

**INTERCULTURAL COLONIZATION AND THE LANDSCAPE:  
THE HISTORICAL ARCHAEOLOGY OF SAN EMIGDIO,  
SOUTH CENTRAL CALIFORNIA**

**by**

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## DECLARATION

I declare that no material contained in the thesis has been used in any other submission for an academic award and is solely my own work

Melonie Renee Shier

## **ABSTRACT OF THESIS**

### **INTERCULTURAL COLONIZATION AND THE LANDSCAPE: THE HISTORICAL ARCHAEOLOGY OF SAN EMIGDIO**

Melonie Renee Shier

This thesis looks at the systems of value of ownership and sense of belonging as they play out in the landscape during the transition from the Spanish/Mexican period into the American period, on a south central Californian landscape of the San Emigdio Hills. Drawing upon a variety of source material, from other disciplines and from the historical record (primarily maps, photographs, historic accounts, and census records), the themes are developed to provide an understanding of what ownership means in an intercultural landscape. Themes of ownership and sense of belonging are developed through the theorizations of colonialism (with the idea of systems of value; Gosden 2004), object and landscape biographies (as suggested by Ashmore 2009, Joy 2009, Marshall and Gosden 1999), with some reference to landscape theory (Ashmore 2009, Zedona and Bowser 2009). As case studies, two canyons within the San Emigdio Hills are considered, San Emigdio and Santiago Canyon.

The two canyons provide a multi-scalar approach to the discussion of ownership and sense of belonging. San Emigdio Canyon provides the larger picture; how the interaction between owners and renters can be seen archaeologically, as each leave distinct impressions on the landscape. Santiago Canyon provides a more intimate view of how the inhabitants (possibly one family) have created a sense of belonging. These case studies are used to show how we can study a people's sense of belonging to the landscape through the way they have personalized their living spaces.

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## CHAPTER 1

### INTRODUCTION TO THEMES, PLACE, AND STUDY AREA

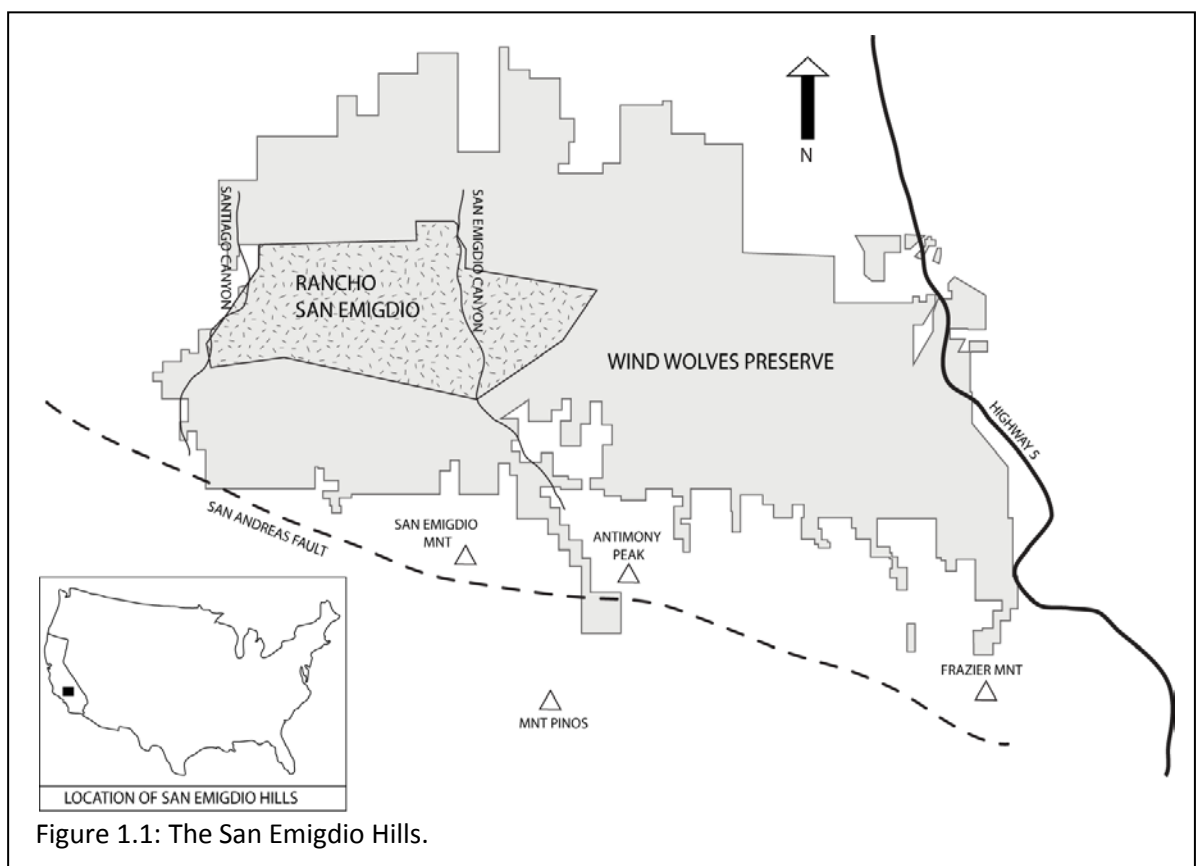
Using colonialism as a paradigm, this thesis delves into the idea of systems of value (Gosden 2004). Differences in systems of value can help understand how groups in a colonial situations assigned value and meaning to objects of significance. In particular, this thesis looks at the systems of value of ownership and sense of belonging as they play out in the landscape during the transition from the Spanish/Mexican period into the American period, on a south central Californian landscape of the San Emigdio Hills. The systems of value concerning ownership and sense of belonging can be studied in the spatial construction of the landscape and through personalization of inhabited locales.

#### THEMES: FROM OWNERSHIP TO BELONGING

Ownership bifurcates into two general categories: owners and renters. Owners include homesteaders, squatters, and speculators. Renters include renters, extended family members, superintendants, and housed employees (working on a seasonal or long term basis). While the literature has focused more on the contributions of owners (such as Church 2008, Grover 2008) little work on how history has dealt with renters has been performed, particularly in the American West. This could largely be due to bias in the historical record. Maps of land ownership, deeds, and titles show the 'legal' owners of a section of land, but when other documents such as historical biographies, census records, or registers of voters are included, the people whom actually lived in a space are found. Yet even these records have their pitfalls (as is later discussed) thus an archaeological approach is necessary to more fully explore the themes of ownership and sense of belonging.

From a theoretical perspective, a sense of belonging is oftentimes used in conjunction with community archaeology to empower minority groups so they can claim their historical legacy in a post-colonial atmosphere (Liebmann 2008, Loosley 2005). From sociology perspective, Bell (2009) shows the difficulty descendant colonizers have at constructing an identity of belonging in New Zealand. They feel their claim to the landscape is secondary to the indigenous Maori. Leach (2002) develops sense of belonging from an architectural perspective, which in turn can be used as a sense of belonging to place. He argues that belonging is a result of identification of place through repetitive interaction (2002:132). A social identity then develops that is linked to the landscape, which is mirrored in the interactions the person(s) have with the place.

Although the themes of landscape study are broached, it would be beyond the scope of this work to perform a full literature review of landscape archaeology. However, the idea of landscape as place is briefly discussed. Zedona and Bowser (2009) argue place is a meaningful locale of behaviour, memory, and materials and as such is a category of material culture as people alter their place to meet their personal needs. Clearly, this has implications for the development of sense of belonging in a landscape. The development of a locale to meet personal needs is an extension of people's attachment to a landscape. Ashmore (2009) further adds that a landscape can have multiple meaning that can occur simultaneously. This has implications for the study of an intercultural landscape such as the San Emigdio Hills, as it has been affected by Native California, Spanish, Mexican, and American interactions. These interactions oftentimes transpired concurrently.



### WHY SAN EMIGDIO?

The San Emigdio Hills (Figure 1.1) are a prime location for the study of ownership and sense of belonging in intercultural colonial settler communities. Over the course of the last two centuries, the hills have been occupied by Native Californians, as well as Spanish, Mexican, and American colonial groups. Thus, this landscape is ideal for exploring how different groups have appropriated local space to define ownership and sense of belonging. The San Emigdio Hills are located south of the San Joaquin Valley, with Bakersfield, California (the county seat of

Kern County) as the nearest large city about hour by car to the north. The three highest mountains in the area are San Emigdio, Mount Pinos, and Frazier Mountain. The geographical area is framed by Highway 5 to the east within Grapevine Canyon; to the west by the Bitterwater Wildlife Refuge; and to the south by the San Andreas Fault line (Robinson 2006:105, Orfila 2005:37) and California Highway 4 (Ridge Route Road). From the east to west, the major canyons include the Grapevine (commonly also called the Tejon area), Salt, Pleitito, Pleito, San Emigdio, and Santiago. Even though this work focuses on the San Emigdio and Santiago Canyons, the other canyons were used in various periods by the intercultural inhabitants. Both canyons and their creeks generally trend south to north, draining into the San Joaquin Valley. As will be shown, San Emigdio Canyon served as a subsequent locale of importance for colonial groups. The canyon was the core of the Rancho San Emigdio and is today the setting of the headquarters of the Wind Wolves Preserve.

#### **OTHER ARCHAEOLOGICAL RESEARCH ON THE WIND WOLVES PRESERVE**

Although several significant archaeological projects have already occurred at the Wind Wolves Preserve, no work from the American period in particular has yet been performed. Orfila (2005) performed excavations at CA-KER-188H (which I call Dominguez Flat) on the colonial occupation of the site. A part of her work was to find archaeological remnants of a proposed Spanish period mission property within San Emigdio Canyon. Her work did identify an adobe of considerable size dating to the 1810s, but the material culture did not identify its function or to who had built the adobe. Her work appropriately calls for more work to be done at the site.

Robinson (2006) performed survey throughout the Wind Wolves Preserve focusing on rock art and bedrock mortar sites. By using view shed analysis, his work shows how rock art was visually embedded within the landscape along transportation and seasonal procurement pathways. His work is focused on the Native Californian experience within the San Emigdio Hills.

Bernard (2008) performed survey and excavation within San Emigdio Canyon at three sites, including CA-KER-188H. Unlike Orfila (2005), Bernard's work focuses on Native Californian occupation during the early colonial period, which shows a mixing of local Native Californian and refugees who fled from the coastal missions. By looking at the refugee communities' material remains, she shows how Native Californians resisted European culture during the Spanish period. However, they changed their native material culture, particularly food pathways, in specific ways in response to the colonial experience.

Finally, two other students at the University of Central Lancashire are working on projects within the vicinity of San Emigdio Hills. Michele Wienhold a first year doctorate candidate plans to perform spatial analysis via GIS software adopting an actor-network theory. Whitby (2011) who is in her final year of a doctorate degree has looked at the phenomenon of cache caves within the Chumash people's landscape. One such cave site is located within the San Emigdio Hills.

## **METHODOLOGY**

The field research for this thesis was performed in the spring of 2011, and was focused within San Emigdio and Santiago Canyon. Methodology included field walking or pedestrian survey, mapping (using hand held GPS, USGS topographic referencing, and field sketches), and photography. Special attention was given to the structural features at Dorothy's House complex, a site in Santiago Canyon, and the area around the Wind Wolves Preserve headquarters. As many of the historic features of the Wind Wolves Preserve headquarters can only be found archaeologically, historical records were used to identify the location of particular features. The Wind Wolves Preserve office houses a minor collection of historical artefacts, only some of which are native to the preserve. These artefacts were catalogued, but do not comprise a significant aspect of this thesis. The Wind Wolves Preserve includes a moderate library of primary and secondary resource material which is steadily growing as more interest into the modern history of the preserve is evolving.

When the resources available at the Preserve were exhausted I visited several institutions for further research. A literature search was performed at the Southern San Joaquin Valley Information Centre at the University of California, Bakersfield. Even though numerous historic sites are known about in the preserve, very few have been recorded with the Information Centre, showing the scarcity of work performed on the preserve into the historic period. At the Beale Memorial Library in Bakersfield, California, the Genealogy Collection and the Jack Maguire Local History Room were visited to broaden this research. These have been supplemented by other historical materials accessible via the internet (such as Ancestry.com).

## **OUTLINE OF CHAPTERS**

Chapter two draws upon a variety of sources, some non-archaeological, to perform a literature review of the topics of historical archaeology and colonialism. Some historical archaeologists suggest that the study of capitalism should be central to the study of historical archaeology (Little 2007:58). Because capitalism is a process of colonialism, is it more pertinent

to discuss colonialism as a paradigm then capitalism. Chapter three provides a biography of the landscape in terms of its intercultural inhabitants, by showing how different peoples in the colonial periods have perceived or used the San Emigdio hills area. It concludes by testing the boundaries and frontiers model of Cronon et al (1992). The model deals with both issues of ownership and belonging as the forming of boundaries defines a group sense of belonging. Chapter four opens with a short literature review of the ways archaeology have tackled the problem of documents as artefacts, after which it compares two map typographies: survey maps and maps of ownership. Maps in particular have interesting connotations to how ownership is shown and presented to others.

The locales of San Emigdio Canyon and Santiago are discussed using the theory of life biography in Chapters five and six. An object biography approach is useful in that the approach discusses the ways objects, or in this case landscapes, can acquire meaning through interactions and modification particularly in relation to time, change, and movement across a landscape (Gosden and Marshall 1999:169). As Joy (2009) observes 'static objects' can also acquire life events because of the longevity in which they are in existence. The object biography approach is based on the theorization of Igor Kopytoff, whom suggested that objects like people go through a process of birth, life, and death (Joy 2009:540). An object can only go through death if they become forgotten completely and their existence has completely been wiped clean from the collective memory of the world, and cannot be found archeologically, entohistorically, or through other means. A landscape cannot disappear, but activities can be forgotten as people from different groups enter and displace the previous inhabitants. These meanings can then be 'found' again through archaeological study.

The two canyons provide a multi-scalar approach to the discussion of ownership and sense of belonging. San Emigdio Canyon provides the larger picture; how the interaction between owners and renters can be seen archaeologically, as each leave distinct impressions on the landscape. Santiago Canyon provides a more intimate view of how the inhabitant (possibly one family) has created a sense of belonging within the issues set up in the previous chapter. Finally, the main points are highlighted and the paper is summarized in the conclusion.

## CHAPTER 2

### HISTORICAL ARCHAEOLOGY AND COLONIALISM, PROCESS, THOUGHT, AND THEORY: A LITERATURE REVIEW

*“Think of colonialism in three ways: as the universal, evolutionary process of modernization; as a particular strategy or experiment in domination and exploitation; and as the unfinished business of struggle and negation” (Pels 1997:164).*

Modern archaeology (as opposed to antiquarianism) was founded during the historic colonial period (Pels 1997). Colonialism is as much entangled in historical archaeology as archaeology is within colonialism. With historical archaeology, we are returning to this foundation coming full circle to look at colonialism and how it has affected the modern world. Hall and Silliman observe this effect when they note “archaeology of the modern world is archaeology of ourselves” (2006:6). This literature review aims to look at historical archaeology as archaeology of the modern period, to briefly discuss colonialism in the historic period, and to consider the merits of post-colonial theory. The theory discussed in this chapter lays a foundation for applying the concepts of ownership and sense of belonging to the intercultural colonial landscape of south central California.

The inhabitants of California were colonized by Spanish, Mexican, Russian (in northern coastal areas), and the American empires. Because of the specificity of geography in the American West, the bulk of this literature review is focused on this geographic area, although several sources include a broader theoretical viewpoint (such as Gosden 2004, Gilchrist 2005, Hall and Silliman 2006, and Murray 2004). Furthermore as Funari writes “while historians are historians, archaeologists are anthropologists, architects, biologists, natural historians, geologists, geographers, and sometimes historians” (1997:197). Historical archaeologists must draw upon a wide range of source material. Therefore, I have drawn on a variety of sources, not all of it from archaeological commentary, because the work of other social sciences has greatly contributed to the study of the past. Just as the past does not belong to one group, but to many, the study of it should not be limited within any particular disciplinary boundary.

#### **HISTORICAL ARCHAEOLOGY**

Historical archaeology is commonly defined as the archaeology of periods where populations have produced a written record. Hall and Silliman (2006:7) point out that archaeology is not defined by its methodology; the methodology is defined by the context and focus of the research. Historical archaeologists are aided by the usage of text, but a document is a piece of material culture with context specific problems that must be interpreted within



the milieu of the era of which it was produced (Hall and Silliman 2006:4). Even with the emphasis on a methodology that can include the study of texts, historical archaeology is still a vague term with vague chronology. Historical archaeologists have not come to a consensus as to what that eras should be studied (see Gilchrist 2005, Hick and Beaudry 2006). Let us compare then how historical archaeology is defined in several geographical areas: Europe, the United States of America, and South America.

Within Britain, historical archaeology is described as the post-medieval period from 1450 to 1750, with industrial archaeology beginning post 1750 (Hicks and Beaudry 2006). Gilchrist (2005) claims the major players within European historical archaeology are the United Kingdom and the countries of Scandinavia, with little work actively being performed by archaeologists in the rest of the European continent. Interestingly, scholarship into the nature of history, and the modern interaction with history is actively pursued by the Annales School in France.

Gurevich (1995) optimistically describes how the Annales School has contributed to a greater understanding of history with 'New History' in which the modern and historical perspective can interact in 'dialogue.' Practitioners of this school see the process of reflecting the modern into the past an asset as long as it is within similar culture encounters (i.e. French scholars looking at French history). Gurevich concludes his article with a brief critique of several German interpretations of history, thus showing there is more theorization into the historical than Gilchrist presumes, even if it is not an archaeological perspective.

According to Gilchrist (2005), the landing of Columbus in the 'New World' in 1492 is used by North American archaeologists as a temporal marker identifying the beginning of historical archaeology. She is critical of the American version of historical archaeology on two points. The first is the emphasis of the small scale, such as individual sites or artefacts in relation to well known individuals (2005:334). American archaeologists Praetzellis and Praetzellis (2001) argue that the usage of the small scale allows for study of the mundane and personal, which can add greater flavour to the larger scale issues. Gilchrist is also critical of the existing scholarship as it fails to understand "the European context that was the springboard for colonial expansion" (Gilchrist 2005:330). Other archaeologists have made this point as well (Hall and Silliman 2006:8).

Funari (1997) looks at the development of archaeology in the South American countries of Argentina, Brazil, and Uruguay. Historic archaeology before the 1980s, occurring in an environment of political unrest, was focused on architecture and urban renewal programs. Since the 1990s, in conjunction with more political stability, historical archaeology has

expanded to perform work on mass graves of the very recent past, roles of identity, and colonialism. They are influenced by the translated works of American and German historical archaeologists.

Although the focus of Van Buren's (2010) work is on the status of research on Spanish colonialism, she provides a brief overview of South American historical archaeology. Most Latin American archaeology is descriptive within a framework of cultural history (2010: 174). She reiterates the issues raised by Funari (1997), by pointing out that much of the work continues to be in the context of urban renewal projects; however, she points out that these projects have produced an influential body of work on identity, production, and others. Neither Van Buren (2010) nor Funari (1997) discuss the temporal marker used in South America to identify the historic from the non-historic. Perhaps they have followed the American tradition as their theory has been heavily influenced by the United States.

To summarize, it is generally agreed that historical archaeology covers a period beginning from about the post-Medieval and the post Columbian 'discovery' of the Americas to the present (Hall and Silliman 2006, Hicks and Beaudry 2006, Gilchrist 2005). This time period is the result of empire building and colonial ambitions. The different ways Europe, the United States, and South America not only define but study historical archaeology may be due to their different roles within the process of colonialism. For example, the eastern seaboard of the United States was a colonial territory of Europe. This also marks the first occasion for written documents in this geographical region (that can be translated in modern terms). Thus, it can make sense for American archaeologist to use the colonization of this area as a temporal marker for historical archaeology. After independence and stabilization of its borders, the United States developed its own colonial ambitions and began colonizing the western regions of the continent.

## **COLONIALISM**

Colonialism is a process that involves one group of people exerting control outside of their geographic boundaries over another group of people (Lawrence and Shepard 2006, Silliman 2005). As Silliman states, "Colonialism in the modern world, although sharing elements with other colonial times, operated on 'fixed orders of racial and cultural difference' and resulted from the trajectories of geographic expansion, mercantilism, and capitalism" (2005:58). Empires are created through mass political control of regions, while imperialism occurs when several colonies are linked into a single political structure with ideological, economic, and cultural implications (Gosden 2004:5) (see Figure 2.1 for the European empires of the historic period). Mercantilism is an early form of capitalism and stems from the idea that

colonies were created for two reasons: to provide a locale of extraction of precious resources for industry and to create a market for produced goods (Bassin 1988:7, Murray 2004:4). By focusing on colonialism, Gosden (2004:24) argues that it has enough unity to be used as a comparative framework, and enough differentiation to highlight local histories. Gosden's spectrum of colonial encounters (shown in Table 2.1) included colonialism in a shared cultural milieu, middle ground, and *terra nullius*.

Of particular interest to some archaeologist who focus on the historic period has been the moments of 'culture contact' (Silliman 2005), and the ways in which indigenous culture changed because of this early phase in the colonial process (such as Bernard 2008, Silliman 2008). When European colonizers encountered groups, they needed a way to talk about these peoples when they returned to their home state. Initially contacted groups were categorized with mercantile ethnicization for how they used goods differently than European. With the colonization of the historic period, contacted groups were placed into pseudo-Linnaean classification and categorized in the same way naturalist classified plants and animals (Pels 1997:175).

Silliman (2008) discusses not only the violence enacted upon Native Californian in outright genocide, but also in the ways they were exploited for their labour. This opens another avenue of research: labour relations between colonizers and colonized. Silliman focuses on California at the Spanish and Mexican period lands grants called *ranchos*, which were large tracts of land utilized primarily for cattle operations. Native Californians were integrated into the *ranchos* via five procedures "legislation, indebtedness, capture by force, military alliance, and social incorporation" (Silliman 2008:35). Salvatore (1991) looks at labour in the wider context of the former Spanish colonies of California, Argentina, and Brazil between 1820 and 1860. These states resorted to labour control in the form of coercion, bribery, slavery, indentured servitude, and seasonal workforces at different levels at different times (and often simultaneously). He also shows that the three areas were affected by social and class conflict, conflict in association with nation building, and the interaction between ranchers and the state powers.

Harrison (2004) shows how Aboriginals living near Old Lamboo Station, Australia moved to the Station for a variety of reasons. They include: a preference for European goods, a desire to live in proximity to European for protection from *other* Europeans, to live near kinsman, and for the economic abilities to trade European goods with peoples in the Bush. It was further observed they kept 'the station at station and the bush in the bush', thus separating their colonial landscape from their native landscape. While working near the station

<b>Spectrum of Colonialism</b>		
<b>Cultural Power</b>	<b>Greatest Experiment and Creativity</b>	<b>Violence</b>
<b>Shared Cultural Milieu</b>	<b>Middle Ground</b>	<b>Terra Nullius</b>
Colonial relations between state and non-state polities created within a (partially) shared cultural milieu. Allows for forms of power operating within understood norms of behaviour. Difficult to distinguish colonial and non-colonial types of relationships. Not based on military oppression	Accommodation and regularised relations through a working understanding of others' social relations. All parties think they are in control. Often creates new modes of difference, not acculturation. Difficult for any party to sustain fixed categories of difference. Can have profound effect on those colonised.	Lack of recognition of prior ways of life of peoples encountered leads to excuse for mass appropriation of land, destruction of social relations and death through war and disease. Exists where fixed categories of difference occur. Only in recent periods is colonization through strictly violent means possible.
<i>Localized View:</i> New forms of social and cultural capitals seen as novel sets of resources by local elite (and often non-elite) which can be used for own ends. Non-elite excluded from the colonial network, creating new forms of inequality.	<i>Localized View:</i> New strangers not necessarily marked out as radically different from other strangers. Reception depends on the categories used to classify strangers and can challenge existing categories. Advantages sought in material and spiritual terms. Great social experiment and ferment of discussion.	<i>Localized View:</i> Armed invasion and mass death seen not as final, but as a phase in a longer process of resistance and cultural upheaval. Loss of land seen as 'widowed landscapes.' Perception of active resistance to prevent cultural and physical destruction.

Table 2.1 – The spectrum of colonial encounters as suggested by Gosden (2004: 26).

they wore European style clothing, but when they left for the Bush, they turned in their uniforms and embraced a 'Bush' identity.

The work of Silliman (2008) and Salvatore (1991) when considered alongside that of Harrison (2004) shows the interaction between colonizer and colonized involved labour relations in a variety of ways. No party is passive; all had goals and desired something from the interaction.

### **COLONIAL AND POST-COLONIAL THEORY**

Sociologists use 'post-colonialism' to represent a paradigm similar with other like terms (such as: post-structuralism, post-processualism, or post-modernity) and to signify a time after the colonization event, either from independence or through rejection of colonial ideology

(Martinez-San Miguel 2009). The term post-colonial is essentially a catch-all phrase reaction to colonial situation in the modern period. Post-colonial research highlights the fact that we still live in a colonial world.

In Pels (1997) critical evaluation of modern anthropological practice, he reminds practitioners of their strong colonial past, as early anthropologists commonly acted as agents of governmental planning and/or missionary proselytising. Furthermore, anthropological terminologies such as culture and ethnography have been previously criticized as perpetuating colonialism (1997: 666, 667). As modern archaeologists, whom oftentimes refer to ethnography, some of which comes from colonial encounters, we need to remember our work is not just a representation of the past but of the present and future. We also need to be sensitive to ways modern communities can be affected by the subject matter (for an example in South Africa see Lawrence and Shepard 2006).

From an archaeological perspective, several authors have discussed post-colonial theory (see Bernard 2008, Gosden 2004, Liebmann 2008, Silliman 2005, Voss 2008). The work of Liebmann (2008:4) suggests post-colonial theory can be used in three ways:

- 1) Interpretively, in the investigation of the past episodes of colonization and colonialism through the archaeological record;
- 2) historically, in the study of archaeology's role in the construction and deconstruction of colonial discourses, and
- 3) methodologically, as an aid to the decolonization of the discipline and a guide for the ethical practice of contemporary archaeology.

These three aspects have different roles and critiques, but counter the mentality of 'to the victor goes the history' (Funari 1997:193), and allow for the history of colonialism to be acknowledged.

Although Chris Gosden (2004:18) would probably not consider his work as falling under the banner of post-colonialism, his work is not counter to the goals of post-colonial theory. He is critical of post-colonial theory because it does not emphasize material culture (2004:7). He terms colonialism as the "particular grip that material culture gets on the bodies and minds of people, moving them across space and attaching to them new values" (Gosden 2004:3). Material culture causes both parties to be equally colonizer and colonized at the same time, as each acquired goods and objects from the other. The interplay between groups ascribing different meanings to the same sets of objects highlights their differences in their value systems.

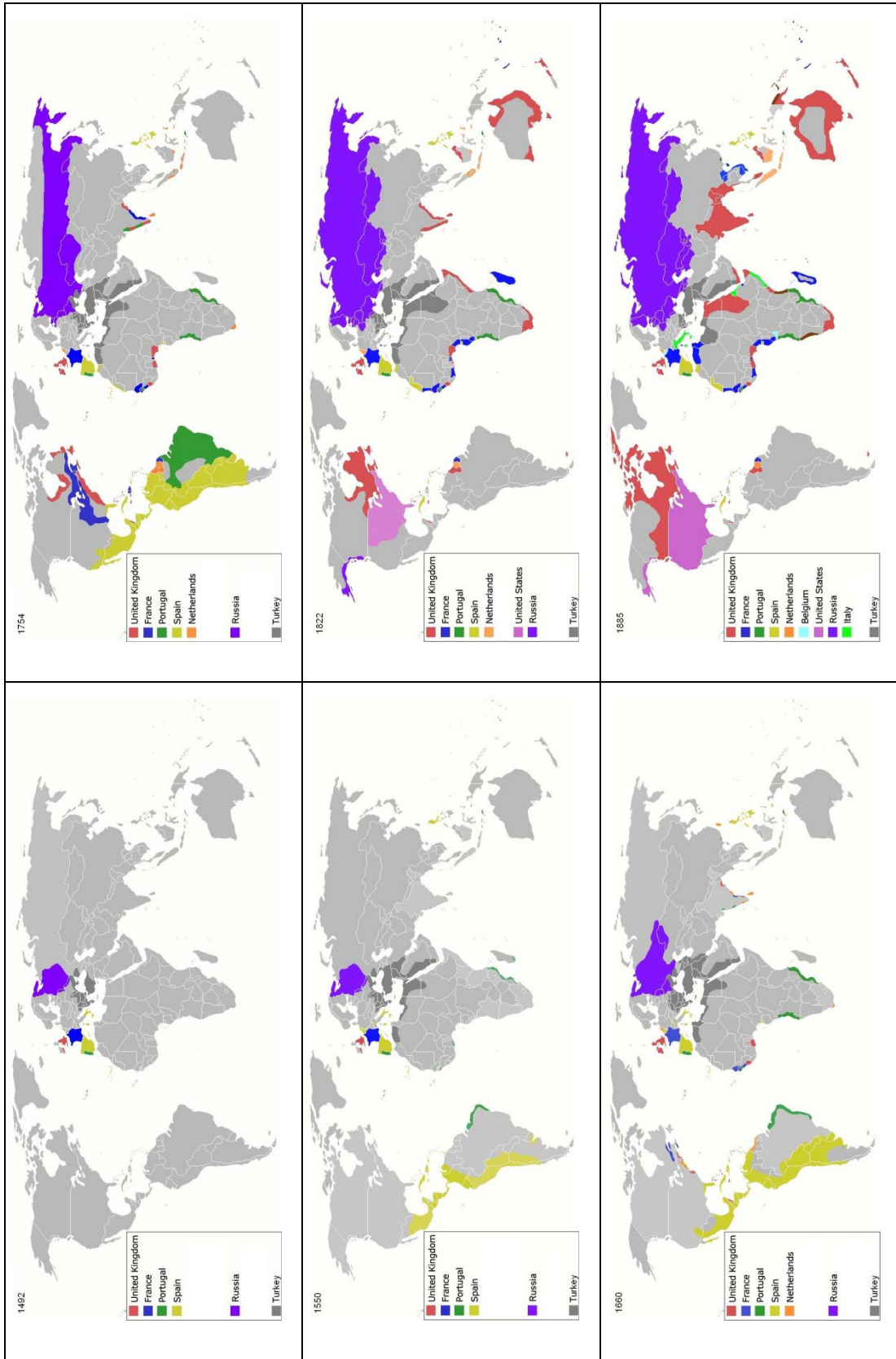


Figure 2.1 - Areas of Expansion of the European States from 1400 to 1885. (Wikimedia Commons 2010).

All archaeology involves the study of material culture, although different fields may utilize different kinds of objects. Lawrence and Shepard (2006) suggest that studies of acculturation, the nature of the colonial experience, the effects on foodways and industry, and the unequal power of colonial groups can all be studied with the material record by archaeologists interested in colonialism. They show how the British penal system was translated into the colonization of Yorktown, Australia. Although the landscape was poor in agricultural land, it was settled to further the British presence in the area. Even with this as the primary function, Yorktown was designed to differentiate the status of the people, primarily based on kinship, military rank, and role as guard or prisoner.

### **SUMMATION OF THE LITERATURE**

To conclude, this chapter has provided a quick overview of some very significant themes: that of historical archaeology, the historical process of colonialism, and post-colonial theory. As was already mentioned, the practice of archaeology is enmeshed within colonialism. This is particularly true for historical archaeology that covers a period beginning from about the post-Medieval and the post Columbian 'discovery' of the Americas to the present. (Reference to the historical period in subsequent chapters, is also covered by this temporal framework.) Because colonialism was an overarching process that affected the peoples of this age, it is logical then to use post-colonial theory as a paradigm for further study.

Of particular interest to this literature review is how historical archaeologist that study colonialism, have discussed the material record and the interaction between colonizers and colonized. Historical archaeologists have a mixed blessing in the ability to use historical documents as an artefact category. Most historical documents are from the colonizer's perspective, and disenfranchise those peoples who have been colonized. (This point is further developed in Chapter 3). This is particularly true in the case studies I will focus on in the two canyons of San Emigdio and Santiago in the San Emigdio Hills.

One interaction between colonizer and colonized thus far discussed has been labour relationships in colonial encounters. Archaeological research has focused on the interaction between native groups and colonial powers. However, much less research has taken into account the experiences of colonizer groups, particularly outside of urban areas, and into later colonial periods. What happens when a colonizer becomes the colonized? South Central California was colonized by Spain, Mexico, and the United States. In each instance, when the next empire entered into California, the inhabitants of the previous regime remained behind, and had to adapt to the new colonial institutions that emerged. As Church (2008) notes the people did not move, the boundaries around the people moved. As this shift occurred, each

situation brought a different system of value particularly concerning ownership. In the following chapters, I focus on ownership and belonging as values within succeeding colonial contexts. I will look at how variations in these systems of value of ownership and belonging are further developed. It is pertinent to first look at the historical context of the different periods of colonization in south central California.



## CHAPTER 3

### SAN EMIGDIO HILLS: A BIOGRAPHY OF AN INTERCULTURAL COLONIAL LANDSCAPE

Just as the previous chapter sets up the theoretical paradigm, this chapter sets up the historic platform for future analysis into the themes of ownership and sense of belonging. What follows is a historical background of the various periods of colonial expansion into the California landscape. There are four major sections: Native California, Spanish, Mexican, and American. The San Emigdio Hills were not a 'widowed landscape' (Gosden 2004) and were inhabited by the Chumash peoples during the historic period. Each section involves two parts, first: a timeline of events particular to that episode, and secondly: a brief biographical sketch of the period. The timeline of events is not comprehensive of all events, but of particular moments, I felt were of significance to either the development of colonial California, or to the San Emigdio Hills. The biographical sketch elaborates on particular events or processes of significance to the development of colonial California or to the San Emigdio Hills. Knowing the background to several of the events herewith discussed will make later chapters easier to follow.

The chapter concludes by looking at a model proposed by Cronon et al (1992) concerning the development of frontiers and borderlands. This model is used as a vehicle to discuss how the three colonial groups have developed diverse systems of value of ownership and sense of belonging during the historic period.

#### NATIVE LANDSCAPE

"Geographically, the Chumash occupied the region from San Luis Obispo to Malibu Canyon on the Coast and inland as far as the western edge of the San Joaquin Valley" (Grant 1978:505) as well as several islands off the coast. Coastal and mountain Chumash maintained social relationships as the result of marriage, witchcraft, revenge killings, land infringement and other relationships (Robinson 2006). In 1542, Spanish explorer Juan Rodriguez Cabrillo interacted with *Barbareno*, *Ventureno*, *Obispeno* and other coastal Chumash groups (Orfila 2005:33). These identifiers are Spanish phonemes, and may not reflect actual Chumash organizations in the early contact period.

The hills of San Emigdio are located within the northeast extent of interior Chumash groups, commonly associated with the *Emigdiano* Chumash (Robinson 2006:100). The *Emigdiano* Chumash however could be a quite 'recent' sub group as it has been argued that their language is partially derived from *Barbareno* Chumash. This may be a result of intertribal mixing due to the events surrounding the 1824 Chumash revolt (Robinson 2006:127).



Above Figure 3.1: Historic rock-art theme from near Porterville, California. Possibly showing a branding event. (Kind permission from Robinson 2006).

Bottom Figure 3.2: Historic charcoal rock-art of a quadruped. Although the front half is faint, the 'tail' looks bovine. (Kind permission from Robinson 2006).

Robinson (2006) focuses on the pre-contact era landscape within San Emigdio Hills. Mount Pinos was considered the centre of the universe with the hills themselves being place representative of a time before people, when animals were people. As told in oral history, occasionally these animal people would become trapped or frozen in the rocks and thus form some of the unique rock features of the San Emigdio hills. There are numerous rock art panels within the Wind Wolves Preserve showing the different cosmological and shamanistic practices of the people (Robinson 2006). What I would like to point out is that the San Emigdio hills were more than a place to live, gather food, and perform ritual but is a place that belonged to them as a people, a place they had always and would always belong. It is interesting to note that this sense of belonging also occurred well into the American period as they were employed as *vaqueros* and ranch hands (Latta 2006). Because of the subject matter, there is evidence to suggest that some rock art was made during the historic period (Figure 3.1). The newest layers of rock art in the San Emigdio hills are done in charcoal (Figure 3.2). Reeves et al (2009) indicate that this newest layer of rock art is a reinvestment by Native Californians into their rock art sites.

### SPANISH COLONIALISM

Date	Note
1493-1494	Treaty of Tordelliles – Pope Alexander VI decrees Spain to govern west of 100 leagues of Cape Verde Islands; after Portugal protests the line moves to 270 leagues and Portugal gains Brazil. Spain commit to “evangelisation of the indigenous peoples of the Indies.” American Colonies to be run by Castilian crown (Barton 2004:98, Elliot 1965:51).
1500	Spain passes law in which Indians cannot be enslaved unless they have attacked a Spaniard or practice unbecoming activity (i.e. Cannibalism) (Elliot 1965:58).
1513	Nunez de Balboa reached the pacific (Barton 2004:108, Elliot 1965:51).
1542	Juan Rodriguez Cabrillo meets the Chumash while he is exploring the California coastline (Orfila 2005:33).
1602	Sebastian Vizcaino observes the Santa Barbara Chanel (Orfila 2005:33).
1768	Visitador-General Jose de Galves establish San Blas shipyard and naval facility to aid in the colonization of Alta California (Voss 2008:54).
1769	Gaspar de Portola travels through Chumash territory as he travels to Monterey (Orfila 2005:33).
1769	Franciscan padre Juniper Serra heads to California to colonize San Diego and Monterey (Orfila 2005:34).
1772	Fages enters San Emigdio Canyon in search of Spanish deserters. Mapped the southern end of Tulare Valley (San Joaquin Valley) north of San Emigdio Hills (Robinson 2006:101).
1781	Rivera Party Expedition to Alta California. (Orfila 2005:57).
1782	Presidio Santa Barbara established (Voss 2008:54).
1790	Tacuyamen native baptized at Santa Buenaventura Mission (Robinson 2006:103).
1792	Jose Longinos Martinez, a Spanish naturalist, travels to canyon where two soldiers killed to collect silver samples. He concludes that although there is silver, the warlike nature of the ‘gentiles’ in area make it too difficult (Orfila 2005:50).
1802	Villager from Tashlipun baptized (Robinson 2006:104).
1802	Lieutenant Francisco Ruiz passes through San Emigdio Pass on soul harvest (Robinson 2006:104).
1805	Expedition of Franciscan Padre Zalvidea (Robinson 2006, Orfila 2005, Boyd 1972).

1818	Uichojo, chief of Tashlipun baptized at Mission Santa Barbara with several others from San Emigdio and Cayuma (Robinson 2006:107).
1819	Lt Jose Maria Estudillo and Sergeant Jose Dolores Pico explore parts of lower San Joaquin valley to look for future mission sites. They report a presidio of 115 men would be needed as the natives are resistant to missionization (Orfila 2005:38).
Table 3.1: Timeline of selected events particular to the Spanish Period.	

Spanish colonization of California operated via the three core institutions: the mission, the *presidio*, and the *pueblo*. The mission was intended as a place to convert the Native Californians into a ‘productive’ people (Silliman 2008:17). The *presidio* was the military backbone to not only protect and keep order at the missions, but served as a centralized locale for further exploration. The *pueblo* was designed to be a place where established neophytes could then be sent to work in model communities, thus serving as examples of how they should and could be living under European standards. Later under the land grant system, *ranchos* were developed. *Rancho* ownership was designed as payment or reward for service to retired soldiers and their families (Silliman 2008:17-18). When compared to the Mexican period, very few *ranchos* were formed during the Spanish period (Hornbeck 1978).

The Spanish had minimal interaction with the San Emigdio hills. The first Spanish name for San Emigdio Canyon was *Canada los Muertos* or Canyon of the Dead. A contingent of soldiers in 1790 led by Sargent Jose Ignacio Olivera was sent to bring back a runaway neophyte named Domingo who had fled to the San Emigdio Hills. While on the search, it seems the soldiers became more interested in the mineralogy of the canyon than Domingo, and after creating a base camp guarded by Hilario Carlon, and Gabriel Espinosa, the rest of the group went to look at mineral deposits. A Chumash revenge party happened upon the camp. Finding one soldier mending his boots and the other asleep; they attacked, and killed both (Robinson 2006, Boyd 1972, Orfila 2005). When the contingent of soldiers returned, they found their companions murdered and retreated to the mission, nicknaming the canyon with the moniker until the arrival of Zalvidea.

With the expedition of Franciscan Padre Zalvidea in 1805, various places in the San Emigdio landscape were colonially named. It is coincidental that Zalvidea passed through the Canyon of the Dead on the 5<sup>th</sup> of August renaming it San Emigdio after the feast day of Saint Emidius, as he is the patron saint of earthquakes (the active San Andreas fault runs south of the San Emidio Hills: Robinson 2006:105, Orfila 2005:37). Other locales were named following similar practices; either for the feast day of saints or for a particular natural feature in the canyon (Boyd 1972). One of Zalvidea’s objectives was to perform a ‘soul harvest’, looking for natives to bring to the missions. It was not until the 1810s that several people were baptised at

the missions from the villages of San Emigdio and the Tecuya area (Robinson 2006:108). Johnson (1984) hypothesized that many of the early converts from the San Emigdio hills were people who had married into Chumash villages closer to the coast.

During the Spanish period value within San Emigdio was placed primarily on three 'objects': land, people, and mineral. Although it would not be until the Mexican period the hills would be integrated into the colonial institution of the *rancho*, the San Emigdio Hills were still a significant location. Every acre explored expanded the map of California ownership, thus increasing the area the Spanish empire claimed. Native peoples provided the labour pool at the missions and the spiritual justification for annexing the territory (as seen in Silliman 2008). Mineral wealth is a recurrent item of value for the Spanish linked into the lore of the 'Lost Padres Mines' of San Emigdio (Robinson 2006:125). In 1792 Jose Longinos Martinez, a Spanish naturalist, travelled to San Emigdio Canyon and observed that although there is silver, the warlike nature of the 'gentiles' in area make it too difficult to extract (Orfila 2005:50).

### MEXICAN COLONIALISM

Date	Note
1821	Mexico and Provinces of Central Mexico declare independence from Spain. Spanish colonies started leaving Spain about 1811; Mexico continues support of Spain until Ferdinand VII supports the Constitution of Cadiz. (Barton 2004:167).
1821	Santa Fe Trail extending from Chihuahua to Santa Fe, New Mexico now reaches as far north as Missouri (Beebe and Senkewicz 2001:357).
1822	California learns it is now a part of Mexico (Boyd 1972:7).
1824	Chumash Revolt.
1824	Mexican Colonization Act of 1824 with <i>Reglamento</i> of 1828 provide for land grants (Orfila 2005:56).
1826	Jedediah S Smith leads band of trappers from Great Basin into Southern California. Ordered to leave California but instead leaves some men in California returns to Great Basin for supplies, then continues trapping as far north as Oregon (Boyd 1972:10).
1830s	Malaria epidemic hits the lower San Joaquin Valley (Robinson 2006:117).
1833	Bill passed in Mexico calling for dissolution of missions in Alta and Baja California. Put into effect in California a year later (Orfila 2005:55).
1837	Jose Antonio Dominguez's father Jose Maria Dominguez is granted Las Virgenes Land Grant (Orfila 2005:57).
1837	Peter Lebec killed by a bear, and is buried underneath an oak tree inscribed with his epitaph in Grapevine Canyon (Kane 1999:5).
1840s	Mexican government encourage large number of land grants to be given before impending American occupation (Orfila 2005:56).
1841	John Bartelson/John Bidwell wagon company reaches northern California (Boyd 1972:11).
1842	Gold observed in Placerita Canyon (Orfila 2005:39). Jose Antonio Dominguez receives grant for Rancho San Emigdio.
1843	Jose Antonio Dominguez dies in winter. Wife and children return to Santa Barbara removing with them the cattle (Boyd 1972:9).
1844	John C Fremont leads group of United States Army Corp of Engineers into California (Boyd 1972:11).
1845	John C Fremont leads second expedition into California (Boyd 1972:12).
1846	Mexican American War begins (Blanding 1984:65).

1847	Mormon Battalion camps at gravesite of Peter Lebec (Kane 1999:6).
1848	Treaty of Guadalupe Hidalgo ends the Mexican American War (Blanding 1984:65).

Table 3.2: Timeline of selected events particular to the Mexican Period.

As Bernard observes (2008:82) because of the casual way in which San Emigdio is referred to but not described during the later Mexican Period, it indicates a level of familiarity. This familiarity is a result of the events surrounding the Revolt of 1824. The Chumash revolt and subsequent battles of San Emigdio in 1824 grew out of tensions and distrust between soldiers and native neophytes at the coastal missions. (For a concise description of events regarding the revolts of Chumash neophytes at the missions of Santa Ines, La Purisima, and Santa Barbara see Beebe and Senkewicz 2001:324, Orfila 2005). After a succession of revolts in the Santa Barbara area the Chumash fled to the hills of the interior (Beebe and Senkewicz 2001: 324). Lieutenant Narciso Fabregat was sent to the San Joaquin Valley with the intent of causing the neophytes to return to Mission Santa Barbara. The Spanish and Chumash fought two battles one at Buena Vista Lake and the other in sinks of San Emigdio Canyon (Boyd 1972:6). A large dust storm made the Spanish offense difficult and Fabregat returned to the Santa Barbara Presidio (Orfila 2005). A couple of months later a second military party left with the intent of returning the neophytes to Santa Barbara, led by Pablo de Portola with Father Vicente Sarria and Father Antonio Ripoll (Johnson 1984:10). Negotiations relayed the general amnesty granted by Governor Arguello and as a result, most of the neophytes returned to Mission Santa Barbara (Orfila 2005:48).

Either during the revolts at the missions or during the flight to the interior, two miners in San Emigdio Canyon were killed: a Spaniard named Feliz and a *Norteamericano* named Daniel (Johnson 1984:10). Thus, it would seem that for a time, the value of the minerals observed by early explorers such as the Spanish naturalist Martinez would be worth the risk. Although the killing is often referred to, it is not pointed out that Daniel as a *Norteamericano* was probably one of the first non-Spanish and non-Native long term residents to the canyon.

Ultimately, the Mexican government was responsible for introducing a number of changes in California. The most influential include: the allowance of foreign trade at California ports, the dismantling and secularization of the mission system, and the land owned by the missions entered into a land grant system (Beebe and Senkewicz 2001). Jose Antonio Dominguez received four square leagues within San Emigdio Canyon as a land grant from Governor Juan Alvarado in 1842 (Orfila 2005:56). Applications for land grants had to provide a land description, a statement declaring the person did not have prior land attachments or

liens, proof of Mexican citizenship, and a *diseno* (map) of the desired acreage (Hornbeck 1978:380, Orfila 2005:56).

The *Californios* (as Spanish and Mexican colonists came to call themselves), while pleased to be able to acquire favoured missions lands, were not happy with the idea of Mexican immigrants acquiring these long sought after lands. Thus although neophytes were often intended to gain missions lands, in practice the former neophytes were given very little (Silliman 2008). As a result, Native Californians had a very limited choice: they could either stay on in former mission properties and hire themselves out to the *Californios* who acquired the land, or return to an indigenous landscape and native lifestyles. Oftentimes though the former decision would prove too difficult, especially in coastal areas where the landscape was so altered, and the people so detached from it a complete return to pre-contact lifestyle was impossible (Beebe and Senkewicz 2001, Silliman 2008:28).

### **AMERICAN COLONIALISM**

Because of the rapid changes in California over the past 150 years, the American period is broken down into four blocks of time. The first lasted from the 1820s to 1849, the second from 1849 to the 1880s, third lasts from the 1880s to the 1930s, and finally from the 1930s to present. The 1820s to the 1840s was a time of transition. The first Americans entered the region and because of the Mexican American War, took possession of California for the United States. The discovery of gold in Northern California completely altered the California landscape, shifting focus (if only for a short time) away from agriculture to the mineral wealth. Thousands of people caught up in gold fever left their native lands around the world and rushed to the rivers and streams of California. Many agriculturalists made fortunes selling to the miners. An influx of people meant the increased demands for foods stuffs, and many of the cattle and sheep of southern California were driven to the gold fields of the north. Gold may have altered the landscape, but agriculture became more important economically after the 1880s. Both gold and agricultural products have undergone boom and bust periods of growth and decline. The 1930s again saw an influx of population as peoples of the Midwestern United States were affected by the Dust Bowl and the Great Depression. California attracted scores of people with the hope of a better life (Gregory 1997). The following section not only deals with aspects of these various issues but expands on other important events as well.

## 1820s to 1849: Early Settlers

Date	Note
1826	Jedediah Smith leads band of trappers from Great Basin into Southern California. Ordered to leave California by Mexican officials, instead leaves some men in California returns to Great Basin for supplies then continues trapping as far north as Oregon (Boyd 1972:10).
1830	Ewin Young with Christopher "Kit" Carson with other trappers travel from New Mexico to Southern California and San Joaquin Valley, at one point meeting with a Hudson Bay Company party led by Peter S Ogden (Boyd 1972:10).
1830s	Malaria epidemic hits the lower San Joaquin Valley (Robinson 2006:117).
1832	Ewin Young returns on second hunt follows the San Joaquin and Sacramento Valley (Boyd 1972:10).
1833	Joseph R Walker under the employ of Captain Benjamin Bonneville leads trapper party through southern California. Names Walker Pass in the Tehachapi Mountains (Boyd 1972:11).
1837	Peter Lebec killed by a bear, and is buried underneath an oak tree inscribed with his epitaph in Grapevine Canyon (Kane 1999:5).
1840s	Mexican government encourage large number of land grants to be given before impending American occupation (Orfila 2005:56).
1841	John Bartelson / John Bidwell wagon company reaches northern California (Boyd 1972:11).
1842	Gold observed in Placerita Canyon (Orfila 2005:39). Jose Antonio Dominguez receives land grant.
1843	Joseph Childe organizes an emigrant company in Missouri to travel to California, while in route meet up with Joseph R Walker. The wagon train splits with some following Childe across the Cascades and others following Walker over Walker Pass. Childe reaches Sutter's Fort before winter snow. Walker's party abandons wagons in Owens Valley before making the descent over Walker Pass (Boyd 1972:11).
1844	John C Fremont leads group of United States Army Corp of Engineers into California. The party includes Thomas Fitzpatrick, Christopher 'Kit' Carson, and Alexis Godey. They arrive in California near Sutter's Fort, and leave via Walker Pass (Boyd 1972:11).
1845	Fremont leads second expedition into California. Names Kern River after company cartographer Edward M Kern (Boyd 1972:12).
1846	Mexican American War begins (Blanding 1984:65).
1847	Mormon Battalion camps at gravesite of Peter Lebec (Kane 1999:6).
1848	Treaty of Guadalupe Hidalgo ends the Mexican American War (Blanding 1984:65).
1848	Gold discovered in American River in northern California (Boyd 1972:12).

Table 3.3: Timeline of selected events particular to the American Period, 1820s – 1848.

Beginning in the 1820s, merchants from the United States and England formed contracts with various mission and coastal *ranchos* in the hide and tallow trade, as a result of the opening of California to foreign trade (Beebe and Senkewicz 2001, Voss 2008). Some merchants staid in California converted to Catholicism, married into *Californio* and native families, and sought Mexican citizenship (Beebe and Senkewicz 2001: 355, Spitzzeri 2008). Beebe and Senkewicz (2001) argue that American and British merchants filled an economic gap in California. Previously the area had little trade with the world in general, relying on illegal trade for the everyday goods first Spain, then Mexico failed to send.

Early American hunters and trappers followed native trails to the west coast of the continent. It would be this group of people that would ultimately destabilize the region causing the Mexican officials to not only fear the arrival of non Spanish speaking peoples, but



destabilized the relationships built by merchant that had already settled in California (Beebe and Senkewicz 2001: 357). In a letter to the governor from Luis Antonio Arguello, he voices his distrust after an incident with trapper Jedediah Smith.

“I say this in respect to *Caudillo* Smith and his party based on their conduct, and I do not know if my suspicions can be deduced from [the behaviour of] his countrymen or fellow countrymen who live among us in the guise of mediators. They alone know their motives, while we [remain] full of the utmost trust in their actions and conduct, contracts, arrangements, and friendships. Only experience itself and knowledge of their language (allowing oneself to understand) can remove doubts. We overlook their not infrequent deceits, and in no way would I, much less Your Excellency, want anyone to treat our nation, and the authorities that represent here, with such contempt.” (Emphasis Beebe and Senkewicz 2001: 359).

The narratives of the riches of California brought to the East Coast of America, coupled with improved trails systems, meant it was not long before American colonists arrived overland with the intent of settlement (Beebe and Senkewicz 2001:358)<sup>i</sup>. Many merchants and settler<sup>ii</sup> were probably attracted by the ‘free’ land offered by the Mexican government, which basically only required one to become a Mexican citizen (Hornbeck 1978:388). On the eve of the Mexican American War 21% of all land grants in California were given to persons with Anglo surnames (Hornbeck 1978:388). It would be the Mexican American War (1846 – 1848) that would cause ‘ownership’ of California to transfer from Mexico to the United States via the Treaty of Guadalupe Hidalgo. The foundation for ownership was a result of the migration of merchants, trappers, and overland settlers.

### 1849 to the 1880s: To Own the Land in Kern County

Date	Note
1849	Gold Rush. Famous Death Valley Forty-Niner’s travel to California via Great Basin and Death Valley aiming for gold fields of northern California (Moore:1970:468, Boyd 1972:12:13).
1850	California becomes a ‘free’ state in the United States of America. Counties are formed with the majority of the San Emigdio Hills belong to Mariposa County (Boyd 1972:6).
1853	California’s central valley named Tulare Valley by the Spanish is renamed the San Joaquin by the Americans (Kane 1999:7).
1853	United States Army Corp of Engineers party led by Lt. Robert S Williamson surveys several locales in the southern San Joaquin Valley including Tejon Canyon, San Emigdio Canyon, and Kern River area (Boyd 1972:14).
1853	Gasden Purchase of previous Mexican land now American (Blanding 1984:65, Robbins 1994:23).
1855	Work is completed to improve the Los Angeles to Stockton Road, soon after David D Alexander and Phineas Banning begin freight and stagecoach services on the pass (Boyd 1972:31).
1857	9 January – Tejon earthquake.
1858	Overland Mail Stage, the first transcontinental stage line founded by John Butterfield starts service from Tejon (Kane 1999:9).
1860	Magnetic telegraph line of the Pacific and Atlantic Telegraph Company which was run south from San Francisco and north from Los Angeles meets at Fort Tejon (Boyd 1972:34).

1861	David Alexander runs San Emigdio running 20 to 25 thousand head of cattle from the San Emigdio Mountains to area around the Kern and Buena Vista lakes and the Kern River (Robinson 2006:125).
1870	Frazier Brothers discover gold in the mountain named after them (Kane 1999:10).
1872	Miller and Lux build 75 miles canal extending from Fresno, Merced and Stanislaus counties (Beck and Haase 1974:70).
1873	Depression in California causes the price of wool to fall (Boyd 1972:44).
1874	Southern Pacific tracks reach Bakersfield (called Sumner), laid a year earlier as far south as Delano. Andrew Lennos builds livestock facilities, including shearing sheds for Haggins and Carr (Boyd 1972:43).
1878	Sheep husbandry loses importance in favour of other ventures in southern San Joaquin Valley (Boyd 1972:45).
Table 3.4: Timeline of selected events particular to the American Period, 1849 – 1880.	

The Treaty of Guadalupe Hidalgo assured that the land grants given by the Mexican government would be upheld by the American government. An 1851 law provided for the process in which Spanish and Mexican grantees had two years to apply for title from America (Pisani 1991:18). Although the system has been criticised for taking too long, consider this: of the 750 land grants made during the Spanish and Mexican period, 553 were upheld by the American courts, most within a few years of being petitioned (Pisani 1991:18). Pisani (1991) argues that it was in the American and California governments' best interest to approve the claims as quickly as possible. Higher courts reversed over 35% of the commission's decisions (Pisani 1991:19). At San Emigdio, the commission ruled in favour of Dominguez heirs to receive half and John C Fremont to receive half. Because the United States did not counter claim the grant, the land was officially patented in 1866 (Kern County Abstract Company 1916).

It is pertinent to discuss during this period of American colonization the development of the Sebastian Reservation in Grapevine Canyon (which borders the San Emigdio Hills to the east). Not only is the Reservation and subsequent fort near San Emigdio, but because of its association with an early land speculator Edward F Beale. Beale (as will be seen in Chapter 4) had an interesting role in the development of Ranch San Emigdio.

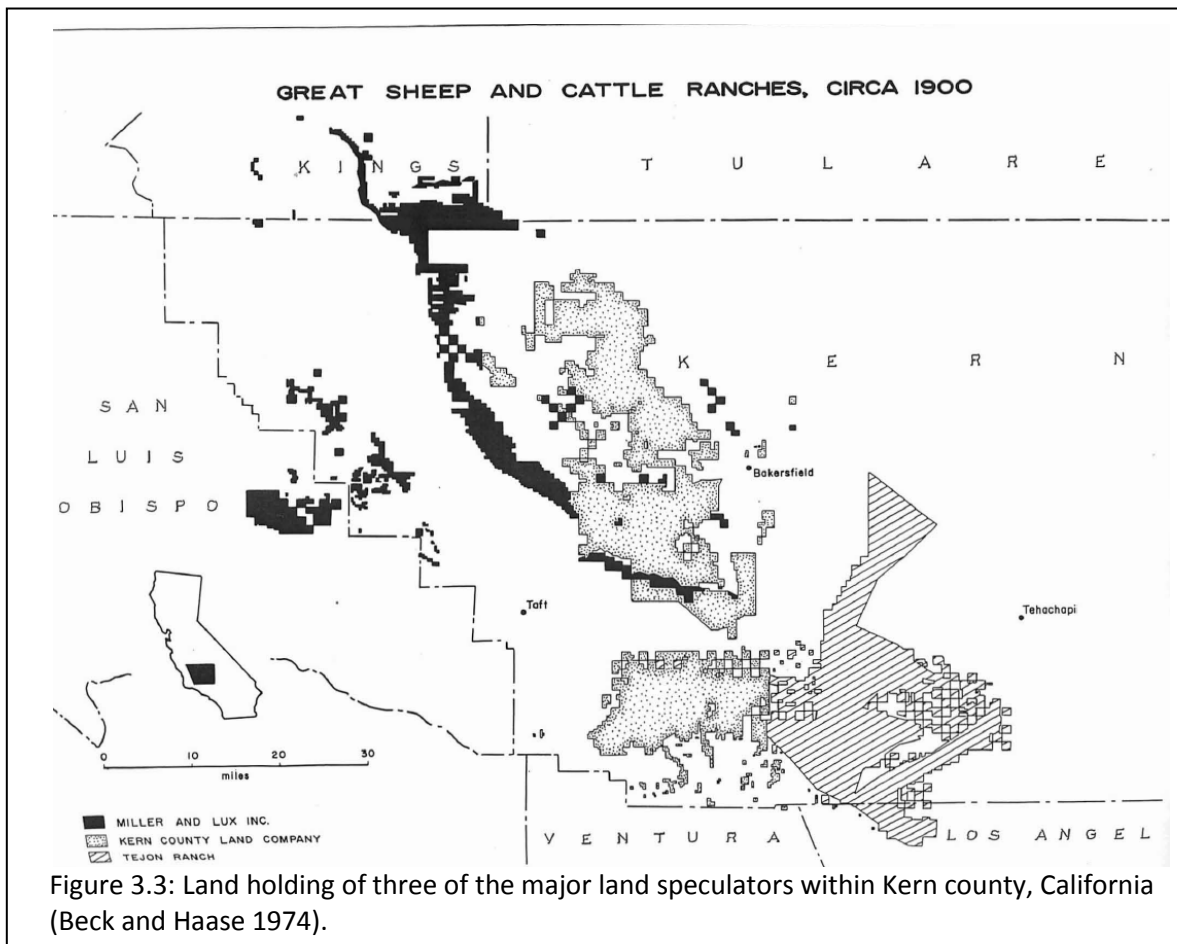
Although early work by Beale (as Superintendent of Indian Affairs for California) at creating Indian reservations were rejected by the United States Congress, in 1853 they approved the formation of military reservations comprising of 25 thousand acres, in which native peoples become 'wards of the federal government'. Beale choose the Grapevine Canyon for the Sebastian Reservation, even though ownership of area was covered by land grants. After Beale was removed from his position as Superintendent of Indian Affairs, he worked to acquire the land grants within the canyon. As a result of his success, the Sebastian Reservation was officially dissolved in 1864. Many of the native inhabitants moved to the Tule River Reservation (Boyd 1972, Phillips 2004). However, it appears many also stayed in the

Tejon area becoming in large part the work force of the El Tejon Rancho which Beale had acquired.

Beale was not the only land speculator in early Kern County; others included Miller & Lux, and James Ben Ali Haggins later of the Kern County Land Company (see Figure 3.3). Haggins sparred for water against Miller & Lux, and this would culminate in a court case heard as high as the Supreme Court of America (*Lux vs. Haggins*). Although lower courts had sided with Haggins, Miller & Lux won the final battle in favour of riparian water rights. Justice McKinstry wrote: “The right to the flow of water is inseparably annexed to the soil, and passes with it... as a parcel” (edit by Iglar 2001:111). Thus persons had right to the water only if water was found on the land, if the water moved as the Kern River oftentimes did, then areas now left without water no longer had rights to the moved water. This would lead to the creation of the ditch and canal systems in the lower San Joaquin to control the natural flow of Kern County watercourses (Iglar 2001, Pisani 1991). The resolve of those involved in the court battle highlights how important the issue of ownership, especially over water, was in Kern County.

### 1880s to the 1930s: The Kern County Land Company

Date	Note
1880	Carleton Watkins performs photographic work in Kern County, California.
1889	Dr. C A Roges of Bakersfield visits and describes Pueblo San Emigdio (Orfila 2005:59).
1890	Kern County Land Company formed (Beck and Haase 1974:70).
1891	Edward F Beale owns some 271, 300 acres, running sheep originally then cattle post 1880s (Beck and Haase 1974:70).
1898	Mountains south of San Emigdio become a part of the Pine Mountain Forest Reserve (later the Santa Barbara National Forest) (Kane 1999:11).
1900s	13 families still live at Pueblo San Emigdio. Kern County Land Company removes them and dismantled the roofs of existing adobe structures to allow for natural decomposition (Orfila 2005:60).
1900s	The supposed last grizzly of the San Emigdio hills, named Old Monarch is captured near the community of Stauffer in Lockwood Valley. The bear is transported via wagon to the Golden Gate Park Zoo in San Francisco (Kane 1999:12).
1905	Merriam performs ethnography among <i>Hool</i> in El Tejon (Robinson 2006:127).
1916	Frank F Latta begins interviewing Jose Jesus Lopez the majordomo of Rancho El Tejon, which culminated in the book <i>Saga of El Tejon</i> (Latta 2006:xi).
1917	US Department of Agriculture with Wofford B Camp at its head encourages cotton production at agriculture stations near Bakersfield, thus cotton grown in number on Kern County Land Company land (Robbins 1994:155).
1919	California Highway 4 called Ridge Route Road is paved for first time (Kane 1999:12).
1929	Frazier Mountain area set aside as a wildlife preserve (Kane 1999:13).
Table 3.5: Timeline of selected events particular to the American Period, 1880 – 1930.	



By the 1930s, the land speculators of the water rights battles were now the major land monopolies. By the time the Kern County Land Company was formed in the 1890s, the idea of individuals or groups owning large tracts of land in California was not new. By 1872, some 122 individuals owned acreage in excess of 20,000 acres (Pisani 1991:16). Considering the original Dominquez grant included roughly 17,000 acres, land monopoly was common even during the Spanish and Mexican period. Further growth and change of the Kern County Land Company is discussed in Chapter 4.

Within the San Emigdio Hills, this era is particularly noted for agricultural development within the canyons of San Emigdio and Santiago (as discussed further in Chapter five and six). Much of this development was photographed by Carleton Watkins on behalf of the Kern County Land Company. The Land Company hired Watkins in 1880s with the purpose of attracting future tenants and investors. Watkins produced some 700 views (not all of them for the Land Company), that provide a rare photographic glimpse into the lives of the people of Kern County (Street 1983:246). (His work can be seen in Chapter 5).

## Post 1930s: Agriculture to Preservation

Date	Note
1930	Santa Barbara National Forest renamed Los Padres National Forest (Kane 1999:13).
1933	California State Highway 99 (Golden State Highway) opens with three lanes. The middle lane, fondly called the suicide lane, is supposed to be used for passing (Kane 1999:13).
1936	Shell Oil Company discovers Oil on Kern County Land Company holdings (Robinson 2006:128).
1952	Tehachapi earthquake with magnitude 7.7 destroys several adobes in El Tejon (Robinson 2006:127).
1967	Kern County Land Company sold to Tenneco and becomes Heggblade-Magulease-Tenneco Inc, consisting of agricultural, gas, oil, manufacturing, and urban interests (Beck and Haase 1974:70).
1970	Interstate 5 Highway is opened running traffic on eight lanes (Kane 1999:14).
1980s	Last wild California Condors put into captive breeding programs to increase numbers (Kane 1999:14).
1990s	Ten years after California Condors removed from wild, captivity born condors are returned to the wilderness of their ancestors (Kane 1999:14).
1995	Wind Wolves Preserve formed in the San Emigdio Hills.
Table 3.6: Timeline of selected events particular to the American Period, post 1930s.	

The land was purchased by the Wildlands Conservancy to protect the natural environment and provide a natural immigration corridor for various species of wildlife (Robinson 2006:128). The Wildlands Conservancy formulated the Wind Wolves Preserve from the previous Kern County Land Company holding, covering almost 100,000 acres (Robinson 2006:99). The formation of the Wind Wolves Preserve has resulted in an increase of archaeological work in the area (for example Robinson 2006, Bernard 2008, Orfila 2005, Reeves et al 2009, Whitby 2011).

### AN INTERCULTURAL LANDSCAPE

This section has set up the historical background for the San Emigdio Hills. It should be remembered that the timeline of events is not comprehensive of all events, but of particular moments, I felt were of significance to either the development of colonial California, or to the San Emigdio Hills. There were many other events of significance which have helped to shape the California landscape adding to the areas biography, a biography which is built upon in subsequent chapters.

Cronon et al (1992) show how boundaries have undergone the stages of species shifting, market making, land taking, boundary setting, state forming, and self forming. If this model is tested against the biography of how Spanish, Mexican, and American colonists have viewed the landscape a sense of their various views of ownership and belonging is highlighted. The model properties are describes to include the processes of:

- Species shifting<sup>iii</sup>: when a group never known to exist in a landscape now does (based on the biological term of the same name);
- Market making: provides a common ground for interaction causing alliances and hostility based on who can or cannot participate;
- Land taking: can begin from the initial contact, and forms the basis of who may or may not have access to particular areas of land;
- Boundary setting: process of ownership creating a sense of 'belonging' to a landscape as a group, particularly the colonizer, to feel a connection with the land to which they have subsisted upon;
- State forming: the frontier regions officially enter the colonizer state or become part of a collective of states;
- Self forming: occurs when groups form boundaries of inclusion and exclusion oftentimes different from the boundaries recognized by the state.

During the Spanish period, California was included within the boundaries of Spain's empire before they colonized the landscape. Until the late 1700s, they only owned California on paper; but as Russia, the United States, England, and France started to expand their explorations into the interior of the North American continent, Spain moved into California physically (Barton 2004, Elliot 1965). Thus, Spain had already undergone 'state forming' before actual colonization occurred. It was not until 1769 that 'species shifting' occurred which resulted in the mission system which became the platform for 'land taking' and 'market making.' By looking at the work of Voss (2008) we can see that 'boundary setting' with the sense of belonging to a landscape evolved alongside the *Californio* identity. The rise of the *Californio* began with the rejection of the *casta* system which identified ethnic origins in the Spanish Americas (Voss 2008:2). *Californio* identity shows an epitome of a sense of belonging, the people have self identified themselves with the geographical landscape they inhabit. 'Self forming' by Spanish colonists did not occur until the Mexican and American periods. During the Mexican period, the *Californios* excluded newly arrived Mexican colonists through land grant procedures (Beebe and Senkewicz 2001). Native groups underwent 'self forming' during the Spanish period as can be seen in the various names of Chumash peoples based in part from their proximity to the missions (although there were many other variables also involved).

As the Mexican period was a result of independence of Mexico from the Spanish domain ('state forming'), there was not a specific 'species shifting' in California in terms of new groups of people moving into the area. In the San Emigdio hills however it is during this period that species shifting occurred as a result of cattle ranching, which not only included the cattle but other domesticates and non-native plant species. Many of the Spanish colonists were already of a mixed *casta* descent from the Mexican Territories (Voss 2008:2). While the Spanish had developed 'market making' with native peoples, Mexico opened the borders to

allow for world trade, giving new groups access to the markets of California. 'Land taking' followed the Spanish example, creating *ranchos* from land grants. Unlike the Spanish however, the Mexican land grant system was much more prolific (Hornbeck 1978). Mexican colonists also developed a sense of the *Californio* identity, but during the American period, a new distinction arose. Former Spanish settlers during the American period claimed 'pure blood' European descent, while Mexican American identity acknowledged a mixed European and colonized Amerindian heritage (Church 2008:179).

Early American merchants and trappers initiated the process of 'species shifting', which was by extension an act of 'market making'. The Mexican American War is only part of the equation involved in 'land taking' from Mexican colonist as various American led revolts also occurred within California. Some early American colonists had also been involved with the Mexican land grant system. America would finalize the earlier processes of 'land taking' from native groups, with native rights seen as barely existent as they were moved onto reservations. 'State forming' occurred in the political climate before the American Civil War, before 'boundary' and 'self forming' were allowed to really shape the territory. Thus far, many of the identities discussed have been of present day ethnic minority groups<sup>iv</sup> (either self or Anglo identified), but some American based identities formed as well. The American period has also seen the immigration of other peoples of diverse ethnic origins from around the world.

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<sup>i</sup> An early common hub was the pueblo of Santa Fe in present day New Mexico, improving upon a route that existed from the early 17<sup>th</sup> century from Chihuahua, Mexico to Santa Fe (Beebe and Senkewicz 2001: 354). By 1821, the Santa Fe Trail extended to Missouri, which at the time was the farthest reach of the American territories (Beebe and Senkewicz 2001: 357).

<sup>ii</sup> It would be an interesting avenue for further research to see how these early American groups developed their identity and sense of belonging during the Mexican period.

<sup>iii</sup> Although I discuss 'species shifting' in terms of people moving into California, it is of great important to note that many different species were brought into California with these groups. They include not only new forms of fauna and flora, but biological as well, introducing germs to Native Californians who had little or no immunity.

<sup>iv</sup> For an interesting discussion of the Spanish and Mexican identity during the American periods, see Moore 1970.

## CHAPTER 4

### USE VALUE OF A LANDSCAPE

*“No pictorial device can be a transparent illustration of the world” (Moser and Smiles 2005:1).*

Historical archaeology greatly benefits from the usage of texts. However, a document be it a photograph, a census, a map or any other historical document, is an artefact and as such must be interpreted within the milieu of the era in which it was produced (Hall and Silliman 2006:4). An example is given from Rancho Petaluma. A Spanish colonist and an American military scout observed the living conditions of the Native Californians within the colonial *rancho* system. The Spanish colonist observed a favourable situation, while the American scout observed quite the reverse. As Silliman (2008:4) points out, both had hidden agendas in their observations: the colonists wished to preserve her colonial way of life which depended upon native labour for survival, while the scout was collecting evidence of any kind to help justify American expansion into the California territories. Actual conditions of native labourers probably were within the spectrum both observed, some finding the conditions favourable, other much less.

Discrimination against particular groups is also common. Church (2008) in her discussion of identity in the high plains of Colorado, United States observes the shortfalls of census based research. American census takers in the late 1800s changed the way ethnicity was noted between census dates. Church notes that several “Hispanos who had been listed as ‘white’ by Anglo census takers in the 1870s were by the 1880s listed as ‘Mexicans’” (2008:183). Clark (2005) also observed this phenomenon in Colorado. In the 1910 United States Federal Census for San Emigdio, workers identified as white at the time of enumeration are labelled as Mexican by a later bureaucrat, even though several people never lived in Mexico, and were from *Californio* stock from the Spanish period.

Photography, as it seems to capture what the natural eye can see, has been given an objective priority over other artistic mediums in which the hand of the artist is more subjectively seen. Bohrer (2005) looks at the role of photography within archaeology. He shows how Augustus Salzmann was hired to defend with a photographic record, the archaeological work of Felician de Saulcy. The camera was used to counter the doubts of subjectivity in the previously created archaeological drawings.

Oliver (2011) looks at how maps have been used in colonial settings in the American-Canadian Northwest. He observes that although maps provide a spatial history, they are linked to relations of power within the colonial setting. The people who make the maps and the



people whom use the maps are of the same social group, they are agents of colonialism. However, not all cartographic representations are treated equally by the viewer, which may have more to do with the interplay between cartographer and the viewer's agendas than on the 'truthfulness' of the representation. A map by Vancouver, who alluded to scientific accuracy in the process of creation, is given preference over a map created by a fur trader, regardless of 'accuracy'. Both change the landscape by naming features in a European coding, with various degrees of disregard to the native population's ideals of the landscape.

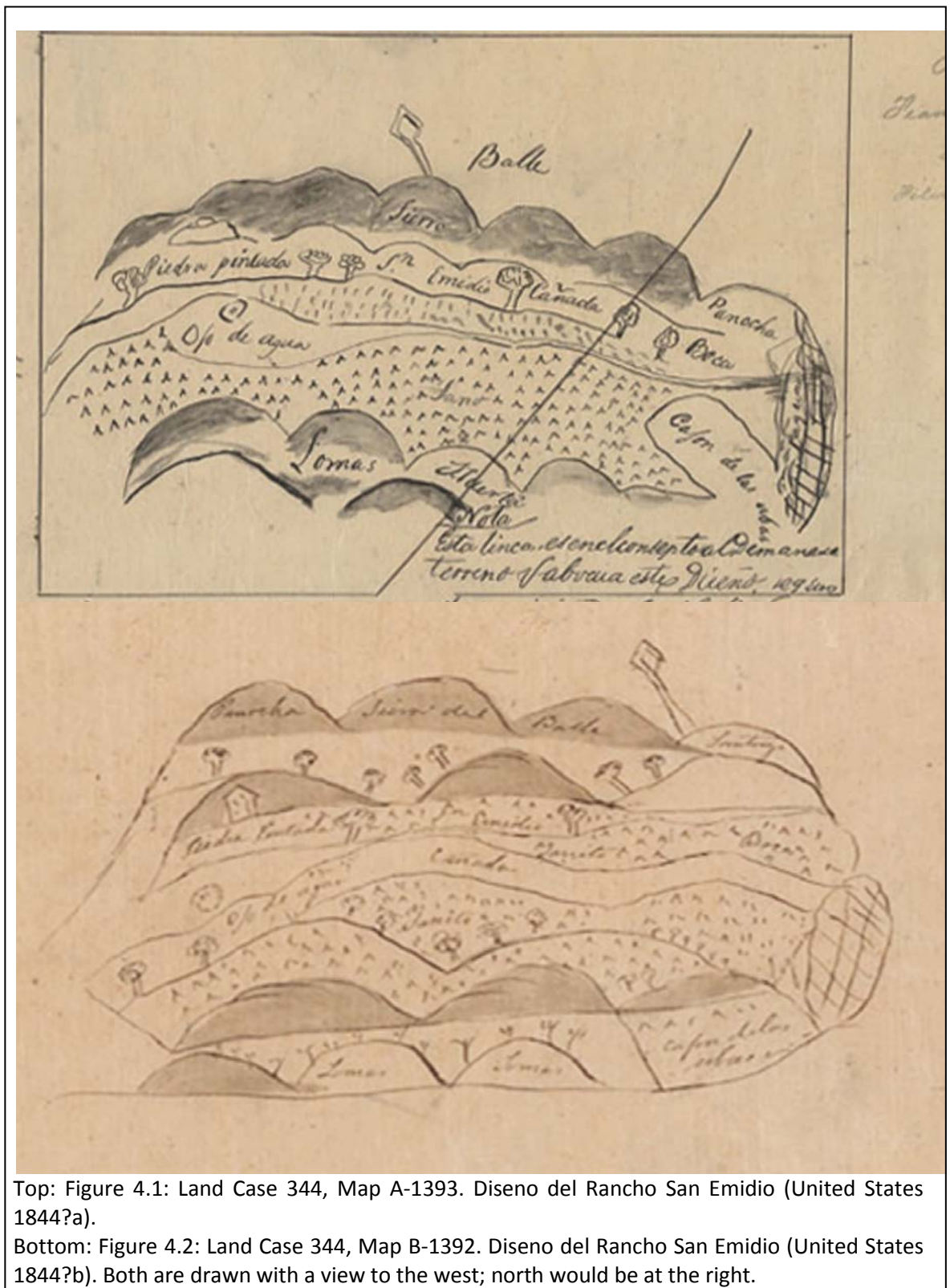
Even the archaeology plan map is not safe from criticism as the plan and site maps are biased representations of reality based on theory. The site map shows the spatial interaction of features, artefacts, and the natural environment, and yet this interaction is not always shown consistently. Some archaeologists show feature relationships with or without the natural environment. Plan maps rarely show *all* artefacts observed on the surface within a site boundary. Yet with these limitations archaeological site maps are useful tools for the understanding of spatial considerations and the areas of use within a landscape.

As can be seen above, historical documents represent the key ideologies of the people who created them. This can shed light on the system of value people had in the past. The idea of systems of value is based on the work of Gosden (2004), who observed how groups viewed and gave different worth to a particular object. As the following section will show, difference in the system of value of ownership has served as a major theme in the creation of the San Emigdio Hills, particularly in the transition from the Spanish/Mexican period into the American period. The bias and use value of the landscape from the point of view of those who formed and those who owned the lands is also discussed.

#### **MAPS OF SURVEY: THE MEXICAN *DISENO* VERSUS THE AMERICAN PLAT MAP**

The earliest cartographic representations of Rancho San Emigdio were produced in the 1840s (Figure 4.1 and 4.2). These maps are different versions of the San Emigdio *diseno*; *diseno* maps were produced as part of the land grant application process during the Spanish and Mexican Periods. Both maps show the *rancho* extending from the south of San Emigdio Canyon to a possible marshy body of water. They could be claiming they own the land as far north as the marshes around the Kern and Buena Vista Lakes<sup>1</sup>. The *rancho* spread from the east to the west across four sets of hills and three valleys. It is unclear if they are also claiming the valley to the west of Santiago Canyon, Santiago Canyon in general, or if they are showing it for reference. A native presence is also alluded to in the *diseno*. *Panocha* is a sugary substance secreted by aphids that have fed on a specific type of grass. This sugar was collected by

Chumash peoples and formed into a candy-like food (Johnson 2011). According to Lopez (Latta 2006:108), an *ojo de agua* is used in Spain to denote a spring of water, literally the eye's



Top: Figure 4.1: Land Case 344, Map A-1393. Diseno del Rancho San Emidio (United States 1844?a).

Bottom: Figure 4.2: Land Case 344, Map B-1392. Diseno del Rancho San Emidio (United States 1844?b). Both are drawn with a view to the west; north would be at the right.

reflection of water. The cartographer must have been trained in Spanish style cartography, and come from a generation that still used the old Spanish lexicon because as Lopez comments, *Californios* and Northern Mexicans preferred the usage of *aguaje* for a spring, which he implies is a Mexican Indian borrow word (Latta 2006:108).

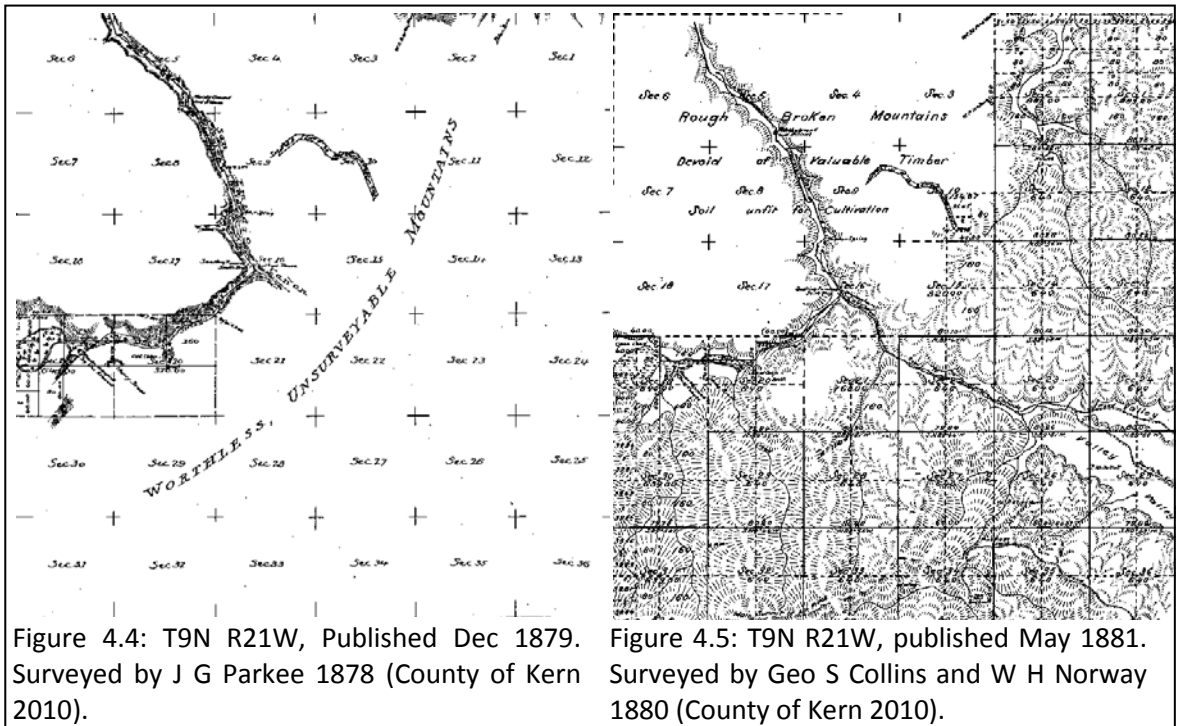
Near the spring of water in the second map is a well defined house like structure, which is shown as a pile of rubble in the first map. It could be that by the time the second map was produced the adobe house was established as per the terms of the land grant contract. Or the structure could be a ruin. If we consider the possibility that the spring of water is the future area of Dominguez Flat (where Dominguez would settle and build a home) then it may be likely that the mound in the first map is Mound 2 (dated to the 1830s) as identified by Orfila (2005:186). Through the use of non evasive methods, she determined that Mound 2 was 40 x 24 feet (roughly 12 x 7 metres) (Orfila 2005:155). A structure of this size would have been well known in the 1840s when the map was created, thus its inclusion could also be a spatial marker in the landscape. However, according to Johnson (2011) the Spanish phrase from the map that is under the possible house translates to 'painted rock'. A large red painted rock can be found near the fork of the San Emigdio Canyon and Doc Williams Canyon (Robinson 2011). This point can be observed at the southern tip of the approved plat map in Figure 3.3. This spot is not in the same location as Dominguez Flat.

When the *disenos* are compared to the plat map (Figure 4.3), it further becomes clear that they present two different spatial areas. The plat map is partially centred on San Emigdio Canyon, extending north as far as the canyon mouth and south to the above mentioned fork, which is centrally located in the *diseno*. Santiago Canyon borders the *rancho* to the west. The eastern most point is at a location known as Three Springs. The reasons for such a disparity between the maps may have been orchestrated by General Edward F Beale in conjunction with the Sebastian Indian Reservation in Tejon Pass (near Grapevine Canyon).

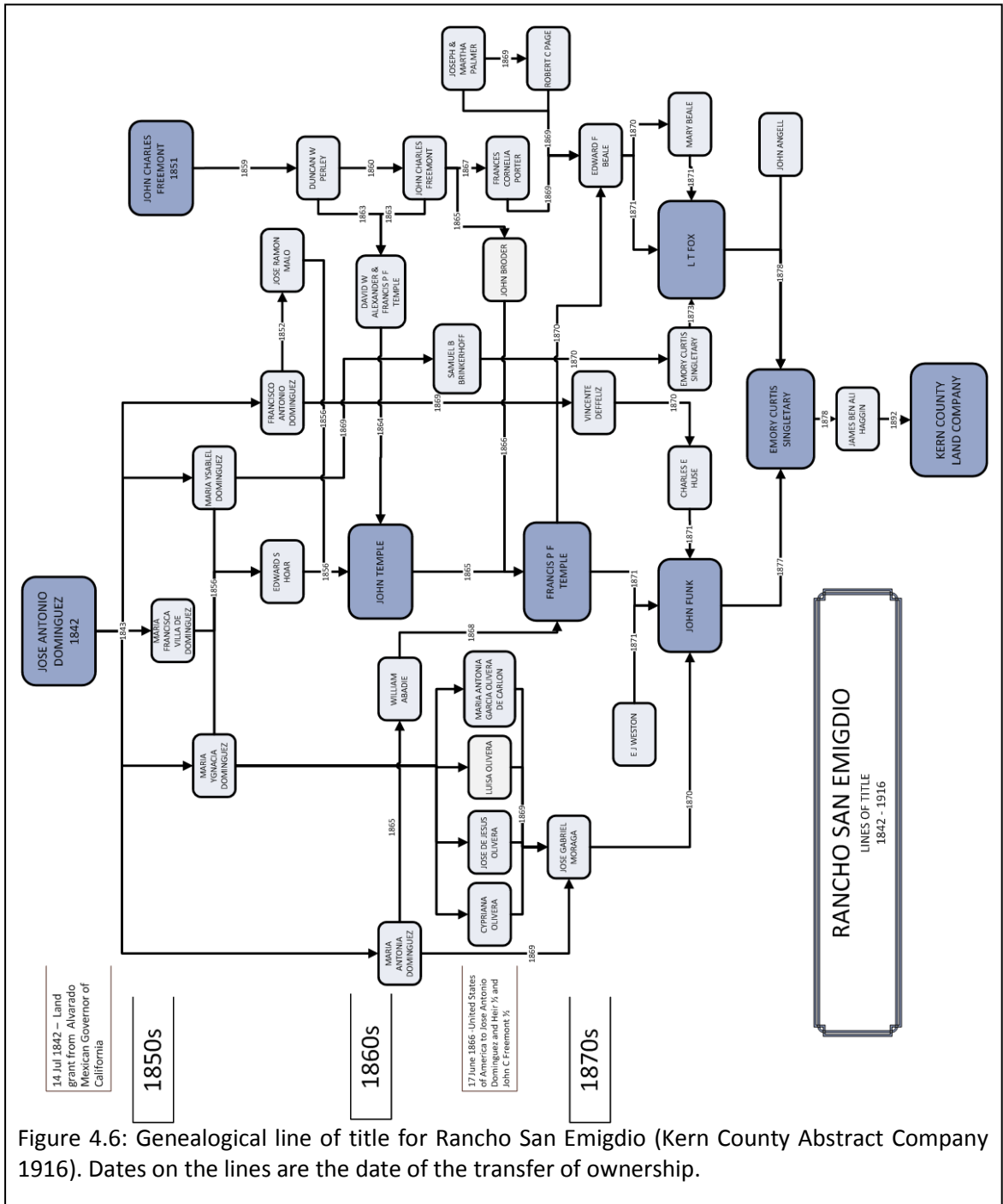
At Tejon, survey crews were ordered "to mark out four reservations, each comprising twenty-five thousand acres, and to include within the one hundred thousand acres all the streams, springs and as much of the best land as possible" (Phillips 2004: 120). A month after the future land grants of the San Sebastian reservation were surveyed, San Emigdio was surveyed. As with the land of the Tejon Pass, Beale intended to convert the *rancho* into an Indian reservation named Santa Remelia (Phillips 2004:120). Although this plan never reached fruition, the early American survey is responsible for the general shape of Rancho San Emigdio as known today. It is quite likely the surveyors were given the same instructions for



which includes five streams (Pleitito, Pleito, San Emigdio, Los Lobos, Muddy, and Santiago), three unnamed year-round ponds, and fifteen natural springs. If we add to these numbers the fifteen or so water tanks that have been installed, that means the land grant was made to incorporate within its 1700 acres over 40 sources of year round water thus encompassing ‘all the streams, springs and as much of the best land as possible’.



Subsequent survey efforts of the areas around Rancho San Emigdio provided clues to how the Americans further commoditized the land based on the use value they saw in this mountainous area. When Township 9 North, Range 21 West was surveyed in 1879 (Figure 4.4), the crew did not survey beyond San Emigdio Canyon, (and did not go further south than the smelting works of an antimony mine). They described the rest of the mile by mile area as “worthless, unsurveyable mountains.” Within the year further mapping was ordered and in 1880 (Figure 4.5), the surveyors ‘discovered’ a valley within the southeast corner of the section. The 1880 chain crew also show several other important resources<sup>ii</sup> which would have been of interest to the people living in Bakersfield because the lower San Joaquin Valley has been historically noted for its lack of trees (Latta 2006). Surveyors observe stands of yellow pine, pinion pine, juniper, and white oak; and the location of a saw mill. As with previous crews, they offer opinions, describing the northeast of the township as “rough broken mountains, devoid of valuable timber, soil unfit for cultivation.” Not only did survey crews discern choice stands of lumber but observed the soil conditions as fit or unfit for cultivation. They defined the use value of the land, based on their systems of value they placed on timber



and the landscape’s ability to grow cultivates. They did not see use value in the acreage for its pastoral value.

### MAPS OF LAND OWNERSHIP

By 1900 in San Emigdio Canyon land ownership became central to a corporate venture, the Kern County Land Company. Before we can discuss the Kern County Land Company we need to look at the line of ownership for Rancho San Emigdio. Ownership is not as direct of a line as it may appear; owners sold and retained property as they desired, and on their deaths

even splintered the line of ownership further. For this purpose, the resulting ownership map (Figure 4.6) looks quasi-genealogical, as different lines were splintered and brought together by different agents. The map is based on a 1916 deed survey performed for the Kern County Land Company. It does not cover all transfers of property as not all transactions have been confirmed (such as the Alexis Godey purchase in 1869; Orfila 2005:58, Gavin & Leverett 1987:15). The San Emigdio Hills have been a part of several counties including Santa Barbara, Buenaventura, Los Angeles, Tulare, and Kern (Kane 2005:14). As Gray (1957) observes, no one county holds all the deeds or lines of title for all parts of the *rancho*. Historical government documents have denoted various parts of the San Emigdio hills as being San Emigdio, whether on the *rancho* or not. Furthermore, the deed survey book does not include township description, accenting the need of a more ‘genealogical’ map of ownership. Even with all the above mentioned faults, the 1916 deed survey is probably the closest complete record to the majority of known transfers of title.

When the ownership map is discussed in conjunction with other historical documents, some interesting relationships appear. Very rarely did the people who owned title to San Emigdio live on San Emigdio, using the superintendant system such as was used at El Tejon Ranch (Latta 2006). The majority of the owners were from southern California, either from Santa Barbara (Johnson 2011) or from Los Angeles (Spitzerzi 2008).

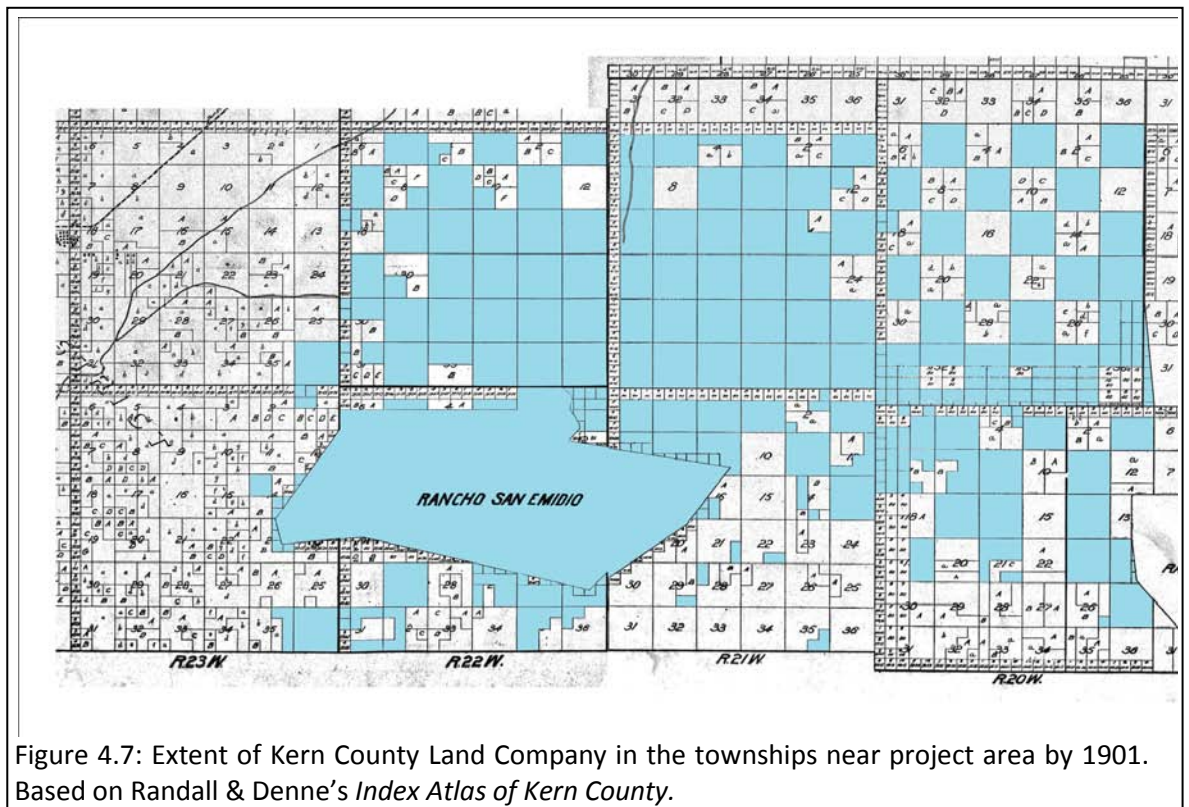


Figure 4.7: Extent of Kern County Land Company in the townships near project area by 1901. Based on Randall & Denne’s *Index Atlas of Kern County*.

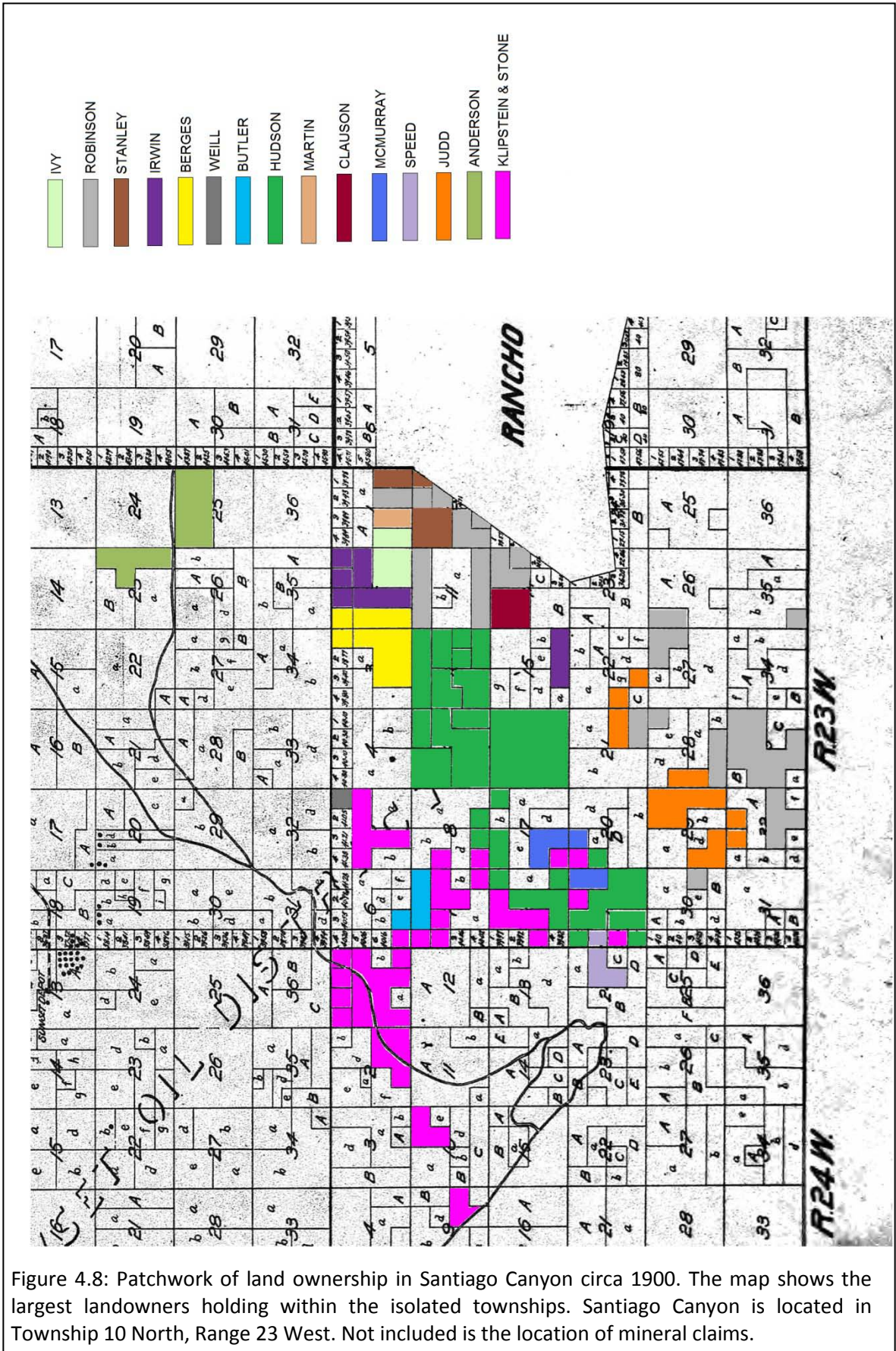


Figure 4.8: Patchwork of land ownership in Santiago Canyon circa 1900. The map shows the largest landowners holding within the isolated townships. Santiago Canyon is located in Township 10 North, Range 23 West. Not included is the location of mineral claims.

According to the deed book, David W Alexander with Francis P F Temple purchased a section of San Emigdio from the default of Perley and Fremont. Within a year, this was sold to



John Temple. What is missing from this discourse is the complicated relationships of the people involved. Alexander was a close friend of the Temple family collaborating with John and Francis Pliny Fisk (F P F) Temple at various times in various ventures (Spitzzeri 2008). Alexander resided and ran cattle on the property even after the property was sold (Gray 1957) and throughout the 1860s (Boyd 1972:38). F P F Temple also kept cattle on San Emigdio (Boyd 1972:38). Spitzzeri (2008:90) hypothesized that ownership of San Emigdio furthered the Temple family cattle business, in which beeves from southern California were sent to the mines of northern California. F P F Temple also owned acreage and a butchers business within Tuolumne County of northern California (Spitzzeri 2008:89). He also had partial interest in the antimony mine of Boushey in the southern portion of San Emigdio Canyon (Boyd 1972:39). Thus, the Temple connection was linked to various economic interests.

Later, John Funk and L T Fox individually owned about half of the San Emigdio. As they worked to acquire and build their land, both Funk and Fox took out sizable loans from Singletary to be repaid within the year they were loaned (Kern County Abstract Company 1916). It comes as no surprise that Singletary was then present to purchase the lands at public auction for the price owed to him from Funk and Fox when they defaulted. As can be seen in the ownership map, after Singletary acquired the parcels owned by Fox and Funk, he sold them to James Ben Ali Haggins. Haggins quickly converted the property into the incorporated Kern County Land Company.

The various dealing of property that makes up the ownership map would not only provide the shape of the Kern County Land Company in proximity to the *rancho*, but for the Wind Wolves Preserve as well. Not only did the Kern County Land Company acquire the deeded aspects of Rancho San Emigdio they would go on to purchase much of the land around the area by 1901. Each transaction added bits and pieces to the puzzle, allowing the Land Company and Preserve to cover more ground then Dominguez ever was able to claim (see Figure 4.7 and 3.3). The San Emigdio properties use value included pastoral and oil ventures. The Kern County Land Company was “engaged in the diverse businesses of agriculture, cattle, royalty oil production, oil exploration and development; manufacturing of automotive, agricultural and construction equipment; electronics, hard minerals, and real estate” (Kern County Land Company 1965:2).

On the south western border of the Kern County Land Company is Santiago Canyon. Although the Land Company did own acreage within the canyon (Campbell 1974), the majority of ownership was by family groups. To look at the spatial relationship of ownership within the canyon, I used the 1901 Randall & Deanne *Atlas of Kern County* which shows land ownership

and mineral rights claims for the entire county. Each township is subdivided into sections, and the owner(s) identified. Figure 4.8 shows the land holdings within San Emigdio Canyon based on this map.

A second map found in the archives of the Wind Wolves Preserve, shows more particular locations of ownership (Figure 4.9). Although undated, it must have been made in the early 1900s because William and Clara Greene are shown on the map. The Greene couple acquired their homestead in 1902, with William receiving a second property in 1904 (United States Department of the Interior 2010). Not only does the undated map show specific

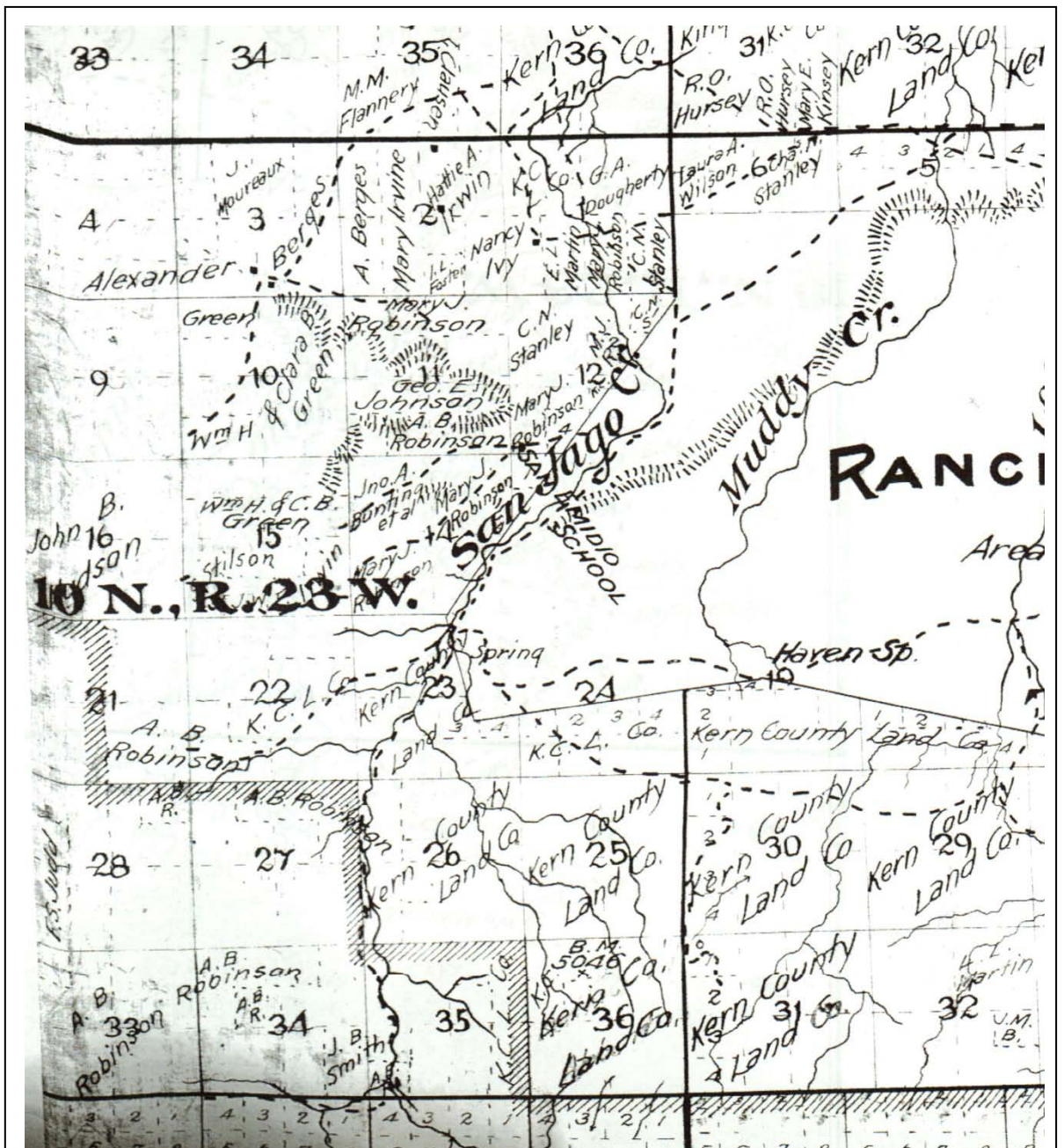


Figure 4.9: Undated map of the Kern County Land Company showing ownership within Santiago Canyon (Unknown 190?).

acreage of ownership, but the exact location for family complexes. Unlike the Randall & Denne (1901) atlas, the undated map shows some natural features of the San Emigdio Hills, showing the homesteads in relationship to the topography.

One family on both maps is the Robinsons. Alonzo B Robinson migrated to Kern County in 1888, and raised cattle, grain, and alfalfa. Before coming to Kern County, he had worked actively as a lumberman (Morgan 1914:709). Alonzo B Robinson owned very little property in the canyon in comparison to his wife Mary Jane (Rector) Robinson, who owned the majority of the family's land holdings (Randall & Denne 1901) which she inherited from her father. In the early days of the American period, he ran sheep in Santiago Canyon with a partner named Canaday (Morgan 1914:710). Thus, the Robinson family may have been attracted to the hills of San Emigdio for family reasons as well as familiarity with Alonzo's experience with the lumber business. According to the 1900 and 1910 census, the Robinson household included both nuclear and extended family members, as well as a boarder or hired hand. After the Robinson children grew up they left the acreage and did not return.

#### **MAPS: OWNER ON PAPER**

As Mrozowski (1999) observes when a landscape undergoes any kind of abstract measurement, the landscape has undergone commodification. The act of commodification causes the object in question to become "separate from humanity, [and as such] provides the moral justification for their domination, commodification, and exchange" (1999:156). During the different periods of colonization, different groups commoditised the landscape based on systems of value. Spanish and Mexican colonists used natural features to describe land grant boundaries, while the American system was based on an arbitrary Cartesian grid of standardized size (Heilen and Reid 2009). The differences between Euroamerican and Spanish/Mexican systems of value in how maps were created allowed for a new interpretation of space that the Americans used to their advantages.

Totally ignoring the land claims of indigenous peoples American survey crews were at liberty to determine how to best interpret the transition of former Spanish and Mexican land grants into desirable chunks of land. Granted this economic advantage was only available in areas already owned by land grants, but as much of the best agricultural land was already integrated into the land grants, it was a significant advantage. Thus, speculators with enough economic backing could afford the process of legalization of the Mexican Land Grants in the United States court system, and still come out ahead. This observation may explain why the widow of Jose Antonio Dominguez sold half of the *rancho* in 1851 to John Charles Fremont. Many of the *Californios* were property and cattle rich but money poor (Kane 2005:4). Fremont

had the money and the influence the Dominguez family needed to ensure their ownership claims made it through the commission and possible court battles. Eventually this speculative partnership paid off as the United States courts awarded the Dominguez heirs half and John C Fremont half of Rancho San Emigdio (Orfila 2005:58, Kern County Abstract Company 1916:2).

This chapter has discussed the spatial constructions of ownership as known through the process of cartographic representations. Because it has focused on this particular type of historical document, one ownership category is highly represented, that of the owner. Owners had a direct legal claim to the landscape as their ownership was legitimized by the governmental power. The presence of renters is absent from this record. By just focusing on owners alone, nearly half of the inhabitants of the landscape would be disenfranchised. Maps (such as seen in Figure 4.9) can give detailed locations of where archaeological complexes may be found and investigated. It is also important to note that these constructions of ownership are manifested not only spatially on maps, but archaeologically as well. This is what makes studying a sense of belonging in conjunction with ownership important. A sense of ownership and belonging is discussed through subsequent chapters in conjunction with the case studies of San Emigdio and Santiago Canyon.

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<sup>i</sup> As of yet I have not found research which has looked at the historic area of how large this marshy area was during pre-contact and early contact eras. Historical accounts of early American settlers in Kern County describe how the Kern River shifted in the mid 1800s moving from a southern drainage route to a more northern approach (Iglar 2001).

<sup>ii</sup> Of the many other archaeological interesting structures they observed, I wish to highlight one, the route of the El Camino Viejo through San Emigdio Canyon.

## CHAPTER 5

### OWNERSHIP AND BELONGING IN SAN EMIGDIO CANYON

With an understanding in place of how ownership and belonging have played out in the landscape, particularly in an intercultural environment, we can look at the first case study, San Emigdio Canyon. In this chapter I use San Emigdio Canyon to look at the how ownership and sense of belonging can be studied archaeologically on a multi scalar point of view. The next chapter, on Santiago Canyon, will provide a second case study focused on the micro-scale viewing the archaeological manifestations of ownership and belonging in a single site.

Using the concept of landscape biography (see Chapter 1 for more information) as suggested by Ashmore (2009), I focus on the life events of the San Emigdio Canyon. Ashmore (2009) discusses how a place can also acquire life events from the events and experiences of the people who inhabit the landscape. I use the term Phases; to represent these different life events to focus on events of construction as can be seen archaeologically. These life events or Phases show how the people displayed their systems of value on ownership and belonging.

The history of San Emigdio Canyon during the American period is intertwined in three sites. They include Dominguez Flat (CA-KER-188H; Bernard 2008:xxv, Orfila 2005:1), the canyon mouth (known for being the headquarters for both the Kern County Land Company and the

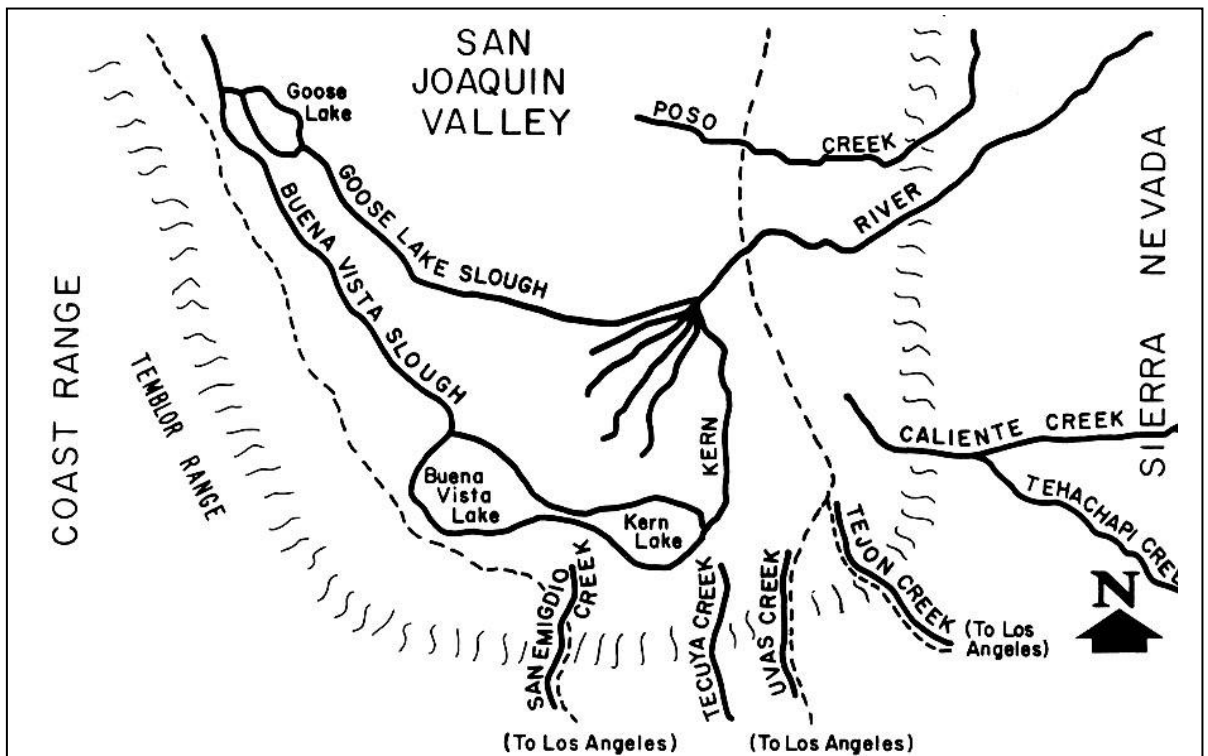


Figure 5.1: The lower San Joaquin Valley. Showing the two routes from Los Angeles to northern California. (Adapted from Boyd 1972:4).

Wind Wolves Preserve), and the El Camino Viejo trail. The El Camino Viejo trail dates to the end of the Spanish Period and early part of the Mexican Period (Boyd 1972, Latta 2006). As observed in the Figure 5.1, travellers had two options of travel into the San Joaquin valley; they could follow the route from Los Angeles via the Grapevine Canyon to Stockton or the route from Los Angeles via San Emigdio Canyon to the Oakland area. Several authors have commented that the route via San Emigdio Canyon was the route for smugglers and more of a backwater refugee route (Bernard 2008:55, Gray 1957, Orfila 2005:38). If anyone wished to avoid crossing the many variable water ways in the Southern San Joaquin Valley the preferable route would be to follow the San Emigdio and hug the mountain ranges to the west. Today, sections of the El Camino Viejo have survived as a dirt track.

Dominguez Flat (Figure 5.2) can only be seen archaeologically, and is in a picnic area called the Twin Fawns by the Wind Wolves Preserve. Archaeological evidence shows the presence of Native Californians at Dominguez Flat as early as between 600 BC to AD 1150 (Bernard 2008:309), and occupation continued sporadically through the historic period. Historical accounts (Gray 1957, Latta 2006) indicate that during the American period, native peoples were commonly employed for various agricultural and pastoral tasks. According to a description of Dominguez Flat from around 1880, the complex included the homes of Native Californians and *Californios* (see Phase 8), showing a continuity of native peoples at the locale.

1	Trail – Native trail.
2	Trail – Widening.
3	Dominguez Flat – Temporary shelter or re-use of native dwellings.
4	Dominguez Flat – First adobe, Mound 2 built.
5	Dominguez Flat – Mound 2 adobe abandoned.
6	Dominguez Flat – Permanent home structure, Mound 1.
7	Dominguez Flat – Abandonment by colonial group.
8	Dominguez Flat – Residence by new colonial group.
9	Dominguez Flat – Improvements in the form of barns water works, corrals, sheds. Headquarters – Water feature improvements.
10	Headquarters – Second primary permanent home.
11	Headquarters – First agricultural headquarters: Kern County Land Company. Outbuilding construction, corporate agriculture maintenance.
12	Dominguez Flat – Abandonment. Trail – Abandonment of some sections.
13	Headquarters – Second agricultural headquarters: Heggblade-Magulease-Tenneco Inc. Corporation agriculture production maintenance. Rebuilding of secondary permanent homes.
14	Headquarters – Tearing down of divisional fence lines, outbuilding, removal of former trash deposits, removal of some secondary houses, and building of environmental preserve headquarters.
15	Headquarters – Wind Wolves Preserve headquarters. Maintenance of publicly accessible wildlife refuge Dominguez Flat – Excavation.

Table 5.1: The Phases of the life biography of San Emigdio Canyon.

The canyon mouth hereafter referred to as Headquarters in the text, is a combination of archaeological and standing features. At the Wind Wolves Preserve headquarters, the complex consists of the single story building used as office space, two residence for park officers, a fenced maintenance yard with a two-car garage, the San Emigdio Campground, a recently constructed and controlled creek bed, and various paved and unpaved roads and walking paths. With this description of how the canyon is today in Phase 15, the life biography of San Emigdio is hereto presented.

## **PHASE 1**

The Trail was used by Native Californians and early Spanish explorers as an avenue into the greater San Joaquin Valley, then called Tulare Valley (Kane 1999:7, Boyd 1972). Father Payeras made a general reference to the trail in 1820 describing it as a “trail for pack animals” (Bernard 2008:84, Robinson 2006:119), During this early Phase, the trail would not have been improved much as passengers travelled on foot or animal back. The trail would have been narrow and followed the natural contours of the landscape adapting as needed to natural events such as mud slides and creek movement that would have altered sections. The Native Californian village of *Tashlipun* was found along the trail (probably where Dominguez Flat is located) and was visited by Zalvidea; along with other native sites found along the route that have since been recorded through archaeological survey (Bernard 2008:81, Robinson 2006:101-102).

## **PHASE 2**

With the growth of the hide and tallow industry as associated with the opening of California to foreign trade in the Mexican Period, the Trail became known as the El Camino Viejo. The Trail was now used primary for commercial means and secondarily for personal transportation. Ox pulled *carreras* would have necessitated the widening and adoption of a quasi-recognizable path. Improvements to the route were made by the people who used the Trail, not by a government contractor or commission. During the Mexican era, drivers carried supplies to widen the trails making improvements gradually as they passed through (Latta 2006:55).

## **PHASES 3 TO 5**

Several historical accounts have alluded to the possibility of occupation by colonists and Native Californian during the Spanish and early Mexican period within San Emigdio Canyon (Boyd 1972, Latta 2006). This is supported archaeologically by the work of Orfila (2005). Her excavation at Mound 2 shows that the adobe was built in the early 1800s (based on

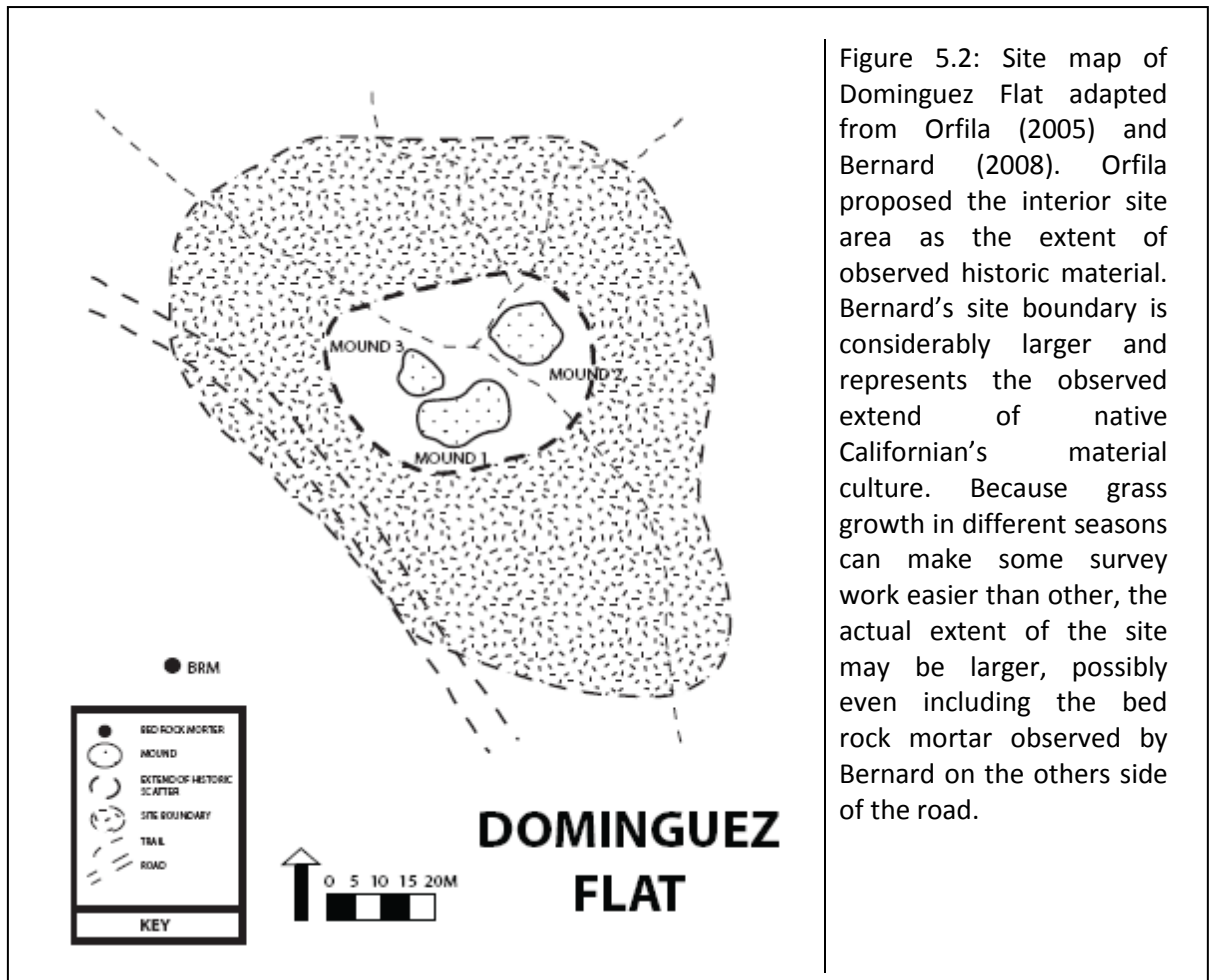


Figure 5.2: Site map of Dominguez Flat adapted from Orfila (2005) and Bernard (2008). Orfila proposed the interior site area as the extent of observed historic material. Bernard's site boundary is considerably larger and represents the observed extend of native Californian's material culture. Because grass growth in different seasons can make some survey work easier than other, the actual extent of the site may be larger, possibly even including the bed rock mortar observed by Bernard on the others side of the road.

architectural dating of the adobe bricks; Orfila 2005:181). This period is not only before the Dominguez land grant, but also before the Chumash Rebellion of 1824. If there had been a native village<sup>i</sup> at Dominguez Flat as evidence suggests, then colonizers may have considered the temporary abandonment of the landscape by native groups (seasonally or permanently due to mission conversion) as complete abandonment. Thus, any ownership rights were considered as void allowing for colonizer development in either Phase 3 or Phase 6 (Dominguez land grant).

Even though Mound 2 has been dated, there is not enough evidence to identify who built the adobe. Both colonists and neophytes would have had the technological knowhow to create adobe bricks (Orfila 2005:64). If the adobe was built by the Spanish or Mexican colonist, Phases 3, 4, and 5 are needed. In Phase 3, the prospective builder utilized either a temporary shelter or abandoned native dwelling while building the adobe of Mound 2. In Phase 4, the adobe was occupied by the colonial group. During this time the window pane glass dated to the 1830s (Orfila 2005:181) was installed in the adobe. Finally, in Phase 5 the adobe was abandoned and then reuse by native peoples. Stratigraphically, Native California artefacts were observed in layers above the adobe ground floor (Orfila 2005:181). Bernard's (2008)



work further indicates that Dominguez Flat was actively used by native Californians throughout the historic period based on AMS radiocarbon dating (2008:312). If the adobe is aligned with native construction and use, then clearly these Phases would not exist.

### **Phase 6 and 7**

As substantiated by the archaeological work of Orfila (2005:179). Mound 1 from Dominguez Flat has been dated via architectural remains to the 1840s. Jose Antonio Dominguez received Rancho San Emigdio in 1842 from Governor Alvarado (Gray 1957, Orfila 2005:56). Occupation during this Phase was relatively short because Dominguez died during the winter of 1843/1844 from smallpox, and his family returned to Santa Barbara (Kane 2005:9). Because of this brevity, the Dominguez family may have never actually lived in the adobe they built, instead living in temporary or abandoned native structures. The abandonment of the Dominguez Flat in Phase 7 is visible archaeologically by the general lack of European goods at Dominguez Flat for a space of about twenty years (Orfila 2005). Excavation did reveal the presence of a refuse scatter with an unknown depositional date next to a stone

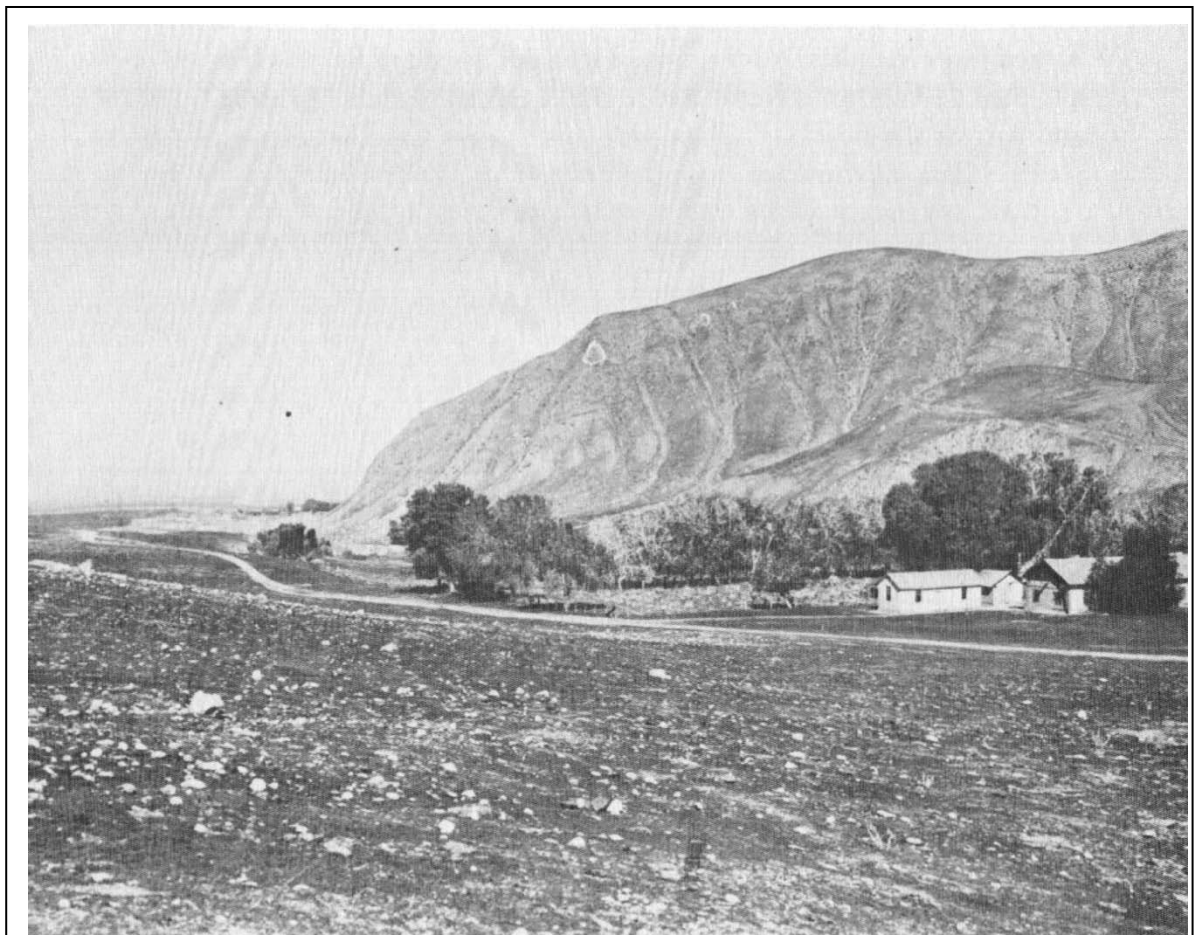


Figure 5.3 – Dominguez Flat in 1895 (Latta 2006:31). Barely visible is a stand of trees in the left foreground, showing the proximity to the Headquarters.

built fence. Mingled with the more recent artefacts are some early period cast-offs (Orfila 2005:184). Besides this undated rock wall, neither the Orfila (2005) or the Bernard (2008) excavations revealed early outbuildings and other improvements.

## **PHASE 8**

Historical records show that occupation of the site during the American periods began in roughly the 1860s (Gray 1957). David W Alexander possibly occupied Dominguez Flat as early as 1861 (Morgan 1914:47). Because of the period of abandonment, improvements to the adobe would have been necessary. In 1863, a visitor to the Dominguez Flat complex described the site as thus:

A large and valuable ranch near the mouth of the Canyon, commanding a lovely view of the plan of Buenavista Lake, and of the coast ranges. Two large springs water the garden, fruits and grapes grow to perfection ... His [David W Alexander] house was surrounded by the houses and huts of his Indian and Mexican servant and vaqueros. The residence was adobe, floor of rough stone, furniture rude (Gray 1957).

From the observation we learn that the complex was intercultural occupied by American, Mexican (probably *Californios*), and Native Californian peoples. It also shows that both ownership groups, owners and renters, lived on the property. Each had their own value systems and developed their sense of belonging to the landscape in different ways. Alexander and his household were probably responsible for choosing which plants and animals were raised on the acreage, but as the work was performed by the Native Californians and *Californios*, they had opportunity to cultivate foodstuff that fit their particular tastes as well.

## **PHASE 9**

Further improvements would have been necessary at Dominguez Flat to create pastoral ranges. Figure 5.3 does not show how this was done, but as the landscape is fairly barren, the home complex may not have been differentiated from pasture. In the excavations by Orfila (2005:184), she observed that the upper levels contained a high level of sheep and cattle faecal matter, furthering the idea that domesticates may have had free range throughout the complex. It is difficult without the usage of historical records to determine when sheep and cattle occupied the site as the *rancho* was stocked with either or both species for the next century. Historic ranges of sheep and cattle within San Emigdio Canyon could have extended as far north as the San Joaquin Valley and as far south as Mil Portrero (present day town of Pine Mountain Club); and from Mount Pinos to Tecuya Ridge (Campbell 1974).

James C Rosemyre, who lived at Dominguez Flat as a child, recalls “there was a two-story adobe house, a wild grape arbour, and a big, double-sided barn” (Latta 2006:31). Perhaps the grape arbour was protected by the rock fences seen in Figure 5.3, one of which was partially excavated by Orfila (2005).

Before 1870, while Alexis Godey<sup>ii</sup> was living at Dominguez Flat he began to improve the San Emigdio Creek bed at the mouth of the canyon to make Headquarters more inhabitable (Boyd 1972, *Bakersfield Courier* 1870). Although San Emigdio Creek drains through the mouth of the canyon, improvements would have been necessary if long term occupation was desired, because the creek follows a well developed channel<sup>iii</sup>. This action shows a particular kind of desire for control and ownership of water, such control as had already been seen in lower San Joaquin Valley with the numerous changes to the natural water courses (see Chapter 3). Control of a water source made San Emigdio more valuable than the extensive summer pastures alone.

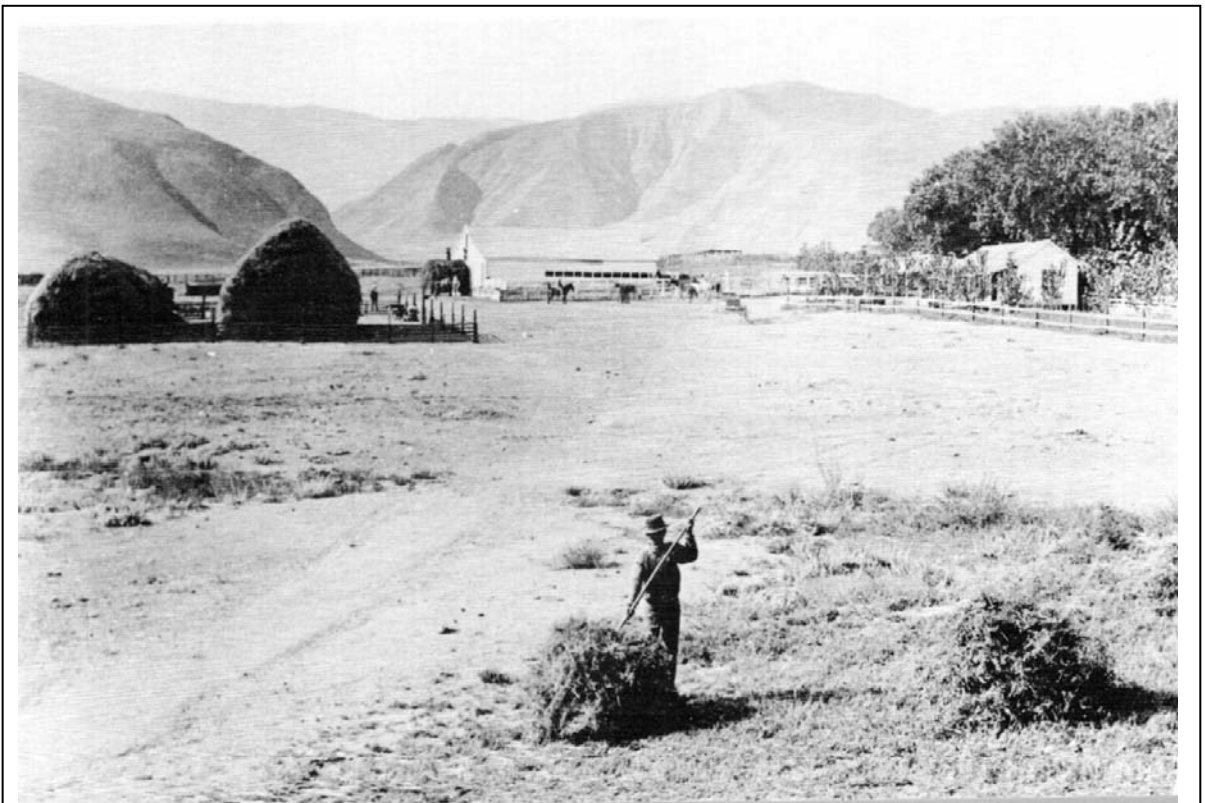


Figure 5.4 –Carleton Watkins photograph of the mouth of San Emigdio Canyon in the 1880s. View towards the south. White house in the middle right is probably that of Godey as later identified by William Skinner in 1925 (Unknown 1925).

# HEADQUARTERS

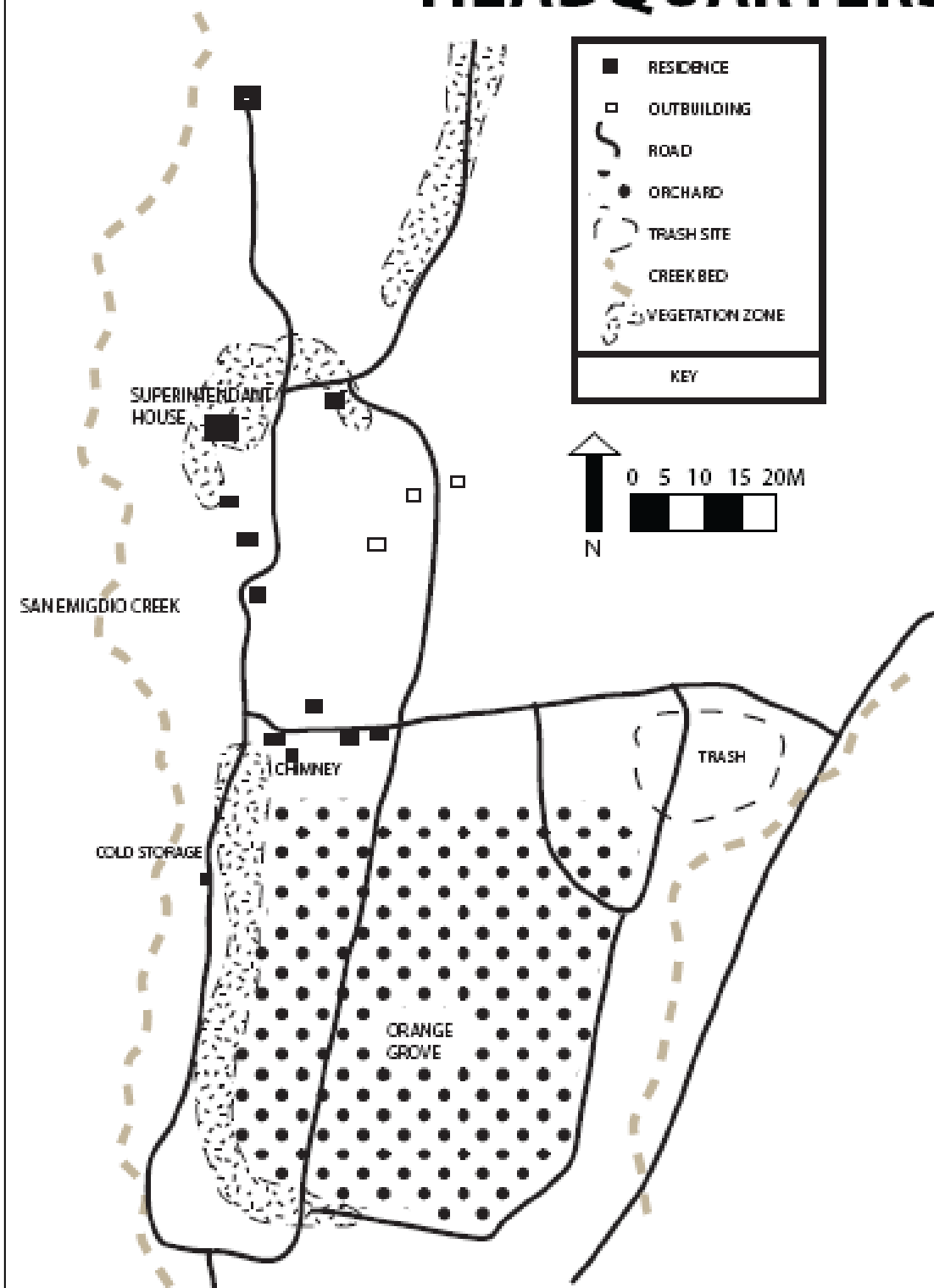


Figure 5.5: Possible layout of Headquarters during the historic period.

In Phase 10, the Headquarters became a primary place of residence, and it is not until stage 11 that the Headquarters became the first agricultural headquarters for a corporation, the Kern County Land Company. This shows a change in ownership style from a small scale family or partnership agribusiness, to a large multi-component corporation. The owner would not have lived at the ranch but would have hired superintendants (also called *majordomos*) to run the daily affairs of the agricultural practices. This hired hand would live on the property. With the movement of workers to the Headquarters, secondary homes and bunkhouses would have been built to accommodate year round employees. Single family residences would have been used by workers with families. Unmarried and seasonal workers would have used the bunkhouses. Some workers did not live at Headquarters, making a daily commute from nearby settlements. For example, Chinese workers commuted from Bakersfield (Boyd 2002). Some skilled employees had a degree of freedom at choosing where and when they worked. Many of the *vaqueros* who worked at the neighbouring Rancho El Tejon during the Jose Lopez tenure as *majordomo* also worked at San Emigdio during various periods (Latta 2006).



Figure 5.6: Cold storage shed built of native stone. May have been used at one point to store dynamite (Clendenen 2011). For its location within the complex of Headquarters, see Figure 5.5. See image 5.8 for detail above door.

Two architectural features were standing at the time of field work, a cold storage shed, and a chimney. The cold storage shed (Figure 5.6 and 5.8) is located within the San Emigdio Creek cut, and is constructed from native stone. The chimney (Figure 5.7) appears to also be constructed of local stone. Maybe the original structure burnt down, and the land owners



Figure 5.7: Freestanding chimney feature made from native stone. For its location within the complex of Headquarters, see Figure 5.5.

Figure 5.8: Decorative element above door to cold storage shed (Figure 5.6).

decided to keep the intact chimney with the intent of building a new structure in the same spot. However, the replacement structure for the chimney was never built. Because both were constructed from local stone, they could represent a construction methodology that maximizes the cheapest available resource. Using a local source also bring the landscape into the structure, creating a sense of belonging with the landscape even when indoors. A further sense of ownership and belonging is seen when the cold storage shed is looked at. The builders added a decorative element above the door in the shape of a six-pointed star, which

has at its centre a large white quartz crystal (Figure 5.8).

The Kern County Land Company hired Carleton Watkins<sup>iv</sup> a San Francisco photographer in the 1880s to make views of their land holding (Street 1983:246). “In the 700-odd Bakersfield photographs, ranches, ranch products, and ranch life were Watkins’ main subjects” (Street 1983:246; Figure 5.4 and 5.9 are credited to him). From Figure 5.4 we learn that Headquarters included several standing structures (houses and barns), a grove of fig trees and a developed hay field. Not visible in this particular shot is a large herd of corralled sheep behind the rolled hay piles to the left (Nixon 1983). Was the Kern County Land Company trying to highlight their agricultural finesse over their pastoral pursuits? Although the historical accounts of the periods do not discuss much of the horticultural interests, other historical documents do provide clues.

A semi-aerial photograph of Headquarters was taken in 1895, showing how some acreage was set aside for an orchard. The orange field represents a further diversification of the land beside a dependence upon pastoral economics. Furthermore, because the orange orchard view and Figure 5.3 were taken during the same year, it indicates both the Headquarters and Dominguez Flat were occupied during this Phase.

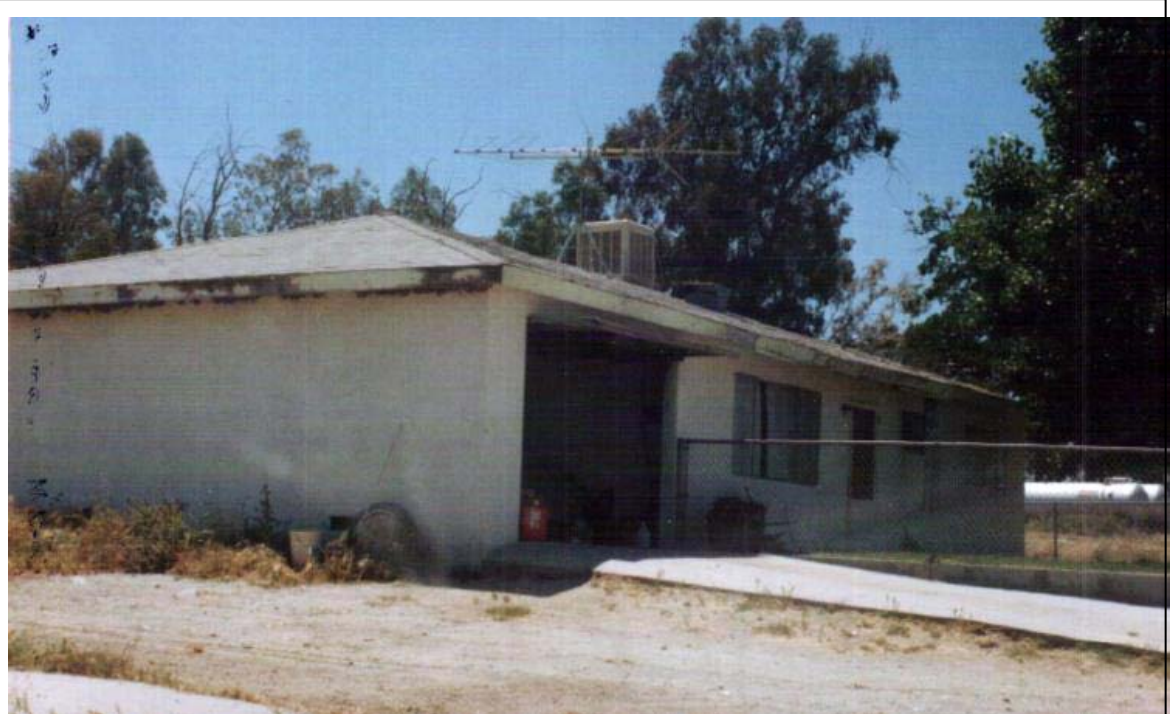
## PHASE 12

San Emigdio Canyon moved into Phase 12 when Dominguez Flat was abandoned for the residences at the Headquarters, which occurred sometime between 1895 (when the orchard overview and Figure 5.3 were taken) and 1918. Figure 5.9 shows that not only was Dominguez Flat abandoned as a place of habitation, but also by this time, the adobe was rapidly decaying. The Trail had slowly decreased in importance during previous Phases as the Grapevine route became a more popular thoroughfare. Eventually the Grapevine route became today's Interstate 5 (Kane 1999). As the swampy Buena Vista Lake and supporting water ways were converted into an extensive canal system, water crossings would not have been as big of a concern as they had been in earlier Phases. Various events led to the favouring of the Grapevine route over San Emigdio Canyon. Fort Tejon (occupied from 1854 to 1860; Boyd 1972) was built along the Grapevine Route, which may have further advanced the idea that the route was safer than San Emigdio (Phillips 2004). The Grapevine route was later used for shipping by Alexander and Banning (Boyd 1972:31), and as the corridor for a telegraph line



Figure 5.9: Overview showing Dominguez Flat abandonment and decay in 1918 (Dixon 1918). Figure is taken from a similar vantage point as Figure 5.3.

(Boyd 1972:34). Even though the route through the San Emigdio was no longer used for transportation to the Oakland area, it was probably used by the *vaqueros* and other workers of the Kern County Land Company for pastoral movement. Sections of the trail are still in use today by the Wind Wolves Preserve.



Top Figure 5.10: One of the houses at Headquarters. Observe how the inhabitants have installed air conditioning, and a chain link fence yard (Unknown 198?).

Bottom Figure 5.11: One of the houses at Headquarters. Older in style than Figure 5.10, with a small front porch overgrown with vegetation (Unknown 198?).



### **PHASE 13**

Either after the previous Phase or during it, the Headquarters entered into Phase 13. During this period, the Headquarters evolved into a modern agricultural centre of operation. In 1967, the Kern County Land Company merged with Tenneco and became Heggblade-Magulease-Tenneco Inc (Beck and Haase 1974:70). In the process of the merger, the new corporation may have wanted to put their mark on the Headquarters landscape. Older outbuildings would have been replaced to fit in with the new corporation's ideas toward agribusiness. Perhaps during this period the two story superintendant's house was replaced by a single story building (See Figures 5.10 and 5.11).

By the 1970s or 1980s,<sup>v</sup> the various secondary homes were equipped with water, electricity, and air conditioning. Each of the seven houses had been personalized by the occupants, showing how workers and their families had a degree of freedom in defining and adapting their personal spaces (and thus defining their sense of belonging), even though they did not own the structure. No two residences look the same, each having different styles and construction techniques (Figure 5.10 and 5.11 show two examples, for more see Appendix A). Although the employees had a degree of freedom at modifying their space, all the homes are painted white which unified them into the San Emigdio community.

### **PHASE 14**

When Rancho San Emigdio was transferred from a corporate agriculture venture into a wild life preserve, it transitioned into Phase 14. During the early part of this Phase (beginning roughly 1994), locations identified as having hazards were the first to be removed (Clendenen 2011), which included trash deposition at the Headquarters.<sup>vi</sup> Some artefacts were collected by employees and placed on display at the Wind Wolves Preserve headquarters. Agricultural related outbuildings, some of the secondary structures, and vegetation were removed as well.

### **PHASE 15**

After the removal of many of the standing structures at the Headquarters, the landscape was altered to accommodate the Wind Wolves Preserve headquarters with very different interests than those held earlier: ownership in the form of stewardship. The Wind Wolves Preserve was created to preserve the land for the natural environment, and to also provide a place to educate youth in a modern world that have become separated from such an environment (Clendenen 2011). New structures were built to provide a day use structure for employees who reside off site. Because the area is now a nature preserve open to campers and hikers, new residence structures were built to house rangers to not only assist the

aforementioned groups, but to deter poaching of the native species the preserve aims to protect. Also built during this time are numerous hiking trails, camping locales, interpretive pathways, and public facilities spanning from Headquarters south past Dominguez Flat.

These stewards of nature have also become archaeological stewards. During previous Phases, little thought was given to the archaeological resources within the *rancho* boundaries, and until the creation of the Wind Wolves Preserve, there was not much access to them. Through community involvement and archaeological projects, more of the historical significance is becoming known (see Chapter 1 for more information on some of the work performed). This is the current Phase in the life cycle of San Emigdio Canyon, a Phase that allowed for the work of Orfila (2005), Robinson (2006), Bernard (2008), Whitby (2011), and myself to take place.

### **OWNERSHIP AND BELONGING IN SAN EMIGDIO CANYON**

In this chapter I have used San Emigdio Canyon to look at the how ownership and sense of belonging have been manifested in the landscape through constructed features. By breaking down the life history of San Emigdio canyon into Phases, it has allowed for particular cases of ownership and sense of belonging to come forth which can now be discussed.

San Emigdio was originally inhabited by colonizers during the Mexican period. Jose Antonio Dominguez was the first known colonial owner. However, due to his early death his family inhabited the canyon for a very short time. Because of the brevity of occupation, the Dominguez family may not have had enough time to develop their sense of ownership and belonging in the landscape beyond the building of the adobe. The construction of an adobe not only was mandatory as part of the process of the land grant, but shows intent on behalf of the family for wanting to live upon the land they owned. His widow and heirs retained ownership of the *rancho* well into the American period, retaining a link to the landscape<sup>vii</sup>.

Post – Dominguez, San Emigdio canyon would be inhabited by a mix of owners and renters until the Kern County Land Company was formed. At Dominguez Flat and Headquarters in a post corporate agriculture era, the people whom inhabited the landscape were all renters as employees. As was already noted these employees had a degree of freedom at altering their personal environments as long as the Headquarters retained a community atmosphere. The lack of uniformity at the Headquarters in design and style of the residences shows how individual families defined their ownership and sense of belonging. Even though they did not own title to the home, their modifications (such as building a chain



Top Figure 5.12: Carleton Watkins view of superintendents house with wraparound porch in the 1880s. Circular fountain in middle right of house. (Nixon 1983). For a view from the other side of the trees, see Figure 5.4.

Bottom Figure 5.13: Superintendents home circa 1970s or 1980s with green trim. Large palm tree to the right of house (Unknown 198?).

link enclosed grassy front yard in Figure 5.10) show how they developed a sense of belonging to that home.

The most important person in the complex, the superintendent was also a renter, not even owning the home from which they commanded the Headquarters. The superintendent or foreman was responsible for not only managing the affairs of the ranch, but was a direct

connection between the off-site owners and the employees of the ranch. This position of power in the community by extension gave power to the locale they inhabited. The first superintendent's house (seen in Figure 5.12) was a two story residence with a wrap-around porch.

Over the next hundred years, this locale was the site of the superintendent's residence, even after the house of 1880 was replaced. This can be seen by looking at historical photographs. Nixon (1983) compared the photographs of Watkins to the existing Headquarters landscape. Because of the location of the concrete fountain in Watkins image, Nixon found that the 1983 foreman's house (Figure 5.13) was located in the same exact spot. In the undated photo album from the Wind Wolves Preserve (Figure 5.13; Unknown 198?), we can see a thriving palm tree just to the right of the house. Today this palm tree is still alive at the Headquarters, and is located within a pond feature to the east of the current Wind Wolves Preserve headquarters. Thus, the spot remains the centre of power for management of the San Emigdio Hills acreage.

The palm tree may have served as a temporal marker in the landscape in association with those in charge. Trees in general deserve comment upon as they have had an interesting role in the way sense of ownership and belonging have played out in the landscape. Alexis Godey seems to have an affinity for fig trees as he planted them not only at the Headquarters, but also at Pueblo San Emigdio (a community located in the sinks north of San Emigdio; Latta 2006:148). He planted them at the places he lived and frequented, displaying his sense of ownership and belonging to these places. Arboreal improvements provide particular sets of advantages, not only do they provide a commercially viable product (fruit and nut trees), but they were believed to clean the air (Praetzelis et al 1985). From a more practical implication, they provide shade during the hot summer months. Kane (2005:3), quoting author Arnold Rojas, suggests that fig and grapes were a sign of Spanish gentility.

San Emigdio Canyon provides an excellent case study to see how ownership and belonging have occurred not only in a multi-scalar way, but also in an intercultural environment. In the next chapter, on Santiago Canyon, we can focus in onto one particular site and its life biography to show particularly how personalization has led to a sense of belonging regardless of ownership status.

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<sup>i</sup> Although several authors, as recognized by Bernard (2008:87-88), believe the village of *Tashilpun* was location at Dominguez Flat; Bernard is sceptical using linguistic and ethnographic accounts as justification.

<sup>iiii</sup> Based on a photo taken later, Billy Skinner (who was raised by Godey; Kane 2005:23) identifies the white structure to the right near the fig trees (in Figure 3.5) as the home Godey built (Unknown 1925).

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<sup>iii</sup> At least this is the way the creek bed looks today. Lopez suggests that many of the creek beds have become deeper since the Spanish period (Latta 2006). This may be due to overgrazing of cattle and sheep which leaves the landscape barren and unprotected from rains thus altering the natural landscape.

<sup>iv</sup> Amateur photographers also kept a record of events at San Emigdio, but unlike the work of Carleton Watkins, these have had varying degrees of survivability. The Wind Wolves Preserve headquarters has a collection of historic and modern photographs of San Emigdio, but this collection is very small. Also housed at the headquarters is a collection of various historical artefacts found within the bounds of the preserve. One such artefact is a Polaroid Model 95, the first camera that allowed photographers to see the image minutes after capture.

<sup>v</sup> The photographs are undated but based on content probably date to this time, see appendix for a selection.

<sup>vi</sup> For example, a horse trailer full of household furniture and oil canisters was removed from the trash pit.

<sup>vii</sup> By retaining a link to the landscape, they may have also retained a link to Jose Antonio.

## CHAPTER 6

### OWNERSHIP AND BELONGING IN SANTIAGO CANYON: DOROTHY'S HOUSE

Within Santiago Canyon, we can focus on one particular site and its life biography to show how personalization has developed a sense of belonging regardless of ownership status. As with San Emigdio, I look at the life biography of Santiago Canyon in terms of Phases, which represent different periods of the complex life. Within Santiago Canyon, I will look at the complex of Dorothy's House. When Dorothy's House was first introduced to me, the site already had a colourful history in the form of folk legends. In one versions of the legend, the house was featured as "The House" from the 1939 MGM 'Wizard of Oz', and if not from that particular version then at least one of the Oz spinoffs. Similarly, the house was thus named because it is located in the middle of nowhere seemingly as if, as in the Oz plot, the house just fell from the sky. Another folk legend was centred on the use of Dorothy's House. It was believed that Dorothy's House was a one room school house.

With these legends in mind, what is Dorothy's House<sup>1</sup>? The site is situated in a small valley near the mouth of Santiago Canyon, protected to the south and east by the San Emigdio Hills. The complex of Dorothy's House (in 2011) consists of a house, a corral, a shed, concrete pads or platforms, barb wire fencing, and various other outbuildings (Figure 6.2). The house is a single story stick built kit house with a similar layout to 'The Rodessa' (a Sears, Roebuck and Co design; Figure 6.4). From the house protrudes two separate walkways, one of brick extends from west of the house, the other is of native stone and concrete extending from the southern porch past a eucalyptus tree (Figure 6.1) to two large concrete pads. About 20 metres to the north is an electrical power box and a smaller decaying concrete pad interspersed with asphalt. To the east of this selection of features is a metal pole corral and corrugated iron shed (with electrical box). Further to the east below a small hill is a possible dugout features and an active water trough (Figure 6.7 is taken from this vantage point to the west). An inactive water trough is located just to the east of the metal pole corral. Other water related features are scattered throughout the site and include a natural seep, several water risers, various pipes, and a water tank to the southwest of the house. The water tank is set on a slight hill with a dugout feature to the west and to the east of the tank. The entire complex is bound to the south by an east west trending fence line that probably also served to mark the boundary of the Dorothy's House ranch or farmstead. The site is bound to the west by a dirt road that also provides access to the site and a little further is Santiago



Figure 6.1: Overview toward east of south porch of Dorothy's House. Showing natural stone walkway and living eucalyptus tree.

Creek which runs in a wide deep cut channel. (See appendix for selection of photographs of features not shown in this chapter.) This is how Dorothy's House can be found today; in what could be roughly termed, its eighth regeneration of its life biography. Each of these Phases is discussed in detail highlighting how the agencies of individuals and groups have modified the landscape to create a sense of belonging.

- |   |                                                                                  |
|---|----------------------------------------------------------------------------------|
| 1 | Temporary structures – Dugouts, tent platforms, and temporary corrals and pens.  |
| 2 | Marking of boundary – Fence lines.                                               |
| 3 | Permanent home structure – More fence lines, outbuildings.                       |
| 4 | Improvements to home – Enclosed porches, addition of gas lines, electrification. |
| 5 | Second permanent home – Trailer house                                            |
| 6 | Complete abandonment of site.                                                    |
| 7 | Clean up – Tear down of dangerous structures, installation of water troughs.     |
| 8 | Maintenance of wildlife refuge.                                                  |

Table 6.1: The Phases of the life biography of Santiago Canyon.

## PHASE 1

Early American settler began to inhabit Santiago Canyon in the 1880s (Morgan 1914). Two pieces of evidence suggest that Dorothy's House was settled during this time. A 1908 map of Santiago Canyon (United States Geological Survey 1908) shows the presence of buildings at

Dorothy's House, indicating it was well established by the turn of the century. Archeologically, the presence of square cut hand forged nails<sup>ii</sup> at Dorothy's House indicate that some of the earliest features could date to this time.

The process of choosing a suitable location for oneself may have been a rather fluid process in the early days in Kern County. The decision to choose one plot over another depended on the person's system of value regarding their perceived value of the landscape. Water, arable soil, and abundant grass sources for domesticates was given different levels of priority. A person or family group would settle in a place using temporary or semi-permanent housing options during a period of determination (Praetzellis et al 1985:118). The brevity of occupation would determine the level of improvement needed. A family living on a spot for a week may not build anything, but someone living at a locale over the winter would need to have adequate food set away necessitating a small garden and temporary enclosures for livestock.

Historical accounts suggest that some early settlers used Tule built structures (Latta 2006:38), but tents and wagons could have just as likely provided shelter. Most temporary shelters would have required some land preparation either in the form of a tent platform or a dugout to minimally create a flat surface, but optimally a flat and protected surface for living.

At Dorothy's House, an early settler would have not only found the land abundant in grasses but the creek would have provided a source of water. Even better, is the advantage of a natural spring protected by the above mentioned hills, in which are found dugout structures. As no artefacts were identified in connection with these features it is difficult to determine if one of the three dugouts served as a temporary structure location, or if they served other purposes. Because the ground is covered with a thick growth of grasses, other low lying features such as tent platforms were impossible to identify.

## **PHASE 2**

Once a desirable spot was located for longer term inhabitation, the landscape would need to be purchased or homesteaded as part of Phase two. In conjunction with this process, the interested land owner may have to pay for a survey, if this had not already been done. Property boundaries at some point would need to be defined, but priority was given to enclosing the home acreage which may include the home, gardens, and orchards (Praetzellis et al 1985:118). The presence of a fence indicated a separation of the tamed area of influence that will be near the home and the wilder grassy environment where domesticates and wildlife



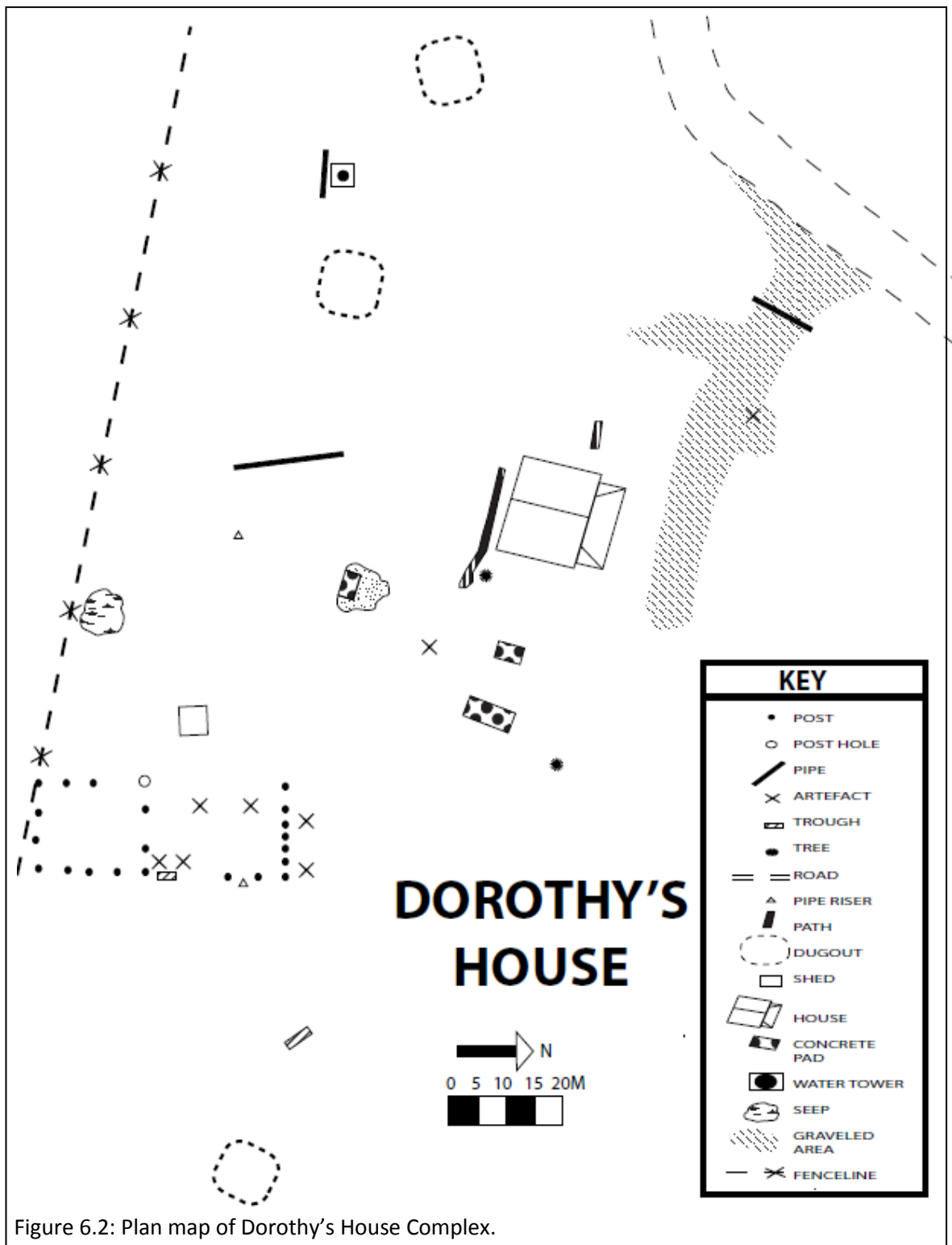


Figure 6.2: Plan map of Dorothy's House Complex.



Figure 6.3: Overview of Dorothy's House with living eucalyptus tree to the left. View is to the south.

can forage freely. The barb wire fence which marks the southern boundary of the Dorothy's House complex is significant in that it likely shows original or early home site boundaries.

### PHASE 3

When a more permanent home was built, the complex moved into the Phase 3. The surviving house at the complex is probably a kit home, the original do it yourself project purchased from a catalogue (see inset Figure 6.4). Companies like Sears, Roebuck and Co (Sears); Montgomery Wards, Aladdin, Lewis –Sterling, R L Bennett, and Gordon-Vantine (Thornton 2002:95) were the largest companies that sold kit houses. Sears started selling homes by catalogue in 1908 (Thornton 2002:12) and during the early period the consumer was shipped the majority of the needed materials (with a Bill of Materials) while the lumber for framing the house was purchased locally. A Bill of Materials list for a Modern Home #111, The Chelsea, includes:

750 pounds of nails and 27 gallons of Seroco Paint. (Seroco was an acronym for Sears Roebuck Company). You'd also receive 400 feet of sash cord, 72 sash (windows) weights (weighing a total of 460 pounds) 200 feet of galvanized gutter, 2000 boards

feet of 4-inch siding, 2400 board feet of 4-inch flooring and 325 feet of crown moulding (emphasis original to author; Thornton 2002:12).

After 1914, Sears started to also offer consumers the option of pre-cut lumber as part of the price (Thornton 2002:12). The kits also did not include the masonry, plaster, plumbing, or heating equipment, but these items were offered at additional cost (Thornton 2002:96). This

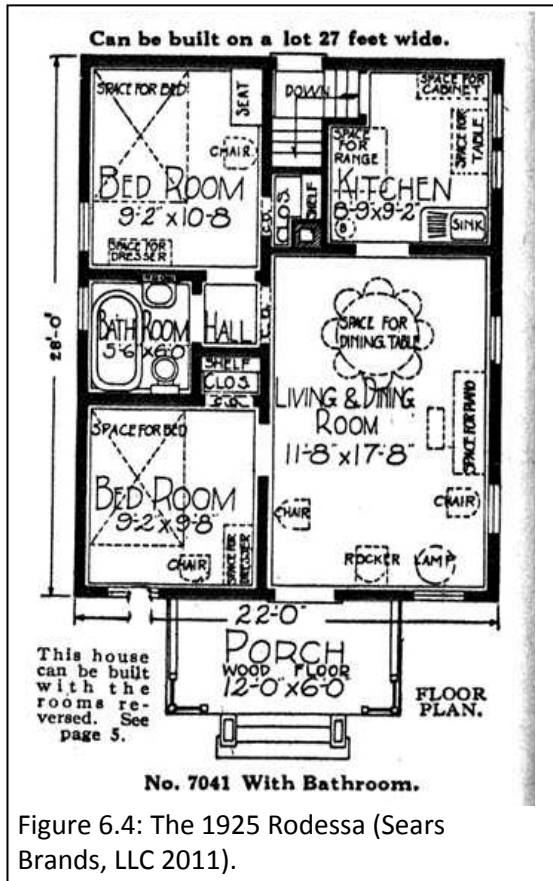


Figure 6.4: The 1925 Rodessa (Sears Brands, LLC 2011).

gave families a measure of freedom to not only find the cheapest price, but to add personalized touches that made their home unique to others. Once all the materials were on site the consumer could hire either a contractor or using the 75 page instruction manual provided, build the home oneself (Thornton 2002).

Although one of the key indicators for a kit home, the mark of the company embossed into the wood<sup>iii</sup>, was not observed during fieldwork, there are several good indicators that the home is still kit. The home has a very similar layout as the 1925 Rodessa (see Figure 6.4) with some modification. These modifications could have come at the time the house was built or when the house was altered in Phase 4. The

living room was divided, with the northern half made into a large kitchen. Instead of the kitchen as seen in the Rodessa, this area was a small back porch, possibly used as the mud room and laundry.

Just because there was not an exact match to the floor plan for Dorothy's House in the catalogues found online, the home is not disqualified as a kit house.<sup>iv</sup> Several accounts attest to how consumers had the ability to modifying the layout and exteriors before the home was shipped. In one account, a woman liked the bottom floor of one floor plan and the layout of the top floor from another. Instead of choosing between the two, she sent in the clipped images and asked if they would build her the home. Sears soon after sent the modified floor plan (Thornton 2002:67). Thus, the manufacturers gave homeowners a degree of freedom at personalization.

In congruence with the building of a new home, other features were added to the complex. As previously mentioned the process of building a good fence for the delineation of

boundary is complicated by the presence of domesticates. The grass is always greener on the other side. No matter how happily an animal could be fed, it always seems that one or two tend to get out. Furthermore, as the stock is diversified such as the change from sheep to cattle or from a cow-calf to a finishing operation, sections of acreage would be subdivided for certain needs. Sheds, corrals, barns and other outbuilding would be built and torn down as necessary, often times resulting in the reuse of materials. Landscaping and gardens may have been added not only for their economic benefits but to alter the outward appearance of the property. The only living eucalyptus on site was likely planted around this time (seen to the left of house in Figure 6.3).

#### **PHASE 4**

A new home is only new for so long before someone in the household will make improvements. In the case of Dorothy's House, several major improvements were made to the house in Phase 4. Both the front and back porch were enclosed, with the front porch (visible in Figure 6.3) undergoing major improvement, in terms of material and style. Unlike the rest of the house, the front porch is not on concrete footings. While the porch is sheet rocked, the interior of the house was walled with wood panels. The front porch is divided into two small rooms with a hot water closet in the middle, which connects to the bathroom through the central wall. The western room served as the main entrance into the house with an exterior porch and stairs. Aesthetically, the porch is symmetrically designed with green trim around the exterior windows (all of which are exactly three feet wide, showing a desire for symmetry and for ease in making the windows and fittings interchangeable).

To further facilitate warmth and to provide hot water, as was previously mentioned, a section of the porch was utilized for the installation of a hot water heater. Exterior gas meter equipment (Figure 6.5) is date stamped to the late 1950s and presuming the meter was installed soon after manufacture, some of the other improvements (such as water pipes and exhaust vents) were also installed around this date. Due to the rural location of the complex it is unlikely gas was piped to the location. An external gas or propane tank would have been installed a short distance from the house. Electrification may have also occurred at this time as suggested by the hardware found near the front porch (Figure 6.6). The power poles for this event have since been removed.



Figure 6.5: Gas valve installed on the exterior of Dorothy's House near the kitchen. Date reads 11/52.



Figure 6.6: Electrical box installed on the exterior of Dorothy's House near the front porch.

## PHASE 5

It is difficult to actively date when the complex entered into the Phase 5 of its lifecycle, because the manufactured home that was at the complex was removed during the 1990s (Clendenen 2011). Manufactured homes (also called trailer homes) were made as early as the 1940s and are still in manufacture today. The trailer would have been set on the two large cement pads east of the house. A 1947 Squirt Soda Bottle was found buried in the dirt between the two pads, but this bottle should not be used to date the concrete pads. It may have come from a buried trash feature, which was not further identified during survey.



Figure 6.7: Overview of Dorothy's House complex looking toward the northwest. In the foreground is an active water trough. The corrugated metal shed and iron pipe fence are in the left part of image. In the extreme foreground, is one of the observed dugout structures.

Regardless of when the trailer was installed, it is an indicator of the growth in the number of inhabitants of the complex. Either the initial family grew to include families of procreation, extended families, or workers were hired and provided on-site lodging. Judging by the level of maintenance on Dorothy's House, it is unlikely that it was abandoned in favour of the trailer as the primary living space. During this time other contemporary features were probably added to the complex, including the corrugated metal shed, and the iron pipe coral. The electrical power box was probably installed to power the trailer and shed, not Dorothy's House.

### **PHASES 6 TO 8**

The current Phase of Dorothy's House, Phase 8 began about 1994 when the Wildlife Conservancy purchased the property and created the Wind Wolves Preserve. Any structure or feature deemed hazardous or too modern were removed. At Dorothy's House, this meant the removal of the trailer home and a barn that was located inside the iron pipe corral (Clendenen 2011). These actions are not only the right of the land owner, but are a part of the process in converting former agricultural spaces into a 'natural' environment to aid in the preservation of several endangered species. Water tanks are strategically placed around the preserve,

including one inside the complex, to ensure wild life and pastoral domesticates have a constant water source. Self filling water troughs were also installed for the same purpose. No longer inhabited by people, Dorothy's House has entered into a state of slow decay.

### **OWNERSHIP AND BELONGING IN SANTIAGO CANYON**

The life cycle of Dorothy's House may have begun as a squatter's residence until survey could be performed to claim the landscape. Then the complex quickly became the headquarters for a family based pastoral operation. Whether the family whom resided at Dorothy's House was an owner or renter is unknown. After the patent was awarded for Rancho San Emigdio in 1866 (Kern County Abstract Company 1916) subsequent surveyors and map makers did not include who lived at the site. Thus highlighting one pitfall of a strictly map dependant survey.

According to Joyce Campbell (1974) the Kern County Land Company ran a Santiago Ranch in conjunction with the San Emigdio Ranch. Because Dorothy's House is located within the Rancho boundaries and within historic bonds of the Kern County Land Company holdings, the complex could be this ranch. This would mean that from an early Phase in its life cycle the complex was inhabited by people who worked for the Land Company who then could modify the landscape to fit their personal needs. However, as noted in a previous chapter the holding of the Kern County Land Company around San Emigdio was the result of a culmination of ownership lines. Dorothy's House could have been lived on by a squatter, that upon finding their home was within the boundaries of the *rancho* may have been able to live on the residence until the 1900s. After the Kern County Land Company was formed, the corporation may have invited the family to either stay on as an employee or kicked them off outright.

Concerning the urban legends centred on Dorothy's House from the opening of this section, none of the legends seems to hold true. As for the idea of it being a one room school house, based on construction it is unlikely the structure began as an open floor plan that was then subdivided. A school house was in operation in the canyon but in Section 12, roughly half a mile to the northeast of the Dorothy's House (Figure 4.9; Unknown 190?). Although there are various cinematic versions of the *Wizard of Oz*, the 1937 version was filmed exclusively in the MGM lot in Culver City. The bizarre *Return to Oz* was filmed entirely in the United Kingdom (Internet Movie Database 2011). It is very unlikely that this story is true. Oftentimes locales are named for people whom lived there. Several of the parcels around Dorothy's House were owned by Alonzo B Robinson and his wife Mary J (Rector) Robinson, whom had a daughter named Dorothy (1910 Federal Census).

By focusing on one site and its life biography the ways a particular individual and family expressed their ownership and sense of belonging within the San Emigdio Hills can become clear. Their sense of belonging can be seen in the way they have personalized the home complex. The inhabitants of Dorothy's House made particular choices defining their home acreage as separate from the rest of the canyon. The existing house at the complex shows particular ideas of sense of belonging. Assuming the house is a kit house, their alterations to the design personalized the home to their particular views of home ownership. They defined the structure that would define their presence within the canyon. Furthermore, material and hardware choices displayed particular systems of value toward home ownership.

After the house was built the inhabitants further defined the landscape based on their system of value. The front porch is the first visual representative of the complex, and draws attention to the contrast of a seemingly barren landscape. The front porch was the place for evening afternoons with the family before televisions, a place to meet for social interactions (Grover 2008). The view provided from the windows of the porch shows not only the hill and valley in which it resides, but also the expanse of the San Joaquin Valley with an overview of the many industries and people working the land. On a clear day (as was experienced during field work) the snow covered Sierra Nevada Mountains were visible, but then obscured by dust and smog the next day. The view could be one of the reasons the location was chosen for the house as opposed to farther into the valley where it would be further protected from winter wind and dust storms.

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<sup>i</sup> The canyon was probably home to the native village of Matapuan (Robinson 2006). During the survey of Dorothy's House, no Native Californian artefacts were observed.

<sup>ii</sup> After 1895 only about 25% of the nails in the United States were square cut nails. Their general decline is highlighted in how five years earlier nail production was roughly fifty / fifty square cut to wire cut nail (IMACS 2001:470).

<sup>iii</sup> Even Thornton (2002) observed that the lack of this embossing does not immediately disqualify a home as being a Sears Kit house.

<sup>iv</sup> From the available online catalogues, I was able to search much of Sears, Roebuck and Co; Montgomery Wards, and Aladdin Homes. There are several other firms that sold kit homes whom do not have online catalogues available. Most catalogues are posted by hobbyist and historians, thus the particular model for Dorothy's House could be available, but has not been posted to the World Wide Web.



## CHAPTER 7

### WHAT IS AN ARCHAEOLOGY OF OWNERSHIP AND SENSE OF BELONGING?

*“To contribute more fully to the understanding of colonialism we must be able to identify the conditions that shaped individual and group practices as well as constrained and enabled different strategies for negotiating the colonial landscape” (Van Buren 2010:177).*

This thesis has looked at the systems of value of ownership and sense of belonging as they play out in the landscape during the transition from the Spanish/Mexican period into the American, on a south central Californian landscape of the San Emigdio Hills. We began by setting the stage within a colonial paradigm. Post-colonial theory seeks to not only free archaeology of its colonial beginning but empower previously silenced voices.

As was mentioned in the introduction, a sense of belonging is commonly used in community archaeology to justify the rights of minority groups over their archaeological history (Liebmann 2008, Loosley, 2005). As Bell (2009) observed descendant colonizers are also grappling with these issues as well. From an archaeological perspective, this work has shown how descendant colonizers also have rights of ownership, because they have undergone a process of developing a sense of belonging to the landscape. Both groups need to equally be given access to the archaeological record.

Cronon et al (1992) suggest with their model of boundary forming on the edge of colonial territories that a sense of belonging developed through ownership (boundary setting), in which colonizer groups begin to feel a connection with the landscape. While problematic, this model has resonance in the case study presented here. Two kinds of ownership categories were referenced in this thesis, that of owners and renters. Owners had legal ownership rights per the criteria of the dominate colonial power. At San Emigdio many who owned the property never lived on the *rancho*. They had ownership on paper, yet their sense of belonging was very different than those who inhabited the landscape. Because of my archaeological emphasis, I have looked more closely at the people who actually occupied the landscape. The people who lived in the San Emigdio hills grew their sense of belonging out of repeated interactions (developing a sense of belonging as seen by Leach 2002:132).

Many of the unnamed peoples represented in this study have not had legal ownership over the plots they inhabited. Although some people owned the property, many of the people within the study area were renters. Yet individuals and groups have shown a sense of belonging to the landscape through their attachment to place. This attachment to place is

shown in the ways they have personalized areas of the landscape to fit into their systems of value toward ownership.

For instance, at the Headquarters, some employees of the Kern County Land Company lived at the centre of operations within company provided living spaces. They defined their space to include enclosed front yards, additions, and other alterations to the living quarters. They built outbuildings of native local stone and added design elements to beautify an otherwise commonplace outbuilding (the star over the door of the cold storage shed; Figure 5.8). At Dorothy's House in Santiago Canyon, the unknown family chose a 'modern house' (Thornton 2002:1) of the early 1900s. The modern conveniences of electricity and indoor plumbing may seem commonplace today, but in the early 1900s, particularly in a rural setting, these would have been cutting edge technologies. These personalisations leave a particular archaeological mark that indicates an attachment to that space. This study has not attempted to interpret the 'why' of particular choices, but looks at the ramifications of these choices. Each choice shows a sense of belonging and attachment to that place. These interactions with the landscape leave a trace.

## **THE MATERIAL RECORD**

By comparing historical maps, photographs, and census records the legal owners of acreage were shown. In Chapter 4, two types of maps were compared: survey maps and maps of ownerships. The differences between the *diseno* and the plat map represent two different values toward both map making and interaction to the landscape. The cartographer's came from different colonial backgrounds and representational traditions. These differences in value mean that the Dominguez *disenos* (Figure 4.1 and 4.2; United States 1844?a, United States 1844?b) represents a very different spatial configuration than the one proposed by American survey crews (Figure 4.3; Kern County Abstract Company 1916). The maps of ownership show the legitimized ownership of persons for both San Emigdio and Santiago Canyon.

Chapters five and six, draw heavily upon photographs to show the Phases of the life biography of the canyons. The majority of the images come from professional or academic sources, with very few from personal collections. Many people have had access to the San Emigdio hills over the last 200 years yet in comparison, very few representations survive. Further research at the San Emigdio hills would do well to include alternative illustrations from personal collections, if available. Because so much of the imagery was commissioned by land owners, it would be particularly interesting to see how the renters, such a *vaqueros* have visually represented the spaces they inhabited.

All of these documents are a part of the archaeological record. Each map and photograph represents not only the ideology of the person(s) whom produced the object, but is evidence of a period of interaction with the landscape. Although it is possible to produce a map without ever having visited a location, a historic photograph must be made via contact with the subject matter.

## **FINAL THOUGHTS**

Within the San Emigdio Hills, archaeological work has primarily focused thus far on the periods of Native Californian occupation (which also occurs during the historic period). My work has focused on the American inhabitants. Gilchrist (2005:330) argues that the existing scholarship in historical archaeology fails to look at “the European context that was the springboard for colonial expansion.” The American period in the San Emigdio hills, is a part of the ‘European context.’

Originally, the research started by considering intercultural colonialism, but moved towards an archaeology of ownership and belonging. These themes were identified late in the process of development of this thesis. Thus, time and word count limitation have prevented a more theoretical construction of ownership and sense of belonging. Because their importance has now been identified and a first ‘foray’ into applying these themes has occurred, future research can now more fully develop them. Other historical archaeologists who look at colonialism can use ownership and belonging to add new depth to our understanding of past peoples and events.

The few sites discussed in this thesis from within San Emigdio and Santiago canyon are a small sampling of the San Emigdio hills landscape. Even if future studies stayed within the landscape, there are many unstudied sites that the themes of ownership and sense of belonging could be further developed. These themes have global implications within a post-colonial era. The aspect of intercultural occupation, of the San Emigdio hills and at other colonial landscapes adds to the further complexity these themes have the potential to highlight.

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## **APPENDIX**

## **INTRODUCTION TO THE APPENDICES**

### **APPENDIX A – SAN EMIGDIO CANYON**

This selection collection of photographs is from a photo album on file at the Wind Wolves Preserve Headquarters. As previous comments in the text note, it is not known the exact date they were made, for what purpose, or who performed the work. Based on the contents they probably date to the 1970s or 1980s era. The album includes images of various structures across the San Emigdio Hills. Comments and numbering are from the album.

### **APPENDIX B – SANTIAGO CANYON**

Numerous photographic views were taken during the April 2011 field season of the Dorothy's House Complex. A selection is provided to show some of the variety in the construction of the house at Dorothy's House. Also shown are some of the artefacts observed and of an overview of the complex.

### **APPENDIX C – MAP OF OWNERSHIP FOR RANCHO SAN EMIGDIO**

Due to the constraints of the A4 page, a fold out version is also provided for readability of Figure 4.6 from Chapter 4. Property is not always sold through a direct line, particularly when large acreages are concerned. Owners sold and retained property as they saw fit. Thus, a genealogical perspective map is useful for showing the different strands of ownership. The map is based on a 1916 deed survey performed for the Kern County Land Company by the Kern County Abstract Company. The map is my original work. Dates on the line are dates of the transfer of ownership.

APPENDIX A



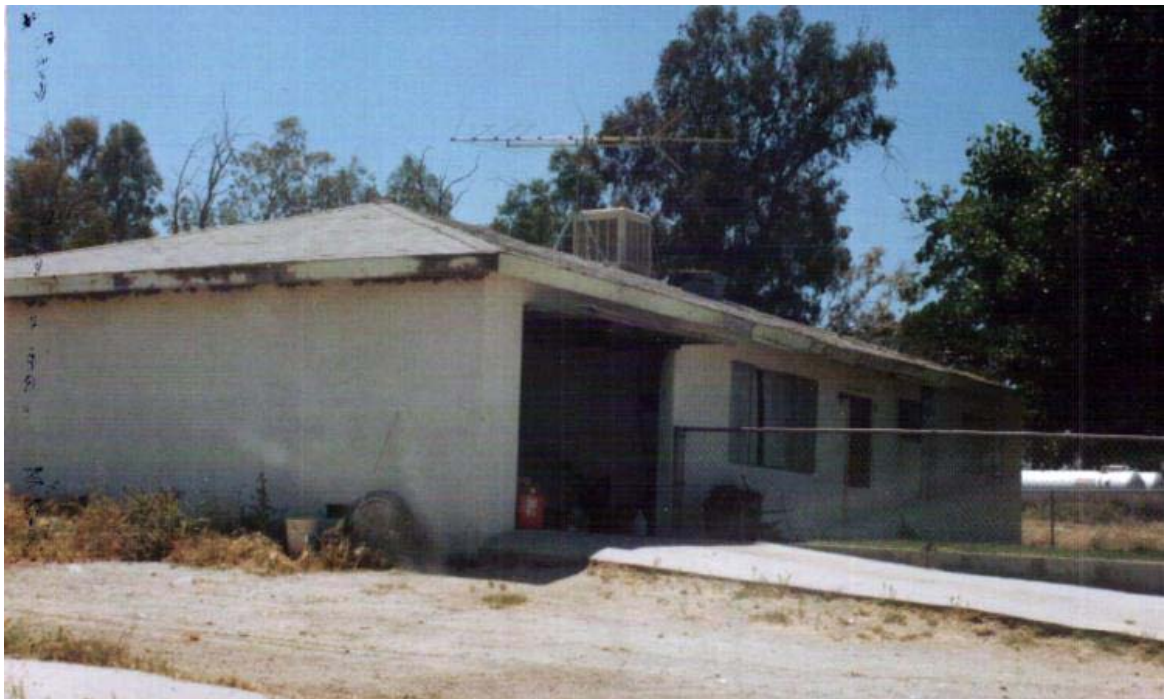
#55 – Looking south. Eucalyptus Trees over road to San Emigdio.



#58 – Looking north. One of 7 houses at San Emigdio.



#59 – Looking west. Foreman House at San Emigdio.



#60 – Looking west. House at San Emigdio.



#62 – Looking East. Barn at San Emigido.



#63 – Looking South. House at San Emigdio.



#66 – Looking West. Corrals behind houses at San Emigdio.



#68 – Looking West. House at San Emigdio.

**APPENDIX B**



DSC\_0279 – View toward southeast. Overview of corrugated metal shed. San Emigdio Hills in background.



DSC\_0296 – View toward the south. Foreground concrete platform, electrical power box with corrugated metal shed in the middle ground.





DSC\_0298 – View toward west. South end of Dorothy's House with native stone and concrete walk way. Eucalyptus tree to the right of view.



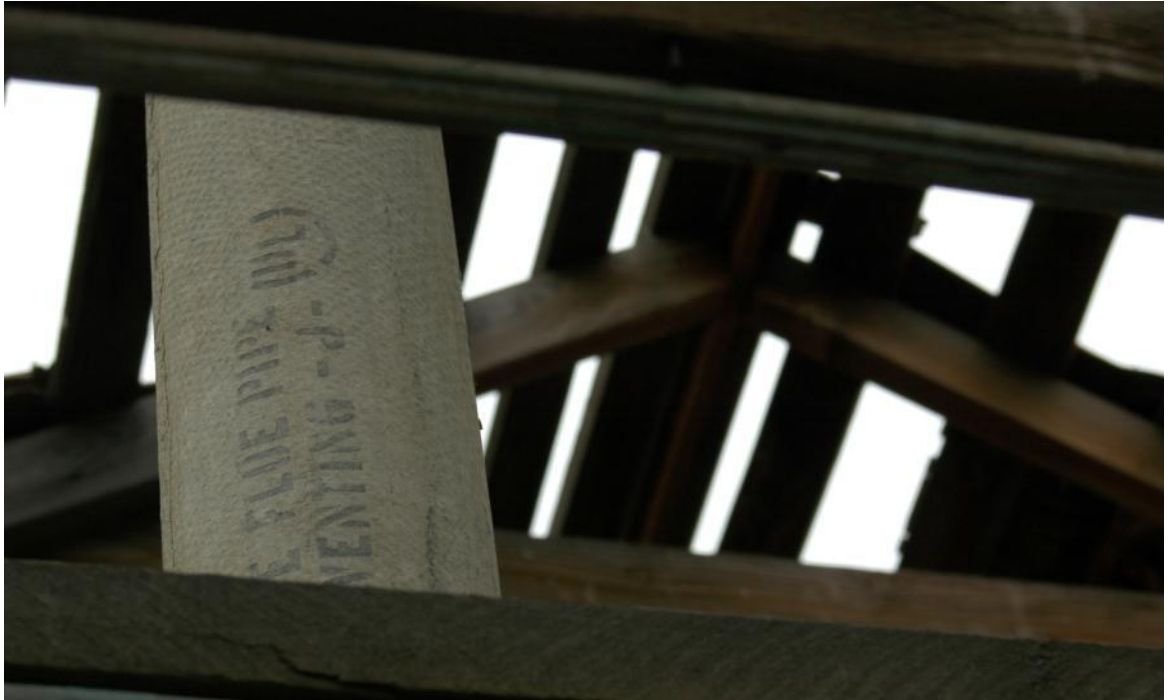
DSC\_0315 – Sink hardware in the southern enclosed back porch.



DSC\_0325 – Central heating unit installed in central wall.



DSC\_0329 – Bathroom sink and hardware. Note the re-use of tin can lid.



DSC\_0340 – Rafter view from near bathroom of late stage improvements.



DSC\_0343 – Window hardware on front porch windows.



DSC\_0351 – Rafters view over kitchen. Showing locale for stove exhaust.



DSC\_0381 – View toward the Southwest. Santiago Creek bed. West of Dorothy's House.



DSC\_0398 – Brick walk way which extends from the northern deck from the enclosed north porch.



DSC\_0421 – Squirt soda bottle. Base of bottle reads: “23 Owens Illinois Makers Mark 47 // 5-8// Duraglass // 94C”.



DSC\_0430 – Enclosed north porch, exterior window hardware.



DSC\_0440 – Bathroom medicine cabinet scalloped hinge hardware.



DSC\_0442 – Bathroom door hinge hardware.



DSC\_0445 – View of wall matrix, showing original wood paneling of Dorothy's House, and the sheet rock from when north porch was enclosed.

14 Jul 1842 – Land grant from Alvarado Mexican Governor of California

1850s

1860s

17 June 1866 -United States of America to Jose Antonio Dominguez and Heir 1/3 and John C. Fremont 1/3

1870s

