

EXPERIMENT ON THE SANTA CRUZ:  
COLIN CAMERON'S SAN RAFAEL CATTLE COMPANY  
1882-1893

by  
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## THESIS ABSTRACT

EXPERIMENT ON THE SANTA CRUZ:  
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Jane Abigail Wayland

No other ranchman contributed more to the cattle industry of Arizona than did Colin Cameron. A Pennsylvanian with powerful political and financial backing, he came to Arizona during the boom period of the 1880's and established the San Rafael Cattle Company on a large Spanish land grant. Cameron first introduced Hereford cattle as the primary beef breed and made the first shipment of Arizona cattle to eastern markets. Thus he established precedents which were followed from that time forward. In 1887 he was instrumental in the formation of the Live Stock Sanitary Commission which controlled the livestock interests of the Territory. Realizing that the ranges of Arizona were overstocked, he spayed his cattle and moved them from his ranch when they were yearlings. Because of his foresight, the San Rafael prospered after the drought of 1892. Cameron was chosen Chairman of the powerful Live Stock Sanitary Commission in 1893, and through this position he reformed the livestock laws of the Territory and virtually controlled the cattle interests. By the turn of the century the San Rafael had the largest registered Hereford herd in the Trans-Mississippi West, and Colin Cameron was known throughout the country for his pioneering ranch methods.

## CHAPTER I.

### ACQUIRING A DOMAIN

The cattle industry of the American West entered a boom period after the depression of the 1870's. The railroads had reached deep into the farthest corners of the west, land was cheap, and the rise of cities skyrocketed the demand for beef. Eastern newspapers and periodicals on the Continent carried stories of the riches to be made by raising cattle. As news of the high prices spread great numbers of adventurers were attracted to the cow country. These men were of all types. Men with little means hoped to grow rich, and men of wealth expected to increase their capital. Speculators, promoters, syndicates, and large eastern companies also came to take advantage of the range country. Among these individuals of abundant means were United States senators, railroad magnates, and other eager entrepreneurs. Some of the oldest and most aristocratic eastern families invested in the lucrative industry and sometimes sent a member to give personal attention to the business.<sup>1</sup> Such a man was Colin Cameron.

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1. Ernest S. Osgood, The Day of the Cattleman (Minneapolis: The University of Minnesota Press, 1929), 83-96; Louis Pelzer, The Cattleman's Frontier; A Record of the Trans-Mississippi Cattle Industry from Oxen Trains to Pooling Companies, 1850-1890 (Glendale California: The Arthur H. Clark Co., 1936), 71-85, 119-127; Joseph Geiting McCoy,

On a chilly November day in 1883 a young man in fashionable Eastern clothes supervised the unloading of a carload of pedigreed Herefords at Crittenden Station, Arizona Territory. Experienced cowmen agreed that the highbred animals would never survive the winter ahead, and criticized the confident young owner of the "fancy animals" for making such a foolish, expensive mistake. But in May, 1884, all sixty head were alive--and were as healthy and as fat as any yearlings native to the Arizona range. Colin Cameron<sup>2</sup> had taken a long chance and had succeeded in establishing the Hereford as the primary beef breed in Arizona.

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Historic Sketches of the Cattle Trade of the West and Southwest, ed. Ralph P. Beiber (Glendale, California: The Arthur H. Clark Co., 1940), 403-408, and Edward Everett Dale, Cow Country (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1942), 68-73.

2. Colin Cameron was born on December 10, 1849, in Danville, Pennsylvania. Since his father, Simon Cameron, was a prosperous businessman and railroad magnate, Colin enjoyed the benefits of a comfortable home and a formal education. He entered Lafayette College in 1872, enrolled in the general science course. Apparently, he did not complete the full four year term. In 1876 he was given charge of the "Elizabeth State Farms" and was later manager of the "landed estate of Hon. G. Dawson Coleman" of Lancaster, Pennsylvania. This estate consisted of several large dairy farms, well stocked with Jerseys and Guernseys. Through this position, Cameron became familiar with livestock and livestock dealers of the area. In 1877, he married Alice Smith at Locust Grove, Lancaster County. Miss Smith was six years younger than Cameron. They resided at Brickersville, Pennsylvania. See J. H. McClintock, Arizona; Pre-historic Aboriginal, Pioneer, Modern... (Chicago: S. J. Clarke, 1916), III, 804-05; Roscoe G. Willson, Pioneer and Well Known Cattlemen of Arizona (Phoenix: McGrew Printing Co., 1951), 29; J. L. Ziegler, History of Donegal Presbyterian Church 1902; and Selden P. Coffin, Record of the Men

The boldness of this experiment sharply characterized the founder of the San Rafael Cattle Company, one of the largest of the ranches of the far Southwest in the heyday of the range cattle industry.

At the age of thirty-four Colin Cameron of Pennsylvania was already an astute businessman when he came West to Arizona in 1882 anxious to enter the lucrative range cattle industry there.<sup>3</sup> Middling in stature, he was certainly not average in intellect. By nature he was observant and shrewd, after the manner of his Scotch ancestors, and he had learned much from his father, Simon Cameron, and his uncles, all of whom were prominent in the business and political circles of Pennsylvania.<sup>4</sup> An excellent formal

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of Lafayette, 1879. Also letter from Colin Cameron to Mary Cameron Wakefield February 21, 1908, in the possession of Mrs. Albert Kinder, Tucson, Arizona.

3. Colin Cameron (Harshaw, A. T.) to Alexander Fulford, March 25, 1884, in the Papers of the San Rafael Cattle Company, Box I, Special Collections, University of Arizona Library. This collection will hereafter be cited as S. R. Fulford was a successful merchant in Bel Air, Maryland. After seeing the potential of the cattle company, Fulford acquired a large amount of stock. He was well acquainted with John Merryman and M. S. Krieder, who were two of the largest Hereford dealers in the East. It is probably for this reason that Fulford became the purchasing agent for the San Rafael Cattle Company soon after its establishment. Correspondence between Fulford and the Camerons was frequent.

4. There seems to be some dispute over the identity of Colin Cameron's father. Willson, in Pioneer Cattlemen, 29, claims that he was James Donald Cameron, Secretary of War under Grant, while McClintock in Arizona, 804, states that Simon Cameron was Colin's father. McClintock identifies Simon Cameron as a distant relative of General Simon Cameron, Secretary of War under Lincoln and longtime Senator

education at Lafayette College, and practical business experience as the manager of a large estate in Lancaster, had provided him a wide background and store of useful knowledge.<sup>5</sup> In matters of land management and animal husbandry he was well informed. His manner was confident. An impeccably tailored Philadelphia suit, a carefully waxed mustache, and a shiny walking stick completed the picture of self assurance. The young man was bent on success.

Using Tucson as a base, Cameron traveled and inspected the lush valleys and hill country of southern Arizona for almost a year. He talked with prominent cattlemen of the area, asked questions, and observed their activities. Walter Vail of the Empire Ranch and H. C. Hooker of the Sierra Bonita spread, both of whom were pioneer ranchers, were particularly helpful to him.<sup>6</sup> It was perhaps

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from Pennsylvania. Colin Cameron in a letter to his daughter, Mrs. Mary Cameron Wakefield, explained that his father, Simon Cameron, was the brother of General Simon Cameron. Therefore, Simon Cameron was his uncle, and the General's son, James D. Cameron, was Colin's cousin. This evidence is verified by a biographical sketch of General Simon Cameron and James D. Cameron found in "The Camerons of Donegal," by Herbert H. Beck in Papers Read Before the Lancaster County Historical Society, LVI, no. 4 (Lancaster, Pa: 1952), 87-105. For further information about Simon and James D. Cameron see Biographical Directory of the American Congress, 1774-1949 (Washington: Government Printing Office, 1950), 780.

5. McClintock, Arizona, 804.

6. Vail had established the Empire Ranch near Camp Crittenden in 1876. He later made Herbert R. Hilsop and John W. Harvey partners, and the three were known to Arizona as the "English Boys." Vail was one of the most influential ranchers in southern Arizona at the time. See "An



Fig. 1.

Fig. 1.

COLIN CAMERON, circa 1895

Courtesy of the Arizona Pioneers' Historical Society

through them that Cameron came to the realization that only a large cattle company could succeed in the Territory. During that first year he watched several small outfits being pushed off the range by larger, more aggressive ranching concerns, and discovered that in Arizona every man looked out for his own interests and employed various devious methods to obtain desired ends. It was his belief that the small rancher would be crowded out in spite of "his courage and his gun."<sup>7</sup> Cameron decided that his experience with cattle in the East would count for little--cattle raising in Pennsylvania was far different from ranching in Arizona.

It was fully a year before Colin Cameron found what he was looking for. In the spring of 1883 he met R. R. Richardson, another Pennsylvanian, who had come west three

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English Pioneer in Arizona: The Letters of Herbert R. Hilsop," The Kiva, XXV, No. 3 (February 1960), 23-36. Henry Clay Hooker came to Arizona in 1866 from Nevada as a partner of Captain Hugh L. Hinds and general business manager for the firm of Hinds & Hooker. Hooker ranged cattle northwest of Prescott in 1868, but was forced out by the Indians. When the Hinds & Hooker contract ended, Hooker took his family to San Francisco in 1871. That same year, Hooker returned to Arizona as a partner of James M. Barney and William B. Hooper. In 1872 he established the Sierra Bonita Ranch with James M. Barney. A few years later, Hooker purchased Barney's interest in the ranch. The Sierra Bonita was used to supply the Apache reservations and army posts. The ranch was in the San Pedro Valley not far from Fort Grant. See Gertrude Hill, "Henry Clay Hooker: King of the Sierra Bonita," Arizoniana, II, No. 4 (1961), 12-15.

7. Cameron to Fulford, March 25, 1884, S. R./Box I.

years before.<sup>8</sup> Richardson had acquired a large Spanish land grant which he was anxious to sell so that he could reinvest his capital in several smaller ranches.<sup>9</sup> The grant, known as the "Rancho San Rafael de la Zanja," was located in the southeastern part of the Territory between the Huachuca and the Patagonia mountain ranges, and extended beyond the international border into the Mexican state of Sonora. The wily Cameron immediately recognized the value and potential of this rich grazing land. It was an enormous piece of land, and Richardson had poured forty thousand dollars into improvements during his three-year ownership. Now he was willing to sell at the price for which he bought it, and Cameron quickly wired friends and relatives in Pennsylvania who were anxious to invest money in a cattle company.

The response was prompt. The San Rafael Cattle Company was chartered under the corporation laws of the

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8. Richardson came to Arizona in 1880 to pursue his interests in mining. After an unsuccessful attempt at this business, he turned to ranching. He purchased rangeland in the Patagonia area and is said to have founded the town of that name. MC "Autobiography of Rollin Rice Richardson," Arizona Pioneers Historical Society, Tucson, Arizona, and (Harshaw) Arizona Bullion, April 28, 1880.

9. Deed, A. A. Green to R. R. Richardson, June 10, 1880, in the Papers of the Bureau of Land Management, Court of Private Land Claims, Case No. 2, San Rafael de la Zanja Grant, microfilmed in the files of the Department of Library and Archives, Phoenix, Arizona.

state of New Jersey at a capital stock of \$150,000. Three hundred shares were let out at \$500.<sup>10</sup> Before making any kind of transaction with Richardson, however, Cameron looked into the validity of the title. He traveled the land on horseback to locate the boundary monuments, went into the office of the Pima County surveyor in Tucson with Richardson and looked up the papers, and got opinions from the clerk in the land office there. With expediente<sup>11</sup> in hand, he took J. B. McLaughlin, a hired surveyor, over the boundaries of the grant to determine their exact location.<sup>12</sup> On May 9, 1883, Colin Cameron left the Land Office with the bill of sale for the San Rafael. He and his fellow investors now had ostensible control of more than 152,000 acres of prime grazing land, with 1,200 cattle ranging on its grassy slopes.<sup>13</sup> The young man was delighted with his

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10. B. Cameron to Fulford, March 25, 1884.

11. An expediente, is the original proceeding "had on any matter such as applications for land." Matthew Givens Reynolds, Spanish and Mexican Land Laws; New Spain and Mexico (St. Louis, Mo.: Buxton & Skinner Stationery Co., 1895), 42. The expediente had been given to Ramon Romero, the original grantee, in 1822 for \$1,200 at public auction. See Title, Records of the Surveyor General's Office, Tucson, Arizona. S. R./Box II, and Dockets of the Court of Private Land Claims 12-17, Micro 177 (1667), National Archives, in the Arizona Pioneers Historical Society, Tucson, Arizona.

12. Cross-examination of Colin Cameron for Case No. 2, San Rafael Grant, Papers of the Bureau of Land Management. McLaughlin's survey was not considered official by the Court of Private Land Claims since he was not an official surveyor.

13. Deed, R. R. Richardson to Colin Cameron, May 9, 1883. S. R./Box 2, and Papers of the Bureau of Land Management.

purchase.

I am right and no mistake- one needs to be here about one year before he can decide what to do- and my own good fortune in selecting what I did is a constant surprise to me.<sup>14</sup>

But the new title was not entirely clear. The grant had been confirmed by Surveyor General Wasson in 1880 for only 17,324 acres, or four square leagues--little more than a tenth of the land Cameron claimed to have purchased.<sup>15</sup> By Wasson's survey, the specified four square leagues lay in the immediate area bordering the Santa Cruz River, and extended south to the border. Ramon Romero and his heirs, the original grantees, had occupied the area surrounding these leagues, claiming it as "overplus". By paying the government the price of the land that prevailed at the time of the original purchase, the owner could acquire a somewhat doubtful title to these "overplus" lands.<sup>16</sup>

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14. Cameron to Fulford, March 25, 1884, S. R./Box I.

15. "History of Rancho San Rafael de la Zanja," by A. A. Green, Papers of the Bureau of Land Management, and copy of the map of the survey of John Wasson, June 11, 1880, from the office of Robert Lenon, mining engineer and surveyor, Patagonia, Arizona.

16. The descriptions of the boundaries of grants were by natural boundaries or between certain limits. Grantees usually occupied more land than stipulated in the terms of the grants. These were known as "overplus lands." Under Mexican law, overplus lands could be acquired by having them surveyed and paying the price which had prevailed at the time that the grant was made. See Ray H. Mattison, "Early Spanish and Mexican Settlements in Arizona," New Mexico Historical Review, XXI (Oct. 1946), 286, and Ralph Emerson Twitchell, The Leading Facts of New Mexican History (Cedar Rapids, Ia.: The Torch Press, 1911-12), I, 467 ff.

Accordingly, Cameron paid \$1,359 for the extra territory, thus increasing his land holdings to 152,899 acres. Further, he had J. W. Robbins, U. S. Surveyor General, withhold the land from entry into the public domain.<sup>17</sup>

This vast acreage was not, however, unsettled. Scattered over the grant were fifteen or twenty Mexican and American families who had lived on the land prior to Cameron's purchase. The San Rafael Company bought out many small ranchers living in the immediate vicinity of "la Zanja,"<sup>18</sup> the center of the grant.<sup>19</sup> Cameron shrewdly observed that the rest of the squatters could serve a useful purpose. By having them remain on the land, there would be little opportunity for a large cattle company to move in and take up the range that would otherwise be vacant. His reasoning was practical. "No man can hold large bodies of unoccupied land in this territory any longer," he observed. "If these fellows stay here until we fill the country so full of cattle that it costs them more to have theirs," then, "they will get up and go to Sonora or some other distant point."<sup>20</sup>

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17. J. W. Robbins (Washington, D.C.) to C. Cameron, July 18, 1883, S. R./Box I.

18. Zanja is the Spanish word for ditch. The depression made by the Santa Cruz River at the center of the grant was la Zanja.

19. Cross-examination of Colin Cameron, loc.cit.

20. Colin Cameron (Lochiel, A. T.) to Fulford, March 3, 1885, S. R./Box I.

The San Rafael needed stock and men. Through the summer and fall of 1883 Cameron bought all the cattle he could<sup>21</sup> and marked them with his newly registered brands, 6T and OD.<sup>22</sup> His rangeland had to be occupied. The enterprising young rancher traveled to Sonora, and there purchased several hundred steers. To care for his fast growing herds, he hired both Mexican and "gringo" vaqueros.<sup>23</sup> An experienced foreman was required to supervise both the herds and the men. On one of his many stock-buying excursions, Colin Cameron met Eugene Watson. Watson was considered by many to be one of the best foremen in the Southwest. He had handled large herds successfully from Texas to Montana and presently owned a small but fine outfit on the lower San Pedro River.<sup>24</sup> Cameron flattered and bargained until Watson was persuaded to become the foreman of the San Rafael Cattle Company. By the time Watson joined the staff of the Rancho, 4,293 healthy cattle were feeding of the thick gramma grass of the San Rafael.<sup>25</sup>

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21. Cameron to Fulford, Sept. 22, 1884, S. R./Box I.

22. "Marks, Brands and Counterbrands," found in the Pima County Records deposited at the University of Arizona Library, Special Collections. Cameron had several other brands.

23. Cameron to Fulford, March 25, 1884, S. R./Box I.

24. (Tucson) Arizona Daily Star, Nov. 24, 1885.

25. Colin Cameron, Report of the San Rafael Cattle Company for the year 1883, S. R./Box II.

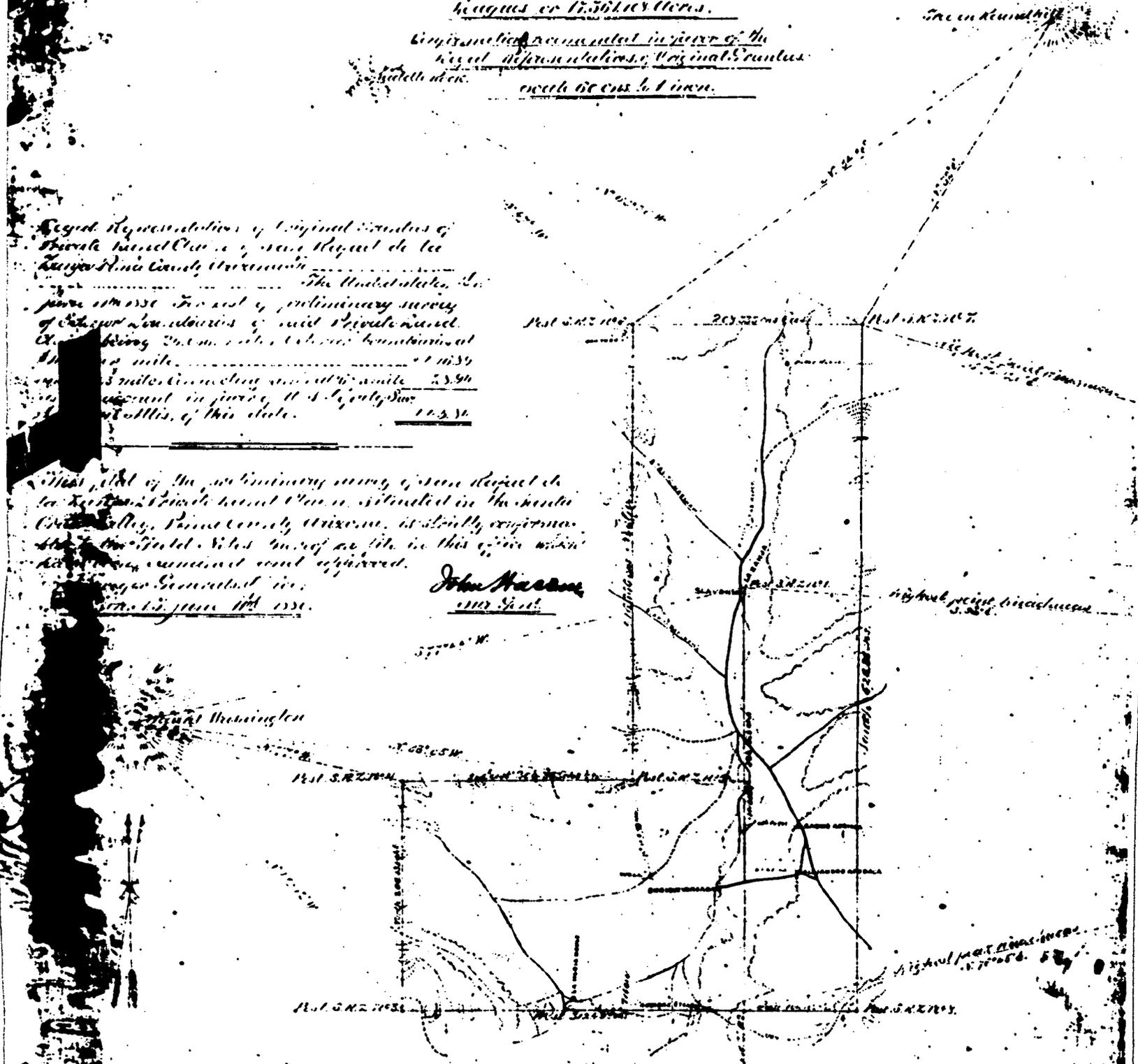
—Map—

A preliminary survey of  
Don Miguel de la Guerra's  
Private Land Claim  
Sierra County, Arizona  
Containing Four Square Mexican  
Leagues or Eighty Acres.

Original boundaries in force of the  
Royal Decree of 1763, Original Boundaries  
of the State  
with the original survey.

Original boundaries of Original Boundaries of  
Private Land Claim of Don Miguel de la  
Guerra Sierra County, Arizona.  
The United States, Dec.  
1850. The first of preliminary survey  
of Original Boundaries of said Private Land  
Claim being 2.5 miles, between boundaries at  
11.5 miles. 1854  
3 miles, connecting said 11.5 miles. 1854  
in agreement in force of the 14th July Dec.  
1854. 1854

This map of the preliminary survey of Don Miguel de  
la Guerra's Private Land Claim situated in the Santa  
Cruz Valley, Sierra County, Arizona, is strictly conform-  
able to the State's title in force in this State when  
the same was admitted and approved.  
John Mason  
1854



Survey	Original	by whom	date	of	Original	date	Survey	When
1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
2	2	2	2	2	2	2	2	2
3	3	3	3	3	3	3	3	3
4	4	4	4	4	4	4	4	4

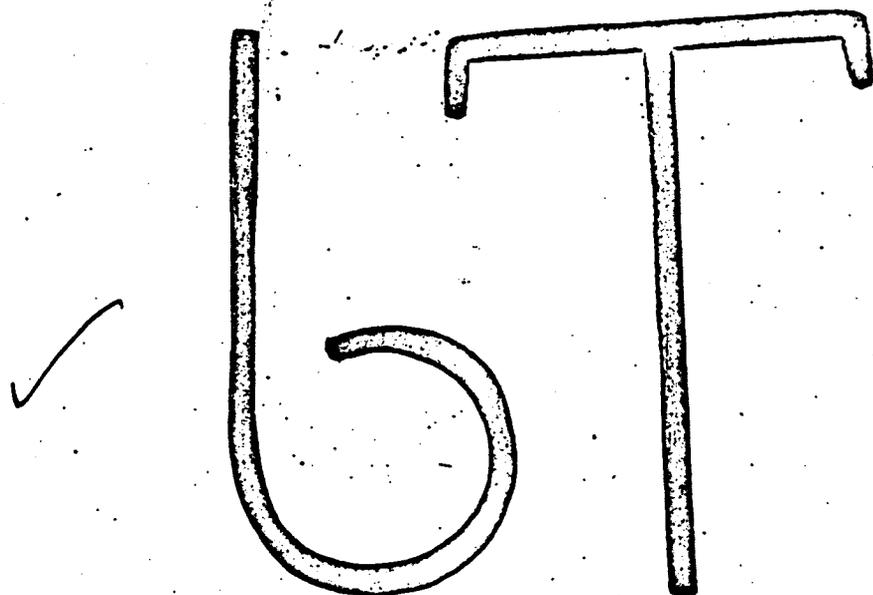
Fig. 2.

THE SAN RAFAEL DE LA ZANJA

Survey map made by John Wasson in 1880.

Courtesy of Robert Lenon, Patagonia, Arizona.

Brands of Colin Cameron.



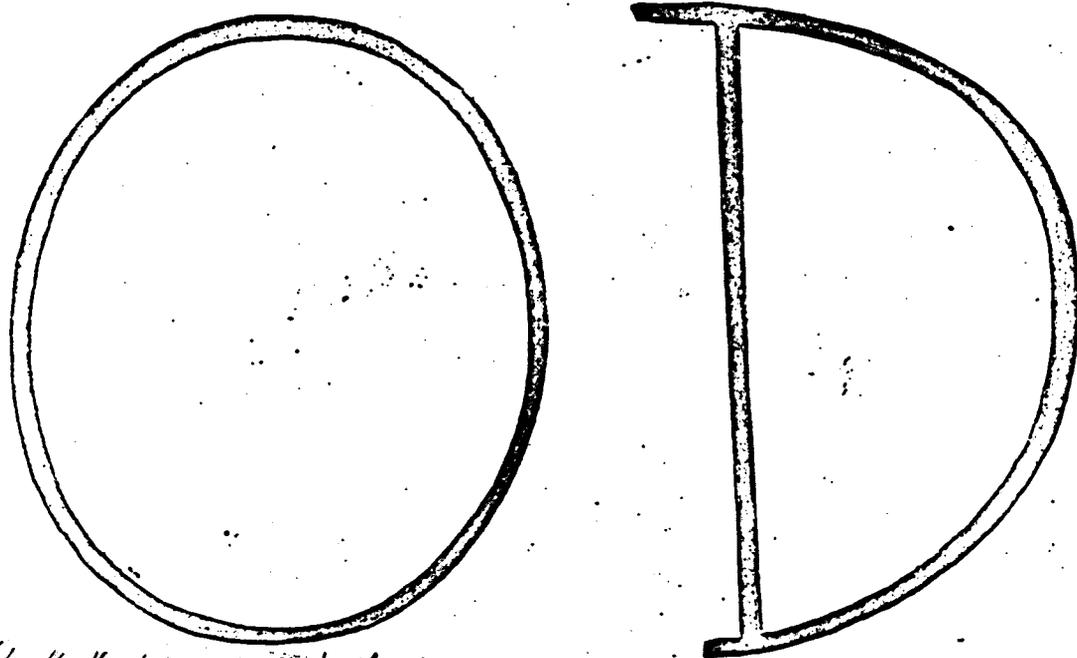
Cattle branded principally on left side, some on left hip, and on right hip and side.  
 Ear Marks and Right Ear Cropped, Left ear split. - Dew Lap, under jaw. - Some cattle also  
 Ear marked left ear cropped, right ear split, but no young cattle. - 2 wattles on Brisket.

Filed and recorded at request of Colin Cameron Dec. 18<sup>th</sup> 1883 at 9.30 A.M.

*W. R. Drake*

County Recorder

Branded on left hip and on left side, and used in connection with the 6T Brand.



Youth. Haulap or Haulap in Brisket.

Filed & recorded at request of Colin Cameron Dec. 18<sup>th</sup> 1883, at 9.30 A.M.

*W. R. Drake*

Fig. 3.

BRANDS OF THE SAN RAFAEL CATTLE COMPANY

Copied from "Marks, Brands and Counter Brands,"

Pima County Records

## CHAPTER II.

### A BREAD AND BUTTER VENTURE

Beef cattle were in great demand in 1883. Arizona stock was sold locally and shipped as far as southern California.<sup>1</sup> The steady influx of settlers resulting from growth of the mining industry, the railroads, and other profitable western businesses created a need for increased beef production.<sup>2</sup> Good prices, coupled with promotional literature praising the rich grasslands of Arizona, induced ranchers to leave the crowded ranges of Texas and New Mexico and head for the new El Dorado.<sup>3</sup> The price of beef was at an all-time high, reaching from three and one half to four cents per pound. Cameron intended to make the most of this boom period.

Arizona ranchers sold only three and four year-olds so as to take advantage of their increased marketability.

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1. See Wagoner, History of the Cattle Industry, 44, Rufus K. Wyllys, Arizona, The History of a Frontier State (Phoenix: Hobson & Herr, 1950), 249, and Richard J. Morrisey, "The Early Range Cattle Industry in Arizona," Agricultural History, XXIV (Jan. 1950), 154.

2. Railroad construction companies, government posts, mining camps, and local butchershops comprised the principal wholesale markets. See J. Wayne Stark, "Marketing Arizona Beef Cattle," (Master's Thesis, Department of Agriculture, University of Arizona, 1954), 2.

3. Report of the Secretary of the Interior (Washington: Government Printing Office, 1896), 224.

The meat from these cattle, which were almost exclusively Mexican longhorns, was stringy and tough. On the Rancho San Rafael some Shorthorns and Galloways ranged, but the bulk of the cattle were longhorns.<sup>4</sup> These Sonora scrubs, like the squatters, served as convenient pawns in Cameron's scheme. The sole purpose of this stock was to occupy the land until better cattle could be purchased. When Cameron observed the high prices paid for Herefords in California, he decided it was time to import purebred stock that would increase his profits over those of his less astute neighbors.<sup>5</sup>

Herefords were no novelty to Cameron. He had been familiar with them in his native Pennsylvania and in neighboring Maryland where the prominent dealers in fine English livestock first established themselves. Cameron knew the whitefaces were hardy, matured early, and were quick to fatten. In short, they possessed all the desirable qualities of good range animals.<sup>6</sup> In September of 1883 he contracted for a shipment of fifty-seven bulls and six heifers from Irwin, Marshall & Company of Kansas City. The strenuous trip from the Midwest might weaken or even kill the

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4. C. Cameron (Harshaw, A. T.) to Fulford, March 25, 1884, S. R./Box I.

5. Cameron, Report of the San Rafael Cattle Company for 1883, S. R./Box II.

6. The Oasis (Arizola, A. T.), Dec. 11, 1897. Also, letters 1883-1886, passim., S. R./Box I.

stock, but Cameron was confident of their safety. He arranged for their shipment from Missouri on the last day of October. Two weeks later they arrived at Crittenden.<sup>7</sup>

The winter of 1883-84 was severe, and when Cameron put the newly acquired bulls to pasture on the southwest corner he pondered his investment. The cattle were unaccustomed to the range and the ground would soon freeze. Members of the company in the East and neighboring ranchers did not expect the new stock to survive.<sup>8</sup> Pessimistic observers periodically visited the Rancho to look at the chunky whitefaces, and were amazed that the fancy animals had weathered the trip from Kansas City. The Herefords showed outstanding rustling ability, and, by April, when a new growth of grass appeared, they had regained their lost weight and were in prime condition. Cameron was jubilant. He knew that in a year the progeny of these outstanding

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7. B. Cameron to Fulford, Oct. 29, 1884, S. R./ Box I. See also Report of the Secretary of the Interior, 1896, 227; the Southwestern Stockman (Wilcox), Dec. 13, 1901; Donald Ornduff, The Hereford in America; A Compilation of Historic Facts About the Breed's Background and Bloodlines (Kansas City, Mo.: published privately by the Author), 131; Bert Haskett, "Early History of the Cattle Industry in Arizona," Arizona Historical Review, VI (Oct. 1935), 39; Morrisey, "Early Range Cattle Industry," 154. According to Morrisey, Ornduff, and the Southwestern Stockman, Colin Cameron was the first to import Herefords into Arizona. Haskett and Wagoner maintain that it was either H. C. Hooker or Cameron. Cameron himself believed that he was the first Arizonan to own Herefords.

8. See Report of the Secretary of the Interior, 1896, 227.

bulls would dot the sloping hills of the San Rafael and would bring the company profit and stature.<sup>9</sup>

In April Cameron returned to Pennsylvania. It was necessary for him to meet with the directors of the company to discuss increasing the capital stock, and to talk with some prospective investors who had become interested in the Arizona ranch. William W. Ker, John W. Small, and George S. Billmeyer, the principal officers, were well pleased with the young rancher's competent management. They had misgivings about raising the capital stock, for they considered the land a great future source of wealth and wanted selfishly to retain their holdings.<sup>10</sup> Cameron was persuasive and impelled the stockholders to vote an increase of the capital by \$50,000. This response showed by the directors was convincing evidence that Cameron was able to control the company with a firm grip.<sup>11</sup>

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9. "Report of the San Rafael Cattle Company from Colin Cameron, Manager, for the years 1885-1895," S. R./Box II, and C. Cameron (Harshaw) to Fulford, Oct. 29, 1884. The total price of the Herefords was \$2,767.50, and the cost of the trip was \$580,000. -

10. Cameron to Fulford, April 28, 1884, S. R./Box I. Small was President of the Company, Ker was Vice President, and Billmeyer was Secretary. Small and Billmeyer were manufacturers of passenger, mail, baggage and freight cars in York, Pennsylvania, while Ker was a politician. From 1881 to 1884, Ker was assistant Attorney General of the United States. See Savidge, Life of Benjamin Harris Brewster.

11. Office of the San Rafael Cattle Co., Camden, N. J., to Stockholders, March 9, 1885, S. R./Box II.

Even General Simon Cameron,<sup>12</sup> Colin's uncle, was enthusiastic about the new business. The spry old gentleman had been "like a father" to Colin and his younger brother Brewster<sup>13</sup> since their boyhood. Simon was wise in matters of business, and his nephews listened to his advice with interest. Perhaps the General suggested that it was time that the San Rafael had some thoroughbred saddle horses on its ranges. In any case, Colin left for the Blue Grass region of Kentucky a week later. There he invested two thousand dollars of company money in five excellent saddle.

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12. Simon Cameron, affectionately referred to as "the General" by his nephews, was appointed Secretary of War in 1861. In January of 1862, he was removed and became United States Minister to Russia. He was elected Senator from Pennsylvania in 1867, and again in 1873. He resigned in 1877. Until his death in 1889, he resided at his farm "Donegal Springs" near Harrisburg, living the life of a country gentleman. In 1882, he was described as "a man over six feet in height, broad shouldered and now in his seventy-sixth year, is as erect and lithe as a youth of twenty." See Beck, "The Camerons of Donegal," 95-99.

13. B. Cameron (Philadelphia) to Fulford, April 30, 1884, S. R./Box I. Benjamin Harris Brewster Cameron, always referred to as Brewster, was born in Danville, Pennsylvania, in 1852. After attending Lafayette College he became the proprietor of a small newspaper in his home town. Soon afterwards, he became Postal Clerk of Danville. In 1875 he was admitted to the bar and became a partner of E. B. Wiegand of Reading. From 1876 to 1881 he was inspector for the Post Office Department and was instrumental in revealing the corruption prevalent in that department. This was known as the "Star Route Disclosure." Before being elected General Agent for the Department of Justice in 1882, he was Acting Postmaster for Little Rock, Arkansas. See the (Tucson) Arizona Citizen, Jan. 11, 1890, Savidge, Life of Benjamin Harris Brewster, 205, and Hatch, Biographical Record of the Men of Lafayette, 34.

mares and "running" stallions.<sup>14</sup> On his return trip he paused in Maryland to visit his old friend, a recent investor in the company, Alexander Fulford. Fulford was in a position to purchase and ship high-grade Herefords because of his friendship with several of the large breeders whose farms were located near Baltimore. From this meeting the San Rafael would prosper. Fulford agreed to become purchasing agent for the fast-growing concern.<sup>15</sup> Satisfied with his accomplishments, Cameron returned to the Santa Cruz Valley in time for the fall branding.

Colin had persuaded his brother to come with him to Arizona. As secretary of the cattle company, Brewster was deeply concerned with the progress of Rancho San Rafael. A staunch Republican, his spirits had been dampened by the election of a Democratic majority in Congress in 1882, and now there was the prospect of a Democratic victory in November. The political climate brought Brewster to the conclusion that he must resign his post as General Agent for the United States Department of Justice. In this way he could devote his full attention to the ranch and be undisturbed by the political situation. To his surprise, as a reward for his party loyalty, President Arthur appointed him

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14. C. Cameron (Harshaw) to Fulford, Oct. 29, 1884, S. R./Box I.

15. Ibid.

Receiver of Public Moneys at Tucson.<sup>16</sup> This post would bear vitally on the operations of the ranch.

Brewster was already well acquainted with the Southwest, having served as Post Office Inspector in the region from 1876 to 1880.<sup>17</sup> He had seen range of all types on his official tours of inspection, but his first visit to the San Rafael was a revelation. In less than two years' time, the ranch had grown enormously. It had, in Brewster's words, assumed the proportions of a "principality." Late in the summer of 1883 Cameron had moved the headquarters to a place four or five miles southwest of "la Zanja" near La Noria on the Mexican border, which he named "Lochiel" after his ancestral home in Scotland. Colin expected his wife from the East in late September and was anxious to provide a comfortable home for her when she arrived.<sup>18</sup> At Lochiel he built a large house. Around the dwelling were several large corrals and two wells. In the spacious barn were three Guernseys, recently purchased, which would supply the ranch with fresh milk and butter. A pack of purebred Fox Terriers kept the place free of bothersome rodents.

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16. (Tucson) Arizona Citizen, Jan. 11, 1890, and Hatch, Biographical Record of the Men of Lafayette, 34.

17. Savidge, Life of Benjamin Harris Brewster, 205.

18. Brewster Cameron (Benson) to Senator James D. Cameron, Sept. 11, 1884, S. R./Box I.

Not far from the wells stood a grove of young fruit trees-- a surprise for the wife of the young rancher.<sup>19</sup> The cowhands, who lived in adobe houses behind the main rancho, cared for the orchard and tended the cattle.

Some fifteen vaqueros and their families were subject to the wishes of the ranchman. Where the Canelo Hills cut off the northeastern corner of the grant V. H. Igo cultivated fifty acres of corn, beans, and melons, which he sold each year at the Cameron Hacienda. Two miles south of "Igo's place", on the gently rolling mesas, a Mexican, one Demacia, had charge of all 6T and OD stock in the area, and cultivated fifteen acres of grain as forage for the animals. In Red Rock Canyon, at the northwest corner, grazed three hundred cattle which Cameron owned mutually with Henry Johnsen and George W. Moltz. Cameron saw the partnership as a mere stepping stone toward eventual purchase. The agreement of this trio precluded the sale of their stock to outside parties. Already, Cameron had one of his hands living on the land and caring for the stock. Clapp, another of the Cameron plodders, lived two miles southwest of the Canyon where the land was especially fertile. He raised all the grain and vegetables needed for

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19. Interview with Mrs. Marie Sheeter of Lochiel, Arizona, Oct. 13, 1963. Mrs. Sheeter's father, Manuel De La Osa, operated the postoffice at Lochiel as early as 1880. (Tucson) Arizona Daily Star, Sept. 13, 1889.

the entire ranch. The bulk of the main herd grazed in the valley of the Santa Cruz near the old ranch headquarters. There, two vaqueros resided whose job it was to water over one thousand head at the old well where Cameron had recently constructed a windmill. Four miles southeast of "la Zanja" was a smelter and a well that one man cared for. When necessary, water was piped in for irrigation purposes from the springs in the central valley.<sup>20</sup> All over the grant gramma grass, sacatene, and southwestern buffalo grass, grew so thickly that it formed a kind of turf.<sup>21</sup> Timber was readily available from live oak groves in the arroyos to the west of the Santa Cruz. Rancho San Rafael de la Zanja was truly self-sufficient.

Although the range was dryer than usual in the winter and fall of 1884, times were prosperous. Ranchers were fast filling the country, and cattle were everywhere.<sup>22</sup> The

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20. B. Cameron to J. D. Cameron, Sept. 11, 1884, loc.cit.; Map entitled "Map of the Southwestern Portion of Arizona showing location of the San Rafael Land Grant from Survey made by Geo. J. Roskrige, 1883," in the records of the District Court of the First Judicial District of the Territory of Arizona in and for the County of Pima, Pima County Records deposited in Special Collections, University of Arizona Library; and Interview with Mrs. Anne Fortune, Patagonia, Arizona, Oct. 13, 1963. Mrs. Fortune taught school in the Patagonia area as early as 1898.

21. J. J. Thornber, "The Grazing Ranges of Arizona," Agricultural Experiment Station Bulletin No. 65 (Sept. 1910), University of Arizona, Tucson, 294.

22. See Report of the Governor of Arizona to the Secretary of the Interior (Washington: Government Printing

number of cattle in the Territory had increased 40% since 1883, but, due to increasing demand, prices were still good. The San Rafael received six thousand dollars for 200 two and three year olds sold on the California market.<sup>23</sup> Cameron branded 1,262 cattle at roundup that spring, and his vaqueros counted nearly six thousand cattle in the newly fenced holding pasture. The calf crop was large--and more than half had white faces.<sup>24</sup>

In late winter of 1884, cattlemen all over the United States were aroused by simultaneous epidemics of pleuro-pneumonia and hoof-and-mouth disease. Arizona ranchers were more than a little alarmed. Pleuro-pneumonia had already spread to Missouri, and infected cattle were found farther west every day.<sup>25</sup> Several years before, the ranchers of Pima County had formed a livestock association, The Arizona Live Stock Ranchmen's Association. The incumbent

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Office, 1893), 21; Wagoner, History of the Cattle Industry, 84; Haskett, "Early History of the Cattle Industry," 42; and R. H. Williams, "History of the Cattle Industry in Pima County," 13th Annual Convention of the Arizona Cattle Growers' Association, Proceedings (Feb. 17-20, 1920), xxii. In Pima County alone, cattle increased from 56,600 head in 1883 to 80,000 in 1884. See Report of the Governor to the Secretary of the Interior, 1893.

23. C. Cameron to Fulford, Sept. 22, 1884, S. R./Box I.

24. Annual Report of the San Rafael Cattle Co., 1884, S. R./Box II.

25. Report of the Secretary of the Interior, 1896, 229, and Haskett, "History of the Cattle Industry," 40.

president, Walter Vail of the Empire Ranch, quickly called a meeting. Colin Cameron, then Secretary of the Association, and Brewster Cameron, a member from Tucson, agreed with Vail that a territorial association had to be formed immediately to combat the dangerous situation.<sup>26</sup> On December 23, delegates from all the county associations met in Tucson and created the Arizona Stock Growers' Association. The purpose of the new organization was to urge protective legislation for the livestock interests of Arizona. Brewster was chosen Secretary, and Colin was made a member of the influential executive council which was to prepare a bill for the consideration of the Legislative Assembly. During the next two weeks other meetings were held. After many long nights of argument and discussions, a satisfactory bill was drawn up. This proposal, presented at a cattlemen's convention in Prescott on the 26th of January, 1885, was approved by the majority of the members.<sup>27</sup> Its main objective was to prevent the introduction of diseased cattle into Arizona, but it also contained other regulations long needed by the cattlemen of Arizona.

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26. The Southwestern Stockman (Wilcox), Jan. 10, 1885. The name of the county association was changed to Pima County Ranchmens' Association.

27. B. Cameron to Members of the Arizona Stock Growers' Association, Dec. 26, 1884, the (Tucson) Arizona Citizen, Jan. 6, 1885, and the Clifton Clarion, Jan. 21, 1885.

The comprehensive bill was endorsed by the Territorial executive as well as by stockmen. Governor Tittle urged the legislature to pass enactments that would "best meet the requirements of the stock interests of the Territory," and heartily approved of the proposed legislation.<sup>28</sup> The "Act for the Protection of Live Stock Raisers" included the following provisions: all cattle brands and earmarks were to be registered with the county recorder; no two brands were to be alike; trespassing was forbidden; the introduction of diseased cattle into the Territory was prohibited; The Governor was given power to appoint livestock inspectors; and any person introducing diseased cattle was to be fined \$500.<sup>29</sup> The bill was passed on February 27, 1885. Colin Cameron was undoubtedly instrumental in drawing up the bill. It was a good one, and was welcomed wholeheartedly by Arizonans. Cameron reported that the work of the committee was effective because they were upheld by the executive and unanimously in agreement with

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28. Message of Governor F. A. Tittle to the 13th Legislative Assembly of Arizona, found in "Messages of Territorial Governors to Territorial Legislatures from 1864-1909," compiled by H. S. McCluskey, typescript in the Department of Library and Archives, Phoenix, Arizona, vol. 3 (Jan. 24, 1885).

29. Acts, Resolutions and Memorials Adopted by the Thirteenth Legislative Assembly of the Territory of Arizona (Prescott: Prescott Courier Print, 1885), No. 30, 34, 35, the Clifton Clarion, Jan. 21, 1885, and William H. Dusenberry, The Mexican Mesta. The Administration of Ranching in Colonial Mexico (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1963), 201.

"all persons interested in the Material prosperity of Arizona."<sup>30</sup>

With the election of Cleveland in November of 1884, Brewster Cameron resigned his post as Receiver. He had found Arizona so much to his liking that he decided to devote his energies toward aiding his brother with the cattle business.<sup>31</sup> Since trouble was anticipated with the boundary lines of the grant, as well as with squatters, Brewster's law training might be useful. As Secretary and legal counsel for the company, he remained in Tucson the greater part of each year, visiting the ranch periodically and making necessary business trips outside the Territory.

Early in 1885 the expected trouble became a reality. A number of small ranchmen moved their herds upon Cameron's range.<sup>32</sup> The situation was brought to a head in early January. In the middle of 1884, a man named Salcido and his family had moved in and settled on the northwest corner of the land that Cameron claimed. The Mexican occupied a small adobe house which Cameron said he built. One night in the first week of January, the house burnt to the ground. Cameron charged Salcido with arson, as well as trespassing,

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30. See Report of the Secretary of the Interior, 1896, 229.

31. (Tucson) Arizona Citizen, Jan. 1, 1890, and C. Cameron to Fulford, Dec. 31, 1884, S. R./Box I.

32. Letters, 1885, passim. S. R./Box I.

and the case was brought before the district court in Tucson.<sup>33</sup> The law firm of Jeffords and Franklin<sup>34</sup> assisted the Camerons in their prosecution. Many other ranchers had been having trouble with squatters, and the trial was looked upon with great interest by them. The decision in favor of Cameron was a victory for the "cattle baron" and a defeat for the many small ranchers who occupied lands with disputed titles. The impact of the otherwise insignificant case was reflected by the newspapers of the area. The Arizona Daily Star considered it a plan "set on foot to get rid of Mr. Cameron as the Claimant and owner of the San Rafael Grant,"<sup>35</sup> while the Clifton Clarion looked upon it as a victory for the "land grabbers."

The Cameron family are not regarded in Pima county with any consideration, for they are looked upon as land grabbers. In the presentation of Salcido they retained an array of legal council sic to assist the law officer of the county which is indicative of the fact that the criminal arm of the law is to be invoked to assist the strong against the feeble.<sup>36</sup>

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33. Clifton Clarion, Jan. 21, 1885, and (Tucson) Arizona Daily Star, Jan. 15, 1885.

34. Harry R. Jeffords and Selim Franklin represented Cameron whenever he needed legal counsel.

35. (Tucson) Arizona Daily Star, Jan. 15, 1885. The view expressed was that of the editor, L. C. Hughes. A Democrat, Hughes was nevertheless a friend of the Camerons.

36. Clifton Clarion, Jan. 21, 1885. The attitude presented in this paper was that of D. L. Sayre, a staunch Democrat.

In March of 1885, Cameron had an opportunity to sell the San Rafael. An eastern concern offered \$303,000 for the entire ranch, and Cameron, as manager, advised sale. He had wanted to buy more cattle, but the stockholders were not agreeable. Now he advised them to give up the business or stock the ranch--buy cattle and fill the range, or stand by and let someone else do it.<sup>37</sup>

Already more squatters had entered the grant. There were 1,150 head of cattle belonging to these small ranchmen on the territory claimed by the San Rafael.<sup>38</sup> The stockholders of the company finally decided to let Cameron purchase the additional stock necessary to fill the range, and so prevent further encroachment. Senator James D. Cameron, former Secretary of War, and a large stockholder of the company, came to the San Rafael in April.<sup>39</sup> He told his cousin that money was in the treasury to buy the bands of cattle surrounding the ranch. This scrub stock could occupy

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37. Cameron had a difficult time making members of the company understand his scheme about "filling the range." After they understood that they would lose most of their land if they did not put more stock in, then they agreed to finance more shipments of cattle. See C. Cameron to Fulford, March 31, 1885, S. R./Box II.

38. C. Cameron to Fulford, March 31, 1885, S. R./Box II.

39. "Don" Cameron was born in 1830 and was a son of General Simon Cameron. Like his father, he was a lawyer and politician in Pennsylvania. In 1876 he became Secretary of War, and in 1880 he succeeded Simon as Senator from his native state. See Biographical Directory of Congress, 780, the Southwestern Stockman, April 4, 1885, and Beck, "The Camerons of Donegal," 102-105.

the land temporarily.<sup>40</sup> Meanwhile, Brewster was in Maryland arranging for Fulford to ship fifteen head of registered Herefords to increase the whiteface herd.<sup>41</sup> But, a quarantine levied by Kansas against Maryland cattle put an end to the transaction.<sup>42</sup> Colin was in the midst of the spring branding when he heard this news. It dampened his spirits somewhat, but he had just finished branding 1,814 new cows and calves, and the total number of cattle on his ranges had increased to 6,894.<sup>43</sup> The calf crop was a particularly large one, and the majority had white faces. Nevertheless, Cameron wanted to upgrade the herd. On September 25, six registered Hereford heifers arrived from Maryland<sup>44</sup> and two weeks later, 35 Herefords were shipped from Walter Morgan and Son of Irving, Kansas.<sup>45</sup>

Since 1883, Cameron had been corresponding with Hereford breeders all over the country. He had ascertained

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Box I. 40. B. Cameron to Fulford, April 14, 1885, S. R./

Box I. 41. B. Cameron to Fulford, May 9, 1885, S. R./

Box I. 42. C. Cameron to Fulford, May 16, 1885, S. R./

43. "Report of the San Rafael Cattle Company," 1885, S. R./Box II.

44. Fulford to C. Cameron, Sept. 11, 1885, telegram, S. R./Box I.

45. The Southwestern Stockman (Wilcox), Oct. 10, 1885.

that they paid particular attention to the progeny of a choice bull, Sir Richard 2nd. This prize animal, perhaps the finest sire ever to be imported from England, was owned by John Merryman of Maryland. The Arizona rancher ordered five Sir Richard females to be delivered nine months after their birth.<sup>46</sup> In November, Merryman sent him a bull, Robust, and a fine heifer, Wealthy, both sired by champions. From M. S. Kreider of Mount Joy, Pennsylvania, came six more registered Herefords and two Guernseys.<sup>47</sup> By the end of December the San Rafael Cattle Company had expended three thousand dollars on cattle that would form the base for the finest whiteface herd west of the Mississippi.<sup>48</sup>

1885 was an important year for the range cattle industry of southern Arizona. By fall of that year, livestock production for the area was too great to be used by the Arizona and California markets. Prices dropped from an average of \$30 per head to \$10. The ranges were full of fat three and four year olds ready for market, and the ranchmen were forced to sell them elsewhere for almost

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46. Ornduff, The Hereford in America, 131, correspondence, October-November, 1885, passim., and the Southwestern Stockman, Dec. 13, 1901. Also Jno. M. Hazelton, History and Hand Book of Hereford Cattle and Hereford Bull Index, 3rd ed. (Kansas City: Walker Publications Inc., 1935), 165.

Box I. 47. C. Cameron to Fulford, Oct. 14, 1885, S. R./

Box 2. 48. "Report of the San Rafael Cattle Co.," 1885,

nothing. Grass had been poor and cattlemen were anxious to get rid of their cattle while they were still fat. Another dry summer would make cattle thin, and prices would drop even more.<sup>49</sup>

Colin Cameron made the first shipment of Arizona cattle to eastern markets on November 25, 1885.<sup>50</sup> At the break of day he loaded 600 cattle, averaging 1,100 pounds, into 30 cars at Huachuca Station. Most of the animals were high grade Herefords and Shorthorns, although a few cars contained "barren" cows and rangy Mexican steers. They were destined for Kansas City, where Brewster would meet them and make arrangements for their sale through Irwin, Allen & Co., the company's brokers. Watson left with the train to insure safe arrival.<sup>51</sup> When the transaction was completed, Cameron had netted \$27.40 per head--the highest price paid since early 1884.<sup>52</sup> Cameron had indisputably proven to all skeptics that Herefords were the best breed of cattle for the ranges of southern Arizona.

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49. Report of the Secretary of the Interior, 1896, 224. See also, Wagoner, History of the Cattle Industry, 45.

50. B. Cameron to Ford, Nov. 24, 1885, S. R./Box I, and Wagoner, History of the Cattle Industry, 45.

51. Report of the Secretary of the Interior, 1896, 224, and the (Tucson) Arizona Daily Star, Nov. 24, 1885.

52. Ibid.

## CHAPTER III.

### DISTRESS OVER SQUATTERS

Cattlemen throughout southern Arizona followed the example demonstrated by the San Rafael Cattle Company. Numerous shipments of cattle were made in the winter and spring of 1886. By June of that year, the last shipment of fat kine left the territory.<sup>1</sup> From that time forward, ranchers sold their cattle as feeders instead of holding them until they were three and four year olds. Arizona ranches became essentially breeding establishments. Cameron had early concluded that this method was the only way to successfully operate. In January, 1886, he decided he could raise fine bulls more reasonably than he could purchase them.<sup>2</sup> Good grade Herefords were being raised on the San Rafael, but the expense of purchasing superior sires was enormous. The manager of the San Rafael decided to breed fine saddle horses and mules as well as cattle. In late January, he traveled to Texas where he purchased a

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1. See Report of the Governor to the Secretary of the Interior, 1896, 224; J. J. Wagoner, History of the Cattle Industry, 45; Morrisey, "Early Range Cattle Industry," 154, and Wyllys, Arizona, 247.

2. B. Cameron to Fulford, Jan. 3, 1886, S. R./Box I.

small drove of jackasses.<sup>3</sup> The next month he went to Kentucky to buy Percherons and Tennessee Pacers.<sup>4</sup> Although the initial outlay for these animals was great, expenses would eventually be reduced.<sup>5</sup> The San Rafael would then be an established breeding ranch.

Settlers now moved in on the vacant ranges. Although the rainfall had been light, the grass grew thick and high, and in the valley the herd would have increased to cover the land in three or four years' time.<sup>6</sup> Immediate steps had to be taken to speed the process. Already, a surgeon at Fort Huachuca, Dr. Brown, and one Lt. Richards, had run 250 cattle in a canyon north of the Canela Hills, and were getting ready to stock the Harshaw and Mowry Canyons as well. To remedy the situation, Colin decided to purchase cheap Mexican cattle to take up the empty grazing land. Cameron realized, however, that before he could add to his stock he had to sink more wells to provide needed water. Cattlemen in southern Arizona came to realize that the natural water supply was not nearly adequate in times

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3. B. Cameron to Fulford, Jan. 24, 1886, and Mrs. Alice F. Cameron to Fulford, Feb. 1, 1886, S. R./Box I.

4. Letters, Jan. 24, 1885, to Sept. 4, 1886, S. R./Box I.

5. Ford (St. Louis) to Fulford, May 14, 1887, S. R./Box I.

6. B. Cameron to Fulford, Jan. 23, 1886, S.R./Box I.

of short rain.<sup>7</sup> Accordingly, the manager of the San Rafael made arrangements to sink wells at nearby Washington Camp, Mowry, and Harshaw.<sup>8</sup>

Filling the range with Mexican cattle was not the only device the Camerons used to discourage squatters. Brewster published several articles in newspapers which declared the grass of the San Rafael to be "so short during the last two dry years" that the company had been "obliged to sell off a number of cattle."<sup>9</sup> His greatest fear was that the lush grass would lure small cattlemen into the Huachuca country north and south of the Canela Hills. Several cowboys at the fall rodeo had wryly said that there was more grass on the San Rafael than on "fifty miles of the San Pedro River,"<sup>10</sup> and that it was odd that cattle did not occupy all of the range. The younger Cameron quickly arranged to purchase 2,000 Mexican scrubs to graze in the Huachuca country. Sonoran Longhorns were readily available in 1886, and Cameron was able to buy them at low prices. Several of the settlers sold their cattle immediately when

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7. (Tucson) Arizona Daily Star, Aug. 22, 1885.

8. B. Cameron to Fulford, Feb. 19, 1886, and B. Cameron to Fulford, Jan. 23, 1886, S. R./Box I.

9. B. Cameron to Fulford, Feb. 19, 1886, S. R./Box I.

10. B. Cameron to Fulford, March 22, 1886, S. R./Box I.

they felt the ominous pressures.<sup>11</sup> Apache raids had already caused several squatters to remove to less troubled land.

From their mountain rancherias the Chiricahua Apaches gazed upon the rich grazing lands of southeastern Arizona. The ranches had been raided by the warriors since the early seventies. With the subjugation of Cochise in 1874, most settlers supposed the worst of the Indian troubles to be over. After a lull of two years, however, the Apaches renewed their depredations. Raids increased in 1882, and much stock fell prey to the marauders.<sup>12</sup> The area around La Noria and Santa Cruz was under frequent attack, and the residents were constantly on edge. Due to the watchful eye of the Camerons and their vaqueros, the San Rafael de la Zanja lost few cattle; however, the fine saddle horses grazing in the pastures of the ranch were tempting indeed to the Apaches. Colin Cameron's apprehension for their safety was great. In July of 1885, he reported that one of his vaqueros was killed near Santa Cruz and that the Apaches were preparing to attack La Noria.<sup>13</sup> The assault did not take place, but several months later four men were killed outside the small border town, and a detachment of soldiers was sent from Fort Huachuca to protect the

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11. Ibid.

12. Wagoner, History of the Cattle Industry, 51-52.

13. (Tucson) Arizona Daily Star, July 23, 1885.

inhabitants.<sup>14</sup> During these raids, the San Rafael lost but 25 horses and five cows.<sup>15</sup> When Geronimo surrendered in the Spring of 1886, Cameron felt he could relax the vigil over his stock.

The Apaches...are no longer a terror to the people of Arizona. The papers are full of tributes to General Miles...and are unstinted in their praise of the fortitude and heroism of the...officers and soldiers...Thank God the Indian War is...over.<sup>16</sup>

Fear of raids had drawn together all ranchers-- large and small. With the close of the Indian struggles that common bond of friendship between the large ranchers and the squatters was broken. Colin Cameron reflected that:

The constant dread of Apache atrocities makes white people good neighbors...when you hear almost daily of tortures too horrible to publish and wonder when your turn may come, there is not so strong an inclination to quarrel with those about you.<sup>17</sup>

Yet this peace brought new problems for the Camerons.

After the surrender of Geronimo the intruders became more aggressive. Since the formation of the company, Rochester

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14. (Tucson) Arizona Daily Star, July 26, 1885.

15. B. Cameron (Seguin, Texas) to Fulford, Nov. 24, 1886, S. R./Box I.

16. B. Cameron to Fulford, Sept. 4, 1886, S. R./Box I.

17. B. Cameron to Fulford, Feb. 3, 1886, S. R./Box I.

Ford<sup>18</sup> as well as Brewster Cameron had been making arrangements for a new survey. Ford was a brilliant attorney. A giant of a man, he reminded Brewster of a print hanging over a bar in St. Louis which depicted a man crossing from one continent to another, spanning the gap with one step.<sup>19</sup> Ford had a substantial interest in the San Rafael and was more than willing to neglect his practice in St. Louis for the good of the company. Besides, he received an ample salary for his services. His first appeal for a resurvey was denied early in 1884, but another appeal was hopefully made. Ford knew that in order for it to be successful, the titles of the parcioneros must be procured. Brewster arranged for his friend, Lewis Wolfley,<sup>20</sup> a mineral surveyor, to

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18. Rochester Ford practiced law in St. Louis during the greater part of the decade of the 80's. He was a stockholder in the San Rafael Cattle Company from its formation in 1883. Ford was constantly traveling to the east and west coasts to take care of company business for Cameron and the directors. After the formation of the Court of Private Land Claims in 1892 he defended several grant owners in southern Arizona, including Cameron.

19. C. Cameron to Fulford, May 9, 1885; B. Cameron to Fulford, June 1, 1885, and C. Cameron to Fulford, Nov. 7, 1885, S. R./Box I. One of the first things that Ford and Brewster Cameron did was to prepare an intricate brief, establishing their claim and demonstrating why a survey was necessary to give them "color" of title to the San Rafael. Also, Ford felt it was necessary to incorporate the San Rafael Cattle Company under the incorporation laws of Arizona Territory.

20. Lewis Wolfley came to Arizona in 1882 from Washington, D. C., as a civil engineer. He became governor in April of 1889, and was removed from office before his term expired. See George H. Kelley, Legislative History of Arizona, 1864-1912 (Phoenix: Manufacturing Stationer Inc.,

take care of the task. Wolfley, however, had much difficulty in locating the deeds.<sup>21</sup> Soon, the younger Cameron learned from Col. Ronstadt, a wood agent for the Sonora Railroad, that Ramon Romero had given the names of the legal heirs to one of his sons on his deathbed. In December, 1884, Cameron traveled to Arizpe, Sonora, to meet with Ronstadt and search for the valuable papers.<sup>22</sup> They could not go ahead without them. To add to this misfortune, Ray Sparks, Commissioner of the Land Office in Tucson, asked the Secretary of the Interior to declare the "overplus" lands of the San Rafael as part of the Public Domain.<sup>23</sup> Thus it was thrown open to settlement.

Following the Sparks decision, the squatters on the land Cameron claimed grew restless. In February several men threatened to harm Colin if their interests were not bought out at what Cameron felt were exorbitant prices. Cameron steadfastly maintained that they had settled on the

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1926), 136, and Effie R. Keen, "Arizona's Governors," Arizona Historical Review, Vol. 3, No. 3 (Oct. 1930), 11-12.

21. B. Cameron to Fulford, March 13, 1885, B. Cameron to Fulford, March 20, 1885, and B. Cameron to Fulford, April 14, 1885, S. R./Box I.

22. Ford to Fulford, Nov. 20, 1885, B. Cameron to Fulford, Nov. 15, 1885, and B. Cameron to Fulford, Dec. 31, 1885, S. R./Box I.

23. Report of the San Rafael Cattle Company, 1883-1895, S. R./Box II.

land with the express purpose of selling their cattle and land to him for a large profit.<sup>24</sup> The squatters were well aware that the Camerons needed the land surrounding the prescribed four leagues and would pay a fancy price for it. Late in that same month, several men cut the fence around the new holding pasture on the northeast corner of the grant. Cameron had planned to buy another lot of Herefords to put into this pasture, and when he heard of this wrongdoing, he canceled the order.<sup>25</sup> The registered Herefords could not run loose on the range. Other fences put up by the San Rafael Cattle Company on the western portion of the grant began to disappear. A miner at Washington Camp, David Allen,<sup>26</sup> accused Cameron of erecting four strand fences across the public road that led to La Noria. Allen claimed

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24. B. Cameron to Fulford, Feb. 3, 1886, S. R./  
Box I.

25. C. Cameron to Fulford, Feb. 24, 1886, S. R./  
Box I.

26. Allen was an "old timer" from Washington Camp. Presumably, he was a miner. See (Tucson) Arizona Daily Star, July 9, 1885. In 1886, he was postmaster at the mining camp. Not only did he accuse Cameron of fencing the public domain, he said that Cameron was responsible for the murders of seven people who had been killed on the San Rafael Grant in 1885. In a letter addressed to the General Land Office he listed the names of five men who would swear that Cameron had in fact been responsible for the murders he mentioned. It is possible that Allen and his fellow miners at Washington Camp feared that the San Rafael Cattle Company would acquire the mineral rights of the area, and so made efforts to throw a bad light upon Cameron. See Allen to the General Land Office (Washington), March 17, 1886, Dockets 12-17, Court of Private Land Claims, Micro 177 (1667), National Archives, found in APHS.

that the people of the area were forced to go a great distance out of their way to get around the fence, and that the miners of Washington Camp could not ship their ore because of the barrier. He said that the citizens of Pima County were "afraid to remove the fences because the Cameron party control everything in that portion of the country by fear or by force."<sup>27</sup> A formal complaint was made to the Board of Supervisors about the matter.<sup>28</sup>

At the same time, a crew of men led by George McCarthy<sup>29</sup> took over the pasture at "Smythes Cienega" at the northwest corner of the grant.<sup>30</sup> Demacio, the resident vaquero, was pushed out of his house and forced to allow McCarthy to surround the area with a fence. Cameron was ready to place a herd of cows to fatten in the pasture,

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27. Allen to GLO, loc.cit.

28. Papers of the Board of Supervisors, Records of Pima County, loc.cit., and (Tucson) Arizona Daily Star, April 15, 1885.

29. George McCarthy lived in the small valley between the Huachucas and the Canelo Hills. He had moved onto the land in 1884, and Cameron claimed his ranch as part of the San Rafael Grant. When Cameron ordered McCarthy to get off the land, McCarthy went to Tombstone to complain to the court there. Finally, he wrote to the Secretary of the Interior and complained that Cameron was fencing the public domain. Cameron, who had friends in the Post Office at Lochiel, intercepted the letter and swore out a warrant for McCarthy's arrest, claiming that McCarthy had perjured him. See Reminiscences of George McCarthy in the files of the Arizona Pioneers Historical Society, and McCarthy to Teller, March 17, 1884, Micro 177 (1667).

30. B. Cameron to Fulford, Sept. 4, 1886, S. R./ Box I.

intending to sell them to the butcher at Fort Huachuca; but, he feared that a "shooting scrape" might result if he made an effort to carry out his intention. "These scoundrels are worse than Apache Indians," he said. "This ranch is not big enough for them and the San Rafael Cattle Company."<sup>31</sup> He wanted, however, to avoid any action which would lead to violence for fear of influencing future land litigations. By October the squatters had grown tired of holding the pasture, and Cameron was able to put in the cattle with little trouble. Because of this, Cameron lost his contract with the butcher of the military post, and he was angered. The manager of the San Rafael armed his men with new Winchesters before making the move to retrieve his pasture.<sup>32</sup> George McCarthy fled to avoid a warrant that Cameron had out for his arrest. When the affair was over, Cameron had discharged his foreman Johnson, and replaced him with Mecarteney.<sup>33</sup> The settlers had calmed down, and

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31. Ibid.

32. Ker to Fulford, Oct. 2, 1886, S. R./I.

33. B. Cameron (Seguin, Texas) to Fulford, Nov. 24, 1886, S. R./I. Mecarteney remained foreman for a very short time. Early in 1887 he was murdered in Sonora. The reason behind the murder is not clear. Cameron merely states that he was not killed while on "Company business." It is interesting to note that Cameron's next foreman, a former vaquero, Julius Kunde, was indicted for murder in Seguin, Texas. The Camerons were extremely concerned at the outcome of his trial and Brewster traveled to Seguin four or five times to plead Kunde's case. Kunde was convicted for murder in the first degree by Jury May 15, 1886. Brewster appealed the case on

awakened to the realization that the San Rafael was much too large an outfit for them to fight.

The coming of settlers caused Brewster and Colin to realize that their title had to be completely cleared. At the close of 1885, Wolfley had finally been able to secure the title of the pueblo of Santa Cruz.<sup>34</sup> Purportedly, this was the original title conferred on Ramon Romero and the citizens of the Presidio. The owner of this title was to have ostensible possession of the San Rafael de la Zanja. Romero, however, had given his part of the deed to one of his sons. Ronstadt had been unable to find the son, Innocencio.<sup>35</sup> In February of 1886, neither Innocencio nor any of his several brothers could be located.<sup>36</sup> In March, Brewster ascertained that there were yet three citizens of Santa Cruz who had not allowed Wolfley to purchase their part of the title. These three persons had to be found and

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May 24, 1886, and the case was dismissed finally, on November 15, 1888. Julius paid the trial expenses out of his salary as foreman of the San Rafael Cattle Company. See Case No. 1273, Guadalupe County Records, extracts sent to the author by Arthur Tschoppe, District Clerk, and B. Cameron, letters, November 1886 to December 1888, passim.

34. In order for Wolfley to get the "title" it was necessary for him to pay individual parcioneros for their rights to the grant. Apparently, he managed to buy most of these from the citizens of Santa Cruz to whom the original grant was made.

35. S. Cameron to Fulford, Jan. 23, 1886, S. R./  
Box I.

36. B. Cameron to Fulford, Feb. 3, 1886, S. R./  
Box I.

bought out. They had each demanded \$3,000 for their titles --a price which Wolfley and Cameron considered too high. These Mexican farmers now offered to sell for \$500. "I suppose if they are fooled with...awhile," Cameron maintained, "they will sell for the price paid the others--\$80 or \$240 for the three."<sup>37</sup> The manager of the San Rafael would try to indeed drive a hard bargain. Several months later, at the same moment the three title-holders finally let their deeds go to Cameron at a pittance, Innocencio was located in Magdalena, Sonora.<sup>38</sup> To the disgust and dismay of the Camerons, Innocencio had lost the papers and memoranda of his father. Soon afterwards, however, they discovered that the material was in the hands of Dr. Alfred A. Green, the man from whom Richardson had purchased the San Rafael--and a proclaimed enemy of the Cameron brothers.<sup>39</sup>

The activities of Green caused the Camerons no little concern. Not only did he claim that Cameron had no right to the extra land surrounding the four square leagues of the grant, but he said that Cameron had no title whatsoever to any of the area.<sup>40</sup> In his possession, boasted he,

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37. B. Cameron to Fulford, March 22, 1886, S. R./Box I.

38. Ibid.

39. Fulford to Ford, June 24, 1886, S. R./Box I.

40. Green to President Grover Cleveland, November 1886, 11. Enclosed with this letter was a "History of the

were the deeds of purchase from the legal heirs, the original expediente, and the approval of legal tribunals of the Mexican Federal District at Guaymas and of the Court of First Instancia, Magdalena, Sonora. This "gives to me alone" he said, "the full and absolute title to the whole of the ranch San Rafael de la Zanja."<sup>41</sup> In a letter to Sparks in May, 1886, he proclaimed all the previous transactions of Richardson and Cameron to be fraudulent.<sup>42</sup> On the same day he drafted a letter to President Grover Cleveland, charging Cameron with arson, murder, and other crimes "still more horrible."<sup>43</sup> He interpreted all of Cameron's actions as a plot devised by "Old" Simon Cameron to extend his influence in the West. Quoting from an interview with Colin in 1882, Green wrote:

Even in his Simon Cameron's retirement the lust of self and agrandizement of his clan did not let him rest... 'We must extend and keep our power in the Territories...to do this well, we must obtain land; now, here is Colin who knows about raising cattle; let us send him to the West to get a ranch.'<sup>44</sup>

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San Rafael de la Zanja," which Green had written. This was really a condemnation of Cameron. Found in the Papers of the Court of Private Land Claims, Department of Library and Archives, and also in Micro 177 (1667).

41. Green, "History," loc.cit., 11.

42. Ibid., 10.

43. A. A. Green to Sparks, May 19, 1886, Micro 177 (1667).

44. Green, "History," 9.

Green was ready to prove his accusations--if given proper protection. He charged that the political powers of the Camerons were dominant in Washington, and "all powerful and overshadowed everything in Arizona." He heatedly wrote that in Pima County James A. Zabriskie, U. S. District Attorney, Harry Jeffords, County Attorney, Thomas Tidball, U. S. Marshal, and R. C. Markley, Notary Public at Lochiel,<sup>45</sup> were all in league with the owners of the San Rafael.<sup>46</sup> In May of 1886, Cameron boasted to Ford that he had managed to have all his friends elected to public offices in Pima County. "If any villains now violate the law," he said, "they will at last be vigorously prosecuted--it is worth a great deal to us."<sup>47</sup>

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45. B. Cameron to C. Meyer Zulick, Dec. 13, 1886, in the Territorial Papers of the Department of State, Department of Library and Archives, Phoenix. Zabriskie, Jeffords, Tidball, and Markley all had close ties with Cameron. Zabriskie had come to Tucson in 1878 from New Jersey as a U. S. Customs Official. He was appointed U. S. Attorney for Arizona by President Arthur in 1883. See (Tucson) Arizona Daily Star, April 22, 1904. Jeffords came from Marysville, Mississippi, to Tucson in 1884. He was District Attorney for Pima County in 1886 and a partner of Selim Franklin. He was appointed U. S. Attorney for Arizona in 1889, and held this post until he died in 1891. See the (Tucson) Arizona Daily Star, April 4, 1891, and the (Tucson) Arizona Citizen, April 3, 1891. Tidball was an established Tucson attorney. Little else can be found about this lawyer. Markley, apparently, was a resident of the La Noria area, and a friend of Cameron.

46. Green, "History," 13.

47. B. Cameron to Fulford, Nov. 19, 1886, S. R./  
Box I.

Some of Green's accusations reached the ears of persons in positions of importance. In 1885, Green claimed that Cameron and his associates had destroyed the homes of two Missouri families who had recently settled upon the grant.<sup>48</sup> These houses were south of the international boundary line in Mexico. David Allen also attested that he knew Cameron had committed the deed. Soon afterwards the Presidente del Ayuntamiento of the Mexican town of Santa Cruz paid Green a visit. Green told the Presidente what he knew of the incident, and soon the Governor of Sonora issued a warrant for the arrest of Colin Cameron. The Mexican government offered a reward for his arrest as well. According to Green, one of Cameron's men "turned states evidence and told the whole truth,"<sup>49</sup> revealing that Cameron had burned the houses to discourage settlers from coming into the area he claimed. Cameron was indicted, but never came to trial. A demand upon the Governor of Arizona for Cameron's delivery to the Mexican authorities was made, but ignored. The Governor of Arizona, Green maintained, was a partisan, if not a protege of the Camerons', and so nothing was done about the matter.<sup>50</sup>

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48. A. A. Green (New York) to Sparks, May 19, 1886, Micro 177 (1667).

49. Green, "History," 10.

50. Ibid.

At the close of the year 1884, Ford's efforts to have a new survey made of the San Rafael were fulfilled.<sup>51</sup> Teller, as one of his last acts as Secretary of the Interior, granted a resurvey. With the accession of the Cleveland Administration--and L. Q. C. Lamar to the Secretaryship, action, however, was delayed. Teller was the recipient of many letters of protestation from settlers in the area of the grant. In March, 1885, he was informed that the owners of the San Rafael were claiming that the order for a survey of the grant recognized the full extent of their claim. Teller was furious, He found that on the strength of his order, the Camerons were removing or threatening to remove settlers.<sup>52</sup> "It will not do for the claimants of the grant to disturb settlers on the excess claimed by them,"<sup>53</sup> he said. This was not the intention of the Department in ordering the new survey.

Teller threatened to ask Secretary Lamar to revoke his order if what he had heard was true. He urged the new Secretary to send a special examiner to Lochiel to investigate the situation. The Examiner, General Edward M.

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51. G. A. Jenks, Assistant Secretary of the Interior, to Sparks, April 28, 1886, Micro 177 (1667).

52. Teller to Royal A. Johnson, Surveyor General of Arizona, March 28, 1885, Micro 177 (1667).

53. Ibid.

McCook,<sup>54</sup> former Governor of Colorado, sent in March of 1886, submitted a report to Lamar. That same month, McCook had talked with the people of the area and examined the papers in the General Land Office at Tucson. It was his determined opinion that Cameron had no title to the grant. Before the McCook report was received in Washington, John Hise, U. S. Surveyor General of Arizona, asked Sparks for advice as to what to do about the lands withdrawn from entry pending the survey.<sup>55</sup> Sparks turned to Lamar. Lamar told Sparks to hold all in abeyance until the investigation of the matter was completed and a report received.<sup>56</sup> By April 12, all the papers of the case had been transmitted to the General Land Office.

News reached Ford of the investigation of the grant and he hurriedly went to Washington to see Lamar--determined to convince the Secretary not to reverse the order for the survey.<sup>57</sup> While Ford was en route, Brewster Cameron learned that Lamar was soon to start on an extended tour of the Indian Agencies; and so, Lamar would not be in Washington

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54. (Tucson) Arizona Daily Star, July 14, 1885.

55. Hise to Lamar, March 28, 1886, Micro 177  
(1667).

56. Lamar to Sparks, April 17, 1886, Micro 177  
(1667).

57. B. Cameron to Fulford, Aug. 8, 1886, S. R./I.

when Ford arrived. Cameron interpreted this action of Lamar as an attempt to "put them off".<sup>58</sup> The Secretary "must either act, or refuse to act," Cameron maintained. "I do not see how he can reverse his order."<sup>59</sup> By September, Cameron had convinced Volney Elstun, Chief Clerk of the U. S. Surveyor's Office in Tucson, to suspend the extra land from entry into the Public Domain until further action by Lamar.<sup>60</sup> But, this further action did not come. On September 3, 1886, Ford told Fulford that he was very upset.

The Secretary has done nothing yet. When will he? I am using every effort to get the case decided for my business at home is well nigh paralyzed by my absence.<sup>61</sup>

Ker, however, was confident of Ford's power of persuasion. "He has a thousand pounds of persistence to each inch of his body," said Ker.<sup>62</sup> But this confidence on the part of the owners of the San Rafael was short-lived.

When Lamar learned of the order of Elstun he became irate. Elstun had no right to retrieve the lands of the San Rafael from the Public Domain. This news, added to the adverse report of McCook, made Lamar seriously reconsider

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58. Ibid.

59. Ibid.

60. Volney Elstun to Register, Receiver U. S. Land Office, Washington, Sept. 3, 1884, Micro 177 (1667).

61. Ford to Fulford, Sept. 3, 1886, S. R./I.

62. Ker to Fulford, Sept. 14, 1886, S. R./I.

his order for a resurvey. The Secretary was not a man of quick decisions. He measured and weighed the evidence, and on September 30th, decided not to disturb the order of his predecessor. He calculated that since the extent of the claim was only four square leagues that there was nothing in the records to indicate whether such land was located or defined by limits. He also decided the only survey of the rancho was shown in the report of the denouncer<sup>63</sup> who was directed by the Mexican authorities to proceed with the measurement of the land. And so, Lamar directed that the instructions contained in his order of April 12th be executed immediately.<sup>64</sup> Ford was elated. Considering his work done, he returned to St. Louis. On November 20, 1886, he was informed that the order for the survey had been revoked. He was puzzled and amazed. Sparks was responsible for the turn of events. The Commissioner, in an "urgent request," had claimed that the "whole business was a fraud from one end to the other."<sup>65</sup> Ford was disgusted. Lamar informed the dejected attorney that he was still considering the matter. But Ford knew that if Lamar gave Sparks any discretion as to the survey that "Sparks would run out four

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63. Lamar to Sparks, Sept. 30, 1886, Micro 177 (1667).

64. Ibid.

65. Ford to Lamar, Nov. 20, 1886, S. R./I.

leagues on to some dry mesas where land is now worth less than at the time this grant was made.<sup>66</sup>

The fence erected at the pasture on the northeast corner of the grant, about which David Allen had complained, brought the San Rafael trouble in 1887. The complaint was registered with the Board of Supervisors in the spring of the previous year,<sup>67</sup> and the next spring the government brought suit against Colin Cameron for unlawful fencing of the public domain.<sup>68</sup> In February of 1885, Congress had passed a law prohibiting the fencing of public lands except under a legally applied for title.<sup>69</sup> Cameron claimed that the fence was within the boundaries of his grant--but it was outside of the official survey of John Wasson which the government considered the legal limits.<sup>70</sup> The case was obviously of great importance to the company. The decision would involve adjudication of the area of the grant and might culminate in another survey by the Interior Department. It was for this the San Rafael Cattle Company hoped. Ford

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66. B. Cameron to Fulford, Nov. 24, 1886, S. R./I.

67. Testimony of Allen to McCook, March 17, 1886, Micro 177 (1667), and C. Cameron to Fulford, Nov. 8, 1886, S. R./I.

68. Ford to Fulford, April 2, 1887, S. R./I.

69. Wagener, "Gadsden Purchase Lands," New Mexico Historical Review, XXIV (Jan. 1951), 21.

70. Ford to Fulford, April 2, 1887, S. R./I.

and Cameron optimistically expected a favorable decision.<sup>71</sup> If they were not so favored, they intended to appeal to the Supreme Court of the United States.<sup>72</sup> While the case was being tried in May, Ford tried again to get Lamar to overrule Sparks' decision against a resurvey.<sup>73</sup> The Commissioner was obviously hostile to the Cameron interests, and had a great influence upon the Secretary. The Judge at the trial, W. H. Barnes,<sup>74</sup> was no friend of the Camerons, and Colin expected the worst.

Barnes handed down his decision on June 20, 1887. Cameron was indicted for unlawful fencing, and the barriers were ordered to be removed immediately.<sup>75</sup> The decision was

71. Ibid.

72. Ford to Fulford, May 14, 1887, S. R./I.

73. Ford to Fulford, May 18, 1887, S. R./I.

74. Judge Barnes was born in Massachusetts in 1843. He moved to Illinois in the early '60's and was admitted to the bar in 1866. He was legal representative of the Wabash Railroad Company there, until he came to Arizona in 1885. He was appointed Chief Justice of the Supreme Court at Tucson. Barnes was an able public speaker and had many friends. He was also interested in mining and became the President of the Cieneguita Copper Co. of Sonora. He was a staunch Democrat, and perhaps gave Cameron trouble because of their political diversities. He practiced law until his death in 1904. See McClintock, Arizona, III, 422-425, and Reminiscence of W. H. Barnes in the files of APHS.

75. Records of the District Court of the First Judicial District of the Territory of Arizona, in and for the County of Pima, Docket, U..S. v. Colin Cameron, 1887, found in the Records of Pima County; and the (Tucson) Arizona Daily Star, June 21, 1887.

based upon the Wasson survey which the San Rafael Company considered fraudulent. Barnes, however, had no other upon which to base his conclusions. The order for a new survey which Cameron hoped would arise from the Fence Case did not come about. Hise interpreted the outcome in a different light. He said that District Attorney Zabriskie failed to bring out evidence revealing the extent of the grant for the express purpose of concealing the magnitude of the "attempt to encompass a good slice of the Public Domain on the part of the members of the San Rafael Cattle Company."<sup>76</sup> He looked upon Barnes' decision as a boon to the people around the San Rafael.

They...now feel...there will be no more extensions, as they say...it has been expanded from year to year to suit...the claimants. They think...the government is trying to do justice. It will also to some extent, break the fetters that have held many settlers in fear of the courts granting ejectment writs...<sup>77</sup>

The decision was published in all the papers the following morning. Sentiment was almost unanimous to its justness. "This is the first gun in Arizona from the bench of a fearless and honest judge," Hise proclaimed, "in opposition to what is styled 'landgrabbers'."<sup>78</sup>

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76. Hise to Sparks, June 20, 1887, Micro 177 (1667).

77. Ibid.

78. Ibid.; See also, Wagoner, "Gadsden Purchase Lands," 21,22.

## CHAPTER IV.

### THE LIVE STOCK SANITARY COMMISSION

As early as February of 1886 Cameron had discontinued importing cattle from the East.<sup>1</sup> Informed that Pleuro-pneumonia had again struck the stockyards of Chicago, he was fearful. By that winter, the new outbreak reached epidemic proportions in the western half of the United States.<sup>2</sup> On November 16, the National Convention of Cattle Growers asked Governor Zulick to select delegates to the Convention to discuss the dread disease.<sup>3</sup> The Cattle Growers ascertained that Congress had neglected the cattlemen of the country. Arizona stockmen realized that they would have to take steps to prevent the disease from entering their Territory. In his message before the 14th Territorial Legislature, Zulick recommended the passage of a quarantine law that would prevent the importation of cattle from districts where contagious diseases were prevalent. He said that the legislation of 1885 providing inspectors

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1. B. Cameron to Fulford, Feb. 24, 1886; Feb. 3, 1886; and Nov. 19, 1886, S. R./I.

2. B. Cameron to Fulford, Nov. 19, 1886; Nov. 24, 1886, S. R./I.

3. National Convention of Cattle Growers (Chicago) to Zulick, Nov. 16, 1886, in the Territorial Papers of the Department of State.

had failed to protect the territory effectively.<sup>4</sup> In January of 1887, Brewster Cameron drafted several articles to the Hoof and Horn, the New Mexico Stock Grower, and other southwestern stockmen's newspapers recommending the prohibition of foreign cattle. He urged that all diseased cattle be slaughtered and suggested that cattlemen write to their congressmen to ask for the enlargement of the newly formed Bureau of Animal Industry.<sup>5</sup>

Brewster Cameron's articles inspired veterinarians in Arizona and neighboring states to compose newspaper columns explaining the causes and effects of Pleuro-pneumonia. Stockmen became alarmed. The Territorial Livestock Association was not powerful enough to cope with the situation. An organization authorized by the Territory that could work in concert with United States authorities would be more effective.

In February of 1887, prominent cattlemen from Arizona met in Prescott to discuss the ominous situation. The Cameron brothers were instrumental in calling this meeting.<sup>6</sup>

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4. Message of Governor C. Meyer Zulick to the 14th Legislative Assembly, Jan. 10, 1887, "Messages of Territorial Governors to Territorial Legislatures from 1864-1909."

5. B. Cameron to Fulford, Jan. 24, 1887, S. R./I.

6. J. C. Norton to Colin Cameron and C. W. Pugh, Oct. 8, 1893, found in letterbook of J. C. Norton, Territorial Veterinary Surgeon of the Live Stock Sanitary Board, Phoenix; and Colin Cameron to Will C. Barnes, Nov. 6, 1904, in the papers of the Live Stock Sanitary Board in the files of APHS.

It was decided that an organization of cattlemen under the direction of the Territorial government would be beneficial.<sup>7</sup> The Live Stock Sanitary Commission of Arizona, which would govern the interests of cattlemen in the Territory for years to come, germinated from the ideas of these men.

At the capital, the stockmen drafted a bill for submission to the Territorial Legislature. The bill repealed the act of March 2, 1885. It contained provisions for marks and brands that had been included in the 1885 bill, but added many aspects that had been overlooked at that time.<sup>8</sup> Chapter two of the law related to rodeos and repealed "An Act for the Protection of Stock Raisers" that had been passed in 1881.<sup>9</sup> Chapter three, however, contained the most essential provisions of the legislation. Herein was established the Live Stock Sanitary Commission of the Territory of Arizona. Five Commissioners "identified with the livestock interests of Arizona" were to be chosen by the Governor to make up the Commission. A Chairman elected from the commissioners and a verterinary surgeon chosen by the Governor would head the organization. The Commission would institute measures to protect the health of the stock from malady and infection;

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7. Tombstone Epitaph, July 29, 1887.

8. Revised Statutes of the Territory of Arizona, 1887, Chapter 1, "Marks and Brands," 503.

9. Ibid., Chapter 2, "Stock and Sanitary Law," 504.

report any information relating to the existence of disease in the area; examine suspected cattle; and direct temporary quarantine and sanitary regulations to prevent the spread of disease. If cattle were found to be infected, the Commission was to meet, and a permanent quarantine could be established contingent upon an official proclamation by the Governor. Diseased cattle could be exterminated, if the owner of the animal were recompensed. Penalties were to be imposed on persons who knowingly brought diseased cattle into the Territory without notifying the Commission. Livestock would not be permitted to enter the Territory from other states, territories, or countries without a certificate of health from the Veterinary Surgeon. The Board of Supervisors of the counties of the Territory were authorized to levy taxes which would provide funds for the operation of the Commission.<sup>10</sup> The passage of the bill in March of 1887 was a victory for the livestock interests of Arizona. The Cameron brothers considered it a personal triumph.

Five months after the passage of the Stock and Sanitary Law, a quarantine was proclaimed.<sup>11</sup> On August 12, 1887, C. M. Bruce and the Live Stock Sanitary Commission requested

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10. Cameron, "Report on the Livestock Industry," Report of the Governor to the Secretary of the Interior, 54th Cong., 2d Session, Vol. III, 1896 (Washington: Government Printing Office, 1896), 230; and Revised Statutes, 1887, 504-508.

11. Report of the Governor to the Secretary of the Interior, 1889.

a ban on cattle coming from Mexico.<sup>12</sup> On the 20th day of the same month, Dr. A. J. Chandler,<sup>13</sup> Veterinary Surgeon, advised that immediate action be taken.<sup>14</sup> Finally, on September 3rd, the Governor issued a quarantine on Mexican cattle for a period of three months.<sup>15</sup> It would seem that the quarantine would please the cattlemen of Arizona. However, when the announcement of the regulation was made, cattlemen in the southern part of the Territory objected vehemently.<sup>16</sup> The Tombstone Epitaph claimed that Sonoran cattle were not, and had never been diseased, and that the quarantine was "ridiculous." Cattle owners complained because they could no longer import cattle from the north Mexican state of Sonora. Bruce told the complainants that the quarantine was to protect Arizona cattlemen--not to destroy the sale of Mexican cattle in local and California markets.<sup>17</sup>

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12. C. M. Bruce to Zulick, Aug. 12, 1887. Papers of the Department of State.

13. A. J. Chandler was appointed Veterinary Surgeon almost immediately upon his arrival in Arizona from Detroit. He located in Prescott, and then Phoenix. He remained connected with the Live Stock Sanitary Board until 1892. He is perhaps best known for his efforts to construct an irrigation system near Phoenix. Chandler, Arizona, was named for him. He was a Republican, though not a staunch one. See McClintock, Arizona, III, 864-867.

14. Tombstone Epitaph, Aug. 20, 1887.

15. Ibid., Sept. 3, 1887.

16. Ibid., Oct. 8, 1887.

17. Ibid., Oct. 15, 1887.

Sonoran stockmen were also disturbed. Lamar had written to Zulick telling him that the Mexicans were unhappy and that the matter needed investigation.<sup>18</sup> Arizonans pleaded with Zulick to lift the ban.<sup>19</sup> They claimed that the order was ruining their business and was courting the displeasure of their Mexican neighbors.

The quarantine was ineffective. Enterprising businessmen found many ways of getting Sonoran and Mexican cattle over the international boundary line. At the request of Bruce, the constitutionality of the quarantine was considered,<sup>20</sup> and on December 3, the restriction was recalled. Oddly enough, the Sanitary Commission demanded its repeal to "do justice to the cattlemen of the southern portion of Arizona."<sup>21</sup> Eleven days after the repeal, however, pleuropneumonia broke out in northern Sonora, and another quarantine was issued.<sup>22</sup> Livestock inspectors were sent to the area, and the outbreak proved false. On the 24th of

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18. Lamar to Zulick, Nov. 1887, Papers of the Department of State.

19. Henry Warren of the Aztec Land and Cattle Company, and J. C. Waterman of the San Pedro Cattle Company complained to Zulick on Nov. 11, 1886. Papers of the Department of State.

20. Tombstone Epitaph, Nov. 12, 1887.

21. Ibid., Dec. 3, 1887.

22. A. J. Chandler to Wolfley, Dec. 14, 1887, Papers of the Department of State.

December, the second quarantine was repealed by Zulick on the advice of the Live Stock Sanitary Commission.<sup>23</sup>

It would seem that the cattlemen who had struggled for regulation were not ready to comply with the newly established rules. Colin Cameron was no exception. Since Cameron had cattle both in Arizona and Sonora, the quarantines and duties imposed upon Mexican cattle had an effect on him. On October 15, 1887, custom house officials seized about 200 cattle driven from Sonora by Cameron, Sidney Thomas, James Sutherland, and H. K. Hildebrant,<sup>24</sup> Mrs. Colin Cameron's brother-in-law.<sup>25</sup> The owners rounded up strays in Sonora and drove them to their respective ranges without taking them through the duty stations. The four men were taken before the court commissioner at Tombstone. Soon afterward, they were released pending trial.<sup>26</sup> The Southwestern Stockman called the seizure "an act so unjust and uncalled for that we are surprised it was ever attempted."<sup>27</sup> The question was whether cattle crossing the boundary should

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23. Tombstone Epitaph, Dec. 24, 1887.

24. H. K. Hildebrant owned most of the impounded cattle, and so the case was dubbed the "Hildebrant Case." Hildebrant was a relative of Colin's by marriage and had a range near that of the San Rafael. Southwestern Stockman, Oct. 15, 1887.

25. Tombstone Epitaph, Oct. 8, 1887.

26. Southwestern Stockman, Oct. 15, 1887.

27. Ibid.

be required to pass through official customs house inspection. The law in effect required that the animals be inspected by a customs official.<sup>28</sup> Cameron maintained that this was an impossibility for cattlemen of the area. Their cattle ranged over the Sonora line every day, and every day they were rounded up by vaqueros and returned to Arizona. To go out of their way and take the animals through Lochiel customs house would cause extra time and trouble--and the cattle would lose weight. Cameron said "that if he ever imported cattle,"-which he did frequently-"he always brought them through the station."<sup>29</sup> The cattle in question were of American stock and had already been inspected. Duty had been paid on them, said Cameron. Deputy Collector Chalmers at Lochiel received his orders from Collector Magoffin at El Paso, who in turn took orders from the Secretary of the Treasury.<sup>30</sup> Colin believed that "when the facts connected with the management of cattle on the range are fully understood by the Treasury Department," that "this ruling as that all cattle that stray over a boundary line should be returned by way of the customs houses would not stand a minute!"<sup>31</sup>

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Box I. 28. B. Cameron to Fulford, Nov. 21, 1887, S. R./

Box I. 29. C. Cameron to Fulford, Nov. 19, 1887, S. R./

Box I. 30. B. Cameron to Fulford, Nov. 21, 1887, S. R./

31. C. Cameron to Ford, Nov. 19, 1887, S. R./Box I.

Such a ruling was a physical impossibility. Other cattlemen were wont to agree with him.

In November, 1887, Ford returned to Washington. Cameron dispatched him to talk to the Secretary of the Treasury. The two men discussed the law which governed the straying of cattle across the boundary line into Sonora. Cameron had reminded Ford that it was impossible to keep cattle from roaming into Mexico because between the Huachuca and Patagonia Mountains the country sloped and water flowed towards and into Mexico. The cattle grazed and drifted down the stream "as naturally and surely as water runs down a hill."<sup>32</sup> Cameron gave instructions to Ford to ask for the revocation of Magoffin's order. If the Secretary would not revoke the order, then Cameron intended to call the Ranchmen's Association to confirm all that he said and to memorialize the Secretary of the Treasury to suspend the order. If the seizures were to become a general thing, then Cameron intended to have the Cattlemen's Association employ a lawyer to defend not only him but all the cattlemen of the area.<sup>33</sup> The judge at Tombstone had released Hildebrant, who owned most of the impounded cattle, because he understood the circumstances.<sup>34</sup> But, Chalmers had the

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32. B. Cameron to Fulford, Nov. 21, 1887, S. R./Box I.

33. Ibid.

34. C. Cameron to Ford, Nov. 19, 1887, S. R./Box I.

case brought before the Grand Jury in Tucson, and Cameron claimed that a man named Peterson, "wholly unworthy of belief,"<sup>35</sup> swore that Hildebrant held his cattle in Mexico. Accordingly, Hildebrant was indicted.

In this case, Judge Barnes did not tend to favor the Cameron interests. The Judge made an effort to force the jury to forfeit the Hildebrant cattle. They resolutely refused to do so.

He refused to give them any supper....  
 they didn't have anything to eat from...  
 one morning until the next...but they  
 could not be driven to a verdict....  
 After being out 24 hours, the judge dis-  
 missed them....they were cattlemen and  
 they would not consent to take away the  
 property of a man whom they knew to be  
 innocent of any attempt to violate the  
 law.<sup>36</sup>

Cameron knew that he had to use his influence to obtain a favorable decision. He was aware that an unfavorable verdict would cause him untold trouble in the future.

Cameron called on everyone he knew in Tucson and explained the case. He visited business establishments, private houses, and hotels. The sentiment in favor of Hildebrant was "overwhelming". Apparently, Hildebrant was not well known, so Cameron frankly told all of his friends that he was interested in the cattle--and they all worked

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35. B. Cameron to Fulford, Nov. 21, 1887, S. R./  
 Box I.

36. B. Cameron to Fulford, Jan. 26, 1888, S. R./  
 Box I.

for him in a manner that they would never have worked for Hildebrant.<sup>37</sup> Chalmers threatened to seize Cameron's cattle every day; but, the people denounced the actions of the customs officers in what Cameron termed "true frontier style."<sup>38</sup> Finally, on January 28, 1888, Judge Barnes, without a jury, declared that animals which strayed over the line and were at once returned to Arizona were not "imported" cattle, and therefore not subject to seizure.<sup>39</sup> The (Tucson) Arizona Daily Star announced that it would have been a calamity to cattlemen of Pima County if the law had denied them the privilege of turning their cattle back into the United States.

It is not possible to drive every animal that steps over an imaginary line past some customs house...is that necessary to protect the revenues? The action of the... court...shows conclusively that the honest cattlegrower will be protected...but woe to the smuggler; the man who really imports stock with the purpose of defrauding the government.<sup>40</sup>

Cameron was delighted and pleased. A month later, he was the recipient of news that made him even more happy.

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37. Ibid.

38. Ibid.

39. (Tucson) Arizona Daily Star, Jan. 25, 1888, Tombstone Prospector, Feb. 8, 1888, and Tombstone Epitaph, Jan. 28, 1888.

40. (Tucson) Arizona Daily Star, Jan. 22, 1888.

On the fourth of May, 1887, Sparks had again declared all the additional land of the San Rafael subject to settlement. This was no surprise to the Camerons. For some unknown reason, Sparks had become openly hostile to the owners of the San Rafael, and did all that he could to injure them.<sup>41</sup> Two weeks later, however, Lamar overruled the order of his subordinate. He still considered the allowance of a survey, and so ordered the General Land Office to withhold all lands claimed by the San Rafael from entry into the Public Domain.<sup>42</sup> Ford was in Washington a few months later, and used every effort to persuade Lamar to understand why a new survey was necessary both to the Cattle Company and the Interior Department. Ford and Senator Cameron together went to the Secretary, and on February 9, Lamar gave the two men an unqualified promise that a survey would be made. On February 21, a formal order was prepared.<sup>43</sup> Lamar "never understood the case til my last stagger at him," Ford wrote, and "I see that if I had left before I got it clear in his mind, he never would have made the order."<sup>44</sup> The attorney was happy indeed. He decided that

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41. Ford to Fulford, May 14, 1887, S. R./Box I.

42. Tombstone Prospector, May 20, 1887.

43. Ford to Fulford, Feb. 21, 1887, S. R./Box I.

44. Ford to Fulford, Feb. 9, 1887, S.R./Box I.

Lamar had been "disposed" to favor the San Rafael from the start, but because Sparks was unsparing in his allegations of fraud Lamar withheld the order for survey as often as he made it. It was a "see-saw action," he said.<sup>45</sup> Ford saw no reason for further delay. Brewster Cameron was fully right about Ford's "sticking powers." The matter was finally settled.

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45. Ibid.

CHAPTER V.  
INNOVATION AND EXPANSION

With the survey problem solved for the meantime, the Camerons could devote their full attentions to ranching. In November of 1887, Colin agreed to purchase the progeny of the Hereford herd of John Merryman.<sup>1</sup> In this way, the San Rafael would receive twenty or more fine registered Herefords each year to add to the already large breeding stock. At the close of 1887, there were enough grade Hereford bulls to cover the range of the Rancho,<sup>2</sup> and by the fall of 1888 Cameron planned to have only purebred or grade Herefords on his land.<sup>3</sup> The whiteface calf crop was large, and the entire herd numbered over seventeen thousand.<sup>4</sup> In less than four years, Cameron had quadrupled the number of cattle on his ranges.

In January, the first shipment of Merryman Herefords left Cockeysville, Maryland, for the Rancho San Rafael. The

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- Box I. 1. C. Cameron to Fulford, Nov. 27, 1887, S. R./
- Box I. 2. C. Cameron to Fulford, Dec. 25, 1887, S. R./
- Box I. 3. B. Cameron to Fulford, Dec. 23, 1887, S. R./
- Box I. 4. B. Cameron to Fulford, Dec. 17, 1887, S. R./

cattle were loaded into Burton stock cars, newly constructed vehicles designed to accommodate cattle with especial facility.<sup>5</sup> The Camerons had never used the cars before, and were a bit skeptical of them. This attitude was universal among western cattlemen in 1888.<sup>6</sup> Stockmen did not accept innovations readily. When the cattle arrived at Huachuca Station, however, doubts were dispelled. Never had heifers arrived in better condition. In February, Cameron ordered twenty Herefords from F. W. Smith of Columbia, Missouri.<sup>7</sup> Again, he had them shipped in Burton cars. Brewster was so delighted with the state of the animals when they arrived in Arizona that he praised the virtues of the Burton cars with little reserve. He drafted several letters to Denver, Santa Fe, and Tucson newspapers urging all stockmen to take advantage of the new vehicles.<sup>8</sup> He pointed with pride to the fat new Herefords that had weathered a trip of over 2,000 miles with no ill results. With cattle prices slowly decreasing, it was worth much to the San Rafael to have fat

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5. Fulford to C. Cameron, Jan. 22, 1888, S. R./Box I.

6. Wagoner, History of the Range Cattle Industry, 47.

7. Burton Stock Car Company, Boston, to Fulford, Feb. 10, 1888; B. Cameron to Fulford, Feb. 20, 1888; B. Cameron to Fulford, March 27, 1888, S. R./Box I.

8. B. Cameron to Fulford, Dec. 9, 1888, S. R./Box I.

cattle on the range. As a result, several other ranchers in southern Arizona purchased Herefords from Smith and had them transported in Burton cars. Smith considered his sale to the San Rafael as an advertisement,<sup>9</sup> for, by this time, the reputation of the Rancho was spreading. It was well known that the Camerons were good businessmen and discriminating purchasers. The officers of the cattle company, however, were not so enthusiastic about Cameron's purchases.

That spring, Colin went to Philadelphia to confer with the officers of the San Rafael Cattle Company. Ker and Small had told Cameron that the expenses of running the ranch seemed to them to be too great. More than \$24,000 had been spent in less than a year's time for new stock and improvements, and there was no prospect of dividends for stockholders. Cameron explained to them that they should not expect to increase their earnings at such an early date; the company, organized only five years before, had to establish itself firmly before any real profit could be realized. He told them too that the quality of the herd was fast improving, and the expected calf crop for 1888 would be 4,000. This information brightened the spirits of the businessmen. They realized that the stock would be self-sustaining soon, and that no more stock would be needed.<sup>10</sup> While in

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9. B. Cameron to Fulford, Feb. 20, 1888, S. R./Box I.

10. Ford to Fulford, April 6, 1888, S. R./Box I.

Philadelphia, Cameron hurt himself badly in a fall. He limped noticeably, and an operation was necessary before the rancher returned to the San Rafael.<sup>11</sup> After the surgery was performed, Cameron stopped in St. Louis to see Ford. The attorney felt the "warmest sympathy" for his friend. He declared that Colin was a "noble man" and would "suffer any amount of pain before telling anyone."<sup>12</sup> By the time he returned to the Valley of the Santa Cruz, Cameron was well and anxious to attend to his cattle business.

When Cameron arrived at the Rancho he immediately noticed the dryness of the range. It was obvious to him that the summer of 1888 had brought little rain to southern Arizona. By October, he realized that he would either have to bring feed in to his cattle, or take them elsewhere to be fattened.<sup>13</sup> With the completion of the Southern Pacific Railroad from Maricopa to Phoenix, it was possible for cattle men to ship their cattle to the alfalfa pastures of the Salt River Valley.<sup>14</sup> Cameron determined that taking steers to the alfalfa fields was advantageous because it was cheaper than having hay brought to the San Rafael. The

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11. Ford to Fulford, May 15, 1888, S. R./Box I.

12. Ford to Fulford, May 9, 1888, S. R./Box I.

13. B. Cameron to Fulford, Oct. 20, 1888, S. R./  
Box I.

14. Haskett, "Early History of the Cattle Industry,"  
41.

weather was warmer at Phoenix, less feed would be required to keep the cattle, and steers would have a shorter distance to travel to the railroad terminus.<sup>15</sup> Indeed, they would be on the trail one day less. By the end of December, Cameron drove between two and three thousand cattle to the Salt River Valley. Walter Vail, H. C. Hooker and other prominent ranchers of southern Arizona also made large drives to the feeding area near Tempe.<sup>16</sup> That winter was extraordinarily wet and cold, and cattle showed little gain.<sup>17</sup> By February, Cameron declared the experiment to be a complete failure. He claimed that after feeding his cattle for three months on Phoenix alfalfa they weighed 110 pounds per head less than when he began to feed them. The alfalfa fed to the stock cost \$2,000 more than the cattle brought on the San Francisco market. Other stockmen who fed animals there during the winter of 1888-89 were prone to agree with him.<sup>18</sup>

Phoenicians were angry when Cameron proclaimed alfalfa feeding in the Salt River Valley to be unsuccessful. Colin placed articles in the New Mexico Stock Grower,

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15. B. Cameron to Fulford, Oct. 20, 1888, S. R./ Box I.

16. Tombstone Prospector, Dec. 25, 1888.

17. Haskett, "Early History of the Cattle Industry," 41.

18. Southwestern Stockman (Wilcox), May 25, 1889.

probably the most widely read stockmen's newspaper, disclaiming the "feeding experience" at Phoenix. Through the influence of Cameron, farmers and land holders in the valley might lose their newly found business. Daily, battles were fought in the columns of the Southwestern Stockman. Phoenix interests claimed that the cattle Cameron had taken to the feeding grounds were poor and scrubby, and insinuated that the manager of the San Rafael had received more for his cattle in California than he claimed. In answer to these charges, Cameron stated that not only was he dissatisfied with the results of alfalfa feeding, but he had lost \$7,800 because of it. Later, however, Cameron was able to make use of the feeding grounds to his advantage.

The area surrounding the valley of the Santa Cruz was rich in minerals and timber. During 1887 and 1888 there was renewed activity at the three principal mining camps--- the Mowry, Harshaw, and Washington Camp. Cameron claimed that he held title to the land on which these camps were located, and was anxious to establish his claim so the cattle company could collect royalties on the large amounts of ore taken from the mines.<sup>19</sup> Since his title was not yet

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19. Ford to Fulford, May 15, 1888, S. R./Box I. Cameron had long eyed the rich mines close to his grant. He eventually hoped to gain possession of them, but was biding his time until he felt the right moment had arrived to claim them. Many of the miners at the three camps realized that Cameron was strong enough to take away their livelihood, and so disliked him intensely.

clear, however, Cameron could do nothing. When in 1889 miners began to cut timber for their smelters from the land close to the Rancho, Cameron decided he must take action. In April, Strauss and Parker, two miners, furnished Fort Huachuca with lumber cut from the land grant and sold it at the military post for \$9,000. Cameron ascertained that he had to halt the wood cutting or his land would soon be denuded of trees needed to hold moisture in the ground. If he could not stop them, he calculated that he should receive at least \$2,000 of the payment the miners received. Accordingly, he telegraphed Senator Cameron in Washington to ask the Secretary of War to stop payment on the contract that Rouse had with Fort Huachuca. The Secretary referred the telegram to the Quartermaster General. An investigation was made, and as a result, Strauss and Parker and other miners were instructed to cut no more timber from the area.<sup>20</sup> Cameron received no royalties because of his doubtful title; but, he was no longer bothered by the miners. This satisfied him somewhat, but he realized that in order to get what he wanted it was necessary to have stronger political support.

With the election of Harrison to the Presidency in 1889, the political situation in Arizona was due for a

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20. B. Cameron to Fulford, April 5, 1889, and B. Cameron to Fulford, March 25, 1889, S. R./Box I.

change. Governor Zulick was removed in February,<sup>21</sup> and to the horror of the Camerons Wolfley was being considered to replace him. Wolfley had once been a friend of the manager of the San Rafael; but, according to Colin, Wolfley had blackmailed him in 1885. While searching for the parcionero's titles in Mexico, Wolfley had discovered something which would shadow Cameron's claim to the San Rafael de la Zanja. Cameron paid him \$1,000 not to reveal the information.<sup>22</sup> If Wolfley were to receive the governorship, Cameron would lose much. Early in March, Brewster Cameron, James Zabriskie, and George J. Roskruge wired a six page message to the president informing him of the dishonesty of Wolfley. They pleaded with Harrison not to appoint "unworthy" Wolfley. Such an appointment would "not only disrupt the Republican party of the Territory of Arizona," they wrote, "but would lead to scenes as discreditable as those which...disgraced the official career of the present executive."<sup>23</sup> Brewster did all in his power to oppose the confirmation. He wired Fulford to get the Maryland senators to oppose it, and asked Ford to have his father exert influence in the senate. Col.

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21. Kelly, Legislative History of Arizona, 136. There were three applicants for Governor--C. C. Bean, former delegate to Congress, A. P. K. Safford, former governor, and Lewis Wolfley.

22. B. Cameron, James Zabriskie, and George J. Roskruge (Tucson) to President Harrison, March 4, 1889, 5, S. R./Box II.

23. Ibid., 1.

Oliver Payne, son of Senator Henry Payne of Ohio, and a stockholder in the cattle company, was to sway the Ohio delegates. Brewster sent affidavits to the Senate Committee which showed Wolfley to be a perjurer and which exhibited his guilt in blackmailing settlers while surveying public lands.<sup>24</sup> Brewster claimed that his efforts to have Wolfley's confirmation halted tied up the Senate Committee for two weeks. Cameron felt that if he could stop the confirmation "no officer in Arizona during the next four years" would "try and injure our interests."<sup>25</sup>

To the dismay of Cameron, Wolfley was confirmed on the 28th day of March.<sup>26</sup> Other members of the San Rafael Company, however, were not so disturbed by the appointment. Ford declared that the office of Governor was unimportant to their interests.<sup>27</sup> He was more concerned about local officials who would have a direct bearing on the affairs of the company. Ford persuaded Cameron to write Wolfley and

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24. B. Cameron to Fulford, March 25, 1889.

25. Ibid.

26. Kelly, Legislative History of Arizona, 135-138. Wolfley was confirmed on March 28, 1889. Since he was a resident of Arizona his appointment was pleasing to most citizens of Arizona. Usually an outsider was chosen as governor by the President. However, Wolfley lacked administrative and executive ability and soon became disliked by many. He was removed before the end of his term.

27. Ford to Fulford, March 29, 1889, S. R./Box I.

call off the feud. The fight would arouse the permanent enmity of the incumbent Governor and all of his friends.<sup>28</sup> The attorney did realize that the Governor appointed the Board of Equalization which fixed the rate of taxation. This Board would directly affect the San Rafael Cattle Company. A truce was called, and Cameron secured a pledge from the Secretary of the Interior, Noble, that Wolfley would not injure the interests of the cattle company. This promise was worth a great deal to the Camerons.<sup>29</sup> With this worry out of the way, Cameron could turn his attentions to the political situation.

The membership of the Supreme Court in Tucson was of prime concern to the San Rafael Cattle Company. It was through this body that so many judgments concerning their interests were handed down. New judges and clerks were to be appointed in October, and Cameron intended to place his friends in key positions.<sup>30</sup> Judge Barnes, who had been so hostile to the Camerons, was to be removed, and it was necessary to replace him with a more cooperative magistrate. Jeffords, the company attorney, suggested that his friend,

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28. Ibid.

29. B. Cameron to Fulford, April 5, 1889, S. R./Box I. Apparently, this promise was kept. While Wolfley was in office Cameron had no trouble with him.

30. Ford to Fulford, Sept. 26, 1889, S. R./Box I.

Richard E. Sloan,<sup>31</sup> would be appropriate for the position. Brewster traveled to Pennsylvania in July to talk to his cousin about the appointment. Don Cameron, who had succeeded his father as the political "boss" of the Pennsylvania machine, and Matthew Quay,<sup>32</sup> the other senator from Pennsylvania, listened with interest to Brewster's plan. They told that Arizona attorney that they possessed the necessary influence to make the change if Sloan would consent to become the new judge.<sup>33</sup> As a result, Sloan was appointed; and Kibbey, another friend of the Cameron interests, was also given a position as judge. When Sloan assumed office, he immediately appointed Brewster as Chief Clerk.<sup>34</sup> Brewster

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31. Richard E. Sloan held the position of Supreme Court Judge until he became governor of Arizona. He was the last territorial governor. See Richard E. Sloan, Memories of An Arizona Judge (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1932).

32. Matthew Stanley Quay was born in 1833, the same year that J. D. Cameron had been born. Quay was elected in 1887 as a Republican Senator from Pennsylvania, was reelected in 1893 and served until 1899. He was a member and Chairman of the Republican National Committee in 1888, and was an extremely influential member of Congress. See Biographical Directory of the American Congress, 1438.

33. B. Cameron to Fulford, July 11, 1889, S. R./Box I. Fulford was to exert his influence upon the Maryland Senators. See Ford to Fulford, Sept. 26, 1889, S. R./Box I.

34. (Tucson) Arizona Citizen, Jan. 1, 1890, and B. Cameron to Fulford, Nov. 5, 1889, S. R./Box I. Brewster was appointed on October 30, 1889.

decided that "Judge Sloan and Kibbey would make the best Supreme Bench we have ever had."<sup>35</sup> He was particularly pleased to have Barnes removed. The hostile old man was not a little disturbed at the change of events. Brewster gleefully wrote:

Barnes is very much disgruntled with the world generally and with me particularly. His son-in-law who was clerk of the court, would not stay in the clerks office till I got the run of the business, so you can see how they feel.<sup>36</sup>

By the fall of 1889 cattlemen of southern Arizona were becoming uneasy. Prices were lower and little rain had fallen. Livestock was still fat due to the rains and good grass of the previous spring, but the prospects for the coming spring were not good. Cameron concluded that the spring of 1890 would be the "hardest on cattle ever experienced in Arizona."<sup>37</sup> The number of cattle on Arizona ranges had increased enormously,<sup>38</sup> and wise cattlemen realized that soon there would not be enough feed.<sup>39</sup> Although

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35. B. Cameron to Fulford, Nov. 5, 1889, S. R./ Box I.

36. Ibid.

37. Southwestern Stockman, Sept. 7, 1889.

38. Report of the Governor of Arizona to the Secretary of the Interior, 1889, 7. At the end of 1889 there were more than 720,940 cattle in Arizona--an increase of more than twenty thousand head since 1888.

39. Southwestern Stockman, Oct. 26, 1889, Report of the Governor of Arizona to the Secretary of the Interior,

Cameron's calf crop was large, most stockmen of the area complained of a shortage of calves. A 45% crop was expected by most,<sup>40</sup> and even with such a small percentage of yearlings added to the range the next year, the number of cattle would still be too large for the pasturage. Cameron decided that while his steers and cows were fat, and while his calves were healthy, he would sell them before the bottom fell out of the stock market.

The Cameron brothers proposed to reduce their herd by one half. By doing this, the short grass on their ranges would be plenty to feed the remaining cattle. In early October, they made the first large shipment to California.<sup>41</sup> The next month they sold a large number to Simon Maier Wholesalers of Los Angeles. Feeders as well as butcher steers and calves were loaded into stock cars. Cameron received 1.8 cents per pound and \$6 per head for calves.<sup>42</sup> The cattle were in good condition and would normally have brought at least two and a half cents per pound; but, the object was to sell immediately. Later there would be no profit at

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1889, 13, and Wagoner, "Overstocking the Ranges in Southern Arizona During the 1870's and 1880's," New Mexico Historical Review, XXVI (1951), 218-224.

40. Southwestern Stockman, Sept. 14, 1889.

41. Southwestern Stockman, Oct. 26, 1889.

42. Ibid., Nov. 23, 1889.

all.<sup>43</sup> By December 14th the San Rafael had made five shipments to California. The fifth and last shipment consisted of the finest steers on Cameron's range, and brought a decent price. Colin accompanied them from Benson to Phoenix to see how they were sent to Los Angeles. It was the opinion of most that this lot of steers were the best that left southern Arizona.<sup>44</sup> Due to high railroad rates, the San Rafael did not realize a large profit; however, they were in far better financial condition than most stockmen of the southern part of the Territory.

High freight rates caused cattlemen to seek a cheaper way to transport cattle to California. The Southern Pacific Railroad charged five dollars a head to carry cattle from Benson to Los Angeles,<sup>45</sup> and Arizona stockmen felt this was too high a price to pay. When in November, George W. Lang arrived from California with a plan to move cattle cheaply, ranchers were ready to listen to his ideas. Colin Cameron was no exception. Lang had successfully driven cattle from Oregon over the mountains to Montana and Wyoming. Now he proposed to drive cattle from Arizona to California

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53. 43. Wagoner, History of the Range Cattle Industry,

44. Southwestern Stockman, Dec. 14, 1889.

45. Southwestern Stockman, Nov. 23, 1889.

on a route parallel with the Southern Pacific. This was not a new idea to enterprising cattlemen. In 1887 Brewster Cameron had been a member of a committee to investigate a trail for stock from southern Arizona to Montana and Wyoming.<sup>46</sup> The plan never came to fruition, but when Lang suggested his similar scheme, cattle ranchers were in greater need of cheap transportation. Lang claimed he could drive stock overland for one dollar a head. After purchasing 1,500 steers in Altar, Lang visited the San Rafael. Apparently the proposition interested Cameron, for he and eight vaqueros left for Nogales with Lang the next week.<sup>47</sup>

That last week of November, Nogales teemed with cattlemen, cowboys, and outfitting parties. Sonoran ranchers joined the assemblage ready for the "exodus" to California.<sup>48</sup> Stockmen felt if the drive was a success the railroad might lower their rates for fear more drives similar to Lang's would be made.<sup>49</sup> Excitement and optimism were rampant. The party left Nogales and made their way to

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<sup>46</sup>. Tombstone Prospector, May 5, May 9, and March 26, 1887.

<sup>47</sup>. Southwestern Stockman, Nov. 23, 1889.

<sup>48</sup>. Southwestern Stockman, Nov. 30, 1889.

<sup>49</sup>. Wagoner, History of the Range Cattle Industry, 47, and Southwestern Stockman, Nov. 23, 1889.

Wilcox, and from there traveled to Phoenix. Cameron noted that there were many more cattle feeding in the alfalfa pastures than during the previous year. He expressed the belief that the valley would in the future be the fattening ground for the cattle of southern Arizona.<sup>50</sup> His unfavorable experience had been due to poor weather conditions, he decided, and stated that he would have tried it again if the valley were not so great a distance from the San Rafael.<sup>51</sup> After having stopped at Phoenix, the men drove their cattle to Gila Bend, then to Yuma, Willow Lake, New River Station, Indian Wells, and on to Los Angeles.<sup>52</sup> The drive was a success, for the cattle arrived in California with little loss of weight,<sup>53</sup> and the cattlemen paid only \$1.25 per head rather than \$5.00 for transportation. This made the poor prices seem more palatable to the stockgrowers. Arizona ranchers had proven that they could get along without the railroad until rates became reasonable. Cattle prices were still declining, and cattlemen from all over the Territory were either planning to drive their cattle overland as Lang

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50. Southwestern Stockman, Nov. 30, 1889. There were 8,000 outside head and 4,000 home herd fattening in the Salt River Valley. See Southwestern Stockman, Dec. 7, 1889.

51. Ibid., Nov. 30, 1889.

52. Ibid., Aug. 2, 1890.

53. Ibid., March 8, 1890.

had, or sell their livestock to brokers. When Cameron returned from the overland trek, he made plans to rid his range of still more stock.

In March, Cameron sold all the steers on the Rancho. The animals were fine grade Herefords, and the firm of Hurst and Black purchased them for \$12 a head. This was a small price to pay for such fine cattle, but Cameron decided that it was better than no price at all. Cattlemen predicted there would be many dead cattle in the area of the Sonoita Valley<sup>54</sup> and adjacent ranges, and Cameron was taking no chances.<sup>55</sup> The manager of the San Rafael began preparing his old cows for shipment. Several carloads of this poor scrub stock left Huachuca station on April 2nd.<sup>56</sup> By summer 20 percent of the cattle being received at Chicago were being sent because cattlemen lacked the pasturage to support them. The future of the cattle market was ominous.<sup>57</sup> On August 16, Joe and Cal Nations, Deming brokers, bought 500

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54. Southwestern Stockman, March 15, 1890.

55. Report of the San Rafael Cattle Company, 1883-1895, S. R./Box II.

56. Southwestern Stockman, March 29, 1890.

57. Report of the Bureau of Animal Industry (Washington: Government Printing Office, 1890), and Chicago Breeders Gazette, Aug. 7, 1890, as found in the Southwestern Stockman, Aug. 9, 1890.

of Cameron's stock and had them driven to Deming.<sup>58</sup> Cameron was paid \$15 a head for the shipment; however, by the time the cattle had reached Kansas City, 20,000 cattle had been thrown on the market, and the San Rafael stock brought only 1.5 cents a pound.<sup>59</sup> The brokers' profits were nothing. The market fluctuated so much that stockmen could never be certain whether to sell their animals and gamble, or to hold the cattle and hope that the drought would end.

Rain came at last to southern Arizona. Old timers predicted that 1891 was going to be as splendid a "grass year" as 1881.<sup>60</sup> By December, when Cameron made his last large shipment of 2,500 cattle from Huachuca station,<sup>61</sup> prices had risen to two cents a pound.<sup>62</sup> The copious rains caused a brighter outlook for the cattle industry of Arizona. Everywhere the grass seemed better than it had ever been.<sup>63</sup> Indeed, the rainfall was so heavy that the ordinarily dry river beds of the Santa Cruz, San Pedro, and Sonoyta

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58. Article from the Deming (New Mexico) Headlight as found in the Southwestern Stockman, Aug. 16, 1890.

59. Southwestern Stockman, Aug. 23, 1890.

60. Southwestern Stockman, Aug. 2, 1890.

61. Southwestern Stockman, Dec. 6, 1890.

62. Ibid., Dec. 20, 1890.

63. Ford to J. D. Cameron, Oct. 23, 1890, S. R./

overflowed with water.<sup>64</sup> Ford, who spent part of the summer of 1890 on the Rancho San Rafael, told Don Cameron that in Mexico just below the rancho, the Santa Cruz had cut the banks to a width of 125 feet. This small river was usually 25 feet at its widest point. The railroad from Benson to Nogales was suspended for thirty days because the track had been washed away.<sup>65</sup> Not for thirty years had southern Arizona received so much precipitation during such a short period of time.<sup>66</sup> Cattlemen felt that the good to the grass would probably outweigh the damage caused by the flood.<sup>67</sup> Consequently, ranchers began stocking their rangelands as quickly as they could. Most stockmen, however, had no funds with which to purchase new stock, and some resorted to more devious methods of procuring cattle.

Rustlers had plagued ranchers in the area of the Santa Cruz and San Pedro Valleys for many years. During the rough times of 1889 and 1890, rustlers renewed their activities. The thieves were many times Apache Indians, but American cowboys and Mexican vaqueros were by no means exempt

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64. Ford to Fulford, Aug. 21, 1890. S. R./Box I.

65. Ford to J. D. Cameron, Oct. 13, 1890, S. R./  
Box I.

66. Ford to Fulford, Aug. 21, 1890, S. R./Box I.

67. Southwestern Stockman, Aug. 30, 1890.

from guilt. Horses as well as cattle fell prey to the marauders. In October, the Star reported that there were more horse thieves in Pima County than at any previous time.<sup>68</sup> That fall, Cameron wrote angrily that too many cowboys were being "free" with a running iron and were cutting out and branding calves that did not belong to them. He declared that too many "mistakes" were being made at the general rodeos.<sup>69</sup> Much of his stock had been stolen, and he was anxious to have the culprits apprehended. Early in 1890 Cameron trailed two men who had killed and butchered one of his yearling steers. He brought Cosme Solane and Santos Encinas to trial at Harshaw--there was no doubt as to their guilt. When the presiding judge, Lincoln Hathaway, sentenced the criminals, he declared "Cameron is a mean man; when he catches a fellow stealing he tries to sinch [sic] him."<sup>70</sup> Cameron did all in his power to punish anyone who would dare to harm his property. But the depredations continued. Several months later, sixteen saddle horses, a bell mare, a steer and a Hereford heifer were stolen from the San Rafael, and three horses shod in Indian

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68. Southwestern Stockman, Oct. 5, 1889. For a good account of rustling in southern Arizona, see Wagoner, History of the Cattle Industry, Chapt. VII.

69. (Tucson) Arizona Daily Star, Sept. 6, 1890.

70. Southwestern Stockman, Jan. 11, 1890.

style were left in exchange.<sup>71</sup> Soon after this, three horses were taken by "Black Jack".<sup>72</sup> Other ranchers suffered heavy losses,<sup>73</sup> and by January of 1891, stockmen were furious. Cattlemen organized posses of men to hunt the rustlers, and in the vicinity of Nogales men were stationed to watch the hides carried across the border for any irregularities in brands.<sup>74</sup> However, the rustling continued unabated. Ranges were full and it was difficult for ranchers to watch their stock. It was perhaps for this reason that Cameron decided to purchase additional land for his cattle.

To extend his range, Cameron bought land in Mexico. He had wished to purchase property in Sonora for several years, but Americans were prohibited by Mexican law from owning land within a twenty league limit of the border. In 1889, Don Cameron was granted permission by the Mexican Government to own a ranch within the specified limits.<sup>75</sup> Following his cousin's example, Colin sent Santiago Ainsa

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71. Ibid., March 1, 1890. Cameron believed that the stock had been taken by Apaches who frequently raided in the area.

72. Southwestern Stockman, Jan. 10, 1891. "Black Jack" was Jack Wilson, apparently an American cowboy.

73. Ibid., March 1, 1890.

74. Ibid., Jan. 21, 1891.

75. Ford to Fulford, May 9, 1890; Reynolds, Spanish and Mexican Land Laws.

to Mexico City to secure a permit.<sup>76</sup> The permission was expensive,<sup>77</sup> but the area acquired as a result was well worth the initial outlay. From three Mexican land holders, Cameron acquired four tracts south of the San Rafael Grant. The area was a continuation of the main valley of the Santa Cruz, and was valuable because of the excellent grass and permanent water found there.<sup>78</sup> When Cameron invested ten thousand dollars of company money in this enterprise, Ford and other members of the San Rafael Cattle Company had some misgivings. Ford felt that it might cause friction with the Mexican authorities or the customs officers of the United States Government. In his opinion, "the expenditure of a dollar in Mexico," was of "doubtful propriety." "I have yet to see such investments turn out well," he said.<sup>79</sup> Cameron was willing to gamble. His large herd needed the Sonoran pasturage. Six months later the manager of the San Rafael bought the ranch of James Sutherland in the West Huachucas. A considerable number of 6T cattle grazed there,

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76. "List of land bought in Mexico," 1890, S. R./Box I.

77. The permit cost \$500 in addition to the fee of Ainsa. See "List of land bought in Mexico," which lists the expenses involved in procuring the permit and the land.

78. Ford to Fulford, Dec. 20, 1890, S. R./Box I.

79. Ibid.

and so that they might continue to do so, he purchased 343 head of stock and the land on which they ranged.<sup>80</sup> Combined with his new range in Sonora, the San Rafael encompassed a formidable acreage.

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80. Report of the San Rafael Cattle Company, 1883-1895, S. R./Box II.

## CHAPTER VI.

### A QUESTION OF THE FUTURE

The calf crop of 1891 was the largest in the history of the Territory.<sup>1</sup> Ranges were stocked nearly to capacity; the grasslands of Arizona, dotted with over 720,000 cattle,<sup>2</sup> were parched and thin. Only half as much rain had fallen during the rainy season as it had the previous year. Cattle were in "good flesh" due to the unusually heavy rains of the summer of 1890,<sup>3</sup> but cattlemen knew that the grass of 1891 would be sparse.<sup>4</sup> The usually thick turf of gramma covering the San Rafael was short, and on adjoining ranges there was hardly any grass at all. Cameron was discouraged at the prospect of the next spring's growth. He knew that unless winter snow and rain were unusually plentiful, that he would have dead cattle on his ranges.<sup>5</sup> Almost 1,000 of his animals had died during the short drought of 1889-1890, and as a

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1. Cameron, "History of the Cattle Industry," op. cit., 224.

2. Report of the Governor to the Secretary of the Interior, 1891.

3. Ford to Fulford, Dec. 20, 1890, S. R./Box I.

4. Cameron, "History of the Cattle Industry," 224.

5. Report of the San Rafael Cattle Company, 1883-1895, S. R./Box II.

result many cows had gone barren.<sup>6</sup> For this and other reasons, Cameron decided to spay all heifers on the Rancho.

Cameron had considered spaying part of his herd as early as 1888.<sup>7</sup> The preceding year, the stockmen of northern Arizona had experimented with spaying,<sup>8</sup> but cattlemen of the southern part of the Territory had not yet tested its merits. In 1889 Wolfley reported that the operation was being practiced to a limited extent and predicted that it would become a general practice. Spaying rendered more cattle available for beef, and by ridding the range of poor female cattle consequently improved the remaining herd.<sup>9</sup> Nevertheless, Pima County stockmen were skeptical of the procedure. Spaying cows and heifers would necessarily decrease their calf crop--and many ranchers were too greedy to reduce the size of their herds. When in May of 1888 Cameron suggested spaying all heifers which were not at least one half Hereford, Ford and Fulford vehemently objected. "I am inclined to make haste very slowly in matters involving as much as this does," Ford states, "and am very

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6. Ford to Fulford, Dec. 20, 1890, S. R./Box I.

7. Ford to Fulford, April 19, 1888, S. R./Box I.

8. Hoof and Horn (Prescott), April 17, 1887.

9. Report of the Governor to the Secretary of the Interior, 1889.

dubious as to the wisdom of spaying."<sup>10</sup> The officers of the San Rafael Company knew that Cameron was anticipating the time when the Rancho would be fully stocked, but they wanted as many cattle on the range as it could afford before resorting to this method. Brewster agreed with his brother, but also concurred with Ford that part of their investment in choice Herefords would be lost if heifers with the least spot of white were altered. However, the younger Cameron believed that "those whose blood is not pure enough to bear that mark of good breeding can well afford to be speyed."<sup>11</sup> Since there was no great necessity to reduce the herd on the Rancho, the idea was dropped. Cameron did spay a few particularly poor cows and heifers, but these were not many. When Cameron saw that his grazing land was fast becoming overstocked in 1891, he knew that the time had come to spay. Whether they were registered Herefords or scrubby Mexican Longhorns, all the heifers on Rancho San Rafael were spayed that spring.<sup>12</sup> Walter Vail and a few other prominent

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10. Ford to Fulford, May 14, 1888, S. R./Box I.

11. B. Cameron to Ford, May 23, 1888, S. R./ Box I; also, see B. Cameron to Ford, Sept. 27, 1888, S. R./ Box I.

12. See the Southwestern Stockman, June 4, 1892; Report of the San Rafael Cattle Company, 1883-1895, and the Vail Papers found in the Arizona Pioneers' Historical Society.

cattlemen similarly reduced their stock,<sup>13</sup> but most ranchers did not realize that the land was too full of cattle.<sup>14</sup>

Because he realized the range was overstocked, Cameron rid the Rancho of all stock that could be sold or moved. In June, W. G. Campbell of Peabody, Kansas, purchased 100 mares and colts of thoroughbred Kentucky stock from the San Rafael.<sup>15</sup> In March, Cameron had sold his 1890 steers to a Mrs. Pierce for nine dollars a head.<sup>16</sup> Black, of Hurst and Black brokerage firm, purchased the heavier steers for 14 dollars for shipment the following fall. These sales cleaned off the poor steers and gave more room to the younger, better cattle.<sup>17</sup> Cameron planned to divide his herd into two equal lots, and breed two fine strains of Herefords; those having the blood of Sir Richard II, and those with Sir Malcolm characteristics.<sup>18</sup> Now the registered Herefords had

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13. Southwestern Stockman, June 4, 1892.

14. Cameron, "History of the Cattle Industry," 224.

15. Southwestern Stockman, June 13, 1891. By this time, there were over 1,000 horses on the ranch. See Report of the San Rafael Cattle Company, 1883-1895.

16. C. Cameron to Ford, March 4, 1891, S. R./Box II.

17. Ford to Fulford, April 1, 1891, S. R./Box II.

18. C. Cameron to Fulford, Aug. 8, 1891, S. R./Box II. Sir Malcolm like Sir Richard II was a prize-winning bull owned by Merryman. When Cameron bought cattle from Merryman, he chose the progeny of Sir Malcolm as well as Sir Richard so as to get two good blood lines. See list of Pedigrees, S. R./Box II.

plenty of room in which to range. Other cattlemen, like Cameron, began to ship cattle. They did not propose to be caught with heavily overstocked ranges. They were "taking time for the forelock" and shipping everything that would "make beef."<sup>19</sup> More than 300,000 cattle and 2,000 horses were moved out of Arizona in 1891.<sup>20</sup> Grass was becoming shorter and more sparse as the year continued. Cameron reported that on the greater portion of his land there had been no rain, and on the parts where rain fell there was little growth of grass.<sup>21</sup> He hoped for relief from winter rains. San Rafael cattle were still fat; but, in most parts of southern Arizona, said he, the cattle were very thin-- already some were dying from lack of feed.<sup>22</sup> Apparently, the San Rafael Valley was blessed with an abundance of grass compared with other parts of the Territory. Cameron announced to the officers of the company that "if we are favored with Spring rains, the cattle will go through well." This last statement, he said, "applies only to this immediate vicinity."<sup>23</sup>

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19. Southwestern Stockman, June 18, 1892.

20. Report of the Governor to the Secretary of the Interior, 1891.

21. Report of the San Rafael Cattle Company, 1883-1895, S. R./Box II.

22. Ibid.

23. Ibid. Cameron may have been exaggerating, but according to newspaper accounts, other ranchers lost more

Although the situation caused by the drought worried him, Cameron was still interested in improving his stock. In December, Colin traveled to California to look over some land in Los Angeles and Fresno counties. While he was there he visited Mr. Gird, renowned breeder of thoroughbred horses. The manager of the San Rafael made arrangements to ship a carload of purebred mares to be bred to the celebrated stallions of the California stockman.<sup>24</sup> When he returned to the Rancho, Cameron was delighted to find that precipitation had been heavy during the last weeks of January. He tried to believe that 1892 would prove to be a good grass year. The weather was warm and the grass was already beginning to sprout. If there were no spring frosts and rainfall continued, there would be feed aplenty for San Rafael stock.<sup>25</sup>

Hopes for favorable weather were dashed. In March the range once again became short. In April Cameron agreed to sell a large lot of cattle to a Mr. Boice of Montana. When Mr. Boice came to gather the animals, he refused to

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than did the San Rafael Company so the grass on the San Rafael must have been good enough to support Cameron's cattle. The average rainfall in the San Rafael Valley was always better than rainfall in other parts of southern Pima County.

24. Article taken from the Chino Champion (California) as found in the Southwestern Stockman, Jan. 2, 1892.

25. Report of the San Rafael Cattle Company, 1883-1895, S. R./Box II.

take many of them. Poor feed had caused them to grow thin,<sup>26</sup> and the low prices Boice offered<sup>27</sup> caused Cameron to sell only a fraction of the number that he had originally planned to release.<sup>28</sup> There was little hope that conditions would soon improve. Since 15 to 25 acres of grass was required to fatten one animal,<sup>29</sup> the manager of the San Rafael knew that he would have to send his cattle elsewhere to fatten.<sup>30</sup> With this idea in mind, he went to Kansas City to talk to stockmen there. He met W. B. Slaughter of Texas, and D. C. Kyle of Socorro, New Mexico, who jointly owned rangeland in Montana which they were willing to lease.<sup>31</sup> Their land was situated on the Milk River in the counties of Dawson and Choteau, and was on the line of the Great Northern Railroad. It was "new country" with a few cattle in it. When he traveled there to appraise the area, Cameron announced that it was one of the "safest parts" of the state because the

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26. Report of the San Rafael Cattle Company, 1883-1895, S. R./Box II.

27. Southwestern Stockman, March 19, 1892.

28. "Report of the San Rafael Cattle Company," 1883-1895.

29. Report of the Governor to the Secretary of the Interior, 1896, 224.

30. Report, 1883-1895, S. R./Box II.

31. C. Cameron to B. Cameron, April 27, 1892, S. R./Box II.

winters there were not severe.<sup>32</sup> Slaughter was willing to rent this pasturage for \$1.50 per head per year--and hearing this, Cameron immediately made a formal agreement with the Montana ranchmen.<sup>33</sup> Feeding grounds in northern Arizona were being rented at far higher prices. After the contract was signed, Colin wrote to his brother asking him not to reveal any information about the transaction. "I do not want any of these Arizona ranchmen to know on what terms I am sending these cattle to Montana. Most everyone in that state wants \$2.00 per head for pasturing and caring for cattle."<sup>34</sup> This was a shrewd maneuver. Since Montana prices were from two to three times higher than those offered in Arizona, he calculated that the profit from the sale of 3,000 cattle would be \$66,000.<sup>35</sup> This sum would extract the company from debt.

With quiet optimism, Cameron watched his first shipment of cattle leave Huachuca Siding for Montana.<sup>36</sup> He had much at stake, for the enterprise involved a large investment. If his plan failed the company would fall hopelessly

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32. Contract between Slaughter, Kyle and Cameron, April 26, 1892, S. R./Box II.

33. "Report," 1883-1895, S. R./Box II.

34. Contract, April 26, 1892, and C. Cameron to B. Cameron, April 27, 1892, S.R./Box II.

35. C. Cameron to B. Cameron, April 27, 1892, S. R./Box II.

36. Ibid.

into debt. He could not console himself knowing that Don Cameron had lent him \$54,000 to defray expenses for freight, feed and pasture.<sup>37</sup> Ford declared that this adventure was perhaps the most important undertaking since the birth of the company. "The outcome of this shipment will mean a great deal to us," he remarked. "If I were in Colin Cameron's place I should hardly have the courage to do it."<sup>38</sup>

While awaiting the preparation of his second and largest shipment, Cameron journeyed to Fort Grant.<sup>39</sup> To take advantage of the low prices, he decided to purchase cattle there and so enlarge the number of animals he could ship as feeders. Early in July all was in readiness for the trip.<sup>40</sup> Cameron accompanied the train to insure the safe arrival of his stock and to give instructions to the Montana cowboys who would handle his cattle for the next two years. He planned to stay in the Milk River country until August. When he returned to the San Rafael he reported that the entire West was experiencing drought conditions. Prices were low everywhere, and over 3,700 carloads were being

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37. Southwestern Stockman, June 4, 1892.

38. C. Cameron to B. Cameron, April 27, 1892, S. R./  
Box II.

39. Ford to Fulford, June 7, 1892, S. R./Box II.

40. Southwestern Stockman, June 18, 1892.

shipped each week while he was in Denver. He warned his fellow Arizonans that the ranches of Arizona were overstocked and advised them to acknowledge the "existing facts and steer clear of future distress...by making provisions against overstocking the ranges." He cheerfully added that he found Arizona to be one of the "best cattle breeding portions of the United States, whilst a transfer to the northern ranges puts fine flesh on them"<sup>41</sup>

The cattlemen of the southern part of the Territory were cheered somewhat by a heavy rainfall in July--but there was none whatsoever in August. Conditions were so severe that the railroads were offering special rates for "starving" cattle, and the Board of Supervisors of Pima County lowered the rates of assessment by 50% in many areas.<sup>42</sup> Cameron appealed to the Board in August for a lower valuation.<sup>43</sup> His range was dry, he said, and many of his cattle were absent from his Arizona land.<sup>44</sup> There was little the Board could do. Most stockmen were in such bad financial condition they could not pay their taxes.

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<sup>41</sup>. Article from Tucson Enterprise as found in the Southwestern Stockman, July 2, 1892. This article claims that Cameron shipped 15,000 head of cattle to Montana. Cameron, however, says that he sent 3,000. See Report of the San Rafael Cattle Company, 1883-1895, S. R./Box II.

<sup>42</sup>. Southwestern Stockman, August 13, 1892.

<sup>43</sup>. Ford to Fulford, July 4, 1892, and the Southwestern Stockman, July 2, 1892.

<sup>44</sup>. Southwestern Stockman, July 30, 1892.

Cattle carcasses spotted the brown grasslands of southern Arizona. East of the Huachucas the cattle were nearly all dead, and cattlemen were shipping every animal that could walk to the railroad.<sup>45</sup> The rainfall of January and early February had caused more harm than good and depleted the herds "as if they were showers of poison."<sup>46</sup> It was estimated that over 50% of the cattle in southern Pima County were dead by September.<sup>47</sup> Stockmen were desperate. Those who could afford to ship their cattle did so immediately.<sup>48</sup> Cameron was indeed happy that he had moved his steers and spayed stock. Cows in his remnant herd were barren, and at fall branding he counted only 300 calves.<sup>49</sup> Members of the San Rafael Cattle Company were disturbed when this news reached them. Cameron informed Ford that there would be some loss of San Rafael stock.<sup>50</sup> "This prospect," Ford

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45. C. Cameron to Mr. Lacey, Aug. 15, 1892, correspondence of the Board of Supervisors, Pima County, found in the Pima County Records at the University of Arizona Library, Special Collections.

46. C. Cameron to B. Cameron, April 27, 1892, S. R./Box II.

47. Southwestern Stockman, September 3, 1892.

48. Report of the Governor of Arizona to the Secretary of the Interior, 1896, 225.

49. Report of the San Rafael Cattle Company, 1883-1895, S. R./Box II, and Cameron, "History of the Cattle Industry," 224.

50. Southwestern Stockman, Sept. 3, 1892, and Report of the San Rafael Cattle Company, 1883-1895.

caustically remarked, "and the fact that the only John L. has been knocked out do not conduce to hilarity of spirits."<sup>51</sup> Grass on the Rancho was so poor that no stock was fit for sale.<sup>52</sup> Cattlemen were unloading their cattle so fast that there was no market for beef.<sup>53</sup> The alarming situation made Cameron realize that it was necessary for him to further lighten his range. Early in October he traveled to the Texas Panhandle in search of more range-land.<sup>54</sup>

Colin rented the pasturage of the Home Land and Cattle Company in Carson county, Texas, and planned to ship 4,000 cattle there before the onset of winter.<sup>55</sup> A number of cattle from the Montana Range had been sold in the fall, but the company treasury was, nevertheless, bare. Cameron hoped that his cousin would supply the funds necessary to finance the rental. Accordingly, Ford was sent to Harrisburg to talk to the Senator before he departed for Europe.<sup>56</sup> When the attorney reached Pennsylvania he discovered that Don

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51. Ford to Fulford, Sept. 14, 1892, S. R./Box II.

52. Ford to Fulford, Sept. 8, 1892, S. R./Box II.

53. Ford to Fulford, Sept. 28, 1892, S. R./Box II.

54. Southwestern Stockman, Sept. 17, 1892.

55. Ibid., October 15, 1892.

56. C. Cameron to the President and Directors of the San Rafael Cattle Company, Dec. 19, 1892, S. R./Box II.

Cameron had left for Washington. It was several weeks before he was able to approach the busy Senator and explain the situation. Since the Pennsylvania politician already had a large investment in the operations of the company, he was more than willing to give financial aid.<sup>57</sup> With this matter settled, Cameron gathered his animals for shipment. From neighboring ranchers he purchased over one thousand cattle to add to his own stock.<sup>58</sup> He acquired these animals cheaply, but the men from whom he bought them were glad to sell at any price.<sup>59</sup> The general impression was that "only a miracle" would prevent the "total annihilation of all cattle in this section."<sup>60</sup>

Between October 16th and November 17th, more than 4,000 6T cattle were transported to Pampas, Texas. They were driven to Crittenden, Callabassas and Huachuca in separate lots and loaded into stockcars. From those stations they were sent to Benson, Deming, Trinidad, Panhandle City and then on to Pampas. The operation involved five separate railroad lines. Cameron arranged the shipments with care,

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57. Ford (St. Louis) to Fulford, Oct. 8, 1892, and Ford to Fulford, Oct. 14, 1892, S. R./Box II.

58. Ford (Jersey City) to Fulford, Oct. 16, 1892, and Ford (Washington) to Fulford, Nov. 2, 1892, S. R./Box II.

59. Southwestern Stockman, October 22, 1892.

60. Southwestern Stockman, October 16, 1892.

and hired several foremen to accompany the stock to the new grazing area.<sup>61</sup> He planned to drive the animals from Pampas to Montana in May and sell them together with the remaining herd of 2,000 still grazing on the Milk River.<sup>62</sup> In December he learned that a blizzard was raging in the Panhandle. Anxiously he awaited news of the condition of his cattle. Learning that the Herefords had remained in good condition through the storm, he was relieved.<sup>63</sup> At Rancho San Rafael, the Cameron family welcomed the new year with good spirit and optimism.

But with the opening of 1893, Cameron learned that a severe storm had also hit Montana. Although his foreman there reported that only two inches of snow had fallen, the worried rancher journeyed to the Milk River country. He found that his cattle were doing well and that few had died. The entire Northwest was experiencing a blizzard, but the storm seemed to have bypassed the area where his cattle were grazing. Cameron reported that the snow was several feet deep only 100 miles East of his pastureland and that cattlemen there were suffering heavy losses. In North Dakota, the snow and cold were so terrible, he said, that "nothing could

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61. Ibid., October 22, 1892.

62. Tombstone Epitaph, Oct. 30, 1892, the Southwestern Stockman, Oct. 16, 22, and Nov. 19, 1892, and Report of the San Rafael Cattle Company, 1883-1895, S. R./Box II.

63. C. Cameron to the President and Stockholders of the San Rafael Cattle Company, Dec. 19, 1892, S. R./Box II.

live there."<sup>64</sup> Cameron was amazed and pleased at his good fortune. When he returned to the Rancho in March, he discovered his range to be in a better state. Some rain had fallen, and the weather was warm. Rains followed by warmth caused the grass to sprout early. Although he knew that the gramma could not possibly return to its normal thickness that spring, he was happy at the prospect of even a below average growth. Mrs. Cameron informed him that, according to the vaqueros, only five of his 91 pedigreed Hereford bulls had died during the preceding year. It was the opinion of his wife that the cattle looked almost as well as they had during that month of any year since 1883. She also told him that Ford and E. B. Ely, a heavy investor in the cattle company, were on their way to the San Rafael to inspect the damage done by the drought.<sup>65</sup>

Cameron met his friends at Nogales and drove them to Crittenden, through the Sonoita Valley, the valley of the Santa Cruz, and on to Rancho San Rafael. The men were amazed at the damage done by the drought.<sup>66</sup> In most parts of southern Pima County cattle continued to die from lack of feed.

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<sup>64</sup>. Report of the San Rafael Cattle Company, 1883-1895, S. R./Box II.

<sup>65</sup>. C. Cameron (Helena, Montana) to Fulford, Feb. 28, 1893, S. R./Box II.

<sup>66</sup>. Ford to Fulford, March 11, 1893, and Ford to Fulford, March 14, 1893, S. R./Box II.

Animals that had not succumbed during the winter of 1892 were so weak and the grass was still so short that stock loss was heavier than ever that spring.<sup>67</sup> Ford predicted that the calf crop would be small at the San Rafael, but that with the return of a normal grass growth in 1894, their cattle would be "restored."<sup>68</sup> While the men were conferring at the ranch, Colin received a telegram from his broker in St. Louis. Hurst & Black offered Cameron \$17 a head for his Texas stock if he would go at once to make the delivery. Cameron was making plans to return to Pennsylvania with Ford and Ely to meet with Don Cameron and other members of the company; but, the price offered for the stock was large and he felt that it was more important to make the sale than meet with the Directors. Don Cameron agreed with him.<sup>69</sup> Colin left immediately for the Panhandle and from there accompanied his animals to St. Louis. There he realized a \$40,000 profit.<sup>70</sup> This money brought the cattle company out of debt and greatly inspired its members.

In July, the company members were further cheered. Heavy rains watered the parched grasslands and filled the

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67. Ford to Fulford, March 18, 1893, S. R./Box II.

68. Cameron, "History of the Cattle Industry," 225, loc.cit.

69. Ford to Fulford, March 18, 1893, S. R./Box II.

70. B. Cameron to Ker, April 7, 1893, S. R./Box II.

rivers and streams.<sup>71</sup> Cameron declared that if the rainy season had not come when it did, that "all the cattle in southern Arizona would have perished."<sup>72</sup> Immediately after the first fall of rain the cattle stopped dying. The "recuperation, their recovery of strength, seemed like unto a miracle,"<sup>73</sup> to the tired ranchmen. Cameron had been luckier than most. The drought had been the worst in the history of Arizona and many ranchers were forced to go out of business.<sup>74</sup>

The year of 1893 was one of depression throughout the United States, and cattlemen without sufficient capital were unable to borrow money to reestablish themselves. Nevertheless, the drought of 1891-1893 taught the stockmen a valuable lesson. In the future they would take care not to overstock.<sup>75</sup> Rather than holding their cattle until they were two or three year olds, the ranchers knew that they would profit more by either selling yearlings, or by moving

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71. B. Cameron to Fulford, April 7, 1893, S. R./Box II.

72. Cameron, "History of the Cattle Industry," 225, loc.cit.; Southwestern Stockman, July 15, 29, 1893. The grass on the San Rafael was already six inches high. See Report of the San Rafael Cattle Company, S. R./Box II.

73. Cameron, "History of the Cattle Industry," 225.

74. Ibid.

75. For accounts of the drought see Wagoner, History of the Range Cattle Industry, Haskett, "The Range Cattle Industry," loc.cit.

them to be fattened elsewhere. Not only would this conserve grass, but the loss from straying, theft, and death would be reduced to a minimum.<sup>76</sup> This very policy saved the stock of the San Rafael Cattle Company. From 1890 forward, Cameron had moved his cattle to other rangeland, or sold yearlings from his Arizona ranch.<sup>77</sup> Now, prices in Chicago were steadily rising, and he had cattle to sell whereas most stockmen of southern Arizona did not.<sup>78</sup> There was increased demand for Arizona cattle in California,<sup>79</sup> and Cameron knew he could take advantage of it. Indeed, the future looked bright.

Cameron could now take advantage of his position. Wolfley had been removed from the Governorship in 1890, and N. O. Murphy was appointed as Acting Governor.<sup>80</sup> Murphy was hostile to the cattle interests of Arizona, and when, in 1893, L. C. Hughes was given the Governorship,<sup>81</sup> Cameron was highly pleased. The new Governor was a Pennsylvanian, and

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76. Report of the Governor of Arizona to the Secretary of the Interior, 1893, 21-24.

77. Cameron, "History of the Cattle Industry," 225, and Report of the San Rafael Cattle Company, 1883-95, S. R./Box II.

78. Correspondence of the San Rafael Cattle Company, passim.

79. Ford to J. D. Cameron, Sept. 18, 1894, S. R./Box II.

80. Southwestern Stockman, Oct. 21, 1893, and Norton to C. Cameron, Nov. 19, 1893, found in J. C. Norton letter book in the Papers of the Live Stock Sanitary Board, Phoenix.

81. Kelly, Legislative History of Arizona, 138.

Cameron exerted a considerable influence upon him through Don Cameron and Matthew Quay. It was perhaps due to this influence that Hughes received his post.<sup>82</sup> Almost immediately after he entered office, Hughes appointed Cameron as one of the three Commissioners of the Live Stock Sanitary Commission.<sup>83</sup> During Murphy's administration the Commission had been thwarted and threatened.<sup>84</sup> In fact, there had been no meeting of the body between April of 1891 and February of 1893.<sup>85</sup> Now the Commission held special meetings to

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82. Ibid.

83. Prescott Weekly Courier, Oct. 21, 1887, and L. C. Hughes to Colin Cameron, Nov. 22, 1893, in Norton Letter Book.

84. L. C. Hughes to Colin Cameron, April 25, 1893, found in L. C. Hughes Letterbook, University of Arizona Library, Special Collections; Kelly, Legislative History of Arizona, 163.

85. See "Messages of Territorial Governors to Territorial Legislatures from 1864-1909," Message of N. O. Murphy, Jan. 20, 1891, to the 16th Territorial Legislature, and Feb. 14, 1893, to the 17th Territorial Legislature. In 1891 Murphy recommended that the offices of the Live Stock Sanitary Commissioners and the Territorial Veterinarian be abolished. He maintained that the Commission was not worth the expense required to finance it. He said that the cattle industry alone was benefited by the Commission and that the entire expense should be either "borne by the Commission or cattle interests, or the office abolished." In 1893, he reaffirmed his suggestion. He recommended that the question be investigated by a committee. He reasoned that the "stock interests have suffered materially in the territory during the past year (although not from any epidemic or other diseases), and any legislation directly affecting the cattle industry should not be had against the protests of those taxpayers most interested."

formulate plans for the rejuvenation of the cattle industry.<sup>86</sup> In June, Cameron was elected temporary Chairman,<sup>87</sup> since Chairman I. N. Towne had suddenly resigned.<sup>88</sup> At a special meeting held on November 4th, Cameron was unanimously elected permanent Chairman.<sup>89</sup> Through the Chairmanship of the Live Stock Sanitary Commission, he could practically control the livestock interests of Arizona. With a friendly Governor, a full company treasury, and this new post, Colin Cameron had become the most powerful cattleman in southern Arizona.

The years after 1893 were full ones for Cameron. As Chairman of the Live Stock Sanitary Board he was a controversial figure. Through his leadership, however, the "Bull Tick" law of 1897 was enacted which reformed and clarified the existing livestock legislation and greatly benefited the cattle interests of Arizona. After his Chairmanship, Cameron continued to promote the interests of

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86. J. C. Norton to C. W. Pugh and Colin Cameron, List of the Meetings and Chairmen of the Live Stock Sanitary Commission. J. C. Norton Letterbook, found in the papers of the Live Stock Sanitary Board, Phoenix.

87. Norton to Pugh and Cameron. loc.cit. and Southwestern Stockman, July 1, 1893.

88. I. N. Towne to L. C. Hughes, no date, Papers of the Dept. of State, Dept. of Library and Archives, State House, Phoenix, and Norton to Pugh and Cameron, loc.cit.

89. Norton to Pugh and Cameron, and Southwestern Stockman, Nov. 7, 1893.

stockgrowers. He served as president of the American Hereford Breeders' Association, and was on the board of the National Livestock Association. His concern stemmed largely from personal aims, but through it, other ranchers gained. It can be said that Colin Cameron contributed more toward the improvement of the cattle industry in the late nineteenth century than any other Arizona stockman.

By the turn of the century the San Rafael had the largest registered Hereford herd in the Trans-Mississippi West. Cameron's pioneer efforts in the field of breeding fine stock were well recognized throughout the country. After the San Rafael de la Zanja Grant was confirmed finally in 1900, however, Cameron realized that the time was ripe to sell his holdings. Although the confirmation was for the original four leagues only, Cameron had been able to control and utilize five times that acreage. The value of his stock and improvements was clearly shown when, in 1903, Colonel William C. Greene purchased the San Rafael for \$1,500,000.

For a year after the sale of his Rancho, Cameron remained as manager. The culmination of his career as a rancher came in 1904 when he aided in the formation of the Arizona Cattle Growers' Association. This organization would continue to actively voice the interests of Arizona cattlemen. He settled permanently in Tucson where he invested his capital in several businesses and bought a large home. It was there that Colin Cameron died in March of 1911.

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