

LARGE LANDHOLDINGS IN THE ENVIRONS OF LOS ANGELES*

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The countryside around the nation's second-ranking conurbation is a melange of physical settings and kinds of occupance undergoing wide-spread but erratic rural-to-urban metamorphosis. A neglected aspect, but one promising better understanding, of the oft-bewildering Los Angeles hinterland is its framework of property ownership, a sometimes influential ingredient of both rural settlement and emergent urbanization.¹ Pursuing this prospect, the present article offers an exploratory picture of large private rural properties adjacent to Los Angeles, suggesting avenues of more intensive investigation and providing data for comparison with other circum-metropolitan areas. Due to the breadth of its subject, the study is arbitrarily confined to landholdings having a continuous extent of at least two square miles and situated within seventy miles of the Los Angeles civic center. Such properties were identified from public tax assessment records in summer 1964, and the accompanying account stressing ownership and utilization was subsequently compiled from a variety of sources.²

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**Dr. Steiner, who took his doctorate at the University of Washington, prepared his master's thesis, *Recreation and Watershed Problems in the Southwestern San Gabriel Mountains, California*, (Unpublished thesis, University of California, Los Angeles, 1951), partially under the guidance of Professor Zierer.

¹ As one regional planner puts it, for example, "Whether property is urbanized depends in a very real way on the desire of the owners . . ." [Willis Miller in Ernest A. Engelbert, ed., *The Nature and Control of Urban Dispersal*. (Los Angeles: American Institute of Planners, 1960), p. 95]. It is also noteworthy that while Jean Brunhes omitted land ownership from his classic list of the "essential facts" of geography [*Human Geography*. (Chicago: Rand McNally, abridged and translated 1952 ed.), pp. 35-39], the subject figured prominently in an exemplary case study in the same book [pp. 104-106], as noted by Richard Hartshorne while defending inclusion of non-material cultural features in geographic research [*The Nature of Geography*, (Lancaster, Pa.: Association of American Geographers, 1939), pp. 206 and 210].

² These consisted of published and unpublished materials, field observations, and interviews too numerous and fragmentary for complete citation. A preliminary listing of properties was obtained from cadastral maps published by Blackburn Map Co., Los Angeles (1954). Orange County Planning Department (1959), and Los Angeles City Planning Commission (1962). Helpful records were made available by the Bakersfield and Riverside offices of Title Insurance & Trust Co., by Pioneer Title Insurance & Trust Co. San Bernardino, by field offices of the U.S. Agricultural Stabilization & Conservation Service, and by the U.S. Bureau of Land Management. Gratitude for extended interviews is expressed particularly to William R. Barnes, C. J. Barrett, R. A. Brendler, Eursell Cordell, Robert Erro, Richard Hathaway, Blake McCartney, N. L. McFarlane, C. E. Parker, R. G. Percy, and William Snow.

DISTRIBUTION AND LINKAGES

Properties of the prescribed size and location number 120 and occupy nearly one-fourth of the privately-held non-urban hinterland of Los Angeles. Large holdings are generally fewer than small ones and cover less total area (Table 1). The size-frequency distribution of holdings reveals no peculiarities that might be ascribed to minimum land needs for agriculture or to optimum size of units intended for urban subdivision. However, one major irregularity occurs in the form of five outstanding properties that are nearly as extensive as all other holdings combined

Table 1. Data on Properties by Size Groups

Size in Sq. Mi.	Number	Total Sq. Mi.	Ownership Frequency ^a
2-5	69	230	2.1 ^b
5-10	28	200	2.6
10-15	12	137	2.2
15-20	6	102	1.8
61-300	5	688 ^c	1.4
Total	120	1,357	

^aAverage number of owner changes per property since 1900.

^bBased on a sample of fifty properties that give an underestimate of the true figure.

^cExcluding acreage beyond the 70-mile study area.

(Figure 1). The smallest encompasses sixty-one square miles and the largest 300 square miles, and two of the five contain more acreage beyond the seventy-mile zone.

The location of all properties together and separately by size groups appears unrelated to distance from central Los Angeles.³ More relevant are kinds of physical settings and modes of occupancy. Having originated as agricultural units, most holdings are identified with terrain that is smooth to hilly, rather than mountainous, and with climate that is subhumid or semiarid, rather than desert. Such settings are most plentiful in a sector immediately northwest of Los Angeles, where half of the 120 properties are located.⁴ Mountain and desert zones contain fewer holdings, due to unpro-

³ This condition may arise from the physical variety of the present hinterland, but it might also occur even on a fairly uniform surface as in the outskirts of Chicago, where a singular size distribution of rural property persists irrespective of distance from the city until the time of urban subdivision, according to John J. B. Miller, *Open Land in Metropolitan Chicago*, (Chicago: Midwest Open Land Association, 1962), pp. 102-103.

⁴ As noted later, this concentration is augmented by oil-producing holdings. On the other hand, no special political conditions seem to contribute, since large holdings are frequent on both sides of the county boundary involved, and several properties, in fact, overlap the boundary. Neither is proximity to Hollywood as influential as might be imagined. Only one large landholding is identified with a motion picture personality, and only two serve as regular movie production properties, though several working ranches are employed sporadically as film settings.

ductivity and perhaps to widespread presence of public lands.⁵ Most major lowlands with historically adequate water supply also lack large properties, having earlier been partitioned into small farming units or urbanized.

Only a modest degree of owner linkage seems to exist among large holdings. Out of 120 properties, 105 appear to have distinct ownership after deductions are made for kinship affiliations and multiple holdings.⁶ Ten owners have more than one large property within the area studied, and one owner has four. Multiple properties of an owner are usually situated close together, however, and sometimes they were once part of a single holding. Many larger owners also have numerous parcels too small to be considered in this study, but commonly located in close proximity to the

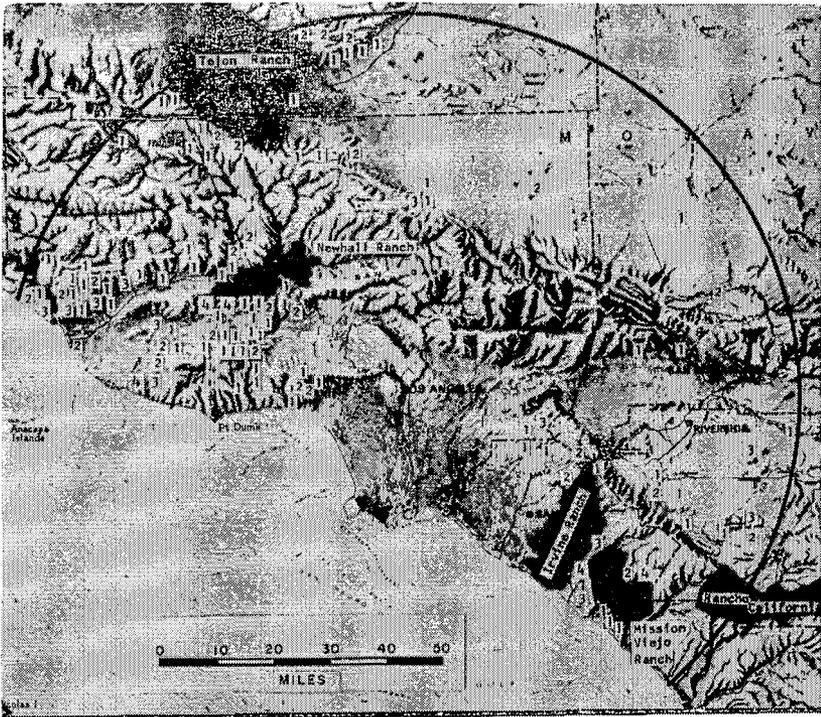


Figure 1

master holding. Operating ties were not considered here, other than leasing arrangements noted in the later discussion on agriculture.

⁵ Rodney Steiner, "Reserved Lands and the Supply of Space for the Southern California Metropolis," *Geographical Review*, vol. 56, (1966), p. 346.

⁶ Fragmentation of ownership appears greater here than in some areas that are more purely agricultural; cf. "contiguous kinship" parcels of the Midwest cited by Miller, *loc. cit.*, and integrated family corporations reported by W. H. Wills, *Large-Scale Farm Operations in the Upper San Joaquin Valley, California*, (Unpub. master's thesis, University of California, Los Angeles, 1953), p. 102.

ORIGINS, FUNCTIONS, AND STABILITY

A slight majority of properties are pieces of once larger Hispanic land grants. Accordingly, their present boundaries are generally straight but not compass-oriented, following metes-and-bounds lines in a manner frequent for property, roads, and political limits in rural and even in urban coastal Southern California.⁷ Land grant properties are often notably unsymmetrical, though it remains to be tested whether they tend to be more or less compact than holdings having public domain origins. Another small group of properties are derived from combinations of land grants or of parts of grants, or from mixtures of land grants with public domain units. Remaining properties occur entirely within public domain sectors of the Los Angeles hinterland. Coinciding closely with areas shunned by Hispanic ranchers because of low grazing value, most large properties on the public domain originated later than land grant holdings. Some were established "whole" directly out of public domain or railroad lands thereupon, while many others were developed by consolidation of homestead and other small patented units, often by one of the original settlers. Public domain properties tend to be smaller and less often agricultural than land grant holdings, due more to natural handicaps, however, than to method of property origin.⁸ Properties in the public domain sector are further distinguished by their right-angle, compass-oriented, devious boundaries, and by frequent penetration from enclaves and peninsulas of alien land. In a dozen extreme cases, holdings from the public domain have complete or partial checker-board dimensions.

Table 2. Number of Properties by Ownership and Productive Use

Owner	Agric.	Agric. and Min.	Agric. and Urban ^a	Min.	Idle and Other	Total
Investors	24	3	2 ^b	0	10	39
Mineral Companies	1	7	0	10	2	20
Basic Ranchers	15	2	1	0	0	18
Absentee Heirs	10	3	2	0	0	15
Developers	4	0	7	0	1	12
Estate Ranchers	8	0	1	0	1	10
Others	0	1	1 ^b	0	4	6
Total	62	16	14	10	18	120

^a Income accrues from partial urban development of property.

^b Also supported by oil production.

Agriculture and mineral extraction are the primary productive uses of large properties (Table 2). However, visible productive use is by no means synonymous with property function in this region. Probably not over half of all properties are supported chiefly by agriculture or minerals. Many

⁷ Howard Nelson and associates, "Remnants of the Rancho in the Urban Pattern of the Los Angeles Area," *The California Geographer*, Vol. V, (1964). p. 4.

⁸ The prevalence of large ranches throughout western United States bespeaks the ease with which such units were historically established out of public domain land when warranted by forage quality. In the study area, also, several extensive ranches occur on areas of former public domain having relatively high grazing capacities.

properties stand idle, and idle or not, many holdings serve primarily as investments. A few may consist of genuine residential estates that temporarily are economic liabilities. Others are supported in varying degrees by piecemeal sale or lease for urban developments, and a number may be held for their favorable effect on the taxation accounts of owners who have outside income.⁹ Some properties are in transitional categories in which purposeful management may momentarily be at a minimum. Such variables and intangibles resist full inquiry and easy categorization, but kinds of ownership enumerated in Table 2 are at least suggestive of actual property functions beyond visible use alone, if somewhat dependent on subjective judgment. Functions and uses of landholdings are discussed more fully in later paragraphs.

Ownership and dimensions of large properties have been historically resistant to change. Most holdings achieved their maximum extent early, and their area subsequently has tended to remain fixed or only slightly diminished. Few present owners are descendants of Hispanic settlers, but the fifty-one properties larger than five square miles have averaged only slightly more than two owners each since 1900, and about one-fourth of all properties have seen no ownership change at all in the twentieth century. In general, the larger the property the less frequent its ownership change has been in the past (Table 1), though this relationship has not held in the last few years. Mineral-bearing properties have also tended to have a minimum of ownership fluctuation. Complete ownership history was not obtained for properties smaller than five square miles, but partial data suggest there is more stability in this size group than would be assumed from the economic ease of transferring smaller holdings. At least thirteen properties of two to five square miles have had no ownership change since 1930. Ownership change for properties of five square miles and larger occurred at a fairly steady rate between 1900 and 1960, though somewhat slow in the 1920's and 1950's, and rapid in the 1930's. Between 1960 and 1965, however, one-quarter of the properties larger than five square miles experienced owner turnover as part of the original trend toward urban development. As might be expected, sale of a property appears to be especially likely following the death of its long-time owner.¹⁰

AGRICULTURAL USAGE

Agriculture, chief motive in formation of the properties, remains their most important productive use. In general, the larger the property the more apt it is to have some agricultural activity and a greater variety of agriculture (Table 3). A majority of present agricultural properties are essentially limited to grazing or to dry farming of grains and beans, while a small number of holdings are devoted chiefly to irrigated crops, primarily orchards,

⁹ This allegation is made frequently with respect to smaller rural properties in Southern California and probably also applies to some holdings considered here, though such cases are not readily documented.

¹⁰ One possible contributing factor is the tendency for lower taxation of property sold by heirs of a deceased owner than of property sold directly by the owner during his lifetime. See William H. Scofield, "Values and Competition for Land," *A Place to Live, The Yearbook of Agriculture* (Washington, D.C.: Government Printing Office, 1963), p. 69.

vegetables, and alfalfa, and about one-quarter of all agricultural properties combine significant amounts of irrigation with grazing, dry farming, or both. Cattle feedlots are co-dominant with other activities on several holdings.

An estimated 188 square miles of the 120 landholdings are cultivated, apportioned about 139 square miles to dry farming, twenty-eight to orchards, sixteen to vegetables, and five to alfalfa. The remaining eighty-six per cent of the area studied is agriculturally employed strictly for grazing at most, with probably less than half of this acreage having forage quality. All properties together account for roughly one-tenth of orchard and vegetable acreage in the seventy-mile zone, and probably a much greater share of

Table 3. Number of Properties by Agricultural System and Size Group

Dominant Agricultural System	2 to 5 Sq. Mi.	5 to 10 Sq. Mi.	Over 10 Sq. Mi.	Total
Grazing and/or Dry Farming	31	14*	12*	57
Irrigation, with Grazing and/or Dry Farming	4*	7	10**	21
Irrigation	8	2	0	10
Total	43	23	22	88

*Indicates one property having an important feedlot operation.

dry-farmed and grazing land.¹¹ The group of large properties therefore seems to be agriculturally less intensively used than is normal for the region, a trait related in part to prevailingly unirrigable settings. Further, it is the writer's impression¹² that irrigated crops more often occur on small properties and stop at the boundaries of large holdings, than vice-versa. Since property limits seldom coincide with sharp changes in physical environment, it therefore appears that large properties in this region may tend to make less intensive use of equivalent land and water resources than do small holdings.

Farming on most properties studied is not a simple resident-owner operation. Fewer than a score of owners are solely dependent on agricultural production from their single holding, and only thirty owners use their property as a mailing address. A number of holdings have ranchsteads named on topographic maps, and many more are popularly called "ranch" or "rancho," but these appellations do not prove to be reliable indicators of owner residence or degree of attachment. Properties having cultivation tend to resident ownership more than holdings restricted to grazing or non-agricultural uses, and partly because they are more apt to possess agriculture, so do properties of larger size. About two dozen holdings are leased

¹¹ Based on 1959 Census of Agriculture data for three counties most coincident with the study area, compared to the writer's data for large properties in the same counties.

¹² Derived from inspection of air photos and of topographic maps having orchard symbols.

in whole or in part to others, mostly for grazing and grain farming,¹³ while three owners themselves lease additional property nearby, and four owners possess grazing permits on adjacent public lands.

The five leading properties provide specific, if imperfectly representative, examples of the variegated and complex agricultural ownership patterns prevailing in the area.¹⁴ Their owners consist of an open-stock corporation identified particularly with Los Angeles business interests, a subsidiary of an Eastern railroad with a California metals manufacturer, a largely local family-owner corporation controlled by a non-profit foundation, a closed family corporation based in San Francisco, and a trusteeship for descendants of an early-day rancher. Present owners date, respectively, from 1912, 1964, 1864, 1875, and 1883. Three owners have other large rural holdings in California, and only one of the five properties has a traditional owner's home, though all possess operating structures and employee residences. Each holding is at least partly owner-operated, three also include tenant cultivators, and one controls extensive adjacent property under grazing lease.

MINERAL PRODUCTION

Extraction of minerals (petroleum, clay, borax, cement, and water) is second in frequency to agriculture as a productive use of large properties. Some one-third of these mineral holdings occur in the northern and eastern portions of the study area, where climate or terrain are unsuited for agriculture; they tend to small sizes, with none exceeding six square miles. A second group of mineral properties, however, lies immediately northwest of Los Angeles, where petroleum deposits and agricultural settings coincide. Oil revenue usually takes precedence on them, but half are owned by "ranchers" rather than by oil companies. Many therefore also have significant irrigation or feedlot production, although on oil company properties agriculture is usually confined to grazing and dry farming by lease operators. Some properties in the oil-agriculture group, which includes two of the five largest landholdings, would probably be equally large and enduring on a basis of agriculture alone, but oil income may well account for persistence of others in urban-exposed locations. Altogether, petroleum-related properties in the study zone number thirty-one and encompass over 500 square miles. Included are more than a dozen holdings without oil production themselves but held by owners having income from oil. These consist mostly of estate ranches or simple investments rather than potential oil fields.

INVESTMENT-RELATED FUNCTIONS

It appears that investment is by far the leading motive for ownership of large rural properties around Los Angeles. Consisting of both individuals

¹³ This figure yields a tenancy rate of at least twenty-six per cent, and if each tenant were considered a separate operating unit, the value perhaps would be comparable to the fifty per cent figure reported for one sector of the study area by Howard Gregor, "A Sample Study of the California Ranch," *Annals Association of American Geographers*, Vol. 41, (1951), p. 292.

¹⁴ For contemporary accounts on four of the five leading properties, see *Annual Report of the Tejon Ranch Co.*; *Rancho California News*, (Bergen & Lee, Los Angeles), vol. 1, 1965; Ray Herbert, "Fabulous Irvine Ranch," *Los Angeles Times*, July 26-30, 1959 (five parts); and Ruth Waldo Newhall, *The Newhall Ranch*, (San Marino: Huntington Library, 1958).

and organizations, most investors maintain offices in the Los Angeles urban area. Only a few have long-standing affiliation with agriculture, but many have operated in Southern California for several decades. Investor properties understandably have tended to experience frequent transaction; more than half have changed hands since 1950 and only one investor-owner is known to pre-date 1900. There have been few instances of property consolidation by investors (or developers) in recent decades. Rather, the rule has been either no major alteration of pre-existing boundaries following acquisition by an investor, or early partition. Some investor properties, located mainly in mountains or desert, have long stood idle. The majority, however, are in active agricultural use, usually grazing and dry farming. Many were once basic ranches subsequently acquired by investors, possibly indicating that an increasing share of productive rural properties are operated with investment as their prime function.¹⁵ Nearly all purchasers of large properties in the last decade have been investors or developers.

Investment and agriculture are often virtually inseparable, some investors, for example, operating their properties with added motives such as agricultural hobbies.¹⁶ Also, many investor holdings are considered as working properties for immediate, as well as speculative, income. Possibly the intertwining of investment and agriculture has even prolonged the rural status of large properties in Southern California as much as it has led to their subdivision, by giving an added economic buffer against early urbanization not afforded the smaller-scale, narrowly agricultural owner. When viewing the accretion of wealth and population in Southern California, it may seem remarkable that any ranches at all would have escaped the hands of investors. In part this may testify to the power of tradition and sentiment as factors in land tenure¹⁷ but it might also be suggested that even the purest of ranchers nowadays necessarily finds himself a conscious investor merely through the circumstances of rising land values. Many pioneer ranchers of Southern California even in the previous century, in fact, had the reputation of being speculators as well as agriculturalists.

In addition to properties clearly identified with investors are those held by absentee heirs and estate ranchers, as recognized in Table 2, and considered here as somewhat special forms of investment orientation. Descendants of pioneer ranchers who live away from the property and have economic interests elsewhere are a common category of owner, and their holdings include some of the largest properties, including six that exceed

¹⁵ Investor ownership may also be characteristic in regions further removed from urban influence, as in the situation described by Walter F. Kollmorgen and David S. Simonett, "Grazing Operations in the Flint Hills-Bluestem Pastures of Chase County, Kansas," *Annals, Association of American Geographers*, Vol. 55, (1965), pp. 274 and 288-90. Circumstances stimulating nationwide rural land investment are discussed by Scofield, *op. cit.*, pp. 66-69.

¹⁶ For an example of investment combined with other motives of ranch ownership in the present study area, see L. F. and L. M. Cooley, *The Simple Truth about Western Land Investment*, (New York: Doubleday, 1964), pp. 147-148.

¹⁷ Personal motives for continuing to farm on the urban fringe of Los Angeles, some of them seemingly applicable to landholdings considered here, were investigated by Herbert Eder, *Some Aspects of the Persistence of Agriculture in the San Fernando Valley*, (Unpublished master's thesis, University of California, Los Angeles, 1960), pp. 68-70 and 91-98.

ten square miles. Agriculture, mainly of a casual nature, normally occurs on holdings of absentee heirs, and three have important oil output, one is experiencing initial urbanization, and one is being sold a parcel at a time to developers. Estate ranches, on the other hand, serve foremost as temporary or permanent places of residence for their owners, who in turn have outside sources of income. These properties tend to be active and well-managed, with considerable agricultural production, even if seldom self-supporting. Like properties of absentee heirs, estates range widely in size and location, though both groups are absent from desert settings. All estate owners have been present for more than a decade and at least half date back to World War II or before. Their fortunes stem from Eastern manufacturing, Southern California petroleum (not, however, on the estate itself), or from various activities in Los Angeles.

URBAN DEVELOPMENT

Continuing a traditional process, present-day properties are one by one becoming candidates for urbanization. Within the past few years, a dozen of the 120 "rural" holdings have experienced partial subdivision, and population on these lands alone in the next two decades is projected at upwards of one-half million. Another twenty properties are expected to begin urbanizing shortly, so that in the near future at least one out of four present large rural holdings within seventy miles of Los Angeles will probably contain housing tracts.¹⁸ Timing of urbanization is related partly to nature of ownership, since holdings purchased by developers in recent years have usually been those held lightly—that is, by heirs or investors rather than by basic or estate ranchers. Subdivision, however, is occurring on properties varying greatly in size, setting, use, and ownership, suggesting that most landholdings may ultimately undergo at least partial urbanization.

None of the 120 properties is fully urbanized as yet, and plans for some holdings call for continued rural use where terrain is difficult for construction or where intensive agriculture or oil production already exist. On larger properties, complete urbanization also may be long in coming simply due to market limitations, so that it is often to the owner's advantage to maintain maximum agricultural income for the present.¹⁹ There is only a very rough parallel between proximity to Los Angeles and proportion of holdings experiencing urbanization, even making allowance for mineral and other properties unattractive for early subdivision. A closer relationship might well occur were it not for such local variables as site quality, availability of imported water, access, and size of holding. The larger the property,

¹⁸ Available data when projected indicate that the 120 properties will accommodate between one-tenth and one-third of the anticipated new population in the next two decades; in other words a notably smaller proportion than is their present share of privately-owned open space in the seventy-mile zone.

¹⁹ An additional motive for delaying urban development arises out of recent state legislation providing incentive payments to farmers who wish to postpone subdivision of their property. Provisions of the new law, the effects of which are not yet locally apparent, are described in J. Herbert Snyder, "A New Program for Agricultural Land Use Stabilization: The California Land Conservation Act of 1965," *Land Economics*, XLII (February, 1966), pp. 29-42.

the more likely is development to be occurring or imminent,²⁰ though the reverse may be true with respect to the average urbanized share of a given holding. Either way, large properties that happen to lag behind the pace of urbanization in their particular locality appear to stand out more conspicuously on the local landscape, and with possibly further-reaching effects,²¹ than holdings equally persistent but smaller and more dispersed.

EVALUATION AND APPLICATIONS

Large landholdings not only occupy an impressive extent of rural Southern California, but they may also be commended as type examples for some characteristics of the region, since they involve a wide range of physical sites, land uses, general locations, and kinds of ownership. More specifically, the group of properties two to five square miles in size appear to be regionally normal in the proportion of their cultivated land that is irrigated. Large properties are perhaps also representative in regard to frequency of holdings having mineral production and broad tendency for urbanization to increase with proximity to Los Angeles, since in both respects few differences were found among various property size groups, raising the possibility of equivalency also with properties of more normal size. In other ways, however, large landholdings seem to form a unique component of Southern California. Evidence from this study suggests that size of property may correlate positively with: (1) land grant origins and historic stability of ownership, (2) variety of natural and man-made landscapes and productive activities, (3) dominance of extensive over intensive agriculture for a given quality of land resource, (5) presence of urbanization, and (6) degree of agricultural persistence on properties where urbanization is commencing.

Because agriculture is the primary productive use of large properties, their study inevitably touches upon this segment of the Southern California economy and landscape. Some representative and some unique qualities of large holdings, agriculturally speaking, have already been suggested. Additionally, major properties may also deserve further attention because they frequently involve multiple operations based on having both irrigable and unirrigable segments, in contrast to the prevailing single-setting, single-system type of farm enterprise. Future studies of detailed agricultural operations on large ranches could profitably be done on a case basis; or

²⁰ The reasons, though unclear, seem unrelated to distance from Los Angeles, internal site qualities, or class of ownership. Superior access or various economic attributes of large units may be involved. In any event, the present observation counters an earlier implication (Steiner, *op. cit.*, p. 359) that larger rural holdings may inherently have more effective qualities of self-preservation than smaller properties. The opposite, in fact, can be true to the extent large holdings offer greater efficiencies to the developer or easier acquisition by him. The latter is suggested as a historically significant process by R. H. Allen, "The Spanish Land Grant System as an Influence in the Agricultural Development of California," *Agricultural History*, Vol. 9, (1935), p. 136.

²¹ The importance of persistent large rural landholdings goes beyond the immediate locale, in that would-be urbanization may thereby be directed into some distant sectors and precluded from others, as in the major case described by Richard Bigger *et. al.*, *Metropolitan Coast*, (Los Angeles: Bureau of Governmental Research, University of California, 1958), pp. 68-69.

organized topically, they could clarify questions such as the difference between ownership units and operating units in this region.

The present study also sought to detect influences of the city upon its rural hinterland by comparing properties grouped according to location in successive ten-mile rings outward from Los Angeles, but no consistent gradients of property size, kinds of ownership, or agricultural land uses were observed. Partly, the locale was less than ideal for the purpose, due to its physical diversity. Also, a study area extending more than seventy miles out might have been more revealing, in spite of complications from overlapping hinterlands. On the other hand, many aspects of rural ownership and use may not usually be gradational outward from American cities, and thus the present study may have demonstrated some normative, rather than unique, qualities of rural Southern California, though adequate confirmation awaits inspection of other metropolitan hinterlands.