864 Warren's career is difficult to trace. In 1864 and 1865 he was in the Hawaitian Islands collecting seeds and other articles for the California State Agricultural Society, of which he was "a delegate." As late as 1867 he was still in Hawaii and was paid fifty dollars by the Agricultural Society for collections he had made. And then the record becomes blank. His father's papers in the Bancroft Library provide no aid in tracing his activities.

Warren and son are well worthy of being remembered by Californians for the part they played in encouraging diversification of agriculture and their development of the home market, the introduction of improved livestock, irrigation, the establishment of the State Agricultural Society and the State Fair, and the spread of information on the best methods of farming and fruit raising, and for the information about California agriculture that J. Q. A. Warren made available to eastern readers of the American Stock Journal.

The American Stock Journal enjoyed a brief career in agricultural journalism and suspended in November, 1864. Commencing in January, 1859, it was a successor to the Vermont Stock Journal of 1857 and 1858. Files of both are rare. Daniel Chipman Linsley initiated both and was their editor and publisher until 1863, when publication of the Journal was taken over by C. M. Saxton, the major publisher of books relating to agriculture. Linsley was a staunch admirer of Morgan horses, having brought together in 1856 all the lore and history of this then very popular breed in his Morgan Horses. The Origin, History, and Characteristics of this Remarkable Breed of Horses: Tracing the Pedigree from the Original Justin Morgan Through the Most Noted of His Progeny, Down to the Present Time. The work remained in print until 1864. Its numerous smart but idealized illustrations and catching descriptions of leading Morgans, their speed, durability, and value for staging and hacking as well as for general farm work, helped popularize the breed from Maine to California. From its inception the American Stock Journal gave more than adequate space to the Morgans and came to be regarded as a journal primarily devoted to them. That is not to say that other horse breeds and other livestock were neglected, for they were not and, indeed, received both fair attention and favorable treatment.

Warren's letters and the considerable amount of other information about California that was published through his influence in the American Stock Journal in 1861 and 1862 should have brought it valuable patronage. The Journal,
unfortunately for its continuation, was competing with farm periodicals that were more general in character and yet managed to give a good deal of attention to livestock. For example, the *Rural New Yorker*, one of the best of the contemporary farmers' papers, devoted an entire section to sheep and made Henry S. Randall, America's most distinguished authority on sheep, an associate editor. Randall's articles, notes, statistics, admonitions, advice, and accounts of his efforts to organize the sheepmen vis-à-vis the wool manufacturers all appear in detail in his section and made it quite unnecessary for readers to take the *American Stock Journal*, where there was less information about sheep. The *Country Gentleman* and the *American Agriculturist* opened their columns to advocates of various breeds of cattle and filled the needs of livestock men. In the future Morgan horses were to have their own periodicals and registers, but as yet there was not sufficient interest in Morgans to make a periodical devoted to them profitable. Warren had accomplished much in bringing California to the attention of his readers, but when his contributions ceased the *American Stock Journal* lost much of its flavor and its patronage declined.

Few sets of the *American Stock Journal* have survived and, if we rely on the *Union List of Serials*, only five libraries have the volumes in which the Warren letters appear, two being in New York, two in the District of Columbia, and one in Virginia. This edition of the letters is of course designed to make them available to West Coast scholars and general readers. It has seemed appropriate to include a series of short chapters on the Mexican ranchos, livestock and grain farming, the fruit and wine industry, and irrigation in the years between 1848 and 1862. At the beginning of this period mining was the chief occupation, employing most of the population, and other economic activities such as shipping, staging, farming, and merchandising were satellites to it. Mining was changing, however; as the years passed it became more of a group activity, using more machines and capital and fewer people, and offering to many fewer opportunities. Displaced and disillusioned miners who had no other occupation to which they could turn, took up farming. Throughout the 'fifties agriculture was making great strides. Before the end of the 'sixties it had displaced mining as the principal occupation and wheat and flour were rapidly becoming the principal exports.

In any account of the agricultural development of California one must begin with an investigation of the numerous grants of land made, or claimed to be made in the Mexican period. These claims ranged from small plots and fractions of a square league (4,428 acres) to 1.75 million acres. Included within these huge grants, which were used, if at all, only for grazing, was most of the best land suitable for farming. When disappointed gold seekers turned to the land, often as squatters, numerous conflicts developed between them and the original claimants and their assignees. These disputes kept California in turmoil for years.

Some of these Mexican grants remained intact for generations. Indeed, a number of extensive holdings of the twentieth century were partly made up of Mexican grants, such as those of Miller & Lux which in 1932, then in liquidation, held 304,000 acres and many thousand of cattle and sheep, and the Kern County Land Company which added a portion of the Miller & Lux holdings making its total ownership 390,000 acres in California and 1,525,000 acres in Arizona and New Mexico. Others of the early grants were broken up, a few even before American occupation, but the important subdivisions came later as a result of inheritance, litigation, gambling debts, taxes, and lawyers' fees. Those remaining intact became spectacular grazing ranchos, bonanza farms only equaled in size of operations by the bonanza farms of the Red River Valley of Dakota Territory.

Warren's letters show considerable license in the spelling of proper names, but whether this was the result of his dependence on his ears rather than his eyes for the Spanish names or carelessness of copyists is not clear. I have corrected obvious errors of spelling. Warren's data frequently do not coincide with other statistics but seem as reliable as any that are available. When I had an opportunity to check his data
with the source from which he borrowed I found no errors. He accepted and recorded information given him by ranchers as to the numbers of their livestock, vines, and fruit trees and quantities of production which he had no way of checking. Wherever I found it possible to compare his information with census data or other sources I have provided the alternative data in notes.

It seemed unnecessary to give references for the many times I borrowed biographical information from Hubert Howe Bancroft’s “Register of Pioneer Inhabitants of California,” now fortunately brought out in a separate volume. Nor have I given references for the data abstracted from the original agricultural census schedules for 1850 and 1860 which are in the State Library in Sacramento. I have borrowed many times from Ogden Hoffman’s “Table of Land Claims” in his Reports of Land Cases Determined in the United States District Court for the Northern District of California (San Francisco, 1862), and from the “Corrected Report of Spanish and Mexican Grants in California, Complete to February 25, 1886, Prepared by the State Surveyor General,” and published as a supplement to the Official Report of the State Surveyor General for 1883-84. The well-known usefulness of these sources makes it unnecessary to refer to them constantly.

I have rearranged the Warren letters to provide the correct geographical and chronological sequence, and have, in several instances, shortened the titles under which they originally appeared. The first footnote to each letter cites the volume, page, and date of publication in the American Stock Journal. Because Warren was somewhat erratic in his use of italics, quotation marks, and capital letters, I have freely changed one to the other for consistency. Additions to the text are indicated by square brackets; omissions, by ellipses.

Paul W. Gates
The Mexican Land Grants

IT IS EASY to paint an idyllic picture of California in the Mexican period. At the missions the Indians were introduced to another civilization, converted, domesticated, educated, trained, and put to work building adobes, digging ditches, cultivating the fields, herding the sheep and cattle, drying the hides, making tallow, and performing the many tasks of housekeeping. Under the benevolent guidance of the friars who planned, directed, drove, punished, and prayed there was created an agricultural economy that was marvelously successful, considering the natural difficulties of the area. In addition to the mission churches, the friars' quarters, the housing for hides and grain and other buildings whose remains are the object of much attention from tourists today, there were carefully planned and completed dams, ditches or small canals and reservoirs for the conservation and utilization of water on parched fields, orchards, and vineyards. Despite the government's heavy demands upon them, the missions were able to produce food for their own population and small surpluses of grain and large numbers of hides and quantities of tallow for sale. Mission agriculture was permitted to endure for but a short time, for greedy politicians and other laymen in California lusted after their vast holdings, their huge herds of livestock, and their supply of forced labor. After 1833 the mission lands were swiftly secularized and divided into privately owned ranchos.

Ranchos began to develop during the last two decades of the eighteenth century. By 1834 some fifty-one grants had been made to officers and men of the occupying forces. They had large herds of cattle and flocks of sheep and were anxious to own the land on which they grazed their stock and were
building their adobe huts and other small improvements.\(^1\) After secularization of the missions' property the number of ranchos increased rapidly.

The principal occupation on the ranchos was the maintenance of their livestock, including the many horses needed for the business. Not that much was done to care for the stock, for they were permitted to run wild through the year, save when they were brought together at the annual rodeo for the branding of young stock and the slaughtering of the more mature animals. No concern was shown for stock improvement, the cattle were wild, wiry, and tough, and the wool of the sheep was so poor that it was called mere hair. There was no demand for beef, aside from that used for food on the rancho, and at the annual *matanzas* only the hides and the fat, which was made into tallow, were utilized. The low value of the cattle and even of the horses as late as 1847 may be seen in an invoice for five beeves sold to the United States Commissary Department for thirty dollars and one horse for fifteen dollars.\(^2\) The Mexican vaqueros, who might be part Indian, worked with the stock; Indian peons performed the hardest of the labor and received the least in return.

Richard Henry Dana has made the trade in hides and tallow familiar to generations of readers of his *Two Years Before The Mast*. These items provided the income both of the missions before their secularization and of the rancheros. It has been estimated that 1,250,000 hides and 62,500,000 pounds of tallow were shipped from California between 1826 and 1848. Part of these exports was the result of despoiling the herds of the missions, which one writer estimated at 424,000 in 1833, 396,000 in 1834, and 29,000 in 1842. On the other hand Father Z. Engelhardt offers evidence that all twenty-one missions had in 1832 only 151,180 cattle, 137,971 sheep, and 16,097 horses and mules.\(^3\)

In the Mexican period the largest and best-stocked ranchos were in present Los Angeles and Santa Barbara counties. Among them were the huge holdings of the de la Guerra family which either were granted or purchased from others, fourteen claims amounting to 488,329 acres, of which 431,708 were patented to them. In the census of 1850 the family's lands in Santa Barbara County, amounting to 227,940 acres, were valued at $133,150 and their 328 horses, 10,906 cattle, 1,012 sheep, and 40 hogs were valued at $112,670. Such huge holdings justified the de la Guerras being called the royal family.

Best known today of the large cattle herds were those of the Yankee immigrant Abel Stearns, whose shrewd business ability, in a world where acquisitive sharpness was not characteristic of the easy going, pleasure loving Mexicans, brought him an estate estimated to be worth a million dollars. Stearns lent money to other rancheros, including his father-in-law, at 3, 4, and 5 per cent a month to enable them to meet their gambling debts, pay newly assessed taxes to which they were unaccustomed, and maintain their extravagant style of living. With the profits from his ranching operations, his merchandising business in Los Angeles, and his loans Stearns acquired a dozen ranchos containing over 200,000 acres. Although statistics of his livestock vary widely, it appears that he had between 25,000 and 30,000 cattle, 2,000 and 3,000 horses, and 10,000 sheep.\(^4\)

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4. The lowest estimates of Stearns's cattle — 12,000 — appeared in *Alta California* on October 31, 1861; the moderate and fairly common estimate — 20,000 — was made to S. B. Rockwell, a livestock specialist, in July, 1862. *California Farmer*, 16: 121 (July 11, 1862). The 30,000 figure was the more common; one writer has declared that Stearns lost 30,000 cattle in the
Other large holdings of cattle were those of the Lugo family, estimated at 43,000 head, and of the Ávila family, 21,000 head. John Wilson, a Scotchman who seemed like a "close-fisted fellow" but who lived in a "patriarchal style, monarch of all he surveys," was said to have 20,000 cattle and 1,000 horses on his ranchos in San Luis Obispo County. Joaquin Estrada, owner of 70,000 acres in the same county, had 12,000 cattle and 4,000 horses and Francisco Pacheco had 7,000 cattle on his San Justo Rancho in Monterey County, which with other stock and equipment was appraised at $152,000. It was on this rancho that the Flint & Bixby group was later to develop its extensive sheep business. In the Bay region Mariano G. Vallejo on his Sonoma and Solano county ranchos had 25,000 cattle, 2,000 horses, and 24,000 sheep and his brother, Salvador, and the Martinez, Castro, Peralta, Estudillo, Pacheco, Argiello, and Sanchez families were also large owners of cattle. John Sutter on his Hock farm on the Sacramento boasted 12,000 cattle, 2,000 horses, 10,000 to 15,000 sheep, and 1,000 hogs.

The size of operations on some of the great ranchos was truly spectacular. On the Santa Ana watershed of Los Angeles and San Bernardino counties the Yorba family received grants or otherwise acquired claims to 213,331 acres in addition to the Arroyo Seco grant of 48,857 acres in the Sacramento Valley which was transferred to Andrés Pico. Bernardo, the chief of the family until 1858, lived in feudal splendor in the midst of his 114,480 acres in a fifty-room house maintained by twenty-six domestic servants. Over a hundred hands were employed in caring for his livestock. Among the skilled workers on the rancho were four wool combers, two tanners, a dairyman supervising the milking of fifty cows and the making of butter and cheese, a harness maker, two shoemakers, a carpenter, a plasterer, and a wine maker. The Yorbas' cattle business was not as extensive or as wide ranging as that of Abel Stearns but it was sufficient to maintain the family into the American period in affluence. Mariano Vallejo employed 600 vaqueros and laborers in the field, on the ranges, and in the household on his Petaluma and Suscol ranchos in Sonoma and Solano counties. John Sutter, the lord of the Sacramento, probably had an equal or even greater number of Indians forced to labor on his thirty-three-league claim. Everywhere on the ranchos the laborers were many but the beneficiaries were few.

The early ranchos, and indeed some of the later grants, were working ranchos, though they were mostly used only for grazing livestock and for residences of owners, their vaqueros and Indian hands. But as numbers of Americans drifted into California, married into the old land-owning families and, after becoming citizens and accepting Catholicism, petitioned for land grants which they obviously valued differently than the Mexicans, the old order changed. Toward the end of the Mexican period there was a greater anxiety to complete applications for grants and to put the mission lands into the hands of Mexicans. Both Governors Manuel Micheltorena and Pío Pico speeded up the flow of grants. Of the 813 grants listed by Ogden Hoffman 453 were made between 1841 and 1846; 277 were made in 1844-1846. In the final troubled days of 1846 before American control was established 87 grants were made or were claimed to have been made of which some were antedated, were based on

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7 Mexican Land Grants

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8 Robert Glass Cleland, The Cattle on a Thousand Hills: Southern California, 1850-1880 (San Marino, 1951), 53. Most surprising is the indication of substantial dairying operations on the rancho.
forged documents, or were contrary to Mexican law. It was
these last grants, huge in size, barren and undeveloped, and
a considerable number of doubtful validity, that were to be
the cause of much litigation, clashes between squatters and
claimants and near warfare. Governor Pico left a heritage
these last grants, huge in size, barren and undeveloped, and
forged documents, or were contrary to Mexican
fraught with much evil for California for more than a gen­
eration.

Altogether 750 Mexican grants ranging in size from one
square league (4,428 acres) to eleven leagues, with a few
extraordinary grants as large as 1,750,000 acres, and 63 small
grants of town lots or of a few acres were presented for adjud­i­cation to the United States. Included within these claims
were thirteen or fourteen million acres, an area roughly
equivalent to the combined area of Massachusetts, Connecti­
cut, and New Hampshire. Greatest of the extraordinary
claims was that of the former emperor of Mexico, Iturbide,
who after his overthrow had been authorized by the Republic
of Mexico to locate 1,774,000 acres. Next in size, though not
a Mexican claim and never presented for confirmation, was
the Russian claim of 1,200,000 acres which John Sutter
bought. José Limantour presented claims of 530,000 acres,
all of which were proved to be fraudulent. Then came the
Luco claim of 220,000 acres and Sutter’s claims of 146,000
acres. At least twelve other large individual claims exceeded
the eleven-league maximum allowed by Mexican law. Eight
of these were subsequently confirmed and amounted to 928,
000 acres, or an average of 77,375 acres. The largest claims
with prospects of confirmation, except for the two owned by
Mariano G. Vallejo (Petaluma, 66,000 acres, and Suscol,
90,000 acres) in Sonoma and Solano counties were in South­
eral California, as were also most of the eleven-league claims.

Indispensable for any study of the California claims are the following:
Ogden Hoffman, Report of Land Cases Determined in the United States
District Court for the Northern District of California (San Francisco, 1862);
"Corrected Report of Spanish and Mexican Grants in California, Complete
to February 25, 1886," prepared by the State Surveyor-General and published
as a supplement to his Official Report, 1883–1884; W. W. Robinson, Land
in California (Berkeley, 1948); Robert Grannis Cowan, Ranchos of California
(Fresno, 1956).

Los Angeles County led with 106 claims. Among them were
the Cienega claim for 88,000 acres, the Tejón claim of 97,000
acres, the Simi claim of 113,000 acres, and the San Fernando
Mission claim of 116,000 acres. In adjacent San Diego County
was the largest claim to be confirmed, the Santa Margarita
y Las Flores claim of 133,000 acres owned by Pío Pico.
Monterey and Santa Clara counties each contained ninety­
seven claims, Santa Barbara, sixty-three, Napa, fifty-seven,
Sonoma, forty-three, and Marin, forty-three.

If the size of these claims was not enough to astonish people
coming from older sections where farms generally ran from
80 to 160 acres and even plantations rarely exceeded 2,000
to 3,000 acres, the multiple holdings of the leading grandee
families surely did. Most greedy were the members of the
Pico family whose total claims exceeded 700,000 acres. Other
families having multiple ownerships were the previously
mentioned de la Guerra family, the Vallejo family, 294,000
acres, the Castro family, 280,000 acres, and the Yorba family,
218,000 acres. Only in states where the Spanish land system
with its huge conditional grants for improvements, mill con­
struction, or colonization had previously existed—New Mexi­
co, Texas, Louisiana, and Florida—was there to be found
such a concentration of land ownership.

In all treaties providing for the acquisition of territory by
the United States from other countries, provisions were in­
cluded guaranteeing existing rights in land; and the Califor­
nia claimants were assured by the Treaty of 1848 with Mexico
that their property rights should be the same as if owned by
citizens of the United States. Since Mexican grants had
been conditional and dependent on location, settlement, the
establishment of at least rough boundaries, and various other
qualifications many grants were not comparable to a fee­
simple title. Furthermore, there were numerous overlapping
claims and strongly suspicious claims for which there was no
legal basis or which had been antedated and the documents
forged; still others had been filled out after the date of

9 U.S. Statutes, 929–930.
American occupation and were therefore invalid. To separate the complete or nearly complete grants from those that were spurious or otherwise invalid, Congress set up a Land Commission to give each a judicial trial. From the decision of the commission, each side, the claimant or the government, could appeal to the United States District Court and from its decision each could appeal to the court of last resort, the United States Supreme Court. If the documentation was complete or nearly complete and the claimant had conformed to the requirements of Mexican law, the claim was not vigorously contested beyond the commission stage. Doubtful claims and those which were borderline cases were contested in the courts, the former vigorously after 1857. Before that date, a number of claims were permitted to gain confirmation, notwithstanding their dubious character, because of laxness on the part of the government attorneys and the able, indeed overwhelming, prestige of the attorneys for the claimants.

Those whose claims had to be litigated before the District Court and finally the Supreme Court in Washington found the process of litigation inconvenient, costly, and most trying. Many Californians have been sharply critical of the procedures to test the titles, scorning them as agrarian measures to compel the disgorging of the grants and pillorying all who were responsible for the Land Act of 1851. They have maintained that the cumbersome process of litigation enabled lawyers to obtain as much as a third of a claim by way of a fee, that the legal costs contributed largely to the final loss of their land by most of the old Mexican families, some of whom died in poverty. It should be remembered that California was not the first state in which private land claims dating from earlier foreign governments had to be tested. In the testing process the United States had developed a procedure that was fair, and its courts leaned over backwards to confirm claims where equity was on the side of the claimant. Also, it should be said that it was no more the cost of litigation than the extravagance of the old families, their neglect to pay taxes, their dependence on loans carrying high interest rates, their failure to realize that the day of the sparsely grazed ranchos had gone and that their lands called for a heavy investment of capital to make them productive and able to bear taxation, that broke up the large estates.  

Most of the later Mexican grants, including practically all of the eighty-seven given between January 1 and July 7, 1846, were neither located nor developed. Some were floating grants which permitted the grantees or as events turned out, their assignees, to locate the number of leagues allowed in areas five and ten times as great as the grant itself and to survey their boundaries so as to include all the best land. Until the grant was located and the boundaries defined all the area in which it could be located was more or less subject to the control of the grantee and no one could dare, without considerable risk, to make an improvement within it. Even on ranchos where improvements had been made, the boundaries had not as yet been clearly determined and probably not one of them had been accurately surveyed and the corners marked so that one could determine where the grants ended and public lands began.

The Mexican grants had been made for grazing ranchos when land was valued, if at all, at a few cents an acre, when cattle were worth only a few dollars a head and could only yield returns when maintained in large herds, when few were concerned about actual boundaries, when the lands were a vast public grazing area, and when records of titles or rights in land were loosely maintained. The whole situation changed

33 I have analyzed the fairness of the judicial process and the charges that were brought against the Land Act of 1851 in the following: "Adjudication of Spanish-Mexican Land Claims in California," in The Huntington Library Quarterly, 21: 213-236 (May, 1959); "California's Embattled Settlers," in the California Historical Society Quarterly, 41: 99-110 (June, 1962); and in a forthcoming article in the same journal, "Pre-Henry George Land Warfare in California." I have drawn heavily upon these articles and have not thought it necessary to refer to them further than on this occasion. The accusations mentioned in the text were first made by Thomas Hart Benton, whose two sons-in-law had major dubious claims in California. See Congressional Globe, 31 Congress, 2 session, 1850-1851, p. 158, and Appendix, p. 53; H. W. Halleck's report on the land claims in House Executive Documents, 31 Congress, 1 session, vol. 5, no. 17, serial 573 (March 1, 1849), pp. 119-182.
overnight when California became a part of the United States, gold was discovered, and a hundred thousand people suddenly descended upon California, first looking for gold and then for land. The ranchos at once acquired increased value and, notwithstanding the confused character of their titles, there was a scramble to acquire them. Questions of location, boundaries, squatters' rights in improvements, titles, and taxes, where taxes had been nonexistent, all became paramount. For well over a decade following annexation these issues wracked California politics, burdened state and Federal courts with endless litigation, and involved the legislature in many investigations and debates over laws to provide relief.

The descent of thousands of squatters upon California where land was claimed in large but commonly undeveloped tracts would itself have been sufficient to create controversies and claim warfare such as had developed in parts of Iowa, Wisconsin, and Kansas. The fact that many of the land claims appeared on their face to be without merit, if not positively fraudulent, and that the owners of unlocated claims were trying to include all the good or better agricultural land within them, aggravated the situation. Of the 813 claims presented to the Land Commission for adjudication at least 197 were either (1) rejected for fraud, antedated documents, incomplete grants, or failure of the grantees or their heirs to conform to the requirements of Mexican land law; (2) had grown out of controversies between heirs or close associates and involved overlapping claims; (3) were dismissed for failure of the grantees or their heirs to prosecute, presumably because their claims were not well supported by evidence; or (4) were withdrawn because of compromise or certainty of defeat.

Many early California settlers were a rough and ready lot out for the main chance and hopeful of making a quick fortune. They did not intend to commit themselves permanently to a community so far from their homes. Disillusionment with gold mining did not endear the state to them and may have made it necessary for them to try to make their fare home in some other way, such as claim making, or possibly farm making, until they had created an equity which they could sell. Out of this rough and ready element were many who succeeded in creating fine farms and who then were inclined to stay, and became advocates of law and order. The less successful, the more mobile, those who failed at one place and had to try elsewhere became, along with other earnest seekers of land, the squatter element. Since the bulk of the land within the confirmed claims was unimproved it is easy to understand why trespasses were committed, suits were brought, ejectments effected, and outright warfare waged between owners and land seekers.

It was the doubtful claims with their total lack of development that proved most inviting to squatters. They felt assured that pre-emption rights would surely be granted on them. But they reasoned without due regard for the wealth and staying power of some of the claimants of these doubtful grants. In the Sacramento Valley were half a dozen or more such claims. Together they contained well over 300,000 acres. However, because of the slowness of the judicial process and because they were not clearly located by the terms of the alleged grants, these claims actually kept out of the public domain a far larger amount of land. All were finally to be rejected, but, said the Sacramento Bee on March 6, 1862, the claimants, by harassing the settlers and trying to eject them or compel them to buy a questionable title, had set back the area for years. The claimants had been aided in this action by a decision of the Supreme Court declaring that owners of paper claims could retain possession of all the land they claimed until others had proved better adverse titles or until the courts had declared the claims worthless. Unfortunately, the many other valid grants—likewise totally undeveloped and unbounded—could not be distinguished from the claims that were doubtful by the ordinary land seekers.

When the landowners ejected squatters, destroyed their poor improvements, placed liens against all their property to assure payment of damages they had done to the land and compensation for its use, and finally refused to make any
compromises, the squatters resorted to desperate measures. They retaliated by wantonly killing the claim owner’s livestock, burning his grain, threatening punishment to those who came to terms with him, and driving off the sheriff’s forces. Angered by the tactics of the squatters, some owners harassed them in every way the law allowed and even went beyond the law.

As a result of this series of vendettas, uprisings, destruction of improvements and killing of livestock, swearing in of large posses, and long marches to enforce the law, California suffered a major setback. Uncertainty of titles and rights of occupancy discouraged the making of permanent improvements by both sides and great areas that might have attracted permanent settlers remained barren of development except rude shacks and cattle grazing on unfenced land. Claimants could not draw revenue from their land, often could not meet their taxes, and were unable for years to get a good title to their claims. Both sides carried their controversies to the state legislature and to Congress; both won some favorable legislation but the litigation delayed surveys, the establishment of boundaries, the division of claims among heirs, development of the land.

Not all the claim owners expected to hold their land as large undivided estates nor did all settlers insist that the claim owners had no valid rights and that the land must be treated as public domain. It was in Northern California that the division of claims proceeded most rapidly. Here was the bulk of the population, the greatest pressure for land, and the opportunity to sell at profitable prices, and here were men of means anxious to secure land for development into well planned farms, not just squatters looking for a small claim to develop into a small farm or to sell to someone else who would. Indeed, at least three grants had been subdivided before the end of the Mexican period: Ramon Mesa’s Soulajule in Marin County, 10,898 acres, had been divided into five tracts; Nicholas Higuera’s Entre Napa and Carneros, 8,649 acres, had been divided into thirteen tracts; and Salva-

dor Vallejo’s Napa rancho of 22,717 acres had been divided and conveyed to twenty-nine persons. The 90,000-acre Suclo claim of Mariano Vallejo, when sold to his Yankee son-in-law, John Frisbie, was soon divided into a number of holdings, quite large ones, it should be said, some slight improvements made on some of them, and in addition the cities of Vallejo and Benecia were laid out. Questionable claims like Andrés Pico’s Moquelamos grant of eleven leagues on the river of the same name were offered for sale and parts sold before final rejection by the courts, thereby creating numerous defenders of the doubtful titles. Some sensible claim owners, like Thomas Larkin, realized that accommodation with settlers was better for both sides and they early began to sell a portion of their land, rented other parts, and even permitted squatting if agreements were made to withdraw when the land was wanted by others. 12

Division of the large claims did not mean the creation of small farms of 100 and 200 acres; instead, tracts of 500 to 5,000 acres were made into bonanza farms. This was particularly true in Marin, Sonoma, Napa, Yolo, and other counties of the Sacramento Valley. Small farms were shown on the census schedules of 1860, but so were large farms and the dispersion of ownership was slow. Forces were indeed making for the breakup of the claims but it was to take many years and the original claims were to have a marked effect on the agricultural character of the state.

In Southern California the large ranchos remained undivided for the most part until the disastrous drought of 1863–1864, when Abel Stearns and others fell into financial difficulties as a result of huge cattle losses. Although many of the ranchos survived this period, and indeed were to continue intact even into the twentieth century, the process of division was begun on others.

Public lands outside the private claims, except for those immediately adjacent to the claims, were slow to attract interest in California. In fact, California was seven years a state before an acre of land was sold, and of the 8,730,034 acres in farms in 1860 only 345,000 could have been acquired through purchase from the Federal Government. By the close of 1862 little more than 500,000 acres of public land had gone to patent by warrant, scrip, or cash entry. Not until the late 'sixties did interest center on the lands of the San Joaquin Valley. Then began a wild scramble to obtain the best of the valley lands, with speculators leading the rush. But in the years from 1848 to 1867 interest was largely centered in the land claims, including those that were rejected.

II

Livestock Farming

IN CALIFORNIA'S Mexican period rancheros had no incentive to maintain or improve the quality of their livestock. Years of neglect brought the long-horned, slim-bodied animals to a poor condition, nearly "as wild as buffalo." But with the inrush of population in 1848 and 1849 there was an immediate demand for meat, and livestock which previously had little value now brought high returns, regardless of condition. What seemed like fabulous prices were paid for cattle, no matter how poor. As late as 1853 prices were still very favorable, ranging from $25 to $52 for stock that just a few years before would not have brought more than $2 or $3 a head. Andrew Randall told of selling a thousand cattle to be delivered at his rancho in Monterey County for $30 a head. There was thus offered to cattlemen of Southern California, Texas, Missouri, and the Middle West a truly golden opportunity to market their surplus stock which was bringing little in their home areas, though long and hazardous drives were necessary.

The rancheros of Southern California were in a position to meet a considerable part of the demand at the mines. With droves of 700 to 1,000 cattle they trekked north by way of the coast route or the San Joaquin Valley. In 1851 and 1853, 15,000 and 25,000 head were thus driven north from Los Angeles County. It was expected that prices would be even better in 1854 as the stock of the northern ranchos was nearly exhausted and the number of cattle coming in from

1 [Margorie T. Wolcott, editor], Pioneer Notes from the Diaries of Judge Benjamin Hayes, 1849-1875 (Los Angeles, 1929), 66.
2 Los Angeles Star, June 4, 1853; Andrew Randall to Abel Stearns, November 5, 1858, in the Stearns Papers.
Texas, Arkansas, and Missouri had not met demands. Not all the drovers, however, obtained good prices. Cave Couts, for example, one of the large cattle and rancho owners of San Diego County, drove 1,000 cattle north in 1852, finding fairly good pasture for most of the way, losing some cattle but having no stampede, and getting his stock to San Jose in good condition, but then was able to sell for only $20 a head. From 1854 to 1856 the drives from Southern California brought lower prices and the numbers sent north fell off. Indian raids, poisonous plants, exhaustion, dehydration, and lack of grass usually took heavy toll from herds on their way north. In 1856 a long and severe drought so destroyed forage as to cause the starvation of an estimated 100,000 cattle in Southern California. To salvage the best of the remainder they were removed to areas as far north as Tulare County where grass was available. 

California ranchos alone could not supply the demand for beef at the time nor could they stock the northern ranges, previously unfrequented by cattle. Also there was a revulsion against the native cattle—longhorns with their tough but nourishing meat. Fortunately, cattle were abundant in Illinois, Missouri, and elsewhere in the Mississippi Valley as well as in Texas, though the quality of the latter was little better than the native California stock. The Illinois, Missouri, Kentucky, and Ohio stock were of a better sort than those of Texas and, indeed, some of them, notably those from Ohio and Kentucky, may have had good Shorthorn blood. From all these states large herds were driven across the Plains to the growing market on the coast. In 1852 the number of cattle on their way west was estimated at between 50,000 and 90,000. As early as May of that year a register kept at Fort Kearny of stock crossing the Plains showed in round numbers 25,000 cattle, 3,000 horses, and 2,000 mules. In addition, there were 2,000 wagons and 12,000 persons. A diarist who had been impressed with the herds of cattle he passed, quoted these figures and added it is "no wonder that the grass appears scanty." Four months later a Stockton cattle buyer wrote that "there has been at least 50,000 head of loose cattle that crossed, and are now crossing the Plains this season." He also commented on the large number of oxen that were arriving daily. For the next four years the driving of cattle across the Plains constituted a business of considerable magnitude, involving many men and much capital.

Notwithstanding the immense numbers of cattle that were arriving in California in 1853, "American Bullocks" ready for slaughter continued to bring extraordinary prices, as much as $100 to $150 a head for the best, whereas native stock brought much less. Newly arriving herds coming by way of the central route were welcomed by the Sacramento Union as helping to meet the fast-growing need for beef and aiding in developing better stock on the ranges. 

It is fortunate that we have two diaries telling of cattle drives across the Plains from Missouri to California, one in 1850 and the other in 1854. The Walter Crow party of 51 men, 721 "loose" cattle, and 64 working oxen, started from Missouri on May 13. Their route took them up the Little Blue to the Platte, through South Pass, and via the Humboldt and the Feather rivers to Sacramento. Before they reached the Platte the diarist recorded losing cattle nearly every day.

* Thompson & West, History of Los Angeles County, California . . . (Oakland, 1880), 57; Cleland, The Cattle on a Thousand Hills, 102-137; Hayes, Pioneer Notes, 114.

* Los Angeles Star, June 4, 1853; Cave Couts to Stearns, June 15, August 14, 1852, in the Stearns Papers.

* Lewis Belcher to Stearns, September 10, 1852, in the Stearns Papers. Belcher spoke of his purchase of 1,125 cattle in August for $18.93 a head.

* Governor John Bigler estimated the number of cattle arriving in California in 1854 at 61,462 head. Of these 24,000 came by way of Noble's Pass, 10,000 by Beckwith's or Beckworth's Pass, 9,000 by the Gila River route, 5,000 by the Sonora route, and 5,000 via the Carson River route. Among them were the 900-odd steers driven by Thomas Reber which are mentioned below. By 1856 Samuel J. Hensley, who was becoming a major figure in the cattle trade of the Sacramento Valley, expressed concern lest the large herds reaching California drive the price of cattle too low. California Farmer, 1: 5 (January 5, 1854); 3: 11 (January 11, 1855); Alta California, September 18, 1853; S. J. Hensley to Stearns, July 19, 1857, in the Stearns Papers.
from exhaustion, wandering, and Indian depredations, at the same time noting that other droves with which they were in constant contact suffered heavier losses. One drive lost in Nebraska twenty work steers and another sixty cattle and eight mares. By the time the Crow party reached Fort Laramie it was selling its weak and exhausted cattle for four dollars each. At a ferry seventy cattle were lost and when the drive reached the desert in Nevada, the sufferings of the stock and the losses became very heavy. In addition many cattle were run off by Indians. Although we have no estimates of the numbers that came through to California, the high prices they brought once they had been fed for a time, being from three to seven times their cost in Missouri, assured good returns.9

The second overland cattle drive for which we have a valuable diary account is that of the Reber party of Lewisburg, Pennsylvania. Thomas Reber made his rendezvous just north of St. Joseph, Missouri, where he assembled 17 men and bought 360 cattle for $30 each, and 13 mules and 7 horses. In May he crossed the Missouri into Nebraska Territory and began his drive across the Plains by somewhat the same route as that followed by the Crow party. Preceding the drive by one day was another herd of cattle, the attendants of which fraternized with the Reber group on the way west. Numerous other drives are mentioned by Reber as his party waited to cross a ferry and at another time he spoke of seeing “3000 head of Cattle 200 men and 200 horses and 50 wagons.”

When the party reached the Carson River cattle were being lost at the rate of seven or eight a day from exhaustion, alkali water, poisonous plants, and from Indians. They got through the mountains safely and slowly moved down to the San Joaquin where they rested their animals for a time and then, not finding adequate grass, went on to the San Jose Mission where pasture was rented for the winter. Sales were made as

opportunity offered, the horses and mules bringing $250 each and the cattle $100 or more. In 1855 the party was still somewhat intact, but since California was in a state of depression and prices were low the Rebers were not able to sell off the bulk of their animals as they had planned. In April of that year, Thomas Reber was writing optimistically of expected sales in the future.10

Unlike the Crow and Reber parties, the Barnes brothers arrived in Sacramento in 1855 with 810 cattle in “fine fat condition” and reported the “grass is good and abundant over the Plains.” Their major complaint was directed at the heavy toll charges on the bridges and ferries in California. Numerous other herds were on the way across the Plains, they declared. Interestingly, they had passed a herd of 100 California horses being driven to Missouri.11

Mention might also be made of the Foreman drive from Fort Chadbourne, Texas, to Southern California in 1858, which was one of the most disastrous drives. An emigrant train with thirty-three wagons and over 3,000 cattle was reduced by dissension over routes, unwise selections, and trying experiences in the desert to seven wagons and “but a tithe of the cattle” when they arrived in California.12

Herds arriving either from the East or from the ranchos of the South were not welcomed by all in Northern California. Because stock was not required to be herded or fenced, the damage they did to grain farmers was large. A farmer near Merced who was anxious to get out from bondage to the miners of Mariposa County hoped that an agricultural county would be created in the western part. This would enable it to take action more favorable to farmers on tax and fencing matters, and to keep out the large cattle droves that constantly

*A. M. Tewksbury, “The Journal of Thomas Reber,” unpublished master’s thesis, 1935, Claremont College, 15 ff., and Reber to Jim, April 15, 1855, Miscellaneous files, in the Huntington Library. Tewksbury seems convinced that the sales must have come to $30,000, leaving a profit of $20,000 to be split with a number of partners.

10 California Farmer, 5: 193 (June 21, 1855).
menaced the farmers' grain fields. In Butte County it was said that stockmen were taking over 40, 80, or 160-acre tracts and using them to raise livestock in the midst of an unfenced grain-farming community.

Another complaint was that settlers—squatters—with small tracts owned, rented, or simply claimed as a pre-emption, expected to pasture their growing herds on the unused ranch land of the large Mexican claimants whose titles were unsettled. They withheld their young stock from market, thinking there would be grass for all and soon their herds were exhausting nearby forage. Settlers having no timber could not afford to fence, nor could owners of cattle afford to give both day and night supervision to their stock to keep them from encroaching upon growing crops. In the harsh winter of 1859–1860 when many cattle in Northern California died from a combination of hunger, cold, and exhaustion, it was said that the ranchos had been overrun by stray cattle seeking grass in the late fall and winter when it first began to come up, nibbling it down to the roots and leaving nothing for the ranch's own stock. Declining prices, overstocking of the ranges, the reduction of its carrying capacity, heavy livestock losses, and deterioration of the better stock brought in from the East all called for improvement in range practices. Legislation was needed to protect the settlers against the "stock-lords" and "cattle-mongers" who threatened them with violence if they attempted to herd off the stock from their improvements. To prevent a recurrence of these evils, settlers were advised that barns should be built to shelter the animals in rainy and cold weather, pastures should be rotated, better breeding stock should be used, fencing should be erected as rapidly as conditions permitted, hay should be accumulated for the poor season and straw should not be burned, and herds should be reduced through the elimination of native stock.

Little was done to prepare for the frequent and more or less serious droughts that struck some part of the state almost every year, leaving stockmen with heavy losses and desperately trying to find forage to which they could move their animals. The worst drought years were 1854, 1856, 1859–1860, and 1862–1863, and yet despite the trying experiences the ranchers went through they did not build up reserves of hay for emergencies. Instead, a convention of stock raisers in San Francisco was advised to reduce the number of cattle. They were told that livestock had increased in the state far beyond the demands of the market. From 262,659 head of cattle in 1850 the number had grown to 1,233,987 in 1860 and 1,800,000 in 1863. The annual increase was 600,000 head, whereas the annual consumption was only 400,000. Stockmen were admonished to conduct great matanzas for the slaughtering of a third of their brood cattle of three years and over for their hides and tallow, and to spay for two or three seasons an equal portion of brood stock under three and castrate all or a large part of their inferior bulls.

Livestock improvement was being achieved by the introduction of grade cattle from the Middle West, but there was a growing demand for purebred Shorthorn and Devon bulls and cows by ranchers who had the means to pay the high cost of bringing in superior animals. It was not altogether feasible to drive expensive stock across the Plains, although some did reach the West Coast that way. Most favored was the Panama route, despite its numerous hazards. Samuel J. Hensley, a constant worker for livestock improvement through agricultural fairs and societies, imported two Devon bulls from New York in 1857, in addition to seven Southdown sheep and four "superior" jacks. On the next steamer into San Francisco L. Stone of Colusa County imported four Shorthorn bulls. In rapid succession thereafter, J. D. Patterson, one of the principal importers of purebred stock, and the Coburn Brothers brought in high-priced Devon and Short­horn bulls and cows, including the Fourth Duke of Northum-

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19 California Farmer, 3: 41 (February 8, 1855); Alta California, April 28, 1860; American Stock Journal, 2: 163–164 (June, 1859).
20 Alta California, February 5, April 28, 1860; American Stock Journal, 2: 163–164 (June, 1859).
21 The Cultivator, third series, 11: 160 (May, 1865).
berland, which weighed 2,200 pounds and was sold to R. S. Bates for $5,000. Another expensive Shorthorn bull of renown was Earl the Fourth, which was said to weigh 3,000 pounds and which was sold for $4,000 to Captain John B. Frisbie, M. G. Vallejo’s son-in-law and owner of the great Suscol ranch in Solano County.

Those who preferred Devon stock were not to be outdone by the advocates of Shorthorns. In their opinion Shorthorn stock were not well adapted to the usual California range, for they needed rich pasture and careful attention and most ranchers provided neither. The Devon was a smaller and more rugged animal which, it was argued, would do well in the lack of attention. Arrangements were made for the bull, the Duke of Devon, to be driven across the Plains, but unfortunately the animal was so exhausted by the long trek that it had to be kept in Nevada over the winter. Charles A. Ely also brought across the Plains a number of valuable Devon cattle, but a third of them failed to survive on the route from Utah to California. The balance, after their recovery, were sold at auction for prices ranging from $295 to $1,170.

So numerous were the importations of pure blooded stock by 1860 that one observer commented that “almost every steamer brings an importation from the Atlantic States of blooded stock” in addition to the quantities of good stock being driven across the Plains. John S. Hittell estimated that between 1857 and 1862 there were imported into California about seventy-five purebred Shorthorns, twenty-five Devons and four Ayrshires. After looking over some of the importations James L. L. F. Warren, editor of the California Farmer and a warm advocate of purebred livestock, wrote: “When we look at the long horns, gaunt bodies, and unwieldy limbs of the Spanish cattle, and contrast them with the sleek Devon, the beautifully formed Durham, and the domestic Ayrshire, we wonder any dairymen will still retain poor stock.”

Agricultural leaders in California were aware of the slothful way in which both native and American cattle were managed. They advocated close attention to breeding, discarding native bulls, depending on either purebred Shorthorn or Devon bulls or grades of good proportions, and reducing the size of herds to a better relationship to the available pasture. At the State Fair generous prizes were awarded for outstanding animals, especially purebreds, and to the best-managed farms. The publications of the State Agricultural Society, the California Farmer, and the California Culturist constantly drew attention to the need for better stock and better care of the stock.

One California stockman, contemptuous both of the “mustang stallions and wild Spanish bulls” and of the “slovenly” manner in which better grade American stock was kept, expressed optimism in 1859 that the exhibitions and dissemination of modern information concerning livestock maintenance “was stirring up all classes to emulation.” Yet John S. Hittell could write as late as 1863 that “nineteen out of twenty of the cattle of California never get any food, save such as grows indigenously in the open country, and they always suffer for it.”

The long-horned, gaunt, and unwieldly limbed Spanish cattle could not be transformed or replaced overnight, but assessors records indicate that progress was being made. For example, Marin County in 1857 had 10,418 American cattle and 23,237 Spanish cattle. In Sonoma County, the record

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16 California Farmer, 13: 148 (June 29, 1860); American Stock Journal, 3: 350 (November, 1861); Alta California, March 17, 1860.
17 California Farmer, 12: 116 (November 18, 1859); Alta California, March 21, April 28, 1860. For another plan to take purebred Devons across the plains, see the Rural New Yorker, 12: 38 (February 2, 1861).
18 California Farmer, April 3, 1860.
was more favorable—44,036 American and 13,572 Spanish cattle. Northern stockmen were more aware of the advantages of breeding their cattle to purebred or high-grade bulls than were the southern rancheros and they provided the leadership in bringing into the state most of the thoroughbred stock. Yet Abel Stearns and indeed other southern stockmen did not entirely neglect improvement. In 1862 Stearns bought from H. F. Teschemacher of San Francisco three purebred bulls, four grade bulls, nine grade yearlings, and six bull calves for a total of $2,150. The overwhelming advantage that American and improved California stock had in the market was rapidly eliminating the poor native stock.

Extensive importations of cattle from the Middle West and East was almost certain to be accompanied by the bringing in of animal diseases that were troubling livestock. Most dreaded of diseases was pleuropneumonia, which had been brought to Massachusetts by an importer of Holstein cattle. The swift spread of the disease called for immediate action; Massachusetts quarantined affected herds and slaughtered diseased animals and seemed to have halted the further spread of pleuropneumonia. Unfortunately, the disease spread to other states and caused great alarm and a slowing down purchases of stock for breeding purposes. The California Farmer had been warning its readers of the danger that the disease might appear in their midst, but its editor was shocked when news reached him of the death of a prize Shorthorn bull of the Thorndale stock, owned by Major Samuel J. Hensley of San Jose. Warren urged immediate action should be taken to prevent the spread of the disease.

While the cattle of California were not as seriously scourged by pleuropneumonia, contagious abortion, and the Texas fever as were stock in other parts of the country, losses were heavy from drought and, paradoxically, from floods. The drought of 1862 sharply reduced herds in the south and the

**Livestock Farming**

tremendous rains in the Sacramento Valley in the same year destroyed 150,000 cattle, 100,000 sheep, 300,000 lambs, and 25,000 horses and mules. It is doubtful if the farmers of California have ever been so beaten down, so discouraged as they were in that frightful year.

Dairy farming was introduced into California by the Americans. Previously, the rancheros had not bothered with milking cattle and seemed not to have missed the fresh milk, butter, and cheese that farm-bred Yankees were demanding for their tables. During the early years of the gold rush the demand could only be met by importations, which aroused the editor of the California Farmer to deep indignation. James Lloyd LaFayette Warren, who was looking for ways of encouraging the growth and diversification of farming, expressed amazement in 1854 at the amount of butter being imported, declaring that in twenty-four days in May, 28 hogsheads, 634 tierces, 309 barrels, 424 half barrels, 251 firkins, and 93 cases of butter and 1,084 casks and cases of cheese had been brought into San Francisco. It was preposterous, he declared, for a state with California's resources to be dependent upon the produce of farms in other regions.

It was the growth of San Francisco, in 1860 America's fourteenth city with a population of 56,802, and the mining regions that provided a market for dairy products and stimu-

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*California Farmer, 8: 57 (September 4, 1857). Unfortunately records for other counties are not available.

*H. F. Teschemacher to Stearns, April 17, 1862, in the Stearns Papers.

*California Farmer, 15: 164 (August 2, 1861).
lated the dairy industry in the Bay counties and Sacramento. Marin and Sonoma counties ranked first in butter and Contra Costa and Santa Clara counties in cheese. Six Bay counties with easy access by water to San Francisco together with Sacramento close to the mines produced half of the butter and two thirds of the cheese of the state.  

Dairy farming provided opportunities for both small farmers and for some of the larger ranch owners. On the 6,000 acre ranch of the Steele Brothers in Marin County 163 cows were milked, the milk was skimmed and made into cheese and the cream into butter. In twelve months some 60,000 pounds of cheese and 964 pounds of butter were made, valued at $15,600. The Jerome C. Davis ranch in Yolo County, which was awarded the first prize of the State Agricultural Society for the “best improved and furnished stock farm of the first class,” boasted 250 cows, partly Shorthorn, which were regularly milked and the milk made into butter and cheese. A third huge ranch that specialized in both grain and dairy products was that of Hutchinson and Green, likewise of Yolo County. The stock consisted in 1858 of 100 cows of the common variety but partly crossed with good Shorthorn stock. The production of the ranch in 1858 amounted to 11,000 pounds of butter and 8,000 pounds of cheese. On the Hicks ranch on the Cosumnes River were maintained 3,000 cattle, of which 300 were milking cows. At the height of the season a ton of cheese was sent to market weekly, but in the dry months when a part of the cows were dried off the weekly shipment was 1,000 pounds. In eleven months a dairy in Sonoma County sold 7,769 pounds of butter to a San Francisco consignee, on which it averaged 64.75 cents a pound, for a total of $4,342.  

Not all successful dairy ranches were of the large size, measured by leagues rather than by acres. The Karman & Baldwin ranch of 550 acres in Olema, Marin County, was regarded by the editor of the California Farmer as a near model farm, in the layout of the buildings and the numerous farm activities, the large barns and haysheds filled with hay, potatoes, and root crops, the neatness of the dairy rooms, the home made churn, and the dry stalls. Of the 250 cattle regularly maintained on the ranch, usually 100 were milkers, but in the winter months the number was down to 60. In 1859 6,000 pounds of butter were made and sold for an average of 52 cents a pound. In 1860 the yield was 8,000 pounds and the average price was 46.5. In 1861 the yield was 10,000 pounds and the average price was 40 cents. The cattle were milked outside, as was common at the time; pastures were arranged to provide rotation of use and an abundance of grass in the growing months.  

By 1860 the dairy industry had come to stay and butter production was becoming an item of major significance to many California farmers, but importations remained high. More than 5,300,000 pounds of butter were imported into the state in 1860, or enough to provide fourteen pounds for every person. Two years later imports coming by way of the Isthmus were sufficiently large to cause Colonel Warren to wax almost apoplectic, particularly as the price of butter was high and a merchant was saying to him that “Half the butter made in California is fit only for ‘soap grease!’ ” Warren exploded that there were too many people “engaged in dairying, who had better be wood-chopping or coal-heaving. They do not know the first principles of the business—can not distinguish a Durham from an Ayrshire, or an Alderney from a California cow!” He was convinced that there was still profit to be made in the dairy industry, but

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* The statistics of butter and cheese production that the counties provided the surveyor general for 1859 (Annual Report, 1860, California Assembly Documents, Twelfth Session, 1861, insert 1) are so much out of line with those of later years that I have followed the more conservative census figures.

* All accounts suggest that it was common practice to skim the milk after a night setting before making it into cheese. One farmer of San Mateo County declared that the cream was fed to the calves, quite in contrast to practice in older parts of the country where it was skim milk that was fed to the young stock. Annatto was regularly used to give color to the cheese.


* California Farmer, 4: 19, 130 (July 20, October 25, 1855).

* Ibid., 17: 1 (March 28, 1862).
that it had to be developed on the best lines long since established in the older parts of the country. That butter could be shipped from the East a distance of 15,000 miles and be found better, sweeter, and preferable to the bulk of the local commodity called for strong action, he declared.

One of the severest critics of the practices of California cattle raisers but one who signed himself “A California ‘Stock’ Man” sent his indictment to the *American Stock Journal*, where perhaps he was assured not many Californians would see it. Some parts were tactless, bitter, and unfair, but two paragraphs are worthy of quotation:

A short time ago everyone was mad for stock, and ‘going into stock raising’—the farmers within easy distance of the cities were besieging the milkmen for calves to raise, and paying for them absurd prices. When they had obtained these, they ‘raised’ them by keeping them barely alive upon the smallest quantity of skim-milk sufficient to prevent starvation, till the wretched creatures could in some measure pick up sufficient grass for the purpose, and then turned them out on some mountain, with a bull calf or two, raised in like manner. In two years thereafter, these ‘stock raisers’ anticipated finding there a nice little lot of ‘heifers with their first calf.’

The dairy men and farmers generally, with some exemplary exceptions, have been acting on similar principles . . .

He concluded that bad as past practices had been the desire for improvement was spreading, and the necessary knowledge was being disseminated by means of various stock and agricultural societies.**

Information about the marketing of fluid milk is not abundant but one local scribe did preserve some data concerning the price of milk in Sacramento. From one dollar a quart in 1850 or in quantities, two dollars a gallon, the price fell to forty cents a gallon for the boats of the California Steam Navigation Company in 1854, then to thirty-five cents in 1857. The *California Farmer* of November 7, 1862, tells of a large dairy farm near Stockton on which 100 cows were being milked for cheese- and buttermaking. The farm’s milk wagons were “constantly running . . . into town” to supply customers.***

Statistics showing the growth in the number of dairy and beef cattle reflect the heavy importation of livestock from other states and the emergence of a flourishing dairy industry, mostly in the Bay region.

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Sheep were of secondary importance on the missions and the early ranchos, although in 1825 there were thought to be as many as two million in California. Like the cattle, they were given little care or protection in the winter and no attention was paid to their breeding. Drought, secularization of the missions, and concentration upon cattle reduced their

** De Pue & Co., compilers, *The Illustrated History and Atlas of Yolo County, Cal.* (San Francisco, 1879), 41; *California Farmer*, 17: 65 (November 7, 1862).

*** *Transactions*, 1859, p. 344. The United States Census for 1850 and 1860 (both of which are seriously deficient for California) shows 4,280 cows in 1850 and 205,407 cows in 1860, 4,780 and 26,004 working oxen, and 253,599 and 1,088,022 other cattle.
number by at least three-fourths before the American period. The animals were small, very coarse-wooled, their fleeces were lighter on the average than those in any other state in 1850, and Californians had little liking for their mutton.

Most of the older ranchos kept some sheep for the necessary wool for domestic clothing, not for sale. Flocks ranged from 1,000 or 2,000 to as high as 30,000, but most stockmen were content with smaller numbers. Their value was slight until the gold rush when for a time sheep sold for as much as twenty dollars at the mines and fat sheep brought thirty cents a pound or more than twenty-five dollars a head. It was indeed a sharp turn from 1845, when sheep were worth only twenty cents and their wool was so valueless that the fleeces were commonly given to the shearer for his labor.

Stories of the prices sheep brought in California were as exciting to the stockmen of the Middle West as were the accounts of the fabulous wealth to be made there in gold mining to others. For in most of the United States sheep were almost a drug on the market because wool had lost the benefit of a protective tariff. Owners of animals that would bring only a dollar in Missouri or Illinois but might sell for twenty dollars in California could hardly resist making the trek west with their sheep. It was not, however, from the Mississippi Valley but from New Mexico with its abundance of sheep that the first drives to California were made. In the summer of 1849 the first of the great sheep drives got under way when two prominent New Mexicans started west with 25,000 sheep in ten bands, going by way of Fort Yuma, the Mohave Desert, and the Tehachapi Pass to the San Joaquin Valley and thence to the mines. Spectacular success met this first venture and news of it encouraged others. In 1852, 40,000 sheep were trailed from New Mexico to Southern California which, after some resting at Isaac Williams’ Santa Ana del Chino and other ranchos in San Bernardino and Los Angeles counties, were driven north to the populous Bay and mining areas. Williams himself bought 11,000 incoming sheep to graze on his 35,000-acre rancho. In 1853 three major drives with 35,000 sheep, mostly purchased in the northern provinces of New Mexico at a dollar and a half, were on their way to California.

The best documented drive from the Mississippi Valley is that of Dr. Thomas Flint, Benjamin Flint, and Llewelyn Bixby who started from Illinois on May 7, 1853, with 1,880 sheep, 11 yoke of oxen, and 7 men. Instead of following the California trail they turned south by Salt Lake City and took the Mormon trail by way of the Virgin River, Vegas, San Bernardino, and Los Angeles, where rest and recovery were necessary. They then drove their flock by the coast route through Santa Barbara, San Luis Obispo, and San Juan Bautista to the Santa Teresa rancho near San Jose. There they stopped for fourteen months, selling and buying other flocks. The Flint & Bixby drive then moved to the San Justo Rancho of 34,619 acres in Monterey County which they bought from Francisco Pacheco and made the center of their very large sheep business. Augmented and improved by importations of excellent breeding stock, their flocks grew in less than a decade to 26,000, of which 2,000 were purebred Merinos. Their wool shipment for 1858 was 70,000 pounds.

Moving just ahead of the Flint-Bixby drive was that of Colonel W. W. Hollister, consisting of 4,000 sheep, 154 cat-

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*b Waste Book of Henry Dalton, memo of October, 1845, in the Huntington Library; Will S. Green, Colusa County, California (San Francisco, 1880), 47.
tle, and 31 men. Both drives suffered heavy losses, those of Hollister amounting to 2,800 animals. After reserving 900 ewes for breeding and stocking, the owners sold the balance for mutton, "realizing a handsome profit over all expenses and losses." Hollister's flock, with later additions from the east, all carefully selected, reached 21,500 in 1862. His wool and mutton sales totaled $150,000 from 1854 to 1862."*1

With more than 100,000 sheep reported to have crossed the Colorado in 1853 and equal numbers in 1854 it might be expected that the market for mutton and breeding animals would be surfeited and the flow stopped or at least slowed down. Yet in successive years flock after flock was started west from Illinois, Missouri, Texas, and New Mexico, attracted by the high prices in California. As late as December-January, 1858-1859, 80,000 New Mexican sheep crossed the Colorado on their way to the Bay region. Included in this number were two huge drives of 40,000 and 20,000. The Santa Fe Gazette estimated that there were 200,000 sheep in the vicinity of Santa Fe waiting for the first appearance of the grass before starting for California. Altogether, 551,000 sheep were driven from New Mexico between 1852 and 1860. Such great drives met the demands of the burgeoning population and made possible the spectacular growth of sheep raising on the ranges.*2

In 1860 California ranked fifth among the states in the number of sheep. Monterey County, then including San Benito County, had the most sheep, 190,656, and was followed by Los Angeles, San Luis Obispo, Solano, and Santa Barbara counties. Together these five counties had more than half the sheep in the state. Figures of the largest flocks in Monterey

*1 A drive of 10,000 mixed and fine-wooled sheep of Hollister, Peters, and Cooper left Missouri in 1858, by way of New Mexico. It reached Los Angeles County in February, 1860, reduced to 3,800. James Allen, who was spending some time with Hollister on the San Fernando Rancho of Andrés Pico, related some of the experience he had been told of the two Hollister drives in California Farmer, 17:161 (August 15, 1862).

*2 Alta California, September 18, 1853; Southern Vineyard, January 21, 1859; American Stock Journal, 1:75 (March, 1859).

**TABLE TWO**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>Sheep</th>
<th>Wool Clip (in pounds)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1852</td>
<td>80,867</td>
<td>175,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1854</td>
<td>135,413</td>
<td>360,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1856</td>
<td>219,280</td>
<td>600,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1857</td>
<td>282,865</td>
<td>1,000,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1858</td>
<td>451,031</td>
<td>1,428,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1859</td>
<td>605,978</td>
<td>2,378,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1860</td>
<td>1,088,002</td>
<td>3,260,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1861</td>
<td></td>
<td>4,600,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1862</td>
<td></td>
<td>6,400,000</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

in 1864 show the extent to which sheep raising had become a large-scale operation: Flint & Bixby, 40,000 sheep; W. W. Hollister, 30,000; J. K. Threlkeld, 30,000; Eugene Sherwood, 15,000; John Searle, 8,000; J. B. Winn, 8,000. Some of these large sheep owners, such as Flint & Bixby, Searle, and Winn, were also among the leading importers of high-quality Merinos.*4

Ordinary sheep from the Mississippi Valley, such as were driven across the Plains by Flint & Bixby and Hollister, were not of the highest quality, being grade mixtures, but were definitely superior to the native sheep of California. Aware that good Merino rams could bring about a marked improvement in the flocks, sheepmen began to import purebred rams and ewes in considerable numbers at the time when the

*4 Transactions, 1859, p. 344; Eighth Census of the United States, Agriculture, 10: John Hayes, "Sheep Farming in California," in Overland Monthly, 8:490 (June, 1872); Colusa Sun, January 31, 1863. The census figure of 17,574 sheep for 1850 is obviously quite incomplete. I arrived at the average size of fleeces by simply dividing the wool clip of the United States and of California by the number of sheep in each.

*5 Pajaro Times, quoted in the Sacramento Union, June 1, 1864.
Merino sheep was at the height of its popularity. Vermont and New York breeders had foreseen the future demand for heavy-fleeced, fine-wooled animals and for years had been importing representatives of the best stock of France, Spain, and Saxony, developing strains for which there was a growing demand. Among these breeders were Solomon Jewett, Alonzo L. Bingham, Edwin Hammond, Jones & Rockwell, and George Campbell of Addison County, Vermont, where the purest strains and the heaviest-fleeced animals were found. J. D. Patterson of Westfield, New York, also belongs among this group of most successful breeders of fine-wooled sheep. The sheep industry of California was to be greatly influenced by these men, but before their activities were felt improved Australian sheep were being brought into the state. Frank Whitney, called the pioneer sheep importer, had shipped from Australia in 1850 a flock of Merino sheep of which only 120 survived. Notwithstanding heavy losses on the long ocean voyage additional importations were made and a supply of high-quality stock secured.

It was the leading Vermont sheepmen, Jewett, Campbell, Bingham, Hammond, Jones & Rockwell, and J. D. Patterson of New York who as importers and breeders secured the highest prices for their prize stock. All but Jewett and Hammond advertised regularly in the California Farmer, Camp-

"California Farmer, 7:172 (March 12, 1857); 8:13, 44 (July 24, August 21, 1857); Colusa Sun, January 31, 1863; J. Parker Whitney, Reminiscences of a Sportsman (New York, 1906), 17.

I can not determine whether the Patterson who brought 1,500 sheep to California in 1852 that were said to be worth $15 each was a member of the Westfield Pattersons. Stockton Republican, December 8, 1852. Having paid as high as $100 to ship sheep and $500 to ship full-grown cattle to California by water, John D. Patterson determined to have 600 Merino sheep shipped by rail over the Hannibal and St. Joseph Railroad to St. Joseph. From there, with 70 head of Shorthorn and Devon cattle, in 1861 they were driven by the usual California trail to the Holden Ranch at Stockton. Sales were not completed for more than a year. By that time the market for cattle was poor and losses were sustained in their sale, but the returns from the sheep were more favorable. A daily schedule of the trip, showing less difficulties met with than troubled some stock drives, is in Ira H. Butterfield, Jr., "Michigan to California in 1861," in the Michigan History Magazine, 11:392-423 (July, 1927).

bell of West Westminster offering French and Silesian Merinos carefully boxed and delivered at New Haven for shipment, Bingham of West Cornwall offering "rare" French Merinos for $100 to $300, and Patterson stating that he could supply French Merinos and Durham cattle "of superior excellence, and at prices as low as the same quality can be obtained, either in America or Europe." Patterson brought from New York one of the largest and most valuable shipments which was displayed at the State Fair and then auctioned. One ram alone brought $1,500 and the entire 14 brought $7,600. John Searle, with purebred French Merinos imported by Patterson, built up on his three-and-a-half-league rancho in Monterey County flocks carefully segregated by the amount of Merino blood in them. Eight hundred of his sheep ranged from quarter blood to purebred Merinos and 5,000 were classed as "stock" sheep. His French Merinos were much heavier than the Spanish and Silesian strains and indeed exceeded in weight most of the Vermont strains. The fleeces of his choicest rams, weighing from nineteen to thirty-two pounds, seem only to have been exceeded by the fleece of the best Flint & Bixby ram.

The Jewett, Campbell, Bingham, and Patterson sales to California stockmen were becoming so frequent and the prices obtained so large that the Vermont Stock Journal declared: "Our California brothers have got the cash and they know how to use it. Within the next ten years we shall send them a great many of our best Morgans and many of our finest sheep." Jewett, Patterson, Bingham, and Jones & Rockwell came to California with some of their best sheep and set themselves up as breeders and settlers of choice stock, Jewett on the Kern River near Bakersfield, Bingham on Brannon's ranch on the Sacramento, Patterson first on a small

"California Farmer, 12:68 (September 23, 1859).

Ibid., 44 (August 26, 1859).

Vermont Stock Journal, 1:90 (June, 1857). Among the purchasers of high-priced stock from the Vermont men were San Brannon who paid $1,400 for two "pure" French Merino rams and Searle & Winn who paid $1,400 for two rams and two ewes whose fleeces were said to average eighteen pounds, presumably before scouring. California Farmer, 7:5 (January 16, 1857).
ranch in what is now part of Oakland and later on the del Puerto ranch of 13,340 acres near Livermore which was later increased to 30,000 acres, and Jones & Rockwell near Fairfield in Solano County.

The letters of J. Q. A. Warren show that to the Santa Anita Ranch of Los Angeles County had been brought the largest importation of "thoroughbred" coarse-wooled Cotswolds and Southdowns and fine-wooled Merino rams in Southern California, some eighty, all from the best importations from Europe. Five thousand of the 7,000 sheep on the ranch were of these imported strains, making the flock one of the best in terms of breeding in the state.

Colonel J. L. LaF. Warren of the California Farmer used its pages to foster the interest in Merino sheep by giving attention to drives, importations, and auctions of sheep and promoting a sheep-shearing festival. Borrowing the idea from New England sheep-shearing festivals, Warren gave a considerable advance build up which brought together at the Whitney Ranch in May, 1857, a crowd of farmers, landed proprietors, and others interested in livestock to witness the competition between picked men shearing some of the best Merino sheep in the state. In proper California fashion a queen of the May was selected, a fine collation was provided, and those present were given an effective exhibition of the difference between the weight of fleeces of native, grade American, and purebred Merinos.

The mid-nineteenth century was marked by bitter wrangling among the advocates of the superiority of Devon, Short-horn, or Hereford cattle, Morgan, Messenger, or other strains of horses, and French or Spanish Merino sheep. In California some of the sharpest writing revolved around the various strains of Merino sheep, the two principal antagonists being Alonzo Bingham and S. B. Rockwell of the firm of Jones & Rockwell. Bingham was the better-known sheep breeder and a man who wielded a tart pen, whereas Rockwell, while equally controversial, was a more prolific writer on sheep and other matters for agricultural papers. In competing for purchasers for their Vermont Merinos in a somewhat thin market these sheepmen fell into a bitter dispute over the purity of their sheep and the relative merits of the larger French Merinos—Rambouillets—as compared with the Spanish Merinos. Bingham charged that Rockwell was more of a speculator than a breeder of fine-wooled sheep, and tried to discredit the claims that Rockwell was making in his advertisements and letters in the press, while maintaining that he, Bingham, had been one of the most important figures in the development of the Vermont Merino strains. In reply, Rockwell belittled Bingham's part in importing the best strains of sheep from France, assured readers that the larger part of the sheep he brought to the West Coast were of his own breeding, and argued that the French Merinos were much superior to Bingham's smaller Spanish Merinos. The argument waxed hot for a time in the California Farmer, with the editor concluding when it lapsed that the public had learned much from the war.

Sylvester Jones of Jones & Rockwell was also pushing the sales of his purebred Atwood sheep in Oregon, as well as in California, and is said by Carman, Heath, and Minto to have "wielded the most potent influence on the entire Pacific slope" in introducing the Merinos. "The influence of the writings of Mr. Rockwell through the local press wherever he went was like a trumpet call . . . To name $500 as the price of one of these small greasy sheep was like an electric shock to most of these people, and some of them entered into newspaper protests against what they called 'an imposition, as well as an extortion.'” Jones brought to the Pacific Coast

* California Farmer, 7:140 (May 15, 1857).
nine shipments of sheep, selling them all the way from San Luis Obispo to the Willamette Valley at prices ranging from $200 to $500."

By 1864 the importation of purebred and other improved strains of Merino sheep had gone so far and their introduction into flocks carried out so widely that James E. Perkins, the secretary of the California Wool-Growers Association could say "there was scarcely a flock in the state that had not some infusion of improved blood from these importations ...."

Improvements in sheep breeding resulted in a large increase in the average weight of California fleeces. By 1860 they averaged 2.47 pounds and by 1870, 4.12 pounds, thus ranking California sixth among the states. The fine wool of the Merinos brought premium prices and of course made the sheep much more valuable than the Mexican or American grades. As the market appraised these differences Mexican sheep were worth in 1862 three dollars, American grades were worth five dollars, half Merinos and Southdowns were worth six dollars, and Australian and Vermont purebred Merinos were worth twelve dollars.

As in the older states complaints of destruction of sheep by dogs were continually made. In 1858 60,000 sheep were thus killed and 36,000 were seriously injured by "useless curs to be seen wherever you go in California. . . ." The State Agricultural Society thought that effective legislation to curb this destruction would encourage farmers "to engage more generally in sheep husbandry . . . instead of following up the ruinous practice . . . of the constant production of grain, and thus assist in bringing about a more approved and prudent and more profitable system of farming.""
tained anywhere else in the United States. Since harvesting came in the dry season farmers had no need to worry, as did those of the Middle West, about getting their crops in before the anticipated rain or hail and they were less hurried about reaping.

Years in which there was either too much damp weather or insufficient moisture were of course less rewarding, but on the whole the grain crops were favorable, though yields varied widely from county to county. For example, Tulare County, then including present Tulare County and most of present Inyo and Kern counties, averaged in 1854 ten bushels of wheat on the 2,920 acres cultivated to the grain, Stanislaus averaged fourteen bushels for its 4,295 acres, Alameda averaged forty bushels on its 15,490 acres in wheat, while the star performer was Santa Cruz with an average of fifty bushels to the acre on its 22,745 acres in wheat.¹

The relative ease with which the soil could be worked induced farmers anxious to make a killing when prices were high to plant wheat well in excess of their ability to harvest it. When, therefore, they were faced with harvesting the heavy crop which the first year of planting produced, they had difficulty in finding adequate manpower and equipment for the task. Indians could be impressed, but other labor was scarce and consequently local talent turned to the manufacture of reapers, doubtless cruder than those available in New York or Ohio but still workable. Nowhere did the reaper catch on so quickly as in California, for here wheat raising was soon undertaken on a large scale. All the well-known reaper and thresher manufacturers shared the market, including McCormick, Manny, Hussey, and Ketchum for reapers, and Pitt, Emery, and Hall for threshers and separators. The usual complaints were made about frequent breakdowns resulting from broken gears, shafts, and pulleys, and about the failure of the dealers to carry sufficient spare parts. The California Farmer maintained that

¹ Annual Report of the Surveyor General, California Senate Documents, Sixth Session, 1855, p. 78. For other records of yields, see Hittell, Resources of California, 173.

most imported reapers were made for wheat raised in the Middle West, where the straw was short and light and the yield sixteen to twenty bushels to the acre, but in California stronger machines were needed because the wheat produced longer and heavier straw, even six to eight feet high, and yielded twenty-five to sixty bushels an acre of heavy grain.²

On big ranchos horse-powered treadmills worked the threshing machines though steam power soon displaced them. By 1860 portable steam engines having from eight to twelve horsepower were being used. There was much argument as to the amount of wheat they could thresh, some makers advertising that their machines could turn out 5,000 bushels in a day. In practice the output was far less. One contemporary account maintained that a steam-powered threshing machine turned out between 1,000 and 1,500 bushels a day at the expense of three quarters of a cord of wood, and probably a staff of some twelve to seventeen men. Wagons capable of hauling from four to six tons carried the grain to San Francisco for shipment elsewhere.³

Information about the sale of reapers and threshers is sparse. Cyrus McCormick seems to have thought of California in 1851 as an area where he could dump his surplus machines and in 1855 he planned to manufacture for the West Coast market only 100 reapers. In June, 1859, the California Farmer reported that importers were "making quite a show of harvesters," but it did not think that more than 400 of the best reapers, such as the New York, McCormick, Manny, and Hussey, had been sold in addition to 100 of the "common" ones. One hundred reapers had been lost on the Manitou. One hundred more on the Fanny S. Perley, then overdue,

² California Farmer, 6:36 (August 22, 1856). F. Hal Higgins has shown some experiments which were made as early as 1864 with combined harvesters in reaping wheat on the John M. Horner rancho near San Jose and perhaps more practically in the late 'sixties in "John M. Horner and the Development of the Combined Harvester," in Agricultural History, 32:14-24 (January, 1958).
³ California Farmer, 15:5, 49, 168, 177 (March 1, April 12, August 2, 23, 1861). Reynold M. Wik, Steam Power on the American Farm (Philadelphia, 1953), is useful.
were feared lost. The following year "nearly" 690 reapers and mowers and 10 headers and clippers were sold by San Francisco firms; dealers in Stockton, Marysville, Petaluma, and Sacramento sold an additional 330. The more refined machines sold for $350 to $650, but the average price was about $250. In 1862 dealers in Stockton and Sacramento alone sold 500 mowers, 220 reapers, and 100 threshers. Colonel Warren, an indefatigable advocate of self sufficiency for California, used the statistics to urge the local manufacture of reapers and threshers since the freight from the East added $40 to the cost of each machine. Whatever the cost, manpower had been augmented ten times, said one commentator, by the introduction of the reaper, the mower, the thresher, the grist mill, the sulky-plow, the corn-husker, the corn sheller, the horse rake, and the horse fork.

In the early 'fifties California's wheat farmers were not bothered much by rust, smut, grasshoppers, or other parasites, but as land was sown to wheat year after year diseases and pests accumulated and reduced yields. In 1854 smut was sufficiently common to lead to the advertising of smut machines to rid the wheat of it and other impurities. The following year the wheat crop was reduced sharply throughout the state by an extraordinarily heavy infestation of grasshoppers that swarmed over all growing things, destroying grain, fruit leaves, vegetables, and grass. Entire fields of grain were swept bare by the pests. To save as much grain as possible farmers were compelled to harvest before the grain was quite ready. At the same time smut, rust, and blight were widely prevalent, pests accumulated and reduced yields. In 1859 his wheat crop was 39,000 bushels, chiefly, we may assume, for consumption on the ranch. Only with the impressment of many Indians was it possible to accomplish so much. Farther up the Sacramento were the two great ranchos of John Bidwell and Pierson B. Reading, originally of 39,000 and 35,000 acres respectively. Bidwell's fifty "trained" Indians enabled him to have 300 acres in grain in 1857 and 435 acres in 1858, mostly in wheat and oats. In 1859 his wheat crop was 13,000 bushels. His equipment, which he valued at $7,500 in 1860, consisted of twenty plows, four harrows, two mowers and reapers, and two threshers. Four hundred and eighty-one horses and mules and ten oxen

ful, however, that the weevil, that major scourge of Eastern and Middle Western wheat fields, was not also a source of destruction, perhaps because the California wheat was sufficiently hard to resist it.

Chief among the weed enemies of wheat were mustard, wild oats, wild clover, and volunteer wheat and barley. Because of the mild winters they were not killed out between seasons, as in the Middle West. Since most of these plants ripened before the wheat, the weed seeds became mixed with the grain when harvested. Unfortunately, the separators of the time were inadequate to clean the befouled grain and the wheat and flour made from it acquired an unpleasant reputation and brought low prices.

In the richly endowed counties of central California owners of extensive properties turned to the cultivation of grain which offered them a speedier return from their land than other crops, a return needed to carry the cost of winning confirmation of their titles and of defending their claims against the numerous squatters who swarmed over their properties. John Sutter himself, on his huge thirty-three-league claim on the Sacramento, had begun to raise wheat on a large scale as early as 1847 when he produced 23,000 bushels, chiefly, for consumption on the ranch. Only with the impressment of many Indians was it possible to accomplish so much. Farther up the Sacramento were the two great ranchos of John Bidwell and Pierson B. Reading, originally of 39,000 and 35,000 acres respectively. Bidwell's fifty "trained" Indians enabled him to have 300 acres in grain in 1857 and 435 acres in 1858, mostly in wheat and oats. In 1859 his wheat crop was 13,000 bushels. His equipment, which he valued at $7,500 in 1860, consisted of twenty plows, four harrows, two mowers and reapers, and two threshers. Four hundred and eighty-one horses and mules and ten oxen

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*William T. Hutchinson, Cyrus Hall McCormick: Seed-Time, 1809-1836 (New York, 1930), 325, 377, 471; California Farmer, 6:36 (August 22, 1856); 11:161 (June 24, 1859); 13:140, 156 (June 22, July 20, 1860); 17:120 (July 4, 1862); Transactions, 1864-1865, p. 17.

*From June to August, 1855, the California Farmer contains many accounts of grasshopper destruction, damage to wheat by rust and smut, and small yields.

*Horace Davis, "Wheat in California," in Overland Monthly, 1:448 (November, 1868). A Southern California rancher noted that the wheat of Northern ranchos was quite clean compared with that produced in his section, being almost free of dirt and weed seeds. It brought a favorable price.

C. R. Johnson to Stearns, July 21, 1856, in the Stearns Papers.
were used on the place. Reading had a plank fence around 7,000 acres of his Shasta County ranch, of which 100 acres were in grain. Unlike Bidwell he seems to have been more concerned to fence in his cattle, for little of his great ranch was in cultivation, and he valued his equipment at only $500. In contrast the 1,886-acre ranch of George C. Yount of Napa County in 1859 produced 17,800 bushels of wheat and 2,400 bushels of corn, in addition to maintaining 80 cows, 320 other cattle, and 1,200 sheep and making 1,500 gallons of wine.

A committee of the State Agricultural Society visiting farms, orchards, and vineyards to award prizes said that Reading had succeeded in avoiding conflicts with squatters by permitting them to settle upon parts of his property, presumably the more remote, and when the land was patented was selling portions to them. The committee paid particular attention to the ranches of Jerome C. Davis and Hutchison & Green in Yolo County. Of the 12,000-acre Davis Ranch, 7,680 were enclosed with a plank fence. Cattle were the major interest with fruit increasingly stressed, but 700 acres were in grain and on the ranch was a flour mill. The Hutchinson & Green ranch consisted of 6,200 acres, of which 2,650 were fenced. Nine hundred acres were in wheat and 520 acres in barley. Among the equipment were seven gang plows, twenty-two single plows, twenty harrows, a grain drill, cultivator, seven reapers and mowers, three threshing machines, nine revolving horse rakes, and four hay presses.

In Santa Clara County two large-scale agricultural operations were under way in 1854. John Horner seems to have wanted to make himself the potato king of California. In 1850 he was reported to have planted 130 acres in potatoes which yielded him 35,000 bushels or an average of 270 bushels to the acre. He anticipated that his crop would gross $175,000. He also produced 40,000 pounds of onions, 40,000 cabbage plants, and 50,000 pounds of tomatoes. In March, 1851, he was reported to have ordered ten miles of iron fencing and twenty plows. In 1853 his potato crop reached 400,000 bushels. One would have thought he would have stopped at that record, for prices fell so disastrously that it did not pay to haul the potatoes away and many thousands of bushels were left to rot in the fields or warehouses. Although Horner diversified his crops somewhat more the following year, planting 1,500 acres to wheat, 150 to oats, and 200 to barley, 600 acres were planted to potatoes. Closely associated with him in these operations was E. L. Beard whose harvest of potatoes in 1853 was 250,000 bushels. The following year Beard had 1,100 acres in wheat, 600 in oats, 300 in barley, and 600 in potatoes. It is small wonder that the San Francisco potato market was glutted.

On the Bodega Ranch of Stephen Smith in Sonoma County, on which there was a long conflict between settlers or squatters and the legal owner, Smith, with the aid of thirty renters, was said to have 4,000 acres in crops somewhat more the following year, planting 1,500 acres to oats, and 200 to barley and 3,000 acres in potatoes. In addition the forty-eight to sixty squatters had twice as much land in crops. On Smith's death and the remarriage of his widow, the earlier and quieter days when Smith kept on good terms with the squatters ended, and the new manager fell into serious controversy with them.

One of the great California ranchos which has had the longest continuous history as a unit is the Tejon ranch in the extreme south of Kern County, where in 1854 Edward F. Beale, as Superintendent of Indian Affairs, was creating an Indian reservation. When plans were being made for the

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*As late as 1881 there were nearly a hundred Indians working on the Bidwell rancho. In 1860 Bidwell listed 600 acres of improved land and 16,800 acres unimproved, all valued at $52,500. J. Ross Browne wrote in his The Coast Rangers (Balboa Island, 1959), 88, that "if ever an Indian was fully and honestly paid for his labor by a white settler, it was not my luck to hear of it." California Farmer, 7:155 (May 29, 1857); Transactions, 1858, pp. 222-228; Harry L. Wells and W. L. Chambers, History of Butte County, California (2 vols., San Francisco, 1882), 1:208.

*Transactions, 1858, pp. 222-223.

* California Farmer, 1:26, 34 (January 27, February 2, 1854); 3:184 (May 17, 1854); National Intelligencer, March 6, 1851.

* Sonoma County Journal, January 1, 1858; California Farmer, 1:169 (July 1, 1859).
reservation it may not have been known that there were claims to the land. In fact, one of the largest of the Mexican grants, El Tejon, of twenty-two leagues, or as finally patented in 1863, 97,616 acres, had been given to José Antonio Aguirre and Ignacio del Valle on November 24, 1843, knowledge of which was not unknown in Los Angeles. With his other claims Aguirre had a share in grants totaling 198,000 acres, and was a man of prominence. Yet when Beale began the development of the reservation these adverse or private rights were disregarded. B. D. Wilson, an associate of Beale, was aware in 1853 that Beale would "have a fight with the pretended owners, Dr. Ygnacio del Valla and Old Aguirre of San Diego but it can't be avoided."

The location of the reservation was well selected because it was in the center of numerous Indian groups, remote from white settlements, and where it might here be easier to keep the races apart. Beale's plan was to make the Indians self supporting. To win their friendship and co-operation he began by arranging a "grand fiesta" to which several thousand Indians were summoned by messenger. Here they were welcomed, feasted, and urged to return to Tejon for permanent residence. The Indians, we are told, were "delighted" with the plan of having farms of their own and soon 2,500 had taken up residence on it. There they were industriously employed in plowing, planting, ditching, and irrigating the land. Thirty plows were being operated by Indians and it was planned to sow 2,500 acres to wheat. Later it was said that 2,100 acres were in wheat, 700 in other grain, and smaller acreages in pumpkins, potatoes, and beans. The field work was done by 412 laborers, including men, women, and boys. A report that there was unrest among the Indians was denied.

Subsequently, Beale was accused of being in default to the government, which was the usual way of ridding the ser-

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vice of a man not sufficiently subservient to the controlling element in it. He was removed and the Indian reservation and all the grandiose plans for its development were abandoned. Beale was undoubtedly a cut above the usual type of patronage seeker appointed to positions in the Office of Indian Affairs, but he may have been no better advised in the policies he pursued toward his wards than were his fellow officers. J. Ross Browne's spoofing account of the unfortunate and systematically corrupt Indian administration in California is as effective an indictment as that of Helen Hunt Jackson a generation later. His statement concerning the establishment of Indian reserves in California is particularly apt: "A very large amount of money was annually expended in feeding white men and starving Indians."

During the Lincoln Administration Beale was again in favor, being appointed surveyor general for California in 1861 at a salary of $4,500. While holding this position, he bought the Tejon Rancho and with it acquired valuable improvements and utensils put on it when he was Superintendent of Indian Affairs. To this he added other ranchos, Liebre, 47,779 acres, Alamos y Agua Caliente, 26,626 acres, and Castac, 22,178 acres, and some land he acquired from the Federal Government, making him one of the largest landholders in the state. In partnership with R. S. Baker he began raising sheep on a very large scale, having 13,900 in 1866 and 37,000 in 1871. The Beale estate in the Tejon ranch was sold in the twentieth century to the Tejon Land Company, which, with other acquisitions, brought its holdings to 280,000 acres.

Like Beale, Martin Murphy, Jr., put together large holdings by buying ranchos from others and farming them as grain and cattle ranchos. His father had come to California in

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11 B. D. Wilson to B. F. Sanford, September 4, 1853, in the Wilson Papers. See also correspondence of Beale and others in Senate Executive Documents, 33 Congress, 1 session, vol. 1, no. 1, serial 690, pp. 464-481 (1853-1854).
1845 with five sons and from the outset prospered, acquiring three ranchos and numerous cattle. The younger Martin bought, developed slightly, and sold ranchos, reinvesting his profits until he had 90,000 acres in a number of counties. He was seriously troubled with squatters who involved him in costly and fruitless litigation. Of his large holdings only 3,000 acres were farmed in any one year, the balance being grazed by his 10,000 cattle and 500 horses. Able judges of livestock and of land and its possibilities, the Murphys, father and son, skimmed the cream off the land, creating a small fortune for themselves through extensive use, but incurred for themselves much ill will for their treatment of settlers. Squatters, it is said, were finally induced to withdraw from their claims as a result of the kindnesses of Mrs. Murphy.

Farming on such a large scale, though not entirely new either to immigrants from the Illinois prairie country where bonanza farms flourished or to those from the cotton kingdom and sugar parishes of the South, was yet sufficiently unusual and startling to receive much attention. Richard Henry Dana, on his second visit to California in 1859, reflected this surprise at the size of farming operations in Napa Valley where a number of large ranches were located. He speaks of a man plowing a furrow "by little red sticks, to keep his range by until nearly out of sight, and where, the wits tell us, he returns the next day on the back furrow..."

Barley was the second grain crop of California. It could be raised on any land that was adapted to wheat, was less susceptible to the troubles that had reduced the wheat crop in 1855, yielded more generously, and there seemed an ever-growing demand for it. Once planted, the grain that fell to the ground in harvesting was generally sufficient to produce a good volunteer crop the second year and even a fair crop the third year.

Summary of the "Biographical Sketch of the Murphy Family," prepared for the Chronicles of the Builders of the Commonwealth, Manuscripts, Bancroft Library.

Richard Henry Dana, Two Years Before the Mast (Boston, 1911), 489.

The rapid expansion of acreage planted to wheat and barley is evidence of the ease with which farmers, both large and small, could take up their cultivation. Unfortunately, the rapid increase of California's output of grain was occurring when world production, especially in the American Middle West, was also undergoing rapid expansion and when prices were falling after the Crimean War. California producers were hard hit by the declining prices of 1856 to 1862, but nature and man combined to produce bumper crops in 1860 and 1861 and thus partly compensated for the less favorable prices. The large yields of 1860 and 1861 left carry-overs for the Civil War years when crops abroad were sharply down and the demand for American wheat brought prices up to better levels.

As early as 1854, when wheat and flour were still being brought in from outside in large quantities, some Californians became alarmed at the state's increasing output of wheat. The editor of the California Farmer, for example, said that the state was producing nearly enough wheat to meet all its needs. He urged that careful statistics be gathered in every county of the acreage planted in wheat and the average production of the previous year and that the information be sent to every continent where it might have the effect of discouraging further shipments to the West Coast. In August he claimed that the state had a million bushels of wheat to spare, that the growers would sell for as low as any competitors, and that substantial exports would be made. But when considerable quantities of wheat were shipped out of the state the editor of the San Joaquin Republican thought such exports were part of an insidious scheme of grain speculators to rid the market of the surplus and then, having gained a monopoly of that which remained, to force up the price of flour by 66 per cent. Two years later "speculators" who thought that they had cornered the market in wheat failed
TABLE THREE

California Wheat and Barley Crops and Prices, 1852-1861

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>Acres</th>
<th>Bushels</th>
<th>Average Yield Average per acre</th>
<th>Price in bushels</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1852</td>
<td>271,762</td>
<td>271,762</td>
<td>$2.40</td>
<td>$19.42</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1855</td>
<td>145,585</td>
<td>2,885,351</td>
<td>1.75</td>
<td>19.42</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1856</td>
<td>170,018</td>
<td>3,445,019</td>
<td>1.82</td>
<td>20.25</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1857</td>
<td>143,126</td>
<td>2,791,438</td>
<td>2.36</td>
<td>19.50</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1858</td>
<td>197,869</td>
<td>2,750,172</td>
<td>1.65</td>
<td>18.95</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1859</td>
<td>296,902</td>
<td>6,097,884</td>
<td>1.00</td>
<td>20.54</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1860</td>
<td>250,000</td>
<td>7,500,000</td>
<td></td>
<td>30.00</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1861</td>
<td>361,351</td>
<td>8,805,411</td>
<td></td>
<td>24.64</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

because the crop was much larger than had been expected. Californians were at a disadvantage in the world market because their wheat and flour had to make the long voyage around Cape Horn, but this disadvantage was somewhat off-set by the fact that their wheat was hard, dry, and heavy, and both wheat and flour kept well.

This sensitivity of farmers and agricultural spokesmen about wheat prices and their belief that prices were being manipulated and artificially depressed led the producers to exaggerate the damage being done by rust, smut, blight, and grasshoppers and to minimize the amount of planting and the expected crop. On the other hand the wheat gamblers, shippers, buyers, and dealers gave much attention to falling prices after 1857, to inflated accounts of the expansion of the acreage in wheat, and to the large yields that were being reported. Thus the Alta California, the Alameda Gazette, and the Napa Reporter commented on the superabundance of wheat, the large carry-over, and the declining price and urged farmers to mix their poorer wheat with barley for feed for their stock. They intimated that further expansion of the area in the crop should cease.

Flour mills were early established in most important wheat-producing areas, some of them on the larger ranchos. Stephen Smith, for illustration, brought with him to California in 1843 a steam engine to operate a saw- and gristmill. He acquired two ranchos in Sonoma County—Bodega and Blucher—containing 62,246 acres, which were speedily confirmed and patented after the Americans took control. On this feudal-sized holding he had large timber resources. He received thirty-five dollars a thousand at the coast and fifty dollars at Yerba Buena for the timber that he sawed out with the aid of his Indians. In 1847 he had a flour mill in operation which was making the “best of superfine flour,” but he found little market for it, particularly because of the heavy cost of landing it at Yerba Buena. Other large rancho owners who built flour mills to meet their own and other

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Grain Farming
local needs were George C. Yount of Napa County and Abel Stearns and Henry Dalton of Los Angeles County. Among the larger and most modern mills were the Tehama Mills of Tehama County which had a capacity of 250 to 300 barrels a day, four Stockton mills with a daily capacity of 590 barrels, and the James Lick mill of San Jose which had a capacity of 200 barrels. San Francisco boasted eleven flour mills. The Tehama County mills are described by Warren in a letter from Red Bluff. Judge Benjamin Hayes even found a small wind-powered flour mill in San Diego County capable of making eight barrels a day, but was told there was not sufficient wheat raised to keep it busy."

Flour making called for the use of carefully screened and cleaned wheat, close supervision of the process of manufacture, and good machinery. By no means all the flour that came out of the mills could rate as superfine. Reports of damaged flour being mixed with other flour of good quality and of flour that was a "very mean," dark product, were current and did nothing to improve the reputation of California flour, either within the state or outside. As late as 1861 an account in the San Francisco Herald declared that the export of "inferior and badly cleaned" wheat the previous year had well-nigh ruined the reputation of California grain."

It is not easy to separate fact from fiction in the early statistics of wheat and flour exported from California. George G. Pope & Company, for example, provided statistics of the exports of grain and flour from San Francisco in 1855 that are not reconcilable with the current development of wheat farming and yet they are not at all out of line with the Commerce and Navigation statistics for the following year. The Pope & Company figures show the export of 116,774 barrels of flour, 81,450 centals (100-pound bags) of wheat, 78,810 bags of barley, and 46,017 bags of oats. Governor John Bigler in his message to the legislature of January 6, 1856, provides further support for those statistics in expressing gratification that the exports of wheat and flour for 1855 were valued in excess of a million dollars." For the fiscal year ending on June 30, 1856, Commerce and Navigation shows the export of 33,088 bushels of wheat and 114,572 barrels of flour valued together at $1,106,869. Yet Horace Davis, who knew a good deal about wheat, said that it was not until 1858 that shipments to Australia and around Cape Horn became large and not until 1859 and 1860 that California had definitely become an important surplus producer of wheat and flour. Table four shows some near agreement between the statistics of Davis and those of Commerce and Navigation for the years thereafter. Writing in 1868 when the California wheat crop was 20,000,000 bushels, a third of which was exported, Horace Davis waxed eloquent, describing the business in wheat: "The rivers are dotted with sails, and the winding channels among the tules are clouded with the smoke of numberless steamers threading their way through the sea of verdure [sic], loaded with the rich produce of the land. From every part of the world fleets come to bear away the treasure, and we have become one of the world's great feeders."

Many years later an official of the Stockton Board of Trade spoke of a revolution in the trade of his city that came about with the decline of gold mining as the principal occupation of Californians and the increasing importance of grain farming. Stockton was a major center for outfitting miners on their way to the diggings, but by 1860 fewer people were

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" California Farmer, 1:6 (January 5, 1854); 2:98, 163 (September 28, November 26, 1854); Curtis & Conover to Kenady & Hopkins, September 20, 1860, in the Curtis & Hopkins Papers, in the Huntington Library; San Francisco Business Directory, 1856 (San Francisco, 1856), 114; Hayes, Pioneer Notes, 129.

*Quoted in the Stockton Weekly Independent, September 14, 1861.*
TABLE FOUR

WHEAT AND FLOUR EXPORTS FROM CALIFORNIA, 1856–1865a

*Davis Figures*

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>Wheat (centals)</th>
<th>Flour (barrels)</th>
<th>Total Wheat and Flour (in centals wheat equivalents)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1858-59</td>
<td>123</td>
<td>20,577</td>
<td>61,854</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1860</td>
<td>381,766</td>
<td>58,926</td>
<td>558,544</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1861</td>
<td>1,529,924</td>
<td>197,181</td>
<td>2,121,467</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1862</td>
<td>851,644</td>
<td>101,652</td>
<td>1,156,800</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1863</td>
<td>1,043,652</td>
<td>144,883</td>
<td>1,478,301</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1864</td>
<td>1,071,292</td>
<td>152,633</td>
<td>1,529,191</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1865</td>
<td>25,360</td>
<td>91,479</td>
<td>299,797</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

*Commerce and Navigation Figures*

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>Wheat (bushels)</th>
<th>Value ($)</th>
<th>Flour (barrels)</th>
<th>Value ($)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1856</td>
<td>33,088</td>
<td>36,748</td>
<td>114,572</td>
<td>1,070,121</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1857</td>
<td>35,932</td>
<td>66,683</td>
<td>43,122</td>
<td>376,121</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1858</td>
<td>6,564</td>
<td>12,272</td>
<td>6,683</td>
<td>84,086</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1859</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>19</td>
<td>22,580</td>
<td>236,568</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1860</td>
<td>448,220</td>
<td>449,057</td>
<td>57,820</td>
<td>380,005</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1861</td>
<td>2,379,617</td>
<td>2,550,820</td>
<td>186,455</td>
<td>1,001,894</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1862</td>
<td>1,539,835</td>
<td>1,696,471</td>
<td>93,762</td>
<td>560,997</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1863</td>
<td>1,777,213</td>
<td>1,957,647</td>
<td>149,989</td>
<td>846,131</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1864</td>
<td>1,793,196</td>
<td>1,707,404</td>
<td>168,710</td>
<td>895,130</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

It took approximately 300 pounds of wheat to make a barrel of flour. The third column in the Davis figures was obtained by using this ratio to convert the flour to wheat in the berry. Horace Davis, "Wheat in California," in *Overland Monthly*, 1:442 (November, 1868). The *Alta California*, December 8, 1860, reports the export of both flour and wheat equivalent to 1,781,684 bushels in 1860. Exports for the same year, as given in *Transactions, 1864–1865*, pp. 382–386, are flour, 171,655 barrels, and wheat, 1,381,981 bushels.

continuing the search for gold, farming was attracting more, wheat yields were climbing, and the number of people engaged in the wheat trade was making it a major feature of the commerce of the city, as it was in San Francisco, Sacramento, and other centers. A publication of the Stockton Board of Trade of 1883 declared that "The demonstration . . . that wheat could be profitably raised in this State for exportation was a much more important revelation to the people than was the first discovery of gold. A complete revolution was thereby effected in the business of this portion of the State." The revolution was not quite so apparent in 1860, but the shift from servicing miners' needs to buying, handling, selling, and shipping wheat and flour was well under way."

If the editors of the *San Joaquin Republican* and the *California Farmer* were worried about the expansion of wheat yields and the lower prices grain brought after 1854, a writer in the San Francisco *Prices Current* was more fully aware of the significance of that expansion: "During the past year," he said, "the flour market has been completely revolutionized, the product of our own State having taken the place which has been held by the imported article, and it having been demonstrated that the great bulk of the business hereafter to be done will be in the domestic article. As soon as it was discovered that California could grow her own wheat, it became merely a question of time when she would do it, and the experience of the past year has demonstrated that but a comparatively short period will elapse before the importation from abroad of this great staple will cease forever.""

The one-crop system in wheat cultivation was not unique in California. Wherever land was well adapted to wheat, farmers had sown it in successive years until their land had become depleted of essential minerals and the accumulation of diseases and parasites had forced them either to abandon the grain or to substitute a rotation system in which wheat was cultivated on the same land only one or two years in
five. Farmers in the Mohawk and Genesee valleys of New York, the Piedmont of Virginia, Ohio, and Wisconsin all had to learn what the Pennsylvania Germans alone knew from the beginning: that constant cropping without the use of manures and mineral fertilizers soon brought the land to a low state of productivity. John S. Hittell, Colonel Warren of the California Farmer, and the Napa Reporter, were in agreement that:

The farmers generally are anxious to make as much money as possible, and as soon as possible, without regard to the future value of the land. Some of them are not permanent residents of the state, and intend to leave it so soon as they can get a certain number of dollars together; others are farming land the title of which is in dispute, and, as they feel uncertain about its ownership, they are indifferent to its exhaustion.  

It may have been the three-man proprietorship of the Napa Reporter that made it possible for this weekly to grapple occasionally with basic questions relating to farming when other papers gave the bulk of their space to political problems. In 1862 and 1863 the paper devoted considerable attention to discussions of the scarcity of capital and the resulting high rates of interest, the insecurity of titles in rural areas, the state tax structure in which mining interests enjoyed near exemption, the unpatented claims and unimproved land which did not bear their share of taxation and thereby increased the load carried by other properties, hydraulic mining which in high-water years, as in 1862, ruined thousands of acres of rich farm land by covering them with coarse sand and gravel, and the absence of an equitable crop-lien law which would protect both creditors and borrowers.

\[\text{Hittel, Resources of California, 162.}\]

\[\text{Napa Reporter, November 7, 1863.}\]
thresher are not within the scope of small farming. Operators of small farms would have to do all their work by hand, lacking the capital for the expensive machines and would receive for their labor a paltry return." A defender of the small grain farm replied that he could hire threshing done by custom operators at less than the interest on the machine. Census data of the time does show that small farmers did raise grain as part of general farming management but perhaps more for domestic use than for sale. 22 Colonel Warren rarely let an opportunity pass to express his preference for small as against large farms. He spoke of those farmers who wanted "own all out doors," who had huge farms and extensive stock operations, and who were being brought to ruin with "great injury to all connected with them." Elimination of their poor native stock, the introduction of well-bred cattle and sheep in small numbers, care of their pastures, and preservation of their straw would be far better for them than to continue their extensive operations, none of which were done well. 23

In 1862 a trip into Marin County, which was covered by twenty-three Mexican grants ranging in size from Corte Madera of 4,460 acres to Nicasio of 56,621 acres and where there were less than 1,500 acres of public land, confirmed Warren's prejudices against large ownerships. He declared that the great ranchos were almost a wilderness, being used only for stock which was uncared for and not fenced in. The tracts were assessed at low rates, did not pay an equal share of local taxes, retarded the building of roads, bridges, and school houses, and were a brake on progress. He urged their division and sale into small tracts for farmers who were finding little land available for purchase. He wrote of the large grants:

Nearly all the great grants that were formerly under Mexican titles are now confined to or contended for by the Legal Fraternity.

We believe it is the only instance of the kind in the United States where Lawyers are the principal land-owners. . . . Our Lawyers have become the contestans for nearly all the large grants yet mapped out, and have, in some cases still larger grants "Floating," some that will swallow up nearly an entire county; in the case of the "Shafter Claims," we have heard that it lays claim to nearly 100,000 acres. These are the cases that hinder the prosperity of our State. These uncertain and unsettled titles are the incubus that curses the whole land. 24 Warren was by no means the only one who questioned the economic soundness and viability of the great ranchos. Many thought that they kept immigration out of California, and retarded its growth. "Agricola" in the Petaluma Journal advocated small farms on both economic and philosophical grounds. Fifty-acre farms, if well developed, would absorb all the capital and labor the small man could invest, would bring in good returns, and would "be promotive of society, of government and of true democracy, beyond any system of large farming pursued in England, the Southern States, or here. And although the Dixie aristocracy might depreciatingly denominate us 'small-fisted,' yet our position will be approved by all who are influenced by 'good will to men,' or who reject the right of any to oppress jure divino or otherwise." In reply, the Alta California of April 14, 1860, pointed out that high labor costs forced farmers to resort to expensive farm machinery, such as threshers and reapers, which required large farms for efficient and economical use. Complaints from small farmers, who were trying to raise crops and to keep their stock free from association with the wild native cattle, about the failure of livestock owners to fence in their animals were frequent. Abraham Clark of

22 Alta California, May 19, 1860.
23 California Farmer, 16:68 (November 22, 1861).
24 Ibid., 16:140, 148, 188 (May 7, 14, 21, 1862); George W. Gift, Something About California: . . . Marin County (San Rafael, 1875), 8; Brewer, Journal, 157-158.
Stony-Brook strongly endorsed Governor John G. Downey's request that the legislature adopt a measure to compel stock owners to keep their animals within their own land. Clark said he had no trouble with his own American cattle which respected his fences and remained in their enclosures, but the wild stock coming in from the hills broke down his fences and forced his boys to chase them off long distances. The "Red-Wood Merchants," who were to constitute a major economic influence in the affairs of the state in the future, were already in 1862 held responsible for California's failure to adopt an effective fencing law.

By 1860 California had made rapid progress toward becoming a major livestock and grain-farming state. The value of livestock on its 18,716 farms and ranchos exceeded that of twenty other states; with 0.9 per cent of the farms of the country it produced 3.4 per cent of the wheat, and 27 per cent of the barley, more in fact than any other state. Only five states exceeded its yield of wool and only six exceeded it in the number of sheep. During the 'sixties the rapid agricultural development of the state made it second in the number of sheep and yield of wool and the producer of 14 per cent of the country's wheat and 29 per cent of its barley.

What is more, agriculture was threatening to displace mining as the principal occupation. In 1850 the census takers found less than 2,000 people engaged in agriculture as compared with 57,797 who were listed as miners. In 1860, 35,792 people were listed as farmers, rancheros, dairymen, farm laborers, herdsmen, shepherds, and stock raisers whereas 82,573 were in mining. At the close of the 'sixties, 47,863 people were engaged in agriculture, whereas the number of people engaged in mining had shrunk to 36,339 and the value of the state's grain, wool, and animal products exceeded by far the value of the gold mined. On the other hand, California had in 1860 an unfavorable ratio of farm laborers to farmers, 1:2, as against 1:3 in Ohio and Illinois and 1:4 in Indiana. Farm ownership had not been and was not to be

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Grain Farming

in the future as easy to attain in California as elsewhere. Only New Jersey and Rhode Island had a more unfavorable ratio. Also, the hoped-for breakup of the large farms was not proceeding very rapidly. In fact, the average size of farms increased during the 'sixties from 466 to 482 acres. The influence of the Mexican grants in making difficult the creation of small family farms is clearly to be seen from these statistics, as is the tendency for many of the large grants to pass undivided from weak to strong hands.

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*California Farmer, 16:161 (February 28, 1862).*
THIRD of the major agricultural activities into which Californians moved during the first decade of statehood was the cultivation of fruits, particularly grapes, and the making of wine. The missionaries had early brought cuttings of European grapes to the state and had found the San Gabriel, Los Angeles, and Santa Barbara areas well adapted to their growth. The California, or Mission grape, the principal variety that survived importation, became the basic stock of the missions and then of the ranchos in the south. Later it was carried north where again it flourished. After secularization, the new rancho owners carried on the vineyards which had not been destroyed and extended the zanjas (irrigation ditches). By the 'fifties vineyards were operating on a large commercial scale. Outstanding among the vineyardists and wine makers were Benjamin D. Wilson of San Gabriel, whose output of wine in 1859 was 20,000 gallons, the Sainsevain Brothers of Los Angeles, who produced 115,000 gallons in 1858, Kohler & Frohling, whose output was 115,000 gallons, and Matthew Keller, who produced 55,000 gallons. The total wine output of Los Angeles County for 1858 was said to be 500,000 gallons. Most of these wine makers bought portions of the grapes they used and raised the balance. Among the principal wines were white, red, Port, Champagne (called “Sparkling California” by the Sainsevain Brothers), Angelica (a sweet wine made by adding brandy to the juice as it came from the press and not permitted to ferment), and

Aguardiente, a pure brandy, the principal drink of the common people.

Although some of the large rancho owners experimented extensively with grapes and wine making, notably Antonio M. de la Guerra and Jose M. Ortega in Santa Barbara County, Henry Dalton and André Duarte in Los Angeles County, John Sutter on his Hoch farm in Sacramento County, and Mariano G. Vallejo on his Petaluma rancho in Sonoma County, it generally proved that setting out and maintaining a vineyard of commercial size was a full-time task that could not well be combined with extensive operations in cattle and grain. True, Luis Vignes, in addition to managing his Temecula and Pauba ranches of 53,205 acres in San Diego established the great vineyard and wine making business that was later acquired by the Sainsevain Brothers. Their operations were centered on 80 acres of which only 40 were improved.

Though large acreages were not essential for vineyards, considerable capital was required for wine making. The preparation of the soil, planting of the cuttings, careful cultivation and yearly pruning of the vines, and the delay before grapes could be harvested constituted only a part. Picking and crushing the grapes, tending the wine making process, storing, testing, and bottling the wine, and marketing the product took further time and capital before results were obtained. The age of specialization, however, had not yet completely arrived. There were numerous people producing small quantities of wine in the 'fifties. In the original census schedules for 1860, 165 people were listed as making wine in quantities as small as five gallons.

1 The census of 1860 shows the production of the Sainsevain Brothers for 1859 to be 20,000 gallons, but I have taken the figures of their output and that of Kohler & Frohling and Keller from A. W. M'Kee, “The Grape and Wine-culture of California,” in Commissioner of Patents, Report, Agriculture, 1858 (Washington, 1859), 345, as they coincide better with other evidence. On the other hand the printed census figure of gallons of wine produced in California in 1859 is 246,518. Vineyard in Ohio Farmer, 8:3 (January, 1859); Transactions, 1858, p. 286; Thompson & West, History of Los Angeles County, 65.
Agoston Haraszthy, deservedly called the father of the modern California wine industry, came to the United States in 1840 from Hungary where he had been engaged in wine making. Wisconsin first drew him, but in 1849 he moved to California. After a short career which included some political activity in San Diego, he acquired land in San Francisco and in present San Mateo County, began setting out grape vines and other fruit, and took up the nursery business. He imported varieties of grapes from Hungary with which he experimented, but soon found that the heavy fogs made his location unsatisfactory for grapes and in consequence he moved his operations to a ranch in Sonoma County. Vincent Carosso has summarized his first year of active planting on his Buena Vista rancho: 85,556 grape vines in the vineyard and 462,000 rooted cuttings of 165 varieties in the nursery. Haraszthy was an unusually effective propagandist for grape culture, for he was convinced that California could produce as good grapes and wine as any other part of the world. He brought the problems of the industry to the attention of the legislature and, with the aid of the *California Farmer* and the State Agricultural Society, in 1859 secured exemption from taxation for growing vines. In 1861 Haraszthy and his friends persuaded the legislature to authorize the appointment of a commission, unpaid and unsupported, it is true, to study and make reports on the “ways and means best adapted to promote the improvement and growth of the grape vine in California.” As a member of the commission, Haraszthy proceeded to Europe where he collected 100,000 cuttings and rooted vines of 1,440 varieties of grapes for importation. The Agricultural Branch of the United States Patent Office had been importing seeds and cuttings for some years, but the work had been in the hands of persons who had little knowledge of foreign plants, and had been unsystematically conducted. They had kept no careful records and had introduced diseased stock and weeviled seeds. The results of their work were of questionable value. This could not be said of Haraszthy. He arranged for careful selection, packing, and shipping of the vines to ensure their arrival in good condition. At the same time he shipped cuttings of almonds, olives, oranges, figs, and pomegranates for experimental work.

Haraszthy’s Buena Vista ranch was later sold to the Buena Vista Vinicultural Society, which seems not to have been a financial success. Like the experiment in co-operative development of the grape and wine industry in Anaheim, conducted by a group of German immigrants, it was found that the rising value of real estate—at least in good times—offered better returns than came from collective experiments in agriculture. But Haraszthy had done much to focus attention upon the grape and wine industry and to promote its well-being.

Probably the largest wine making firm in California in the fifties was Kohler & Frohling, which had its main cellar in San Francisco and a large vineyard in Los Angeles. They bought the grapes of Matthew Keller, William Wolfskill, William Workman, John Rowland, and Antonio Coronel in the south as well as from others in Sonoma County and were said to make 50,000 to 175,000 gallons of wine annually, depending on the season.

The rapid development of the grape-growing and wine-making industry may be seen from the number of grapevines set out: 1855, 324,000; 1856, 1,442,000; 1857, 2,048,000; 1858, 4,090,000; 1859, 6,668,000. This expansion is not apparent from the census returns, which show only 246,518 gallons of wine produced in California in 1859, but it should be remembered that the bulk of the vines were not then in bearing.

Much was said about the inferior quality of various California wines, some of which, called “vile stuff,” were offered at twenty cents a gallon and damaged the reputation of all


*The California Culturist, 2:21* (July, 1859), stated that the vineyards of Los Angeles alone would produce 600,000 gallons of wine in 1859 and by 1862 would be expected to produce twice that amount.
local wines. The trouble with such wine was that the grapes were gathered before they were fully ripe, the green and rotten berries were not picked out, cleanliness was not observed in the crushing and pressing, the grape juice was put in barrels previously used for other purposes and not adequately cleaned, and the wine was hurried off to market too early. Matthew Keller, whose wines were considered among the best in the state, in an advertisement of 1862 calling attention to his white wine, Port wine, Angelica, and Claret, said that the reputation of California wines had suffered serious damage from the many bad and adulterated wines on the market and from the practice of adulterating good wine with bad. He intended to supervise closely the preparation and bottling of his wines to assure a sound and pure article.

Troubled by the public mistrust of the purity of California wines, Haraszthy suggested the appointment of a state agent in San Francisco to whom all wines should be consigned for sale at the producer's stipulated prices, and he proposed the confiscation of all adulterated wines and the imposition of heavy fines on those who had bottled them. These measures, he declared, would restore confidence in the local wines and would be a check "upon poisoning our people...."

An Adulteration Act was adopted in 1862 which required that adulterated articles should be so labeled. It was a reasonable step forward, thought a committee of the State Wine Convention, but it suggested that the act be amended to state precisely what items should be regarded as adulterating and what items could be used in the wine making process.

That Californians were not entirely content with local wines may be seen from the statistics of wine imports. In 1858, 509,029 gallons and 641,220 bottles of Champagne, Clarat, Port, Sherry, and miscellaneous red and white wines went through customs in San Francisco in addition to 155,309 gallons of brandy, 191,155 gallons of other distilled liquors, and 13,391 gallons of cordials. In 1861, 779,967 gallons and 968,748 bottles of wine, 257,009 gallons of brandy, 222,521 gallons of other distilled liquor, and 55,562 gallons of cordials were imported. With 1 per cent of the population of the country California was importing a fourth of the brandy and Claret coming in from abroad, half of the cordials, a fifth of the Burgundy, and a sixth of the Champagne. It is likely that a part of this imported wine was used in improving the California product.

Before the end of the 'fifties California wines were finding a market outside the state, more because of their cheapness than their quality, one may assume. Prices within the state and the demand for its wines abroad were affected by conditions elsewhere. Kohler & Frohling, for example, feared that the prospects for a "very promising" grape crop all over Europe in 1857, better indeed than it had been for ten years, together with the reduction in the tariff on foreign wines, would "hinder the sale of our native production considerable, but in the long run we will beat Europe anyhow." By 1863 "cargoes" of wine were being shipped from San Francisco to New York and Boston. One dealer, who was planning to establish an outlet for California wines in Chicago, said that the wines of Benjamin D. Wilson were "far superior to those of old Nick Longworth of Cincinnati...."

The beginnings of the fruit-growing industry in California are closely associated with the nursery business. With few exceptions it was nurserymen who developed the major fruit orchards of the mid-nineteenth century. William Wolfskill, nurseryman, orange grower, and successful vintner of Los Altos.
Angeles, had 32 orange trees in fruit in 1856, in addition to 1,000 apple, pear, peach, apricot, quince, and fig trees and 60 English walnut trees. In his nursery he had 9,000 orange, 6,000 lime, and 3,000 miscellaneous trees which were shortly set out in numerous groves and orchards in Southern California. Other extensive operations in grapes, wine, fruits, and the nursery business were conducted by B. D. Wilson, John Rowland, and William Workman of Los Angeles, E. L. Beard and John Lewelling of Santa Clara County, and the Thompson Brothers of Napa and Solano counties. Astonishing stories of the returns from fruit raising that were accepted by the State Agricultural Society contributed to expansion of the industry, with most farmers who were secure in their titles buying small amounts of seedlings for planting on their property. One of these stories, which seems scarcely credible, is that of George G. Briggs of Marysville who, with the aid of two men, in 1851 planted twenty-five acres of watermelons on his small farm and thereafter sold the fruit for $17,000. The profits were invested in the planting and care of 31,000 fruit trees, principally peach, apple, apricot, and pear, and 2,000 grape vines. The orchard produced 587,000 pounds of fruit in 1857, yielded a gross return of $94,000, and earned a net profit of $35,000. It is small wonder that a visiting committee of the State Agricultural Society, impressed with his business capacity, his judgment, and his skill in handling men, awarded him the "first premium for a First-Class Orchard." The Thompson Brothers imported 2,000 fruit trees in 1858, as well as seeds and pits. By trial and error they discovered that trees packed in charcoal died on the long journey from New York via Cape Horn; most of those packed in wet moss rotted, but those packed in dry moss survived well. They grafted and budded the seedling stock with scions of imported varieties and found the products superior to those

of the older states. By 1856 they had 18,000 fruit trees, mostly apple, peach, pear, and plum, and in addition 1,600 nut trees. Perhaps the major contribution of the Thompson Brothers was the proof they offered that fruit culture could succeed without irrigation. Not far from the Thompson Brothers nursery was the Oak Knoll Nursery and fruit ranch on which 24,000 trees flourished, two thirds of which were apple trees. Another large fruit ranch was conducted by Sweetser & De-Long on their Novato claim in Marin County. In 1860 they had 18,000 grafted apple trees (the fruit of which was used in making cider and vinegar), 500 peach, 200 plum, 250 quince, and smaller numbers of other fruit trees. Other centers of fruit growing were developing in Sonoma, Santa Clara, and Los Angeles counties.

California's orange industry had its origins in the work of the missionaries who set out trees at the San Gabriel mission. Luis Vignes and William Wolfskill built on their experience by using scions of their trees. In the 'fifties it was said that Wolfskill was netting $100 from each of his 32 bearing trees and that he had many more young trees that would soon come into fruit. By 1858 there were 3,770 orange trees in Los Angeles County, and 4,530 in the entire state.

Estimates presented to the surveyor general for 1860 indicate that there were 670,000 apple and 1,360,000 peach trees in California and somewhat smaller numbers of pear, plum, cherry, nectarine, apricot, and other fruit trees. Only for three important fruit counties is there data available on the value of fruit produced: Santa Clara, $400,000; Yuba, $200,000; and Sacramento, $155,000. On the basis of this data the value of the fruit for the entire state in 1860 might be estimated at between $3,000,000 and $4,000,000.

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1b Transactions, 1858, pp. 169-170.
Fruit orchards and vineyards may have been little troubled by diseases and parasites in the early years, but ominous signs soon became apparent. "Curl leaf or yellows" appeared on the leaves of most varieties of peaches, endangering not only the crop but also the trees. Orange trees were reported to be affected by an unnamed disease later found to be the scale pest. More immediately damaging to them were the aphids which were sometimes so destructive as to halt fruit bearing on trees covered with them. In fact, between 1857 and 1862 it is said that orange growing was "greatly checked" by both these pests, which caused an almost total failure of the fruit. Fortunately, they were not so destructive in 1862, when there was a good crop. Mildew attacked grapes, though a dusting of sulphur seemed to reduce its spread somewhat. Cutoveras did much damage and Colonel Haraszthy complained of a white fly that injured his grape crop. Grasshoppers were as destructive in orchards in 1855 as we have seen they were in wheat plantings. One orchard of pears, peaches, and other fruit in northern California was ravaged by the pests which not only devoured the fruit, young leaves, and twigs but ate the bark of young trees, killing them. Another orchardist lost the fruit of more than half of his 4,000 apple, pear, and peach trees and expected to lose quantities of grapes and strawberries, which were estimated to be worth between $10,000 and $15,000. Although farmers were calling for aid from entomologists and other devotees of the new science, and both state and the Federal governments were moving to investigate plant and animal diseases, as yet little progress had been made in providing cures or pesticides.

However, considerable information was becoming available about the nature of some of the insects. In the increasingly diversified agricultural economy of California it was safe to predict, as Colonel Warren was prone to do, that fruit growing and wine making, for which large areas were admirably adapted, were certain to develop far in the future, provided markets could be found. This in turn was dependent on growth of urban population locally and on improvements in transportation and cooling devices that would permit long-distance shipments. The state had shown its potential, but the markets were still far in the future. As for wine, the state produced 15 per cent of the United States output in 1859 and 75 per cent in 1869, if the census figures are to be accepted. That the greater part of the wine was still consumed locally was owing partly to its early unfortunate reputation abroad and partly to the insatiable thirst of the Californians.

It was in the development of the fruit and wine industry that Californians best demonstrated their freedom from the general disinclination of farmers to experiment, to try new ideas, new crops, new methods of cultivation and of attacking plant diseases and parasites, and to read and be familiar with the knowledge that scientific investigation was making available. Rancheros, small farmers, nurserymen, fruit growers, and agricultural journalists were showing minds open to new ideas, willingness to experiment, anxiety about the state of agriculture elsewhere, receptivity to innovations in the

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estimating the value of the fruit produced because of their incompleteness and the strong probability of error. They show Yuba County far in the lead, outranking Napa and Santa Clara by four times and even Eldorado and Tuolumne appear well ahead of these leaders in fruit growing. The incomplete census figure for the value of orchard products is $754,236.


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California Farmer, 4:10, 17, 26 (July 13, 20, 27, 1855); 11:21 (February 18, 1859), quoting the Los Angeles Star; 15:97 (May 20, 1861); Sacramento Union, August 24, 1860; Alta California, November 8, 1860; Southern Vineyard, August 2, 1859.

San Francisco was the principal market for fruit. Vineyardists who could get their grapes there in good condition at the beginning of the season could sell for nine and ten cents a pound. Los Angeles growers had to pay seven cents a pound shipping charges, leaving only three cents for the fruit. Still it is recorded that 713 tons of grapes were shipped to San Francisco in 1857 and 675 tons in 1859. Thompson & West, *History of Los Angeles County, 94, 96; Wilson, William Wolfskill, 102. For the same years the shipments of wine were said to be 25,655 and 200,000 gallons.*
introduction of new crops or fruit and nut trees, concern about the quality of their products, as shown in the legislation against adulteration. Agricultural journalism flourished under such conditions, permitting the editors to make their periodicals outstanding in original matter, in treatments of the best that was occurring in agriculture, and in providing news, especially on production, markets, and prices, that enabled farmers to plan their activities the better. The California Farmer was the most important and long lasting of these journals, but the California Culturist in its three years of publication made a useful mark, and the California Wine, Wool and Stock Journal ranks well in the aid it gave to readers engaged in livestock and wine making. Other periodicals with names indicating the rural character of the region they served, such as the Southern Vineyard of Los Angeles and the California Agriculturist of Stockton, gave attention to farm problems, but they were not essentially farm journals.

Californians were not content to let farming develop unaided and undirected by government. Statewide, regional, and county agricultural societies flourished with public and local aid, conducted their fairs, distributed prizes to the finest specimens of horses, sheep, cattle, and swine, and published in their annual reports accounts of model, bonanza, and diversified farms, statistics of crop, fruit, and wine production, and data on the rapidly increasing numbers of livestock. Growing crops were freed of taxation, and in 1859 Haraszthy succeeded in freeing growing vines from taxes. All such early aids to agriculture were small and indicated no clearly established policy, save that when farmers massed their strength at Sacramento they could wrest from a reluctant legislature promising measures.16


GREATEST of the deterrents to successful agriculture in California was the lack of rainfall in the growing season. Farmers were learning, however, to live with this factor. Most helpful was the discovery in the 'fifties that grapes could thrive in the north without irrigation and from them could be made superior wine. Vincent Carosso holds that this discovery was as important to California as the perfection of the cotton gin was to the slave states. Certainly, it accelerated the development of the grape and wine industry in Sonoma, Napa, San Joaquin, and other Northern California counties. In years of good rainfall other farmers who raised vegetables, pasture crops, or grain fared not badly, but the damaging droughts of 1853, 1854, 1856, 1859-1860, and 1862-1864 caused heavy losses. Indeed, in most years some part of the state suffered from abnormally low rainfall. The old missions had met the problem by constructing networks of dams, reservoirs, and ditches and carefully husbanding the supplies of water so that crop land could be irrigated in dry seasons or periods.

When the first Spanish explorers and missionaries penetrated the arid region of the Southwest they found abundant evidence of primitive but effective irrigation works including diversionary dams, reservoirs, and ditches. It was but natural that the missionaries should borrow from the Indians in developing their first mission at San Diego in 1769 by constructing a dam on the San Diego River to store water for the irrigation of the parched but fertile land in the valley. They could later boast that in one very dry year they had produced 60,000 bushels of wheat through the aid of their stored water brought by canals and aqueducts to the land.
in cultivation. As later missions were established, particularly at San Gabriel, San Juan Capistrano, Santa Inez, San Antonio, Santa Barbara, San Buenaventura, and La Purisima, irrigation works were begun early and, before secularization, had made possible highly successful irrigated farms turning out surpluses of grain well beyond the need of the thousands of Indians maintained at them. Outstanding were the twenty miles of irrigation ditches at the San Gabriel mission and the twelve miles of aqueduct bringing water to the Soledad Mission. In these southern missions fruit trees and grape vines were raised as well as grain and vegetables.

An even more elaborate undertaking was the Zanja Madre which brought the water of the Los Angeles River to the center of the present city of Los Angeles, whence it was distributed throughout a network of lesser zanjas to large and small holdings. The main zanja was three feet wide and four feet deep with the water running at the rate of five miles an hour. A zanjero was in charge of the zanjas to keep them in order so that the water flowed freely. He was required to see that each water user had an effective, leakproof stop gate, to supervise the use of the water, and to make sure that there was no illicit or unfair draft made on it. His office was so important that he was paid more than the mayor.\(^1\)

After secularization, some of the new rancheros developed further the irrigation works already established. In his *Early Irrigation in the Western States*, George Thomas provides helpful information on the San Bernardino, Yorba, Nietos, Azusa, Duarte, San Jose, and Rowland ditches which drew upon the waters of the Santa Anita, Santa Ana, and San Gabriel rivers.\(^2\) The new owners of the ranchos in these valleys extended and restored the zanjas, improved and rebuilt the diversion dams and gained much experience in learning how to make the best use of the available water.

\(^1\) *Alta California*, October 13, 1860; George Thomas, *Early Irrigation in the Western States* (Salt Lake City, 1948), passim; Maurice H. and Marco R. Newmark, editors, *Sixty Years in Southern California, 1833-1913, Containing the Reminiscences of Harris Newmark* (New York, 1926), 302.


Andrés Duarte, Henry Dalton, Bernardo Yorba, and Louis Robidoux fell into controversies with squatters and conflicting owners over water use and the responsibility for the maintenance of the dams and ditches that resulted in destruction of dams and breaching of ditches. Dalton, in particular, had much trouble with squatters who declared that he had no exclusive right to the water of the Santa Anita River though he had expended considerable capital in employing seventeen Indians to extend the ditches, clean out the debris and weeds that had accumulated, and repair the damages done by the infrequent but sometimes heavy rains. In leasing parts of Azusa to tenants Dalton was careful to prescribe that there should be no interference with the flow of water in the ditches.\(^4\)

The Los Angeles Vineyard Society was one of the most promising developments in irrigation, not so much because of its immediate results but because it showed what group action through co-operation could achieve, thus pointing the way for numerous similar activities at a later time. The society was organized in 1857 mostly among German immigrants in San Francisco, one of its chief leaders being John Frohling of the famous wine-producing firm of Kohler & Frohling. From the capital the society raised it bought for two dollars an acre 1,165 acres on the Santa Ana River, today a part of Orange County. Miles of fences were built and ditches dug to convey the water of the river throughout the tract and 400,000 grape vines were set out. The land was divided into twenty-acre allotments and assigned to each

\(^4\) Comments in *“Daily Occurrences in Azusa.”* July 21, 1859, lease to Jno. Ocho, June, 1861, and note of December, 1859, all in the Dalton Papers, in the Huntington Library. I have tried to find information concerning the number of ditches and acreage irrigated in the ‘fifties, but without success. The Thompson & West, *History of Los Angeles County*, 56–57, provides for 1879 information concerning the number of ditches in each of the valleys of Los Angeles County and the acreage irrigated as follows:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Valley</th>
<th>Ditches</th>
<th>Acres</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Los Angeles River</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>8,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>San Gabriel River</td>
<td>26</td>
<td>23,208</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Santa Ana</td>
<td>22</td>
<td>18,685</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Miscellaneous</td>
<td>35</td>
<td>5,495</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>90</td>
<td>55,388</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
member, together with his share of the improvements, for $1,440. Thus through co-operative action was established a promising development based on an effective plan of irrigation.  

An even more promising group experiment in irrigation was begun by the Mormons on the San Bernardino rancho. As part of Brigham Young's efforts to create a Mormon Corridor extending from Salt Lake City southwest by way of the Virgin River, San Bernardino, and San Diego, the Mormons purchased in 1851 the 35,509-acre rancho of the Lugo family for $77,500 and hastened to colonize it and develop its resources. Leonard Arrington has traced the remarkable progress this colony enjoyed in the few years it was permitted to exist. By 1855 the colony boasted 1,400 Mormon inhabitants, 4,000 acres had been put under irrigation through the construction of dams, reservoirs, and ditches and had been planted to grain and vines, and fruit trees had been set out on smaller acreages. The colony's flour, eggs, cheese, and butter were being sold throughout Southern California. Had not the Mormon War intervened this development might have been the nucleus for Mormon expansion throughout Southern California. But when Federal troops were sent into the Interior Basin to compel obedience to the central government, Mormons from outlying communities were called back to Salt Lake City for defense and the extraordinarily successful colony on the San Bernardino rancho came to a sudden halt.

Elsewhere in California growing interest was shown in different methods of irrigating land having insufficient rainfall. As early as 1851 the *Alta California* pointed out that many farms and ranchos had available sources of water and others could sink wells with which to irrigate their land. Two years later it was urging the Federal government to grant public lands that could be irrigated by the state in much the same way it had granted swamp lands to aid in their drainage. The lands to which the *Alta California* referred were back from the Mexican grants near the foothills.

In 1852 a meeting was held to consider plans for irrigating the valley lands between Stockton and the Stanislaus River. It was there proposed to form a company to divert the river by means of a dam and canal. Irrigation by groups and incorporated companies was not far off, but in the early 'fifties there was little capital available for such enterprises.

For a time artesian wells seemed to be the solution. In 1854 a well drilled near San Jose to a depth of 120 feet produced a heavy flow of water; another well, a 78-foot one, yielded enough water through a seven-inch pipe to irrigate a thousand acres. These successes stirred up much excitement in the San Jose region and drilling was widely undertaken without careful thought. There were large land owners who had the means with which to search for flowing wells and within a short time hundreds of wells were drilled, many with flowing water. One account says there were 318 artesian wells in 1860, drilled to depths of 50 to 400 feet with a total flow of 2,000,000 gallons daily. In other instances water was brought to the surface by windmills. Richard Henry Dana, after visiting Stockton, San Jose, and Mariposa in 1859, wrote of the "windmills, to raise water for artificial irrigation of small patches, seen all over the landscape." In the Los Angeles basin numerous efforts were made to find flowing wells but without success, though many years later a considerable part of the water needed by the burgeoning population was to come from deep and even artesian wells.

Colonel Warren of the *California Farmer* had great hopes for the improvements in agriculture from the water of these wells, which he called "fountains of wealth," "perpetual

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1 Letter No. 5 of "H" in *Alta California*, October 14, 1860.
3 *Alta California*, February 16, 1851, December 27, 1853; *San Joaquin Republican*, quoted in the *San Francisco Herald*, February 6, 1852.
4 *Alta California*, August 20, 1860; Dana, *Two Years Before the Mast*, 484; Newmark, *Reminiscences*, 192.
fertilizers.” He predicted that they would be the salvation of farming in many parts of the state where absence of rain in the growing season had made crops impossible. Unfortunately, lacking experience, farmers with abundantly flowing wells in Santa Clara County permitted their fields and crops to become too wet, thereby losing their yields and sometimes their fruit trees and, at the same time, damaging the land of neighbors over which the artesian water flowed. One observer declared that farms in the artesian belt were “over-irrigated, drenched, flooded until the roots of trees, plants, grains and grasses are either water-rotted or water-scalded, and disease and death must be the final result.” Wells drilled in lower elevations had the effect of drying up wells at higher spots. Critics noted that the water table was being lowered, streams and ponds were disappearing, and once good pasture land on the hills was becoming a desert. A demand went up for legislation that would control the wells and bring to an end these wasteful practices.

Artesian wells had their day in favored areas, but other methods were necessary to provide water for the arid lands of the major valleys. On a ranch on the Cosumnes a water wheel powered by the current of the river supplied water for the irrigation of “a very large tract of cultivated land.” In the Napa Valley the F. E. Kellogg and Wolfskill ranchos with their extensive orchards were irrigated by water pumped from the Putah River by a ten-horsepower engine used with a rotary pump. The vineyard on the Kellogg ranch was watered three times each season. Similarly a large portion of the 8,000-acre ranch of Jerome Davis was irrigated by a steam engine pumping from the Putah River.

In 1862 an act of the state legislature contributed to the development of irrigation by extending to ditch and canal companies the right to condemn privately owned land for a right of way. Soon a number of companies were organized, capital raised, and digging begun. In Yolo County most progress was made; by 1865, five main ditches projected for a distance of twenty-five miles from Cache Creek, with lateral branches, were expected to irrigate a hundred thousand acres. Of the five enterprises only the Cacheville ditch was completed, but the experience of farmers receiving its water was such as to encourage the promoters of the others. A highly optimistic statement of Judge Hutton, who was in charge of the Cacheville project, claimed that by irrigation yields could be increased from a fourth to a third in the most favorable season, in ordinary seasons from a third to a half, and in the driest seasons when crops without irrigation would fail “we get . . . from thirty to fifty bushels per acre.”

By 1862 many Californians were aware of the economic possibilities in irrigation and were coming to realize that private group action or public subvention through land grants or direct subsidies was needed to achieve very far-reaching results. But the period of trial and error was by no means over. For more than a generation irrigation projects were to be undertaken, bond issues floated to finance them, and participants encouraged to believe that the future looked most promising, only to fail because of poor planning. The engineering skills and knowledge of soil science were still in their infancy and these early experiments, though they brought limited immediate benefits, contributed to successful developments at a later time.
The Letters of
John Quincy Adams Warren
Notes from Los Angeles

I

Editors American Stock Journal:

Agreeably to promise, I commence this first of my series of notes, descriptive of a trip to Los Angeles, its vineyards, ranches, &c.,—and to some of your readers a few words on the voyage may not be uninteresting:

Left San Francisco at 4½ p.m., Tuesday, in the new and commodious steamer J. T. Wright, Capt. Robert Haley—destination, San Pedro. Rather rough off the Heads, and a heavy swell all night, giving the steamer a rolling motion, and causing a general sea-sickness among the passengers. At 5½ next morning, after a fair passage, entered the harbor of Monterey, the county seat; and, like all Spanish towns, the buildings are adobe, with the exception of some fine brick stores, erected by American enterprise. The population of the town is about 800,—of the county, about 1,700. Considerable attention is paid to stock-raising—principally sheep, there being over 100,000 raised in the county. The wool is of superior quality, being mostly French and Spanish Merino, obtained by crossing with the American and Spanish sheep. Some of the valleys are better adapted to sheep raising than any portion of the state, and the wool trade must become the principal wealth of the country in due time. The crop

1 Printed in the American Stock Journal, 3:35-37 (February, 1861).
2 The steamer John T. Wright operated between San Francisco and San Pedro on a two-and-a-half-day schedule, carrying merchandise and passengers. It had arrived in San Francisco on November 7 and left on November 10, as Warren says, at 4:30 p.m. See Alta California, November 7, 10, 11, 1860.
3 The census of 1860 shows a population of 1,653, of whom 134 were Indian. Monterey County contained 4,729 people, of whom 411 were Indian. The number of sheep is given as 190,656 and the wool yield of 1859 as 485,167 pounds.
for the past year will reach between 200 and 300,000 lbs. The Salinas Plain opens at the Bay of Monterey, extending a distance of ninety miles, nearly to the San Miguel Mission. This plain contains thousands of acres of good land, suitable for agricultural purposes, as well as excellent grazing for stock. There are several parties largely interested in wool-growing, Messrs. Flint & Bixby, Col. Hollister, Mr. Threlkeld, &c. These ranches are some distance in the country. There is a custom-house at this place,—collector of the port, J. Watson, Esq., to whose courtesy I am indebted, during my brief stay, for much information. The distance from San Francisco is about ninety miles.

Having discharged freight, steamed up and continued our voyage, reaching San Luis Obispo about 1 o’clock on the following morning—distance 120 miles from Monterey. Nothing of interest occurred, the voyage being rather monotonous in many respects.

San Luis Obispo [is] at present occupied mostly by Spanish, or Californians. The town is improving slowly. The landing is effected by means of surf boats, and all the freight is transported by this way, from the steamer to the beach, where it is received in a warehouse erected for the purpose, until it can be taken to the town, which is some five or six miles from the landing. In the interior much attention is also paid to stock-raising, the country being unsurpassed for

*In the census of 1860, Flint & Bixby listed 4,000 acres of improved and 28,000 acres of unimproved land, all having a value of $40,000. They valued their livestock, mostly sheep, at $71,530. Hollister listed 4,000 acres of improved and 12,500 acres of unimproved land valued at $18,000, and valued his livestock (10,000 sheep) at $62,395. Threlkeld listed 12,000 acres of unimproved and rented land, 5 horses, and 6,000 sheep, all valued at $59,250. Warren’s final letter in this collection is devoted mostly to the wool-growing operations of Flint & Bixby and of Hollister. For the larger sheep holdings in Monterey County in 1860, see Note 1 in the Appendix.

*James Watson, an Englishman, arrived in California in 1824, set himself up in merchandising, was appointed collector of the port of Monterey by President Buchanan, bought the one-and-a-half-league San Benito ranch (6,679 acres), and became one of the wealthier property owners in the region. Bancroft says that he was ruined by the drought of 1863 and died the same year, six years before the patent of his rancho was delivered.

grazing facilities. The Messrs. Flint, of Monterey Co., have commenced wool-growing on a large scale. They have purchased some four leagues of land, at a cost of about $12,000, and are now pasturing some 8,000 sheep, crossing with the French Merino. They bid fair to become the heaviest wool-growers on this coast. As I had no opportunity of seeing the place, I am unable to offer any items of importance, at this time. The estimate of land in the county, in area, is about 600,000 acres—only about 50,000 being adapted for cultivation. At 9 o’clock weighed anchor, and continued the voyage. The sea becomes much smoother, and the weather clear and invigorating. At 4 p.m., passed Point Conception Light, situated at the western entrance of Santa Barbara channel: Here there is a large fog-bell (weight 3,136 lbs.), which, in a heavy fog, or thick weather, strikes every half minute, day and night. The striking machinery occupies a separate frame building, on a level with the ground, a short distance from the light-house. Near this point the steamer Oregon ran on a rock some years since, during a dense fog, but was fortunately got off without sustaining much damage.

From this portion of the voyage the landscape is more pleasing. The ranges, and valleys in the distance are devoted to stock-raising. On the right may be seen the islands of Santa Cruz, Santa Rosa,* and San Nicolas,—the two former offer great facilities for stock-raising—principally sheep, a large number being pastured upon the islands by Dr. Shaw,

*Santa Cruz Island (52,760 acres) was patented to Andrés Castillero in 1867. Dr. James B. Shaw, a native of England who came to California in 1849, was agent for the owners in 1857. Years later he was listed on the assessment records as one of the largest owners of land in Santa Barbara County. Castillero was also claimant for New Alamedan with its famous quicksilver mine.

Santa Rosa Island (62,696 acres), claimed by Manuela Carillo Jones and patented in 1871, was stocked with cattle, sheep, and hogs by John C. Jones and Alpheus B. Thompson, husband of the daughter of Manuela. In 1857, when it was estimated there were 10,000 cattle, 7,000 or more sheep, 200 horses, and 5,000 to 5,000 hogs on the island, estate difficulties and the shortness of forage forced the hasty liquidation of the stock at unfavorable prices.

A. B. Thompson to Timothy Walcott, June 2, 1857, in the California Miscellaneous Letters, in the Huntington Library. There are numerous letters concerning the liquidation of the stock in the Stearns Papers.
and other enterprising men of Santa Barbara. About 8 P.M.,
dark, the report of our gun announced that we were enter­
ing the harbor of SANTA BARBARA.

This is also an extensive stock-raising country, and much
attention is being paid to agriculture, and fruit raising of
every description. I learn that there are some 20 to 30,000
trees in bearing—comprising apple, pear, plum, cherry, &c.
Grapes, figs, pomegranates, almonds, walnuts and olives
thrive well. There are a number of vineyards in successful
bearing in this county. The wine manufactured here is
held to be of superior quality, and of excellent flavor, espe­
cially near the Mission of San Fernando. The stock is mostly
native, little attention having been paid to crossing. About
100,000 head of cattle and horses, and 50 to 75,000 sheep—I
am not able to give a correct estimate at this time; the above
facts being learned merely in conversation on shipboard.
Should I visit this county, I will send more complete
details.7 Distance from San Luis, about ninety miles.

At all the ports on this route the landing is effected by
means of surf boats, upon the sea-beach, in the midst of the
huge breakers which, during a heavy blow, is anything but
safe or agreeable,—the steamer coming to anchor about
half a mile from the shore.8 The passengers having been
safely landed, we continued our voyage, and about 7 the
following morning (Friday), dropped anchor in the wel­
come harbor of SAN PEDRO.

Preparations for disembarking were soon made, and by
the aid of surf-boats passengers and baggage reached the

7 Had Warren returned to Santa Barbara he would have found a great
concentration of land ownership and some large herds of cattle and sheep.
Luis and Antonio Arellanes, for example, in 1860 had 560 horses, 16,730 cattle,
and 3,500 sheep, which, with the land, were valued at $244,700. The de la
Guerra family had 675 horses, 10,405 cattle, and 4,200 sheep, valued with the
ranchos at $354,000. Assessment statistics of 1865 and 1870 show how quickly
these huge livestock empires of the Mexican Dons fell apart. Thompson
& West, History of Santa Barbara County, California (Oakland, 1888), 128–
129, 130–138. The Census of 1860 shows 35,728 cattle and horses and 65,350
sheep.

8 The best early description of the difficulty in landing and loading men.
and supplies in the ports of Southern California is in Dana, Two Years
Before the Mast, passim.

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Los Angeles

shore. Distance from Santa Barbara ninety miles—from San
Francisco, 390 miles. Being anxious to get to our destina­
tion, I shall defer farther mention of this port until another
time.

Taking seat in Tomlinson's fast line of stages, we were
soon on our way to Los Angeles,—distant about twenty-six
miles—over a sandy, level road. The morning was clear and
beautiful, and the ride, barring the dust—which is plenty
and thick—was pleasant and exhilarating. The country is
somewhat unsettled, for nearly the whole route, with the
exception of here and there an adobe house, and kraals for
stock. The land seemed dry and barren, usual in the dry
seasons, but offers good grazing for the stock in the clover
bar upon which the stock feed and fatten. After the rains,
the plains are covered with fresh, green grass, affording am­
ple supply of feed. As we approached the city the adobe
buildings were conspicuous, occupied chiefly by Californians.
Passing several large vineyards, of which allusion will be
made hereafter, we entered the outskirts of the town, con­
tinuing our way through an avenue, somewhat serpentine
in its course. The foliage of the trees on either side was
thick and interwoven, being a kind of willow fence—foliage
of deep green, and drooping. A nearer approach to the
town shows in place of this, adobe buildings with court
yards built in the old Spanish style; a few moments brings
us to the main street of the town, and, with a crack of the
whip, the stage drew up in front of the Bella Union, the
largest and best hotel in the “Pueblo de Los Angeles.”

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*For a drawing of Los Angeles in 1853, see “Reports of Explorations and
Surveys . . . for a Railroad . . . to the Pacific Ocean,” in Senate Executive
Document no. 78, 35 Congress, 2 session, vol. 15, pt. 5, serial 762 (1853–1854),
page 34; for a map based on the drawing, see Ana Begue de Packman,
“Landmarks and Pioneers of Los Angeles in 1853,” in The Quarterly of the
Historical Society of Southern California, 26:57–95 (June–September, 1944).
The map faces page 51, the title page of the journal. It shows the Wilson
residence and store, the Keller store, the McFarland Downey Apothecary Shop,
the Stearns mansion, the Andrés Pico, del Valle, and Hayes adobes, the sanja
madre (main irrigation ditch), and the Bella Union Hotel. When Horace
Bell was a guest at the Bella Union Hotel in 1852 it offered itself as “the best hotel south of San Francisco.” Bell said that it offered
itinerant visitors “numerous pigeon-holes, or dog-kennels” six feet by nine

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Here, at our journey's end, after a sufficient rest, started out for a view of the city from the hills west of the town. And here I will make some passing observations—speaking of the principal places of interest, as observed during my first few days' residence in the old but noted city, with its unsurpassed and almost tropical climate. After which I will introduce to the reader my route from the city to country, including all the principal vineyards and stock-ranches in the county.

Los Angeles, or “City of the Angels,”—derived from the old chapel bearing the name—like all Spanish towns, occupies considerable area of ground, the town being laid out in squares, and at intervals plazas. The buildings are principally adobe, and but one story, save where American enterprise has been displayed in the erection of fine brick buildings of modern style. Many of the old adobe residences inclose a court yard or patio, in which are gardens filled with flowers, fountains of water, fruit and ornamental trees—green the year round—displaying much taste in the arrangement. In the lower part of the town among the Mexicans and lower classes, these yards or courts are used for keeping the animals. This class of buildings (adobe) are adapted to the climate, and are generally comfortable, though unmarked by any architectural display. The country affords but few opportunities for the cultivation of any accomplishments, which in more refined society would be indispensable.

From the top of the hills west of the town, the landscape is beautiful and attractive, and here a perfect view of the city may be had. These hills extend some five miles along the banks of the river. The Los Angeles River originates in springs from the mountains, some eighteen miles north, rising up in several places, debouching upon the plains, and passes down about five miles from the city, where it exhausts itself in the quicksands, and is seen no more,—during its course large appropriations are made from it for the use of different proprietors of gardens and vineyards—the water being turned from its natural course by artificial streams and channels, called “zanjas”—through the city in different directions. During a freshet, which occurred in 1825, there was a large deposit of sand, the debris from the mountains which constitutes the principal body of sand on which some of the vineyards now stand. Below this body of sand may be found a rich, dark soil—which accounts for the rich, and in some cases, extraordinary growth of trees.

The climate is unsurpassed, and, under the warm and genial rays of the sun, most of the fruits of the tropical countries are produced in abundance,—oranges, lemons, pomegranates, figs, almonds and walnuts. The olive grows here in abundance, and in the region of San Fernando it is not inferior to the olive of Spain in size or flavor. All the native fruits, such as apples, pears, peaches, apricots, grapes, &c., are produced of large size and delicious flavor.

Of the whole southern part of the state, this county is by far the most productive. There is very little change in the character of the climate, during the entire year; hence the temperature is very even, the thermometer ranging from 60 to 75 and 80 degrees. The days are warm and lovely, the mornings and evenings cool, and the same style of clothing is answerable the year round. I shall send you a complete thermometer table for the entire year, as kept by a gentleman of the county, which you can publish if desirable.

The principal place of worship—Catholic or Spanish—is the old church opposite the Plaza, called Iglesia de Nuestra Senora [La Reina] de los Angeles, or “OUR LADY OF LOS ANGELES.” This church was built in 1810, was renewed in 1856, and blessed in December of the same year. The congregation is mixed, English and Spanish. This is now the seat of the Diocese, until the new church (in contemplation) is built, [and] is supported by voluntary contributions of the...
people. The presbytery adjoining, and residence of the Padres, was built some two years ago, being of brick and modern style, though but one story. In old times the spot was occupied as quarters for the soldiers. There are three Padres connected with the church—B. Raho, C.M., being the parish priest, and with whom I enjoyed a half hour of pleasant conversation. In front of the presbytery is a beautiful garden, filled with flowers and ornamental trees,—pimento, acacia, &c.—green the entire year. In the centre a fountain is playing, surrounded by a bank of flowers and shells, tastefully arranged. Mass is held at 7 and 10 A. M., and 4 P. M.—Sunday school at 3 P. M.

There is an Orphan Asylum, under the direction of the Sisters of Charity, containing from 25 to 30 girls; also a boarding and day school, containing about 175 scholars. These buildings are brick and frame, in modern substantial style. There is also an Infirmary, where the patients of the county are kept. Of these institutions I shall speak more particularly at another time.

In the county much of the land is composed of extensive plains, fully capable of cultivation,—at present used as grazing for the numerous bands of stock. The agricultural resources equal any portion of the state. Horticulture and pomology are obtaining rapid strides, and in this county there will be found many new and rare plants and trees growing luxuriantly, which have been introduced within a few years. As to grape culture, it is almost useless to say that this county is destined to become the most extensive in the world; and the wine crop will in a few years become a chief source of the wealth of the county.

In a future letter I intend to speak more fully upon these matters—after I have more fully examined the subject—showing where the blame lies, which has attached discredit to those honorably engaged in the business: this will be

Los Angeles

embraced in my letter on vineyards. And here I will for the present close,—as the mail-stage is nearly due—and trust the reader will excuse any apparent errors or omissions, having been obliged to hurry somewhat in order to complete it for the out-going mail. In my second letter, which I trust will be more entertaining, I shall give some sketches of my visits to the beautiful gardens and vineyards of the city—commencing with the well known and extensive vineyard of M. Keller, Esq.

II

Editors American Stock Journal,

Observation and analysis have proved the soil in this county, as better adapted to the cultivation of the grape, than in any portion of the state; and the most essential points to be observed, are temperature and humidity, both of which are found in equable proportions. The grape grown in this county, known as the California grape, was first introduced by the mission priests from Spain into Mexico, and from thence into the missions here, of which SAN GABRIEL was one of the earliest. This mission is eight miles east of Los Angeles, and was founded in 1771. The number of vines in the vineyard was about 100,000 (one hundred thousand); but this, with other mission vineyards, [has] sunk to decay, and nothing but the black stumps remain.

This grape has been tried in different portions of the state, but not with that success expected. Here the grape has obtained an extensive fame from its richness of flavor, and saccharine matter for wine purposes, while as a table grape


Grape growing and wine making has long since moved from Los Angeles County, where it was centered in 1860, to the San Joaquin Valley, where Fresno County is far in the lead. The persistence of vineyardists in concentrating upon the Mission grape, despite its inferior quality for wine making, has been shown by Vincent P. Carosso in his excellent California Wine Industry, 44, 70.
it has never been surpassed. It thrives well, and bears to the
great age 70, and often to 100 years,—and with proper treat-
ment, has never been known to fail in a crop. Many varie-
ties of the grape have been tried—some foreign also—but
none have succeeded so well as the variety at present grown.
The Catawba and Isabella, famous in other sections, have
proved useless upon being experimented with. The propa-
gation is generally by cuttings, and transplanted when in
healthy order to the vineyard designed for them; commenc­
ing to bear generally the third year, although it is not best
to allow them, as it debilitates the vine,—but by checking
the growth gives a greater vigor to the roots, and a good
crop the fourth year.

The cost of a new vineyard is about $10 or $12 an acre—
the vines being placed about six feet apart each way, laid
out in squares, having margins or streets between, for the
purpose of gathering the grapes. It is my intention to notice
the principal vineyards, gardens, stock-ranches, &c., accord­
ing to the visit made, in rotation, without any preference—
giving each their relative position and merits, and, as my
former letter apprised you, commencing with the vineyard
of M. Keller.

This vineyard is near the center of the town and only a
few moment's walk from the hotel or main street,—has some
100,000 vines, of which about 50 or 60,000 are now in bear­
ing, and in fine condition—ready for the manufacture of
wine.39 The season is now commencing, and some dozen
men—principally Indians—are employed picking and carry­
ing the grapes, and assisting in the manufacture. These In­
dians are generally paid from 50 to 75 cents per day. The
grapes will be allowed to hang on the vines this year longer
than usual, which gives a better flavor to the wine—pro­
ducing a better quality. The crop the present season is

expected to produce from 40,000 to 50,000 gallons of wine. He
will also make about 5,000 gallons of brandy, which
commands $2.50 per gallon in the San Francisco market.
There have also been sent to the above market about 125,000
lbs. of grapes, and he is constantly shipping,—and in a later
article I will send the full number. The vintage of 1858
was 50,000 gallons, in 1859 about 35,000 gallons—more grapes
having been sent to market, and in consequence of a short
crop. He estimates the crop, in the county to reach half a
million gallons the present season, while the number of
vines will reach above three millions.

The place is well cultivated, and, besides the wine, much
attention has been paid to other fruits—having some 2,000
fruit trees: peach, apple, pear, quince, nectarine, plum, ch­
erry, as well as orange, lemon, citron, walnut, pepper, &c.,
and many other varieties.

Mr. K. has also a stock-ranch, mostly stocked with native
sheep, intending to produce crosses with American breeds,
and develop this branch of husbandry. He has a neat brick
house, with a garden in front, well filled with fruit trees,
flowers and choice shrubbery, tastefully displayed—among
which the graceful pimento, or pepper-tree, is conspicuous
for its beautiful green, drooping foliage. Everything about
the place denotes comfort, industry and enterprise.

A ride of about a mile and a half from the city in a southerly
direction, and we come to the vineyard and orchard of Mr.
O. W. Childs, comprising about fifty acres, under high culti­
vation.40 There is a fine nursery of some 20,000 to 30,000

—Ozro W. Childs is shown by the lists in the Alta California and the
California Farmer to have had 20,000 vines out in 1860. In addition to his
vineyard and his orchard of 800 orange and apple trees he conducted a
hardware store, introduced exotic trees and plants, and built a 1,600-foot
zanja for the city of Los Angeles, for which he received in payment 200 acres
of land in the pueblo grant. This tract of land he later laid out into lots and
blocks. In 1860 fifty acres of this tract was one of the choicest properties
in the city, being valued with improvements at $25,000. His orchard products
and garden crops were each valued at $2,000. Newmark, Sixty Years in
Southern California, 69, 231; Transactions, 1858, p. 288; Hortense Childs
of Southern California, 56:138 (June, 1954).

38 A committee of the California State Agricultural Society, visiting the
vineyard and orchard of Matthew Keller in 1858, reported that he had 83,000
vines from one to fifty-four years old, 550 native and imported orange trees,
and scores of apple, peach, quince, apricot, plum, and cherry trees. Alta
California, October 22, 1858; Transactions, 1858, p. 288.
trees,—apple, pear, cherry, apricot, &c., and looking uncommonly well, and very thrifty growth,—without any irrigation whatever. This nursery is the largest in the county, and will be able to supply the market with the finest varieties of fruit trees. The orchard looks very promising, containing all the choicest varieties of native, as well as the tropical fruits,—viz: 600 apple, 200 pear, 400 peach, apricot, &c., and some 500 orange trees, which promise well, and will prove quite remunerative. There are also a large number of fig trees loaded with delicious fruit, with which we regaled ourselves.

Mr. Childs has commenced a vineyard of about twelve acres, containing some 10,000 vines, and is in appearance one of the most uniform I have seen. He intends to make, the present season, from two to three thousand gallons of wine.

In raising bees he has been quite successful, having some 200 hives in excellent working order; using principally the Langstroth and Harbison hives, the former being the most preferable. He will raise a large quantity of honey for market, of the very best quality. The bees feed upon the willow with which the vineyard is partially fenced, and from which they extract a species of honey dew. The soil is rich and fertile, possessing the most desirable qualities, and producing excellent crops. The grounds are laid out with unusual taste, and promises to become one of the prominent places of Los Angeles.

With permission of the reader we will for a short time leave the vineyards and gardens, and take a trip to a noted sheep-ranch about fourteen miles from the city of Los Angeles. The drive through the country, though somewhat dusty, is nevertheless agreeable and attractive—being a succession of rolling country, partly hill and plains, deep ravines winding round among the hills, affording quite a diversity to the traveler. Riding some eight miles in an easterly direction, we pass through the famed Mission of San Gabriel.

At this mission is the oldest church in the county—nearly 100 years old—built of adobe and covering a large space of ground. This was once a fine edifice, but has shared in the general decadence of the country, and its time-worn appearance is far from imposing. The old altar still remains, and the walls are lined with paintings of the saints, and scenes in the life of Christ and the Apostles—very old and hardly distinguishable.

The old mission has nearly gone to ruin, mere piles of broken adobe are left as relics of the perished past. The adobe walls have subsided into mounds of clay, and all is formless. The town has shrunk in the lapse of time, and the former population has dwindled down to a small number.

The ride from Los Angeles towards the mission, and to the ranch, the country is very dry, owing to the scarcity of water and the want of rains.—The ranches extend around the valley up to the base of the mountains. In the spring the hills, for leagues, are covered with wild oats, clover, &c., and nothing can exceed its richness, and during the rainy season—which commences about the middle of November,—and for months succeeding, the herbage is abundant, affording an ample supply for the stock, on which they feed and fatten rapidly. The mountains are very abrupt, and scarcely any growth of wood except upon the extreme top, where some of the trees are said to grow to a great height. The great scarcity of water, in this section of the country precludes much attention being paid to agricultural purposes, consequently more attention is given to stock-raising.

A drive of about seven miles through a broken country, woodland, composed of shrubby oaks, water-courses, &c., and descending from a plain or table land, we come to the well-known rancho, SANTA ANITA, owned jointly by Wm. Corbett (Los Angeles), Albert Dibblee (San Francisco), and Thomas B. Dibblee (L.A.).

The three-league Santa Anita rancho had been granted to Perfecto Hugo Reid in 1845 and was patented to Henry Dalton in 1866, with 13,319 acres. Before the patent was issued the rancho was bought by William Corbett and Albert Dibblee, who held it until the end of the Civil War when it passed to William Wolfskill. Corbett & Dibblee was listed in the census of 1860 as having 200 acres of improved and 12,000 acres of unimproved land, valued at $18,000 and 4,000 sheep. Albert and Thomas Dibblee became major landowners in Santa Barbara County. They acquired all or parts of eight Mexican ranchos, containing 142,496 acres. Their property was assessed
Los Angeles about fourteen miles; situated in the San Gabriel valley, at the base of the Sierra Madre mountains, or coast range. It contains some three leagues, about 13,300 acres of land—running along the base of the mountains between six and seven miles, being about four miles wide. About 5,000 acres are inclosed by a strong and substantial fence, some four miles in length, and one of the best in the country. Part of this is woodland, and covered with excellent oak timber. The inclosure above being for a protection from the encroaches of neighboring cattle, and thus affording a good supply of grazing for their flocks, as a reserve in dry weather. There is devoted to cultivation and farming, some 200 acres, from which good crops have been taken the past season—about 150,000 lbs. barley, 125,000 lbs. potatoes, etc., also some 100 tons of hay. Fifty acres are devoted to a vineyard, in which are now growing about 50,000 vines, 40,000 of which were set out last year. These will produce a good crop of grapes in a few years, and the manufacture of wine be commenced.

The balance of the ranch is used for pasturing the sheep, of which there are about 7,000 on the ranch, all but about 2,000 being bred from imported bucks—Merino, Cotswold and South Down. The sheep are divided into flocks of about 2,000, under the care of a shepherd and dog.

During the last two years Messrs. C. & D. have imported over eighty thorough-bred bucks, at a cost of several thousand dollars. This is the largest importation into southern California, of thorough-bred bucks. There are eleven Cotswold bucks, six Cotswold ewes, ten Cotswold Merino bucks (sired by full blood Cotswold bucks, and full blood Merino ewes), and forty Spanish Merino bucks. The balance are South Down bucks from stock imported from Jonas Webb, and Sir Robert Throckmorton, of England. Importations have also been made of South Down and Merino ewes.

The aim has been to produce, by means of crosses, a good carcass, and at the same time fine wool of long staple. Three of the Cotswold bucks weigh over 300 lbs each; and one on being measured, was found to reach over five feet total length, exclusive of tail; height thirty-four inches, exclusive of wool; circumference of body five feet compact measure. These are the largest Cotswolds that have been imported into the state. Some fleeces taken from them, which I brought with me, measure six inches, of six and a half month's growth.

The clip of wool the present season is about 14,000 pounds, a large portion of the sheep not having been shorn. By shearing early, the pest of California wool (the clover bur) has been mostly avoided. On the ranch inclosed is a fine meadow of soft moist soil, and in some spots the grass fresh and green. This meadow is capable of producing a good supply of fresh green grass until midsummer. There are also several springs upon the ranch, and the water is conveyed, by means of streams, to various parts of the ranch, for the benefit of the stock, and for the purpose of irrigation to the garden and vineyard. There are numerous buildings upon the ranch, and every convenience for the keeping of the stock. General neatness and good order is observed, and, in point of location, soil, and stock, this is destined to become one of the best ranches in the country.

Editors American Stock Journal:*

Leaving Santa Anita Ranch—a pleasant drive of about four miles from the Mission San Gabriel, in a southerly direction, over a level plain, used principally for stock grazing, reach the main road leading to Lexington, being a portion of the Monte—signifying wood—a swampy, low ground covered mostly with trees, excepting those portions under

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cultivation. The soil is rich and fertile. The Monte embraces an area of some 15 or 20 square miles, and is occupied mostly by squatters, to the great annoyance of the rightful claimants, who hold Mexican Grants. In consequence of the troubles existing, and the uncertainty of results, there is not that attention paid to agriculture, or improvements made, which the resources and fertility of the soil warrant, and matters are in somewhat of a dormant state. About half a mile from the town, near the plain, is the farm of F. W. Gibson. There is under cultivation some 300 acres, about three acres of which is devoted to broom corn, which thrives well in this section. He has made for the present season about 3,000 brooms—doing all the work himself, and supplying that section of country.

In the stock department, Mr. G. has the lead over others. He has the best stallion in the country, "Ethan Allen," six years old—sired by Ethan Allen, the world renowned stallion. Dam got by Flying Morgan, out of a pure-blooded English mare (imported by General Nelson Moat, of St Johns, Canada East). He is a remarkable colt, of fine carriage and action—color dark chestnut. This colt has taken the first premium, exhibited in harness, against all competitors—is a sure foal getter. He was lately imported at a cost of some $2,000. I noticed also two imported Jacks, nearly fifteen hands high, bred by James E. Hall, Paris, Ky.—their names Hannibal and Royal Mammoth. Hannibal, grey, with white belly, mealy nose; foaled in May 1857; got by Hannibal—he by Tippecanoe; dam by Leviathan &c., by imported Mammoth. Royal Mammoth, black, with white belly, mealy nose; foaled Aug., 1857; got by Royal Mammoth; dam by California—

29 See Note 2 in the Appendix.
30 Newmark says that early in the 1850's Fielding W. Gibson bought 580 cattle in Sonora, Mexico, to drive to California, but that by the time they arrived there his vaqueros had stolen six-sevenths of them. He bought land of Henry Dalton west of El Monte, where he raised stock in addition to broom corn. The Thompson & West History of Los Angeles County, 186, shows that Gibson owned 448 acres in El Monte.

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he by Tippecanoe; g. dam by Leviathan. These Jacks were imported the past season at heavy expense, and will prove, without doubt, highly advantageous to the owner. They are fine noble looking animals. Mr. Gibson deserves much credit for the efforts he is making to improve the stock of the country.

Leaving the Monte, pass in a north westerly direction, riding through the San Gabriel Mission. The morning was clear and beautiful, and the late refreshing showers have invigorated the earth, from which are seen shooting the blades of new grass, covering the plains with a fresh green verdure. This mission (previously alluded to) was founded in 1771, and, like all missions, was the chosen spot of the county, but has now nearly gone to decay. I visited the famous orange grove—once the finest in the country—which still thrives, but on a much smaller scale, many of the trees having died. Here were orange, lemon, citron, and pomegranate trees, profusely loaded with the tempting and almost ripe fruit—while on many of the trees could be seen ripe, and green fruit, and blossoms on the same tree, presenting a most attractive appearance. This is the only point of interest in the whole mission, excepting the old church. Everything else, including the vineyards, having gone to decay.

Leaving the mission and continuing my ride in a north westerly direction, for about a mile, I reached the well known and extensive orchard of W. M. Stockton. This orchard comprises some 15 to 20 acres, containing over 1000 bearing trees. The principal varieties are pear, peach, apricot and plums. The larger proportion of which are pears; these are of large size and very thrifty, the crops numbering thousands of bushels. Among the pears I noticed the Bartlett, Vicar
of Wakefield, Angora, White Doyenné, Flemish Beauty, &c. The fruit grown here is of large size and excellent flavor. Some of the Angoras I saw weighed over 3½ lbs. He has tried grafting the apple on old pear trees, with success. The crop, the present season, will amount to over 3000 bushels. Mr. S. has imported some choice varieties of the fig (yellow Smyrna, brown and white Iske, &c.), the fruit of which has proved to be large and fine, and far preferable to the common black fig. There are some 200 acres devoted to farming and grazing. Upon the ranch are some 50 head of cattle and mules, principally American stock, which he intends improving by crossing with choice breeds.

About half a mile from here, in a westerly direction joining this place, and near the base of the hills, is the farm and vineyard of B. D. Wilson, Esq., better known as “Lake Vineyard”—deriving its name from a beautiful lake a few rods from the house, and a most popular and pleasant resort in the summer season, for sailing, fishing, &c.” The mansion is large and substantial, and beautifully located, commanding an extensive view of the country around. There are about 300 acres devoted to farming and vineyard. In the vineyard are about 40,000 bearing vines, and a young vineyard of some 80 to 90,000 vines. The crop the present season will amount to about 20,000 gallons wine: 10,000 white—6,000 port—1,000 claret—2,000 brandy—1,000 angelica. The wine made here is of excellent quality, owing to the care taken in manufacture, and sufficient time allowed for age—none allowed to be sold under three years. In the cellars are stored the crops of the past two years, which will soon be ready for market, and must command a quick sale, from its age and fame. In the orchard are fine bearing fruit trees of different kinds, as well as orange and lemon—of which former (orange) there are some 10,000 young trees in the nursery, which promise well.

The orange trees attract the most attention, being of large size, and loaded with fruit, and free from the ravages of the scale insect, which has preyed so severely upon the orange in other sections. These trees are in better condition than any I have seen. On the tops of some of the largest and nearly concealed in the bright green foliage, I noticed some fine large oranges, of last year’s crop, which have hung on the trees a year, and from their deep rich color, presenting a beautiful effect, contrasting with the green fruit of the present crop. The lemon trees were in full bearing, and those grown here are remarkably large and fine. Much attention is being paid to this department.

Nearer the mountains, extending back around their base, is the San Pascual ranch, in which Mr. W. is an owner, and of which more particular allusion will be made from a future trip. This ranch is well stocked with cattle and horses, and in a short drive the next morning, through a portion of the ranch, I observed some very fair specimens of American stock. Mr. Wilson intends importing some choice bulls, with a view to the improvement of his stock, being satisfied that it will be highly advantageous; and being a gentleman of extensive means and influence, will be enabled to do much good, in this section of the country where it is needed.

My visit, though brief, was a pleasant one, passed in the hospitable mansion, in the company of Mr. Wilson and his esteemed lady, with a most agreeable family, where the visitor is made to feel perfectly at home.

The morning of my departure was clear and lovely, and the weather invigorating; and with the prospect of a charming ride of about twelve miles, over a pleasant and romantic road, bade my friends “adios,” and started for Los Angeles. About a mile south of the city is the residence of Mr. S. H. Wilson.

Here are some thirty-five acres inclosed—a vineyard and orchard. The vineyard contains 32,000 vines, which are expected to be in bearing the coming season. In the orchard are several hundred fruit trees, comprising peach, pear, apple and quince, doing well. The peaches grow here to immense size, and are of excellent flavor. The soil is a sandy loam. The garden and vineyard, and orchard, are irrigated by means of zanjas, by waters from the Los Angeles River.

Mr. Wilson and Mr. McDonald are jointly interested in
the sheep business—having some 5,000 sheep pastured at Catalina Island (forty miles from Los Angeles), American sheep, crossed with Merino bucks. They have shorn over 11,360 lbs., in two sheavings, part of which were lambs. This island offers good advantages for sheep grazing. There are some six parties who pasture on the island, and about 8000 head of sheep in all—Merino, Southdown, and common sheep.

A few words in relation to this island, which I learned from Mr. W., may not be out of place: Catalina Island was supposed to belong to Government, but some title has been brought forward by a party, by the name of Packard. It has passed the Board of Land Commissioners, also the Supreme Court of the State, but the government are allowed five years for appealing the suit, which time will not expire until 1862. In case they do not appeal, Mr. P. will apply for his Patent, in which case the parties who have squatted on the island—supposing it to be government land—will be driven off, and of course suffer loss of improvements. The buildings, &c., erected on the island by different parties, are valued at from $8000 to $10,000. The land is mostly grazing, rough and mountainous—water rather scarce. Large numbers of wild goats run over the island. Messrs. Wilson & McDonald intend breeding a good class of sheep for wool purposes, and the grazing on the island is, I am told, free from that pest to wool, the clover bur.

At the stables, near the house, I observed a pair of fine matched horses,—also a stallion of Morgan blood, in part. These, with others, form the nucleus of future improve-ments in this department of stock breeding. A pleasant walk of about half a mile, east of the city in a central portion of the valley, brings us to the residence of Dr. J. T. White, situated back from the street about 300 yards; the avenue leading to the mansion being lined, on each side, with luxuriant trees—figs, English walnuts, pomegranates, &c., while the space in front—between the house and street—is filled with fruit and ornamental trees: orange, lemon, pomegranate, laid out and interspersed in a very tasty manner. In front of the house is a large and beautiful fountain, surrounded by flowers, and encircled with shells, coral, &c.—the whole view from the mansion presenting a most picturesque appearance. The mansion is large, spacious and substantial, and altogether, is one of the most pleasant residences in the city. Connected with the place, are about eighty-eight acres, two-thirds being surrounded by the Los Angeles river, and about eleven feet higher than the eastern extremity of the city. The river originally passed through this place about twenty-five years ago, it having overleaped its banks at that time during a freshet, but now occupies its original position, about a mile from the city. To prove that it was originally a cienaga, or swamp, the Doctor has found by digging on his grounds, some ten feet below the surface, the bodies of large trees—some two feet in diameter. The soil is exceeding rich below the surface, and the roots of the trees, penetrating into this rich dark mould, forwards their growth amazingly. Most of the place is surrounded by a willow fence, and divided into different departments—vineyard, orchard, garden, etc. The vineyard contains from 27,000 to 30,000 vines, some 10,000 of which are new vines. The grape crop is about 200,000 lbs., a large portion of which is shipped and sold; the vintage is from 12,000 to 14,000 galls., and is of excellent quality. The cellars occupy a part of the basement

McDonald and Wilson had 5,000 sheep in San Pedro township in 1860. Edward N. McDonald acquired much wealth through sheep management and real estate in Los Angeles. He is said to have exported sheep to Japan. Wentworth, America's Sheep Trails, 173.

Santa Catalina Island (45,820 acres), one of the Channel Islands twenty-seven miles southwest of Los Angeles Harbor, was granted to Tomas M. Robbins by Pio Pico in the last rush to get as much of the lands into Mexican and loyal hands as possible. With two other ranchos containing 48,813 acres, Santa Catalina was patented to Jose M. Covarrubias, who, however, had sold his interest in the island to Albert Packard of San Francisco. In the 1860's it was acquired by James Lick, who had the usual prolonged troubles with squatters on the best land. Adelaide LeMert Doran, The Ranch That Was Robbins' (Glendale, 1963), passim.

Dr. Thomas J. White, postmaster of Los Angeles in 1860, was listed as having 52,000 vines, of which 17,000 were bearing. He had 1,300 orange trees, 100 peach trees, and 275 miscellaneous fruit trees. He owned forty acres of improved land valued at $10,000 and produced 6,000 gallons of wine in 1859. A more detailed description of his ranch is in Transactions, 1858, pp. 283-284, and the Southern Vineyard, December 4, 1858. Needless to say, the accounts differ markedly.
of the house, and the wine is stored until it attains a sufficient age.

In the orchard are some 500 fruit trees of all varieties—pear, apple, plum, peach, &c., with the orange, lemon, lime, fig, almond, olive, pomegranate, etc. In the nursery are pear, apple, plum, peach, &c., with the orange, lemon, lime, some mental trees and shrubs, Dr. W. has an extensive variety, and so distributed as to give to the place a most pleasing aspect. He has adopted the only and true policy for enhancing the value of the wines, viz.: by keeping over each vintage from three to five years, thus giving sufficient age, which gives character to the wine. The great secret which has produced so much discredit to the California wines, has been in thrusting them into market the first year.

In my next I shall give some statistics relative to stock matters in this county, with notes, &c.,—commencing, however, with the extensive vineyard of Wm. Wolfskill, Esq., in the city of Los Angeles, and continuing my second trip into the country, and my visit to the rancho of Gov. John G. Downey.

IV

Editors American Stock Journal: *

There were in this county in 1849 some 80,000 head of cattle, which have since augmented some 20,000 to 24,000

* Warren did not later return to Wolfskill, whose vineyard and orchard were among the most improved in the state. On his 180 acres in the San Gabriel Valley he had 60,000 vines and 2,800 orange, lemon, and lime trees. The value of his grapes produced in 1859 was $12,000. He also had 2,000 sheep and 140 horses on neighboring ranch land. Ownership of Santa Anita and Azusa ranchos came to him later.

Kohler, Frohling, and Bauck, who with Keller and the Sainsevain Brothers were the largest makers of wine in Los Angeles, made a total of 80,000 gallons in 1859, of which 24,000 gallons of white wine, 5,000 gallons of imitation Oporto, and 10,000 gallons of Angelica wine were made from Wolfskill's grapes. For Wolfskill's prominence in the fruit and grape industry, see Carosso, California Wine Industry, passim; Transactions, 1858, p. 287; Wilson, William Wolfskill, passim.

**Printed in the American Stock Journal, 3:162-165 (June, 1861).

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head—part of which have been either sold or killed, so that now there may be safely estimated to be about 92,000 head. There are less foreign cattle in the county—the stock being mostly native—but small sales have been effected the past year, and the stock is at present large, although not compared to former years. Much stock between 1855 and 1859... died from scarcity of water and feed, and other causes—such as involvement of owners, seizure for debt, and taken away. In 1858 some 15,000 head were taken away to ranches out of the county, so there are now 50,000 head less than in 1855. Of the cattle now in the county, about one half belong to foreigners, and the other half to Californians.**

There are about 9,000 head of horses, including the "manades." The horses are larger and finer in this county than in any other portion of the state. The California horse is looked upon as superior in many respects to others, for hardiness, &c., and for saddle-horses they are unsurpassed, bearing the longest journeys, deprivation of water, and are noted for speed and endurance. But for carriage use, are not as good as the American.

Owing to causes which I have previously mentioned, but more especially want of energy and perseverance, but little attention has been paid to crossing stock. There seems to be no reasonable excuse, for every facility desired is at hand; but many of the stock growers being natives, lack that energy which those in the northern regions possess. Large portions of the county consist of plains, mostly fertile but abundant in pasturage, and when the proper irrigation can be obtained the crops produced are abundant.

A pleasant ride of about ten miles over the plains, in an

**"H." in the Alta California, October 5, 1860, who was making a tour of Southern California about the same time as Warren, said that the 200,000 cattle in Los Angeles County of 1855 had been reduced by 70,000 by drought and insufficient forage in 1856. He estimated the number of cattle in 1860 as 80,000 and the number of sheep as 30,000. The census of 1860 shows 75,208 cattle and 94,839 sheep.

**One critic of native stock declared that American cattle and horses were worth twice as much as the native stock and added that it was gross mismanagement for anyone to raise full-blooded California horses or cattle. Alta California, May 8, 1880.**
easterly direction, leaving on the left a low range of hills, and crossing the San Gabriel River, brought me to the rancho SANTA GERTRUDES, owned by His Excellency Governor J. G. Downey. This ranch contains some four square leagues, more or less. The inclosed lands are from 800 to 1,000 acres, and devoted to vineyard, orchard, and agricultural purposes in general. The remainder is used for stock grazing.

The vineyard contains about 15,000 vines, large additions being yearly made—10,000 vines being now in bearing condition. The product of the vineyard is made into wine and brandy. Through the courtesy of Mr. George T. Fisher, overseer of the place, I was taken over the ranch and observed the improvements being made in the various departments of fruit and wine culture.

The orchard contains some 7,000 fruit trees, comprising peach, apple, pear, apricot, plum, etc. as well as about 50 fig trees. Much attention is paid to the English walnut, of which there are raised large crops, which promise to become in time the largest in the county. The forests and ornamental trees, such as black walnut, locust, Osage orange, &c., are under successful cultivation. The land is irrigated by water from the San Gabriel River drawn through a ditch some six miles long, which is afterwards divided into four separate ditches, all of which furnish sufficient water for the irrigation of all lands under cultivation.

A native Irishman, John G. Downey came to the United States in 1842, to California in 1849, and to Los Angeles in 1853. There he joined James F. McFarland in the management of a profitable drug store. He entered politics and was appointed collector of the Port of San Pedro with a salary of $3,000. He managed to pass on the position to a member of his family when he became lieutenant governor. He succeeded to the governorship when Governor Milton S. Latham resigned to become United States Senator. Downey and McFarland owned four leagues of the Santa Gertrudes ranch. A letter of McFarland to B. D. Wilson, Supervisor of Los Angeles County, of May 1, 1861 (in the Wilson Papers), declared that the ranch was used entirely for grazing, denied that it contained any land in cultivation, and asked that it be assessed solely as grazing land as were adjoining grazing lands. Downey also acquired the Warner rancho of 46,000 acres and in 1890 owned 60,000 to 75,000 acres. See his manuscript recollections in the Bancroft Library.

Los Angeles

The cultivation of broom corn is carried on to quite an extent, employing some dozen or more Indians, constantly, in the manufacture of brooms, which appeared to be of excellent quality.

The stock on the ranch comprises from 300 to 500 head of horses and cattle, mostly half breeds, besides some 3,000 head of cattle and sheep, which are pastured on the ranch, and owned by other parties. There is room here for the introduction of more and finer stock, and it is expected that before long some important additions will be made which will prove a source of great advantage to the county.

The extent of the ranch and its desirable locality and fertility of soil, with the facilities for irrigation, so essential to producing good crops, render it particularly valuable, and, with the improvements proposed, it must in time become extremely lucrative.

Continuing my ride in a northeasterly direction for a few miles, I passed the residence of Pio Pico, formerly Governor of California, and possessed of large real estate in this county, and considerable stock—bearing to the south and riding some two or three miles, reached the MERCE RANCH, the home­stead of F. P. F. Temple, Esq., distant from Los Angeles about twelve miles.

This ranch comprises some 2,400 acres of valuable land, about 100 acres of which are inclosed to garden, vineyard, and agricultural purposes, the balance is used as grazing for the herds of stock. Fifty acres are devoted to orchard and vineyard, the latter containing about 20,000 vines.

The orchard looks promising, containing a large variety of fruit trees, pear, peach, plum, apricot, olive, figs and English walnuts. Some 200 of the latter variety of tree being

For Pío and Andrés Pico, see Note 4 in the Appendix.

John and Francis P. F. Temple of Massachusetts arrived in California in 1827 and 1841. John acquired the five-league Cerritos rancho; Francis had an interest in San Emigdio in Kern County, and with J. M. Sanchez obtained the 2,563-acre Merced rancho in Los Angeles County. In 1860 Francis listed 500 acres improved, 2,000 unimproved, valued at $15,000, and had 180 horses and 1,208 cattle. In 1866, 7,600 acres of "swamp" land in Fresno County were patented to him.
in successful cultivation. The crops are large and productive—corn, wheat, barley and rye.

There are upon the ranch some 3,000 head of cattle and 200 head of horses and mares, principally California stock. As opportunity occurs these herds will be improved with crosses, as Mr. T. has ample means and liberality for carrying out any enterprise he may engage in.

Mr. Temple has been in the country some twenty years, and upon the present ranch since 1851. The mansion is adobe, built in substantial and comfortable style, and like the usual Spanish houses forms a half square 110 feet by 70. In front of the house is a beautiful garden, filled with flowers, fruit and ornamental trees, tastefully laid out. The soil is very fertile, and capable of producing every variety of fruit to perfection, with the exception of the lemon and orange, it being too cold.

Leaving the Merced Ranch, and riding in an easterly direction along the southern tier, some six miles, part of which is over a plain some twenty or thirty miles broad, used principally for grazing for the stock belonging to the various ranches located along its margin.

In the center of this vast plain, like an oasis in the desert, is located the rancho La Puente, owned and occupied by Wm. Workman, and distant from Los Angeles about 18 miles.

The ranch is situated as above stated, mostly upon the open plain, and occupies some eleven leagues of land, a portion of which are rolling hills, and is devoted, with the exception of a few acres, entirely to stock grazing. Wm. Workman has some 3,000 head of cattle and about 600 head of horses; nearly all California stock, with the exception of a few half breeds. The stock in the dry season roam over the range of hills in pursuit of forage, and are nearly lost to sight; but in the spring when the new grass makes its appearance, the plains are covered, presenting an attractive appearance.

This is one of the largest and most extensive ranches in the county, and combining many excellent advantages.

About ten acres are comprised in vineyard and orchard, upon which are about 10,000 vines, which have the past season produced an extra crop. There are some 50,000 new vines set out and doing well.

The orchard comprises peach, pear and apple trees, figs and pomegranates. Mr. W. is one of the oldest pioneers, having come across the plains in 1841 and lived on the ranch ever since, making, however, one trip to Europe in the meantime.

Many improvements have been made upon the ranch and garden, which to a stranger looks especially inviting, being like a garden spot in the vast plain.

Mr. W. is a very liberal and enterprising man, and has just erected upon his place a large and commodious brick church for the benefit of those who may wish to avail themselves of the opportunity of worship. The building is entirely of brick, built in a most substantial and modern style. The brick used in the edifice are all made upon the grounds, and the mechanics are the best that can be procured. No regard has been had to cost, that being a secondary consideration. The dimensions of the church are 48 and 24 feet inside, and 19 feet high—walls 16 inches thick with 6 abutments, steeple 15 feet high. The church is built in the Gothic style, and when completed will be an ornament to the neighborhood as well as a novelty, in point of location, reflecting credit upon the founder. There is a beautiful garden back of the house, filled with fruit trees and flowers; this is inclosed by a brick wall, 90 feet square and 7 feet high. There are employed upon the place some 50 hands, mostly Indians, vaqueros, &c. The main building or residence is in the form of an oblong square; in the center is a large open court yard, containing tropical fruits, and an arbor of

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8 John Rowland and William Workman came to California in 1841, and were jointly given the Puente rancho of 48,790 acres. Each held 10,000 acres in 1860, and valued their respective shares at $27,000. Workman had 700 horses and 1,520 cattle, and was said to have 20,000 grape vines, of which 10,000 were bearing. Rowland, who had more land in cultivation—200 acres as against 50 for Workman—had 180 horses and 1,208 cattle.
trelis work, covered with grape vines running the entire
distance.

Everything about the place evinces good taste and liberal-
ity, and Mr. W. being a gentleman of much extended in-
formation and liberal means, visitors are always welcome
and cannot fail to be received courteously and hospitably.
I have dwelt somewhat at length upon La Puente ranch, it
being one of the most prominent on my route in point of
location, picturesque beauty and position. From the hills
previously mentioned the most perfect view of the whole
valley can be obtained, covered with herds of stock, grazing.
There is not that attention paid to improvement of stock
which perhaps a few years hence may witness.

Pursuing my journey about ten miles over the plain
previously stated, found myself towards nightfall at the Azusa
RANCH, owned by Henry Dalton, Esq., and covering over
three leagues of valuable land. This ranch is situated at
the base of the mountains known as the Coast Range, the
thermometer ranging from 60 to 70° and the climate being
warm and unsurpassed. My visit was principally to examine
the sheep owned by Messrs. Hollister and Cooper, who pas-
ture their flock upon this ranch. Their stock is principally

sheep—having some 3,300—of which about 1500 are Merinos,
and Saxons. The balance of the flock are American Cots-
wold, Southdown, and crosses. The wool is of fine quality,
many of the sheep having sheared over 12 lbs. each. The
last crop of wool was over 10,000 lbs. The original flock of
sheep were brought across the plains by Messrs. Hollister
and Peters in 1860. They started originally in 1857 with
some 10,000 sheep, and suffered a heavy loss in New Mexico,
for want of suitable feed, losing all the lambs and some four
or five thousand old sheep. They arrived in the neigh-

The present owners, Messrs. H. and C., have now located
where they have every facility for pasturage and water. Their
flock is divided into two herds, under the care of three shep-
herds and some half dozen dogs. Mr. H. is a brother of Col.
Hollister of Monterey Co., the well known sheep breeder,
and first came to this country with the original flock of the
Col.'s in 1853. He has now on the way from the East some very
choice Merino bucks, for the improvement of their flock.
Their aim is not only to improve the Merino, but also to
cross the Cotswold and Southdowns, for both wool and mutton
purposes. Their efforts have been met with success, and
their Merino sheep are the finest looking animals I have
ever seen in the county; and, with the improvements con-
templated, the strict attention which they are giving to the
subject, they bid fair to have the best flock of wool sheep in
this section of the country. They have also about 50 head
of cattle, American stock, with a few choice Durhams, which
they intend to improve, having excellent facilities.

The distance from Los Angeles to the Azusa is about 25
miles, which trip I made on the saddle, arriving at the ranch

Henry Dalton, an English trader from Lima, Peru, came to California
in 1843. At one time or another he owned all or part of Azusa, San Fran-
ciscoquito, San Jose addition, and Santa Anita ranchos, containing some 50,000
acres. In 1860 his Azusa property was listed as containing 700 acres of im-
proved land, 16,000 of unimproved land, all worth $40,000. He had a few
horses and cattle on the ranch. Dalton's journal of "Daily Occurrences in
Azusa," in the Huntington Library, contains much of value concerning
operations on the rancho and his treatment of his Indian workers.

The Azusa rancho was used by the Hollisters and J. W. Cooper as a
feeding station to rest their flocks on their way to San Justo. Joseph Hubbard
Hollister, Joseph W. Cooper, and Colonel Newton C. Peters started a drive
of 12,000 sheep for California in 1858, crossing Missouri, Kansas, and New
Mexico. According to Cooper's account, 8,000 lambs were added to the
flock on the way, but when the drive reached California in 1859 there were
only 4,486 sheep surviving. They leased Azusa, but its forage was not very
good that year and they had to push on to Santa Barbara ranges. There
they fared better, and the new combination of Hollister, his brother W. W.

Los Angeles

Hollister, and A. and T. B. Dibblee within a few years acquired all or parts
of nine ranchos, amounting to 165,000 acres, a part of which was sold in
1965 for $12,000,000. Frank Sands, A Pastoral Prince: The History and
Reminiscences of J. W. Cooper (Santa Barbara, 1895), 76, 116; Los Angeles
about 5 o'clock, where I passed the night. They live in true camp style, and after a hearty supper, Mr. Cooper and myself seated ourselves before a blazing log fire, under the branches of an immense oak, where we discussed upon things in general, but more particularly sheep matters.

After a comfortable night's rest and a hot breakfast, I saddled my horse, and with the prospect of a fine ride before me, (the morning clear and lovely) bade mine host of the Azusa adios, and started for Cucamonga ranch, distant about 22 miles.

The demand for wool, and the favorable prices obtained for California wool at the East, has given a favorable impulse to the growers in this section of the country. The consumption by our factories in San Francisco is largely increasing, and strong views are entertained of very large crops in this county (Los Angeles) the coming season. The growers talk of combining together and shipping their wool direct to New York from this port, by chartering a vessel for the purpose.

It has already been proved that heavy-bodied sheep obtained by crosses of Merino and Southdowns have proved more profitable to the grower. Our climate has a tendency to increase the length of the staple, in all kinds of wool, though not any one more particularly than another. In many locations, Leicester and Southdown sheep are considered preferable to Merinos, for raising of wool. Coarser, or curling wools are more sought for in the market, and probably will be for a long time for consumption here, as well as abroad, and find a profitable market. Our capabilities for raising wool have not been as yet fairly tested; but we hope in a few years to show some important results. It is calculated that the clip of wool will in all cases pay all expenses of the sheep, leaving the entire carcasses of the flock for the profit. I shall in future letters dwell more particularly upon this subject, giving some statements concerning wool growing in California, and the profits arising therefrom.

Los Angeles

Editors American Stock Journal."

The ride to Cucamonga is mostly over a rising table land, the latter portion of which, passing through San Jose, being over a dry, sandy soil, with scarcely any vegetation, and covered with a low shrubbery, or chemise. Water is rather scarce at this season of the year, and the stock roam among the rolling hills, where they subsist upon the wild oats and clover, though even that is nearly exhausted and dried up under the summer's heat.

CUCAMONGA derives its name from the mountain called "Quical Mungo," being part of the Sierra or coast range. This ranch is situated just at the base of the mountain above named, and is distant from Los Angeles 40 miles.

The atmosphere is very clear, and the climate salubrious, while the favorable location of the rancho, the fertility of the soil, and facilities for water and irrigation, renders it one of the most valuable and desirable in the country. The rancho embraces about three leagues of land, 500 acres of which are inclosed for vineyard and agricultural purposes. The remainder of the ranch is used as grazing for the stock.

*Isaac Williams, a Pennsylvanian who arrived in California in 1832, married the daughter of Antonio Mario Lugo of a large landowning family, and acquired through marriage, purchase, and grants Santa Ana del Chino, Santa Ana del Chino Addition, and Cucamonga ranchos, containing 48,645 acres. As ranchos went in Southern California he developed them to a fairly high extent. On March 15, 1848, he advertised in the Californian that he wished to contract for the building of an adobe fence for $1,000 cash or $1,500 payable in cattle or wild mares. His rancho became a way station for gold seekers in 1849, as is shown by the numerous entries in his record book. It was visited by the surveyors of the Pacific Railroad Survey in 1854. Williams was collector of the Port of San Pedro in 1855 with a salary of $3,000. The mountain Warren later speaks of may have been Cucamonga Peak, which has an altitude of 8,911 feet. Upon Williams' death in 1856 the property passed to John Rains and Robert Carlisle, who had married his daughters, with Rains taking Cucamonga. Lindley Bynum, editor, "The Record Book of the Rancho Santa Ana del Chino," in the Historical Society of Southern California, Annual Publication, 1934, pp. 1-55.
The grain crop the past season was about 3,200 bushels—wheat, rye, and barley; also some six tons of hay. The alfalfa is cultivated with great success.

The vineyard embraces about 150 acres, containing 150,000 vines, of which about 30,000 are now in bearing, the balance being young vines. The wine made here is the most celebrated in the country, on account of its peculiar, rich flavor, being some twenty per cent. above Los Angeles wine in saccharine matter.

The soil is heavy, gravelly loam, containing such chemical properties as, from experience, is especially adapted to the cultivation of the vine, while the grape in this particular section is unsurpassed for richness of flavor.

The vineyard is laid out from a plan by Mr. Dunlop (the overseer of the place), being divided into squares from which roads are laid out, intersecting at the space of every fifty vines, thus affording convenience for gathering the grape crop. Around the entire inclosure are planted a row of sycamore trees, six feet apart, as a protection against winds, &c. The inner space is planted with a hedge of Osage orange, making a strong and substantial protection against the stock and other animals. The crop the past season was about 20,000 gallons, principally white wine; and of its quality the Cucamonga wine surpasses all others in the market. The irrigation is from springs, rising about half a mile on the ranch, from rolling hills in the valley, and the water is conveyed by the main zanja, and distributed by four others, to numerous tributaries, thus irrigating the whole vineyard.

There are some 1,200 fruit trees on the place, of all the varieties—peach, apple, pear, and also English walnuts, and 100 olive trees.

There are large quantities of tules (or prickly pear) gathered on the place. The fruit is of delicious flavor, and highly esteemed by the natives. Experiments have been made in drying raisins; and the samples I tasted were of excellent quality. About 2,000 pounds have been dried on the place. This branch is destined to become an important feature in the country.

Mr. Rains, the proprietor of the ranch, has erected a large and commodious brick house, one story, flat roof, after the Spanish style, form of a hollow square, with large court yard back. The house contains 289,986 brick, all of which were made on the place. There are also bath house, stables, etc., all built of brick, and fire proof. A short distance from the house a large brick wine cellar has been built, one hundred feet long. The upper story will be used as a carriage house, granary, and store house. The capacity of the cellar will be about 25,000 gallons. The walls are of stone, and the whole building is of the most substantial make. In front of the house a wide and spacious lawn, which will be converted into a garden and orchard. The water is carried by pipes over the whole building, the spring rising only 400 yards from the house.

The whole place is well designed for comfort and convenience, and promises to become one of the finest places in the whole county. The grazing is of excellent quality, comprising fine clover, alfilaria, wild oats, etc., and sufficient feed can always be had for the numerous herds of stock in the valley.

This noted ranch is bounded on the north by Quical Mountain (part of the coast range), its height being 9000 feet above the level of the sea; on the east by the “La Puente” ranch; south by the Jurupa and Chino ranches (in the great valley); and west by the San Jose ranch. The range of mountains north are known as the Sierra or Cucamonga Range; south the Coast Range and Temescal Mountains; east by San Bernardino and San Gorgonio mountains.

The country through from Cucamonga to San Bernardino, for eighteen miles, is composed of a vast sandy plain, called the “Desert,” destitute of water, and in the blazing sun was far from an agreeable ride. There is scarcely any vegetation, except a low brushwood (or chemise), cactus, etc., among which I have observed plenty of game, such as rabbits, hares, quail, &c. In the winter this desert is covered with herbage, called alfilaria grass, upon which the stock feed and fatten. The whole country presents a dry and parched appearance.
at this season, especially the mountains and ranges of rolling hills, having in some places the appearance of a fire having passed over them, which is the effects of the hot rays of the sun upon the dried grains of clover, the seed of which, however offer nutriment to the stock. But in the spring, after the rains, these now sterile hills are covered for leagues with heavy crops of wild oats and fragrant clover, the rich green color presenting a magnificent sight, and affording a valuable and nutritious food for the thousands of cattle and horses which cover the hills on every side.

When within about five miles of San Bernardino we reach a table land or bench land, from which a distant view of the town is obtained, passing thence down a declivity of about one hundred feet, the Santa Ana river running at the foot.

At the base of this table land is the residence of Geo. Garner, where I paused a few moments to rest myself and horse after a warm and fatiguing ride, with thermometer at 90 degrees. Mr. Garner has some 400 or 500 head of sheep, and above 75 head of cattle, and about 20 horses. The soil on this ranch is good, but damp, being mostly bottom land, and corn is raised without any irrigation.

In the distance may be seen the San Bernardino mountains, frowning upon and almost encircling the city with their huge walls. Continuing my ride a mile or two further, over a good hard road, I reached the city of SAN BERNARDINO, famous in the history of the country as the Mormon settlement, and from which they were ordered to leave for Utah. The distance from Los Angeles is sixty miles. The city is situated in a valley about eight miles wide and sixteen miles long, and enjoys a most invigorating and salubrious climate. Of the city itself but little can be said, as many of the once attractive places are going to decay, and the place seems to be quite deserted. There are some thirty streams of water, which have their rise in this valley, passing through the town.

Garner was a member of the Mormon Battalion who first came to San Bernardino in 1847.

The Santa Ana river rises some forty miles distant in the mountains, and passes directly through the valley. Six miles from the town are located the medicinal or hot springs. There is not much attention paid to agriculture or stock raising in this valley, the population having diminished, and lack of enterprise in consequence of depression of times.

This valley is bounded on the north by mountains, covered principally with pine timber; east by the Sierra Yucaipa mountains; south by a low chain of mountains; and west by the table lands and two lone mountains, rising in the plain, called "Cerrito Solo." These two latter contain limestone and marble of excellent quality.

I visited a few of the principal gardens and ranches, but my time was somewhat limited. About six miles east of the town is the ranch of Dr. B. Barton, where I passed an hour very agreeably. The Doctor has 640 acres inclosed, devoted to agricultural purposes, and sheep raising. There were some 400 sheep on the place, Cotswold and Merinos. These form the nucleus to a large flock, as the Doctor intends improving his sheep by crossing, and raising principally for wool.

He has about eighty acres for vineyard and orchard, and about 84,000 vines. The soil is a good gravelly loam, and well adapted to the culture of the vine.

A drive of six miles, partly through the canón, up the mountains, then a descent into a valley, brought me to the YUCAIPA RANCH, owned by W. Waters, containing six sections, or 3800 acres of land, situated in a valley, almost hemmed in by mountains and hills.

The San Bernardino mountains lie on the east; the San Gorgonio pass and San Mateo valley on the south; on the north, the Yucaipa Hills and a range of chemical hills, bound it on the west. The facilities for water are excellent, some 100 springs rising on the ranch, affording an ample supply

Dr. Benjamin Barton was an early landowner and superintendent of schools in San Bernardino.

A Rocky Mountain trapper, trader, and rancher, James W. Waters reached California in 1844 where he became one of the pioneer settlers of the San Bernardino region. He suffered heavily from Indian depredations.
for irrigation and stock. Mr. Waters has about 1,500 sheep—American and Spanish, with Merino, Cotswold, and Southdown bucks; also 1,000 head of cattle, and from 75 to 100 head of horses, partly American.

The stock in this section needs improving; but owing to causes mentioned, it has been neglected. Consequently I saw little or no good stock, and the forsaken appearance of the whole place was far from attracting a long stay in this locality. In the city proper are some very tasty places, neatly laid out with gardens, &c. Dr. Wozencraft," Col. Jackson," John Brown, Esq.," H. E. Parrish" and others are devoting themselves to horticulture and agriculture, and to whom I feel obliged for courtesies while in the city.

Leaving San Bernardino, I continued my journey, passing through a Spanish township, part of the Jurupa ranch (the Indian name being "Agua Mansa," signifying "still water"), the population of which is about 200 or more, principally of Spanish origin, and devoted to farming, stock raising, etc. Some very good sheep are raised in this township.

Dr. O. M. Wozencraft was a member of the commission appointed to arrange treaties with the California Indians, wherein they agreed to surrender their claims to large areas of the state in return for concessions as to their ownership of land. The treaties were not ratified by the United States Senate. In 1964 the California Indians were awarded $29,100,000 for land taken from them without proper compensation in the 1850's. Wozencraft was charged, probably unfairly, with exacting

leagues of land, which is devoted to stock raising, with the exception of three hundred acres to vineyard and agricultural purposes. On a portion of this ranch is a willow fence six miles in length (what is termed a growing fence), which incloses a portion of the woodland already mentioned in the ride from "Agua Mansa." The mansion and outbuildings are built of adobe, and situated about in the center of the ranch, being six in number. There is also a large mill for grinding wheat, corn, &c., worked by water power from the Santa Ana River.

His grain crop is very large and free from smut. The vineyard comprises about thirty acres, containing from fifteen to twenty thousand vines. All but one-third are young vines, and thriving well. His wine crop was near two thousand gallons,—has made about 500 gallons peach brandy, and dried 1,200 pounds of peaches. In the orchard is a large and fine assortment of bearing fruit trees. The frosts in this section sometimes injure the tender varieties of trees, but not to any extent.

Juan Bandini, original grantee of Jurupa, lost it to his son-in-law, Abel Stearns (35,819 acres), with a part (6,749 acres) going to Louis Roubidoux. Roubidoux also had San Jacinto (4,439 acres) patented to him. In 1854 his lands were assessed at $4,550, his 10 gentle work horses at $200, 50 wild mares at $1,000, 20 milk cows and calves at $500, 50 beef cattle at $1,000, 200 young cattle at $1,600, 15 wild cows and calves at $2,700, 1,200 sheep at $3,600, equipment at $1,850, and notes due him at $4,600, or a total of $20,200. In 1860 he listed 3,650 acres of improved land and 15,000 acres of unimproved land, valued at $20,000. His livestock consisted of 100 horses, 648 cattle, and 2,000 sheep. Robert Hornbeck, Roubidoux's Ranch in the 70's (Riverside, 1915), 86. For further information on Jurupa, see Note 5 in the Appendix.
There are about two thousand head of sheep, mostly American ewes, and looking in very good condition. The wool crop amounted to from 5,000 to 6,000 pounds, of good quality. He has also 1,000 head of cattle, half breeds, and 200 head of horses and mares, and is improving this branch by the addition of two American stallions. The country is very fertile, and pasturing is of the best kind. "Don Luis" is of French descent, and came to California in 1843, having been on the present ranch since 1844; is one of the supervisors of the county, and a most efficient and active worker. He is a gentleman of fine education, and much extended information, and entertained me with matters of much interest during his residence in the county. During the war with Mexico he was, with others, taken prisoner at the battle of the "Chino."

Early the next morning I started for Temescal, distant some fifteen miles. Though somewhat off my route, I was desirous of visiting the tin mines in that locality. The weather was rather cool and disagreeable, with signs of approaching rain. About noon I reach the [overland] mail station at Temescal. The hotel is kept by J. M. Greenwade, in true American style. The mines are situated in the mountains, distant some three miles. A good road is open directly up to the mines, a brief description of which may not be out of place at this time, as these are the only discovered tin mines in the United States. The main, or carriage road, is directly over the mountains, from which a splendid view of the whole valley may be obtained, and the ride is exhilarating in the extreme. The present work has been to ascertain the existence of the ore, and it is as yet unknown whether it will pay or not. The main shaft has been sunk near the Kahalca lead (meaning medicine), the name originating from the Indian who discovered it. It had, at the time of my visit, reached a depth of about forty feet, and the intention is to extend it to a distance of two hundred or two hundred and fifty feet, running shafts in different directions, as the veins indicate.

The works are under the charge of Mr. S. C. Bruce, agent for Don Abel Stearns, owner of the lead.* The works have only been in operation about three months, employing from twelve to sixteen men. Two men are kept at work in the shaft day and night, changing every eight hours. There is a large stone building erected for the accommodation of the agent, director, and assayers; also a blacksmith shop. Every effort is being made to strike the lead, which is supposed to be very rich. Taking a view of the location, and obtaining a few specimens of the ore, I started for the hotel, driving through the cañon, quite a romantic ride for two miles, reaching the station just before dark. Here I found a comfortable fire and a sumptuous dinner, which proved quite refreshing after my day's ride. The evening was passed most agreeably in the company of Mr. Greenwade and his amiable lady, who did all in their power to make my brief stay agreeable. This house is one of the best in the whole county, and visitors will always find a hospitable welcome. I regretted much that time would not allow me to make a longer stay to enjoy the scenery and hunting which the locality affords, and which is quite enticing to a stranger.

The atmosphere in these mountain regions is very pure and healthy, and the scenery unsurpassed for variety and beauty. There is considerable stock around this section, and the grazing is excellent, composed of the indigenous grasses, such as wild oats, clover, bunch grass, afilaria, etc., affording nutritious nourishment for the stock.

Leaving Temescal, its pleasant and attractive scenery, I continued my trip towards the Chino Ranch, distant about twenty-five miles. Ten miles of my drive, over the rolling plains, brought me to the Santa Ana River, fording which, I entered a large valley, in which numerous herds of stock were grazing. The valley was partly surrounded by rolling hills, from which the fresh green verdure was first peeping.

*See footnote 50 infra for Abel Stearns and Note 6 in the Appendix for the difficulties over the tin mines on Temescal.
The slight rains had proved quite beneficial and welcome harbingers to the nearly famished stock. From these valleys nothing of consequence can be seen; but by mounting the height of the rolling hills, which are from 100 to 300 feet high, a most beautiful landscape is apparent, and hills and vast undulating plains, dotted here and there with ranchos, and thousands of cattle and horses. These valleys are irregular in slope, and of all lengths and widths (throughout the whole country), from two or three miles to twenty or thirty miles in extent, and separated, as it were, by the rolling hills. These extensive tracts, although fertile, and adapted for agricultural purposes, are at present used only for grazing purposes.

Ten miles further through the valley brought me to the Chino Rancho, owned by Messrs. Carlisle & Rains, and occupied by Mr. Rains, until the completion of his new house at Cucamonga, where he will then reside. Rancho del Chino occupies some eight leagues of land, comprising a portion of the large valley, and is devoted entirely to grazing with the exception of two hundred acres, inclosed for garden, orchard, etc. The soil is a rich gravelly loam, and the growth of the trees is remarkable, especially the Osage orange, of which I noticed some fifty or sixty in full bearing, and growing luxuriantly. They were the finest specimens I have seen, and the specimens of fruit I took with me were of mammoth size. The olives and other trees were looking very thrifty. There were upon the rancho about twelve thousand cattle, and from five to six hundred horses. Part of the horse stock is American. There are also nine American stallions on the place, and a number of American bulls. This is a most extensive tract of land, being situated mostly in a valley, bordered by ranges of rolling hills, which afford excellent pasture for the stock, while the facilities for water are numerous and abundant, from springs rising over different portions of the rancho, thus affording an ample supply for the stock in the dry seasons. Some seventy-five persons are employed on the place (Indians, Spanish Vaqueros, etc.) and two beeves are killed weekly to feed them. The location of the rancho is a desirable one, and the proprietors are surrounded with every comfort and convenience. The buildings are adobe, in Spanish style, but the mansion has been re-fitted and furnished with all the modern comforts of a city home.

The thermometer ranges from 40° to 100°. The coldest weather is not below 30°. The soil is very fertile, and will produce crops without irrigation, while the water power is sufficient to irrigate a thousand acres.

The country, from this point through to Los Angeles, is about the same, composed of rolling hills and valleys; and by following the trail over the hills (which is shorter and preferable to the main road), the finest views of the country can be obtained. Everything seemed improved by the late refreshing showers, and the hills and valleys were covered with the fresh green crops of clover, oats, &c., while scattered in every direction were vast herds of stock grazing. I could see the valleys were actually swarming with them, as I rode along, for miles.

About twenty miles from Los Angeles I stopped at the rancho of John Reed, Esq. He has about 900 acres, a portion of which is inclosed and devoted to agricultural purposes. His crops have been large—principally wheat. The vineyard contains some ten thousand vines. The cattle and horses on the ranch number about 1000 head, partly American stock. Mr. Reed has 30 American mares, and five or six stallions, choice breed, to improve this portion of the stock. There are also about 1,400 sheep, crosses [of] American and Southdown. I did not have an opportunity of seeing the sheep, as they were grazing on

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44 Rains's and Carlisle's joint holdings in 1858 included 200 acres of improved and 53,328 acres of unimproved land worth $50,000. There were 300 horses and 4,000 cattle on the ranchos. Waterman Ormsby, who traveled through the Santa Ana del Chino rancho by Overland Mail in 1858, was told that cattle on the rancho were worth $300,000—and yet, he said, at their breakfast neither butter nor milk was available. Rains was murdered in 1862 and Carlisle was shot in 1865.

45 John Reed, a son-in-law of John Roland, may have received a part of Puente, the jointly owned rancho of Roland and Julian Workman.
the mountains. Mr. Reed intends obtaining some choice bucks with a view to improve the wool.

I passed on my way to Los Angeles a number of ranchos and considerable stock; but time would not allow of my making more extended examinations, and I was desirous of reaching home, being somewhat fatigued from a long trip through the country of over two hundred miles, on the saddle, having occupied nearly two weeks of time.

A few remarks upon the county in general, may serve at this time, in conclusion.

Los Angeles County is bounded on the north by Buena Vista Co.; on the east by San Bernardino; by the ocean and San Diego Co. on the south and southeast; and by Santa Barbara on the west.

The largest source of water in the county is furnished from the Santa Ana River, which rises in a chain of mountains, near the San Bernardino Peak; its course being south-westerly, and traversing San Bernardino County (as mentioned in accounts at that place), passes along the north-western base of the mountains into the county, where it is exhausted in its own bed before reaching the ocean—except during the rainy season, when its course to the ocean is about 45 miles from Los Angeles, in a southeasterly direction.

The San Gabriel River has its source in the mountains near the boundary line between Los Angeles and San Bernardino County, enters the plains about 20 miles northeast of the city and reaches the ocean about ten miles east of the port of San Pedro.

These rivers in their course afford a sufficient body of water, with proper management, to irrigate the vast and extensive plains on every side, rendering them fit for cultivation, whereas now they only furnish pasturage for stock.

47 In 1855 the California legislature authorized the creation of Buena Vista County, with boundaries somewhat comparable to modern Kern County. But the terms of the enabling act were not met and the area was not finally organized into a new county until 1866, when Kern County was created as it is today. Owen C. Coy, *California County Boundaries* (Berkeley, 1923), 15.
For much of the information above, I am indebted to J. J. Warner, Esq., as there were not on file at the assessor's office any reports, information, or statistics that I could avail myself of. 4

I have at different times alluded to the several departments of agriculture and vine growing much more, I fear, than allowable, and hope I have not trespassed too much.

There is much need of the right kind of energy and activity in the stock-growing districts, and the causes of this apparent supineness I have given in former letters. This is much to be regretted, where such a large and fertile country offers such inducements and is so well adapted to stock growing on a different scale.

The soil is of excessive fertility, especially where irrigation can be found; the climate unsurpassed in salubrity, and all the vast plains throughout the county, as well as the hillsides, produce the most luxuriant pasturage for stock of all kinds, especially sheep.

In some localities which I saw on my route, the Cashmere goat would thrive admirably, and I am surprised that some one has not imported these valuable animals, for they would prove a fortune to some enterprising stock breeder. They have paid splendidly in the southern states—why not in California? Or Los Angeles? This subject needs attention.

Cattle stock have done fairly, but prices for such common stock rule low. In spite of the drawbacks under which the county now labors, there is hope to believe that efforts will be made to a decided improvement in these several branches. Energy, capital and application will be sufficient to work wondrous changes in this county, and it will be done.

The establishment of a Woolen Factory and a Bottle Fac-

4* For dates of patents and the full acreage conveyed, see Note 7 in the Appendix.

Abel Stearns, the best known of the California rancheros because of his great wealth, many ranchos, large herds of cattle and horses, and prominent position in the early building of Los Angeles, was a native of Massachusetts. He arrived in California in 1829 and settled in Los Angeles in 1833. Unlike William G. Dana of Boston, Henry D. Fitch of New Bedford, John Bidwell and Isaac Williams of New York, John Rowland of Pennsylvania, and six outstanding English immigrants—Henry Dalton, John Forster, W. E. P. Hartnell, Edward Stokes, Michael White, and William Workman, who all
There are many other wealthy land and stock owners in the county of Los Angeles, whose names figure in the list I send, and which will no doubt prove interesting. I have taken some pains to obtain it, as well as the stock report annexed. It is the most correct list published.

**Principal Ranchos in the County of Los Angeles, from the last official assessment**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Proprietors, &amp;c.</th>
<th>Names of Ranches</th>
<th>Acres</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>McFarland &amp; Downey</td>
<td>Santa Gertrudes</td>
<td>21,700</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Enrique Abila</td>
<td>Lajauta</td>
<td>5,559</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Jose Antonio Aguirre</td>
<td>San Pedro</td>
<td>4,400</td>
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<tr>
<td>Ricardo Vejar</td>
<td>San Jose</td>
<td>8,800</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ricardo Vejar</td>
<td>Los Nogales</td>
<td>4,400</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Corbett &amp; Dibblee</td>
<td>Santa Anita</td>
<td>13,300</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pedro Dominguez</td>
<td>Los Virgenes</td>
<td>8,800</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Maria Antonio Dominguez</td>
<td>San Pedro</td>
<td>4,400</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Manuel Dominguez</td>
<td>San Pedro</td>
<td>28,880</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Henry Dalton</td>
<td>Azusa</td>
<td>17,600</td>
</tr>
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<td>Andres Duarte</td>
<td>Azusa</td>
<td>4,400</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Augustin Machado</td>
<td>La Ballona</td>
<td>4,420</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Maria Antonio Machado</td>
<td>Los Virgenes</td>
<td>9,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Eulogia Nieto</td>
<td>Los Bolsas</td>
<td>6,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Vincente de la Osa</td>
<td>Encino</td>
<td>4,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pablo Prion</td>
<td>Palos Verdes</td>
<td>8,800</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Andres Pico</td>
<td>Mission San Fernando</td>
<td>34,720</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Andres &amp; Pio Pico</td>
<td>El Ranchito</td>
<td>27,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pioche Bierque &amp; Co.</td>
<td>Mission Vieja</td>
<td>35,500</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pioche Bierque &amp; Co.</td>
<td>Trabuco</td>
<td>22,200</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pioche Bierque &amp; Co.</td>
<td>Potrero San Juan Capistrano</td>
<td>1,000</td>
</tr>
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...continued on next page

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**Los Angeles**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Proprietors</th>
<th>Ranchos</th>
</tr>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Ygnacio Palomares</td>
<td>San Jose</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Joaquin Romero</td>
<td>Escorpion</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ysidro Reyes</td>
<td>Boca de Santa Monica</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>John Roland</td>
<td>La Puente</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lugo Estate</td>
<td>San Antonio</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Jose Salazar</td>
<td>San Francisco</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Jose Antonio Serrano</td>
<td>Los Alisos</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Jose Dolores</td>
<td>Sepulveda</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Diego Sepulveda</td>
<td>Palos Verdes</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Juan Sanchez</td>
<td>La Merced</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Jose Sepulveda</td>
<td>Santa Ana</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Juan Sepulveda</td>
<td>San Vicente</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Jose L. Sepulveda</td>
<td>Palos Verdes</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Don Abel Stearns</td>
<td>Los Alamitos</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Don Abel Stearns</td>
<td>San Miguel</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Don Abel Stearns</td>
<td>Bolsas</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Don Abel Stearns</td>
<td>Coyotes</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Don Abel Stearns</td>
<td>Laguna</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Don Abel Stearns</td>
<td>Santa Ana</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>F. P. F. Temple</td>
<td>El Monte</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>John Temple</td>
<td>Los Cerritos</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Julio Verdugo</td>
<td>San Rafael</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ygnacio Valle</td>
<td>San Francisco</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Del Valle</td>
<td>Concepcion</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Temple &amp; Del Valle</td>
<td>Tejon</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Jose Ignacio Valle</td>
<td>San Francisco</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Wilson &amp; Griffin</td>
<td>San Pasqual</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Wm. Workman</td>
<td>La Puente</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Teodocia Yorba</td>
<td>Santa Ana</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Yorba Family</td>
<td>La Brea</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Yorba Family</td>
<td>Nogales</td>
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**Number of stock in County.**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Category</th>
<th>Number</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Black Cattle</td>
<td>86,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Horses (gentle)</td>
<td>1,500</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Horses (Bronco or wild)</td>
<td>7,500</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sheep, approximate</td>
<td>60,000</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

*Unfortunately the state surveyor general did not succeed in collecting data concerning crops and livestock for Los Angeles County in 1860. His figures for 1861 are quite different from those Warren presents: total number of cattle, including calves, 39,800; sheep, 31,000; horses, 11,500. The amount of wool produced is given as 41,000 pounds. Surveyor General, Annual Report, 1862, pp. 62, 64, in the Appendix to Journals of Senate & Assembly, 14th Session, 1862.*

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*The form of the word "Ranchos Become Cities" is correct. The term ranchos is based upon the Mexican survey system and refers to the land plots of a particular measurement. The implication is that a rancho is a town that was once a ranch.**
Among the statistics I obtained while in Los Angeles were the following, showing the amount of wool, &c., shipped from the forwarding house of Messrs. Tomlinson & Co., to San Francisco, from the 1st of January to November 20th, 1860, viz:

Wool, 1178 bales; 202,423 pounds.
Hides, 8513 No.
Sheep Skins, 17 bales.

Year ending 1859:
Wool, 824 bales; 159,896 pounds.
Hides, 6923 No.

It is supposed a large quantity was shipped by another house, but I was unable to obtain the figures. I have been obliged to prune my notes somewhat to have them published before they became too old (your journal being monthly), and also have endeavored as far as possible to keep within bounds of your rules and wishes relative to publishing only stock matters; but in some cases it could not be avoided.

I must not close my report without some allusion to the district and port of San Pedro, distant from Los Angeles twenty-five miles, and the landing place for passengers and freight for Los Angeles.

This district includes the counties of Los Angeles, San Bernardino and Santa Barbara. Below I give the estimated value of imports and exports furnished me through the kindness of P. H. Downey, Esq., Collector of San Pedro, taken from the accounts furnished the department, for the year ending Dec. 31st, 1860.

Number of landing places five, namely, San Pedro, Santa Barbara, San Buenaventura, La Gabiota, Rancho de Los Ortegas, also Point Conception, at which last there is established a first class lighthouse.

| Total amount of imports for the year, | $194,400 |
| Total amount of exports, | $288,600 |

None of the above imports or exports are subject to duty. The following lighthouses are established, and in operation within the district, viz:

Point Conception, first class:
Keeper, John Scollen salary $600 yearly.
1st ass'nt keeper, Albion M. Quemby, $500 yearly.
2d ass'nt keeper Juan de Romero, $500 yearly.
3d ass'nt keeper, Joseph Gennisee, $500 yearly.

Santa Barbara, third class:
Keeper, Charles Talma, salary $600 yearly.

Customs:
Surveyor at Santa Barbara, Pedro C. Carrillo, salary $2000 yearly.
P. H. Downey, Collector and disbursing agent for the Treasury department at San Pedro, salary $3000 yearly, and perquisites amounting to $60 yearly.

The tonnage of vessels employed in the trade of this district is on an average yearly 85,640 tons, and the men employed in the same is 975. No foreign imports or exports.

The harbor is a good one and exposed only to the southeast winds, which renders it at times somewhat rough and dangerous. There are several warehouses for the storage of goods, belonging to the forwarding houses. The road is a good and level one for most of the way, and passengers are conveyed to the city of Los Angeles, in stages, on arrival of the steamers from San Francisco.

In concluding, for the present, my notes of Los Angeles, I must acknowledge my warmest thanks to Dr. Hayward, to F. P. F. Temple, W. Warren, Dr. White, J. J. Warner, P. Downey, Wm. Workman, and other gentlemen, for courtesies rendered me during my stay in the city, and to W. Warren, Esq., and F. P. F. Temple, Esq., for kindness in furnishing me with horses from their ranchos to enable me to obtain the information I desired through the county.

It is my intention to resume my notes at a future time, as I desire, by request of many friends, to visit the county during the season of fruits and flowers, and when the hills and valleys are clothed in their magnificent garbs of spring flowers.

*Warren was city marshal of Los Angeles.*
and summer. Extending my trip to Santa Barbara and Monterey counties, and passing on my route the old "Mission of San Fernando," with its renowned groves of orange, lemon, and olives—and so for the present, "adios" to Los Angeles.

Taking a seat in Tomlinson's fast line of stages, I was whirled away to San Pedro, where I embarked on board the good old steamer Senator, Capt. Seeley, arriving safely in San Francisco after an absence of about six weeks, having traveled by water and land over 1000 miles. The Senator is owned by Major Hensley, of San Francisco, and is one of the finest and fastest steamers in the State. She will be remembered by thousands of your readers who have enjoyed, on board of her, in days gone by, many a pleasant trip "away down east."

Trusting your readers will excuse the length of this letter (as it is the closing one from this section), I shall hope to claim their attention, ere long, to notes on stock matters, of perhaps more interesting nature, from other portions of our favored State. And so, for the present, "adieu."

64 The Senator made the trip around Cape Horn and arrived in San Francisco in 1849. Service to Sacramento followed, but the boat was built for coastal navigation and in 1855 took up the route from the Bay to Southern California, making two round trips monthly. Captain Thomas W. Seeley was a well-known figure for years among travelers going between San Diego, San Pedro, Santa Barbara, Monterey, and San Francisco. The boat was owned by the California Steam Navigation Company, of which Hensley was a major officer. Maymie R. Krythe, "The Senator ... Favorite Coastwide Steamer," in The Historical Society of Southern California Quarterly, 40:33-57 (March, 1958); John Haskell Kemble, "The 'Senator'—The Biography of a Pioneer Steamship," in the California Historical Society Quarterly, 16:61-76 (March, 1937). In addition to his steamboat lines Hensley was active in the promotion of agricultural societies and in the movement for the improvement of livestock and the diversification of crops. See note 5 in the Santa Clara Valley section.
Agriculture seems to be the chief resource of the valley, and the products of the soil are equal, if not superior, to any other portion of the country. The soil is susceptible of the highest state of cultivation, and the crops produced are abundant.

By the fast little steamer, Sophie McLane, passengers from San Francisco are landed at Alviso, thence by stage to Santa Clara and San Jose, a distance of about seven miles, over a pleasant road, and through a rich pastoral country. The trip in the spring and summer is quite charming to the visitor, and along the road from Alviso to Santa Clara may be seen the model farms and ranchos, most of them surrounded by neat, substantial fences, inclosing rich grain fields with luxuriant crops, with their heavy heads just beginning to nod. Many of these places are situated back from the main road, the approach to which are through high arched gateways, bearing in conspicuous letters over the top, the euphonious name of the farm, such as “River Side,” “Willow Glade,” “Laurel Wood Farm,” &c.

These farms and gardens are laid out with much taste, and surrounded by beautiful shade trees and extensive orchards. As we approach within two miles of the town of San Jose, the road winds through a long avenue, embowered on each side with rows of willows, very ancient, which were planted by the Padres half a century ago. These trees are about ten to fifteen feet apart, and some two feet in diameter, and their old and venerable appearance is quite imposing, while their branches, uniting, form an agreeable canopy overhead, as the stages dash along the magnificent avenue leading to San Jose.

San Jose has improved rapidly since my visit in 1859. Over one hundred houses and substantial buildings have been erected the past year, which have greatly added to the advancement of the city, and business seems in a most prosperous condition. Being the center of a large and flourishing county, rich in agricultural wealth and resources, the prospect of a railroad from San Francisco, will give it a fresh impetus in commercial matters, and insure for it a prosperous future.*

The Santa Clara Valley Agricultural Society is in a thriving and prosperous condition. The grounds are located about a mile from the town, containing seventy-six and two-thirds acres, inclosed by a substantial fence, and containing an ample supply of well arranged stalls, &c., for the use of the stock at exhibitions. The race track is the best in the county, and great exertions are made by the society for the encouraging, promoting and developing [of] the different branches of agriculture, horticulture, mechanics, domestic manufactures, and industry, and especially to stock raising and the improvement of the different breeds of animals. Much credit is due to the President of the society, Samuel J. Hensley, Esq., and Wm. Daniels, Esq., secretary, for their united efforts in the general welfare of the society.* The society has, the present season, established a stock market, for the sale and purchase of all kinds of stock, &c., to be held every three months, in July, October, January, and April of each year, lasting three days. These markets are to be held on the ground belonging to the society, and all kinds of stock, as well as agricultural implements and machinery, can be exhibited, either for sale, or otherwise, by the owners paying to the secretary of the society the regular entrance fees—stallions $1.00 each; horses, &c., 50 cents. Auctioneers and salesmen are appointed by the society to attend to the sales of all animals or articles, and keep a regular account of all business transacted.

*At about the time of Warren's visit, the region around San Jose was wracked by bitter conflicts between owners of ranchos and purchasers of the valuable city property on the one hand and numerous squatters on the other. Warren may have felt the clash too hot a subject to introduce into his columns, though his father was not so reticent.

Daniels was one of the first orchardists to set out apple trees in Santa Clara County. He and Hensley were large donors to and founders and officers of the Agricultural Society, and raised $14,464 for the purchase and development of a seventy-six-acre tract on which to hold its annual fairs.

Horace S. Foote, editor, Pen Pictures from the Garden of the World or Santa Clara County, California (Chicago, 1888), 168.

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Mr. Wm. M. Williamson, owner of "Owen Dale" and "Belmont," has offered the season of his thoroughbred horse, "Owen Dale," as a premium for the best colt sired by "Owen Dale," to be exhibited at the market. Judges are to be chosen by the officers of the society.

This enterprise has met with perfect success, and has proved highly advantageous to all parties connected.

There are several parties in this section, who are devoting themselves to the improvement of fine breeds of stock. But to go into a detail of each, would occupy too much space at this time. The Messrs. Coburn Brothers, of Santa Clara, have some of the best Short Horns I have seen in the county. Ever alive to the improvement of their breeds, they have, by the purchase and importation of choice bulls, succeeded in producing a valuable herd, some of whom figured among the prize animals, at the last State Fair at Sacramento, and sported the premium badges at the late "Bay District Fair," at San Francisco. They certainly understand the secret of producing good stock, and keeping it pure, by proper and judicious crossing with the finest breeds.

While in San Jose, I paid a visit to the extensive grounds of Major S. J. Hensley. This place contains some twenty acres, being laid out in the most picturesque and romantic style, and is one of the loveliest spots in the whole county.

In the stables, I noticed some fine specimens of the Devon stock; some imported, and others bred on the place from imported stock. The young animals attracted my particular attention. They were of beautiful form, and general excellence, and fully compared with any Devon stock I have seen in the county. I regret having lost or mislaid my notes, containing a list and description of this stock, which I had prepared; but shall take occasion to allude to it again in a future letter, from the valley. The proprietor has spared no pains or expense, and has devoted himself to this branch, as a permanent pursuit, intending to establish a herd that shall equal any in the State. Having a natural taste for high-bred stock, together with long experience, and being the possessor of a model farm, rich and extensive, with ample means and resources for carrying out any enterprise, it is not surprising that he should gather about him such a fine collection of choice animals, old and young, which would in time challenge scrutiny to show a finer herd in the State.

I will hardly have time to go into further details in this letter, but will refer briefly to my visit to the stables of W. M. Williamson, of Williamson Brothers, owners of "Belmont" and "Owen Dale."

Here I saw "Owen Dale" (whose picture has been sent you). He is a chestnut horse, eight years old, and sixteen hands high. Sired by "Belmont," dam "Maria Downing," by "Eclipse." This celebrated horse is a perfect beauty—splendid carriage and action, and immense stamina. He has produced the finest colts in the county, and some which will defy competition. The equine moiety of this stock is well known to all breeders in the State.

I saw also "Mollie Rogers," bay mare, by "Conflagration"; dam by imported "Monarch," with bay colt by "Owen Dale" by her side. Also "Leonora," bay mare by "Belmont," dam by "American Boy, Jr." four years old, with bay filly by her side. The Messrs. Williamson are deserving of great credit for the efforts they are making to improve the breeds in this section, and their labors will meet with success. It is expected there will be a fine display of "Belmont" colts at the coming Fair in September, which will defy competition.

In closing I will give you a statistical Report of stock in...
this county, for the year ending 1860, as compiled from the report of W. R. Davis Esq., county assessor, to whom I am indebted for the same:

**STATISTICS**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Animal</th>
<th>Quantity</th>
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</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>American horses</td>
<td>2,500</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Spanish tame horses</td>
<td>2,000</td>
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<tr>
<td>Spanish wild horses</td>
<td>4,000</td>
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<tr>
<td>Mules</td>
<td>600</td>
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<tr>
<td>Asses</td>
<td>100</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cows</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>Calves</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>Stock cattle</td>
<td>20,000</td>
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<tr>
<td>Beef cattle</td>
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<td>Geese</td>
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<tr>
<td>Oxen</td>
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<tr>
<td>Total number of horses</td>
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<tr>
<td>Total number of cattle</td>
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Stock slaughtered:

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</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hogs</td>
<td>3,500</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sheep</td>
<td>3,000</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

With the healthy climate, and fertile soil, and lively interest taken in stock and agricultural matters, Santa Clara bids fair to be numbered as one of the most flourishing counties in the State.

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*This table completely checks with the data in the Annual Report of the Surveyor General, 1860, in the Appendix to Senate Journals, Twelfth Session, 1860, tables 1-3.*
Los Angeles, 1853. (From Senate Executive Documents, Serial 762.)

San Francisco, 1859.

Stockton, 1858.

A Mormon settlement in the San Bernardino Valley, 1853. (From Senate Executive Documents, Serial 762.)

Marysville, 1856. (All three views from Douglas S. Watson, editor, California in the Fifties.)
The Buena Vista Vinicultural Society in the Sonoma Valley in the 1870's. Agoston Haraszthy's mansion is to the right of the picture; the winery buildings are to the left. The largest was built in 1864, the next largest in 1862. (Courtesy The Wine Institute.)

Joseph H. Hollister's ranch, about 1883. (From the History of San Luis Obispo County, California.)

John Wilson's rancho, near San Luis Obispo, 1850. (From Robert Glass Cleland, The Cattle on a Thousand Hills.)
Great Sale of Thorough Bred Cattle!!

**DEVONS**

Thursday, April 19, 1860, at 12 o'clock, M.

AT FISH'S STABLE, PINE ST.

12 Devon Bulls, Cows & Calves,

THOROUGH-BRED,

Imported and Raised by CHARLES A. ELY, Esq., Lorain Co., Ohio.

The First Sale in California of Pure Devon Cattle.

We invite the attention of parties interested in the raising of Blooded Stock, to the following sale of PURE DEVONS, assuring them that each animal offered is thorough-bred, and has either been imported directly from England by Charles A. Ely, Esq., or raised by him from those that were imported by him. And, as an evidence of their quality and value, several of them have ALREADY WON THE BLUE RIBBON at a number of Cattle Fairs in various parts of the United States. They have been brought from Mr. Ely's Farm in Ohio, at an immense expense, knowing their peculiar adaptation to California climate and grazing, and from his long experience in the raising of Blooded Stock, all may rest assured that these are of the very purest blood.

We feel a pride in presenting this line of Devons to our California Farmers, as they comprise

Charles A. Ely offers to sell some of his Devon cattle. (Courtesy The Henry E. Huntington Library and Art Gallery.)

A supposedly typical sample of California fruits and vegetables, collected in the Pacific Market, San Francisco, on September 28, 1863. (From Albert D. Richardson, Beyond the Mississippi.)
Although our State is comparatively in its infancy, in regard to agriculture and stock raising, yet we can even now claim no unimportant part in the improvement and perfecting of the different breeds of animals, especially in attention paid to the rearing of fine horses, by the importation of choice stock. In this respect I think San Joaquin County can boast of having as fine breeds of horses as any portion of the State; and the coming fair, in September, will develop the extent to which this department has reached and excelled in this section.

In my walks through the city I have observed many noted horses, each possessing remarkable qualities and excellent pedigrees. There seems to be a concentration of this kind of stock in the city, and every stable is represented by one or more stallions, and in some cases stables have been built for them during the season.

“Morgan Black Hawk,” owned by J. G. McCraken; sired by Hill’s celebrated “Black Hawk,” he by “Justin Morgan”; dam by “Liberty,” he by “Duroc,” g. dam by “Sir Charles.”
His pedigree is famous and undisputable, and noted for speed, strength and beauty. He is sire of much celebrated fast stock, and has taken first class premiums at many fairs in the States.

"State of Maine," owned by Henry Trembly, imported from Somerset County, Maine, said to be one of the fastest trotting stallions in the State.* Sired by "Old Bush Messenger," of Maine, he by "Winthrop Messenger," and Winthrop by "Imported Messenger," all noted for their great speed. Dam of "State of Maine" was a full blood Morgan, by the old "Sherman Morgan." His age is 11 years. He is a fine, well proportioned horse, and of good action; color dapple-gray; 15½ hands high; and weighs 1,250 pounds.

"Ranchero," silver-gray stallion, owned by Mr. Ryan; age 5 years; of "Whip" and "Sir Charles" stock. Dam, "Messenger" stock, from the Ohio Breeding Association. He is 16 hands high, and raised in California. His time, without training, has been 3:12, 3:14, and last season in 3:5. He is of deep chest, good figure and action, and a sure foal getter.

"Young Sir Charles," owned by Yates & Belden. Sire, three-fourths "Medoc" and "Sir Charles," of Virginia. Dam, full blood "Eagle" mare, from Tennessee. Five years old; weighs 1,150 pounds; is 16 hands high; time 3 minutes. His grandsire, now living in Virginia, is 27 years old, being half "Medoc" and "Sir Charles."


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*Wolf arrived in California in 1849 and after some successful mining settled in Stockton, took up freighting, ran a livery stable, and acquired an 800-acre farm by buying out squatters' improvements as well as the fee. He was active in the Fair Association and in numerous other Stockton enterprises.

*Warren's father visited the Cooper farm, to which he devoted more attention than did his son. He reported that 300 acres in wheat and 60 in barley had yielded from fifty to sixty bushels to the acre. In addition, seventy-five tons of hay were cut and twenty-five cows, ten brood mares of Black Hawk stock, and twenty work horses were maintained. *California Farmer, 20:12 (August 21, 1863).*
They bid fair to develop well and add to the general good reputation of the Morgan stock. Mr. Cooper is paying much attention to this branch, and intends to make quite a display at the coming fair. His farm of about 500 acres, though a portion is subject to overflow during the high stages of water, is nicely situated, and his crops of wheat large and remunerative. The land in this section is rich and fertile, and considered very valuable.

In a ride out of town about five miles, I stopped at the rancho of Mr. A. Starkweather, also located on the Calaveras River. This is one of the model farms of the county, containing about 400 acres, a portion being devoted to crops, the balance to stock grazing. Among the stock I noticed eleven brood mares and about fifty head of horses. Some handsome colts, sired by "Morgan Black Hawk," attracted my particular attention. These colts will be exhibited at the fair in September, and will be able to hold their own against any competition in the Morgan stock department.

Mr. S. has been on the ranch about ten years, and has devoted himself to improving his stock by the addition of good breeds and crosses, which certainly speak to his credit. The pasture lands are well adapted to the growth of wheat and root crops, and the stock products are sufficient and remunerative.

I observed about ten acres of Hungarian grass—the first raised in the country—which was from twelve to eighteen inches in height. It has made a very good growth, and promises to yield a fine crop.

This ranch is one of the best on the river, and in every respect combines neatness, enterprise, and industry, as my personal observation testified, from an extended walk over a portion of the cultivated section, which well repaid me, even in the heat of the day. His system is the true doctrine for profitable farming—a reliance upon the resources of the farm for increasing and maintaining its fertility.

It may be a fancy, but I thought the noble oaks and shade trees were the finest I had seen in my rides,—one noble old oak in particular,—and it was, at any rate, refreshing indeed to rest awhile under its grateful branches from the heat of the sun, while watching the surging waves of the grain in the fields swaying in the wind. The mansion is a very substantial and tasteful structure, and in a commanding position, surrounded by a beautiful garden, full of fragrant flowers, and an orchard of thrifty looking trees, loaded with tempting fruit. I enjoyed a pleasant visit—thanks to the courtesy of Mr. S. and his esteemed lady—and felt highly gratified at the improvements I witnessed in the different branches of husbandry, at this model farm, on the "Calaveras."

But I must not forget my ride with M. J. Dooley, Esq., to his fine rancho, situated about two miles from town. He has about 750 acres, mostly devoted to stock grazing; and on the ranch some forty breeding mares, all American stock, brought across the plains last season. They were all looking well, being in foal to "Black Hawk," "Young Sir Charles" and "Traveler," the latter horse being owned by Mr. Dooley, and came across the plains at the same time: he is of "Whip" and "Cherokee" stock, and imported by Dr. Stamper, of Kentucky.

Mr. Dooley is the proprietor of the line of stages to Sonora and Columbia, and has some sixty or seventy horses now on pasturage, besides those used constantly on the line, which employs 110 horses. The stock is large and heavy, and especially adapted for winter travel on the prairie roads. He intends planting about 300 acres to alfalfa, for the use of the stock.

The grounds are extensive, and the soil rich and productive, but it is used principally as a stock ranch. Being a gentleman of extensive means and liberal views, he is spar-

*The Alfred Starkweather farm of 400 acres was twice visited by a correspondent of the Stockton Independent (June 17, 1861, and September 6, 1862), its garden, orchard, and grain fields appraised, and its Black Hawk stock warmly approved. Its yield of wheat was said to be 6,000 bushels in 1861 and 2,500 in 1862.

**The assessed value of the property of M. J. Dooley and M. J. Dooley Company in San Joaquin County in 1862 was $94,693. Stockton Independent, August 30, 1862.
and it is destined to become, with the improvements contemplated, one of the best located and flourishing ranchos in the county. This line of stages is the shortest and most comfortable route to the Big Tree region, where every one who visits California should be sure to go.

I observed on the ranch (where he is standing for the season) the famous Short Horn bull, “4th Duke of Northumberland” (2,081), imported from Jonas Webb, England, by J. D. Patterson, and purchased from him by R. S. Bates, Esq., of Stockton, who is his present owner. He is five years old—red bull, with some white. Sire, “Young Scotland” (13,681); dam, “Cherry Pie,” by “Lord of the North” (11,743). See Am. Herd Book. He is a splendid bull, and has taken prizes at New York State fairs. Was exhibited at the San Joaquin fair in 1860, and awarded a special premium of a gold medal.

About a mile from the city is the residence of Mr. A. McCloud, who is paying considerable attention to the breeding of fine horses. I saw a three years old stallion, “Young Corn Planter,” out of a “Gray Eagle” mare. Color, dapple-chestnut; handsome carriage and action, and a fast trotter. “Stockton Chief,” five years old roan stallion. He is using them with his stock, having about sixty breeding mares—premium stock—in foal to the above horses. I noticed

On one trip into San Francisco in 1860 the S.S. Oregon unloaded, in addition to the Fourth Duke, two bull calves and two yearling heifers, all Shorthorns, fifty-three purebred Merino, Leicester, Southdown, and Cotswold sheep, and an Essex sow for J. D. Patterson; twenty-two French Merino rams and ewes for Jones & Rockwell; and ten Spanish Merino rams for Flatt & Bixby. California Farmer, 13:148 (June 29, 1860). The assessed value of Bates’s property in San Joaquin County in 1862 was $5,170, including 1,700 acres which were reported to be above the flood levels of that year. An assignee’s sale of his property in January, 1863, shows that 1,200 acres in Sonoma County brought only $1,000, twenty cattle brought $32, and other miscellaneous items brought “fair prices.” Stockton Independent, February 8, 1862; California Agriculturist, January 10, 1863.

This was possibly Alonzo McCloud, a “tall, enterprising Yankee” who ran stage lines from Stockton to Sonora and Oakland. In 1862 he had on his San Joaquin farm 100 acres in fruit trees, of which 9,800 were peach and the balance miscellaneous fruit.

San Joaquin County

some very handsome colts, one by “Stockton Chief,” and others by “Morgan Black Hawk.” These colts were looking very promising.

The orchard contains about a hundred acres, comprising 20,000 trees, of which 10,000 are peaches. The market crop will be about 10,000 baskets, and the average price one dollar per basket. He has a large force pump, worked by steam power (from a dug well), which supplies a large reservoir overhead, affording an ample supply of water for the orchard and all other purposes.

The place has been under improvement for about four years; and the proprietor is evincing a liberal taste and spirit in enriching and adorning it.

Great interest seems to be manifested in the preparations for the approaching county fair. The plan for the proposed new agricultural hall has been adopted by the executive board, and the building will be commenced at once, and ready for occupancy at the time of the fair, in September. The cost of the building will be about $8,000. The exhibition of stock, &c., will be held at the race track, about a mile and a half from the city. There are 120 acres inclosed with a substantial fence, stalls and other buildings. The audience stand is one hundred feet long by forty feet wide. The society own these grounds, and they are free from debt. As it is my intention to be present at the time of the fair, I shall endeavor to send you a report of the stock exhibition.

The Stock Journal is taken by a number of the principal breeders in this county, and is much liked. A great portion of the San Joaquin Valley is under cultivation, and the ranchos are inclosed by good and substantial fences. The soil through the county is rich and fertile, and the crops raised are immense and productive. Great attention is paid to stock raising, especially in fine horses, and it will not be many years before San Joaquin County will take the foremost lead in this department.

It is a serious drawback to have too much capacity of land devoted to one estate or ranch, as is the case in this county, as well as in other portions of the State; when, if the land
was divided into smaller farms, and improved and cultivated by enterprising, persevering men, who could afford to carry out the full resources of the soil, the wealth of the county and State would materially increase; and this seems to be the only way.

We live in an age of improvement, and knowledge is as essential to the success of the farmer as books are to the student. He must add to his daily labor knowledge and science, and understand the business he is engaged in.

Stockton is far from being a dull or inactive city, as is often thought, though small in extent. The population is about seven or eight thousand. Enjoying, as it does, a fine climate and many natural advantages in a business and commercial point of view, it must, in time, occupy a prominent position, when its resources and interests shall have been developed and extended, which are bound to make it the headquarters of one of the richest stock and agricultural sections in our favored State.

California Agricultural Fairs

Editors American Stock Journal.

The present month has indeed been a busy one, in every thing relating to the exhibition of agricultural products and fine stock throughout the State—combining also all the usual exciting accompaniments of racing, pigeon-shooting, balls, concerts, etc. The weather, although warm, has not deterred the attendance of a fair proportion of visitors to the various fairs, although the present excitement of the country, and other matters, has somewhat detracted from the interest and prevented such large crowds as were anticipated, and but few of the Societies have realized more than enough to meet expenses and premiums.

The fairs of Marysville and Stockton opened the ball for 1861 (on the 9th of September), and the usual preliminary arrangements were duly made by the respective managers and officers. Not possessing the gift of ubiquity, it was of course impossible for me to be present at two places on the same day, and so wide apart as Stockton and Marysville, and so I had to content myself with a choice of the two. And here let me say, I hope (with a united feeling in general) that the managers of the different societies will, another season, so harmonize as not to conflict with each other, as there is ample time in September and October to hold all the fairs, and still not conflict with the arrangements of either society. The final consequence of this mixing up will be the breaking up of some of the district fairs; and I hold that it will be an essential advantage to all stock exhibitors as well as the public to have more attention directed towards

the State Fair, and in this I feel I have the wishes of a large majority.

By invitation of the board of officers I visited Stockton during its Second Annual Fair, and will endeavor to give you a few brief remarks on what I saw that I think may prove interesting to your readers. Respecting the one held at Marysville, I am informed there was no deficiency or falling off in the display of stock, but rather an improvement over other seasons. The attendance of visitors was, however, small compared to previous exhibitions held in the same city; but this failing will I fear be observed at all the exhibitions during the month from reasons previously given.

The Second Annual Fair of the San Joaquin Valley Agricultural Society virtually opened about noon on the 10th inst., at the grounds occupied by the society about a mile and a half from town, and all was astir in the stock department. Some two hundred entries had been made and the stock were mostly in their stalls, or being led about the course for exercise and inspection. The display was very good, but most of the horse stock I saw was of California growth and parentage, raised principally in the county, and rather ordinary—in some respects—although there were many fine animals on the ground from other sections, and imported, which compared very favorably with any I have seen exhibited. The animals all seemed to receive the most careful attention and the stalls were in neat order and the keepers and grooms attentive and courteous, notwithstanding the multitude of questions and inquiries constantly made. The Black Hawk breed seemed conspicuous and the department was well represented, though mostly by exhibitors out of the district. Dr. E. S. Holden, the President of the Society, exhibited his splendid imported Black Hawk "Prince"—four years old.2

2Dr. E. S. Holden was a successful Stockton druggist who became mayor of the city and a member of the California senate in 1862. He was active in advancing local and state fairs and agricultural societies, and he was credited with having secured a 256,000-acre land grant to aid in the construction of the Stockton and Copperopolis Railroad. On his 500-acre farm near Stockton were 3,000 pear and other fruit trees irrigated by water from an artesian well; Black Hawk horses and mixtures of Shorthorn and Devon cattle; Black Poland swine; and exotic varieties of poultry. Stockton Independent, September 14, 1861; February 15, 1862.
ably with any on the grounds, and excited much attention
in the way of speed."

The southern district of Upper California, east of the
Coast Range, is well calculated for breeding a fine race of
horses. The native California horse has much about him
characteristic of the Arabian, possessing spirit and endurance,
and, for his size, great muscular strength. A cross between
the English race horse with the native Californian crossed
by real Arabian blood would doubtless produce a most valu­
able animal, not so heavy as the English coast horse or hunter,
but better adapted to the dry pastures and climate of Cali­
forinia, where in the hot season the weight of the English
horse tells so much against him.

In the cattle department the display was very fine and
such as would be commendable at many fairs held in States
many decades older than California. The farmers of Cali­
forinia are paying special attention to the Durham breed—
and with great success if I may judge from the beautiful
animals exhibited here. The Devons did not seem so well
represented—and I am surprised, as they are just the stock
for California, being perfectly hardy, capable of bearing
extremes of heat and cold, and easily kept as well as possess­
ing good milking qualities. For working oxen the cross is
unsurpassed. The finest Durham bull exhibited on the
grounds was the “4th Duke of Northumberland,” entered
and owned by R. S. Bates, Esq. of Stockton,—full-blood Dur­
ham imported. He was a splendid fellow and attracted uni­
versal admiration. His calves also, exhibited by other parties,
bore full evidence of the quality of the sire. I don’t believe
(and I am not prejudiced) there is a finer animal in the
State, or one that can excel him in symmetry and proportion;
and this seemed to be the unbiased opinion of the crowd.
There were many other fine animals exhibited—from out

Agricultural Fairs

of county—which although not in competition for premiums
still would compare favorably with any stock of this breed
in the State.

I refer to the exhibition of the Coburn Brothers, of Santa
Clara, who exhibited some half a dozen very fine specimens
of the pure-blood Durham, among which may be noticed,
“John Bull” and “Peveril”—both are fine animals as one
would wish to see; “Lady Butman” and calf [and] “Luna”
and calf, both calves sired by “John Bull,” bear the marks
of their famed sire. In the list I sent you, will be found the
prominent entries in this department.

It may not be out of place here to make a remark or two
on the characteristics of Durham cattle, as from some cor­
respondence, which has appeared in the Stock Journal, it
would appear that in some places their real merits are not
understood: one correspondent alleged that, owing to their
high breeding, Durhams frequently yielded little milk. This
must have been an exceptional case, because, as is well known,
one of the great merits of Durhams, especially to those who
sell milk, is that they yield milk in quantities beyond that
of any other breed, but of inferior quality. To the farmer
who makes butter and cheese, it is the solid constituents, not
fluid, which are of the most importance. Experience
both of years and numbers have also shown that the Durhams
beyond any other breed, will yield the largest amount of
milk whilst maintaining itself in condition, and even grow­
ing fat whilst milking. It is consequently the pet of the
swill-milk dealers. Another property of the Durhams, is,
being ready for the butcher at an earlier period than any
other breed. It can be sold fat as beef at two to two and a
half years old,—such beef however is inferior; it will how­
ever pay the farmer well, if near a good meat market.

But to the stock once more. The display of sheep was
comprised in two or three entries only, and one of those out
of the district. It was a matter of surprise at the small dis­
play. Those exhibited comprised the French Merino, Spanish
Merino, Cotswold, Leicester, and Southdown, and were prin­
cipally from J. D. Patterson, of Alameda County. The other

*Raynor & Patterson used their 550-acre rancho for pasture for their
horses and cattle and had none of it in cultivation. Their Rattler and Odd
Fellow were among the most successful race horses in the state. The assessed
value of their San Joaquin property in 1862 was $18,800. Stockton Inde­
pendent, August 17, 1861; August 30, 1862.
exhibitors were J. D. Gage, and L. R. Bradley, of this county, who showed French Merino sheep of excellent quality. The sheep in general were worthy of the high commendation which they received.¹

It may be remarked, that, as a single species of stock, the display of hogs was the best, though not numerous, comprising the following varieties: Suffolk, Essex, Berkshire, Chester, Whites, and China. The Imported Essex, Suffolk, and Berkshires exhibited by Dr. E. S. Holden, the President of the society, were of the finest quality, and attracted considerable attention.

The Pavilion. On Tuesday the 10th inst. the new Agricultural Hall was thrown open to the public, and the interior arrangement was tasteful and attractive in the extreme, and gave much satisfaction to the numerous crowd of visitors.

The horticultural and pomological display from the valley and mountain farms was quite imposing, and would quite astonish some of your eastern growers. The display of fruits, in the center of the fine hall, was indeed splendid: apples, pears, peaches, pomegranates, etc., grapes of the finest varieties, and other fine fruits, loaded the tables. There were apples large as eastern pumpkins, I might almost say; beets over two feet in length; squashes and pumpkins, some three feet in diameter. The pears were tempting, and of mammoth size. Mr. Stearns, of Mokelumne Hill, entered squashes weighing 176 and 192 lbs. each.

Copper ore was exhibited from the Calaveras Copper Mines, in quantities of 1,000 lbs. each, and said to average 75 per cent. copper.

The new Pavilion of the Society, to which I alluded in a previous letter, is 100 feet long by fifty feet wide, being about half the size of the pavilion of the State Society, in Sacramento. The ceiling of the building was handsomely decorated with flags of all nations,—conspicuous above all, however, in the center, rose the glorious Stars and Stripes, from which was suspended a fine portrait of the immortal Washington. These flags, which belonged to the State Insane Asylum, were all the work of the inmates; and their arrangement was under the direction of Mr. E. N. Robinson, the Superintendent of the Asylum, who certainly displayed much tact in the drapery. In the evening the hall was crowded with visitors, estimated to be over 1,000—of whom two-thirds were ladies.

The collection of articles exhibited by the Insane Asylum were worthy of mention, being the work of the inmates, and were very curious. Among the many things exhibited, was a collection of carvings made by a crazy man, which certainly displayed much ingenuity from the fact of their being made with a small piece of three-cornered tin, which was the only tool used. The worsted work, embroidery, and fancy work, from the same institution, was elegant and attracted a numerous crowd of visitors. What a field for sad thoughts and sympathy was here exhibited; and the talent and ingenuity displayed by those wrecked intellects was indeed remarkable.

It would be impossible to give a description of the many beautiful articles of industry and taste displayed upon the tables and around the walls, principally the contribution of the ladies of Stockton and San Joaquin County. The display of worsted work, needle work, and embroidery was quite large, and very curious and beautiful specimens were exhibited in these branches of female accomplishment. The embroidery department was well represented by Mrs. Fullerton, Mrs. Howland, Miss Saunders, [and] Mrs. Oallahan, who deserve special notice.

The worsted work and needle work was very creditably represented by Miss Matilda Brown, Mrs. Moore, Mrs. Cutting, Miss Allen, Miss Ayala,—the latter of Sonora, who exhibited a cluster of fruit on white watered silk of exquisite workmanship. Mrs. J. D. Woodbury exhibited fine specimens of cone work baskets, boxes, picture frames, &c.

The display of wax work was somewhat limited and made

¹ From his first importation of 1,500 sheep into California in 1852, Patterson had been a leader in stock improvement. H. M. and O. C. Gage had property assessed at $15,900 in San Joaquin County in 1862. Stockton Republican, December 8, 1852; Stockton Independent, August 30, 1862.
principally by Mrs. Kendall and Miss Journeay of Stockton, whose contributions are deserving of special notice.

Crochet work exhibitions were made by Miss Graham, Miss Debram, Miss McCloud, and Miss Davis, from Dr. Hunt's Seminary.

The display of paintings, crayon sketches, etc., was somewhat limited. The principal contributors were Miss Amelia Amyx and Miss Mary O'Neil, who exhibited some very creditable crayon sketches and pencil drawings; Miss Journeay, Mrs. Dryden, oil paintings; Mrs. Cutting and Miss Whitney, crayons and water-colored paintings.

I have made a brief mention of some of the lady exhibitors, without any intention at partiality, further than real merit was concerned; and it is out of my province in this letter to speak more fully than I have upon these departments,—suffice it to say, that the display in general in the pavilion was tempting and magnificent, creditable to the ladies and gentlemen of San Joaquin Co. who contributed to it, and worthy of the encomiums bestowed by the thousands who witnessed it during the continuance of the fair.

The RACES were well attended, but I am afraid detracted somewhat from the usefulness of the stock and agricultural exhibition—and this remark I wish to apply to all the fairs. The understood object of Agricultural Fairs is to help develop the branches of agriculture and for the interchange of opinions on the subject, and not for scenes of degrading pleasure, as are often enacted at the agricultural fairs for the purpose of making money.

As a whole the fair has given great satisfaction and evinced the immense strides and improvements made in agricultural matters, and the impetus given to stock-raising in all its branches in the San Joaquin Valley. The improvement in stock over the previous year is a matter of great pride to the society as well as to the farmers, and no efforts seem to be spared to bring this one department to a degree of perfection that they may be able to produce the best stock in the State and do away with the common grades of animals. The farmers have responded liberally to the wishes of the society, and they will find their good in it.

The society is, I am informed, possessed of property worth some $40,000, and the debt only about one-fourth of that sum, which is mainly owing to the heavy expense of their building, the present year. Let the farmers of the county devote their attention to home influences, and yield their interests to this society, and their united efforts can pull down this debt another year; and the San Joaquin Society will advance steadily and surely, and prove a permanent institution,—for its establishment is surely a source of vast benefit to the farmers and stockraisers of the county.

To the President of the Society, Dr. E. S. Holden; P. E. Conner Esq., Secretary; Rev. J. Anderson, and other officers of the Society, I feel indebted for courtesies and favors rendered, which I shall have occasion to remember with much pleasure; and in closing, I extend to them my best wishes for the future success and permanency of the "San Joaquin Valley Agricultural Society."
A Trip to Colusa County

Editors American Stock Journal.²

As your readers may be desirous of knowing the progress made in wool growing, etc., in the upper portions of the State, I will give you a few items from observations made by me during a late visit among some of the stock ranchos, up the Sacramento River.

I left Sacramento at 6 o'clock A.M. on board the Steamer Swan, Capt. Rogers, bound for Red Bluff, which is at present the head of navigation. The low stage of water, at this season of the year, renders the trip somewhat tedious, occupying about three days to Red Bluff, yet there is much in the way of scenery and attractions on the route, to while away a portion of the time, or if one is fond of reading or writing there is an excellent opportunity to pass the hours profitably.

Towards noon we reach Knight's Landing (or Grafton), distant about 40 miles by water, from Sacramento. This place is the center of a rich farming section of country and large amounts of grain are shipped from here, principally wheat and barley—about 5,000 tons [have] been sent below the past year. The latter is small and can be seen mostly from the landing but seems to be in a prosperous condition, with a rich agricultural country to support it.

On the journey up the river from here, may be seen evidences of improvement going on; the brush and woodland is being cleared away preparatory to cultivating the soil, which is quite fertile all along the banks of the river. Corn is raised extensively, and tobacco thrives well—the culture of the latter promises much success. Broom straw is also raised extensively on the banks of the river and forms quite a prominent article of export of the Bay, where it commands about one hundred and thirty dollars per ton.

The weather was fine, and the scenery and country around was far from monotonous as we pursued our meandering way up the river. About midnight we arrived at Colusa, distant from Sacramento about one hundred and twenty-four miles by water.

Colusa, the county seat, [is] located in the Sacramento Valley between the Coast range and Sierra's, bounded north by Tehama, south by Yolo Co., east by the Sacramento River and west by Mendocino. The distance by land from Sacramento is seventy-five miles. The area of the county is about 4,000 square miles, part of which is valley land and extremely fertile, while the rolling hills and mountainous districts are admirably adapted for grazing, being covered with wild oats, grasses, clover, &c. affording excellent ranges for stock of all kinds, for which they furnish a rich pasturage.

The climate in this section is admirably adapted for the growth and improvement of sheep and wool, and efforts are being made by a few enterprising men to improve the quality of their stock by the importation of choice bucks—and if the improvement becomes general, wool will become an important item in the exports of the county.

The attractions of Colusa were so few that I had no temptation to prolong my visit over three days which I was compelled to remain, waiting for the boat, a part of which time I spent by taking a trip into the country among the sheep ranches, which are situated principally on what is called Colusa Plains—a tract of country some 18 miles wide and 60 miles long, principally government land, with the exception of small portions, which have been purchased by the present occupants.¹ The tract, at this season of the year, is

¹A number of large Mexican grants had been made in what became Colusa County, including Larkin's Children's rancho of ten leagues and his Jimeno rancho of eleven leagues, Capay of ten leagues, and Jacinto of eight leagues, in addition to the two-league Colusa grant. To these were soon added other large speculative holdings, bought by members of the "swamp

land ring” and other “land grabbers” when the public domain was opened to unlimited purchase. In 1880 the county boasted 146 farms which exceeded 1,000 acres, ranging downward from the 30,000-acre Hugh Glenn Rancho, the 30,000-acre holding of John Boggis, and the A. D. Logan farm of 15,968 acres. The fact that Colusa had more farms of 1,000 acres than any other county in the state well illustrates the lasting effect of the early pattern of land ownership. In 1954 and 1959 Colusa, a real agricultural county, still had more large farms than all but three California counties; the average size of its farms was between 801 and 639 acres. Fifty-nine per cent of Colusa County land was in farms. For a list of the large holdings in 1878, see Marysville Appeal, Directory of Northern California, passim. Will S. Green, one of the principal land grabbers of Colusa, later became the county’s historian.

4 James Mack seems to have owned no land, or at least he listed none with the census taker. He valued his 1,000 sheep at $5,000; his wool crop was 2,750 pounds.

5 W. H. Williams crossed the plains to California in 1850, mined for a time, and settled in Colusa County in 1853. He had unusually high yields of grain, but concentrated on raising Spanish Merino sheep. He came to own 7,360 acres. Lewis Cary reached California in 1848, mined, and then settled in Colusa County, where he raised sheep and maintained an iron and stove business. Green, History of Colusa County, 41, 167.

6 J. G. Stovall could not be located in the census of 1860. Green, History of Colusa County, 172, says that Stovall was a large owner of sheep who began ranching in Solano County and then moved into Colusa in 1858, where the flocks he owned with Jeff Wilcoxson increased to many thousands and his holdings of land reached 19,200 acres. Green includes a crude engraving of the ranch showing tenant houses, cattle, mules, windmill, and family cemetery (p. 52).
which seems to succeed as well as any remedy known. Mr. Stovall has also a number of head of fine Durham stock, which I was not able to see, as they were away from the premises. His intention is, to raise only good and pure stock.

Mr. G. Winchell has some 2,400 American and Spanish sheep, crossed with Spanish Merino bucks. The clip of wool averaged about 2\(\frac{1}{2}\) lbs. of fair quality.

Mr. Estill has 2,500 half breeds, crossed with American and French Merino bucks. 7

Mr. Colville has 1,500 American and French Merino half breeds. W. S. Kellogg has 2,000 head, American, and half breed French Merino sheep. Clip of wool, fall and spring, averaged 3\(\frac{1}{2}\) lbs. The above flocks are on Colusa Plains.

James Meacham, located about sixteen miles from town, near what is called the "Stone Corral," has 1,300 sheep, principally American and young stock, from one-half breed Merino and Southdown bucks (bred by Stevens of Yolo County.) The original bucks were of the finest class, from the importation of J. D. Patterson.

The clip of last fall's shearing was about 1,700 lbs. Spring clip, 2,000 lbs. The bucks sheared 13 lbs. each, for the yearly clip.

I noticed on the place an imported jack, "Balaam," 8 years old, owned by Mr. Steele. He came across the plains in 1856, costing originally $1,500. There are also on the ranch two Durham bulls, which are used for the improvement of the cattle stock, which I do not think will prove a serious detriment.

A. Fisher has a flock of 1,150 sheep, 950 of which are ewes, half and three-quarters breeds, from American bucks; he intends crossing with Merino. 8

G. F. Jones (sheriff of Colusa) has 1,500 American sheep—crossing with Merino bucks. The spring clip was between 3,000 and 4,000 lbs.

There are many other breeders on and about Colusa Plains, who are intending improvements in their flocks, but whom I was unable to see, as the facilities for getting about the country were meager in the extreme. As it was, I was disappointed in not seeing some of the flocks mentioned in this article, which accounts for the brief mention of them.

I was surprised to see so little enterprise manifested in this section by the wool growers, when a proper management and improvement of their flocks would certainly speak more to their credit than the present apparent supineness.

The wool clip was, I am told, a fair average one for the county, but principally of a common kind, and prices ranged, for a good article of American wool, from twelve to fourteen cents, and some lots even lower; while lots of mixed Merino brought from fourteen to seventeen cents. The wool growers have felt somewhat discouraged the past year at the decline in wool and sheep growing; but in view of the present prospects East, and the rise in the wool market, their cause must begin to brighten before long.

But little can be said of Colusa, for there seems to be a general stagnation about the place, which is far from inviting to a stranger in search of items. It was formerly the head of navigation, and enjoyed considerable trade, but since the boats have advanced further up the river to Red Bluff (the present head of navigation) the town of Colusa has, to use a common phrase, "gone in," and with a few exceptions there appears to be a desire to make as much as possible out of visitors, without much regard to propriety, which rendered my stay in the locality far from enticing. The climate is called, and may be, beneficial, but it certainly did not strike me as being very seductive. There seem to be comfortable accommodations for a grave-yard, and a long stay in this locality would render one a fit candidate for such a destination; but that was an expedition I was not prepared to start upon, and I was extremely glad when at midnight

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7 William K. Estill listed for the census taker 100 cows and 200 other cattle, but only five sheep.

8 Amos Fisher had 300 sheep valued at $2,000; his wool crop was 1,350 pounds.
the welcome whistle of the boat was heard, which was soon to convey me to a more congenial atmosphere. After a slight detention for change of freight and passengers, the steamer Gem pushed from her landing and started for Red Bluff; and as we left Colusa in the distance, I could not help exclaiming with Manfred: "Farewell, I ne'er shall see thee more."

My next letter will be of a more interesting nature, comprising statistics on stock matters in a more favored portion of country, with a description of the famous "Short Horn" herd of R. J. Walsh, Esq. at Bellevue.1

Warren's jaundiced account of Colusa, when read in that city, drew unfavorable attention in the Colusa Sun on April 26, 1862. The writer agreed with Warren in his strictures on the low quality of the sheep, but felt that he was misled about the weather—always a sensitive spot in California—and about the business activity of the area. 2

Warren lavished attention on the Walsh estate but neglected that of John Boggs in the same county. Boggs purchased 6,000 acres of Larkin's Children's ranch in 1855, to which he added many thousand acres in Colusa and Tehama counties, and was said to own 40,000 sheep. Much later (1875), he leased for a short time the huge Tejon ranch of Edward F. Beale in Kern County, on which were 12,000 cattle and 50,000 sheep. He also acquired the Grayson & Rawson ranch in Tehama County, mentioned below. Green, History of Colusa County, 185.

A Trip Up the Sacramento River

Editors American Stock Journal:2

Once more upon the river, and on board the comfortable steamer Gem, I found ample time for observation and reflection.

The river as we proceed up, seems to grow more and more crooked, but a better diversity of scenery presents itself. Here and there, scattered along the bank of the river, and in the valley, may be seen farm houses and buildings, some shaded by trees, singly, or in groves, and in a state of improvement according to the fancy and circumstances of the owners.

The soil is rich and fertile, and the pasturage in every respect excellent for feeding or grazing purposes, while the variety of changes of scenery from the valleys, hills and mountains surrounding, was a pleasing sight and helped fill up the time, during the day's trip.

Towards night we passed Monroeville, and just as the shadows of evening were passing over the landscape, the steamer landed me upon the banks of the river at Bellevue, where I purposed passing a few days; and here I would take occasion to extend my thanks to Capt. Foster, Mr. Lansing (purser), Mr. Wilcox, Cunningham, and other officers of the boat for courtesies during the trip which will long be remembered, and hope it may be my good fortune to meet the Gem again on my down trip.

A short walk soon brought me to the mansion of R. J. Walsh, Esq., where a cordial welcome greeted me—and be-

fore a glowing fire in a comfortable apartment I was soon made to feel perfectly at home—and the evening passed very agreeably. Admitting the usual courtesies and attentions ever bestowed towards the guests at the mansion, I will proceed to entertain your readers with a brief description of the farm and stock, as observed during my few days’ stay [at] Bellevue, residence of R. J. Walsh, Esq.

The estate proper comprises 12,000 acres of valuable land, the largest portion of which is devoted to grazing. The land inclosed and under fence is about 7,500 acres, and subdivided into ten fields from 300 to 2,500 acres each; the whole embracing some twenty-two miles of plank fence, of the best material.

The largest field, through a portion of which I rode, contains 3,000 acres and ten miles of fence. This field is used and occupied by the fat stock, or beef cattle of which there were some 400 head, three and four years old, and looking in fine condition. The pasturage is plenty and excellent, being principally wild oats, and though at this late season there was an abundance for the stock, and most of it from two to three feet in height—of luxuriant growth. The other fields were occupied by the American stock and half breed calves, crossed with the Durham bulls—which are mentioned in another portion of this article. The young stock were certainly looking in a most promising condition.

This ranch is known as part of the “Capay” grant, and is principally valley land, capable of producing excellent crops. The tract, or grant, is bounded on the north by government lands, east by the Sacramento River, south by the Hyacinth grant, and west by the Coast Range. The ranch is located about the center of the grant; the land is extremely fertile, and admirably adapted for grazing, and large crops have been obtained in the bottom land near the river, where the soil is very rich. Corn thrives here to the best advantage.

Bellevue contains much of importance in departments, which would form no uninteresting portion of this letter; but as I am to confine myself to stock matters, I will for the present leave the fine buildings, pleasure grounds and other embellishments of the place, and invite the attention of the reader to a cursory examination of a few of the noble herd of Short Horns, which stand pre-eminent as a luxury among the many attractions at Bellevue.

All of the animals mentioned below, with a single accidental omission, are registered in regular order in the 5th. Vol. of the American Short Horn Herd Book, and their pedigrees are seen to be indisputable for purity of blood—therefore full descriptive pedigrees with this article is deemed unnecessary. The registry is simple and comprehensive: The figures inclosed in brackets, are as they stand registered in the English Herd Book; and the brackets, with figures omitted, are to be filled by the numbers as registered in the new volume of the American Herd Book (which is not at hand). With the above explanation, we will now proceed:

The thorough-bred Short Horn stock on the place comprise twenty head, viz: 10 bulls and 10 cows.

Bulls. Louis ville—light roan, six years old; bred by Capt. Sims and Sidney Clay; imported by R. J. Walsh. He is by Lord Nelson, out of Imported Amazon, by Newmarket (10,563).

*Capay (44,388 acres), on the Sacramento River in Colusa and Tehama counties, was given Josefa Soto in 1844 and patented in 1858. It bordered on the 35,487-acre Jacinto grant, which was patented to W. M. McKee in 1859.
Shelton—rich roan (twin to Colusa); calved August 12, 1858; bred by Mr. Walsh. He is by Louisville, out of Adelaide.

Colusa—red and white (twin to Shelton); calved August, 1858. By Louisville, &c.

These are as handsome animals as can be found in the State.

Sacramento—red roan—calved Sept., 1859. By Louisville; dam Adelaide ( ).

Eclipse—red and white—calved July, 1860. By Shasta; dam Adelaide. Shasta has since been sold.

Young Townly—white bull—calved Feb., 1860. By Louisville; dam Sally Chambers, by Imported Townly (2,305).

Plenipotentiary—red roan—calved Jan., 1861. By Shelton; dam Sally Chambers ( ).

Early Bird—white bull—calved Jan., 1861. By Shelton; dam Kate Dunne.

The above animals were imported and bred by Mr. Walsh, and are unsurpassed in point of excellence and merit.

Imported Cows—Thorough-Bred Durham. Beauty—red and white—calved 1853; bred by James B. Clay, Ashland, Kentucky, and imported by Mr. Walsh in 1856. Sire Oscar; dam Bright’s Goldfinder, g. dam Beauty by Forrester (see Am. Herd Book).

Adelaide—red with white—bred by Wm. Warfield, Lexington, Ky. Calved June, 1855—got by Webster (2,362), out of Sally, by Goldfinder 537 (A. H. B.) Adelaide has a fine bull at her side, by Louisville.

Ione 1st—light red—bred by Major Jenkins, Columbia, Miss. Calved April, 1856; got by Duke of Orleans; dam Mary Lee, by Ralph (2,088), by Mercer (702), by Imported Carcass (3,285).

The above animals were all imported by Mr. Walsh, in Dec., 1856, and comprise the first importation of Short Horns ever made to California. At all fairs where they have been exhibited in the State, they are universally known as prize winners. As Californians, we may well feel proud of having such stock in our State, which reflects great credit on the owner for his laudable enterprise in the importation and introduction of such fine blooded animals. The following were bred on the place by Mr. Walsh:

Sally Chambers—calved Jan., 1857; by Imported Townly (2,305); dam Beauty ( ).

Kate Dunne—calved Feb., 1859; rich roan; by Louisville ( ); dam Beauty ( ).

Nannie—red and white—calved Jan., 1860. By Louisville ( ); dam Beauty ( ).

Queen of Beauty—red with white—calved Dec., 1860. By Shelton ( ); dam Beauty ( ).

Rose 1st—light roan—calved Jan., 1858. By Louisville ( ); dam Ione 1st ( ). This animal was accidentally omitted in the Herd Book.

Ione 2nd—red and white—calved Aug., 3, 1860. By Shasta ( ); dam Ione 1st ( ).


Most of the above stock has been exhibited at all the annual fairs in California for the past three years—and by impartial judges have been accorded prizes in nearly every class and sported first premium badges before leaving
the fair grounds—as can be certified by the innumerable silver goblets, pitchers, tea sets and other silver ware, numbering over fifty pieces, as well as a large number of diplomas which I saw at the mansion.

It is certainly gratifying to see the attention being paid to the breeding and rearing of pure blooded cattle to such perfection, for it is a study requiring patience and perseverance, although an agreeable and delightful one to those who have chosen the pursuit as an occupation. A person must have a natural talent, skill, observation, and a true and correct idea of the principles of accurate breeding, coupled with sound judgment and experience, to become a successful breeder.

The efforts thus far made by Mr. Walsh have been attended with perfect success; and the fine appearance of the animals certainly bore evidence of the care and attention bestowed, as well as the zeal and spirit evinced by the proprietor, in breeding and rearing his herd of Short Horns to their present state of excellence, the “beau ideal” of perfection which will class him as the “Thorne” of California. Being possessed of abundant means, and the owner of one of the finest places in the country, surrounded by the pleasures and refinements of country life, he has become deeply interested in this invigorating and healthful recreation, which has resulted in bringing to perfection such a superb class of Short Horns as are to be seen at Bellevue—and as I watched them gracefully reposing under the shady trees, or grazing in the fertile pastures, I could well exclaim “Short Horns are noble animals.”

On another portion of the ranch inclosed, are about 1,400 head of American stock—400 head of which are improved young stock, being a cross from the Durham bulls. These animals were handsome and promising, bearing ample evidence of the purity of the breed, and they cannot fail in time to recommend themselves to favorable notice in their own sphere. It is the intention of Mr. Walsh to improve all this stock by crosses with the Durhams. The original stock came across the plains.

In the horse department there are 120 head, including about 60 breeding mares—excellent stock—who are now in foal to “Conflagration” and “Jackson.” The former valuable stallion lately died, but the latter is still on the place.

“Jackson” is a Morgan stallion (dark brown) of very imposing appearance, fine carriage and action; he was bred on the place, and a finer or better animal is not to be found in the county. Much attention is being paid in this department at Bellevue, and I am glad to see it, as the time has come when the inferior breeds have ceased to be as remunerative as in former years. The common breeds of horses are being superseded by the finer and choicer breeds, which are no more cost to the owner to keep, but certainly more valuable. We have enough common stock in the country.

The efforts of Mr. Walsh in this department will meet with its just success, for he seems devoted with nearly an equal enthusiasm to his horses and Short Horns—though in the latter I think he need fear no rival. In time we shall possess herds of fine animals in California unsurpassed by any State in the Union, and which will become one of our most prominent sources of future wealth.

I noticed some choice Berkshire and Suffolk pigs bred on the place, by imported stock from Patterson & Redding, and Thorne, of N. Y. Although the Suffolk are considered the most profitable to breed and feed in the pen, he regards the Berkshire the best for all purposes, especially “on the trail.” All this stock are looking finely and promise well. I observed also a few Southdown sheep and crosses, raised principally for the wants of the occupants of the mansion. Southdown mutton is very palatable.

Upon the place are numerous buildings—barns, granary (a very handsome and solid structure), pigeon-house, chicken-house, smoke-house, laundry, and cottage for the employees—and all on a scale in keeping with the place and the enlarged views and liberality of the proprietor. He intends erecting a large and commodious barn for the use of the fine stock and farm use.
The mansion is a large, handsome and substantial building—not inferior to any in the State—facing north and south, and built in the southern style, with a verandah extending entirely around the house. The house is 35 by 45, cantilever roof, two stories high, with an ell. Connected with the house is a large kitchen, pantry, &c., with every other desirable convenience. The cellar is spacious, running under the entire house—cool and dry—and containing a supply of all the luxuries of the farm, as well as quantities of delicious preserved fruits, put up under the supervision of the hostess of the mansion. So much for my "peep" down below stairs.

The materials of the house are of the most solid and substantial kind that could be procured. The rooms are large, spacious, and handsomely furnished, comprising all the luxuries and comforts of a "country seat." The library, where I passed some pleasant hours, contains all the prominent, standard and agricultural works, and a complete set of the *Am. Herd Book*, which is both the guide and dictionary of the proprietor. The whole structure is quite palatial, and cost nearly $15,000. These buildings are all new, and have been lately rebuilt—the former mansion and buildings having been destroyed by fire some two years since. But among the attractions at the house, I must not forget little "Tommy," who was, in himself, quite an institution, and afforded me much amusement. (For pedigree, &c., see Indianology of California.)

The location of the mansion is very attractive, being surrounded by a wide and beautiful lawn, inclosed by a neat white fence, while surrounding the house and garden to protect it from the rays of the summer sun, are shady trees and evergreen shrubbery, comprising China tree, locust, elm, with the oak, ash, sycamore—all of native growth—affording to the eye a most agreeable aspect. A fine wide avenue, of nearly quarter of a mile, approaches the mansion from the landing or river's bank, skirting which is a dense woodland of excellent timber, whose umbrageous shade and green foliage afford a pleasant retreat in the summer months, as well as an excellent resort for hunting, &c.

The orchard, at a short distance from the house, contains about 100 varieties of choicest fruit trees, the crops of which are abundant. The family vegetable garden was also in keeping with the other departments.

The apiary, near the mansion, comprises about a dozen hives of bees, busy at work, affording an abundant supply of honey of the best kind.

There is enough about Bellevue to attract and interest a stranger in riding, hunting and enjoying the scenery of the country. My visit—prolonged to four days—was pleasant in every respect, through the courtesy of the host and his agreeable and talented lady, than whom, none are more happy in anticipating the wants of all who may become the guests at Bellevue.

The improvements going on here are in keeping with the energy and extended views of the proprietor. Large sums have been expended in various ways towards the general improvement of the place; and the task, although one of magnitude, has been commensurate with his taste and ample means. All around are the evidences of life and industry, and though less pretending than the pomp and show of city life are much more substantial and picturesque.

Take it all in all, Bellevue, with its fine locality, beauty of scenery, salubrity of climate, abundant water privileges—protected from the harshness of the coast winds, but invigorated by the cool and bracing air of the mountains with the attractions before mentioned,—is a picture pleasant to look upon, for there is no tract in the country its equal, and the proprietor of Bellevue in his pleasant home can feel proud that his own indomitable perseverance, industry and energy for years have been the secret of his success in his well regulated farm.

* A miscellany of material relating to California Indians appeared in the *California Farmer*, 1860-1863, under the caption "Indianology of California."
During my stay at Bellevue I rode through the valley, visiting a few ranches and taking a look at the country in general. But limited attention is paid to agriculture, directly, although the soil is good and climate salubrious. The land is capable of great improvements, as its condition has been well ascertained, but it has not received that consideration which it should demand. More attention is given to stock raising, to which the broad valleys and fine rolling hills seem particularly adapted.

Industry and intelligence will advance cultivation in due time, when the peculiar advantages of the soil shall become known, and enlarged fields of enterprise be opened, and pursued to advantage. And here let me remark that the culture of hops should be generally encouraged, as it must become an important branch of our agricultural business in this State, and be remunerative to those engaged in it. I noticed in my rides some attention was given it in this section, and quite a large shipment of bales being made by the boat down the river. The crop was excellent and satisfactory to the raiser. The imported article costs from eighty cents to a dollar per pound, and, at the former price alone, would make a most lucrative business for the farmers in this State.

Success has attended its culture in other portions of the State; and large crops have been obtained, and the quality excellent, and there is no reason why its growth should not be encouraged by the legislature. I hope this subject may be brought up at the next session for the legislature to encourage the growth of hops, as well as a variety of crops, and then our farmers will prosper better and millions of dollars saved to the State for articles which might be easily raised here for our own consumption, and even export; whereas, now they must be imported from abroad.

I called at the ranch of Mr. A. C. St. John, of Stony Point, which embraces 1,500 acres, all devoted to grazing, with the exception of 300 acres used for crops. There were about 100 breeding mares, and twenty head of horses. I observed a fine stallion, "George Randolph," of Randolph and Whip stock, from Kentucky; he was eight years old, and sixteen and a half hands high. In the stables was an imported jack, fourteen hands high, six years old, imported from Kentucky by Mr. Singleterry. These animals are used for the improvement of the stock. There were upon the ranch about 400 head of cattle, in good condition,—all American stock,—which are being improved by crossing. He has also about 400 head of hogs, fattening for market. This is quite a hog country. The place is well laid out, and under continual improvement. The grazing in this section is excellent, and ample for the stock; and the attention given to the improvement of the breeds of stock deserve notice.

Mr. James Sproat, on Stony Creek, has on pasture 2,000 sheep (Am.), which are being crossed with the French Merino and Southdown. The fall clip of wool was about 4,200 pounds, which realized 14 cts. per pound. I found that many of the flocks of sheep were away in the mountains which prevented my making a fair comparison, and I thought best to curtail my trip in this section till the spring, when a much better opportunity would occur.

I left Bellevue about eight o'clock on Thursday evening, in the steamer Swan, Capt. Rogers, for Red Bluff. The river is quite shallow, and snags are frequent, but the boat is skilfully maneuvered by the pilot among these river annoyances. Our progress being slow, enables one to get a fine view of the surrounding country and scenery, as we go meandering up the crooked river. As proof of this river course from a certain point on the river to a small town, the distance is five miles by land, while by water it is fifteen miles.
About midnight, on Friday, we arrived at Red Bluff—the headquarters of navigation. To the officers of the boat I am indebted for many courtesies and attentions, during my trip, which, I may also say, was the uniform feeling of all the passengers, and which greatly relieved the otherwise monotonous of a three days' trip up the Sacramento River.

Red Bluff. I shall defer mention of this pleasant little town until a later portion of my letter, and allude principally to observations made during an extended trip among the stock ranchos and farms of Tehama County, with notes of improvements made and intended, together with such other remarks as the occasion may call for.

Hon. J. G. Doll, of Red Bluff (Senator-elect from Tehama County), has been foremost in the improvement of fine stock,—especially horses,—of which he has some of the best in the county, having lately made some valuable additions by importation and purchase.* Among the stock which I saw at his stables were the following:

1. "Black Hawk"—stallion—6 years old, 15½ hands high, weighs 1,085 lbs., imported in Sept., 1860; sired by the old Black Hawk, "David Hill," dam, a thorough-bred Messenger mare—cost $4,500. He is a noble looking horse, of fine substance and power, and well finished; his limbs clean, well proportioned, and easy in their motion. His blood, form, stock, size, and action speak well, and give assurance he will prove a valuable acquisition to the country.

2. "Red Bird"—trotting mare—7 years old—by St. Lawrence; dam by "Red Bird." Can trot inside of three minutes.

3. Pair Brown Morgan Mares—6 years old, with colts by side, by "Reveille;" will trot in four minutes.


5. "Billy Cheatem"—2 year old filly, by Grigsby, out of a Lowell mare of much promise.

6. A Gray Mare—16¾ hands high, celebrated as a trotter,

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*For Doll's efforts to control the site of Red Bluff and to prevent settlers from gaining pre-emption rights, see footnote 25, infra.
party comprised Mr. H. A. Rawson, Mr. L. A. Kelly, of Red Bluff, and your humble servant. We anticipated the jovial company of the “Editor of the Independent,” but circumstances prevented his joining us, much to the regret of the party. We left the Bluff early on Tuesday morning, as the “Three Hunters,” in appropriate costume, with rifles, bowie knives, and revolvers, mounted on fiery-footed steeds, and leading a pack horse loaded down with equipage and provisions for the trip, which was to last some days, and the country through which we were to travel being entirely unsettled, and inhabited only by the “lone, lorn Indian.”

On the route up to the foot hills, the scenery was quite enticing, viewing it as I did from the high rising land. On the left was the Coast Range skirting the valley, through which might be seen meandering the Sacramento River, on either side vast undulating meadows, here and there ranches, farm houses, and stock grazing. Far in the distance to my left, was Mount Shasta, 18,000 feet high, looming up into the very clouds, its huge crest covered with snow, while directly in front of us, though miles distant, were the “Lassen Buttes,” with a streak of snow upon their summit, towering above everything else.10

About noon we reached a cooling spring of water, in the valley, at the foot of the Sierras, near the ruins of the Antelope Mills, which were destroyed by fire a few months since; and here we dismounted, and proceeded to enjoy our mountain repast of dried venison and other fixins. Men and beasts having been duly cared for, we resumed our trip, as time was somewhat precious, and commenced our ascent of the Sierras. The trip to the summit occupied the remainder of the day, but though somewhat fatiguing, was nevertheless exciting and pleasant, revealing new beauties of scenery, over which the eye wandered with delight.

It was just at close of day that we reached the summit of the Sierras, and paused for awhile to rest our horses, and take a last view of the scene. Around, were the forests of clambering pines, monarchs of many a weatherbeaten struggle, whose tops hung far above us like a mighty phalanx, and through whose branches the winds howled like wild triumphant music.

After riding for a whole day through woodland and brush up the mountain, the sight from the summit well repays,—it is truly grand and magnificent,—the blue expanse of heaven is above, and the valleys immeasurable below, while the sea of mountain caps around, are piled up like “Pelion upon Ossa” to the horizon. Near us could be seen the “Lassen Buttes,” or Prophets, their hoary heads far up in the clouds, their base to the summit presenting quite a desolate appearance, and apparently destitute of any living substance.11

Far to the left, in the distance, rising like a huge spectre, was “Shasta Butte,” or Mount Shasta, the grand chain of mountains in California, in whose praise poets and writers have breathed so much, and the whole world may look at it, for it is worth the sight. Its whole outline was distinct, with not even a cloud to obstruct the magnificent view, rising high as it did above all surrounding objects; its huge peak, covered with the eternal cap of snow. But when the shadows of evening began to fall, the stately peak just reflected back, for an instant, the gaze of the sinking monarch of day, and then passed out of sight entirely, in the clouds which enveloped it. The sight was indeed beautiful and well repaid me for the whole trip, for on my return, a few days after, the weather was gloomy and cold, and I tried, in vain, to obtain even a glimpse of the snowy-crested monarch, through the endless number of heavy clouds which surrounded him.

As I said, the day had been fine, but as night approached, mists and clouds obscured the towering peaks around, and the whole grand outline of mountain scenery, and the veiled prophets, was lost to my gaze, while they bade good night to the sun, as he descended in clouds. It was now that I felt

10 Mt. Shasta is 14,162 feet high; Lassen Peak, formerly Lassen Butte, is 10,435 feet.

11 Mount Lassen was named for Peter Lassen, whose Bosquejo rancho of 22,206 acres was just across the Sacramento from Walsh’s rancho.
more susceptible of the discomforts of a journey like this, as I shut my eyes to any more views that day, and we commenced our descent into the valley, where nature's voice could be no longer heard, but almost felt.

The down hill movement is more fatiguing than the ascent, especially when one is tired; the descent of the mountains was made at dark, and though far from inviting to a stranger, was somewhat novel. Dismounting and leading our horses, down, down, we went, for over two miles, over a rough, stony road, winding around the side of the mountain, but our party in good spirits, whistling and singing, the echoes reverberating through the silent woods. It was night, and the sky was dotted with small patches of light, fleecy clouds, and here and there a few dim stars. The numberless fallen trees, burned by the late fires, seemed like grim spectres in our path; while the thick and shadowy shrubbery around, the tall trees, standing out dark against the sky, through which now and then appeared the light, and the dim outline of the woody heights above, could not escape my notice, as we moved along, but only added to the solemn grandeur, and silence, of the night scene. All around seemed hushed in repose, and no sound was heard save that of our horses' feet on the stony road, and the wind, which moaned among the lofty pines, like rumbling thunder, as we plodded our way, down, down, through the silent pass.

What a perfect spot, thought I, for an evening reverie, and had I been less hungry and fatigued, I might have luxuriated in the poetry of such a scene, and enjoyed the nocturnal trip with delight. In about an hour we came to level ground once more, and reached an opening in the woods, through which could be discerned the faint evening light; and mounting our horses, soon after emerged into the valley, or what is called BATTLE CREEK MEADOWS.

In this valley are the log cabins of the herdsmen, who take charge of the flocks of sheep owned by Ransom & Grayson. There are also a few hunters and trappers who take up their abode here during the summer months. After a hearty supper of venison, and other luxuries incidental to a mountain life—for which our long ride had given us an uncommon relish—we drew around the cheerful log fire. The air without was cold and sharp, but little we heeded it within, and the evening was passed, telling stories and cracking jokes,—the party numbering about a dozen in all,—so we had quite a jovial time. At a reasonable hour we adjourned to our respective cabins, and after heaping fresh logs on the fire, and securing our weapons in a convenient position, in case of necessity, we wrapped our blankets around us, and thus passed our first night in the mountains.

There are pastured in the valley some 2,300 American sheep, crossed with Southdown and Cotswold, including 1,800 ewes, and 8 bucks—of which are 5 French Merino, 1 Southdown, and 2 Cotswold. The flocks were looking finely, and have shorn on an average from four to five pounds each. These sheep are pastured here during the summer months, roaming through the valley, and on the mountain sides, where the grass is fresh and green,—the feed on the home ranch (Red Bluff) being scarce from June to the middle of November.

The feed in the valley is grass and clover, and on the mountain sides pea vine, shrubbery, etc., which furnishes sufficient pasturage for the flocks, and on which they feed and fatten. The temperature in the valley, being surrounded entirely by the mountains, is, during the summer months, about 80° at mid-day, falling to 60°; but the evenings are cool, with some frosts. There are plenty of fine springs running into the valley, affording an ample supply of water, which in the stream is cold as ice water—delightfully refreshing.

The snow sets in about the middle of November, when the sheep are removed to the home ranch, at the Bluff. The snow falls to the depth of about eight feet, and remains on the ground till the following June. The valley contains about 120 acres, and affords ample pasturage for 6,000 sheep. The weather was cold in the valley, though not as wintry as usual at this season, and the rains have held off for a longer period than has been known for some years.
The summer and fall have been dry, in the mountains and valley, and no rains have fallen to moisten the grass and herbage; but the stock have found, nevertheless, sufficient pasturage. They will soon be driven home to warmer localities for the winter, as the chilly mornings give warning that the snows are approaching, and then the valley will be deserted, till the coming June, by all except the trappers.

We started out, with an old hunter, for a grand deer hunt, but did not have much success, as the weather had driven the deer all down to the foot hills for food, and game was scarce; but I had a “rough and tumble” time of it, and sufficiently exhilarating in the way of exercise, as to leave its reminder for some days afterwards. However, we had a glorious time, take it all together, in two days’ sojourn in the valley, with all the excitement and routine of hunter’s life.

Having no particular desire to remain longer in the locality with the prospect of gloomy weather before us, we packed our animals at daylight, and bidding our mountain host adieu, commenced our long pilgrimage across the mountains again, for our more congenial home, which we reached the same evening about dark, without any incident of notice.

And here I will close, for the present; and in my next will continue my trip among the stock ranches up “Thomes Creek,” with notes upon the “Indian Reservation,” and statistics of a general and interesting nature, around this portion of Tehama Co., and the town of “Red Bluff.”

III

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On my return to the Bluff, the weather was fine, and from appearances likely to continue clear and pleasant; and in company with Mr. J. C. Tyler, who kindly proposed the trip, we started for a brief tour up “Thomes Creek,” for the purpose of visiting the various ranches and taking a look at the stock.

Thomes Creek rises about 40 miles west from Red Bluff, in the Coast Range, and pursues its way in a south-east direction for about sixty miles, and finally empties itself into the Sacramento River about two miles below Tehama. The water flows during the entire year, but in the winter assumes more of a current, spreading out in branches 200 yards wide. In summer, in certain portions near its mouth, the water loses itself in the quicksands and gravelly bed, and again appears a few miles lower down its course.

Near the mouth of this creek is a fine body of farming land, chiefly covered by “Thomes” grant, and all along its course are fine valleys, as good and fertile as in any portion of the State.22 The ranches are owned by stock raisers, and devoted mostly to that branch of business, though a good portion is tillable land. The first place we visited was the ranch of H. C. Wilson.

Distance from Red Bluff, eight miles. He has about 1,800 American sheep, crossed with Saxony, South Down, and Leicester.23 There are two full-blood French Merino bucks, purchased from A. L. Bingham; the balance are 1/2 and 3/4 breeds. Mr. W., however, favors the South Down or Leicester cross. His last clip of wool averaged about four pounds, the clip amounting to 10,000 lbs. He has also some 2,300 sheep on shares, which are pasturing near the mountains.

In the cattle department are some 800 head of American stock, and 10 American bulls, also one thorough-bred Durham

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22 Robert H. Thomas and Albert G. Toomes came to California in 1841, and were granted ranchos on each side of the Sacramento at the mouth of Thomas Creek in Tehama County. These were Saucos, 22,212 acres, the fifth rancho to be patented, and Río de los Molinos, 22,172 acres, patented in 1858. See also Note 11 in the Appendix.
23 Wilson listed 400 acres of improved land worth $14,000, $1,000 worth of farm equipment, twelve horses, 250 cows, 2,750 sheep (the stock being valued at $27,800), and 2,000 bushels of wheat. He may have been the General Wilson who in the early ’seventies owned several thousand acres on the upper Sacramento that were valued at $40 an acre. The land was mostly in wheat. Nordhoff, Northern California, Oregon, and the Sandwich Islands, 188.
bull, for improvement of the stock. There are 10 head of horses, and two brood mares, the latter bred to “Belmont” and “Owen Dale.” One has a handsome “Belmont” colt by her side, being also in foal to “Rifleman.” In this department Mr. W. is taking considerable interest.

The ranch inclosed for farm purposes is about 400 acres, which produced last season 2,000 bush. wheat, 1,000 bush. barley, and 250 tons hay; corn thrives well. The location of the ranch is on the plain, the soil black and loamy, with clay foundation. Volunteer crops are raised the third year.

John T. Freeman, 12 miles from Red Bluff, on the plains, has 2,500 head American sheep, crossed with French Menno and South Down; the bucks are from Bingham’s stock. The South Downs are 1/2 breeds; clip of wool was about 7,000 lbs. and averaged 3 to 3 1/2 lbs. Of the stock he has 100 head of American and Spanish cattle, and 30 head of horses, American 1 1/2 breeds. The ranch comprises about 400 acres level bottom land, a part of which is devoted to farming, the balance to grazing, etc.

Nelson Van Tassell (Pasquento Township) has 650 sheep—American ewes. The lambs are a cross of French Merino. Has one French Merino buck, full-blood, from the Patterson stock, and intends breeding to this class exclusively. The clip of wool averaged over 5 lbs. once shearing. Ranch comprises a half section, being nearly all level and bottom land, used for grazing, except about 150 acres, devoted to root and other crops.

S. Jennison—in the same township—has 600 American sheep, crossed with pure-blood French Merino bucks; the wool averaged from 3 1/2 to 4 lbs. which realized about 14 cts. per lb. Has also some horses and cattle. The ranch comprises 320 acres, and is distant from Red Bluff about 20 miles.

Towards night we reached the ranch of A. W. Henley, situated near the Canyon, at the foot of the Coast Range of mountains, about 30 miles from Red Bluff. It is used wholly as a stock ranch, comprising 160 acres of land, principally rolling hills, near the Coast Range, and admirably adapted for grazing. There were about 700 sheep, principally American, crossed with South Down bucks, imported from R. A. Alexander, of Kentucky, by Mr. Henley. The feed is principally wild oats and bunch grass in the hills, and in the basin lands filaree and clover.

In the absence of Mr. W. W. Henley, we were hospitably entertained by his brother, who also kindly afforded me all the requisite information about the country.

The Indian ranches are near the house, on the hills, and seem to be well cared for by the proprietor. As they were in mourning for some one of the tribe, their appearance, at the time, was far from imposing; their faces and necks being daubed with tar, which is the custom of the race when any death occurs. The climate is fine and healthy and the air invigorating. I regretted exceedingly that my time was so limited, as I would have much enjoyed a good hunt among the hills.

Early the next morning after a hearty mountain breakfast, prepared by our host,—“long life to him”—we started for home, taking the other side of the creek. Previous to which I made a brief call at the ranch of J. W. Burgess, about two miles from Mr. Henley’s. Mr. B. has about 600 acres, devoted principally to grazing, with the exception of 50 to 60 acres, used for crops. Has been on the place but one year, but is making many improvements. He has 700 American sheep crossed with South Down and Spanish Merino, and intends breeding principally for wool, favoring the South Down. The bucks are as follows: 8 South Downs, and 12 half-breed Spanish Merino. The wool crop was about 3,500 pounds, and averaged from 4 to 5 pounds to the fleece. The sheep are pastured in the mountains during the dry months.

I noticed about a dozen head of horses and colts, also a stallion 9 years old, of Brimmer and Whip stock, and two

Van Tassell listed only 270 sheep and 400 hogs which with twenty horses, eight cows, and ten other cattle he valued at $6,000. He produced 2,000 bushels of wheat.

Jennison listed only 220 sheep.

W. N. and L. M. Henley listed 320 acres of land and 400 sheep.
fillies sired by "Joe Gale," out of a Messenger mare—very handsome colts. There were also several fine looking mules in the pasture near the house. Mr. Burgess intends breeding fine horses, having the right material to operate with. The ranch is near the foot hills, at the base of the Coast Range.

I called at the ranch of Mr. John B. James, and regretted not finding him at home. Mr. James is paying particular attention to the breeding of fine horses, and has a number of stallions of high merit at his stables, viz:

Troubadour—4-year-old, sired by Joe Gale; dam by Troubadour, a running horse.

Pluck—3-year-old, by Joe Gale.

Oregon Bill—9-year-old, by Lummux.

Shepherd Boy—2-year-old, by Jake, dam by Troubadour.

I observed a number of fine brood mares, and fillies, one by "Reville." The future records of the turf in California will embrace stock from their stables, which are probably the most extensive and prominent in the county.

For some days the sky had been overcast, but as yet no rain had fallen upon the dry and parched earth, which was much needed by both farmer and stock raiser, as the stock are suffering for want of feed. During the day the weather changed, and looked quite threatening, betokening the coming rain, which somewhat hurried our return home. But by nightfall, while we were on the plains, the squall overtook us in its fury, our eyes being almost blinded by the clouds of dust which filled the air. A sudden gust of wind took off the hat of my companion, and in an instant it was taken in the air like a feather, and the last seen of it it was performing the most approved circles in the air, on its way to the upper regions. The rain commenced falling, and the squall increased; but having a fast pair of horses—thanks to Mr. T.—we sped along through dirt, mud, and rain, at a most gallant rate, and about seven o'clock reached the residence of Mr. J. C. Tyler, the gentleman who accompanied me in my trip. We had scarcely reached the threshold of the dwelling, before the gale burst in all its fury, the rain fell in perfect torrents, thundering on the roof, and the winds howled in very fury. It was a most terrific storm, and continued all night in unabated fury, like demons let loose from Pandemonium. Towards morning the rain ceased, and when I looked from my window all was calm again, while the god of day was rising in a clear and cloudless sky, and casting his cheering rays upon the gratefully refreshed earth.

The ranch owned and occupied by J. C. Tyler is located on Elder Creek, being a portion of the grant known as the "Rancho de las Flores." a The distance from Red Bluff is about 10 miles. Mr. Tyler has been on the place since 1853. There are about 600 acres, mostly level or plain land, principally adapted for farming purposes. The soil is a dark loam, and the crops raised are large and remunerative. The crop of the last season was about 7,500 bushels grains, principally wheat, while plenty of hay is used for the keeping of the stock during the dry season.

In the stock department I noticed "George," a two-year-old stallion, 16½ hands high, and weighing 1,400 lbs., sired by "Young Gilbert," dam Whip and Copperbottom stock. He is the largest colt of his age I have seen. "Colonel,"—stallion, seven-year-old, 16 hands high, weighs 1400 lbs. Sired by "Old George," of Oregon; dam Diomede and Messenger mare. "Old George" is of Printer stock, and is a well built and good proportioned horse.

Mr. Tyler offers $100 for the best colt by "Colonel," to be exhibited at the Tehama Agricultural Fair, in 1862 (Fall) —
also $50 for the second best colt by the same sire. Such acts are quite commendable. I noticed, also, half a dozen blood mares of good stock, in foal to "Colonel" and "Rifleman." Upon the ranch are some 20 head of American horses, and some half-breeds, also 75 head of American cattle, and a few mules.

The buildings on the ranch are large and spacious, and built in modern style, with all the conveniences for stock, &c. The mansion is large and pleasantly located, and the whole place denotes enterprise, and a careful attention to the requisites of the farm, reflecting much credit upon its young and enterprising proprietor.

Loomis Ward has, near Tehama, 1,600 head of American sheep, crossed with French Merino, using ¾ French Merino bucks. He has one full blood Spanish Merino buck, from the Dibblee stock. Mr. W. favors the French Merino for wool.

A. G. Toomes, Elder Creek, has 10,000 acres of land used for grazing, 900 acres of which is under inclosure for farming purposes. On the ranch are 150 head of cattle, American and half-breeds.

On my return to the Bluff I stopped at the well known ranch of Rawson & Grayson, situated about four miles south from Red Bluff. This is the river ranch and residence of Messrs. R. & G., and comprises 2,100 acres, principally valley and bottom land, a portion of which affords large crops of cereals, wheat and barley, for which the soil is admirably adapted. Eight hundred acres are inclosed, and five hundred under cultivation crops, which average 35 bushels per acre. The balance is used for grazing purposes.

Messrs. R. & G. have also, about 12 miles west of Red Bluff, about 3,500 acres of entered land, on which are pastured 2,500 sheep, under the care of a shepherd and dogs. The land is open, no portion being as yet fenced, and the whole range for sheep is about 10,000 acres. The location is in the foot hills, at the base of the Coast Range, principally rolling hills, and the quality of the pasturage is excellent, being clover, wild oats, and bunch grass. The air in this locality is salubrious and healthy, and my morning ride was quite refreshing.

The sheep are American, crossed with Leicester, Cotswold, and South Down, like the flock at the "Battle Creek Meadows," mentioned in a former letter. The flock sheared this season about 5 lbs., on an average, I am told, and the crop of wool shorn from all the ranches was 20,000 lbs.—principally coarse wool, averaging in length from four to six inches. The price obtained at the ranch was 15 cents.

Messrs. Rawson & Grayson are the largest sheep breeders in the county, and have the best looking sheep I have seen. They have been very successful thus far with their flocks, giving their whole attention to the improvement of the same. The varieties most preferred are a cross of ½ Merino and Leicester.

There are on this ranch five cabins with necessary corrals, and also one shed 32 by 132 feet, and one 100 feet long, used for putting in young lambs during heavy storms, which answers an excellent purpose. Their intention is to fence a section of the land, and build more houses, sheds, and corrals the coming season. They will shear the coming spring 4,400 sheep, from which they expect to get from 20,000 to 25,000 lbs. of wool. Messrs. R. & G. are breeding from first-class American ewes, (driven from the States) to South Down, Cotswold, and a few French Merino bucks, but are quite favorable, as yet, to the coarser grades. The scab troubles the sheep some, but they have kept it in check by the remedies previously mentioned.

Their sheep dogs, which were the best I have seen in the State, are of the best breeds to be found in Canada, and with which they are now taking great pains. They have,

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1. In 1860 Toomes listed 9,000 acres valued at $30,000, twenty-five cows, and forty-seven other cattle.
2. In the 1860's Hiram Arnold Rawson led three large drives of sheep from Missouri to California, of which one half (or about 12,000) reached their goal. He took up land on a ranch of Champlin & Boggs and entered 5,000 acres of public lands. His holdings reached 12,790 acres in 1878. G. W. Grayson formed a partnership with Rawson in 1856. Marysville Appeal, Directory of Northern California (1878).
young and old, on the various ranches, 20 of their bred sheep dogs in all, of the English, Yorkshire, and Scotch Colley breeds.

Speaking of dogs, I noticed at the Bluffs "Fido," owned by J. T. Fisher, Esq. He is a splendid, clipper-built dog, of immense size, of a dun color, and can outrun an antelope. He took the 1st premium at the last Fair of the State Agricultural Society, at Sacramento.

J. P. Moore, Reed's Creek, has 2,800 American sheep. He is crossing with ¼ breed Cotswold, Merino, and South Down. The fleeces averaged 4 lbs., and the clip 9,000 lbs. He has also a few American horses and mules, and 40 to 50 head of cattle, under improvement. The land is composed of rolling hills, or what is called "Bald Hills," and the grazing is clover and wild oats, which are considered very nutritious for the stock.

Pierce, Church & Co., of Red Bluff, have 3,000 acres on "Coyote Creek," six miles from town, where are pastured 1,000 American sheep. They have one full blood French Merino buck, of the Bingham importation, two full blood South Down, and four half breed South Down bucks, for improvement of the flocks. The ranch is a part of the "Ide grant," and is principally plains, or level land, 600 acres of which is fenced, with plenty of water, and pasturage for the flocks,—wild oats, bunch grass and herbage. They shear the flocks but once a year.

G. W. Hoag, Antelope Township, 2½ miles from the Bluff across the river, has a ranch of 700 acres, 325 acres of which is under fence and cultivation. The rest is used for grazing. He has 200 head American sheep, one fine ¾ French Merino buck, and one Cotswold buck for crossing. He intends breeding for wool purposes alone. He has also ten fine brood American mares, in foal to "Rifleman,"

2 William B. Ide was one of the better-known men in early California history. He arrived in the territory in 1845, was a leader in the Bear Flag Revolt, and was owner of the Baranca Colorado rancho (17,707 acres) on the upper Sacramento River.

22 In 1878 Hoag had 9,797 acres of land in Colusa County.

Sacramento River also one "Rifleman" colt—stallion, 8 months old, out of a Sumpter mare. He is a very handsome colt, and promises well. There are on the ranch a number of half breed mares, and twenty-two work and riding horses. Mr. Hoag is devoting his time and attention to the breeding and improvement of fine stock, principally horses. There are also at the ranch 1,600 head of pigs. He has a large and fine orchard, comprising 4,000 to 5,000 bearing trees, and a nursery of 40,000 trees, of various kinds, and 2,000 vines. His crop of peaches last year was 25,000 lbs., which averaged eight cents per lb.

Mr. H. raised last season 8,000 bushels of grain, and the crop averaged 35 bushels to the acre. The soil is clay, and in places sandy near the river, and very favorable for good crops.

The late refreshing rains have been of great benefit to the farmers, but, coming so late in the season, are rather injurious to the stock, as it nearly cut off their supply of feed and forage, and many animals must necessarily perish. Desirous of taking a look at the country after the rains, I saddled my horse, and started on the road towards the "Reserve," or what is called "Nome Lackee Indian Reservation," distant from Red Bluff about 25 miles, which I reached in the afternoon, after a charming ride over hill and through valley. The place was established in 1854, for the purpose of protecting the residents and their property in that portion of the country, as the place being thinly settled by whites, numerous depredations were being constantly committed by the bands of Indians. The reserve proper contains 25,000 acres of land, and is located near the head waters of Elder and Thomes Creek. It was at one time in a flourishing condition, but of late it has ceased to be of any material benefit to the Indians left, or to the Government. I was surprised at the general tumbledown appearance of the whole place, most of the buildings, which were
adobe, having gone to pieces, or been deserted, and the whole place has a most desolate aspect.

Around this Reservation are excellent grazing lands as can be found in the country, while the soil is capable of producing excellent crops. I am surprised that some effort is not made to redeem this tract of land, by sale to parties who would improve and cultivate it, and develop its resources, which would make it in time a most valuable section of country, and a source of income to the County and State.

Near the Reservation, Messrs. Redington & Kimball have about 1,500 American sheep on pasture. They are crossing with the French Merino, having forty full blood French Merino bucks, of the Bingham importation, and fine animals too.

The sheep are pastured on the rolling hills, and the feed is ample, being wild oats, clover, &c. There are numerous springs on the ranch, giving a sufficient supply of water at all seasons. The flock sheared last clip 3,100 lbs. of wool, which realized a good price. It is the intention to improve the flocks, for fine wool, merino being preferable to all others. But time prevented my extending my trip any further, and, with a goodbye to my friends on the route, whose hospitality I had enjoyed, I once more reached head quarters, at the Bluff.

A few remarks of a general nature before closing, will not be out of place in this article. Tehama County is bounded North by Shasta, East by Plumas, and South by Butte and Plumas. A great portion of the agricultural lands lie on the Sacramento River and irrigation is plenty, from the numerous streams and creeks that pour into the river. These valley lands are as fertile as any portion of the State, and produce large crops, as well as fruits of nearly every variety. A large portion is composed of grazing and excellent timber lands. Wild oats and clover grow in abundance on the foot hills and valleys, and are most nutritious food for the stock.

Red Bluff is a thriving little town, and bids fair to become, in point of enterprise, one of the most flourishing places in the northern part of the State. The chief trade of the Bluff, is the wholesale traffic done with the North, this place being the head of navigation on the Sacramento. Goods are transported by large pack teams, which are continually passing from here to the upper country. There are several large forwarding and commission houses established here, and the amount of business done in this line is surprising.

The prominent houses in this business are Messrs. Crosby & Rigg, Pierce, Church & Co., and Hinchman & Bartlett, the latter firm being successors to the oldest established house in the place (Capt. Stout), who commenced the business in 1854, and who has seen the town grow from mere infancy to its present flattering proportions. The land comprising the town proper, is held by J. G. Doll, under a State School Land Warrant.

The place has been laid out in lots and blocks, and the whole of the original site has been laid out and occupied;

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Doll was an agent of eastern insurance companies, Tehama County supervisor (1856-1857) and treasurer (1855-1861), and member of the California senate in 1862 and 1863. He was accused of entering with a state land warrant the site of Red Bluff—which settlers on the tract could not pre-empt because it had been claimed by a subsequently discredited Mexican grant—and of obtaining judgment against them. The matter came before the Commissioner of the General Land Office, who held that the settlers had prior rights. But Congressman Timothy G. Phelps, then hopeful of becoming United States Senator and needing Doll’s vote, succeeded in having the decision withheld until a bill could be pushed through Congress confirming his title. Phelps’s action in having the decision withheld became known, the decision was published, and the knowledge of the affair was “painful” to the friends of Phelps and Doll. The issue was in dispute between the residents of Red Bluff for a number of years, with the local papers taking stands for or against Doll as politics dictated. Marysville Appeal, July 15, August 24, 1862; Red Bluff Independent in ibid., August 17, 1862; California Farmer, 21:9 (February 12, 1864), citing the San Francisco Evening Journal.

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*Gordon G. Kimball first worked on steamboats on the Sacramento River and then joined with Alfred Redington in buying sheep and land and became a leading “land grabber” in buying and selling swamp lands of the state. Redington was president of the California Wool Growers Society in 1861. The two held 20,000 acres in 1878. Stockton Independent, August 28, 1861; Elliott & Moore, Tehama County, 119-122.
since which time Mr. Doll has made an addition to the town, which is also being rapidly filled up. He has about forty fine tenements already occupied, and more going up, and yet there are not enough to supply the demand. Not a vacant house is to be found, which certainly speaks well for the condition of the town.

Mr. D. is now erecting a large brick Hotel, 80 feet long by 115 feet deep, three stories high. The building will contain nearly one hundred chamber rooms, besides parlors, etc. Capacious billiard rooms, dining room, and office on the lower floor. The cost will be about $40,000. Mr. Doll is one of the few enterprising men who help the improvement of a town, and to whose energy and perseverance much of the present successful condition of the town is owing. He is also one of the principals in the Banking House of Doll & Simpson, of Red Bluff.

There are two newspapers published in Red Bluff, the Independent and the Red Bluff Beacon, ably and efficiently managed and conducted, and enjoy a most liberal circulation. The proprietors are thorough business men, yet always find time to extend the usual courtesies to their friends and fellow-laborers in the good cause when they happen to stray up to the "Bluff" in search of recreation and items. In fact, I must say the newspaper editors of Red Bluff are "jolly good fellows" and gentlemen,—long life to them.

There are several extensive mills in the County, viz:

Tehama Mills—located opposite Tehama, across the river one mile, owned by Minor & Jaynes. The building is four stories high, built of cobblestones. It has four run of stone, and is worked by water power, with a capacity of from 250 to 300 barrels per day of 24 hours. This is one of the largest and finest built mills in the State, in point of workmanship, and is worth riding miles to see. The cost was $40,000.

Red Bluff Mills—frame building, owned by Williams & Co., has four run of stones—steam power. The average of 14 hours is 75 barrels, and 150 barrels per day of 24 hours. The cost was $30,000.

Battle Creek Mills—Battle Creek,—R. S. Carver, proprietor—water power; has two run of stone.

Dye & Butler's Mill—Antelope Creek, four miles from Red Bluffs, owned by Dye & Butler. A fine building—goes by water power; and has one run of stone. Two more run of stone will be added the coming season.

Farmers Mills—Cottonwood—has two run of stone.

The above mills are all in active operation. The Antelope Mills, owned by J. F. Dye, were destroyed by fire in August last.

The climate of the Bluff is very salubrious and healthy. The thermometer ranges in summer to 110°, and in the winter to above 30°. The population is about 1,500. It has a fine Court House, besides a number of brick stores and other buildings. The principal hotel in the place is the "Luna House," under the management of O. R. Johnson, who is somewhat interested in stock matters. Two large brick hotels are also in process of erection. The celebrated Tuscan Springs are located about six miles from Red Bluff in a cañon between the mountains, and a most romantic spot to visit. There are some twenty-five or thirty in number, and each different from the other. These springs are beneficial for all kinds of diseases, especially rheumatism, colds, and diseases of the lungs. The proprietor has erected steam vapor baths, produced by the gases from the springs, which make them superior to any other in the State. Although not generally known at present, as they should be, these springs will in time become the most famous and noted among the remarkable features of our State.

Below, I give you some statistics of Tehama County, as furnished by L. B. Shaw, Esq., assessor, to whom I am also indebted for other information about the County.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Description</th>
<th>Value</th>
<th>Assessment of Last Year</th>
<th>Increase</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Value of Taxable Property</td>
<td>$2,143,076.00</td>
<td>2,086,213.00</td>
<td>$56,863.00</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Unfortunately, the Tehama County statistics did not reach the Surveyor General early enough to be included in his report for 1860; but the data of 1861, which are available, are nowhere near those offered by Warren. Yet his came from the local source. The Surveyor General reported 5,610 horses, 13,593 cattle, 36,400 sheep, and 7,029 hogs.
Number of Sheep .................................. 16,850
Best Breeds, Merino and South Down.
Number of Cattle .................................. 38,947
" Oxen .................................. 2,412
" Cows .................................. 12,408
" Calves .................................. 7,742
" Horses .................................. 1,968

American Horses .................................. 523
Spanish Tame Horses .............................. 661
Spanish Wild Horses ................................ 784
Number of Mules .................................. 1,024
" Hogs .................................. 22,407
" Grist Mills .................................. 5
" Bushels of Grain
    ground .................................. 65,600

Much of late has been said concerning the richness of the Humboldt mines, and there is every reason to suppose that a large emigration will concentrate there the coming season. Efforts are making to have a wagon road constructed between Red Bluff and Henry Lake Valley, and the subject will be brought into consideration, and a bill presented before the Legislature the coming winter, urging the importance and advantage of such a road, and that the most accessible route is from Red Bluff, being less hilly, through a better portion of the country and easier to travel than any other route; and if so, Red Bluff must command the trade, and be largely benefitted by the result.

A subject which has created some talk of late is the navigation of the river above Red Bluff, and the papers have fumed and sputtered considerably about it. All impediments in the Sacramento are fast being removed, and navigation is expected to be continued to a point above Shasta. Major Reading has laid off a town and lots, and the place is to be called "Latonae," which will be the head of navigation,—so "they say,"—and boats are expected to be running in a short time. Now the experiment of navigation up the river has been tried before, and failed; and though the enterprise may in some respects be a good one, yet from what I can learn and judge there is no great danger of Red Bluff being ruined by the speculation. The line will no doubt go into operation, and boats will make the trip; but the enterprise will finally be abandoned as impracticable. That is my opinion. In the meantime the "Bluff" will hold its own, and in the future, as at present, continue to be the head of navigation on the Sacramento River.

In conclusion, let me extend my thanks and best wishes to Messrs. L. A. Kelly & Lyon, S. W. Bishop (Ed. Independent), C. A. Fisher (Ed. Beacon), Messrs. Rawson & Grayson, J. C. Tyler, Irvin Ayres and other gentlemen, for many courtesies extended to me during my stay in and about Red Bluff. Also to the California Steam Navigation Co. and the several officers of the boats for favors and courtesies, as well as information about the country during my trips up and down the Sacramento River to and from Red Bluff.

—Pierson B. Reading arrived in California in 1843, worked for Sutter, and secured a grant from Governor Micheltorena which he located in a long narrow strip on the Sacramento well above Red Bluff, then regarded as the head of navigation. His title was so good and the courts were so receptive that his was the second claim to be patented. His farming operations for a time rivaled those of General Bidwell on his Chico grant, 7,000 acres being enclosed in 1858. He seems to have avoided the everlasting difficulties most other claim owners encountered from settlers by announcing early that he intended to retain a portion of the grant for his own use and would permit squatting on the balance, with the understanding that the settlers would purchase his title at modest prices when his claim was confirmed and the patent issued. An observer declared that on San Buenaventura "a quiet and peaceful and harmonious neighborhood is forming . . ." Reading died in 1868 and his family moved to Washington State, though a part of the grant continued to be held for some time thereafter. Transactions, 1858, pp. 223-224; Gertrude A. Steger, "A Chronology of the Life of Pierson Barton Reading," in the California Historical Society Quarterly, 22:365-371 (December, 1943).
A Trip to Marin County

Editors American Stock Journal:

Taking advantage of the fine weather with a desire for a little recreation in the country, I started for a brief tour in the dairy districts, located on what is known as "Point de Reyes" and "Tomales Point." After a pleasant hour’s trip on the fast and favorite little steamer Petaluma, commanded by Capt. Baxter, we reached "San Quentin," well known as the "Government boarding establishment" for refractory individuals. The stage is always ready on the arrival of the boat, to convey passengers to San Rafael, distant about four miles. The road winds around the hills, and is somewhat of a romantic drive, as the climate in this section is noted for its salubrity.

San Rafael is the county seat of Marin Co., and is quite a thriving little place; located in the valley between the ridges of the mountains, surrounded mostly by the foot hills on all sides, with the exception of the portion bordering on the bay. Prominent, in the distance, is "Mount Tamalpais" (king of mountains), rearing its lofty head over the other peaks, being nearly four thousand feet high and rising very abrupt. There is not much of interest about this locality except the scenery, which is inviting, and the healthy and salubrious climate.

Desirous of continuing my trip, I mounted my horse and started for the interior. I will briefly allude to the principal dairy and stock farms on my route—noting the improvements, etc., as it may be of interest to your readers to know what is going on up here in the mountains, in this important branch of California industry.

The ranch now known as the "Punta de los Reyes" is owned by Messrs. Shafter, Heydenfeldt & Park, of San Francisco, and is about forty-five miles in length and from two to ten miles in width, besides another portion of land known as Tomales Point, which runs in a southerly direction, and is about the same distance in length. These tracts are composed of rolling hills, mountains and woodland, and run to the ocean at either point. The resources are principally grazing and are therefore occupied by dairy farms and herds of stock. Numerous little bays or lagunas afford entrances to the schooners and other crafts, by which the products are shipped to San Francisco.

A further description of the ranch will be given at the close of this article. The first place I reached on my route was the dairy farm of E. W. Steele (of Messrs. Steele Brothers), near what is called Drakes Bay, in Marin Co. It is situated in a hollow, at the foot of and surrounded by a high range of hills. He occupies about 6,000 acres. This is the most prominent and extensive establishment in the county, and they manufacture more cheese than any dairy in the State. They made during the season 640 pounds per day of cheese, and 75 pounds of butter. The crop of cheese the present season (for 1861) will amount to 45 tons!! The cheese made here is of excellent quality and commands a good price and a ready market. The process of manufacture is well known, and therefore a description would be useless. A full report of their method can be seen by referring to the Cal. S. A. Society for the year 1859. There are on the ranch about 500 head of dairy stock—all American—also a few horses and brood mares, and one fine stallion.

For the dairy operations of the Steele brothers and of Shafter & Howard, see Note 10 in the Appendix.
Owing to the situation of the ranch near the coast, and the fogs, there is always more or less green grass; and being protected from the frost, the feed yields earlier, by some two months, than any other ranch off the coast. The feed here is partially root grass (which does not depend upon the seed) and yearly grasses, which are produced by seed. One peculiarity in the location of this ranch is, that the feed is found at different seasons of the year and always yielding to a greater or less extent, alternately, sufficient forage for the stock. In the summer they roam upon the hills, and the latter part of the season in the canyons, where the fresh green grass is found. Large quantities of salmon berries and blackberries are found in great profusion, growing wild, as well as currants, gooseberries and whortleberries, which are gathered for the use of the ranch. The fruit is delicious, and much esteemed, and some wine has been made which has proved to be of excellent quality.

The appearance of the rancho and buildings, from the hills adjoining, was quite attractive, and the fresh green forage refreshing to the eye, forming a most grateful contrast to the dry hills. A ride of about three miles further, and back from the main road, brought me to the farm of H. Stanley, located near the bluffs, and overlooking the bay previously spoken of. The farm comprises 1,000 acres, and 100 head of American dairy stock. The product here is principally butter, averaging during the season about ninety pounds per day. The estimate of the past season will be 15,000 pounds, which is all sent to the San Francisco market where it commands from 35 and 68 cents to 68 cents, according to the season of the year.

From the high bluffs, near the house, a fine view of the ocean as well as the country is obtained. The crops raised on the place comprise wheat, oats, and potatoes; and of the latter, I saw a volunteer crop, which speaks well for the soil.

*Three of the “Shafter” claims held by Shafter, Heydenfeldt, and Park were Punta de los Reyes, patented in 1860 for 8,877 acres; Punta de los Reyes Sobrante, patented at the same time for 48,189 acres; and Tomales y Baulenes, patented in 1888 for 9,467 acres. Part of these claims is included in the Point Reyes National Seashore, which was authorized by the act of September 13, 1962.

James McMillan Shafter was born in Vermont in 1816, graduated from Wesleyan College, had a prominent role in Vermont politics until 1849 when he migrated to Wisconsin, where he was elected to the state assembly and was named speaker. In 1855 he moved to California, where in 1862 he was elected to the state senate and became president pro-tem. In 1880 he owned 2,000 cattle and 25,000 acres of land in Marin County which were managed by tenants. History of Marin County, California (1880), 515-516. Tenor W. Park was said by Theodore H. Hittell to be a “sharp and energetic attorney” who was accused of questionable practices in his unsuccessful campaign to gain a seat in the United States Senate. Solomon Heydenfeldt, a leading Democratic politician, served on the Supreme Court of California from 1851-1857. Other influential Californians who were members of the state senate in 1862 and who had important land interests at stake were Samuel J. Hensley, A. B. Dibblee, John B. Frisbie, and Romualdo Pacheco. Theodore H. Hittell, History of California (4 vols., San Francisco, 1897-1898), 4:335-338.

Henry Stanley may have been a tenant, for he listed only 100 acres (improved), seventeen horses, seventy-five milk cows, 202 other cattle, and twenty-four hogs, all having a value of $7,083.
principally American—with the exception of a few choice Devons and Durhams which have been imported and purchased for the purpose of crossing. There are nine head of Devons (imported) and three calves:

**Emigrant**—bull—3 years old; sired—by Duke of Devon. Dam, Catherine. Has taken two premiums in California, at Sacramento and San Francisco, in 1860.

**Wyandotte, Jr.**—bull—2 years old; sire Wyandotte; dam imported Nonpareil (924).

**Jenny Lind**—calved May, 1847; sire Wallace; dam Beauty (361.)

**Delicate**—calved April, 1854; sire Duke of Devon; dam Lady 2nd.

**Nelly**—calved Feb. 10, 1860; sire Wyandotte; dam Delicate; g. dam imported May Boy.

**Rosa 2nd**—calved March, 1855; sire Duke of Devon; dam Rosa, by Santa Anna (306); g. dam Diana.

**Louisa**—calved Feb. 1860; sire Wyandotte; dam Rosa 2nd; g. sire imported May Boy.

**Lady 4th**—calved April 1859; sire Wyandotte; dam Lady 3d; g. dam Lady 2nd. The dam took the prize at two years old, at the national fair, in Louisville, Ky., 1859.

**Bonita**—calved on the plains, Aug., 1829 [sic]; dam Jenny Lind; sire Duke of Devon; g. dam Beauty (361.)

**DEVON CALVES BREED ON THE RANCH. Rowena**—calved Feb. 2, 1861; sire Wyandotte; dam Rosa 2nd.

**Gurth**—calved April 3d, 1861; sire Wyandotte; dam Delicate; and one bull calf—calved June 13, 1860; dam Jenny Lind. These calves were fine looking animals and in a most promising condition.

All the above stock, are of the well known importation of Chas. B. Ely, Esq., and were brought across the plains from Loraine Co., Ohio, and sold since their arrival, to the present owners, with the exception of the calves above mentioned. The merits of the Devon race are well known, possessing, as they do, many advantages over other breeds, especially for working qualities and in powers of endurance. For working stock they are unsurpassed, and are remarkably docile in temper, and of greater endurance than the horse for the farm. Their disposition to fatten is certainly beyond that of other breeds, but not so much in weight as in quality, as they acquire more flesh with less consumption of food. In milking qualities, they are not superior for the dairy; the milk is rich in quality, but deficient in quantity, compared to the Short Horn. There is no doubt but this breed of stock can be successfully and profitably raised in California, and obtain both reputation and excellence.

**DURHAMS. Enchanter**—4 years old; imported from Ohio. He took the first premium at the Vermont State Fair, at two years old.

**Vermont**—2½ years old; imported from Vermont.

**Princess**—3 years old. All the above animals are pure blood Durhams and were imported from Ohio and Vermont, where they had already taken premiums. Their pedigrees are indisputable,—I have not room to add them here.

**Adelaide**—Durham heifer, calved April, 1860; dam Princess.

**Hugo**—Durham calf, 5 months old; sire Enchanter, dam Princess.

These were fine looking, healthy animals, of pure blood, and bred on the ranch, from the imported stock. There are also upon the ranch 2,500 sheep, nearly all of which are improved by crosses with choice bucks, viz:—5 French Merino, 2 Leicester, 2 Southdown. The flock was originally commenced with 800 native sheep, and, with the improvements made, good crosses have been obtained. The half breed ewes and lambs were looking in excellent condition, and well sustained the merits of the different breeds.

Their aim is to produce both wool and mutton, by a proper selection of stock to breed from, and care in the management, having men of experience employed, who examine carefully the sheep and their fleece-bearing properties, while the ranch, in point of location, offers excellent facilities for water and forage for the stock.

The barns were large, spacious and well arranged, and the buildings on the ranch were all in modern style for
the comfort and convenience of the stock and the requirements of the farm, while the liberal and extensive additions of such choice stock, as are above represented, speak largely of the enterprise and liberality of the proprietors, and must serve to add very materially to the wealth of this section of the country.

About four miles north-west from here, is the dairy ranch of CARLSLE S. ABBOTT, situated on Tomales Point, known as the old Foster Place. He has 150 head of dairy stock (American) and 200 head of other stock—cattle, horses, &c. The ranch embraces 1,500 acres, and used entirely for grazing purposes—with the exception of 75 acres, devoted to grain, for the use of the stock. He makes butter only, averaging about 50 lbs. per day through the year. In the busy season, makes from 90 to 100 lbs. per day.

There are about 600 head of poultry, and 100 head of hogs, the latter being fed and fattened on the buttermilk, which they eat with avidity. The dairy is convenient and cool and well regulated, combining neatness and cleanliness, especial requisites for success. The soil on the ranch is fertile and productive, and the crops produced are abundant.

JOHN ABBOTT, brother to the above, is located a mile and a half further north-west, occupying about 3,000 acres. Forty acres are devoted to grain crops, the balance to grazing, having 80 head of dairy stock. The average yield of butter is about forty pounds per day for eight months. The product of the season is from ten to twelve thousand pounds. The location of the ranch is a very desirable one and pasturage [is] excellent.

Two miles north-east on Tomales Point and near the bay, is the rancho of YOUNG BROTHERS, comprising 1,000 acres, used mostly for grazing. There are on the ranch 130 milch cows—American stock. They make from 35 to 40 pounds of butter per day, and the season crop amounts to about 11 or 12 thousand pounds.

LAI RDS BROTHERS, Tomales Point, have a large and extensive cheese dairy. They occupy for grazing purposes 3,000 acres, and own 200 head of American dairy stock. They manufacture during the season from 100 to 350 pounds per day. The crop for the season is about 25 tons of cheese. This is all shipped to the San Francisco market,—a ready sale and remunerative price,—commanding from 14 cts. to 25 cts. as the season may be.

In a walk through the extensive dairy establishment, I was much pleased at the general neatness and order which pervaded it. The apparatus for making cheese are of the latest patterns (Rowe's), two having been lately imported from the east, and contain from 140 to 180 gallons each. Two more presses will be imported for the wants of their increasing business. The buildings comprise dairy house, store house and two dwellings; also a large barn and outbuildings. There are also 600 head of other stock on the place, and about a dozen horses for the use of the ranch.

Leaving Tomales Point, and retracing my journey some three miles, pass off in a south-westerly direction, towards Point Reyes.

SWAIN'S DAIRY, located on the plains, between Tomales Bay and the Ocean, and occupies an extensive and fertile tract of land, all inclosed by fence. The grass is good the year round, being fresh and green in the sloughs, where the clover is found, later, after the grass on the hills is gone. It will be seen that excellent facilities are afforded for the prosecution of the dairy business, in this section.

Leaving Tomales Point, and retracing my journey some three miles, pass off in a south-westerly direction, towards Point Reyes.

SWAIN'S DAIRY, located on the plains, between Tomales Point and Point Reyes—about two miles from Abbott's. From 6,000 to 7,000 acres are devoted to stock grazing on

*G. P. Lairds and his brother operated one of the largest dairy and cheese-making establishments in California. Their prescription for successful cheese making and an account of their winning first prize in heavy competition at the state fair are in Transacions, 1859, pp. 205, 274. The name there appears as Lairds in one place and Laird in the other. Warren made it Lairds.
which are pastured 100 head of dairy stock. Manufacture principally butter—averaging about 30 pounds per day, and from 50 to 60 pounds per day during the busy season. The whole season's crop, is from 11,000 to 12,000 pounds.

There are some 800 head of wild cattle, and 20 head wild horses on the ranch; also a dozen horses for the use of the farm, and a few head of sheep. The forage is good, water plenty and the ranch all inclosed by fence. I was pleased to meet my friends W. Evans and W. H. Dodge, who are pasturing stock, &c. on the ranch.

About three miles over the hills, in a south-westerly direction, is the rancho of Capt. Allen, embracing about 900 acres and 80 head of American dairy stock. He makes 50 pounds per day during the season, and the gross amount is about 4 tons. The churning is all done by hand. There are a few horses and young stock, numbering in all about 200 head. This farm is on the "Point," with the ocean on both sides. The forage is abundant, and in some places the grass is green the year round.

Tanner & Medbury occupy about 1,000 acres on the "Point," which is all fenced, and used for grazing of the stock and dairy use. They have 100 head of dairy stock, and about 100 head of other animals large and small. They make about 50 lbs. of butter per day, and during the season some 15,000 lbs. The location is near Drake's Bay. The feed is excellent and abundant, plenty of fresh water, and the stock looks well. The ranch overlooks the ocean on one side, and the bay on the other.

About two miles distant, and near the extremity of the "Point de Reyes," is the dairy farm of Buels & Fay. This ranch occupies some 2,000 acres, and takes in the balance of the land, to the "Point"—or ocean—lying between the ocean and Drake's Bay. About 1,500 acres are devoted to grazing and farming; the balance is sand and deposit. The stock on the ranch number about 325 head of cattle, horses, and mares—of which 115 head are American dairy stock. The product of the dairy is about 80 pounds of cheese per day, and during the busy season from 190 to 200 pounds per day. Cheese constitutes the principal product of this dairy.

The soil and facilities for forage are, in most respects, as advantageous as the other portion of the tract known as "Point de Reyes."

My trip was in every respect a most healthy and agreeable one, combining attractive mountain scenery, salubrious atmosphere, the ocean breezes, and an opportunity to inspect some of the most prominent dairies in this section of the State. A few words, in relation to this tract of country, and I will close the letter.

The ranch now known as the "Punta de los Reyes" includes two Mexican grants—one of two leagues—to Don José F. Snook, of June 8, 1839, called "Punta de Reyes"; the other of Nov. 30, 1843, to Don Maria Antonio Osio, not exceeding eleven leagues, called "Punta de los Reyes Sobrante." The titles to both these grants are now vested in O. L. Shafter, J. McM. Shafter, Solomon Heydenfeldt, and T. W. Park. This ranch, as surveyed, containing 57,066 acres, was patented June 4, 1860.

The above named gentlemen likewise own another Mexican grant of 8 leagues—55,507 acres—adjoining the "Punta Reyes." This ranch, called "Tomales y Baulines," was granted to James Richard Berry, March 17, 1836; the title is confirmed and the ranch surveyed, but the owners being dissatisfied with the survey, have excepted thereto, and the matter is now in course of judicial investigation. Upon this latter, and included in the present and any probable survey, is about 6,000 acres of timber of very great value, which the owners are about opening to market.

In a direct line, the southern line of the "Tomales y

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*Hoffman states that the Punta de los Reyes grantee was J. R. Berry. Andrew Randall lent money at 5 per cent monthly on the Sobrante claim and acquired it with the Berry claim and three other claims in Butte and Monterey counties, amounting to 108,467 acres, all of which were patented to him.

*Hoffman shows that Tomales y Baulines was granted to Rafael Garcia. Two claims to the grant or grants were patented, one for 9,467 acres to Garcia in 1868 and another for 18,644 acres to Bethuel Phelps in 1866.
Baulines,” is about ten miles to the north of San Francisco. The southern line of the “Punta Reyes,” being about six or seven miles further to the north, this estate, as will be seen, includes 90,573 acres, is about forty-five miles in length, and varies from two to ten miles in width, equivalent to one hundred and forty two square miles.

The Messrs. Shafter, Park & Heydenfeldt, have resolved to keep this property together, and have only departed from that conclusion as to about three thousands acres, which have been sold to those who had bought under other and worthless claims of title, or under other special circumstances.

This estate abounds in excellent timber and limestone, both of which are now manufactured largely. There are likewise found cinnabar and gold, though in quantities not justifying any hope of profit to be derived therefrom.

About thirty thousand acres of the pasturage land are under leases which will expire successively, and which lands are intended to be occupied and stocked by lessors, as the leases expire.¹⁰

The parties referred to above are some of those mentioned in this report, and whose hospitality I enjoyed, in various ways, during my week’s trip among the mountains; and I doubt whether a more intelligent and prosperous body of men can be found in California, than those now in the occupation of this estate.

¹⁰Warren missed the 13,000-acre rancho of Sweetser & Delong in Marin County, which his father and S. B. Rockwell visited in 1862. It had twenty-four miles of fence, 125 acres in fruit, including 18,000 apple trees, 1,000 cattle, 300 horses (including Novato Chief, a famous Black Hawk), and 1,700 sheep, of which 1,000 were ewes crossed with Vermont Merinos. The ranch produced 6,000 bushels of grain and 400 tons of hay. Samuel Bingham of Vermont was hired as shepherd for $400 yearly. California Farmer, 16:118, 164 (January 17, February 28, 1862).

Wool Growing in California

Editors American Stock Journal.²

[San Francisco, May, 1862.] I have taken pains to procure for your valuable Journal, and its thousands of readers, the most reliable report of this grand [Sheep Shearing] Festival in [Marysville] California, knowing the great interest felt upon the subject of sheep and wool raising.

This pioneer Festival, the first of the kind on this coast, came off on Tuesday, the 8th of April, under the auspices of the Northern District Agricultural Society, at Brannan’s Ranch, Nicolaus, Feather River, under the management of A. L. Bingham.

The sheep were of the fine French Merino breed, imported by Samuel Brannan, Esq.²

There were sixty-two head in all on the ground, of which forty-four were ewes, and all were last years’ lambs, carrying loads of wool upon their backs. The subjoined list of shearing, and astounding yield of wool, certainly speak volumes for this valuable breed, and its future importance to our State.

As this section of California is largely interested in sheep-raising, there were many sheep owners on the ground, and

²Printed in the American Stock Journal, 4:281–232 (August, 1862). This letter and the one which follows were originally published separately, but since they both relate to wool growing they appear here as parts I and II of the same section.

²A flamboyant pioneer, capitalist, developer, and banker, Sam Brannan acquired a 7,000-acre rancho on the Feather River, where he built up a herd of purebred Merino sheep, set out thousands of cuttings of grape vines, and created with a lavish hand a “model farm.” In 1857 he traveled through Europe buying quantities of cuttings (84,000 Spanish, 41,000 German, and unnumbered Italian and French grapes) and purchasing and shipping back to his rancho Arabian horses and choice Merino sheep. See Note 12 in the Appendix.
during the day most of the private carriages of the Marysville families drove out to witness the excitement and enjoy the fine weather.

The shearing commenced at half-past nine, and continued until about four in the afternoon, eight men being employed, of whom Messrs. Galbraith and Hodge took the first and second prizes, though Mr. Peck, of Napa, did the best shearing, but having announced that as he was partly interested in the sheep, he would not be a competitor for the prizes, he was not counted in. Refreshments were amply provided for the shearers, and during the day all the old-fashioned jokes and fun, usually connected with such occasions in the Eastern States, were indulged in. The chief importance of the affair, however, was derived from the opportunity thus afforded sheep-raisers to compare notes and estimate the relative capabilities of their several counties for this great business. The French Merino sheep is gradually becoming mingled with the other breeds throughout the State, and producing yields of wool which will eventually astonish those who have ever doubted the resources of California. The fastest shearing was done by Messrs. Peck and Scott, who turned out, the former, eleven sheep in six hours and thirty-eight minutes, and the later, eleven sheep in five hours and fifty minutes. The premiums, however, were awarded with a view rather to the cleanliness than the rapidity of the work.

This lot of sheep was raised by Mr. A. L. Bingham, the manager of Brannan's Feather River ranch, with whom he has them on shares. Mr. Bingham has been chiefly instrumental in getting up this festival, and is himself a Vermont sheep raiser of thirty years' standing. The wool from this clipping, which is of extreme fineness, and as soft as silk, amounts in the aggregate to about eleven hundred pounds, and has been already shipped to San Francisco, where an arrangement has been made with Mr. McLennan, of the Mission Woollen Mills, to have it manufactured into blue cloth, such as will be required for army and navy purposes.

Wool Growing

Taking into consideration the facility with which wool can be raised in this State, and the fact that it can be manufactured and profitably disposed of among ourselves, there is no reason why California should not soon produce all the cloth required for home consumption. The paralysis in every kind of business, caused by the last winter's floods, is gradually disappearing, and although the sheep interest has suffered cruelly, the despondent feeling is already giving place to the true California spirit of enterprise, and the recuperative energy which characterizes the Pacific Coast.

The annexed figures are from careful weighing of each sheep and fleece, and may be depended upon for correctness...¹

The production from the bucks, in the aggregate, certainly exceeds anything yet known, for the shearing of one flock, in the State of California. Mr. Samuel Brannan has 400 head of these full-blooded sheep on his two farms in Napa and Sutter counties.

It is contemplated to hold the next Sheep-shearing Festival in San Francisco County. Let us hear from some of your Eastern breeders, what they can do in comparison.

II

Editors American Stock Journal.²

[San Francisco, June 1, 1862.] The flock of Col. W. W. Hollister, of San Juan, Monterey Co., comprises 14,000 sheep, exclusive of about 7,500 lambs.³ These sheep are divided into flocks of about 1,500 each.

The clip of the present Spring will amount to 80,920

¹Warren's figures, omitted here, list forty-four ewes shearing 673 pounds of wool, or an average of 15 pounds 7 ounces, and eighteen rams shearing 451 pounds and averaging 25 pounds 1 ounce. The total weight of the ewes was 5,910 pounds; of the rams, 2,304 pounds.


³Colonel Hollister and his brother, Flint & Bixby, and Albert Dibblee were commonly spoken of as the principal sheep raisers in California.
lbs. net from the above flock. The average weight of fleece is upwards of 5½ pounds. The sheep are of the pure blood French Merino, and ½ and ¾ breeds.

The value of the present clip, is estimated by Col. H. at the round sum of $20,000.

He has lost in value of sheep, by disease (scab, etc.), about $4,000; and raises about 7,500 lambs, notwithstanding the severity of the past winter. The experience, however, gained from which will be of great practical benefit in the future management of his flock, and he does not, in consequence, regret the loss.

Messrs. Flint and Bixby, of San Juan, Monterey County, will shear, the present spring, some 17,000 sheep, principally Spanish Merino. Their crop of wool will amount to from 80,000 to 90,000 lbs., and is valued at 26 cts., all round. Their losses by winter exposure, etc., were about 500 head, and they raised this season about 8,500 lambs.

They have a single flock of 5,300 fine sheep, from which the average weight of each fleece is 7 lbs. 5 oz. They also own a thorough-bred Spanish Merino buck eight months old, named "Old Abe," which they purchased of E. Hammond, Middlebury, Vt., for the sum of $1,000. He is acknowledged to be one of the finest bucks in the country.

The Wool Market, of late, has been characterized by a degree of activity, and remunerative prices have been readily attainable for all the desirable qualities of well conditioned wools. The inferior grades and poorly handled lots are not in demand, and prices for these are, and ought to be, below the cost of production. The experience of each successive year convinces us more thoroughly of the great importance to the wool grower of putting his clip in the most perfect order before forwarding to market. While the general character of the wool now coming forward is vastly better than any heretofore produced in California, there are yet many clips showing by their condition either culpable negligence or intended fraud. The time has gone by when the sweepings of the corral or the barnyard can be sold for wool; and where these admixtures of foreign substances, the compacted taglocks, untied, torn, and broken fleeces, are sent forward, it must be with the expectation of making a concession in price greater than the amount of the refuse matter by at least the labor of sorting it out. We are confident that the wool growers of California will remedy all such defects when their true interests are clearly pointed out.

The receipt of wool during the month has been 7,233 bales; previously reported, 2,482 bales; total, 9,665 bales, or about 1,930,000 lbs.

During the month two shipments of wool have gone forward, both to N. York, viz.: By the Lookout, in Coleman & Co.'s line, 821 bales; by the Governor Morton, in Moore & Folger's line, 1,019 bales, total, 1,840 bales.

There is at the present time no lack of shipping facilities, the following vessels being now loading with wool and other products, viz.: The Rambler, for Boston, Belle of the Sea and Asterion for New York.

Prices, during the month, have been tolerably maintained, especially for good to choice lots of American and Merino wools, and may be quoted at the close, for low qualities and poor conditioned lots, 12 to 15 cts.; fair American, 16 @ 19 cents; choice ditto, 20 @ 22 cts.; Merino and the finer grades, 22 @ 25 cents.

One of the best clips, if not the best that has yet come forward, is that from Messrs. Curtis & McConnell* of Sacramento, for which 28 cts. was offered and declined; this clip,

*Benjamin and Thomas Flint and Llewellyn Bixby acquired over the years all or large parts of the following ranchos in Los Angeles County, in addition to the 94,000 acre rancho in San Benito County: Cerritos, 27,054; Alamitos, 17,000; Palos Verdes, 16,000; San Joaquin, 48,000; and Lomas de Santiago, 47,000. In addition, Benjamin and Thomas Flint bought 24,000 acres from the federal government. Mention might also be made of Robert Flint's purchase, at about the same time and in the same general area, of 40,000 acres. Not all this land was held at the same time, but Flint & Bixby constituted for many years one of the largest landowning and sheep-farming groups, not only in California but in the United States.

*Edwin Hammond's purebred Merino sheep brought top prices in the American market.

*The partners were noted for their high quality Spanish Merino stock.
both for quality and condition, would attract attention anywhere. The best single fleece yet received, and one that we might almost challenge the world to equal, is at present in our office. This fleece is of sixteen months' growth, from a French Merino ram, bred and raised by J. D. Patterson of Alameda County; it weighs 421/2 pounds, and presents throughout a most surprising evenness of quality and fineness of fiber.

The above items may keep you posted upon our Wool Market here, the principal matter of which I have condensed from the Wool Circular of Clark & Perkins, of San Francisco, the oldest and foremost house in this branch of industry in our City. In a future letter I may send you some general information concerning our Wool Factories and Wool Agencies, with some account of the enterprising way in which the business is carried on in California, and which is destined in time to place us first and foremost in the growth and quality of this great staple article.

John D. Patterson started his Spanish Merino flock in Chautauqua County, New York, in 1842 and soon became a foremost supplier of high bred stock. Searle's & Winn's and Brannan's first importations into California were from his flock. In 1859 he brought out sheep to the value of $26,000 and in 1860, $40,000. In that year he acquired a ranch in Alameda County, where he maintained Merino and other varieties of sheep for sale. He ranks with Solomon Jewett, A. L. Bingham, Searle & Winn, and Jones & Rockwell as the major importers and breeders of purebred Merino sheep. For an account of Patterson's business in sheep, see Transactions, 1866-1867, pp. 178-184.

The California Wool Growers Society was organized in 1861 with the usual objectives of standardizing grades and providing marketing information to its members. Among its principal officers were Alfred Redington, Hiram A. Rawson, Thomas Flint, and A. L. Bingham. Stockton Independent, September 28, 1861.

Appendix

Note 1

Estimates about the livestock population of California varied widely in 1860, though the statistics for the business-like ranchos of the Yankee enterprisers were generally more meaningful. Below are the statistics of the numbers of sheep of the larger rancheros in Monterey County, drawn from the United States Census and from the Alta California of September 10, 1860:

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<th>Census</th>
<th>Alta</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Joaquin Pereira</td>
<td>33,000</td>
<td>30,000</td>
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<tr>
<td>Flint &amp; Bixby</td>
<td>17,300</td>
<td>16,000</td>
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<tr>
<td>M. Bixby</td>
<td>3,200</td>
<td>—</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Moore &amp; Bixby</td>
<td>1,800</td>
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<tr>
<td>W. W. Hollister</td>
<td>10,000</td>
<td>10,000</td>
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<tr>
<td>David &amp; Dennis Mahoney</td>
<td>—</td>
<td>7,000</td>
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<tr>
<td>John Winn</td>
<td>6,000</td>
<td>6,000</td>
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<tr>
<td>Valenzuela Lina</td>
<td>11,600</td>
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<tr>
<td>T. Romero</td>
<td>7,700</td>
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<tr>
<td>John Searle</td>
<td>6,000</td>
<td>6,000</td>
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<tr>
<td>J. T. Threlkeld</td>
<td>6,000</td>
<td>—</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>[Twenty-five others]</td>
<td>—</td>
<td>77,000</td>
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</table>

Note 2

The Monte, including the present city of El Monte, was an area thought by some, perhaps designedly, to be public land. (When Azusa-Duarte and Azusa-Dalton, Puente, San Francisquito, San Jose, and San Jose Extension were finally surveyed and the survey upheld by the courts it was found that there were many thousand acres of public lands not included within these ranchos.) It was to this moist and willow-covered land with water close to the surface that numerous early settlers came, taking up land and making improvements on their tracts. By 1860 the community had more small farmer-improvements than any other part of the county save Los Angeles. It also had more fenced land and indeed was said to contain a third of all the fenced land south of the Coast.
Range. The census shows seventy persons owning land ranging in amounts from a few acres to 160, all of which were included in the "improved" column. Fifty-four of the seventy landowners kept some cows and thirty of them made butter, mostly in commercial quantities. Waterman Ormsby, passing through on the Overland Mail in 1858, spoke of the "beautiful little town of El Monte, which is ranged along the road for nearly five miles, and is composed of a series of neat looking houses built of wood, and considerable cultivated land." When S. B. Rockwell, the well-known Vermont sheep raiser and West Coast importer of choice Merinos, visited El Monte in 1862 he was struck with the contrast it provided with surrounding areas controlled by the great rancheros. He wrote: "Monte is supposed to contain about 150 farms and over two hundred families. It is some 2 by 4 miles in extent, and exceedingly fertile for corn, wheat and barley. It was doubtless at some period of the earth's history a lake, and 12 years since there was little else than a willow swamp, considered of little value. Unfit for grazing it was passed over by the old rancheros, and left to be reclaimed or improved by eastern genius and enterprise. It lies lower than the surrounding region, and receives and contains the prodigal water of the low hills around. Yet the water never (now) stands upon the surface, but permeates the soil, rendering it moister and highly productive. Good water is found in abundance by digging from six to ten feet below the surface. It is cut into numerous roads, fenced throughout with a self-sustaining willow and cottonwood fence. The tops furnish poles, which are wove in or bound on to the bodies of the growing fence. It is really a pleasant romantic spot, with various mechanics, three stores, a plain but good hotel owned and kept by a Vermonter, Ira Thompson, Esq., one physician (the place is unblest with a lawyer), a paucity of bummers, and pot-house politicians, a small church, and, alas! to crown all a whisky distillery, that works up about fifteen bushels of grain daily. Monte esteems herself quite prosperous and independent."

Newmark provides quite a different view of early Monte. Its people were predominantly Texas folk, had a predilection for the Democratic party, and were guilty of numerous lynchings. "No one could live and prosper at Monte who was not extremely virile and ready for any dare-devil emergency." A representative of the California State Agricultural Society, rating farms and vineyards in Southern California in 1860, said of the Monte that it had "gardens, orchards, corn, barley fields, farm houses, prosperous public schools and feeble churches. . . . The Monte is famous for its miles of willow fences, its pretty girls, its runaway matches, its reconciliations, and its butter and eggs." Compare "H" in the Alta California, June 5, October 8, 1860; Ormsby, The Butterfield Overland Mail; and Newmark, Sixty Years in Southern California, 91.

Henry Dalton's correspondence in the Huntington Library shows much of the struggle between him and the squatters on his San Francisquito ranch. They were the worst of frontier people from Texas and other western states to whom, he said, he gave every possible aid, allowing them to fix their own price and terms for payment—but all to no avail. They divided into two parties, the Squatters and the Anti-Squatters, and engaged in fighting each other and him over the use of the land and the water in ditches Dalton had constructed, and threatening his life and that of his family if he tried to protect his rights or to eject unauthorized settlers. Whether he was helpful to squatters in the early period is not entirely clear, for he had a notice inserted in the Los Angeles Star of April 3, 1852, warning people who were running cattle, making rodeos, and plundering timber and firewood on Santa Anita and San Francisquito that he would "prosecute without distinction. . . ."

When the final survey was made and some squatter improvements were included within the boundaries of San Francisquito the occupants destroyed their improvements and left; others were ejected. But from that time onward every effort was made to intimidate prospective purchasers. Only the most meager improvements were made, and the area became a rural slum. To his dismay Dalton found that over a thousand acres which he had fenced had been excluded from one of his ranchos. He then tried to buy it under the act of July 23, 1866, which permitted persons buying land within a rancho that was later found to be invalid to prosecute it from the government at $1.25 an acre, only to have administrative officers rule that the act did not apply to him.
and instead permitted the squatters to prove up and gain title under pre-emption. Dalton plaintively declared in 1882 that the squatters had destroyed his wealth, utilized the water of his expensive irrigation projects, defied the courts when they declared in his favor, controlled the local government, arrested him, his son, and his servants on numerous occasions for "taking my own water," and subjected him to fines and costs. See copies of letters of Henry Dalton to Captain John Mullan, August 19, 1880, and to the Secretary of the Interior, June 6, 1882, in the Dalton Papers.

Note 3

Benjamin D. Wilson was one of the great American pioneers in Southern California, to which he came in 1841. Marriage into the Yorba family and ownership of the 40,569-acre Jurupa rancho in San Bernardino enabled him to push into cattle raising so that by 1847 he could drive 2,000 head of cattle north to Sutter's Fort by way of the San Joaquin Valley. The income from his cattle and from merchandising in Los Angeles provided capital which he lent at the usual high rate of interest. By the 'fifties he owned shares in four ranchos in present Los Angeles County amounting to 14,257 acres, plus the 14,402-acre San Pascual rancho, site of present Pasadena. Here Wilson struggled with squatters, maintained 500 cattle, 40 sheep, 60 horses, and produced in 1860 1,000 bushels of wheat, 500 bushels of potatoes, 1,000 bushels of barley, $1,000 worth of fruit, 22,500 gallons of wine, and 1,000 pounds of butter. He valued his land at $40,000 and his equipment at $500.

He became the first mayor of Los Angeles, was appointed Indian agent for the Southern District of California to work with Lieutenant Edward Fitzgerald Beale, and was associated with him in the abortive plan to establish a self-supporting Indian reservation at Fort Tejon. He was a member of the State Senate for two terms, where he expressed concern about the lack of reliable farm labor and took a strong stand against the efforts of settlers to secure an occupying tenants' law, such as most western states had. Such a law would have compelled the owners of ranchos on which settlements had been made before title and boundaries were determined to reimburse settlers for the value of their improvements. Along with other Californians then and since he wanted to give the impression that the ranchos had been in the possession of their owners for fifty or sixty years when actually the bulk of them were of recent origin. All his holdings, except Jurupa, came to him in the 'fifties. William H. Brewer who stopped with Wilson in 1860, wrote that he was "uneducated, but a man of great force of character. . . ." He was worth a hundred thousand dollars and lived "like a prince, only with less luxury."

After two previous grants to individuals whose rights were surrendered because of failure to develop it, San Pascual was granted to Manual Garfias in 1843 who conveyed his right in it to B. D. Wilson in 1859. Patent was delivered in 1863. Among the communities that have grown up on this old rancho are Pasadena, South Pasadena, and Altadena.

For Wilson's career, see his manuscripts in the Huntington Library, some of which are printed in John Walton Caughey, editor, The Indians of Southern California in 1852: The B. D. Wilson Report and a Selection of Contemporary Comment (San Marino, 1952); and Wilson's own recollections, published as Benjamin Davis Wilson, 1811-1878 (no place, no date). See also, Robinson, Ranchos Become Cities, passim; the quotation about Wilson is from Brewer, Journal, 14.

Note 4

The last Mexican governors of California, including Pío Pico himself, were extraordinarily generous in granting mission and other land to members of the Pico family during the final days of their rule. Three of these late grants of 1846, amounting to 114,280 acres were rejected, but Andrés Pico had three earlier claims for 112,534 acres confirmed, Pío Pico had 142,431 acres confirmed, and other members of the family received patents for 84,451 acres, making a total of 339,316 acres. In addition they were said to have a major interest in other large grants, including Simi for 113,000 acres. Much of their vast holdings was lost through improvidence, taxes for which they were not prepared, failure to develop them as others did, and California-style interest rates on mortgages. Pío Pico's 26,000 acres in Los Nietos
township, listed as wholly unimproved, were valued at $30,000 in 1860. On the ranch were 228 horses, 170 cattle, and 600 sheep. A visitor commented that his "homestead is not highly cultivated or richly improved."

Andrés Pico was the leader of the movement in the legislature to divide the state, so disturbed were he and his fellow rancho owners of Southern California over the dependence of the state on land taxes which hit them heavily but left the mining counties virtually tax exempt. Yet it was the representatives of the mining counties who, with those from San Francisco, dominated the politics of the state because of their greater population. Heavy taxes in Los Angeles County forced some of the larger rancho owners, notably John Forster, to move their cattle across the county line into San Diego County. See Transactions, 1858, p. 288; Southern Vineyard, February 18, 22, March 8, 1859; Hayes, Pioneer Notes, 114.

Note 5

Stearns's title to Jurupa was long in dispute with a Mexican group that wore the millionaire landowner down and induced him to compromise. This issue, and the difficulty of agreeing on boundaries because of the indefiniteness of the diseno, seemed for a time to play into the hands of numerous squatters who for years farmed part of the land though continually under the threat of ejectment. Not until 1879, when the patent was finally issued, was it possible to compel the settlers either to lease or buy the tracts on which they had their improvements. There is much material relating to the boundaries and settler controversies in the papers of Abel Stearns. See especially, H. C. Roble to Stearns, May 11, 1865, and the statement of W. P. Reynolds, dated July 1, 1879.

Note 6

As part of his purchase of Temescal rancho Stearns contended that he acquired the tin mines. But a group of well-known officials of the General Land Office had meantime acquired ownership of a neighboring rancho whose boundaries they insisted on extending to include the tin deposits. After years of battling in the courts they defeated Stearns and his heirs. Temescal was rejected by the courts and the San Jacinto claim was floated over the mines. Expensive litigation and the huge costs of financing and developing the mine (which in any event produced little tin) forced it to close in 1892, involving the investors in large losses. William H. Brewer, who visited the tin mines in 1860, called them "a splendid humbug." See Brewer, Journal, 35. The location of the Greenwood hotel, a stopping place on the Butterfield stage route, and the history of tin mining are discussed in Frank Rolfe, "The Location of the Butterfield Stage Station in Temescal Valley, Riverside County," in the Quarterly Publication of the Historical Society of Southern California, 17: 108–111 (September, 1935), and in Rose L. Ellerbe, "History of Temescal Valley," in the Annual Publication of the Historical Society of Southern California, 1920, pp. 12–20.

Note 7

Temescal was patented in 1871, Habra and Laguna in 1872, Alamitos, Bolsa Chica, and a half of Bolsas in 1874, Coyotes and Sierra in 1875, the other half of Bolsas in 1877, Jurupa in 1879, and Santiago de Santa Ana in 1883. The patented acreages of these ranchos, portions of which did not come to Stearns, are as follows:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Los Angeles County</th>
<th>San Bernardino County</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Alamitos 28,027</td>
<td>Jurupa 40,639</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bolsa Chica 8,107</td>
<td>Sierra 17,749</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bolsas 33,460</td>
<td>Temescal 13,339</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Coyotes 48,806</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Habra 6,698</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Laguna 13,338</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Santiago de Santa Ana 78,941</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Stearns, the wealthiest man in Southern California, was forced to assign his property to his creditors in 1866 as a result of heavy debts, high interest, and great losses of cattle in the drought of 1862 and 1863. Ultimately the family profited largely from the disposal of their holdings, which were acquiring great value from the growth of population. There is much information on Stearns's livestock and other busi-

**Note 8**

It seems odd that Warren did not make an effort to visit the James Lick Farm of 800 acres with its extensive orchard irrigated by an artesian well flowing at the rate of 2,000 gallons a minute, its land carefully graded to have the full benefit of the water, and with its $200,000 flour mill turning out 200 barrels of flour daily. Perhaps time did not permit looking over the very extensive holdings of the Martin Murphy family, who had claims to all or part of seven ranchos, six of which were confirmed, containing 67,000 acres. As late as 1876 the Murphy family still held 43,000 acres in Santa Clara County.

**Note 9**

A committee of the State Agricultural Society visited the Nome-Lackee Reservation in 1859 on which it reported 1,200 Indians resided. It found 1,200 acres in cultivation, mostly in wheat, from which 25,000 bushels were expected. On the reservation were 600 fruit trees, 150 mules and horses, 68 oxen, 150 hogs, and 200 “raising mules.” The Indians were compelled to work from five to twelve and one to seven and received a small loaf of bread and a meat dish once a day. Women and children had to subsist on what food they could find. A later report of the Indian agent at the reservation indicates that rust struck the wheat and that the crop amounted to only 15,000 bushels. He complained that the reservation was not fenced and that the stock of surrounding cattle and sheepmen invaded it, damaging the growing crops. The stockmen threatened the Indians if they attempted to drive them off. Redington and Kimball may well have been among the offenders. A successor to Superintendent T. J. Henley charged in 1861 that white intruders had appropriated the lands, buildings, lumber, teams, and implements, had laid state school warrants on the land, and, under the lax California laws, had indentured many Indians for ten to fifteen years. Other whites, he charged, were kidnapping Indian children and selling them into virtual slavery. A year later it was reported that “the unholy traffic in human blood and souls” had become “quite a business of profit.” S. C. Hastings, who had large possessions in Solano County, declared that he pastured between 300 and 400 mares and colts and 1,500 cattle on the reservation “at the suggestion” of Colonel Henley, with whom he was a partner in banking. Four Henley brothers, whose holdings of land were 1,200 acres, were among the intruders on the reservation.


**Note 10**

The Steele brothers, Isaac, George, and Edgar, rented their land of Shafter, Heydenfeldt, and Park. In 1859 the average number of men employed on the ranch was nine, their pay was $27 a month. Having made an outstanding success of their Marin County ranch the brothers began a second large dairy farm on Punta del Ano Nuevo in San Mateo County which by 1864 was equally successful, producing funds with which they could purchase part of the ranch and undertake a third dairy ranching venture in San Luis Obispo County. Here they acquired parts of three Mexican grants and on their 45,000 acres and on the San Mateo lands developed the second largest dairy and cheese business in the state, only being exceeded by the Shafter & Howard dairies in Marin County which had been taken over from them. To milk 1,500 cows and manage the huge cheese-making business was
a task of large size. See *Alta California*, October 8, 1859; Catherine Baumgarten Steele, “The Steele Brothers: Pioneers in California’s Great Dairy Industry,” in the *California Historical Society Quarterly*, 20: 259–273 (September, 1941).

In the early 'seventies Charles Nordhoff visited the ranch formerly operated by the Steele Brothers, now the Shafter & Howard business, and found it a model of systematic farming. The 18,000 acres were divided into nine farms operated by tenants. The landlord provided each tenant with a nine-room house and out buildings, fencing, water system, and from 115 to 225 cows. Tenants furnished all utensils, farm implements, horses, wagons, agreed to sell nothing but butter and hogs from the farm, and paid $27.50 annually for each cow. Each hired man on the farms was supposed to milk twenty cows. By careful breeding the annual production of butter per cow had reached as high as 175 pounds, with some yielding 200, even 250 pounds. From the milk of 3,500 dairy cows on the ranch were produced 400,000 pounds of butter in 1869. See Nordhoff, *Northern California, Oregon, and the Sandwich Islands*, 179–181; Henry DeGroot, “Dairies and Dairying in California,” in the *Overland Monthly*, 4: 355–360 (April, 1870).

**Note 11**

Although much of Dye's life was spent in Santa Cruz County, according to his story he kept from 1,000 to 2,000 cattle and 200 horses on his Tehama County ranch. Hearing of the gold discovery he journeyed thither with A. G. Toomes and R. H. Thomes, equipped the party for mining, and drove fifty beef cattle to the mines. There the group prospered from the sale of the cattle and from the $70,000 gold they mined. In 1860 Dye was listed as having 18,725 acres in his Tehama ranch, of which 550 were improved and were valued at $94,000. He had 147 horses, 100 cows, 824 other cattle, 1,000 sheep, and 100 hogs, all valued at $26,300. His production of grain was 1,500 bushels, the value of his orchard products was $2,000, and he had a “fine fruit nursery.” Though Dye’s Primer Cañon rancho was speedily confirmed by the Land Commission in 1852 and by the District Court in 1855 and further appeal dismissed in 1857, the patent was not issued until 1871. The $1,000 a San Francisco firm had agreed to as compensation for procuring the

**Note 12**

Brannan arranged with A. L. Bingham, one of the best known of the sheep grandees of Addison County, Vermont, to take charge of his ranch and to make it into one of the finest on the West Coast. Bingham was given an interest in the flock of French Merinos. He planned the sheep shearing festival and his and Brannan's flair for publicity brought much attention to the flock. Unfortunately squatters in the vicinity of the ranch, angered by Brannan's control over water rights, caused a “wanton and cruel slaughter of some hundreds” of his most valuable sheep. Bingham returned to Vermont in 1862 in the midst of the great sheep-breeding boom that was bringing unexampled wealth to the grandees. He was much impressed with the improvements in Cornwall, the center of the most influential of the breeders, and thought that California sheep growers could raise better sheep than Vermont if the same care and attention were given to them. He had seen no sheep in Vermont that could compare with the best he had raised on the Brannan ranch.

Whether it was occasioned by Bingham’s return to Vermont or by a need for money is not clear, but in June, 1862, Brannan offered the blooded stock on his smaller Napa County ranch for sale, exchange, or lease, as follows: 1,000 French Merino ewes, 12 full-blooded Merino rams, 6 cows and calves, a Durham bull and 35 heifers, 12 Durham steers, 16 horses, and 28 pigs. See the *California Farmer*, 11: 12 (February 11, 1859); 17: 49, 65, 84 (May 9, 23, June 6, 1862); 18: 81 (November 21, 1862); *San Francisco Herald and Mirror*, quoted in the *Colusa Sun*, June 14, 1862; Reva Scott, *Samuel Brannan and the Golden Fleece: A Biography* (New York, 1944), passim.
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