Re-imagining our Contested Past: A Local Application of Landscape Archaeology in Santa Rosa, California

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ABSTRACT

By using Santa Rosa, California as a case study, this thesis will show how an application of landscape archaeology can be a valuable tool for civic engagement, community outreach or can contribute to implications in law and urban planning. In Santa Rosa, extensive historical research has already been done at the Carrillo Adobe mainly because the Carrillo Adobe is a tangible resource to California’s past. While the Carrillo Adobe is an invaluable resource to the city and its people, it is only part of a much larger complex. Sonoma County is economically dependent on farm workers, yet they are vastly under-represented in the community’s public heritage interpretation. However, by viewing the present-day Hispanic community through the lens of the historical Mexican and Spanish landscape of Santa Rosa, the Hispanic community can recognize a sense of place. This helps give a voice to a community in a city they have helped to create and continue to develop. Through archival research and historical archaeology, this thesis addresses questions about the relationships between Santa Rosa and the landscape, how to interpret this contested landscape, and ways in which cultural interactions and changes can affect urban development. By placing contemporary problems within a historical context, we are able to show that these concerns have been, and still are, part of the community.
# Table of Contents

**ACKNOWLEDGMENT** ........................................................................................................................ V  
**TABLE OF CONTENTS** .................................................................................................................. VI  
**LIST OF FIGURES** ........................................................................................................................ VII  
**CHAPTER 1: INTRODUCTION** ........................................................................................................ 1  
  SANTA ROSA ......................................................................................................................................... 3  
  GOALS ..................................................................................................................................................... 5  
**CHAPTER 2: LITERATURE REVIEW AND THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK** .......................... 7  
  THE ROLE OF CRM AND CIVIC ENGAGEMENT ............................................................................ 7  
  CULTURAL LANDSCAPE ANALYSIS USING DOCUMENTARY ARCHAEOLOGY .......................... 10  
  INTERPRETING CONTESTED LANDSCAPES IN PRESENT-DAY COMMUNITIES ......................... 15  
  CIVIC ENGAGEMENT, THE LAW, AND THE ROLE OF (LANDSCAPE) ARCHAEOLOGY .............. 18  
  LANDSCAPE AS TOURISM .................................................................................................................. 22  
**CHAPTER 3. HISTORICAL CONTEXT** ............................................................................................. 26  
  A BRIEF LOCAL HISTORY ................................................................................................................... 26  
  SANTA ROSA LAND PLANNING DURING MEXICAN CALIFORNIA ............................................. 28  
  MEXICAN CALIFORNIA SURVEY ALLOCATION ........................................................................ 32  
  UNITED STATES CALIFORNIA LAND ALLOCATION .................................................................... 33  
**CHAPTER 4: METHODS** .................................................................................................................. 37  
  HISTORICAL RESEARCH .................................................................................................................... 37  
  A CRASH COURSE IN TECHNOLOGY ............................................................................................... 44  
**CHAPTER 5: RESULTS AND RECOMMENDATIONS** ................................................................. 50  
  CABEZA DE SANTA ROSA ................................................................................................................ 50  
  THE SANTA ROSA RURAL CEMETERY ......................................................................................... 59  
  TURN OF THE CENTURY SANTA ROSA ......................................................................................... 62  
  PRESENT-DAY SANTA ROSA .......................................................................................................... 70  
  APPLICATIONS TO PRESENT INTERPRETATIONS ....................................................................... 72  
  RECOMMENDATIONS FOR FUTURE STUDIES ............................................................................... 74  
  CONCLUSION ....................................................................................................................................... 76  
**REFERENCES CITED** ...................................................................................................................... 79
List of Figures

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Figure</th>
<th>Description</th>
<th>Page</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>Reynolds and Proctor Map, 1898, David Rumsey Collection</td>
<td>32</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>Portion of U.S. General Land Office Map depicting Mexican Land Grants and surveyed quadrangles, 1866. Cabeza de Santa Rosa Land Grant is 59</td>
<td>36</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>Project Locations</td>
<td>39</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4</td>
<td>USGS 1944 Santa Rosa Topographic Map with Control Points</td>
<td>47</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5</td>
<td>1898 Reynolds and Proctor Map Geo-referenced with David Rumsey and Google Earth</td>
<td>48</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6</td>
<td>Cabeza de Santa Rosa Diseño</td>
<td>51</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9</td>
<td>Hollis Tessler, Tom King, Dave Craig excavating the Carrillo Adobe area 1955</td>
<td>57</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10</td>
<td>Bird's eye View Map 1897, red circle around the Rural Cemetery added by author</td>
<td>60</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>11</td>
<td>Rural Cemetery Showing Sections. Smyth and Newton, 1896</td>
<td>62</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>12</td>
<td>1938 Map of Santa Rosa, detail of Matanzas Creek</td>
<td>64</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>14</td>
<td>Sanborn Company Insurance Map 1908 depicting the Santa Rosa-Vallejo Tannery</td>
<td>68</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>15</td>
<td>1900 U.S. Census listing the tribe as Mexican under Special Inquires Relating to Indians</td>
<td>70</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>16</td>
<td>Interactive Community Outreach in Santa Rosa</td>
<td>73</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Chapter 1: Introduction

On October 22, 2013, in Santa Rosa, California, thirteen-year-old Andy Lopez was shot and killed by a police officer when the toy Airsoft rifle he was carrying was mistaken for an AK-47 assault rifle. The shooting prompted many protests in Santa Rosa and throughout California, citing civil rights violations and police brutality. While the death of Andy Lopez was a horrific event, some of the repercussions hint at social movement within the community. According to one reporter, the event and subsequent protests appear to have “strengthened a sense in Sonoma County’s substantial Latino community” (Scully 2013:1). The site of the tragedy is now a makeshift shrine, and discussions of creating a memorial park have begun amongst the supporters and city officials.

Tragic events have the power to bring communities together (as well as break them apart), when a sense of community is achieved through active place-making, these tragic events may become preventable. An instrument such as landscape archaeology can bridge the gap between underrepresented groups and a sense of place within the community by helping to retell the story that has been lost or buried. By using Santa Rosa, California as a case study, this thesis will show how the application of landscape archaeology can be a valuable tool to reveal the history of a contested past, and how the results can ultimately be applied in civic engagement activities.

The application of landscape archaeology models to the traditional spatial and analytical data from the Santa Rosa region provides a way to interpret the contested landscape of Santa Rosa. The examination of archival research specifically focusing on maps, and other spatial data that document the successive land planning and
management systems that have helped to shape Santa Rosa over time is compared and analyzed for patterns of continuity and change. From this perspective it is possible to better understand the role of place-making and the establishment of community identity. This thesis will thus address questions about the relationships between Santa Rosa and the landscape, how to interpret this contested landscape, and ways in which cultural interactions and changes can affect urban development. Additionally, this thesis will provide examples of how to incorporate the data into a tangible tool readily accessible to the larger community.

By placing Santa Rosa's contemporary social and economic tensions between ethnic groups in a better documented historical context, it is able to show that these concerns have been, and still are, part of the community. The community reactions of Santa Rosa following the death of Andy Lopez express a sense of outrage and urgency. They are a reaction to a system that relies on an inaccurate telling of a history and the continued repercussions of such marginalization. They also convey the need for a shared sense of place, and it should be greater than the small corner where he was shot. The thesis will end with recommendations on how a shared sense of place can help facilitate a broader dialogue between the different constituencies that make up the community of Santa Rosa.

Landscape archaeology provides the methods needed to successfully read the historical landscape of the Spanish and Mexican period in Santa Rosa, California. The benefits of this type of approach can range from civic engagement, community outreach or, implications in law and urban planning. Previous studies in landscape archaeology have proven to be useful in addressing larger issues such as, analysis
through documentary archaeology, identifying the recursive relationship between the landscape and the community, interpreting contested landscapes in present-day communities and understanding urban development in a cultural context (Church 2002; Bender 2002; Hall 2006; Purser 1989; Mullins 2006; Casella 2010; Ireland 2003). This thesis will build on the methodology of landscape and documentary archaeology to show the continuity of landscape from the Mexican period to the present. This process of documentation will create a tool that will help with community outreach and civic engagement by documenting a shared sense of place for the public as a whole.

Santa Rosa

In 2013, people of Hispanic origin (any race) made up 25.9% of the population in Santa Rosa, California (U.S Census Bureau, 2013). Sonoma County is especially economically dependent on Hispanic farm and migrant workers in its viticulture, yet these workers are vastly under-represented in the county’s self-presentation of its equally critical tourist industry. If instead, present-day farm and migrant workers were embraced as a cornerstone of the historical Mexican landscape of Santa Rosa, a firmly rooted sense of place would become more tangible for the public as a whole. This would help give a voice to a community in a city they have helped to create and continue to develop.

The history of Santa Rosa is characterized by continuous cultural and economic change. When the Mexican-American War ended in 1848, the Treaty of Guadalupe Hidalgo made California part of the United States. New borderlines were drawn, but existing communities remained. Therefore, the Hispanic presence has
been integral to the civic culture of the town of Santa Rosa, from its inception to the present-day. The present-day agricultural workers may be the minority when counted by the U.S Census, but when we view them through the historical context of Santa Rosa, they become important stakeholders in the community’s cultural identity. Place names like “Maria Carrillo High School,” “Matanzas Creek” and “Mission Road” all hint at a cultural community of Mexican descent, not to mention the fact that Santa Rosa itself is a Spanish name. From the perspective of practitioners of Cultural Resource Management (CRM), archaeologists, and the local community, the adobe of Doña Carrillo appears to be the only evidence left of the Spanish and Mexican Period in Santa Rosa. However, the historical archaeology of the Mexican and Spanish period in Santa Rosa encompasses much more than one building and one family.

Extensive historical research has already been done at the Carrillo Adobe (Beard 1993; Roop et al. 2006; Stanley 1999) and it is frequently the subject of local newspaper articles (Callahan 2011; LeBaron 2006; Smith 2011, 2012), and rightly so. The Carrillo Adobe is a tangible resource to California’s past and historically the community’s treatment of it is multifaceted and challenging (Stanley 1999; Beard 1993). Currently, The Santa Rosa High School History Club holds regular cleanup days and is continually active in its preservation efforts. Archaeologist Bryan Much and other practitioners are also moving to preserve the adobe via lidar technology and efforts to (re)nominate the building to the National Register of Historic Places are currently underway. While the Carrillo Adobe is an invaluable resource to the city and its people, it is only part of a much larger complex. Fetishizing a point on the landscape does little to contribute to a sense of place among the community beyond
that of the Mexican of past historical occurrence. The Carrillo Adobe and its stakeholders have fallen victim to the romantic ideals of the Californios prevalent during the turn of the century. Viewing the adobe as part of a historical and evolving extant landscape allows a much richer appreciation of its role in the greater Mexican history of the city. By learning to read the historical landscape of Santa Rosa, we can better understand the role of the Hispanic community, and in turn create the city as a place. By focusing on a relic, like the Carrillo Adobe, the heritage becomes anchored in the past, denying continuity with the present.

Goals

One of the objectives of landscape archaeology is to help marginalized communities present their past. In doing so, we must also learn how to create platforms in which to display it. With a Geographic Information System (GIS), this thesis will implement the data developed across the course of the research in order to make it more accessible to those invested in the community. The goal of this thesis is that it becomes a tool for future researchers or interest groups. There are three main avenues in which to achieve this:

1.) The methodology used throughout this project can be applied in different spatial or temporal settings, in order to reveal additional contested landscapes.

2.) When forming community outreach programs, interested groups can apply the data collected for this project.

3.) To inspire the invested groups to implement technology readily available in order to reveal and claim the contested past.
Proposing that archaeology can prevent tragic events and the abuse of civil rights is utopian. However, given the appropriate methodology, it is possible for archaeology to communicate the presence of a shared landscape. This can make it a powerful contributor to other community-based efforts to address the tensions and inequalities present in contemporary Santa Rosa. If that saves the life of one person then we have been successful.

**Organization of This Thesis**

Organization of this thesis is designed to provide the background and setting for the methodology and application of landscape archaeology on a local constituency. Chapter 2 provides a literature review and theoretical framework for viewing Santa Rosa through a historicized lens of the Mexican and Spanish layers. Chapter 3 provides a brief history of Santa Rosa in the context of local and national development from prehistory to present-day. It is followed by a presentation of the data gathered through historical archaeology methods. Chapter 4, presents an example of how to apply the data in a GIS for the benefit of civic engagement or public outreach. The final chapter, Chapter 5 provides observations for continued research. For the purposes of this thesis, the terms “Spanish” and “Mexican” are used to refer to a community who today would probably prefer to identify with the term “Latino.” However, because this thesis builds on social and political development beginning with Spanish California, the former terms have been utilized.
Chapter 2: Literature Review and Theoretical Framework

The Role of CRM and Civic Engagement

In the simplest of definitions, Cultural Resources Management (CRM) is the profession or practice of managing cultural resources. CRM is a recent discipline gathering momentum in the 1970s. Federal and State laws contributing to the rise of CRM include, but are not limited to, The Archaeological and Historic Preservation Act of 1974 (AHPA), The Archaeological Resources Protection Act of 1979 (ARPA), The California Environmental Quality Act (CEQA) and The Native American Graves Protection and Repatriation Act (NAGPRA). The passage of these laws coincides with the rise of contract archaeology (archaeological research, survey or excavation undertaken through contracts with government agencies, private organizations or individuals), which also helped CRM create an economic foothold in environmental compliance laws (Phillips 2003). Under the umbrella of CRM lie many approaches for the compliance of federal and state laws. Choosing the appropriate approach can help maneuver through the intricacies these laws. The problem is, in following the laws designed for the past, we sometimes forget about the present, or even the future. Practitioners focus so much on following the law they tend to forget about the living. It is as if we forget that archaeology is a subfield of anthropology. However, with the right approach practitioners can also help identify that behind all of the bureaucracy, there are real human beings. A landscape approach to archaeology is not just helpful for assessing site significance or determining National Register eligibility (Hardesty and Little 2009:32), but it is also a valuable tool for civic engagement. While law
may dictate the majority of CRM work, community engagement or heritage outreach is also gaining support through landscape archaeology.

Landscape archaeology is quickly becoming a well-established subdiscipline, implementing numerous scientific approaches and methods, but it has been a windy road to get to this point. Modern landscape archaeology is rooted in the settlement pattern studies created by Julian Steward and Gordon R. Willey in the mid-twentieth century. Both men helped establish a varied approach to understanding human adaption to the environment (Steward 1955; Willey 1953). These early works inspired archaeologists to consider how cultures used the environment by analyzing patterns of artifacts and settlements instead of just examining the artifact or settlement itself (Binford 1978; Bettinger 1991; Hodder and Orton 1976). Landscape archaeology has challenged the stagnant view of nature and explored the ways in which landscape is constructed, conceptualized, and contested (Ashmore and Knapp 1999). However, depending on its geography and time period, “landscape archaeology” can have multiple definitions.

Understanding perceptions of landscape through archaeology may have begun in the United States more specifically in the 1920s, when Colonial Williamsburg and Thomas Jefferson’s Monticello were actively sought for preservation by John D Rockefeller and The Thomas Jefferson Foundation (respectively). More recently, in *The Phenomenology of Landscape* (1994), British archaeologist Christopher Tilley drew attention to the importance of past and present sensory experience of landscape and presented the first systematic consideration of the phenomenological approach in archaeology. The phenomenological approach applies the use of sensory experiences
to view and interpret an archaeological site or cultural landscape. The understanding of the relationship between culture and the landscape continues to evolve, as it is deep and multifaceted.

The landscape archaeology approach focuses on the ways in which people have constructed and used the environment around them. In this regard, archaeologists are following broader trends in analysis borrowing themes used by geographers, environmental historians, architectural historians, and cultural heritage practitioners, to name a few. As historian and geographer Robert Melnick states, "... not only are they dynamic, but the robust characteristics of landscape are desirable and essential to their sustainability, whether we consider natural or cultural features" (Melnick 2000:23). Landscape inherently relates to identity, and in understanding that relationship, we understand its components. Barbara Bender points out that:

Landscapes are created out of people's understanding and engagement with the world around them. They are always in the process of being shaped and reshaped. Being of the moment and in process, they are always temporal... Landscapes provoke memory, facilitate {or impede} action. Nor are they a recording, for they are always polyvalent and multivocal (Bender 2002:2).

As individuals, we are able to manipulate the landscape to represent what is important to us, but similarly what is present in the landscape can alter our perceptions of what is important to us. Modern practitioners of cultural heritage studies are using landscape as a tool to better understand not only how a culture interacts with its landscape, but what is important to the individual or group.
**Cultural landscape analysis using documentary archaeology**

Issues of reading the landscape in the context of historical archaeology have been addressed in many ways. De Cunzo and Ernst (2005) point out that there are a variety of theoretical approaches to historical landscape archaeology, some which involve multiple disciplines. They argue that such diversity is beneficial in addressing the relationship between landscape and culture, as it broadens the perspective from which archaeologists contemplate the relationship between landscapes and culture. While having a wide range of approaches to historical landscape archaeology can prove daunting at times, such complexity makes it a powerful tool in the analysis of diverse topics. One example of its utility is in the examination of the cyclical relationship between the landscape and its human inhabitants.

The recursive relationship between identity and landscape is key in addressing how to read the temporal and spatial landscape of Santa Rosa. There are repeated patterns of behavior between the landscape and the culture, whether they are implied or blatantly stated, as in much of the literature today (Bender 2002; Hall 2006; Church 2002; Purser 1989). Tracy Ireland uses historical archaeology in Australia to examine how the land helps shape identity. She also shows that there are many different layers of landscape telling many different stories, "...there is no road at all but a network of crossing paths, leading in all directions, towards untold stories" (Ireland 2003:68). To apply this to Santa Rosa, historically the Spanish and Mexican layer of landscape were an expression of the inhabitants' identity, which in turn, help shape those inhabitants' identity. However, presently the Spanish and Mexican layer is understood today only as relic isolated features such as the Carrillo Adobe, and is
just one story of many that can lead to understanding the complex network of the community. Applying these types of approaches when dealing with contested places reveals how landscape archaeology can benefit a historically marginalized community.

Considering the source of the document is important in fully understanding its potential. “The archaeological, oral historical, and documentary records are distinct sources of evidence that have been shaped by varied circumstances of creation and preservation” (Wilkie 2006:20). Both John Moorland and Wilkie point out that archaeologists tend to forget the role of writing as a tool of oppression and power. In her work researching the lives of Silvia Freeman and Lucrecia Perryman, Wilkie points out that while the documents such as census records and city records are helpful, documents connected with the women must be viewed critically as government records can be incomplete or biased when involving African-American subjects, especially women (Wilkie 2006:21). As is the case with the documentation of a community that has been historically marginalized, records of Mexican or Spanish California must also be viewed with skepticism.

While the study of documents such as census records, city directories, church records, deeds, diaries and tax lists is essential to urban archaeology, it is the materiality of an urban site that breathes life into a city’s past, illuminating its relationship with the present (O’Keeffe and Yamin 2006:96). Wilkie points out that practitioners need to be more active while researching documentary archaeology. In order to better read documentary archaeology the practitioner must actively question and compare the data. By tacking back and forth between multiple lines of evidence, the researcher is able to illuminate additional
Part of the craft of documentary archaeology lies in recognizing different scales of temporal and social resolution offered in our data. Once we have interrogated each evidentiary line for insights it offers, then we can proceed with making connections among our sources (Wilkie 2006:20).

In the four case studies outlined below, CRM practitioners and archaeologists have used the relationship between the landscape and community groups to reveal information otherwise largely ignored. A main assumption in the literature is that there is an “untold story,” or perception that has been lost by time or researchers. In his study of Cape Town, Martin Hall uses material culture left in the landscape, such as the Grand West Casino, and pairs it with historical documentation to gain a new perspective of the urban landscape throughout generations. By comparing the changing architecture of the hotel against the social and political changes in Cape Town, Grand West represents an eclectic mix of images that include early Dutch settlement, grand colonial and ‘Malay’ traditions. Thus, there resides a single building depicting the various perceptions of self-representation at Cape Town. Hall likens the change in the landscape throughout time to a palimpsest: “They are palimpsests in which buildings, street layouts and monumental structures are interpreted and reinterpreted as changing expressions of relations of power” (Hall 2006:189). Hall studies the complexity of identities throughout time by mapping three layers of cultural forms: the Cape shaped by early Dutch rule, the mobilization of heritage in the closing years of the apartheid segregation, and the discovery of heritage as entertainment in the contemporary Cape. Through his research, Hall depicts how cultural landscapes are inseparable from their political and economic contexts.
Similarly, Jill Grant uses historical documentation to examine the grid system as not only a planning tool, but as a means of power both negatively and positively (Grant 2001). The author uses different societies throughout time and space to examine the ways in which the grid has affected the socioeconomics of the community. These societies are broken into, “diffusing authority,” which links land to identity and economic productivity, “centralizing authority,” sees land as value, and “globalizing authority,” provides land as a resource for economic growth:

Attitudes towards land vary markedly with these different approaches. Diffusing systems typically link land to identity and economic productivity. Land may be held communally, or may be distributed according to accepted principles related to issues of equity or merit. Centralizing and globalizing systems see land as something to control for strategic purposes and from which to wrest value. Centralizing systems tightly control land to serve the needs and power of central authorities. In globalizing systems, land provides the resources that fuel economic growth and expansion (Grant 2001).

By viewing the way in which these societies implement a grid pattern, we can better understand their objectives. Grant points out that by studying the grid patterns of these societies and its implementation it is a powerful tool in viewing the landscape in a tangible way. During the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries the grid was used heavily in American towns. A central square provided space for meeting hall and church, with residential lots surrounding the grid, this helped to codify the ideal social order, ensuring the land was distributed evenly (Grant 2001:226). Understanding some of the fundamentals of power that lie within landscape change can help in understanding laws already in place, or what is eventually recognized as significant. As Barbara Little points out, deciding what is important within the landscape is
usually a political act. “The development of heritage and the promotion of heritage sites are essentially political acts. Heritage connotes authenticity although the way it is developed and negotiated is often about a groups’ relationship with power” (Little 2014:43). Identifying the localized landscape, or what is important to a community that can be buried by its larger counterparts, or political powers is important in understanding how the landscape was created.

By examining how the Mexican land grant and the U.S implemented grid interacted historically in Colorado, Minette Church uses landscape to explore how communities interact with each other, the government, and the environment. The author asserts that through these interactions a new cultural landscape is created. Church points out that archaeologists have relied heavily on larger spatial documentation like Spanish and Mexican land grant documents, treaty documents confining Native Americans to reservations, and the Homestead Act of 1862 to shape discussions about the southern Great Plains. These documents perpetuate the large-scale, well-known discussions and ignore the local social and ideological constructs that also help shaped land use (Church 2002:222). By using additional and more localized documentation like parcel ownership, Church depicts how the localized landscapes are just as important as the larger ones, and read together they create an even more detailed picture of history. Another example of a recognizable microcosm is that of cemeteries.

Cultural landscapes are also applicable to understanding urban cemeteries; conversely, cemeteries can help us understand the larger cultural landscape. Geographer Richard Francaviglia states, “cemeteries are deliberately created and
highly organized cultural landscapes” (Francaviglia 1971:501). Francaviglia uses investigations at Oregon, Utah, Minnesota, Wisconsin, and New York to explain how cemeteries evolve in tandem with the American scene and that, “they may in fact be miniaturizations and idealizations of larger American settlement patterns”(Francaviglia 1971:501). Francaviglia examines layout, location, changes in monuments, and the evolution of the cemetery landscape in order to depict that cemeteries “as visual and spatial expression of death, may tell us a great deal about the living people who created them”(Francaviglia 1971:509). Like Francaviglia, Miller and Rivera use examples from cemeteries in New Orleans to depict how the cemetery helps to create a sense of place and is influenced by the culture surrounding it (Miller and Rivera 2006). In New Orleans, cemeteries mimic the town, equipped with small buildings with numbers, and streets with names. The community regularly uses the cemetery for public functions, like parades or organized runs.

These studies have used documentary archaeology to reveal the recursive relationship between landscape and identity to help tell a story that is otherwise largely ignored. They also help to frame how the past is relevant with the present. By adding to the history of a contested space, the voice of the marginalized community becomes more concrete and applicable to the community as a whole.

*Interpreting Contested Landscapes in Present-day Communities*

Modern CRM practitioners are also using landscape archaeology to interpret contested landscapes. These applications are more direct in their presentation of a racial or sociopolitical marginalization throughout history. Barbara Little and Paul Shackel point out:
Authentic heritage often is painful history and “heritage that hurts” has become one of the recognizable categories of heritage studies, especially as it pertains to the tourism industry or to educational curricula. In an immediate and deeply personal way, this is the argument for the truth and reconciliation efforts in nations recovering from debilitating violence (Little and Shacket 2014:43).

At Indiana University-Purdue University (IUPUI), Paul Mullins studies the displacement of a predominantly African-American neighborhood for the development of the campus; he identifies this area as a contested landscape. When the University wanted to expand, the African-American neighborhood was pushed out with little to no consultation with its inhabitants. Mullins uses archaeological data and community engagement to bring a different perspective of the history of the campus landscape. During his investigation, Mullins discovered that previous archaeological work uncovered foil milk caps. These milk caps were put in storage, as it was assumed that this showed that the previous households drank milk. However, through personal communications with an African-American elder, it was revealed that an amusement park in Indianapolis that was usually white only became open to the African-American community once a year. Milk caps were used to gain admission. Archaeological research for his project highlights the connection between racism, the urban landscape, and the contemporary IUPUI campus. According to Mullins:

...any visitor to a near-Westside archaeological site is literally standing on top of stratigraphic deposits that contain household refuse, architectural debris, evidence of the area’s complex ecology over millennia, and many layers of fill leveling the contemporary campus (Mullins 2006:63).

While the author is not physically digging up the IUPUI in order to reveal these layers, by applying documentary, and “engagement” archaeology, Mullins is able to
“examine how life along the color lines could so profoundly shape American life while it paradoxically seems invisible to so many people” (Mullins 2006:64). Mullins is interested in raising awareness about present-day inequalities and working alongside existing community politics to address long-standing social justice issues.

Like Mullins, Eleanor Conlin Casella also studies contested landscapes in what she calls “landscapes of punishment and resistance” at Ross, Van Dieman’s land, female penal colony in Australia. According to Casella, contraband from inmates considered along with the reaction of the institutional authorities “demonstrate overlapping landscapes of penal domination and inmate resistance that operated to create this site” (Casella 2010:92). At the Ross Female Factory, Casella shows that the landscape of strictly defined and hierarchically organized locales were only partially realized and there were additional relationships and exchanges than just those of prisoner to prisoner, or prisoner to guard. Through archaeological evidence, she shows that an alternate landscape of underground exchange of contraband undermined the documented institutional template (Casella 120).

Across the pond, Anthropologist Barbara Bender uses Stonehenge to illustrate how one landscape over time can mean many things to different groups. “One can only understand the contestations and appropriations of a landscape by careful contextualisation” (Bender 1995:248). Over a period of a thousand years, different stakeholders with economic and political power have attempted, physically and aesthetically to appropriate Stonehenge. Those engaged with the land have contested these appropriations in a variety of ways (Bender 1995:246). Since the mid-1970s, a mixed group of travellers called the New Agers have held a Free Festival in the field
next to Stonehenge. To the New Agers, Stonehenge represents a meeting place for spiritual and non-spiritual celebrations. Their festival was tolerated until the 1980s when the government and police moved to end them in an effort to preserve the site. “At the end of the day England’s landscape is a proprietor palimpsest. The travellers own no land or houses, and pay no (direct) taxes” (Bender 1995:275). More recently, the landscape at Stonehenge is a construct of preservation run by the English Heritage Organization created mainly for tourism. It focuses on the monolith itself and the perception presented by mainstream archaeologists who may not agree with each other, but collectively disagree with alternative theories from the New Agers. The contested landscape at Stonehenge is a good example of how many different types of groups can have a vested interested in the same landscape over a considerable amount of time. These previous studies on contested spaces can be helpful in interpreting the archaeological layers of Santa Rosa, and its own connections between society and the (contested) urban landscape.

*Civic Engagement, the Law, and the Role of (Landscape) Archaeology*

A landscape approach to archaeology is not just helpful for assessing site significance or determining National Register eligibility (Hardesty and Little 2009:32), but it is also a valuable tool for civic engagement. While law may dictate the majority of Cultural Resource Management (CRM) work, community engagement or heritage outreach is also gaining support through a variety of efforts by CRM practitioners themselves, including landscape archaeology among other strategies.

While the landscape approach can be beneficial for both executing the law and civic engagement, there are few laws and programs specifically designed for
landscapes themselves (King 2013). In 1962 the United Nations Educational, Scientific, and Cultural Organization (UNESCO) stated that “nations should preserve and where possible restore natural, rural, and urban landscapes and sites, whether natural or manmade, which have a cultural or aesthetic interest or form typical natural surroundings” (King 2013:258). The historic context necessary for a successful landscape study can also benefit some of the convoluted areas of federal law. Hardesty and Little point out, “Specifying the range of property types in a landscape provides a sense of how an Area of Potential Effect (APE) is a sample of a larger archaeological landscape” (Hardesty and Little 2009:34). National Park Service (NPS) has created a “cultural landscape initiative” which helps landscape management issues geared towards designed and vernacular landscapes. NPS guidance on landscape is confused and confusing, referring variously to “designed landscape,” “historical vernacular landscape,” “rural historic landscape,” “historic sites,” “and “ethnographic landscapes.” Terms overlap, and at least most of them are not mutually exclusive (King 2013:256).

King also points out that it would be more valuable for CRM practitioners to use the definition given in the Secretary of the Interior’s Guidelines for the Treatment of Cultural Landscape, in which a cultural landscape is defined as, “a geographic area (including both cultural and natural resources and the wildlife or domestic animals therein) associated with a historic event, activity, or person or exhibiting other cultural or aesthetic values” (NPS 2013:4). These definitions and guidelines help move towards identifying landscape for the purposes of laws and regulations, but away from applications of community outreach. Additionally, laws and regulations do not address issues in long-term heritage or community type issues. As is the case with
many CRM projects, specificity seems to dictate that money is spent anywhere but community outreach. Laws such as the National Environmental Protection Act (NEPA) and the California Environmental Quality Act (CEQA) require federal, state, or local agencies to follow a procedure to help regulate environmental impacts and adopt measures to avoid or mitigate those impacts. Practitioners are trained to identify archaeological remains and create educated decisions that affect environmental projects in a swift and affordable way. Consultation between a qualified archaeologist or cultural resource manager and the agency is a required part of NEPA and CEQA, and is sometimes the only opportunity for community input. Problems with public input is not just a national issue and according to Alister Scott, the problem is more complex then engaging with the community:

Assessing public perception of the landscape continues to be both an academic and a policy challenge. The involvement of the public in landscape matters has been and continues to be both controversial and problematic. Constraints of time and resources, together with a reluctance to delegate responsibility to the public, have generally limited the scope and influence of much participation to conventional reactive strategies (Scott 2008:347).

For his research, Scott uses the definition outlined by Countryside Council for Wales (CCW), which he believes captures the multi-dimensional nature of landscape and applies it to his work with public perception.

Landscape may be thought of as the environment perceived predominantly visually but also with all the other senses. Sight, smell, and sound all contribute to landscape appreciation. Our experience of landscape is also affected by cultural background and personal and professional interests. For CCW’s purposes landscape is defined as the sum of all these components (CCW, 1999, Appendix 1, p.4)
Using landscape archaeology to bridge the gap between contract archaeology and community outreach can prove difficult, but can also be truly beneficial. How we view the past can help shape our perceptions and relationships with each other as well as the past.

Barbara Little uses the analogy of *sankofa*, “an Akan (Ghana) word that refers to the concept of reclaiming the past and understanding how the present came to be so that we can move forward” (Little 2007:15). This is especially important in dealing with contested cultures or landscapes. Kelly Britt points out, while they may not be ready for it, archaeologists are becoming leaders in a type of civic engagement, what she calls heritage tourism. Heritage tourism includes experiencing places, artifacts and activities that represent stories of people in the past or the present.

With the rise of the use of archaeological sites in the role of heritage tourism projects, archaeologists now find themselves in the role of heritage tourism professionals. This new role can require archaeologists not to rely as much on the traditional academic training they have received but to decipher political and economic demands for which many have no formal training (Britt 2007:152).

According to Britt, fully understanding civic engagement requires one to be an active member in the community (Britt 2007). While archaeologists are trained for many things, dealing with the public is rarely one of them. Yet, it is clear that, in learning to read the landscape, a tangible historicized view can be visible for the community and thus used as a tool in dealing with civic outreach or applying a local, state or federal nexus. The role of the archaeologist should not end with the identification of the resource but with a connection to the culture. If we continue to treat communities,
past, present and future, as science or law instead of people, archaeologists will continue to come up short.

*Landscape as Tourism*

The representation of a landscape as a tourist attraction is a common theme in western society. With the rise of transportation, came the possibility of tourism. "Without the technological transformation that accompanied industrialization, without the transportation networks, the broader distribution of goods, and the spread of cultural conventions through newly invented media, the combination of enlightenment, affirmation, recreation, and leisure that is twentieth-century tourism would not exist" (Rothman 1998:30). As the railroads, and emerging transportation options were made available to the public, people began to travel with more convenience. Transportation became available and affordable to more than just the elite and upper class. Rothman also points out, the middle and working class became tourists because they could: wealth, time, and desire were all factors in the popularity of tourism. The United States began to market itself in order to capitalize on these concepts. When Yellowstone National Park was created in 1872, American attitudes towards wilderness had shifted (Marris 2011:18). Through the formation of this park National Parks creates the “Yellowstone Model,” “based on setting aside pristine wilderness areas and banning all human use therein, apart from tourism” (Marris 2011:18).

The infatuation with the built environment and the monuments in the old world, were mirrored into the natural environment of the west. These landscapes were seen as the achievements of the west. Niagara Falls, Yellowstone Park, and the giant
Sequoias of California were America's response to the Gothic churches, Roman ruins, and Sistine Chapel of the Old World. In the end, Yellowstone was encouraged by the Northern Pacific Railroad to be made a public park in an effort to prevent the geysers and springs from becoming non-profit (Marris 2011:21), and probably to support their growing effort in marketing tourism. Urbanization, industrialization, and transportation created a society where leisure was a possibility, and wilderness was the cure for what ailed them. All of these cultural factors helped to create the idea of Yellowstone and its pristine insides. In discussing perceptions of preservation, wilderness and landscapes, William Cronon points out our Western affinity for preserving the people-less landscapes.

Those who seek to preserve such “wilderness” from the activities of native peoples run the risk of reproducing the same tragedy – being forcibly removed from an ancient home... a cultural myth that encourages us to “preserve” peopleless landscape that have not existed in such places for millennia (Cronon 1995:486).

These culturally constructed views of wilderness easily spill into tangible heritage sites. For her research on Point Reyes National Seashore, Laura Watt explains how we learn to justify preservation.

... in all forms of preservation there is a strong tendency to idealize the resource in question, whether it is the historical past, a present-day cultural system, or a natural resource of ecosystem – or a combination of all three in a landscape – to make it representative of some imagined era of perfection, thus all the more worth of preservation” (Watt 2016:5).

Little attributes this to living in the Anthropocene, what she defines as a time for everyone with an interest of our surroundings, whether is natural or built to work together. Little uses the example of peace parks as a balance between the
environment, culture and people. These locations help to promote learning peaceful was of being in the world, instead of violence.

These concepts can be applied to an urban setting as well and the preservation of the vernacular landscape. Representation of Mexican California historically has been altered to fit our perceptions and ideals. In her research on Mexican California, Pheobe Kropp uses four case studies, the El Camino Real Highway, San Diego Panama-California Exposition, Olvera Street – a Mexican marketplace in Los Angeles, and a racially restricted suburb of Rancho Santa Fe, to explore the effects and application of the “Old California” ideal to the landscape, specifically with architecture. Kropp views her case studies with a lens of romanticism in order to tease out the myths used by the twentieth century Anglos to explore the relationship between culture and memory (Kropp 2006). Kropp shows that the origins of this romanticism arose in the early twentieth century, when California Anglos recast the mission days as an idyllic golden age with pious padres, hard working Indians and heroic caballeros. By using this landscape, Kropp depicts how the Spanish past is created out of both memory and nostalgia and how the built environment continues to marginalize the Mexican and Native pasts.

In learning to read the landscape, it is important to remember that it belongs to everyone. These examples show that the story of a landscape permeates with the exclusion of people. In Santa Rosa, historians and official city representations idealize the heritage site of the adobe and ignore the present-day culture with which the site is directly linked. Much like the culturally created idea of wilderness, the
romantic ideals of Mexican California with Spanish style architecture and aptly names streets is a reflection of our perceptions of history, while we cannot undo it, we can definitely move forward by understanding it and accepting the possibility of change. As Kropp points out, it is not our job to correct history, but to add to it.

Historic spaces can enshrine certain cultural narratives of race, citizenship, or nation, and at the same time, by providing an impetus for resistance, contain the seeds of those narratives' transformation. That memories can be ambiguous and that places can be reclaimed only confirms the ability of the past – or a particular vision of it – to set the stage on which we enact and contest public culture (Kropp 2009:269).

This thesis will use the themes laid out by landscape studies and continue to build on them to understand the historical narrative of Santa Rosa. How the landscape can create a narrative of a culture is evident in our current perceptions of the Mexican and Spanish past. By reading the evidence left behind with a more objective lens, we can re-imagine the space and time that we all share.
Chapter 3. Historical Context

A Brief Local History

Research related to the prehistory of Sonoma County suggests the project vicinity has been inhabited for at least the last 6,000 years (Fredrickson 1973). Santa Rosa lies within the ethnographic territory of the Bitakomtara tribelet of the Southern Pomo linguistic affiliation (Stewart 1943). According to Stewart (1943:53), the area of the Bitakomtara, covers about 200 square miles. It is bounded on the north by Mark West Creek; on the east by Sonoma Canyon, Bear Creek, and the summit of the Mayacama Mountains; on the south by the peak of Sonoma Mountain (north of Cotati) and the end of the Laguna de Santa Rosa Creek; and on the west by Laguna de Santa Rosa. Ethnographer S.A. Barrett reported village sites in the area, including one along the south side of Santa Rosa Creek and several others on the west side of the Laguna de Santa Rosa in the vicinity of Sebastopol (Barrett 1908). In historic documents, the Indians of the Santa Rosa Plain are often referred to as the Gualomi tribelet. Gualomi is actually the Coast Miwok name for the people that inhabited the Santa Rosa area, but since the missionaries used Coast Miwok guides the people were referred to by their Coast Miwok name. Gualomi is also used in reference to a main village site along Santa Rosa Creek and possibly Barrett’s ethnographic village site of hûkabet•a’wî, located on the south side of Santa Rosa Creek in the vicinity of the Carrillo Abobe.
Between 1769 and 1833, twenty-one Spanish missions in Alta California were established by the Catholic priests of the Franciscan order. The missions served as religious and military outposts and were aimed at spreading Christianity among the local Native Americans. The Gualomi Pomo of the Santa Rosa area began to be missionized in 1821 (Milliken 2008). "The wave of 1824 Santa Rosa Plains baptisms came to a head on September 3, 1824, when Father Amoros went north to the main Gualomi village, somewhere along Santa Rosa Creek, to baptize some of the last tribal Gualiomi, Jauyomis, and Livantolomis, elders who were either too resistant or too weak to travel to Mission San Rafael" (Milliken 2008). During his visit Amoros named the village "Santa Rosa de Lima in Gualomi". By 1826 mission control of the Indians of the Santa Rosa plain was nearly complete and "the mission records suggest, the Gualomi group as a tribal unit came to an end with the baptism of Captain NarcisoNomeuaye's mother and another elderly couple at Santa Rosa on June 20, 1826" (Milliken 2008).

According to Thompson's 1877 Atlas of Sonoma County, California, Father Amoros came to the territory of the Cainemeros tribe of Indians who resided on Chocoalomi, the Indian name for Santa Rosa Creek. Thompson states, at a location opposite the old adobe (Carrillo Adobe) Father Amoros captured an Indian girl, baptized her in the stream and gave her the name Santa Rosa because on that very day the Church was celebrating the feast of Santa Rosa de Lima. In the 1930s the Kiwanis Club of Santa Rosa erected a monument on Highway 12 near Hampton Woods, which commemorates the baptism of that girl by Father Amoros in 1829, an event that led to the naming of Santa Rosa. However, there are some discrepancies in that account, as
revealed by Milliken’s recent research of baptismal records. These show that the majority of Gualomi baptisms had taken place by 1826, suggesting the baptism happened earlier, or Santa Rosa was already named by 1826 (Milliken 2008).

Santa Rosa Land Planning during Mexican California

Historians have noted that the Mexican government and specifically their General, Mariano Vallejo had originally viewed the area of present-day Santa Rosa for political purposes in order to dissuade Russian attempts to extend the boundaries of Fort Ross and Bodega (Freeman 1947, LeBaron et al. 1985, Tays 1937). Fort Ross was the hub of the southern most Russian settlement in North American from 1812 to 1842. According to Stephen Watrous, the enmity and suspicion that existed between the Russian and Spanish and Mexican authorities in California was generally overstated stemming mostly from the Spanish government forbidding trade with foreigners. The Russians had control of Bodega Bay, a main shipping port and in fact trade between the Spanish and Mexicans and the Russians happened quite frequently (Watrous 1998). However, as military man with high aspirations, General Vallejo’s ability to establish a presence between Russia and the rest of the Americas was probably a calculated military move. In an 1833 report to the Mexican Commandant General, (then) Second Lieutenant Vallejo notes his affinity towards Santa Rosa. “I am always inclined to found [the pueblo] in the immediate surroundings of Santa Rosa and Jaquilomi¹ for, in addition to the environment, it is enhanced by a beautiful setting in terms of topography, views, etc” (Vallejo 1833:7). Research conducted by John Freeman for his Master’s Thesis in 1947 on the history of the Cabeza de Santa

¹ Jauyomi or Gualomi. Rancheria, called by Spaniards Santa Rosa de Lima, at or near Santa Rosa (Merriam 1977:65).
Rosa land grant, suggests that Vallejo originally chose a site located on the Mark West creek, an area approximately three miles north of present-day city of Santa Rosa. In 1834 “lines were layed (sic) out by a surveyor named Zamorano in the ceremony which followed, Governor Figueroa struck the first blow and the new town was underway” (Freeman 1947:23). The town, named Santa Anna y Farias, failed to gain settlers due to a number of setbacks stemming from instability within the Mexican government. During his research, Freeman attempted to relocate the ill-fated town, but was unsuccessful in finding any remaining evidence (Freeman 1947:22). However, it is possible that Freeman’s research coincides more tightly with the land grant of San Miguel West (not Rancho Cabeza de Santa Rosa land grant) established by William Mark West in the early 1800s.

William Mark West came to Sonoma in 1832 after marrying Guadalupe Vasquez, a niece of General Vallejo. Mark West built an adobe and established a trading post and post office. After his death, General Vallejo filed a claim for West in the amount of six square leagues with the Public Land Commission in 1852. The Land Commission rejected the claim but the U.S. District Court in 1857 confirmed it. The U.S Attorney General filed an appeal with the case to the U.S. Supreme Court, and a one and a half square league of the grant was patented to Guadalupe Vasquez de West in 1865 (United States District Court Land Case 326 ND). The boundary for the Cabeza de Santa Rosa land grant is depicted on the San Miguel diseño (the Spanish word diseño translates to “design” in English and usually consists of a watercolor drawing of the land grant on cloth) as “lindero de carrillos.” Conversely, the boundary for Mark West land grant is depicted on the Cabeza de Santa Rosa
linder de Senor Marcus Weste." Additionally, Freeman’s research to uncover Vallejo’s first attempt at a western presence should be viewed in context with the San Miguel diseño, not the Cabeza de Santa Rosa. Whatever the case, it is clear that while there was activity at the Carrillo Adobe, there was also activity to the northwest at Mark West as well, and Vallejo had his hands in all of it.

General Vallejo helped to secure the location of present-day Santa Rosa to his mother-in-law, Maria Carrillo. The Rancho Cabeza de Santa Rosa land grant held by Maria Ygnacia Lopez de Carrillo, was granted in 1841. The land grant encompassed most of what is now present-day Santa Rosa with a declination of approximately 17 degrees east of true north (magnetic north). Carrillo built an adobe near present-day Farmer’s Lane and Highway 12. The ruins are still visible today. The establishment of the Rancho Cabeza de Santa Rosa by his mother-in-law helped General Vallejo maintain a foothold in between Sonoma and Fort Ross.

In the early 1850s the Santa Rosa town founders Barthold Hoen, Feodor Gustav Hahman and William Hartman rented the adobe and began a tavern and store called Hoen & Co. The men sent wagons filled with supplies on trading missions to the neighboring settlers. Soon, the men purchased land from Julio Carrillo, son of Maria Carrillo, who had inherited much of the rancho after his mother’s death. Hoen placed the first survey stake for the town of Santa Rosa in 1853, running a line from a point of the creek to a point north of the plaza for his 70 acres and Carrillo filed the first official plat map of Santa Rosa in 1854. First through Fifth streets ran east to west, and A through E Streets ran north and south, with the plaza in the center. The lots east of the plaza were Hoen’s; the ones west of the plaza were Carrillo’s (leBaron
et al. 1985:24). In 1854 a campaign was started by Barney Hoen to bring the county seat to Santa Rosa; Hoen and Carrillo donated land for a courthouse and town square, and the county residents voted to transfer the county seat from Sonoma to Santa Rosa establishing Santa Rosa’s legitimacy as a city. In 1867, the County Board of Supervisors granted incorporation of the town, and the State of California confirmed the incorporation in 1868. While the area that now encompasses Santa Rosa had a rocky start, the emergence of the first railroad in 1870 Santa Rosa became an important Northern California hub and earned a permanent spot on the map.

While currently Santa Rosa reflects a town that can be perceived as a product of the American West, the Mexican landscape represented on paper through the Rancho Cabeza de Santa Rosa land grant is still visible in the larger context when reviewing historical documents. The skewed orientation of the land grant next to the grid pattern of U.S Government is visible on most maps (Figure 1).
Mexican California Survey Allocation

During the Spanish and later Mexican California, the governments encouraged settlement in California through the establishment of large land grants. Land-grant titles were government issued, permanent property ownership rights. Mexico took control of California after it obtained its own independence from Spain.

Figure 1: Reynolds and Proctor Map, 1898, David Rumsey Collection
in 1821. The new government soon initiated liberal land policies including the granting of ranchos (large tracts of land) to prospective settlers. By 1824 Mexican Colony Law established rules for petitioning a land grant. First the settler could petition for citizenship, pledging loyalty to Mexican and the Roman Catholic Church; after one year, he could receive citizenship and petition for a land grant. A native born or naturalized Mexican citizen could make an application for a land grant, setting forth location boundaries or approximate size, declaring he would stock with legally required number of horses and cattle, and supply a “diseño” or rough topographical map. A copy of the grant was kept at the governor’s office and the diseño and copy were placed in a file called the expediente. A rudimentary survey was a requirement in order to obtain a title to a rancho. This often consisted of two men on horseback measuring distances with a lariat or rope of fifty varas in length, the equivalent of about 137.5 feet. The lariat was connected to the bottoms of two long staves that were held by the horsemen. Work progressed in a leapfrog fashion and was sometimes attended by the interested parties, including neighbors. The bounds of the survey were typically geographic features or landmarks, such as rivers, ridges, large stones or trees, etc. The land grants were issued free of charge and limited in size to 11 leagues, or about 48,712.4 acres.

United States California Land Allocation

With the Treaty of Guadalupe Hidalgo the United States gained control of California from Mexico. With Mexican grants already in place, the U.S. Government proceeded to implement land policies of their own (White 1991:137). The Land Ordinance of 1785 placed a grid system around many of the land grants, if they could
be verified. With this act, the U.S. Government was physically taking over the emerging landscape. After its independence, the United States wanted to expand westward, beginning with its Thirteen Colonies and the Mississippi River. The Northwest Land Ordinance of 1785 established the basis for the U.S. Public Land Survey (PLS). The PLS is a method used to survey and spatially identify land parcels before designation of ownership. The PLS used a cadastral method that created, marked, defined, retraced, resurveyed, and reestablish the boundaries and subdivisions of the public lands of the country. The cadastral method helps to maintain the value, size and location of United States Land. The initial point of the intersection is the principal meridian and the baseline. From this point, townships are marked off. Each township is thirty-six square miles. Townships are designated on the east-west direction, are divided into thirty-six sections, and are numbered 1-36. Existing and verified ranchos were not usually re-surveyed by the PLS.

The General Land Office (GLO) was created in 1812 to continue the objective of the Land Ordinance in the Western United States. The surveyors implemented a similar method laid out by the PLS and used magnetic declination. Magnetic declination or variation is the angle on the horizontal plane between magnetic north (the direction the north end of a compass needle points, corresponding to the direction of the Earth’s magnetic field lines) and true north (the direction along a meridian towards the geographic North Pole). This angle varies depending on position on the Earth's surface, and changes over time. A key is located on most USGS maps, showing the user how to account for the discrepancy between true north and magnetic north. In Santa Rosa, noting the orientation of the land grant orientated
towards magnetic north, skewed against the orientation of the cadastral survey towards true north is important in recreating its Mexican and Spanish past (Figure 2).
Figure 2: Portion of U.S. General Land Office Map depicting Mexican Land Grants and surveyed quadrangles. 1866. Cabeza de Santa Rosa Land Grant is 59.
Chapter 4: Methods

Historical Research

The purpose of this thesis is to use landscape archaeology to reveal the specific continuities and changes in the original Spanish and Mexican era landscape from the inception of the Mexican land grant, Cabeza de Santa Rosa, to the present-day city of Santa Rosa. Maps, census records, land planning documents, newspaper articles, and site records were collected and then analyzed. These documents can be seen as nuanced "palimpsests," to use Martin Hall’s terms, and can then be contrasted with the community’s self-representation of the historical Mexican presence. The resulting comparison used to help reimagine a more nuanced and shared sense of place. By using the methods outlines below, historical archaeology can help achieve the goals outlined in the beginning of this thesis.

California weathered a number of changes before, during, and after its transformation into statehood. Changes include the development of a government system, industrialism, and globalization. While some are more evident than others are, these changes can be reflected in the landscape. By breaking the volume of information into smaller groups that are more manageable it becomes easier to apply Wilkie’s method of tacking back and forth between the documentary and spatial data. The focused areas allow the research to become more detailed and better able to correlate between data sources. From here, selected maps are geo-referenced in a GIS to show the development of land planning efforts throughout time, as well as in an attempt to show the accessibility of these applications in civic outreach, or community engagement projects. Five focused geographical locations of Santa
Rosa located within the boundary of the Cabeza de Santa Rosa land grant were identified (Figure 3). Using a purposive sample, these locations have the ability to reveal features in the landscape. The first two study locations include the built environment of The Carrillo Adobe (Location A), the confluence of Matanzas Creek at Spring Creek (Location B) and the confluence of Matanzas Creek at Santa Rosa Creek (Location C). These locations consists of urban topography and are important because the Carrillo Adobe and Matanzas Creek are two tangible examples of features in the landscape that have already been associated with the Mexican period in Santa Rosa by the community. Both confluences are important because there is a lack of data supporting which confluence the ranchos used for the Matanza, the annual butchering of cattle for hides and tallow. Spring Creek is geographically closer to the Carrillo Adobe and may have been a more appropriate location. The fourth study location is Santa Rosa’s Railroad Square (Location D). This location depicts commercial topography and lack of recognized or tangible Mexican period attributes. This location may provide examples of extreme changes in the landscape, or a geographical location where historical Mexican presence is not as evident. By focusing on what is missing, the location can tell us what planners or the community considers unimportant. The fifth study location encompasses Santa Rosa’s Rural Cemetery (Location E). This location represents a commemorative landscape in Santa Rosa. A city’s growth pattern can be reflected in its Rural Cemetery (Francaviglia 1971; French 1974; Miller and Riviera 2006). The temporal and spatial data such as plot locations and orientations associated with the cemetery can provide examples of continuity or change within the landscape of the greater Santa Rosa area.
Figure 3: Project Locations
Again, to manage the volume of information, the five spatial locations were divided further into three temporal locations. The earliest is the Spanish and Mexican era, beginning mainly with the Cabeza de Santa Rosa land grant in the 1840s. The second period focused on the turn of the century, approximately from 1880s to 1930s. The last period is that of the present day. All three periods reflect dramatic changes in the social, economic, and political environments and have the ability to transfer into the landscape.

Through cartographic research, spatial data that document successive land planning and management systems was gathered. This included diseños, city maps, Sanborn Company Insurance Maps, bird’s eye view, parcel maps, historic plat maps, historic topographic maps, and General Land Office (GLO) cadastral survey maps. Use of supplemental textural data such as land patents, photographs, archaeological site records or field notes from survey plats help to contextualize the spatial data when needed. The data for this study is located at repositories for primary and secondary sources. Historical research was used to collected data at The Sonoma County Assessor’s Office, the Bancroft Library at the University of California at Berkeley, the Northwest Information Center (NWIC) at Sonoma State University, The Sonoma County Library’s local history annex and the Local History room at the Sonoma State University Library. Research revealed data located in online archives, including Online Archive of California (OAC) and David Rumsey Historical Map Collection.

A record search at the NWIC identifies any previously recorded archaeological sites in the project areas. The NWIC is part of the California Historical
Resources Information System (CHRIS) and is one of nine information centers affiliated with the State of California Office of Historic Preservation (OHP) in Sacramento, California. Because the information centers house sensitive data such as archaeological sites, access is limited to qualified practitioners of archaeology, architectural historians, and historians, and is usually unavailable to the public. For the record search a 50-foot radius was placed around each of the three outlined geographic locations. The record search for this project focused specifically on sites from the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries that may be associated with the Mexican period in Santa Rosa. It was also important to note areas where there was specifically no historic sites associated with the Mexican period, as this absence of data is also data and helps to reveal what is important to repositories, or why certain types of data survive while others do not.

Research at the Sonoma County Library local history annex and consultation with the library’s historian can help to reveal a library’s full potential by ensuring all areas of the library is acknowledged. Research at the local annex included a review of Block Books- depicting the documentation of the development of neighborhoods in Santa Rosa, and Sanborn Insurance Agency Maps. The local history annex also houses documentation of the “abstract of title” for many properties in Santa Rosa. This textual data is available using the library’s database using key terms or property owner’s names. Additionally, the local history annex holds local newspapers on microfiche dating back to the late 1800s and is searchable with the library search engine. This information was reviewed for Spanish or Mexican references. Census records are available at the library annex as well as online. The data in the 1900
census was reviewed for information reported on Mexicans. Place of origin, race, or parents place of origin were checked for notation of Mexico, Spain, Spanish or Mexican. While the 1860 and 1870 censuses were also reviewed, the 1900 census was primarily referenced because of its ability to potentially reveal change within the turn of the century. Until 1930, the only the only categories used for race were white, black, mulatto, Chinese and Indian. The 1900 census has the potential to depict how census takers chose to deal with individuals who did not fall into the five race categories.

A visit to The Sonoma County Assessor’s office was necessary in order to research their archival data. The Assessor’s office holds property records, historic maps, parcel maps, and land patent information. Searching specific parcel maps or land patents in their database can lead to additional data not available elsewhere. The original 1898 Reynolds and Proctor map (Figure 1) resides at the Assessors office and depicts historical parcel ownership in Santa Rosa. When identifying a parcel number or name, it is searchable in the county’s database to reveal additional information, including a parcel map or additional information on the individual.

Archival research was conducted at The Bancroft Library at the University of California Berkeley. Preliminary research was completed before visiting using the Online Archive of California database to generate a list of inventory available at the Bancroft Library. Archival data such as historic maps, dissertations, testimonials, manuscripts, and land planning information pertaining to the historic rancho, or the City of Santa Rosa itself was found at this library.
The Gaye LeBaron Room at The Sonoma State University Library contains information pertaining the LeBaron’s (a local historian) research in Sonoma County. Using the library search engine, key terms associated with the geographic locations such as, “Matanzas,” “Carrillo,” “Rural Cemetery,” and “Railroad” are used to filter LeBaron’s files. A librarian assists with the accessibility of the files and helps to make copies of any documents needed. Individual folders houses LeBaron’s work and is filed by key words. The majority of the collection contains her actual notes, which would eventually become articles for the newspaper or chapters in books.

The spatial and textual data gathered from the project areas has been compared against each other, as well as the current day landscape using more recent spatial data derived from topographic maps, city maps, and land planning maps. Types of features compared included street names and orientations, plat names and orientations, the removal or inception of urban geography (buildings, structures, or neighborhoods), or name changes within the topography. Additionally, the results from the record search was reviewed and historic sites from the Mexican period were plotted and analyzed specifically for areas of artifact concentrations or previously identified locations in the built environment.

Historic maps and the diesño were geo-referenced using ArcGIS. After the spatial data was geo-referenced, continuity and change became more visible. Specifically, the parcels still orientated towards magnetic north against the parcels orientated towards true north. Using a GIS to make visual aids helps to depict the historic and present-day landscape and to demonstrate how GIS can be used in a public forum.
A Crash Course in Technology

A GIS is a powerful mapping tool and benefits a variety of disciplines. A GIS allows us to visualize, question, analyze, and interpret data in order to understand relationships, patterns, and trends. A GIS permits the user to compare historic data in order to study similarities, differences, or changes over time. With applications like Google Earth, this tool is becoming more user friendly and readily available to the public. Topographic maps, historic maps, and interactive material are available to anyone with a computer. Examples of how other communities have applied concepts of spatial data for the benefit of community outreach, is a good place to begin.

An example of this type of application can be found at Philaplace.org. Philaplace is an interactive website created by the Historical Society of Pennsylvania. The Philaplace website uses a multimedia format from a variety of sources, including: interactive maps, text, photographs, and audio and video clips. The use of GIS allows visitors to map stories from the past to specific places over time, while the development of a robust content management system (CMS) allows users to make new historical associations and contribute their own content. Through maps, pictures, videos, and audio placed over a map of Philadelphia, Philaplace is “an engaging, meaningful way to understand more about where we live, and will serve as an enduring record of our heritage” (Philaplace 2014). Philaplace enlists the help of GIS to bring a visual and accessible component to their research thus, actively engaging the community.

Launched in 2009, Philaplace had five goals: (1) establish a model for interacting between the amateur and the expert, (2) bring to light multiethnic
perspectives through stories and primary sources, (3) map history through time and space, (4) create new historical and cultural interpretations, and (5) create ongoing resources (Borun 2010). The website hosts five main sections: About, Support, My PhilaPlace, Add a Story, Search Feature, and Social Media. The “My Philaplace” tab allows the user to create their own account, thus creating their own landscape. The “Add a Story” tab allows the user to add a story, photograph, or audio to share with the public. Since its launch, Philaplace has been successful in the development of innovative ways to present interpretive historical content, to incorporate community input and negotiate meaning between stakeholders, during its first year, Philaplace exceeded its projected website hits. To create a “Philaplace” like website for Santa Rosa would require extensive research in more fields than just historical archaeology, the cooperation of multiple interest groups, and extensive funding. In an attempt to create something tangible for the Santa Rosa community, some of the data collected in this project will be applied to a GIS following the outline laid out by Philaplace. By helping to create something tangible, the public may better visualize what is important to the community as a whole, as individuals.

Through ArcGIS, historic maps were geo-referenced. Geo-referencing involves laying a map over another through a series of control points; these control points act as anchors for the map layers. Diseños are not particularly known for being accurate, however when geo-referenced against the Santa Rosa 1944 USGS topographic map, 1879 Thompson Map and the 1898 Reynolds and Proctor Map, prominent features in the landscape are visible and appear to have some commonality with the other maps (Figure 4). This helps to depict what may not be readily visible in
the present-day landscape. In their research at the Roman capital of Tarraco, Hector Orengo and Ignacio Fiz point out that introducing maps into a GIS can prove difficult because of significant landscape changes throughout centuries. In order to combat this problem, a regressive geo-referencing methodology was applied. By starting with the most recent map and working back through time, the authors were able to ensure greater accuracy. This methodology was applied for this project, starting with the most recent map and working back to the diseño. For his thesis on digitally preserving the Ynita Adobe at Olompali State Park, Matthew Thompson points out that although diseños are not the most accurate references, the physical features depicted on the diseño such as existing roads, or waterways can prove be more accurate than the distances or locations also depicted (Thompson 2014).

The maps were geo-referenced using ArcGIS software with the assistance of GIS specialist Bryan Much. Control points between the maps were used to geo-reference the diseño with a 1944 topographic map of Santa Rosa. The control points for the diseño are the Carrillo Adobe, Highway 12, the confluence of two creeks and Lake Raphine, which are all clearly visible on the diseño (Figure 4).
Figure 4: USGS 1944 Santa Rosa Topographic Map with Control Points

After the maps have been geo-referenced, the declination of the diseño was adjusted to approximately -17 degrees to compensate for its magnetic north orientation. While comparing the diseño with the present-day topographic map of Santa Rosa, it is obvious the plats remained after the grant system was implemented in the United States (Figure 11). Because access to professional GIS software can prove difficult by a layperson, alternate methods were investigated. The David Rumsey Historical Map collection began digitizing its collection in 1996. It currently contains over 55,000 items available online without restriction at www.davidrumsey.com. The user has access to high-resolution images of maps, but also to tools that allow users to compare, analyze, and view the data. Using the geo-referencing tool provided by David Rumsey, the 1989 Reynolds and Proctor Map was placed over a present-day map of Santa Rosa (Figure 4).
Georeferencing historic maps is important in viewing changes in the landscape overtime, but by adding localized points of the Mexican landscape to the present day using a GIS we can also begin to see how the network of the community is not sedentary.

After geo-referencing the diseño, another spatial layer was added to my analysis of Santa Rosa. This layer consists of the historical temporal and spatial information gathered from the repositories. Data was selected for its historical representation of the Spanish and Mexican landscape layers in Santa Rosa, and its ability to help visualize the past in the present. These data points were dropped onto the Santa Rosa topographic layer at their geographical locations. Descriptions and a website or photograph containing additional information on how the location
continues to be relevant were then added to each information point. The data was originally added using ArcGIS with the assistance of a technician.

The advantages to using a public a GIS like David Rumsey or Google Earth are numerous. They can benefit school projects, community outreach, historical research, or private interest groups to name a few. The tools are affordable and relatively time friendly and do not require professionally trained users. Disadvantages lie in reproduction and copyright laws, and levels of distribution. Both Google Earth and David Rumsey allow reproductions for research and personal use but not for commercial purposes. Additionally, Google Earth requires a “Google Earth” watermark on all reproductions. It is here that uploading and creating your own geo-referenced data could prove beneficial if your project is aimed at making a profit. Additionally, a more professional approach can be applied at a greater scale of distribution. A disadvantage in making cultural resources public is that sites that are potentially sacred or fragile then become at risk for destruction or vandalism. While it is no secret where the Carrillo adobe is, making it and its counterparts more visible to the public is also making them more susceptible to vandalism or theft. However, this is a problem throughout all of archaeology and requires more investigation.
Chapter 5: Results and Recommendations

The landscape of Santa Rosa has changed dramatically over the last 150 years, from a land grant, to a thriving and organized metropolis. Throughout time the case studies outlined in this thesis reveal components that when viewed together create a broader picture.

_Cabeza de Santa Rosa_

The oldest of the historic maps collected for this research is the diseño of the Cabeza de Santa Rosa created during the 1840s (Figure 6). The original diseño produced for the Land Grant is available at the Bancroft library at the University of Berkeley and there is a high resolution copy available online at Online Archive of California (OAC). Research reveals that an English translation of the diseño for the Cabeza de Santa Rosa does not exist. The Cabeza de Santa Rosa diseño depicts the Carrillo Adobe with a corral, a confluence of two creeks, and in Spanish, “the road to Petaluma.” Another road titled in Spanish reads, “road to the new presidio.” In Spanish “sitio” means place and “lindero” means boundary, the boundaries to the surrounding land grants, San Miguel and Los Guilicos are written on the diseño as well. It appears as though the cartographers have spelled “place” or “site” as “citio” instead of “sitio,” but the rest of the inscription is unclear.
Archaeologist Glenn Farris points out that while the diseños are useful, the 
expedients or proceedings that accompany the maps contain important information 
and usually ignored (Farris 2013). United States District Court land case documents 
from 1854 the also describe the boundaries of the Cabeza de Santa Rosa land grant:

Commencing at a hill at the NE... and running in a direction NE SW ten thousand varas to an
oak tree well known by the neighbors where there is a pile of stones;

Thence running S SW five thousand varas; thence running N NW ten thousand varas to a
rocky hills thence running towards the N. Northwest five thousand varas to the place of
beginning where there is a monument containing in all two square leagues a little more or less
(Land Case No. 124 U.S District Court).
Tacking back to personal accounts can help contextualize the data at Rancho Cabeza de Santa Rosa. In a excerpt from William Heath Davis' *Seventy-five years in California*, he talks about the time he bought a horse from Jose Carrillo and was asked to go bear hunting.

Don José Ramón Carrillo, of the Santa Rosa ranch, was extremely fond of horses, a very expert and accomplished horseman himself, and a brave and good fellow. On his rancho he had a number of fine caponeras, I think as many as ten or twelve, all of the best horses. In 1844 I bought a fine horse of him for which I paid $50... Don José was passionately fond of bear-hunting, and talked of this sport and of his love of horses with the greatest enthusiasm, and never seemed to be at ease unless he was on a horse. On several occasions when I was visiting him in the summer season, when the bears were plenty, he was always engaged in hunting them, and tried to persuade me to join him in the sport, urging me to become a bear-hunter, saying he would teach me to lasso bears and make me as good as himself in that line. But my experience with bears (as related a few pages further on) had satisfied me, and I always declined absolutely to become a participant (Davis 1929:79-80).

By tacking between the historical documents, the lifestyle of the Carrillo family becomes more fluid throughout the landscape. The Carrillo Adobe was a working ranch that interacted with the outside world and reflected a lifestyle prominent throughout California. "

Through a GIS, tacking is more easily achieved. The “camino de presidio nuevo” follows Highway 12 which would make the “new presidio” Sonoma. However, there is a possibility the road refers to a different presidio, depending on the scale of Senor Mark West’s adobe, it is possible the “road to the new presidio” does not refer to Sonoma at all, but to the adobe at Mark West Springs. The confluence of
two creeks on the diseño lines up more accurately with the confluence of Spring Creek and Matanzas Creek on the topographic map, and the “adobe” lines up with the location of the Carrillo Adobe. Additionally, the “road to Petaluma” is most likely referring to the Petaluma Adobe, not the township and it is probably Bennett Valley road, which would eventually connect to Petaluma Hill Road and the most direct route to the Petaluma Adobe (Figure 7). These features suggest that early Santa Rosa is interested maintaining contact between itself, Sonoma and the Petaluma Adobe, perhaps supporting Vallejo’s original motives for establishing a presence between the town of Sonoma and the Russians.
The NWIC record search revealed that out of the three designated spatial locations, the Carrillo Adobe was the only previously recorded resource corresponding temporally to the Mexican and Spanish period in Santa Rosa within the record search areas (Table 1).
The adobe is recorded as a multi-component site first recorded in 1956 by F. Riddell. Most recently, William Roop updated the site record in 2007. The Carrillo Adobe structure is located in the eastern portion of the current project area, just west of Franquette Avenue. It is the oldest building in the Santa Rosa Valley, built in approximately 1838. The existing one-story adobe measures approximately 83 feet by 21 feet. A northern wing (previously called the west wing) was present until its destruction in 1937. Recent test excavation has revealed that footings for additional wings are present. However, there is no evidence that these were actually constructed beyond the foundation. The test excavation also revealed the footings for an enclosing wall that would have enclosed the building complex.

A historic records investigation also points to the attempt to found a mission at this site in 1827-1828 (Roop and Chattan 2007). Roop argues that the site should not be a multi-component site (including both prehistoric and historic resources) and the Carrillo Adobe does not include prehistoric resources, noting that some of the obsidian flakes in the area can be attributed to coming from the material used for the adobe bricks (Roop 2008). This suggests that the historic and prehistoric occupations of the site were not related. This report also concludes that the Carrillo Adobe is

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Site Number</th>
<th>Location</th>
<th>Mexican or Spanish Components</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>P-49-000073</td>
<td>A</td>
<td>Yes</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>P-49-003870 thru P-49-003902 (District)</td>
<td>C</td>
<td>Yes</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 1: Table of Historic Sites with Mexican or Spanish Components
eligible for listing on the National Register of Historic Places (NRHP) based on criteria A, B, C, and D. Criteria for evaluation is defined as: “the quality of significance in American history, architecture, archeology, engineering, and culture is present in districts, sites, buildings, structures, and objects that possess integrity of location, design, setting, materials, workmanship, feeling, and association and (a) that are associated with events that have made a significant contribution to the broad patterns of our history; or (b) that are associated with the lives of persons significant in our past; or (c) that embody distinctive characteristics of a type, period, or method of construction, or that represent the work of a master, or that possess high artistic values, or that represent a significant and distinguishable entity whose components may lack individual distinction; or (d) that have yielded, or may be likely to yield, information important in prehistory or history (Advisory Council on Historic Preservation 2009). To date, the Carrillo Adobe remains unlisted on the NRHP.
Both Vicky Beard and Eric Stanley chose the Carrillo Adobe as the focus of their Masters Theses. Beard completed her thesis on the Carrillo Adobe in 1993, and proposed an integrative approach to the site to better understand the multicultural history surrounding the adobe. Through documentary archaeology and archaeological investigations, Beard revealed that Native American and Euro American occupation of the Carrillo Adobe site spans at least 1200 years and involves several cultural groups including Native Americans, Mexican, Spanish, and twentieth century Anglos. She pointed at that the adobe’s potential to yield information rests on our ability to view the site as being “dynamic and multicultural, not as discrete noninteracting components” (Beard 1993:86). According to Beard, what she referred to as “cultural
"veneers" are overlaying and represents the day-to-day aspects of people living and interacting with each other, each veneer signifies an opportunity to understand the social and cultural relationships of the past. Although she has identified them with a different name, her identification of the various temporal and spatial layers of Santa Rosa, demonstrates the importance of how the smaller components of the landscape such as the adobe, are in fact part of the larger picture.

More recently, Stanley addresses the current state of the adobe, particularly how such a tangible piece of history has been the subject of so many unsuccessful attempts at restoration, an object of local controversy and how attitudes towards Hispanic people may have influenced the history of the adobe. After Maria Carrillo's death, her son-in-law David Mallagh established a trading post and tavern in the adobe. The trading business continued under various owners into the 1860s. In 1950, Archbishop John Joseph Mitty purchased the land for building the Cathedral Saint Eugene and its associated school. The Diocese of Santa Rosa erected a chain-link fence around the ruins and made plans to restore the adobe, but these plans never came to fruition and the land was eventually sold to a private investor for development (LeBaron 1990).

Stanley concludes that after 1846, Americans rapidly marginalized Hispanic culture in Sonoma County, including the Carrillo Adobe. Romanticization, desire for tourist dollars, and financial recession all played roles in the recognition of the Spanish and Mexican era in Sonoma County. The legacy of this process, combined with issues of private property, historic preservation, and city government, has left the Carrillo Adobe unrestored and in an uncertain state (Stanley 1999). Although
Stanley’s research was over fifteen years ago, not much has changed, neither with the perception of the Hispanic culture, nor with preservation efforts at the adobe.

**The Santa Rosa Rural Cemetery**

Rural or garden cemeteries are a style of burial ground in which the area is landscaped to resemble a park like or garden setting. Rural cemeteries were created in response to church cemeteries that were becoming increasingly over populated in the early 19th century and are sometimes recognized as the predecessor to American public parks. “Aside from the stimulation the rural cemetery movement provided to the arts of sculpture and wrought iron work, the new type of cemetery gave an impetus to the establishment of municipal parks” (French 1974:56). The rural cemetery movement was also a reaction to the competitive discourse between European visitors and the American Landscape.

The rural cemetery movement provided a partial answer to a frequent allegation by European visitors that the American landscape was, if not barbaric, at least amoral because it lacked the improving influence of a long, obvious heritage of historical associations supplied by ancient buildings, monuments, etc (French 1974:57).

Like America’s response to the monuments of the Old World, America’s continued quest to impress its European parents made rural cemeteries gain popularity.

The first garden cemetery in the United States was Mount Auburn Cemetery near Boston established in 1831. Aesthetically appealing with its eclectic monuments, fenced individual plots and rolling landscape, Mt. Auburn Cemetery is a deliberate attempt at creating a new kind of burial place. According to local lore, the Santa Rosa Rural Cemetery was created out of a need in 1851, rather than a want. However, it displays many characteristics found in a classic rural or garden cemetery, perhaps
though more recently than historically. By viewing the Santa Rosa Rural Cemetery as a traditional rural or garden cemetery more information of how a localized landscape can help us read the larger one.

The 1897 Birds Eye View of Santa Rosa (Figure 10) depicts the cemetery along Franklin Avenue. Although it is not labeled, it depicts picturesque rolling green hills with a variety of monuments sprinkled throughout. Meandering paths wind through the hills provoking a sense of invitation, a stark contrast to traditional cemetery landscapes.

The Santa Rosa Rural Cemetery was originally part of the land grant of Cabeza de Santa Rosa. Upon Maria Carrillo’s death, her son Julio Carrillo inherited much of the land. Carrillo sold a portion of the land including the future location of the cemetery to Olivier Beaulieu (Olivier Bolio) in 1851. In 1854, Bolio’s wife, Mary Hood Bolio donated the land for its first burial of Thompson Mize who died in 1854.
Mize drowned three months after arriving in California by covered wagon. For the next nine years, various burials occurred on the land until it was officially surveyed in 1860 by William Eliason, Esq. (Lowen and Phiney 1999:1).

Upon Julio Carrillo’s death in 1889 he was buried at the cemetery on the land he had once owned. It is unknown if he ever had a headstone or if it was lost over the years but in 1997, Carrillo descendants dedicated a marble headstone in his honor. The lack of Mexican or Spanish burials besides that of Julio Carrillo helps to reinforce that throughout time, Santa Rosa tended to romanticize Carrillo (the adobe), but marginalized the community as a whole. The treatment of Carrillo’s headstone further reinforces these concepts, while he was considered a founding father of the town, his headstone was potentially lost or ignored for decades.

The cemetery does not appear to be segregated in any way, but there is a small concentration of Japanese burials in the southern portion and a concentration of veteran burials in the northwestern portion. It has also been noted that the Chinese were prohibited from burial in the cemetery and usually buried in the potter’s cemetery on Chanate Road, not far from the rural cemetery (Lowan and Philley 1999). The lack of Chinese burials, and the segregation of Japanese and Veteran burials helps to reveal attitudes to the two groups in Santa Rosa. While the veteran burials were probably segregated for honor purposes, the Japanese were probably segregated for racial purposes.

The present-day Santa Rosa Rural Cemetery is comprised of four cemeteries: the Old Rural Cemetery, the Fulkerson Cemetery, the Moke Cemetery and the Stanley Cemetery. It is divided into the East and West Half Circles and the Main
Circle (Figure 11). The larger parcel of the cemetery is orientated with the original layout of the land grant towards magnetic north, but the surveyed interior matches up with cadastral system or true north perhaps directly reflecting the changes in attitudes pertaining to land planning.

![Figure 9: Rural Cemetery Showing Sections. Smyth and Newton, 1896](image)

**Turn of the Century Santa Rosa**

*Historic Maps.* The Reynolds and Proctor 1898 map available through the David Rumsey Map Collection depicts the turn-of-the-century Santa Rosa. This map clearly portrays the tilted layout of the Cabeza de Santa Rosa Land Grant against the grid pattern of present-day Santa Rosa. The original copy of this map is available at the Sonoma County Assessors Office. Historically, the map recorded parcel owners. The name of the parcel owner or the parcel number can be researched further at the
Assessors office. When available a plat map accompanies the parcel records. The original map still depicts the owners throughout time, some erased and written over, some simply scratched out. It is as if Hall's palimpsest has come to life. The Reynolds and Proctor map clearly depicts the successive land planning efforts of Santa Rosa. While certain residential plots continue the orientation laid out by the rancho, a grid pattern indicative of the new system is orientated towards true north. The town square, laid out by Vallejo and Hoen appears to be orientated with the original diseño. The change in orientation depicts that the original orientation of the landscape representing the Spanish and Mexican past remains constant throughout successive changes in land planning and ownership.

The 1876 and 1938 Thompson Brothers Maps, 1898 Reynolds and Proctor Map and the 1908 California State Earthquake Investigation Commission Map all depict the Carrillo Street, as well as Matanzas Creek. The last date in which the spelling of Matanzas is correct is in 1876. It is labeled as "Metanzas" in Sanborn Insurance Company Maps, Thompson Bros. Maps and Reynolds and Proctor Maps beginning in 1885 for at least the next fifty years (Figure 12), before returning to its original Spanish spelling of "Matanzas." It should be noted also, that although Carrillo Street is located outside the project areas, it has been spelled erroneously as well throughout the city’s documentation.
Matanzas Creek most likely took its name from the event held by the Californios. Matanza translates to “slaughter” and was one of two events, the first, a rodeo, was in the spring, when vaqueros rounded up the herds and branded the calves. The second, the matanza happened in the fall, when cooler weather made meat less likely to spoil. During matanzas at Rancho Cabeza de Santa Rosa, cattle were driven to a spot along Santa Rosa Creek, where they were slaughtered. The place, at the confluence with another stream, became known as “La Matanza,” and the smaller creek took its name from it (LeBaron et al. 1985; Dawson 2012).

There are two confluences of Matanzas Creek, one with Spring Creek and the other with Santa Rosa Creek. Both were chosen as study areas because of the lack of evidence precluding one over the other. The confluence of Spring Creek and Matanzas Creek is geographically closer to the Carrillo Adobe and might have been more a more convenient location for the necessities of a working rancho. By identifying the location of the Matanzas, or simply acknowledging that a Matanzas is
inherently connected with the Spanish and Mexican past in Santa Rosa, the Mexican and Spanish landscape layer can continue to grow.

*Historic Railroad Square.* The results of the record search revealed that Railroad Square is an historic district listed on the NRHP in 1979 with approximately thirty buildings and structures contributing to its integrity. Many of the buildings contributing to the district were constructed in the early 1900s and particularly after the 1906 earthquake demolished much of Santa Rosa’s built environment. During the railroad era, from 1870-1936, the Railroad Square District was a thriving industrial area and the terminal for three railroads: the San Francisco and North Pacific; the Petaluma and Santa Rosa; and the Santa Rosa McDonald Street Railroad. With the arrival of the railroads and the telegraph, the west was ripe to serve as an extractive economy beginning with potatoes.

The arrival of the railroad, the development of mines, and the creation of large corporate ranches were all aspects of an expanding world economy that neither Indian or Hispanic villagers, traditional rancheros, nor the Mormon church were able to stand against (White1991:242).

White points out that the west had (or was going to have) all of the requirements needed for an extractive economy: a needed market for commodities, sufficient labor and capital, and a transportation system. With the railroad system came part of the rebranding of California.

According to LeBaron et al., the impact of the railroad was both negative and positive. While Santa Rosa became an agricultural shipping center, it is possible high shipping rates created a trade deficit within the community. However, by the 1870s businesses were expanding and new ventures were emerging. In 1885 a
transcontinental railway rate war cut fares to a minimum and brought a lot of people to the western states. The Sonoma County Immigration Association was formed and intense efforts to promote the area were implemented by the Santa Rosa boosters. In 1886, developer Mark McDonald and founder of Santa Rosa’s premier McDonald Neighborhood, was invited to speak at the San Francisco’s Citrus Fair where he promoted Sonoma County for growing grapes, citrus, flowers, and ample summer homes for the city folk (LeBaron et al. 1985).

The growing city of Santa Rosa would come to a screeching halt, when the 1906 earthquake reduced the business district to a pile of bricks. The rebuilding of Santa Rosa after the 1906 earthquake included a series of simple brick commercial buildings along 4th Street. Later, buildings in the Mission and Spanish Revival style were built for commercial purposes (Peterson 1977). These buildings include the Jacobs Building, The Troy Chem Building, and the Silver Dollar and are all located on 4th Street. They currently contribute to the integrity of the historic environment and its justification for its nomination of the NRHP. The Jacobs Building was constructed around 1908 and is a 4-bay, 2-story brick hotel built by Frank Sullivan. The hotel has a Mission Revival commercial shaped false front. The two other buildings were built in 1925 have been noted as “visually contributing to the character of the district” and are noted to have Mission Revival theme false fronts (Painter 2011). Kropp discusses the importance of mission style architecture in the context of understanding America’s romanticism of Californio. Although she is discussing Southern California, Kropp states, “Spanish-colonial architecture became a superb conduit to that idealized good life. It personalized the past, allowing Anglo
homeowners to live their own Spanish romances" (Kropp 2006:160). Louise Pubols points out, "but in an era in which real Mexican-Americans could no longer pose a real threat to Anglo domination of the economy of political system in California, the story took on a romantic tinge, as a nostalgic critique of modern commercial society" (Pubols 2009:3). According to Kropp, the romanticism of the culture creates a paradox, "Its instinctive, habitual consumption elevates rather than diminishes its cultural influence. As a popular abbreviation for the region's Spanish character, it both inspires remembrance and obscures it (Kropp 2006:269). These romantic features manifested through architecture are easily applicable in Northern California as well. The number of Spanish and Mission Style architecture built in Railroad Square after the earthquake not only hint at fashionable trends of the time, but also a calculated presentation of an idealized setting by planners and architects.

Tannery. By the turn of the century, at least three tanneries were in use in Santa Rosa contributing to its unfavorable smell due to the decomposition of the hides. Sanborn Insurance Maps depicts one of these, the Santa Rosa-Vallejo Tannery along the Santa Rosa creek (Figure 14), at the present-day site of the Hyatt Hotel adjacent to Railroad Square (Sanborn Insurance Company Map 1885, 1888, 1904, 1908). Two more tanneries were also located along Santa Rosa Creek, the Max Reuthershan tannery was located on West 6th and the Levin Brothers Tannery was at the corner of 2nd and F Street.
Tanning required a significant amount of water, so all were situated in close proximity to the Santa Rosa Creek. In 1908 the Comstock family moved into town and opened an arts and crafts guild that focused primarily on leatherwork. They called the guild, the Companeros (always without the tilde) according the Mr. Comstock, as a homage to its workers (The Santa Rosa Republican 1908; Comstock House History 2013). While at this time it is unknown whether the Comstocks are referring to the workers at their beloved Santa Rosa tanneries or somewhere else, it is evident that the romanticism of the Spanish and Mexican past is beginning to emerge. The English version of a Spanish word implies the Comstocks were less concerned with authenticity and more concerned with their appearance. However, by stating that Companeros is a homage to the worker it implies that Tannery workers could
primarily be of Mexican descent. Further investigations failed to verify either of these proposals and additional research is needed.

Tannery workers are mainly absent from the census data for 1860, 1870, and 1900 suggesting that they were either not counted or included in different categories, such as “day labor”. In the 1900 U.S. Census for Sonoma County, out of 38,480 people only 52 individuals are noted as having been born in Mexico, most of their occupations are listed as “day labor” and “farmer.” However, a special section at the end of the census designated for counting “Indians” includes individuals identified as “Mexican” (Figure 15). Until 1930, the only categories used for race were white, black, mulatto, Chinese and Indian. This can explain a lack of representation in the U.S. Census data. These categories have been added by the census recorder, who would place individuals into the category he (literally) saw fit, especially if there was a language barrier. It has been pointed out that the lack of numbers in the census can be attributed to the season in which it was counted. The 1900 census was enumerated in January, a time in which a seasonal farm worker may not be present (Comstock House History 2013). Further research is required to understand these perceptions; it is possible that since California was once Mexico, government officials consider Mexicans, Native. It is also possible, as suggested that as migrant farm workers, they were simply not present at the time of the census.
With discrepancies in documenting race during the turn of the century, it is difficult to get comprehensive census data on the Mexican population. However, this information is equally important as we can learn about how Mexicans were marginalized by the U.S. Census, by noting what is not in the data. By not even having the option to count an individual as being Mexican until 1930 is an example of the attitudes towards the community during the turn of the century. Although this thesis has broken the last 150 years into three snapshots of time, the successive mapping of the magnetic north orientation of land against the true north orientation has been a fluid constant throughout time.

Present-Day Santa Rosa

Today the three spatial locations designated earlier in the paper are all important to the landscape of Santa Rosa and separately contribute to understanding its past. Presently, a developer owns the Carrillo adobe and the land it sits on, but organizations like The Friends of the Carrillo Adobe and The Archaeological Conservancy fight to preserve the structure from decay or demolition. Established in
1980, The Archaeological Conservancy is the only national, non-profit organization dedicated to acquiring and preserving the best of our nation’s remaining archaeological sites and perhaps they can succeed where Santa Rosa has failed to protect the adobe or adequately record it. Similarly, The Santa Rosa High School History Club has organized clean up days to clear vegetation from the area allowing for a view of the adobe from the street to discourage squatting and promote awareness of the historical building. There has also been discussion of funding a virtual recreation of the building using state of the art lidar technology. As previously stated, archaeologists like Roop continue to attempt to add the site to the National Register of Historic Places. This type of recognition does little to make up for the past neglect, but it does have a few benefits. In addition to the honorific title, listing on the NRHP could help preserve the adobe from impacts of future planning.

The confluence of Santa Rosa Creek and Matanzas Creek no longer holds the annual matanza and has been largely hidden by the intersections of Santa Rosa and Sonoma Avenues. The spelling of Matanzas has seemed to maintain its Spanish format. Currently, the confluence of Matanza Creek and Santa Rosa Creek is a busy intersection in the heart of Santa Rosa. Conversely, a city park and the suburbs flank the confluence of Spring Creek and Matanzas Creek.

Railroad Square is regularly promoted as being a popular tourist spot for its historic roots. Although signage or general information of its historic past is confined to the visitor’s center, its architecture is a visual reminder of the past. Finally, the Rural Cemetery hosts numerous walking tours led by docents, volunteers dress up in period appropriate attire and reenact the lives and stories of some of the interred.
Different tours are held each month. Their famous Lamplighter Series Tours sell out quickly every year. Since 1979 the cemetery has been owned by the City of Santa Rosa and in 1997 the Santa Rosa City Council designated the cemetery as a City Historic Landmark. The Rural Cemetery Society oversees restoration efforts in order to clean up neglected plots. Numerous informative YouTube videos are also available on the cemetery. There have been no recent burials in the cemetery.

Temporally, the documentary evidence of Santa Rosa begins with a strong Mexican and Spanish influence. Santa Rosa begins its descent into the romanticism of the Mexican culture around the turn of the century. Mission style architecture, misspelling of names, and absence from the census all point to a culture that is slowly becoming romanticized. Santa Rosa was founded on a Mexican land grant to a Mexican family, spatially encompassing the town. Presently, the Mexican community is being recognized in Santa Rosa, but in smaller and in more localized ways. By using a format accessible to the community and to the culture itself, these localized spaces can become part of the larger landscape that is Santa Rosa today. Like Hall’s work in Cape Town, or Kropp’s Vieja California, Santa Rosa has reimagined its past to localize the Mexican and Spanish past into one site. However, when read in context with Carrillo’s headstone at the Rural Cemetery, the Mission Style architecture at Railroad Square and the etymology of Matanzas Creek and broader Mexican and Spanish Landscape emerges for Santa Rosa.

Applications to Present Interpretations

Arcgis.com allows the user to search topographic maps and data as well as add data points and shapes to an existing map, or to create a new map. The
information can be shared via email, blog or embedded in a website. For example, a
data point was dropped at the spatial location of the Carrillo Adobe (Figure 16).
When the user clicks on the data point, a box opens with a brief description of the
location along with a website for the Archaeological Conservancy who is currently
looking into adding the Carrillo Adobe to their list of protected archaeological sites.
Additional information can be added like photographs, audio, or oral histories. Like
the work done at Philaplace, the landscape gradually becomes a network highlighting
the Mexican and Spanish layers.

Figure 13: Interactive Community Outreach in Santa Rosa

An interactive map at the very least can help to promote dialogue between interest
groups and the city authorities, and better represent what today’s Mexican and
broader Latino community feel is important.
Recommendations for Future Studies

One of the elements of continuity during the early part of Santa Rosa is the presence of tanneries. The hide and tallow trade during the early nineteenth century was a valuable source of income for the rancho families. Butchering and processing livestock was a big part of the rancho life,

At the killing season, cattle were driven from the rodeo ground to a particular spot on the rancho, near a brook and forest. It was usual to slaughter from fifty to one hundred at a time, generally steers three years old and upward; the cows being kept for breeding purposes. The fattest would be selected for slaughter, and about two days would be occupied in killing fifty cattle, trying out the tallow, stretching the hides and curing the small portion of meat that was preserved. The occasion was called the *matanza* (Davis 1967:40).

With the rise of industrialism and the introduction of the railroad system, Santa Rosa soon found itself the host of numerous tanneries. When the Comstocks, a prominent family moved into the Santa Rose to be near their favorite tannery, they also opened a gift shop named *The Companeros*.

Miss Catherine Comstock and her brother, John Comstock, have been engaged in business in Evanston, Illinois, for some time past, as "The Companeros," a Spanish word, "companions." They have processes of modeling leather and staining the same, the modeling and color effects making something decidedly attractive and fine. In this city they will establish a studio, make up the goods, and give employment to young ladies of Santa Rosa who have artistic tastes (Santa Rosa Republican, April 2, 1908).

The gift shop was located in downtown Santa Rosa, on Fourth Street, and run by women (Comstock House History 2013).

Many people have asked the meaning of the word "Companeros." This is the Spanish word for comrades, and was chosen by Mr. Comstock as a suggestion of the organization, which is conducted for the interests of all the workers (Santa Rosa Republican, November 14, 1908).
Because of the discrepancies in the census data, it is difficult to track the race ethnicities of the tannery workers. Photographs of the tanneries available at the Sonoma County Library Annex fail to show enough detail to identify individuals. As White points out, Hispanics who chose to work and live in cities became unskilled workers, such as ditch diggers, street graders and harvest workers (White 1991:323). But could tanning be a skill taken from rancho life and applicable in an urban context? Continued investigation into the historical documents of Sonoma County and perhaps the greater landscape of tanneries during the 1900s can reveal if their experience with La Matanza eventually groomed the Mexican and Spanish American families into the ideal tannery laborers. Similarly, if the majority of Mexican and Spanish families were migrant workers, then expanding the project areas to include the rural areas of the city may uncover additional information. Tannery records of employees would be the most likely place to find this information. Like the West End neighborhood in Santa Rosa that housed primarily Italian immigrant families who worked at the railroad or cannery, in close proximity to their neighborhood. If we can decipher that primary occupation of the Mexican and Spanish families in Santa Rosa, then pinpointing their main place of residence within the city might be revealed. By highlighting a continuous Mexican and Spanish presence in Santa Rosa, the historicized sense of place becomes stronger.

Another direction for further research includes expanding the boundaries of the diseño to include the surrounding diseños. Much of the research already points to Vallejo, his aspirations in the military and his desire to keep the Russians at bay (Freeman 1947; Tays 1937). Using landscape archaeology to track the General
Vallejo’s social and political movements throughout Sonoma County and his relationships among the individuals who he helped to get land grants could prove beneficial in understanding the history of its geographic layout. The patriarchal relationship that Vallejo cultivated throughout Sonoma County was calculated and indicative of his heritage. Additional research could uncover the broader landscape of Sonoma County, and how its development ultimately leads back to Vallejo’s own aspirations. How else did Vallejo use his capacity as a General, to incorporate his family into the landscape in and around Sonoma County?

Conclusion

In less than a half and hour, one can drive past the old buildings with bell shaped style dormers in railroad square on the western side of town, purposely built to resemble Spanish Missions. From there, head east down 4th Street, the grid patterns laid out by Carrillo and Hoen ensure the blocks are evenly spaced. Once on Franklin Avenue stroll through the park-like setting of the Rural Cemetery and be sure to grab a brochure provided by Santa Rosa Parks and Recreation to find Julio Carrillo’s gravesite. As you drive east out of town down highway 12, remember that you are on the same road General Vallejo took to ensure the Russians kept their distance, and if you look to the south, just after you cross over Farmers Lane, you might catch a glimpse of what is left of the Carrillo Adobe.

The project outlines for this thesis were constructed more than a year before the untimely and tragic death of Andy Lopez. Andy and his family lived in an unincorporated area of Roseland in Santa Rosa. While the 2013 Census data is unavailable for Roseland, in 2010, Hispanic (any race) made up 59.7% of the
population- if you remember, from the beginning of this journey, in Santa Rosa proper, 25.9% of the population is Hispanic according to the census of 2013. Although the location is a part of the Cabeza de Santa Rosa, it was not included in the study. For there to be a complete representation of the Mexican and Spanish landscape in Santa Rosa, then these methods must be applied in Roseland as well. Because it is not officially part of the city, historical documentation might prove difficult. However, a lack of representation is kind of fitting as this issue was first brought up more than 100 years ago:

Ten years ago the Roseland tract was field of grain and an orchard. Today it is a thickly populated district, not only composed of small farms, but many people reside there who enjoy all benefits of a city, and who come daily to the shopping district of Santa Rosa and traverse the streets, utilizing the rights of the taxpaying citizens (Santa Rosa Republican, January 6, 1911).

Currently, Santa Rosa is contemplating adding the Roseland neighborhood as an incorporated part of the city (McCallum 2015; Comstock House History). Over one hundred years later, and Santa Rosa is still mulling over the idea of annexing Roseland.

While an application in landscape archaeology is obviously not going to save the world, a broader discussion of the socio cultural representation of Santa Rosa is indeed necessary. The methods outlined in this thesis are not only applicable to the Spanish and Mexican past, but also the Italian, Chinese, or African American pasts as well. Perhaps when the greater community can reimagine the past, something closer to the truth can emerge. By helping to create a larger sense of place for individuals within the larger community, we can help to bridge the gap that is created by
romanticizing the past. Heritage can be celebrated as something we all share, rather than ostracized or misunderstood.
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