

The Anza trail into Alta California: Puerto Real de San Carlos, and the Cahuilla village of Paukī

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Abstract

Development of Alta California was greatly advanced by the establishment of overland routes between Sonora and the California coast. A principal among these is the route forged by Juan Bautista de Anza, from the western coast of the Gulf of California to the California coastal plain. Following a course long known and used by native peoples, Anza's route rose from the desert through Coyote Canyon, the heartland of the Mountain Cahuilla; at its crest, their ancestral village of Paukī lay directly in his path. This study focuses on who these native peoples were, how they lived, and how they were affected by the cultural interactions of the period. This presentation provides a thematic context for use in the development of conservation planning for this highly significant historic and prehistoric interpretive site.

Introduction

Paukī straddles the head of Coyote Canyon, the mountain pass used by Spanish army Captain Juan Bautista de Anza (Figure 1). It is here that Anza crossed from the desert into the coastal plains of Alta California in the San Francisco expeditions of 1774-1776 (Bolton 1930(3):78). Here I address who these native people are, how they lived, and how these and subsequent historic cultural interactions affected them.

This mountain pass was christened Puerto Real de San Carlos by Anza in 1774, and sometime later came also to be known as La Puerta (Jaenke 2001:45; Reed 1963:35). La Puerta and much of what remains of the Mountain Cahuilla settlement of Paukī are included within the holdings of Cary Ranch, a privately owned 160-acre parcel managed under the governing articles and bylaws of La Puerta Foundation, a California nonprofit public benefit corporation established in December 2003. The foundation is committed to the protection and preservation of this significant historic and prehistoric site.

What I want to communicate is that right now, on the ground at La Puerta, are historic and archaeological materials, cultural features, and a cultural landscape that merit protection and preservation. I will share with you from the existing literature some of what is known of the ethnography and archaeology of Paukī, to set the stage for future archaeological research.

Mukat's people

Cahuilla is a term of uncertain origin (Bean 1978:575; Kroeber 1925:693; Strong 1929:36; cf. Bright 1977:116-118). Here I use the term to refer to the Takic-speaking Cahuilla

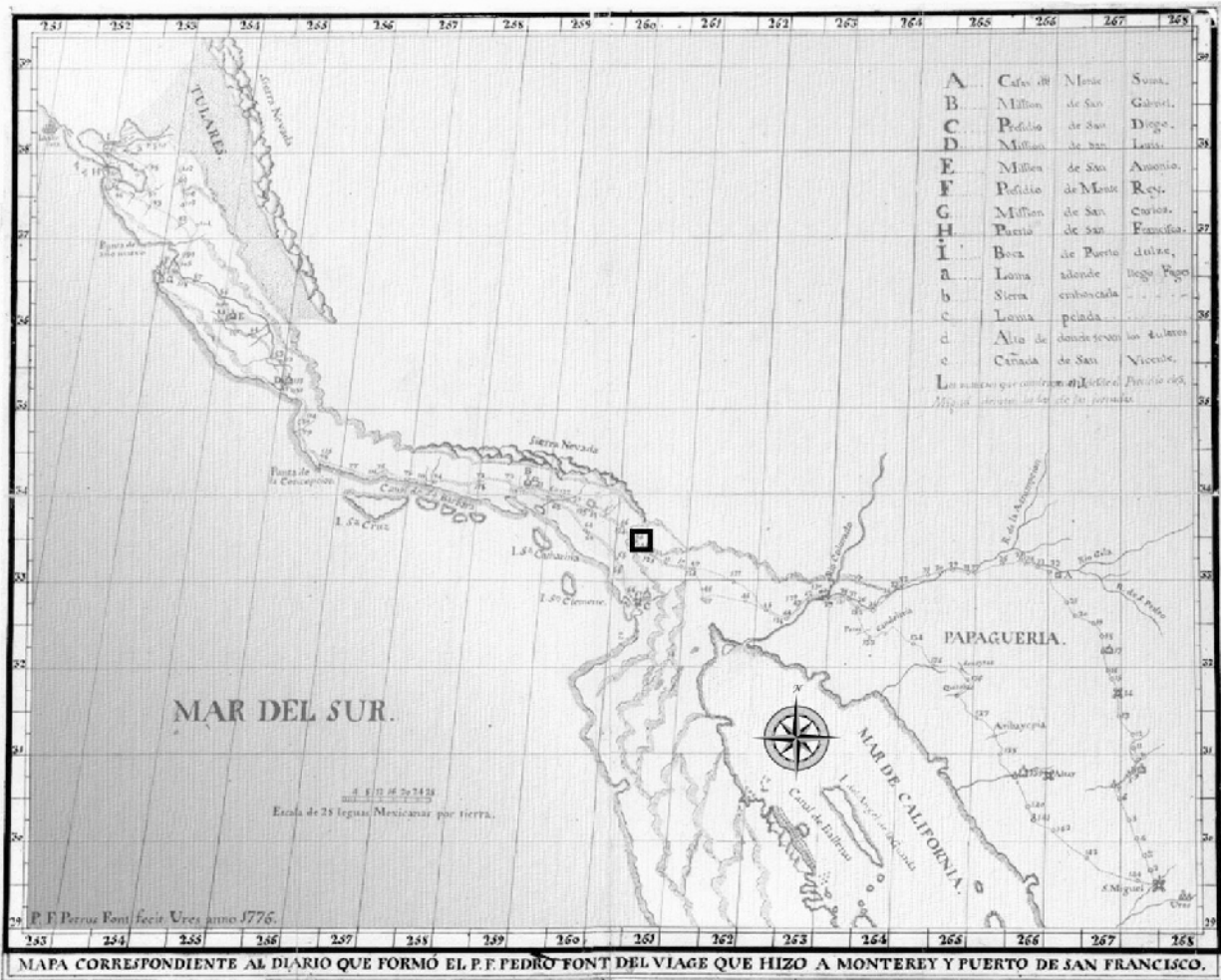


Figure 1. Historical map by Father Pedro Font corresponding to his diary of the San Francisco colonizing expedition of 1775-1776; bold square marks the location of Puerto Real de San Carlos (University of Oregon 2000).

people, members of the Shoshonean linguistic family, who, along with neighboring Luiseño, Cupeño, and Juaneño, form one division of the Southern California Branch of that stock (Kroeber 1925). Among the Cahuilla, three dialects are recognized, generally correlating to the three principal divisions of their geography: pass, desert and mountain peoples (Strong 1929:36). The term ?Ivi?lyu?atum refers to persons speaking the Cahuilla language and who recognize their commonly shared cultural heritage. Membership in ?Ivi?lyu?atum is by birth and socialization. Language, culture and tradition were seen as distinct from those of neighboring cultural groups, so that Cahuilla were never in doubt about their membership within this cultural nationality (Bean 1972:85).

Cahuilla sociopolitical structure and organization are remarkable, and greatly contributed to their mastery of an exceedingly diverse ecosystem stretching across a territory of roughly 2,400 mi.², situated in the cultural “center” of southern California (Bean 1972; Bean and Saubel 1972). They had well-established relationships with all of their neighbors; they were allied with the Gabrielino toward the coast and the Halchidoma on the Colorado River (Bean et al. 1991). A network of reciprocal relationships and responsibilities knit the Cahuilla communities to each other and to their neighboring cultural groups (Figure 2). Kathryn Siva Sauvel recounted the

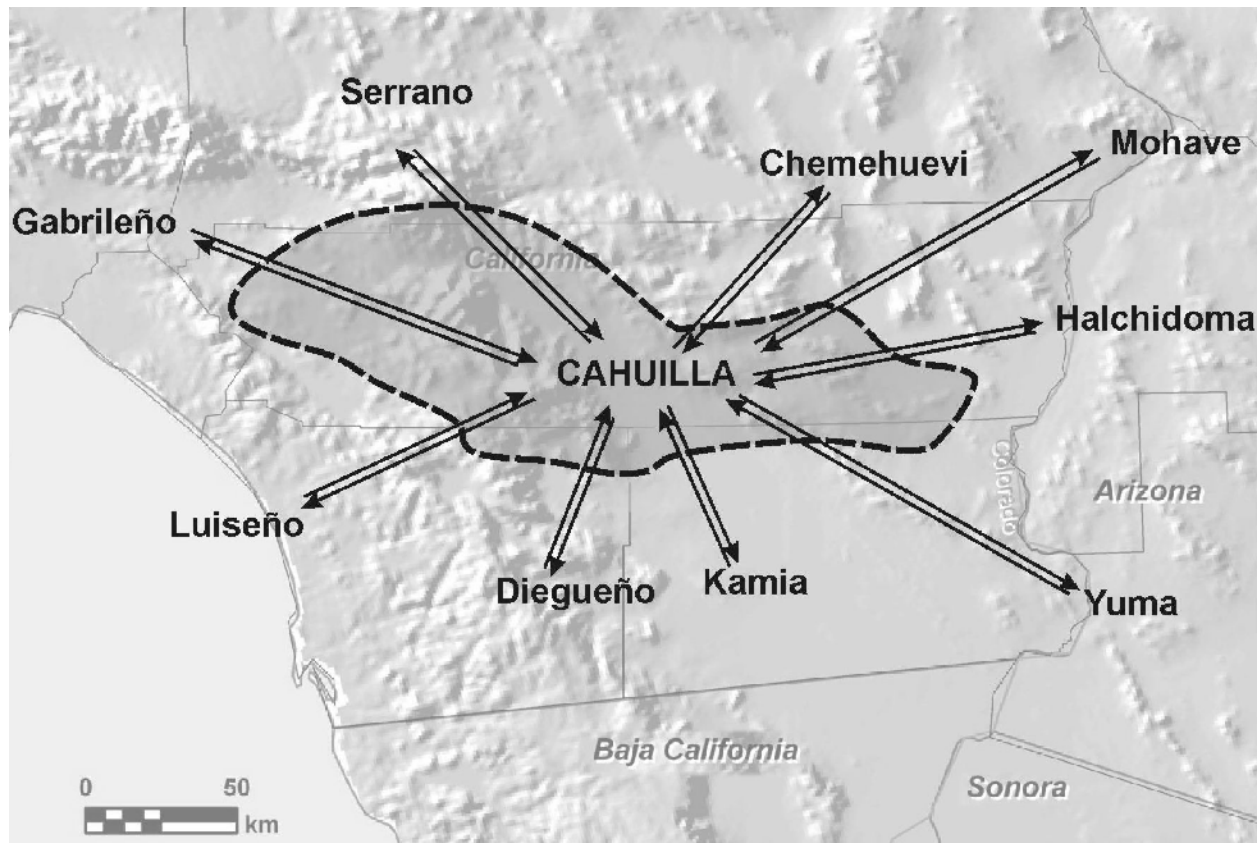


Figure 2. Regional map of the southwest U.S. and Mexico, showing the extent of Cahuilla influence and a schematic of social political relationship with neighboring tribes (after Bean 1972, 1978).

Cahuilla creation story, and how Múkat and Témayawet created the planet—but that the earth they made undulated like water:

After several failed attempts to shore up our planet, Múkat and Témayawet figured out that spiders, who must have been the first beings ever created by Múkat and Témayawet, could hold the Earth together and give our planet its present solid, circular form [Sauvel and Elliott 2004:xlii].

The framework of Cahuilla social structure is built upon marriage-regulating moieties, with ceremonial reciprocity, and politically autonomous patrilineages (Gifford 1918; Strong 1929). Each lineage had its own food gathering areas, lineage chief, ceremonial house, and ceremonial bundle; descent was traced carefully for five generations and the lineage was exogamous (Bean 1972:83). The lineage served as the basic corporate unit of organization, and functioned in alignment with related lineages within a sib tribelet structure, where each sib shared claim to a common genitor to whom all sibs and their members were related in varying degrees of patrilineality (Bean 1972:84-85). Each sib -- or patrilineal clan -- occupied a specific territorial area, had some level of political unity, and cooperated economically, in terms of sharing of hunting and gathering lands, ceremonial reciprocity, and linguistic unity.

All Cahuilla were divided into two moieties named Tuktum (Wildcats) and ?Istam (Coyotes); every Cahuilla was a member of the moiety of his or her father. Although the moiety had no territorial boundaries, it was a real social entity, serving to regulate marriage and ritual reciprocity. Moieties also provided economic and ceremonial function at most Cahuilla rituals,

where inter-moiety cooperation was mandatory, and because for particular ceremonies (i.e., funerals, mourning) certain components of ritual activity were owned by each moiety and had to be integrated to complete the performance. In the Cahuilla worldview, their very existence and the ecosystem of which an individual was a part would not be sustained without this ritual reciprocity Bean (1972:85-86).

The San Jacinto Range, including the Santa Rosa Mountains, the Cahuilla Plain, and Coyote Canyon, was occupied when Spaniards arrived in Alta California in the late 1700s. We know from the diarists of the San Francisco expeditions that a native settlement existed in the mountain pass. On the 15th of March 1774, Anza records that:

in the same transit we met more than two hundred heathen, extremely timid, and similar in everything to those farther back except in their language.... Of all the tribes through which we have passed this is the one which has manifested the strongest desire to steal, at which they show as great dexterity with their feet as with their hands. For this reason they have not enjoyed our little gifts as have the others [University of Oregon 2000].

During the second expedition, Anza's diary entry for the 26 December 1775 encampment at Puerto de San Carlos is silent concerning native tribes, although he did describe an earthquake event that transpired there on that date. From Father Pedro Font's expanded diary of the 1775 encampment comes a telling description of Paukī:

This place has a spring of water and a small arroyo nearby, with plentiful and good grass; and the sierra hereabout appears to be very fertile and moist, quite in contrast with the former, which appeared to be rather mountains of boulders and rocks than a sierra. In this flat we found an abandoned Indian village, and from the signs it was evident that as soon as they sensed our coming they left their huts or warrens and fled, judging from their fresh tracks. Being so savage and wild, when they saw the cattle which went ahead, God knows what they thought they were. And so we were not able to see a single Indian. [University of Oregon 2000]

Ethnographic research conducted in the late 1890s and the early twentieth century recognized a number of Cahuilla settlements within this mountain region. While there is no exact agreement among all findings, the general pattern of Cahuilla mountain settlements is well established. Barrows (1900:34) recorded the settlement of We-wut-now-hu or Santa Rosa, located among the rocks and pines on the south flank of Toro Peak, adding: "These Indians make their homes during the winter months in the Coyote cañon, a wide sandy arm of the desert...." Barrows also reported Pá-cha-wal (San Ignacio), set in "a beautiful and remote little glade" in the Coyote Mountains west of Coyote Canyon, and somewhat further to the south, Ho-la-cal (San Isidro). Barrows made no mention of Paukī, but did describe the canyon as "exceedingly fertile," well-watered and an area of bountiful harvest; the canyon leading out to the mountain Cahuilla valley where the reservation serves as "home for the majority of the mountain Indians" (Barrows 1900:35).

Strong recognized that Cahuilla settlement of this mountain territory at the time exhibited two principal geographic groupings (Strong 1929:145-147). The first of these centered mainly in Coyote Canyon; the second was less centralized, composed of clans near Santa Rosa, Thomas, and Cahuilla Peaks, and the clans located around Pauī, now called the Cahuilla Reservation (Figure 3).

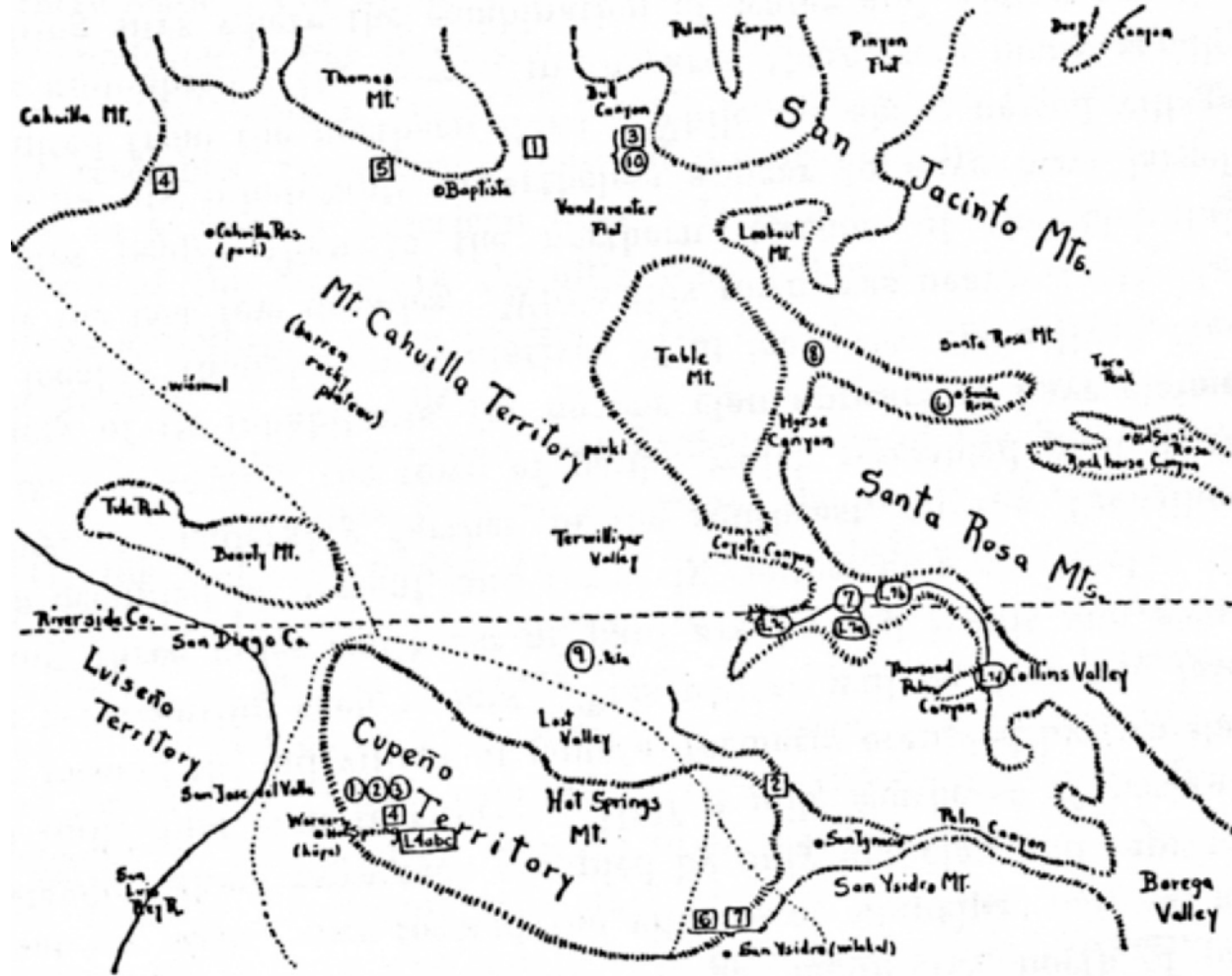


Figure 3. William Duncan Strong's (1929:145) Map 5 -- Mountain Cahuilla territory, showing political boundaries, geography, and relative locations of documented Cahuilla settlements.

Of the recorded Cahuilla mountain clans with territories centered on the canyon, the majority were members of the Coyote moiety; it appears that only the Hōkwitcakiktum clan was Wildcat moiety. Hōkwitca was their clan home before moving to Wiasmul, a small sulfur spring about 4 mi. southwest of Cahuilla Reservation, Pauī (Bean et al. 1991:52, 101; Strong 1929:145-148).

The most southerly village within the canyon occupied by Cahuilla alone was Pateawal at San Ignacio. Strong indicated that these were the Wīwāīistam clan (Wīwāī, coyote people) of the Coyote moiety. Originally the people used San Ignacio as a food-gathering and agricultural area, later taking up residence at Pateawal following an epidemic of smallpox, returning to Coyote Canyon to hunt and gather. Beyond San Ignacio to the south were the Wilakal people at San Ysidro; this was a hybrid group composed of Cahuilla, Cupeño and Diegueño families. Also in the canyon, to the north of San Ignacio, were located several other Cahuilla villages, the central one being Wīliya occupied by the Nauhqañavitcem (people living in center); Strong indicated that the Wīwāīistam clan also called Wīliya their clan home, and the outlying settlements of Sauīvil (Temewhanvitcem, northerners), Sauic (Sauicpakiktum, place name), and Tepana (Tepāiyauitcem, place name) were occupied by branch clans of the central group at wīliya, all

members of the Coyote moiety (Strong 1929:146-148).

North-northwest of these settlements, at the head of Coyote Canyon on the southeast rim of the Cahuilla Valley -- an area now named Terwilliger Valley -- was Paukī. Bean and others stated that it was located on Terwilliger Flats, southeast of Pauī, at La Puerta (Bean et al. 1991:74). Strong referred to Paukī as a “town,” noting the variety of its inhabitants, and that more than a single clan claimed the locality. The settlement lies nearer to the Los Coyotes people than to the northern division of the Mountain Cahuilla, and Strong (1929:147) believed its inhabitants to have been largely recruited from the northern clans.

A recent gathering of Cahuilla elders at La Puerta provided an opportunity to begin identifying some of the past residents of Paukī, and to recognize among the Cahuilla people the contemporary descendants of this Mountain Cahuilla settlement. Kathryn Siva Saubel said that this settlement remains very important to the Cahuilla in general, and to her lineage in particular. A consensus of the tribal elders present believed that the Wīwaīstam people were resident at Paukī; this is the clan of the Siva family. Recollections also suggest that some of the Costakiktum clan resided here. Alvino Siva stated that Juan Antonio, a Costakiktum man, and an important Cahuilla leader and captain of the Mountain Cahuilla, is believed to have come from Paukī. Both of these clan lineages represent the Coyote moiety. Members of the Wildcat moiety may also have resided at Paukī, perhaps a branch of the Tepamōkiktum or Iswitiim (wolf) clan. Jomay Lubo Modesto has speculated that Ramona Lubo, the character on which the Helen Scott Jackson novel “Ramona” was based, was born at Paukī. These are certainly interesting contemporary leads; they merit greater ethnographic inquiry and further background research. Whether or not these relationships prove true, there is no question that members of the contemporary Cahuilla community hold strong cultural interests in La Puerta and the settlement of Paukī.

Settlement pattern

The settlement pattern in evidence at Paukī compares well with the reported descriptions for Mountain Cahuilla villages. This site is perched at the boundary between upland valley and desert canyon; Cahuilla mountain village locations ideally were situated in such relationship to the upper Sonoran life zone, toward the center of the richest food gathering areas (Bean and Saubel 1972:19-20).

At Paukī, native vegetation on the landscape today is a mix of redshank chaparral, big sagebrush scrub, grasslands and Sonoran mixed woody and succulent scrub. This is an ecotone setting between lower-elevation cismontane vegetation and the upward reaches of the Sonoran Desert plant communities (Holland 1986). Riparian scrub and woodland mark the watercourse in the western part of the settlement. This environment supports a wide range of native fauna, including bighorn sheep, mule deer, coyote, bobcat and gray fox; woodrat and other rodents; reptiles and amphibians; multiple species of birds and numerous insects (Eckhardt 2003).

Based on the presence of buried cultural deposits, rock shelters, and bedrock milling features, the pattern of occupation at Paukī suggests a settlement that stretched across the high ground on both sides of the stream channel draining the Terwilliger Valley. A sulfur water spring is present within the site, and other freshwater springs have historically dotted the drainage for some distance in both directions (Figure 4).

Terrain features within the Paukī settlement area include a long, sheltered flat parallel to the stream channel, with a narrow defile to the south and a broad, open plain to the north. Tall,

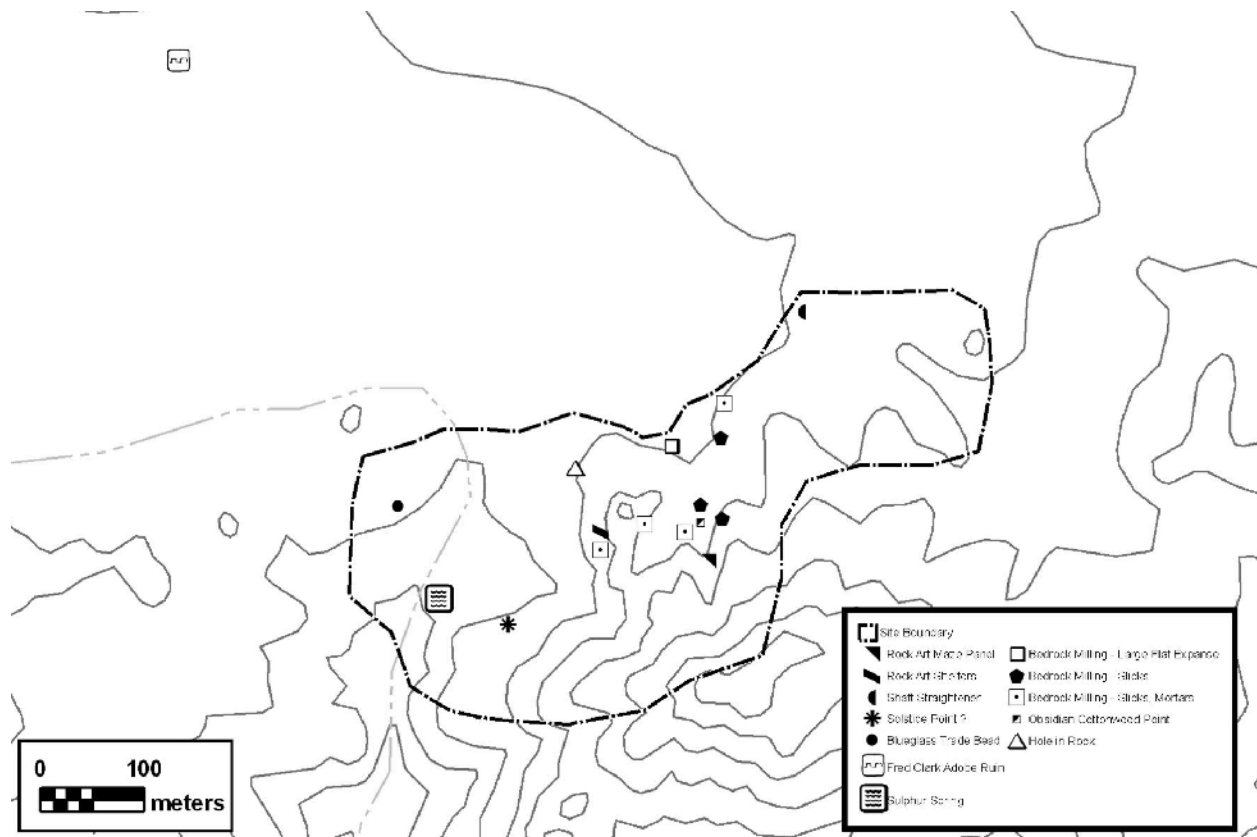


Figure 4. Current preliminary map of terrain and site features of Paukī, compiled in a geographic information system database (ArcMap 9.0 software) with location information recorded using global positioning system receivers.

rocky hillsides lie to the east and west, with many small terraces or flats interspersed between great sheets of outcropped bedrock. There are numerous locations where housing and structures could be built, and where residential activities took place.

Barrows noted in the 1890s that Cahuilla mountain rancherías were not grouped in villages, but were scattered about as widely as the habitable portions of their location would allow; each family occupying a cluster of dwellings (Barrows 1900:35). In some cases, caves were used for living quarters, with brush shelters added in front to make the area more commodious. One family might occupy a small complex, consisting of a cluster of two or three houses interconnected by ramadas or thatched arbors and windbreaks, which sheltered the people from the intense summer sun and winds while they worked on domestic chores (Bean 1972:72). The largest structure in a village was the ceremonial house, usually central within the settlement, and near a permanent source of water. Each settlement also had a sweathouse, located near a stream or pond. Food storage was extremely important; large granaries were built near each household, and the ceremonial house and granaries were used for storing enormous quantities of food. A single granary might hold 4-7 bushels of acorn, mesquite or screwbean.

Transforming collected resources into palatable and nutritious food products was an important activity, and a principal amount of preparation and processing took place within the settlement. Many fruits, blossoms and buds were preserved by sun-drying, permitting their storage for future use (Bean 1972:52-53). These products were spread outdoors to dry. The large sheets of outcropped bedrock appearing across the eastern portion of the site would have provided ample clean, dry surfaces for this process.

Among the technologies used for vegetal food processing, milling was the most common method and was a central and daily concern of the Cahuilla:

Grinding acorns and dried berries was done in stone mortars with stone or wooden pestles; stone manos were rolled on stone metates to mash softer foods like pinyon nuts; and wooden pestles pounded in wooden mortars were effective for pulverizing soft but fibrous foods like honey mesquite [Bean 1972:52].

Considering the large number of mortar, basin, and slick milling surfaces found across the outcropped bedrock in the eastern portion of the site, food processing was a very substantial activity at Paukī. Without benefit of any serious quantification of these features, but simply reviewing their sheer numbers, several hundred milling surfaces are evident; mortars appear to be the most numerous features, followed by slicks, and then basins.

Hearths were distributed throughout the residences of a settlement; a larger communal kitchen was located with the ceremonial house. Some plant foods such as yucca and agave were cut into sections and baked in stone-lined ovens or pits to cook. Many types of foods were cooked in basket or pottery containers with liquid to which heated rocks were added for boiling. Dried and fresh seed, fruits, blossoms, and dried meats could be processed this way, enhancing their edibility and digestibility (Bean 1972:53). Today, evidence of charcoal and fire-affected rock is everywhere; in areas of concentration on the long, sheltered flat, and in pockets amongst the small terraces and flats interspersed across the hillsides.

Reliable estimates of the pre-contact population of this village are not possible. Based on our current understanding and the archaeological evidence at hand, the Cahuilla settlement at Paukī occupied up to as much as 35 acres (14 hectares). In the current absence of accurate chronometric information to distinguish periods of deposition, it is uncertain what amount of this area was occupied at any one time. Anza recorded the presence of some 200 souls in December 1774; given that more than one lineage called Paukī their home, this number agrees with estimates by others for population figures of major Cahuilla village occupations (Bean 1972:75-77).

Imagine what Paukī may have looked like when occupied; how all of this might have appeared in the era before the late eighteenth century, when Anza led his expeditions through this mountain pass.

Some effects of historic contact

The first of the San Francisco expeditions sliced through the heartland of Mountain Cahuilla territory only five years after the founding of Mission San Diego in 1769. The second expedition drove through Coyote Canyon some six weeks after the sacking of the mission in November 1775. Anza's passage through Paukī at the onset of the historic era had tremendous impact, but it is likely the inhabitants were already both aware of and affected by European institutions before 1774 (Bean 1977). The impact of historic contact was nevertheless both direct and immediate.

Anza's expedition of discovery into Alta California included 34 people, with horses and cattle; they camped overnight on this Cahuilla settlement. One and one-half years later, the colonizing expedition brought 240 people and more sizeable herds; they too camped upon this settlement. In these numbers it is the case that more than half of the colonial population of Alta California crossed this threshold (Mason 1998:18-21, 29). Five years later, Anza's overland route was abandoned following tribal uprisings along the Colorado River in July 1781,

effectively blockading direct land communication between Sonora and California for more than 40 years.

Evidence of European contact appears in the artwork of the two principal shelters at Paukī. Rock art is sacred and powerful to the Cahuilla, but most of those who knew and could understand rock art were probably gone by the 1850s or 1860s (Dozier 1998:111-114). While no absolute date has been established for this art, the historic elements very likely date from the late eighteenth century. Horse-and-rider elements are the most obvious historic additions, but other elements may also represent abstractions of the direct encounters, including some of the anthropomorphic figures and perhaps, religious iconography.

Figures for the entire Cahuilla aboriginal population of the period vary widely, from 2,500 to 6,000 (Bean 1972; Kroeber 1925; cf. Bean 1978:584). These numbers are generated from estimates of numbers of lineages and recorded villages and settlements; government census figures did not typically address native populations until the 1850s.

By the close of the 1700s, Cahuilla living near the San Juan Capistrano and San Luis Rey missions had been baptized. By the 1820s, several *asistencias* had been established near the Cahuilla homelands, in San Bernardino, at Santa Ysabel, and at Pala. The Cahuilla became involved with the Spanish and adopted a number of their cultural forms, including agriculture, cattle grazing, trade, wage labor, language, and religion (Bean 1978:583).

At the time of the United States invasion of California, the Cahuilla still possessed much of their political and economic autonomy. By this time, the settlement pattern of the Mountain Cahuilla divisions was transforming from the condition of isolated clans to town groupings, such as characterized Paukī (Strong 1929:148). Political cooperation among the clans strengthened, and regional leaders emerged; Juan Antonio, a Costakiktum man, was probably one of the first.

Cahuilla traditional political organization was still intact in the 1850s, as evidenced by their participation with the unratified treaties of 1851 and 1852 (Heizer 1972). Among the signatories of the unratified Treaty of Temecula, Juan Antonio signed himself as “Chief” of the Kah-we-as, and Juan Bautista follows as a village head or *alcalde* for “Pow-ky” (Paukī) recording his connection with this important Mountain Cahuilla settlement (Strong 1929:150-151).

Government census figures of 1860 list the settlement at Paukī as “La Puerta Indian village.” An Indian man named Cristoval, 40 years old, is recorded as tribal captain. This census recognized 10 households and a settlement population of 49, ranging in age from one to 50 years old (United States Census Bureau 1860).

European diseases probably affected the Cahuilla even before contact; their inland territory, set apart for the focus of major colonial institutions, must have insulated them somewhat. Nevertheless, in time they were decimated by disease: the smallpox epidemic of 1863 was the most significant event in recent Cahuilla history (Bean 1972:17). From that time on, the Cahuilla grew more dependent and found themselves generally defenseless against the growing numbers of Euroamerican immigrants entering their territory (Bean 1978:584).

From the 1860s until reservations were established (1875) and federal supervision became intensive (1891), the Cahuilla remained on their own lands. They made their living through traditional hunting and gathering in combination with agriculture, trade, and wage labor (Bean 1978:584). In January 1891, this condition with respect to Paukī was dramatically changed: this was the year that Fred Clark took possession of the site. This event is marked (6 January 1891) by the transfer of title to lands at La Puerta (Laporto) to F. S. Clark, from an Indian identified as Pisqual. A second title document also exists, dated 5 January 1916, in which

Clark's claim to the 160-acre parcel was established and duly consummated in conformity with the homestead act of 1862 (Eckhardt 2003:6-7; United States Surveyor General's Office 1919). Fred Clark built an adobe and created pastures and corrals for use in what for the time was a sizeable cattle grazing operation, stretching from Terwilliger Valley down Coyote Canyon to the desert floor at Clark Lake and Borrego Springs. Remains of the Clark adobe are still visible, consisting of a rock foundation, degraded interior surfaces, a collapsed wooden lean-to and roofing, and melted adobe walls.

In 1938, Clark transferred title to La Puerta to Art and Violet Cary. Art Cary was only a boy when his parents first arrived in the region. In about 1915, his parents, Noah and Alice Cary, started up a homestead on the west side of Cahuilla Valley near Cahuilla Mountain (Jaenke 2001:39). After moving from the region as a young man, Art returned to the area in the late 1930s with his wife Violet, and they built their ranch house, barn, and outbuildings in the flat, flanking the stream bed, and close against the bouldered hillsides. They raised two sons (Dick and Bob) at La Puerta, renaming their holdings as Cary Ranch. Art and Violet continued to live at La Puerta up until the time of their deaths in recent years. Their son Dick Cary remains active in the community, maintains an interest in his family's former homestead, and serves as a board member for La Puerta Foundation.

Paukī today

During the twentieth century, the property known as La Puerta has been in private hands, Paukī has been generally closed off to the Cahuilla, and what remains of the early settlement has been treated as an archaeological site. This is both a blessing and a curse.

The blessing is that private ownership likely protected the site from enormous levels of looting and vandalism such as were reported elsewhere throughout Coyote Canyon (Meighan 1959). In Rockhouse Canyon, Collins Valley, Clark Lake, and along Coyote Creek, Meighan noted that the looting of cultural material observed was remarkable, perhaps the most intensive levels of site damage and vandalism anywhere in California at that time. Active digging was going on by relic collectors during the time of the survey. Sites in the most remote and inaccessible regions were scarred by the diggings of vandals.

The curse is that private ownership seems to have engendered cavalier attitudes about the cultural features and buried deposits at La Puerta, leading over time to increasing levels of damage to the archaeological record.

Malcolm Rogers (n.d.) recorded Paukī as C-171 at the Fred Clark ranch. Rogers noted the rock art and recorded that a local relic collector (Ben Squires) had removed a burial there from a crevice in the bedrock, reporting it was that of a girl and possibly subsequent to historic contact, as there were no mortuary offerings. From what little is known of Squires, this record probably dates from the early 1930s, and the burial was most likely removed during Fred Clark's tenure as owner. There is no record of the disposition of the human remains, no report, and no further documentation.

Existing information reveals that heightened levels of impact occurred after the mid-1930s, when ownership of La Puerta transferred to the Cary family. Some Cary family members became avid collectors. A large measure of future research at La Puerta will be the cataloging and analysis of artifacts, photographs, notes, and correspondence generated as a result of the Cary family interests in the archaeology of the Paukī settlement. Among the items recovered from the site and still present in the Cary family collections is a small, metal cross: a double-

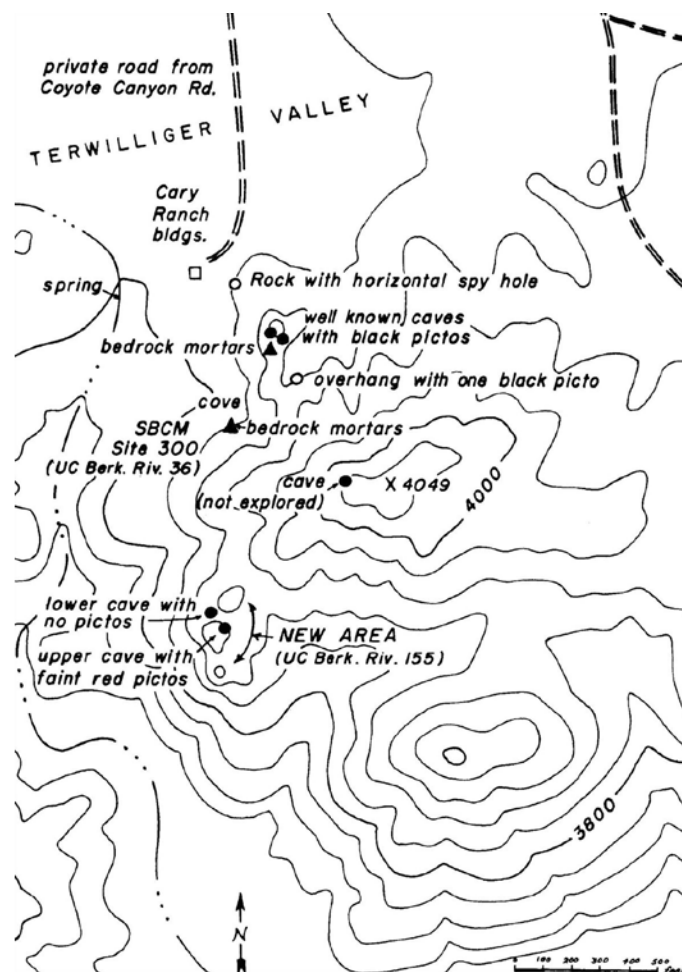


Figure 5. Frank Thurman's map of the Cary Ranch (Terwilliger) site with pictographs (Thurman 1970:Appendix B)

sided crucifix with Jesus on one face and the Virgin Mary on the other. As of this writing, the provenience for this piece is not known, other than that it derives from this village settlement. One similar discovery of this artifact form is known for this region: a double-sided crucifix of Jesus and Mary was recovered from the excavations of Mission San Diego (Richard Carrico, personal communication).

In the 1950s and 1960s growing interest in archaeology found expression here at Paukī when history professor Gilbert Becker of University of Redlands began to investigate the site (Becker 1952; Becker and Hardy 1968-1970). One early field episode is recorded for 1952, but apart from a dated one-page inventory list of a half dozen prehistoric artifacts, no documentation exists. Becker returned to the site with student excavators over three seasons between 1968 and 1970. A single publication (Thurman 1970), authored as a student paper, provides a site map and brief summary (Figure 5).

Students' field notes and photographs represent the only primary records of these field seasons (Becker and Hardy 1968-1970). Those records were recently rescued from the University of Redlands, along with a hodgepodge of poorly classified and uncataloged artifacts. The artifacts and original records are now housed at San Bernardino County Museum. As with the Cary family collections, rehabilitation of these data and the artifact collection constitute a major focus of future research. For the Becker collection, using the site map (Thurman 1970),

photographs and field notes, it may be possible to identify the excavation areas with some degree of accuracy. This in turn may allow reconstruction of some provenience for some of the collected assemblage.

What must also be counted as a blessing of private ownership -- the limitation of public access to the rock art at La Puerta -- ensures the future of rock art research of the pictograph art forms present at this site. Arda Haenzel's (1967a, 1967b) recording efforts provided a serviceable record of site and art element conditions for the late 1960s, and also brought some of the early Violet Cary photographs into the archive for use in comparative analyses. Together, Haenzel's work and photos from the Cary collections provide comparative information for more recent research (Quinn 1998) and recording (La Fave et al. 2000) efforts.

Concluding remarks

La Puerta contains a valuable cultural legacy, and the foundation is taking steps to document and identify these important historic properties. Today's work represents many of the findings from initial background research, providing a framework for understanding the historic themes and cultural contexts represented here. Continuing research and study will be applied to better document this cultural legacy and identify the links between existing information and the physical archaeological record. This is the principal task of historic property identification study, with the purpose of protecting and preserving these important examples of California history.

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