Lucy Killea (LK): The geographic region that encompasses San Diego and Tijuana and which had a unity in the Spanish and Mexican period and definitely has a geographic unity, had this artificial line put into it.

Peter Hamlin (PH): The period just before the establishment of that boundary is the subject of this program, San Diego's Mexican Period. José Antonio Estudillo was one of the most important citizens of Mexican San Diego. This was the time of the Spanish Dons, an era of Old World elegance for some, but also a difficult time in the life of a rapidly changing Mexican pueblo. Don José Antonio Estudillo's life is also interesting because he lived here during a transitional period in which San Diego paid allegiance to three different nations, first Spain, then Mexico, and finally the United States. His life is the subject of this fourth program in the series, Twelve Who Shaped San Diego." I'm Peter Hamlin, and joining me is San Diego historian and chief historical consultant for these programs, Dr. Clare Crane. Clare, our preceding program in this series discussed Captain Henry Fitch, and in that program we discussed the beginning of the Mexican era here in San Diego. Could you give us a recap of the Mexican era? When did it begin and what were the major events of that period in San Diego's history?

Clare Crane (CC): Well, sometimes it's even called the Mexican interlude because it was such a short period of time, really only twenty-five years from 1821 when the revolution took place in Mexico that made it independent of Spain, until the American conquest in 1846. So we're talking about a very short period of time. The important factors for San Diego during this time, I think are, to begin with, after the revolution, it meant that there was much less control or direction or protection for aid coming from Mexico City to California. The soldiers,
for example, didn't receive anything, and the residents of the area felt insufficiently protected from the possibility of attack by foreign nations or from Indian uprisings. So the residents, consequently, became much more independent and, of course, later on we hear of them thinking about the possibility of establishing California as an independent nation, in the same way that Texas did at about the same time. They wanted to organize their own economy and their own government to meet their own needs.

PH: What were the circumstances of Don José Antonio Estudillo's arrival in Old Town?

CC: Well, he came here with his family in 1827. Perhaps he had visited earlier, but basically they came to settle in 1827 when his father was assigned as Commandant of the Presidio, and his father remained Commandant of the Presidio from 1827 until his death in 1830. At this time, of course, José Antonio Estudillo was a young man and he got married and decided that he wanted to settle down, and so he asked for permission to have a house lot and build a home and start a garden in the area down below the Presidio in the area which subsequently became what we now know as Old Town. And, of course, this was what a number of the other retired soldiers or young men who were not in the military wanted to do. And this lead directly to their desire, within another few years, to establish a civil government in the area instead of just being under military rule.

PH: We pick up the story now, of Don José Antonio Estudillo as told by Troy Jordan who is a historian at the Old Town State Historic Park.

Troy Jordan (TJ): By 1827, he's just really beginning. He's a young man, he's been married just three years so the family's starting off. And eventually through his own abilities and talents, he becomes more and more prominent. He affiliates himself with more and more of the prominent people -- Juan Bandini, the Picos, the Carillos. So they're pulling him along with them as they rise
too. He’s awarded, or granted, a few ranchos here and there -- Oñal, Otay and eventually he has property in San Juan Capistrano, downtown San Diego, La Playa which is near Point Loma, and various other places. So, continually he rises in importance and influence and wealth. He gets into the cattle industry during the hide and tallow trade days, and primarily his major wealth comes from the hide and tallow trade. He eventually was the mayor of San Diego, this is in 1837-38, and his office was over in what is today the Rodriguez Building, Rosine and Laramy's Pipe and Tobacco Shop. Later on, he was the first County Tax Assessor. He was the first City Tax Collector; he was a customs official, port official, revenue agent, judge of the plains, and various similar offices that he held. The Alcalde, the mayor position was strictly honorary, it was not a paid job but it was one of honor. He was a very prominent and influential man.

PH: As this program progresses, we will be taking a closer look at this man and the events briefly eluded to that surround his life in Old San Diego. The house that Don José Antonio Estudillo began building in the late 1820's still stands and is a part of the Old Town San Diego State Historic Park. Of course, the house that you can see today fronting the town plaza in Old Town has quite a bit added on since those times. But in the days when San Diego was a part of Mexico, the Estudillo House, along with a few other prominent homes, was a social center for the community.

[music]

TJ: In the days that José Antonio was in his prime and flourishing and wealthy, this house was the center for some bays, balls, the dances, weddings, special occasions when dignitaries would come in. Often they were entertained here in the house. Governor Echeandia at one time resided in the house here. And then various other dignitaries from time to time stayed in the house, so there was a lot of entertainment here. In the courtyard here at one time, there was a
bandstand erected and they had dances -- not only a bandstand, it was a dance floor, and the band played around it.

Roberto Estudillo (RE): Let me tell you this; when they had a fiesta, it used to last for two or three months.

PH: Old Town's fiestas were indeed major events and they are described by Roberto Estudillo. He's a resident of Tijuana and a grandson of Don José Antonio Estudillo. His mother was born in the Estudillo House in Old Town and she would often tell him about those magnificent fiestas that periodically brightened the streets of Old San Diego.

RE: And I asked Mother how they could have such a fiesta for such a long period, such a long time. She gave me an explanation -- for example, they would have a fiesta once a year or once every two-three years when somebody would get married. The parents or relatives would invite people from Santa Barbara, Santa Maria, up to San Francisco. It used to take them two or three months to get to the old home -- to San Diego. You can imagine, there were no highways in those days; they used to ride in horse and wagon. It would take them probably another two or three months to get into a fiesta. When people were stopping by with relatives, it was just one big family throughout the whole state. There were intermarriages between one family and another; there were so few people in those days, so they intermarried, like the Picos, and the Osumas, the Machados, all the old families, and the Dominguez. They all intermarried. It was one big family. When they had a fiesta they invited the whole territory to come to the fiestas. I used to ask Mother, what did you do to entertain your guests for two to three months? Well we used to barbecue everyday, rodeos, horse racing, dancing every night. They danced all night. You can imagine how they entertained themselves in those days. They were beautiful horses -- they were famous for their horsemanship riding. They had the best horses probably in America.
PH: Roberto Estudillo, great grandson of Don José Antonio Estudillo. We often like to associate Old Town during this period with the gayer moments like the fiestas. But, of course, these great events were hardly the regular fair in a sparsely populated and lonesome town. This has been the subject of study of Charles Hughes, archivist for the San Diego Historical Society.

Charles Hughes (CH): My research shows then that that type of life did exist for the very few at the top, for the few who controlled a lot of the economic resources of the territory at that time. But for the large group, the majority of the people then had a very hard time of it. They didn't have the resources then to profit from the commercial exchange that was going on between American traders and the other Californios and the ones that were profiting from it. They had ranchos and tried to grow a crop each year; they raised their cattle to go on and exist. The idea that it was a very opulent era, that it was sort of the antebellum South, that really didn't exist then for the large part of the population.

PH: We may not only romanticize our history, we may simply forget the seemier details of the historical picture of Old Town in the 1800's.

TJ: At that time, 1835, it was a pretty desolate area. At this time of year, you might see some mud puddles here and there in the street if it was rainy. If it was in a period of drought, there would be nothing but dust blowing around, very few plants. At that time too, you're going to see pigs and chickens running around. People are griping about pigs bursting into the house. The Picos at that time griped about the fact that a pig gets into their kitchen and eats a years supply of stores; you have raids by all the animals. In that day they didn't have a sanitation department per se, at least a human one, it was animals, so that's why they kept a large amount of dogs around. In that day, when they wanted meat for the kitchen, they didn't slaughter the cattle out in the fields and bring them in. You brought the cattle right to the backdoor, to the kitchen,
and slaughtered them right outside the kitchen door and prepared them there. You just left the mess right there and then you relied on chickens, cattle, goats, whatever, dogs, to clean it up for you. At that time too, there weren't too many houses in Old Town. The population is not too great. It's really a tenuous situation here. Water is the most pressing problem at any time, whether it be a lack of it or too much of it. There was no happy intermediate position, I don't think. They either had a lot of it or very little of it.

PH: Troy Jordan, historian at Old Town State Park. And what of the Dons themselves? We think of an Old World Spanish elegance, especially in connection with the wealthier families like those of Don José Antonio Estudillo and Juan Bandini. The Bandini House, by the way, can also be seen in Old Town, right next to the Estudillo House. Some of our best descriptive information is found in the writings of Richard Henry Dana, author of the famous book Two Years Before the Mast. Dana has left us vivid descriptions of Old San Diego and its inhabitants. A brief sampling is shared with us by Dr. Iris Engstrand, professor of history at the University of San Diego.

Iris Engstrand (IE): Bandini is kind of a character that Dana gets to know and he has kind of an unusual description of him which I'll read to you. Dana describes Juan Bandini as he has returned from Mexico as "accomplished, poor and proud and without any office or occupation to lead the life of most young men of the better families. Dissolute and extravagant when the means are at hand, ambitious at heart, and impotent in act, often pinched for bread, keeping up an appearance of style when their poverty is known to each half naked Indian boy in the street. And they stand in dread of every small trader and small shop keeper in the place. He had a slight inelegant figure, moved gracefully, danced and waltzed beautifully, spoke the best of Castillian with a pleasant and refined voice and accent, and had throughout the bearing of a man of high birth and figure. Yet here he was with his
passage given him as I afterwards learned, for he had not the means of paying for
it, and living upon the charity of our agent." I should add at this point that
the fortunes of Juan Bandini sort of went up and down with the times. He over-
invested at times in land and had some financial difficulties. But money was
very scarce in Mexican California altogether and actual pesos were very difficult
to come by. Most business was carried on in the form of barter -- the hides from
the ranches, tallow, were traded for things with the Boston trading ships. Dana
was somewhat prejudiced, we'll have to say, from his own background. He was sort
of a Puritan, Anglo, typical from Boston, and sort of thought that the Californios
were just a little bit lazy, too much show, too little work, and this is sort of
his overall impression. He felt that they should really be towing the line a
little bit better. Although, he does admit finally, that it's the weather, the
climate in California is so easy and nice that even the most dedicated Yankee
after a while in California would succumb to this easy life.

PH: Well, Clare, despite that cultural bias, I would imagine that it's fortunate
to have such rich, descriptive material of Old Town, San Diego through the
writings of Richard Henry Dana.

CC: Yes, his description of San Diego as contained in his work Two Years Before
The Mast, I think we get quite an accurate picture of what life was like in the
1830's. He came with his ship in 1835. This was a ship that was engaged in the
hide trade. He spent a good deal of time in San Diego. He writes "The first
place we went to was the old ruinous presidio which stands on a rising ground
near the village. It is built in the form of an open square and was in a most
ruinous state with the exception of one side in which the Commandante lived with
his family. There were only two guns, one of which was spiked and the other had
no carriage. Twelve half clothed and half starved looking fellows composed the
garrison and they, it was said, had not a musket apiece. The small settlement
laid directly below the fort, composed of about forty dark brown looking huts or houses and about three or four larger ones whitewashed which belonged to the upper class. This town is not half as large as Monterey or Santa Barbara and has little or no business." You can see from his description of the presidio and of the soldiers that although Dana did not have this in mind, it certainly was going to be picked up by other people in the United States who could say, "Ah ha -- good place, and it's certainly going to be easy to take it over."

PH: Richard Henry Dana, as you've mentioned, was just one of many Yankees making his way to the southwest as was Captain Henry Fitch whom we examined in last week's program. The early trickle was to become a steady stream, and finally with gold discovered in California, a flood of migration.

CC: Yes, it's certainly interesting that if gold had been discovered earlier, or had been recognized, actually I guess there were some Spaniards and Mexicans who had discovered some gold but did not regard it as terribly important, the knowledge was not widely spread. But had it been discovered earlier, who knows, maybe we would all be speaking Spanish here. Maybe the Mexicans would not have allowed California to be taken over. Maybe they would have been able to resist. Well, the Mexican War, I think, really stemmed from a desire for California, not for its gold because that was not known about at the time, but for its good harbors and for its good land into which the population could spread. The American desire for California went back to the 1830's. During the administration of Andrew Jackson there were attempts made to buy California from Mexico. And even during President Polk's administration during the 1840's just before the Mexican War, what we call the Mexican War, there was another attempt made to buy California. But Mexico did not want to sell it. So a boundary dispute as to what the boundaries of Texas were actually gave Polk an opportunity to say "We have been invaded. American blood," as he said in a famous phrase, "has
been shed on American soil." So he asked for declaration of war, and it was quickly given. The Mexican War, as we call it in our textbooks, took place almost entirely in Mexico. It was an invasion by the United States of Mexico, and most of the battles were fought there. The conquest of California was relatively easy. As indicated earlier, there was practically no military force with which to resist it. And, as a matter of fact, many of the Californios, the Mexican residents of the area, were by no means unhappy that California was going to be acquired by the United States. There was virtually no resistance when the Americans came in initially. But then the arrogant behavior of some of the American soldiers, especially Lieutenant Gillespie who was in charge of Los Angeles, aroused resistance among the Californios. And this resulted in a series of, essentially, skirmishes in California; the bloodiest battle in California, was fought at San Pasqual, up near Escondido. The American forces there under General Carney were defeated by the Californios riding their fine horses and wielding their long lances. The American troops were unfamiliar with the area and were tired from their long, long march. Their powder was wet so their guns didn't fire properly. The Americans suffered about twenty killed and about the same number wounded. Soon after that, the capitulation Cahuenga (?) was signed and the war came to an end.

PH: Just what did the Californios, the citizens of Mexican California, feel about the great changes that were being signaled by the increasing interest in this area on the part of the United States, after which California became U.S. territory?

CH: It's generally my impression that the Californios accepted the U.S. rule in California. When the Cayan (?) sailed into the San Diego harbor in July of 1846, the Californio population in San Diego did not resist, they accepted it. You have to go back and understand this whole response on their part to the
later Mexican period following the secularization of the missions in the late 1830's. All types of social order completely collapsed; there was an outbreak of Indian violence -- the Californios and the Indians were constantly warring with one another. Californios were forced to abandon their ranchos and to seek protection in the Old Town area. At one point, there was a conspiracy to completely annihilate the Californio population then. This conspiracy was uncovered and the leaders were put to death.

PH: Part of the Indians, then?

CH: Part of the Indians. The Indians believed that the land was theirs; the Californios also believed that they had a right to it. There was this conflict constantly going on. In 1831, I believe it was, San Diego's population was over 700 people. At that point they had petitioned the Mexican government for local rule and they were granted a city charter in 1835. By 1837, then, the population had declined and they no longer had enough people here to continue with their city form of government that they had. They became a local district of L.A. then. By 1841, the population was about 119 or 150 people. There was this tremendous decline in the population. It's my impression that they're both trying to eke out an existence in this very hard land and in a very harsh environment. There wasn't that much to go around, so the Californios had to exist and they took what they could control. Indians resisted it, and wanted what was rightfully theirs, they felt.

PH: So they may have appreciated the stability that came with the U.S. government? Is that part of the reason why that was accepted?

CH: The officers came in and they promised that they would give protection, that they would establish social order, and that we would become a part of this expanding commercial empire of the United States. It looked very good for them. Nobody anticipated the discovery of gold in 1848 and subsequent migrations of
100,000 Anglos or better, and this complete transition that occurs then in the first few years following the conquest. The Californios thought that they would remain the predominant group and they would have this protection of the United States government and they would become a part of the expanding, growing empire. It looked like a very good deal for them.

PH: We'll examine in a moment whether the United States rule was indeed a good deal for the Californios. Dr. Richard Griswold del Castillo with the Mexican American Studies faculty at San Diego State University also notes the important cultural differences that existed between the Anglo-Americans and the Mexican-Californios.

Richard Griswold del Castillo (RGS): I think one of the problems was that the Yankees, the Anglos, had sort of a superiority complex which historians call "Manifest Destiny" of that period which was that the English speaking people had in their genes practically, the God-given right to settle and to conquer all of North America. But almost every Yankee Anglo who moved into the Southwest had this kind of preconceived notion of superiority over the other peoples who were living there. It's very difficult for the Mexican people to accommodate themselves to this attitude. For the English-speaking people, it had to be only one way as the God given appointed rulers of this particular area. It was really the tragedy in California, in particular, that the Mexican people as everybody knows, are extremely hospitable and gracious, and they were perfectly willing to accept non-Mexicans into their society. Even after the Mexican War, there were a number of associations, political clubs, and so forth, that had Anglo Americans as members and even leaders along with the Mexicans. But unfortunately, it didn't work the other way, that is, the Anglo Americans were not willing to tolerate the Mexicans as equals politically or socially after the Mexican War.
PH: The war ended in 1846, soon after it began. The United States and Mexico soon agreed upon the Treaty of Guadalupe Hidalgo which established a new border and several guarantees to the Californios.

RGC: The Treaty of Guadalupe Hidalgo, which guaranteed property rights of the Mexicans residing or staying in the United States was violated in spirit and law. The Mexican landholders were deprived on their land through a variety of ways. The State Legislature passed a law in 1851 called the Gen Land Act which required that all landowners prove before a court of claims up in San Francisco that they had legitimate title to the land. This threw into question all the land grants in California which opened the possibility for squatters to claim portions of different ranchos. Of course, the litigation expenses were very large. The rancheros had to hire lawyers and translate documents. The average time it took to get a case through the court, to approve the land grant was seventeen years. This was a very drawn out process. During that time they had to sell their lands and cattle to pay lawyers. Ironically, in the end, the commission up in San Francisco, legitimized most of the grants. But by then, most of the grants had been sold or taken away for force by the squatters. The prejudicial laws passed by the State Legislature in California were largely responsible for the loss of land. There were other things such as land taxes and cases where people had to borrow money. There wasn't a usury law then, and they borrowed money at exhorbitant rates of interest like 10½ a month, compounded monthly. A lot of these Californios didn't understand high finance, didn't understand interest rates or loans. They were used to a very informal type of economic relationship. So they were willing to sign deeds as security over to lawyers and banks and other people without realizing what it was that they were doing. So in the end, through their ignorance or lack of sophistication, they were tricked a lot of times into giving away their lands. The types of property taxes that the Anglo Americans
brought with them were something different than what the Californios had been used to. The Mexican law was that land should be taxed for what it produced. So if you had a huge rancho of 100,000 acres and you only had ten cows on it, just those ten cows were taxed. Where the Anglo approach was that land should be taxed for what it could produce, the maximum production value. In Southern California, the Californios who owned these huge ranches all of a sudden had to pay huge taxes, despite the fact that, at least after 1863, their cattle were pretty much decimated. So they had to sell the land to pay the property taxes.

PH: Dr. Richard Griswold del Castillo with the Department of Mexican American Studies at San Diego State University.

CC: I think another thing that is important in understanding the whole problem with the land grants is the very different attitudes that Americans brought with them. They were accustomed to a system in which people had, relatively speaking, small holdings. They would have eighty acres or 160 acres. The Homestead Act, for example, was based on a 160 acre piece of land. To most of the Americans, the concept of these enormous land grants -- because the land grants in California were five, ten, twenty thousand acres; it was by no means unusual to have twenty thousand acres. And of course some of the grants were as much as fifty thousand; the Warner ranch grant for example was over 100,000 acres. So certainly to Americans, this was much too much land, and their whole attitude was, why shouldn't it be carved up into smaller pieces? This is a much more democratic approach.

SIDE TWO

PH: Now, I'd like to ask you how the present border between the United States and Mexico was finally determined -- the border that, I understand, was defined and agreed to by the Treaty of Guadalupe Hidalgo.

CC: Well, the negotiations concerning the Treaty evidently discussed a number of
possibilities as to where the border could be drawn. We all might still be speaking Spanish if some of those negotiations had gone through because there were a number of proposals to draw the line much higher. And eventually the decision was made to draw the line at one marine league south of the end of San Diego Bay. This would, from the standpoint of the Americans give them the marvelous harbor of San Diego, and from the standpoint of the Mexicans who were negotiating the Treaty, by not going further south, it gave them a land bridge between Baja California and the mainland of Mexico.

PH: Often borders between nations follow the topography of the land; that itself naturally separates peoples. But there is no such natural boundary between San Diego and Tijuana. The special situation of this border is the basis for a San Diego organization known as Fronteras de las Californias, or "Border of the Californias." The aim of the Fronteras program is to provide effective liaison and communication across the border for the two communities of San Diego and Tijuana. The Executive Vice President of Fronteras is Dr. Lucy Killea.

LK: The geographic region which encompasses San Diego and Tijuana and which had a unity in the Spanish and Mexican Period and certainly has a geographic unity, had this artificial line put into it. This is really one of the most interesting things today as we are now looking at our region, with this tremendous population we have, we now realize that that boundary line doesn't separate us really. We have the same air pollution problems, the same water sewage problems we must share. One of the people who was foremost in visualizing this and who started this Fronteras program really, was Hamilton Marston, although he is too modest to admit it in those terms. He had a very good grasp of the situation. He pointed out how San Diego Harbor had the potential under Spain and Mexico to be the gateway for all of the hinderland, all of the way back to the Colorado River, the whole southern part of California and into Arizona, the whole Southwest and
Northwest part of Mexico. With the artificial line put there, suddenly San Diego, with this beautiful harbor became a dead end rather than a gateway. Something the same happened to the Baja California side. In other words, rather than having access to a harbor which had the potential for tremendous development, they also became the end-of-the-line in Mexico. You had really two very sleepy communities as a result that were largely ignored by their own countries and had much in common. The two cities are very close together now, and the tremendous amount of interchange across the border, despite some slowdowns on holidays and so on is one of the most crossed borders in the world. Metropolitan areas in any one country have enough problems. When you have a large metropolitan area -- and we will be three million people in this area by 1990, certainly by the turn of the century. And when you have that many people in such a relatively small area, it is artificial because the human interaction is taking place constantly in all kinds of ways -- economically, socially, politically, even the tourism is a rather superficial type of interchange, but is a very real one.

CC: Could you tell us a little bit about the Fronteras program? I understand it was set up as a sort of Bicentennial program in 1976, but it has continued on. What kinds of things does Fronteras do?

LK: Fronteras is a liaison organization. We are attempting to make the communications across the border; either open up the communication when it's not there in areas in which people have.. or institutions, whether it's government or private, have common interests, have mutual goals, but they cannot transcend that barrier of language or political or linguistic barrier. We try to help get people together.

PH: Dr. Lucy Killea, Executive Vice President of Fronteras de las Californias. The Mexican era came to a close with the American acquisition of the Southwest. After the Mexican War, the citizens of what had once been part of Mexico were
fairly soon overwhelmed with the flood of new American settlers. We also see a significant cultural change in San Diego. What were some of the elements of that change in culture, Clare?

CC: I think one way of looking at the cultural change is that the economy became very different from being essentially based on ranching. The economy of San Diego developed in a greater variety of ways after the American conquest.

PH: Charles Hughes of the San Diego Historical Society has done a great amount of research on the subject of the cultural change that occurred after California became a part of the United States.

CH: I found that San Diego wasn't like the rest of Southern California. Number one, the Californios in San Diego did not have the large herds of cattle that the Californios in Los Angeles and Santa Barbara had. They hadn't the herds to drive north to make the large profits. Californios were also very quickly outnumbered by the Anglos in San Diego so they lost political control. Taxes were imposed, and they couldn't meet their tax obligations. The climate was very dry; they couldn't grow their crops, then, to sell to the markets and to make a profit in that regard. So they lost their lands, then. Politically, they lost control by the 1850 election. Antonio Estudillo and Juan Bandini each won election to office in 1850, but after that, there's only three or four Californios out of better than 100 or better elective offices that are elected in the first six years. Only three or four Californios are elected to office. Anglos outnumbered the Californios by three to one, then, and I'm thinking of the male population. There were over 300 Anglos or Americans then, and 96, if I'm recalling correctly, Californio men over 21 years of age ineligible to vote. Socially, they remained the predominant group. The Anglo population was predominantly male so they kept the cultural and social ties. You hear of the dances and social gatherings. There's social intercourse and they get along. They exist together. Economically,
then, the Californios begin to decline immediately, and by the 60's and 70's, the lands are passing from their hands.

PH: What we have seen is first a gradual influx of Anglo Americans until just after the Mexican War when the cry for gold brought inundations of fortune seekers to the West. The Mexican War brought San Diego under the United States flag, but it was the gold rush that brought a new culture and large enough numbers to profoundly effect the lives of the Californios. The family of Roberto Estudillo did return to Mexico, but as he says, many others remained in San Diego.

RE: The old people there from San Diego, the old Mexican or Spanish families that were Californios as they used to call themselves, they intermarried with the Americans that were coming into San Diego. A lot of Navy officers, Army officers were intermarrying into our family, like the Johnsons, Coutts, and Davis. They were intermarried with the old families in California. A lot of them stayed in California, others emigrated back into Mexico, like my grandfather. He emigrated back here into Tijuana.

PH: Why did he? Did he have any reasons he told you about?

RE: That's a mystery. I haven't been able to find out why. Probably he got discouraged with the American way of living. They used to live like Dons and they were not satisfied with the way they were treated by the Americans after a few years of living in California, so they emigrated back into Mexico. They didn't have any contact with the way the Americans were living. They wanted to go back and live the way they were living in the old days.

PH: Roberto Estudillo, the great grandson of Don Jose Antonio Estudillo. We've discussed the clash of two cultures at great length. What about the Indians? We examined in our last program the effects of secularization of the missions on the native San Diegans. But what has happened in the meantime between 1833 and the Mexican War?
CC: For the Indians who had been attached to the missions, and even those who had not -- those who were living further out in the backcountry -- the secularization was a great disruption of their life. The concept had been the land would be turned over to the Indians, but in fact, this did not happen. There were only a few Indians who received any land grants at all. Those who did lost their lands either because they entered into mortgages or some other kind of agreements which they didn't understand, and where in some instances, Rancho Guajome for instance, the two Indians to whom that was granted, apparently sold it. At any rate, the Indians after secularization, their whole pattern of life seemed to be very much disrupted, and this leads to increasing hostilities. There were many Indian raids, particularly, on outlying ranches in the late 1830's, and even a number of plots which were unsuccessful to raid San Diego itself, to take over the entire town. One of them, which involved some Indian servants in the pueblo of San Diego, was not accomplished because some of the Indian servants whose loyalty was to the family for whom they worked rather than to the other Indians, told about the plot. Sergeant Gonzales, when he captured the men he considered responsible for the plot, summarily had them executed. Estudillo, who was at that time the judge, complained that they should have had a hearing, some kind of a trial, but this was not done. By 1851, there were enough reasons for Indian disturbances that Antonio Garra was able to get a large number of Indians from several different tribes together and put on what amounted to a large scale, organized revolt.

PH: And again, we hear from Charles Hughes.

CH: Antonio Garra was a leader of the Indians in the northern San Diego area. Joshua Bean, the sheriff at that time, and mayor, told the Indians that they had to pay this tax. The Indians resisted; they didn't like it. It was something they were unfamiliar with; they felt it was unjust, they felt it was an attempt to take their cattle away from them. They were told that if they couldn't pay
the taxes, their cattle would be taken to pay for the tax. They organized this revolt. They hoped then to enlist the Californios to rise up and completely expel the Anglo Americans, and to reestablish their own form of government. Californios evidently did not cooperate, did not get involved, or support them at all. There was the outbreak of the attack upon Warner's Hot Springs then where three or four people were killed. The subsequent militia came in and Garra was arrested and eventually hung in San Diego.

PH: Charles Hughes, Archivist with the San Diego Historical Society. And for more background on Garra and the events that lead up to his execution, we turn to Roy Cook who teaches American Indian Studies at San Diego State University and Grossmont College.

RC: Antonio Garra was a Quepeño Indian who had some sore points with folks in that area and started to organize and spread the word and to build an effort at direct action. As such, as so many other indirect action, he was labeled a criminal and a robber and designated not to be a very good person. In fact, the Indian police were enlisted to bring him to justice. It has been said that Antonio Garra, who is the leader or the patriot, depending upon one's perspective, of the uprising, was in league with a number of also agitated Californios or non-Indian people who lived in Southern California. Estudillo has been mentioned as being one of the persons. Later on, even though he had been accused of being a part of the conspiracy, he was cleared of that by a peer group. Antonio Garra, it's interesting to note, when he was captured and brought into town and held under military arrest was never tried. He was summarilly executed.

PH: We've heard about the conflicting claims for land of the Californios and Indians during the Mexican period and, of course, between all the previous inhabitants of this region, and the American newcomers.

RC: The actual sovereignty of the predecessors, the Spanish and the Mexican
people, only extended on a very, very narrow strip of the coastline. The majority of the state of California was entirely under Indian dominion. Now, they didn't tax people, publish notices, exact tolls and fees for people going through the land because that wasn't the game played amongst the native people. Nevertheless, the fact remains that I have claimed the entire city of El Cajon a number of times. I've declared it to be my entire possession, I'm going to start taxing the people by the same sovereignty that the state of California fell into the Federal Government. Just by saying so or by fiat doesn't make it so. I don't care who it is that says it's so. And that's really where the nature of the sovereignty issue and the land question is still very, very involved in that the rights of native peoples were clearly defined by the Mexican government. Whether they were acknowledged by example and presidency in each and every instance is another question. But there were enough instances of acknowledgement of native rights of Indian people if you will, rights to recognize that there was a system of governmental acknowledgement of Indian rights by the Mexican people. When the U.S. accepted the conditions or dictated the conditions of the Treaty of Guadelupe Hidalgo, amongst the many conditions were that all of the people now residing would have not only the privilege, but the opportunity, etc, of becoming citizens of the United States with no risk or loss of their own land. The colonizing forces and governmental spheres of influence that were brought to bear upon native people had already been established. Whereas with the Spanish and with the Mexican people, there was not only a means of absorption of the native people into the area, they could not exist without native people. What we see coming to bear with this entire sphere of influence, not only social but also political, with the native people and the Anglo people was that the Anglo people didn't need the Indians. The Spanish people needed the Indian people. The Mexican people needed the Indian people. They couldn't have done anything without them. What we have going here is, the
people had been moving little by little due to the encroachment, the size of the
ranchos, the oppressiveness of the labor conditions. They moved and tried to
maintain their own lifestyles. Now with the Anglo invasion, there's no place
at all for them. The efforts are to remove them from the immediate area, remove
them from the outlying areas, and if at all possible, to remove them from the
conscience of America.

PH: Roy Cook with the Departments of American Indian Studies at San Diego State
University and Grossmont College. We've seen many changes that were brought to San
Diego during this very brief period. Don José Antonio Estudillo died in 1852
before he could have seen the full impact of the California gold rush. Those
changes are described here by another descendent of the Estudillo family, Victor
Magee, a fifth generation San Diegan who teaches San Diego history at the Mason
Street Schoolhouse in Old Town State Historic Park.

Victor Magee (VM): When they came, San Diego grew. San Diego grew not because
the gold rush was here but it was in San Francisco as the port that they came into,
and then up into the gold fields from there. But here was a port, and people
were stopping here on their way up from the Panama area, and also stopping here
as they were coming by land trails, over the mountains and into San Diego. They
were growing, and you might say that there was a little bit said about drinking
at that time, but a very, very small amount. But now, at the period of time
when all the Spaniards or the Californios had left San Diego and went up to the
gold fields, you might have found five groggeries. When the miners came back to
San Diego, you had as many as every Californian's home had a groggeries and
sold liquor. This is part of it as we sort of picture in the Wild West. It's
a picture too of crime more now than they had before. It's a picture of the
Spaniards or the Californios, I prefer to call them, not understanding English
well enough. These social changes took place because of it, and the pressures of
numbers of people coming. Then as the gold rush simmered down they simply went back to their more normal ways.

PH: Victor Magee who teaches San Diego history at the Mason Street School House in Old Town. We see the end of an era in San Diego, an era symbolized in many ways by people like Don José Antonio Estudillo. As our program ends, what would you say, Clare, in conclusion about Estudillo's importance to San Diego, and also about the importance of the era that he represents?

CC: Don José Antonio Estudillo was one of the most important representatives of the Mexican era in San Diego's history. That relatively short period of time between the Mexican Revolution of 1821 and the American conquest in 1846, when California became part of the United States. Estudillo serves as a great link between the Spanish, the Mexican and the American periods of San Diego's history. He and his family symbolized both continuity and change in our historical development. His father, José María Estudillo, was born in Spain, came to Mexico as a Spanish soldier. He served in the Presidio in Monterey and was Commandant of the San Diego Presidio from 1827 until his death in 1830. The son, Don José Antonio Estudillo also served in the army, but is much better known for his role in developing the civilian government in San Diego for his involvement in cattle ranching and agriculture. One of the most significant things he did, it seems to me looking back from our present perspective, was to urge the establishment of pueblo status, that is, town government for San Diego in the 1830's. One hundred years later, the city of San Diego was able to acquire municipal control of its water system because of a legal decision based on the fact that San Diego had been a pueblo, a legally recognized town in 1835. Don José served as Alcalde, which is similar to mayor, judge and treasurer in Mexican San Diego, and then he held office as County Treasurer or County Assessor rather, after California became part of the United States in the 1850's. He also advocated the development
of New Town, the subdivision on the shores of the harbor where the present Embarcadero is located. Although he did not invest in the subdivision himself, members of his family did. His son-in-law, Miguel de Pedroena, was one of the partners in the New Town development and, of course, the leading investor in that was William Heath Davis, an American merchant who was married to Don José's niece, María Estudillo. Another important way in which the Estudillo family forms a link between the past and the present is that Don José's son, José Guadalupe Estudillo, was San Diego County Treasurer in the 1860's and 70's, and he was President of the City's Board of Trustees in 1868 when 1400 acres were set aside for our great Balboa Park. The Casa de Estudillo in Old Town State Park is a kind of three dimensional historic document that helps to remind us of the Hispanic heritage of San Diego. Having this whole group of buildings and activities in Old Town reminds us all that our present life is much richer and more interesting because the fabric of our community is a mosaic of many cultures.

PH: Dr. Clare Crane, San Diego historian and chief consultant for this series of programs on San Diego history. With Don José Antonio Estudillo died an era. The face of San Diego was to change drastically as the cry for gold echoed throughout the West and created a deluge of new immigrants to San Diego. They had visions of wealth and the hope of a new life here. The new immigrant was in many ways exemplified by Lewis Rose, land developer, business man and the first Jewish resident of San Diego. His life is the subject of next week's program.