LET THE WORLD DRAW CLOSER TOGETHER:
SOCIOCULTURAL ASPECTS OF THE CARRILLO ADOBE SITE

by

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Date: \(\text{Sept. 13, 1993}\)  
Vicki R. Ford
LET THE WORLD DRAW CLOSER TOGETHER: SOCIOECONOMIC ASPECTS OF THE CARRILLO ADOBE SITE

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ABSTRACT

Purpose of the Study:

The Carrillo Adobe site is a historically significant archaeological site with the potential to yield important information about the prehistory and history of the Santa Rosa area and about interactions between different cultural groups. This study places the Carrillo Adobe site in its historical context, synthesizes bodies of data about the site, and delineates research questions approachable through archaeological investigations.

Procedure:

Public documents, travel journals and personal diaries, newspaper accounts and advertisements, historical maps and photographs, ethnographic and historical literature and oral histories were used during this study to establish a historical context for the Carrillo Adobe site. In addition, existing archaeological reports and artifact collections were examined and the results synthesized to provide preliminary temporal and functional assessments of non-European use of the site.

Findings

Research has revealed that Native American and Euroamerican occupation of the Carrillo Adobe site spans at least 1200 years, and involves several different cultural groups. There are many unanswered questions about the lives of the people who occupied the site, and some of those questions will only be answered through archaeological investigations. Using world systems theory as an interpretive framework, three research domains were delineated for future archaeological and historical research at the Carrillo Adobe, and specific research questions were defined.

Conclusions:

Future archaeological investigations at the Carrillo Adobe site could help to answer many persisting questions about the early history of the Santa Rosa
area, as well as to illustrate how cultural groups reacted and adapted to changes occurring on a much larger scale. For that reason, an integrative approach to the site is urged in future archaeological research so that a more complete understanding of the site's complex, multicultural history can be gained.

Chair: Sigmat

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Finally, there is no way to express the depth of my gratitude to Lynn Samples. Her support was unwavering from start to finish although it was not easy for her on the best of days, and on the worst of days it was unbearable. And thank you Shelby for keeping me firmly grounded in the present.
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Chapter 1

INTRODUCTION

Grandfather bullsnake, let the world draw closer together.

Grandmother bullsnake, let the world draw closer together.

-Southern Pomo prayer

In 1837 or 1838, a Californio woman and nine of her twelve children set up a cattle ranch in the Santa Rosa Valley, a valley long since inhabited by Native American tribes. The remains of the adobe which housed the Carrillo family are situated on the south bank of Santa Rosa Creek about a mile from downtown Santa Rosa. The ends of one wing of the adobe are still standing; its roof, major portions of its exterior walls, all interior partitions, and another wing have long since fallen or melted away. What remains of the adobe sits atop and adjacent to what has been described as a major Indian village. In fact, the south bank of Santa Rosa Creek for several hundred meters in either direction is littered with materials indicative of Native American habitation.

The Carrillo adobe is uniquely situated in time and place. It is situated on land which has been occupied by many different groups of people, each with its own distinct ideas about how that land should be used. Its occupancy spans periods of transition between Indian, Spanish, Mexican, and American lifeways, and no single cultural group has lived alone on this site since European arrival in the
area. For the purposes of this thesis, the terms precontact, contact, and postcontact have been used to distinguish between periods of exclusive Native American use of the area, joint Native American, Hispanic and Anglo-American use of the area, and predominantly Anglo-American use. Because of the complexity of cultural interactions, archaeological and historical study of the Carrillo adobe site has the potential to yield important information about each cultural group as well as its interaction with other groups utilizing the site.

The significance of the Carrillo adobe archaeological site is evident without benefit of any archaeological excavation and with very little documentary research. It is the site of the first non-native settlement in Santa Rosa; it may have been the site of an earlier mission assistencia; the family associated with the site was tied to many prominent events and families in California's early history; as a working ranch it was owned and operated by a woman; and its residents were directly involved in events important to local history.

There are, however, many unanswered questions about the Carrillo adobe site. Several attempts have been made to document the history of the Carrillo adobe and the Carrillo family, but the documents are inconclusive in several areas. For example, one persisting question revolves around the earliest non-native use of the site. Early histories suggest that a mission assistencia was built on the site prior to
construction of the Carrillo adobe. Existing documents reveal that a small adobe was present on the site when the Carrillo family claimed the land. Was that adobe built for use by the mission at San Rafael, and if so, for what purpose? Documentary records do not clarify the issue. The archaeological record could shed some light on this and other questions left unanswered by the documentary record. The purpose of this thesis is to present those questions in a manner which can be easily adapted for use by archaeologists investigating the site.

The specific goals of this thesis are threefold:

1. To develop a historical context for use in future studies of the Carrillo Adobe site;
2. To synthesize information obtained through previous archaeological excavations at the Carrillo Adobe site;
3. To provide recommendations regarding the direction of future research.

Chapters two and three are concerned with theoretical perspective and historical context. The concept of competing world systems is used here to model the complexity of socioeconomic circumstances surrounding Native American use of the area, initial exploration and colonization by Californios, and the eventual takeover by Euroamerican immigrants. Moreover, changes in socioeconomic conditions are examined with respect to changes in the world system. World systems theory is being used increasingly in historical archaeology as an interpretive model for European
expansion into the western hemisphere. Chapter two is a discussion of world systems theory and its application in archaeology. The basic tenets of world systems theory have been broadened in this study to include the role of existing Native American communities as well as expanding European and Anglo nation states in the socioeconomic development of the Santa Rosa Valley. Chapter three focuses on establishing a historical context, a complicated task given the site's dynamic, multidimensional history.

Chapter four outlines what is known of precontact, contact, and postcontact use of the Carrillo adobe site. The data concerning the material culture of the Carrillo Adobe is derived from three primary sources: (1) documents; (2) artifact collections; and (3) the built environment. All three were used in preparing the chapter. Primary and secondary documents including public records, travel journals and personal diaries, local histories, newspaper articles and advertisements, ethnographic accounts, and historical maps and photographs were examined. In addition, an analysis was made of existing archaeological collections and private artifact collections to construct a prehistoric context for the site. Finally, an examination was made of the remains of the built environment at the Carrillo Adobe site.

In chapter five, questions left unanswered by existing documents and artifact collections are delineated. General areas of research and specific research questions are
provided and some suggestions regarding investigative and interpretive methods discussed.

An underlying concern of this thesis is that sites like the Carrillo Adobe site need to be studied in an integrative manner so that histories can be written to include all the participants. Long before Señora Carrillo and her children arrived people were living and working at the site. There were also many people living and working there during the Carrillo family's stay. While documentary evidence does not exist for many of those people, information about their lives may lie just below the surface. Future archaeological investigations could help to answer many persisting questions about the early history of the Santa Rosa area as well as to illustrate how cultural groups reacted and adapted to changes occurring on a much larger scale.
Chapter 2

THEORETICAL PERSPECTIVE AND METHODOLOGICAL CONSIDERATIONS

Theoretical Approach

The Carrillo Adobe site is actually a set of what might be considered overlying cultural "veneers" imposed on a single geographical point over a period of at least 1200 years. Those veneers represent the day to day aspects of people living, working, and interacting with each other and with the world around them. To archaeologists, each veneer represents an opportunity to understand social and cultural relationships that no longer exist as they did in the past. Perhaps most exciting is the possibility of peeling back each cultural veneer to the point where it contacts the next, hopefully obtaining a glimpse of interactions between the two.

This thesis ascribes to certain assumptions regarding the nature of sociocultural processes. Certain of the cultural veneers of the Carrillo Adobe site exist ultimately because of competition between European nations to acquire lands and resources beyond the limits of Europe. Indeed, it is explicit in the documentary record that the northernmost Spanish and Mexican land grants were a direct result of the Russian presence in Alta California. Other veneers are the result of the American quest for resources in California. How then can the site be interpreted without examining economic factors driving Euroamerican expansion?
For an interpretive framework, this thesis draws from the initial works of sociologist Immanuel Wallerstein (1974, 1980, 1989) and subsequent works by archaeologists using Wallerstein's world systems approach (e.g., Costello 1992; Costello and Hornbeck 1991; Hardesty 1988, 1989; Lewis 1984; and Paynter 1982, 1985). World systems theory is an economic model for the emergence of capitalism after the sixteenth century. It was developed and presented by Wallerstein as a historical study of European expansion and the growth of a world economy with the explicit purpose of addressing contemporary issues surrounding social inequality. Since his first volume was published in 1974, Wallerstein's model has been introduced into many of the social science subfields. World systems analyses have become increasingly popular as scholars have adapted Wallerstein's original conception of a world system to fit many research domains, including those of archaeology. The following is a summary of Wallerstein's world systems model, along with a discussion of how models derived from world systems theory are being used in archaeology.

Historians, economists, and anthropologists alike anticipated much of what was to become known as world system theory (e.g., Amin 1974; Braudel 1961; Childe 1928; Frank 1966, 1967; Parry 1963, 1967; Williams 1944; Worsely 1964). When Wallerstein published the first of what he envisioned as a four-volume series on the creation of the modern world, it was clear that he considered his work to be a synthesis.
It was also clear that he was indebted to *Annales* historians, especially Fernand Braudel (Wallerstein 1974). What Wallerstein provided was a broader, more inclusive historical perspective. He had "succeeded in making history available to social scientists interested in contemporary problems of the world system" (Nash 1981:396).

In essence, a world system can be defined as a social system in which there exists a worldwide division of labor, with no overarching political unity. It is self-sufficient and inwardly-directed, with an inequitable system of reward.

The division of labor that Wallerstein suggests is both an occupational and geographical division. He divides the world system into three categories, core, peripheral, and semiperipheral areas. Core areas are characterized as recipients of most of the wealth in a world system. They have stronger state organization than either peripheral or semiperipheral areas, and serve as manufacturing and redistribution centers.

In contrast, the periphery has little or no state organization and is readily absorbed into the expanding world-system. Peripheries produce raw materials which are shipped to the core through semiperipheral areas. They are also marketplaces for manufactured goods exported from the core.

The characteristics of core and peripheral areas are more readily defined than those of semiperipheral areas. Because of this, the semiperiphery is often ignored by those
describing Wallerstein's model. It is easy to understand why that occurs when you read Wallerstein's own definitive statements concerning semiperipheral areas:

[T]he semiperiphery represents a midway point on a continuum running from the core to the periphery. This is, in particular, true of the complexity of economic institutions, the degree of economic reward, and most of all in the form of labor control [Wallerstein 1974:103].

or:

There are also semiperipheral areas which are in between the core and the periphery on a series of dimensions, such as the complexity of economic activities, strength of state machinery, cultural integrity, etc. [Wallerstein 1974:349].

Nevertheless, it is clear that Wallerstein considers the semiperiphery an integral part of a world system. Its importance is linked to the stability of the overall system in that it serves as a buffer deflecting tension away from the core. In fact, Wallerstein acknowledges that in a world system, the semiperiphery is not as much an economic necessity as it is a political necessity (Wallerstein 1979). That point leads to two other key components of the modern world system, differential forms of labor control and unequal economic reward.

Wallerstein identifies varying forms of labor control, or modes of production, characteristic of the various geographic divisions of the world system. Forced labor in the forms of slavery and coerced cash-crop labor is the mode
of production in the periphery, while wage labor is used in the core. Semiperipheral areas, Wallerstein argues, developed sharecropping as an intermediate form of labor control. Differential labor-control is accompanied by unequal economic reward based on the type of labor involved, the core being the recipient of the bulk of the wealth generated by the world system. That hierarchical arrangement creates tension between the different parts of the world system and therein lies the importance of the semiperiphery:

A system based on unequal reward must constantly worry about political rebellion of oppressed elements...The major political means by which such crises are averted is the creation of "middle" sectors [semiperipheres], which tend to think of themselves primarily as better off than the lower sector rather than as worse off than the upper sector [Wallerstein 1979:69].

World empires, Wallerstein argues, are very similar to world systems with one major exception:

The distinctive feature of a capitalist world-economy is that economic decisions are oriented primarily to the arena of the world-economy, while political decisions are oriented primarily to the smaller structures that have legal control, the states within the world-economy [Wallerstein 1974:67].

A world empire is overseen by one political structure which must mediate between various factions within the empire. Since the world economy stretches beyond political
boundaries, its cohesiveness is not threatened by the demise of an individual political unit.

The appeal of world systems theory to anthropology, generally, is obvious. Anthropology as a discipline grew out of European expansion and has always had a worldwide scope. "What distinguishes the present interest in the world scope of anthropology [as opposed to the traditional scope] is the paradigm of integration of all people and all cultures within a world capitalist system" (Nash 1981:393). For archaeologists, especially historical archaeologists for whom the proper research domain is, by some definitions, the study of European expansion since 1500, a world systems model allows linkages within an open social system (see Green and Perlman 1985). In discussing world systems approaches to archaeology, Trigger (1989) writes:

What is of general importance is the growing realization that societies are not closed systems with respect to neighboring ones any more than in relation to their natural environment and that the development of a society or culture may be constrained or influenced by the broader social network of which it is a part [Trigger 1989:333].

Wallerstein's obviously Marxist political perspective no doubt accounts for hesitancy by some to consider world systems models. Oddly enough, prehistorians seem more willing to give it a try than historical archaeologists despite some obvious problems. This may stem from the fact that it is easier to get past the political rhetoric to the conceptual framework when the subject of study is further
removed from the capitalist realm. Whatever the reasons may be, both historical and prehistoric archaeologists are using models derived from world systems theory in their research. The following is presented as a sampling of how some archaeologists are adapting Wallerstein's model.

Robert Paynter and Kenneth Lewis are historical archaeologists often cited as the best examples of those using world systems models. Both work in the eastern United States, Paynter in Massachusetts, Lewis in South Carolina. Paynter has concentrated primarily on defining a methodology for linking spatial organization with economic processes, especially long-distance processes (Paynter 1981, 1982, 1985). Models of settlement patterns derived from anthropological theories of stratification and geographical concepts of spatial organization have been tested by Paynter using data gathered through archaeological survey of the Connecticut River Valley in Massachusetts, supplemented by documentary evidence. A major assumption that Paynter brings to his work is that frontier settlements are inextricably tied to long-distance economic processes of the larger world system. Paynter argues that "settlement patterns result from the social relations of stratification, and if these social relations take on a large-scale core-periphery character, then settlement patterning varies between subareas of this larger system" (Paynter 1982:4).
Paynter's work is similar to what Lewis (1984) is doing in South Carolina. Lewis draws from both ecology and economics in developing a world-systems-derived model:

On the basis of comparative evidence, it should be possible to recognize general processes of change associated with the settlement of colonial regions and construct models of frontier change capable of describing and explaining the development of such areas [Lewis 1984:8].

Lewis presents a series of hypotheses of expected change in the organization of colonial societies which he feels are testable through the archaeological record. Each hypothesis deals with a different aspect of frontier change as it is likely to affect intrusive colonial societies. Though working on different frontiers, Lewis and Paynter approach their work with very similar assumptions. Writes Lewis:

It is impossible to speak of colonization and insular frontier change without reference to the spatial aspect of these processes. As an element of an expanding world economic system, a colony plays a role dictated by its position in the trading network relative to the system's core [Lewis 1984:296].

In the west, Donald Hardesty was among the first to call for the use of a world systems approach in studying the archaeology of mining and mining communities. In a paper published in 1991 Hardesty states:

Perhaps the best approach to an interpretive framework for a regional historical archaeology is to consider the American West both as a persisting regional culture and as the periphery or "frontier" of an evolving American world system with all that implies for dynamic interaction and change [Hardesty 1991:30].
He promotes the idea of a "cultural matrix" for understanding the evolution of the American west, the matrix being an awareness of the west with respect to the American world system.

What is unclear about Hardesty's work (e.g., Hardesty 1988, 1989, 1990) is that there is no example of how such a framework could be implemented. His tendency has been to cite world systems theory as an appropriate avenue for discussing various components of the west (Hardesty 1988, 1989). The problem with that approach is that a world systems model by definition would have to be an overarching framework through which all aspects of a social group would be examined. The group is affected by the larger world system on all fronts, not simply on a choice few. Hardesty, as yet, has not taken that approach.

Julia Costello (1992), in a recent treatment of California mission purchasing patterns, examined Wallerstein's (1989) idea of the "incorporation" of an area into a world economy. Costello compared the list of goods shipped from New Spain to Mission Santa Barbara in 1804 (legally obtained goods), to those sold to the mission from the Mercury, an American fur-trading ship, between 1806 and 1807 (illegally obtained goods). Costello focused on evidence of the incorporation of Alta California into the world economy. She found that there was very little difference between the two sources as to the total value of goods purchased, but that there were two categories of goods
which stood out as significant. Thirty-five percent of the shipping bill from San Blas was comprised of religious items while sixty-seven percent of the goods purchased from the Mercury were cloth and clothing. For the most part, goods purchased from the Mercury were "of a practical and utilitarian nature that augmented types of items also available from New Spain" with the exception of British cloth, tablewares, and some personal goods (Costello 1992:65).

Costello categorizes the types of items coming exclusively from New Spain as religious items and social amenities of which she writes:

These items can be characterized as being distinctive of Spanish culture: related to social customs, health practices, religion, music and art. These uniquely Hispanic goods represent the social, spiritual, and aesthetic ties that bound Alta California to Spanish Mexico [Costello: 1992:65].

Costello concluded that trade between the missions and American fur-trading ships began the incorporation process described by Wallerstein and that, indeed, the first decade of the nineteenth century did see Alta California being drawn away from the Spanish system. She links the disruption of shipments from New Spain during the Mexican War of Independence and the resulting decline in the importation of "distinctly Spanish goods" to the eventual inclusion of Alta California in the "Anglo-oriented world economy" (Costello 1992).
While Paynter and Lewis deal primarily with theory testing, Costello's work is one of application. The difference in the two approaches may be a function of the idea of a world system or world economy moving into its second generation of thought.

The popularity of world systems theory has led to a profusion of models derived from world systems theory as archaeologists have adapted world systems approaches to their work. No doubt Wallerstein would take exception to some of the reformulations of his model, especially those developed by prehistorians. But the integrative nature of world systems theory makes it extremely attractive as an interpretive model, despite the need to revamp some of its basic tenets. As Philip Kohl writes:

the model cannot be applied literally to earlier social formations, but its necessary alteration may help us better understand the development and character of prestate and early state societies and force us to write total histories of the past [Kohl 1987:29].

An interesting reworking of Wallerstein's model has been developed by sociologist Christopher Chase-Dunn (1991). Chase-Dunn's model differs from Wallerstein's in that it is more general and can be more readily adapted to smaller societies. In a recent grant proposal, Chase-Dunn sets forth a research design which should be of interest to California prehistorians. In it he proposes the use of a world-systems approach in the study of "stateless, classless intersocietal systems" (Chase-Dunn 1991:2). He proposes to
do so using ethnographic and archaeological data. To date, world systems approaches to precontact societies in the Americas have been limited primarily to Mesoamerica (Blanton and Feinman 1984; Pailes and Whitecotton 1979), with limited forays into the Southwest of North America (Upham 1982).

An important aspect of Wallerstein's contribution to the social sciences generally, and to archaeology in particular, is that it has inspired so much dialogue. His model has served as an impetus for further adaptation and refinement of interregional, broad-scale research domains; broad-scale in terms of spatial integration as well as temporal considerations. For many it is no longer appropriate to do any sort of archaeological interpretation without consideration of interregional, or even global interactions. World systems theory is one way of modeling those kinds of interactions.

For the purposes of this study, certain assumptions have been made about the nature of sociocultural interactions based on the above discussion. Specifically, it is assumed that expansion of Euroamerican cultures into California was prompted by economic factors originating elsewhere, and that those economic factors served to create patterned forms of interaction between expanding nations and the people indigenous to the areas into which nations were expanding. To see patterns of this scale, it is necessary to look beyond discrete archaeological sites to a more inclusive view of world processes. It is suggested here
that a world systems approach would be particularly germane to the study of the Carrillo Adobe site because of its multicultural history. Questions about resource procurement, the manufacture of goods, and trade relations, all of which can be addressed using a world systems approach, are questions common to both prehistoric and historical sites. Therefore a certain amount of comparability is possible between cultural veneers created by Native Americans and those created by Euroamericans.

**Methodological Approach**

The central purpose of this thesis is to lay the groundwork for future archaeological investigations at the Carrillo Adobe site. The site is an accumulation of the physical manifestations of day to day life as it was lived by three culturally distinct groups of people for varying periods of time and under varying conditions. Available evidence suggests that site occupancy began in about the year A.D. 800 and continued for some 1200 years as Native American inhabitants gave way to Californio immigrants who in turn gave way to American immigrants. What began, most likely, as a small family encampment became a thriving cattle ranch at the fringe of the Mexican republic and then a commercial enterprise along a bustling frontier highway. Any number of questions arise regarding differential uses of the site by such a diverse group of people.
Before questions could be asked, however, it was necessary to determine what was already known about the site. To make the site data more approachable, the following chronological divisions were used in this study:

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<th>Cultural Affiliation</th>
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<td>Precontact</td>
<td>800 - 1812</td>
<td>Native American</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Contact</td>
<td>1812 - 1850</td>
<td>Joint Native American/ Hispanic/Anglo-American</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Postcontact</td>
<td>1850 - present</td>
<td>Hispanic/Anglo-American</td>
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The multidimensional nature of the site meant that several lines of inquiry were necessary. Archaeological, linguistic, and ethnographic data were taken into account in constructing a tentative precontact history of the site. Archaeological data proved to be problematic, however, in that collections resulting from three excavations conducted by avocational groups in 1965, 1966, and 1970 were not found at any of the collection facilities in the Bay Area. In conversations with members of the Northwestern California Archaeological Society (the organization which conducted the 1965 excavation) it was suggested that the Society's collections had been sent to a museum in Marin County (Milner, personal communications 1993; Upson 1993). Museum officials, however, had no knowledge of such a collection.

While the materials collected during early excavations remain "at large," the field notes and artifact catalogues have been found. Illustrations of formal artifacts were part of the field notes and were used to identify temporally diagnostic artifact types. Materials generated by a
University of California, Davis test excavation in 1980 are accessioned at the Archaeological Collections Facility, Sonoma State University, as is a collection of artifacts acquired when the site was re-recorded in July 1980. Both of those collections were examined during this study. In addition, Ralph Milner, former member of the Northwestern California Archaeological Society, allowed access to his private collection of surface materials from the site.

A preliminary assessment of temporal span and site function was made after examining available collections and artifact illustrations. A number of artifact types generally considered reliable temporal markers were present in the collections. Obsidian source information was obtained using visual sourcing techniques on all obsidian tools and debitage on hand, and hydration analysis was conducted on a limited sample of obsidian debitage.

Contact and postcontact histories were developed using a variety of public and private documents, local histories, historical maps and photographs, and travel journals. A search of public documents was undertaken to establish legal ownership and residency through time. Published local histories were used as "leads," but every attempt was made to verify statements made about the adobe, the Carrillo family, and others associated with the adobe. Travel journals were useful in filling some of the gaps in the documentary record.
Many of the documents used for this study are housed at the Bancroft Library on the University of California, Berkeley campus. Official records such as deeds, Doña Maria Carrillo's will, and various maps are on file at the Sonoma County Recorder's Office. Other repositories frequented during this study were the California State Library in Sacramento, the California Historical Society Library in San Francisco, the Sonoma County Museum, and the Sonoma County Room at the Sonoma County Library.

A number of problems encountered in the documentary record are discussed briefly here and again in later chapters as they relate to pertinent research issues. The availability of documents varied depending on the time in question. Most of the pre-1850 documents are written in Spanish and thus were problematic because of the lack of translated versions. Sonoma County record keeping did not begin in earnest until about 1852 and so the interim period has little documentation. Unfortunately, even though it is a relatively short period of time, it is a pivotal time in the history of the Carrillo Adobe site. Finally, regarding early historical accounts of the Carrillo Adobe site and the Carrillo family, local histories have tended to perpetuate a folkloric version of the founding of the adobe. Some parts are factual or nearly so; other parts are not founded in fact at all but have been repeated often enough to have gained lives of their own.
The material culture of the Carrillo Adobe site takes many seemingly disparate forms, but by using a broad, integrative model like world systems theory, areas of comparability are brought to light. A world systems approach expands the scope of analysis so that the line between what has traditionally been referred to as prehistory and history can be blurred and shell beads and ceramic sherds become comparable artifact types. Though very different forms of material culture, the fact that both are perhaps imported as finished items, or that one was locally produced while the other was made thousands of miles away, becomes important comparative data when viewed from a world systems perspective. The historical context presented in the following chapter is organized into three contextual levels (world, regional and local) designed to facilitate future analyses and discussions of the Carrillo Adobe site.
Chapter 3
THE CARRILLO ADOBE IN SOCIOECONOMIC CONTEXT

Introduction

The socioeconomic context of the Carrillo Adobe site is discussed here in terms of three contextual levels based on geographic scaling of interactions. For the purposes of this discussion, "global" is defined as the sum of the European nations and their provinces, "regional" is defined as the Spanish province which become Alta California, and "local" is defined as the area north of San Francisco Bay which became Sonoma County. Those three contextual levels are discussed individually but are not meant as separate, noninteracting spheres. Quite the contrary, the point is that the Carrillo Adobe site and the people who occupied that site throughout its history were participating in a much larger arena though at times only indirectly. The intended effect is one of nesting interaction spheres rather than of discrete and unrelated spheres. As was stated earlier, it is assumed that global and regional events had significant impacts on the socioeconomic development of the Carrillo Adobe site over time, and so to adequately discuss events occurring at the site, an understanding of global and regional events is necessary. Table 1 provides a timeline for the Carrillo Adobe site indicating various key dates in its history. Imposed onto the timeline are three frames of reference useful in understanding the organizing units used in this thesis.
Table 1: Timeline for the Carrillo Adobe Site
Including a Concordance of Terms Correlated with Time and Dominant Sociopolitical Groups

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>A.D.</th>
<th>800</th>
<th>1769</th>
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<th>1848</th>
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<td>&lt;-----</td>
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<td>Periphery</td>
<td>Semiperiphery</td>
<td>Core</td>
<td>Precontact</td>
<td>Contact</td>
<td>Postcontact</td>
<td>Native American</td>
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Global Context

During the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, economies of the western and eastern hemispheres that had previously existed separately were drawn into a new economic structure that emerged in Western Europe as Spain, Portugal, France, England, and the Dutch Netherlands expanded into newly-realized regions of the world in search of new and additional resources for European homelands. Largely due to the Spanish influx of gold and silver from Central and South America, and the inflation that followed, merchants became the leading economic agents in Western Europe supplanting the once-powerful aristocracy. Economic historians Robert Heilbroner and Aaron Singer write of the seventeenth century:

the balance of power was clearly tipping in favor of the mercantile elite. At the very apex of society we now find companies of merchant adventurers who had organized truly gigantic undertakings of global trade [1984:25].

At the heart of new mercantile economy was a core of Western European nation-states including Spain, Portugal, France, and England, who controlled most of the wealth derived from the initial burst of expansion (Shannon 1989; Wolf 1982). Spain and Portugal jointly controlled Central and South America after the middle of the sixteenth century, becoming "the pivotal points linking American operations to all the wider European world" (Meinig 1986:43).
The complex agrarian states that met Spain in Central and South America became the "lateral supports" for a new colonial order focused initially on the extraction of gold and then silver, cacao, cochineal, and indigo, and on the production of food for the mining regions (Wolf 1982).

France, England, and the Dutch Netherlands joined Spain and Portugal in the Americas during the early seventeenth century as "the core states were all dragged bit by bit into becoming colonial or semicolonial powers in vast regions of the world from 1600 to 1750" (Wallerstein 1980:273). Over the next hundred years, core states fought for dominance in the newly-formed world economy, with the Dutch and then the English coming out on top. Spain and Portugal's initial contributions to world expansion were quickly bypassed, largely due to their inability to compete successfully with the Dutch and English, and these former leaders were absorbed into subsidiary positions in the system. As Wallerstein phrases it:

In the seventeenth century, the century of mercantilism, Spain and Portugal failed to be, were unable to be, mercantilist, and thus they became transformed into semiperipheral states, conveyor belts for the interests of the core powers in the peripheral regions [Wallerstein 1980:158].

Beginning in the early eighteenth century, English, French, and Russian encroachment prompted renewed Spanish interest in its northern frontiers. But by the time Spain began in earnest to explore and colonize Alta California it
was financially strapped and rapidly losing sway over its American dominion (Wolf 1982). As geographer Donald Meinig sums up the Spanish situation:

> The Spanish empire surged forward on the basis of initial plunder and the discovery of rich extractive resources, but the costs of sustaining such an extensive imperial system were enormous and any surplus was increasingly squandered on fruitless European warfare [1986:54].

The last half of the eighteenth century found Spain embarking on a new phase of colonization resulting in a series of missions, presidios, and pueblos along the Pacific Coast from San Diego to San Rafael (Billington and Ridge 1982; Hornbeck 1983).

**Regional Context**

When Spanish explorers sighted the California coast in 1542, it was a place of multiple cultures and economies. Archaeological and linguistic evidence has shown that precontact California was a dynamic and culturally diverse area wherein a variety of goods were exchanged along extensive trade networks. With the arrival of Spanish explorers and missionaries, these rich native cultures underwent steady transformation through missionization, loss of lands, depopulation, and disruption of trade networks, until many were completely destroyed (Castillo 1976). The indigenous "world system" was effectively brought under the control of the expanding European core nation of France, to which Spain played a semiperipheral role.
Spain brought to Alta California the frontier mission system it had used effectively in other borderlands. By 1817, twenty-one missions were spread along the Pacific Coast from San Diego to San Rafael, divided into four Presidial districts. The missions were intended as instruments of acculturation, providing for their own support through the use of Native American agricultural labor. The first few years proved to be lean ones, however, since the native populations in California were accustomed to hunting, gathering, and collecting, and had no agricultural skills. Additional labor was provided by Spain in the form of civilian colonists organized around pueblos (Costello and Hornbeck 1989; Hornbeck 1983). The merits and demerits of the California missions and their effect on Native American groups have been discussed in depth by various authors (cf. Castillo 1976; Cook 1976; and Hoover 1989).

The ultimate goal of the mission was to turn over mission lands to christianized Indians, but it was a goal never fully realized even after civilian, Hispanic residents demanded access to the extensive mission lands. Spain's weak economic position and the relative internal strength of the Spanish American colonies set the scene for Mexico's War of Independence. In 1823, Mexico lifted trade restrictions with other nations, thus making legal trade connections which had been in place between the missions and foreign traders since early in the nineteenth century, and firmly
establishing Mexico as a semiperipheral area in an Anglo-american world system (Costello 1992; Costello and Hornbeck 1989). Because of Spain's inability to support its American colonies, Alta California was first drawn into the Anglo-American world economy through illicit trade relations with United States ships, and then through interactions with United States merchants and immigrants eager to take advantage of the Mexican Republic's open trade and colonization policies.

In 1834 the missions were secularized, largely because of Mexico's desire to encourage colonization. Between 1769 and 1821, Spain made only twenty-seven land concessions: Mexico granted close to 800 land grants during her brief control of California, which lasted only twenty-five years (Hornbeck 1983). Key changes made throughout the Mexican Republic (open trade, new colonization laws, and mission secularization) proved to be important factors leading to the Mexican-American War and the eventual takeover of California by the United States (Billington and Ridge 1982).

Local Context

Establishing a precontact context necessarily relies on reconstructions based on archaeological evidence of socioeconomic circumstances enhanced by ethnographic inferences. It is believed that socioeconomic change in this area during the precontact period reflects increasing
population densities fueled by increasingly efficient resource procurement. The earliest period of occupation as yet defined for the North Coast Ranges dates to between six and ten thousand years B.C. and is only minimally represented in the archaeological record. Surviving artifactual elements of this Paleoindian Period point to a generalized hunting and collecting subsistence strategy which appears to have been focused on a lacustrine environment. First identified at Lake County sites, limited evidence of occupation closer to the Santa Rosa area during this time span was found along the Laguna de Santa Rosa at CA-SON-977 (Fredrickson 1984).

As populations increased, new food sources were exploited (hard grass seeds followed by acorns) resulting in new artifact forms (millingstones and bowl mortars) and new areas of exploitation. By the time of European expansion into the North Coastal area (c. 1812), Native Americans in the Santa Rosa area were organized in semi-sedentary, extended family groups around permanent villages situated primarily in oak woodland and marsh settings (Fredrickson 1984).

The Russian settlement of Fort Ross and the Spanish mission at San Rafael, founded in 1812 and 1817, respectively, were the first European settlements north of San Francisco Bay. At that time, the North Coast Ranges from San Francisco Bay to Fort Ross were inhabited by speakers of no less than twelve distinct languages
representing four language families. Three of these ethnographic groups converged in the Santa Rosa area, though precise territorial boundaries are not clear. The Southern Pomo, Coast Miwok, and Wappo all occupied portions of the area, and major village sites for the Pomo and Wappo have been recorded along Santa Rosa Creek (Barrett 1908; Kroeber 1925).

Mexico founded the last of the California missions at Sonoma in 1823. Together the two northernmost missions had amassed a reported 2,540 Native American residents by the time the missions were secularized. The Russians were still in residence at Fort Ross during this period, and Mexico was becoming increasingly anxious over their presence. Lieutenant Mariano Vallejo was dispatched on an exploratory expedition north from San Rafael, through the valley occupied by the Southern Pomo, and on to Fort Ross in April of 1833.

In October of the same year Vallejo escorted a group of fifty settlers to the area around Petaluma but found that the Mission San Francisco Solano de Sonoma had already established a claim there, and workers were in the process of building houses. Some of the settlers stayed on in Petaluma and eventually moved up the valley to Santa Rosa, where they found a similar situation: Mission fathers had two Native American converts tending hogs on property claimed by the mission at Sonoma (Tays 1937).
A final effort to establish a large colony in the Santa Rosa Valley was made in 1834, shortly after secularization of the missions. Two hundred and fifty colonists from Mexico were expected in 1834, and the pueblo of Santa Anna y Farías was laid out on what is now Mark West Creek in anticipation of their arrival. Mariano Vallejo was placed in charge of the Sonoma mission at about the same time, and he presided over arrangements for the short-lived Santa Anna y Farías settlement. The colonists lived at the pueblo briefly before Indian raids and the winter weather sent them back to the mission (Tays 1937).

Onto this cultural landscape stepped a widow and nine children in about 1837. María Ignacia Carrillo traveled to Sonoma from San Diego after the death of her husband to stay with her daughter Benicia, the wife of Mariano Vallejo. In June 1838, Señora Carrillo applied for and received permission to settle on a grant of 2 leagues on the Arroya de Santa Rosa.

Mariano Vallejo granted permission for Maria Ignacia Lopez de Carrillo to settle on the Cabeza de Santa Rosa on June 24, 1838. In a letter dated June 1, 1840, Joaquin Carrillo, acting for his mother, wrote Vallejo asking that the grant be made to his mother, since it had been more than two years since she had settled there. The grant was made to Señora Carrillo on September 30, 1841 by Manuel Jimeno (Deeds Liber F:51). Jimeno's decree contains the statement that she "shall enjoy it freely and exclusively devoting it
to cultivation or the use most suited to her, but within one
year she shall build a house which shall be inhabited
[emphasis added]."

Between 1838 and 1849, Maria Carrillo and her children ran a successful ranching operation raising cattle, sheep, and horses. A variety of fruits, including grapes for wine, and grains were grown. One visitor at the Carrillo adobe commenting on the ranch and its owner had this to say:

Doña María Ygnacía was ambitious, cultivating large fields of wheat, barley, oats, corn, beans, peas, lantejas, and vegetables of every variety. I have seen Doña María Ygnacía robed in a neat calico dress...mounted on a horse, ride over the hacienda and direct the gentiles in sowing and planting seed and in harvesting the same [Davis 1967:25].

It is clear that Carrillo was not just the figurehead of the rancho. María Carrillo died in February 1849 leaving various portions of the intact rancho to her younger children. The adobe and surrounding acreage was left to three unmarried daughters, Juana, Marta, and Felicidad (Powers of Attorney, Liber K 1849:5).

In the years after the death of their mother, a rapid influx of immigrants from the United States resulted in large portions of the rancho being sold. Juana Carrillo married an Irish sea captain named David Mallagh in San Luis Obispo on January 18, 1851 (Alsworth 1982), and in that same year the merchandising firm of Mallagh and McDonald was established at the Carrillo Adobe. The Carrillo Adobe
became known as the Santa Rosa House, a combination inn, tavern, and store. Tax Assessment Rolls for 1851 show that Mallagh was taxed for 250 acres of land valued at $1,250.00 and improvements valued at $2,100.00. The firm of Mallagh and McDonald was taxed for $1,525.00 in personal property.

The adobe's transition to a commercial establishment closely parallels the area's transition to a semiperipheral area in the Anglo-American world system. As increasing numbers of United States citizens flooded into the area, the town of Santa Rosa was founded about a mile and a half from the Carrillo adobe on land donated by Julio Carrillo. The large Mexican land grants in the area were quickly divided, and commercial aspirations at the Carrillo Adobe were abandoned as local focus turned to the new town. Eventually, the adobe fell to Theodore Rahman, a partner in a subsequent business at the adobe. The Rahman family used the surrounding acreage to grow walnuts and the adobe was used to house equipment. The adobe parcel remained in the Rahman family until 1950 when it was given to the Catholic Church.

The remains of the Carrillo Adobe still stand on the south bank of Santa Rosa Creek, adjacent to an earlier Native American occupation site. In light of the socioeconomic context presented in this chapter, future investigations stand to gain considerable insight into how changes on a global level effected inhabitants and merchants at the Carrillo Adobe site. The following chapter
summarizes previous archaeological investigations at the site and discusses what is known from the previously conducted work.
Map 1: Bower's 1867 Map of the Santa Rosa Area.
Map 2: Thompson's 1877 Map of the Santa Rosa Area. The Carrillo Adobe is depicted within the F.G. Hahman parcel.
Chapter 4

THE CARRILLO ADOBE SITE

Introduction

The Carrillo Adobe site today consists of the archaeological remains of an L-shaped adobe building and an associated scatter of historic materials, a Native American midden deposit, and widely-dispersed shell and chipped-stone debris (Map 3). The adobe building is included in the Historic American Buildings Survey (CA-1442) and was locally recorded in 1977 by Betty Patterson for architect Dan Peterson. The remnants of a walnut orchard dating to at least the first quarter of the twentieth century are evident on the grounds around the adobe.

The Native American midden deposit, situated approximately 500 feet northwest of the adobe remains, was initially identified by Jesse Peter during the first quarter of this century. Peter was an avocational archaeologist who did extensive archaeological survey in the Santa Rosa area focusing primarily on obvious "village" sites and plotting them on 15' USGS topographic maps. Peter identified several sites along the banks of Santa Rosa Creek in the vicinity of the Carrillo Adobe.

When the California Archaeological Inventory began issuing state trinomials to archaeological sites, Peter's sites received the first Sonoma County trinomials. The midden deposit northwest of the adobe received the
Map 3: Map of the Carrillo Adobe Site (CA-SON-401/H) (after Cartwright 1982).
designation CA-SON-4. The exact locations of some of the Peter sites have not been confirmed and occasionally a site is recorded by another archaeologist and issued a second trinomial. Such was the case with the Carrillo Adobe site. In 1964, the trinomial CA-SON-401 was issued when the site was recorded by Tom King. When the mistake was realized in 1975, the previously issued trinomial (CA-SON-4) was voided by the California Archaeological Inventory and CA-SON-401 was retained as the official site designation.

The Carrillo Adobe and the Native American portion of the site were treated independent of each other prior to 1977, a fact that speaks to the prehistory/history dichotomy which exists in Cultural Resources Management. The midden deposit was the only portion of the Carrillo Adobe site included on the archaeological site record until August 1977 when the site was re-recorded by Paul Amaroli (1977). At that time, Amaroli extended the site boundaries to include the historical adobe remains and the scatter of chipped-stone and shell debris between the adobe and the midden deposit. Consequently, the state trinomial was amended to CA-SON-401/H, the "H" in recognition of the historic component.

The remainder of this chapter describes the adobe (using historical photographs, and notes and measurements taken for the Historic American Building Survey), known archaeological deposits, and other probable features. In addition, previous archaeological investigations over the
past thirty years are discussed and a preliminary analysis of the materials collected during those investigations is provided.

The Built Environment

The Carrillo Adobe

At one time the Carrillo Adobe building consisted of two wings set at right angles to each other but presently only portions of the east wing are standing. Foundation stones from a second wing are visible extending westward from the north end of the partially existing wing. Robert Higginbotham and Roger Pelissier of the National Park Service, prepared measured drawings of the adobe's east wing in 1961 for the Historical American Buildings Survey (HABS) (Figures 1 and 2). The west wing had been demolished by that time but photographs taken by HABS participants in 1936 depict both adobe wings (Figures 3 through 6).

The east wing of the adobe was eighty-four feet long and twenty-one feet wide and was subdivided into three rooms. A three foot section of its north wall extends to the west and has been assumed to be a point of attachment for the western wing. The length of the west wing is estimated to be ninety-six feet based on the remains of the foundation (Amaroli 1977).

The roof of the east wing was hipped and extended ten feet beyond the adobe on all sides to form a porch. The 1936 photographs depict the roof of the west wing end-gabled
Figure 1: Measured Drawings of the Carrillo Adobe from the Historic American Buildings Survey
Figure 3: Photograph of East and West Wings of the Carrillo Adobe Taken in 1936

Figure 4: 1936 Photograph of Adjoining Corners of East and West Wings of the Adobe
Figure 5: Close-up of West Wing Showing Collapsed Porch Roof

Figure 6: Photograph of North Side of West Wing Taken in 1936
with a shed extension along the south side forming a long porch. The thirty-two inch thick walls were constructed of adobe bricks measuring twenty by eleven by three inches, with one inch mortar joints. The floor of the adobe consisted of one by twelve inch wooden planks set on wooden sleepers (Pope 1962).

Other Probable Features

While there were no doubt numerous activity areas and structures at the Carrillo Adobe site dating to various time periods, reference to two specific features have been found in the literature regarding the site. The precise location of these features is not known.

Small Adobe Foundation. In addition to the L-shaped Carrillo adobe, remains of a small adobe are likely to exist east of the existing adobe wing. This adobe, or its foundation, is cited as the beginning point of survey on various deeds and the 1859 patent survey (Deeds M:186; Deeds 6:581; Patents F:76). The probable location of this adobe is depicted on Map 3 at the eastern edge of the site adjacent to Franquette Drive.

Well. Brief mention is made in correspondence between Ward Upson and Monsignor Erwin Becker of "the old well" being on the property owned by the Catholic Church. Monsignor Becker wrote to Upson in November 1964 stating, "I know the approximate location of the old well which might
bring up something interesting and would be worth the excavation" (Becker 1964).

**Previous Archaeological Investigations**

Several archaeological investigations have been conducted at the Carrillo Adobe site since it was initially recorded by Jesse Peter. Most focused on the Native American midden deposit. Table 2 presents a summary of previous archaeological investigations.

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**Table 2: Previous Investigations at the Carrillo Adobe Site**

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NCAS-Northwestern California Archaeological Society  
DNG-Drake Navigators Guild  
SRJC-Santa Rosa Junior College  
SSU-Sonoma State University  
UCD-University of California, Davis

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Excavations

Between 1965 and 1980, four archaeological excavations were conducted at CA-SON-401. Three were conducted by local avocational groups; all four were within the midden deposit.

The Northwestern California Archaeological Society (NCAS) spent one day excavating at the site in February 1965 under the direction of Ward F. Upson. A brief description of the site is provided in a publication produced by the Society:

The greater part of the mound is a narrow, scattered deposit closely following the contours of the creek bank for a distance of perhaps 400 yards. The largest concentration of midden lies near the west end of the deposit. This is a roughly circular area about sixty yards in diameter and is slightly elevated. This portion of the mound is marked by a soil coloration somewhat darker than that of the surrounding area. Further, the surface is littered with quantities of shattered stones, obsidian chipping waste, and shell and bone fragments [Upson 1966:1].

Two units, each measuring five feet by five feet, were excavated in the "major part of the mound." Upson reports that screening was not possible due to the dampness of the soil and that "shovel-broadcasting" was used in place of screening. One of the units was excavated to a depth of thirty-six inches at which point sterile subsoil was encountered. Excavation of the second unit was halted at twelve inches. Nineteen artifacts were recovered from the excavated soils. Upson's report includes descriptions of artifacts collected during the excavation and artifacts from
his private site collection. Upson did not differentiate between the two collections in his report and proveniences are not reported.

A diverse assortment of chipped-stone, ground-stone, and shell and bone artifacts were reported by Upson. The chipped-stone artifacts was of basalt, chert and obsidian, and included projectile points, biface "blades", drill tips, scrapers, and cores. Following Beardsley's (1954:8-11, 108-116) artifact typology, Upson describes the projectile points as primarily types Sla or S1b which are stemmed, corner-notched and side-notched, serrated and unserrated points, both short and long in proportion. Upson (1966:3) notes two exceptions which he describes as a 1-1/2 inch stemmed point, and a "triangular point with a deeply concave base." Upson assigns the "blades" to Beardsley's types N2 and N3 described as non-stemmed, lanceolate-shaped and ogive-based points. Other chipped-stone artifacts reported by Upson include two chert and one obsidian drill tips, an obsidian tinkler, and many obsidian and basalt scrapers.

In addition to the chipped-stone artifacts, Upson writes that "at least twenty-one fragments of glass and porcelain appear to have been flaked with the purpose of using them for scrapers" (1966:4). Other artifacts of European materials include an ornament made from a blue and white ceramic sherd with two drilled holes, and a ceramic sherd "similar to the porcelain bead blank reported by E.

Ground-stone artifacts reported by Upson include a pestle similar to Beardsley's type IIb1a (as a class, Beardsley describes these as being relatively long and tapering to a point from a blunt or rounded distal end), and two pestle fragments; several bowl mortar fragments; a mano; a hammerstone; and two grooved stones. A clam shell disk bead, a spire-lopped *Olivella* shell bead, and two wedge-shaped pieces of abalone shell comprise the shell artifacts. Upson also reports finding butchered mammal bone, some cuts "obviously made by a metal saw."

Upson (1966:6) concluded that CA-SON-401 was "an important permanent village site... occupied well into historic times" but that the beginning of the site's occupation could not be established at that time.

Investigations were conducted by the Drake Navigators Guild (DNG) and a group from Santa Rosa Junior College in 1966 and 1970, respectively. Reports were apparently not prepared for those investigations and the artifact collections were not accessioned at Sonoma State University, San Francisco State University, or the University of California, Berkeley. Information provided here and in Table 3 comes from fieldnotes, artifact catalogues, and artifact sketches found in files at the Department of History, Sonoma State University.
In September 1966, the Drake Navigators Guild excavated five units each measuring five feet by five feet and varying in depth from approximately nineteen to thirty inches. Unit records indicate that excavated soils were sifted through quarter-inch mesh screen; only formal artifacts were collected. The locations of artifacts were plotted on both plan and elevation drawings on unit records. Unit record drawings indicate that the depth of the midden deposit ranged between twelve and twenty-four inches from the surface.

Ninety-seven artifacts were collected by the Drake Navigators Guild, duplicating in style, to a great extent, those reported by Upson from his surface collection and the 1965 excavation. Besides a very similar chipped-stone, ground-stone, and shell bead assemblage, the 1966 excavation yielded five bone artifacts including a bird bone bead, an ulna awl, two awl fragments, and an antler tine. Chipped-stone tools included four manufactured from chert, a scraper, a core, and two projectile point fragments. A portion of a human pelvis was also recovered.

The Santa Rosa Junior College group excavated eight units (five feet square) in February 1970. The units ranged from approximately twelve to thirty inches in depth. Quarter-inch mesh screen was used to sift soils; only formal artifacts were collected. It appears from the unit records that only one unit was considered completed during the excavation. It was excavated to a depth of thirty inches
with the midden deposit ending at twenty-six inches below the surface. Average depth of the other seven units was about twelve inches.

A total of 101 artifacts was collected. A wide range of artifact types similar to the two previous excavations was recovered during the 1970 excavation. In addition to artifacts generally associated with Native American habitation, the Santa Rosa Junior College excavation also yielded artifacts of non-native origin including two glass trade beads and a square nail.

A fourth excavation, limited to auger borings and one "test pit," was conducted in 1980 under the auspices of D.L. True, of the University of California, Davis. That test was conducted in order to define the southern boundary of the midden deposit prior to proposed construction (True 1980a). True notes in his report that the midden deposit had been severely damaged by pre-construction grading.

The collection resulting from True's test excavation is accessioned at the Archaeological Collections Facility, Sonoma State University under accession numbers 84-1-334 through 84-1-362.

Surface Collections

In June 1980, True also conducted an intensive surface survey, mapping all artifacts observed, to further define the limits of cultural deposits. In his report, True notes that the Vallejo-Carrillo Adobe is situated on the same
parcel as CA-SON-401 and that "there is a thin scatter of cultural refuse in the general area around the Adobe" (True 1980b:np).

A surface collection of obsidian bifaces and a bone disc was taken from the site in July 1980 when the site was re-recorded by Paul Amaroli of the Anthropological Studies Center, Sonoma State University (Amaroli 1977). That collection is accessioned at Sonoma State University under accession numbers 80-3-297 through 80-3-309.

The grounds surrounding the Carrillo Adobe site have been the focus of artifact collectors for many years (Milner, personal communication 1993). A private collection belonging to Ralph Milner was examined during the course of this study. Milner indicated that he has been collecting at the site since the early 1950s. His collection includes a large bowl mortar, a hopper mortar, two pestles, numerous chipped-stone tools and tool fragments of obsidian and chert, and an incised bone fragment. Three of the projectile points in Milner's collection are temporally sensitive; a small, obsidian corner-notched point, a large, corner-notched point made of chert, and an obsidian concave-base point.

Analysis of Archaeological Materials

Methods

As discussed in Chapter two, only two of the six artifact collections generated by excavation and surface
collecting were found at area repositories. Artifact catalogues and illustrations were found for the 1966 and 1970 excavations, and Upson's 1966 publication contained some artifact descriptions and illustrations. The following analysis includes identification of temporally diagnostic artifact types based on materials on hand and on artifact illustrations and descriptions.

Conventional analytical methods obviously were not possible and this study is not meant to stand as a formal analysis. Rather, it is meant to provide general information about site function and temporal placement. No effort was made to quantify materials from the three early excavations. Materials collected by True in 1980 were used to generate data regarding obsidian sources and for obsidian hydration analysis.

Diagnostic Artifacts

Many of the artifacts collected from the Carrillo Adobe site can be categorized on the basis of style and form, and used as the basis to discuss site function and temporal placement when compared to similar artifact assemblages in the Santa Rosa area. The cultural sequence defined by Fredrickson (1973, 1984) for the North Coast Ranges and the local sequence provide by Wickstrom (1986) have been used for this analysis (see Table 3). Considered as a group, the assemblage from the Carrillo Adobe site contains chipped-stone tools and tool fragments, milling equipment, and a few
### Table 3: Cultural Sequence for the Santa Rosa Area

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Microns</th>
<th>Period</th>
<th>Tools and Artifacts</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>0.8 - 1.5</td>
<td>Gables Phase - Contact to 500 B.P.</td>
<td>small, corner-notched projectile points, chert drill tips, clam shell disk beads, lipped Olivella shell beads, hopper mortars and pestles, Napa Valley obsidian predominant (after 1.3)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1.6 - 2.2</td>
<td>Rincon Phase - 500 to 1,000 B.P.</td>
<td>large, corner-notched points, serrated lanceolate points, rectangular Olivella shell beads, bowl mortar and pestle, Annadel obsidian predominant</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2.3 - 3.1</td>
<td>Laguna Phase - 1,000 to 2,000 B.P.</td>
<td>concave base points (after 2.8), shouldered lanceolate points, large, corner-notched points, saddle-shaped Olivella shell beads, bowl mortar and pestle, milling slab and handstone probable, Annadel obsidian predominant (after 2.8)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3.2 - 4.9</td>
<td>Black Hill Phase - 2,000 to 4,000 B.P.</td>
<td>concave-base projectile points, non-shouldered lanceolate points, large, notched and stemmed points, milling slabs and handstones, Napa Valley obsidian predominant</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5.0 - 6.9</td>
<td>Spring Lake Phase - 4,000 to 7,000 B.P.</td>
<td>wide-stemmed projectile points, non-shouldered lanceolate points, basalt cobble tools, milling slabs and handstones, Napa Valley obsidian predominant</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

*a* after Fredrickson (1973, 1984) and Wickstrom (1986)

*continues from previous phase*
shell beads that are revealing as to temporal placement. Table 4 indicates the location and frequency of artifacts discussed in the following section.

Table 4: Sources for Temporally Diagnostic Artifact Types

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>CN</th>
<th>Sr</th>
<th>LCN</th>
<th>SL</th>
<th>NSL</th>
<th>CB</th>
<th>CSD</th>
<th>O1</th>
<th>Tr</th>
<th>BM</th>
<th>HM</th>
<th>HS</th>
<th>Ce</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>NCAS</td>
<td>19</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>19</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>23</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>DNG</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>-</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>SRJC</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>-</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>SSU</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>MILNER</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>-</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Totals</td>
<td>21</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>15</td>
<td>31</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>23</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

CN - small, corner-notched
Sr - serrated
LCN - large, corner-notched
SL - shouldered lanceolate
NSL - non-shouldered lanceolate
CB - concave base
CSD - clam shell disk bead
Ol - spire-lopped Olivella
Tr - glass trade bead
BM - bowl mortar
HM - hopper mortar
HS - handstone
Ce - worked ceramic/glass

Estimated

Projectile Points. Many of chipped-stone tools present in the assemblage fall under the general heading of "bifaces" but some can be categorized as specific, temporally diagnostic, projectile point types. Small, corner-notched points are represented by one specimen each from the DGN and Milner collections. Upson (1966) reports a total of twenty-one points corresponding to Beardsley's types S1a or S1b (i.e., serrated or corner-notched) but does not give exact numbers for the two different types. His illustrations depict nine corner-notched points and one serrated point. Assuming that the illustrations are
somewhat representative of the collection, then an estimate of eighteen corner-notched and three serrated points would be a reasonable approximation. Corner-notched points are considered temporal markers for Phase 2 of the Augustine Pattern in the North Coast Ranges which corresponds with the Gables Phase in the Santa Rosa area.

In addition to the three serrated points estimated for the NCAS collection, one other serrated point was collected during the SRJC excavation. Serrated points occur frequently in Phase 1 assemblages, represented by the Rincon Phase around Santa Rosa.

Milner's collection contains a single large, corner-notched point fragment made of chert. Whereas smaller corner-notched points served as tips for arrows, the larger corner-notched points are too large to have served the same purpose and were probably used as dart points (Origer 1982). This point type has generally been assigned to the Middle and Upper Archaic Periods (Fredrickson 1984; Wickstrom 1986) although Origer's (1987) hydration results from sites in the Santa Rosa area suggest slightly later use.

Non-shouldered lanceolates occur more frequently than any of the other point types in the assemblage. Nineteen specimens of this type are reported by NCAS, three by DNG, four by SRJC, and five are in the SSU collection. Non-shouldered lanceolates are ubiquitous in the North Coast Ranges and have a very broad temporal span. Initially appearing during the Lower Archaic Period, non-shouldered
lanceolates are predominant during the Upper Archaic and continue into the Emergent Period (Fredrickson 1973). The range of hydration measurements for this point type in Origer's (1987) study (1.5 to 4.8 for Annadel specimens) indicates a similar temporal distribution and Upper Archaic (Laguna Phase) predominance for the Santa Rosa area.

There are fifteen shouldered lanceolates in the assemblage; six of them are from the DNG excavation. The NCAS, SRJC, and SSU collections each contain three shouldered lanceolates apiece. Shouldered lanceolates are thought to have been most common during the Upper Archaic Period but occur in assemblages from the Lower Archaic and continue into the Emergent Period. Wickstrom fixes shouldered lanceolates in the Laguna Phase.

A single concave base fragment is contained in the assemblage. Origer's (1987) study found the mean hydration measurement for concave base points from the Santa Rosa area to be 2.8 for artifacts made of Annadel obsidian and 3.4 for artifacts made of Napa Valley obsidian, indicating a bimodal distribution of this point type. Those measurements support Wickstrom's (1986) suggestion that concave base points appear initially during the Black Hill Phase (3.2 to 4.9) when Napa Valley obsidian was predominant and then again at an intermediate point in the Laguna Phase when Annadel obsidian was predominant (2.8 to 2.3). Convex stemmed points occur during the Middle and Upper Archaic
Periods in the North Coast Ranges or Wickstrom's Black Hill and Laguna Phases for the Santa Rosa area.

**Milling Equipment.** Milling equipment is represented in the Carrillo Adobe assemblage by eight bowl mortars or mortar fragments, two hopper mortars, numerous pestle fragments, and a single handstone. The chronology of milling equipment in the North Coast Ranges is correlated with shifts in subsistence and residential patterns. Milling slabs and handstones, used for processing hard seeds, appear early in the archaeological record and continue into the Upper Archaic Period. Bowl mortars have been found in Middle Archaic assemblages along with milling slabs and handstones but become dominant during the Upper Archaic Period (Laguna Phase) when the subsistence pattern shifts to an acorn-based economy. The hopper mortar makes its appearance during Phase 2 of the Emergent Period (Gables Phase) and is correlated with a more sedentary subsistence pattern.

**Beads.** Two types of shell beads are contained in the assemblage. Upson reports a single, unfinished clam shell disk bead and a single spire-lopped *Olivella* bead in the NCAS collection. Two other spire-lopped *Olivella* beads were found during the DNG excavation. Both of these bead types are considered indicative of Phase 2 of the Emergent Period (Gables Phase).
Obsidian Sourcing

Obsidian debitage and formed artifacts contained in the UCD test excavation collection and the SSU surface collection were visually sorted by source. Of the twenty-five pieces of debitage in the UCD collection, seventy-two percent is from the Annadel obsidian source. The remaining twenty-eight percent is Napa Valley obsidian. Sixty percent of the formed artifacts in the UCD collection is of Annadel obsidian and forty percent is of Napa Valley obsidian. Formed artifacts in the SSU collection show a slightly higher incidence of Napa Valley obsidian at fifty-five percent with forty-five percent being manufactured from Annadel obsidian.

Obsidian Hydration Analysis

Hydration band measurements were obtained for eight pieces of debitage from the UCD collection (see Table 5). Specimens submitted for hydration analysis came from the ten to twenty and twenty to thirty centimeter test unit levels rather than from surface proveniences. Three of the specimens were visually sourced as Napa Valley obsidian, five are from the Annadel source. Results ranged from 1.7 to 2.5 for the Annadel specimens and 2.3 to 2.8 for the Napa Valley obsidian.

After converting the Napa obsidian measurements to correspond with the Annadel measurements using Tremaine's (1989) comparison constant (N x 0.77 = A), measurements from
this limited sample fall into the ranges proposed for the Rincon and Laguna Phases (1.6 to 2.2 and 2.3 to 3.1, respectively). These results suggest the early use of Annadel obsidian (2.5 to 2.3), followed by the co-occurrence of Annadel and Napa Valley obsidians (2.2 and 1.6).

Table 5: Obsidian Hydration Results from CA-SON-401/H

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>microns</th>
<th>Annadel</th>
<th>Napa(^a)</th>
<th>Phase</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>0.8 - 1.5</td>
<td>- - - -</td>
<td>- - - -</td>
<td>Gables</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1.6 - 2.2</td>
<td>***</td>
<td>***</td>
<td>Rincon</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2.3 - 2.8</td>
<td>**</td>
<td></td>
<td>Laguna</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2.9 - 3.1</td>
<td>- - - -</td>
<td>- - - -</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3.2 - 4.0</td>
<td>- - - -</td>
<td>- - - -</td>
<td>Black Hill</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4.1 - 4.9</td>
<td>- - - -</td>
<td>- - - -</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5.0 - 7.0</td>
<td>- - - -</td>
<td>- - - -</td>
<td>Spring Lake</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

\(^a\)Tremaine's 1989 comparison constant applied.

Discussion

Following Wickstrom's five-phase chronological sequence for the Santa Rosa area, artifacts contained in the Carrillo Adobe assemblage, are indicative of site utilization spanning the Laguna, Rincon, and Gables Phases. Hydration band measurements obtained from a small sample of obsidiandebitage which ranged between 2.5 and 1.7, support part of that temporal span. While the singular occurrences of a concave base point, a large, corner-notched point, and a handstone are suggestive of earlier site utilization, the
latter two forms do continue into the Laguna Phase. Concave base points display a bi-modal distribution in the archaeological record phasing out at the end of the Black Hill Phase and reappearing during the Laguna Phase. Obsidian source analysis indicated that while local (Annadel) obsidian was dominant in the collection, obsidian from the Napa Valley was being brought into the area, probable through trade. Evidence that the site was occupied after European contact is apparent by the presence of numerous ceramic and glass sherds which have been formed into scrapers (Upson 1966:4), and a ceramic disk with two drilled holes (illustrated in Upson 1966:pl.4).

The above discussion is a summary of the information available today about the Carrillo Adobe site. Based on this limited data alone, it is clear that the site was utilized for a long period of time. But there is still much to be known, and the following chapter discusses some areas of inquiry open to future archaeological exploration.
Chapter 5

FUTURE ARCHAEOLOGY AT THE CARRILLO ADOBE SITE

Introduction

The Carrillo Adobe site offers a unique opportunity to examine the material remains of a time poorly documented in the Santa Rosa area, and perhaps to understand better the nature of culture change brought about by world events. But it also presents problems unique to contact period sites, such as how to conceptualize complex, multicultural and intercultural relationships and how to model broad-scale interactions. One California archaeologist has written that "models are a point of view, not a proven reality" (Greenwood 1991:28). The point of view taken in this thesis is that world processes are brought to bear on local economic and social relationships and are manifested in material culture. Thus, interpreting the material remains of day-to-day living is contingent upon an understanding of shifts in world patterns and processes. As the world drew closer together after the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries, an already complex cultural landscape became even more so in California, and the Carrillo Adobe site exemplifies that complexity. The job of the archaeologist here is not just to isolate discrete cultures but to examine elements of culture change as they are reflected in the material remains; to look for transitions between cultural veneers.
To that end, a world systems approach has been used as an interpretive framework for the adobe site. The research described here is not intended as a test of world systems theory. Rather, key concepts of that model as defined by Wallerstein (1974, 1980, 1989) and refined and discussed by others (e.g., Hall 1986; Lewis 1984; Trigger 1989; and Wolf 1982) have been used as a guide in forming research questions. The premise here is that expanding and changing economic spheres of influence came in contact with and had impacts on previously existing socioeconomic patterns. The problem lies in understanding how those impacts were met on a local level.

Key concepts of a world systems model include (1) the integration of large geographic areas into an economic system controlled by a relatively small portion of the system; (2) a distinct geographical and hierarchical division of the economic system into interdependent regions (referred to as core, semiperipheral, and peripheral areas); (3) differential access to resources and goods; and (4) the changing nature of the economic system. These concepts were used to establish research domains and define research questions which are discussed in the following sections. Methodological approaches to those questions are then discussed at the end of this chapter.
Research Domains

The following research domains were defined for future investigations at the Carrillo Adobe site after an initial assessment of what is currently known about the site was made using available documents and archaeological collections. These domains are (1) world processes; (2) site chronology, structure, and function; and (3) social and cultural issues. Within these research domains, specific questions were then formulated which have a likelihood of being addressed through additional historical and archaeological research. In general, archaeological manifestations of changing socioeconomic circumstances and cultural interactions are expected in the form of artifacts indicative of shifting subsistence and procurement strategies and practices; utilization of introduced technologies; utilization of previously unused or unobtainable materials, resources, or manufactured goods; and changing ideologies.

World Processes

World process functions as the primary domain here because assumptions about those same processes lie at the heart of this research design. Therefore questions regarding global interactions are aimed at understanding their effects and local reactions to them, not at determining whether or not they are pertinent. Given the historical context discussed in chapter three, certain
questions regarding global interactions need to be asked at the Carrillo Adobe site:

1. Where does the Carrillo Adobe site fit into Wallerstein's tripartite world systems model, and how does its position shift over time?

2. How did changes in the world system affect the occupants of the adobe site through time?

3. Are shifts in the world system evident in the material remains of the adobe site? What evidence is there of insular reaction to changes in the world system?

Subsequent research domains organize the information to be gleaned from the Carrillo Adobe site into categories that go a long way towards addressing these primary research questions. For example, clarifying points of site chronology, structure, and function will allow comparative studies relevant to the site's changing role in a world economic system. Understanding the nature of social and culture interactions at the site through time will provide information about local adaptations and reactions to changing world events.

Given the theoretical perspective and socioeconomic context discussed in previous chapters, it is anticipated that archaeological materials from the Carrillo Adobe site will reflect changes in the world economy. But the real question is, how did occupants of the site respond to those
changes and what are the archaeological correlates of those responses? Trade goods should play an important role in the interpretation of material culture at the Carrillo Adobe site since core/periphery relationships are based on the exchange of raw materials for manufactured goods. As the region was drawn into the world system and Hispanic and Angloamerican presence increased, access to trade goods also increased. The region's link to the Angloamerican world system should be most evident in the archaeological record as an increase in English and American manufactured goods such as imported ceramics, bottled and canned goods, and manufactured clothing.

On one level, questions concerning broad-scale socioeconomic change can be approached through the documentary record, but specific impacts to individual groups or households may be more readily accessible through the archaeological record. Analysis of archaeological remains associated with various groups utilizing the site through time will provide data concerning the movement of resources and goods into and through the area, and changing technological circumstances. Moreover, artifacts indicative of cultural affinity, continuity, and change could provide insight into shifting socioeconomic alliances and strategies. As Costello's work on the missions has demonstrated, simple access to goods does not explain actual patterns of purchase and consumption, and these details need
to be addressed for the many different people who lived at the Carrillo Adobe site.

**Site Chronology, Structure, and Function**

Questions regarding site chronology, structure, and function are common to all archaeological investigations but at the Carrillo Adobe site they take on new dimensions in that site occupation spans nearly 1200 years and involves several cultural veneers. Some specific questions would be:

1. What is the time-depth of precontact site utilization?
2. Can a sense of history be developed for precontact site use?
3. What was the nature and extent of precontact, contact, and postcontact site utilization? That is, what are the spatial limits for each of those time frames and can discrete activity areas be identified?
4. When were the adobes built and what construction techniques were used? Are other contact or postcontact period features present?
5. Can a relationship be demonstrated between Native Americans at the site and the Carrillo family? In other words, is it possible to explore the consequences of having members of several different cultures live and work on the same site simultaneously?

Questions dealing with precontact chronology can be addressed through analysis of temporally diagnostic artifact
types and obsidian hydration studies. This depends on the recovery of artifacts correlated to specific phases of the cultural sequence for the Santa Rosa Area and on the recovery of obsidian artifacts and debitage. Together, these can help to define the length of occupation and identify multiple components if they exist.

Analysis of artifact distribution would help to delineate precontact site boundaries and identify differing activity areas. Intrasite variability of types and quantities of artifacts, especially temporally-sensitive artifacts and tools and debitage yielding significantly different hydration band measurements, would indicate use of the site at different times by Native American groups. For example, if milling equipment in the form of handstones and milling slabs together with concave-base projectile points yielding obsidian hydration band measurements of 4.0 microns are found in one area, while hopper mortar fragments and small corner-notched points are found in another area, use of the site during Wickstrom's Black Hill Phase and again during the Gables Phase would be indicated.

Artifacts associated with the adobes could help to date these structures and to determine their functions. This information is necessary at as fine-grained a level as possible, and cannot be determined from the documents alone. If it is important to understand the way that different cultures used the site at different times, and for different purposes, then the built environment constitutes a major
form of site use that must be addressed. The adobes play a crucial role in this analysis, both because of their relative longevity on the site, and because so many different people used them for so many different purposes.

Finally, to show contemporaneity of Native American and Californio residents, artifacts recovered from the Native American midden deposit would have to meet two criteria. First, they would have to be found in an unambiguous context and second, they would have to be closely dated to within the time span of the Carrillo family. In addition, some attempt should be made to explore site function during this period from the Native American, as well as Hispanic, point of view. Much of this evidence would lie in the realm of artifact categories and technologies as addressed below.

Social and Cultural Issues

Basic social and cultural issues that can be addressed at the Carrillo Adobe site focus on questions of ethnicity, gender, and culture change. These questions also take on added meaning because of the complexity of the site.

1. Is there evidence of culture change in precontact components of the site?
2. Is there evidence of acculturation between Native American, Hispanic, and Angloamerican occupants? Were resources, technologies, or ideologies being shared cross-culturally?
3. Can differences be seen between first generation and second generation Californio occupants in the material culture?

4. Compared to traditional male-run Californio ranches, are there distinguishable differences in the material culture of this ranch?

Precontact culture change would be indicated by change in artifact types. Acculturation would be suggested if intercultural sharing of materials, technologies, or ideologies is detected in the archaeological record. Native American use of non-native materials and technologies could take two forms; use of non-native materials to manufacture traditional items (such as projectile points fashioned from glass or beads made from ceramic sherds), or wholesale adaptation of non-native forms and functions (such as the use of imported ceramic vessels). Hispanic and Anglo-American adaptation of native materials and technologies tend to be most visible in the archaeological record in the form of introduced foods and food preparation techniques, such as the use of Native American forms of milling equipment or consumption of local game.

Detection of generational difference would require that close associations be established for discrete artifact deposits, and gender-based differences would require intersite comparison between the Carrillo rancho and male-run ranchos. An interesting aspect of the Carrillo Adobe
site is that it was run by a woman who took an active part in the rancho's operation. Archaeologists working on other colonial sites (cf. Deagan 1983; McEwan 1991; Reitz and Scarry 1985) have found that interaction between European men and indigenous women was instrumental in the acculturation process and was most readily visible in the archaeological record as changes in traditional foodways. While patterned changes in foodways have been associated with interactions between indigenous women and European men, how will foodways be manifested at the Carrillo Adobe site where the head of the household is a woman?

Research and Interpretive Methods

The research questions posed in this thesis focus on changing social and economic interactions resulting from broad-scale and far-reaching world events; on cultural veneers laid down over an extended period of time. To answer those questions, a variety of techniques and data sets will need to be employed. While questions concerning broad-scale socioeconomic interactions can be approached to a large extent through the documentary record, specific impacts to individual groups or households may be more readily accessible through the archaeological record. For the Carrillo Adobe site, where there is a paucity of related documents, archaeology may be the only way to peel back the veneers to examine localized reactions and adaptations to broad-scale events as they occurred through time. The
following discussion of research methods focuses on methods with the greatest potential to yield data necessary to answer the above research questions. Comments on public interpretation are also included.

**Historical Research**

The available primary documents regarding the Carrillo Adobe site are limited in both scope and nature, and much of the documentary research done to date has been limited as well. Relying on past translations and interpretations reflecting the biases of researchers concerned with documenting the role of the Carrillo Adobe in mission history is inherently dangerous and has led to an uneven treatment of the adobe's history. Reexamination of previously researched documents guided by a new set of research questions is necessary. In addition, new data sets need to be explored. For example, it is known from travel journals (i.e., Davis 1967, Marryat 1952) that the Carrillo family was actively involved in buying and selling livestock and other agricultural products during the 1840s, and that a portion of the adobe was put to multiple commercial uses after 1848. A thorough investigation of shipping orders, bills of sale, and bills of lading, store inventories, and other documents generated from economic endeavors at the adobe site would provide information directly related to changes in world economic patterns.
Archaeological Research

Previous archaeological investigations at the Carrillo Adobe site were limited and disjointed. Initial excavations conducted by avocational archaeologists focused exclusively on the Native American midden deposit and were minimally reported. Later surface survey and limited subsurface testing, prompted by proposed development of the site, focused on identifying archaeological deposits and delineating their horizontal limits (Origer 1980; True 1980a and b). While all of those investigations added to the body of knowledge about the site, a more integrative approach to the site is needed. The following suggestions are aimed at capturing information that will expand the current understanding of the site's structure and thus enable archaeologists to focus on areas with the highest potential for addressing specific research questions.

Remote Sensing. Greater understanding of spatial relationships is needed at the Carrillo Adobe site and an important first step would be to identify and accurately map all archaeological deposits and features. While surface survey and subsurface testing have supplied some information, chances are good that this site has subsurface archaeological deposits and features that would enhance our understanding of its past. A means of capturing that information is through the use of remote sensing. David Hurst Thomas (1987, 1989) experimented with three types of remote sensing at the site of Mission Santa Catalina de
Guale on St. Catherines Island in Georgia. Using magnetometry, resistivity, and ground-penetrating radar, the locations of a variety of archaeological features were identified (including the well, kitchen, cemetery, and palisade) despite a lack of surface indications. His success with remote sensing techniques at Mission Santa Catalina lead Thomas to write that "it will not be long before preliminary remote sensing will be required as baseline documentation before the destruction of sites through excavation" (1989:243). Experiments with resistivity survey have proven its effectiveness in identifying unmarked burials in historical cemeteries as well (Ellwood 1990).

Thomas's work at Mission Santa Catalina stands as a reminder that surface indicators of archaeological deposits and features are often lacking, especially in areas where the surface has been disturbed by subsequent human activities (e.g., paving and plowing). By using remote sensing at the Mission Santa Catalina site, subsurface feature areas were brought to light without extensive and destructive exploratory excavation. The Carrillo Adobe site warrants similar study for two reasons. First, given the length of time over which the site was occupied and the types of activities documented for the site, the probability of subsurface archaeological features is great. Second, although a "sensitivity study" is often recommended as a preliminary step in determining the potential for the
presence of legally significant archaeological deposits (Mary Praetzellis, personal communication October 10, 1991; Praetzellis and Praetzellis 1993), the Carrillo Adobe site lacks the documentation necessary to complete that step. While remote sensing will not ascertain the legal significance or research potential of subsurface anomalies, it will indicate areas where excavation is likely to encounter archaeological features.

Remote sensing survey at the Carrillo Adobe site would be beneficial in a number of ways. Development of the adobe site, by either the private or public sector, will impact the site. From a planning perspective, remote sensing survey would aid in identifying portions of the site which should be protected. Prior knowledge of subsurface features would lessen the possibility of encountering and destroying subsurface deposits during construction, thereby reducing impacts to the site and avoiding costly construction delays. From an archaeological perspective, knowing where features are in advance would reduce both the time spent searching for them and the extent of damage to the site. Once the site is mapped accurately and spatial relationships are understood, excavation can focus on specific areas.

Photographic Superimposition. In a similar, nonintrusive, nondestructive vein, knowledge of building placement, architectural features, construction techniques, and landscaping can be gained even though the features themselves no longer exist. Photographs of the adobe and
its surroundings can be projected onto the existing
landscape using a relatively simple method applied to
archaeology and described by Gene Prince (1988) of the Lowie
Museum of Anthropology, University of California, Berkeley.
Prince's method of superimposition was used effectively
during excavations at the historical coal-mining town of
Somersville, California.

At Somersville, ... a photograph taken in 1900 enabled us to define a series of
house lots using fences and privies in an afternoon without extensive testing.
Subsequent excavation revealed errors of less than 1%. Directing measurement
through the camera established a scale and the dimensions of all features and
structures visible in the photograph [Prince 1988:115].

While Prince's photographic superimposition method
would have definite archaeological and architectural
applications at the Carrillo Adobe site, it could also be an
effective interpretative tool. A possible interpretive
method using image superimposition is discussed below.

Public Interpretation

The Carrillo Adobe site has a rich and varied history
extending at least 1200 years into the past, and an
important aspect of its history has been that of change.
There is an inherent danger at a site such as this in
limiting public interpretation to a single time frame. A
synchronic reconstruction of the adobe would create a false
sense of history and deflate the site's interpretive value.
One way to achieve a more balanced interpretation would be to use Prince's method of superimposing photographs and artistic recreations on the current landscape. Combined with ongoing archaeological investigations, a series of superimposed images viewed from various camera stations would provide public access to the past, while lending context to the present.

Summary

The objectives of this thesis were to develop a historical context for use in future studies of the Carrillo Adobe site, to synthesize information obtained through previous archaeological investigations at the site, and to provide recommendations regarding the direction of future research. World systems theory was used here as an interpretive model in order to integrate the Carrillo Adobe site into a broader frame of reference. The concept of cultural veneers was applied to the site because of the many cultural groups known to have used the site in the past. Because it is laden with many cultural veneers, the Carrillo Adobe site has the potential to yield valuable information about precontact cultures and culture change as well as contact period interactions and culture change. The hope is that future archaeological research will conceive of the site as being dynamic and multicultural, not as discrete noninteracting components. Two passages have helped to focus the goals of this thesis. Historian Patricia Limerick (1987:65) wrote that "one skill essential to the writing of
Western American history is a capacity to deal with multiple points of view," and anthropologist Eric Wolf (1982:4) asked the question, "if there are connections everywhere, why do we persist in turning dynamic, interconnected phenomena into static, disconnected things?" In spite of how closely the world around the Carrillo Adobe has drawn since the sixteenth century, the importance of asking that question remains evident when studying the Carrillo Adobe site.
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