A Final Report of the Nate Harrison Historical Archaeology Project (Decade I, 2004-2013):

Archaeological Excavations at the Nate Harrison Site in San Diego County, California

Seth Mallios

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Abstract

Every summer from 2004-08, San Diego State University (SDSU) Department of Anthropology Professor Seth Mallios directed scientific archaeological excavations at the Nate Harrison site in San Diego County, California. The fieldwork, augmented with annual archaeological laboratory internships, was part of five consecutive SDSU summer field schools in archaeological methods. Nearly 100 undergraduate and graduate students participated in the Nate Harrison Historical Archaeology Project during this time.

The Nate Harrison archaeological site is located approximately two-thirds of the way up the western slope of Palomar Mountain. Nate Harrison, a formerly enslaved African-American from Kentucky who migrated to Northern California during the Gold Rush, resided at the San Diego County site during the late 19th and early 20th centuries. In 1893, Harrison homesteaded the property, which has since passed through a series of eight additional sets of owners. Former landowners Jamey and Hannah Kirby graciously gave Dr. Mallios permission to conduct survey and excavations on their land in 2002, an agreement honored by Elisa Kisselburg, Vicki Morgan, and Susie Silvestri when they acquired the property in 2007. Morgan is now the sole owner of Harrison Serenity Ranch; she continues to be supportive and visionary as the Nate Harrison Historical Archaeology Project strives to unite research, teaching, and community engagement.

Each of the archaeological seasons produced significant finds that provided numerous insights into the life and legend of Nate Harrison. The 2004 survey and excavations located the original cabin site and uncovered thousands of artifacts that linked the buried structural cobbles with Harrison's late 19th- and early 20th-century occupation in the area. It also uncovered exact material parallels with those displayed in the numerous historical photographs of Harrison. The 2005 archaeological investigations clearly defined the perimeter of the stone cabin and located its buried dirt floor. The 2006 dig revealed that the inside of Harrison's cabin was a near-perfect 11.0' square, and the artifact-rich units in the extended patio area to the west of the structure indicated differential uses of space by the site's primary inhabitant. During the summer of 2007, the archaeological team uncovered the cabin's chimney base, which contained an undisturbed stratum of ash; it also completed an ambitious cross-trench of the patio area just to the west of the cabin's original doorway. The summer of 2008 involved a shovel test-pit survey of the area surrounding the Harrison cabin, which resulted in the discovery of Harrison's historically documented orchard and the remains of a second partial stone structure.

During the five consecutive summer field seasons, the SDSU archaeological crew uncovered well over 20,000 historical artifacts, identified a singular Harrison occupation at the site (circa 1865-1920), and pinpointed the cabin's patio as the central locus of activity. The many cross-mends indicated that the different site areas and layers were contemporaneous. In addition, the assemblage's overall diversity, namely its lack of matching items, suggested a rural signature common to frontier life. Excavation at the site and analysis in the archaeological laboratory broadened insight and debunked apotheotic tales regarding the life and times of Nate Harrison, one of the region's legendary pioneers. It also helped broaden current understandings of everyday life on the multi-ethnic Southern California frontier during the late 19th and early 20th centuries.



(Courtesy of Trevor Prough)

Table of Contents

Abstract v
Foreword xi
PART I 1
Part I List of Figures 3
1.1 Introduction 5
1.2 Historical Background 7
1.3 Archaeological Overview 11
1.4 Temporal and Spatial Analyses 13
1.5 Direct Artifact/Historical Photograph Parallels 17
1.6 Indirect Artifact/Historical Photograph Parallels 19
1.7 Conclusion 21
PART II 23
Part II List of Figures 25
2.1 Acknowledgments 31
2.2 Introduction 33
2.3 Historical Background 35
2.4 Archaeological Background 95
2.5 2004 Excavation Results 107
2.6 Analyses and Interpretations 119
2.7 Selected Artifacts 125
2.8 Interpretations and Conclusions 135
2.9 A Final Note 137
PART III 139
Part III List of Figures 141
3.1 Acknowledgments 145
3.2 Introduction 147
3.3 Historical Narratives 149
3.4 2005 Excavation Results 187
3.5 Analyses and Interpretations 213
3.6 Selected Artifacts 217
3.7 A Final Note 233
PART IV 235
Part IV List of Figures 237
4.1 Acknowledgments 241
4.2 Introduction 243
4.3 Historical Background 245
4.4 2006 Excavation Results 293

4.5 Analyses and Interpretations 317
4.6 Selected Artifacts 323
4.7 A Final Note 335
PART V 337
Part V List of Figures 339
5.1 Acknowledgments 347
5.2 Introduction 349
5.3 Additional Historical Information 351
5.4 Architectural Analyses 353
5.5 2007 Excavation Results 385
5.6 Analyses and Interpretations 417
5.7 Selected Artifacts 425
5.8 A Final Note 435
PART VI 437
Part VI List of Figures 439
6.1 Acknowledgments 445
6.2 Introduction 447
6.3 Additional Historical Maps and Records 449
6.4 Seriative Analyses of Harrison Narratives 453
6.5 2008 Excavation Results 483
6.6 Analyses and Interpretations 515
6.7 Selected Artifacts 549
6.8 A Final Note 561
Afterword 565
References 567



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Foreword

Few people in U.S. history embody ideals of the romanticized American Dream more than Nate Harrison (circa 1830-1920). His is a story with prominent and celebratory themes of overcoming staggering obstacles, forging something from nothing, and evincing gritty perseverance. In a biography of hard-fought and hard-won progress, Harrison survived the horrors of slavery in the Antebellum South, endured the mania of the California Gold Rush, and prospered in the rugged and chaotic Wild West. Each of these mini-eras resulted in incredibly short lifespans for most people, especially those of a non-white ethnicity and lower socio-economic status. By nearly all measures, Nate Harrison would have been expected to die young. His achievement of such Jeffersonian principles—life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness—was even more impressive when one contextualizes his accomplishments in the times in which he lived. In a historical period in which all Americans, due to skin color, were not treated equally under the law nor offered even chances for success, Harrison lived a remarkably long life, attained personal liberty, and was able to cultivate social, economic, and political opportunities for success and happiness. He accomplished these feats in spite of the rampant inequity, oppression, and injustice of 19th-century America.

The Nate Harrison Historical Archaeology Project unites research, teaching, and service to the local community. It offers new insight into the multi-ethnic development of San Diego County, trains the next generation of archaeologists, and celebrates public history in a most accessible manner. The project, which began in 2004, is an ongoing endeavor. As such, anyone with an historical image or any information regarding Harrison is urged to e-mail the project director at smallios@mail.sdsu.edu, call him at (619) 594-4748, contact him by mail at Seth Mallios, Department of Anthropology, San Diego State University, 5500 Campanile Drive, San Diego, CA 92182-6040, or just drop by his office (AL472 at San Diego State University).

The work presented here is a collection of many different materials. It begins with Dr. Mallios's 2009 Journal of San Diego History article, "Scientific Excavations at Palomar Mountain's Nate Harrison Site: The Historical Archaeology of a Legendary African-American Pioneer" (Vol. 55 (3): 141-160). This text also includes updated 2004, 2005, 2006, 2007, and 2008 interim technical reports. There is also an additional note foreshadowing the second decade of historical and archaeological research on the life and times of Nate Harrison. In synthesizing ten years of historical and archaeological work on the Nate Harrison Historical Archaeology Project, this publication serves as the project's final report for 2004-2013.

(Courtesy of Trevor Prough)

PART I

Scientific Excavations at Palomar Mountain's Nate Harrison Site: The Historical Archaeology of a Legendary African-American Pioneer



Cover image 1. Anamay Melmed (left) and Nichelle Worthington (right) excavate cabin unit NH36; this picture captured the moment Nichelle found an 1899 silver quarter.

Seth Mallios

Part I List of Figures

Cover image 1. Anamay Melmed (left) and Nichelle Worthington (right) excavate cabin unit NH36; this picture captured the moment Nichelle found an 1899 silver quarter 1

Figure 1.1. Nate Harrison timeline 6

Figure 1.2. A scatter-plot showing that primary sources recorded Harrison's birth year earlier and earlier as time went by, contributing to his growing legend as a rugged mountain man who lived past 100 years of age 9

Figure 1.3. Topographic plan map of the 2004-2008 excavation area with emphasis on the structural foundation of the Harrison cabin (Courtesy David Lewis). 12

Figure 1.4. Bar graph of cumulative production/use date ranges 14



(Courtesy of Trevor Prough)

1.1 Introduction

Five consecutive summer field seasons of scientific archaeological excavation at Palomar Mountain have pinpointed the 19th-century living quarters of Nate Harrison, a former slave from the American South who was San Diego County's first African-American homesteader. Students participating in annual San Diego State University (SDSU) field schools in historical archaeology from 2004 to 2008 uncovered the foundation of the stone cabin and unearthed over 20,000 artifacts from the late 19th and early 20th centuries. This article presents temporal and spatial studies of the site's features and artifacts; together they confirm the excavated area as Harrison's frontier home. In addition, the work discussed here details the analytical methodologies used to reach the singular conclusion that Harrison lived at this particular Palomar Mountain site from ca. 1865-1920. Overall, the ongoing Nate Harrison Historical Archaeology Project uses multiple lines of evidence—including photographs, maps, documents, oral histories, and archaeological artifacts—in its endeavors to scrutinize mythical accounts of this legendary Palomar pioneer, broaden existing portraits of the local multi-ethnic past, and offer insight into everyday life in Southern California during the region's early U.S. American Period.

1820s/30s	•Born in the American South
1849	•Travels as a slave with owner to Northern California during the Gold Rush
1850-75	•Ventures to San Diego County
1875	•Listed on San Diego County Great Register; residence at Montserate
1877	•Listed on San Diego County Great Register; residence at Montserate
1879	•Listed on San Diego County Great Register; residence at Montserate •Patents land in Rincon (at base of Palomar Mountain)
1880	•Listed separately in two San Diego County censuses (Bear Valley and San Jacinto) •Listed on San Diego County Great Register; residence at San Jacinto
1882	•Sells Rincon property to Andres Scott •Listed on San Diego County Great Register; residence at San Jacinto
1888	•Listed on San Diego County Great Register; residence at Pala
1889-90	•Listed on San Diego Ownership map on west side of Palomar Mountain
1890	•Listed on San Diego County Great Register; residence at Pala
1892	•Filed water claim for spring on west side of Palomar Mountain •Listed on San Diego County Great Register; residence at Pala
1893	•Completes homestead certificate for property on west side of Palomar Mountain
1894	•Registers to vote in Pala Precinct •Listed on San Diego County Great Register; residence at Pala
1896	•Name appears on west side of Palomar Mountain on survey map
1897	•County consent form for widening road on west side of Palomar Mountain
1900	•Listed in San Diego County census (Smith (Palomar) Mountain Township)
1919	•Leaves mountain and taken to San Diego County Hospital
1920	•Listed in San Diego County census (San Diego Township, County Hospital)
October 10, 1920	•Dies in San Diego County Hospital

Figure 1.1. Nate Harrison timeline.

1.2 Historical Background

As his Mount-Hope Cemetery grave-marker states, Nate Harrison was "Born a slave; [and] died a pioneer (circa 1820-1920)" (Mallios and Caterino 2007:72). An African-American from areas south of the Mason-Dixon Line, Harrison spent the first twenty or so years of his life as a Southern slave before joining his owner on a westward trek to California during the Gold Rush. California's admission to the Union as a free state in 1850 and the death of Harrison's master resulted in his immediate emancipation once out west. Harrison then migrated from Northern California to San Diego County, homesteaded a tract of land atop Palomar Mountain, and lived there for much of the late 1800s and early 1900s in a small stone cabin that he built. Harrison spent the last year of his life—1920—in the San Diego County Hospital. During his lengthy life, Harrison was a prominent and pioneering member of San Diego County's multi-ethnic community during the early U.S. American Period, serving on the legendary posse that caught and hanged Joseph Smith's murderer, tending to Jewish pioneer Louis Rose's shop, marrying into at least one Indian tribe, and working on multiple Mexican ranches.

A rugged mountain man, a '49er, a charismatic raconteur, and an exotic former slave from the Ante-Bellum South, Nate Harrison stands apart from many traditional local legends. He faced and endured enslavement, segregation, and continued discrimination, ostracism, and exclusion. Harrison's ultimate acceptance and celebration in early 20th-century San Diego is particularly significant in how he managed to navigate this politically volatile, legally chaotic, and ethnically divisive region. Harrison voluntarily self-segregated—choosing to live far from clustered settlements at a remote locale—, established partnerships with a variety of non-Anglo- and non-African-American groups (e.g., Indians, Jews, and Mexicans), and maintained autonomy while simultaneously graciously and humorously entertaining White tourists who frequently ventured up the mountain (and often took a picture of this diminutive non-threatening Black man as a pre-planned souvenir). He frequently introduced himself to gawking travelers as "the first White man on the mountain"; comic in that he was a dark-skinned Black man but insightful in that he pre-dated nearly all non-Indians in the region (Wood 1937; Bartlett 1931:22-25; Davidson 1937; Beckler 1958; Lockwood c.1950-1970; Bryson 1962; Perkins 1971). It was his fluid multi-ethnic identity and agency that make his story both historically significant and socially insightful.

Discerning fact from fiction regarding the details of Nate Harrison's life is no simple matter; even apparently reliable primary sources[1] present oppositional information. Nonetheless, multiple contemporary documents and maps establish a somewhat cohesive chronology for Harrison that includes his birth during the 1820s or '30s in the American South, his migration to Northern California during the Gold Rush in the late 1840s, and his eventual settlement at Palomar Mountain during the second half of the 19th century. Harrison's final years are well-chronicled, concluding with his death in 1920. Various oral histories and popular articles recorded and written after Harrison's passing offer a wealth of additional description regarding the Palomar pioneer's life and times, yet many of these accounts contain obvious exaggerations and fabrications. The article presented here focuses on comparisons between the contemporary historical sources and the archaeological record, leaving Harrison's local apotheosis for subsequent discussion.

When ordered chronologically, the primary sources provide a general outline of Harrison's time in Southern California (Figure 1.1). Existing historical censuses, registers, and land grants do not list Harrison in San Diego County until 1875 and do not specify him as a Palomar Mountain resident until the late 1880s/early 1890s. Overall, these records reveal that Nate Harrison was very mobile.[2] He was listed in the 1875, 1877, and 1879

1. This article makes the following general distinctions regarding primary and secondary sources. First, primary sources are based on unique data; they are not drawn from other accounts. Second, primary sources are contemporary with the individual or event being described. Third, the account is authoritative and based on personal knowledge of the individual or event being described. In this article, the primary/secondary distinction does not apply to a dichotomy between written histories and oral histories; it also does not apply to differences between firsthand (eye-witness) and secondhand (word of mouth) knowledge of an individual or event. See Sebastian Olden-Jørgensen, To the Sources!: Introduction to Historical Source Criticism. (Kobenhavn: Gads Forlag, 2001), 74.

2. Nate Harrison had various aliases in the primary documents, including Nathan Harrison, Nathan Harris, and Nate Harris.

volumes of the San Diego County Great Register[3] as residing in Montserate, an area southeast of Fallbrook.[4] On November 10, 1879, Harrison received a United States land patent for 112.15 acres in lots 2, 3, and 4 of Section 22 in Township 10, South Range One West of the San Bernardino Meridian. This land is in Rincon near the base of Palomar Mountain.[5] The 1880 San Diego County census recorded Nate Harrison twice, once in the San Jacinto Township and once in the Bear Valley Township. Both townships were in what was San Diego County in the late 19th century, but neither included Palomar Mountain. The San Jacinto record listed Harrison as a single 48-year-old black male farm laborer from Kentucky; the Bear Valley inventory labeled him a single 50-year-old black male farm laborer from Alabama. In addition, both the 1880 and 1882 volumes of the San Diego County Great Register noted Harrison as a native Kentuckian residing at San Jacinto. According to the deed of sale, Harrison sold his Rincon property to Andres Scott on June 19, 1882 for $300.

The *San Diego Union* published a story on March 21, 1884, incorrectly reporting that Harrison had died. The newspaper article noted that, "Poor 'Nate' Harrison was drowned in the San Luis Rey River during the recent storm. He was a Southern slave and has resided here many years." Unfortunately, the brief account did not specify where "here" was, or how long "many years" constituted. Less than a month later, the newspaper recanted the story, asserting that, "N----r[6] Nate is not drowned as was reported in the *Union*; he still lives to vote the Republican ticket and beat his way through the world." Although neither of these articles placed Harrison on the mountain, they did situate him in northern San Diego County, near the San Luis Rey River. In addition, they intimated that he was widely known in the local region and had likely lived in San Diego County for an extended period of time.

Multiple historical records verify Harrison's presence on or near Palomar Mountain in the late 1880s and early 1890s. He is listed in the 1888, 1890, 1892, and 1894 volumes of the San Diego County Great Register as residing at Pala. The town of Pala is just west of Palomar Mountain, and the Pala Indian Reservation—established in 1903—includes parts of Palomar Mountain. An 1889-1890 San Diego County Ownership Map places the name "Harris" near the top of Palomar Mountain in lot 1 of Section 1 in Township 10, South Range One West of the San Bernardino Meridian.[7] On May 26, 1892, Harrison filed a water claim for the spring associated with this same tract of land. Harrison then completed a homestead certificate on March 27, 1893 for this 45.55-acre Palomar Mountain property. His October 22, 1894 voter registration listed his residence and post-office address as Pala. A December 1896 survey map entitled, "Survey No. 94 Map of Road from a point in the Pauma Townsite to the Summit of Palomar Mtn.," shows a section of the west grade demarcated with "N. Harrison." On February 12, 1897, the County of San Diego asked for Harrison's consent to turn the aforementioned road, leading up the mountain past his property, into a public highway. The consent form from the County also specified the township and range coordinates of the Harrison property. Thus, historical and cartographic evidence confirms that Harrison was living on Palomar Mountain in the late 1880s. Furthermore, the 1900 San Diego County Census for the Smith (Palomar) Mountain Township included an entry for Nathan Harrison.[8]

On October 22, 1919, the *San Diego Union* published an article entitled, "Aged Negro, Owner of Mountain Spring, Enters County Hospital for the Remainder of His Days." The story reported that a man named Ed Quinlan brought Harrison from Palomar Mountain to the County hospital after finding him destitute and in ill health. The 1920 San Diego County Census for the San Diego Township included an entry for Nathan Harrison; it stated that Harrison was an inmate of San Diego County General Hospital as of January of 1920. Harrison died in the hospital

3. Some of the later Great Register entries (1877 and 1879) may have been copied from earlier volumes. This brings into question their qualification as a primary source according to the criteria related above. However, unless there is definitive evidence of duplication, all Great Register listings are treated as primary sources.

4. Isidro M. Alvarado patented over 13,000 acres southeast of Fallbrook in 1872 and named the area Montserate. The "Montserrat" post office was established in 1874, discontinued in 1876, and then re-established in 1889 as "Monserrate."

5. This land in Rincon is not the property on which the recent archaeological excavations have taken place.

6. This racial epithet was used often during the first half of the 20th century to describe Harrison. In fact, the name of the county road up the west side of Palomar Mountain was officially called "N----r Nate Grade" until the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People (NAACP) successfully lobbied to have it changed to "Nate Harrison Grade" in 1955.

7. This is the property on which the recent archaeological excavations detailed in this article have been undertaken.

8. Although censuses were taken every ten years, there is no census information on Nate Harrison for 1890 and 1910. The 1890 records were reportedly destroyed by fire, and the 1910 documents failed to mention Harrison. Whereas the 1880 census listed Harrison as single, the 1900 census stated that he was a widower, suggesting that he had married and been widowed between 1880 and 1900. No marriage certificate for Harrison and his wife has been found.

on October 10, 1920. His death certificate indicated that he had been in the hospital's care since September 12, 1919, and that his passing was the result of "articular rheumatism" and "chronic myocarditis." The death certificate stated that Harrison was 97 years old when he died.

Two primary records from 1921 also mention the location of the Harrison homestead. Soon after Harrison's passing, the California State Superior Court recorded a deed of sale for his property. On July 5, 1921, Edwin Reed, the Administrator of the Nate Harrison Estate, sold Harrison's 45.55 acres to Frank Salmons for $607.50. The following day, Reed completed an administrator's deed to finalize the transfer of property to Salmons. It reiterated much of the information from the deed of sale.

Overall, the primary documents offered a broad range of details—some contradictory and some consistent—regarding Nate Harrison and his Palomar Mountain homestead. For example, Harrison's birth year varied dramatically in these records; he was allegedly born earlier and earlier with each year that transpired (Figure 1.2). As his mythical status in San Diego County grew, his age was significantly exaggerated. This led to numerous false claims that he lived to be over 100 years old, resulting in the inscription on the cairn atop the grade that was dedicated to his memory in 1924 that stated: "Nathan Harrison's Spring; Brought here a slave about 1848, Died October 10th, 1920, aged 101 years; A man's a man for a' that" (See James 1958:8).[9] Whereas Harrison's burgeoning legend evolved during the tail end of his life and beyond, exact descriptions regarding the location of Harrison's properties in and around Palomar Mountain were remarkably consistent. The 1879 land patent and 1882 deed of sale pinpoint his earlier Rincon residence at the base of Palomar Mountain. Furthermore, the 1892, 1893, 1896, 1897, and 1921 records described above each specified Harrison's property on Palomar Mountain's western slope in lots 1 and 3 of Section 1 in Township 10, South of Range 1, West of the San Bernardino Meridian. While there is substantive historical evidence that Harrison lived on Palomar Mountain from the late 1880s to 1919, primary records do not verify that Harrison occupied his hillside homestead during the 1850s, '60s, and '70s as many secondary sources claim (Wood 1937; Bartlett 1931:22-25; Davidson 1937; Bostic c. 1952-1975; Asher c. 1932-1950; Beckler 1958; Lockwood c. 1950-1970; Bryson 1962; Craine c. 1956-1969; Perkins 1971, 1972; Anonymous 1982; Yamaguchi 1998; Ross 1998). On the contrary, they suggest for the most part that he lived in and around Bear Valley and San Jacinto during the 1870s and '80s, Palomar Mountain during the 1890s, 1900s, and 19-teens, and the city of San Diego during 1919-1920.

9. The quote at the end of the inscription—"A man's a man for a' that"—is from a Robert Burns poem/song written in 1795. It speaks of the righteousness of an egalitarian society and is a frequent battle cry against tyrannical and oppressive institutions, like slavery. The "a'" is a Scottish abbreviation for "all."

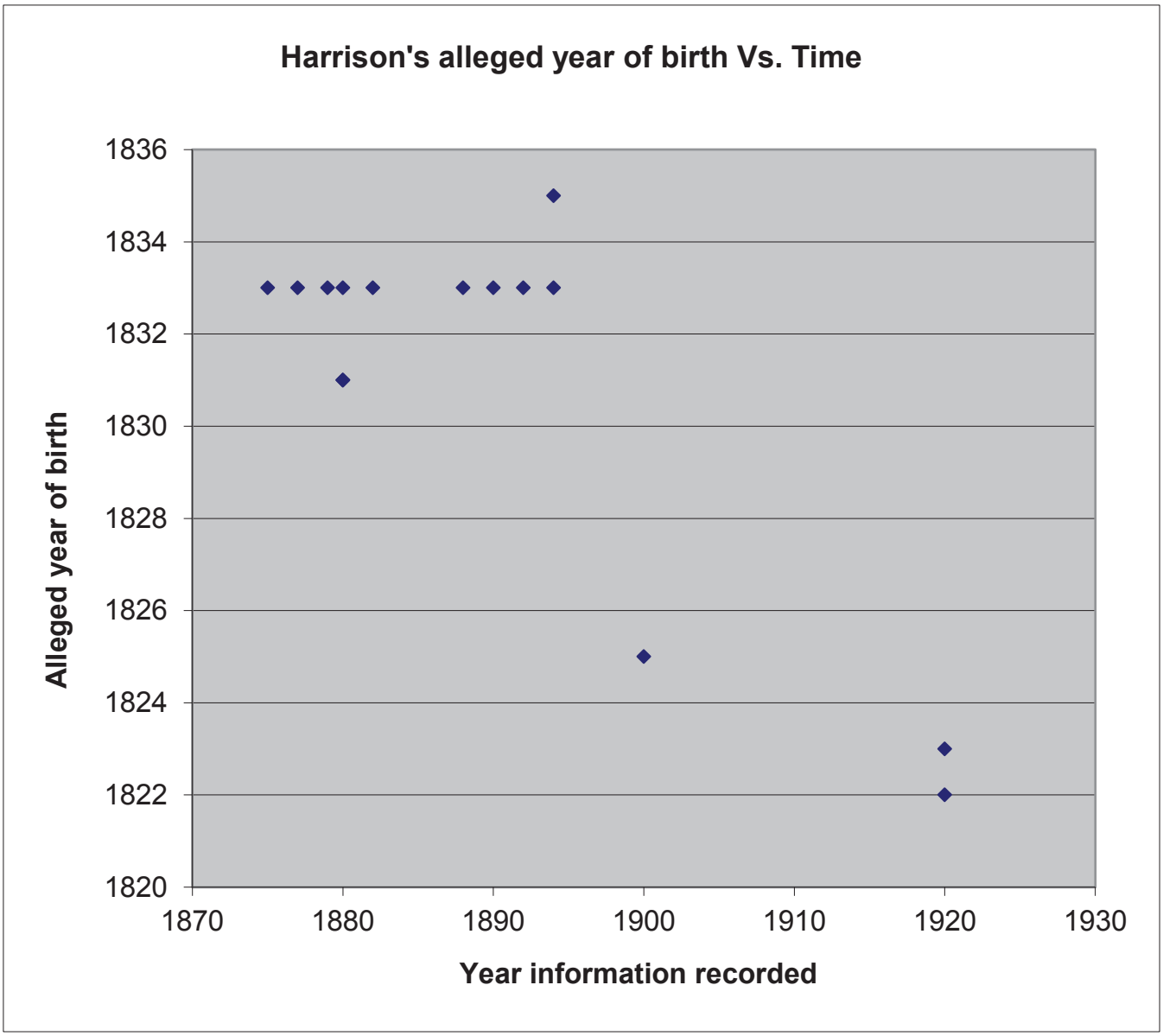


Figure 1.2. A scatter-plot showing that primary sources recorded Harrison's birth year earlier and earlier as time went by, contributing to his growing legend as a rugged mountain man who lived past 100 years of age.

1.3 Archaeological Overview

Members of the Nate Harrison Historical Archaeological Project developed a plan to search for archaeological remains of the Harrison homestead in the spring of 2001.[10] Their initial research design attempted to establish whether the proposed excavation area—on the basis of local lore, old maps, and a rocky palimpsest—was indeed Nate Harrison's former home (the project's research design is detailed here in Part II). It asked the following questions:

1. Does the proposed site have a date range of ca. 1850-1919 based on the archaeological remains?
2. Are the visible stones on the proposed site part of a stone foundation comparable to the structure seen in historical photographs of the Harrison cabin?
3. Is there archaeological evidence—artifactual or stratigraphic—of a pre- or post-Harrison occupation at the site (assumed to be pre-1850 or post-1919)?
4. Is there evidence of multiple phases at the site within the main occupation?
5. How do insights gleaned from this site compare with the primary records regarding Harrison?

The first of five consecutive SDSU summer field schools in historical archaeology began in June of 2004. Excavations centered on a group of protruding rocks that formed right angles on a hillside near the cairn that commemorates Harrison's spring (See Figure 2.69). The field crew first established a datum, enabling the placement of a grid, aligned to true-north, across the site.[11] The 2004 field school spent its first days on the mountain removing the grass, brush, and small trees from the site, revealing that the protruding rocks were, in fact, part of a surface-level 12.0' by 15.0' rectangle stone foundation. Treating the rectangular plan of assembled rocks as a large feature, it was excavated with respect to its own orientation and not the grid,[12] with twelve 3.0' by 3.5' units. Excavating stratigraphically in natural layers up to 0.25' in depth, the initial field school uncovered over 6,000 artifacts; subsequent field schools during the next four summers pushed the site's recovered artifact total to over 20,000. By the end of the 2008 summer field season, students had completely excavated the cabin interior and exposed its original dirt floor, finished a set of 5.0'-wide cross-trenches across the artifact-rich patio area to the immediate west of the cabin foundation, and dug dozens of 2.5' by 2.5' shovel test pits in the areas surrounding the site (See Cover image 4, Part IV). Although the cabin foundation appeared at the outset of the project to be rectangular in

10. General research on the Nate Harrison Historical Archaeology Project began in 2001. SDSU Department of Anthropology Professor Seth Mallios and graduate student Sarah Stroud visited the land owners of the former Harrison property, James and Hannah Kirby, on multiple occasions in 2002 and 2003. This property was assumed to be Harrison's historical homestead on the basis of the aforementioned township and range designations in the primary records. During these visits, the Kirbys showed the archaeologists the remains of what, according to local lore, was thought to be the Harrison cabin. The only apparent signs of the historical structure were a few dozen stacked cobbles amongst waist-high grass and brush. Once the Kirbys gave SDSU permission to undertake archaeological excavations on their land, an historic resource record search for the proposed survey area was completed at the South Coastal Information Center (SCIC). The SCIC record search produced only one report, a 1959 survey that mentioned neither the Harrison cabin nor the presence of any archaeological materials in the immediate area. The State of California Native American Heritage Commission (NAHC) was then contacted to request a record search of the sacred land file. The record search failed to indicate the presence of cultural resources in the proposed project area. A letter to every indigenous group on the NAHC list was also sent in an attempt to ascertain any additional information regarding cultural resources in the project area. None responded to the inquiry. There was concern at the outset of the Nate Harrison Historical Archaeology Project that the cabin area had been looted. Journalist David Ross's 1998 series of articles in *The Daily Roadrunner* revealed that non-archaeologists with metal detectors had repeatedly dug for artifacts at the site. Ross wrote, "It seems that for years he [a previous land owner] and his family have used a metal detector around the ruins of Nate's house, and found scads of stuff… Most of it, of course, is of little interest. But, over the years they have come up with quite a collection of items that give fascinating little glimpses into life in another age" (Part IV, p. 4). The location of these artifacts is unknown. Accompanying Ross's article were two modern photographs of a picnic table covered with historical artifacts that were likely from the site. In addition, there were multiple personal correspondences written in 1981 and 1982 from author Robert Melvin to a previous landowner detailing plans to dig for artifacts at the site. These letters were donated to the Nate Harrison Historical Archaeology Project as part of the Kirby Collection and are printed in their entirety in the 2005 and 2006 technical reports.

11. The grid was dug in 5.0' by 5.0' units.

12. The cabin is oriented approximately 30° east of true north.

shape, its complete excavation revealed that the large stones formed a nearly perfect 11.0' square (Figure 1.3).[13] Overall, this scientific work on Palomar Mountain began with a set of explicit questions in a research design and included meticulous recordation of the vertical and horizontal context of each excavation area (See Figure 5.84). Ultimately, these findings were used to evaluate the initial research queries and develop new questions.

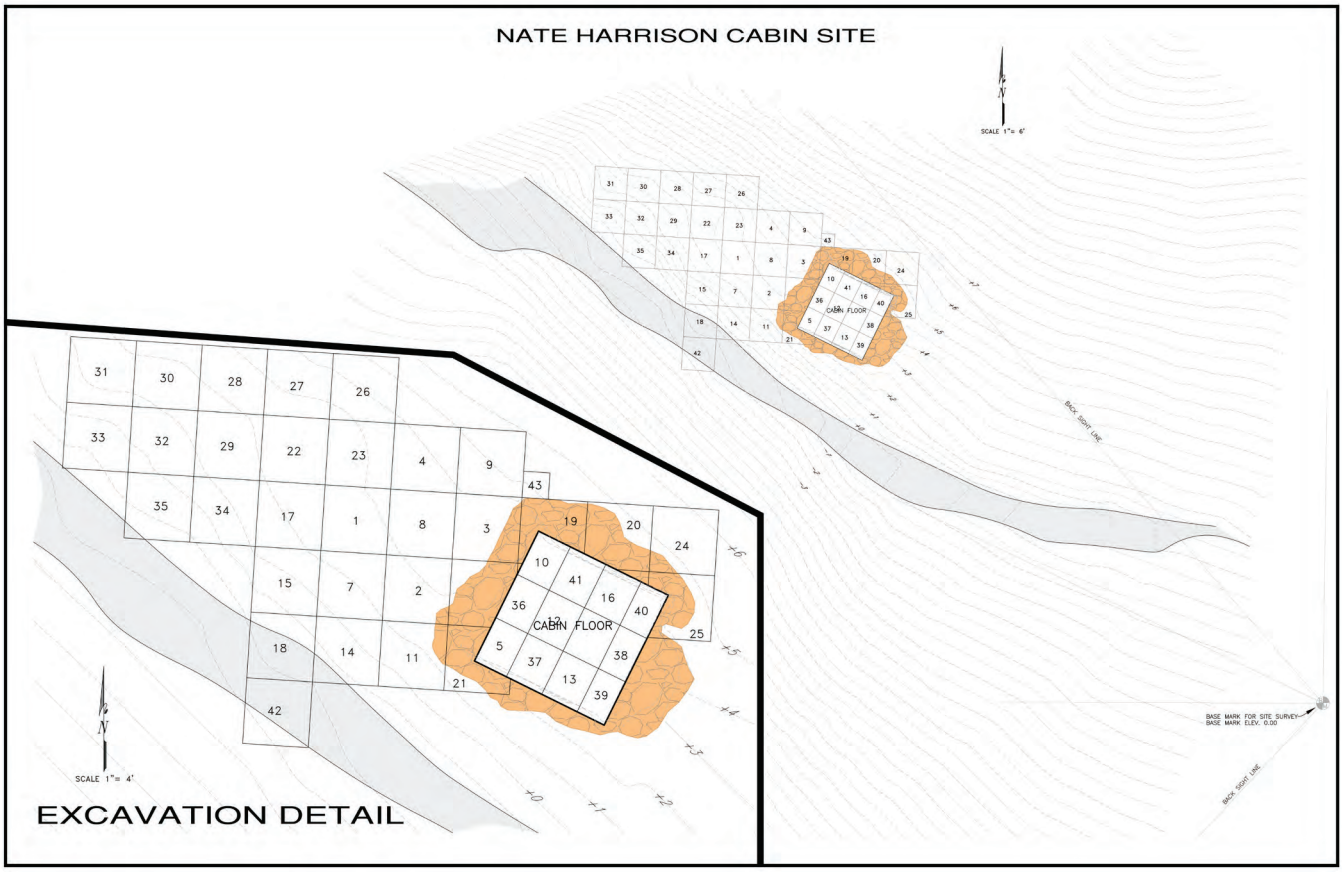


Figure 1.3. Topographic plan map of the 2004-2008 excavation area with emphasis on the structural foundation of the Harrison cabin (Courtesy David Lewis).

13. The 11.0' square has matching 15.6' diagonals. The fall of the stone chimney to the east had exaggerated the apparent length of the structure's east/west axis at the surface.

1.4 Temporal and Spatial Analyses

Archaeological dimensions of time, space, and form guide the analyses presented here (Spaulding 1960:437-56; Deetz 1967:9; Mallios 2000:49). In each case, the form of an artifact, feature, assemblage, or landscape is studied with respect to its variability over space and/or time. The most basic temporal analysis of the site's material assemblage is an intersection of all production/use date ranges for each datable artifact.[14] The date-range intersection offers both quantitative and qualitative insights into a site's occupation. Quantitatively, a minimum date range is generated on the basis of the earliest end production/use date and the latest start production/use date gleaned from the complete artifact assemblage. Simply put, the range is from the earliest end-date to the latest start-date.[15] Qualitatively, the nature of the occupation at the site can be inferred from the overall shape of the bar graph. If the bars stacked in the graph collectively form a gradual diagonal from top to bottom and left to right,[16] then the site likely reflects a uniform and singular occupation without any signs of abandonment. Conversely, if there is a large gap or pronounced right angle in the graph's bar stack, the site was most likely temporarily deserted or home to a series of occupations.[17]

A graph of the production/use date-ranges for the datable finds from the 20,000+ artifacts recovered from the Nate Harrison site produces clear results (Figure 1.4). The site included 63 different artifact types with well-defined production/use date ranges.[18] The site's overall date-range intersection is 1865-1916. Numerous shell buttons with sunken panels, produced from 1837-1865 (Hume 1970:90), provide the 1865 occupation start-date as this artifact type has the earliest end-of-production date for all of the datable artifacts in the assemblage. Likewise, a 1916 Buffalo nickel and a 1916 Liberty dime collectively have the latest start-of-production date—1916—for all of the recovered artifacts. These two coins also serve as the *terminus post quem* (TPQ)[19] for the site. The 1865 occupation start-date, like many attempts at a *terminus ante quem* (TAQ),[20] is far from certain. Older items that are kept for extended periods of time or passed between individuals frequently skew archaeological data and dupe archaeologists into assigning their sites with premature start-dates. Buttons and bullets are notorious for making a site appear as if it was occupied at an earlier time, as these items are fairly durable and may have been transported to the occupation area long after they were no longer produced. The habit of handing down clothing extends the use life of many buttons.[21] Likewise, bullets have an extended use life as they often remain fully functional long after the particular head stamp is no longer produced. Glass and ceramic wares are far more fragile—they often have a far shorter temporal range of use—and thus, provide more reliable use dates. Removing the clothing and fired cartridge data and relying more on dates from glass and ceramic sherds transforms the site chronology. If shell buttons with sunken panels (1837-1865; Hume 1970:90), Levi Strauss rivets stamped with "L.S. & CO SF" (1874-1890; See Part V), and all of the fired cartridges with datable head stamps are taken out of the artifact chronology (See Part II), then the year 1890 becomes the site TAQ on the basis of the production/use end date for undecorated whiteware. Therefore, an all-inclusive date-range intersection for the site is 1865-1916, but a more strict sherd-based chronology is 1890-1916.[22] Harrison may have occupied the cabin during the late 1860s, '70s,

14. Production and use ranges are often conflated in historical archaeology as the emergence of the modern world system enabled goods to be produced, transported, and used very quickly and in overlapping timeframes.

15. These dates are not for the same artifact; they span and unite the entire dated assemblage.

16. Top to bottom and left to right assumes that the dates are arranged from earliest on the left to latest on the right and that the datable artifact types are stacked from earliest start of production/use date to latest start of production/use date. The diagonal can also be seen graphically as the ellipse that is commonly showcased in archaeological presence/absence seriations. This ellipse is itself a representation of the gradual variability of a cultural phenomenon over time that follows the normal curve.

17. The qualitative and quantitative insights that can be gleaned from an artifact date range intersection parallel dual insights from pipestem histograms developed by J.C. Harrington at Jamestown in the 1950s and celebrated by James Deetz at Flowerdew Hundred in the 1980s and '90s (See Harrington 1954:10-14; Binford 1962:19-21; Deetz 1987:62-67; Mallios 2005:89-104; Monroe and Mallios 2004:68-82).

18. These 63 datable artifact types represent approximately 9% of the entire assemblage (2,005 out of 21, 513 total) as of the end of the 2007 field season.

19. This common archaeological term translates from Latin as "the date after which."

20. This common archaeological term translates from Latin as "the date before which."

21. Although any item can be handed down or recycled, remnants of slightly outdated clothing is common on archaeological sites.

22. The intersection of all of the date ranges focuses on the minimal occupation at the site. The union of all of the date ranges—1820-2004

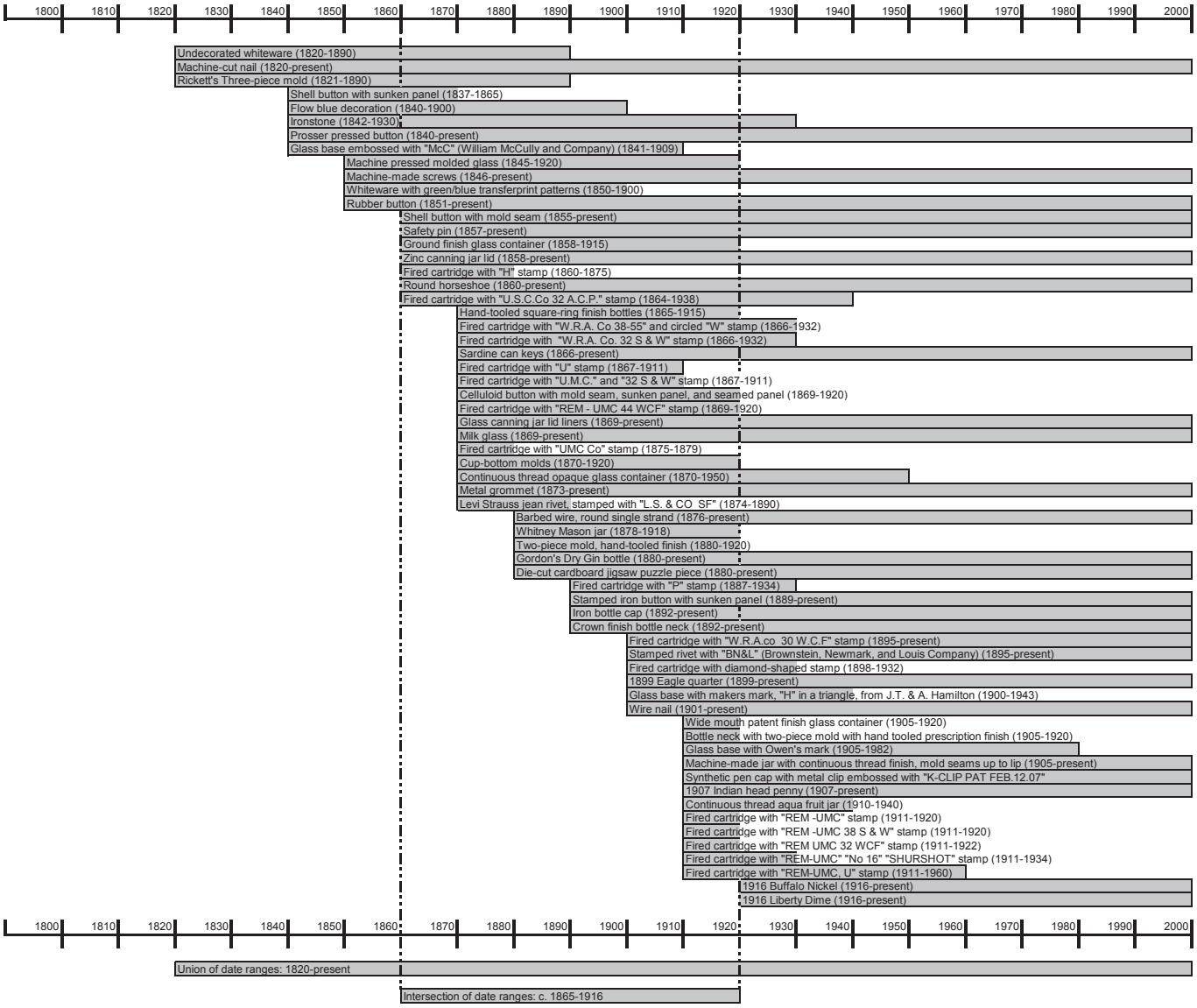


Figure 1.4. Bar graph of cumulative production/use date ranges.

and '80s, but the archaeological artifacts in and around the site leave no doubt that he was there during the 1890s, 1900s, and 19-teens.

Measures of central tendency further emphasize that the site was occupied during the late 19th and early 20th centuries. The temporal medians of the aforementioned artifact union, artifact intersection, and ceramic/glass intersection are respectively 1912, 1891, and 1903. Mean production/use dates that take into account the frequency of occurrence of fragments are also informative.[23] The mean date for the entire assemblage is 1918, but this date is skewed by the thousands of wire nails that are still being produced today.[24] The ceramic/glass mean date again proves to be far more reliable; it is 1885.

(the start of excavation)—provides the maximal occupation duration. Thus, the site could have been occupied as early as 1820, but this maximal range is less informative and rarely used in historical archaeology.

23. Archaeologist Stanley South developed the mean ceramic date formula based on date ranges from Ivor Noël Hume's (1970) *A Guide to the Artifacts of Colonial America*, in his 1977 book *Method and Theory in Historical Archaeology* (217).

24. The mean date for non-ceramic/glass artifacts is 1922. This is the only measure of central tendency that falls outside of the site's occupation date range, further emphasizing the accuracy of artifacts with shorter a shorter use-life, like those made of ceramic and glass.

Regardless of which of these chronologies is used, the bar graph (see Figure 1.4) reflects a singular occupation at the Nate Harrison site. There are no large gaps in the artifact date ranges, and there are no striking right angles in the bar-graph stack to indicate multiple occupations or successive periods of abandonment and re-settlement. The dearth of any post-1920 artifacts at the site strongly suggests that the cabin area was never re-occupied following Harrison's 1919 departure and 1920 death. Although the Harrison property has passed through nine sets of owners over the past century (See Part II),[25] none of them evidently engaged in any activities at the original site that left datable debris.[26]

Preliminary spatial analysis of the site's layers suggested slight temporal distinctions in an expected and evenly stratified manner. For example, of the four coins recovered from the site, the 1916 dime and the 1916 nickel were uncovered in the top "A" stratum, the 1907 one-cent coin was from the middle "B" stratum, and the 1899 quarter was found in the lower "C" stratum. However, this preliminary deduction of apparent was undermined by a subsequent thorough examination of the site's cross-mends, which revealed that nearly every spatial context, vertical and horizontal, dated to the same time period.[27] Following the 2006 summer field season, students identified cross-mends[28] in the ceramic and glass assemblages and created a master list of cumulative mends from the 2004-2006 summer field seasons. The cross-mend list was used to connect the site's different contexts; the underlying assumption is that layers with parts of the same vessel were deposited at the same time and thus date to the same time period.[29] On the basis of cross-mend co-temporality and the Law of Superposition, less than 10% of the site's 100+ spatial contexts remained potentially distinct in time from the rest of the site, and these differences do not appear to be significant.[30] Overall, the site appears to be a singular occupation with no internal temporal distinction.

The substantial number of cross-mends has important ramifications for the interpretation of the site and its depositional sequence. The cross-mends strongly suggest that the entire site—both the exterior western patio area and interior cabin area—is united in time. This deduction, combined with the stratigraphic uniformity of the patio area, gives support to the idea that the patio was significantly impacted and transformed following Harrison's demise. Otherwise, there should have been a distinct vertical spatial gradient. The apparently mixed layers and artifacts support the premise that the patio-area had been bulldozed and terraced, as was claimed by one of the later landowners.[31] This interpretation helps to explain why the subsoil base of the patio deposit today is so much

25. The owners of the Nate Harrison estate over time are: (1) Nate Harrison (1893 [homestead date]-1921), (2) Frank and Hazel Salmons (1921), (3) Jean Nicholas (1921-1943), (4) Dorothy T. Bowman (1943-1946), (5) Thomas and Midge Colby (1946-1956), (6) Robert Dewey Kelley (1956-1969), (7) Richard and Lois Day (1969-2000), (8) James and Hannah Kirby (2000-2007), and (9) Elisa Kisselburg, Vicki Morgan, and Susie Silvestri (2007- present).

26. In addition, there were other people who temporarily inhabited the immediate area but did not own it. These groups included an industrial prison camp that occupied the west grade of Palomar Mountain during 1933 and the Civilian Conservation Corps (CCC) unit that tore down the Harrison cabin in the 1930s as a safety precaution. J. H. Heath's September 24, 1933, San Diego Union article "Where Trees and Shade Replace Desert Heat/Move Industrial Camp to Palomar Site" details the industrial prison camp on Palomar Mountain (See Part III), and Catherine M. Wood's 1937 book *Palomar from Teepee to Telescope* mentions the CCC activities at the Harrison cabin (See Part III). The recent archaeological excavations suggest that neither group left substantial artifacts from their particular time period in and around the original Harrison homestead.

27. The layering appeared to follow a later-to-earlier/top-to-bottom spatial gradient.

28. Cross-mends are two or more artifacts from a single vessel that share a common edge and can be pieced back together.

29. The master cross-mend table is oriented with individual cross-mended vessels as rows and the site's artifact-bearing layers as columns (See Part IV; Mallios, Stroud, Lingley, Lennox, Sweeney, Smith, and Caterino 2006:Appendix B). Each cell contains the number of the row's cross-mended vessel. Every context that includes a sherd from that particular vessel is shaded. Likewise, any other vessel with cross-mends to the layers that have been shaded are then also shaded. Linking layers through cross-mends follows a transitive logic. If sherds from A and B mend together and sherds from A and C mend together (and are thus temporally linked), then sherds from B and C date to the same time period as well. In the end, every column that shares a cross-mend with another column is shaded, meaning that these spatial contexts are linked by a cross-mend. The unshaded columns are not united with the others through cross-mends. Some of these rows, however, represent layers that stratigraphically rested above others that were connected through the cross-mends. For example, NH16B, C, and E did not contain artifacts that cross-mended with the other layers, but NH16F did. Since NH16F was sealed by NH16E and the other layers in that unit, everything above NH16F must date either to the same time period or later.

30. Each of these 15 unshaded contexts was not temporally distinct from the other strata; they merely contained very few artifacts. Artifact-poor contexts have a much smaller chance of containing cross-mends because of their lack of materials and can often be mistaken as a separate occupation period.

31. In 2004, then-landowner Jamey Kirby told Dr. Mallios that "Dewey (landowner Robert Dewey Kelley [1956-1969]) bulldozed the patio in the [19]60s."

lower than the dirt floor of the cabin, even though historical photographs suggest that they were at approximately the same level. Lower natural subsoil strata were likely mixed in with Harrison's cultural debris during the grading, resulting in a patio deposit that was temporally unstratified, rife with unmodified cobbles, and markedly deeper than other contemporaneous living surfaces.

1.5 Direct Artifact/Historical Photograph Parallels

Dozens of historical photographs of Nate Harrison exist.[32] There are more photographs of Harrison than any other 19th-century San Diegan, including City founder Alonzo Horton and famed lawman Wyatt Earp. These images of Harrison are significant for many reasons. They reveal that he was a touristic highlight for San Diegans, an exotic "other" with ties to the Antebellum South and slavery, and a burgeoning legend.[33] Archaeologically, these photographs are important time capsules that showcase both the local landscape and some of Harrison's many material possessions. The images enable the SDSU archaeological team to draw one-to-one correspondences between certain items found at the site and those historically captured on film.

One of the old photographs is an undated picture, likely ca. 1910, of Harrison sitting by his cabin with the Palomar hillside in the background (See Figure 2.30). It was taken from the west and shows his patio in the foreground. It is possible to line up the historical image—the slope of the land in the foreground, the near background to the east of the cabin, the distant mountain slope in the far background, and a few of the trees to the immediate north and south of the structure—with the modern archaeological excavations.[34] These reference points enable past and present images to be matched up, even superimposed, providing supporting evidence of the spatial concordance between the cabin in the historical image and the current archaeological location of the stone foundation. In addition, this historical photograph and many others like it reveal Harrison's structure to be primarily made of stone, square in plan, with a stone chimney opposite the doorway on its gable end. All of these architectural criteria have been verified by the archaeological record.

Comparing Harrison's cabin with other contemporaneous San Diego structures emphasizes how unique it is (See Part V and Tennyson 2007). The cabin is unlike any other local late 19th/early 20th-century residence, including those built and inhabited by San Diego's sizable African-American, Indian, Mexican-American, and Anglo-American communities (See Part V and Tennyson 2007). Harrison's structure is even remarkably different from the houses of other Palomar-Mountain residents. On the contrary, his cabin is nearly identical in shape, size, and other architectural details to slave quarters from plantations in the Ante-Bellum South (See Part V and Tennyson 2007). Clearly, Harrison drew on his past to build a cabin the way he knew best. He was an active force on the cultural landscape of Palomar Mountain, far more than a passive observer subject to local custom (See Part V and Tennyson 2007).

Archaeologists rarely pinpoint an exact historical day with an artifact, but they often effectively capture everyday activities of the past. For example, smoking played an important role in Harrison's daily life. Edward Harvey Davis wrote in 1938 that Nate Harrison's "inseparable companion" was "a short-stemmed black pipe" (Davis 1938). Two separate accounts claimed that Harrison's pipe was so well-used and caked with residue "that tobacco was not even needed in it (*coal would do just as well*)" (James c. 1952-1975). Many of the historical photographs show Harrison with a black pipe (See Figure 2.50). Student excavators uncovered five of Harrison's black rubber tobacco-pipe mouthpieces at the site from 2004-2008 (See Figure 2.136). The archaeological crews also located three pipe bowls and nearly a dozen flat tobacco tins.[35] In addition to numerous buttons, rivets, and

32. Many of these pictures are located at local historical societies in San Diego County, including the San Diego Historical Society and the Escondido Historical Society. A majority of the Harrison images, however, had been passed down by the successive property owners at the Nate Harrison estate. Former landowners Jamey and Hannah Kirby donated a box of these images and associated letters, articles, records, and maps to Dr. Mallios and the Nate Harrison Historical Archaeology Project in 2004. The images have been compiled in the first and third technical reports (See Part II and Part IV).

33. Appreciating nuances in these images is essential to understanding Harrison's legend, but this lengthy discussion is left for a subsequent article.

34. This technique has been used before in historical archaeology and was dubbed "Prince's Principle" by archaeologist Ivor Noël Hume. Named after Gene Prince, a staff archaeologist at Flowerdew Hundred, Virginia, this process was used to locate Grant's crossing of the pontoon bridge at Flowerdew Hundred in 1864. James Deetz celebrated the technique in his 1993 book, *Flowerdew Hundred* (150-51).

35. The tobacco cans, flattened tins with a hinged lid, were patented on July 30, 1907 by the R. J. Reynolds Tobacco Company. Many different tobacco brands were marketed in these particular cans, but they soon became widely known as "Prince Albert" cans after the leading brand. These metal cans held 1.5 ounces of shredded cigarette tobacco, measuring 4.0" in height and having an oval top that was

snaps, excavators uncovered a nearly complete leather shoe in 2004 (See Figure 2.119). It measures 9" in length and is complete except for the front upper portion and the tongue. The small size of the shoe corresponds with Harrison's diminutive stature in the old photos and his recorded height of 5' 3" on the 1894 voting registration form. The shoe appears to match Harrison's footwear in many of the historical photographs (See Figure 2.31).

3.0" by 1.0". These cans gained much fame in popular American culture during the 20th century. The joke— "Do you have Prince Albert in a can? Well let him out!"—was ubiquitously told. In addition, marijuana joints were often called "lids" because they were commonly rolled in the convenient flip-up lid of the Prince Albert can. Furthermore, asking someone if "Prince" [Albert] or "Red" [the can was bright red] was around became a common coded reference for someone attempting to obtain marijuana. Tobacco cans dwindled in popularity during the 1940s as far cheaper and less messy mass-manufactured, machine-rolled cigarettes became the norm (See Part V).

1.6 Indirect Artifact/Historical Photograph Parallels

Other artifacts found at the site, although not identical to items in the historical photographs, are strikingly similar. For example, students uncovered a nickel watch fob in the top layer of the site's patio area and the back plate to a watch at the western edge of the cabin's interior fill (See Figure 2.129). Multiple historical photographs show Harrison wearing a watch chain (See Figure 2.36). The chain in the photographs is thicker and longer than the one recovered archaeologically. Furthermore, none of the images show the watch to which the chain was likely connected. Nonetheless, the fob and back plate strongly resemble some of Harrison's known possessions.

A northeastern patio-area unit contained four metal suspender clips stamped with the word "PRESIDENT" (See Figure 4.66). An advertisement describing these same suspenders appears on page 997 of the 1902 edition of the Sears, Roebuck and Company Catalogue. It states:

> "The President Suspender. No. 34R746. A new style recently patented suspender with improved back which equalizes the strain on all parts with every attitude. Relieves the strain on shoulders and not likely to pull off buttons. Made with strong non-elastic web cord in back and high grade elastic webbing in main parts. Every pair warranted to wear to the entire satisfaction of the purchaser. Made in fancy webs or plain colors. Price, per pair . . . . . $0.45; Per dozen . . . $5.40; If by mail, postage extra, per pair, 5c."

One of the photographs of Harrison from the Escondido Historical Society shows him wearing metal suspender-like buckles on his overalls (See Figure 2.51). They are similar, but not identical, to the suspender clips uncovered at the site.

In some cases, artifacts were able to clarify the identity of certain items in the historical photographs. For years, the crew debated what was stacked in the foreground of Figure 2.30 and off to the side of an additional historical photograph from ca. 1910 (See Figure 2.28). Were they hides? Multiple lines of archaeological evidence suggest that Harrison ran his own cottage industry at the site, which included regularly hunting, processing carcasses, and preparing hides for tanning. Spent rifle cartridges were one of the most common artifacts found at the site, indicating that Harrison was an avid hunter. In addition, the patio area units were especially rich in bones from a wide variety of medium-to-large sized mammals (sheep, deer, cow, and pig). Many of the remains show signs of butchery, but there are few meat-bearing elements. The number of mandibles and cranial fragments dwarf the number of long bones and ribs, hinting that the meat was transported away from the site. That the historical photographs seem to show evidence of processed hides further supported the notion that Harrison was an active skinner.[36]

36. Many of the written histories of Nate Harrison have undeniably racist overtones. Stories from the 1930s and '40s often employ the offensive stereotype of "the lazy black man" to describe Harrison. For example, Virginia Stivers Bartlett claimed in 1931 that, "Uncle Nate never did a solid day's work in his life" (22-25). Did Harrison work? The archaeological evidence strongly suggests that he ran his own cottage industry at the site, processing hides on a regular basis.

1.7 Conclusion

Each of these artifactual studies addresses temporal, spatial, and formal qualities of the archaeological assemblage; together they emphasize that the materials uncovered at the site correspond with Harrison's historically and photographically documented time on Palomar Mountain. Many of the artifacts were household and industrial goods, common to a rural homestead of Harrison's era. Quantitatively, over 20,000 artifacts from the 1865-1916 time period were found on the land Harrison homesteaded, associated with a stone foundation that was physically identical to that pictured in historical photographs. Qualitatively, the site produced multiple direct parallels—the black pipe mouthpieces, the pipe bowl, and the leather boot—and additional indirect parallels—the watch fob, watch back plate, suspenders, and deer-processing materials—that were also evident in the historical photographs. Therefore, according to archaeological dimensions of time, space, and form, these recent scientific excavations have successfully located and unearthed Nate Harrison's Palomar Mountain cabin.

The excavations provided answers to the first set of research questions posed at the outset of the project.

1. The site's date range is ca. 1865-1916, strikingly close to the anticipated ca. 1850-1919 time frame. It is important to note that the artifacts undermine the often-repeated claim in the secondary sources that Harrison's cabin pre-dated Joseph Smith's 1859 settlement on Palomar Mountain (Wood 1937; Bartlett 1931:22-25; Davidson 1937; Bostic c. 1952-1975; Asher c. 1932-1950; Beckler 1958; Lockwood c. 1950-1970; Bryson 1962; Craine c. 1956-1969; Perkins 1971, 1972; Anonymous 1982; Yamaguchi 1998; Ross 1998).

2. The stones that protruded out of the main site area were, for the most part, on top of the original stone foundation and were likely part of the cabin walls. The east-west axis of the structure was elongated during its destruction due to the fall of the chimney at the gable end. The chimney debris made the plan of the square structure appear to be more rectangular prior to excavation.

3. There is no archaeological evidence, either artifactual or stratigraphic, of a pre- or post-Harrison occupation at the site.

4. There is no evidence of multiple phases within the main Harrison occupation; it was most likely one continuous occupation.

5. The archaeological record supports the chronology generated from the primary sources regarding Harrison's life. The records established that Harrison lived in and around Palomar Mountain during the 1870s and '80s, and at his hillside homestead from the late 1880s to 1919. Archaeologically, the entire material assemblage place the site occupant(s) at the cabin from 1865-1916, but a more reliable sherd-based chronology suggests that the site was occupied from 1890-1916.

As analysis continues on the archaeological assemblage, new insights into the region's early U.S. American Period are becoming evident. For example, the site has produced many individual artifacts that reflect much larger issues of the late 19th and early 20th centuries, like medicinal fraud and snake-oil salesmen (a Murine eye remedy bottle; See Part II and Part V), time-zone standardization and its impact on rural settings (the watch fob, back plate, and numerous pieces of an alarm clock; See Part II and Mallios and Stroud 2006:71-74), and the Early Prohibition Movement (multiple alcohol and Welch's grape juice bottles; See Part III). Studying the history of these artifacts, among many others, helps to situate Harrison's life in greater social context. These sorts of analyses prompt just as many new questions as they have answered, especially concerning the status, ethnicity, and social identity of the site occupant(s). Thus, the article presented here confirms the recently excavated area as Harrison's late 19th- and early 20th-century hillside homestead, and serves as a springboard for further studies into his life and legend.

PART II

An Interim Technical Report for the 2004 Field Season



Cover image 2. On a cool day in 1913, Harrison prepared coffee and a meal over an open fire on the patio of his Palomar Mountain cabin; the original Escondido Historical Society image has been colorized.

Seth Mallios

With Contributions by Sarah Stroud, Lauren Lingley, Jaime Lennox, Hillary Sweeney, Jason Maywald, and David Caterino

Part II List of Figures

Cover image 2. On a cool day in 1913, Harrison prepared coffee and a meal over an open fire on the patio of his Palomar Mountain cabin; the original Escondido Historical Society image has been colorized 23

Figure 2.1. 2004 Field crew. Bottom row (l-r): Hillary Sweeney, Lauren Lingley, Matt Werle, Dr. Seth Mallios, Sarah Stroud. Middle row (l-r): Hannah Stover, Jason Maywald, Onika Miyashiro, Jaime Lennox. Top row (l-r): Cyndi Eischen, Megan Libby. Front: Indy. Not pictured: Meridith Blake. 30

Figure 2.2. Landowners Jamie and Hannah Kirby 31

Figure 2.3. Everett Hunt 31

Figure 2.4. View of Pauma Valley from Kirby property 32

Figure 2.5. USGS Aerial photograph of Nate Harrison Grade region 32

Figure 2.6. USGS Topographic map of Nate Harrison Grade region 33

Figure 2.7a. November 10, 1879, United States Land Patent to Nathan Harris 36

Figure 2.7b. November 10, 1879, United States Land Patent to Nathan Harris 37

Figure 2.8. 1880 San Diego County Census for San Jacinto Township 39

Figure 2.9. 1880 San Diego County Census for Bear Valley Township 40

Figure 2.10a. June 19, 1882, Deed grant from Nathan Harrison to A. Scott 44

Figure 2.10b. June 19, 1882, Deed grant from Nathan Harrison to A. Scott 45

Figure 2.10c. June 19, 1882, Deed grant from Nathan Harrison to A. Scott 46

Figure 2.11. March 21, 1884, San Diego Union article 47

Figure 2.12. April 20, 1884, San Diego Union article 48

Figure 2.13. May 26, 1892, water claim 49

Figure 2.14a. March 27, 1893, Homestead Certificate 51

Figure 2.14b. March 27, 1893, Homestead Certificate 52

Figure 2.14c. March 27, 1893, Homestead Certificate 53

Figure 2.15. Original plat map of western slope of Palomar Mountain. Courtesy of the County of San Diego Record Office 54

Figure 2.16. October 22, 1894, voter registration form 54

Figure 2.17a. December, 1896 survey map 56

Figure 2.17b. December, 1896 survey map 57

Figure 2.18. February 12, 1897, county consent form for read-widening 58

Figure 2.19. 1900 San Diego County Census for Smith Mountain Township 59

Figure 2.20. 1920 San Diego County Census for San Diego Township 62

Figure 2.21. October 10, 1920, death certificate 64

Figure 2.22. July 5, 1921, deed of sale 66

Figure 2.23. July 6, 1921, Administrator's Deed 68

Figure 2.24. Table of Nate Harrison Estate owners and transactions 68

Figure 2.25. Graph of Harrison's alleged year of birth over time 69

Figure 2.26. USGS Topographic map of Harrison's Rincon property area (Section 22) in relation to his Palomar Mountain property (Section 1) 70
Figure 2.27. Kirby Collection Image #1 71
Figure 2.28. Kirby Collection Image #2 71
Figure 2.29. Kirby Collection Image #3 72
Figure 2.30. Kirby Collection Image #4 72
Figure 2.31. Kirby Collection Image #5 73
Figure 2.32. Kirby Collection Image #6 74
Figure 2.33. Kirby Collection Image #7 75
Figure 2.34. Kirby Collection Image #8 75
Figure 2.35. Kirby Collection Image #9 76
Figure 2.36. Kirby Collection Image #10 76
Figure 2.37. Kirby Collection Image #11 (original image was printed in reverse) 77
Figure 2.38. Kirby Collection Image #12 78
Figure 2.39. Kirby Collection Image #13 78
Figure 2.40. Kirby Collection Image #14 79
Figure 2.41. Kirby Collection Image #15 80
Figure 2.42. Kirby Collection Image #16 80
Figure 2.43a. State of California Historic Resources Inventory form for Nathan Harrison Monument/Nathan Harrison Grade 81
Figure 2.43b. State of California Historic Resources Inventory form for Nathan Harrison Monument/Nathan Harrison Grade 82
Figure 2.44. Kirby Collection Image #17 83
Figure 2.45. Kirby Collection Image #18 83
Figure 2.46. Kirby Collection Image #19 84
Figure 2.47. Kirby Collection Image #20 85
Figure 2.48. Escondido Historical Society Image #1 85
Figure 2.49. Escondido Historical Society Image #2 86
Figure 2.50. Escondido Historical Society Image #3 86
Figure 2.51. Escondido Historical Society Image #4 87
Figure 2.52. Escondido Historical Society Image #5 87
Figure 2.53. Escondido Historical Society Image #6 87
Figure 2.54. Escondido Historical Society Image #7 88
Figure 2.55. Escondido Historical Society Image #8 88
Figure 2.56. Escondido Historical Society Image #9 88
Figure 2.57. Escondido Historical Society Image #10 88
Figure 2.58. San Diego Historical Society Image #1 89
Figure 2.59. San Diego Historical Society Image #2 90
Figure 2.60. San Diego Historical Society Image #3 91

Figure 2.61. San Diego Historical Society Image #4 92
Figure 2.62. San Diego Historical Society Image #5 92
Figure 2.63. San Diego Historical Society Image #6 93
Figure 2.64. Touring Topics Image #1 94
Figure 2.65. Touring Topics Image #2 94
Figure 2.66. Valley Center History Museum Image #1 94
Figure 2.67. Photograph of artifacts found around Nate Harrison cabin by previous landowner. 95
Figure 2.68. Close-up photograph of previously unearthed artifacts from cabin site 95
Figure 2.69. Photograph of pre-excavation visit to site in May of 2004; view of site from east 96
Figure 2.70. Photograph of pre-excavation visit to site in May of 2004; view of site from west 97
Figure 2.71. Photograph of pre-excavation visit to site in May of 2004; view of site from north 97
Figure 2.72. Photograph of pre-excavation visit to site in May of 2004; view of site from datum (southeast) 97
Figure 2.73. "Day one" sketch map of datum placement with respect to site area 98
Figure 2.74. Cynthia Eischen and Lauren Lingley use the laser transit to shoot in the north back-sight as part of the total station set-up process 98
Figure 2.75. Jason Maywald helps in defoliating the cabin area 99
Figure 2.76. Sarah Stroud, Jaime Lennox, and Hannah Stover clean the west patio area 99
Figure 2.77. Lauren Lingley, Jaime Lennox, Cynthia Eischen, Hannah Stover, Jason Maywald, and Hillary Sweeney shovel-schnitt the plant growth off of the area to the east of the cabin 99
Figure 2.78. Lauren Lingley dumps the first bucket of leaves from the initial site-area clean-up 100
Figure 2.79. Jaime Lennox and Hannah Stover set up the laser theodolite 100
Figure 2.80. Dr. Mallios shoots in the 5' grid from the site datum 100
Figure 2.81. Starting photography of the grid imposed on the cabin's interior 100
Figure 2.82. Opening photograph of 5' by 5' unit, NH1 101
Figure 2.83. Hillary Sweeney and Cynthia Eischen work on a profile map of the exterior face of the north wall 101
Figure 2.84. Megan Libby and Jason Maywald inventory their artifacts after completely excavating the layer 101
Figure 2.85. ER form 2A, front 102
Figure 2.86. ER form 2A, back 103
Figure 2.87. Matthew Werle hauls a bucket back from the screening area 104
Figure 2.88. Meridith Blake, Matthew Werle, Jaime Lennox, and Megan Libby use the 1/8" screens on their dirt 104
Figure 2.89. Working shot of crew in the cabin area, taken from the east 105
Figure 2.90. Working shot of crew in the west-of-cabin patio area, taken from the west 105
Figure 2.91. Site plan with ER designations 107
Figure 2.92. ER book, page 1 108
Figure 2.93. ER book, page 2 109
Figure 2.94. Rock by rock plan drawing of patio area 110

Figure 2.95. Exterior profile map of east wall 111
Figure 2.96. Photograph of exterior profile of east wall 111
Figure 2.97. Exterior profile map of north wall 112
Figure 2.98. Photograph of exterior profile of north wall 112
Figure 2.99. Exterior profile map of west wall 113
Figure 2.100. Photograph of exterior profile of west wall 113
Figure 2.101. Exterior profile map of south wall 114
Figure 2.102. Photograph of exterior profile of south wall 114
Figure 2.103. Photograph of Jason Maywald standing behind south wall of NH5. Note how above surface rocks are stacked directly above those exposed during excavation 115
Figure 2.104. From left to right, Sarah Stroud supervises as Megan Libby (NH5), Onika Miyashiro (NH13), and Cynthia Eischen (NH10) excavate interior cabin units. Note how much higher Eischen is than the other excavators due in part to the slope of the land. 116
Figure 2.105. Megan Libby excavates the base of unit NH12 117
Figure 2.106. Onika Miyashiro excavates the base of unit NH13. Note how surface rocks are located directly above those exposed by excavation. 117
Figure 2.107. Table of interior unit stratigraphy 118
Figure 2.108. Artifact date ranges from site 119
Figure 2.109. Small arms cartridge typology and data 120
Figure 2.110. Small arms cartridge date-range histogram 121
Figure 2.111. Spatial distribution of artifacts oustide of cabin 122
Figure 2.112. Table of vessel crossmends from Nate Harrison site 122
Figure 2.113. Artifact material pie chart 123
Figure 2.114. Table of different metal forms in assemblage 123
Figure 2.115. Dr. Mallios excavates a large piece of the ironstone pitcher from NH5E, the southwest corner cabin unit 124
Figure 2.116. Crossmended ironstone pitcher 124
Figure 2.117. Ironstone pitcher's maker's mark 124
Figure 2.118. Flow Blue sherd 124
Figure 2.119. Sarah Stroud and Onika Miyashiro admire a leather shoe from the interior cabin fill 126
Figure 2.120. Murine Eye Remedy bottle 126
Figure 2.121. The Homestead on the Hillside text 127
Figure 2.122. Murine Eye Remedy advertisement 127
Figure 2.123. Jelly jar vessel 1 128
Figure 2.124. Gordon's Dry Gin bottle photograph 129
Figure 2.125. Gordon's Dry Gin bottle sketch 129
Figure 2.126. Full vessel analog for Gordon's Dry Gin bottle 129
Figure 2.127. Skeleton key 129
Figure 2.128. 1916 Buffalo head nickel, front 130
Figure 2.129. Watch fob 130

Figure 2.130. Alarm clock gears 131
Figure 2.131. Example of contemporaneous alarm clock 131
Figure 2.132. An alarm clock advertisement from the September 24, 1910 edition of The Saturday Evening Post 131
Figure 2.133. Silver-plated spoon and fork 132
Figure 2.134. Matthew Werle uncovers a horseshoe 132
Figure 2.135. Horseshoe close-up 133
Figure 2.136. Rubber tobacco-pipe mouthpiece 133
Figure 2.137. Graphite pencil lead 133
Figure 2.138. Dr. Mallios talks to the media about the Nate Harrison excavations during the archaeological open house 137



Figure 2.1. 2004 Field crew. Bottom row (l-r): Hillary Sweeney, Lauren Lingley, Matt Werle, Dr. Seth Mallios, Sarah Stroud. Middle row (l-r): Hannah Stover, Jason Maywald, Onika Miyashiro, Jaime Lennox. Top row (l-r): Cyndi Eischen, Megan Libby. Front: Indy. Not pictured: Meridith Blake.

2.1 Acknowledgments

The first season of excavation at the Nate Harrison site depended on the expertise, diligence, and generosity of many individuals. Our debt of gratitude begins with the landowners, Jamey and Hannah Kirby (Figure 2.2). Were it not for their generosity, kindness, and respect for local history, these excavations would not have happened. Their support and friendship has been integral to the initial success of this project and has made every trip to the mountain a delight. In addition, we are deeply indebted to the 2004 field school students. As a group, Meredith Blake, Cynthia Eischen, Jaime Lennox, Megan Libby, Lauren Lingley, Jason Maywald, Onika Miyashiro, Hannah Stover, Hillary Sweeney, and Matt Werle worked tirelessly and did everything that was asked of them (Figure 2.1). The Kirbys also lent a hand in the excavation process on occasion, as did their talented nephew, Everett Hunt (Figure 2.3). In addition to participating in the three-week field school, Lauren, Cynthia, Jaime, Hillary, and Jason together contributed nearly 200 volunteer hours to the washing, labeling, sorting, and mending of the artifact assemblage.



Figure 2.2. Landowners Jamie and Hannah Kirby.



Figure 2.3. Everett Hunt.

Various local professionals were also very gracious with their time and knowledge. Dr. Timothy Gross gave valuable insight into the identification of the site's lithic material. In addition, staff members at the San Diego Historical Society, Tustin Area Historical Society, Escondido Historical Society, and County of San Diego Record Office provided project researchers with frequent help in locating historical records and photographs relating to Nate Harrison.

This project also benefited greatly from the support of many individuals at San Diego State University. Anthropology Department Administrative Coordinator Kathleen Peck, Department Chair Phil Greenfeld, College of Arts and Letters Dean Paul Wong, and Provost Nancy Marlin have each contributed to the initial success of these archaeological excavations. And finally, we wish to thank the local San Diego County community for embracing this project and encouraging our efforts at presenting a more complete history of the region.



Figure 2.4. View of Pauma Valley from Kirby property.

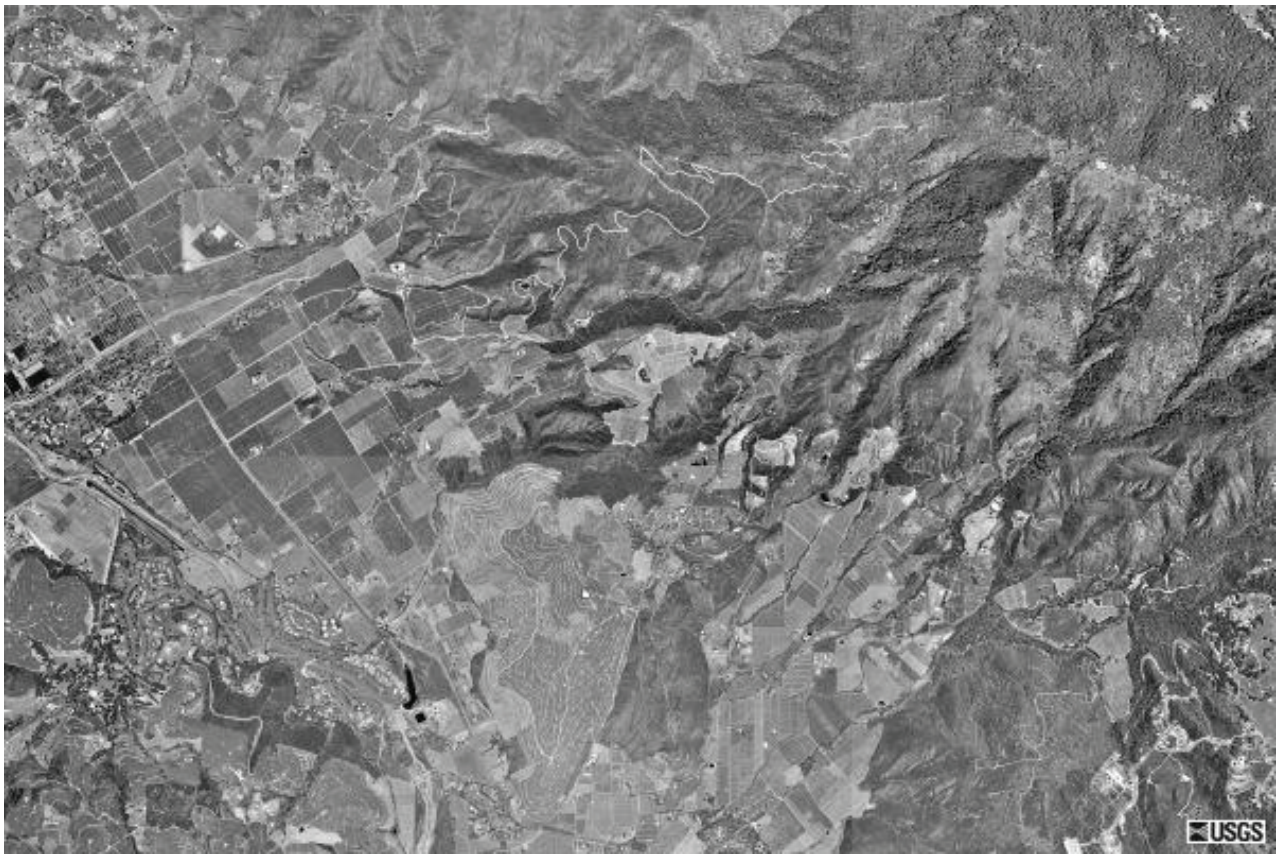


Figure 2.5. USGS Aerial photograph of Nate Harrison Grade region.

2.2 Introduction

Nate Harrison is one of San Diego County's legendary pioneers. Fables abound regarding this former enslaved African-American from the South who lived high upon the west slope of Palomar Mountain into the early 1900s. There are numerous quaint tales of his frontier life. For example, this rugged yet compassionate mountain man allegedly added lizards to his coffee grinds for extra flavor, made batches of homemade mountain lion jerky, and met every visitor with a warm smile.

Many historical photos add to his legend. Over two dozen stunning turn-of-the-century black-and-white photographs of Harrison exist. He is shown in various poses; sitting at his cabin, engaging with white traveler-tourists, and walking his dogs. Harrison may be the most frequently photographed 19th-century San Diegan. It was as if he was San Diego's version of the Eiffel Tower; tourists frequently took his picture to prove that they had visited the precipitous mountain and made it to the top.

Historical archaeology has the potential to evaluate, scrutinize, broaden, and deepen insights into Nate Harrison's life and legend. This report presents findings from the inaugural 2004 San Diego State University field excavation season at the Nate Harrison site. The three-week field school successfully located the remains of Harrison's cabin and uncovered over 6,100 artifacts that date to Harrison's late 19th-century and early 20th-century occupation at Palomar Mountain. Although there had been previous pot-hunting on the site, the 2004 excavations marked the first scientific archaeology on the property.

Current land owners Jamey and Hannah Kirby not only allowed excavations on their property, they went out of their way to make the field school a resounding success. They gave the archaeological team unlimited access to their campsite, latrine, generator, and tractor. In addition, their interest in local history and care for the site over the years has been nothing short of inspirational.

The Kirby property is about two-thirds of the way up the west slope of Palomar Mountain (Figure 2.4). It is off of Nate Harrison Grade, northeast of Pauma Valley (Figures 2.5 and 2.6). USGS aerial photographs and topographic maps offer an overview of the region. The site location is not specified here for confidentiality and security reasons established by the California Environmental Quality Act (CEQA) and maintained by the South Coastal Information Center (SCIC).

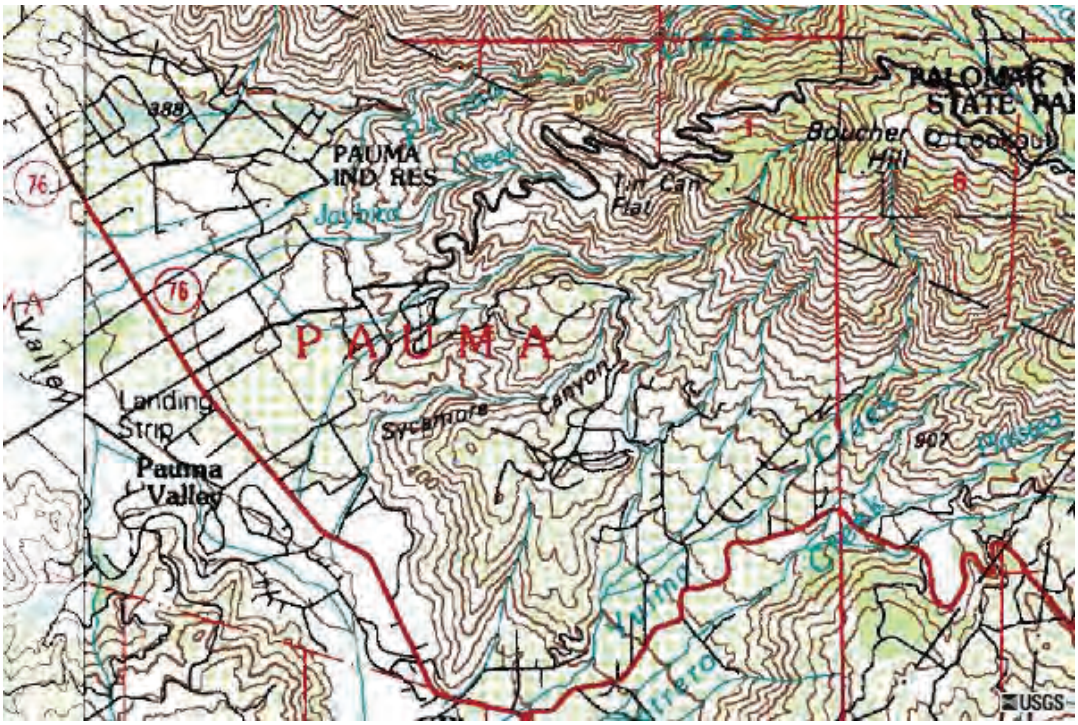


Figure 2.6. USGS Topographic map of Nate Harrison Grade region.

Abridged Research Design

The Nate Harrison Historical Archaeology project began with two sets of research questions. The first was individualistic in terms of the singularity of the site and its primary resident. This initial set of queries asked:

- ***Is this Nate Harrison's homestead?***
- ***Does the site have a date range of ca. 1850-1920 based on the archaeological remains?***
- ***Is there archaeological evidence of a pre- or post-Harrison occupation at the site?***
- ***Are the visible stones that slightly protrude out of the site area in fact remnants of the foundations to the Harrison cabin?***
- ***How do insights gleaned from this site compare with the established stories of Harrison's life?***

The second set of research questions focused more on comparative regional analyses. Attempting to broaden current investigations into the multi-ethnic settlement patterns of urban San Diegans during the late 1800s and early 1900s, this project examines rural San Diego and then contrasts the two regions. It poses questions such as:

- ***What does the historical archaeology reveal about everyday life in San Diego County's rural frontier community during the late 19th and early 20th centuries?***
- ***What were the similarities and differences between urban and rural communities in San Diego County during this time?***
- ***How do the archaeological patterns compare between the regions when looking at specific sites with different ethnicities, genders, or classes?***
- ***Is it possible to create an archaeological grammar relating to multi-ethnic settlement patterns in San Diego County on the basis of relative insights uncovered through the entire region's cumulative historical excavations?***

The following report summarizes the 2004 summer field excavations at the Nate Harrison site. It includes an overview of historical background relating to Nate Harrison, details the archaeological methodology employed at the site and in the lab, and provides preliminary analyses and interpretations. In synthesizing the initial year of historical and archaeological work on the Nate Harrison Historical Archaeology project, this annual publication serves as the 2004-2005 interim technical report.

2.3 Historical Background

The legend of Nate Harrison is a popular story told in San Diego County. Harrison was an African-American male, residing in San Diego County during the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, dying in October of 1920. Although multiple accounts discuss how Harrison came to Northern California during the Gold Rush and eventually settled on Palomar Mountain, many of these histories are contradictory. In attempting to reconstruct a more authentic history, this analysis begins with an overview of the known primary historical documents--the more contemporary and official records with absolute dates. A preliminary discussion of secondary sources will be provided in the 2005 technical report.

Contemporary Primary Historical Documents

There is ample documentary evidence indicating that Harrison lived and owned property on Palomar Mountain. These documents are listed and discussed chronologically in order to trace Harrison's connection to San Diego County and, more specifically, to the property on Palomar Mountain. They include Harrison's 1879 U.S. land patent for property near Rincon at the base of Palomar Mountain, two listings in the 1880 San Diego County census, an 1882 deed granted from Harrison to A. Scott for the Rincon property, two 1884 *San Diego Union* articles, an 1892 water claim, an 1893 Homestead Certificate for the mountain property, an 1894 voter registration form, an 1896 survey map of the west side of the mountain, an 1897 county consent form for road-widening, the 1900 and 1920 San Diego County Censuses, Harrison's 1920 death certificate, and his 1921 deed of sale. Current research has yet to uncover any definitive contemporary primary historical documentary evidence for Harrison being in San Diego County before 1879, although various histories place him on Palomar Mountain as early as the 1850s. Nate Harrison, who died in 1920, had a variety of aliases, including Nathan Harrison, Nathan Harris, and Nate Harris.

The November 10, 1879, United States Land Patent to Nathan Harris

(Figure 2.7)

Harrison received a U.S. land patent for 112.15 acres in lots 2, 3, and 4 of Section 22 in Township 10, South Range One West of the San Bernardino Meridian. This land is in Rincon at the bottom of Palomar Mountain. It is not the property on which Dr. Mallios's excavations have been undertaken. The November 10, 1879, patent reads as follows:

> The United States of America
>
> To all whom these presents, shall come. Greeting:
>
> Homestead Certificate No. 113}
>
> Application 402}
>
> Whereas There has been deposited in the General Land Offices of the United States a Certificate of the Register of the Land Office at Los Angeles, California, whereby it appears that pursuant to the Act of Congress Approved 20th May 1862. To Secure Hence Steads to actual Settlers on the Public Domain, and the Act supplemental thereto, the claim of Nathan Harris has been established and duly commuted in conformity to law for the South East quad of the South West quarter and its lots numbered Two, Three, and Four of Section Twenty-two in Township Ten South of range one West San Bernardino Meridian, in the district of Courts subject to sale at Los Angeles, California, containing One hundred and twelve acres and eight hundredths of an acre. according to the official Plat of the survey of the said Land, returned to the General Land Office by the Surveyor General.
>
> Now Know Ye. that there is therefore granted by the United

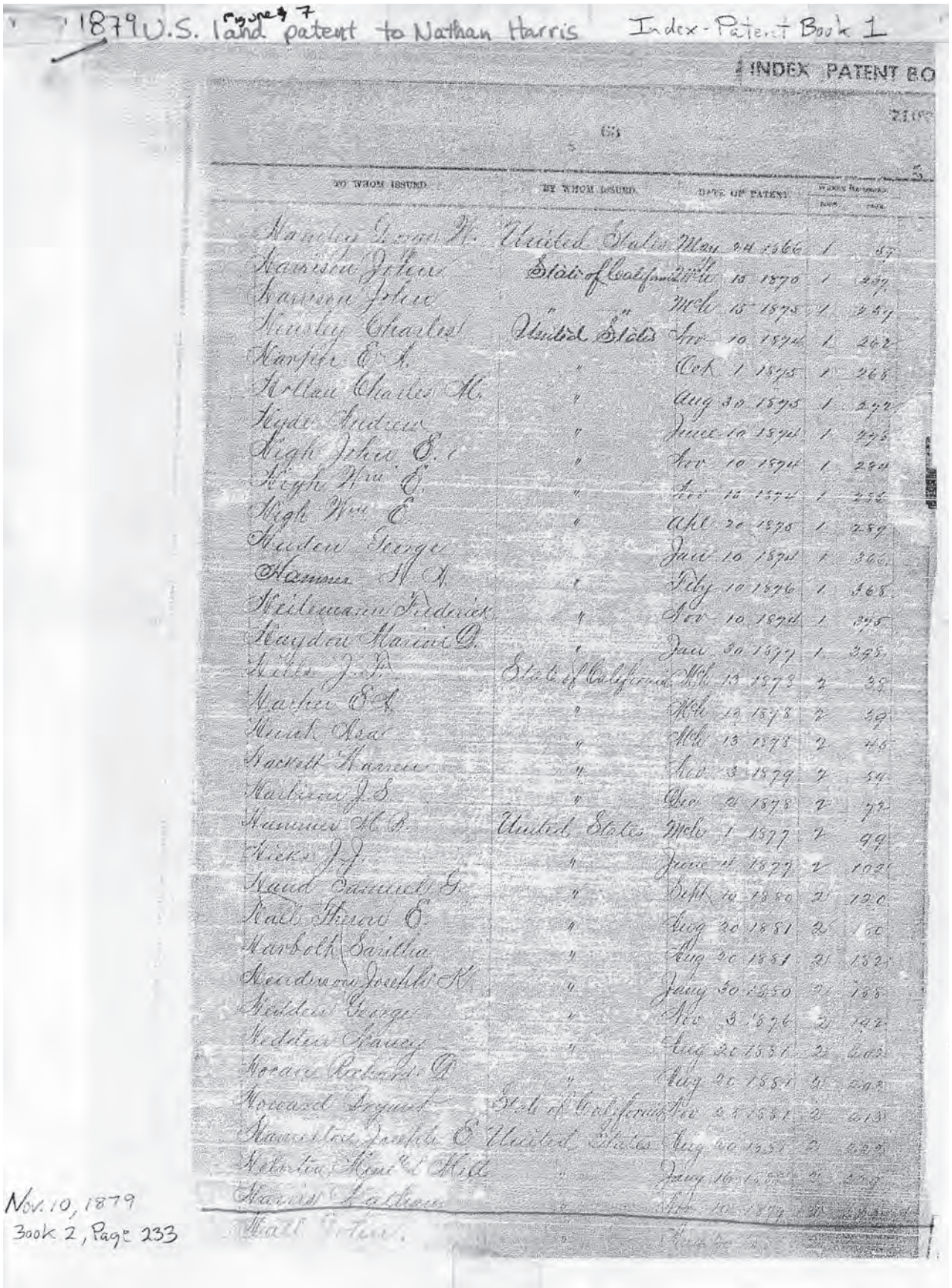


Figure 2.7a. November 10, 1879, United States Land Patent to Nathan Harris.

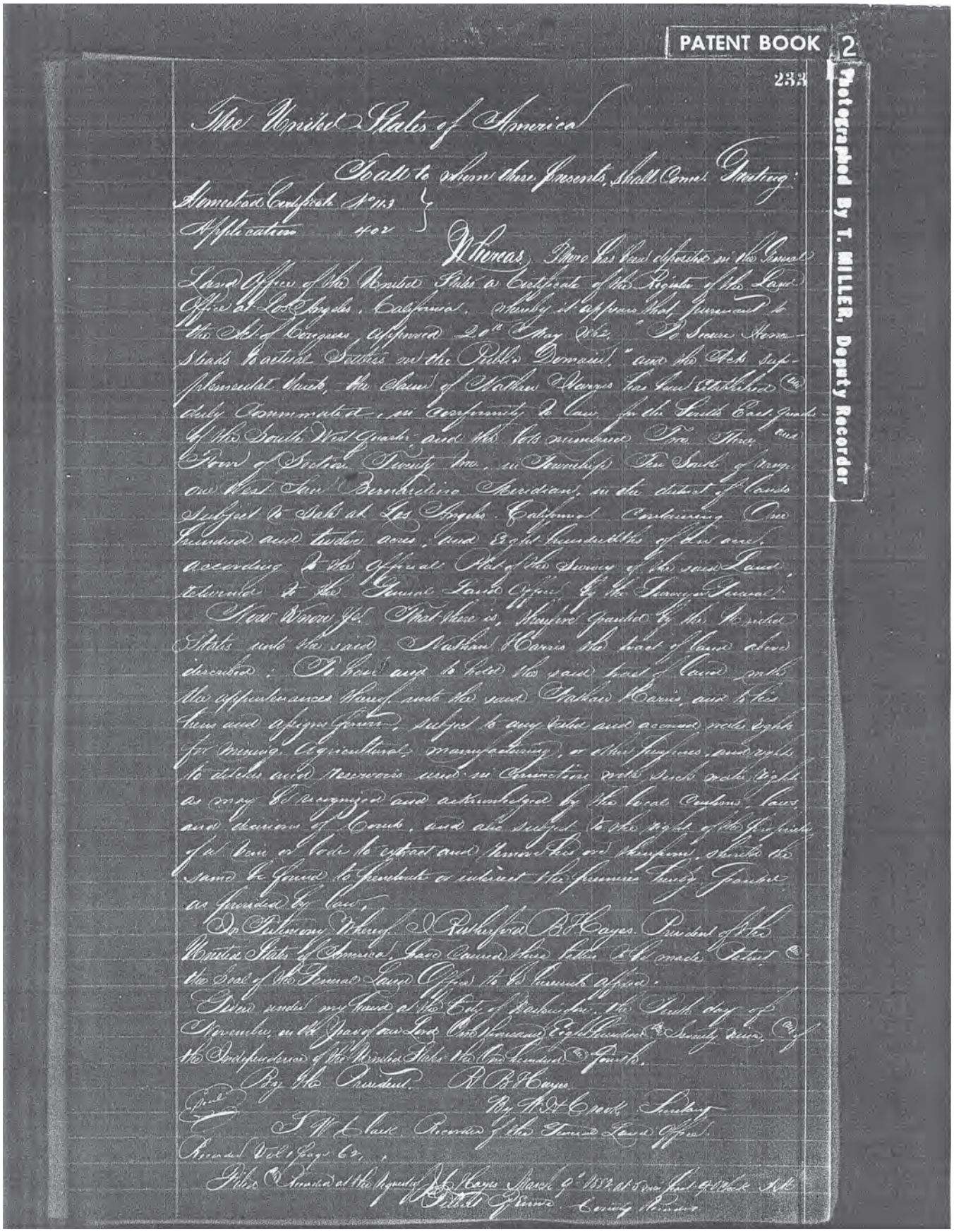


Figure 2.7b. November 10, 1879, United States Land Patent to Nathan Harris.

States unto the said Nathan Harris the tract of land above described. to have and to hold the said tract of land and the appurtenances thereof unto the said Nathan Harris, and to his heirs and assigns heirs, subject to any vested and accrued water rights for mining, agricultural, manufacturing, or other purposes, and rights to ditches and reservoirs used in connection with such water rights as may be recognized and acknowledged by the local customs, laws, and decisions of Court, and also subject to the rights of the proprietor of a vein or lode to extract and remove his ore therefrom should the claim be found to penetrate or intersect the premises hereby granted as provided by law.

In Testimony Whereof, I, Rutherford B. Hayes, President of the United States of America, have caused these letters to be made Patent and the Seal of the General Land Office to be hereunto affixed.
Given under my hand at the City of Washington this Tenth day of November, in the Year of our Lord One thousand eight hundred and seventy nine, and of the Independence of the United States the one hundred and Fourth.

By the President. R B Hayes
By W H Crook, Secretary
S. W. Clark. Recorder of the General Land Office.

Recorder []

Filed and recorded at the request of J. P. Hayes March 9th 1882 at 5 min past 9 o'clock AM
Gilbert P. Essnie. County Recorder

The 1880 San Diego County Census

(Figures 2.8 and 2.9)

The 1880 San Diego County census recorded Nate Harrison twice, once in the San Jacinto Township and once in the Bear Valley Township. Both townships were in what was San Diego County in the late 19th century, but neither was directly adjacent to Palomar Mountain. They were each about ten miles from the mountain and in different directions. The census includes a wealth of personal information about Harrison. The San Jacinto Township census, with the hand-written entries in quotations, reads as follows:

Page No. "22"
Supervisor's Dist No. "4"
Enumeration Dist. No. "74"
Note A—The Census Year begins June 1, 1879, and ends May 31, 1880.
Note B-All persons will be included in the Enumeration who were living on the 1st day of June 1880. No others will. Children BORN SINCE June 1, 1880, will be OMITTED. Members of Families who have DIED SINCE June 1, 1880, will be INCLUDED.
Note C-Questions Nos. 13, 14, 22, and 23 are not to be asked in respect to persons under 10 years of age.
SCHEDULE 1-Inhabitants in "San Jacinto Township", in the County of "San Diego", State of "California"
enumerated by me on the "22nd" day of June, 1880.
"G. H. Zeigler"
Enumerator
.IN CITIES
Number of Street: "___"
House number: "___"
Dwelling house number in the order of visitation: "___"

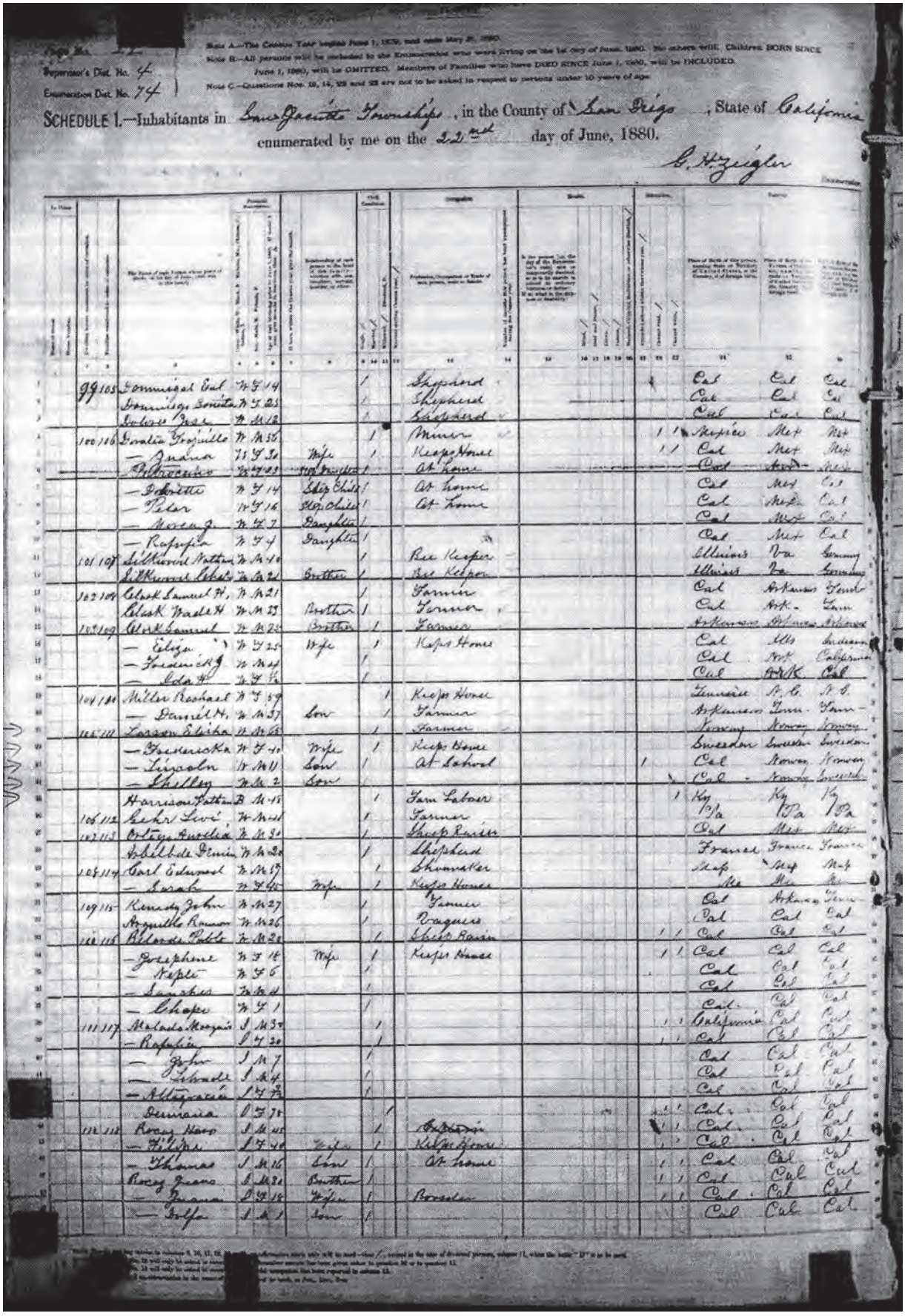


Figure 2.8. 1880 San Diego County Census for San Jacinto Township.

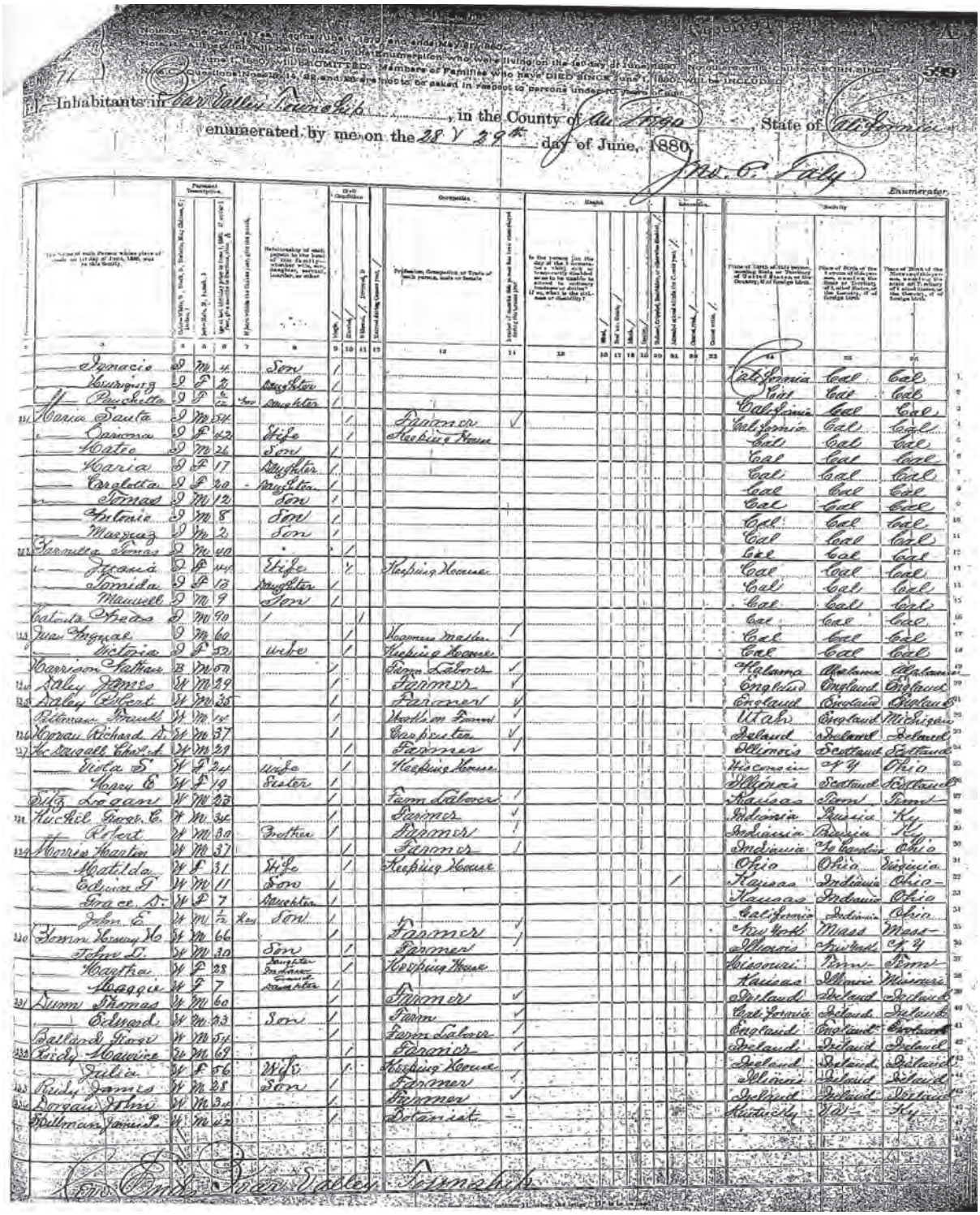


Figure 2.9. 1880 San Diego County Census for Bear Valley Township.

Family number in the order of visitation: "___"
The Name of each person whose place of abode on June 1, 1800, was in this family.
Enter surname first, then the given name and middle initial, if any.
Include every person living on June 1, 1900.
Omit children born since June 1, 1900.
"Harrison, Nathan"
Personal Description

Color-White W, Black B, Mulatto Mu, Chinese C; Indian: "B"
Sex-Male M, Female F: "M"
Age at last birthday prior to June 1, 1880. If under 1 year, give months in fractions, thus: "45"
If born within the Census year, give the month: "___"
Relationship of each person to the head of the family-whether wife, son, daughter, servant, boarder, or other: "___"
Civil Condition
Single: "___"
Married: "/"
Widowed W, Divorced D: "___"
Married during Census year:"___"
Occupation
Profession, Occupation, or Trade of each person, male or female: "Farm Laborer"
Number of months this person has been unemployed during the Census year: "/"
Health…:"___"
Is the person [on the day of the enumerator's visit] sick or temporarily disabled *** to be unable to attend to ordinary ** or duties? If so, what is the sickness or disability: "___"
Blind: "___"
Deaf and Dumb: "___"
Idiot: "___"
Insane: "___"
Maimed, Crippled, Bedridden, or otherwise disabled: "___"
Education
Attended school within the Census year: "___"
Cannot read: "___"
Cannot write: "___"
Nativity
Place of birth of this person naming state or territory of United States or the Country, if of foreign birth: "Ky"
Place of birth of the FATHER of this person naming state or territory of United States or the Country, if of foreign birth: "Ky"
Place of birth of the MOTHER of this person naming state or territory of United States or the Country, if of foreign birth: "Ky"

The Bear Valley Census, with the Hand-Written Entries in Quotations, States:

Page No. "___"
Supervisor's Dist No. "4"
Enumeration Dist. No. "71"
Note A—The Census Year begins June 1, 1879, and ends May 31, 1880.
Note B-All persons will be included in the Enumeration who were living on the 1st day of June 1880. No others will. Children BORN SINCE
June 1, 1880, will be OMITTED. Members of Families who have
DIED SINCE June 1, 1880, will be INCLUDED.
Note C-Questions Nos. 13, 14, 22, and 23 are not to be asked in respect to
persons under 10 years of age.
SCHEDULE 1-Inhabitants in "Bear Valley Township", in the County of
"San Diego", State of "California"
enumerated by me on the "28th and 29th" day of June, 1880.
"Jno. P. Daly"

Enumerator
In Cities
Number of Street: "___"
House number: "___"
Dwelling house number in the order of visitation: "___"
Family number in the order of visitation: "___"
The Name of each person whose place of abode on June 1, 1800, was in this family.
Enter surname first, then the given name and middle initial, if any.
Include every person living on June 1, 1900.
Omit children born since June 1, 1900.
"Harrison, Nathan"
Personal Description
Color-White W, Black B, Mulatto Mu, Chinese C; Indian: "B"
Sex-Male M, Female F: "M"
Age at last birthday prior to June 1, 1880. If under 1 year, give months in fractions, thus: "50"
If born within the Census year, give the month: "___"
Relationship of each person to the head of the family-whether wife, son, daughter, servant, boarder, or other: "___"
Civil Condition
Single: "/"
Married: "___"
Widowed W, Divorced D: "___"
Married during Census year:"___"
Occupation
Profession, Occupation, or Trade of each person, male or female: "Farm Laborer"
Number of months this person has been unemployed during the Census year: "/"
Health…:"___"
Is the person [on the day of the enumerator's visit] sick or temporarily disabled *** to be unable to attend to ordinary ** or duties? If so, what is the sickness or disability: "___"
Blind: "___"
Deaf and Dumb: "___"
Idiot: "___"
Insane: "___"
Maimed, Crippled, Bedridden, or otherwise disabled: "___"
Education
Attended school within the Census year: "___"
Cannot read: "___"
Cannot write: "___"
Nativity
Place of birth of this person naming state or territory of United States or the Country, if of foreign birth: "Alabama"
Place of birth of the FATHER of this person naming state or territory of United States or the Country, if of foreign birth: "Alabama"
Place of birth of the MOTHER of this person naming state or territory of United States or the Country, if of foreign birth: "Alabama"

The San Jacinto record listed Harrison as an illiterate single 48-year-old black male farm laborer. According to this document, both Harrison and his parents were born in Kentucky. Harrison's name appeared in conjunction with the Larson family, a Scandinavian husband and wife couple and their two children. The Bear Valley listing reiterated that Harrison was a single black male farm laborer, but it listed his age at 50 and his place of origin

as Alabama. In this record, he was documented in conjunction with the Juans, an Indian couple. These records established that Harrison lived in San Diego County by 1880 and indicated that he was able to travel large distances between households working as a farm laborer. The 1880 census did not put Harrison on Palomar (Smith's) Mountain, which is surprising because it listed other contemporary mountain residents. Although historical census takers often missed individuals for a variety of reasons, the omission of Harrison from Palomar Mountain on the 1880 San Diego County Census raises three questions: 1) How many residences did Harrison occupy during the late 1800s? 2) At which residence did he spend the most time? and 3) When did Palomar Mountain become his primary residence?

It is worth noting that there is an August 5, 1870, census record for a Nate Harrison in Dallas County, Alabama. This Nate Harrison is a 34-year old black male farm laborer born in Alabama. He is documented living with 19-year old Sylvia Harrison, a black female from Alabama. Although this record might refer to the same individual who eventually resides on Palomar Mountain, two additional factors must be considered. First, the name "Nate Harrison" is fairly common. Second, nearly all of the other primary historical records indicate that Palomar's Nate Harrison and his family were from Kentucky.

The June 19, 1882, Deed Grant from Harrison to Scott

(Figure 2.10)

Harrison sold his Rincon property to Andres Scott on June 19, 1882. Scott paid $300 for the 112.15 acres in lots 2, 3, and 4 of Section 22 in Township 10, South Range One West of the San Bernardino Meridian. The deed of sale stated:

> Nathan Harrison To Andres Scott
> Know all men by these presents That
> Nathan Harrison of the County of San Diego, State of California, in this the Nineteenth day of June 1882
> For and in consideration of the sum of three hundred ($300.00) dollars
> So hereby paid to Andres Scott also of San Diego County
> State of California of the second hand.
> Are that real property situated in Rincon in the county of
> San Diego, State of California, bounded and described as follows:
> Being the South East (SE ¼) quarter of the South West (SW ¼) quarter
> And Lots two, three, and four of Section twenty two (22) Township ten (10) South Range One West (1W), One hundred and twelve 15/100 acres of land, with all the improvements and appurtenances thereunto be-
> longing or in any use appertaining thereunto.
> To have and to hold the above granted and described premises unto
> Said Andres Scott his house and assigned fences.
> Witness my hand this Nineteenth day of June 1882,
> Nathan Harrison (his mark X)
> Signed and recorded in the presence of A.J. Beard
> State of California
> County of San Diego} p.
> On this 19th day of June, Eighteen
> Hundred and Eighty two before me A. J. Beard a Justice of the
> Peace in and for Bear Valley Township San Diego County, State
> of California formally appeared Nathan Harrison known to me
> to be the person whose name is subscribed to the mother instrument
> and he acknowledged to me that he * the same freely for the
> use and purposes therein contained.
> In witness whereof I have hereunto set my hand and affixed my
> official seal at my office in Bear Valley Township County of
> San Diego
> State of California this day and year on this Certificate first above written.
> J. Beard

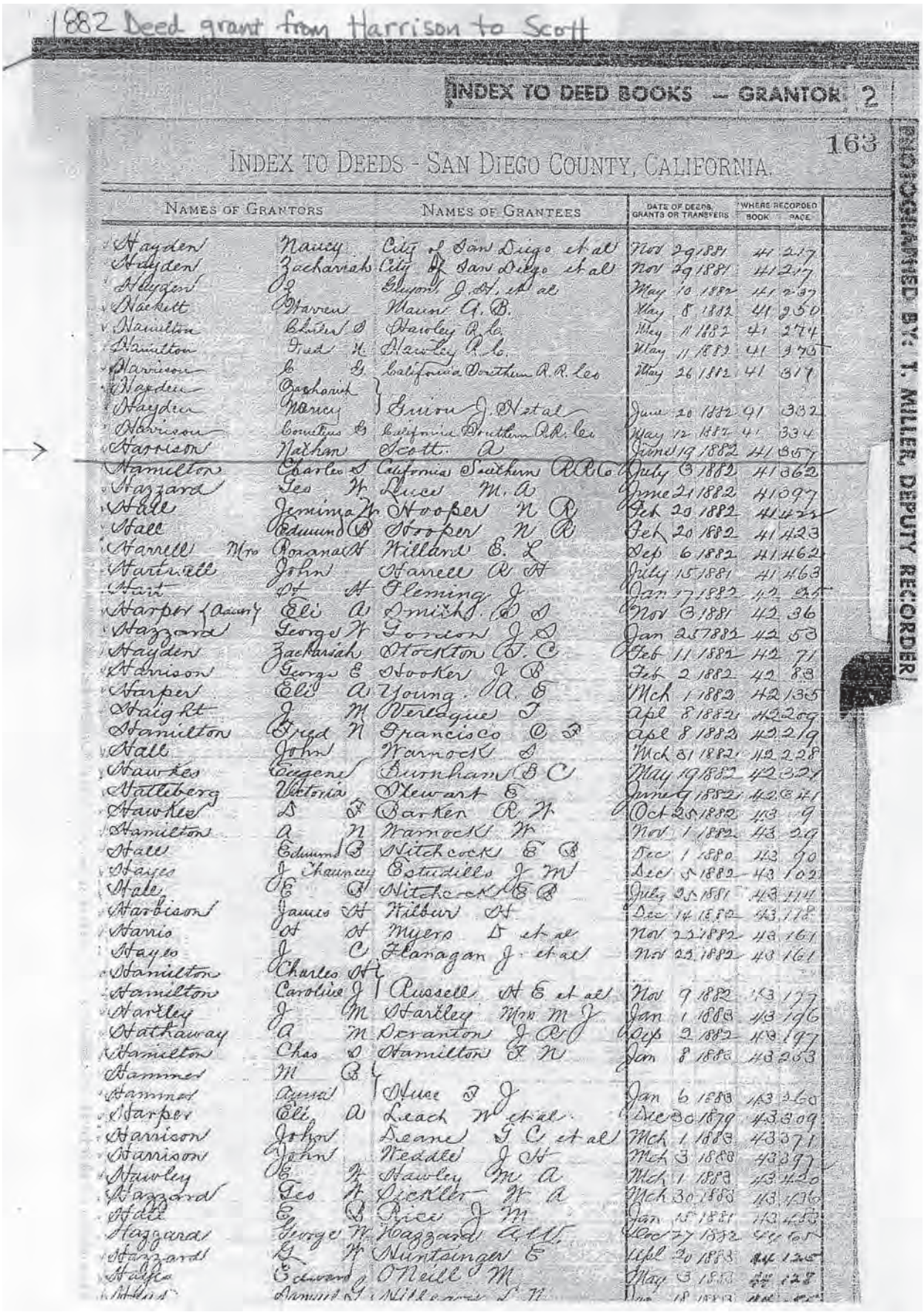


Figure 2.10a. June 19, 1882, Deed grant from Nathan Harrison to A. Scott.

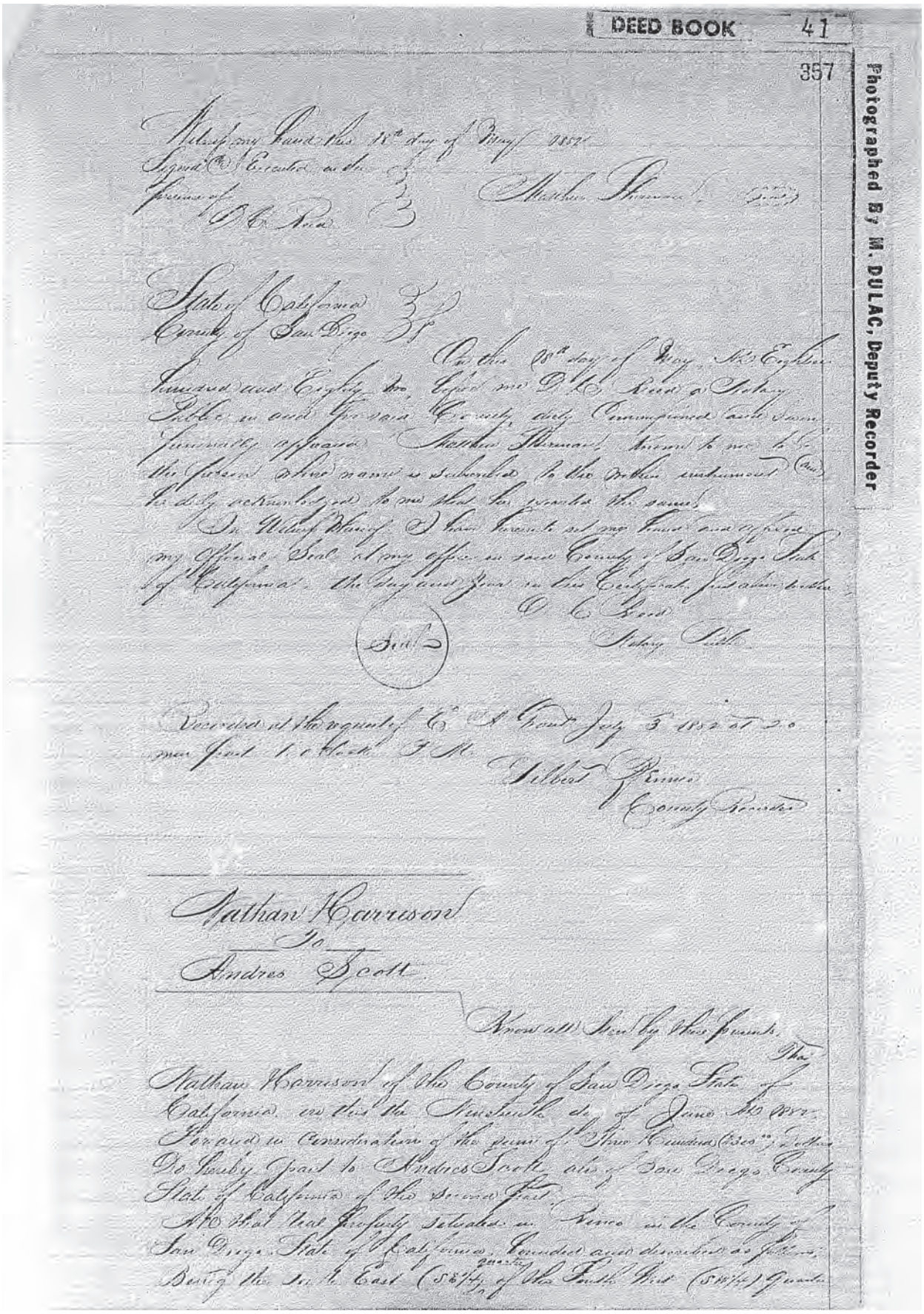


Figure 2.10b. June 19, 1882, Deed grant from Nathan Harrison to A. Scott.

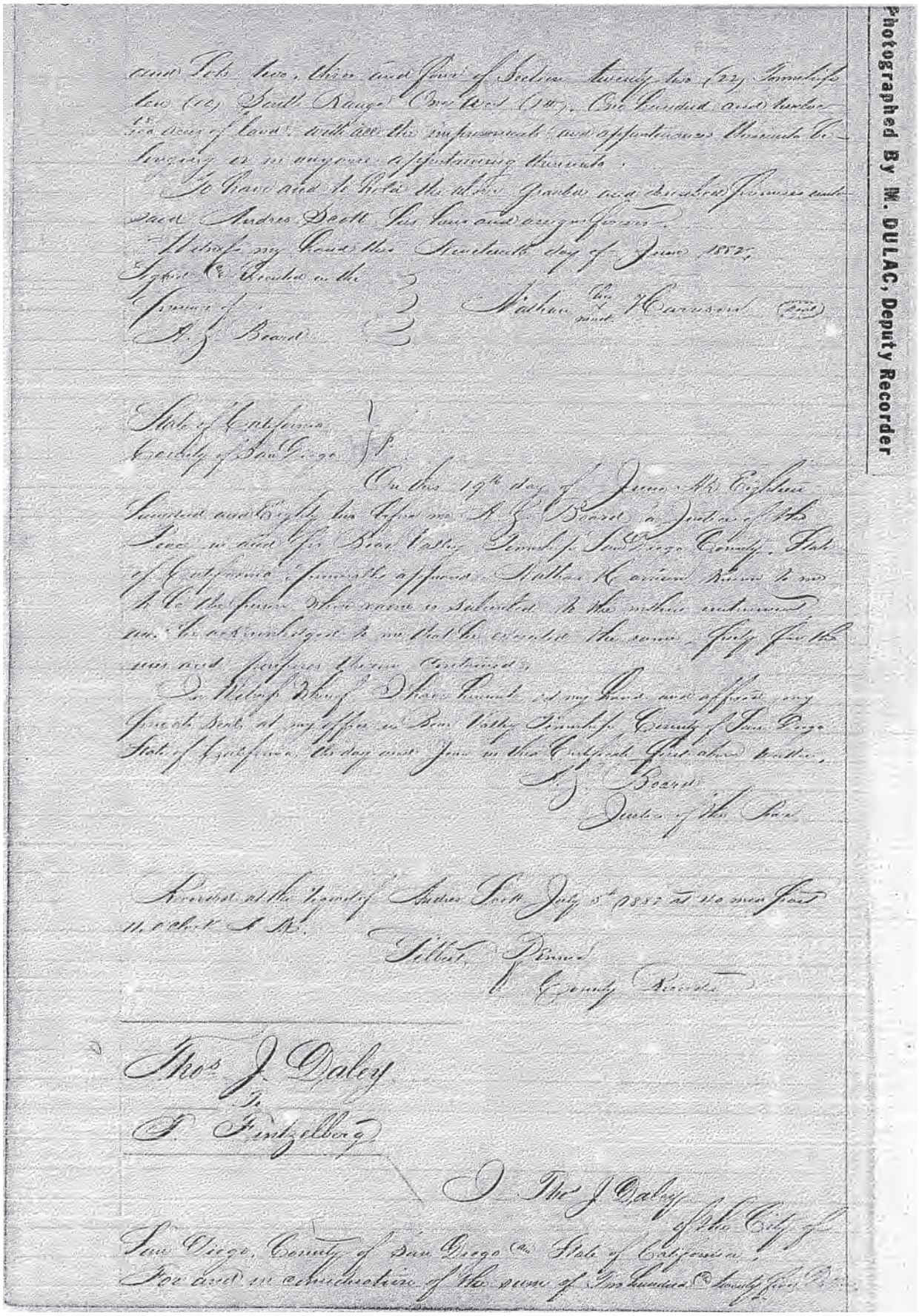


Figure 2.10c. June 19, 1882, Deed grant from Nathan Harrison to A. Scott.

Justice of the Peace
Recorded at the request of Andres Scott July 5th 1882 at * 11 o'clock*
Gilbert Dinard
County Recorder.

The March 21, and April 20, 1884, *San Diego Union* Articles

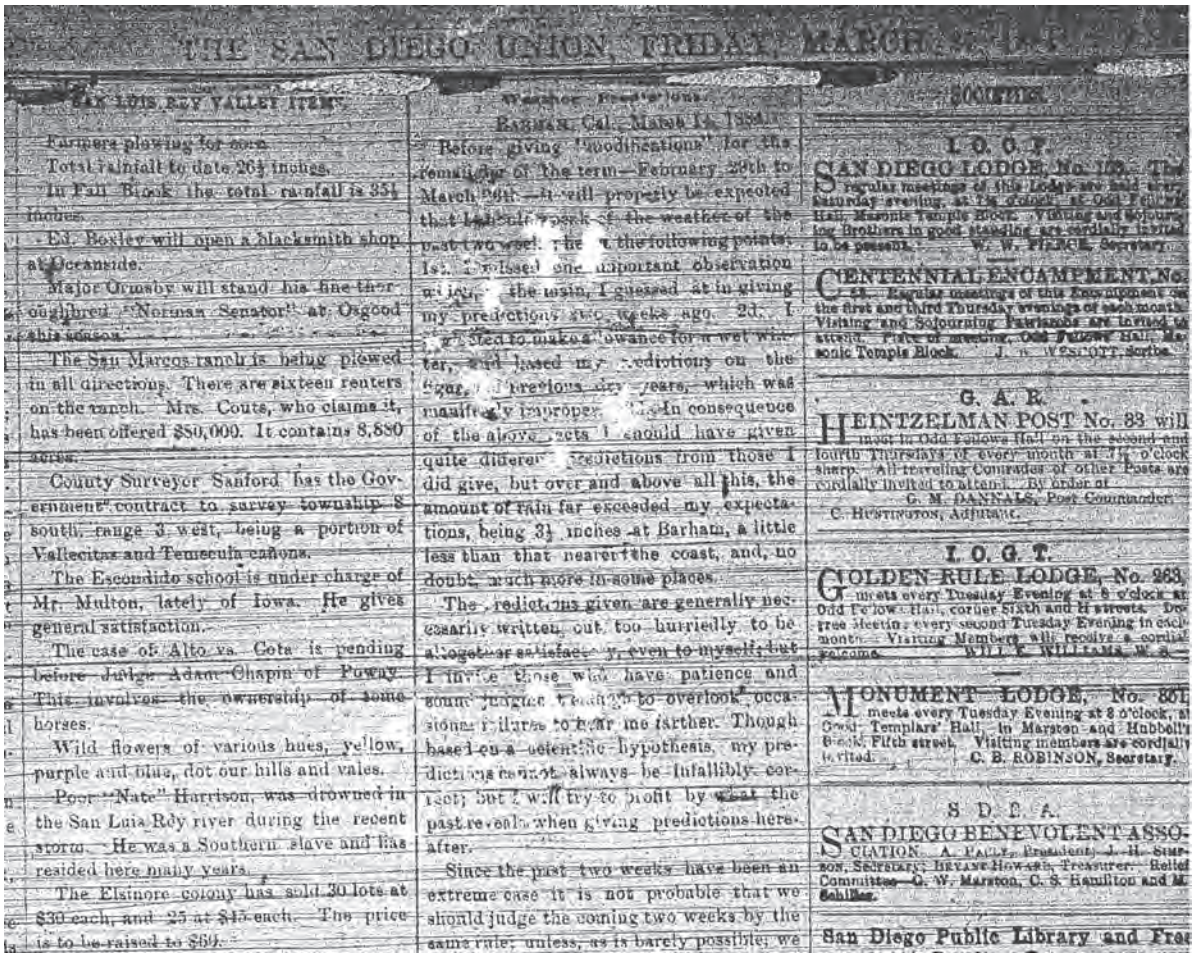
(Figures 2.11 and 2.12)

The *San Diego Union* ran a story on March 21, 1884, reporting that Harrison had died in a recent storm. The newspaper article noted that, "Poor 'Nate' Harrison was drowned in the San Luis Rey River during the recent storm. He was a Southern slave and has resided here many years." Unfortunately, the brief article did not specify where "here" was, or how long "many years" constituted. Less than a month later, the newspaper recanted the story, asserting that, "N----r Nate is not drowned as was reported in the *Union*; he still lives to vote the Republican ticket and beat his way through the world. Although neither of these small stories placed Harrison on the mountain, they did situate him in northern San Diego, near the San Luis Rey River. In addition, they intimated that he was widely known in the local region and had likely lived in San Diego County for quite some time.

The May 26, 1892, Water Claim

(Figure 2.13)

Harrison filed a water claim for the spring associated with his Palomar Mountain land on May 26, 1892. This is the earliest document uncovered to this point that associated Harrison with the mountain property. His handwritten claim reads:



THE SAN DIEGO UNION, FRIDAY, MARCH [illegible]

SAN LUIS REY VALLEY ITEMS.

Farmers plowing for corn.

Total rainfall to date 26½ inches.

In Fall Brook the total rainfall is 35½ inches.

Ed. Boxley will open a blacksmith shop at Oceanside.

Major Ormsby will stand his fine thoroughbred "Norman Senator" at Osgood this season.

The San Marcos ranch is being plowed in all directions. There are sixteen renters on the ranch. Mrs. Couts, who claims it, has been offered $80,000. It contains 8,880 acres.

County Surveyor Sanford has the Government contract to survey township 8 south, range 3 west, being a portion of Vallecitas and Temecula cañons.

The Escondido school is under charge of Mr. Multon, lately of Iowa. He gives general satisfaction.

The case of Alto vs. Cota is pending before Judge Adam Chapin of Poway. This involves the ownership of some horses.

Wild flowers of various hues, yellow, purple and blue, dot our hills and vales.

Poor "Nate" Harrison, was drowned in the San Luis Rey river during the recent storm. He was a Southern slave and has resided here many years.

The Elsinore colony has sold 30 lots at $30 each, and 25 at $45 each. The price is to be raised to $60.

Weather Predictions.

BARHAM, Cal., March 14, 1884.

Before giving "modifications" for the remainder of the term—February 29th to March 29th—it will properly be expected that I should speak of the weather of the past two weeks. [illegible] the following points: 1st. I missed one important observation which, [illegible] the main, I guessed at in giving my predictions two weeks ago. 2d. I [illegible] to make allowance for a wet winter, and based my predictions on the figures of previous dry years, which was manifestly improper. [illegible] In consequence of the above [illegible] I should have given quite different predictions from those I did give, but over and above all this, the amount of rain far exceeded my expectations, being 3½ inches at Barham, a little less than that nearer the coast, and, no doubt, much more in some places.

The predictions given are generally necessarily written out too hurriedly to be altogether satisfactory, even to myself; but I invite those who have patience and sound judgment enough to overlook occasional failures to hear me farther. Though based on a scientific hypothesis, my predictions cannot always be infallibly correct; but I will try to profit by what the past reveals when giving predictions hereafter.

Since the past two weeks have been an extreme case it is not probable that we should judge the coming two weeks by the same rule; unless, as is barely possible, we

SOCIETIES.

I. O. O. F.

SAN DIEGO LODGE, No. 103. The regular meetings of this Lodge are held every Saturday evening, at 7½ o'clock, at Odd Fellows' Hall, Masonic Temple Block. Visiting and Sojourning Brothers in good standing are cordially invited to be present. W. W. PIERCE, Secretary.

CENTENNIAL ENCAMPMENT, No. 53. Regular meetings of this Encampment on the first and third Thursday evenings of each month. Visiting and Sojourning Patriarchs are invited to attend. Place of meeting, Odd Fellows' Hall, Masonic Temple Block. J. [illegible] WESCOTT, Scribe.

G. A. R.

HEINTZELMAN POST No. 33 will meet in Odd Fellows Hall on the second and fourth Thursdays of every month at 7½ o'clock sharp. All traveling Comrades of other Posts are cordially invited to attend. By order of
G. M. DANNALS, Post Commander.
C. HUNTINGTON, Adjutant.

I. O. G. T.

GOLDEN RULE LODGE, No. 263, meets every Tuesday Evening at 8 o'clock at Odd Fellows' Hall, corner Sixth and H streets. Degree Meeting every second Tuesday Evening in each month. Visiting Members will receive a cordial welcome. WILL E. WILLIAMS, W. S.

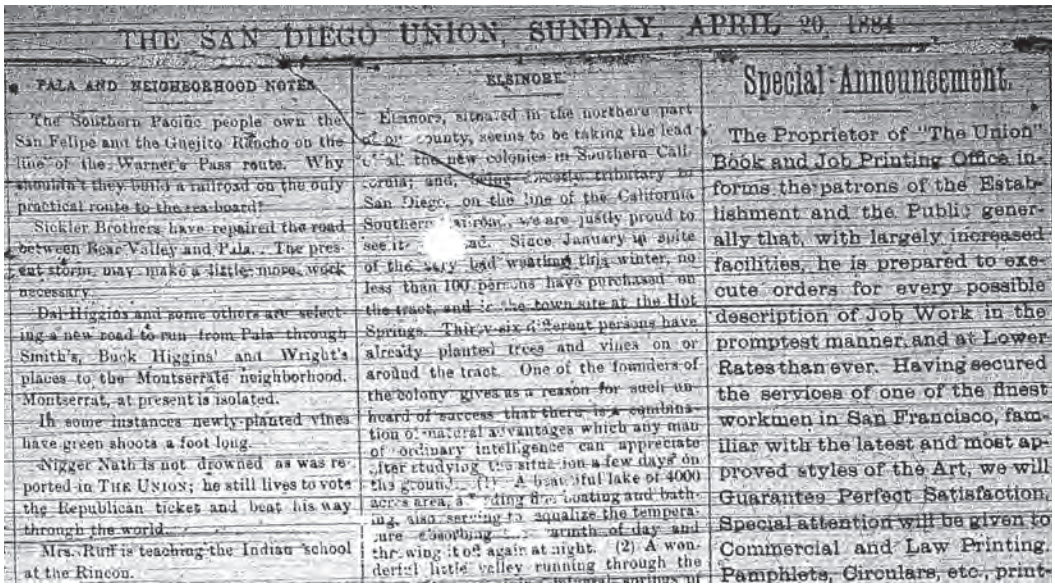
MONUMENT LODGE, No. 851, meets every Tuesday Evening at 8 o'clock, at Good Templars' Hall, in Marston and Hubbell's Block, Fifth street. Visiting members are cordially invited. C. B. ROBINSON, Secretary.

S. D. B. A.

SAN DIEGO BENEVOLENT ASSOCIATION. A. PAULY, President; J. H. SIMPSON, Secretary; BRYANT HOWARD, Treasurer. Relief Committee—G. W. Marston, C. S. Hamilton and M. Schiller.

San Diego Public Library and Free

Figure 2.11. March 21, 1884, San Diego Union article.



THE SAN DIEGO UNION, SUNDAY, APRIL 20, 1884

PALA AND NEIGHBORHOOD NOTES.

The Southern Pacific people own the San Felipe and the Guejito Rancho on the line of the Warner's Pass route. Why shouldn't they build a railroad on the only practical route to the sea-board?

Sickler Brothers have repaired the road between Bear Valley and Pala. The present storm may make a little more work necessary.

Dal Higgins and some others are selecting a new road to run from Pala through Smith's, Buck Higgins' and Wright's places to the Montserrate neighborhood. Montserrat, at present is isolated.

In some instances newly-planted vines have green shoots a foot long.

Nigger Nath is not drowned as was reported in THE UNION; he still lives to vote the Republican ticket and beat his way through the world.

Mrs. Ruff is teaching the Indian school at the Rincon.

ELSINORE.

Elsinore, situated in the northern part of our county, seems to be taking the lead of all the new colonies in Southern California; and, being [illegible] tributary to San Diego, on the line of the California Southern Railroad, we are justly proud to see it [illegible]. Since January 1st quite of the very bad weather this winter, no less than 100 persons have purchased on the tract, and in the town site at the Hot Springs. Thirty-six different persons have already planted trees and vines on or around the tract. One of the founders of the colony gives as a reason for such unheard of success that there is a combination of natural advantages which any man of ordinary intelligence can appreciate after studying the situation a few days on the ground. (1) A beautiful lake of 4000 acres area, affording fine boating and bathing, also serving to equalize the temperature, absorbing the warmth of day and throwing it off again at night. (2) A wonderful little valley running through the

Special Announcement.

The Proprietor of "The Union" Book and Job Printing Office informs the patrons of the Establishment and the Public generally that, with largely increased facilities, he is prepared to execute orders for every possible description of Job Work in the promptest manner, and at Lower Rates than ever. Having secured the services of one of the finest workmen in San Francisco, familiar with the latest and most approved styles of the Art, we will Guarantee Perfect Satisfaction. Special attention will be given to Commercial and Law Printing. Pamphlets, Circulars, etc., print-

Figure 2.12. April 20, 1884, San Diego Union article.

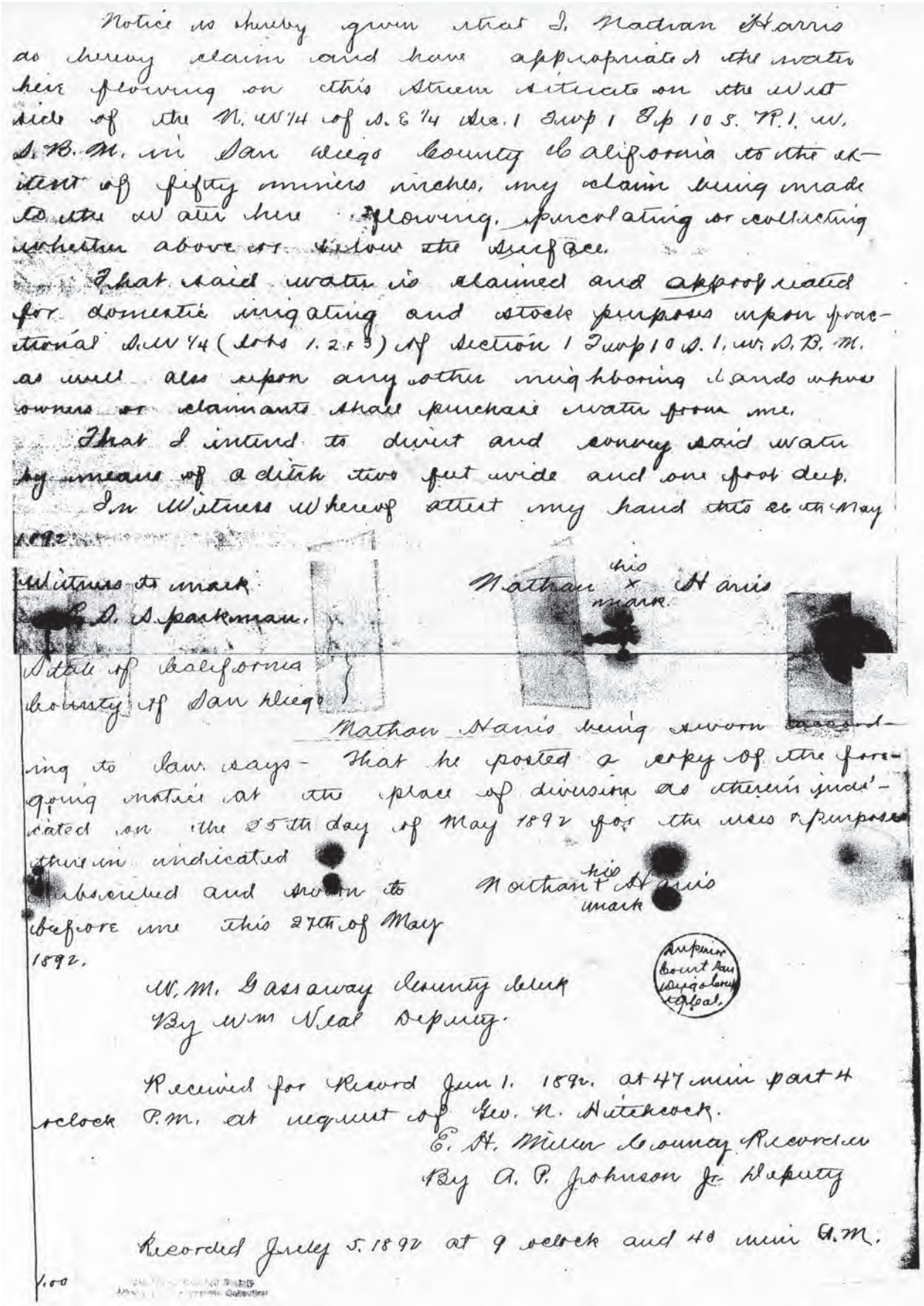
> Notice is hereby given that I, Nathan Harris, do hereby claim and have appropriated the water here flowing on this stream situate on the west side of the N.W. ¼ of S.E. ¼ Sec. 1 Twp1 Tp 10S. R.1. W. S. B. M. in San Diego County, California to the extent of fifty miners riches. My claim being made to the water here flowing, percolating or collecting whether above or below the surface.
> That said water is claimed and appropriated for domestic irrigating and stock purposes upon fractional S.W. ¼ (lots 1, 2, & 3) of Section 1 Twp 10 S. 1. W. S. B. M. as well as upon any water neighboring lands whose owners or claimants shall purchase water from me.
> That I intend to divert and convey said water by means of a ditch two feet wide and one foot deep.
> In witness whereof attest my hand this 26th May 1892.
> Nathan Harris (his mark X)
> Witness to mark: B. D. Sparkman.
> State of California
> County of San Diego
> Nathan Harris being sworn according to law says- That he posted a copy of the foregoing notice at the place of division as therein judicated on the 25th day of May 1892 for the uses + purposes therein indicated. Subscribed and sworn to Nathan Harris (his mark X) before me this 27th of May 1892.
> W. M. Gassaway County Clerk
> By Wm Neal Deputy.
> Received for Record June 1. 1892. At 47 min past 4 oclock P.M. at request of Geo. N. Hitchcock.
> E. H. Miller County Recorder
> By A. P. Johnson Jr. Deputy
> Recorded July 5. 1892 at 9 oclock and 40 min A.M."

The claim gave him official rights to the water on his land on the western slope of Palomar Mountain. Harrison marked the claim with an "x" in place of his signature, suggesting that he was illiterate at the time.

The March 27, 1893, Homestead Certificate

(Figure 2.14)

Harrison completed a homestead certificate in 1893 for his 45.55-acre Palomar property. The April 9, 1921, copy of this claim stated that it was "Recorded at request of Hamilton & Lindley (Johnson), Apr. 14, 1921." Harrison had died the previous fall, in October of 1920, and this later request was likely linked to the sale of the property. Harrison's homestead certificate reads:



Notice is hereby given that I, Nathan Harris as hereby claim and have appropriated the water here flowing on this Stream situate on the West side of the N. W 1/4 of S. E 1/4 Sec. 1 Twp 1 Tp 10 S. R. 1. W. S. B. M. in San Diego County California to the extent of fifty miners inches, my claim being made to the water here flowing, percolating or collecting whether above or below the surface.

That said water is claimed and appropriated for domestic irrigating and stock purposes upon fractional S. W 1/4 (lots 1. 2 & 3) of Section 1 Twp 10 S. 1. W. S. B. M. as well also upon any other neighboring lands whose owners or claimants shall purchase water from me.

That I intend to divert and convey said water by means of a ditch two feet wide and one foot deep.

In Witness Whereof attest my hand this 26th May 1892.

Witness to mark
E. D. Sparkman.

Nathan his x mark Harris

State of California
County of San Diego

Nathan Harris being sworn according to law says - That he posted a copy of the foregoing notice at the place of diversion as therein indicated on the 25th day of May 1892 for the uses & purposes therein indicated

Subscribed and sworn to before me this 27th of May 1892.

Nathan his + mark Harris

Superior Court San Diego County Cal.

W. M. Gassaway County Clerk
By Wm Neal Deputy.

Received for Record Jun 1. 1892. at 47 min past 4 oclock P.M. at request of Geo. N. Hitchcock.

E. H. Miller County Recorder
By A. P. Johnson Jr. Deputy

Recorded July 5. 1892 at 9 oclock and 40 min A.M.

1.00

Figure 2.13. May 26, 1892, water claim.

The United States of America
To all to whom these Presents shall come, Greetings
Homestead Certificate No. 1739
Application 6637
Whereas, there have been deposited in the General
Land Office of the United States a Certificate of the Register
of the Land Office at Los Angeles, California where by
it appears that pursuant to the Act of Congress ap-
proved 20th May 1862, "To secure homesteads to actual
Settlers on the Public Domain," and the acts supplemen-
tal thereto the claim of Nathan Harris, has been es-
tablished and hereby consummated in conformity to
law, for the Lots numbered one and three of
Section one in Township ten South of Range
one, west of San Bernardino Meridian in
California continuing forty-five acres and fifty
five hundredths of an acre.
According to the Official Plat of the survey of said
Land returned to the General Land Office by the
Surveyor General.
Now know ye, that there is therefore granted
by the United States unto the said - - - Nathan
Harris the Tract of Land above described. To have
and to hold the said tract of Land with the appur-
tenances thereof unto the said Nathan Harris and
to his heirs and assigns forever; subject to any vested
and accrued water rights for mining, agriculture,
manufacturing, or other purposes and rights to ditches
and reservoirs used in connection with such water
rights as may be recognized and acknowledged
and also subject to the right of a proprietor of a
mine or lode to extract and remove his ore therefrom.
should the claim be found to penetrate or intersect
the premises hereby granted as provided by law.
In Testimony Whereof, I Grover Cleveland
President of the United States of America have
these Letters, to be * the Seal of
the General Land Office, to be hereto affixed
Given under my hand at the City of Washington
this Twenty seventh day in March in the year
of our Lord one thousand eight hundred and
ninety three of the Independence of the
United States the one hundred and Seventeenth
/*/
By the President Grover Cleveland
By M. McKean, Secretary,
I. R. Bonwell,
Recorder of the General Land Office
ad interim
Department of the Interior
General Land Office
Washington, D. C. Apr. 9, 1921
I hereby certify that this photograph is a
true copy of the patent record which is in my custody
in this office.
L. G. B. La May,
Recorder,

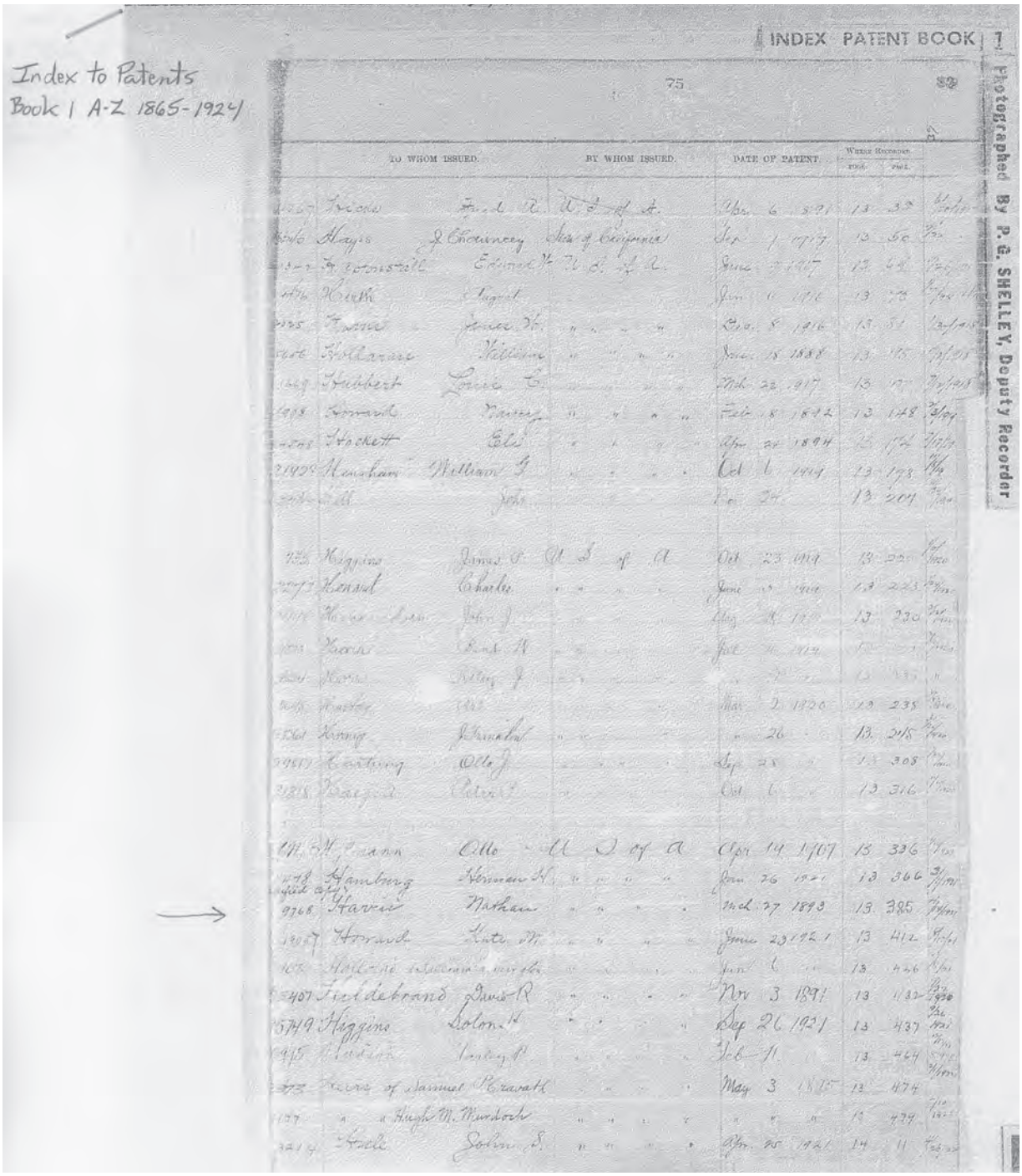


Figure 2.14a. March 27, 1893, Homestead Certificate.

Recorded at request of Hamilton & Lindley Johnson
April 11th, 1921 at 10 Min. past 10 o'clock AM
John H. Perry, County Recorder
By N. C. Parsons, Deputy
Fee $10

The geographic designations in the 1892 water claim and the 1893 homestead certificate are the same and clearly refer to an identical piece of property. In addition, the lots mentioned in the homestead certificate are still associated with the property today and are evident on the original undated yet historical plat map of Harrison's property (Figure 2.15).

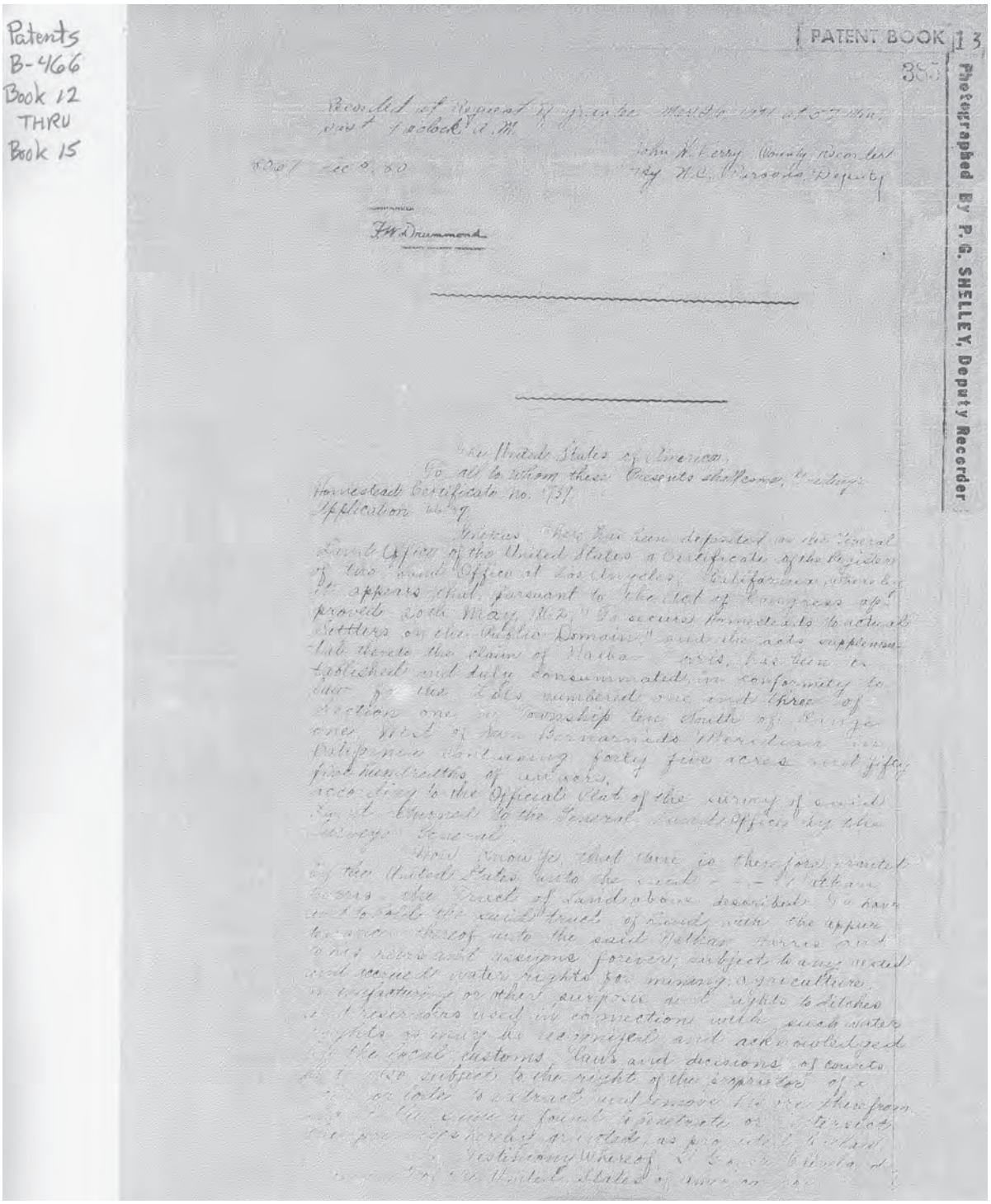


Figure 2.14b. March 27, 1893, Homestead Certificate.

The October 22, 1894 Voter Registration Form

(Figure 2.16)

Harrison registered to vote on October 22, 1894. His voter registration form offered many personal insights into Harrison's life, including his height—5'3"—and birth state, Kentucky. The registration form, with the handwritten entries in quotations, states:

> No. 83
> State of California,
> County of San Diego.} SS.

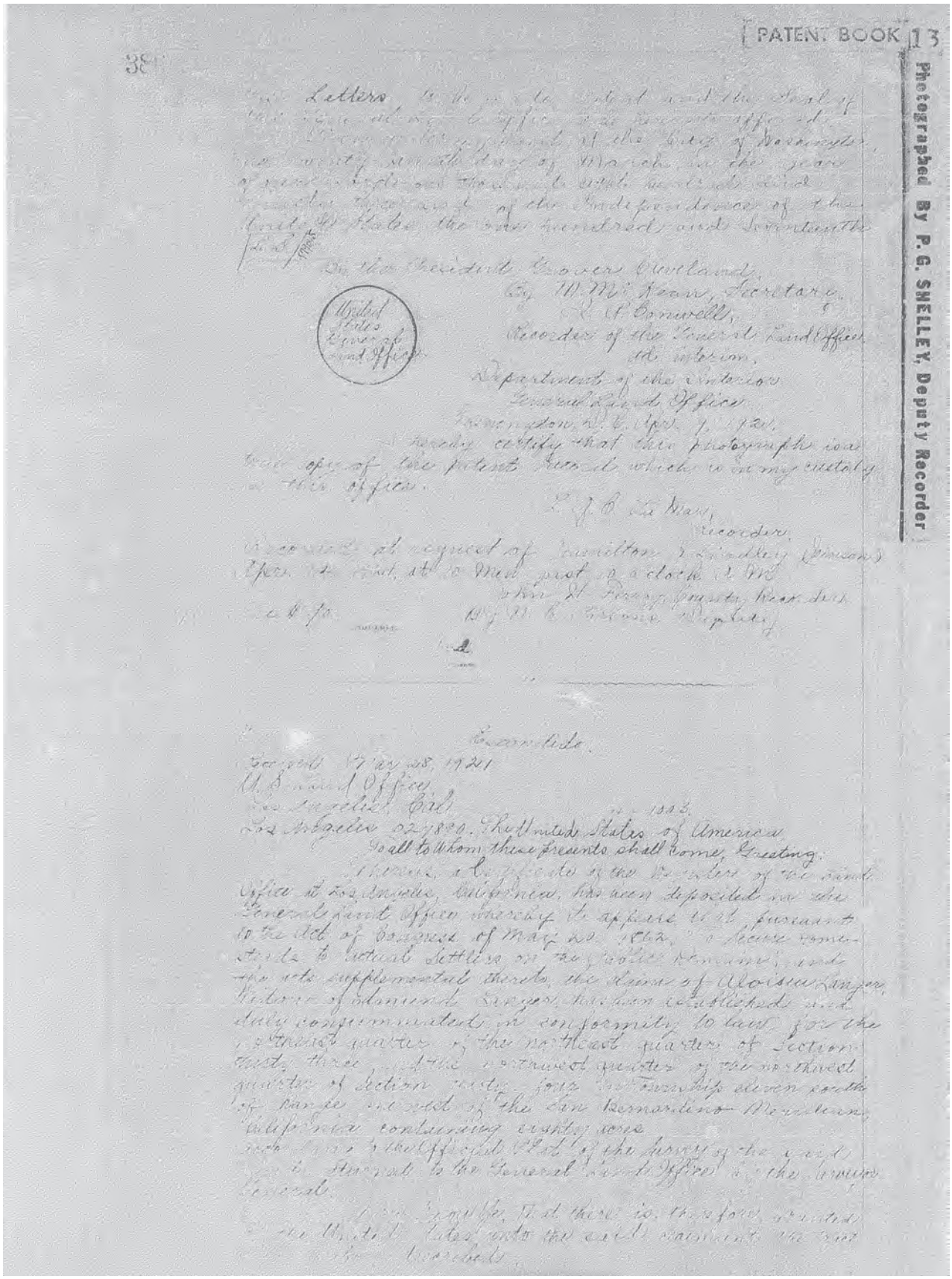


Figure 2.14c. March 27, 1893, Homestead Certificate.

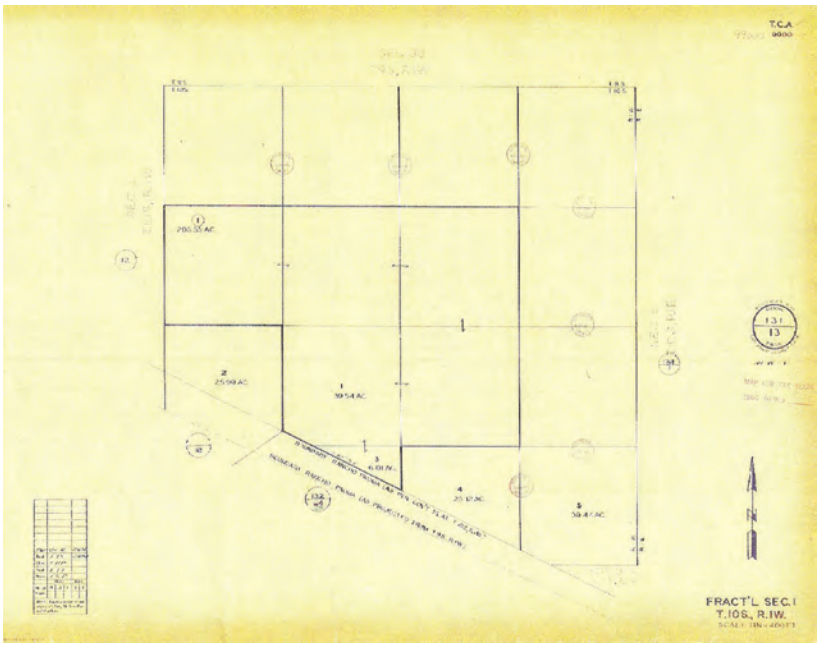
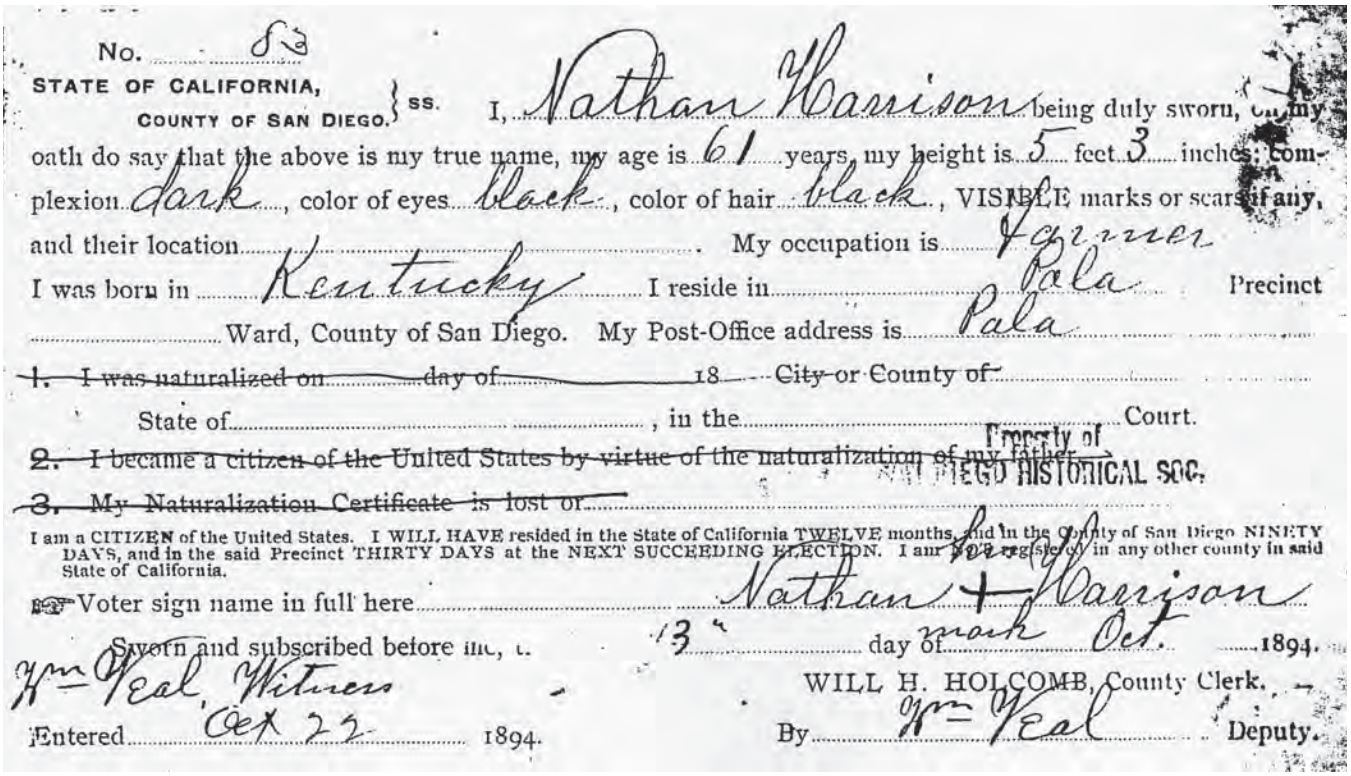


Figure 2.15. Original plat map of western slope of Palomar Mountain. Courtesy of the County of San Diego Record Office.



No. 83

STATE OF CALIFORNIA, COUNTY OF SAN DIEGO. } ss. I, Nathan Harrison being duly sworn, on my oath do say that the above is my true name, my age is 61 years, my height is 5 feet 3 inches; complexion dark, color of eyes black, color of hair black, VISIBLE marks or scars if any, and their location ____. My occupation is farmer

I was born in Kentucky I reside in Pala Precinct ____ Ward, County of San Diego. My Post-Office address is Pala

~~1. I was naturalized on ____ day of ____ 18__ City or County of ____ State of ____, in the ____ Court.~~

~~2. I became a citizen of the United States by virtue of the naturalization of my father.~~

~~3. My Naturalization Certificate is lost or ____~~

Property of SAN DIEGO HISTORICAL SOC.

I am a CITIZEN of the United States. I WILL HAVE resided in the State of California TWELVE months, and in the County of San Diego NINETY DAYS, and in the said Precinct THIRTY DAYS at the NEXT SUCCEEDING ELECTION. I am not registered in any other county in said State of California.

☞Voter sign name in full here Nathan + Harrison

Sworn and subscribed before me, this 13 day of mark Oct. 1894.

Wm Veal, Witness

WILL H. HOLCOMB, County Clerk.

Entered Oct 22 1894. By Wm Veal Deputy.

Figure 2.16. October 22, 1894, voter registration form.

I, "Nathan Harrison" being duly sworn, on my oath do say that the above is my true name, my age is "61" years, my height is "5" feet "3" inches; complexion "dark," color of eyes "black," color of hair "black," VISIBLE marks or scars if any, and their location "_____." My occupation is "farmer." I was born in "Kentucky." I reside in "Pala" Precinct, "_____" Ward, county of San Diego. My Post-Office address is "Pala."

I am a CITIZEN of the United States. I WILL HAVE resided in the State of California TWELVE

months, and in the County of San Diego NINETY DAYS, and in said Precinct THIRTY DAYS at the NEXT SUCCEEDING ELECTION. I am NOT registered in any other county in said State of California.
Voter sign name in full here "Nathan Harrison (his mark X).
Sworn and subscribed before me this "13th" day of "Oct." 1894.
"Wm Neal, Witness"
WILL H. HOLCOMB, County Clerk.
Entered "Oct 22" 1894. By "Wm Neal" Deputy.

Like the 1892 water claim, Harrison marked the form with an "x" in place of his signature.

The December 1896 Survey Map

(Figure 2.17)

A December 1896 survey map entitled, "Survey No. 94 Map of Road from a point in the Pauma Townsite to the Summit of Palomar Mtn.," shows a section of the road demarcated with "N. Harrison." This is the first cartographic confirmation of Harrison owning the property on Palomar Mountain. The road that is surveyed in this map is the grade that was first known officially as "N----r Nate Grade" and then later changed to "Nate Harrison Grade." The road is still in use today.

The February 12, 1897 County Consent Form for Road-Widening

(Figure 2.18)

On February 12, 1897, the County of San Diego asked for Harrison's consent in turning the aforementioned road that led up to the mountain and to his property into a public highway. Although Harrison apparently gave his consent, his mark does not appear on the form. The signature on the document is most likely not Harrison's as the handwriting of the signature matches the handwriting of the entire document, including witness and deputy signatures. It is most likely that the entire form has been transcribed at a later date and that the transcriber simply omitted Harrison's mark.

The consent form states as follows, with hand-written entries in quotes:

"Petitioned by W. H. Pearson, et. al. Fifth Road District"
Know all Men by these Presents, that "Nathan Harrison," the undersigned, do hereby consent to the laying out and establishing of the following described public road, to-wit:
"Commencing of Pauma townsite and connecting with County road on Sec 10. Township 10. South Range 1 East."
and upon the making of the order of the Board of Supervisors establishing the said described road as a public highway. I "Nathan Harrison" hereby grant the easement of right of way to San Diego County for such public road over the following described land of which "I am" the owner, to-wit:
"Entering said land at 23.50 chains west of southwest corner of SW ¼ of NE ¼ of Sec. 1. Town 10 S 1 W and leaving said land 9 chains S 63 E of SW corner of lot 22 in said Sec 1."
all in the County of San Diego, State of California.
Witness my hand the "12" day of "Feb" 189"7".
"Nathan Harrison"
"M.M. Sickler, Witness"
State of California
County of San Diego} SS.
On this "12" day of "Feb" I the year one thousand eight hundred and ninety- "7" before me "County Clerk"
in and for said County, residing therein, duly commissioned and "qualified" personally appeared "Nathan Harrison" known to me to be the person described in and whose name "his" subscribed to the within instrument, and "—" acknowledged to me that "he" executed the same.
IN WITNESS WHEREOF, I have hereunto set my hand and affixed my official seal at my office in the County of San Diego, State of California, the day and year above written.
"no seal"



Figure 2.17a. December, 1896 survey map.

"Will H Holcomb"
"By Theo O'Bailey Dept."
"<Endorsed> Received and filed this 1st day of Nov. 1897"
"Will H. Holcomb, Clerk of the Board of Supervisors, San Diego County"
"By J.M. Dodge, Deputy"
Recorded at request of "county Clerk Nov 1" 189"7," at "50" min. past "2" o'clock "p" m.
"Jno J Norwood" Recorder.
By _____ Deputy Recorder

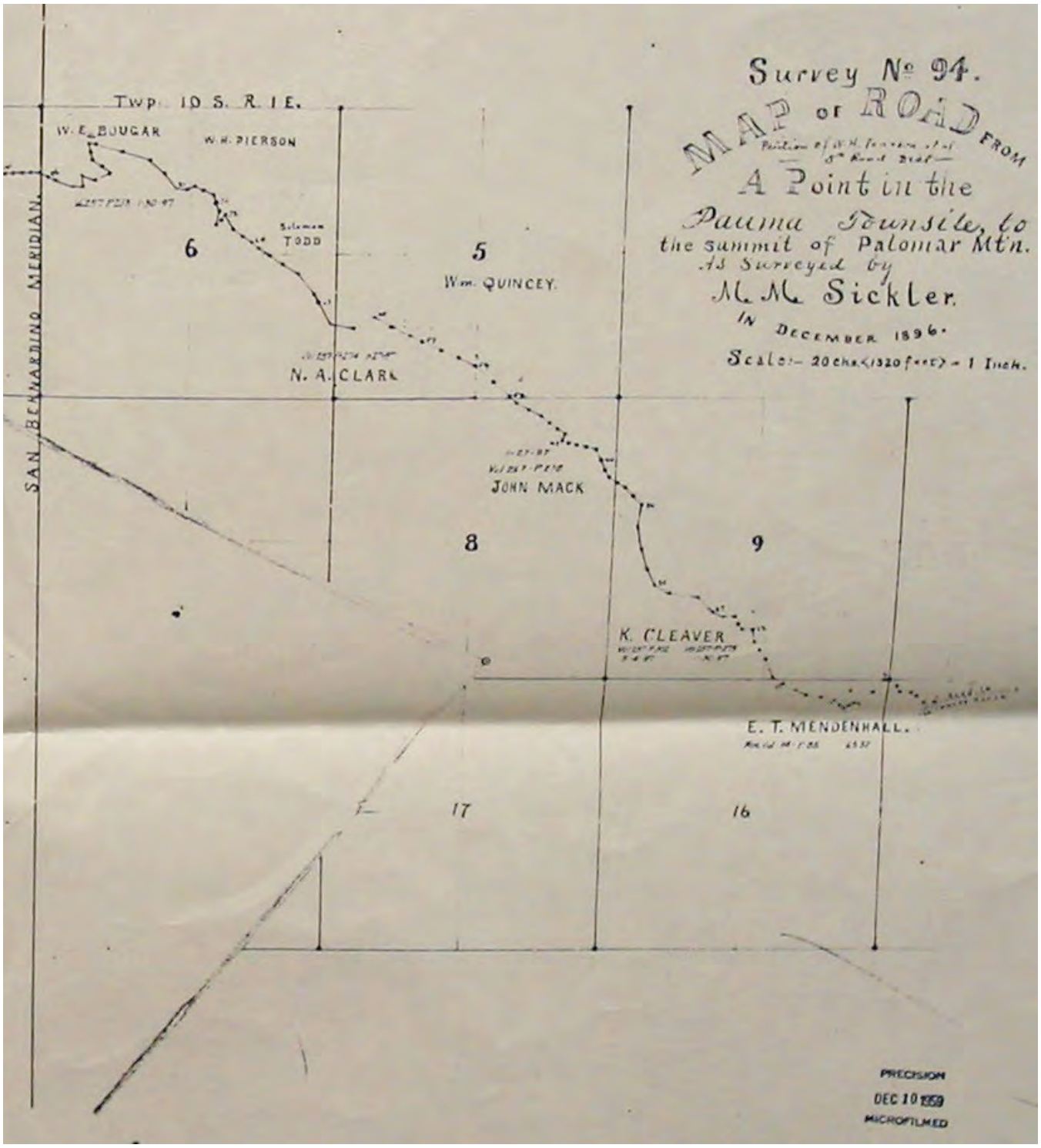
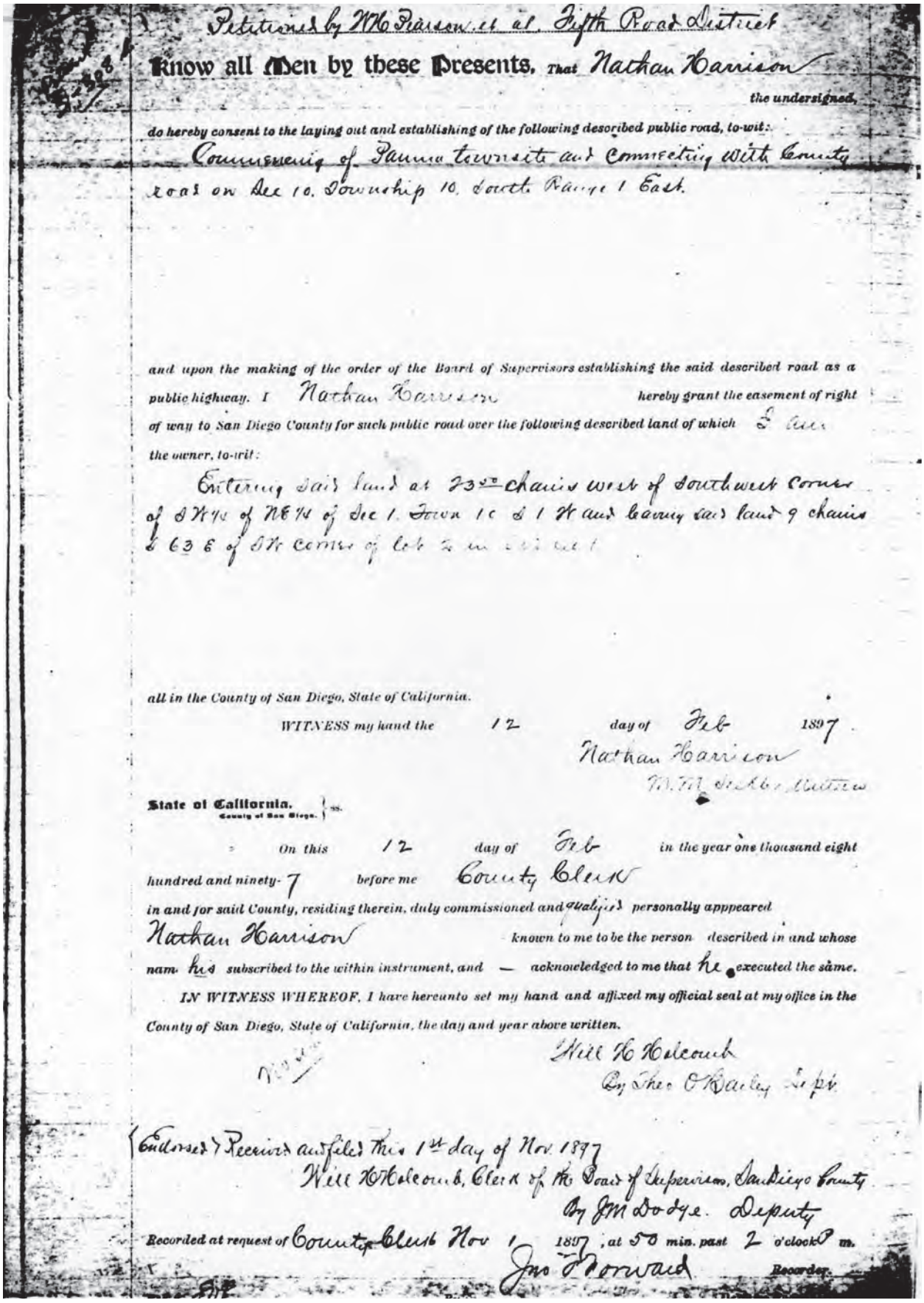


Figure 2.17b. December, 1896 survey map.

The 1900 San Diego County Census

(Figure 2.19)

The 1900 San Diego County Census for the Smith Mountain Township includes an entry for Nathan Harrison. Although censuses were taken every ten years, there is no census information on Nate Harrison for 1890 and 1910. The 1890 records were destroyed in a fire, and the 1910 documents failed to mention Harrison. The 1900 census has the following information regarding Nate Harrison:



Petitioned by W H Pearson et al. Fifth Road District

Know all Men by these Presents, That Nathan Harrison the undersigned,

do hereby consent to the laying out and establishing of the following described public road, to-wit:

Commencing of Panma townsite and connecting with County road on Sec 10. Township 10. South Range 1 East.

and upon the making of the order of the Board of Supervisors establishing the said described road as a public highway. I Nathan Harrison hereby grant the easement of right of way to San Diego County for such public road over the following described land of which I am the owner, to-wit:

Entering said land at 23.50 chains west of southwest corner of SW¼ of NE¼ of Sec 1. Town 10 S 1 W and leaving said land 9 chains S 63 E of SW corner of lot 2 in [illegible]

all in the County of San Diego, State of California.

WITNESS my hand the 12 day of Feb 1897.

Nathan Harrison

M.M. [illegible]

State of California. County of San Diego. } ss.

On this 12 day of Feb in the year one thousand eight hundred and ninety-7 before me County Clerk in and for said County, residing therein, duly commissioned and qualified personally apppeared Nathan Harrison known to me to be the person described in and whose name his subscribed to the within instrument, and — acknowledged to me that he executed the same.

IN WITNESS WHEREOF, I have hereunto set my hand and affixed my official seal at my office in the County of San Diego, State of California, the day and year above written.

Will H Holcomb

By Theo O Bailey Dept.

(Endorsed) Received and filed this 1st day of Nov. 1897

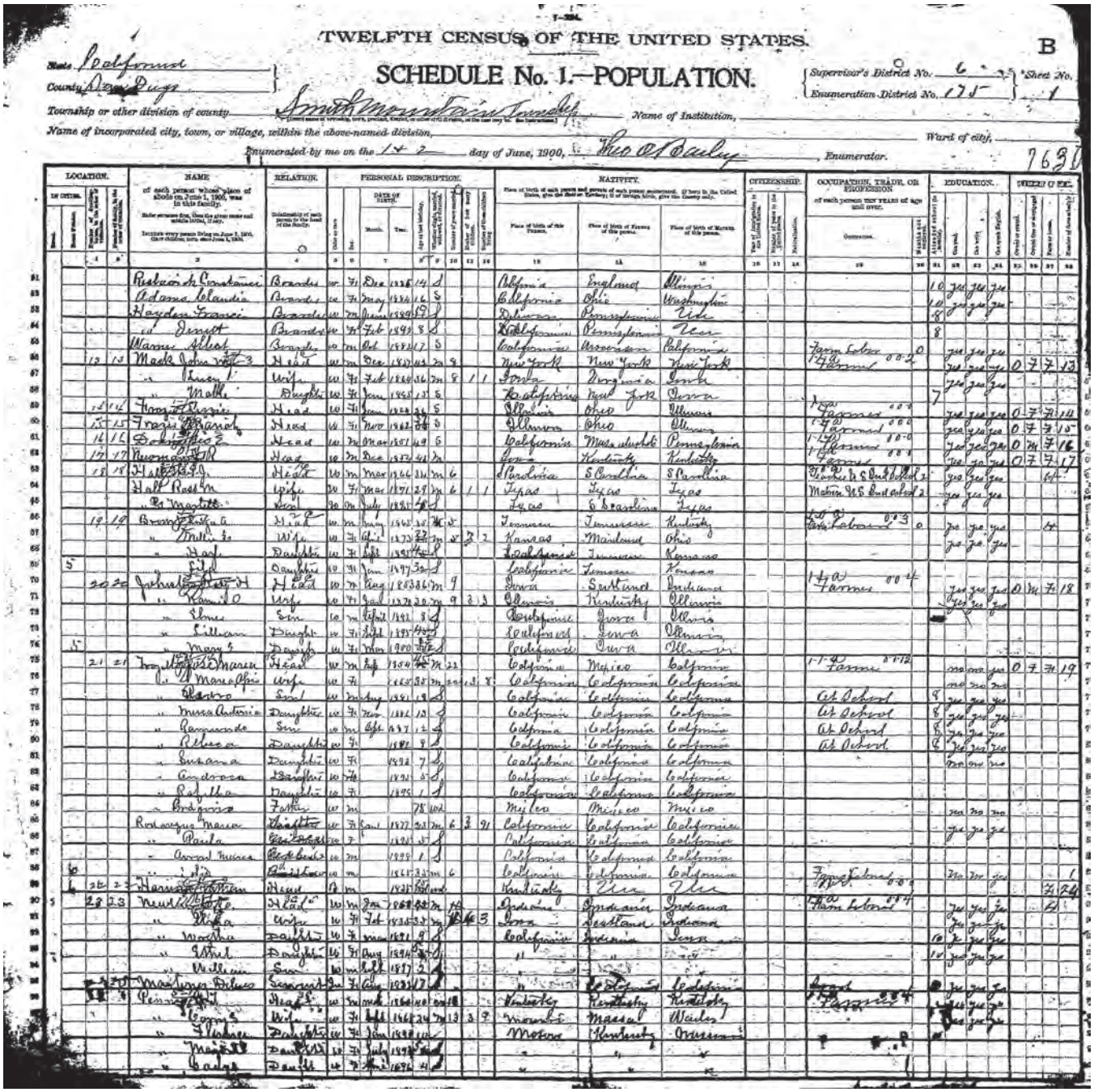
Will H Holcomb, Clerk of the Board of Supervisors, San Diego County

By J M Dodge. Deputy

Recorded at request of County Clerk Nov 1 1897, at 50 min. past 2 o'clock P m.

Jno F Forward Recorder.

Figure 2.18. February 12, 1897, county consent form for read-widening.



TWELFTH CENSUS OF THE UNITED STATES.

B

SCHEDULE No. 1.—POPULATION.

State: California
County: San Diego
Township or other division of county: Smith Mountain Township
Name of Institution:
Name of incorporated city, town, or village, within the above-named division:
Ward of city:
Supervisor's District No.: 6
Enumeration District No.: 175
Sheet No.: 1
Enumerated by me on the 1 + 2 day of June, 1900,
Theo O'Bailey, Enumerator.

LOCATION.
IN CITIES

Figure 2.19. 1900 San Diego County Census for Smith Mountain Township.

TWELFTH CENSUS OF THE UNITED STATES
SCHEDULE No. 1-POPULATION.
State: "California"
County: "San Diego"
Township or other division of county: "Smith Mountain Township"
Supervisor's District No.: "6"
Enumeration District No.: "175"
Sheet No.: "1"
Enumerated to me on the "1 + 2" day of June , 1900,
"Theo O'Bailey," Enumerator.
LOCATION
IN CITIES

Street: "___"
House number: "6"
Number of dwelling house in the order of visitation: "22"
Number of family in the order of visitation: "22"
NAME
Of each person whose place of abode on June 1, 1900, was in this family.
Enter surname first, then the given name and middle initial, if any.
Include every person living on June 1, 1900.
Omit children born since June 1, 1900.
"Harrison, Nathan"
RELATION
Relationship of each person to the head of the family.
"Head"
PERSONAL DESCRIPTION
Color or race: "B"
Sex: "M"
DATE OF BIRTH
Month: "___"
Year: "1835"
Age at last birthday: "75"
Whether single, married widowed, or divorced: "wd" [for widowed]
Number of years married: "___"
Mother of how many children: "___"
Number of those children living: "___"
NATIVITY
Place of birth of each person and parents of each person enumerated. If born in the United States, give the state or territory, if of foreign birth, give the Country only.
Place of birth of this person: "Kentucky"
Place of birth of father of this person: "Un" [for unknown]
Place of birth of mother of this person: "Un" [for unknown]
CITIZENSHIP
Year of immigration to the United States: "___"
Number of years in the United States: "___"
Nationalization: "___"
OCCUPATION, TRADE, OR PROFESSION
Of each person ten years of age and over
Occupation: "___"
Months that employed: "___"
EDUCATION
Attended school (in months): "___"
Can read: "___"
Can write: "___"
Can speak English: "___"
OWNERSHIP OF HOME
Owned or rented: "___"
Owned free or mortgaged: "___"
Farm or home: "F" [for farm]
Number of farm schedule: 24

Unlike the 1880 census that listed Harrison as single, the 1900 census stated that he was a widower, indicating that he had married and been widowed between 1880 and 1900. No marriage certificate for Harrison and his wife has been found. The 1900 census listed Harrison's birth year as 1835 and his age as 75. One of these figures must be mistaken as the time span between 1835 and 1900 is 65 years, not 75.

The 1920 San Diego County Census

(Figure 2.20)

The 1920 San Diego County Census for the San Diego Township includes an entry for Nathan Harrison. This record revealed that by January of 1920 Harrison was an inmate of San Diego County General Hospital. It stated the following information:

> DEPARTMENT OF COMMERCE, BUREAU OF THE CENSUS
> FOURTEENTH CENSUS OF THE UNITED STATES: 1920-POPULATION
> State: California
> County: San Diego
> Township or other division of county: San Diego Township
> Name of Institution: San Diego County General Hospital
> Name of Inco***** Peace: City of San Diego
> Supervisor's District No.: 9
> Enumeration District No.: 265
> Sheet No.: 811
> Ward of City: 21st Precinct
> Enumerated to me on the "8th + 9th" day of January , 1920,
> "Lynn S. Jonster," Enumerator.
> PLACE OF ABODE
> Street, avenue, road, etc.: "___"
> House number or farm: "___"
> No. of house in order of visitation: "___"
> No. of family in order of visitation: "___"
> NAME
> The name of every person whose usual place of abode on January 1, 1920, was in this family. Enter surname first, then the given name and middle initial, if any. Include every person living on January 1, 1920. Omit children born since January 1, 1920.
> "Harrison, Nathan"
> RELATION
> Relationship of each person to the head of this family, whether wife, son, daughter, servant, boarder, or other.
> "Inmate"
> TENURE
> Home owned or rented: "___"
> If owned, free, or mortgaged
> PERSONAL DESCRIPTION
> Sex: "M"
> Color or race: "B"
> Age at last birthday: 98
> Whether single, married widowed, or divorced: "wd" [for widowed]
> CITIZENSHIP
> Year of immigration to the U.S.: "___"
> Whether naturalized or alien: "___"
> If naturalized, give the year: "___"
> EDUCATION
> Attended school any time since September 1, 1919: "___"
> Whether able to read: "yes"
> Whether able to write: "yes"
> NATIVITY AND MOTHER TONGUE
> If born in the United States, give the State or Territory; if of foreign birth, give the place of birth and mother tongue.
> Place of birth of this person: "Kentucky"
> Mother tongue of this person: "___"
> Place of birth of FATHER of this person: "Kentucky"
> Mother tongue of FATHER of this person: "___"

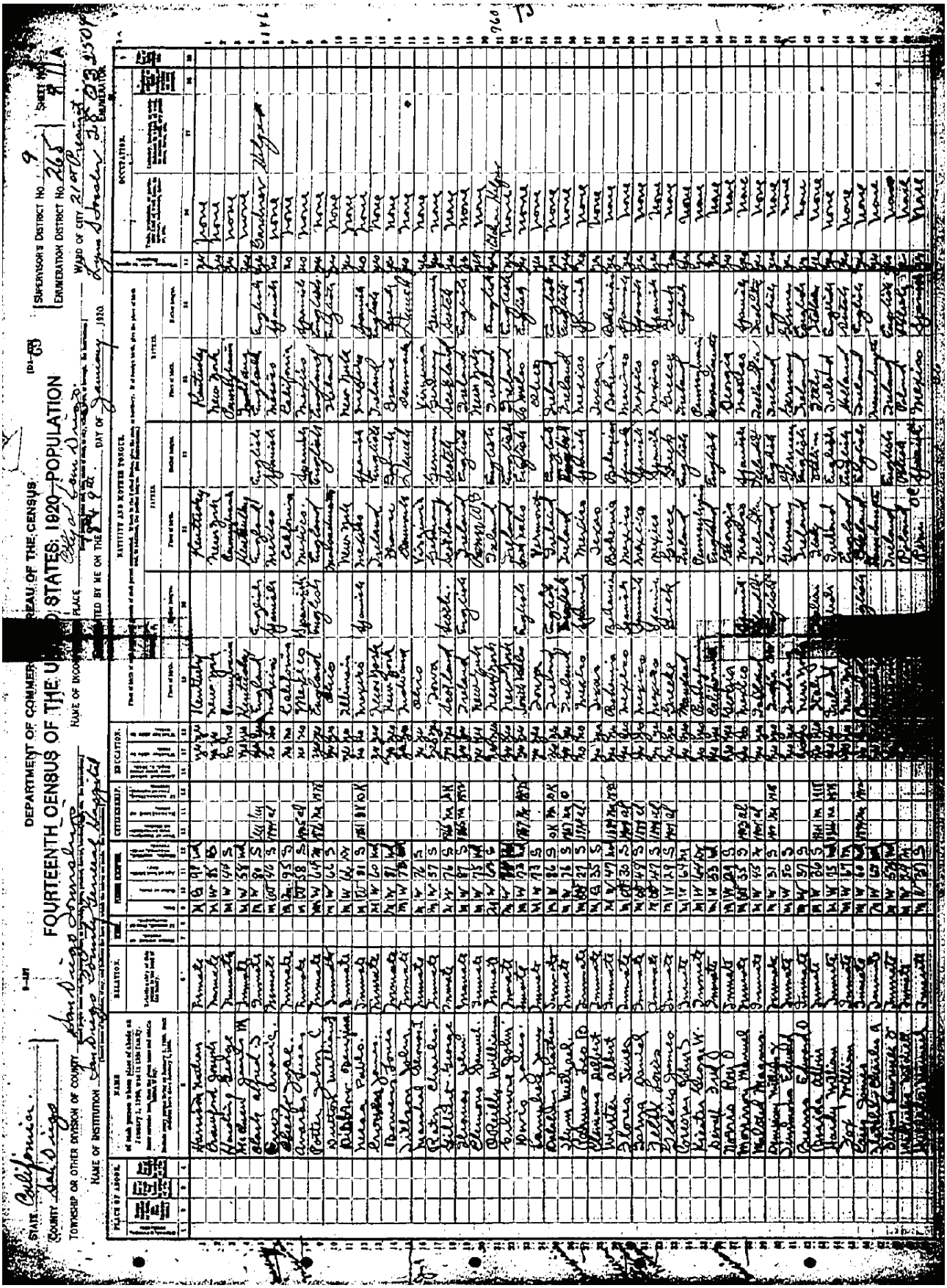


Figure 2.20. 1920 San Diego County Census for San Diego Township.

Place of birth of MOTHER of this person: "Kentucky"
Mother tongue of MOTHER of this person: "___"
Whether able to speak English; or, if not, give language spoken: "yes"
OCCUPATION
Trade, profession, or particular kind of work done, as spinner, salesman, laborer, etc.: "none"
General nature of industry, business, or establishment in which this person works, as cotton mill, dry goods store, farm, etc.: "___"
Whether an employer, employee, or working on own account: "___"
Number of farm schedule: "___"

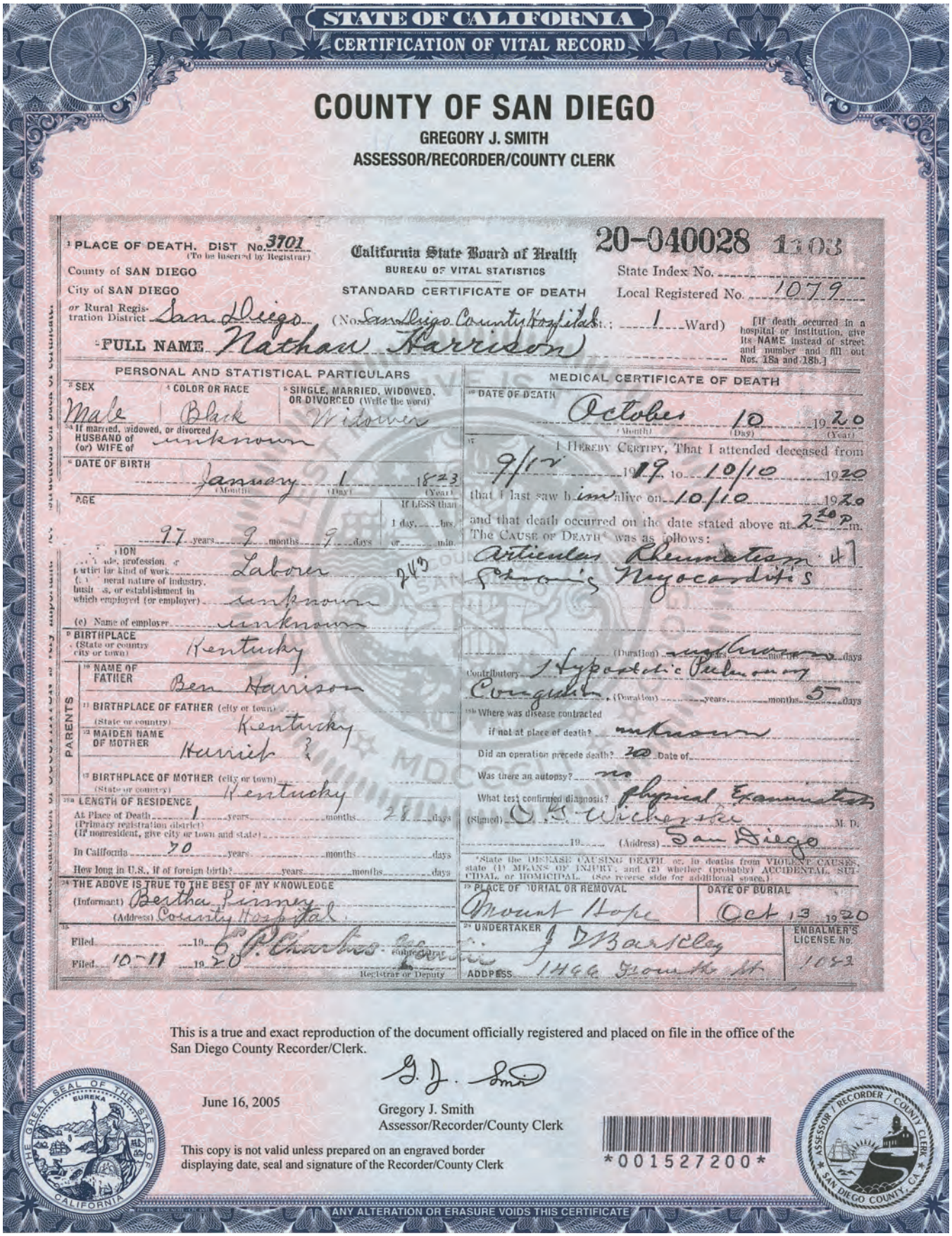
The 1920 census is the first document to indicate that Harrison was literate, suggesting that he had learned to read and write during the last decades of his life.

The October 10, 1920, Death Certificate

(Figure 2.21)

Harrison died in San Diego's County Hospital on October 10, 1920. He had left the mountain and been in the hospital's care from at least September 12, 1919 till the day he passed. The death certificate stated the following additional information:

California State Board of Health
BUREAU OF VITAL STATISTICS
STANDARD CERTIFICATE OF DEATH
County of SAN DIEGO
City of SAN DIEGO
"San Diego County Hospital; 1" Ward
FULL NAME: "Nathan Harrison"
PERSONAL AND STATISTICAL PARTICULARS
SEX: "Male"
COLOR OR RACE: "Black"
SINGLE, MARRIED, OR DIVORCED: "Widower"
If married, widowed, or divorced, HUSBAND of "unknown"
DATE OF BIRTH: "January 1, 1823"
AGE: "97" years "9" months "9" days
OCCUPATION: "Laborer"
General nature of industry: "unknown"
Name of employer: "unknown"
BIRTHPLACE: "Kentucky"
NAME OF FATHER: "Ben Harrison"
BIRTHPLACE OF FATHER: "Kentucky"
MAIDEN NAME OF MOTHER: "Harriet?"
BIRTHPLACE OF MOTHER: "Kentucky"
LENGTH OF RESIDENCE
At Place of Death "1" year
In California "70" years
THE ABOVE IS TRUE TO THE BEST OF MY KNOWLEDGE
(Informant) "Bertha Pinney"
(Address) "County Hospital"
Filed "10-11 1920 E. P. Charles *****"
MEDICAL CERTIFICATE OF DEATH
DATE OF DEATH: "October 10, 1920"
I HEREBY CERTIFY, That I attended deceased from "9/12 1919, to 10/10 1920" that I last saw him alive on "10/10 1920" and that death occurred on the date stated above at "2:20pm."
The CAUSE OF DEATH* was as follows:
"Articular Rheumatism"
"Chronic Myocarditis"



STATE OF CALIFORNIA
CERTIFICATION OF VITAL RECORD

COUNTY OF SAN DIEGO
GREGORY J. SMITH
ASSESSOR/RECORDER/COUNTY CLERK

1 PLACE OF DEATH. DIST No. 3701 (To be inserted by Registrar)
County of SAN DIEGO
City of SAN DIEGO
or Rural Registration District San Diego (No. San Diego County Hospital St.; 1 Ward)
2 FULL NAME Nathan Harrison

California State Board of Health
BUREAU OF VITAL STATISTICS
STANDARD CERTIFICATE OF DEATH

20-040028 1103
State Index No.
Local Registered No. 1079

[If death occurred in a hospital or institution, give its NAME instead of street and number and fill out Nos. 18a and 18b.]

PERSONAL AND STATISTICAL PARTICULARS

3 SEX: Male
4 COLOR OR RACE: Black
5 SINGLE, MARRIED, WIDOWED, OR DIVORCED (Write the word): Widower
5a If married, widowed, or divorced HUSBAND of (or) WIFE of: unknown
6 DATE OF BIRTH: January 1 1823
AGE: 97 years 9 months 9 days. If LESS than 1 day, hrs. or min.
7 OCCUPATION
(a) Trade, profession or particular kind of work: Laborer
(b) General nature of industry, business, or establishment in which employed (or employer): unknown
(c) Name of employer: unknown
8 BIRTHPLACE (State or country, city or town): Kentucky
PARENTS
10 NAME OF FATHER: Ben Harrison
11 BIRTHPLACE OF FATHER (city or town) (State or country): Kentucky
12 MAIDEN NAME OF MOTHER: Harriet ?
13 BIRTHPLACE OF MOTHER (city or town) (State or country): Kentucky
14a LENGTH OF RESIDENCE
At Place of Death 1 year 2 days (Primary registration district) (If nonresident, give city or town and state)
In California 70 years months days
How long in U.S., if of foreign birth? years months days
15 THE ABOVE IS TRUE TO THE BEST OF MY KNOWLEDGE
(Informant) Bertha Finney
(Address) County Hospital
Filed 19
Filed 10-11 1920
C. P. Charles
Registrar or Deputy

MEDICAL CERTIFICATE OF DEATH

16 DATE OF DEATH: October (Month) 10 (Day) 1920 (Year)
17 I HEREBY CERTIFY, That I attended deceased from 9/17 1919 to 10/10 1920
that I last saw him alive on 10/10 1920
and that death occurred on the date stated above at 2:20 P. m.
The CAUSE OF DEATH was as follows:
Articular Rheumatism 47
Chronic Myocarditis
(Duration) unknown years not given days
Contributory Hypostatic Pulmonary Congestion (Duration) years 5 months days
15b Where was disease contracted if not at place of death? unknown
Did an operation precede death? no Date of
Was there an autopsy? no
What test confirmed diagnosis? Physical Examination
(Signed) O. K. Wickersham M. D.
19 (Address) San Diego
*State the DISEASE CAUSING DEATH, or, in deaths from VIOLENT CAUSES, state (1) MEANS OF INJURY, and (2) whether (probably) ACCIDENTAL, SUICIDAL, or HOMICIDAL. (See reverse side for additional space.)
19 PLACE OF BURIAL OR REMOVAL: Mount Hope
DATE OF BURIAL: Oct 13 1920
20 UNDERTAKER: J. D. Barclay
ADDRESS 1466 Fourth St.
EMBALMER'S LICENSE No. 1053

This is a true and exact reproduction of the document officially registered and placed on file in the office of the San Diego County Recorder/Clerk.

G. J. Smith

June 16, 2005

Gregory J. Smith
Assessor/Recorder/County Clerk

This copy is not valid unless prepared on an engraved border displaying date, seal and signature of the Recorder/County Clerk

001527200

ANY ALTERATION OR ERASURE VOIDS THIS CERTIFICATE

Figure 2.21. October 10, 1920, death certificate.

Duration: “unknown”
Contributory: “Hypostatic Pulmonary Congestion”
Duration: “5” days
Where was disease contracted if not at place of death? “unknown”
Did an operation precede death? “no”
Was there an autopsy? “no”
What test confirmed diagnosis? “Physical Examination”
(Signed) “O. G. Wiskenski” M.D.
(Address) “San Diego”
PLACE OF BURIAL OR REMOVAL: “Mount Hope”
DATE OF BURIAL: “Oct 13 1920”
UNDERTAKER: “J. J. Barkley”
ADDRESS: “1466 Fourth St.”
EMBALMER’S LICENSE No. “1083”

The July 5, 1921, Deed of Sale

(Figure 2.22)

Soon after Harrison’s passing, there was a July 1, 1921 Deed of Sale that lists Nathan Harrison as the owner of the 45.55 acres of land sold to Frank Salmons for $607.50. Salmons paid the fee to Edwin Reed, the Administrator of the Nate Harrison Estate. The dead of sale states the following information:

IN THE SUPERIOR COURT OF THE STATE OF CALIFORNIA.
IN AND FOR THE COUNTY OF SAN DIEGO.
In the Matter of the Estate of NATHAN HARRISON, also known as Nate Harrison, Nathan Harris, and Nate Harris. Deceased.
No. 9268
Dept. 3.
ORDER CONFIRMING SALE OF REAL ESTATE AND ORDER DIRECTING CONVEYANCE.
The return of sale of real estate and petition for confirmation thereof by the administrator in the above entitled estate, coming on regularly for hearing, and proof having been made to the satisfaction of the Court, is found that notice of said hearing was given as required by law, that the allegations of said return are true, and no person appearing in Court to raise the bid ten per cent (10%), or at all;
IT IS ORDERED, that the sale of the real estate hereinafter described, to Frank Salmons, for Six Hundred Seven and 50/100 Dollars ($607.50), is confirmed, and that a proper conveyance thereto be executed and delivered to the said purchaser upon receipt of the purchase price.
Said real estate is described as follows, to-wit:
All that real property situated in the County of San Diego, California, and described as follows:
Lots numbered 1 and 3, of Section 1, in township 10 South, of Range 1 West, of San Bernardino Meridian, in California, containing 45.55 of an acre, according to the Official Plat of the Survey of said land, returned to the Central Land Office by the Surveyor General.
Dated, July 1st, 1921.
W.P. Cary.
Judge of the Superior Court.
STATE OF CALIFORNIA
COUNTY OF SAN DIEGO}SS.
IN THE MATTER OF THE ESTATE OF NATHAN HARRISON, also known as Nate Harrison, Nathan Harris, and Nate Harris. Deceased.
I, J. B. McLEES, County Clerk of the County of San Diego, State of California, and ex-officio Clerk of the Superior Court of said County, hereby certify that I have compared the within copy with the original ORDER CONFIRMING SALE OF REAL ESTATE AND ORDER DIRECTING CONVEYANCE, in the above entitled matter now on file in my office: that the same contains a full, true and correct transcript therefrom and of the whole thereof.
Witness my hand and the seal of the Superior Court, this 5- day of July, A. D. 1921.
J. B. McLEES, Clerk
By L. B. Griffin, Deputy

IN THE SUPERIOR COURT OF THE STATE OF CALIFORNIA,
IN AND FOR THE COUNTY OF SAN DIEGO.

In the Matter of the Estate of NATHAN HARRISON, also known as Nate Harrison, Nathan Harris, and Nate Harris, Deceased. | No. 9268. Dept. 3.

ORDER CONFIRMING SALE OF REAL ESTATE AND ORDER DIRECTING CONVEYANCE.

The return of sale of real estate and petition for confirmation thereof by the administrator in the above entitled estate, coming on regularly for hearing, and proof having been made to the satisfaction of the Court, it is found that notice of said hearing was given as required by law, that the allegations of said return are true, and no person appearing in Court to raise the bid ten per cent (10%), or at all;

IT IS ORDERED, that the sale of the real estate hereinafter described, to Frank Salmons, for Six Hundred Seven and 50/100 Dollars ($607.50), is confirmed, and that a proper conveyance thereto be executed and delivered to the said purchaser upon receipt of the purchase price.

Said real estate is described as follows, to-wit:

All that real property situated in the County of San Diego, California, and described as follows:

Lots numbered 1 and 2, of Section 1, in Township 10 South, of Range 1 West, of San Bernardino Meridian, in California, containing 45.55 of an acre, according to the Official Plat of the Survey of said land, returned to the Central Land Office by the Surveyor General.

Dated, July 1st, 1921.

W.P. Cary.
Judge of the Superior Court.

STATE OF CALIFORNIA)
)SS.
COUNTY OF SAN DIEGO)

IN THE MATTER OF THE ESTATE OF NATHAN HARRISON, also known as Nate Harrison, Nathan Harris, and Nate Harris, Deceased

I, J. B. McLEES, County Clerk of the County of San Diego, State of California, and ex-officio Clerk of the Superior Court of said County, hereby certify that I have compared the within copy with the original ORDER CONFIRMING SALE OF REAL ESTATE AND ORDER DIRECTING CONVEYANCE, in the above entitled matter now on file in my office; that the same contains a full, true and correct transcript therefrom and of the whole thereof.

Witness my hand and the seal of the Superior Court, this 5- day of July, A. D. 1921.

SUPERIOR COURT San Diego County, Cal.

J. B. McLEES, Clerk
By L. B. Griffin Deputy

11M-2-21

Recorded at Request of Hamilton & L. (Johnson) Jul. 5, 1921 at 45 Min. past 4 o'clock P. M.
John H. Perry, County Recorder,
By N. C. Parsons, Deputy.

17787 Fee $1.10

COMPARED F.W. Drummond COUNTY CLERK

---000---

Figure 2.22. July 5, 1921, deed of sale.

11M-2-21
Recorded at Request of Hamilton & L. (Johnson) Jul. 5, 1921 at 45 Min. past 4 o'clock P.M.
John H. Ferry, County Recorder,
By N. C. Parsons, Deputy.
Fee $1.10

The July 6, 1921, Administrator's Deed

(Figure 2.23)

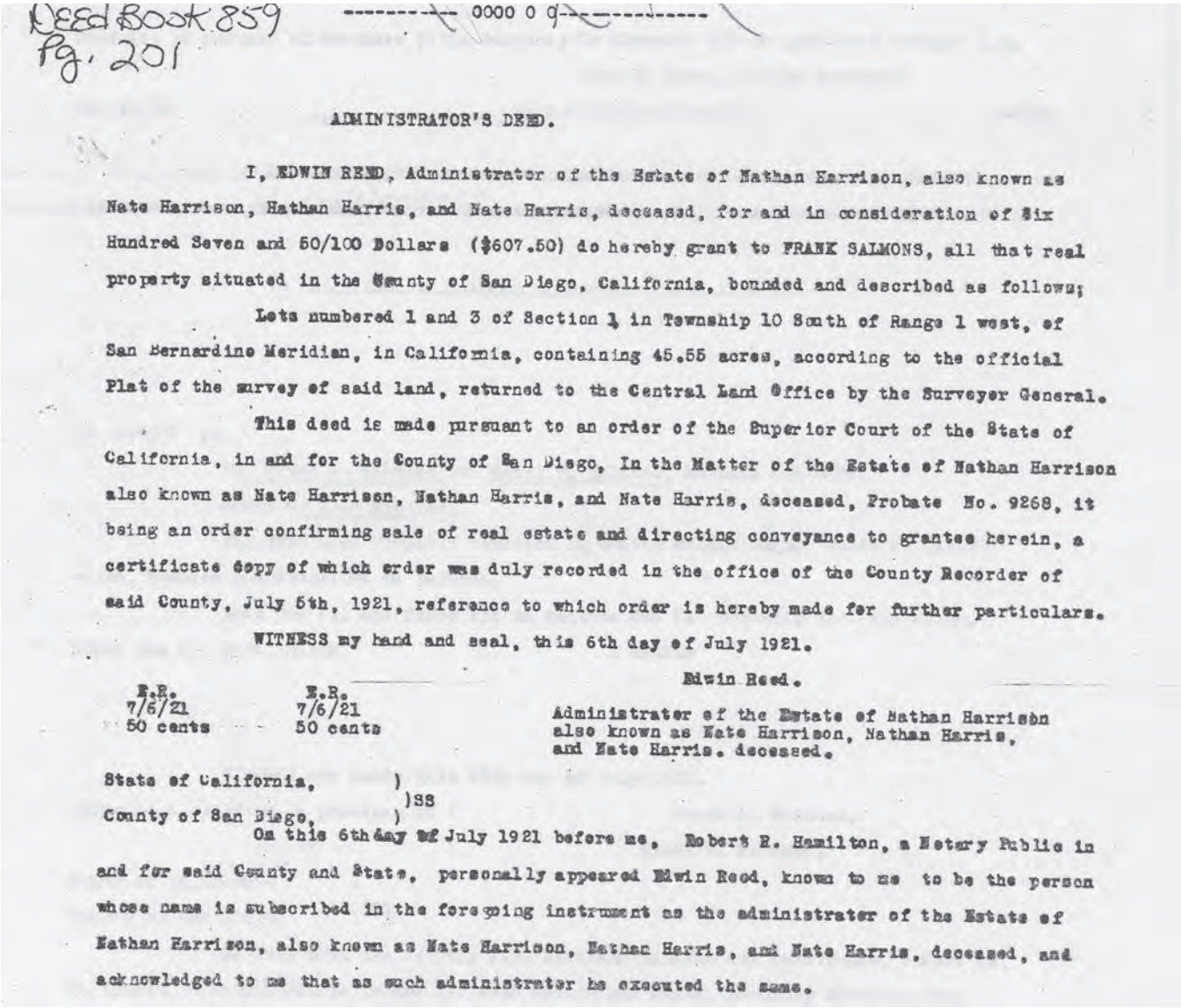
Only July 6, 1921, Edwin Reed completed an administrator's deed to complete the transfer of property to Frank Salmons. It reiterated much of the information in the deed of sale, stating:

> ADMINISTRATOR'S DEED
>
> I. EDWIN REED, Administrator of the Estate of Nathan Harrison, also known as Nate Harrison, Nathan Harris, and Nate Harris, deceased, for and in consideration of Six Hundred Seven and 50/100 dollars ($607.50) do hereby grant to FRANK SALMONS, all that real property situated in the County of San Diego, California, bounded and described as follows;
>
> Lots numbered 1 and 3 of Section 1 in Township 10 south of Range 1 west, of San Bernardino Meridian, in California, containing 45.55 acres, according to the official Plat of the survey of said land, returned to the Central Land Office by the Surveyor General.
>
> This deed is made pursuant to an order of the Superior Court of the State of California, in and for the County of San Diego, In the Matter of the Estate of Nathan Harrison also known as Nate Harrison, Nathan Harris, and Nate Harris, deceased, Probate No. 9268, it being an order confirming sale of real estate and directing conveyance to grantee herein, a certificate copy of which order was duly recorded in the office of the County Recorder of said County, July 5th, 1921, reference to which order is hereby made for further particulars.
>
> WITNESS my hand and seal, this 6th day of July 1921.
>
> Edwin Reed.
> Administrator of the Estate of Nathan Harrison also known as Nate Harrison, Nathan Harris, and Nate Harris, deceased.
> E.R.
> 7/6/21
> 50 cents
> E.R.
> 7/6/21
> 50 cents
> State of California,
> County of San Diego,} SS
>
> On this 6th day of July 1921 before me, Robert R. Hamilton, a Notary Public in and for said County and State, personally appeared Edwin Reed, known to me to be the person whose name is subscribed in the foregoing instrument as the administrator of the Estate of Nathan Harrison also known as Nate Harrison, Nathan Harris, and Nate Harris, deceased, and acknowledged to me that as such administrator be executed the same.

This document marked the end of Harrison's immediate connection with the Palomar Mountain property. Since the sale of the property from the Nate Harrison Estate in July of 1921, the property has passed between seven different landowners, including the Kirbys (Figure 2.24).

Summary of the Contemporary Primary Historical Documents

Overall, the contemporary primary historical documents offer a broad range of details regarding Nate Harrison and his Palomar Mountain property. In some instances, these records give contradictory accounts; in others the evidence is consistent. For example, the documents concerning his date of birth vary dramatically. The 1880 census lists Harrison twice and offers two different years of birth: 1830 and 1832. The 1894 voter registration claims that Harrison was born in 1833. The 1900 Census has a contradiction in Harrison's birth year and age, listing him as a 75-year old born in 1835. The 1920 census states that Harrison was born a full 13 years earlier, listing his year of birth as 1822. Furthermore, Harrison's death certificate from later that year states that he was



Deed Book 859
Pg. 201

ADMINISTRATOR'S DEED.

I, EDWIN REED, Administrator of the Estate of Nathan Harrison, also known as Nate Harrison, Nathan Harris, and Nate Harris, deceased, for and in consideration of Six Hundred Seven and 50/100 Dollars ($607.50) do hereby grant to FRANK SALMONS, all that real property situated in the County of San Diego, California, bounded and described as follows:

Lots numbered 1 and 3 of Section 1 in Township 10 South of Range 1 west, of San Bernardino Meridian, in California, containing 45.55 acres, according to the official Plat of the survey of said land, returned to the Central Land Office by the Surveyor General.

This deed is made pursuant to an order of the Superior Court of the State of California, in and for the County of San Diego, In the Matter of the Estate of Nathan Harrison also known as Nate Harrison, Nathan Harris, and Nate Harris, deceased, Probate No. 9268, it being an order confirming sale of real estate and directing conveyance to grantee herein, a certificate copy of which order was duly recorded in the office of the County Recorder of said County, July 5th, 1921, reference to which order is hereby made for further particulars.

WITNESS my hand and seal, this 6th day of July 1921.

Edwin Reed.

E.R. 7/6/21 50 cents

E.R. 7/6/21 50 cents

Administrater of the Estate of Nathan Harrison also known as Nate Harrison, Nathan Harris, and Nate Harris. deceased.

State of California,)
)SS
County of San Diego,)

On this 6th day of July 1921 before me, Robert E. Hamilton, a Notary Public in and for said County and State, personally appeared Edwin Reed, known to me to be the person whose name is subscribed in the foregoing instrument as the administrater of the Estate of Nathan Harrison, also known as Nate Harrison, Nathan Harris, and Nate Harris, deceased, and acknowledged to me that as such administrater he executed the same.

Figure 2.23. July 6, 1921, Administrator's Deed.

Owner	Date of Acquisition	Length of Ownership	Purchase amount
1. Nate Harrison	November 10, 1879 or earlier	41-70? years	$0.00
2. Frank and Hazel Salmons	July 6, 1921	20 days	$607.50
3. Jean Nicolas	July 26, 1921	22 years	$1.00
4. Dorothy T. Bowman	July 23, 1943	3 years	$1,850.00
5. Thomas and Midge Colby	April 19, 1946	10 years	$10.00
6. Robert Dewey Kelly	December 21, 1956	13 years	$13,500.00
7. Richard and Lois Day	October 27, 1969	31 years	$22,500.00
8. James and Hannah Kirby	June 9, 2000	current	--

Figure 2.24. Table of Nate Harrison Estate owners and transactions.

born in 1823. Regardless of whether one accepts the age or date of birth in the inherent contradiction in the 1900 Census, the primary historical records reveal that Harrison's birth year gradually increased during the 1880s and then plummets during the 1900s (Figure 2.25). As his legend grew during the latter years of his life, his age was significantly exaggerated. This led to numerous false claims that he lived to be over 100 years old, including the inscription on the cairn atop the grade that was dedicated to his memory, which reads: "Nathan Harrison… aged 101 years…" In fact, later writers would claim he reached 107 years old (James 1958).

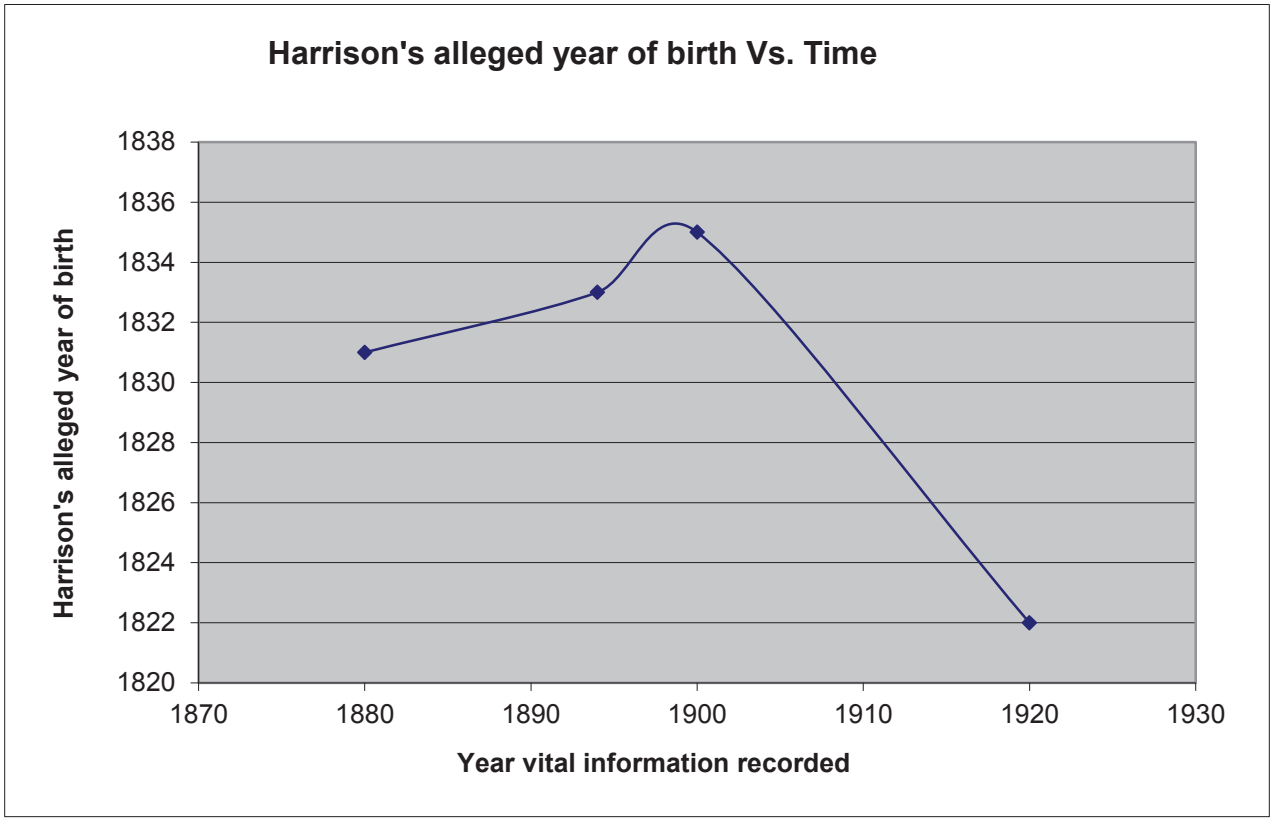


Figure 2.25. Graph of Harrison's alleged year of birth over time.

On the contrary, exact descriptions regarding the location of Harrison's mountain property are remarkably consistent. The 1879 and 1882 records pinpoint his Rincon property at the base of Palomar Mountain in lots 2, 3, and 4 of Section 22 in Township 10, South Range One West of the San Bernardino Meridian (Figure 2.26). Furthermore, the 1892, 1893, 1897, and 1921 records each specify that Harrison's later mountain property including land on lots 1 and 3 of Section 1 in Township 10 South of Range 1, west of the San Bernardino Meridian. The 1896 survey map and the undated original plat map also verify these coordinates. In addition, the census information parallels Harrison's apparent movement across the land. In the 1880s he is listed as down in the valley near Rincon, in the 1890s and early 1900s he is up on Palomar Mountain, and in 1920 he is in San Diego General Hospital.

Historical Photographs

A large number of photographs of Nate Harrison exist. The Nate Harrison Historical Archaeology Project endeavors to obtain digital copies of each for research and archival purposes. Current landowners Jamey and Hannah Kirby have the largest collection of Harrison photographs and have given their permission to reproduce these images here. Other Harrison photographs have been obtained from the Escondido Historical Society. Additional images of Harrison exist at the San Diego Historical Society, the Valley Center Historical Society, and the San Diego Black Historical Society as well. It is also likely that various long-time San Diego residents have additional photos of Harrison.



Figure 2.26. USGS Topographic map of Harrison's Rincon property area (Section 22) in relation to his Palomar Mountain property (Section 1).

The photographs offer significant insight into Harrison's everyday life. They pinpoint many of his possessions and also reflect those items that he likely carried with him most often—namely his walking stick, smoking pipe, and watch chain. In addition, these images detail the architecture of Harrison's rock cabin, from the rough wooden shingles to the corner posts and clay chinking. Overall, this project has accumulated copies of over three dozen historical images that relate to Harrison's life on the mountain.

The Kirby Collection

Generations of inhabitants of the Nate Harrison estate have collected photographs of Harrison through the years and passed them on to subsequent residents. Previous property owners Richard and Lois Day presented current landowners Jamey and Hannah Kirby with a collection of photographs and documents pertaining to Nate Harrison when they sold the property in 2000. This collection, known now as the "Kirby Collection," includes black and white pictures of Nate Harrison, his property, and his probable granddaughter.

Kirby Collection Image #1

(Figure 2.27)

The first image in the Kirby Collection is of Nate Harrison wearing a stocking cap and sitting on his patio. Harrison, clad in rolled up overalls, is surrounded by many of his belongings, including pots, cans, plates, a ladle, and assorted wooden furniture. The Kirby Collection has two copies of this photograph; one is a 3" by 4" glossy photo, the other is a 7 ¾" by 9 ½" matte enlargement. Neither has any information on its reverse side as to the photographer or date taken. Pauma Valley's Mildred O. Paroli has the 3" by 4" original. Her uncle, Cuca Ranch resident Ray Trujillo, was given the photo on November 21, 1919 by Max Calac. Since Harrison arrived at San Diego County General Hospital in September of 1919, this photograph must have been taken sometime before then.



Figure 2.27. Kirby Collection Image #1.

Kirby Collection Image #2

(Figure 2.28)

In the second Kirby Collection image of Harrison sitting on his porch, Harrison holds a wide-brimmed hat with the edges rolled up in his hand and rests his walking stick against his leg. As before, numerous belongings are pictured in the background, including many pails. The back of the 2 ¼" by 3 ½" photograph contains no information as to the photographer or date, although his physical appearance is similar to the previous image.



Figure 2.28. Kirby Collection Image #2.

Kirby Collection Image #3

(Figure 2.29)

The next image depicts Harrison standing on his patio in front and to the left (north) of the open doorway to his cabin. He is leaning on his walking stick and holds his smoking pipe in his mouth with his right hand. Many objects hang on the wall behind Harrison. There is no information on the back of this 3 ½" by 5" photograph.



Figure 2.29. Kirby Collection Image #3.

Kirby Collection Image #4

(Figure 2.30)

The fourth picture in the Kirby Collection is the most spatially revealing as to where Harrison's cabin was located on the Palomar hillside. Although this photograph depicts Harrison sitting on his patio in front of his cabin, it was taken from such a distant vantage that one can see a large expanse of mountainside behind the cabin. This image can be matched up with current topography to demonstrate concordance between the archaeological site and the structure in the old photograph. This 3 ½" by 5" photograph was reprinted in August of 1969.



Figure 2.30. Kirby Collection Image #4.

Kirby Collection Image #5

(Figure 2.31)

The next image of Nate Harrison is a photograph of him with Escondido jeweler Frank Reynolds. Harrison wears his large-brimmed hat and leans on a walking stick, while Reynolds smokes and wears an ivy cap and bow tie. Ada Blackburn took this photograph of Harrison and her stepfather Reynolds. The back of the photograph lists the personal information about Reynolds—including that he opened the Princess Theater—and states that the image was taken in 1916. The image is 5 ¾" by 9 ½" and appears to be a glossy blow-up of a smaller original photo. This picture also appears in the Escondido Historical Society Collection, although one of the two has been developed in reverse (See Figure 2.52).



Figure 2.31. Kirby Collection Image #5.

Kirby Collection Image #6

(Figure 2.32)

Another set of Kirby Collection photographs depict Harrison standing underneath a tree and leaning on his walking stick. His shirt and pants are both slightly tattered. The back of a 4 ¾" by 7" photograph indicates that it was taken circa 1910-15. The same image has been enlarged as a 5" by 7" close-up on Harrison from the waist up.



Figure 2.32. Kirby Collection Image #6.

Kirby Collection Image #7

(Figure 2.33)

An additional photograph of Harrison in his later years shows him off in the distance on a trail. The image is damaged, but it may depict the path leading up from the grade to the west side of Harrison's cabin. Although the 4 ½" by 7" photograph is blurry, one can still make out Harrison's ubiquitous walking stick.



Figure 2.33. Kirby Collection Image #7.

Kirby Collection Image #8

(Figure 2.34)

The Kirby Collection contains two photographs that are copies of images allegedly found in Harrison's cabin after his death. The first depicts Harrison and one of his dogs. The image is damaged and faded, but close examination reveals a medium-sized dog in the background directly to Harrison's lower left. Harrison wears a large straw hat with the front brim turned down, carries a walking stick in his right hand, and wears what appears to be a watch fob near his left breast pocket. In the background, there is a blanket with a variety of items on top of it. This 4" by 6 ½" image is one of the only photographs of Harrison where he does not look directly into the camera.



Figure 2.34. Kirby Collection Image #8.

Kirby Collection Image #9

(Figure 2.35)

The other Kirby Collection image that was purportedly found in Harrison's cabin is a 7" by 4" photograph of a young woman. The inscription on the original image was "From your granddaughter Dory Mary Smith, Norwalk Route of Bloomfield District." Oral histories claim that Harrison married a Native American with two children. The 1900 and 1920 census records, as well as Harrison's death certificate, verify that he was a widower. Smith could very well have been Harrison's granddaughter.



Figure 2.35. Kirby Collection Image #9.



Figure 2.36. Kirby Collection Image #10.

Kirby Collection Image #10

(Figure 2.36)

The Kirby Collection contains three images of Nate Harrison by his spring. The first of these is a small 3" by 2 ½" photograph that depicts Harrison wearing a hat, smoking his pipe, wearing a vest with a large watch fob, and leaning on a walking stick. He is standing in front of the spring, next to which is a long wooden platform. A large pump sits atop the spring platform. The back of the photo contains no information as to the date the image was taken or the identity of the photographer.

Kirby Collection Image #11

(Figure 2.37)

The second image of Harrison at his spring is from the 1910s. The original of this 5' by 7" photograph is from the Catherine Beishline Collection. Harrison stands next to a man on a horse at the spring. The pump sits behind the long open wooden platform. The back of the photo indicates that this image is from the West Grade.

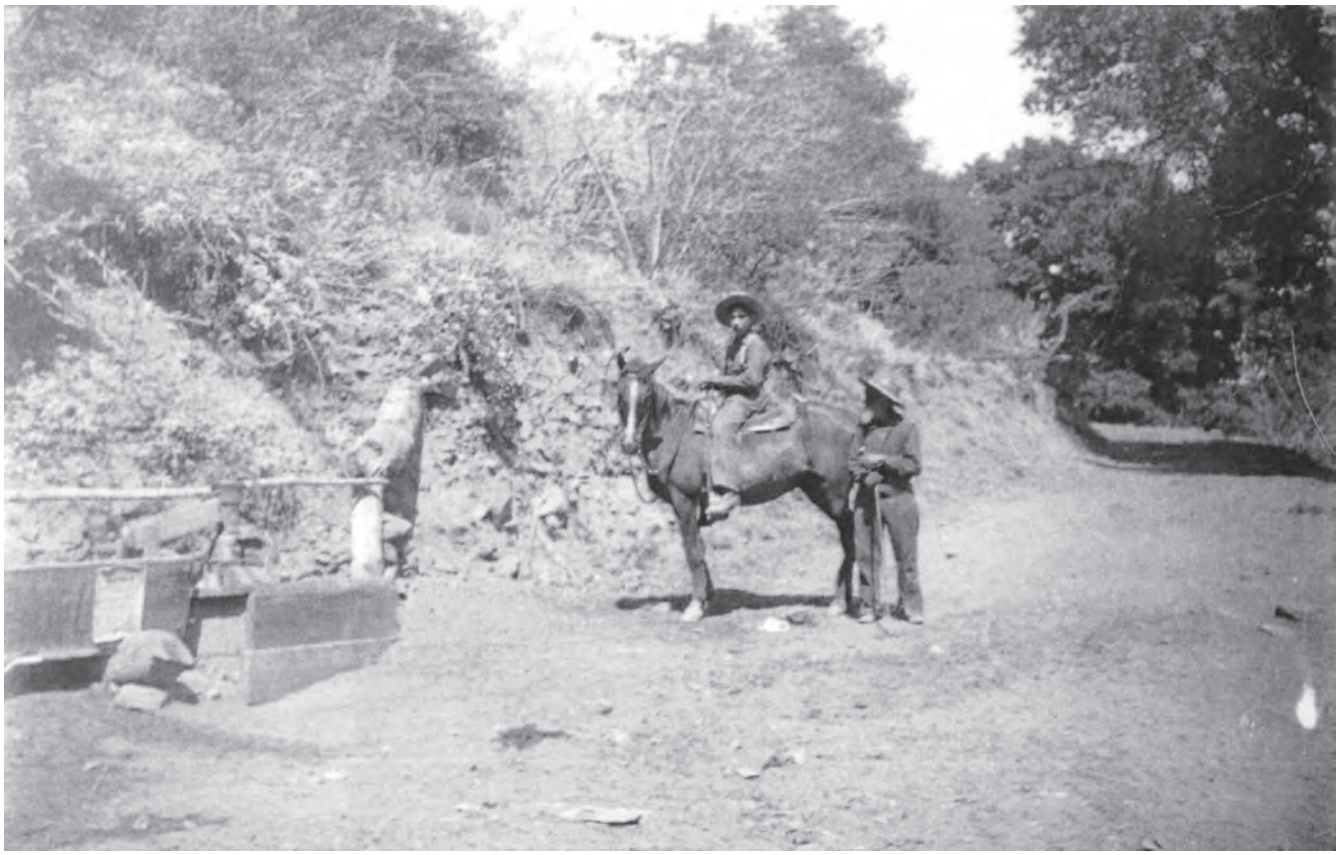


Figure 2.37. Kirby Collection Image #11 (original image was printed in reverse).

Kirby Collection Image #12

(Figure 2.38)

A third faded 4 ½" by 6" photo of Harrison places him about a dozen feet in front of a trough. The back of the photo states that this image is of "Nate Harrison by his spring," and Harrison may be blocking the pump at the far end of the trough. Or, the spring may be just out of the range of the photograph. Harrison wears a long coat along with his traditional wide-brimmed hat, watch chain, and walking stick. The back of the photograph also indicates that this image was taken during Harrison's "later years."

Kirby Collection Image #13

(Figure 2.39)

The Kirby Collection also includes two images of Harrison's cabin that were likely taken after his death. The first is a 3 ½" by 4 ¾" photograph of a man standing in front of a barbed-wire fence that ran along the east side of the structure. The cabin appears to be fully intact, including the wooden slats along the south patio wall. It is assumed that this photograph post-dates Harrison because Harrison is not in the photograph. Every other image of Harrison's cabin included its owner.



Figure 2.38. Kirby Collection Image #12.



Figure 2.39. Kirby Collection Image #13.

Kirby Collection Image #14

(Figure 2.40)

There is another image of the southeast corner of Harrison's cabin in the Kirby Collection. This 3 ½" by 4 ¾" photograph depicts a woman standing just off of the chimney end of the structure. The barbed-wire fence is no longer in existence and the patio's wooden sidings are also gone. The woman has been identified as Eleanor Beemer, and the date of the photograph is August of 1931. This image pre-dates the demolition of the cabin by the Civilian Conservation Corps (CCC) in the 1930s.



Figure 2.40. Kirby Collection Image #14.

Kirby Collection Image #15

(Figure 2.41)

Two images of the granite pillar erected by Theodore Bailey of Palomar in Harrison's honor are in the Kirby collection. The pillar is 6' tall and had a metal plaque that has long since disappeared. The first photograph depicts two men in three-piece suits adjacent to their automobile that is parked by the memorial. This 4" by 6 ½" image was taken by Bob Asher and is part of the Catherine Beishline Collection.

Kirby Collection Image #16

(Figure 2.42)

The second image of the monument is a close-up of the top of the granite pillar and plaque. The plaque, made by Jessop's Jewelry Store, has an inscription that reads: "Nathan Harrison's spring: brought here a slave about 1848, died October 10th, 1920, aged 101 years. A man's a man for a'that." The 9 ½" by 7 ¾" photograph shows that by the time the image was taken, the monument had been vandalized with various graffiti. In later years, the plaque was stolen and has yet to be returned.

The bronze plaque is also detailed in the State of California's Historic Resources Inventory (Figure 2.43). The inventory includes a single designation for the monument and the grade. Its South Coastal Information Center (SCIC) Primary number is P-37-020168 and its HRI number is 2065-0005-0000. The inventory details how funds were raised for the monument and offers a general overview of Harrison's life. The second page of the HRI form is missing from the SCIC archives.



Figure 2.41. Kirby Collection Image #15.



Figure 2.42. Kirby Collection Image #16.

State of California — The Resources Agency
DEPARTMENT OF PARKS AND RECREATION

60 Ser. No. 2335.5

HABS ____ HAER ____ NR ____ SHL ____ Loc ____

UTM: A _____ B _____

C _____ D _____

HISTORIC RESOURCES INVENTORY

P-37-020168

IDENTIFICATION

1. Common name: Nathan Harrison Monument/Nathan Harrison Grade
2. Historic name: Nathan Harrison Monument/Nathan Harrison Grade
3. Street or rural address: Nate Harrison Grade

   City ~~Palma Mountain~~ RAMONA VIC Zip 92060 County San Diego
4. Parcel number: 131·120·13
5. Present Owner: Richard and Lois Day Address: General Delivery

   City Palma Mountain Zip 92060 Ownership is: Public _____ Private X
6. Present Use: Monument/Public Road Original use: Monument/Public Road

DESCRIPTION

7a. Architectural style:

7b. Briefly describe the present *physical description* of the site or structure and describe any major alterations from its original condition:

The bronze plaque has been removed by vandals. Otherwise the monument is in good repair. The stone monument stands feet from the ground.

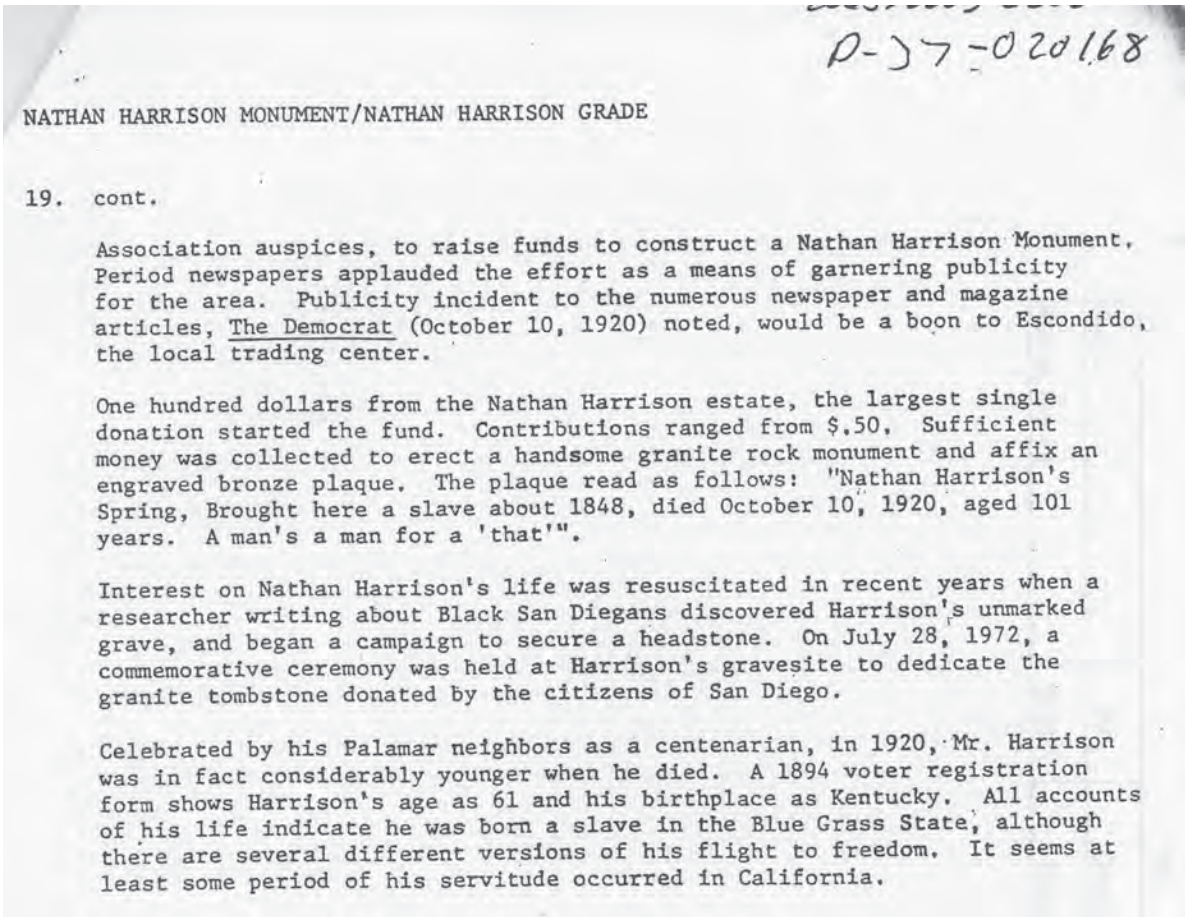
Geofind Notes 3-12-96 pm
City = SDCO

Attach Photo(s) Here

8. Construction date: Estimated 1921 Factual _____
9. Architect _____
10. Builder _____
11. Approx. property size (in feet) Frontage _____ Depth _____ or approx. acreage _____
12. Date(s) of enclosed photograph(s) April 1980

DPR 523 (Rev. 4/79)

Figure 2.43a. State of California Historic Resources Inventory form for Nathan Harrison Monument/Nathan Harrison Grade.



D-37-020168

NATHAN HARRISON MONUMENT/NATHAN HARRISON GRADE

19. cont.

Association auspices, to raise funds to construct a Nathan Harrison Monument. Period newspapers applauded the effort as a means of garnering publicity for the area. Publicity incident to the numerous newspaper and magazine articles, The Democrat (October 10, 1920) noted, would be a boon to Escondido, the local trading center.

One hundred dollars from the Nathan Harrison estate, the largest single donation started the fund. Contributions ranged from $.50, Sufficient money was collected to erect a handsome granite rock monument and affix an engraved bronze plaque. The plaque read as follows: "Nathan Harrison's Spring, Brought here a slave about 1848, died October 10, 1920, aged 101 years. A man's a man for a 'that'".

Interest on Nathan Harrison's life was resuscitated in recent years when a researcher writing about Black San Diegans discovered Harrison's unmarked grave, and began a campaign to secure a headstone. On July 28, 1972, a commemorative ceremony was held at Harrison's gravesite to dedicate the granite tombstone donated by the citizens of San Diego.

Celebrated by his Palamar neighbors as a centenarian, in 1920, Mr. Harrison was in fact considerably younger when he died. A 1894 voter registration form shows Harrison's age as 61 and his birthplace as Kentucky. All accounts of his life indicate he was born a slave in the Blue Grass State, although there are several different versions of his flight to freedom. It seems at least some period of his servitude occurred in California.

Figure 2.43b. State of California Historic Resources Inventory form for Nathan Harrison Monument/Nathan Harrison Grade.

Kirby Collection Image #17

(Figure 2.44)

The Kirby Collection also includes four images of the western grade that leads from the base of Palomar Mountain. Although none of these photographs contain Nate Harrison, they do showcase the road that bears his name, and they were taken during Harrison's tenure on the mountain. The first is from the Catherine Beishline Collection. It depicts A. G. Hayes coming up the grade on a cart pulled by two horses. The 5" by 7" image was taken in 1906.

Kirby Collection Image #18

(Figure 2.45)

A second 5" by 7" image of A. G. Hayes and his horse-drawn cart traveling up the grade in 1906 is in the Kirby Collection. Although there is no specific attribution, this photograph was also likely part of the original Catherine Beishline Collection. The back of the photograph specifies that this image was taken "In S.P. by level 90° turn."



Figure 2.44. Kirby Collection Image #17.



Figure 2.45. Kirby Collection Image #18.

Kirby Collection Image #19

(Figure 2.46)

The third image of the grade in the Kirby Collection is a large 6 ½" by 9 ½" print of three teams of horse-drawn carts traveling up the steep mountain road. In addition, two travelers with full bonnets sit on the side of the road and enjoy the view. There are three other people in the photo as well, one (also in a bonnet) is unpacking goods from the cart, a second (also in a bonnet) sits in the cart, and a third (not in a bonnet) drives the back team of horses. Although there is no information on the back of the image, likely taken in 1910, there is a lengthy caption along the bottom of the photograph. Written in white lettering that blends into the white background of the image, it reads: "Palomar Grade: 'Camping is not what… 1910."



Figure 2.46. Kirby Collection Image #19.

Kirby Collection Image #20

(Figure 2.47)

The last image of the grade from the Kirby Collection was taken at the Stuart Day Ridge looking to the west. This 5" by 7" photograph showcases the mountain. There is a rectangular wooden cart or box with a handled object in the lower right corner of the photograph. The date this picture was taken is unknown.

The Kirby collection contains two other photos relating to Palomar Mountain but not directly to Nate Harrison or the grade. The first is a 5" by 7" image of C. Roberts at Pauma Creek in Doane Valley circa 1921. The second is an undated 7 ¾" by 9 ½" photograph of a fawn.



Figure 2.47. Kirby Collection Image #20.

The Escondido Historical Society Collection

Shirley Buskirk of the Escondido Historical Society located ten images of Nate Harrison in their collection. She graciously scanned and forwarded these images to the Nate Harrison Historical Archaeology project. The Escondido Historical Society acquired these images from three private albums and loose individual photos donated by individuals. They are discussed in chronological order.

Escondido Historical Society Image #1

(Figure 2.48)

The first image is from 1910. It depicts Nate Harrison with one of his dogs, posing by his spring. This image shows the relationship between the spring and trough that were seen separately in the preceding photographs. This 2 ¾" by 3 ¾" print is from a glass negative that has two cracks in it.



Figure 2.48. Escondido Historical Society Image #1.

Escondido Historical Society Image #2

(Figure 2.49)

The next image is also from ca. 1910. Four women pose with Harrison in this photo. They are gathered in front of and on top of the wagon that the women presumably rode up the grade. In addition to his walking stick, Harrison also holds a bouquet. The 2 ½" by 4" image emphasizes Harrison's small stature, as the women each appear to be his height or taller.



Figure 2.49. Escondido Historical Society Image #2.

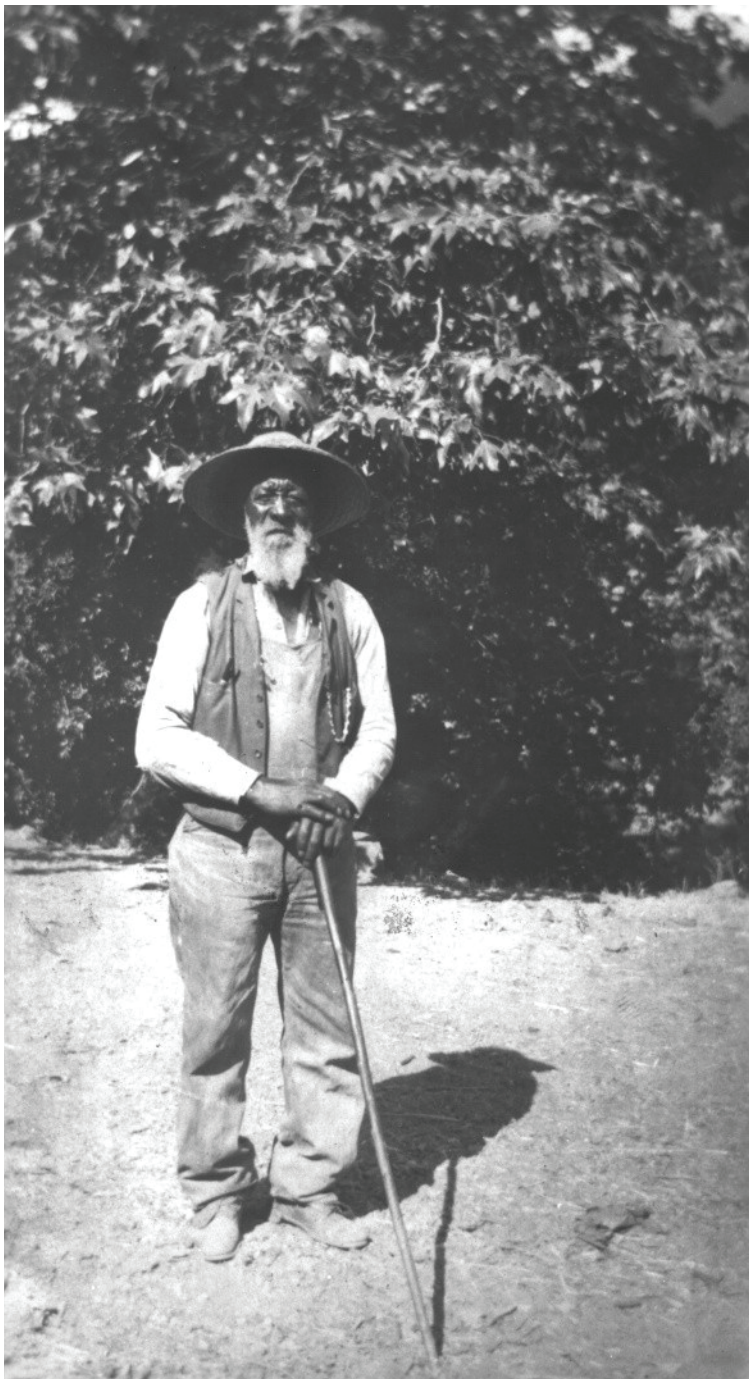


Figure 2.50. Escondido Historical Society Image #3.

Escondido Historical Society Image #3

(Figure 2.50)

The next photograph captures all of the common themes of Harrison imagery. He wears a large hat, leans on his walking stick, and squints into the sun as his photograph is taken. The details of this 4 ½" by 7 ¾" photograph include a watch fob in his left pocket and a smoking pipe in his right. Laura James's 1958 article on "Palomar's Friendly Hermit" reprints this picture and states that it was taken in 1912 by J. M. Reece, and used in the publication courtesy of Catherine M. Wood.

Escondido Historical Society Image #4

(Figure 2.51)

An image from 1913 features Harrison clad in a stocking cap and overalls on his patio with his skillet, coffee pot, and other cooking materials. This 4 ¼" by 2 ¼" photograph is similar to Kirby Collection Image #1, but is taken from a vantage point that is slightly more to the west.

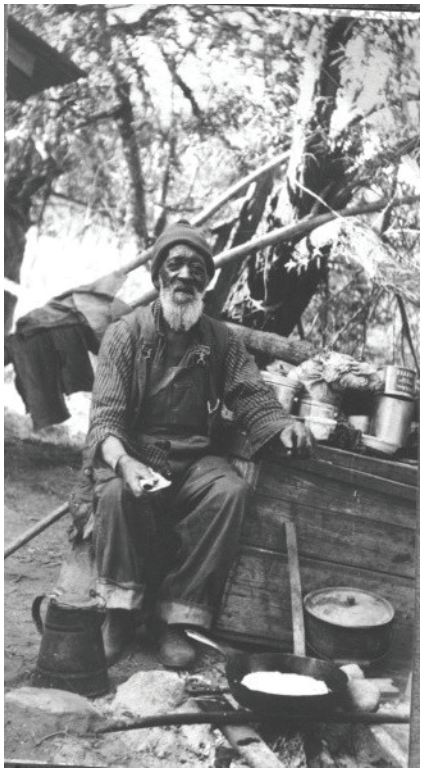


Figure 2.51. Escondido Historical Society Image #4.

Escondido Historical Society Image #5

(Figure 2.52)

This 1916 image is the same as Image #5 from the Kirby collection. The only difference is that it has been developed in reverse, with Harrison on the right of Reynolds instead of the left. In addition, the Escondido image is a smaller print; it is only 4" by 2 ¼".

Escondido Historical Society Image #6

(Figure 2.53)

In this 1916 image, Harrison wears the same clothing and strikes the same pose as in Escondido Historical Society Image #5, although Reynolds is now absent. In fact, he stands in front of the same background and the shadows are identical as well. These two images were most likely taken within moments of each other. The image is 4" by 2 ½".

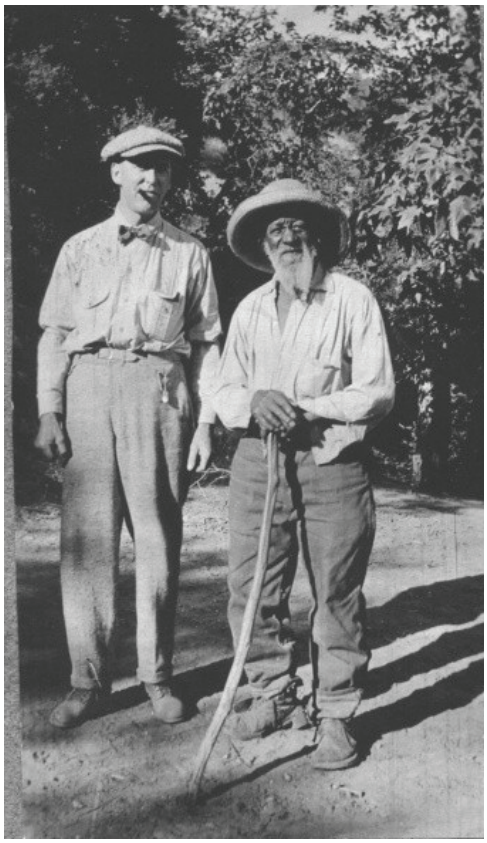


Figure 2.52. Escondido Historical Society Image #5.

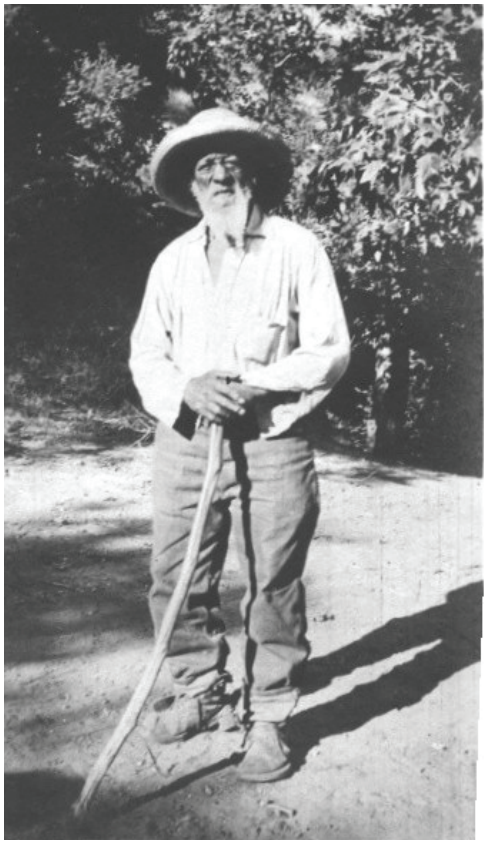


Figure 2.53. Escondido Historical Society Image #6.

Escondido Historical Society Image #7

(Figure 2.54)

A small 2 ½" by 1 ¾" image from 1918 depicts Harrison and two of his dogs at the southeast corner of the cabin. Harrison, standing near the chimney, leans on his ever-present walking stick. One dog stays at his side while the other circles to the south of the structure.



Figure 2.54. Escondido Historical Society Image #7.

Escondido Historical Society Image #8

(Figure 2.55)

An undated image depicts Harrison in front of his patio, leaning on his bed. The 2" by 3" photograph is dark and slightly underexposed, but a wisp of smoke can be seen coming from the chimney at the back of the cabin.



Figure 2.55. Escondido Historical Society Image #8.

Escondido Historical Society Image #9

(Figure 2.56)

This photograph, taken from the northeast of the cabin, showcases the structure's chimney and the barbed-wire fencing that runs along the east side of the cabin. The image is 3 ¼" by 1 ¾" and undated.



Figure 2.56. Escondido Historical Society Image #9.

Escondido Historical Society Image #10

(Figure 2.57)

The final image from the Escondido Historical Society relating to Nate Harrison is of the northeast corner of his cabin. Although slightly overexposed, this photograph is one of the few images that details the north side of the structure. The date of this 3" by 2" image is unknown.



Figure 2.57. Escondido Historical Society Image #10.

San Diego Historical Society Collection

The San Diego Historical Society has four images of Harrison and two of his cabin. They are listed and discussed chronologically. Some of these images overlap with the Kirby and Escondido Historical Society Collections.

San Diego Historical Society Image #1

(Figure 2.58)

The first image of Nate Harrison in the San Diego Historical Society Collection is dated 1900. It is the same image as Escondido Historical Society Image #7 (see Figure 2.54), which depicts Harrison and one of his dogs at the southeast corner of the cabin. The Escondido Historical Society had this image dated as 1918, not 1900.



Figure 2.58. San Diego Historical Society Image #1.

San Diego Historical Society Image #2

(Figure 2.59)

This image depicts Harrison sitting in a chair on his patio in front of the cabin. It is dated circa 1904 and is similar to the other photographs of him on the west side of his dwelling.

San Diego Historical Society Image #3

(Figure 2.60)

This photograph is the same as Escondido Historical Society Image #4 (see Figure 2.51). It presents Harrison clad in a stocking cap and overalls on his patio with his skillet, coffee pot, and other cooking materials. Whereas the Escondido Historical Society designated this photo taken in 1913, the San Diego Historical Society listed it as circa 1916.



Figure 2.59. San Diego Historical Society Image #2.



Figure 2.60. San Diego Historical Society Image #3.

San Diego Historical Society Image #4

(Figure 2.61)

A 1926 photograph from the southeast side of the cabin details the architecture of Harrison's dwelling soon after his demise. The cabin and the south wall of the patio are still standing in their entirety.



Figure 2.61. San Diego Historical Society Image #4.



Figure 2.62. San Diego Historical Society Image #5.

San Diego Historical Society Image #5

(Figure 2.62)

This image is identical to Kirby Collection Image #14. It depicts a woman standing just off of the chimney end of the structure. The barbed-wire fence is no longer in existence and the patio's wooden sidings are also gone. The woman has been identified as Eleanor Beemer, and the date of the photograph is August of 1931.



Figure 2.63. San Diego Historical Society Image #6.

San Diego Historical Society Image #6

(Figure 2.63)

The final San Diego Historical Society image is the cover photograph for Carlton's 1974 *Journal of San Diego History* article on "Blacks in San Diego County." It is undated and depicts Harrison sitting at the base of a large tree with his walking stick resting between his legs.

Additional Images

Various other sources include photographs relating to Nate Harrison. Virginia Stivers Bartlett's 1931 article in *Touring Topics* includes an image of Nate Harrison that is in the Escondido Historical Society Collection (Image #4; see Figure 2.51) and the San Diego Historical Society Collection (Image #3; see Figure 2.60). It also includes a photograph of the monument erected in Harrison's honor (Figure 2.64) and a shot of Harrison's cabin in 1931 (Figure 2.65). Neither mentions the photographer or date taken, but it is probable that Bartlett took these photos when researching the article in 1931.

The Valley Center History Museum also has a photograph of Harrison that is in none of the other collections (Figure 2.66). It is an image of Harrison standing off to the east of his cabin in front of many of his belongings, including numerous chairs and a table. Harrison stands in front of the assemblage, leaning on his walking stick. The photograph is undated.



This rough cairn stands monument to Uncle Nate Harrison, on the heights of Palomar Mountain

Figure 2.64. Touring Topics Image #1.



Figure 2.66. Valley Center History Museum Image #1.



Upon the pine-clad slopes of Palomar Mountain, Uncle Nate built this rude shack which he made his home for many years

Figure 2.65. Touring Topics Image #2.

2.4 Archaeological Background

An historic resource record search conducted at the South Coastal Information Center produced only one report for the area associated with Harrison's mountain property. This report stated that archaeologists conducted a site survey in April of 1959. They described a site entirely separate from the Harrison cabin area as being a "summer village site of Pauma Indians" (True 1959:1). The 1959 survey concentrated on two areas, both dealing with prehistoric Native-American occupation. These areas contained a deep midden and a large bedrock-mortar site. The 1959 archaeological investigations resulted in the recovery of 152 artifacts during the survey, all of which were Native American in origin. The report mentioned neither the Harrison cabin nor the presence of any historical materials in the area. It did remark, however, that, "an effort should be made to get into this site before it is taken over by TOURISTS" (capitalization original, True 1959:1).

Harrison's cabin is located in an area associated with a lengthy Native-American occupation. Palomar Mountain is currently surrounded by present day Native-American reservations occupied by La Jolla, Pala, Pauma, and Rincon Indians. The Pauma Indians are "an interior variant of the La Jolla culture . . . developed due to the silting of coastal lagoons which forced the inhabitants to relocate in interior valleys and canyons" (Hoover 1978:4). Palomar Mountain was once the site of acorn gathering and processing by prehistoric indigenous populations due to the proliferation of oak groves located on the mountain. Ethnographically, the Pauma Indians are part of Luiseño territory, who inhabited a large area "of about 1,500 square miles in coastal southern California from Aliso Creek in the north to Aqua Hedionda Creek in the south. . . extend[ing] inland to Santiago Peak, down the eastern side of Elsinor Valley to Mt. Palomar, and southwest to the sea" (Hoover 1978:6). Historically, the Pauma Indians are closely related to Palomar Mountain, beginning with land grants by the Mexican government. The Pauma rancheria was a 13,300-acre grant deeded to Jose Antonio Serrano that was later patented on August 29, 1871 (Hoover 1978:9). With the establishment of California and the subsequent control of the United States government, the land was eventually designated as both Pauma and Yaima Reservations on August 18, 1892 (Hoover 1978:11). The 1896 Sickler survey map further illustrated the spatial association between Pauma and Palomar Mountain, citing the location of the mapped road as "a point in the Pauma Townsite to the Summit of Palomar Mtn" (Sickler 1896). The Pauma Ranch is clearly demarcated on the western side of the map (See Figure 2.17).

Dr. Mallios contacted the State of California Native American Heritage Commission (NAHC) to request a record search of the sacred land file. The record search failed to indicate the presence of Native American cultural resources in the immediate project area. Mallios then contacted every indigenous group on the NAHC list in an attempt to ascertain any additional information regarding cultural resources in the project area. None responded to Mallios's inquiry.



Figure 2.67. Photograph of artifacts found around Nate Harrison cabin by previous landowner.



Figure 2.68. Close-up photograph of previously unearthed artifacts from cabin site.

There was concern at the outset of the Nate Harrison Historical Archaeology Project that the cabin area had been repeatedly looted. David Ross's 1998 series of articles in *The Daily Roadrunner* revealed that non-archaeologists used metal detectors extensively at the site. Ross wrote, "It seems that for years he (the former landowner) and his family have used a metal detector around the ruins of Nate's house, and found scads of stuff near his front door . . . Most of it, of course, is of little interest. But, over the years they have come up with quite a collection of items that give fascinating little glimpses into life in another age" (Ross 1998:IV4). Accompanying Ross's article are two photographs of a picnic table covered with artifacts unearthed from around Harrison's cabin (Figures 2.67 and 2.68). In addition, multiple letters in the Kirby Collection from author Robert Melvin to the previous landowner detail multiple plans to dig for artifacts at the site.

In 2002, Mallios and Stroud contacted the current landowners, James and Hannah Kirby, in order to determine if the site had been significantly disturbed and if an excavation was feasible. During Mallios and Stroud's first trip to the property, the Kirbys showed the SDSU archaeologists the remains of what was thought to be Nate Harrison's cabin. All that remained at the apparent site was the outline of a foundation for a small amorphous structure (Figures 2.69-2.72). The area was only marginally visible as it was overgrown with large bushy plants, weeds, and small trees. The remaining stones formed haphazard lines, and there was evidence that the walls may have fallen, as rocks had seemingly tumbled both into the center of the remains and around the exterior. The ground surface in the center of the structure was uneven. The foundation rested on a fairly level surface that was surrounded by a lower cut or trail to the south and a hillside rising on the north and east sides. There was no evidence of historical material on the ground surface.

After explaining the goals of the project and intended extent of the archaeological excavations, the Kirbys granted permission for the Nate Harrison Historical Archaeology Project to be conducted on their property. Having gained permission from the landowners, Mallios was then granted permission to conduct a three-week historical archaeology field school during the summer session of the 2004 school year by Dr. Paul Wong, the Dean of the College of Arts and Letters at San Diego State University.



Figure 2.69. Photograph of pre-excavation visit to site in May of 2004; view of site from east.



Figure 2.70. Photograph of pre-excavation visit to site in May of 2004; view of site from west.



Figure 2.71. Photograph of pre-excavation visit to site in May of 2004; view of site from north.



Figure 2.72. Photograph of pre-excavation visit to site in May of 2004; view of site from datum (southeast).

Archaeological Field Methods

Archaeological fieldwork began with the selection of a site datum. The point had to be off-site in order to avoid its excavation in the future, but near enough to facilitate easy transit, survey, and mapping use. Flat, shaded areas are also beneficial for laser theodolite set-up and care. The datum selected at the Harrison site fulfilled all of these criteria and was located approximately 100' southeast of the cabin cobbles. It was on relatively flat ground under a large tree (Figure 2.73). In the event that excavations occurred in the vicinity of the datum, this point was deemed 10,000N/10,000E, placing the true 0/0 datum, which could not be compromised. Two secondary data points were established in relation to the primary 10,000N/10,000E datum: one 50' to the west at 10,000N/9,950E and the other 50' to the north at 10,050N/10,000E. The elevation or Z for the primary datum was also established arbitrarily at 10,000'. Elevations for the secondary data points were calculated with a string level, plumb bob, and measuring tapes. The Z for the west back sight (N10,000/9,950E) was 9,997.05; the Z for the north back sight (N10,050, E10,000) was 10,007.55 (Figure 2.74). All measurements were in feet, the same unit of measurement employed by Nate Harrison and his contemporaries on the mountain. The scale can be easily converted to the metric system at any time.

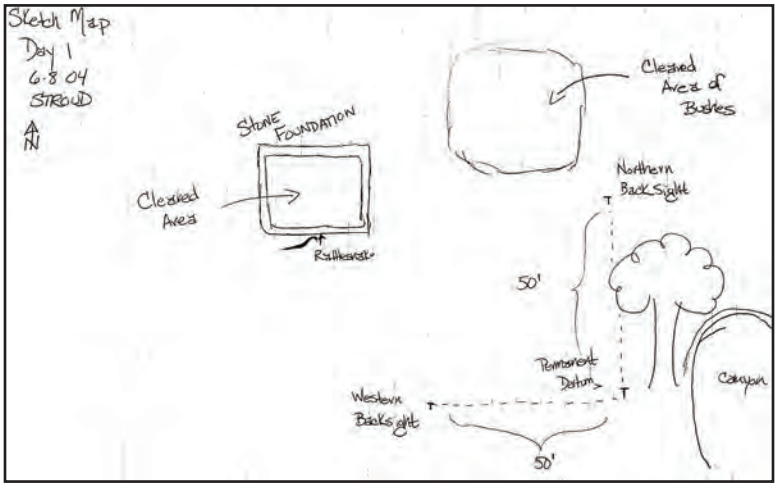


Figure 2.73. "Day one" sketch map of datum placement with respect to site area.



Figure 2.74. Cynthia Eischen and Lauren Lingley use the laser transit to shoot in the north back-sight as part of the total station set-up process.

Grounds Keeping

The site area was completely overgrown at the start of the field school and required significant plant removal (Figure 2.75). Preparations for excavation also included the cutting of many large tree limbs and small trees (Figure 2.76). The field school spent its first few days on the mountain removing the vegetative growth from the site (Figure 2.77). The plant material they removed was placed on top of a plastic tarp that formed the platform of the back dirt pile (Figure 2.78). Students flagged the artifacts that were encountered during this process, to be mapped later with their provenience.



Figure 2.75. Jason Maywald helps in defoliating the cabin area.



Figure 2.76. Sarah Stroud, Jaime Lennox, and Hannah Stover clean the west patio area.



Figure 2.77. Lauren Lingley, Jaime Lennox, Cynthia Eischen, Hannah Stover, Jason Maywald, and Hillary Sweeney shovel-schnitt the plant growth off of the area to the east of the cabin.

The Grid

The crew used the laser transit to lay out a 5' grid over much of the site area for horizontal spatial control (Figures 2.79 and 2.80). Wooden stakes marked the corners of the units. The grid was oriented to true north, 13° east of magnetic north. Pink flagging tape with unit coordinates were affixed to the northeast corner of each unit. The stone foundation was treated as a large feature, the interior of which measured approximately 9' by 12'. Features are excavated with respect to themselves, not the grid. In order to maximize spatial analysis within the structure and profile mapping potential while maintaining reasonably sized units for excavation, the feature was subdivided into twelve 3' by 3' units, four along the north and south faces and three along the east and west faces (Figure 2.81).



Figure 2.78. Lauren Lingley dumps the first bucket of leaves from the initial site-area clean-up.



Figure 2.80. Dr. Mallios shoots in the 5' grid from the site datum.

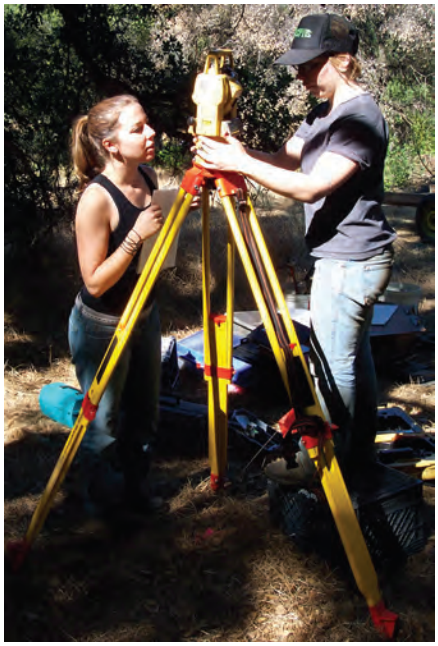


Figure 2.79. Jaime Lennox and Hannah Stover set up the laser theodolite.



Figure 2.81. Starting photography of the grid imposed on the cabin's interior.

The Excavation Register

Each unit was assigned a number as it was excavated that corresponded with the Excavation Register (ER) and associated ER forms. The Excavation Register listed the number of units or features sequentially, their northeast corner coordinate according to the grid, a general description, the date it was assigned, and the initials of the person who assigned it. Once the ER# was assigned, the crew followed the exact steps outlined in the abridged field manual (Appendix A). These opening pre-excavation steps included opening photographs (Figure 2.82), sketch maps of surface finds, and triangulation mapping of any features within the unit. Once a layer was completely excavated, students completed profile maps (Figure 2.83) and triangulation-based plan maps of any features at the nexus between the base of the layer excavated and the top of the next natural layer. They also inventoried all of the materials that were recovered from that specific context (Figure 2.84). ER forms were ultimately completed for each individual archaeological context (Figures 2.85 and 2.86).



Figure 2.82. Opening photograph of 5' by 5' unit, NH1.



Figure 2.83. Hillary Sweeney and Cynthia Eischen work on a profile map of the exterior face of the north wall.



Figure 2.84. Megan Libby and Jason Maywald inventory their artifacts after completely excavating the layer.

San Diego State University — Professor Mallios

UNIT/FEATURE EXCAVATION REGISTER FORM

Project name/site #: NH — Excavators' last names: Maywald, Lennox, Libby
ER#: 2 — Date (MM/DD/YYYY): 06/11/04
Unit/feature coordinates (northeast corner): N 10,060 /E 9915 — Z TOP 10,002.14
Starting photo: ✓ (check once taken) — Flash card #: 8 — Photo #: 100-4642
Features present (describe here and draw on back): Rocks present
Notes:
__ check if this unit/feature begins above the layers described below

---

Layer (ER# and Layer letter): 2A — Seals: 2B — Sealed by: Nothing — BOTTOM Z: 9,999.76
Type: sand — Texture: sandy — Color: brownish/grey — Munsell: 10YR 4/2
Inclusions: charcoal — Soil chem. sample: ✓ (check once taken) — Soil archive sample: ✓ (check once taken)
Excavation method: TROWEL — Screen size: 1/8" — % screened: 100%
Artifact material inventory (list, quantify, and describe): ___ No artifacts (check if none present) ✓ Layer fully excavated (check once done)

Stone: Quartz(2) Rock(1)
Fauna: unpolished (4) polished (2) leather(1)(2)
Flora (include wood): wood (2) coal (11)
Ceramic (include brick): white ware (2)
Metal: NAILS (30) FORK, silver plate (1) spoon SP (1) sardine can opener, staples (3), hook (1) (1) scissors (1) washer
Glass: clear(23) aqua(3) brown(4) amber(1) green(3)
Other:

Rifle casing (1) · Rivet · Aluminum(2) · Clock gear (1) · metal frag (32)

Features present at base of layer (describe here and draw on back): MANY ROCKS
Layer interpretation: FILL
Notes: S.P. fork & spoon found /A/50 in tact jAR AND leather strap

---

Layer (ER# and Layer letter): _____ — Seals: _____ — Sealed by: _____ — BOTTOM Z: _____
Type: _____ — Texture: _____ — Color: _____ — Munsell: _____
Inclusions: _____ — Soil chem. sample: __ (check once taken) — Soil archive sample: ____ (check once taken)
Excavation method: _____ — Screen size: _____ — % screened: _____
Artifact material inventory (list, quantify, and describe): ____ No artifacts (check if none present) ____ Layer fully excavated (check once done)

Stone:
Fauna:
Flora (include wood):
Ceramic (include brick):
Metal:
Glass:
Other:

Features present at base of layer (describe here and draw on back):
Layer interpretation:
Notes:

Finishing photo: __ (check once taken) — Flash card #_____ — Photo #: _____
Notes:
__ check if this unit/feature continues beyond the layers described above

Figure 2.85. ER form 2A, front.

San Diego State University

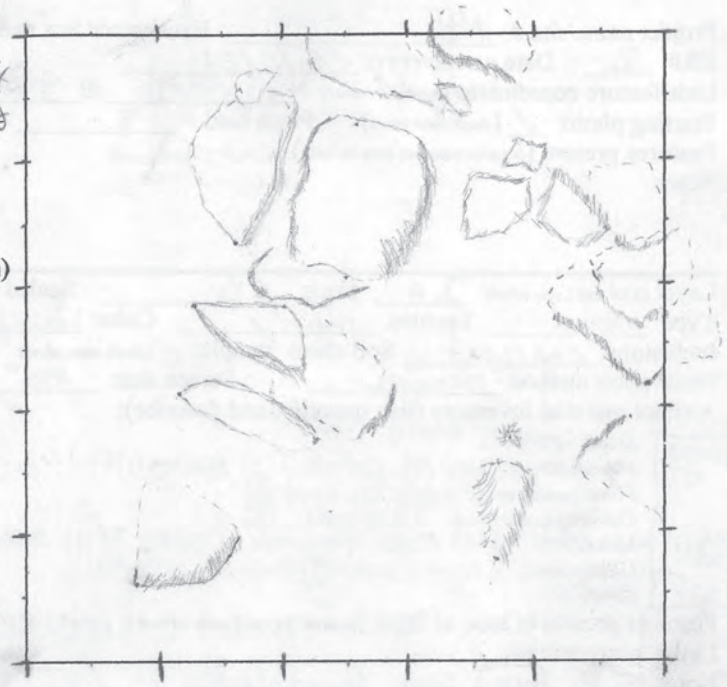
Professor Mallios

UNIT/FEATURE EXCAVATION REGISTER FORM

ER#: 2 (top of A)
Names: Maywald, Lennox
Date: 6-11-04 Libby

Scale: 4"= 5'

True north N ↑
(place arrow in correct direction)
↑ for plan map
→ for profile map
Notes:
plan view of level A
Rocks protruding from surface



ER#: 2 (bottom of A)
Names: Maywald, Lennox
Date: 6-15-04 Libby

Scale: 4"= 5'

True north N ↑
(place arrow in correct direction)
↑ for plan map
→ for profile map
Notes:
PLAN VIEW of botton LAYER

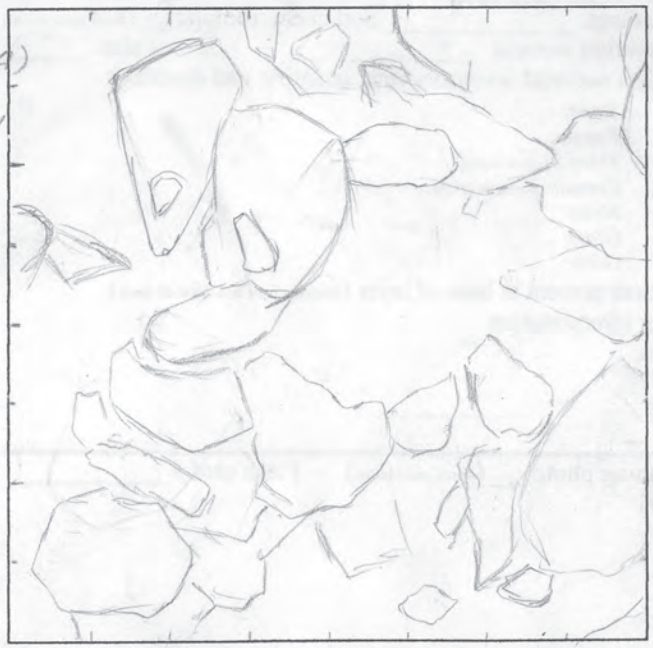


Figure 2.86. ER form 2A, back.

Digging Strategy

The crew excavated almost exclusively with trowels, as the degree of disturbance at the site was unknown. The recovery of multiple complete vessels reaffirmed this decision. All fill was carried from the site in buckets to the screening area and pushed through 1/8" wire mesh (Figures 2.87 and 2.88). In addition, units were dug in an effort to maximize understanding of the site's stratigraphy, resulting in a checkerboard pattern of units both inside and outside of the structure. Excavating every other unit within the structure enabled a future composite drawing of five different profile maps that spanned the cabin area, 2 along its long axis and 3 parallel to its shorter sides. Each was at regular 3' intervals. Likewise, a checkerboard approach to the patio area offered additional opportunities to understand the differential use of space by the site's inhabitants. During the first season of excavation, two main areas of the site were investigated. The interior of the cabin was excavated first, in hopes of learning as much as possible about the architecture, construction, and destruction of the cabin, as well as gaining insight into the different living areas within the structure (Figure 2.89). The second area of interest was the patio, the space just to the west of the cabin (Figure 2.90). Historical photographs showcased this area as a main locus of activity for Harrison.



Figure 2.87. Matthew Werle hauls a bucket back from the screening area.



Figure 2.88. Meridith Blake, Matthew Werle, Jaime Lennox, and Megan Libby use the 1/8" screens on their dirt.

Layers and Levels

Whereas historical archaeologists traditionally excavate in natural stratigraphic layers, prehistoric fieldwork is frequently undertaken in levels. Excavations at the Harrison site attempted to unite these two approaches, as this frontier site likely transcends simplistic categorizations of native or non-native materials. The site's natural stratigraphy was always followed, but layers larger than 3" (10 cm) were divided into 3" levels within the layer. As a general rule, the natural contour of the land was followed. Thus, the top fill layer of excavation for all of the units was the top 3 inches, even though the apparent stratigraphic fill episode was often deeper. In addition, the extreme dryness of the soil warranted extra precaution in excavation as few natural layers were immediately visible in the profiles and sidewalls.



Figure 2.89. Working shot of crew in the cabin area, taken from the east.



Figure 2.90. Working shot of crew in the west-of-cabin patio area, taken from the west.

Archaeological Laboratory Methods

At the conclusion of the field season all excavated artifacts were moved to San Diego State University's North American Archaeology Laboratory located in the Dede Alpert Center for Community Engagement in the City Heights neighborhood of San Diego. At this facility, lab workers washed, labeled, and cataloged every artifact.

Students washed the artifacts in plain tap water with soft and medium bristled toothbrushes. The washing took place using dish-drainers and colanders in order to prevent any artifacts from inadvertently going down the drain. Each individual bag of artifacts was washed separately to prevent the mixing of contexts. Artifacts made out of specific materials such as leather or wood were not washed in water, but cleaned with a dry brush. All cleaning endeavored to protect the integrity of the artifact. The bag tag from the artifact bag was kept with the artifacts on the drying screen to prevent context information from being lost.

Once dry, each artifact was labeled. Only the following types of artifacts were labeled: Glass, Ceramic, and Fauna. Artifacts made out of leather, stone and metal were not labeled as the chemical consistency of the labels could damage porous artifact types. The labels consisted of a layer of nail polish, a very small hand-written description denoting the Nate Harrison site (NH), the ER number, and the specific level--for example NH2A--and then another layer of nail polish to seal the label. The nail polish was either clear or opaque white depending on the color of individual artifact. All of the sealing layers were clear. The nail polish used in the lab for this purpose was New York Color Long-Wearing Nail Enamel 138B (clear) and Wet 'n' Wild Nail Color 449B, French White Crème. The labels were written using Pigma Micron 005 #1 archival ink pens. To ensure that the labels adhered properly, it was important that the first coat of nail polish was completely dry and untouched before using the pens to write the label. If not, the label tended to bubble and had to be reapplied. After each artifact was labeled and the label was thoroughly dry, it was then bagged.

Archival quality, zip-lock bags were used to ensure long-term storage. Each artifact type within a unit layer was bagged together, with the ER number written on the exterior of the bag. All of the artifact types were then combined in one large bag labeled using a black Sharpie marker, with the ER number and layer, the description of the layer, the date of excavation, and the names of the excavators. If all of the artifacts did not fit into one large bag, they were put into multiple bags and labeled accordingly, e.g., Bag 1 of 3. An example of a label was as follows: NH1A, Rootmat, 6-11-2004, Eischen, Sweeney, Werle, Bag 1 of 3. A new paper label was placed in the main bag with the exact same information found on the exterior.

Each artifact was then cataloged in terms of the following: Site Name, North Coordinates, East Coordinates, ER Unit, Layer, Layer Description, Excavator(s), Date Excavated, Material Category, Material Type, Object, Object Description, Attributes, Maker's Mark, Date Range, Color, Height, Length, Width, Weight in Grams, Diameter, Quantity, Mends to:, Removed for Electrolysis, and Notes/Interpretations. In the end, only the artifact type categories from the paperwork were used in the actual database, but taxonomic classifications were evident in the designations "Objects, Object Descriptions, and Notes/Interpretations."

Once each bag of artifacts was cataloged, the exterior of the bag was marked with a circled "C." At this point, all artifact types were examined for mends, beginning with individually bagged and cataloged units. Mends were secured using blue painter's tape, as it does not leave a residue on the artifacts. In future excavations, mends will be secured using artifact-safe glue. Once mends within each bag were completed, cross-mends were identified between units. All mends were noted in the artifact catalog.

2.5 2004 Excavation Results

The SDSU archaeological team excavated 25 different units during the 2004 summer field season. They dug twenty 5' by 5' units in the patio area just west and north of the cabin and five 3 ½' by 3' units inside the structure (Figure 2.91). The twenty exterior units focused mainly on a 20' by 20' swath of land adjacent to the front door on the west side of the cabin, although they also included a row of units along the north side of the structure. The five interior units formed a checkerboard pattern on the western two-thirds of the structure and included four wall units, two of which were corners. The Excavation Register lists the preliminary details of each unit (Figures 2.92 and 2.93).

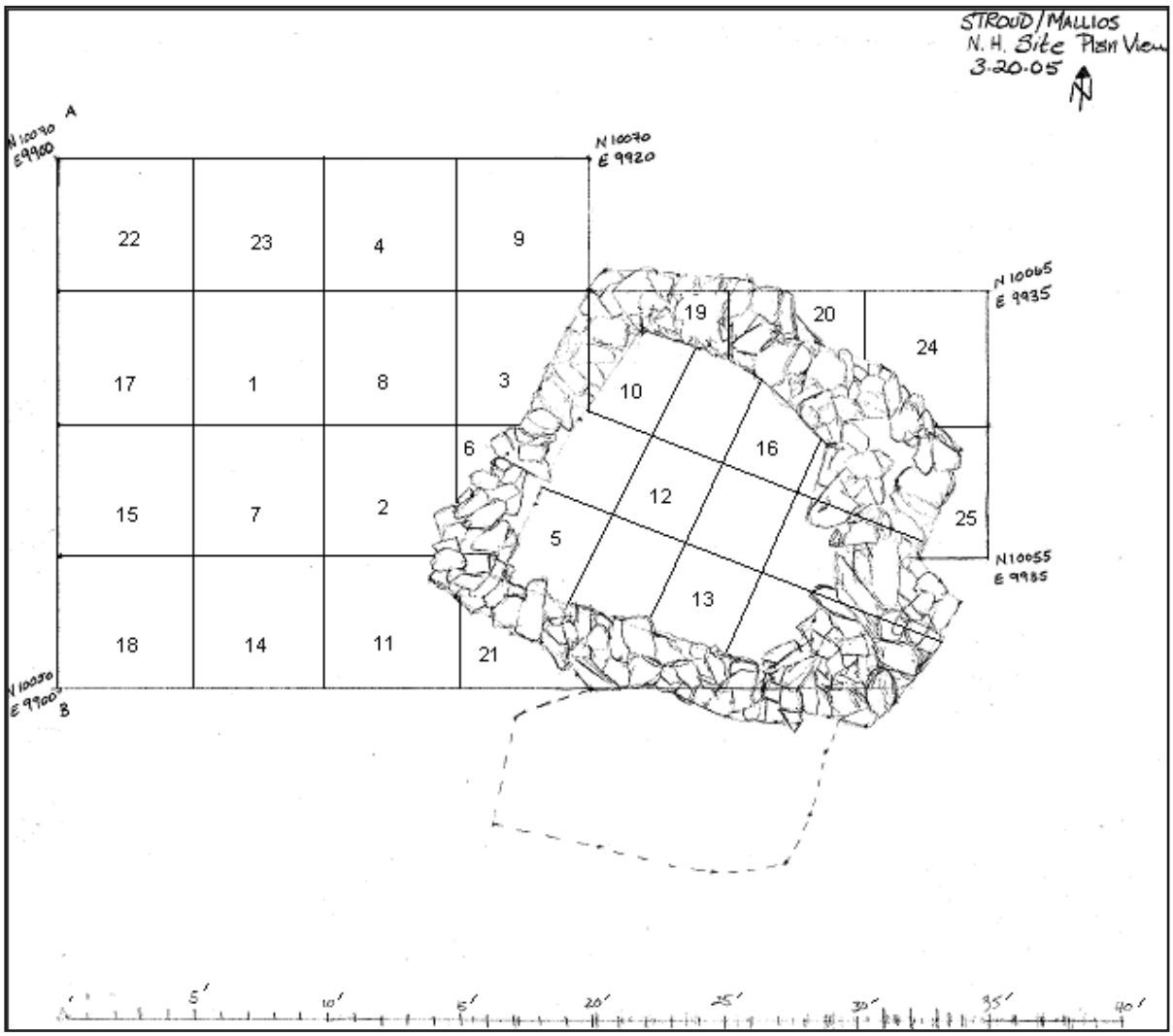


Figure 2.91. Site plan with ER designations.

Before excavation began, the exterior dimensions of the remaining cabin foundation were measured. The north wall was 15.0' in length, the east wall was 13.0', the south wall was 14.5', and the west wall was 14.0', giving the structure a slightly trapezoidal shape. The interior of the walls measured, 8.0' (north wall), 8.5' (east), 10.5' (south), and 10.5' (west). The outline of the chimney was present on the eastern wall. The exterior heights of the stone walls were also measured and the highest point of each wall was as follows: 1.3' (north wall), 1.0' (east), 2.5' (south), and 1.5' (west).

NATE HARRISON SITE EXCAVATION REGISTER (ER)

ER # (no letters)	NE corner coordinates	General description	Date assigned (MM/DD/YYYY)	Initials
Example: 1	N *5550* E *5550*	*5' x 5' unit*	*06/09/2004*	*SM*
1	N 10,065 E 9,910	5'x 5' unit	06/11/2004	SM
2	N 10,060 E 9,915	5'x5' unit	06/11/2004	SM
3	N 10,065 E 9,920	5'x 5' unit	06/11/2004	SM
4	N 10,070 E 9,915	5'x5' unit	06/14/2004	SM
5	N 10,059.265 E 9,923.310	3' x 3½' unit	06/15/2004	SM
6	N 10,064.060 E 9,921.075	5'x5' unit (truncated by Str. #1)	06/15/2004	JM/ML
7	N 10060 E 9910	5'x 5' unit	06/16/2004	SS
8	N 10065 E 9915	5'x 5' unit	06/16/2004	SS
9	N 10070 E 9920	5'x5' unit	06/16/2004	SS
10	N 10065.02 E 9926.94	3'x 3½' unit	06/16/2004	SS
11	N 10055 E 9915	5'x5' unit	6/16/2004	ML
12	N 10,060.66 E 9927.92	3'x3½' unit	6/16/4	AM
13	N 10,056.32 E 9929.00	3'x3½' unit	6/16/2004	SM
14	N 10,055 E 9,910	5'x5' unit	6/17/2004	MW
15	N 10,060 E 9905	5'x5' unit	6/21/2004	HS, LL
16	N 10061.725 E 9932.300	3'x3½"	6/21/2004	SS

Figure 2.92. ER book, page 1.

NATE HARRISON SITE EXCAVATION REGISTER (ER)

ER # (no letters)	NE corner coordinates	General description	Date assigned (MM/DD/YYYY)	Initials
Example: 1	N *5550* E *5550*	*5' x 5' unit*	*06/09/2004*	*SM*
17	N 10065 E 9905	5'x5' unit	6/22/04	SS
18	N 10055 E 9905	5'x5' unit	6/22/04	SS
19	N 10,065 E 9925	Portion of 5x5 unit	6/23/04	MW
20	N 10,065 E 9,930	Portion of, 5x5 unit	6/23/4	JM
21	N 10055 E 9920	Portion of 5'x5' unit	6/23/04	SS
22.	N 10070 E 9905	5'x5' unit	6/23/04	SS
23	N 10070 E 9910	5'x5' unit	6/23/04	SS
24	N 10065 E 9935	5'x5' unit	6/23/04	SS
25	N 10,060 E 9935	Portion of 5'x5' unit	6/24/04	JM

Figure 2.93. ER book, page 2.

Western Exterior Units (NH1, 2, 3, 4, 6, 7, 8, 9, 11, 14, 15, 17, 18, 21, 22, and 23)

Excavation began in the patio area, just west of the cabin. The initial checkerboard pattern of NH1-4 enabled maximum attention to profile mapping and stratigraphy as no adjacent sidewalls were compromised. The top fill of all of these units was a very dry brownish/grey sand. Munsell readings ranged between 10YR 3/1 and 4/2 and 5YR 4/1. The top 3 inches of fill was uniform and showed no significant stratigraphic change within the layer or at its arbitrary 3" depth. Artifact quantities and densities were notably high—each unit contained over 100 artifacts—even in units like NH3 that were partially truncated by the structure.

Once the patio units were expanded to include all of the 5' by 5' squares in the 20' by 20' block (NH6-9, 11, 14-15, 17-18, and 21-23), the consistency between units became even more apparent. The top fill layer of each was a uniform brown/grey sand with charcoal inclusions and no noticeable stratigraphic break within the natural layer or at its arbitrary 3" base. Almost all of the units had numerous large rocks in their fill, each of which were mapped (Figure 2.94). The only west patio units without many large rocks were the three corner units at the southwestern (NH18), northwestern (NH22), and northeastern (NH9A) extremes of the patio excavation area.



Figure 2.94. Rock by rock plan drawing of patio area.

North Exterior Units (NH 19-20, and 24-25)

Units to the north and east of the cabin remains were distinctively different from those in the patio area on the basis of two factors: 1) the amount of artifacts they contained, and 2) the matrix at the base of the A layer. Excavators in these four 5 x 5 units uncovered less than 35 artifacts in each of these areas, compared to the hundreds found in the west patio units. In addition, whereas the A layer in the west-patio units gave way to a very similar B layer in terms of its soil type, texture, color, and inclusions, the top of the B layer in the areas to the north and east of the cabin was strikingly different from the A layer. The B layer in the north exterior units was a gritty tan sand with no inclusions. This B layer is likely undisturbed subsoil, at least in terms of the historical occupation at the site.

The north exterior units were adjacent to the structural remains. This apparent subsoil was cut by the cabin's stone foundation, suggesting that the stones were placed in a builder's trench of sorts. Although no apparent trench backfill was found, the rocks were likely set into the small trench to provide a more sturdy foundation base.

Exterior Profiles

The field crew drew profile maps of each exterior face of the existing cabin foundation. The west and north walls (exterior facing west and north respectively) included the 3" levels that had been removed during the excavation of the A layer. The east and north walls (exterior facing east and north respectively) did not provide any excavation results as these sides of the cabin were not dug. Each of the profile maps identified the exact spatial location of the standing rocks that were uncovered during the vegetation clearing and initial excavation stages.

The exterior profile of the east wall (exterior facing east) showed to overall north-to-south slope of the remaining wall and the cluster of rocks in the center of the wall that likely formed the chimney (Figures 2.95 and 2.96). The north wall exterior profile (exterior facing north) revealed the prominence of the cabin's existing northwest corner (Figures 2.97 and 2.98). It also showcased the relatively level east/west foundation remains. The exterior profile of the west wall (exterior facing west) also emphasized the existing northwest corner and the severe north/south slope of the top of the foundation remains (Figures 2.99 and 2.100). The south wall exterior profile (exterior facing south) presented a relatively flat wall top with little evidence of a peak in either southwest or southeast corner (Figures 2.101 and 2.102).

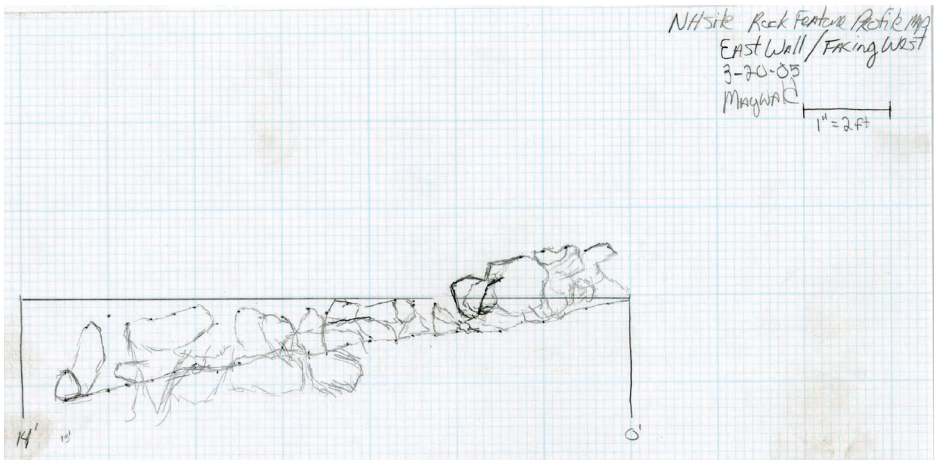


Figure 2.95. Exterior profile map of east wall.



Figure 2.96. Photograph of exterior profile of east wall.

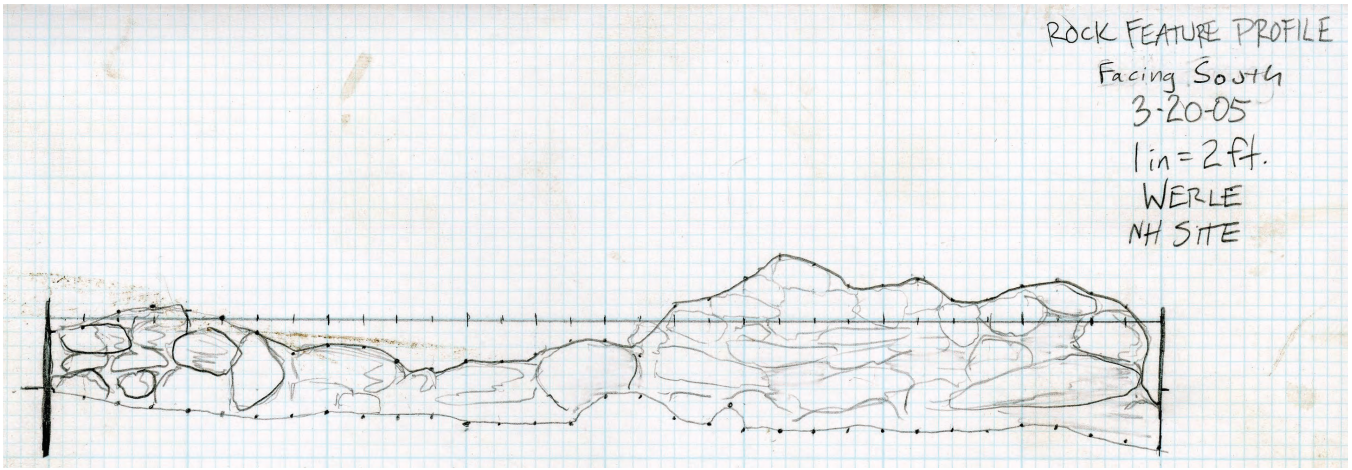


Figure 2.97. Exterior profile map of north wall.



Figure 2.98. Photograph of exterior profile of north wall.

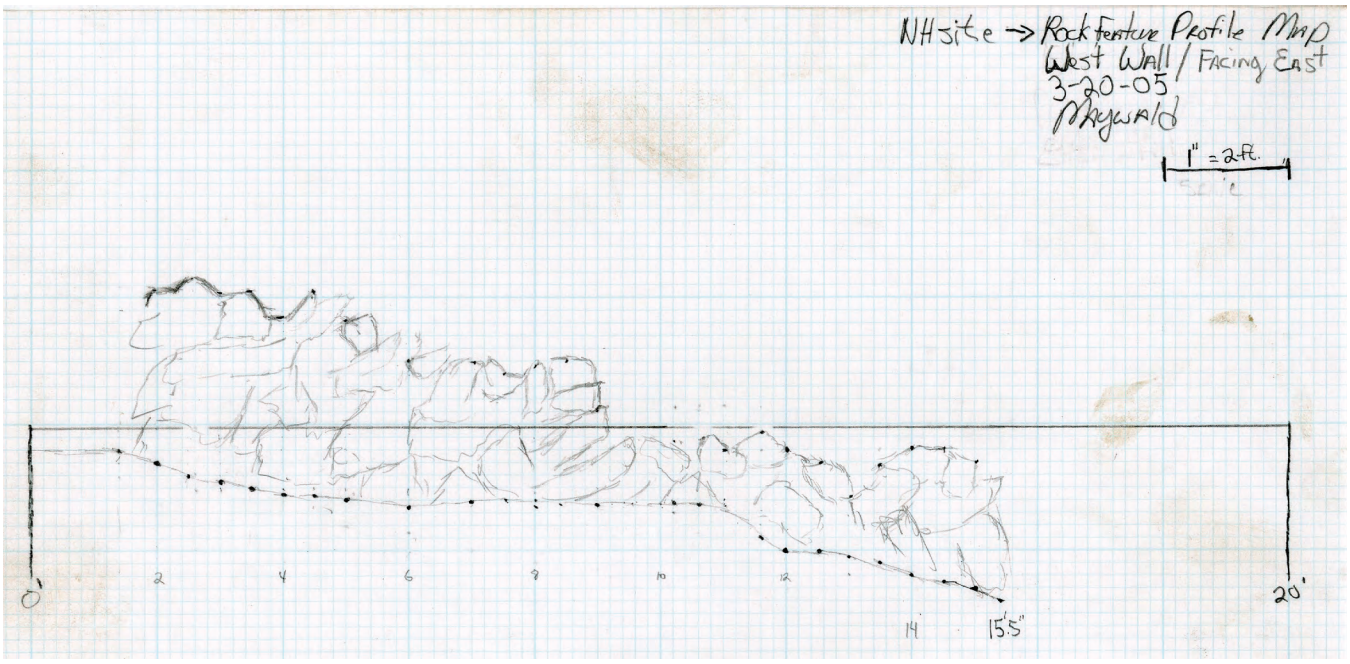


Figure 2.99. Exterior profile map of west wall.



Figure 2.100. Photograph of exterior profile of west wall.

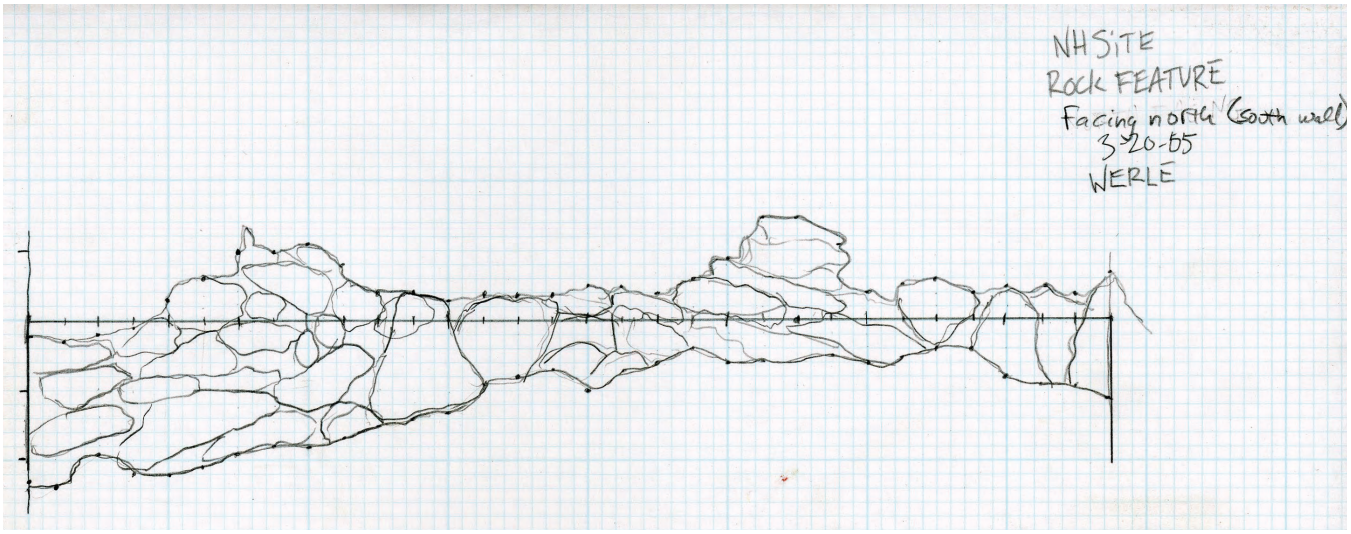


Figure 2.101. Exterior profile map of south wall.



Figure 2.102. Photograph of exterior profile of south wall.

Interior Units (NH5, 10, 12-13, and 16)

Five interior cabin units were begun during the 2004 summer excavation field season. None were completed, in that the field crew neither reached an evident living surface or sterile subsoil. The five test units formed a checkerboard for the western two-thirds of the cabin interior. Each was approximately 3' by 3 ½' in dimension.

The first interior test unit (NH5) was in the southwest corner of the cabin. The A layer was a grey sandy matrix that resembled the A layers outside of the cabin to the north and west. It was artifact-rich and included many iron fragments. Although there was no discernable soil transition at the base of A, a layer distinction between 5A and 5B was made at a 3" horizontal level. This horizontal control was a precaution as the dry sandy soil showed no evident strata. Like 5A, layer 5B, contained many artifacts, including an iron key at the western edge closest to the doorway shown in the historical photos. After 3 inches of 5B, a distinct layer change was seen. 5B and 5C differed in terms of color and inclusions. 5B was a standard 2.5R N4.5 grey with no inclusions. 5A was more brownish in color (7.5YR 4/2) with charcoal and daub inclusions. Although the color difference was due in part to the higher degree of moisture in the soil as it reached a depth of 6", 5C was nonetheless a clearly distinct layer from 5A and 5B. 5C was excavated for 3" to an overall depth of 9" and then another horizontal level was arbitrarily established at its base. There was no clear stratigraphic distinction between 5C and 5D. In an effort to excavate more efficiently, 5D was taken down a full 6" before another level was established at 15" deep. Just as there was no evident distinction between the brown sand of 5C and 5D, 5E was not markedly different from 5D. Each contained many artifacts. Overall, NH5 likely had two true stratigraphic depositions: 5A/5B and 5C/5D/5E. The first was a grey sand with no inclusions and the second was a brown sand with charcoal and daub inclusions. The surface of 5E was merely scratched by excavators; it likely continues for at least 3" more. Excavation of these layers revealed that the southern and western walls contain large cobbles that are in their original context. The rocks stacked above ground are on top of those that were completely sealed by dirt on the sides and additional rocks on top (Figure 2.103). Thus, it is likely that the base of the cabin retains some structural integrity.



Figure 2.103. Photograph of Jason Maywald standing behind south wall of NH5. Note how above surface rocks are stacked directly above those exposed during excavation.

The second interior unit, NH10, was in the northwest corner of the structure. Excavators saw no meaningful changes in the strata of this unit but nevertheless switched layers and three-inch levels. 10A, the level from 0-3" was a brown/grey sand with no inclusions and many artifacts. 10B contained the same matrix and reached a depth of 6". 10C, the final layer excavated in the unit during this field season, also had no stratigraphic distinction from the layers above it, although artifactually it produced fewer finds than the upper layers. NH10 is likely far from completely excavated as the severe north-to-south slope of the land makes it much higher than other units within the cabin (Figure 2.104). Like NH5, excavation of the top 9" of NH10 revealed that the rocks protruding from the top of the unit were directly above the original foundation. Although many of these above-ground stones were likely moved along the wall during the past 70 years, they generally mark the actual foundation base.

NH12 was the center of the five-unit checkerboard that was excavated inside of the cabin remains. Of all the interior units, this one was excavated to the greatest depth, yet it had the fewest artifacts proportionate to the amount of dirt moved (Figure 2.105). In fact, the majority of its artifacts were from its highest layers, likely a result of a destruction episode rather than the remains of a living area. This initial glimpse into differential living spaces within the cabin suggested not surprisingly that Harrison kept most of his goods along the walls as opposed to the center of the cabin. The initial 3" layer of NH12, like the other interior units, was a loose grey sandy fill with no inclusions. There was no meaningful stratigraphic division between 12A and 12B; they were each 3" levels that sequentially formed the top six inches of the unit. There was, however, a layer change of consequence between 12B and 12C. 12C was a more brownish fill and it contained daub and charcoal inclusions. 12C, 12D, and 12E were each three-inch levels that reached an overall depth of 9, 12, and 15" below the surface. Each layer had fewer artifacts than the one above it, with 12E only having a few iron fragments. In addition, there was a large flat rock at the base of 12E. The transition from 12E to 12F was significant. The dirt went from a light brown sand with inclusions to a very compact and hard brown sand. Although 12F and 12G--the next two 3" levels of dirt in this unit--contained a few pieces of chipped stone, the matrix had no inclusions. The artifacts were likely from a prehistoric occupation that pre-dated Nate Harrison's time on the mountain. It is probable that NH12 was slightly over-excavated (12F and 12G) and that the large rock at the base of 12E marked the floor of the cabin.

NH13 was the interior unit along the south wall about two-thirds of the way toward the southeast corner of the structure. It was excavated in three 3" levels made up of brown sand with no inclusions. The fill showed no stratigraphic differences but contained numerous artifacts, including a 1916 coin, a rubber tobacco pipe mouthpiece, and a large portion of a leather boot. Excavation of NH13 revealed that the stones protruding from above the unit surface were atop the original foundation (Figure 2.106). The surrounding units suggest that excavators have far to go before they reach the base of NH13.



Figure 2.104. From left to right, Sarah Stroud supervises as Megan Libby (NH5), Onika Miyashiro (NH13), and Cynthia Eischen (NH10) excavate interior cabin units. Note how much higher Eischen is than the other excavators due in part to the slope of the land.



Figure 2.105. Megan Libby excavates the base of unit NH12.



Figure 2.106. Onika Miyashiro excavates the base of unit NH13. Note how surface rocks are located directly above those exposed by excavation.

The fifth interior unit begun in 2004 was NH16, which sat along the north wall about two-thirds of the way to the east wall. NH16 was excavated in three 3" levels that reached a cumulative depth of 9 inches. Each level consisted of grayish brown sand with no inclusions. This unit had few artifacts but numerous large stones that had clearly collapsed in from the wall during a destruction episode.

The interior units had a fairly consistent stratigraphic pattern. Although these excavation results are entirely preliminary, it appears as if each of the interior units starts with grey sand with no inclusions, then hits a layer with brown sand and charcoal and daub inclusions, which is ultimately followed by a nearly sterile red sand layer (Figure 2.107). The initial grey sand layer apparently corresponds with the exterior units as well.

	NH5	NH10	NH12	NH12	NH16
Gray sand with no inclusions	A/B	A/B/C	A/B	A/B/C	A/B/C
Brown sand with charcoal and daub inclusions	C/D/E		C/D/E		
Red sand with no inclusions			F/G		

Figure 2.107. Table of interior unit stratigraphy.

Summary

The 25 units excavated during the 2004 summer field season totaled approximately 177.5 cubic feet of dirt moved by the archaeological team. Each unit revealed important stratigraphic and artifactual information. The artifact-rich patio area just west of the cabin contained dense fill and significant debris from the occupation and destruction of the building. The archaeological team did not uncover any sterile subsoil in this area of the site. Thus, the depth of the patio deposit is not known at this time. In contrast, excavators in the artifact-poor area on the north and east sides of the cabin uncovered subsoil almost immediately. Findings from the cabin interior suggested that the large above-surface rocks stacked in wall formation accurately mark the lower original rock foundation of the cabin. In addition, the interior stratigraphy hinted that the cabin area contained about a foot and a half of fill. These findings will fuel next summer's (2005) excavations at the site.

2.6 Analyses and Interpretations

Excavators recovered 6,162 artifacts during the Summer 2004 field season. These materials established that the site was occupied during the late 19th and early 20th centuries. It is important to note that these dates and the following artifact analyses are based mostly on the top 3" layer of the site. Thus, the insights presented here are entirely preliminary. Archaeological dimensions of time, space, and form guide the following discussion.

Time

Based on established use and production dates of various historical artifact types, the Nate Harrison site was occupied from approximately 1865-1916 (Figure 2.108). This minimal date range was formed on the basis of two lines of evidence. First, all artifact date ranges were aligned chronologically and the temporal spread was examined for normality. The artifacts did produce a highly normal distribution, with a few pre-1850 production start dates and a handful of post-1950 use end dates. Nonetheless, the bulk of the production and use dates were centered on the early 1900s. The inherent forward bias of time inevitably and expectantly leads the normal chronological spread toward the latter end of occupation. Second, a minimal date range occupation was constructed using the most temporally extreme artifacts. A starting point was determined by the artifact type with the earliest ending date of production. In this case, a shell button with a sunken panel, produced no later than 1865, served as a tentative date for the beginning of site occupation. Likewise, a 1916 Buffalo Nickel provided the ending date, as this coin was the artifact with the latest starting date of production. Of course, the site could have been occupied before 1865 and was undoubtedly occupied after 1916. Nevertheless, these parameters are valuable in initially establishing a most probable artifact-based occupation date range. In addition, an artifact mean date, based on established date ranges and artifact quantities, placed the center date of occupation at the site as 1900.



Figure 2.108. Artifact date ranges from site.

Count	Proveniences	Cartridge	Caliber	Headstamp	Headstamp dates of production	Description
1	NH1A	centerfire	25-20 WHV	WRAco.	1866-1932	WRAco. 25-20 WHV (Winchester high velocity) was a rifle cartridge manufactured by the Winchester Repeating Arms Company. The (co.) after WRA indicates manufacture prior to 1932. Known as a "varmint cartridge," this type was popular with trappers and woodsmen.
1	NH1A	centerfire	.38 S&W	REM-UMC	1911-1960	REM-UMC .38 S&W was a revolver cartridge manufactured by the Remington Arms Company. The (S&W) indicates its compatibility with Smith and Wesson revolvers.
3	NH2A, 15A, 23A	rimfire	.22	H		.22 long rifle cartridge manufactured by Winchester Repeating Arms Company. The (H) stamp was used to commemorate B.T. Henry, designer of the Winchester lever action and associated rimfire cartridge. Early and unusual cartridge, likely produced between 1860 and 1875.
3	NH4A, 11A, 20A	rimfire	.22	U	1866-present	.22 short pistol cartridge manufactured by Union Metallic Cartridge Company and successors. Popular cartridge used in pocket pistols of the time.
1	NH6A	centerfire	.44 WCF	US	1869-1920	US .44 WCF (Winchester center fire) a.k.a.(.44-40) was a rifle/revolver cartridge made by United States Cartridge Company. Produced for the Winchester lever action model 1873 along with the .32 WCF and the .38 WCF. Popularity led Col. Samuel Colt to produce his Single Action Army revolvers in these same calibers. Due to their interchangeability between rifle and pistol, this family of cartridges soon became very popular. The model 1873 is known as "the gun that won the West."
2	NH8A, 9A	centerfire	.32 WCF	REM-UMC	1911-1922	REM-UMC .32 WCF a.k.a (.32-20) was a rifle/ revolver cartridge produced by the Remington Arms-Union Metallic Company. Cartridge contains the mark (U) stamped on its primer. This mark indicates early primer used prior to 1922.
1	NH8A	rimfire	.22		1898-1932	.22 short pistol cartridge manufactured by the Western Cartridge Company
2	NH11A, 14A	centerfire	.38 S	WRAco.	1866-1932	WRAco .38 S was a pistol cartridge manufactured by Winchester. The (co.) indicates early Winchester cartridge prior to 1932.
1	NH14A	shotshell	12G	UMCco. Magestic	1875-1879	UMCco. Majestic N_12 shot shell manufactured by the Union Metallic Cartridge Company. The (co.) was a very early marking that the company used only for a short time in the late 1870's.
1	NH22A	shotshell	12G	PETERS VICTOR	1887-1934	Peters Victor N_12 shot shell manufactured by Peters Cartridge Company.
1	NH23A	shotshell	12G	US CLIMAX	1869-1936	US Climax N_12 shot shell produced by United States Cartridge Company.

Figure 2.109. Small arms cartridge typology and data.

The headstamps on small arms cartridges were especially helpful in dating the site. Using an analytical technique that resembles Harrington's tobacco pipe stem histograms, the relatively tight date ranges on these artifacts were used to construct an occupation-based histogram that revealed a natural temporal break in the data. Using the cartridge typology, date-range, and count information (Figure 2.109), histograms were constructed on the basis of how many times a specific decade of production was applicable to individual counts of cartridges (Figure 2.110). For example, the .32 caliber centerfire cartridge with a "WCF" headstamp was produced by the Remington Arms-Union Metallic Company from 1911-1922. Thus, it was made during two decades: the 1910s and the 1920s. Since the Nate Harrison artifact assemblage includes two of these particular cartridges, this tally counts towards a count of two for the 1910s and 1920s decades. When these counts were determined for the entire cartridge assemblage, the resultant histogram revealed a significant temporal break before 1860 and after 1930. The decades in between had over 50% of the total count (9 or more of the 17 total small arms cartridges), suggesting a histogram-based date-range occupation of 1860-1930 that corresponds well with established historical records and other site-based artifact measures of temporality.

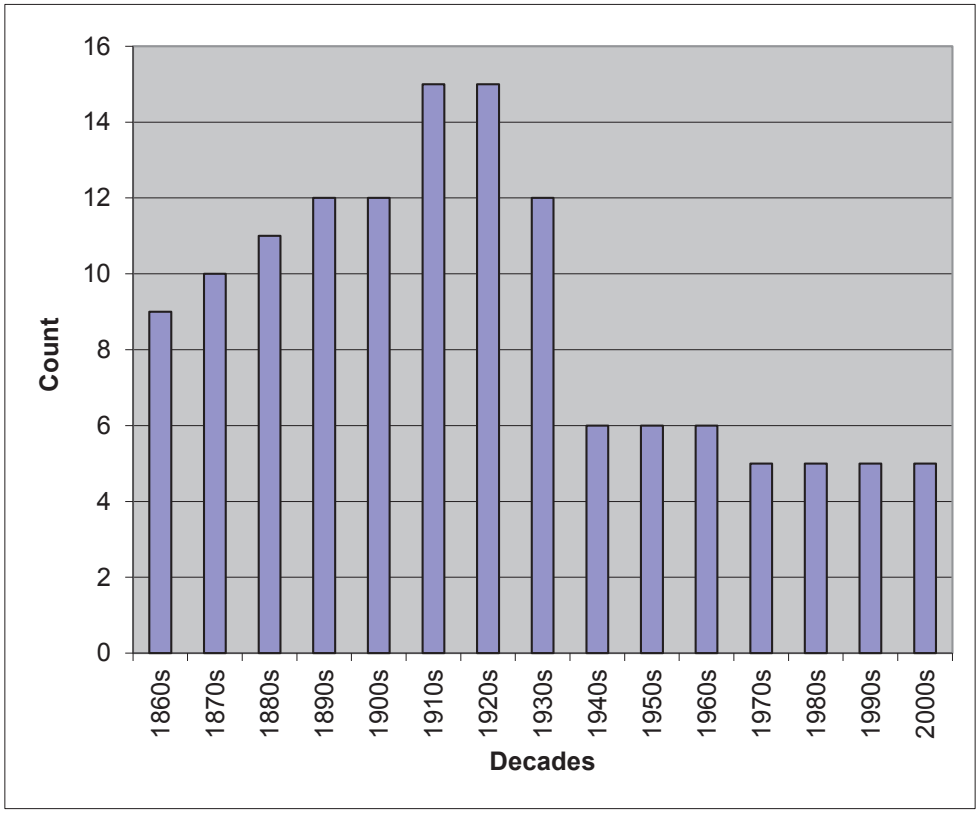


Figure 2.110. Small arms cartridge date-range histogram.

Space

The three site areas—the patio, cabin interior, and north exterior—had different amounts of artifacts in their fill (Figure 2.111). Even when correcting for numbers of units and amount of dirt excavated, the patio contained a majority of the finds, the cabin interior included a moderate amount, and the north exterior had minimal materials. Preliminary spatial analysis of the artifacts emphasizes this pattern. Figure 2.111 lists the artifact totals for each unit, revealing the patio as the primary activity area outside of the cabin, which is shaded in grey. The artifact count totals are displayed in bold and the total quantities of each row of grid squares for both the north/south and east/west axes are displayed at the ends of the rows. The artifact counts for the interior units are not displayed in this figure. Overall, the artifact quantities reveal that the deposit is richer the further one ventures to the west from the cabin. This observation will also help to guide next season's excavations.

1301	ER22: **524**	ER23: **540**	ER4: **159**	ER9: **78**				
1199	ER17: **277**	ER1: **365**	ER8: **362**	ER3: **195**	ER19: **11**	ER20: **23**	ER24: **11**	45
904	ER15: **423**	ER7: **229**	ER2: **162**	ER6: **90**			ER25: **32**	32
930	ER18: **253**	ER14: **344**	ER11: **255**	ER21: **78**				77
	1477	1478	938	441				

Figure 2.111. Spatial distribution of artifacts oustide of cabin.

Numerous single-vessel crossmends revealed the temporal continuity of nearly all of the site's excavated layers. Ten ceramic and glass vessels had crossmends (Figure 2.112). The ironstone pitcher linked the lower interior layers (NH5D and 5E) with an adjacent exterior patio unit (NH11A). The first clear glass vessel also included a crossmend between a lower interior layer (NH5E) and the patio (NH4A). That particular patio unit (NH4A) was linked to another patio unit (14A) by the first aqua glass vessel. Patio unit NH14A united many other patio units with multiple crossmends to NH6A, 7A, 8A, and 18A. The first amber glass crossmend indicated that NH14A also had an important link with one of the interior's upper layers (NH10C), thus uniting the western interior units both horizontally and vertically. Overall, these crossmends directly linked the following units: NH4A, 5C, 5D, 5E, 6A, 7A, 8A, 10C, 11A, 14A, and 18A. A second set of crossmends--the second aqua vessel and the second solarized amethyst vessel--brought together the units from the extreme northwest corner of the patio. They united units NH17A, 22A, and 23A. Further analyses will determine if there is any significant spatial/temporal gradient in the patio area running from east to west.

No.	Vessel	Contexts
1	Ironstone pitcher	5D, 5E, 11A
2	Whiteware plate	7A, 8A, 14A, 18A
3	Aqua glass vessel 1	4A, 14A
4	Pale green glass	5C, 5D, 5E
5	Clear glass vessel 1	4A, 5E
6	Clear glass vessel 2	6A, 14A
7	Solarized amethyst glass vessel 1	6A, 8A, 14A
8	Amber glass vessel 1	10C, 14A
9	Aqua glass vessel 2	17A, 22A, 23A
10	Solarized amethyst glass vessel 2	22A, 23A

Figure 2.112. Table of vessel crossmends from Nate Harrison site.

Form

The initial stage of classification for the Nate Harrison artifacts consisted of cataloging each of the finds into one of the seven following material categories: ceramic, fauna, flora, glass, metal, stone, and other. Nearly half of the entire assemblage is metal, and over a quarter of the artifacts are made of glass. These two material categories dominate the assemblage (Figure 2.113).

A complete list of the metal artifact forms is generated from the artifact catalog and then broken down by material type (Figure 2.114). The nails form six categories: unidentified nail fragments, horseshoe nails, machine cut nails, modern wire nails, hand wrought nails, and furniture nails.

Analysis of the glass fragments indicated that there were nearly three dozen vessels in the assemblage. Rim diagnostics suggested a minimum of 36 vessels; base diagnostics pinpointed at least 28. These vessels included a variety of alcohol, medicinal, and food storage bottles, some of which are spotlighted in the "Selected Artifacts" section of this report.

The assemblage likely contains fragments of six vessels, including one whiteware plate with flow blue decoration, two whiteware teacups, one undecorated whiteware plate, one ironstone pitcher, and one whiteware bowl.

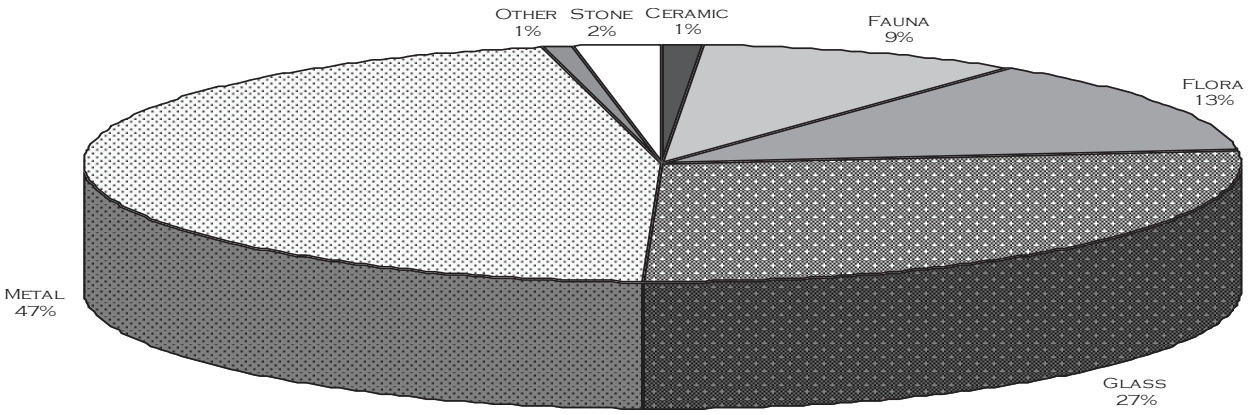


Figure 2.113. Artifact material pie chart.

Material Form	Type	Count		Material Form	Type	Count
Aglet	Alloy	1		Hook	Iron	1
Architectural Staple	Iron	41		Horseshoe fragments	Iron	8
Barbed Wire	Iron	213		Key	Iron	1
Bit	Iron	1		Lid fragments	Iron	5
Bolt	Iron	3		Nail	Alloy	4
Bottle Cap	Iron	1			Iron	494
Bucket Handle	Iron	2			Steel	16
Buckle	Brass/Iron	1		Nail/Tack	Brass	1
	Iron	4		Nickel	Alloy	1
Bullet	Lead	1		O-Ring	Alloy	2
Button	Alloy	2			Iron	8
	Iron	4		Pencil Eraser Cap	Alloy	2
	Lead	1		Pipe	Iron	1
Button/Grommet	Alloy	2			Lead	1
Can Fragments	Iron	22		Rim Fragment	Iron	3
Can Key	Iron	6		Ring	Alloy	3
Canning Jar Lid	Zinc	2			Iron	2
Cap	Alloy	3		Roofing Nail	Steel	5
Cartridge	Alloy	21		Safety Pin	Alloy	1
	Lead/Alloy	1		Screw	Alloy	1
Clasp	Alloy	2			Iron	13
Clock Back	Iron	1		Serving Spoon	Silver-plated	1
Cotter Pin	Iron	1		Shoe part	Alloy/Leather	1
Decorative ring	Alloy	1		Spike	Iron	5
Eyelet Screw	Iron	1		Square Nut	Iron	2
Ferrule	Alloy	2		Staple	Iron	2
File fragments	Iron	2		Sprinkler	Silver-plated	1
Fork	Iron	2		Strap	Iron	3
	Silver-plated	1		Tab	Iron	1
Fragments (unidentified)	Brass	1		Tack	Brass	4
	Brass/Copper	1		Tubing	Alloy	1
	Iron	1728		Unidentified Objects	Alloy	8
	Lead	1			Brass	1
	Pewter	1			Iron	32
Gear	Alloy	3		Watch Fob	Nickel	1
Grommet	Alloy	36		Wire	Alloy	1
	Iron	5			Iron	78

Figure 2.114. Table of different metal forms in assemblage.



Figure 2.115. Dr. Mallios excavates a large piece of the ironstone pitcher from NH5E, the southwest corner cabin unit.



Figure 2.116. Crossmended ironstone pitcher.

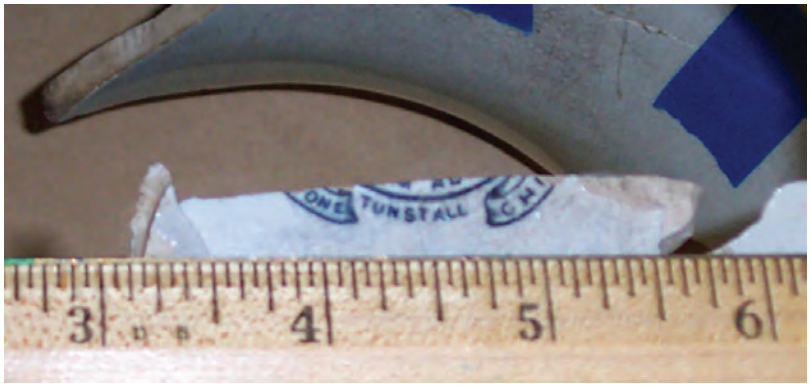


Figure 2.117. Ironstone pitcher's maker's mark.

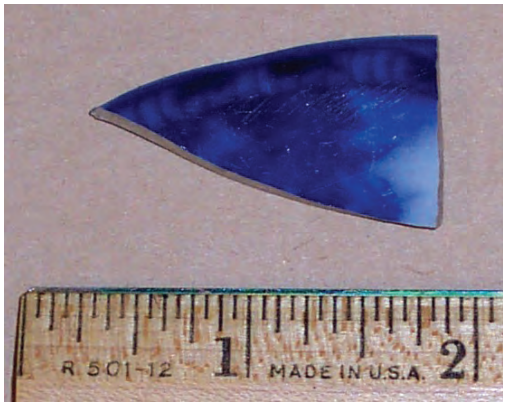


Figure 2.118. Flow Blue sherd.

2.7 Selected Artifacts

Of the 6,162 artifacts uncovered during the 2004 summer excavation season, this report spotlights a handful of the finds. These individual items were not chosen through any rigorous sampling means; they were merely selected on the basis of the interesting stories they suggest about Nate Harrison and the times and ways in which he lived. In addition, the authors endeavored to choose a diverse range of artifacts. Each year the technical report will provide summaries of the overall assemblage and detail a handful of items in this manner.

Ironstone Water Pitcher (NH5D, 5E, 11A, 18A)

Excavators uncovered many large sherds of a large Ironstone water pitcher both inside and outside of the cabin (Figure 2.115). Many of these pieces crossmended to form over half of the original form of the vessel (Figure 2.116). The pitcher is 9.0" tall, 5.1" in diameter, and ¼" thick. It dates from 1842-1930. Although the pitcher was undecorated, its base contained part of a maker's mark (Figure 2.117). The mark is incomplete, but it reads: "MAD ONE TUNSTALL CHI" and likely dates to the late 19th century. Investigations of historical catalogs have revealed the names of dozens of Tunstall potters, but as of yet, no corresponding maker's marks have been identified.

Many written stories and oral histories about Nate Harrison emphasize his water claim and how he would bring water to weary tourists traveling up the mountain by horse or car. In addition, numerous historical photos picture Harrison next to his spring. The Ironstone pitcher may have played a role in his water-delivering practices.

Flow Blue Plate Sherd (NH18A)

A small sherd from a Flow Blue plate was also uncovered at the site (Figure 2.118). It measures 1 ½" by 1" and dates from 1840-1910. The sherd's border is lightly scalloped. In addition, there appears to be a leaf below the border, suggesting that it was part of a floral pattern. Floral patterns on Flow Blue were more common during the middle and late Victorian stages, which date to 1860-80 and 1880-1910 respectively.

Leather Shoe (NH13C)

On the final day of excavation, the archaeological crew uncovered a nearly complete leather shoe from the interior fill of the cabin (Figure 2.119). Although pieces of other shoes had been excavated in other units, this shoe was by far the most complete, measuring 9" in length, 2 8/16" in height, and 3 1/6" in width. It was complete except for the front upper portion and the tongue. The shoe's iron shank is still present. The heel of the shoe is made up of many small vertical nails, most of which are intact. Some of the shoe's grommets are also still present.

Close examination of many of the historical photographs of Nate Harrison reveals that this shoe is striking similar to the footwear worn by Harrison during his time on the mountain (See Figures 2.28-2.31, 2.36, 2.38, 2.50-2.53, 2.59, 2.60, and 2.63). In addition, the smallness of the shoe—its 9" in length—corresponds with Harrison's diminutive stature in the old photos and his recorded height of 5' 3" on the 1894 voting registration form.

Murine Eye Remedy Bottle (NH8A)

One of the patio units contained a complete Murine Eye Remedy bottle in the top layer of its fill. This small bottle is 3 8/16" in height and 13/16" in diameter (Figure 2.120). It has a molded vertical seam up the sides, but the seam stops before the rim and base. The glass is clear and the side of the bottle is embossed with the letters "MURINE EYE REMEDY CHICAGO U.S.A." It also has an embossed "8" on its base.

The Murine Eye Remedy Company operated out of Chicago in the late 19th century and produced a bottled elixir that would allegedly refresh, cleanse, and strengthen overexposed eyes. These small bottles date to the last quarter of the 19th century, and the one found at the Nate Harrison site is likely from the 1890s. An advertisement for this



Figure 2.119. Sarah Stroud and Onika Miyashiro admire a leather shoe from the interior cabin fill.



Figure 2.120. Murine Eye Remedy bottle.

bottled eye tonic appears in the 1888 version of Mary Jane Holmes's *The Homestead on the Hillside*, published by G. W. Dillingham (Figures 2.121 and 2.122). The advertisement states:

Try Murine Eye Remedy
To Refresh, cleanse and Strengthen the Eye.
To Stimulate the circulation of the blood Supply which Nourishes the Eye, and Restore a Healthful Tone to Eyes Enfeebled by Exposure to Strong Winds, Dust, Reflected Sunlight and Eye Strain.
To Quickly Relieve Redness, Swelling and Inflamed Conditions.
Murine is compounded in the Laboratory of the Murine Eye Remedy Co., Chicago, by Oculists, as used for years in Private Practice, and is Safe and Pleasant in its Application to the most Sensitive Eye, or to the Eyes of a nursing Infant. Doesn't Smart.
Murine is a Reliable Relief for All Eyes that Need Care.



Figure 2.121. The Homestead on the Hillside text.

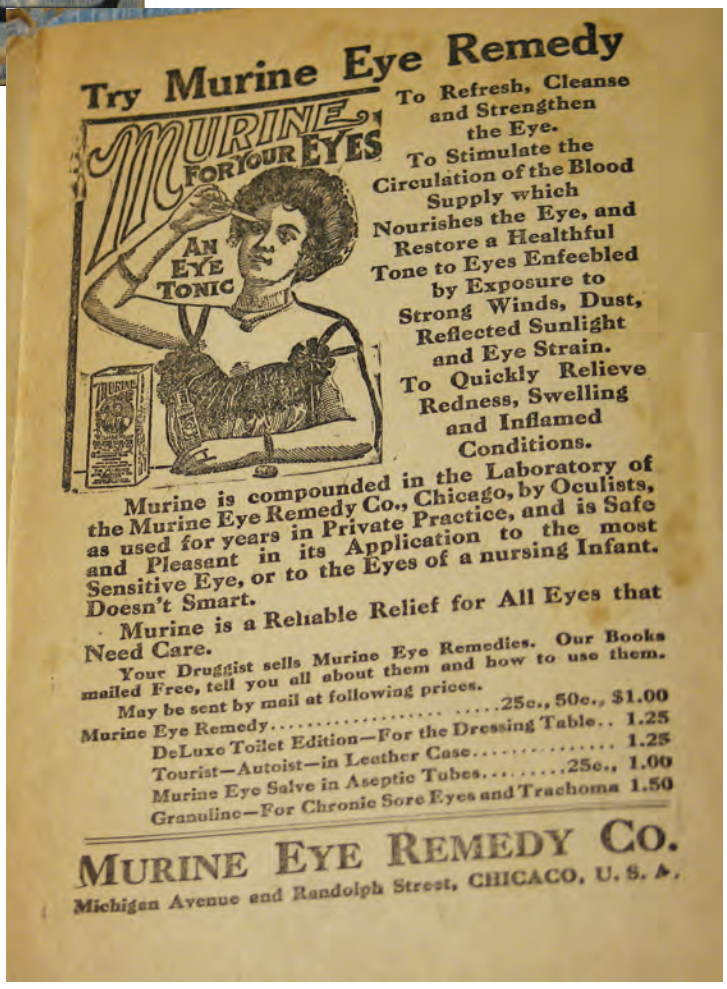


Figure 2.122. Murine Eye Remedy advertisement.



Figure 2.123. Jelly jar vessel 1.

Your Druggist sells Murine Eye Remedies. Our Books mailed
Free, tell you all about them and how to use them.
May be sent by mail at following prices.
Murine Eye Remedy.....25c., 50c., $1.00
Deluxe toilet Edition—for the Dressing Table.. 1.25
Tourist-Autoist-in Leather Case.....1.25
Murine Eye Salve in Aseptic Tubes.....25c., 1.00
Granuline-For Chronic Sore Eyes and Trachoma 1.50
MURINE EYE REMEDY CO.
Michigan Avenue and Randolph Street, CHICAGO, U.S.A.

The late 19th century advertisement lists a number of eye-straining environmental conditions that correspond with Harrison's daily life on the mountain. It specifies exposure to strong winds, dust, and intense sunlight that are commonplace atop Palomar Mountain. However, the title of the book in which the advertisement ran—*Homestead on the Hillside*—is merely an eerie coincidence. Although Harrison's cabin was a hillside homestead, the story was written in 1855 and set in the Ohio Valley.

Jelly Jar #1 (NH5E)

A fully intact jelly jar was uncovered on its side in layer NH5E of the cabin's southwest corner unit. It is 3 9/16" tall; the diameter of its mouth is 2 10/16" and its base measures 1 15/16" across (Figure 2.123). The jar is capped with an iron lid that does not maintain a complete seal. When the jar was initially recovered it was nearly half full of liquid. The liquid quickly evaporated in the lab. During the laboratory cleaning process, the jar took in water and, in turn, released water, indicating that the lid was not sealed and that the water in the jar at the time of its discovery was likely from seasonal rains at the site.

The jar is pressed glass with the only visible seam around the base of the jar. The jar has no maker's mark or other identifying marks on its base. The glass is clear with a light purple opalescent film. The jar's pattern is distinct. It has two lines that circumscribe the vessel approximately a quarter of the way down from the lip. The top line is triple the height of the bottom line. Each of the lines consists of fine vertical lines that repeat in close formation. The bottom third of the jar contains 16 large flutes that encircle the vessel base.

Excluding the complete vessel, there are at least seven additional jelly jars represented in the collection. Each of the vessels has a distinctive pattern that is distinguishable from the others, yet most resemble the form of the first jar. Jars similar to the ones uncovered at the Nate Harrison site are listed in the 1898 Sears catalog. Although the catalog's jars—called Jelly Tumblers and Jelly Jars—lack any patterns or designs, they share the same overall dimensions. The jars from the site could have had a variety of uses. Their primary function was likely storage of foodstuffs and other household items.

Gordon's Dry Gin Bottle (NH13C)

Excavators uncovered a large fragment of a Gordon's Dry Gin bottle along the interior south wall of the cabin. The sherd is 2 14/16" wide and pale green in color (Figure 2.124). The letters "GO DRY ENGLAND" are embossed on its side, and there is an illegible mark on its base (Figure 2.125). This bottle dates to the late 19th and early 20th centuries (Figure 2.126). There are multiple written accounts and oral histories of travelers bringing Harrison alcohol as gifts and paying him in liquor for the water he brought.



Figure 2.124. Gordon's Dry Gin bottle photograph.



Figure 2.125. Gordon's Dry Gin bottle sketch.



Figure 2.126. Full vessel analog for Gordon's Dry Gin bottle.

Skeleton Key (NH5A)

Less than two feet from where the front door of Harrison's cabin once stood, the archaeological crew found an iron skeleton key. It measures 3 4/16" in length and 1" wide (Figure 2.127). The key has a looped end, and its shaft may have had decorative rings. In addition, the working end of the key has diamond shaped indentations.



Figure 2.127. Skeleton key.

1916 Buffalo nickel (NH13A)

The top layer of NH13 contained a 1916 Buffalo head nickel (Figure 2.128). The coin has an Indian head, the word "Liberty," and the date on its face. On the reverse is a buffalo and the words "United States of America," "Five cents," and "S." This coin was minted in San Francisco. Buffalo head nickels were minted from 1913-1938. The 1916

production date of this coin serves as the site's *terminus post quem*. The TPQ is determined by the artifact with the latest date of production and signifies the absolute date after which the site was definitively occupied.

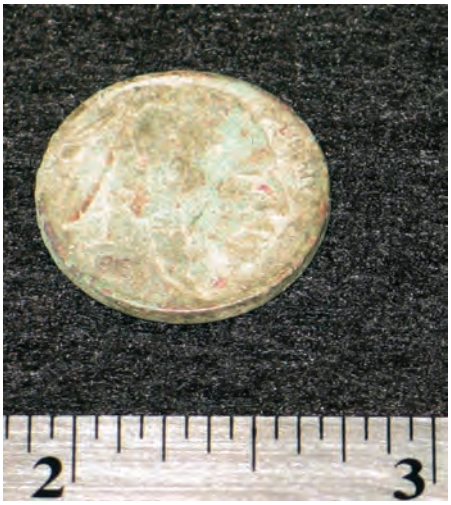


Figure 2.128. 1916 Buffalo head nickel, front.

Watch Fob (NH8A)

A nickel watch fob was found in the top layer of the patio area of the site. It is 6 8/16" long and 1 8/16" wide (Figure 2.129). The chain is not complete; it has two additional chains coming off of a hook near the finished end. In addition, each link is embossed with a pattern. Harrison is pictured in numerous old photographs with a watch fob (See Figures 2.34, 2.36, 2.38, 2.50, 2.51, and 2.60). Although none of the chains in the historical photos seem to be the exact fob recovered archaeologically, they are strikingly similar.



Figure 2.129. Watch fob.

Alarm Clock Cover Plate and Gears (NH2A, 14A, 23A)

At least four pieces to an alarm clock were found scattered across the top layer of the patio area (Figure 2.130). These included two 1 1/16" diameter gears with crimped exterior edges and five-pointed stars on their interior. There was also a main wheel 1 8/16" in diameter that has an interior switch for a smaller gear and a finished hole. The back of the alarm clock has six punched holes. Its side is attached to the back plate and its overall dimensions are 4" in diameter and 8/16" wide.

Late 19th- and early 20th-century alarm clocks frequently consisted of a series of interior gears and springs (Figure 2.131). The 1870s saw the development of the round metal case lever-escape alarm clock. The Seth Thomas Clock Company patented the small, mechanical, wind-up bedside alarm clock in 1876. Spring-driven alarm clocks became prominent in the late 1870s for their durability and size (Figure 2.132). They surged in popularity as time zones became standardized across the globe. Americans became much more aware of the need for keeping continual track of time. Harrison's omnipresent watch fob and alarm clock suggest that even though he lived in a remote frontier area, his possessions still reflected this growing concern for paying close attention to time.

Silver-Plated Silverware (NH2A)

One of the patio units adjacent to the cabin contained two pieces of silver-plated silverware, one serving spoon and one fork (Figure 2.133). The spoon, 8 4/16" long and 10/16" wide, has a rounded handle with scalloped floral



Figure 2.130. Alarm clock gears.



Figure 2.131. Example of contemporaneous alarm clock.



THE SATURDAY EVENING POST

Big Ben

A National Alarm Invented
A°. D¹. 1908 by The Western Clock Co.

PTEMBER 24, 1910 $2.50 THE COPY

BIG BEN

Life Size.

IT IS now two years since Big Ben was first designed by the Western Clock Company, a community of clockmakers founded two generations ago in the little town of La Salle, Illinois.

And with characteristic cautiousness these people have waited two years to put him out, two years of exacting tests and relentless efforts, two years of deliberate and undivided study.

There is no longer room for improvement nor need of secrecy. Big Ben is ready—selected jewelers will receive him from now on as quickly as consistent with manufacturing care.

Big Ben is a thin, beautiful and punctual sleepmeter with a silent motor that will not annoy you on your lie-awake nights and a deep musical voice that will call you on your sleepiest mornings.

Big Ben is mounted in a heavy, triple plated case, with large, strong, easy winding keys and a great open attractive face distinctly visible in the dim morning light.

There is a feeling of bigness and strength about him that you find in no other alarm. If he is oiled every other year there is no telling how long he will last.

$2.50

Sold by Jewelers only. Three Dollars in Canada.

Figure 2.132. An alarm clock advertisement from the September 24, 1910 edition of The Saturday Evening Post.



Figure 2.133. Silver-plated spoon and fork.



Figure 2.134. Matthew Werle uncovers a horseshoe.

decorations. The fork, 7 8/16" long and 1" wide, has four tines and a highly decorated fan-shaped handle. Both utensils have prominent back marks. The fork's mark is "PETERSONS R.B." The spoon reads, "S.F. ROGERS XII." At first glance, this mark seems to refer to the Rogers Brothers Company, one of the premiere silver-plated ware producers of the 19th century. However, analysis of their advertisements reveals that other companies produced many Rogers Brothers imitations during this time. The 1898 Sears catalog contains a Rogers Brothers advertisement that warns its consumers: "Do not be deceived by allowing any dealer to sell you any other Rogers' goods, claiming that they are the same or as good. These goods are all stamped '**Rogers Bros. 1847**' and no goods without that stamp are genuine" (Israel 1967:443). This disclaimer implies that the spoon found at the Harrison site is likely a cheaper imitation piece of silverware.



Figure 2.135. Horseshoe close-up.



Figure 2.136. Rubber tobacco-pipe mouthpiece.



Figure 2.137. Graphite pencil lead.

Horseshoe (NH7A)

One of the patio units also contained a fully intact horseshoe (Figure 2.134). Its rounded shape, 5 8/16" long by 5 6/16" wide, suggests that it dates to the mid- to late 1800s (Figure 2.135). The shoe is corroded and the nail holes are not visible. In addition, the top left edge is worn. Many written accounts refer to Harrison and the white horse he frequently rode around the mountain and down into the valley.

Rubber Tobacco Pipe Mouthpiece (NH13B)

Excavators uncovered one of Harrison's tobacco pipe mouthpieces in the upper layers of the cabin fill. Made of rubber, the mouthpiece is 3 4/16" long and 1" wide. The pipe mouthpiece is intact, although its square middle chamber is clogged (Figure 2.136). Harrison's pipe is evident in many of the historical photos (See Figures 2.29, 2.36, and 2.50).

Graphite Pencil Lead (NH5B)

The southwest interior corner unit of the cabin included a sharpened graphite pencil lead in its upper fill. The pencil lead is 1 9/16" long and 6/16" wide (Figure 2.137). Although many of the historical records emphasize that Harrison was illiterate, the final census on which he appeared mentioned that he could write. Perhaps this graphite pencil lead reflects the writing skills that Harrison developed late in life.

2.8 Interpretations and Conclusions

The first season of excavation at the Nate Harrison site definitively answered four of the initial questions posed at the outset of this report. The brief explanation that follows will reiterate the answers to the queries:

- ***Is this Nate Harrison's homestead?***
- ***Does the site have a date range of ca. 1850-1920 based on the archaeological remains?***
- ***Is there archaeological evidence of a pre- or post-Harrison occupation at the site?***
- ***Are the visible stones that slightly protrude out of the site area in fact remnants of the foundations to the Harrison cabin?***

The site excavated by Dr. Mallios and his SDSU crew in the summer of 2004 was undoubtedly the cabin occupied by Nate Harrison during the late 19th and early 20th centuries. Spatial, temporal, and formal analyses repeatedly verify this assertion. Historical documents pinpoint the site's geographic boundaries, and historical photographs of the cabin have a one-to-one correlation with the site's archaeologically exposed rock foundation. The chronology produced by the excavated artifacts forms a secure 1865-1916 site occupation span that is corroborated by the 1892-1920 range detailed in the historical records. There is minimal evidence of temporal contamination due to previous or subsequent occupations at the site. Many of the exhumed artifacts, like the watch fob, leather boot, and tobacco-pipe mouthpiece, have specific parallels in the historical photographs. Overall, archaeological dimensions of space, time, and form establish the excavation area as the Nate Harrison cabin site.

The fifth and final research question posed in the initial set of inquiries—"How do insights gleaned from this site compare with the established stories of Harrison's life?"—is more difficult to answer at this preliminary stage of the project. Some of the material finds are remarkably consistent with the written narratives and oral histories regarding Nate Harrison. His purported rugged frontier existence is reified by a wide variety of mismatched utilitarian goods. It is worth noting that none of the ceramics form a matching set, nor do the glass bottles or utensils. However, the material record also reveals some inconsistencies with the established narratives regarding Harrison. A few of his goods were surprisingly ornate (silver-plated silverware), and others were manufactured in cities far from his mountain cabin (Murine Eye Remedy produced in Chicago, Gordon's Gin made in London, etc.).

The first season of excavation has also raised many new questions. First and foremost is whether the exhumed materials from the site represent the total temporal occupation of the site or just the last decades of Harrison's life on the mountain. Since the patio area contained the majority of the artifacts, and since the depth of this deposit is unknown, it is impossible at this point to ascertain the time depth of the site.

The overview of the primary historical documents and photographs has also brought up a host of new issues. One goal of next year's technical report is to summarize the secondary sources that detailed Harrison's time in the region and on the mountain. Of particular interest will be his link to Lysander Utt, the man who allegedly owned Harrison when he was a slave and brought him to California.

2.9 A Final Note...

Nate Harrison is commonly referred to as the first African-American settler in San Diego County, dating as far back as 1850. The results of the historical research and preliminary archaeological excavations presented here, do not definitively place Harrison on Palomar Mountain until 1892. While it is possible that Harrison was living on the mountain earlier than this, his appearance in the 1880 census at two locations other than his own homestead on the hillside and his patent on land at Rincon in the 1870s suggest that he did not maintain a full-time residence on Palomar Mountain until at least the 1880s.

Yet Harrison's legend persists for reasons other than the date of his arrival on the mountain. The evolution of his near mythic status raises questions as to why Harrison has been so widely celebrated by San Diegans over time, especially through the historical photographs (Figure 2.138). This project has far to go before it uncovers the meaning of Harrison's popularity and his numerous photographs, but it has begun to put these images and the legend of Nate Harrison into proper archaeological context (See Balter 2005:324).



Figure 2.138. Dr. Mallios talks to the media about the Nate Harrison excavations during the archaeological open house.

PART III

An Interim Technical Report for the 2005 Field Season



Cover image 3. Jaime Lennox (left) and Gregory Jones (right) each excavate complete vessels at the Nate Harrison site.

Seth Mallios

With Contributions by Sarah Stroud, Lauren Lingley, Jaime Lennox, Hillary Sweeney, Olivia Smith, and David Caterino

Part III List of Figures

Cover image 3. Jaime Lennox (left) and Gregory Jones (right) each excavate complete vessels at the Nate Harrison site 139

Figure 3.1. 2005a field crew. From left to right, bottom to top: Gregory Jones, Matthew Tennyson, Seth Mallios, Sarah Stroud, Lauren Lingley, Stephanie Chavez, Timothy Ward, Hillary Sweeney, Olivia Smith, Consuela Hedrick, Marlo Nalven, Jamie Lennox, Misty Plotner, Jason Maywald, Donna Byczkiewicz, and Alen Kezele. 144

Figure 3.2. 2005b field crew. From left to right, bottom to top: Lauren Lingley, Seth Mallios, Josiah Walker, Sarah Stroud, Donna Byczkiewicz, Jaime Lennox, Nichelle Worthington, Hillary Sweeney, Timothy Ward, Jason Maywald, and Anamay Melmed. 144

Figure 3.3. Everett Hunt videotapes activity at the excavation site. 145

Figure 3.4. Gregory Jones, Stephanie Chavez, and Consuela Hedrick set up the laser theodolite over the site's secondary datum. 146

Figure 3.5. Anamay Melmed and Nichelle Worthington trim roots as they excavate in one of the cabin units (NH36). 147

Figure 3.6a. Table of written accounts of Nate Harrison from 1919 to 2002. 150

Figure 3.6b. Table of written accounts of Nate Harrison from 1919 to 2002. 151

Figure 3.7. Dr. Mallios gives the field school an overview of the patio-area units at the start of the 2005 summer excavation season. The patio unit Excavation-Register numbers have been superimposed on this photograph. 186

Figure 3.8. Timothy Ward, Nichelle Worthington, and Anamay Melmed excavate in the cabin. The cabin unit Excavation-Register numbers have been superimposed on this photograph. 186

Figure 3.9. Plan map of Nate Harrison site as of June 2005. 187

Figure 3.10. Excavation Register of Nate Harrison site through June 2005. 188

Figure 3.11. NH15 east wall profile map 190

Figure 3.12. NH15 plan (G) and profile (A-G) photograph; not to scale (oblique angle). 191

Figure 3.13. NH5 north wall profile map. 192

Figure 3.14. NH5 north wall photograph 192

Figure 3.15. NH5 east wall profile map. 193

Figure 3.16. NH5 east wall photograph 193

Figure 3.17. NH5 south wall profile map. 194

Figure 3.18. NH5 south wall photograph 194

Figure 3.19. NH5 west wall profile map. 195

Figure 3.20. NH5 west wall photograph 195

Figure 3.21. NH10 north wall profile map. 196

Figure 3.22. NH10 north wall photograph 196

Figure 3.23. NH10 east wall profile map. 197

Figure 3.24. NH10 east wall photograph 197

Figure 3.25. NH10 south wall profile map. 198

Figure 3.26. NH10 south wall photograph 198

Figure 3.27. NH10 west wall profile map. 199
Figure 3.28. NH10 west wall photograph 199
Figure 3.29. NH10E rock layer. 200
Figure 3.30. NH12 north wall profile map. 201
Figure 3.31. NH12 north wall photograph 201
Figure 3.32. NH12 east wall profile map. 202
Figure 3.33. NH12 east wall photograph 202
Figure 3.34. NH12 south wall profile map 203
Figure 3.35. NH12 south wall photograph 203
Figure 3.36. NH12 west wall profile map. 204
Figure 3.37. NH12 west wall photograph 204
Figure 3.38. NH13 north wall profile map. 205
Figure 3.39. NH13 north wall photograph 205
Figure 3.40. NH13 east wall profile map. 206
Figure 3.41. NH13 east wall photograph 206
Figure 3.42. NH13 south wall profile map 207
Figure 3.43. NH13 south wall photograph 207
Figure 3.44. NH13 west wall profile map. 208
Figure 3.45. NH13 west wall photograph 208
Figure 3.46. NH16E (ash lens) plan photograph 209
Figure 3.47. Overall shot of cabin and immediately adjacent patio, emphasizing unity of space at the site. 211
Figure 3.48. Artifact cleaning at the nearby modern-day guest cottage. 212
Figure 3.49. Artifact date ranges from the 2005 field season. 214
Figure 3.50. Spatial distribution of artifacts in new patio units depicting increase in frequency to the north and west of patio. 215
Figure 3.51. Pario Area II had high quantities of faunal remains, including the deer mandible, excavated by Hillary Sweeney 215
Figure 3.52. Pie chart of artifact frequencies for Patio Area I (NH1-4, 6-9, 11, 14-15, 17-18, 21-23). 216
Figure 3.53. Pie chart of artifact frequencies for Patio Area II (NH26-35) 216
Figure 3.54. Nichelle Worthington Excavating the 1899 Barber Quarter. 217
Figure 3.55. 1899 Barber quarter, front. 218
Figure 3.56. 1899 Barber quarter, back. 218
Figure 3.57. Close-up of in situ 1907 one-cent coin. 219
Figure 3.58. 1907 Indian Head one-cent coin, front 219
Figure 3.59. 1907 Indian Head one-cent coin, back 219
Figure 3.60. Cardboard jigsaw puzzle piece. 220
Figure 3.61. Gregory Jones encountering the Welch's grape-juice bottle in the first few inches of NH30B. 221
Figure 3.62. Welch's grape juice bottle. 221

Figure 3.63. Close-up of Owen's mark on grape juice bottle. 221
Figure 3.64. Portrait of Dr. Thomas B. Welch. 223
Figure 3.65. 1914 advertisment for Welch's Grape Juice. 223
Figure 3.66. Cross-mended whiskey/brandy bottle fragments. 224
Figure 3.67. Image of complete Schlesinger and Bender vessel from BLM website. 224
Figure 3.68. Photograph of Mason jar base with embossed lettering. 225
Figure 3.69. Line-art drawing of Mason jar base. 225
Figure 3.70. Rowley Mason jar patent. 226
Figure 3.71. Drawing that accompanied Rowley's 1867 patent. 226
Figure 3.72. Photograph of J.T. & A. Hamilton bottle base. 226
Figure 3.73. Line-art drawing of J.T. & A. Hamilton bottle base. 226
Figure 3.74. Photo of Boldt Glass Company bottle bases. 227
Figure 3.75. Line-art drawing of Boldt Glass Company bottle bases. 227
Figure 3.76. In situ sheep shears. 228
Figure 3.77. Sheep shears found under the Kirby guest house patio. 229
Figure 3.78. Close-up photograph of battleaxe maker's mark on Kirby sheep shears. 229
Figure 3.79. Close-up photograph of crown-and-shield maker's mark on Kirby sheep shears. 229
Figure 3.80. 1897 Sears, Roebuck & Co. catalog listing for sheep shears. 229
Figure 3.81. Tile whetstone. 230
Figure 3.82. The three rubber and one bone tobacco-pipe mouth pieces found during the summer of 2005. 231
Figure 3.83. Oil lamp burner. 232
Figure 3.84. Complete antique oil lamp. 232
Figure 3.85. During the public open house at the end of the 2005 summer field season, Dr. Mallios discusses the parallels between various historical documents concerning Nate Harrison and the artifacts exhumed at the site. 233



Figure 3.1. 2005a field crew. From left to right, bottom to top: Gregory Jones, Matthew Tennyson, Seth Mallios, Sarah Stroud, Lauren Lingley, Stephanie Chavez, Timothy Ward, Hillary Sweeney, Olivia Smith, Consuela Hedrick, Marlo Nalven, Jamie Lennox, Misty Plotner, Jason Maywald, Donna Byczkiewicz, and Alen Kezele.



Figure 3.2. 2005b field crew. From left to right, bottom to top: Lauren Lingley, Seth Mallios, Josiah Walker, Sarah Stroud, Donna Byczkiewicz, Jaime Lennox, Nichelle Worthington, Hillary Sweeney, Timothy Ward, Jason Maywald, and Anamay Melmed.

3.1 Acknowledgments

The second season of summer excavation at the Nate Harrison site relied on the generosity and diligence of many individuals. Our debt of gratitude starts with Jamey and Hannah Kirby. Without their continued support and dedication, this project would not flourish. In addition, we are indebted to the 2005 field school students. As a group, Donna Byczkiewicz, Stephanie Chavez, Consuela Hedrick, Gregory Jones, Alan Kezele, Jaime Lennox, Lauren Lingley, Jason Maywald, Anamay Melmed, Marlo Nalven, Misty Plotner, Olivia Smith, Hillary Sweeney, Matthew Tennyson, Josiah Walker, Timothy Ward, and Nichelle Worthington were indefatigable workers and delightful campmates (Figures 3.1 and 3.2). In addition to the usual challenges of summer archaeological fieldwork—oppressive heat, relentless bugs, and poisonous snakes— this crew also endured a frantic fire evacuation. The Kirbys' nephew, Everett Hunt, periodically lent a hand in excavation and kept the rattlers at bay (Figure 3.3). Lauren, Olivia, Timothy, Hillary, Jaime, and Sarah together contributed hundreds of hours to the washing, labeling, sorting, and mending of the artifact assemblage.



Figure 3.3. Everett Hunt videotapes activity at the excavation site.

This project also benefited from many faculty and staff members at San Diego State University. Anthropology Department Administrative Coordinator Kathleen Peck, Anthropology Department Chair Phil Greenfeld, College of Arts and Letters Dean Paul Wong, and Provost Nancy Marlin have each helped to make these archaeological excavations a success. Dr. Cecil Munsey graciously forwarded the information on historical beverages and elixirs to Dr. Mallios. And finally, we also wish to thank the local San Diego County community for their willingness to embrace a more complete picture of the past that only archaeology can produce.



Figure 3.4. Gregory Jones, Stephanie Chavez, and Consuela Hedrick set up the laser theodolite over the site's secondary datum.

3.2 Introduction

The Nate Harrison Historical Archaeology Project is an ongoing research endeavor that investigates documents and materials of the past that pertain to the life and times of legendary San Diego pioneer Nate Harrison. It is also a unique training ground for archaeology students who want to learn firsthand the methodologies of active fieldwork (Figures 3.4 and 3.5). Summer field excavations began in 2004 and are tentatively scheduled to continue through the end of the decade. Harrison was a local pioneer who has achieved near-mythical status in the decades since his passing. The archaeological project detailed here attempts to appreciate the intricacies of his daily life on the frontier and to understand how and why Harrison has been apotheosized over the years.



Figure 3.5. Anamay Melmed and Nichelle Worthington trim roots as they excavate in one of the cabin units (NH36).

The report presented here is a continuation of the 2004 interim technical report. These documents are both available on the web at: http://www-rohan.sdsu.edu/~histarch. In an effort to reduce redundancy and to demonstrate how archaeological research is cumulative, the 2005 report begins where the 2004 report left off. The Nate Harrison Historical Archaeology Project continues to employ the same core research design, field methods, and laboratory techniques detailed in the 2004 report. In the instances when a new methodology was used, this report will explain how and why the change was made.

Whereas the 2004 report listed Harrison's contemporaneous historical records, like his homestead certificate, voter registration, death certificate, etc., the 2005 report provides the first- and second-hand narrative accounts written within forty years of his passing that offer insight into Harrison's life. Like the 2004 report, the 2005 report then discusses the excavation results from the past summer field season (2005). It includes a detailed stratigraphic summary and analysis and showcases a select group of recently discovered artifacts. In synthesizing the second year of historical and archaeological work on the Nate Harrison Historical Archaeology Project, this annual publication serves as the 2005-2006 interim technical report.

3.3 Historical Narratives

First- and Second-Hand Written Histories of Nate Harrison

Numerous written accounts of Nate Harrison's life and legend exist. This report focuses more on listing the histories than evaluating and interpreting the details offered in each account. In addition, no new interviews have been incorporated into this summary. The written accounts, summarized and then listed in their entirety below, come from a wide variety of sources, including unpublished histories, newspaJ47per and magazine articles, books, and electronic documents. This report deals with written narratives from the forty years following Harrison's 1920 passing. They range in date from October 22, 1919—which is contemporaneous with Harrison—to 1960. The 2006 technical report will present the written accounts of Harrison from 1961 to the 2004 start of this project (Figure 3.6). (Stories that have been written since the start of the excavation, including those written about the Nate Harrison Historical Archaeology Project are not included in either summary.) The narratives presented here are discussed in the order written. Since some of the narratives do not have explicit dates attributed to them, this report attempts to ascertain the date they were written by internal details. For example, an account that mentions Harrison's memorial cairn must post-date its 1924 placement on the Nate Harrison Grade.

The written accounts have not been edited; they are presented in their original form. As a result, various racially offensive terms appear repeatedly in the text. The authors of this report sincerely regret if any readers are upset by these insensitive racial epithets. Nonetheless, historical accuracy is privileged here over revisionism. Ethnic identity and definitions of community are central to this project, and, consequently, the historical texts are presented in their original words that offer insight into these complex issues.

J. H. Heath, "Aged Negro, Owner of Mountain Spring, Enters County Hospital For the Remainder of His Days," *The San Diego Union* (October 22, 1919)

Heath wrote a newspaper article for the *San Diego Union* in 1919 that reported Harrison's departure from Palomar Mountain. The article included an image of Harrison wearing a stocking cap and sitting on his patio (Escondido Historical Society Image #4/San Diego Historical Society Image #3). The caption to the photograph is: "Photograph of 'N----r Nate,' as he is called, in most friendly spirit, by many many people who have known him for years as the owner of a spring of good water on Palomar mountain grade."

The page 8 article reads as follows:

> "Aged Negro, Owner of Mountain Spring, Enters County Hospital For the Remainder of His Days: For Nearly Half a Century He Was Wont to Welcome Travelers on Palomar.
>
> The aged colored man whose name is Nathanial Harrison, but who is known to thousands of people simply as 'N----r Nate,' for more than 40 years owner of the only dependable spring for the entire length of the long grade on the east side of Palomar mountain, has, through the intervention of Ed Quinlan and other friends, been taken to the county hospital, where he probably will pass the rest of his days.
>
> Mr. Quinlan, who is a retired locomotive engineer of the Santa Fe railway, and who is a frequent visitor to Palomar mountain, found the veteran colored man in a deplorable condition on his last visit there, actually suffering for want of suitable food and clothing. In a short letter to The Union, Mr. Quinlan, out of the kindness of his heart, states the facts as he had learned them, the result being that Supervisor Westfall of the fifth district, upon notification and investigation, promptly arranged for the removal.
>
> Unable to Walk
>
> Mr. Quinlan discovered that the poor fellow, no longer able to walk on account of the infirmities of age, was obliged to crawl around in his miserable cabin on the mountainside, distant from the highway about half a mile and out of sight of passersby. His clothing was in tatters and he had little

Mean Date	Date Range	Author	Title	Source	Collection	Report
1919	1919	Heath	Aged Negro, Owner of Mountain Spring	San Diego Union	SDSU	2005
1931	1931	Bartlett	Uncle Nate of Palomar	Touring Topics	Kirby	2005
1932	1932	Davis	32-B Nate Harrison	Unpublished	SDHS:Wade	2005
1933	1933	Heath	Where Trees and Shade...	San Diego Union	SDSU	2005
1937	1937	Wood	The First White Man on the Mountain	Palomar Teepee to Telescope	SDSU	2005
1937	1937	Davidson	Place Names in San Diego	San Diego Evening Tribune	SDHS	2005
1938	1938	Davis	Palomar Moutain History	Unpublished	SDHS:Wade	2005
1938	1938	Anonymous	West Palomar Grade May Be Abandoned	San Diego Union	Kirby	2005
1940	1935-1945	Taye	Palomar Mountain State Park	History of California State Parks	SDHS:Wade	2005
1941	1932-1950	Asher	Manuscripts of Robert Asher	Unpublished	SDHS:Wade	2005
1947	1924-1970	Fink	Nigger Nate	Unpublished	SDHS	2005
1951	1951	Rucker	Nigger Nate Saga Mountain Memory	Local newspaper	Kirby	2005
1952	1952	Rush	The Story of 'Nigger Nate'	Southern California Rancher	SDSU	2005
1958	1958	Anonymous	Palomar Mountain	Unpublished	Kirby	2005
1958	1958	Beckler	Nathan Harrison	Palomar Mountain Past and Present	SDSU	2005
1958	1958	James	Palomar's Friendly Hermit	SDHSQ	SDHS	2005
1959	1959	Hastings	An Interview with Adalind Bailey	Unpublished	SDHS	2005
1959	1959	Hastings	An Interview with Louis Salmons	Unpublished	SDHS	2005
1960	1960	Hastings	An Interview with Harry Jones	Unpublished	SDHS	2005
1960	1960	Hastings	An Interview with Joseph Reece	Unpublished	SDHS	2005
1960	1950-70	Lockwood	Palomartians	Fallout from the Skeleton's Closet	SCIC	2006
1962	1962	Bryson	Oldtimers Recall Negro	San Diego Union Tribune	SDSU	2006
1962.2	1955-1970	Fleischer	Short History of Nathan Harrison	Unpublished	Kirby	2006
1962.5	1956-1969	Craine	Nathan Harrison	Unpublished	Kirby	2006
1963.5	1952-75	Bostic	Nathan Harrison Early Settler	Unpublished	SDHS	2006
1966	1966	Strain	Palomar Mountain State Park	Unpublished	SDHS:Wade	2006
1971	1971	Perkins	Wayside Shrine honors former slave	Daily Times-Advocate	Kirby	2006
1972	1972	Stone	Palomar Pioneer's Body Rests	San Diego Union	Kirby	2006
1972	1972	Anonymous	Pioneer's Grave To Have Marker	Local newspaper	Kirby	2006
1972	1972	Perkins	North County nuggets: Marker Placed	Daily Times-Advocate	Kirby	2006
1974	1974	Carlton	Blacks in San Diego County	Journal of San Diego History	Kirby	2006
1976	1976	Perkins	Native of North County	Daily Times-Advocate	Kirby	2006

Figure 3.6a. Table of written accounts of Nate Harrison from 1919 to 2002.

Mean Date	Date Range	Author	Title	Source	Collection	Report
1977	1977	Carlton	Blacks in San Diego County	Unpublished thesis	SDSU	2006
1978	1978	Kelly	Return to the Mountain	San Diego Union	Kirby	2006
1981	1981	Madyun and Malone	Black Pioneers in San Diego	Journal of San Diego History	SDSU	2006
1981	1981	Melvin	Correspondence #1	Unpublished	Kirby	2006
1981	1981	Day	Interview with Bessie Ormsby Helsel	Unpublished	Kirby	2006
1981	1981	Melvin	Correspondence #2	Unpublished	Kirby	2006
1981	1981	Melvin	Correspondence #3	Unpublished	Kirby	2006
1981	1981	Melvin	Correspondence #4	Unpublished	Kirby	2006
1981	1981	Day and Melvin	Interview with Chris Forbes	Unpublished	Kirby	2006
1981	1981	Melvin	Correspondence #5	Unpublished	Kirby	2006
1981	1981	Day	Interview with Max Peters	Unpublished	Kirby	2006
1981	1981	Day	Interview with Jim Wood	Unpublished	Kirby	2006
1982	1982	Melvin	Correspondence #6	Unpublished	Kirby	2006
1982	1982	Anonymous	Pillar of Palomar	Daily Times-Advocate	Kirby	2006
1982	1982	Melvin	Correspondence #7	Unpublished	Kirby	2006
1986	1986	Anonymous	North County Yesterday	Daily Times-Advocate	Kirby	2006
1986	1972-2000	Anonymous	Gathering to mark slave era	Local newspaper	Kirby	2006
1990	1980-2000	Lynch	Try It Again, Sam	The Front Page	Kirby	2006
1993	1993	Anonymous	Historic Quotes	Daily Times-Advocate	Kirby	2006
1995	1990-2000	Bevil	San Diego Biographies: Nathan Harrison	SDHS website	SDHS	2006
1998	1998	Yamaguchi	Black history and the U. S. Census	Fallbrook Historical Society	FHS	2006
1998	1998	Helsel	Ormsby Story	Village News	Kirby	2006
1998	1998	Ross	Making the Grade	Valley Roadrunner	Kirby	2006
2000	2000	Palmer	Out of This World at Mt. Hope	San Diego Reader	SDSU	2006
2002	2002	Anonymous	Front Pages: Did You Know?	San Diego Magazine	Kirby	2006

Figure 3.6b. Table of written accounts of Nate Harrison from 1919 to 2002.

to eat. Rats and mice were making sad havoc with his soiled bedding. For months 'N----r Nate' had not been able to get from his shack and spring on the mountainside to the watering trough by the side of the grade, as he had been wont to do every day for many, many years.

Hundreds of San Diegans will recall the cordial greeting which the old man extended as they walked and rode on their pilgrimage up the grade in the days of transportation with horses and wagons. It was his custom to wend his way down the grade to 'Lookout Rock,' as it was called, from which he could see the coming of people for miles along the grade, and when they reached him he would leave his lookout rock and walk or ride with them to the watering trough under the shade trees.

Welcomed Travelers

It was customary in those days to make an extended stop at 'N----r Nate's' in order to give the people and the horses a chance to rest before negotiating the balance of the climb. Refreshments, and many times 'a square meal,' were the order of the day, and in either of which the jolly old colored man always shared. It was he who welcomed the coming of the people and who bade them godspeed in departing. Thousands have been cheered by his simple optimism and he will be especially remembered by the children of the camping parties to whom he was greatly attached. Acquaintance with the genial old soul was quickly formed and was invariably lasting.

Rt. Rev. Bishop H. B. Restarick of Honolulu, for many years rector of St. Paul's Episcopal church in San Diego, was a staunch friend of Mr. Harrison, always in his trips to the mountain remembering him with provisions and clothing. Hundreds of others also remembered him the same way, including the Mendenhalls, Baileys and other permanent residents of the mountain.

Many of these would gladly have come to his aid if their attention had been called to his condition, due to the fact that he had been unable to get from his cabin to the roadside and hence was forgotten by most people, who wondered as they passed that way if the famous old character had been called hence.

Waves Last Salute

When told they had come with an automobile to take him to the county hospital, where he would be made comfortable and not have to worry about things to eat and clothes to wear, he said that he would gladly go. As he was seated in the automobile he waved a last salute to the trees and rocks of the rugged mountainside which had known him for nearly half a century.

The story is that Mr. Harrison, who before the Civil War was a slave, came into northern San Diego county soon after the negroes of the south were freed. He became the husband of an Indian woman of the La Jolla reservation, located on the east side of Palomar Mountain, and the father of several children. Years later the woman died and 'N----r Nate' decided to leave the reservation. With the assistance of friends he filed upon 12 acres of land on the mountain, which has since been his home. The 12 acres included the fine spring.

He has raised cattle and bees and in earlier years he worked for the various ranchers of the mountain. He was sober and industrious and was held in high esteem. For many years he has been kindly cared for by the people on the mountain and of various parts of San Diego county."

Virginia Stivers Bartlett, "Uncle Nate of Palomar" (October, 1931)

Bartlett's article for *Touring Topics*, the Automobile Club of Southern California's original member magazine, discussed the burgeoning legend of Nate Harrison. *Touring Topics*, first published in 1909, later changed its name to *Westways* in the 1930s. It was fitting that a driving magazine would spotlight Harrison as his steep grade was quite a lure for adventurous drivers of the early 1900s. A copy of this article is part of the Kirby collection.

The article contains four images. The first is of Nate Harrison sitting on his patio; it is the same as Escondido Historical Society Image #4. Its caption states: "Nathaniel Harrison, the Kentucky negro, is regarded as the first 'white man' to settle in the back country of San Diego County, and about him has grown a considerable legend." The second image depicts a man standing in front of Harrison's cabin after Harrison had passed. It is likely

contemporary with the writing of the article (1931), but was taken before the cabin was purportedly leveled in the 1930s. The caption to this image reads: "Upon the pine-clad slopes of Palomar Mountain, Uncle Nate built this rude shack which he made his home for many years." The third image is of the monument dedicated to Harrison at the top of the grade. Its caption states: "This rough cairn stands monument to Uncle Nate Harrison, on the heights of Palomar Mountain." The fourth photograph is a panoramic view of rural Temecula with Palomar Mountain in the background. Its caption reads: "Palomar Mountain (6126 feet) is a familiar landmark of San Diego's back country. In the photograph below its bulk looms dimly over the shacks of Temecula in Pichanga Canyon. Uncle Nate, a pioneer of '48, by his own commission, made the friendly mountain his home. Photo by C. C. Pierce."

The article also contains a brief editor's note. It states:

"BELOVED RECLUSE of the mountains

REMOVED from man's traveled ways, and yet not alone for he had the comradeship of the wild things, Nathaniel Harrison lived for seventy-two years in the eerie Eden of Palomar Mountain, 'the first white man' of Palomar. He came to California a slave. In his highland fastness he gained his liberty—even from work, won the friendship of neighbors near and far, and contributed vastly to the color of a pioneer community."

Bartlett's entire article reads as follows:

"UNCLE NATE of Palomar: The entertaining story of the carefree life of Nathaniel Harrison, a negro, but known as 'the first white man' to live on Palomar Mountain

'*If I were to tell you the story of Napoleon, I should take it from the lips of Frenchmen, who find no language rich enough to paint the great captain of the Nineteenth Century. Were I to tell you the story of Washington, I would take it from your hearts, you who think no marble white enough on which to carve the name of the Father of his country. But I am to tell you the story of a Negro, who has left hardly on written line….*'

UNLIKE Wendell Phillips, who had to glean the story of Toussaint L'Ouverture, the negro leader of Haiti, from the reluctant lips of his enemies, men who despised him as a negro and slave, and hated him because he had beaten them in battle, I have the story of N----r Nate from the friendly lips of ranchers on Palomar Mountain, who loved him because he was human and friendly.

It was spring on the Palomar, in the County of San Diego, cradle of California. All day we had ridden through the fields of flowers, followed green watercourses and mustard-bounded roads through the Valley of the San Luis Rey. We passed the mission that gave the valley its name, then the humble red tiles and *campanario* of the Asistencia San Antonio de Pala. Again and again we raised our eyes from the willow-mirroring waters of the San Luis Rey River to the looming purple bulk of Palomar Mountain. Palomar (the dove cote) named for the great flocks of wild pigeons that visited the region in other days, coming in such great flocks that they bore to earth the sturdy, ancient branches of oaks and sycamores where they rested.

By sunset we were at the great Pauma Rancho. The aster of the rancho, a transplanted Kentuckian well known in San Diego as 'Jack', awaited us with a barbecued dinner. We fell upon the beef, charred with oak wood, the *frijoles*, and coffee.

Even repletion and weariness could not keep our eyes from constantly seeking Palomar Mountain. Below us the Pauma Valley curled, with symmetrical fields of tiny bean shoots, young grain, and wildflowers tessellating it, cut by the swift flowing Pauma Creek. Then the mountain soared more than 6000 feet toward the sky, a very old mountain, eroded by ages into soft contours; friendly and accessible in spite of its height. Sunset poured over Palomar, an indescribable pageant. Wood smoke, odor of oaks, pungency of pines mingled with the biting smoke from hand-rolled cigarettes.

When it was dark, we wandered down the Cañon de los Tecolotes, (canyon of the night owls). It was perfectly still except for the moving of a stream, and the chuckling of the night owls.

'Now I understand, Jack,' I said, 'why you are never lonely, though you say your nearest neighbor is ten miles away.'

He knocked his pipe against the heel of his boot, and carefully killed all the little red coals with a rancher's respect for fire.

'No one could ever be lonely here. N----r Nate, the first white man on Palomar lived here about eighty years, and he was never lonely'

'*N----r* Nate . . . the first *white* man?"

Jack chuckled.

'Well, that's what he always called himself, and no one ever disputed him. He was the first man not an Indian to live in these parts. The Spanish-Californians never lived up here; they stayed around the mission, and in San Diego. But Nate had a cabin on the mountain, near a spring. Why, there's a monument to his memory now.'

A monument! My mind's eye saw other monuments scattered through California, honoring the State's immortals. Tusitala's galleon in Portsmouth Square in San Francisco; Father Junípero, serene on the headlands above the Bay of Monterey, the stone marker to the Donner party on Donner Lake, another marker on Frémont's trail over the mountains into Santa Barbara; the majestic Pioneer Mother at Ontario, Stephen White on the green courthouse lawn in Los Angeles. A noble company, a goodly company. And among them a monument to a negro, an unknown negro.

I was about to frame more questions, but my host anticipated me.

'We'll start early in the morning and go there, then you can see the place for yourself.'

About five the next morning the sun rose over Palomar. The morning was misty, the colors glorious. Below the peaks, a herd of little white clouds moved unhurriedly southward, like white woolly sheep stealing across the slopes that shone so green in the early morning light. In the trees over the ranch house a thousand birds woke with clamor—mountain towhees, wrens, linnets, golden orioles, and curious birds coming north from such strange places as the valley of Comondú in Baja California. And such sweet odors! But the spice of bacon and coffee overcame everything else.

As we left, our host pointed away across the valley, narrowing his eyes. 'About half way down that grade you see zig-zagging there, stands N----r Nate's. We'll be there directly.'

'Directly' evidently meant several hours.

We passed through many Indian reservations, Yuema, Pauma, Portrero, La Jolla, Rincon, with their scattered hidden adobes, where many lived under one sagging roof; there were tiny government schools, herding their dark broods like small hens with too abundant families.

There was a single gasoline station, but because a picturesque Indian was sitting on a pony at the pump, we forgave it its unfortunate existence. The Indians seems very happy in Pauma Valley. They raise corn, cattle, grain, "and plenty *frijoles* and *niños*,' said our host. We saw them frequently riding on horseback, in crazy buggies, or crazier Fords, working in the fields, or just doing nothing.

Rising higher, we looked down on green meadows, spotted with red dodder, that strangling parasite, called sometimes the matrimony weed. We could see the roofs of the adobes, and on a slope a little graveyard, the apotheosis of desolation. Higher and higher we climbed, through the bull pine, sugar pine, red cedar, balsam, canyon oaks, with their sweet acorns, so dear to the Indian palate; clumps of frothing white and lavender mountain lilac, *cascara sagrada*, and red manzanita.

Then we were at the summit of Palomar. The country stretched below us, mountains to the north, desert to the east, Mexico to the south, the hazy Pacific to the west.

A few breathless moments at the peak of Palomar, then down a grade called N----r, a narrow steep trail that doubles on itself endlessly on the mountain side.

At last we stopped suddenly at a little monument, oddly foreign yet strangely suitable in its wild setting. I thought it was a tomb, but it marks no grave. It is a cenotaph in the mountain solitude. White quartz and granite, roughly cut, form the monument, which is about five feet high. In a niche is a copper plate, with the words:

Nathaniel Harrison's Spring
Brought Here a Slave About 1848
Died October 10, 1920

Aged 101 Years
A Man's a Man for a' That

A few feet away is the spring, now cemented over, and from which an old fashioned pump, with a little priming brings clear, cold water.

Clambering a little way up the mountain side, we found the cabin of N----r Nate. It is not like a miner's cabin, nor the shacks of cattlemen or sheepherders. Any one from Dixie would see it and say, 'a darkey's shack!' It looks as though it might have been brought sticks, stones, and mud for the chinking straight from Nate's birthplace, Kentucky, and set up on one of the West's oldest mountains. Nate built its one room, twelve feet square, with its door and window, himself, and the weird, rambling fireplace that looks like an Arthur Rackham illustration for a haunted house. Once it was covered with a shake roof, but that has fallen in during the rains and suns of a decade that has passed, since its dusky owner left it.

The ridge pole of sycamore is still in place and from it hangs an old shovel handle, with a dangling collection of rusty wire hooks. These once supported Nate's flour, sugar, bacon, and surely 'cawn meal', and kept them out of reach of the thieving pack rats. Forlornly empty they rattle harshly in the sweet mountain breeze. No edibles about now to tempt the hungry little wood creatures. But I saw the hind leg of a rabbit in the fireplace. Did Nate cut off the magic hind foot, and carry it away with him when the white folks took him away from his cabin, and down the mountain? For that's what they did. . . .

The first negro to approach California, without actually reaching here, was Estevanico, or Little Steve, an Arabian negro from Azamora on the Atlantic coast of Morocco. He came with Cabeza de Vaca in search of the Seven Cities of Cibola, and found death at the hands of the Zuñi Indians who called him the 'black Mexican with the chile lips'. Whether they called him that because his lips were red like chiles, or that they were swollen from eating chiles there is no way of knowing.

Negro blood began trickling into California with the first white blood. According to the Franciscan historian, Palóu, the first Christian burial with the rites of the Holy Catholic Church in California, was given to a dead man with negro blood.

A street in San Francisco is named Leidesdorff, for William Alexander Leidesdorff, once vice-consul of Mexico in earliest American days, a diplomat and man of affairs. He owned the first steamship to pass through the Golden Gate. Leidesdorff was the son of a Danish sugar planter, and a mulatress, and was born on the Island of Saint Croix.

The linseed oil, and paint which colored the bear of the Bear Flag was filched by one John Grider, negro, and member of the Bear Flag party. Other negroes who played their parts in California history were William Robinson, and George Moore, who were pony express riders.

In 1855 the first colored convention was held in Sacramento. There were members from all over the State, and as there was no rapid mail, word of African activities were transmitted via the barber chair, as every barber in those days was a negro. Peter Beggs of Los Angeles was a well known member of the fraternity, and has been mentioned by at least two distinguished historians, Major Horace Bell, and Judge Benjamin Hayes.

There is one other California negro who distinguished himself for writing a poem, which was published in the '70s [1870s]. He signed himself 'Jeams', and called his poem *My Razor*.

A thunderbolt from Heaven sent,
When angels warred against their god,
Fell on the summit of Mount Atlas,
And Hercules tore it from the sod;
Vulcan, the mythological smith,
From a small spark this razor made,
And Venus, who admired their work,
Smiling sweetly, kissed the blade.

In 1850 the colored census of the new State of California was 962. Of these 872 were men; 870 of these were in six Northern California counties. That meant that one negro for Los Angeles County, and one negro-at-large who could have been N----r Nate.

But never a mention of Nathaniel Harrison do I find among Negro records. It is said that he came in 1848, with Frémont's Battalion. That is doubtful. But he undoubtedly came with some expedition either as a camp follower, or as a body guard to some officer. His reason for coming to California he never told anyone. 'Give Uncle Nate a drink,' our host said, 'and he would tell you more about the county than anyone in it. But never a word about himself.'

Was he a runaway slave, believing he would find California a foreign country where there was no slavery? Did he run away to the mountain of Palomar when he found his status unchanged in a country that was publishing advertisements for runaway slaves? Had he committed some crime, great or petty, which he was afraid to confide to anyone? He was a young man when he came to California in '1848,' according to his memorial, and it is unnatural for the young negro to flee the haunts of men, where he might contact people of his own race . . . the gregarious darkey, who loves, 'folks an' comp'ny'.

But a fugitive from something or someone he certainly was, and where, in those days or in these, could a fugitive find more remote or safer sanctuary than on friendly Palomar?

He perhaps came with one of the parties that traveled by the southern route stopping at Warner's Ranch, and ran away from there to Doane Valley, that beautiful mountain meadow on Palomar, fringed with the greatest pines south of the Tehachapi, abounding in deer, pumas, bear, and trout streams, where wild azaleas, lilac, giant ferns, and tiger lilies bloom in the summer. It was a nameless spot, except for a possible Indian name. Years later two brothers, named Doane, homesteaded there. They lived for years without speaking, in cabins a few feet apart, because of some bitter quarrel. N----r Nate did not homestead there. Years before he passed he homesteaded his eighty acres on N----r Grade. Was it because he thought himself still a slave? And did some wayfarer meet him, and tell him of the Civil War, and the Emancipation Proclamation?

Did that open a new life to him? For he came at last out of hiding, or was driven out by the snows, that kept him prisoner one long winter. Then he found his spring, and built his cabin. Gradually a few white ranchers settled on the mountain, and in Pauma Valley. These became his friends. From Lookout Point, near his cabin, he would look down on the trail he had made, and see a horseman coming up the grade, or a wagon clucking up the mountain.

And when the traveler arrived he would find Uncle Nate grinning happily, with a brimming pail of water for man and beast. They would gossip together, and drink perhaps a stronger water than came from the spring. Everyone brought donations to the old negro when they came up the mountain, and when travelers were scarce, Nate would mount his old white horse, and go visiting, to find out 'how come'. He must have been a strange figure, his skin polished black as coal, and his beard as white as the horse he rod, coming down the steep mountain trail, singing, chuckling and talking to himself in a detached manner.

He is almost legend now.

Among the oldtimers throughout the Palomar country I gleaned little bits of knowledge about Uncle Nate, as they called him. They remember him when they were children, and when N----r Nate's Spring was a destination of their 'wagon-days' picnics. He loved children, and children loved him. And he loved watermelon as might be expected.

'He would split a big melon in four, eat off one side, spit seeds out the other, and talk through the middle' one old timer chuckled. And when I asked this rancher for other information he said, 'Oh, pshaw! You go on down to So-and-So's ranch, ask some of the liars down there about Uncle Nate. I'm only a second-rate liar. Down at that ranch they raise the best liars on Palomar.'

Then the liars on the So-and-So ranch told me other things; how Nate always turned up by daybreak on Christmas morning, riding into the ranch caroling 'Chrissmuss gif'!' Whatever other customs of the South he may have forgotten after nearly a hundred years, that one stayed with him.

All the liars, second and first rate alike, agreed on one thing. Uncle Nate never did a solid day's work in his life. He was willing to come and help out at fruit picking time, or for other harvesting events, but on his arrival he always had a 'miz'ry', and his assistance was by way of

being entertaining after a little miz'ry remedy'. He hated work, shunned it, fled from it, and enjoyed the distinction of being not only the first white an on Palomar, but the laziest.

So after consulting the best liars on Palomar, I read a report in an old San Diego newspaper, written at the time Nate was brought down from the mountain. In it the reporter said, either in his innocence, or because he was unfamiliar with facts, and had to tell a story, 'He was sober and industrious and esteemed by all.' Surely this reporter out-prevaricates the prize prevaricators of Palomar. What he should have said was that Nate was a good-for-nothing, lovable old darkey, loved in spite of, not because of, certain qualities which he possessed.

Then war times came along, and people were too busy, too worried, too sad to take trips up lovely Palomar. Few were the travelers by N----r Spring, and no one noticed that it was neglected, and that Uncle Nate was not at hand to greet them. He was shy of greeting automobiles, anyway, and had never been known to ride in one.

He was too old then—nearly a hundred—to mount the aged horse and travel down the mountain side. So he lay in his unventilated cabin and dozed and dreamed, perhaps of the old South and the secret of his exile to the mountain.

Strangely enough, it was people of his own race who delivered Nate back to the slavery of the white man's ways. Some of them did visit him at last, and finding him so aged, and suffering from a cold, arranged with authorities to bring him to San Diego where he could have care. It is a mystery to his friends how Nate was persuaded by authorities to get into the motor that carried him away. Perhaps it was inborn awe and respect for strange whites with authority that caused him to leave.

Anyway, they took him away without giving him time for one farewell to his mountain, without letting him gather up any of his belongings the pitiful playthings of his loneliness not even his old pipe. They took him away from the mountain to the San Diego Home for the Aged. As he put feeble, reluctant feet into the motor he had dreaded so long—was the dread premonitory?—he waved his black hand.

'G'bye, all,' he said.

'They took him to the hospital,' said the rancher who was telling me the story of Nate's last days. 'They took him away from the mountain where he had lived for nearly a century—where he knew every trail, every tree, and breathed the mountain air with every breath. They put him in an institution. They meant well, it was the only thing to do. But we all believe he must have thought he was being carried back to slavery.'

The rancher smiled sadly.

'When the nurses began peeling away his layers of overalls, which he had accumulated, one over the other, for years, it was the beginning of the end. Then they bathed him. I think that killed him. He didn't last long after that. Some of us would visit him, and he would beg to be taken back to Palomar.'

In a little while he was dead.

And buried.

Not buried on the mountain, amid the lilacs and dogwood, with rabbits and quail to scamper over his grave, but in the pauper's field. Nathaniel Harrison in the pauper's field! He who had owned sunset and sunrise, a spring of sparkling water, and the whole looming purple bulk of Palomar Mountain for companion.

But the friendly 'liars of Palomar' could not forget him. They remembered the curious ways of this friendly and lovable old negro. They still knew the memory of his shuffling gait—his never-ending, yet never serious 'mizries'—and to this day the ranchers will recall for their visitors stories of Uncle Nate and his tumble-down shack on the purple slopes.

Mayhap these tales have lost somewhat in vividness, but none can deny the truth and the color of the legend that is Uncle Nate's among the *rancheros* of Palomar.

So a negro joined the goodly company of California's immortals and has a monument erected to his memory—the first white man on Palomar."

Davis, E. H., "32-B Nate Harrison, Joshua Smith, Bill Nelson/Image Ceremony at Palm Springs/Personalities/Palomar 1932" Unpublished manuscript, State Parks Collection (1932)

California State Parks archaeologist Sue Wade made copies of four manuscripts relating to Nate Harrison for this project. These written narratives were part of the State Parks archive. The first is from the notebook of E. H. Davis. It contains biographies of a few different pioneer personalities and was likely written in 1932. It is handwritten and difficult to read, but the manuscript reads as follows:

"Mountain characters

Palomar Mt. Joseph Smith came to the Mt. around 1858 or 60 – before the civil war and settled in the Geo. Cook valley back against the hills and built himself an adobe house which was later bought by George Dyche. He was an old retired sea captain. He had bought seeds from China and these he planted and grew trees of paradise. During the war (civil) deserters began to come into the Mts. And one came from Arizona and went to Palomar and lived with Smith for a while. Smith had an Ind. Woman who at this time was visiting friends in La Joya and this deserter got Smith's gun and shot him at a work bench in back of his house. The man thought he had money hidden away and searched but did not find any. He then went to La Joya and told the Ind. Woman Smith was dead and returned with her to the Smith house. The day Smith was killed Bill Place came to Smith's and found his body shot and when his murderer came back they arrested him and took him down to the Warner ranch store and called a jury together for trial. On this jury were the Helms, Andrew Linton, Bill Place, Old Nate and other old timers. He was found guilty and sentenced. That night he was chained to the wheel of a big freight wagon with an iron ring locked about his neck. The next morning he was hanged to the tree on hill back of the old Wilson house in Warner Ranch. For many years the Mt was known as Smith Mt and was changed back to its old Spanish name Palomar, pigeon house, by T. O. Bailey some years ago.

Old colored Nate Harrison was the second 'white man' on Palomar Mt. He came with his master Harrison from Missouri before the Civil war, crossed the Plains and went north into the prairies and from there they drifted South and Harrison died in Los Angeles and Nate came down to Rincon and took up land now owned by the Golsh family. He sold out, lived on Warner ranch, then on Palomar, and lastly settled in N----r Canyon. He died some years ago in 1920 in the Co. Hospital 90 or more years old. Mr. T. O. Bailey collected enough money to have a bronze plate placed in a monument near Nate's old home about 1924 and over 100 people came to the dedication. Every Christmas Louis Salmons went to bring Nate a bottle of whiskey and he would say, 'Louis, I's gone to set right down in my cabin, along with this here bottle and I's gonna set there, till there ain't nary drop left.'"

J. H. Heath, "Where Trees and Shade Replace Desert Heat/Move Industrial Camp Prisoners to Palomar Site," *The San Diego Union* (September 24, 1933)

Heath wrote a newspaper article for the *San Diego Union* in 1933 that reported on a prison crew setting up camp on Harrison's former property. The article does not specify exactly where the prisoners pitched their tents and whether Harrison's cabin was still standing. Heath details that the prison crew was sent there to improve the west-grade road. The article includes six photographs and a joint caption that states: "Scenes at the new county industrial camp site on Palomar mountain. 1—R. L. Taylor, superintendent. 2—Uncle 'Nate's' monument. 3—Dave Shapiro, chef. 4—Cook and 'cookies.' 5—Camp Palomar and 6—one-way entrance to camp." The picture of the prisoners' campground is of a large flat area that is not the same landscape as Harrison's cabin site. The image of the entrance to camp does resemble the entrance to the Kirby's property. Furthermore, the historic image includes a "POISON IVY" sign in the area that today is overrun with the dreaded plant.

Adalind Bailey reflected fondly on the prisoners' stay at Palomar Mountain. She lived on the mountain at the same time the prison camp was there. Adalind called them "especially good boys" and noted that when they left, they left very suddenly (Hastings 1959 interview with Bailey, p. 18).

The brief *San Diego Union* article reads as follows:

> "Their bodies almost black from the desert sun, the 50 or 60 prisoners of San Diego county industrial camp in Borego valley, below sea level, are being moved to the camp's new ideal site, Rainbow drive, under shelter of oaks and sycamores on the west grade of Palomar mountain. The site is designated on maps as 'N----r Nate's,' and has an elevation of 4600 feet.
>
> Under direction of Sheriff Ed Cooper's superintendent, R. L. Taylor, an advance detail of 15 men has made camp at this historic site, using tents, which later will be replaced with wooden shacks comprising the cam equipment in Borego valley, 51 miles away. Moving equipment is under way and when the work nears completion the rest of the prisoners will be taken to the new camp. Then work will start on improvement of the eight-mile west grade. Survey for the engineering work is being done by men under supervision of Ernest Childs, county engineer, and his chief field deputy, 'Chet' Richards, who were at Palomar Tuesday to confer with Ernest Settles, Supervisor Tom Hurley's road foreman, Superintendent Taylor and Louis Salmons, pioneer citizen of the east side of the 'big hill.'
>
> Men who have arrived from Borego are loud in their praise of the new camp site."

Catherine M. Wood, *Palomar from Teepee to Telescope* (1937)

Wood wrote a book on the history of Palomar Mountain in 1937. Published by Frye & Smith, Ltd., in San Diego, this text became the popular authority on the history of the region. Wood began her research in 1928 and received input from many local residents, including the Mendenhalls, Salmonses, and Baileys. *Palomar from Teepee to Telescope* reflects the times in which it was written; there are many passages that by today's standards are inflammatory and racially offensive.

The book includes five pictures that relate to Harrison. The frontispiece is a picture of Harrison standing before his black-and-white dog (Kirby Collection Image #6). The biography of Harrison includes five images: a picture of Harrison standing alone (Escondido Historical Society #3), an image of the cairn (Kirby Collection Image #16), and a picture of the Harrison cabin from the southeast (San Diego Historical Society #4). Although the SDHS attributed the date of this photograph as 1926, the Wood text claims that the image was taken circa 1912. Page 54 of *Palomar from Teepee to Telescope* contains a hand-drawn map of the area, and today's Nate Harrison Grade is marked as "N----R GRADE." Page 70 includes an image of the first Palomar Stage and has Harrison sitting on the running board, and page 87 includes a picture of the grade.

Wood dedicates three sections of the book to Harrison: the first is a brief biography, the second involves George Doane and his search for a wife, and the third concerns the grade. They are each transcribed here. The first is presented in its entirety, whereas the second and third transcriptions only include passages that relate to Harrison. The three passages are as follows:

1. "'THE FIRST WHITE MAN ON THE MOUNTAIN'

> Nathan Harrison, a negro who always called himself 'the first white man on the mountain' was a noted character, enjoyed by all who knew him. He was familiarly called Nate, or Uncle Nate, and because he lived so many years at a turn in the road on the west grade, that series of hairpin turns has been officially named 'N----r Grade.' He was a fluent talker, but not about himself, unless encouraged by a little whiskey. As nearly as can be ascertained, he and his master came from Kentucky by ox team, stopping three or four months at Sedalia, Missouri, waiting to join a wagon train west. About the time they reached California, a movement was on foot in Los Angeles to break a road over the Tejon Pass to the north. Money was subscribed and bullocks furnished, and Nate drove an ox team with the first wagon train over the Pass. Cleland's 'History of California' says: 'In September, 1854, people of Los Angeles raised $6,000 for the construction of a wagon road between their city and Ft. Tejon.' That seems to check with Nate's story. He and his master went up to the mining district near Merced, where his master died. Uncle Nate went down to the San Gabriel Mission for a time and later found his way to the foot of Palomar, where he took up a claim at Rincon.

He spent his summers in Doane valley, but was 'shiftless' and did not take up a claim there, so the valley was not named for him. [Editor's note: African-Americans could not claim land until 1863.] He lived with the Indians at times, and occasionally helped the early settlers with their sheep. Finally he sold his Rincon property and proved up on a claim on the west end of the mountain, past which the west grade was built about thirty years later. It was his custom to bring a bucket of water from his flowing spring for the horses when he heard a team laboring up the steep grade. He was usually rewarded with a bit of money or some food. Later the county dug a well and put in a pump at the roadside where Nate awaited the travelers. Now the well is dry and someone stole the pump, but it does not matter, for few horses travel the grade, and the modern automobile can['t] make the trip without extra water.

Nate could neither read nor write, but he had a good memory for faces and events. He could not understand much about sums of money, it seems, for when a young Indian wanted to buy one of his horses, Nate asked $150 for it. The horse was not worth it, but it made no difference. The price was $150. The Indian said, 'I wish Nate had never heard of $150. He wants $150 for every nag he has on the place.'

The old negro was 'seventy-six years old next New Years' for about twenty years. It is said that a couple of Palomar youths were responsible for his changing his age and birthday. They made him happy with whiskey, which he liked very much, told him he was a hundred and seven years old, and that his birthday was on the Fourth of July. And so it was thereafter! At that it may have been as correct as his previous recollection of his age. It is certain, however, that he was a grown man at the time of the Civil War.

One prominent man of Palomar always gave Nate a bottle of whiskey at Christmas time, and the annual event was awaited eagerly by the negro. During the fall he would ask this man every time he saw him, 'When is Christmas day?' One day after giving him his annual present, the donor happened to return to Nate's cabin. There sat old darkey on the floor, one hand clutching the bottle by the neck, and he explained, 'I'se a'goin' to sit and sip this here whiskey till it's a-l-l gone.' The statement was not doubted.

Nearly everyone who knew Nate remembers one or more interesting incidents about him. One was amused because Nate always pronounced the name of the town Escondido as 'Skundido.' To a San Diegan trying out his car on the steep grade in the days when motoring was an adventure, Nate said, 'Awful hot mornin', Mr. Jackson. Keeps your collar all the way up the hill, don't it?" Some one else remarked that he would like to put old Nate in a tank of water to see how many pairs of overalls he could soak off.

One of the men at a road construction camp near Nate's, picked up a paper one evening and pretended to read a tale of how a fleeing murderer was headed towards the west end of the mountain until he had Nate sitting around with a shot gun in his hand. The practical joker little realized that had a stranger appeared at that time, Nate surely would have taken a shot at him.

Though people who knew him joked with Nate and often teased him, they were good to him. One family sent him fresh meat whenever they butchered. He seemed to enjoy the attention people gave him. One writer said, 'Nate was a good-for-nothing, lovable old darkey, loved in spite of, not because of, certain qualities he possessed.'

The story was always current that Nate 'had money,' but while it added to people's interest in him it was apparently unfounded. His [sic] lived alone in his squalid little hut which his scrawny chickens sometimes shared with him until some kind hearted people thought he was no longer able to care for himself. He was invited for a ride by well-meaning friends, which ended at the County Hospital in San Diego; he was not given a chance to take his pipe or any of his other little personal belongings, and always wanted to return to Palomar. It had been said that when the nurses peeled of the accumulated layers of overalls it was the beginning of the end, and when they bathed him, that was the end. Friends who visited him at the hospital, said he seemed happy and told them the nurses were good to him. He died there in 1920.

Largely through the efforts of Mr. Theodore Bailey of Palomar, funds were subscribed for a monument of native granite which stands at the turn in the road where the old darkey usually

greeted travelers. The inscription on the plaque which was made at Jessop's Jewelry Store in San Diego, reads:

> Nathan Harrison's Spring
> Brought here a slave about 1848
> Died Oct. 10, 1920
> Aged 101 years.
> 'A man's a man for a' that.'"

2. "THE ROMANCE OF DOANE VALLEY

Mr. George Doane as truly the romantic character of Palomar Mountain, and seemingly enjoyed the role. He once owned the property known as Upper and Lower Doane Valley, which is now included in the State Park. Aside from his romantic attitudes, his chief distinction was a flowing beard that covered most of his face and reached to his waist… He was supposed to have proposed to every unmarried woman who came to the mountain, all to no avail, apparently, for after living on Palomar over twenty years, he advertised for a wife. He received a number of letters and pictures which were talked over with his mountain friends. On one occasion he asked a friend what he thought of 'that bunch of heifers,' referring to a group of pictures. The friend told him that he thought some of them had been on the range too long.

Mr. Doane finally selected two as promising, a mother and her daughter, both open to marriage. By that time he had paid for Upper Doane Valley which he had bought from Mr. Kitching, so, one year after he sold his cattle, he went to Louisiana to look over the situation. He married the daughter, about sixteen years of age, and brought her and a young negro maid back to the crude log cabin on Palomar. Later Mrs. Doane's mother and sister came West and homesteaded on what is known as the Hayes' place.

The romance caused a thrill of interest throughout the whole country. As Mr. Doane, his wife, and the negress went up the mountain, the stopped at N----r Nate's a minute, and Mr. Doane, so the story goes, told Nate he had brought him a wife. Nate's reply was, 'Which one?'

The negress, about sixteen years old and very large, wore no shoes and was designated by some of the mountain people as 'Amy N----r with the big feet,' but Nate named her 'Cubby' because she had feet as big as a bear's. The negress worked hard. She even pitched meadow hay with Mr. Doane, one on each side of the wagon. Being young and strong she could work faster than he could, and when she finished on her side, she would go around back of the wagon, lean on her fork and 'cuss him out' because he could not keep up with her. Some of the boys of the vicinity used to go over to Doane Valley during haying time to enjoy the fun.

One day the Doane group came to Bailey's store from which they brought groceries, complaining of the quality of the food they had purchased the day before, but they were assured that the groceries were all right when they left the store. They went on home and learned later that Amy had tried to poison the family by putting lye in the lard, because they made her work so hard.

Mrs. Doane had her seventeenth birthday on the mountain. One day Mr. Doane came to the store with his flowing beard very black, and his shirt front also, where the beard had rubbed against it. His young wife, in an attempt to rejuvenate her elderly husband had dyed his grey beard with shoeblacking!

Mr. and Mrs. Doane sold their property in 1905 and moved away. It is said that there was a divorce later. Amy N----r was sent back to her home in Louisiana when the family left the mountain. Accounts differ as to what became of Mr. Doane, but it is understood that he eventually left California."

3. "MOUNTAIN ROADS

The first road on Palomar was over the east end, the one broken through by Joseph Smith. It was noted for its steep 'slides' of something like 30 per cent grade. Heavy flat-bottomed 'shoes' of iron were tied to wheels of the clumsy ox carts then in use, when descending these steep pitches. The 'shoes' acted as brakes by causing the wheels to slide instead of turn.

> Later a county road was constructed on the south slope near the route of the new grade. When no longer used as a road, the south 'slide' became the 'mail trail' up which the mail was brought several times a week on horseback, but the carrier walked up the steep parts.
>
> About 1900, as better transportation facilities were demanded by an increasing population, the nine-mile N----r Grade was built over the treeless west shoulder. It was considered at the time a good road, but it is now noted for its steep pitches and hairpin turns. A traveler recently returned from a European trip remarked as she gazed down on the series of switch-backs yet to come, 'St. Gothard's Pass has nothing on this except the snow.' N----r Grade offered a favorite climb in the early days of motoring for testing speed and endurance of various makes of cars, and became widely known in automobile circles.
>
> It was formerly the custom when descending the mountain to tie a tree to the back of the wagon to act as a brake. The first cars also followed the practice, but it was stopped by the Forest Service. Discarded trees at the foot of N----r Grade supplied firewood for the Indians of the region for many years."

Other excerpts in the Wood text that pertain to Harrison include details of the land and historical events. They are listed here.

> Page 13: "Near the summit of the west grade there is a monument to a negro, standing sentinel as did the man, over the steep road named for him 'N----r Grade.' On early maps, Palomar Mountain appears as Smith Mountain."
>
> Pages 13-14: "During the 'gay' nineties' Palomar had enough families to support three public schools; since it was a popular summer resort for many people of Southern California, it had three hotels in operation part of the time, and a small tent city in Doane Valley each summer. It took the better part of a day for a team to pull the N----r Grade, so travelers often camped over-night at 'Tin Can Flat' near the foot in order to provide for an early morning start up the steep climb, and when they reached the top, they were usually ready to stay a while."
>
> Pages 50-51: "On one of his trips below, [Joseph] Smith [for whom the Smith Mountain was named] brought back to Palomar a man supposedly a deserter from a British ship, to act as foreman for the Indian laborers. This man murdered his benefactor… Next morning the murderer was found hung to a tree in the neighborhood.
>
> There was no San Diego paper to record the event, as 'The Herald' was no longer in existence, and 'The Union' began later that year [1868], but rumor has it that in order to get the man to confess the murder, it was necessary to let him feel the noose tightening around his neck several times, and that he was taken to Warner's Ranch, chained to a wagon wheel all night and hanged the next morning with about twenty-five men on the other end of the rope, one of them being 'N----r Nate.'"
>
> Page 70: "The first 'horseless carriage' to ascend Palomar Mountain was that of L.O. Johnson of San Pasqual Valley, who in June, 1904, made a trip up the N----r grade, thus proving the feasibility of an auto stage. Before long, summer passenger service to Palomar was started consisting of three laps, first by train to Oceanside, thence to the mountain by auto stage, where a horse-drawn stage carried visitors to the top. The fare from San Diego was ten dollars each way."
>
> Pages 98-99: "In the spring of 1934, a CCC (Civilian Conservation Corps) unit was established in Doane Valley. The chief duties of the CCC boys are to clear land, build roads and fight forest fires." [Editor's note: It is rumored that the CCC tore down the dilapidated and abandoned Harrison cabin in the 1930s as a safety precaution.]

John Davidson, "Place Names in San Diego County: No. 191 – N----r Grade" (November 12, 1937)

Working for the Junipero Serra Museum, Davidson wrote an unpublished manuscript for the *San Diego Evening Tribune*. It drew heavily on the work of Lena B. Hunsicker and additional oral histories. This attribution is puzzling

for the following reason: Davidson states that he quotes extensively from Hunsicker's October 22, 1919 *San Diego Union* article entitled "N----r Canon [Editor's note: Canyon?]," but the October 22, 1919 *San Diego Union* has no such article. The October 22, 1919 *San Diego Union* ran an article on Harrison, but it was J. H. Heath's "Aged Negro, Owner of Mountain Spring, Enters County Hospital For the Remainder of His Days." Furthermore, Davidson quotes Hunsicker as writing in 1916. The Nate Harrison Historical Archaeology Project has been unable to locate the Hunsicker article. Isolated information in the 1937 Davidson article clearly post-dates the Hunsicker article, i.e., Harrison's death (1920) and the placing of the monument (1924). Davidson's article is part of the San Diego Historical Society Collection.

It reads as follows:

"PLACE NAMES OF SAN DIEGO COUNTY

No. 191 – N----r Grade

The names N----r Canyon and N----r Grade present no difficulties of explanation to the early residents of the county. Every one knows at least part of the story of Nathan Harrison. One of the best accounts is given in San Diego Union October 22, 1919. The late Lena B. Hunsicker under the title 'N----r Canon' wrote:

This canon takes its name from the fact that an old negro Nathan Harrison by name lived about half way up the grade on the Palomar road. 'N----r Nate' was brought to California as a slave by his Master. He stayed with his Master and mistress for several years. They however became very dissipated so that he finally ran away. They had all come from Kentucky and from there had gone to Los Angeles. When Nate left them he came to Palomar to live. There he married an Indian woman with children. Nate says that he was the first 'white man' on the Mt. In 1886 he said he was 86 years old and still claims to be 86 years (1916).

'Old Nate had not been in town for over forty years.'

W.C. Fink, 856-20th Avenue, who lived for nearly a quarter of a century on Palomar, has this story to tell of N----r Nate:

'...his coming was like this: at the time when the sheep-man used the high pasture lands on the mountain for summer and fall feed, and kept them there if the snow held off till the pasture was good in low land and coast, N----r Nate, two dogs and a flock of sheep came to those valleys afterward known as French Valley and Doane Valley. There is where Nate was sheep herding. When he grew tired of being alone with only dogs and sheep for company, he told those dogs to take good care of the sheep, he afterwards said, and left for Pauma rancheria, taking his roll of bedding and the little food, flour, and frijoles which would insure him a welcome with the Indians.

His living with the Indians became so interesting he did not return to the sheep for some time and when he did, he found dogs and sheep gone.

His job was gone as well as the sheep, and he was responsible for the flock of sheep. Responsibility sat very lightly on his shoulders, but what would happen when the owner came with supplies and to get the flock of sheep? He thought of safety for his hide and that safety lay in flight from the scene of the disaster. He was no Indian, tho' he was black as the ace of spades, and one time he was asked if the Winery man would mistake him for an Indian. He replied 'not 'less I fades considerable.' Many times he turned up at Agua Tibia Rancho asking for work but meaning food and comfortable home and never was refused to be taken in and supplied with clothes, and when the work became distasteful to him, he left without notice to live among the Indians and later would return as glad as a lost pup to its mother. This amused Maj. Utt very much and was a pleasure to hear him tell his adventures with the squaws who had not been able to quell the manly spirit of Nate.

He was persuaded to take a free homestead on the west end of Smith mountain, 60 acres next to the Pauma Grant line on Oat Ridge where was a Spring and pasture land and which he owned at the time of his death.

The county made a single track road up the mountain thru' his land and put a water trough at his place where travelers could stop and camp and it was at this place that the public came to know

him. Here he would get his stomach filled with food and drink, and would reveal the local history and traditions of all that he had come in contact. As much of it was first hand knowledge, it was amusing and interesting. He and his master were 49'ers at which time he was a grown man and claimed to be the best man among his master's slaves, but never told how many slaves his master owned or if he was the only one.

At the time the Lincoln pennies were minted, I gave him a bright penny and told him what Lincoln done for the slaves: he said, 'I know about Abe Lincoln. I had my freedom long before that.' We knew that, for it was a subject he would not talk about. He had escaped from his master in the gold diggings, and found refuge in the south part of the state among strangers and at one time was a wood cutter at San Gabriel Mission. He saw some adventurous times there and El Monte by the night robbers. He had no education, wrote his name with an X, voted the Republican party; his memory retained everything: he repeated the tales in the exact words he used before. Much of his food came from travelers on the road and should he receive a gift of money, he would round up a horse with a jug in a sack put off to the winery, and most often it would be empty when he returned for he had stopped with the Indians on his way home.

He spent much of his time in his old age sitting on a boulder at Billy goat point where he could see the road for miles below, and know when anyone was coming that way.

There came a time when the County car took him to the hospital and then the cemetery and we knew him no more.

Many stories and tales about him are remembered by the few old-timers still living and who have erected a monument for him at his old place on the county road.'

The bronze plate on the monument which commemorates the life of this romantic old darkey has this legend:

'NATHANIEL HARRISON'S SPRING
BROUGHT HERE A SLAVE ABOUT 1848
DIED OCTOBER 10, 1920
AGED 101 YEARS
A MAN'S A MAN FOR A'THAT'

Evidently N----r Nate enjoyed the distinction of attaining an advanced old age which his actual years did not warrant. The San Diego historical society has a registration statement of 1894 signed with Nathan Harrison's cross which shows his age as 61. This seems that at his death Uncle Nate was less than ninety years old."

Edward Harvey Davis, "Palomar Mountain History" (1938)

Davis kept a notebook on San Diego history that contained a section on Nate Harrison. This handwritten document detailed Harrison's role in detaining the man who murdered Palomar pioneer Joseph Smith. Davis's unpublished manuscript on Palomar Mountain history contained a chapter entitled, "Palomar Mt.*-Uncle Nate." Davis wrote of knowing Harrison personally and described many of his possessions, including "his inseparable companion, a short-stemmed black pipe" (11). Davis visited Harrison's cabin in 1938, over a decade after he had passed, and noticed that the cabin had been razed. Sue Wade, Associate State Archaeologist for the Colorado Desert District, California State Parks, found these documents in the State Parks archives and brought them to the attention of the Nate Harrison Historical Archaeology Project. The cover page listed these materials as part of the San Diego Historical Society collection. The manuscript is undated, but it contains valuable clues as to when it was written. Davis refers to the construction of the San Luis Rey Mission in 1798 and then remarks, "Today, 140 years later…" This sequence indicates that the text was written in 1938. Davis's chapter includes exact dates for events that followed Harrison's passing. He details that the monument was dedicated in 1924, and that the cabin had been razed by 1938.

The chapter on Harrison is as follows:

"Uncle Nate Harrison, a negro born into slavery, always claimed he was 'The first white man on Smith Mountain'. (now Palomar) He was very black and when I first knew him his kinky hair

and grizzle whiskers were almost white and his face was deeply seamed with wrinkles. He wore a nondescript old felt hat or what was left of one, a soiled gingham shirt, much patched overalls, worn out shoes, and always had his inseparable companion, a short-stemmed black pipe. I do not think he had either dog or cat around his place.

He lived alone in a one room cabin about 200 feet from the road, with a cold spring of water a short distance from his house. His house was built mostly of rocks chinked with mud and roofed over with split shakes which were being warped by the summer heat. At one end of his hut was a stone fireplace in which he did his cooking. His room had a dirt floor, with a bed in one corner, a few boxes with some flour, beans, coffee and bacon (when he could get it) in another corner, and some dry sticks near the fireplace. Two or three rickety chairs and a wobbly table, completed his furnishings.

There were no Montgomery Ward fancy curtains. No comfortable rocking chairs, highly colored quilts, no Sunday suit of clothes hanging from the rafters – everything very simple and necessary and two galvanized pails of water.

His cabin was in a canyon, a deep cleft on the west slope of Palomar, about half way up the grade from Pauma. He was always cheerful, contented, courteous, and grateful for any little attention or gift.

When he heard a team far down the grade it was his invariable custom to come out and be waiting with a bucket of cool refreshing water for the thirsty horses. It was a steep hard pull up to Nate's place and he had the only water convenient to the road, so when the teams reached his place, they were tired, sweaty and thirsty. How grateful those horses must have been when they plunged their muzzles deep into a bucket of cool water. This was a self imposed task, which he performed faithfully, from an innate deep sympathy for the weary horses and what a satisfaction it must have been to him, to realize what it meant to the horses. The County later took over Nate's task and put in a pump and water trough along side of the road, but Nate was always there to pump the water in the trough when ever he heard a team on the grade.

Nate never asked any recompense, but it was customary to give this faithful old darky 25 or 50 cents, and often the mountain men would bring him flour, sugar, coffee, tobacco and groceries, for which he was always grateful. On Christmas, Louis Salmons would add a bottle of good Scotch whiskey, which made Nate supremely happy. He would laugh outright, showing many gaps in his ivories when Louis unwrapped the precious bottle and passed it over to Nate's outstretched hands, saying, 'Here Nate is something to make you feel good over Christmas.' With a face beaming with happiness and rubbing the bottle up and down in his hands, Nate would reply, 'Ise jus' goin' ta sit on that thar bench agin the house, an' sip that liquor little at a time, to make it las' all day long, till there aint nary a drop lef'. My, but that sho' will taste good. Lord bless you Massa Louis for remembering Uncle Nate.' True to his word, the bottle would be dry by nightfall, and squeeze as he could, he could not coax another drop.

Nate Harrison as a young man came to California with his master, a Mr. Harrison, before the Civil War, crossed the plains and went north into the mines. From there he drifted south and when his master died in Los Angeles, Nate came down to Rincon, in San Diego County, and took up a homestead now owned by the Golsh family. He sold out, lived on the Warner Ranch for a while, then on to Palomar and at last settled in the canyon, where he built his cabin and lived for many years. He died in the County Hospital in 1920 about 101 years old, but as long as he lived he longed to return to his mountain home. He was honest, friendly, kindly, a good neighbor and was universally respected.

Mr. Bailey, his great friend for over 30 years, raised sufficient funds from the neighbors to have a bronze plaque made and inscribed with his name and date placed in a recess in a granite monument, erected alongside the road where he used to water the horses. The bronze plaque bears this inscription: 'Nate Harrison – Brought here a slave about 1848. Died Oct 11, 1920, aged 101 years. A man's a man for a' that.' This monument was dedicated in 1924 before a large assemblage of mountain men, neighbors and San Diego people as a fitting tribute to a faithful and humble black man.

> In the summer of 1938, I visited the canyon and site of Nate's old cabin, which is 250 feet from the road. Only a few rocks that used to be in the foundation and a hollow place in the earth, overgrown with grass, are the only signs left of Nate's cabin. A stranger would pass it unnoticed. About 200 feet up the canyon is a flowing stream of clear cold water from Palomar's inexhaustible reservoirs deep in the heart of the mountain, and it was from this spring that Nate carried buckets of water to the road for the tired horses to slake their thirst. Could horses talk, what blessings would have been showered on this faithful darkey's head.
>
> The old road on the west side of the mountain still bears the name of Nate and is known as N----r Nate road. It begins to climb the mountain at Pauma and winds up the bare slope in switchbacks to the top. It is narrow and steep and is rarely, if ever used and is not kept in repair."

Other passages in Davis's manuscript make passing references to Harrison as well. When discussing the murder of Joseph Smith, Davis mentions that Harrison was one of the group that hung Smith's killer. He writes on page 8:

> "He [the killer] was taken to a live oak tree at the foot of the hills convenient to the store, a noose was fitted around his neck, the other end cast over a limb and 25 men heaving, they pulled him up, tied the end of the reata [riata] and left him. Old Fred Scholder of Mesa Grande, Uncle Nate, George Dyche and many well known old timers bore a hand."

Davis also mentions Harrison when telling the story of George Doane and his wife. He writes on page 21A:

> "He [George Doane] was getting along in years now and San Diegans naturally expected him to marry the older woman. They never recovered from the surprise the first site of Mrs. Doane gave them. A 'Mountain white' of about 16, she was attended by a gigantic young Negress known as 'Amy'. Charles F. Emery of Tecate remembers the remarkable honeymoon couple making purchases at his general store in Alpine; she, an extremely unsophisticated child, far from her home, he an elderly great bear of a man. As George drove up the west grade with his team and spring wagon, heavily loaded with people and baggage, he stopped to let grizzled old Nate water his horses which were dripping with sweat and puffing hard. George said, 'Well Nate, I've brought you a wife.' Nate turned around after giving the team all the water they would drink, looked the group over carefully and finally said, 'Which one, George?'"

Anonymous, "West Palomar Grade May Be Abandoned," *San Diego Union* (February 8, 1938)

A brief 1938 *San Diego Union* article discusses the County's idea to abandon the Nate Harrison Grade, a move that never occurred. It states,

> "West Palomar Grade May Be Abandoned
>
> Plans for abandoning N----r Nate grade up the western side of Palomar mountain were considered by the board of supervisors yesterday.
>
> Before taking definite steps, the district attorney's office will investigate the best way of proceeding toward abandonment of one of the oldest routes of travel in the county.
>
> State and federal foresters are ready to take over the road, from the state highway through San Luis Rey valley, to the state park on the mountain, and maintain it as a fire trail, on standards below those upon which county roads are kept, John W. Cole, assistant county highway engineer, informed the supervisors.
>
> Need of keeping the road open to public travel has ended with completion of the new road up the south slope of the mountain, Cole wrote. He suggested the old route was hazardous and expensive to maintain.
>
> Whether the road shall be fenced off, merely signed as a forest trail, or kept open for those living on the mountain who must use it, will be determined after a report from the district attorney."

Taye, George, "PALOMAR MOUNTAIN STATE PARK, State Park No. 68" (1935-45)

Taye wrote a brief history of Palomar Mountain State Park that was in Vernon Aubrey Neasham's 1987 *History of California State Parks,* published by the State of California, Department of Natural Resources, Division of Parks. This document was forwarded to the project director by Sue Wade. The manuscript contains only a brief mention of the Nate Harrison Grade. Taye's work was written under the auspices of the Works Progress Administration (Official Project #465-03-3-133). Since the WPA was a 1930s and early '40s agency, Taye's article was likely written during this time, not the 1980s. Furthermore, Taye refers to the grade by the term that was used before the 1960s, another clue that it was written long before the official 1987 publication date. It also refers to the east road as "new." The east road was San Diego County's first WPA project and it was built in the 1930s. Taye's passage regarding the grade is as follows:

> "The state park is located at the western end of Mount Palomar, at the head of N----r Grade. It includes two famous meadows, the upper and lower Doane valleys. A new county road ascends from the San Luis Rey Canyon near the La Jolla Indian Reservation, where it connects with State Highway No. 79. This will replace the steep N----r Grade, making access to the park much easier for the motorist."

Robert Asher, "Manuscripts of Robert Asher" (1932-1950)

Asher's unpublished manuscript offers a lengthy discussion of Harrison's life based on the time the two individuals spent together. Asher, known to many as the old hermit of Palomar Mountain, was an accomplished photographer, botanist, and oil painter. In this text, he detailed the tax problems Harrison had with the County and how the matter was resolved. He also noted that Harrison had been married twice. This manuscript was provided courtesy of Guss Weber and is part of the San Diego Historical Society Collection that was forwarded to the Nate Harrison Historical Archaeology Project by Wade. The manuscript was likely written during the late 1930s or early 1940s. It mentions that only one corner of the fire place is standing, suggesting that the article was written after the CCC knocked the cabin down in the mid-1930s. The article refers to Davis's 1932 work, implying that it post-dates the Davis notebook.

Asher's entire chapter on Nate Harrison is reprinted here. It is the most detailed of all the written accounts regarding Harrison. The manuscript reads as follows:

> "Uncle Nate.
>
> Nathan Harrison, a Negro, born a slave in Kentucky, came to California while still a young man with a party of which his master was a member. His age? In the Great Register of San Diego County, State of California, for the tear 1908 we find the following entry:
>
> Voting Number 10; Name: Harrison, Nathan; Age: 77; Occupation: Grazier [Editor's note: Definition—a person who grazes beef cattle for sale]; P.O. Address: Nellie.
>
> Uncle Nate died on October 10, 1920; thus it would seem that he was about eighty-nine years at the time of his death. He would have been eighteen years old in 1849, a grown man, and thirty years old in 1861. These calculations fit in with known facts. He registered in 1890. That he could have been any where near one hundred and one years old at the time of his death, as stated on his monument, is extremely doubtful.
>
> Nate lived for a time near Temecula, northwest of Palomar Mountain. I think he said that he had seen Juan Murrieta, the famous bandit. At any rate, he knew a good deal about Murrieta and had several Murrieta stories on tap. He once told me about a 'Big Snow' which had come about Thanksgiving time. As near as I could figure, it was probably the big snow year of 1882-83. The late Warren Hackett of San Diego was driving stage between Temecula and San Diego that winter and I have heard him refer to his troubles in getting through the snow drifts at that time. Nate said that the snow piled up higher than the bottom of the window of Wolfe's store at Temecula, and that they had to shovel the snow away before they could get out of the door.

Nate had a horse story, or rather a wild-horse story.

Nate had been called to San Diego on important business, but he had no horse, and did not want to walk. So he went out into the hills back of Elsinore Lake and located a band of wild mustangs. He rounded up the mustangs, and kept them running until the got good and thirsty, when they made a break for the lake, and had good drink. However, Nate managed to head them off before they could quench their thirst, and kept them going for a long while. Then he allowed them to go down to the lake and fill up. After drinking they just stood around, which Nate said was a bad thing for either horse or man. Then he scared them up again and kept them on the go for another long while. Then another drink, and some more standing around. Then Nate got really busy and soon ran down the nag he wanted. He had to let the animal rest for a few hours, but it was young and strong and quickly got over its cold-water jag. So Nate rode the sixty miles to San Diego and back.

No; they didn't pinch him for horse-stealing. The mustangs were wild and didn't belong to anybody. All you had to do if you wanted one was to run him down like Nate had done.

August Nichos of Riverside pastured sheep in the Temecula country for many years while Nate lived there. Later he ran both sheep and cattle on the mountain west of Bougher's Hill. I never had the pleasure of meeting Mr. Nicholas, but his nephew, Joe Nicholas, had cattle in Lower Doane Valley for several seasons. Joe told me that Nate used to make bread for his uncle's herders and sometimes helped in moving camp, but that Nate never herded the sheep.

From 1901, and perhaps before, Nate used to keep an eye on the Nicholas cattle to see that nothing went wrong with them; I think Nicholas kept Nate supplied with provisions, in part at least.

One of Nate's view spots was 'Billygoat Point' which was about a mile below Nate's Well and some hundred feet south of the road. This point commanded an extensive view of the whole mountain side stretching from Pauma Canyon on the northwest to Nate's own canyon to the southeast. I have seen him perched there for an hour or two at a time while he was waiting for me to get abreast of the point as I toiled up the grade afoot. I have often stopped at the well for lunch, always making a little fire to heat water for tea. Sometimes I made camp there for the night, and Nate would come out from his house, which was back a bit from the road, and chat with me for half an hour or so. It was always a pleasure to meet him, and he seemed glad to see me, even though I never had anything to offer him in the way of liquor or tobacco.

One evening when I reached Nate's Well, on the way up from Escondido, everything was damp from a thick mist which had begun the time I was passing Billy Goat Point. I had found a dry place for my blankets and was trying to start a fire when Uncle Nate hove in sight. He watched me for a moment and then said:

'Having trouble getting started?'

'Yes,' I answered, 'Everything is so damp.'

'And you don't now how to start a fire when things are wet?'

'That's right,' I said.

'Well, you see those white sage bushes over there with some dead flower stalks sticking up? You get some of those and you can start your fire easy.'

That was good news, so I stood up and took a step or two toward the sage bush when Nate spoke again:

'Not now, you can try it some other time. Better come into the house where it is dry.'

'Thank you,' I said, 'but I don't want to impose on you.'

'You won't be a bit of trouble. You can make your tea on my fire and I have an extra bed. You can spread out your blankets on top of mine.'

Nate did not talk much that evening. I apologized for being so tired and sleepy so soon after supper and he told me that I had better unroll my blankets and go to bed. In the morning I was off at daylight, not waiting for breakfast.

Once again I was Nate's guest over night. It had been raining heavily a few hours before I reached Nate's Well on the upgrade and was threatening to rain again at any moment. I had not intended on stopping, but Nate was there and he insisted that I be his guest over night. He said he would like to have me eat with him, and had plenty for us both.

Arrived in the house he told me to unroll my blankets and take it easy while he was getting supper. It was simply magnificent! Beef stew, with the beef done just right. Flakey white potatoes with gravy that couldn't be beat. And perfect home-cooked bread. The loaves were very thick but thoroughly cooked all the way through with a rich, brown crust and without even a hint of the sourness which was so common in those days in white folks' kitchens.

After supper Nate coaxed me into his easy chair beside the fire, and after putting away the supper dishes, seated himself on a stool near by and commenced telling stories of his experiences on and around the mountain. After a while he suggested that I might be more comfortable lying down. So I went back to the bed while he continued sitting on the stool.

It had commenced to rain by this time, and the drip off the roof outside the window, together with the roar of the wind in the treetops overhead, and the monotonous sound of Nate's quiet voice, well, I came near going to sleep on him several times. Each time as I was about to doze off, he would bring me back with a 'Maybe you are tired of listening?' Of course I always answered in the negative. His language was such as I had been accustomed to all my life, that of a cultivated man, and I was reminded of my evenings in the Asher home in San Diego where I had lived as a boy. Father Asher used to talk to us kids to sleep with stories of pioneer days in Kentucky. Tales of Indians; of bears and of Daniel Boone, and of a great great great-aunt, named Rachel Spilman, who had come to Kentucky with one of Daniel Boone's own parties.

It is a great pity that I can not recall to mind much that Nate said that stormy night on the slopes of Palomar. It was all so intensely interesting, but I was so very, very sleepy! Of one thing I am sure, however; not one word did Nate say about his old Kentucky home, or of the trek to California.

In the early summer of 1909, my brother Alpheus, now deceased, wrote me that he was coming up to visit me, for the first time, on his wheel, and would I please be out on the road at the head of my trail on the afternoon of a certain specified day. I was staying in my Spruce Hill Camp, having built a small cabin there two years previously. My older camps were located some distance down the canyon and there was a trail from the Dugout to the West End grade.

This was my original Lone Fir Trail constructed in 1903. Since moving to Spruce Hill Camp I had cut a new trail to the Oliver Place on the Doane Valley road. I had given Alf directions for reaching Spruce Hill Camp via the Doane road and my new thunder Ridge Trail. The Doane road connected with the county grade about half a mile up hill and east of the Lone Fir. So then, early in the afternoon of the day mentioned by Alf, I ambled up the Thunder Ridge Trail and along Doane's to the junction with the county road. There I stayed until nearly dark, with no brother Alf in evidence.

Next morning, I was up to the junction soon after sunrise, and stuck around until near sunset. Still no Alf. When I got back to camp it was nearly dark. I was just starting the fire for supper when a head and shoulders hove in sight from down hill. A moment later Alf was beside me, minus wheel, but carrying his blanket roll.

Alf had left the El Cajon home promptly on schedule, but with a heavy load on his wheel. He had gotten along nicely until he reached the foot of the mountain and the steeper part of the grade. Then he had to dismount and push the wheel up ahead of him. It was hard work and plenty hot. He may have had a canteen with him, or he may have indulged too freely of the water at Tin Can Flat; at any rate he was taken ill some distance below Nate's. He knew from experience that the best thing he could do for his particular ailment was to lie down and take it easy. But he was sure that I would be worrying about him if he didn't turn up per specifications, so he kept trundling the loaded wheel along until he got to Nate's Well. Arrived there he collapsed utterly, too sick to take another step. Sometime later he was aroused by Nate's voice.

Nate asked where he was headed for. When Alf said that he was trying to get to his brother's place and that his brother was Bob Asher, Nate's manner changed instantly. He couldn't do too much for Bob Asher's brother. Although Alf had had an hour or two of rest by this time and felt that he ought to be moving along, Nate persuaded him to stay over night and until quite late in the morning. As Alf was about to leave, Nate asked him if he was sure he knew the way to my camp. Alf said that he thought so, that I had directed him to turn down off the main road into the Doane road to Thunder Ridge Trail. Nate then told Alf that he had gotten it all wrong, that my place wasn't anywhere near Doane Valley and that the only way to reach it was by way of the Lone Fir Trail. So Alf turned down the Lone Fir Trail while Brother Robert was parked beside the road half a mile farther up.

Arrived at the Dugout, Alf found no signs of recent habitation, so he pushed the wheel on up the easy trail to The Tepee. Here again things did not look very promising. The up-hill trail from the Tepee was easy to find but not at all easy to negotiate with his loaded wheel, so he laid the thing down, took off his roll of blankets and … 'So here I am!' concluded Alf. Alf never forgot Nate's kindness to him and often referred to it with gratitude.

I once found Nate in tears. Mr. Elmore had sent me in to ask permission to make our road camp on the flat south of Nate's house. Nate said it would be all right and then told me about his present trouble.

Nathan Hargrave had been down to see him and had told him that he had bought Nate's place at a tax sale but that Nate could stay if he wanted to. Nate said that he couldn't understand how Hargrave could buy the place if he, Nate, didn't want to sell. And he didn't want to sell ever, complained Nate.

'After I go I want my daughter to have it.'

I inquired about the daughter, it being the first time he had ever said anything about a daughter, or even having been married. He said that the daughter was a trained nurse and lived in New York City. I next inquired about the matter of unpaid taxes. Nate contended that he had always paid the tax whenever any one asked him for the money. I asked him if he remembered when he last paid over any money for the taxes. He said, maybe last year or the year before. I asked him if he was sure it hadn't been six years or more. No, it couldn't be that long since he had given money to Sparkman the last time he saw him, and nobody had asked for money since then. He said that Major Utt, of Agua Tibia, used to pay his taxes for him, and then he would pay the money to Major Utt the first time he would see him. After Major Utt died, Phillip Sparkman had been paying his taxes for him. I hadn't realized up to that moment that it had been fully six years since Sparkman's murder, but a quick calculation brought me to a realization of that fact, and the probability that Nate's taxes had gone unpaid for six years and that therefore Hargrave had obtained title by bidding in the property at the last tax-delinquent sale. I explained as best I could to Nate, but he was inconsolable. I calmed him a bit by promising to do what I could for him. I did speak to Elmore about Nate's dilemma, and Elmore became quite indignant. He thought Hargrave incapable of doing such a thing. Later in the day, when Elmore came in for dinner, he said that Louis Salmons had just passed by, and that he had told Louis about Hargrave having bought the place over Nate's head and that Louis had gone right up into the air. He added that he thought Louis was going to take the matter up with his brother Frank and that Frank would speak to his partner Congressman Kettner and that Kettner would do what he could for Nate in Washington. A couple of weeks later I was told that Hargrave had bid in the Negro's property for the sum of twenty-eight dollars.

Still later I hear that Nate had given one of his horses to Hargrave and that Hargrave had agreed to deed back the title to Nate. I can testify to the fact that Hargrave did deed back the property in accordance with the agreement.

I was walking down the mountain some time after Hubbel and Butler had taken Nate away and had gone into Nate's house to size things up. The door was full open and the beds and tables were covered with a litter composed of Nate's belongings. I had not intended to touch anything but when I saw a legal-looking document lying right on top of a lot of papers on the table I decided

to investigate. The document proved to be the deed of the forty acres from Nathan Hargrave to Nathan Harrison! Of course, I laid the deed back exactly where I had found it.

A man named Smith stayed with Nate the greater part of one winter shortly before Nate was taken down to San Diego. I never saw Mr. Smith, but was informed that he was Nate's son-in-law. I think that Nate died without leaving a will. Certainly I never again heard a word about the daughter. The Public Administrator of San Diego County probated the estate and the land passed into the possession of Mr. Nicola.

Theodore Bailey raised funds for the building a monument to Nathan Harrison's memory and had expected to deliver the address at the unveiling of the monument after it had been built. Mr. Bailey was so overcome by emotion that he could not proceed. So Edward Davis spoke in his place. Davis spoke very highly of the friend we had all known for so long. Amongst other things David declared that Nate might have married and settled down as a 'squaw man,' but that Nate had walked his own way and had never married.

When David said that Nate had never married I was standing right beside Bentley Elmore. Possibly my mouth was all set to say something to Elmore. However that may be, no words passed my lips – Louis Salmons was looking me full in the eyes with a peculiar expression on his face which said as plain as could be:

'Bob, you keep your mouth shut!' You can just bet that Bob did keep his mouth shut, for the time being at any rate.

Ed Davis must have been mistaken about Nate never having married. How could Nate have said that he had a daughter if he had never married? And if one could believe a statement made by Frank Machado, Nate may have been twice married. Machado is an Indian owning a bit of farm land lying between the Indian Reservation of La Jolla and the Henshaw Dam. He generally raises quite a bit of alfalfa hay each season, and sells much of it to the Hill and Weber Ranches. And, every so often, he rides up the mountain to see how folks are getting along, and maybe to hint that a few dollars might come in handy.

One Sunday I happened to be at Weber's when he called. He is a very interesting talker and is well posted on the mountain's history for some time back. On this Sunday afternoon we got him started talking about 'Mister Harrison,' as he called Nate.

Said Machado: 'My aunt, Dona Lavierla, married Mr. Harrison. Mr. Harrison was working in Tulare County in 1845, was threatened with death, so went to Canyon near Santa Ana. (Yerba) Married Fred Smith's mother, a Lake Pechanga woman, then Dona Lavierla, my aunt, in 1882.

Frank Machado did not seem to know anything about Nate's daughter, and, upon further questioning said that Fred Smith's mother might have been Mr. Harrison's sister. So Fred Smith may have been Nate's nephew instead of his son-in-law.

At one time in Nate Harrison's life he was in the employ of Louis J. Rose. Mr. Rose was one of the earliest settlers in the San Diego region and had a store near the north shore of San Diego bay in a locality called Roseville, so named in his honor. Nate helped in the store. There was no railroad in those days, and the steamers from San Francisco did not come very often.

There came a time, when Mr. Rose had to go north on a business trip to be absent from his store for two or three weeks. He left Nate in full charge of the store and the 'turkle.' The turkle was an immense Gulf of California creature and the apple of the storekeeper's eye. [Editor's note: The turkle was a large tortoise. Don Harrison wrote a letter to Will Carless, staff writer for the *Voice of San Diego*, on September 22, 2005, which elaborated on Rose's pet. He wrote: "Personally, I think of Rose as someone who probably was quite loquacious. He was elected and reelected to various public offices; he loved his little dog Pat and used to delight the townspeople when Pat would hide under Chili, Rose's pet terrapin, a tortoise that was so big children could ride on its back" [http://www.jewishsightseeing.com/louis_rose_historical/2005-Louis%20Rose%20Society/2005-09-22-dhh_voice_of_sd_letter.htm; accessed 11/29/2006].] The turkle was somewhat given to wandering away from the Rose premises if given the least opportunity to get away. His boss' last instructions to Nate were warnings not to allow the turkle to get away.

One morning, a few days after Mr. Rose's departure, the turkle was missing from its usual haunts. Nate hunted around for hours whenever he could leave the store. But he dared not leave the front of the store out of his sight on account of possible customers. Rose was gone two weeks. Nate said that he kept worrying about what Mr. Rose would say.

But Mr. Rose never said a word. He just organized a posse and the posse found the turkle where La Presa is now. La Presa is between Sweetwater Lake and Spring Valley. They said that the turkle was headed straight for the Gulf when they found it. Nate later declared that: 'Louis J. Rose was the finest white man I ever knew.'

Nate also worked for Mr. McCoy. It is likely that he first met McCoy at the Rose store. Rose once owned some property on the 'Plaza' in San Diego south of where the U.S. Grant Hotel now stands. This Plaza property was sold to Mr. McCoy for three hundred dollars, according to a source of information other than Nate Harrison.

One morning while I was still living at 'The Dugout' I started out bright and early with some scratch paper in my pocket and the strap of my camera over my shoulder, bound for a very special interview with Mr. Nathan Harrison. Nate was standing near the well and had a little dog with him. But the dog ran off quite a distance when I hove in sight, and although Nate coaxed and coaxed, doggie jus wouldn't come all the way back. So I took a picture of them as they were, with the pup some distance behind Nate. Then Nate and I sat down on a convenient bank beside the road all set for the impending interview. We had arranged for the interview some time before, and there is suspicion in the back of my mind that Nate had not only brushed up on his memory but his apparel, dilapidated overalls and all. He had probably dug up the raggedest pair of overalls he could find in the scrap heap.

'When I first came to the mountain,' said Nate 'bear were thick. You could just hear them poppin' their teeth.'

'French Valley was a bad place for lions. Once there were thirty-five of forty head of Dyche's horses there, led by old Capanelle bell horse, and six mules. One moonlight night the lions got after the horses, and if it hadn't been for the mules some of the horses might have been killed. Mules go at lions both ends to. I was doctoring the horses for a month. None of the horses died.'

'I met a bear near where Bailey's barn is now. I was riding the pinto horse. Bear was coming up the trail and looked at us good. Then he went down the trail. I was glad he went.'

'We got two bear in French Valley. Andy Blethen was with me. I got one in a trap above the barn in Doane Valley. He nearly got away. Had chewed the logs nearly in pieces. At the mill was a great place for a bear. You could go almost any time in morning or evening and see them walking through the valley. I could show old bear beds back of the cabin yet. They lie down just like a dog.'

'When I came to the country no Indian was allowed to speak to the priest without taking off his hat. Mexicans about the same. The Indians were treated like slaves. The Indians were gathered in front [of] the missions. They were given rations like soldiers, so many beeves [Editor's note: the word "beeves" is an alternative plural of the word "beef"] to each bunch, so much beans et cetera, every Saturday or Sunday.'

'About ten years ago when Father Williams came, the Indians thought he was Christ, even though he told them that he, Father Williams, was just like them, only he had education.'

'A fellow from San Francisco came here from Julian hunting a railroad. He wanted a place to sleep. Scott had fed him and had given him a paper of crackers. He had one extra coat, and that was all he had to sleep on. I gave him two blankets. He snored like sixty. In the morning I told him I would show him how to find a railroad and I gave him some coffee. I sent him to Pala. He was well educated. He said, 'do you believe in dreams?' I said no. He had dreamed of a fortune coming from the ground. He had letters and papers. I was glad to get shed of him. I didn't want that sort of fellow around. Don't want my throat cut.'

'Lions jump from thirty to thirty-five feet, tail and body straight out on level as they jump. I got one on the ridge east of my cabin. He was fourteen feet seven inches from tip to tip.'

'I made rounds of several camps of Indians, sheepherders for the Frenchman, baking bread. A lion went through a flock killing the sheep, but with a dog biting his rear. Then the dog treed the

lion. An Indian saw a tail. He got to the upper side and shot the whole side of the lion's head off. But the lion still lived. It was alive the next morning. I shot him then. That fixed him. The boss gave the Indian ten dollars, and he got six dollars more for the skin. He gave the scalp to me and I got five dollars for it at the Court House in San Diego. With a good dog you can get lions below the falls at the fork of Lion Creek. I have seen them as close as thirty feet; but they are cowardly.'

'A day or two ago, I counted fifty ground squirrels near the pump. One day I put out poison for squirrels. The Indian boy picked up seventy-five the first day. He missed one squirrel. A rattlesnake got the squirrel. The snake died. A skunk got the snake. The skunk died.'

'I have never found a wildcat poisoned. You can get lions that way, though. But you must never touch the bait with your hands. You kill a sheep. Take knife. Jab sheep full of holes. Then drop poison in the holes.'

'I had hounds. I killed twenty-seven cats in one month. The skins are in Sparkman's robe. I got tired of counting fox skins. I took a whole load of skins to Sparkman's but he couldn't sell any.'

'Striplin's boy saw a cat. He ran at it and hollered. The cat ran up a tree. The boy stayed with it until the stage came along. Harold Smith shot it.'

'The surveyors of the Meridian (S.B.M. [San Bernardino Meridian]) were McIntosh, Hancock, and Wheeler. About twenty-five or thirty years ago sixteen government surveyors came through on the Meridian. It was winter with snow on the ground, but they paid no attention to the weather. Below Oliver's on line between nine and ten South, there is a cluster of white oaks. They are cut and marked. Section corner. (Concerning survey of Township 9 South, Range 1 East).'

'The Frenchman put up fifteen hundred dollars for the survey, Doane and Mendenhall wouldn't dig up. Charlie Fox was the surveyor and I was cook.'

'I helped build thirty-two miles of two-wire fence on Pine Mountain. Mr. McCoy had the contract. He lost a hundred dollars on the job.'

'I told Todd about rattlesnakes below Oliver's. Todd's son went down the next day and killed six. Todd went down the next day after that and killed seven. There is a den there.'

'Three boys came up the mountain shooting at everything. Mr. Doane and Mr. Gage had just been up to the mail box and caught the boys in the act. They were shooting holes in the mail box. One shot had gone through a letter of Gage's. Doane pretended that he was real mad. He said: 'Now you boys pay five dollars or I'll take you to San Diego.' ([Author's] Note: The penciled notes came to an abrupt end right here, but it is my recollection that Nate said that Doane threw a good scare into the boys and let them go on a promise to do no more shooting while on the mountain.)'

Nate had hogs in Doane Valley at an early date and made his camp near the spring below Mack Place. (north). Hence he was the 'first white man on the mountain.' The government lands in this section were not open to homestead entry at that time. It is probably a fact that Nate was not notified when they were opened to entry until too late for him to take advantage of any settler's rights he may have acquired before the opening.

I have seen the old arrastra on the flat south of Nate's cabin. An arrastra is an animal-motivated contrivance for reducing mineral ores to powder. It is the supposition that the mill was erected to treat gold ores presumably found in the vicinity, but the hillsides canyons around Nate's cabin have been thoroughly prospected and the mystery still remains unsolved. At one time Ollie Bailey put in a good many hours trying to locate the source of the supposed gold-bearing ore, and even got around into my canyon below Rainbow Falls. He found no gold rock, but did discover vestiges of an old road some distance below the falls on the south side of the creek. He also ran across a strange tree which he was sure must be an entirely new species.

On a later trip into the canyon he cut off a small branch and brought it up to the Bailey place, where I was staying at the time. I told Ollie that it must be a madrone, but Ollie was positive that this tree was not madrone; who ever heard of a madrone growing in this part of the country? I told Ollie that we could settle the matter very quickly if he would hand over the twig to me. I sent it up to my friend Willis L. Jepson at Berkeley. Jepson wrote back that it was a madrone tree indeed, and that he was very much interested because it was the first he had known of any madrone trees growing naturally so far south.

However, Ollie Bailey was not the first white man to see those madrone trees. Uncle Nate told me about a strange tree on the south side of Pauma Canyon between Rainbow Falls and the fork of Lion Creek. He said that the tree had smooth bark like the manzanita but that he didn't think that it was manzanita because it grew tall like a black oak. This information came from Nate about the first time I ever talked with him at any length, probably in the early summer of 1901.

I did not investigate at the time, but, after receiving the letter from Doctor Jepson, I went down into the canyon by way of Oak Flat and an old, very steep cattle trail. I found two of the Madrone trees, each about forty-five or fifty feet high.

Years later, John Wesley Cotton, a famous artist, was visiting me at my Spruce Hill Camp. I told him about the madrones, but he was incredulous. So I dares him to the trip down the canyon. He took up my dare, and we started down the canyon early the next morning. When we reached the first one of the trees, he promptly admitted that it was indeed a madrone. Then I led him out of the canyon by way of the old steep trail and Oak Flat to the grade at the Saddle above Nate's, and so on up the grade to the Doane Valley road and to my camp.

Now it so happened that on the same day, but later in the morning, friend Ed Davis of the Iron Springs and Mesa Grande squired a party of guests down the canyon to the falls. Arrived there they decided that they had plenty of time to do further exploring of the creek's beauty. And, would you believe it, they actually 'discovered' a magnificent specimen of a tree hitherto unknown in this section – the madrone!

There was something in print about Edward H. Davis's amazing discovery. And, to cap the climax, not very long ago, some folks were down to spruce Hill Camp hunting for 'The Madrone tree that had been discovered by John Wesley Cotton!'

It has been stated that Nate once had a claim at Rincon just outside the east boundary line of the Pauma Grant. He sold this property, and Phillip Sparkman started his first little store there. Sparkman later built a larger store further up the valley. Jack Ripley came into possession of the Nate Harrison tract and planted a walnut orchard.

One day when Harry and Mrs. Hill drove by Nate's well he was not there. They drove on up the mountain, but when they reached the Mack place they stopped to see Mr. Hayes. Mr. Hayes had seen nothing of Nate for some time and was worried about him. So, according to Mrs. Hill's version of the case, Mr. Hayes investigated and found Nate so crippled by rheumatism that he was unable to get about, and there was no one with him. Mrs. Hill was of the opinion that Mr. Hayes thereupon loaded Nate into his wagon and took him down to the hospital.

There is, however, another version of the story: It seems that Harry Hill and Ed Quinlan had informed the County Supervisors of Nate's plight and that the Board had ordered Constable Harry Hubble to go and get Nate and bring him down to the County Hospital. A Mr. Butler, who was in charge of the County Garage, accompanied Hubble on the trip. Mr. Butler told me about the trip himself. He said that Nate objected most strenuously against being taken away and had only consented after the two countrymen had succeeded in convincing him that a continued residence on his place would not be fair to his friends on the mountain.

Butler told me that Nate begged to be allowed to get a new pair of overalls at the Pala store. The old Negro said that his old pair of overalls were not good enough to go visiting in.

There is not much left of Nate's cabin now. Only a part of one corner of the fireplace is still standing, but the weeds are high over everything. Nearby are the charred remains of bits of lumber, probably piled there and burned by the present owner of the place. Around the site of the house a number of grape vines and fruit trees are still alive and vigorous.

On the flat south of the cabin, where there had been a row or two of currant and gooseberry bushes, there is nothing left, even the wild bushes have been grazed short by sheep. I faintly remember having seen, at an early date, several rows of corn as high as a man, and I think Nate used to grow a row or two of potatoes and other vegetables each summer until the weight of years forbad."

Fink, W.C., "N----r Nate," (1924-37) File at San Diego Historical Society

The San Diego Historical Society file on Nathan Harrison includes a variety of articles with little or no information on the authors. One such article, a hand-written four-page biography of Nathan Harrison, has the attribution "by Fink" in the upper right-hand corner. The writing is in cursive; the name could easily be confused with "Frick" or "Frisk." However, John Davidson's 1937 *San Diego Evening Tribune* article quotes extensively from it and attributes the material to longtime Palomar resident W. C. Fink. Fink's narrative post-dates the 1924 placing of the monument on the grade and pre-dates Davidson's 1937 article that quotes extensively from it. The article mentions Major Utt as a resident of nearby Agua Tibia, but it does not claim that Utt's family owned Harrison at any time. In fact, when discussion turns to the identity of Harrison's original owner, the author suggests indirectly that the master is not any of the Utts.

The transcription of the article reads:

"N----r Nate

Nathan Harrison, N----r Nate, a well known character to all the old time settlers on smith mountain and as he often said he was the first white man to live on Smith mountain and his coming was like this: at the time when the sheep men used the high pasture lands on the mountain for summer and Fall feed and kept them there if the snow held off till the pasture was good in low land and coast. N----r Nate, two dogs and a flock of sheep came to those vallies [sic] afterward known as French valley and Doane valley. There is where Nate was sheepherding the sheep when he grew tired of being alone with only dogs and sheep for company. 'I told those dogs to take good care of the sheep,' he afterwards said and left for Pauma Rancheria, taking his roll of bedding and the little food, flour, and frijollies [sic] which would insure him a welcome with the Indians. His living with the Indians became so interesting he did not return to the sheep for some time and when he did[,] found dogs and sheep gone and over pasture and range some dead sheep and if any sheep were spared they had left the range for good and mountain lions after them. His job was gone as well as the sheep and he was responsible for the flock of sheep. Responsibility sat very lightly on his shoulders but what would happen when the owner came with supplies and get the flock of sheep. He thought of saf[e]ty for his hide and that saf[e]ty lay in flight from the scene of the disaster till after the owner came with grub and found out what had happened to his sheep and hunted among the Rancherias of the Indians for the defaulting Nate and was met with the usual response. No savvy did he return home to the home Ranch at Chino. Nate returned to Rancheria at Pauma and ever afterward remained in the County. He claimed to be the first white man to live on Smith mountain[,] meaning he was no Indian, tho' he was black as the ace of spades and one time he was asked if the Winery man would mistake him for an Indian[,] he replyed [sic,] 'not 'less I fades considerable.' Many times he turned up at Agua Tibia Rancho asking for work but meaning food and comfortable home and never was refused to be taken in and supplyed [sic] with clothes and when the work became distasteful to him[,] left without notice to live among the Indians and later would return as glad as a lost pup to its mother. This amused Maj. Utt very much and was a pleasure to hear him tell his adventures with the squaws who had not been able to quell the manly spirit of Nate. He was persuaded to take a Free Homestead on the West end of Smith Mountain, 60 acres next to the Pauma Grant line on oat ridge where was a Spring and pasture land and which he owned at the time of his death. The County made a single track road up the mountain thru' his land and put a water trough at his place where travelers could stop and camp and at this place is where the public came to know him. Get his stomach filled with food and drink he would reveal the local history and traditions of all that he had come in contact: as much of it was first hand knowledge was amusing and interesting. As he and his master were 49'ers at which time he was a grown man and claimed to be the best man among his master's Slaves but never told how many slaves his master owned or if he was the only one. At the time the Lincoln pennies were minted I gave him a bright penny and told him what Lincoln done for the slaves: he said, "I know about Abe Lincoln. I had my freedom long for that." We knew that it was a subject he would not talk about. He had

escaped from his master in the gold diggers and found refuge in the south part of the state among strangers and [was] at one time a wood cutter at San Gabriel Mission and saw some adventurous times there and El Monte by the night robbers. He had no education, wrote his name with an X, voted the Republican party; his memory retained everything exact as our books do the account: he repeated the tales in the exact words he used before. Much of his food came from travelers on the road and should he receive a gift of money would round up a horse with a jug in a sack put off to the winery and most often it would be empty when he returned by reason he had stopped with the Indians on his way home. He spent much of his time in his old age sitting on a boulder at Billy goat point where he could see the road for miles below and know when anyone was coming that way. There came a time when he remained in the cabin and we saw him no more and a time when the County car took him to the hospital and then the cemetery and we knew him no more. Many storys [sic] and tales about him are remembered by the few old-timers still living and who have erected a monument for him at his old place on the Country road."

Edmund Rucker, "N----r Nate Saga Mountain Memory" (February 22, 1951)

Rucker's newspaper article from 1951 was based on discussions the reporter had with Robert Asher. It includes many passages from Asher's unpublished 1932-50 manuscript. Rucker's article offered anecdotal stories of Harrison's time on the mountain, including tales of encounters with bears and mountain lions. It is part of the Kirby Collection.

The page A-12 article is part of the "Roving Reporter" series. It reads as follows:

"N----r Nate Saga Mountain Memory

By Edmund Rucker

PALOMAR, Feb. 21 (Special)—N----r Nate Grade winds up the west slope of Palomar Mountain and still appears on maps of San Diego County. But since the completion of the paved Highway to the Stars, the old dirt road is little used. But if you will push your car up this grade you will come upon a stone monument with a bronze plaque which is perhaps the only public historical monument in the county to a Negro.

This marker stands guard beside a spring where Nate, as everyone knew him, was for many years a familiar figure—a kind, courteous, intelligent colored man whose singular boast was that he was 'the first White man on Palomar.' The bronze plaque reads as follows:

'Nathan Harrison Spring
Brought Here a Slave in 1848
Died Oct. 10, 1920
A Man's a Man for A' That.'

You don't travel far today in the county without hearing the name of Nate mentioned. He was obviously a useful and well-liked citizen in the days of his vigor, and his instinct for service remained alive through his feeble old age. Travelers to Palomar came upon him sitting beside the spring which bears his name, and from which he dipped many a drink for thirsty Model T motorists and water for radiators boiling from low-gear toil.

Among Nate's many friends was Robert Asher, who for 35 years lived a hermit life on Palomar. I am indebted to Asher, now 81, for biographical material about this unusual colored man. Nathan Harrison was born a slave in Kentucky and was brought to California as a youth in a party of which his owner was a member. He lived for a time near Temecula. He was employed on a sheep ranch, and later he ran both sheep and cattle on the mountain west of Bougher's Hill, and later in the lower Doane Valley where he made bread for the herders. These duties left him some leisure, and he spent much of it at 'Billygoat Point' which was a mile below Nate's spring, and which commanded a sweeping view across Pauma Valley.

STOPPED AT WELL

'I have seen him perched there for hours,' Asher recalled. 'He would be waiting for me to get abreast of the point as I toiled up the grade afoot. I have often stopped at the well for lunch, always making a little fire to heat water for tea. Sometimes I made camp there for the night, and Nate would come out from his house, which was back a bit from the road, and chat with me. It was always a pleasure to meet him, even though I never had anything to offer him in the way of liquor or tobacco.

'One evening when I reached Nate's Well on the way up from Escondido, everything was damp from a thick mist. I had found a dry place for my blankets and was trying to start a fire when Uncle Nate hove in sight. He watched me for a moment and then said, 'You don't know how to start a fire when things are wet? You see those white sage bushes over there with some dead flower stalks sticking up? You get some of those and you can start your fire easy. But you can try it some other time: you better come into the house where it is dry.'

'Thank you,' I said, 'but I don't want to impose on you.'

'You won't be a bit of trouble,' he assured me, 'You can make your tea on my fire and I have an extra bed.'

OFTEN HIS GUEST

Asher was Nate's overnight guest on other occasions. Hear him tell it:

'It had been raining heavily a few hours before I reached Nate's Well on the upgrade. I had not intended on stopping, but Nate was there and he insisted that I stay over night. In the house he prepared supper, and it was magnificent! Beef stew, with the beef done just right; flaky white potatoes with gravy that couldn't be beat. And perfect home-cooked bread. The loaves were very thick but thoroughly cooked all the way through with a rich, brown crust and without even a hint of the sourness which was so common in those days in white folks' kitchens.'

FULL OF BEARS

'After supper Nate coaxed me into his easy chair beside the fire, seated himself on a stool near by and commenced telling stories of his experiences on the mountain. It was cozy inside but it was a stormy night on Palomar. Nate's language was that of a cultivated man, but he used many striking idioms.

'I recall when he was talking about bears on the mountain when he first arrived, he said:

'You could hear them poppin' their teeth.'

'I'm sorry but you haven't room to print Nate's tales of contacts with mountain lions, and of dogs treeing them, and of other wild beasts, and of his relations with Indians. It is a saga of the summit,' said Asher.

The monument to Nate was purchased with contributions secured through the leadership of Theodore Bailey of Palomar. He had expected deliver the address at the unveiling of the marker, but he was overcome by emotion, and in his place, Edward Davis spoke to the gathering of sorrowing friends.

He said, among other things, that 'Nate might have married and settled down as a 'squaw man', but he had preferred to walk his own way.'"

Philip S. Rush, "The Story of 'N----r Nate'" (1952)

In the May 1952 issue of *Southern California Rancher*, Rush wrote an article that claimed to detail the life of Nate Harrison. Although it provides some descriptions of Harrison, the article spends more time on the story of the Utts, the individuals who purportedly owned Harrison and brought him to California. It is worth pointing out that this article ran on a page adjacent to an advertisement for James B. Utt in his bid for Congress. Rush's article celebrates the Utts by linking them to the legend of Harrison.

Rush's article reads as follows:

"THE STORY OF 'N----R NATE'

High above the nicely groomed citrus and avocado groves of the Pauma Valley, pretty well up the southwestern slope of old Palomar Mountain, is a neglected rock cairn, which marks the spot where "N----r Nate" lived for many years. It was erected by his friends after he passed on in 1920; the old darkey had many friends. With the passing of the years, his name has become a legend, but there was a real 'N----r Nate,' as the old timers· all know, and his name is perpetuated in 'N----r Nate Grade' on Palomar, and 'N----r Nate Springs.'

Something over a century, ago, there lived at Westfield, Virginia, Lysander Utt and his family--comfortable plantation slave owners, as most everyone except the Negroes and 'poor white trash' of Virginia were in those days. Mr. Utt, hearing of the California gold discoveries, headed west in 1849, taking one healthy Negro man slave with him. He went to Independence, Mo., where he outfitted for a trip across the deserts, mountains and plains of the Far West. Weeks were spent on the trail, but after much hardship, Utt and his slave reached the tiny Mexican pueblo of Los Angeles on Christmas Eve, 1849. It was a strange, strange country to the high bred Virginian, but with undaunted courage he proceeded to Auburn where for a time he tried his hand at gold mining.

After indifferent success on the placers of Northern California, he returned to the Southland, first to Anaheim, then to what promised to be a new and great city, Tustin. Two years later, 1874, he established the L. Utt Pioneer Store at Tustin, and it became the trading post and stopping place of travelers and ranchers going from San Diego and San Juan Capistrano to Los Angeles.

When Mr. Utt arrived in Mexican California, little was thought of the fact that he had a Negro slave, but when the Americans took over a few years later, one of the principal points of contention was whether California should be a free or slave state, and the first constitutional convention in Monterey settled the problem for all time--decreeing that unpaid servitude should be prohibited in the new state. So Mr. Utt released his slave man, and Nate wandered away, finally settling for a few years in the Doane valley on Palomar, then called Smith mountain. Then he moved to the west side of the mountain, built a small shack, and lived there until he passed on. He is remembered as a picturesque figure, very friendly and talkative--that is talkative about everything except his own past--a subject which he studiously avoided. He lived largely upon the wild game and herbs of the mountainside, as the Indians had done for centuries before. Near his shack was a good spring of fresh water, and when old Nate would spy a teamster toiling up the difficult trail of the mountain to the small farms and orchards atop Palomar, he would always greet him with a pail of fresh water for his team, and in return the traveler would give him bits of food, or perhaps a nickel or dime, and wave a friendly goodbye, as he urged his team further up the mountainside.

There was work a plenty in the fields and groves at the foot of the mountain, but Nate was absolutely allergic to labor of any kind. Sometimes he would go to the Doane or Bailey or Mendenhall ranches, maybe even promise to work in the hay fields, but he always 'had a mizry' about the time work got under way, and needed a shot of 'mizry medicine'--the stronger the alcoholic content the better. Then he would entertain his friends with stories of all sorts--tales, that is, about everything except himself and his early life. He gave himself the title 'the first white man to live on Palomar,' and eked out an existence there for more than a half century.

In the meantime, the Utt family had begun the development of the Agua Tibia Ranch, a few miles west of Palomar, and had other extensive land holdings in Orange, Ventura and Los Angeles counties. Lysander Utt, who brought "'N----r Nate" to California in 1849, passed on in 1890, his son, C. E. Utt, continuing the store for a time, and developing the ranch properties. To bring this story down to date, James B. Utt, who is now a leading candidate for the United States Congress from the new San Diego-Orange County district, is a grandson of old Lysander Utt, one time master of 'N----r Nate.'"

Anonymous, "Palomar Mountain" (1958)

The Kirby Collection includes an anonymous article about Palomar Mountain in the context of the world-famous observatory. If offers an overview of regional history and briefly addresses Harrison's life and legend. The article states that at the time of its publication it had been 22 years since the observatory opened (in 1936), making the publication date 1958.

The excerpt about Harrison is as follows:

> "One of the mountain's legendary characters was Nathan Harrison, a Negro slave who followed his master from Virginia to the gold rush country in Northern California in 1848 and soon after settled on Palomar. 'Uncle Nate,' as he was called by many, lived alone in a crude stone and wood cabin with some scrawny chickens and hogs who sometimes shared the hut with him. He had a fondness for whiskey. And he was given drinks of it, small change or food by grateful travelers when he brought buckets of water from his spring for their teams of sweating horses that struggled up the steep, winding grade now named Nathan Harrison Road. A monument on one of the grade's hairpin turns near Nate's spring tells us that Harrison died in San Diego County in 1920 at the age of 101. Part of the lore surrounding Nate is that nurses at the county hospital peeled more than a dozen pairs of overalls off him; and then he died. Supposedly he would put on a new pair when the pair he was wearing began to deteriorate."

Marion Beckler, *Palomar Mountain Past and Present* (1958)

Beckler dedicated a few pages of her book on Palomar Mountain to Harrison. She declared that the truth regarding Harrison's stay in San Diego county is in Rush's 1952 account. She claimed that Harrison pre-dates Joseph Smith's 1859 settling of Palomar Mountain. Her book is part of the Kirby Collection. Beckler's book includes one picture of Harrison; it is Kirby Collection Image #1. Its caption reads: "*Nathan Harrison, known as 'N----r Nate,' who called himself the first white man on the mountain. His cabin was near the old west grade, which old-timers called 'N----r Grade.*'"

Beckler's section on Harrison reads as follows:

> "NATHAN HARRISON
>
> Maybe Nathan Harrison was put in the Palomar Story for comedy relief. Known through the years as 'N----r Nate,' he called himself the 'first white man on the mountain.' He doubtless pre-dates Joseph Smith. He was the first settler on the west end.
>
> His hut was not far from the road where there was a spring and horse trough. Here wagons stopped for water and Nate was always there with his cheerful greeting. He doubtless had lived there for around forty years when the road was built in 1900. Before that time the mountaineers had used Smith's east grade or the more recent Trujillo Trail up the south side, paralleling more or less the 'Highway to the Stars.' So Nate's life must have been a very lonely one.
>
> Nate told many stories about his past, all picturing himself as a runaway slave who had sought refuge in the mountain solitudes, not knowing for years after the war that there had been a war and that he was a free man.
>
> The truth about Nathan Harrison is to be found in the Southern California Rancher, issue of May 1952. According to that, Lysander Utt, grandfather of Congressman James Utt, came from Virginia to California during the Gold Rush, bringing one slave. He was operating a Pioneer trading Post in Tustin when California issued a decree against unpaid servitude. So Utt's slave, Nate, was a free man.
>
> Utt's property interests on Agua Tibia probably brought Nate this way. He went first into the valley known as 'Doane,' then moved below the snow line, built his hut, planted his orchard, and enjoyed the world as it went by.
>
> After his death a monument was erected in his honor. People traveling that west grade—a dirt road with the same hair-raising turns it started out with in 1900—will see that memorial

where the spring and horse-through [trough] used to be, where old Nate once greeted folks with his jovial humor:

NATHAN HARRISON'S SPRING
BROUGHT HERE A SLAVE IN 1848
DIED OCTOBER 10TH, 1920, AGED 101 YEARS
'A MAN'S A MAN FOR A'THAT.'

The old grade, known for years as 'N----r Grade' was recently re-named 'Nathan Harrison Grade.'"

Laura M. James, "Palomar's Friendly Hermit" (1958)

James's 1958 San *Diego Historical Society Quarterly* article addressed the conflicting stories of Harrison's arrival in California and detailed his time on the mountain with numerous anecdotes. It can be viewed at: http://www.sandiegohistory.org/journal/58january/hermit.htm. The Kirby Collection also contains a copy of this article. The story contains an image of Harrison with the caption: "NATHAN HARRISON, 1819-1920. Photo (1912) by Mrs. J. M. Reece, courtesy of Miss Catherine M. Wood." The photograph is the same as Escondido Historical Society Image #3. The article reads as follows:

> "If you go to Palomar Mountain by the old West Grade road, just as you enter the trees, pause and go back from the road a short distance. You will find a small clearing, a pile of rocks, a few dead apricot trees, and a dry dilapidated watering trough. The rocks once formed the walls of a small house, the trees were part of a lovely orchard, and the watering trough once overflowed with cold mountain spring water.
>
> In former years here lived at the roadside an old Negro man who was friend to both man and beast. All who traveled this steep grade, which, for years was the only road connecting the mountain with the valley below, looked forward to reaching this spot. They knew that they would be met by this small, smiling man who would first hand them a gourd of ice-cold water, then see that their horse was watered, or their boiling radiator cooled, as the case might be.
>
> 'N----r Nate' was a friendly person, yet very little is known of his early life. All of his life story was never told, even to his best friends, and, try as hard as they would, no one could ever get him to tell the name of his master, for Nate was once a slave. When he passed on in 1920 his true story was buried with him.
>
> There are many versions as to how he came to California. Some say he was the body servant to an Army officer who brought him around the Horn to the gold diggings in the northern part of the state. In order to get to make the trip he had promised to work in the mines for the officer. This he did for one day, then declared his independence, and went to work on his own, and for years did freighting for the miners. Another story is that he came from Kentucky to Sedalia, Missouri, where he waited for several months while a wagon train was being made up to come overland to Merced and on to the mines. However, the following is what Nate told two of his friends, one a lady from the South who lived for years on the mountain, and the other an Indian friend who used to spend a lot of time up at the cabin.
>
> Nate told them he was from the state of Mississippi. When a boy of about sixteen he and a number of other slaves were put up for auction. As he was small of stature (caused, he claimed, because as a child he had been worked so hard and fed so little) he was not attractive to buyers. They were looking for large strong men to work in the fields. During the excitement of the auction Nate saw a chance to slip away. He dropped into the river, and swam and floated for miles. At last he came to a landing where a side-wheel steamer was taking on fuel. He stole into the fuel bunker. There he stayed for days. He lost track of the number, and when he finally saw a chance to get out, he was almost starved to death. He hid out in the woods all day. When the lights in a nearby farm house went out at night, and he figured everyone would be asleep, he crept up to the house and ate food that had been set out for the dogs. He said that was the best tasting food he had eaten in all his life.

What his story was in connection with the long miles and years that stretched between the Mississippi River and California is subject for dispute. Mrs. Elsie Crooks, of Escondido, who is the granddaughter of one of California's early pioneers, tells this story:

Her grandfather, John Welty, brought his family to California in a covered wagon train. At one point they met another party at a river, and the two outfits helped each other to cross. When they were across the Welty's train came right on. They wanted the others to come with them, but for some reason the other group wanted to lay over a day. They laid plans to overtake the Welty train at a place where the two outfits planned to rest for several days. When they did not arrive as planned, Grandfather Welty rode back to see what was delaying them. He found that the Indians had killed them all, burned their wagons, and made off with their stock. As he was returning to his outfit, he came upon a woman, a baby, and a Negro. They had managed to escape by hiding in some tules and willows. For fear the Indians would track them, they had put some of their clothing over their shoes, and were endeavoring to reach the others on foot.

Later, when the Welty train reached a fort, the woman and baby were left in order that they might return to the East with the first outfit going that way, but the Negro came on to California. He was Nate.

The wagon train arrived in San Bernardino in 1864. Almost all of the company settled in or near that city, but a few drifted south into San Diego County. Grandfather Welty first settled up in the mountains back of San Bernardino, where he established the first saw mill in that district. After being burned out twice by the Indians he moved his family to the Temecula Canyon, to a place called in more recent years the Keating Ranch. Mrs. Crooks says that as a child she spent a lot of time with her grandparents, and that there was never a gathering of the San Bernardino friends that Nate did not attend. Everyone always seemed exceptionally glad to see him. He would often come up to the ranch, and after spending several days would say he was going on up to San Bernardino to see the folks, meaning the other members of the wagon train. She remembers him as always laughing and as a great hand to play jokes on the children.

The first home that we hear of Nate having was in the Rincon Valley. Later he took up a homestead on the south slope of Palomar Mountain. Here he lived for years, clearing a small part of the land, planting an orchard, and raising horses. He had the one price of $150 for his horses, regardless of age, size, or kind. And he insisted he be paid in gold. He said he wanted no truck with silver or folding money. During the summer months he acted as herdsman for a Temecula man who ran a large herd of sheep on the mountain. During the winter months he did odd jobs for his friends in the valley, and was always in demand at hog killing time.

People going to and from the mountain would always remember Nate and take him choice bits of food. These he greatly enjoyed, and amused the givers by telling them, 'Just wait till I get my tooth in it.' For years he only had one tooth in his head. Especially he appreciated a bottle of liquor, right up to his dying day. He always said he had been raised on corn liquor. For years he rode a white horse. He usually rode at a walk, but his friends could tell just how much he had imbibed by the way he rode. The more liquor consumed, the faster the horse was made to travel, until sometimes he would go up the mountain at a dead run.

Evidently he was not too careful a cook, for an Indian friend tells of going there one day, and, upon finding the coffee pot almost filled with coffee grounds, he decided to empty them and make fresh coffee. Down near the bottom of the pot he found a large lizard that had been boiled over and over.

Nate claimed that the meat of all wild animals was good to eat. One fall his friend Juan Disperto went up to gather acorns. Nate saw him eyeing a string of jerky that he had drying, and told him to take what he wanted of it. When ready to go home Juan took a liberal supply. In a couple of weeks he was back for more acorns. Nate asked him how he liked the jerky, and he replied it was the best he had ever eaten. It was then that Nate told him that it was not deer meat but mountain lion. This made Disperto very angry, and he went on down the mountain without gathering any acorns.

Nate was thrifty in some ways. After he had chewed his tobacco for a long time he would put it out to dry and smoke it in his pipe. One Indian says that the pipe was so strong that all he had to do was to put a coal in it and he could have a good smoke.

Nate was a friend of the Indians and the Indians were friends of Nate's, so much so that he was adopted into their tribes to the extent that he could take part in their ceremonial dances. He was present at all the fiestas. Late in life he accepted the Catholic faith and was baptized by Max Peter's mother.

For years, when asked his age, he would reply that he would be seventy-six this coming New Year's Day. From things he said people figured he was over a hundred when Dr. Milton Bailey persuaded the old man to let him take him to the San Diego County Hospital, where he passed away.

Friends collected money and had a monument erected by the spring at the entrance to his mountain home. It is of native stone; a copper plate set in bears the following inscription:

Nathan Harrison's Spring
Brought here a slave about 1848
Died October 10th, 1920, aged 107 years
'A man's a man for a' that.'"

Edgar F. Hastings, "An Interview with ADALIND S. BAILEY" (May 14, 1959)

Hastings interviewed Palomar resident Adalind Bailey in 1959. Bailey, the wife of Milton Bailey and daughter-in-law of Harrison's close friend Theodore Bailey, was 73 at the time of the interview. She died in 1970. The interview took place at the Bailey Resort on Palomar Mountain, an old adobe house, purportedly built by the indigenous population under Theodore Bailey's direction.

This report only presents the parts of the Bailey interview that pertain to Nate Harrison and the grade. Beginning on page 10, the interview reads as follows:

"STAGE ROUTE, PALOMAR MT.: The stages came from Escondido.

My first trip up here I had to come to Escondido on the train, stay overnight, and take a stage at six o'clock in the morning. We took lunch with us. There were quite a number of us and we stopped at Rincon, ate our lunch, and changed stages for the mountain stage. It just happened that that time my husband drove the stage, the only time that summer, and we came up on that stage.

The N----r Nate grade was the only grade. We came up N----r Nate grade from Rincon. I think there were six horses on the stage. It took from three o'clock in the afternoon (when) I left San Diego until half past eight the next night to get up here. We left San Diego and came to Escondido on the train and stayed overnight in Escondido, then took the stage at six o'clock and got to Rincon. We rested for an hour at Rincon, changed stages and came on up.

The Rincon stage went back to Escondido. It only went from Escondido to Rincon, and then Palomar mountain stage would meet us at Rincon. The stage had three seats. I think it held three in each seat. I forget how many in the group that came up with me, probably six or eight. It was a spring wagon with a top on it. It may have had fringe around it too, I don't remember. Three cross seats. The driver sat in front and two could sit there with him, and then there could be six in the other two seats, three in each seat.

We came up N----r Nate grade and we came through the old west grade at the top just as it is now. We came through right there in the State Park not far from the head ranger's cabin, then over to Bailey's. That was all. This was the end of the trip. It was our stage; it was a private stage, brought people up to the Bailey resort. When they wanted to go down they'd go down on the stage. That was the only road. There was no south grade and the east grade was very bad. The new east grade hadn't been made then.

We ran the stage for awhile from San Diego. I remember the drivers. We had our stage office at Muehleisen's. You remember the old sporting goods house? That was on 4th Street not far from Broadway. That's where the stage left, I think three times a week, for Palomar mountain. At that

time, of course, it was an automobile stage. We changed to automobile stage almost as soon as I got here. I came over the stage trip the last year, I think, they ran stages.

The next year my husband got an automobile stage and hired a driver. When he did that he began running from San Diego. We had an old Pierce-Arrow at first. I remember that distinctively because it was covered with brass, you know, and it didn't have any top. I think it had a windshield – I'm not sure. We had to stop and light the acetylene lights when it began to get dark. Sometimes it wouldn't work. You know how those things got plugged up.

N----R NATE (HARRISON): N----r Nate was living there then.

He was living there for some time. He was a very delightful old man, colored fellow, and very dignified and poised. He had a beard. It was white when I first knew him. He was pretty old. He homesteaded up there and lived there about half-way up the mountain. He had a little spring there, plenty of water. He built a little cabin that stood for a long time. One of the younger Kelly men bought that place and owns it now, Dewey Kelly. He plans to build there.

A group of us went down not many weeks ago and saw where the cabin stands. There's nothing left except a little bit of a rock pile there. N----r Nate grade is open just about the way it was originally. You can still go over it. It is still passable. They keep it open for fire protection.

N----r Nate was a nice old fellow. I liked him. He'd hear us coming up the grade and come out to meet us. I'd always bring him corn bread. He liked corn bread and when we were going to come up I'd bring him a big pan of corn bread for him. He liked mutton and my husband would bring him a piece of mutton. Everyone that went along sort of fed him.

When the people butchered up here they always took something to him. And he liked something to drink occasionally, too. Louie always brought him a bottle of something when he came up. He needed a stimulant; he needed the company. The say he was in his nineties, and I expect he was.

We went to see him after they took him down to the county hospital. He was scrubbed clean and seemed very happy. He said the girls were very good to him and I imagine they were. He was a cute old fellow. He was still up here when my oldest boy was three because I have a picture taken together and I imagine he was five or so before Nate was taken down. He got so old and so sick he couldn't take care of himself."

Toward the end of the interview, Bailey mentioned the Harrison grade in reference to the old sawmill in Pedley Valley. She stated (on page 20):

"There was something left of the old sawmill when I first came, but nothing left of it now. It's all gone. I don't think they would ship any lumber down the hill; it would be too expensive. The roads were very poor. There wasn't even the west grade that is such a miserable road. That was supposed to be a very elegant road when it was built. They were proud of it. That's the N----r Nate grade, Nathan Harrison grade they call it now. When the old east grade came up, that was an improvement on what they had."

Edgar F. Hastings, "An Interview with LOUIS SHANNON SALMONS" (June 17, 1959)

Hastings conducted an interview with 83-year-old Palomar pioneer Louis Salmons in 1959. The interview took place at the Salmons home in Pauma Valley, near Rincon.

This report only includes the parts of the Salmons interview that pertain to Nate Harrison and the grade. Beginning on page 4, the interview reads as follows:

"One Christmas morning about four o'clock we had an earthquake and it - all the roof of that chapel in Pala Mission and everything just went down. So, in those days there was nobody to donate anything much. There was just the people that live around Pala and so I told them that I thought I could get permission from Oliver up on Palomar there, (he owned 160 acres of land up there) Ernest Oliver, to cut the timber and the people in Pala, the Indians and Mexicans there offered to go up and cut the timber and peel them. So they did. They figured out what they wanted

and they went up and cut them all and peeled them and I hauled them down. I donated half of that – hauling them down. And I got… that was the early days.

The west grade was none too wide and there's several of the turns there that when I got to the turn we had to… the front end of the big long timbers up over the – on the footboard over the team, and the hind end was back so far that when we got to a short turn we had to get around and jack the wagon up and take the team off and slide it around, straighten it out so that we could go on, several times – haul them down to the grade, haul them down to Pala. Then they repaired the chapel. I suppose those same logs are in there now. They've done so much building in there that I wouldn't know. I don't hardly know the place.

Well, I'm not as big a liar as some of the rest of them. All I know is what the old man told me a thousand times. (N----r Nate told me). He come from Kentucky to Sedalia, Missouri, and that was where they all congregated there. And they had to make a big wagon train for the Indians – stand the Indians off. So he came there up to Fort Stockton, up by Sacramento and was there for several years. And finally the man that… His master that brought him out, he died and old Nate drifted on down this way them.

He started before the Civil War. Oh, yes, it was – he was still a slave when he came. He came here in the early day. I don't know what year. He didn't know what year himself that he came. But he was a slave when he came across. Then when his master died, he was free. Well, by that time I think they'd freed the slaves. The war was over by that time.

Then he drifted down here, and he was all around. He took up the hundred acres that the Rincon Spring's on. You know, where the resort is there. Well, he took that 160 acres there. Oh, he sold it to Andrade Scott. Well, he had one or two Indian wives, two or three of them. So afterwards, he went up and took up that place on the mountain. Before that he was on the mountain when he first came down here, and he was in lower Doane Valley going to raise hogs. And he said the 'bars' (bears), so wild he couldn't do anything with them. He had to shoot what he did get afterwards. Grizzly bears there then. They was darn hard on hogs.

He lived on San Gabriel for a long time before he came down here. And he used to go to Los Angeles and … Los Angeles was just a little runt of a Mexican town then and he always called it the 'Pueblo.' He went to the Pueblo occasionally and when he was there he never slept in Los Angeles overnight. He'd saddle his horse and go out on the hills. He said they was killing people every night. (They had a sign up, 'N----r don't let the sun set.')"

On pages 6-7, Salmons discusses Harrison in the context of Doane's marriage. The interview reads:

"So he [George Doane] got a livery rig to bring 'em [Doane, his new wife and her maid] up the mountain. And he got up – they drove in to old Nate's late I the afternoon and he told Nate, said, 'Nate,' he said, 'I want you to come meet my wife.' And so old Nate walked down and says, 'All right.' He says, 'Which one is it?' And he had this n----r girl with him, too, you know. She came as a servant. She'd been this girl's (that Doane married) … Her mother had raised this n----r girl. And she was here, oh, for three or four years.

This girl he [Doane] married came from Louisiana, that French, the Cajun colony there down in southern Louisiana. And she brought her colored girl with her for her maid. And N----r Nate, he was down at the well there. Everybody used to know him because the well was right near his house. The old well was right on the road; it was a county well. Dry as a bone now.

It was a county well, yeah, and they had a pump there. Old Nate always … He used to sit on the rock this side, oh, about a mile, half mile this side of the well. There was a ride there where they … a lookout point. He'd sit on that rock and see everything from – oh, from Henshaw to Oceanside. And they called it Billy Goat Point. Old Nate had a grey beard, you know. And he used to tell people, 'Well,' he says, 'there's Billy Goat Point – funny about Billy Goat Point.' My wife said, 'The old billy goat would be sittin' there waiting for you.' Get up there and there was old Nate.

Well Doane went on over into Doane's Valley. He had a cabin there. Well, he had a cabin on – over there in Doane Valley. O, yeah, a camp or a cabin of some kind – not much. [Question: How long did he stay married, do you know? Did he have any children?] No – oh, he had half a dozen

out there. Never could keep track of them all. They separated – they stayed on the reservation, everyone of them. And they lived up above ... they all stayed on the reservation there, Indian Reservation, La Jolla, Rincon, wherever he got one. No, not Doane, Nate – Nate's squaw. Doane had two or three boys by this wife from Louisiana."

On page 9, Salmons describes Nate's "wife." He says,

"The maid that came out, she was a big colored girl. She was about six feet; she wasn't fat, she was just big. Had a foot that long. Old Nate – the boys used to go around and measure her tracks, you know. And old Nate said, 'I always call her my 'cubby.' She's got a foot like a cub 'bar.' She helped him put up hay and bring in wood and things, but they didn't farm any at all there.

N----r Nate sold his place (homestead at Rincon Springs) to Andre Scott, a Mexican. And Sparkman rented it from Klauber-Wangenheim San Diego. They owned the store. They took it on a mortgage or something."

Edgar F. Hastings, "An Interview with HARRY P. JONES" (March 10, 1960)

Hastings interviewed Jones in 1960. Jones, who was then living in Imperial Valley, told many stories of his days in and around Palomar mountain. Harry Jones (1880-1960) first came to San Diego in 1886, and during his early years traveled extensively throughout the county. He owned a ranch near Palomar and was well acquainted with many of the mountain residents. Jones described some of these individuals in the interview. He stated (beginning on page 4):

"**PALOMAR PEOPLE:** I owned some property there, a little ranch of 240 acres joining the Pauba Ranch on the east. That was on the north side of Palomar. I knew some colored people living around there. I knew N----r Nate well, and N----r Oliver at the Pechanga. N----r Oliver didn't do much of anything; he was just more or less of a character. He had a little cabin up there. He was a squaw man – married an Indian woman. I know of one girl they had.

I didn't know Jim Hamilton. He died before I went there, but he had three boys. He was a colored man. He was located on the east end of the Pauba Ranch and there was a lawsuit over it. And finally it was taken from him. The place was called N----r Canyon. He moved back to Coahuilla. He had one boy who was a United States marshal and was killed at San Jacinto. He had two other boys, Joe and Henry. And Henry was a United States marshal in that district. They had a cabin up in the Coahuilla country. They were half-breeds; both these colored men up there married Indian squaws. I don't think Nate Harrison was married.

GEORGE DOANE: While I was going to school in Bear Valley, George Doane used to come down there, like he always did, and make love to the schoolteachers. I've forgotten whether it was Fanny Pease or Josie Breedlove who was the teacher. George was quite a character. I've been to his place and stayed with him and bought some cattle from him once, years after that. He finally got married. He brought his wife out and she had a colored maid with her. He stopped by Nate Harrison's and told Nate he got married. There was the white girl there and the colored one and Nate asked him, "Which one, Mr. Doane?"

Edgar F. Hastings, "An Interview with JOSEPH B. REECE" (April 1, 1960)

Hastings interviewed Reece in April of 1960 at the latter's Escondido home. Reece was born in 1875 and came to San Diego County as a child. He was an active farmer in the region for many years. Reece only made brief mention of Harrison in his interview. He stated (on page 5):

"PALOMAR: I had a cabin up on top of Palomar Mountain. That was about 1914, I think. We'd go up on weekends, and when we left to do down Nate was always waiting there for what provisions we had left. He was always pretty well supplied. I was quite well acquainted with the old fellow; used to stop and talk to him."



Figure 3.7. Dr. Mallios gives the field school an overview of the patio-area units at the start of the 2005 summer excavation season. The patio unit Excavation-Register numbers have been superimposed on this photograph.



Figure 3.8. Timothy Ward, Nichelle Worthington, and Anamay Melmed excavate in the cabin. The cabin unit Excavation-Register numbers have been superimposed on this photograph.

3.4 2005 Excavation Results

Professor Mallios's SDSU archaeological team excavated 31 units during the 2005 summer field season. They dug twenty-five 5' by 5' units in the patio area just west and north of the cabin; twelve of these were entirely new units and the other thirteen were a continuation of units dug the previous summer (Figure 3.7). The field school also excavated inside of the cabin, continuing excavation in twelve existing 3 ½' by 3' units and starting a thirteenth as well (Figure 3.8). Overall, the total excavation area included nearly 5,000 square feet (Figure 3.9) and consisted of 37 horizontal units with corresponding Excavation Register (ER) designations (Figure 3.10).

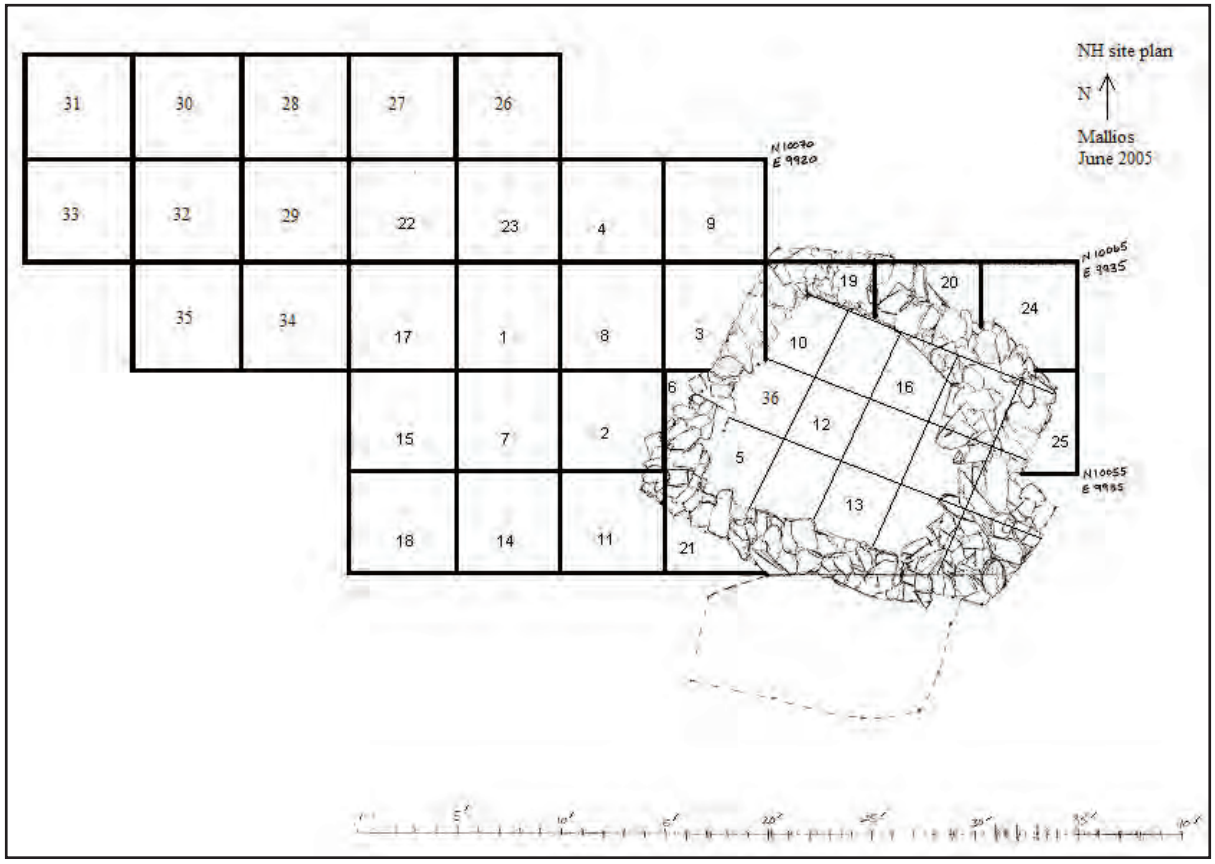


Figure 3.9. Plan map of Nate Harrison site as of June 2005.

Much of the preliminary work performed during the summer of 2005 consisted of cleaning up the site after the record rainfall during the fall, winter, and spring of 2004-05. The site had been covered in multiple tarpaulins, but the location of the cabin on the side of a hill made run-off across the site inevitable. The soft sandy matrix held up well against the deluge. Nonetheless, the top inch of soil was impacted. As a result, the top inch of every unit opened in 2004 and continued in 2005 was labeled as an interim clean-up layer. This separation of potentially contaminated wash-in fill protected against any mixing of layers. In each case, this layer was given an "A" designation that corresponded with its appropriate horizontal ER number. "Rounding up to A" guaranteed that any vertical contamination from the winter rain would be minimal and like any other subsequent surface occupation.

The surface clean-up occurred in both the patio and cabin areas. Patio-unit clean-up layers included 1A, 2A, 3A, 4A, 6A, 7A, 8A, 9A, 11A, 14A, 15A, 17A, 18A, 22A, and 23A. Cabin-unit clean-up layers consisted of 5A, 10A, 12A, 13A, and 16A. Exterior-cabin units 19-21 and 24-25 did not have a clean-up layer because they were not excavated in the summer of 2005. Likewise, units 26-37 did not have clean-up layers because they were first excavated in 2005, after the rain had ceased. It is likely that each field season will begin with a thorough site cleaning, with the top inch of this full-site pass being rounded up to the A layer of each ER unit.

NATE HARRISON SITE EXCAVATION REGISTER (ER)

ER# (no letters)	NE corner Coordinates	General Description	Date assigned (MM/DD/YYYY)	Initials
1	N10,065 E9,910	5′ x 5′ unit	06/09/2004	SM
2	N10,060 E9,915	5′ x 5′ unit	06/11/2004	SM
3	N10,065 E9,920	5′ x 5′ unit	06/11/2004	SM
4	N10,070 E9,915	5′ x 5′ unit	06/14/2004	SM
5	N10,059.265 E9,923.310	3′ x 3½′ unit	06/15/2004	SM
6	N10,064.060 E9,921.075	5′ x 5′ unit; cut by str. 1	06/15/2004	JM
7	N10,060 E9,910	5′ x 5′ unit	06/16/2004	SS
8	N10,065 E9,915	5′ x 5′ unit	06/16/2004	SS
9	N10,070 E9,920	5′ x 5′ unit	06/16/2004	SS
10	N10,065.020 E9,926.940	3′ x 3½′ unit	06/16/2004	SS
11	N10,055 E9,915	5′ x 5′ unit	06/16/2004	ML
12	N10,060.660 E9,927.920	3′ x 3½′ unit	06/16/2004	JM
13	N10,056.320 E9,929.000	3′ x 3½′ unit	06/16/2004	SM
14	N10,055 E9,910	5′ x 5′ unit	06/17/2004	MW
15	N10,060 E9,905	5′ x 5′ unit	06/21/2004	HS
16	N10,061.725 E9,932.300	3′ x 3½′ unit	06/21/2004	SS
17	N10,065 E9,905	5′ x 5′ unit	06/22/2004	SS
18	N10,055 E9,905	5′ x 5′ unit	06/22/2004	SS
19	N10,065 E9,925	5′ x 5′ unit; cut by str. 1	06/23/2004	MW
20	N10,065 E9,930	5′ x 5′ unit; cut by str. 1	06/23/2004	JM
21	N10,055 E9,920	5′ x 5′ unit; cut by str. 1	06/23/2004	SS
22	N10,070 E9,905	5′ x 5′ unit	06/23/2004	SS
23	N10,070 E9,910	5′ x 5′ unit	06/23/2004	SS
24	N10,065 E9,935	5′ x 5′ unit	06/23/2004	SS
25	N10,060 E9,935	5′ x 5′ unit; cut by str. 1	06/24/2004	JM
26	N10,075 E9,910	5′ x 5′ unit	06/23/2005	MN
27	N10,075 E9,905	5′ x 5′ unit	06/23/2005	SS
28	N10,075 E9,900	5′ x 5′ unit	06/23/2005	SS
29	N10,070 E9,900	5′ x 5′ unit	06/23/2005	SS
30	N10,075 E9,895	5′ x 5′ unit	06/23/2005	SS
31	N10,075 E9,890	5′ x 5′ unit	06/28/2005	SS
32	N10,070 E9,895	5′ x 5′ unit	06/28/2005	SS
33	N10,070 E9,890	5′ x 5′ unit	06/28/2005	SS
34	N10,065 E9,900	5′ x 5′ unit	06/28/2005	SS
35	N10,065 E9,895	5′ x 5′ unit	06/28/2005	SS
36	N10,061.543 E9,924.153	3′ x 3½′ unit	07/13/2005	SS

Figure 3.10. Excavation Register of Nate Harrison site through June 2005.

The Patio: Western Exterior Units (NH1, 2, 3, 4, 6, 7, 8, 9, 11, 14, 15, 17, 18, 22, 23, 26, 27, 28, 29, 30, 31, 32, 33, 34, and 35)

Excavation in the patio area consisted of three tasks: 1) clean-up of the units from the summer of 2004, 2) excavation of new patio units to the west and northwest of the existing units to follow the increased artifact frequencies leading away from the cabin doorway, and 3) dig aligned units to find the depth of the patio strata (like an extra-wide cross-trench) along the edge of the landscape terrace (which may be cultural or natural) to subsoil.

Some of the previously dug patio-area units (NH1, 2, 3, 6, 7, 8, 11, 14, and 17) were excavated no further than the initial clean-up. Water from the site run-off had created small rivulets in the surface of these units that were silted in with dirt and leaves. The clean-up removed the debris and flattened out the rivulets, which often yielded artifacts. Thus, it is most likely that the majority of the artifacts were from the B layer of the existing patio-area units. Nonetheless, the finds were rounded up to A to ensure against temporal contamination.

The remaining previously dug patio units (NH4, 9, 22, and 23) were excavated further. The field crew began with the clean-up A layer and then proceeded to excavate an additional 3" B layer. The B layer consisted of a dry brownish/grey sand that was indistinguishable from the A layer. Both had Munsell readings between 10YR 3/1 and 4/2 and 5YR 4/1 and charcoal inclusions. The additional B layer of these units was excavated because the A layer contained very little rock debris from the cabin. The B layer was removed to ascertain if the rock debris continued to the north and west of the cabin under additional layers of sand and silt. Preliminary findings suggest that it did not and that the destruction debris from the cabin was spatially confined to an area twenty-feet square and adjacent to the west edge of the structure. As will be detailed shortly, findings from the new excavation units to the west of the 2004 patio-area units also confirm this observation.

The horizontal digging strategy in the new patio units (NH26, 27, 28, 29, 30, 31, 32, 33, 34, and 35) was the same as in 2004. An initial checkerboard pattern allowed for increased profiles as no adjacent sidewalls were compromised. When the checkerboard was abandoned and adjacent units were dug, a temporary 1.0' balk was left to record a running profile with transit-determined elevations. Like the units previously dug in the patio area west of the cabin, the top fill of these units was a very dry brownish/grey sand. Munsell readings ranged between 10YR 3/1 and 4/2 and 5YR 4/1 with charcoal inclusions. The top 3 inches of fill was uniform and showed no significant stratigraphic change within the layer or at its arbitrary 3" base. In addition, the A and B layer of these units contained very few rocks, and virtually none were large enough to be associated with the physical structure of the cabin. Like the findings from strata NH22B, 23B, 4B, and 9B, NH26B-34B suggested that the immediate rock debris from the destruction of the cabin did not extend more than twenty feet to the west/northwest. Artifact quantities and densities were notably high in the newly excavated patio-area units. In fact, they increased dramatically as one ventured further from the cabin entrance.

Since none of these units was dug to subsoil, their profile maps are still in progress and are not presented here. In cases where adjacent units are being dug, running profiles are being kept. In other cases, the profile maps are being saved for the completion of the unit.

Various contemporaneous pictures of Harrison (e.g., Kirby Collection Image #3, Kirby Collection Image #4, Escondido Historical Society Image #8, Escondido Historical Society Image #10, San Diego Historical Society Image #2, etc.) show the living surface of the cabin and the adjacent western patio at about the same level. Although it is difficult to see inside the cabin in most of the images, different angles of the terrain suggest that there is little difference between the elevation of the interior and exterior surfaces. With this in mind, one might expect the patio deposit to be fairly shallow, unless it is assumed that the contemporary pictures are from the last years of Harrison's life and the level patio is the result of decades of built-up debris. This debate is likely made moot by the testimony of some locals who claim that subsequent individuals terraced and bulldozed the patio area after Harrison's demise. Consequently, it is clear that only a deep stratigraphic view of a cross-section of the patio will clarify the occupation and destruction periods of the cabin and surrounding areas.

These were the motivations for beginning a cross-trench through the patio area. This trench was as wide as the 5' units so that spatial analyses could be kept consistent between and among trench units. In addition, the width of these units would likely allow the sandy soil to hold better sidewalls than a traditional 2-2½' trench. The cross-trench began in NH15 and expanded into NH18. Ultimately, it will include, from south the north, NH18, 15, 17, 22, and 27, and from east to west, NH3, 8, 1, 17, 34, and 35.

The cross trench began in NH15. It was thought to be the southern extreme of the patio area as the terrain sloped down at a 30° angle and flattened out in a path that ran along the south edge of the cabin. The first two layers in NH15 were dug in 3" levels following the natural contour of the land. NH15A had been dug in 2004 and consisted of a uniform sandy brown sand with a Munsell reading of 2.5Y 5/2. It had no inclusions and only the northern third of the unit contained large structural rocks. The next 3" layer, NH15B, greatly resembled NH15A in soil type, texture, and color; however, it contained substantial charcoal inclusions and had very few rocks. The next five layers (NH15C-15G) alternated in the amount of rock in the fill. Although each layer was approximately 3" in depth and consisted of sandy brown sand with a Munsell reading of 2.5Y 4/1, NH15C, 15E, and 15G contained exceptional amounts of large rocks whereas 15D and 15F were virtually rock free. A variety of artifacts came out of each sequential layer. The overall depth of the unit by the end of the 2005 field season was nearly 3.0' in the northeast corner and 1.5' in the southeast corner (Figure 3.11). Profile maps are usually completed once a unit has been completely dug. In this case, the map was drawn even though subsoil had not been reached because the results of this particularly deep test unit needed to be recorded before the end of the field season. At the end of the 2005 field season, not only had subsoil eluded the field crew in NH15, but the rock layer at the temporary base of the unit, NH15G was full of large rocks and artifacts (Figure 3.12). All the maps presented in this report, unless otherwise noted, are drawn to scale at 1"=1', with 1.0" being the dark gridlines on the graph paper.

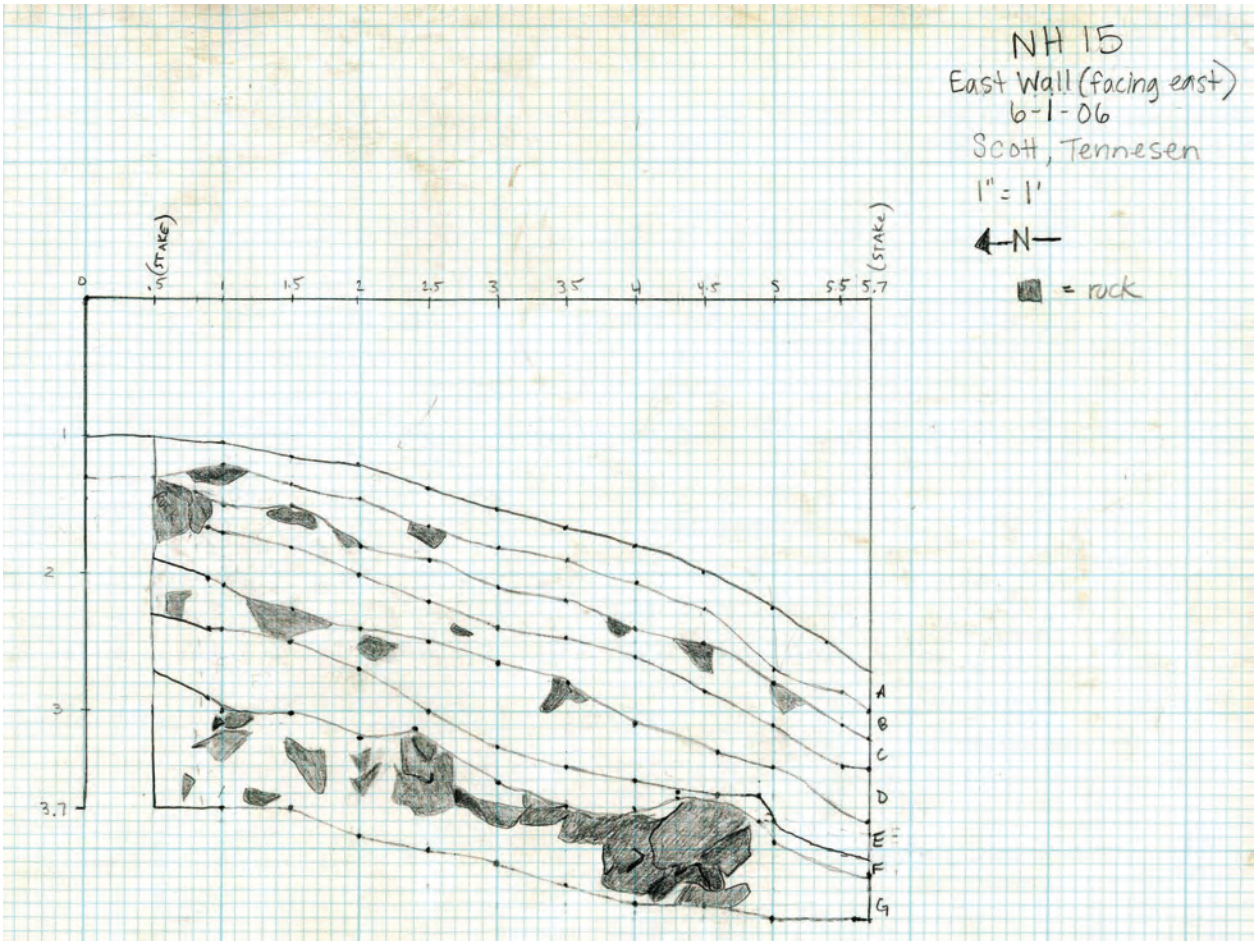


Figure 3.11. NH15 east wall profile map.



Figure 3.12. NH15 plan (G) and profile (A-G) photograph; not to scale (oblique angle).

NH18, the unit immediately to the south of NH15, was opened because the planned start of the south/north trench (NH15) began to dive deeper than the unit to the south. It became clear that the purported "Indian path" to the immediate south of the Harrison cabin —the conspicuously flat 4'-wide trail of which NH18 was a part— consisted of late 19th-century fill and was not entirely prehistoric. The layers in NH18 resembled those in NH15 to a limited degree. NH15A was the same uniform sandy brown sand that made up NH18A, but the B layer in NH18 was only evident in the northeast corner of the unit. Thus, the uniform B layer that covered most of the patio-area units petered out in the corner of NH18. NH18C resembled NH15C, a rock-rich layer of brown sand, but had a higher loam content than that seen elsewhere. It appears as if the bottoms of both NH15 and 18 are far from subsoil and the patio-area deposit is far deeper than the cabin floor.

The Cabin: Interior Units (NH5, 10, 12-13, 16, and 36)

The crew worked on six cabin units during the summer of 2005 and completed profile maps of all four walls for units NH5, NH10, NH12, and NH13. The cabin units contained a fairly uniform stratigraphic sequence, with 6-9" of grey sand sealing 6-9" of brown sand followed by an intermittent rock layer. This rock layer sealed much of the cabin's floor. In various places, rodent holes caused some fill to work its way into the floor and the subsoil below. Nonetheless, Harrison's dirt floor was marked by a thin layer of brown sand above a more reddish sand with no inclusions. The floor also had many large stones pressed into it, the likely consequence of the initial demolition of the cabin in the 1930s. The soft sand at the site is easily dented by large rocks which work their way into the lower layers.

Since the cabin units were laid out in a 4 x 3 grid and dug in an alternating checkerboard fashion, the number of available profiles was maximized. Each set of students who dug the particular cabin unit was also responsible for mapping each unit wall, including a rock-by-rock profile of the cabin wall. Not only do these maps capture the layers and components of the unit, they can also be stitched together at a later date to produce a mosaic representation of the entire cabin wall. Ultimately, the cabin excavation will produce five complete profile maps across the entire structure, as the back of one wall corresponds with the front of its adjacent checker-boarded partner unit. These composite profiles will be included in future technical reports.

NH5 (Figures 3.13-3.20)

The southwest corner of the cabin, NH5 had been dug to the floor the previous summer. During 2005, the floor layer was removed, and an additional layer of material pressed into what was once subsoil was also excavated. As reported previously, NH5A and 5B were the top two 3" layers of grey sandy sand with no discernable difference between the two except for 5A's superposition. NH5C, 5D, and 5E were darker; they consisted of brown sandy sand with various charcoal inclusions. NH5F was the flat reddish brown floor layer and NH5G was tan subsoil with cultural material and rocks pushed into it, likely from the destruction of the cabin or rodent burrowing at the site.

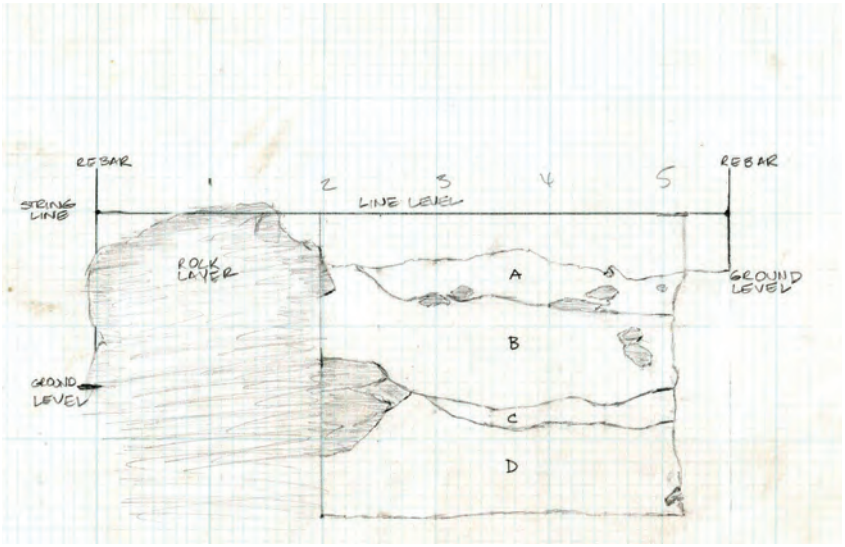


Figure 3.13. NH5 north wall profile map.



Figure 3.14. NH5 north wall photograph.

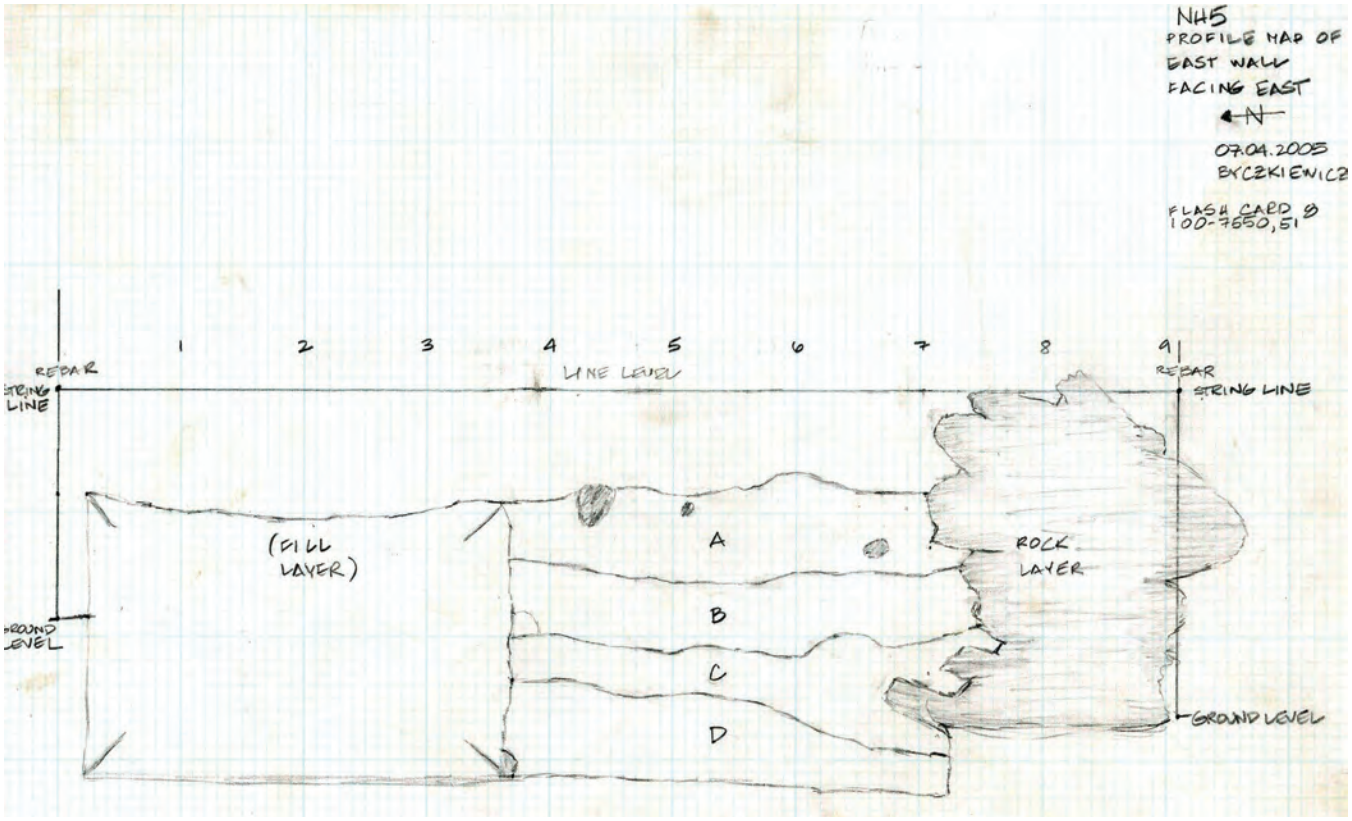


Figure 3.15. NH5 east wall profile map.



Figure 3.16. NH5 east wall photograph.

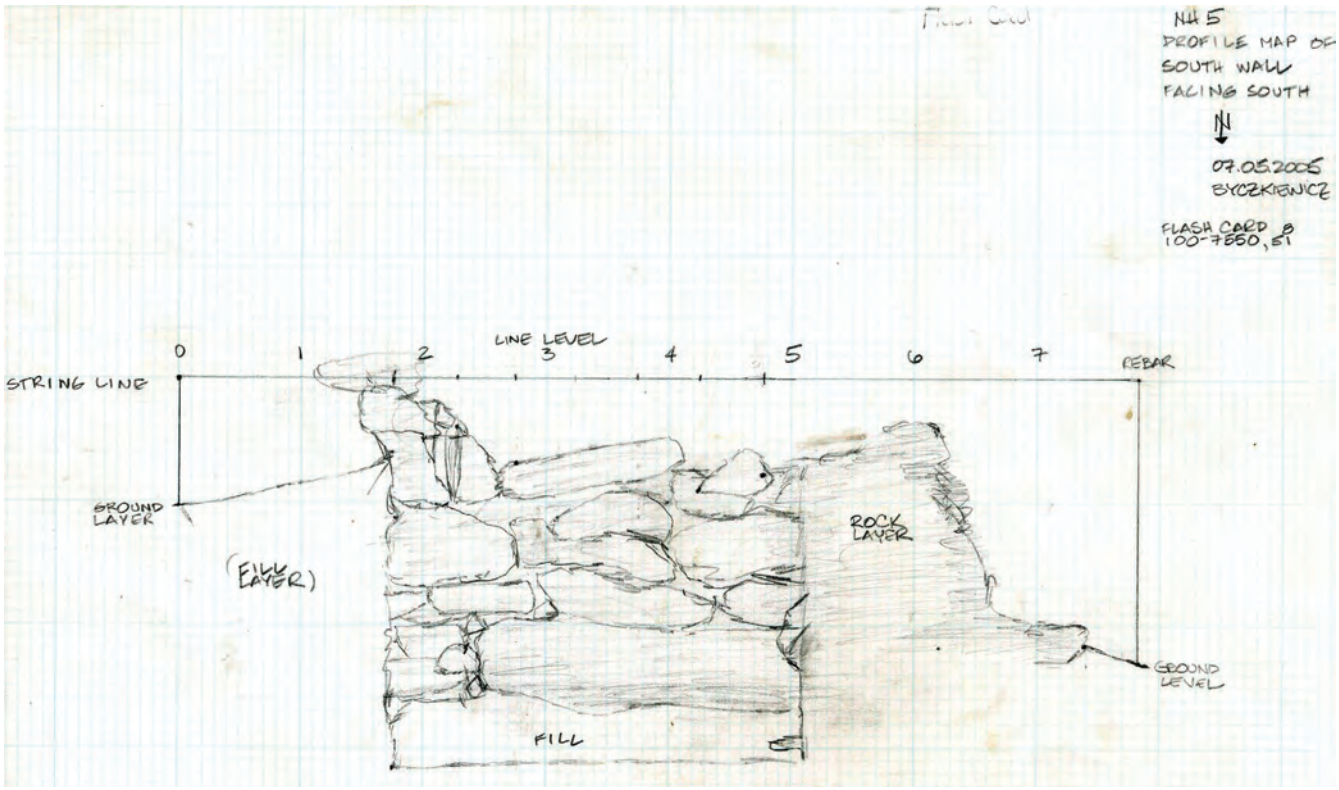


Figure 3.17. NH5 south wall profile map.



Figure 3.18. NH5 south wall photograph.

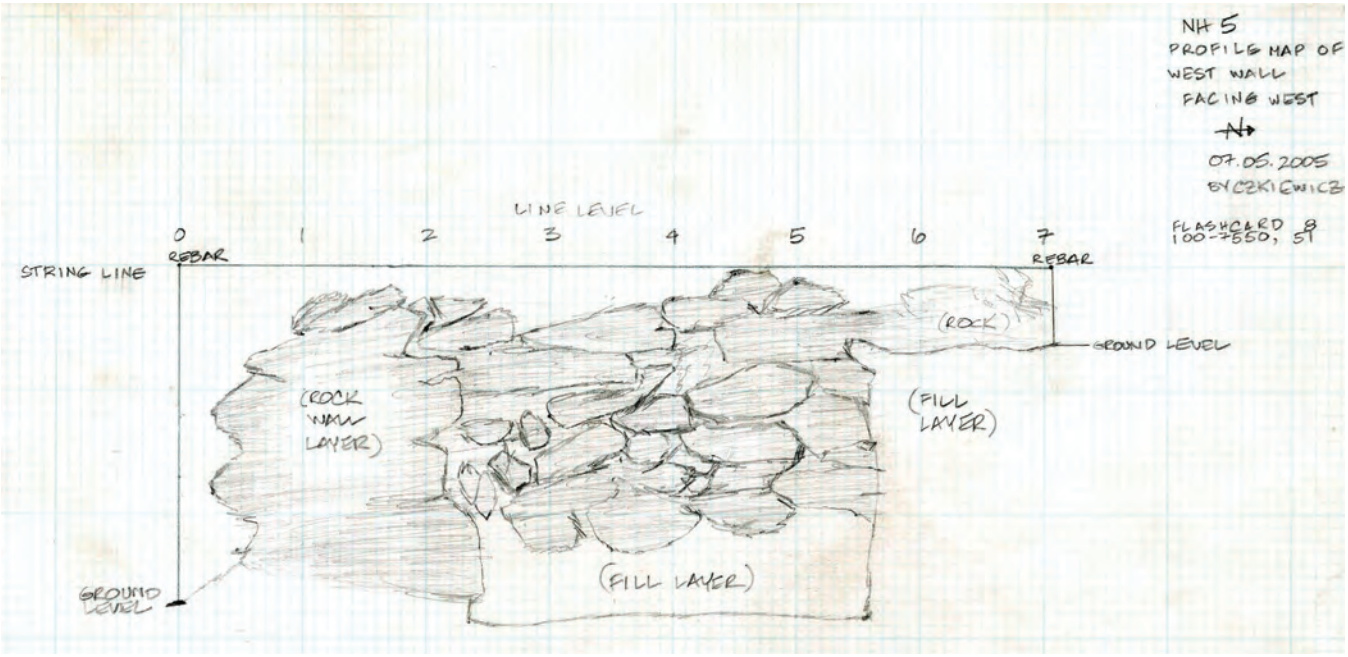


Figure 3.19. NH5 west wall profile map.



Figure 3.20. NH5 west wall photograph.

NH10 (Figures 3.21-3.28)

NH10 is the northwest corner of the cabin. In 2004, the top three layers had been removed. NH10A, 10B, and 10C were each brown/grey sandy sand with very little difference between them. Each layer was approximately 3" in depth and sloped from north to south with the overall contour of the mountain side. NH10A sealed 10B completely, and 10B sealed 10C completely. During the 2005 summer field season, two additional layers in NH10 were excavated. NH10D resembled the three preceding layers in terms of fill type, texture, and color; it was merely the next 3" layer of the unit. NH10E, however, was substantively different. It consisted almost entirely of small rocks that covered the entire unit (Figure 3.29).

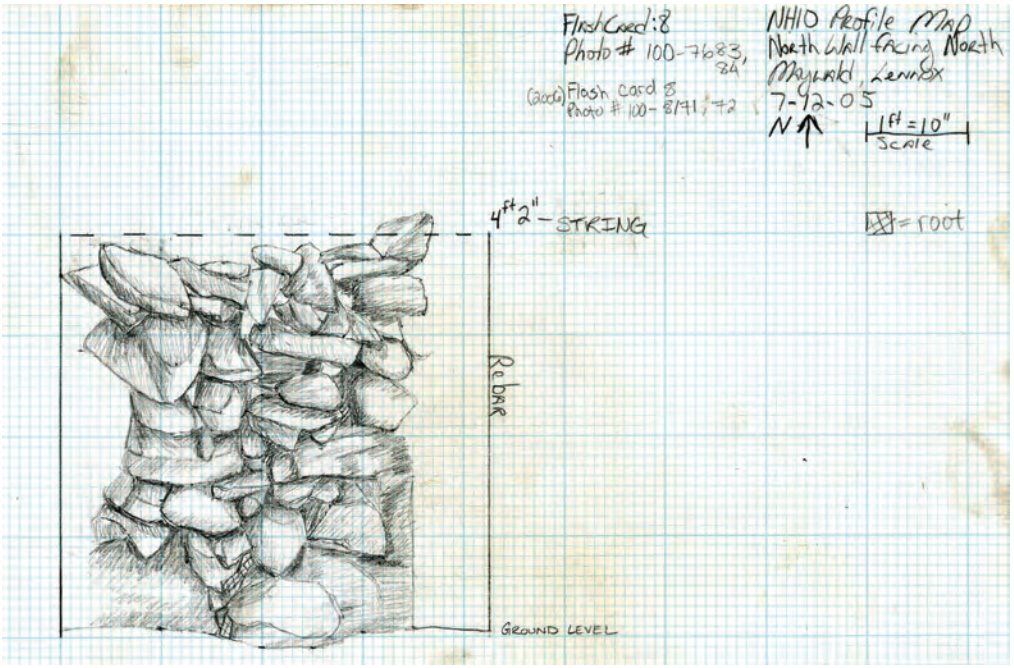


Figure 3.21. NH10 north wall profile map.



Figure 3.22. NH10 north wall photograph.

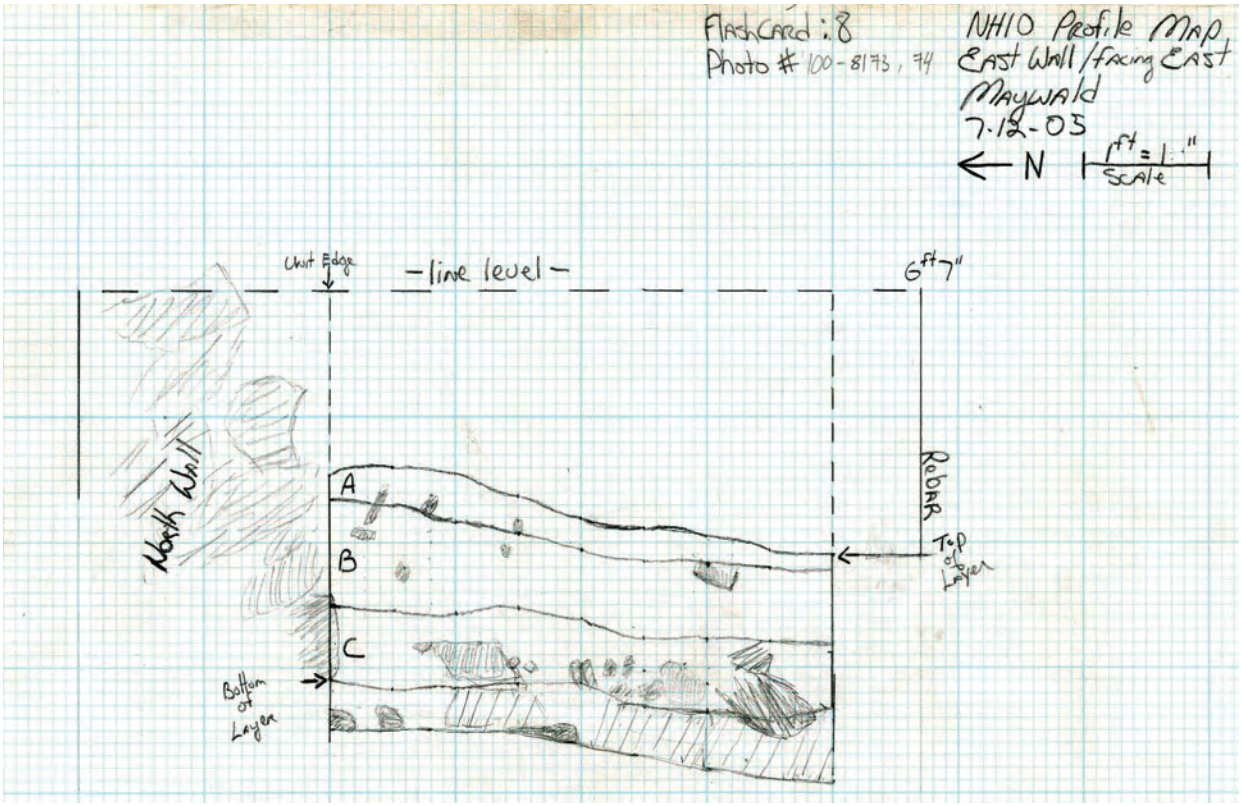


Figure 3.23. NH10 east wall profile map.



Figure 3.24. NH10 east wall photograph.

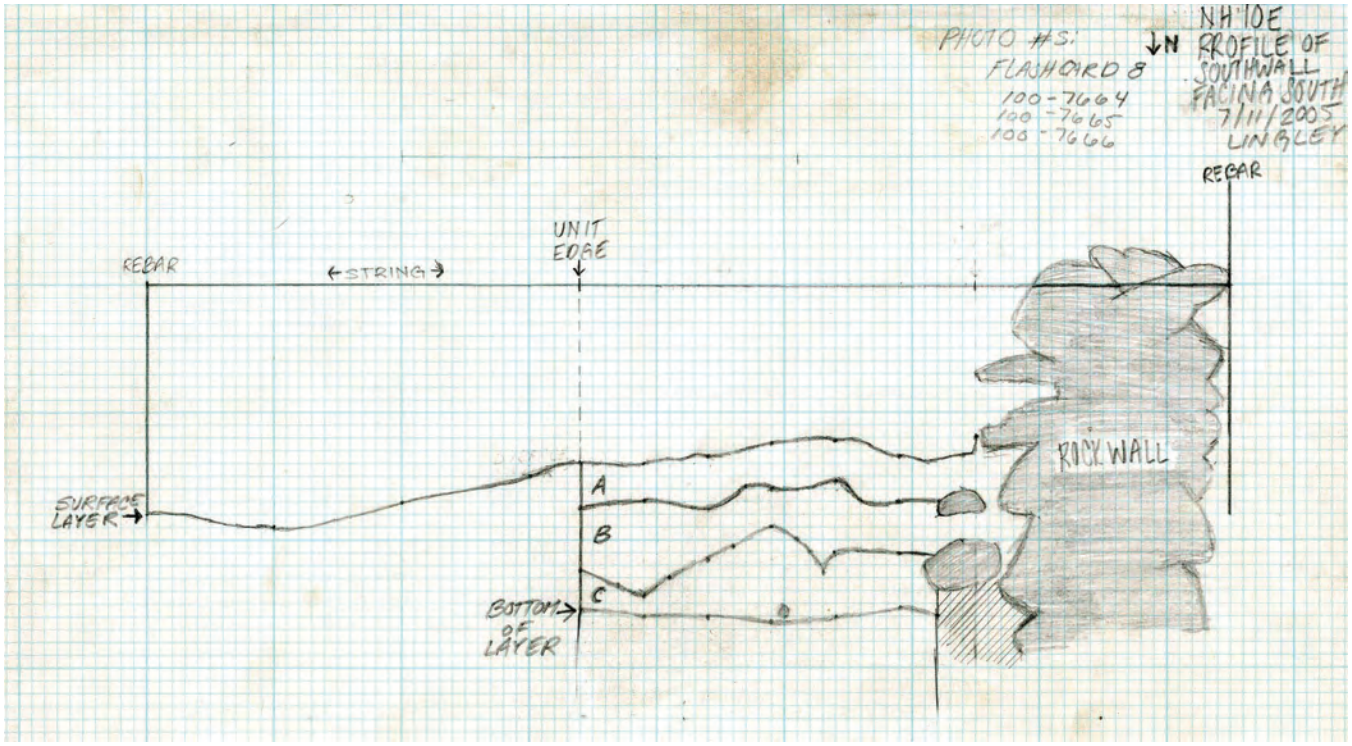


Figure 3.25. NH10 south wall profile map.



Figure 3.26. NH10 south wall photograph.

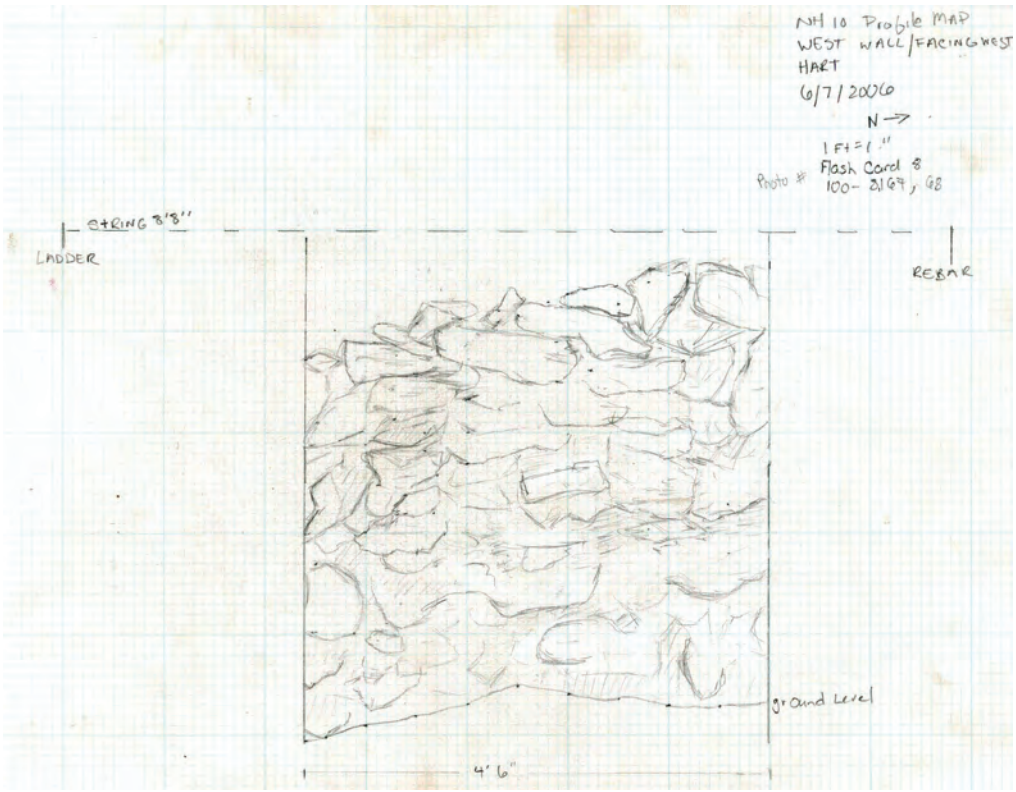


Figure 3.27. NH10 west wall profile map.



Figure 3.28. NH10 west wall photograph.



Figure 3.29. NH10E rock layer.

NH12 (Figures 3.30-3.37)

NH12 is one of the more central units of the cabin. It is the middle unit in the second row from the west. Its corners touch NH5 to the southwest, NH10 to the northwest, NH16 to the northeast, and NH13 to the southeast. The 2004 field crew dug this unit in three-inch layers to subsoil, which was marked by an enormous rock (over a foot in both length and width) in tan sand. The first two layers of NH12 (A-B) were grey sand, and the next two (NH12C-D) were a mottled grey/tan sand with few inclusions. Layers NH12E and 12F were the same mottled fill with pronounced charcoal inclusions. The base of 12F appeared to be the cabin floor. NH12G and 12H were of a reddish tan fill and contained the giant rock just below the floor. Once the rock was removed, two additional layers (12J and 12K) contained tiny artifacts, likely leeched-in or pushed in by the giant rock. It is highly unlikely that these layers were historical. Layer 12D contained many of the same small rocks on the western edge, likely the same small rock layer as was seen in NH10E.

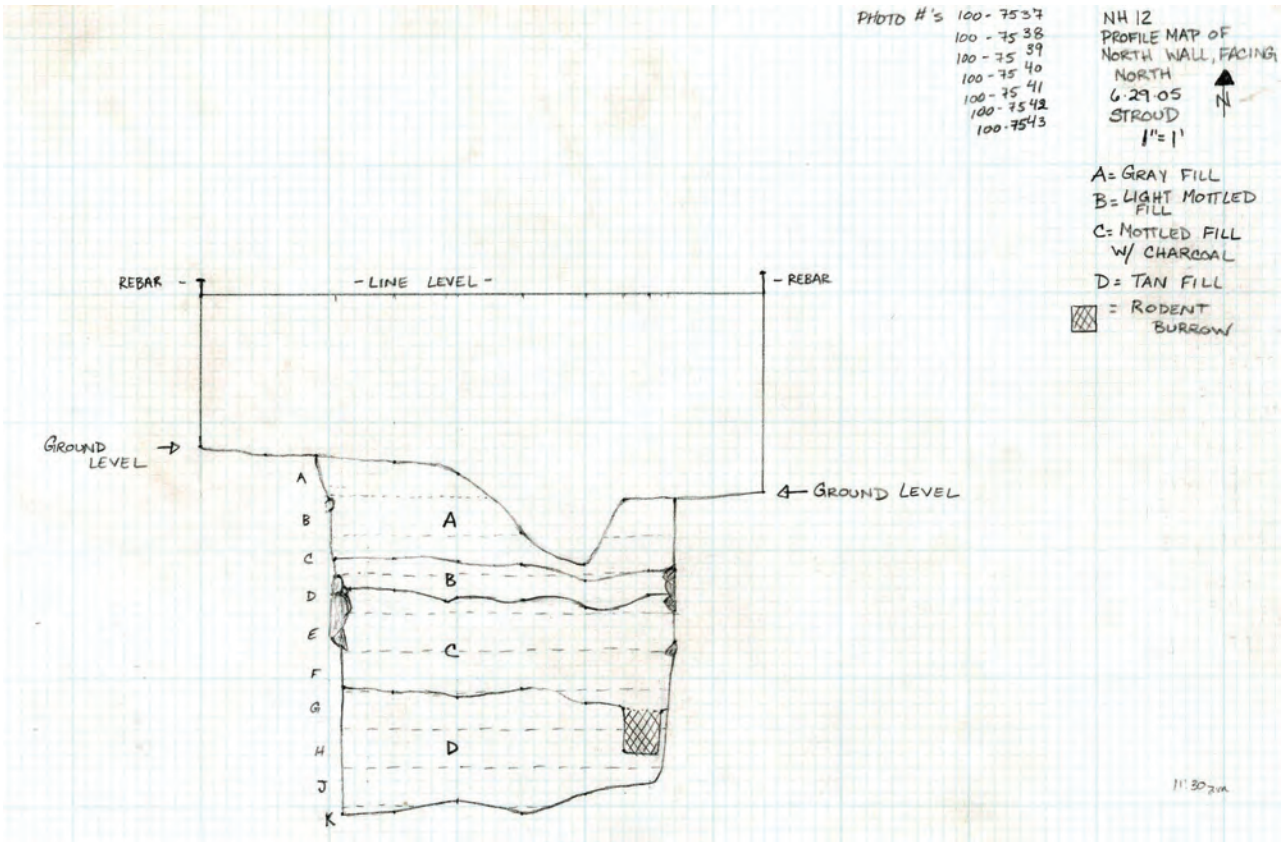


Figure 3.30. NH12 north wall profile map.



Figure 3.31. NH12 north wall photograph.

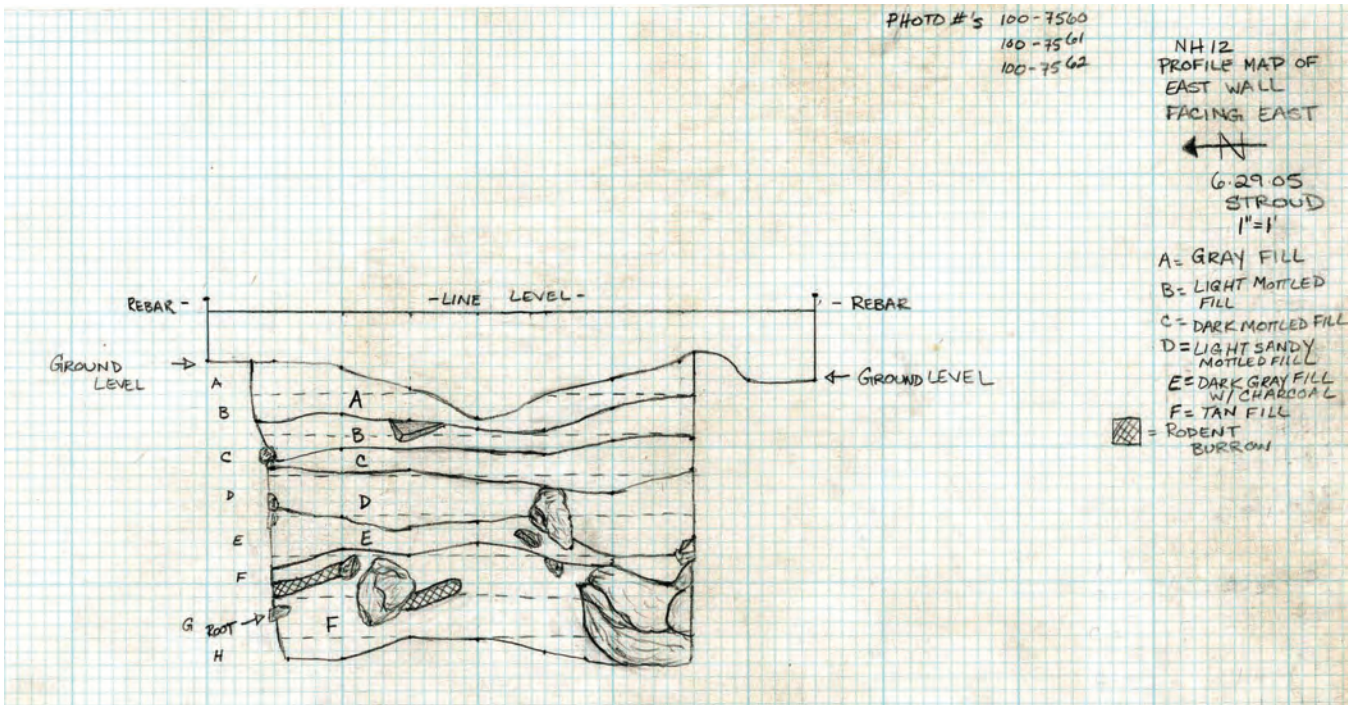


Figure 3.32. NH12 east wall profile map.



Figure 3.33. NH12 east wall photograph.

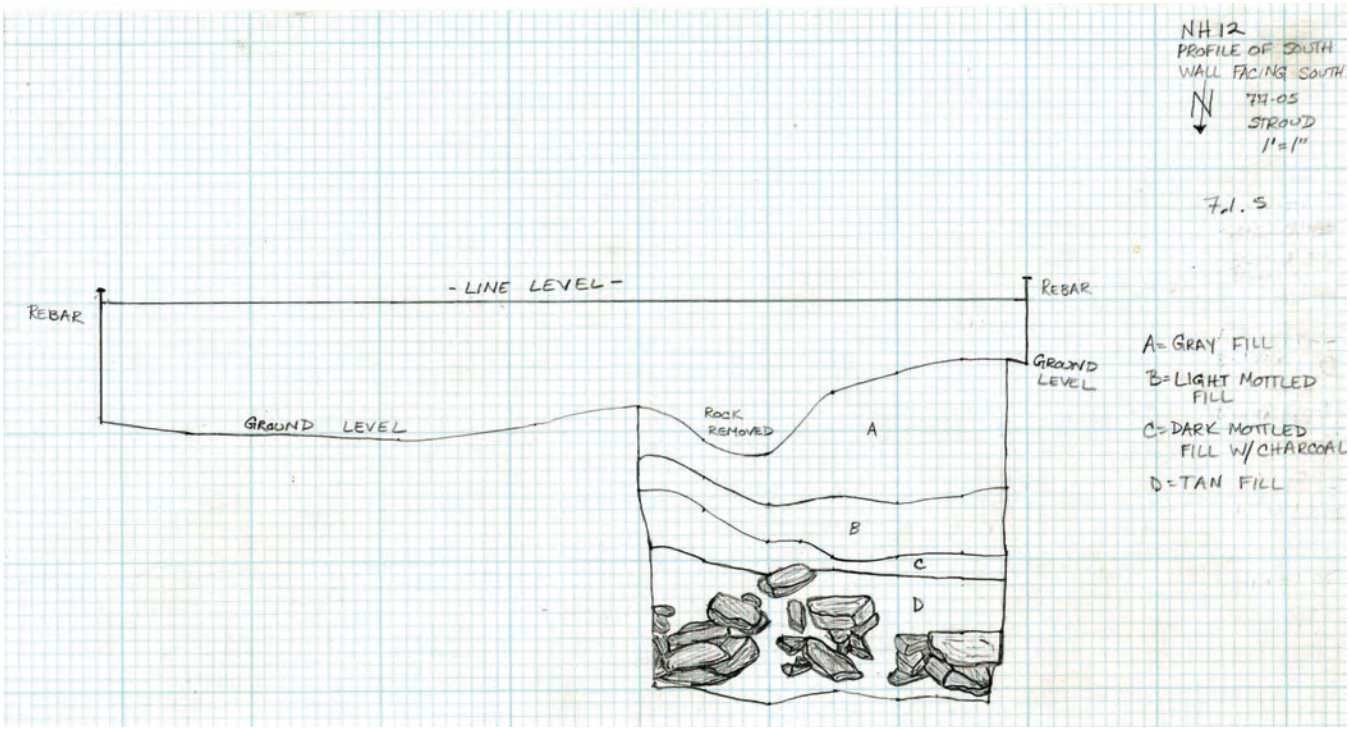


Figure 3.34. NH12 south wall profile map.



Figure 3.35. NH12 south wall photograph.

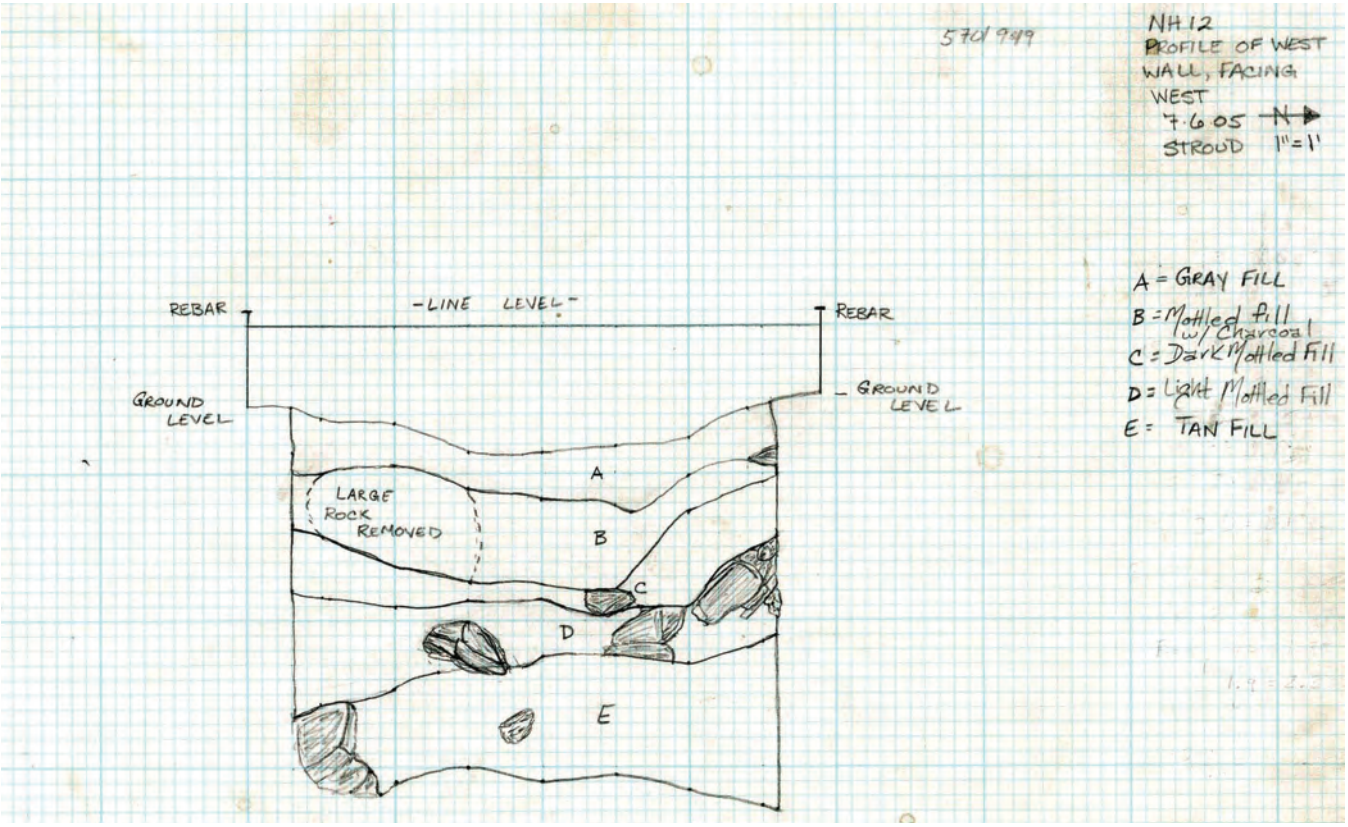


Figure 3.36. NH12 west wall profile map.



Figure 3.37. NH12 west wall photograph

NH13 (Figures 3.38-3.45)

NH13 is situated along the south wall of the cabin. It is in the third row from the west, second from the east. In 2004, the summer field crew excavated the top three layers of NH13 (A-C) and found the fill to be a fairly uniform grey sandy sand with few inclusions. Each of the three layers was approximately 3" deep. NH13A sealed 13B, which sealed 13C. The 2005 field crew dug this unit to subsoil, in the process uncovering three new layers. NH13D was a mottled tan/grey stratum with mica and charcoal inclusions. This layer gave way to NH13E, consisting of sandy dark grey sand with ample charcoal. The charcoal was more pronounced on the east and north sides of the unit, toward the chimney at the east end of the structure. The small rocks in the north and east walls of the unit also seem to be related to the destruction and fall of the chimney. NH13F contained 10YR 4/2 light brown silt that marked the floor of the cabin. This was the bottom layer of excavation. The subsoil with rocks and small amounts of cultural material pressed into it was not dug.

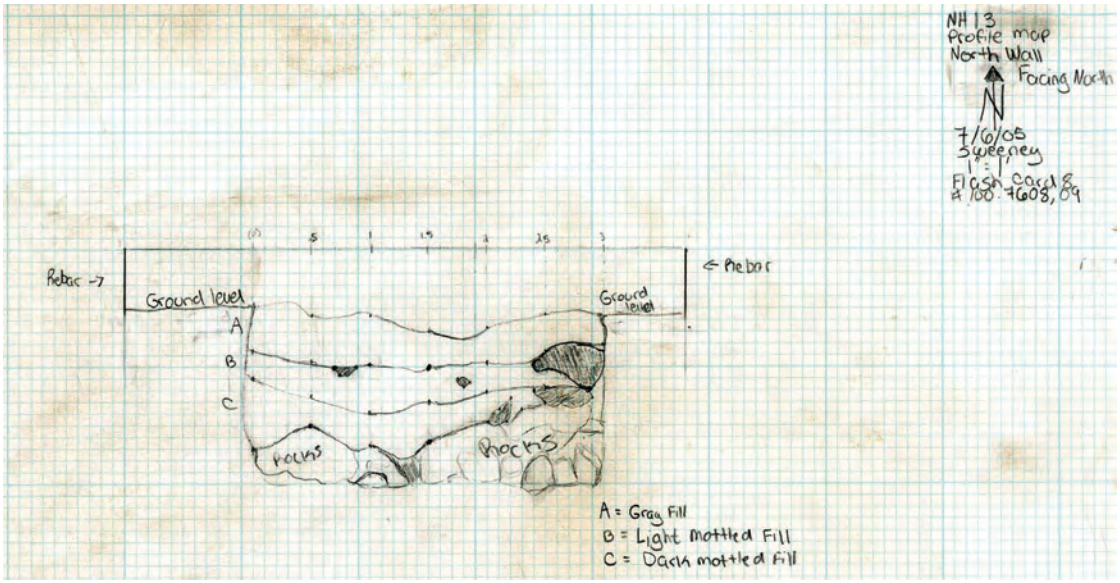


Figure 3.38. NH13 north wall profile map.



Figure 3.39. NH13 north wall photograph

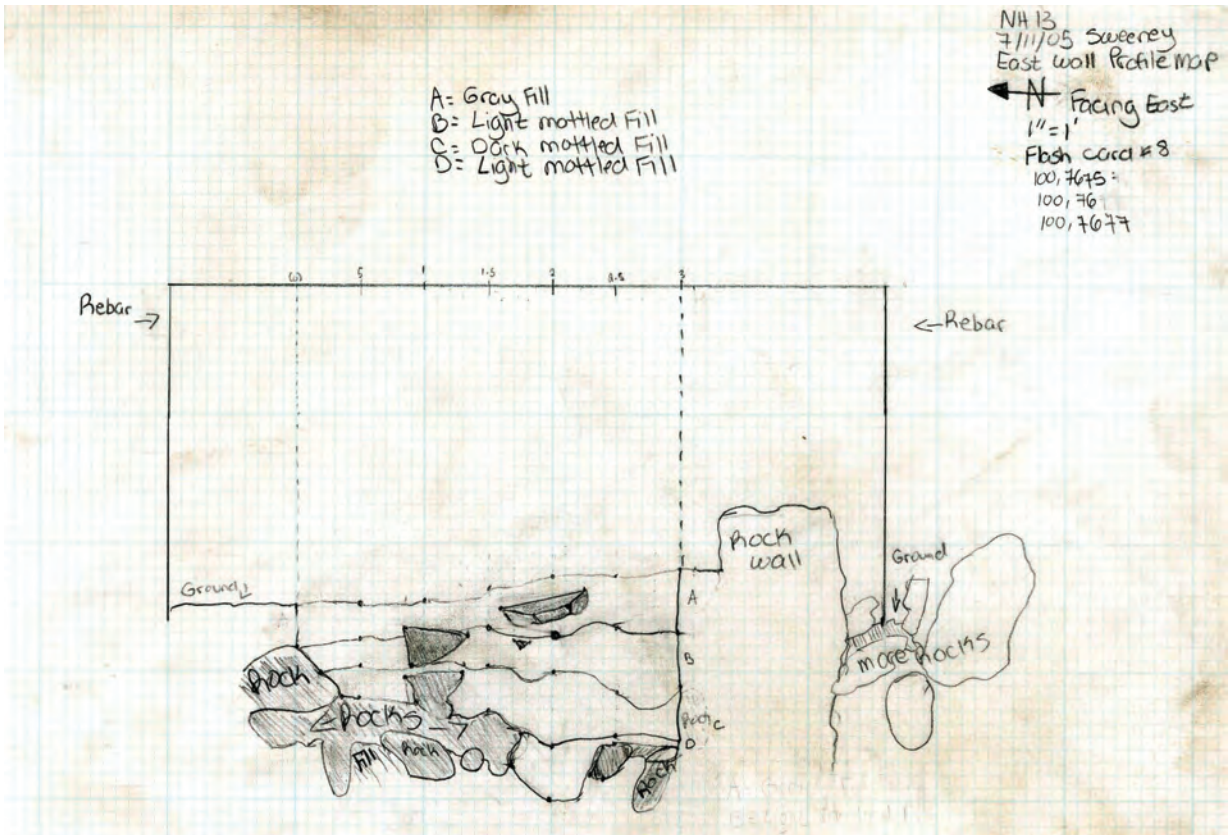


Figure 3.40. NH13 east wall profile map.



Figure 3.41. NH13 east wall photograph.

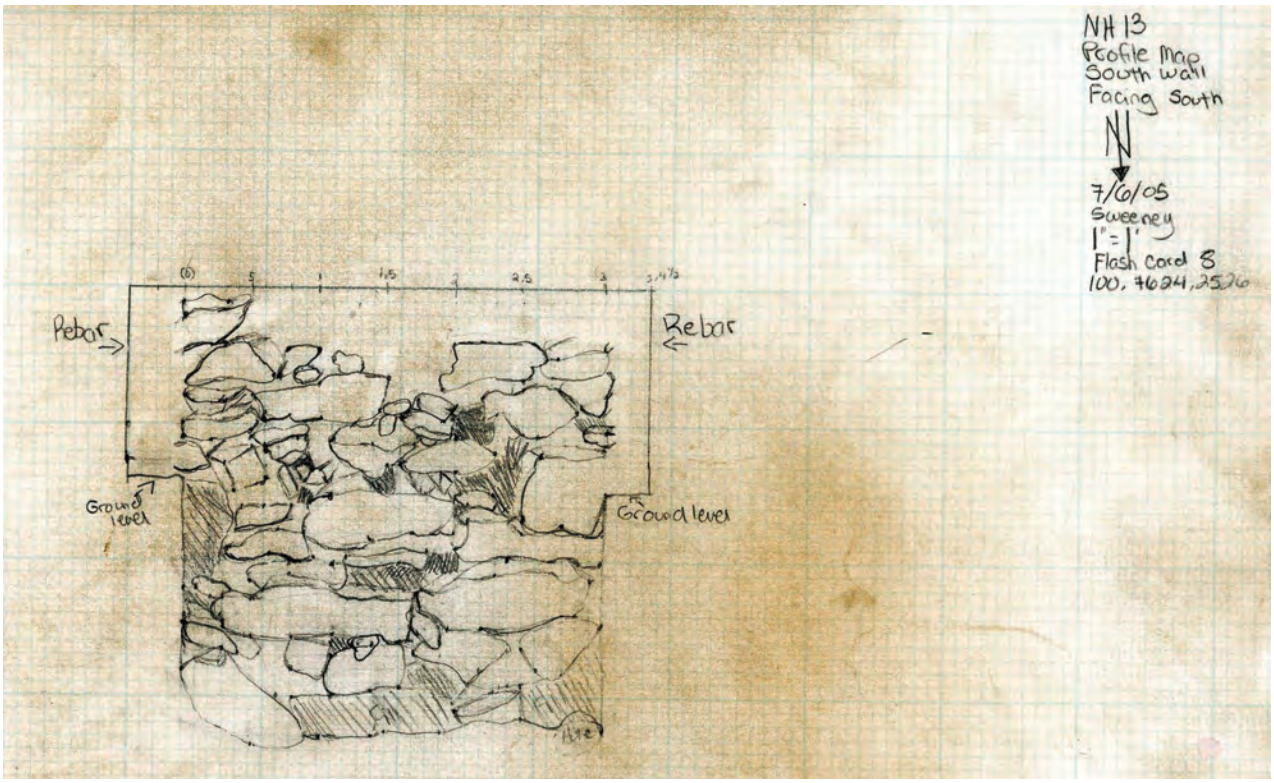


Figure 3.42. NH13 south wall profile map.



Figure 3.43. NH13 south wall photograph.

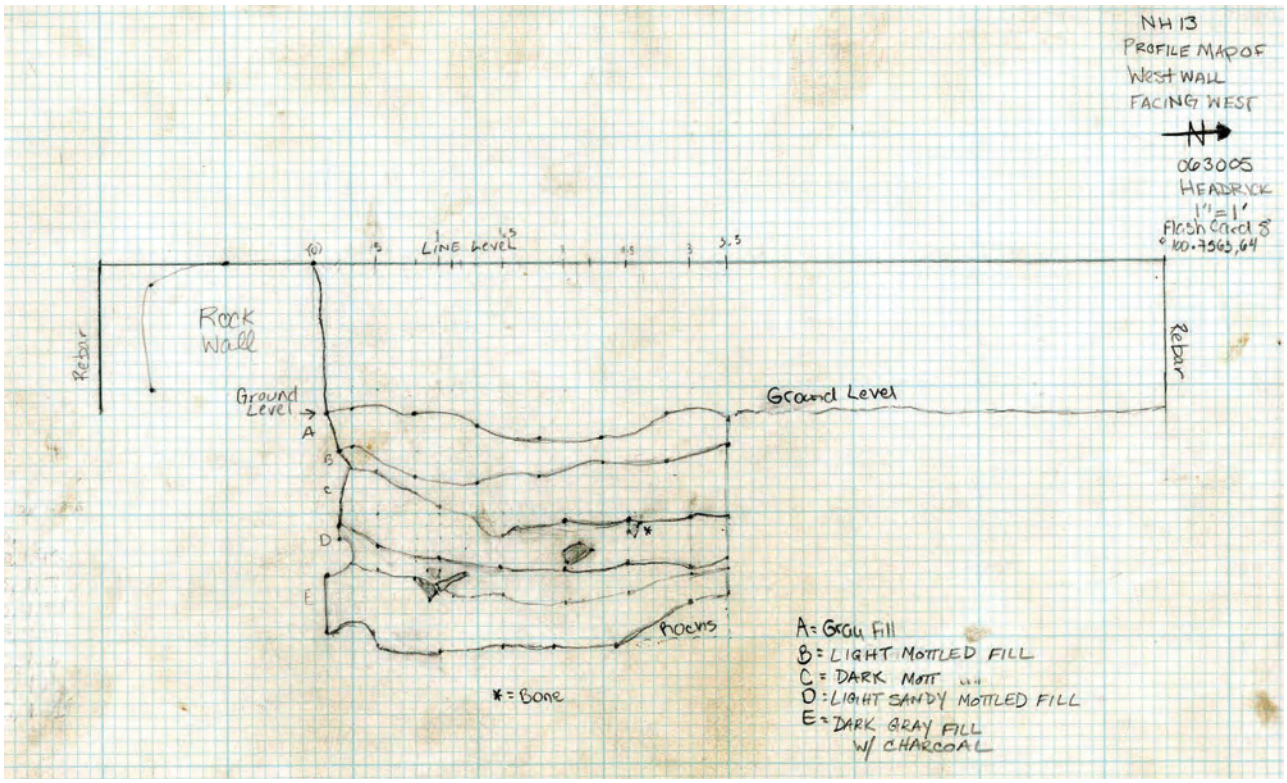


Figure 3.44. NH13 west wall profile map.



Figure 3.45. NH13 west wall photograph.



Figure 3.46. NH16E (ash lens) plan photograph.

NH16

Students excavated three layers in NH16 (A-C) in 2004. This unit was located along the north wall in the third row from the west and second row from the east. NH16A-C were a uniform grey sand with no inclusions. NH16A sealed 16B, which sealed 16C. The first new layer dug in NH16 in 2005, NH16D, was very similar. It was a 3" stratum of sandy grey sand, but with substantial charcoal inclusions. It sealed NH16E, a bright white/grey ashy lens in the eastern edge of the unit (Figure 3.46). The ash angled toward the chimney side of the cabin. Since the lens only occurred in a small portion of the unit, NH16F, the next stratigraphic layer was sealed both by NH16D and 16E. NH16F was a 2.5Y 5/2 friable brown/grey sand that was also likely fire altered. In addition to various glass and metal artifacts, the layer included significant amounts of charcoal and burnt wood fragments. NH16F

was 3" deep as were the next two layers, NH16G and 16H. Both were sandy loam strata with varying degrees of charcoal. NH16G was tan/grey, and it sealed the brown/grey matrix of 16H. NH16 has yet to be finished as 16H is an artifact-rich cultural layer that has none of the tell-tale signs of subsoil in the cabin. In fact, it is most probably not even the compact floor layer that has been seen in other cabin units.

NH36

With every adjacent unit fully excavated to subsoil (NH5, 10, and 12), work began toward the end of the 2005 field season on NH36, the interior central unit on the west wall of the cabin. Its layers were strikingly consistent with its neighbors. Each of NH36's top three layers (36A, B, and C) was a uniform grey sand with increasing amounts of charcoal as the excavators dug deeper. Each of the three layers was 3" in depth, and one layer each layer sealed the next in succession. NH36 is centered on the doorway of the cabin, although this is disguised by the fact that previous visitors to the site have stacked rocks found across the site on top of the west wall.

Overall Excavation Summary

The 31 units dug during the 2005 summer field season totaled well over 200 cubic feet of soil moved by the archaeological team. Stratigraphic findings from the 2005 summer field season can be grouped into four major observations about the Nate Harrison site. First, multiple units in the cabin revealed a level cabin floor at 9,999.654' above the site's primary datum and 0.346' below the secondary datum. Harrison's dirt floor can be seen in a faint horizontal stratum of brown sand above the gritty tan sand and bedrock that makes up subsoil on the mountain. Second, refuse and destruction debris in the patio is at least 3.0' deep. It is most likely that subsequent bulldozing episodes disturbed the original deposition of refuse at the site and caused primary occupation, deposition, and subsoil layers to be jumbled together just west of the cabin's stone foundation. Third, artifact-rich units extend well beyond the immediate patio area. Units over thirty feet from the cabin's original doorway have more artifacts than many of those adjacent to the structure, suggesting that they point the way to one of Harrison's deposition areas. Fourth, rock debris from the destruction of the cabin does not appear to extend beyond the immediate patio area. Units twenty feet removed from the cabin entrance are relatively rock free.

Overall, strata across the site are relatively uniform. Even though this excavation synthesis separates cabin units from patio units, the areas contain a common material culture and stratigraphic sequence. It is important to think of the landscape of this site as a cohesive whole, not as arbitrarily bounded entities (Figure 3.47). Late 19th-century artifacts and charcoal inclusions abound in the brown sandy dirt in both the cabin and patio units, many of which tie directly to specific items noted in the historical records and contemporary photographs.



Figure 3.47. Overall shot of cabin and immediately adjacent patio, emphasizing unity of space at the site.



Figure 3.48. Artifact cleaning at the nearby modern-day guest cottage.

3.5 Analyses and Interpretations

Whereas in 2004 the summer field school students dug Monday through Friday, the schedule for the 2005 field programs was slightly different. Students participated in the excavations from Monday through Thursday, with Friday set up as an artifact processing day. As a result, students participating in the field school were able to see all of their finds at the end of the week, clean them, and do preliminary analyses (Figure 3.48). The students voiced their approval of this change in format, and it will be adopted for the field program in the years to come. An artifact-processing station was set up at an existing structure near the site. The artifact-cleaning process was the same as was detailed in the 2004 technical report; the difference being that the initial stage occurred on the mountain instead of in the SDSU City Heights laboratory.

Like the 2004 technical report, this document presents preliminary analyses and interpretations from the site within archaeological dimensions of time, space, and form. The following discussion focuses on insights from the 2005 field season. It is not a cumulative summary of the project or of the material assemblage from the site. Nonetheless, it will draw on previous analyses, showing parallels when applicable.

The 2005 summer field school recovered 6,997 artifacts from the Nate Harrison site. Temporal, spatial, and formal analyses of these artifacts establish that the site was occupied during the late 19th and early 20th centuries by a small number of occupants. They suggest that the individual or individuals at the site engaged in a variety of domestic and industrious activities. In addition, the site occupant(s) were simultaneously actively involved in securing resources from the local terrain and involved in part of a far-reaching trade network.

Time

Established use and production date ranges for an assortment of historical artifact types uncovered during the summer of 2005 definitively establish that the site was occupied during the last quarter of the 19th century and the first quarter of the 20th century. While the union of date ranges offers an 1820-2000 chronology, the intersection of these ranges clearly delineates a ca. 1860-1920 occupation (Figure 3.49). Similar to the previous year's finds, shell buttons with sunken panels that were produced from 1837-65 serve as the occupation start date for the site. Since clothing is often handed down between individuals and frequently exhibits a long use life, this date is not a hard and fast occupation starting point. In fact, other early starting occupation dates at the site (1875 for the H-stamped cartridge, 1890 for the Levi Strauss jean rivet, etc.) are equally suspicious for their longevity. And like last year's analyses, the TPQ is far more reliable. Three different cartridge stamps—REM-UMC S & W, REM UMC 32WCF, and REM-UMC No 16 SHURSHOT—all establish that 1911 was the date after which the site must have been occupied. In addition, the 1907 Indian head penny is an additionally strong TPQ within a few years of the cartridges. The overall date range for the 2005 artifacts was generated by rounding the staring and ending occupation dates to the nearest decade. This date range is identical to the one deduced from the 2004 field season. Furthermore, the overall artifact assemblage is well represented in each of the decades from the 1880s to the 1920s; there are no significant gaps that would suggest a double occupation or interim abandonment of the site.

Space

The westernmost units had the highest concentration of artifacts at the site. NH30-33, the four new 5' x 5' units in the extreme northwest corner of the excavation area, each contained over 500 artifacts. Furthermore, the westernmost contexts (NH31 and 33) had over 600 (Figure 3.50). This pattern strongly suggests that a primary trash dump for the site exists somewhere to the northwest of the project's current excavation units.

The site's numerous crossmends from the 2004 and 2005 field seasons link the different spatial units and site areas in time. Appendix A lists the crossmends, and the spreadsheet shading unites the different contexts that share a common vessel crossmend. Nearly the entire site is linked by the crossmends, emphasizing a common temporality between spatial units inside of the cabin and in the patio area. The only contexts that are not tied to the entire site are the bottom layers of cabin units NH5 and NH12, both of which had artifact-rich upper layers

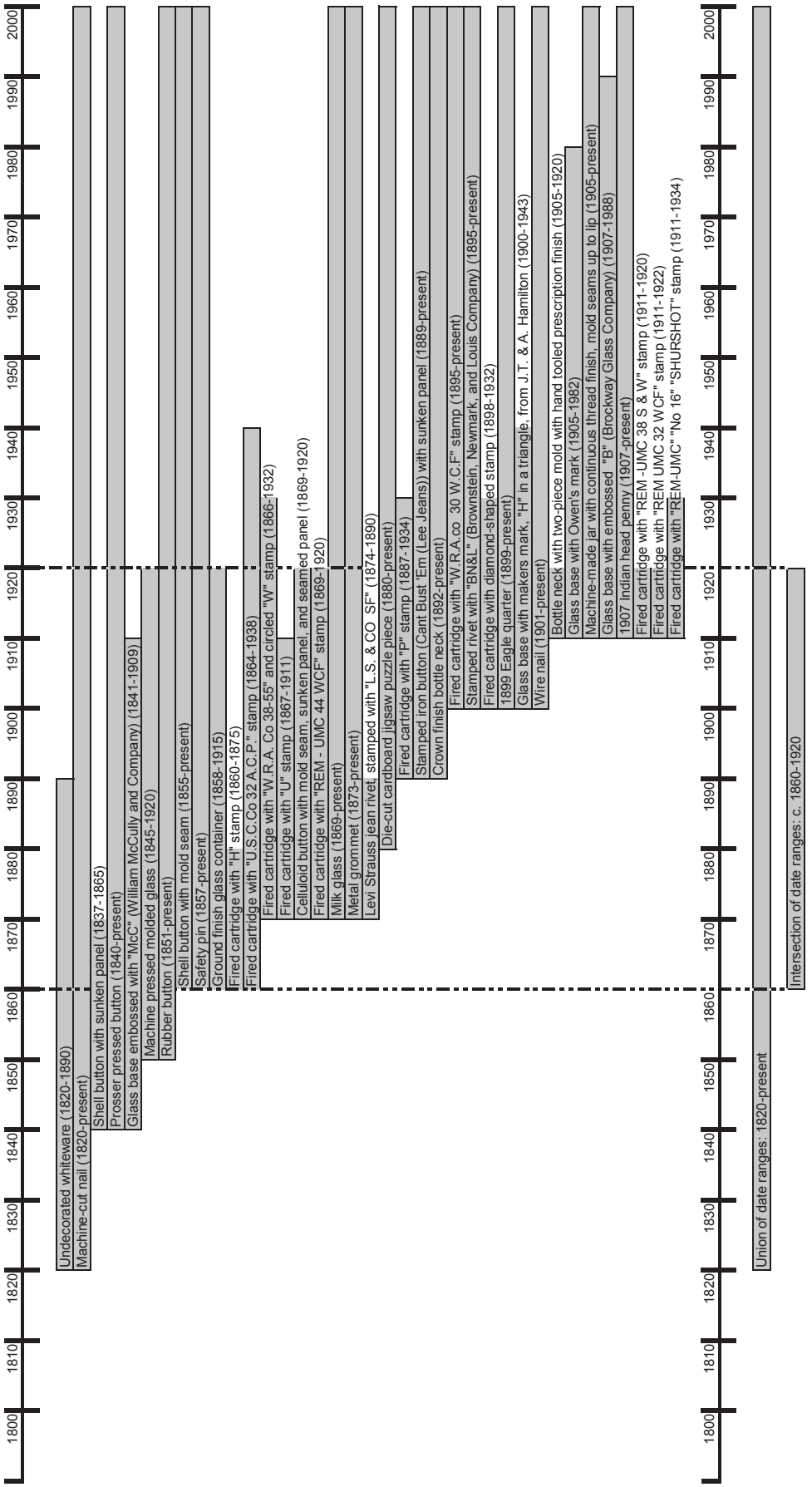


Figure 3.49. Artifact date ranges from the 2005 field season.

and artifact-poor lower layers. It is unlikely that NH5F/G and NH12D-K are temporally discrete and more likely that their dearth of artifacts limited their crossmend potential.

Form

While excavating in the extreme northern and western units in the patio area, it became clear that the proportions of materials being uncovered were different from those of the patio units closest to the cabin. Students noted that although the items were of the same general type and time period, those rich units at the edge of the site seemed to have more faunal remains and less metal (Figure 3.51). Pie charts show these different proportions between the two patio areas (Figures 3.52 and 3.53). The artifacts in Patio Area I (NH1-4, 6-9, 11, 14-15, 17-18, 21-23), the units that form a 20' square centered with the grid on the cabin's west end, were a mix of glass, metal, fauna, and flora, with glass making up over a third of the assemblage. Patio Area II (NH26-35), the newer units at the north and west edges of the site that formed an 'L' around Patio Area I, contained mostly glass with some fauna and metal, but virtually nothing else. A comparison between the two areas reveals that Patio Area I was especially rich in architectural remains; the high metal counts primarily included structural nails, while the high flora counts were mostly charcoal and other bits of charred wood from the cabin's roof and corner posts. Patio Area II witnessed significant drops in metal and flora, yet more than made up the difference in glass and animal bones.

The differences between these two areas within the patio pose key questions for the following year's excavations. Is the trend away from architectural debris merely a function of the destruction of the cabin; was it dismantled to the west? Is the trend toward higher faunal remains an indicator of a nearby trash dump; or does it reveal an individual processing center for foodways or even a cottage industry? Even though the area was likely terraced in the years following Harrison's departure from the mountain, the horizontal spatial impact may be minimal. As has been seen at many historical sites impacted by years of plowing, the tractor or bulldozer may have jumbled the artifacts vertically but the horizontal movement may have been less extreme.

625 (NH31)	558 (NH30)	438 (NH28)	235 (NH27)	365 (NH26)
649 (NH33)	586 (NH32)	281 (NH29)		
	323 (NH35)	164 (NH34)		

Figure 3.50. Spatial distribution of artifacts in new patio units depicting increase in frequency to the north and west of patio.



Figure 3.51. Pario Area II had high quantities of faunal remains, including the deer mandible, excavated by Hillary Sweeney.

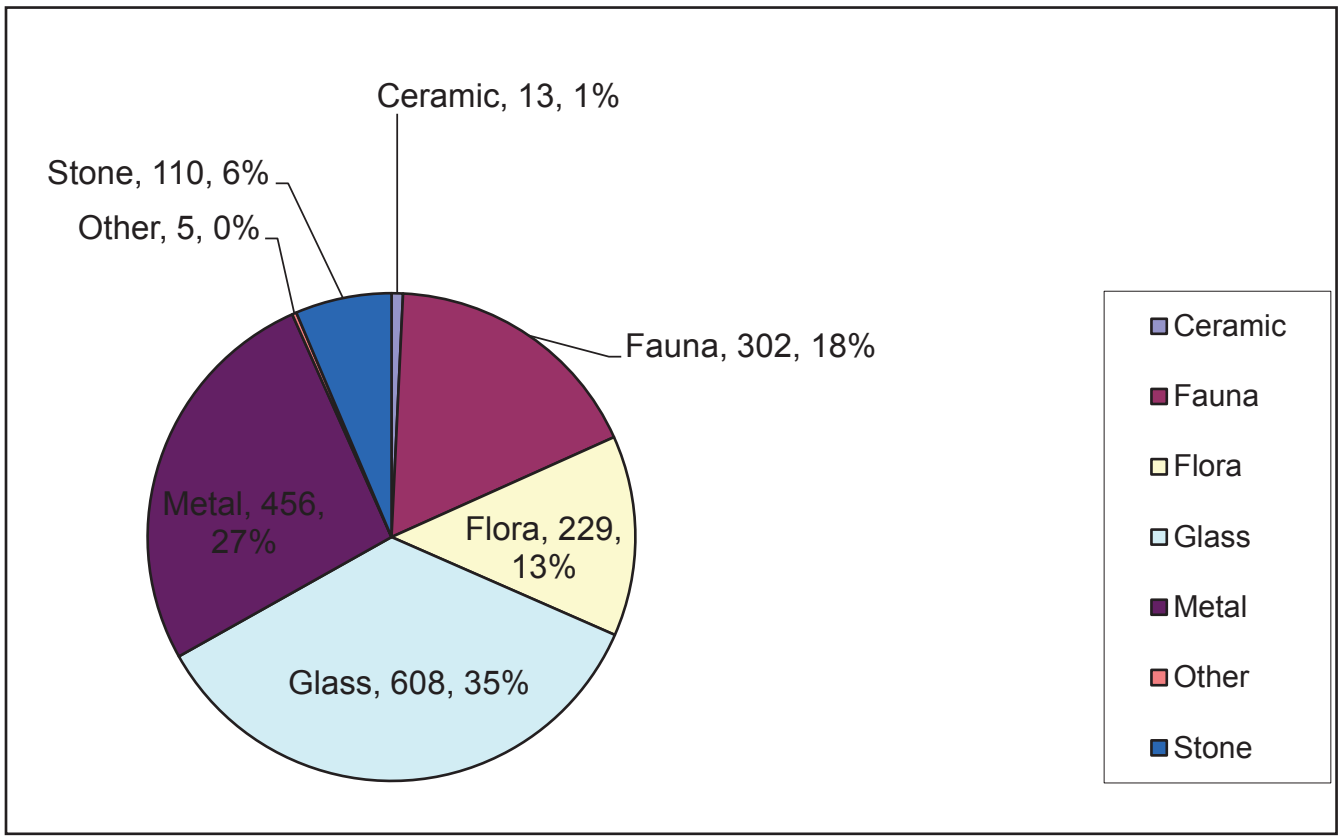


Figure 3.52. Pie chart of artifact frequencies for Patio Area I (NH1-4, 6-9, 11, 14-15, 17-18, 21-23).

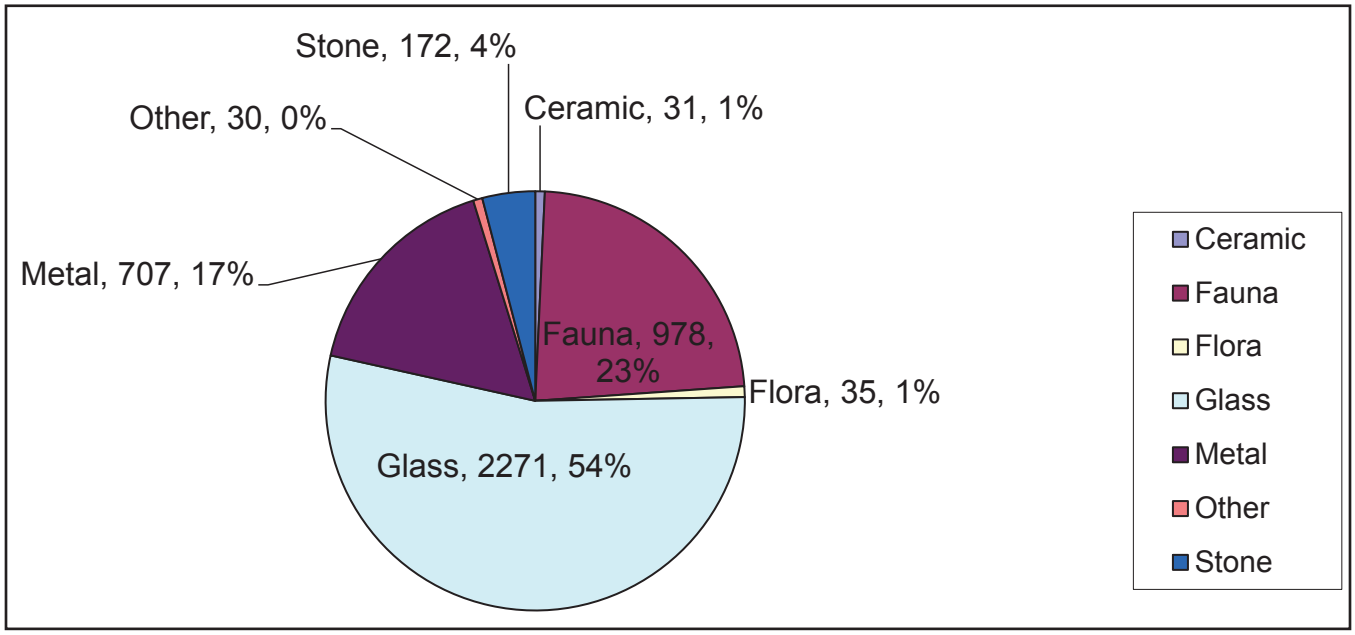


Figure 3.53. Pie chart of artifact frequencies for Patio Area II (NH26-35).

3.6 Selected Artifacts

Each technical report spotlights a handful of recently uncovered artifacts from previous field seasons. Their selection is not based on any systematic sampling technique; they were subjectively chosen to illuminate the life and times of Nate Harrison.

1899 Silver Barber (or "Liberty") Quarter (NH36C)

Excavators working in the third layer of the cabin unit along the center of the western wall near the doorway uncovered a silver quarter (Figure 3.54). The coin was minted in 1899 and has a Lady Liberty profile on the front and an eagle on the back (Figures 3.55 and 3.56). The website http://www.coincentric.com (accessed February 13, 2006) contains the following information on Barber Quarters:

> "The Mint Act of Sept. 26, 1890, allowed for coins in use for at least 25 years to be redesigned. The Treasury Department launched plans for an invitation-only contest to redesign the dime, quarter dollar and half dollar denominations. This was later changed to a public, juried contest in which the effort bombed. With only two of 300 designs even worthy of mention, Mint Director Edward O. Leech preferred Chief Engraver Charles E. Barber to handle the redesign.
>
> Charles E. Barber, Chief Mint Engraver from 1880 to 1917, was not a popular man and many felt Barber was a mediocre engraver of boring designs. Barber Quarters were not popular at their time of issue and as a result many of the issues are truly rare. Today they are very desirable and complete sets have been present in many great collections.
>
> Barber's Liberty Head motif, often referred to as the 'Barber' style, was used on quarter dollars from 1892 through 1916. The obverse motif of Miss Liberty features her facing to the right, her hair in a Phrygian cap, wearing a laurel wreath, with LIBERTY on a small band above her forehead. Six stars are to the left and seven to the right, IN GOD WE TRUST is above, and the date is below. The design is similar to that found on the dime and half-dollar minted during the same years.
>
> The reverse is an adaptation of the Great Seal of the United States. It depicts a heraldic eagle holding in its talons an olive branch and arrows. Above the eagle are 13 stars, UNITED STATES OF AMERICA is above and QUARTER DOLLAR is below."



Figure 3.54. Nichelle Worthington Excavating the 1899 Barber Quarter.



Figure 3.55. 1899 Barber quarter, front.



Figure 3.56. 1899 Barber quarter, back.

1907 Indian Head Cent (NH13B)

Working along the south wall of the cabin in unit NH13, excavators uncovered a 1907 Indian Head one-cent coin in the same general area where students found a 1916 nickel the year before (Figure 3.57). [Editor's note: The term 'penny' is a British term for copper coins; it is never found on U.S. coins, and, thus, is not used in this report.] The coin has an Indian Head design on the front and the phrase "one cent" between oak leaves on the back (Figures 3.58 and 3.59). The one-cent coin came from the second layer of the unit, whereas the nickel came from the unit's top layer. The stratigraphic sequence of the dated coins found at the site follow the archaeological law of superposition: the deeper the find, the older the artifact. The 1916 nickel came from a top A layer (NH13A) in the cabin, the 1907 one-cent coin was found in one of the cabin's B layers (NH13B), and the 1899 quarter was situated in a C layer (NH36C).

The website http://www.lynncoins.com/indian-cent-rolls.htm (accessed February 13, 2006) gives the following information about Indian Head one-cent coins:

> "In 1859 the United States government began production of a new one cent coin with an Indian Head design. They were produced for 50 years, until 1909, when the Lincoln cent design replaced them. The Indian Head design, created by James B. Longacre, is really a stylized 'Liberty' head wearing a full Indian headdress.
>
> The reverse of the coin has the words 'one cent.' Surrounding the words is a laurel wreath design. After the first year (1859) the reverse was slightly changed. The wreath was changed to 'oak leaves' and a small shield was added at the top.
>
> All Indian head cents were minted at the Philadelphia U.S.A. government mint (except during 1908 and 1909 when some were also made at the San Francisco mint). San Francisco minted coins bear a[n] 'S' mintmark on the bottom of the reverse, while Philadelphia minted coins do not have 'mint marks.'"



Figure 3.57. Close-up of in situ 1907 one-cent coin.



Figure 3.58. 1907 Indian Head one-cent coin, front.



Figure 3.59. 1907 Indian Head one-cent coin, back.

Jigsaw Puzzle Piece (NH10E)

The fifth layer of the northwest corner unit of the cabin contained a cardboard puzzle piece (Figure 3.60). The piece is dark brown. Magnification failed to reveal any other color. It is a die-cut interlocking jigsaw puzzle piece that measures 1.0" across and 0.7" from top to bottom. Its overall thickness is 0.625". Although the front and back of the piece are nearly indistinguishable, the back of the piece is slightly frayed.



Figure 3.60. Cardboard jigsaw puzzle piece.

Europeans began making interlocking wooden puzzles during the 18th century. Most of the earliest puzzles were maps to teach children geography. Picture puzzles, still made with a wooden backing, began to be produced in the United States during the 1850s (Williams 2004: 18-29). The first die-cut cardboard puzzles were produced in the 1880s, although they were relatively uncommon until the 1920s and '30s when they became an economic alternative to the more expensive wooden puzzles. The die cutting process involved the creation of a "die," made of small metal strips of metal with sharpened cutting edges. These edges were twisted into elaborate patterns and attached to a plate. This die was placed in a press and with the cardboard situated below the die, the pattern was cut. The process is still used today.

Overall, it is difficult to know if the jigsaw puzzle piece found at the site dates to the Harrison era or to the period just after his passing. While pre-1920 die-cut cardboard puzzles did exist, they were rare and often possessed only by the affluent. Puzzles in general surged in popularity with Americans during the early 1900s and then again in the 1930s. This piece may have been part of a puzzle that was contemporaneous with Harrison's stay on the mountain, or it may date to the 1930s when his cabin was destroyed.

Welch's Bottle (30B)

Excavators uncovered a complete Welch's grape-juice bottle in NH30B, one of the northwestern corner patio units (Figure 3.61). The bottle was fully intact and included an affixed metal cap. It measures 5 6/16" in height, and its base is 2.0" in diameter (Figure 3.62). The bottle, which was found on its side, contained a white powdery residue, likely the remnants of the sugary grape juice that slowly leaked out of the bottle during its time in the ground. The machine-made bottle has an Owen's mark and the glass is slightly iridescent, indicating that it dates from 1904-1920 (Figure 3.63). It has an "F" embossed on its base, which should provide an even narrower date range.

Joseph and Suzy Fucini's book , *Entrepreneurs –the men and women behind famous brand names and how they made it*, gives extensive details on the life of Dr. Thomas B. Welch, the founder of Welch's Grape Juice (Fucini and Fucini 1985:69-72). It includes two images. The first (Figure 3.64) is a portrait of Welch and includes the caption, "With his long white hair and flowing beard, Thomas Welch looks as if he would have been right at home in the 1960s. But the teetotaling New Jersey dentist no doubt would have frowned on the era's drug culture. Adamantly



Figure 3.61. Gregory Jones encountering the Welch's grape-juice bottle in the first few inches of NH30B.



Figure 3.62. Welch's grape juice bottle.

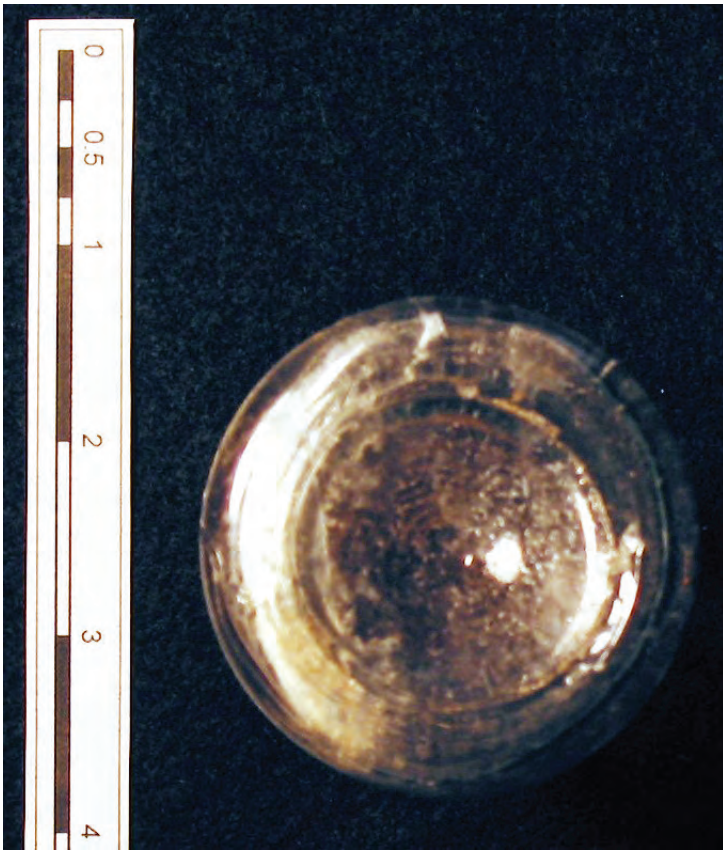


Figure 3.63. Close-up of Owen's mark on grape juice bottle.

opposed to intoxicating beverages, Welch 'invented' grape juice in 1869 because he wished to find a nonalcoholic replacement for the wine used in his church's communion services." The second image is a 1914 advertisement for Welch's Grape Juice (Figure 3.65). Its caption reads: "The Welch Company spent an average of $575,000 a year between 1912 and 1926 to promote its product. A good portion of this money went into magazine ads that touted grape juice as a blood-building elixir and a wholesome, nonalcoholic alternative to wine. This 1914 advertisement strikes a temperance theme, suggesting that the young woman will never kiss a man who drinks anything harder than Welch's grape juice." The Fucinis' entertaining biography of Welch and his famous beverage reads as follows:

"DR. THOMAS B. WELCH (1825-1903): *Welch's Grape Juice*

A devout Methodist and ardent prohibitionist, Dr. Thomas B. Welch cringed at the thought that an intoxicant like wine was being used in his church's communion service. Somebody should come up with a nonalcoholic substitute, the dentist often thought, and in 1869 he decided to give it a try. Dr. Welch happened to have an ample supply of grapes on hand. He lived in the town of Vineland, New Jersey (named for its many vineyards) and it was common for him to receive bushels of the fruit as payment for his dental services. Experimenting at night in his kitchen, Welch tried to create a grape beverage that would not ferment and become alcoholic. Fermentation, the dentist knew, occurred when the natural sugar in the grape juice was converted to alcohol by tiny yeast particles that collected in the fruit. To prevent this, the yeast would have to be destroyed, a feat that Welch accomplished by placing bottles of grape juice in pots of boiling water and allowing the heat to kill the yeast.

Calling his creation 'Dr. Welch's Unfermented Wine,' the dentist tried to persuade his fellow Methodists to adopt it as a sacramental beverage. The weight of tradition was solidly against him, however. Wine, the church elders politely informed Welch, was a staple of the communion ceremony and replacing it with anything else would be nothing short of heretical.

The rejection was a disappointment to Welch, who had been temperance-minded since childhood. His father, Abraham, a Watertown, New York, merchant, was a hardworking family man who occasionally liked to take a few sips of whiskey from a jug he kept in the cellar. This led to terrible fights with Mrs. Welch, who viewed alcohol as the work of the devil. In all probability, his parents' arguments played a major role in shaping young Tom's belief in the evil nature of alcohol. This conviction was further strengthened as he grew more active in the Methodist church. (At nineteen Welch became a minister, but he left the pulpit three years later because the preaching requirements were too taxing for his weak vocal chords.)

Although the prohibitionist dentist was unhappy when the church spurned his beverage, he put the rejection behind him and soon was busy serving the cause of temperance in other ways. He became a self-appointed guardian of Vineland's dry law, seeing to it that anybody who sold intoxicants within the city limits was prosecuted. During 1870-71 he led crusades to the neighboring communities of Millville and Bridgeton, attempting to convert the towns to Vineland's prohibitionist ways. Both cities eventually became dry, although in Bridgeton there were three days of bloody riots before all the saloonkeepers were arrested and their establishments closed down.

For the next twenty years, Dr. Welch's Unfermented Wine remained in the background as a family refreshment, enjoyed by the Welches at home and sold to a few isolated churches for communion purposes. Then in 1892 Thomas Welch's youngest son, Dr. Charles Welch (he too was a dentist), decided to test out his long-held belief that the pleasant-tasting grape drink could be successful as a commercial product. Borrowing $5,000 from his father, forty-year-old Charles set up a juice production facility in a barn behind the family home. With the idea of making his product more appealing to the general public, he changed its name to Welch's Grape Juice. The following year, Charles introduced his rechristened beverage at the Columbian Exposition in Chicago, giving out free samples of Welch's Grape Juice to millions of fairgoers. As a result of this national exposure, demand for the drink grew to the point where Charles was able to give up his dental practice and devote full time to juice making.

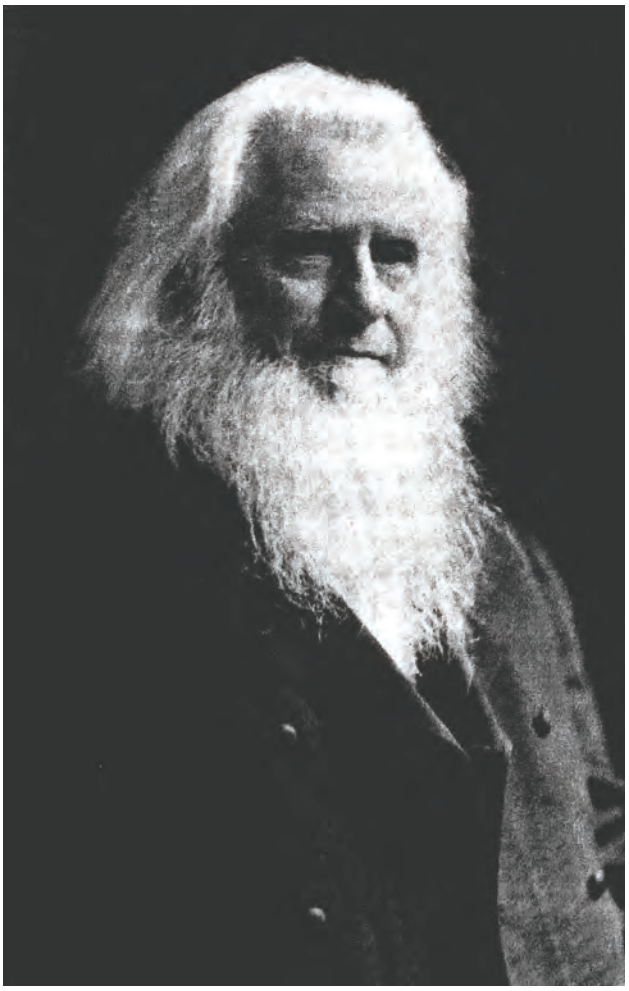


Figure 3.64. Portrait of Dr. Thomas B. Welch.



Figure 3.65. 1914 advertisment for Welch's Grape Juice.

Following his success at the Chicago fair, the former dentist launched a massive advertising campaign in national magazines such as the *Epicure*, *Carter's Monthly*, and *McClure's*. To attract the attention of readers, the manufacturer inserted word puzzles and contests in his ads, once offering $10 to the individual who could form the largest number of words from the phrase 'Welch's Grape Juice.' (The winner came up with 1,366 words.) Not one to overlook any market for his product, Charles also promoted the juice as a temperance beverage and healing tonic. A famous company ad featured a comely maiden with a glass of grape juice and the caption, 'The lips that touch Welch's are all that touch mine.' As a medical aid, Welch's was touted as an elixir for 'typhoid fever, pneumonia, pluritus… and all forms of chronic disease except diabetes mellitus.'

By 1897 Welch's Grape Juice had become a familiar sight at soda fountains alongside root beer and sarsaparilla, and Charles Welch found it necessary to relocate the company to Westfield, New York, to be near a larger source of grapes. Elderly Thomas Welch, who had started it all with his unfermented wine, remained behind in New Jersey, but he continued to be a silent partner in the business until he sold out to Charles shortly before his death in 1903.

The inventor of Welch's Grape Juice did not live to see the realization of his lifelong temperance dream with the passage of the Eighteenth Amendment in 1919. Appropriately, the growing national Prohibition movement provided a tremendous boost to the fortunes of the Welch company by spurring the demand for grape juice as a social beverage in place of wine."

Numerous historical records emphasize Nate Harrison's enjoyment of alcohol, but the presence of a Welch's Grape Juice bottle has led some to wonder if Harrison agreed with Thomas Welch's belief in temperance. This is highly unlikely, and it is worth emphasizing that the beverage in the bottle found at the site was never consumed. The lid was affixed but one edge was slightly bent, allowing some of the contents to leak out the side. Nevertheless, sugar crystals remained in the bottle after nearly a century.

Schlesinger & Bender Whiskey/Brandy Bottle (NH28A, 29A, 30A, 31A, 32A)

Nearly all of the western patio units contained pieces of an amber bottle with distinctive markings. Once the assemblage was fully processed, an ingenious lab worker was able to determine the bottle's maker on the basis of its fragmented lettering. Seven pieces were mended together and spelled out portions of: "SCHLESINGER & BENDER PURE CALIFORNIA WINES & BRANDIES SAN FRANCISCO, CAL" (Figure 3.66). The United States Bureau of Land Management has an image of a complete vessel of this type of bottle on their website: http://www.blm.gov/historic_bottles/Typing/liquor/benderbrandy.jpg (Figure 3.67). The image shows that this bottle is 11.5" tall and its base is 3" in diameter.

Billy and Betty Wilson report in their book, *Spirits & Bottles of the Old West*, that, "Adolf Schlesinger had a vineyard in Fresno as early as 1879. Noah Bender was an agent for LaGrande Laundry in 1885. They formed a partnership in 1890 and had offices in San Francisco until 1895. Although listed only a few years [they] evidently sold their products through agents thereafter" (1968:129). Schlesinger and Bender bottles were manufactured from 1890-1915. The 20th-century Schlesinger and Bender bottles are distinguishable from their 19th-century counterparts on the basis of multiple air venting and a better tooled finish. At this point, the Nate Harrison assemblage does not have enough fragments of the bottle to determine whether the Schlesinger and Bender bottle in its collection is from 1890-1900 or 1900-1915.



Figure 3.66. Cross-mended whiskey/brandy bottle fragments.



Figure 3.67. Image of complete Schlesinger and Bender vessel from BLM website.

Mason's Jar (NH30A)

One of the patio units contained a Mason jar base with the embossed letters "PAT NOV 26 67" in a circle surrounding the numbers "626" (Figure 3.68). The hand-drawn sketch shows the letters in greater detail (Figure 3.69). The patent number on the Mason jar base links it to Salmon B. Rowley's November 26, 1867, patent. The patent was for the shape of the jar he designed (Figures 3.70 and 3.71), and it resulted in his patent number being placed on nearly every jar manufactured by the Hero Glass Works of Philadelphia, PA. Hero Glass Work operated under their original name from 1856 to 1884, and then became the Hero Fruit Jar Company from 1884 to 1909. On the basis of the two fragments recovered from NH30A, it is difficult to determine the exact type of Mason jar found at the Nate Harrison site. Although it is likely the "Mason's Improved" fruit jar, which dates circa 1885-1895, it could also be the particular line of jars named "The Hero." Additional pieces of the vessel, if located, should help pinpoint the specific type.



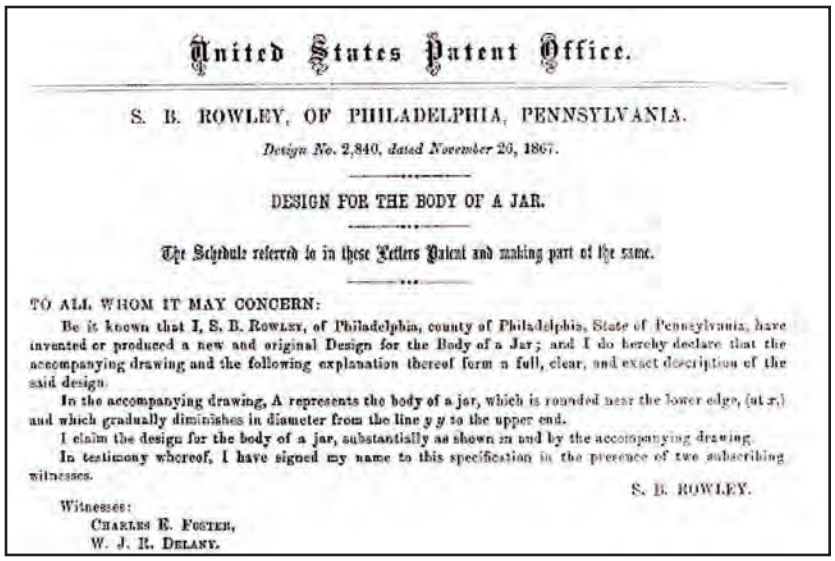
Figure 3.68. Photograph of Mason jar base with embossed lettering.



Figure 3.69. Line-art drawing of Mason jar base.

J.T. & A. Hamilton Company Bottle (NH28A)

NH28A contained a clear bottle base with a distinctive maker's mark: a capital "H" within a hollowed and embossed equilateral triangle (Figures 3.72 and 3.73). J. T. & A. Hamilton Company from Pittsburgh, PA manufactured bottles with this mark. The company began business in 1884 and operated until 1943. The H-Triangle mark was used from ca. 1900-1943.



United States Patent Office.

S. B. ROWLEY, OF PHILADELPHIA, PENNSYLVANIA.

Design No. 2,840, *dated November* 26, 1867.

DESIGN FOR THE BODY OF A JAR.

The Schedule referred to in these Letters Patent and making part of the same.

TO ALL WHOM IT MAY CONCERN:

Be it known that I, S. B. ROWLEY, of Philadelphia, county of Philadelphia, State of Pennsylvania, have invented or produced a new and original Design for the Body of a Jar; and I do hereby declare that the accompanying drawing and the following explanation thereof form a full, clear, and exact description of the said design.

In the accompanying drawing, A represents the body of a jar, which is rounded near the lower edge, (at x,) and which gradually diminishes in diameter from the line *y y* to the upper end.

I claim the design for the body of a jar, substantially as shown in and by the accompanying drawing.

In testimony whereof, I have signed my name to this specification in the presence of two subscribing witnesses.

S. B. ROWLEY.

Witnesses:
CHARLES E. FOSTER,
W. J. R. DELANY.

Figure 3.70. Rowley Mason jar patent.

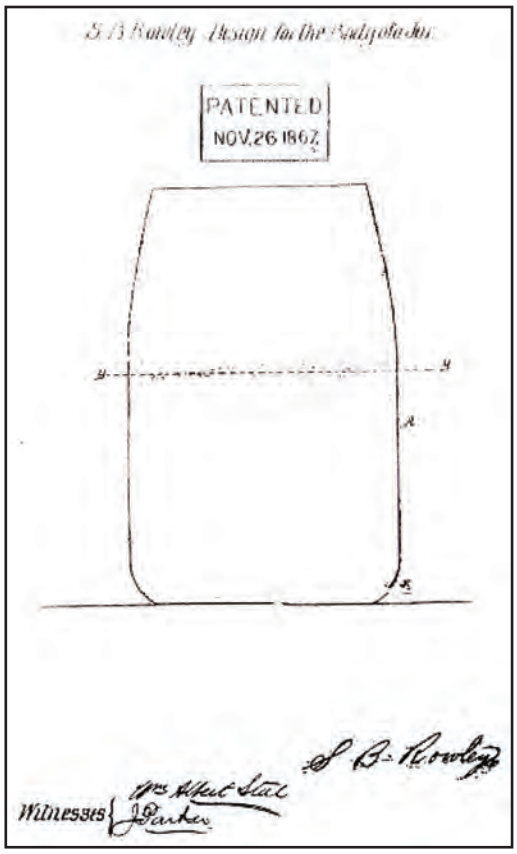


Figure 3.71. Drawing that accompanied Rowley's 1867 patent.

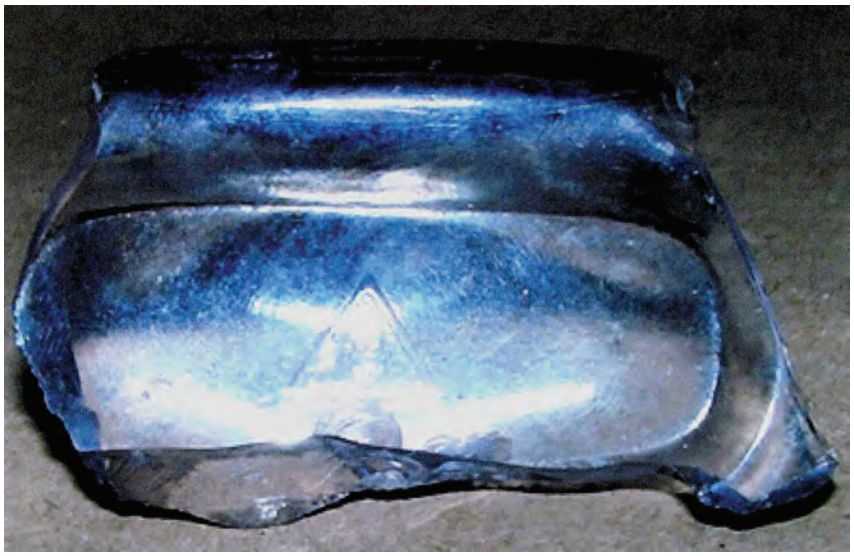


Figure 3.72. Photograph of J.T. & A. Hamilton bottle base.



Figure 3.73. Line-art drawing of J.T. & A. Hamilton bottle base.

Boldt Glass Company Bottles (NH23B, 29A, 29B, 31B)

The 2005 summer excavations uncovered four glass bottle bases with nearly identical "B" maker's marks (Figures 3.74 and 3.75). The "B" has two serifs (the fine line projecting from the main stroke of a letter), which was commonly attributed to the Boldt Glass Company of Muncie, Indiana, and Cincinnati Ohio. Boldt manufactured bottles during the first quarter of the 20th century; Charles Boldt sold out to the Owens Glass Company in 1919, and his plants were refurbished by 1926. Each of the four bases is a slightly different shade of lavender, indicating that they are manganese decolorized glass (ca. 1890-1920). The intersection of the two date ranges for Boldt maker's marks and manganese-decolorized glass is 1900-1919.

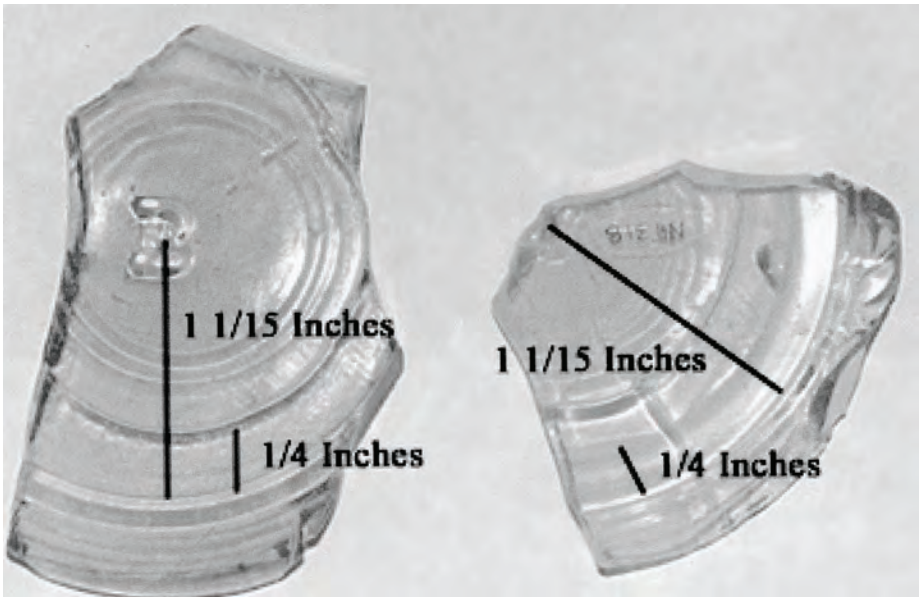


Figure 3.74. Photo of Boldt Glass Company bottle bases.

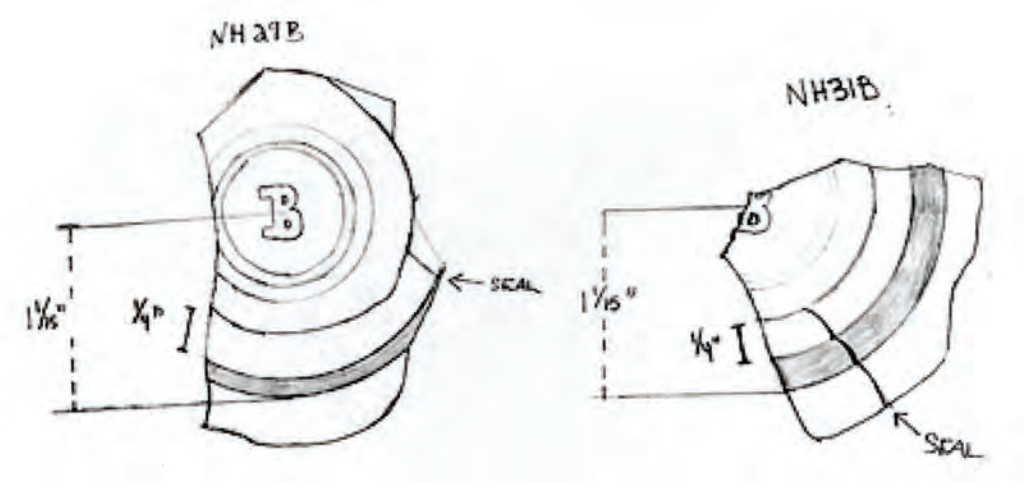


Figure 3.75. Line-art drawing of Boldt Glass Company bottle bases.

Sheep-Shearing Clippers (NH17A and Surface Find)

During the first weeks of excavation in the summer of 2005, one of the graduate-student fieldworkers uncovered a long iron blade in Patio Area I (Figure 3.76). The blade was approximately 4" long and broken at each end. Based on the gradual tapering of the blade toward the point and the handle that came off of the back end, the complete blade length in its original form was likely 5.5" or 6.0" long.



Figure 3.76. In situ sheep shears.

The fragmented blade that was uncovered in NH17A was very similar in form to a complete pair of sheep shears that the Kirbys had found under the elevated patio of their guest cottage, located less than a quarter mile from the Nate Harrison site (Figure 3.77). This patio is also where the students processed artifacts every Friday during the field school. Although the Kirbys were unsure if the tool dated to Harrison's time, subsequent historical research has established that these shears are contemporaneous with Harrison's late 19th-and early 20th-century occupation of Palomar Mountain.

The steel shears that the Kirbys found are 1.0' in total length; the blades are each 6.0" long. The blades are attached at the base in double bow fashion (the double bow purportedly gives the softest squeeze when shearing). The blades and shanks are forged from the same piece of steel; the double-bow base is connected by two rivets. The blades are gently curved and overlap slightly at the base. The blades are arranged like a pair of scissors although the hinge at the base allows the blades to pass each other as they get close to the animal's skin. Blade shearing customarily left a considerable amount of wool on the sheep and was often used on animals that lived in colder and more mountainous climates.

The blades have two sets of maker's marks, in addition to a stamp on each side that reads: "HIND'S READY FOR USE". On one side, the maker's mark is a battleaxe with capital "B"s on each side, an "O" at the top, and a "K" at the base (Figure 3.78). The other side has an even more elaborate maker's mark (Figure 3.79). At the top in an arch are the words: "BURGON & BALL". Directly underneath these letters is a royal crown. The crown sits above a hollow shield. Inside of the shield are the letters "PATENT NO. 294". To the lower right and left of the shield are capital "B"s. In addition, there is box beneath the shield that also contains a set of capital "B"s. The box sits above a capital "A" and the phrase "MADE IN ENGLAND".

The 1897 Sears, Roebuck & Co. catalog has an extensive listing for sheep shears (Figure 3.80). Although it lists three Sears brand shears first, the catalog acknowledges that Burgon & Ball "B.B.A" sheep shears are a widely celebrated brand that was often used by professional sheep shearers. The shears found under the Kirby guest house patio are Burgon & Ball "B.B.A" sheep shears. They are a half-inch smaller than the ones listed in the catalog, but are otherwise identical. Burgon & Ball has been producing sheep shears in Sheffield, England, since 1730, and continues to make remarkably similar tools to this day. Overall, the type of antique English sheep shears found under the Kirby patio date ca. 1850-1935.



Figure 3.77. Sheep shears found under the Kirby guest house patio.



Figure 3.78. Close-up photograph of battleaxe maker's mark on Kirby sheep shears.



Figure 3.79. Close-up photograph of crown-and-shield maker's mark on Kirby sheep shears.

554 SEARS, ROEBUCK & CO., C

SEARS, ROEBUCK & CO.'S SHEEP SHEARS.

Our Sheep Shears are made of a high grade of cutlery steel, which is produced specially to meet the peculiar requirements of our goods. They are made with the best modern applicances and machinery, and our system of inspection is so thorough as to prevent any but perfect goods being sent out. **In finish and appearance,** as well as in quality and durability, our shears are superior to any other line on the market, either imported or domestic. **We guarantee every pair of shears to be perfect.** Each pair of sheep shears is examined and tested in wool before packing. **The blade of each shear is etched as follows:** "If this shear does not prove as good or better than any shear you ever had return it and money will be refunded." **Our prices are based on cost to manufacture** with only our one small profit added. We do not spend large sums to advertise the brand, we do not give away any to professional shearers to influence them to recommend our brands. We do make the best shear it is possible to produce and sell it at a price that cannot be named on shears which must bear a large advertising expense and the middleman profits.

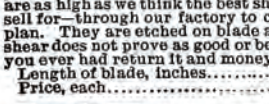
No. 9R4652 Sears, Roebuck & Co.'s Great Western Sheep Shear. Double bow. Straight back and edge. Full polished blades. The shape and style used by professional shearers of the West. Don't let our low price cause you to doubt the quality of these shears. Our prices are as high as we think the best shear on earth should sell for—through our factory to consumer one profit plan. They are etched on blade as follows: "If this shear does not prove as good or better than any shear you ever had return it and money will be refunded."

Length of blade, inches	6	6½	7
Price, each	79c	82c	85c



No. 9R4654 Sears, Roebuck & Co.'s Great Eastern Sheep Shear. Single bow. Bent handles. Full polished and swaged. The shape and style used in the Central and Eastern States. Same quality, workmanship and finish as described under preceding number.

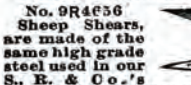
Length of blade, inches	5½	6	6½
Price, each	79c	83c	86c



No. 9R4656 Sheep Shears, are made of the same high grade steel used in our S., R. & Co.'s Shears, but they are not so nicely finished nor so carefully inspected. They do not carry the same guarantee as those described above but they will do good work and are good enough for anyone who has only a small flock and does his own shearing. Bent handles. Half polished blades.

Length of blade, inches	5½	6
Price, each	52c	55c

For Sheep Shearing Machines, see Index.



No. 9R4659 The Celebrated Burgon & Ball's "B. B. A." Sheep Shears, double bow, straight swaged blades, polished; the kind that is used by professional sheep shearers.

Size, inches	6½	7
Price, each	$1.05	$1.10

Figure 3.80. 1897 Sears, Roebuck & Co. catalog listing for sheep shears.

Tile Whetstone (NH22B)

The second layer of patio unit NH22 produced a tile whetstone (Figure 3.81). As of the end of the 2005 field season, this artifact is the only one of its kind that has been found at the site. It is an asymmetrical fragment, measuring 2 13/16" by 2 2/16". The fragment has various cut marks along its length. Whetstones, also known as oil stones, are abrasive stones used to sharpen knives and other edged tools. They are often double-sided with a coarse grit side and a fine grit side. Whetstones are made of many materials, natural and artificial. Artificial whetstones are usually made of a ceramic like silicon carbide.

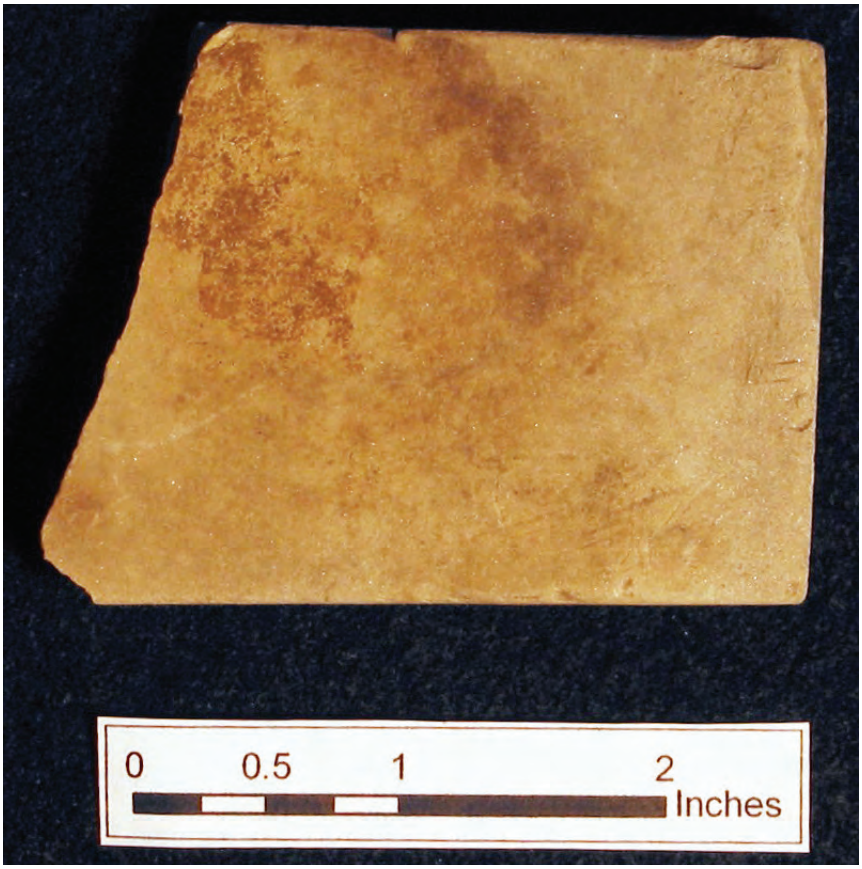


Figure 3.81. Tile whetstone.

Four Tobacco Pipe Mouthpieces (NH6A, 10A, 13A, 33A) and a Pipe Bowl (NH13A)

When a field school student found a rubber tobacco-pipe mouthpiece in the summer of 2004 in cabin unit NH13B, it was a harbinger of future tobacco-related finds at the site. Excavators uncovered four additional pipe mouthpieces and the fragments of a pipe bowl in 2005. Three of the pipe mouthpieces (NH10A, 13A, and 33A) were remarkably similar to the one uncovered in 2004 (Figure 3.82). Each was made of black rubber; two of them were stamped with the phrases "SOLID RUBBER" (NH10A) and "PURE RUBBER" (NH13A) respectively. The third (NH33A) was partially burnt. Harrison is photographed with a black-rubber tobacco-pipe mouthpiece and attached pipe in many of the historic images, including Escondido Historical Society Image #3, and Edward Harvey Davis wrote in 1938 that Harrison's "inseparable companion" was "a short-stemmed black pipe" (Davis 1938:11).

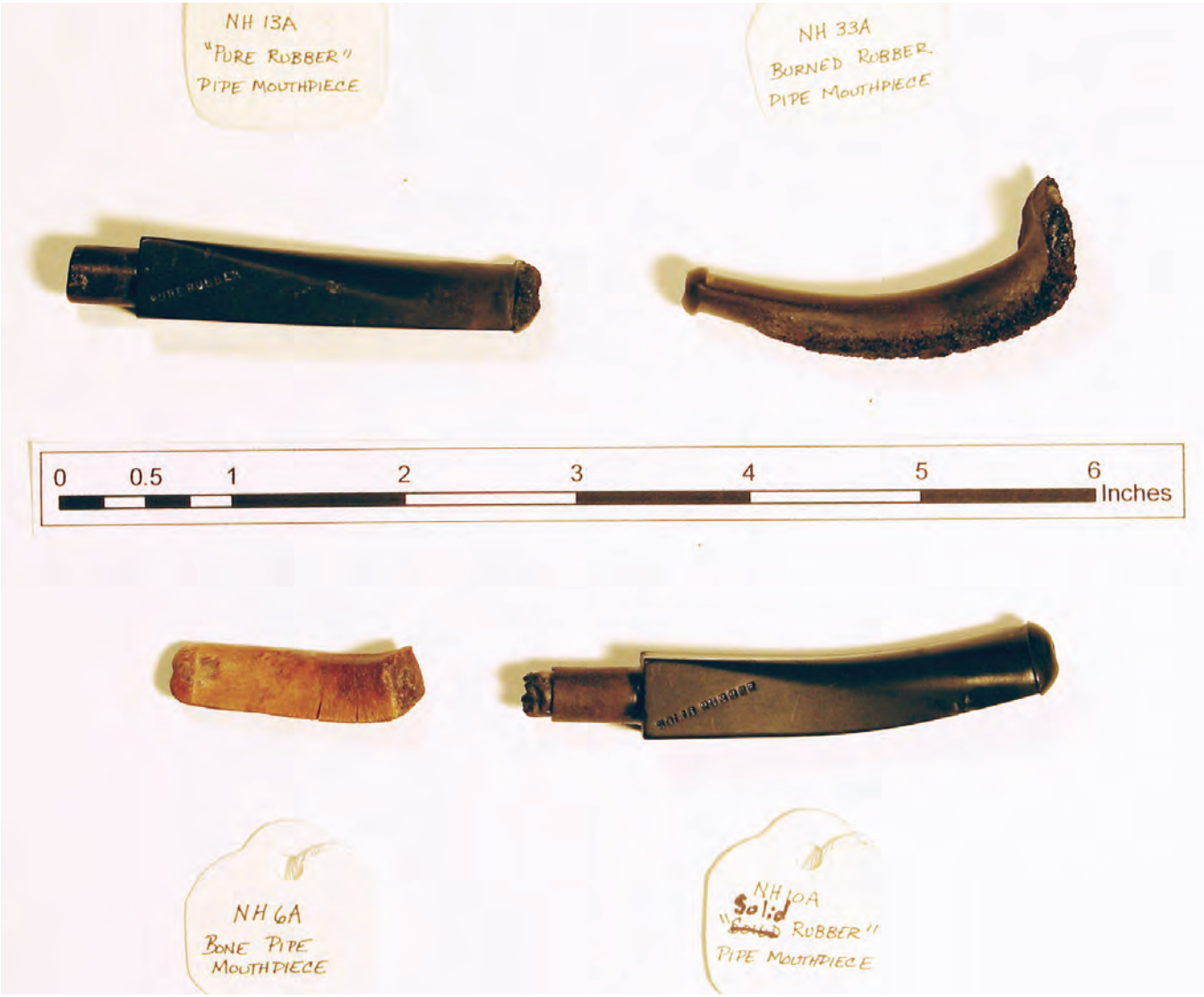


Figure 3.82. The three rubber and one bone tobacco-pipe mouth pieces found during the summer of 2005.

The patio unit centered on the doorway (NH6A) also produced a tobacco pipe mouthpiece, but this one was made of bone. It has tooth marks on the top and bottom near the end. The bone pipe mouthpiece is similar to bone pipe fragments found in NH11A and NH23A during the summer of 2004, but it does not mend with them

Cabin unit NH13A also contained a wooden pipe-bowl fragment. The bowl's interior is charred, and the bottom's exterior is carved in a criss-cross pattern.

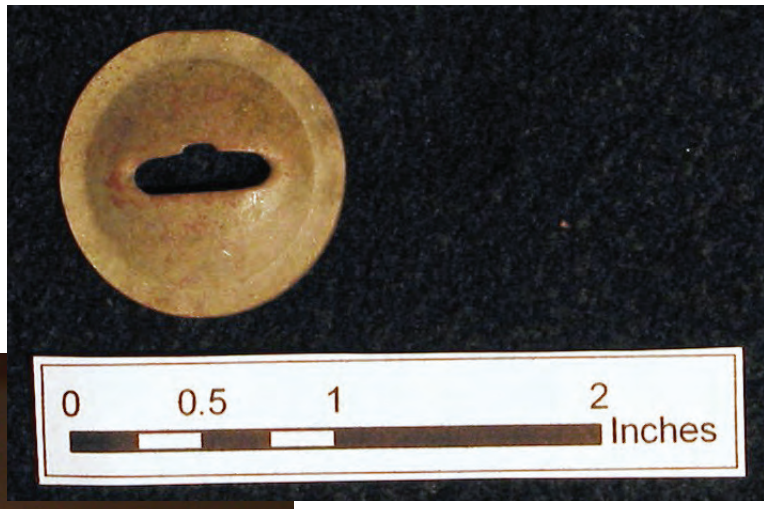


Figure 3.83. Oil lamp burner.



Figure 3.84. Complete antique oil lamp.

3.7 A Final Note...

Less than a week before the 2005 field school was temporarily evacuated from the site because of a nearby fire, students working in one of the Patio Area II units (NH32B) uncovered assorted pieces of a late 19th/early 20th-century oil lamp, including the fully intact lamp burner (Figure 3.83). During the fire evacuation, Dr. Mallios loaded the students into the trusty Anthropology Department van and hastily left the mountain. As evening fell and firefighters successfully put out the blaze, the archaeological team stayed off the mountain for dinner and ventured into a local barbecue joint in the valley. Upon walking into the restaurant, Mallios and his crew espied in the entryway a decorative antique oil lamp that was nearly strikingly similar to the fragments they had been uncovering at the site (Figure 3.84). Although serendipity—fortuitous accidental discoveries—is rare in archaeology, there is circularity between the processes of historical deposition and archaeological discovery. In fact, archaeologist James Deetz began and ended his book *Flowerdew Hundred* with these complementary actions. He wrote that with the ultimate recovery of artifacts by the field-school student, "the circle is closed" (Deetz 1993:174). Deetz's use of the word "closed" is vague. It is easy to misinterpret "closed" as meaning "finished," "settled," or "inaccessible." Each of these terms is a viable synonym for "closed," but they are antithetical to the point that Deetz makes. Contrary to notions of ending a story, discussion, or analysis, the archaeological process is an ongoing journey. Deetz's closed circle is a metaphor for continuity; it keeps going round and round in a manner that opens new dialogues about history, identity, and community.



Figure 3.85. During the public open house at the end of the 2005 summer field season, Dr. Mallios discusses the parallels between various historical documents concerning Nate Harrison and the artifacts exhumed at the site.

Likewise, the archaeological process is an ongoing endeavor at the Nate Harrison site, a project that includes research, education, and public outreach. We continue to produce timely scholarship, including annual technical reports and a recent 2006 *Proceedings of the Society for California Archaeology* article, "Preliminary Excavations at the Nate Harrison Site" (Volume 19:71-74). Summer field schools are scheduled to continue on a yearly basis, and each one concludes with a public open house (Figure 3.85). In addition, the project's website http://www-rohan.sdsu.edu/~histarch/ includes each year's complete technical report and the entire artifact catalog. Although this project has far to go before any new definitive conclusions can be made about the life and times of Nate Harrison, it has begun to assemble a new and more complete set of information, both historical and archaeological, that can place Harrison and his legend in proper context.

PART IV

An Interim Technical Report for the 2006 Field Season



Cover image 4. An aerial view of the 2006 excavations.

Seth Mallios

With Contributions by Hillary Sweeney, Jaime Lennox, Kimberly Scott
Robert Tews, David Caterino, Anne Miller, Matthew Maxfeldt, and Sarah Stroud

Part IV List of Figures

Cover image 4. An aerial view of the 2006 excavations. 235

Figure 4.1. 2006 field crew. From left to right, bottom to top: Robert Tews, Justin Sorensen, Seth Mallios, Thomas Sowles, Sarah Stroud, Hillary Sweeney, Kimberly Scott, Cole Giurlani, Matthew Maxfeldt, Michelle Hammond, Onika Miyashiro, Jaime Lennox, Michelle Hart, Megan Libby, and Kristin Tennesen. 240

Figure 4.2. Trowlie recipient Justin Sorensen and Professor Mallios. 241

Figure 4.3. Kimberly Scott, Professor Mallios, and Kristin Tennesen discuss the stratigraphy of the cabin's northern units. 243

Figure 4.4. Bailey Collection Image #1. 244

Figure 4.5. Bailey Collection Image #2. 244

Figure 4.6. Richard Fritz Collection Image #1. 244

Figure 4.7. San Diego Historical Society Image #7. 246

Figure 4.8. San Diego Historical Society Image #8. 248

Figure 4.9. San Diego Historical Society Image #9. 249

Figure 4.10. San Diego Historical Society Image #10. 250

Figure 4.11. San Diego Historical Society Image #11. 250

Figure 4.12. San Diego Historical Society Image #12. 251

Figure 4.13. Great Register, San Diego County, 1875. 252

Figure 4.14. Great Register, San Diego County, 1877. 253

Figure 4.15. Great Register, San Diego County, 1879. 254

Figure 4.16. Great Register, San Diego County, 1880. 255

Figure 4.17. Great Register, San Diego County, 1882. 257

Figure 4.18. Great Register, San Diego County, 1888. 257

Figure 4.19. Great Register, San Diego County, 1890. 258

Figure 4.20. Great Register, San Diego County, 1892. 258

Figure 4.21. Great Register, San Diego County, 1894. 259

Figure 4.22. Great Register Index, San Diego County, 1902. 260

Figure 4.23. San Diego County 1889-1890 Ownership Map. 260

Figure 4.24. Table of written accounts of Nate Harrison. 261

Figure 4.25. Plan map of Nate Harrison site as of June 2006. 292

Figure 4.26. Aerial photograph of site with unit designations. 294

Figure 4.27. Excavation Register of Nate Harrison site through June 2006. 295

Figure 4.28. The two patio trenches with their corresponding ER numbers. 296

Figure 4.29. The open-house artifact table displays a small sample of the many faunal remains from NH34D and NH34E. 297

Figure 4.30. Kristin Tennesen holds a scale in the southwest corner of NH18E while Kimberly Scott continues to excavate the dark sandy loam. 298

Figure 4.31. Megan Libby, Robert Tews, and Michelle Hart work in and around the cabin on one of the last days of the field school. Note that the entire west wall and almost the entire south wall are completely exposed. 299
Figure 4.32. Cabin-unit NH16 contains a lower layer of rock debris from the cabin destruction that seals the cabin's dirt floor. 300
Figure 4.33. NH16 north wall profile map. 301
Figure 4.34. NH16 north wall photograph. 301
Figure 4.35. NH16 east wall profile map. 302
Figure 4.36. NH16 east wall photograph. 302
Figure 4.37. NH16 south wall profile map 303
Figure 4.38. NH16 south wall photograph. 303
Figure 4.39. NH16 west wall profile map. 304
Figure 4.40. NH16 west wall photograph. 304
Figure 4.41. Close-up photograph of ash lens in NH16 east wall profile. 305
Figure 4.42. NH36 west wall profile map. 306
Figure 4.43. NH36 west wall photograph. 306
Figure 4.44. Dr. Mallios points to the vertical line formed by the edges of the rocks in the cabin's west wall that formed the north edge of the original doorway. 307
Figure 4.45. Mallios stands in the cabin's doorway once the secondarily-placed rocks were removed. 308
Figure 4.46. NH37 south wall profile map 309
Figure 4.47. NH37 south wall photograph. 309
Figure 4.48. NH38 north wall profile map. 310
Figure 4.49. NH38 north wall photograph. 310
Figure 4.50. NH38 east wall profile map. 311
Figure 4.51. NH38 east wall photograph. 311
Figure 4.52. NH38 south wall profile map 312
Figure 4.53. NH38 south wall photograph. 312
Figure 4.54. NH38 west wall profile map. 313
Figure 4.55. NH38 west wall photograph. 313
Figure 4.56. A close-up photograph of the scorched earth in the northeast corner of NH38E. 314
Figure 4.57. NH41 north wall profile map. 315
Figure 4.58. NH41 north wall photograph. 315
Figure 4.59. Every Friday, students processed the artifacts that they had found during the previous week. 318
Figure 4.60. Artifact date ranges from the 2006 field season. 319
Figure 4.61. Cumulative artifact date ranges from the 2004-2006 field seasons. 320
Figure 4.62. Cross-mend master list. 321
Figure 4.63. Table of minimum vessel counts for the site's glass assemblage. 322
Figure 4.64. Photograph of cross-mended Cock and Egg pipe fragments. 323
Figure 4.65. Image of complete Cock and Egg pipe 324

Figure 4.66. Photograph of President Suspenders. 325
Figure 4.67. Advertisement from the 1920 Sears, Roebuck Catalogue for "The President Suspender." 325
Figure 4.68. Photograph of C.F. Co./UK metal button snap 326
Figure 4.69. Photograph of Alameda Water Company bottle sherds. 326
Figure 4.70. Photograph of stone marble. 327
Figure 4.71. Photograph of celluloid comb. 327
Figure 4.72. Advertisement from the 1897 Sears, Roebuck Catalogue for "Imitation Tortoise Shell Celluloid Barber's Comb." 327
Figure 4.73. In situ door hinge. 328
Figure 4.74. Photograph of door hinge after being processed in the archaeological laboratory. 328
Figure 4.75. In situ iron file. 329
Figure 4.76. Advertisement from the 1897 Sears, Roebuck Catalogue for "Mill Files." 329
Figure 4.77. Photograph of Schutzen Strasse Number 9 bottle sherds found at site. 330
Figure 4.78. Photograph of leather shoe. 330
Figure 4.79. In situ cosmetic tin. 331
Figure 4.80. The white waxy contents of the cosmetic tin. 331
Figure 4.81. Photograph of glass thermometer sherds. 332
Figure 4.82a. Page 469 advertisements from the 1897 Sears, Roebuck Catalogue for "Thermometers." 332
Figure 4.82b. Page 470 advertisements from the 1897 Sears, Roebuck Catalogue for "Thermometers." 333
Figure 4.83. Field-school participants (left to right) Cole Giurlani, Justin Sorensen, Jaime Lennox, Michelle Hammond, Kimberly Scott, Kristin Tennesen, Thomas Sowles, Hillary Sweeney, Robert Tews, Michelle Hart, Matthew Maxfeldt, and Onika Miyashiro pose at Billy Goat Point, the spot at which Nate Harrison frequently surveyed the entire valley. 334
Figure 4.84. San Diego State University Executive Vice President for Academic Affairs Ethan Singer and Provost Nancy Marlin stand at the entrance to Nate Harrison's cabin with Professor Mallios during the annual archaeological open house and discuss what everyday life in the 19th century must have been like on this mountain homestead. 335



Figure 4.1. 2006 field crew. From left to right, bottom to top: Robert Tews, Justin Sorensen, Seth Mallios, Thomas Sowles, Sarah Stroud, Hillary Sweeney, Kimberly Scott, Cole Giurlani, Matthew Maxfeldt, Michelle Hammond, Onika Miyashiro, Jaime Lennox, Michelle Hart, Megan Libby, and Kristin Tennesen.

4.1 Acknowledgments

Like its predecessors, the third season of summer excavation at the Nate Harrison site relied on the kindness, effort, and ardor of many individuals. This project would not exist were it not for the Kirbys. We will never take their dedication to the project for granted. In addition, we are indebted to the 2006 field school students. Collectively, Cole Giurlani, Justin Sorensen, Michelle Hart, Michelle Hammond, Onika Miyashiro, Matthew Maxfeldt, Thomas Sowles, Kimberly Scott, Robert Tews, Megan Libby, and Kristin Tennesen were outstanding workers and enjoyable campmates (Figure 4.1). Although only one of them (Figure 4.2) could be awarded the "Trowelie" for "Most Outstanding Archaeological Crew Member," they each deserved substantial consideration for this accolade. In addition, Hillary, Jaime, Robert, Matthew, and Kimberly together put in the hundreds of hours necessary to process the 2006 artifact assemblage.



Figure 4.2. Trowlie recipient Justin Sorensen and Professor Mallios.

Various faculty and staff members at San Diego State University were essential to the success of this summer field program. We are very appreciative of the support from Anthropology Department Administrative Coordinator Kathleen Peck, College of Arts and Letters Dean Paul Wong, and Provost Nancy Marlin. We also wish to thank the many San Diegans, whose passion for archaeological discovery and local history is unrivaled, for their continued enthusiasm toward this project.

4.2 Introduction

The Nate Harrison Historical Archaeology Project continues in its multidisciplinary quest to uncover the local past, evaluate the veracity of various rural San Diego legends, and deepen insight into the life and times of Palomar pioneer Nate Harrison. It is simultaneously a research project and an active training ground for archaeology students (Figure 4.3). Summer field excavations began in 2004 and are tentatively scheduled to continue through the end of the decade. Harrison was a local settler who has achieved near-mythical status in the years since his passing. This archaeological project attempts to appreciate the intricacies of his daily life on the frontier and to understand how and why Harrison's legend changed over time.



Figure 4.3. Kimberly Scott, Professor Mallios, and Kristin Tennesen discuss the stratigraphy of the cabin's northern units.

The 2006 interim technical report presented here is a continuation of the 2004 and 2005 interim technical reports. All of these documents are available on the web at: http://www-rohan.sdsu.edu/~histarch. The 2006 report begins where the other two left off. The Nate Harrison Historical Archaeology Project continues to employ the same core research design, field methods, and laboratory techniques detailed in the 2004 report.

The 2006 report begins with additional historical photographs of Harrison at his cabin site. The 2004 report, which contained and inventoried forty historical photographs of Harrison, his Palomar-Mountain home, and his surroundings, fortuitously inspired other San Diegans to send their images of Harrison to Professor Mallios. It is hoped that this report continues this trend. Anyone with an old photograph of Nate Harrison (or any information regarding Harrison for that matter) is urged to e-mail the project director at smallios@mail.sdsu.edu, call him at (619) 594-4748, or just drop by his office (AL448A at San Diego State University). Following the photographs, the next section of this report presents additional contemporaneous historical records that give details of Harrison's life and times. Like the 2004 and 2005 reports, the 2006 report then discusses the excavation results from the past summer field season (2006). It provides a stratigraphic summary of the excavation season and details a select group of recently discovered artifacts. In synthesizing the third year of historical and archaeological work on the Nate Harrison Historical Archaeology Project, this annual publication serves as the 2006-2007 interim technical report.

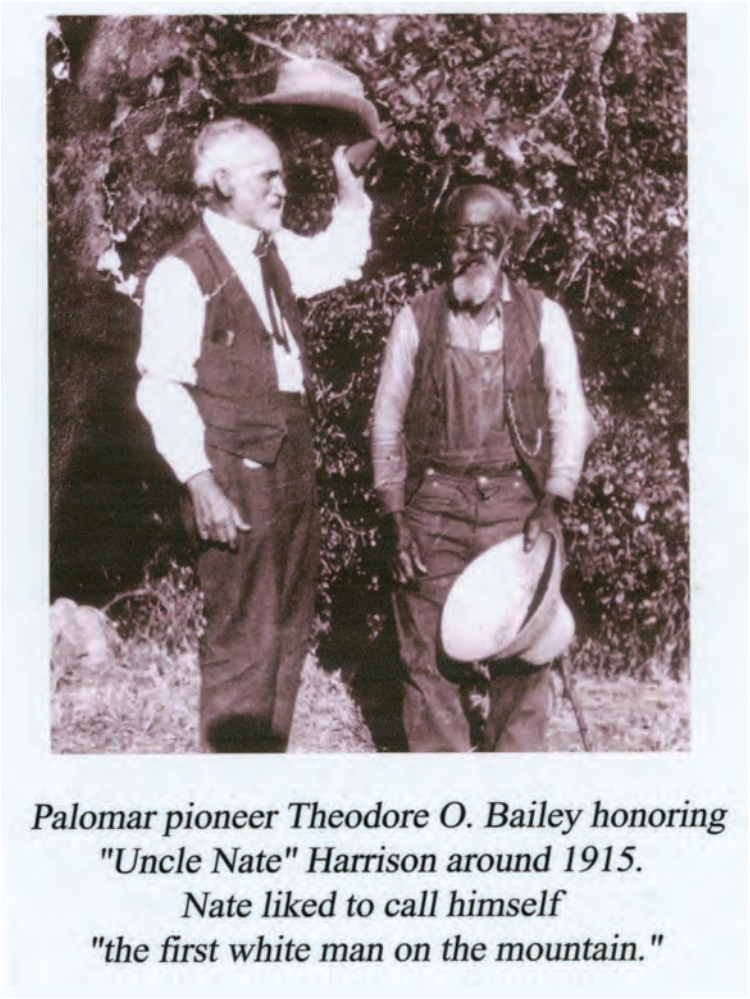


Figure 4.4. Bailey Collection Image #1.



Figure 4.5. Bailey Collection Image #2.



Figure 4.6. Richard Fritz Collection Image #1.

4.3 Historical Background

Additional Historical Photographs

Since the 2004 technical report was published, nine additional historical photographs that relate to the life and times of Nate Harrison have been forwarded to the project director. Harrison was the most photographed 19th-century San Diego County resident, and these images add to his remarkably thick portfolio. The photographs are doubly important to Harrison's legend; they both reflect his mythical status and contribute to it.

The Bailey Collection

San Diego County pioneer Theodore Bailey settled on Palomar Mountain in the 1880s. He built his house on what is now Palomar Lodge and was a close friend of Nate Harrison's. It was Theodore Bailey who erected the granite pillar in Harrison's honor after his passing. Theodore Bailey's son, Milton, created a stage line between San Diego and the Bailey resort (Palomar Lodge) in 1912. He drove passengers up the precipitous road for $6.50 and frequently stopped at Harrison's cabin along the way. Most of the photographs of Harrison were taken during the time in which Milton Bailey ran his stage line.

Bailey Collection Image #1

(Figure 4.4)

The first image from the Bailey Collection is of Theodore Bailey and Nate Harrison. It dates to circa 1915 and shows Bailey doffing his hat in honor of his close friend. The 3 ¼" by 3 ¾" photo includes many of Harrison's prized possessions: his pipe, watch chain, hat, and walking stick.

Bailey Collection Image #2

(Figure 4.5)

The other Harrison-related image from the Bailey Collection is of the Bailey Resort Hotel Stage on the way to Harrison's place. The engine hood of the car reads: "PALOMAR MT. HOTEL STAGE," and Harrison is shown sitting on the running board of the car.

Richard Fritz Collection

Richard Fritz, a photographer who currently lives in Enumclaw, Washington, contacted Professor Mallios in 2006 with an historical image of Harrison. Fritz, who had friends working at Palomar Mountain in the early 1960s, explained that he came across the photograph while working in the Fed-Mart Photo department.

Richard Fritz Collection Image #1

(Figure 4.6)

Fritz's photograph of Harrison shows the Palomar pioneer in front of his horse trough. Similar to Kirby Collection images #10 and #12, Harrison leans on his walking stick and wears a hat. This image was likely taken in the early 1900s.

The San Diego Historical Society Collection

A return trip to the San Diego Historical Society produced additional images of Nate Harrison. The numbering system used here continues where last year's report left off, beginning with San Diego Historical Society Image #7.



Figure 4.7. San Diego Historical Society Image #7.

San Diego Historical Society Image #7
(Figure 4.7)

The seventh San Diego Historical Society photograph of Nate Harrison is the same as Kirby Collection Image #6, except for the fact that it has not been cropped in the same manner. This image of Harrison clearly shows his black and white dog in the background. The Kirby Collection image was cropped in such a way that the dog was split in half and unrecognizable. The image was taken circa 1910-15 and was originally 5" by 8".

San Diego Historical Society Image #8
(Figure 4.8)

The San Diego Historical Society also had an image of Harrison in front of his horse trough. In this undated photograph, Harrison is wearing a hat and scarf, similar to Valley Center History Museum Image #1. The angle at which this image was taken likely places the horse trough (and the water pump, too) at the bend of the road near the current Kirby property entrance.

San Diego Historical Society Image #9
(Figure 4.9)

The ninth San Diego Historical Society image of Nate Harrison was taken from an odd angle. It is the only photograph of Harrison that is of his profile. This image is dated circa 1900. In it, Harrison stands in front of the horse trough and water trough. He holds his pipe and walking stick and carries a whiskey bottle in his back pocket.

San Diego Historical Society Image #10
(Figure 4.10)

In this image, a clearly despondent Theodore Bailey leans on the granite cairn dedicated to Nate Harrison. This photograph post-dates 1924, the year the cairn was erected.

San Diego Historical Society Image #11
(Figure 4.11)

This image is a close-up of Harrison's cairn. The exact date of this post-1924 photograph is unknown.

San Diego Historical Society Image #12
(Figure 4.12)

The final Harrison–related image in the San Diego Historical Society archives is of three men and a woman in a car on the grade leading to Harrison's cabin. Two of the men seem to be the same individuals pictured in Kirby Collection Image #15, which post-dates 1921. There is a caption that is attributed to SDHS image #12. It reads: "We used a tree for brakes coming down Palomar Grade." Close examination of the photograph shows a small tree attached to the bumper of the car.

Additional Primary Documents

Dr. Anne Miller, a local historian from Murrieta, California, contacted Dr. Mallios in the fall of 2006 with additional historical information about Nate Harrison. She found entries for Harrison in the Great Registers of Voters. Miller also located a County ownership map with the name "Harris." Miller's findings corroborated much of what was gleaned from the contemporaneous primary documents listed and discussed in the 2004 technical report, and are substantive contributions to the inventory of historical records pertaining to Nate Harrison. Since entries on the Great Registers were often based on affidavits completed several years earlier, they commonly



Figure 4.8. San Diego Historical Society Image #8.



Figure 4.9. San Diego Historical Society Image #9.



Figure 4.10. San Diego Historical Society Image #10.



Figure 4.11. San Diego Historical Society Image #11.



Figure 4.12. San Diego Historical Society Image #12.

contained slightly outdated information. For example, Nate Harrison was listed as a 42-year-old laborer on the 1875, 1876, 1877, and 1879 lists, although he clearly aged through that five-year period.

Nathan Harrison only appears in some of the annual Great Registers. Miller found Harrison's name in the 1875, 1876, 1877, 1879, 1880, 1884, 1886, 1890, and 1892 Great Registers and forwarded Dr. Mallios copies of the 1875, 1877, 1879, and 1880 entries. In addition, the San Diego Historical Society had copies of the 1877, 1879, 1882, 1888, 1890, 1891, 1894, and 1902 Great Registers; each of which contains an entry for Nathan Harrison. The San Diego Historical Society also had a copy of the 1873 register, but Harrison is not listed in it. The SDHS did not have a copy of the 1891 Great Register. In addition, Nate Harrison is not listed in two of the partial registers that the SDHS has for 1898 and 1906. The 1898 register at the SDHS was only a supplement to the main register and the 1906 register was only for the 9th ward, 2nd precinct. The 1916 Great Register is a mammoth book that is organized initially by precinct, not alphabetically. Harrison does not appear in the Pala or Palomar precincts.

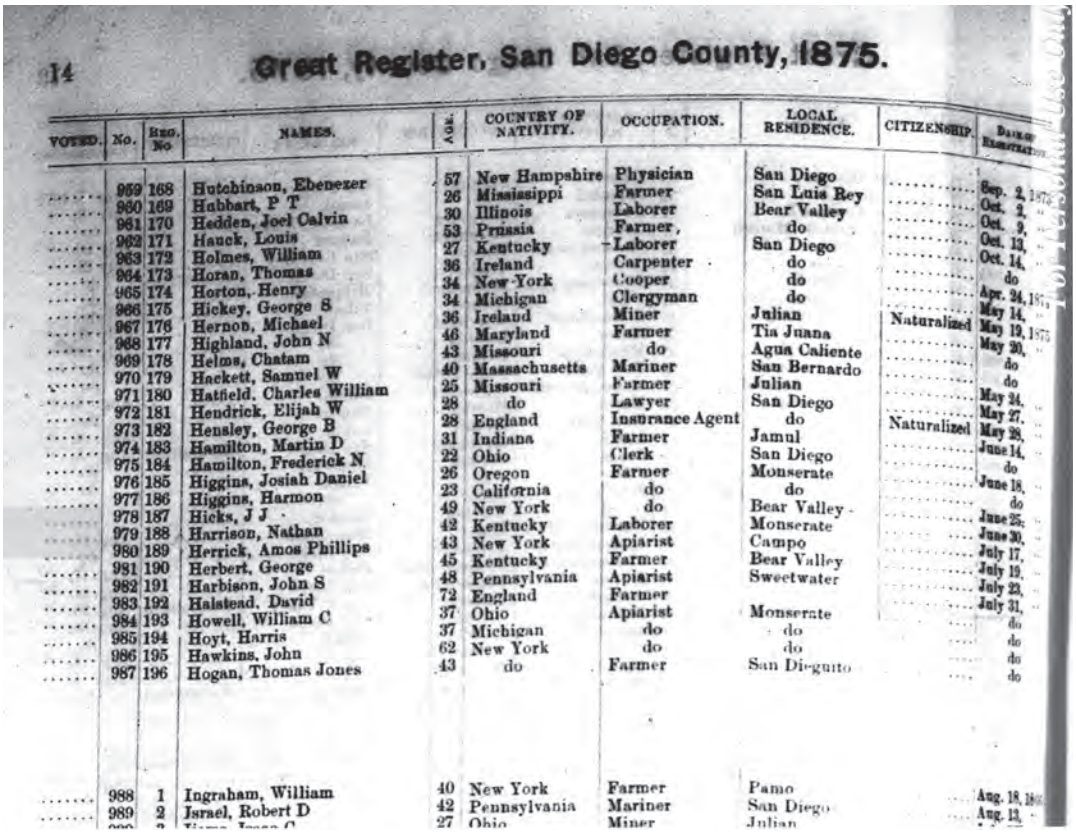
The available Great Registers that list Harrison are presented in chronological order.

Great Register, San Diego County, 1875, page 14

(Figure 4.13)

The 1875 San Diego County Great Register contains an entry for Nathan Harrison that lists the following information:

"VOTED.:	_____
NO.:	979
REG. NO.:	188
NAMES.:	Harrison, Nathan
AGE.:	42
COUNTRY OF NATIVITY.:	Kentucky
OCCUPATION.:	Laborer
LOCAL RESIDENCE.:	Monserate



14 Great Register, San Diego County, 1875.

VOTED.	No.	Reg. No	NAMES.	AGE.	COUNTRY OF NATIVITY.	OCCUPATION.	LOCAL RESIDENCE.	CITIZENSHIP.	DATE OF REGISTRATION.
.....	959	168	Hutchinson, Ebenezer	57	New Hampshire	Physician	San Diego	.....	Sep. 2, 1875
.....	960	169	Hubbart, P T	26	Mississippi	Farmer	San Luis Rey	.....	Oct. 2, "
.....	961	170	Hedden, Joel Calvin	30	Illinois	Laborer	Bear Valley	.....	Oct. 9, "
.....	962	171	Hauck, Louis	53	Prussia	Farmer,	do	.....	Oct. 13, "
.....	963	172	Holmes, William	27	Kentucky	Laborer	San Diego	.....	Oct. 14, "
.....	964	173	Horan, Thomas	36	Ireland	Carpenter	do	.....	do
.....	965	174	Horton, Henry	34	New York	Cooper	do	.....	Apr. 24, 187
.....	966	175	Hickey, George S	34	Michigan	Clergyman	do	.....	May 14, "
.....	967	176	Hernon, Michael	36	Ireland	Miner	Julian	Naturalized	May 19, 1875
.....	968	177	Highland, John N	46	Maryland	Farmer	Tia Juana	.....	May 20, "
.....	969	178	Helms, Chatam	43	Missouri	do	Agua Caliente	.....	do
.....	970	179	Hackett, Samuel W	40	Massachusetts	Mariner	San Bernardo	.....	do
.....	971	180	Hatfield, Charles William	25	Missouri	Farmer	Julian	.....	May 24, "
.....	972	181	Hendrick, Elijah W	28	do	Lawyer	San Diego	.....	May 27, "
.....	973	182	Hensley, George B	28	England	Insurance Agent	do	Naturalized	May 28, "
.....	974	183	Hamilton, Martin D	31	Indiana	Farmer	Jamul	.....	June 14, "
.....	975	184	Hamilton, Frederick N	22	Ohio	Clerk	San Diego	.....	do
.....	976	185	Higgins, Josiah Daniel	26	Oregon	Farmer	Monserate	.....	June 18, "
.....	977	186	Higgins, Harmon	23	California	do	do	.....	do
.....	978	187	Hicks, J J	49	New York	do	Bear Valley	.....	June 25, "
.....	979	188	Harrison, Nathan	42	Kentucky	Laborer	Monserate	.....	June 30, "
.....	980	189	Herrick, Amos Phillips	43	New York	Apiarist	Campo	.....	July 17, "
.....	981	190	Herbert, George	45	Kentucky	Farmer	Bear Valley	.....	July 19, "
.....	982	191	Harbison, John S	48	Pennsylvania	Apiarist	Sweetwater	.....	July 23, "
.....	983	192	Halstead, David	72	England	Farmer		.....	July 31, "
.....	984	193	Howell, William C	37	Ohio	Apiarist	Monserate	.....	do
.....	985	194	Hoyt, Harris	37	Michigan	do	do	.....	do
.....	986	195	Hawkins, John	62	New York	do	do	.....	do
.....	987	196	Hogan, Thomas Jones	43	do	Farmer	San Dieguito	....	do
.....	988	1	Ingraham, William	40	New York	Farmer	Pamo	.....	Aug. 18, 18
.....	989	2	Israel, Robert D	42	Pennsylvania	Mariner	San Diego	.....	Aug. 13, "
				27	Ohio	Miner	Julian		

Figure 4.13. Great Register, San Diego County, 1875.

CITIZENSHIP.: _____
DATE OF REGISTRATION.: June 30, 1875”

The information in this record parallels the details in Harrison’s 1894 voter registration. Both indicate his birth year was 1833 and his home state as Kentucky. Furthermore, the local residences listed for Harrison on these two records, Pala and Monserate, were less than a half mile apart. The 1876, 1877, and 1879 San Diego County Great Registers contain the same information as the 1875 list.

Great Register, San Diego County, 1877, page 11

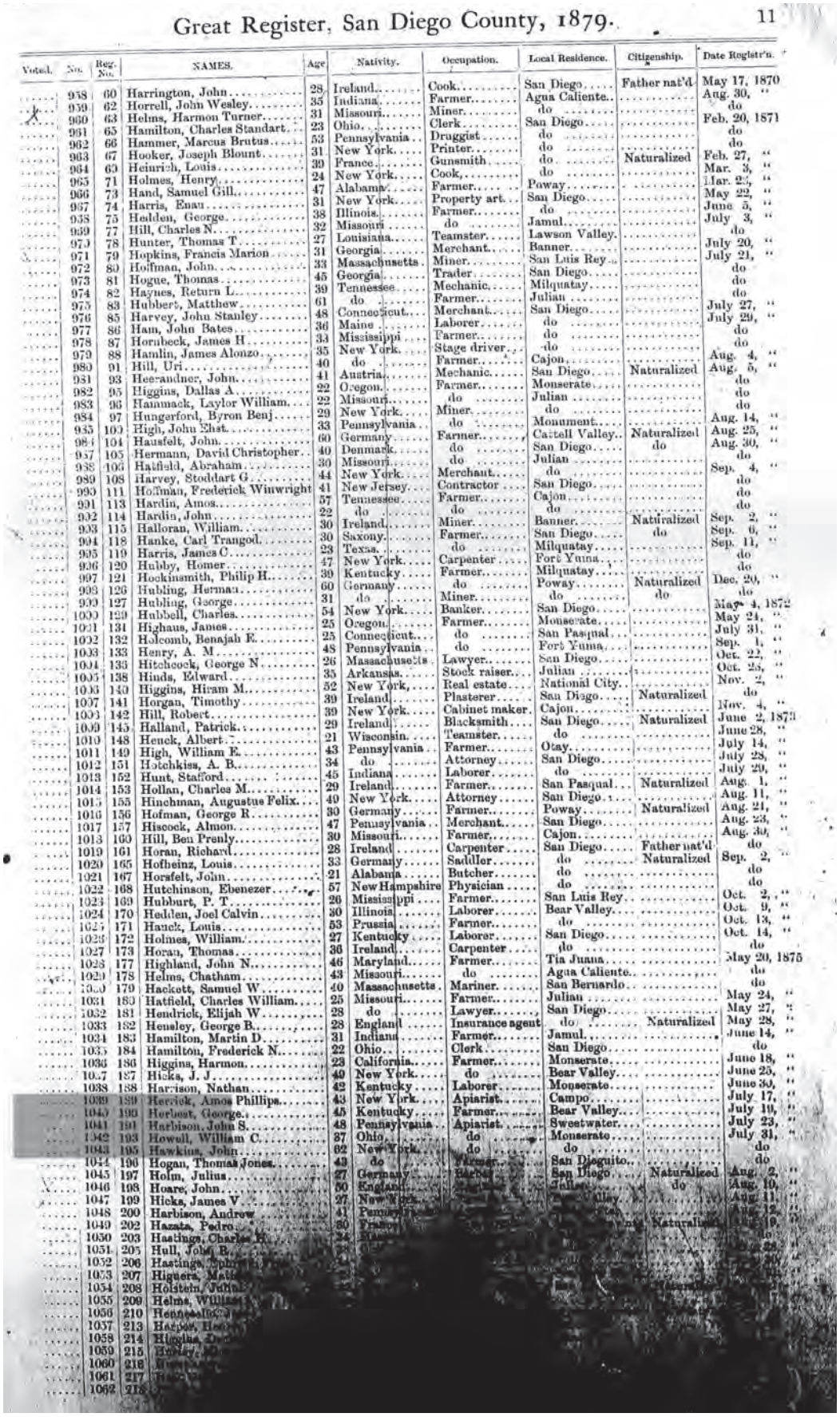
(Figure 4.14)

“VOTED.: .....
NO.: 1041
REG. NO.: 188
NAMES.: Harrison, Nathan
AGE.: 42
COUNTRY OF NATIVITY.: Kentucky
OCCUPATION.: Laborer
LOCAL RESIDENCE.: Montserate
CITIZENSHIP.: .....
DATE OF REGISTRATION.: June 30, 1875”

Great Register, San Diego County, 1877. 11

Voted.	No.	Reg. No.	NAMES.	Age.	Nativity.	Occupation.	Local Residence.	Citizenship.	Date Registr'n.
.....	1032	178	Helms, Chatham	43	Missouri	Farmer	Agua Caliente		May 20, 1875
.....	1033	179	Hackett, Samuel W	40	Massachusetts	Mariner	San Bernardo		do
.....	1034	180	Hatfield, Charles William	25	Missouri	Farmer	Julian		May 24, "
.....	1035	181	Hendrick, Elijah W	28	do	Lawyer	San Diego		May 27, "
.....	1036	182	Hensley, George B	28	England	Insurance agt	do	Naturalized	May 28, "
.....	1037	183	Hamilton, Martin D	31	Indiana	Farmer	Jamul		June 14, "
.....	1038	184	Hamilton, Frederick N	22	Ohio	Clerk	San Diego		do
.....	1039	186	Higgins, Harmon	23	California	Farmer	Montserate		June 18, "
.....	1040	187	Hicks, J J	49	New York	do	Bear Valley		June 25, "
.....	1041	188	Harrison, Nathan	42	Kentucky	Laborer	Montserate		June 30, "
.....	1042	189	Herrick, Amos Phillips	43	New York	Apiarist	Campo		July 17, "
.....	1043	190	Herbert, George	45	Kentucky	Farmer	Bear Valley		July 19, "
.....	1044	191	Harbison, John S	48	Pennsylvania	Apiarist	Sweetwater		July 23, "
.....	1045	193	Howell, William C	37	Ohio	do	Montserate		July 31, "
.....	1046	194	Hoyt, Harris	37	Michigan	do	do		do
.....	1047	195	Hawkins, John	62	New York	do	do		do
.....	1048	196	Hogan, Thomas Jones	43	do	Farmer	San Dieguito		do
.....	1049	197	Holm, Julius	27	Germany	Barber	San Diego	Naturalized	Aug. 2, "
.....	1050	198	Hoare, John	50	England	Engineer	Julian	do	Aug. 10, "
.....	1051	199	Hicks, James V	27	New York	Farmer	Bear Valley		Aug. 11, "
.....	1052	200	Harbison, Andrew	41	Pennsylvania	Apiarist	Sweetwater		Aug. 12, "
.....	1053	201	Hicks, Henry C	51	Kentucky	do	Poway		Aug. 13, "
.....	1054	202	Hazata, Pedro	30	France	Sheep raiser	San Buenave'ta	Naturalized	Aug. 19, "
.....	1055	203	Hastings, Charles H	34	Massachusetts	Mariner	San Diego		do
.....	1056	204	Haynes, John	24	Pennsylvania	Teamster	do		Aug. 24, "
.....	1057	205	Hull, John R	38	Ohio	Stage driver	do		Aug. 28, "
.....	1058	206	Hastings, Ephraim Free	44	Pennsylvania	Baker	do		Aug. 30, "
.....	1059	207	Higuera, Matias	22	California	Laborer	San Luis Rey		Aug. 31, "
.....	1060	208	Holstein, Julius	43	Prussia	Music teacher	San Diego	Naturalized	Sep. 1, "
.....	1061	209	Helms, William	42	Missouri	Miner			Sep. 7, "
.....	1062	210	Hennesello, Jose	36	New Mexico	Herder	Agua Caliente	By treaty	Oct. 8, "
.....	1063	213	Harper, Henry Wm	43	Ohio	Teamster	Stonewall		Oct. 18, "
.....	1064	214	Higgins, Daniel	43	Ireland	Blacksmith	Pinery		do
.....	1065	215	Hurley, Michael	24	do	Lumberman	do		do
.....	1066	216	Humphreys, D B	35	New York	Contractor	do		do
.....	1067	217	Hall, George T	27	Missouri	do	do		do
.....	1068	218	Hutchins, J B	22	do	do	do		do
.....	1069	219	Hart, Patrick	37	Ireland	Laborer	San Diego	Naturalized	do
.....	1070	221	Halstead, David	40	Wisconsin	Farmer	Ballena		Apr. 8, 1876
.....	1071	222	Hodge, James	70	Pennsylvania	Merchant	San Diego		May 5, "
.....	1072	224	Hagerty, Daniel	45	Ireland	Laborer	do		May 11, "
.....	1073	225	Hinman, Byron	39	New York	Carpenter	Poway		May 22, "
.....	1074	226	Hannah, H O	24	Missouri	Farmer	San Dieguito		Sep. 19, "
.....	1075	227	Higgins, Owens	30	Ireland	Waiter	San Diego	Naturalized	Sep. 26, "
.....	1076	228	Hunsaker, Wm J	21	California	Lawyer	do		Sep. 29, "
.....	1077	229	Hilton, Samuel M	33	New York	Express agt	do		Oct. 2, "
.....	1078	230	Hyde, Elisha	69	New Hampshire	Farmer	Poway		Oct. 4, "
.....	1079	231	Hopperstead, Olo E	32	Norway	Miller	San Diego	Naturalized	Oct. 24, "
.....	1080	232	Hagley, Michael	40	Pennsylvania	Brewer	do		Oct. 25, "
.....	1081	234	Hastings, Edgar L	29	Massachusetts	Shoemaker	Pinery		Oct. 28, "
.....	1082	235	Hamilton, James	55	Virginia	Stock raiser	Aguango		do
.....	1083	236	Hoare, William	22	England	Butcher	San Diego	Naturalized	Oct. 31, "
.....	1084	237	Higgins, Harmon	65	Illinois	Farmer	Montserate		do
.....	1085	238	Harrison, William H	26	do	Laborer	Bear Valley		Nov. 1, "
.....	1086	239	Harrison, John F	22	do	do	do		do
.....	1087	240	Harwood, Charles Wm	41	Vermont	Tinsmith	San Diego		Nov. 2, "
.....	1088	241	Hall, Theron E	50	Massachusetts	Farmer	Spring Valley		Nov. 3, "
.....	1089	242	Huckensmith, William W	21	Missouri	do	Cajon		Nov. 4, "
.....	1090	243	Hall, George H	31	Ohio	Stage driver	San Diego		do
.....	1091	244	Houts, T F	51	Missouri	Clergyman	do		Nov. 6, "
.....	1092	245	Harbison, James H	28	Pennsylvania	Book keeper	do		Dec. 29, "
.....	1093	246	Hamilton, William	22	New York	Laborer	do		Dec. 30, "
.....	1094	247	Hinman, Walter C	35	do	Wheelwright	Poway		June 26, 1877
.....									
.....									
.....	1095	1	Ingraham, William	40	New York	Farmer	Pamo		Aug. 18, 1866
.....	1096	2	Israel, Robert D	42	Pennsylvania	Mariner	San Diego		Aug. 13, "
.....	1097	3	Ijams, Isaac C	27	Ohio	Miner	Julian		July 26, 1869
.....	1098	4	Ingram, Edward	34	New York	do	Monument City		Aug. 14, "
.....	1099	5	Inden, Joseph	24	do	Laborer	San Diego		Oct. 13, "
.....	1000	7	Ivey, John	23	Texas	Farmer	Julian		July 3, 1871
.....	1101	9	Irving, Washington E	48	New York	Ranchero	Montserate		Sep. 1, "
.....	1102	10	Ioagreond, Proero	37	California	Merchant	San Jacinto	Naturalized	May 23, 1872
.....	1103	11	Iler, George	21	do	Blacksmith	San Diego		July 29, 1873
.....	1104	12	Isham, Daniel C	37	New York	Farmer	do		Oct. 2, 1874
.....	1105	13	Ijams, Edward T	28	Ohio	Teacher	Julian		Feb. 27, 1877
.....	1106	14	Ikirt, Albert D	27	Pennsylvania	Carpenter	San Diego		Apr. 28, "
.....									
.....									
.....	1107	1	Jackson, George	23	Virginia	Farmer	Santa Terresa		June 21, 1866
.....	1108	2	Jaegar, L J F	42	Pennsylvania	Gen'l business	Fort Yuma		Apr. 3, 1867
.....	1109	3	Johnson, George A	42	New York	Mariner	Penasquitas		May 14, "
.....	1110	5	Johnson, Henry C	46	Massachusetts	do	San Diego		Sep. 3, 1868
.....	1111	8	Johnson, James Adams	34	do	do	do		Oct. 29, "
.....	1112	9	Johnson, George	35	do	do	do		Feb. 24, 1869
.....	1113	10	Julian, Archibald Houston	33	Alabama	Tinsmith	do		Feb. 27, "
.....	1114	11	Jean, Joseph	37	France	Butcher	do	Naturalized	July 30, "
.....	1115	12	Jones, Nathan	60	Ohio	Farmer	San Pasqual		July 31, "
	1116	14	Jaramillo, Antonio	38	United States	do	San Diego		Aug. 13, "
						do	Ballena	Naturalized	Aug. 28, "

Figure 4.14. Great Register, San Diego County, 1877.



Great Register, San Diego County, 1879. 11

Voted.	No.	Reg. No.	NAMES.	Age	Nativity.	Occupation.	Local Residence.	Citizenship.	Date Registr'n.
	958	60	Harrington, John	28	Ireland	Cook	San Diego	Father nat'd	May 17, 1870
	959	62	Horrell, John Wesley	35	Indiana	Farmer	Agua Caliente		Aug. 30, "
	960	63	Helms, Harmon Turner	31	Missouri	Miner	do		do
	961	65	Hamilton, Charles Standart	23	Ohio	Clerk	San Diego		Feb. 20, 1871
	962	66	Hammer, Marcus Brutus	53	Pennsylvania	Druggist	do		do
	963	67	Hooker, Joseph Blount	31	New York	Printer	do		do
	964	69	Heinrich, Louis	39	France	Gunsmith	do	Naturalized	Feb. 27, "
	965	71	Holmes, Henry	24	New York	Cook	do		Mar. 3, "
	966	73	Hand, Samuel Gill	47	Alabama	Farmer	Poway		Mar. 25, "
	967	74	Harris, Enau	31	New York	Property art	San Diego		May 22, "
	968	75	Hedden, George	38	Illinois	Farmer	do		June 5, "
	969	77	Hill, Charles N	32	Missouri	do	Jamul		July 3, "
	970	78	Hunter, Thomas T	27	Louisiana	Teamster	Lawson Valley		do
	971	79	Hopkins, Francis Marion	31	Georgia	Merchant	Banner		July 20, "
	972	80	Hoffman, John	33	Massachusetts	Miner	San Luis Rey		July 21, "
	973	81	Hogue, Thomas	45	Georgia	Trader	San Diego		do
	974	82	Haynes, Return L	39	Tennessee	Mechanic	Milquatay		do
	975	83	Hubbert, Matthew	61	do	Farmer	Julian		do
	976	85	Harvey, John Stanley	48	Connecticut	Merchant	San Diego		July 27, "
	977	86	Ham, John Bates	36	Maine	Laborer	do		July 29, "
	978	87	Hornbeck, James H	33	Mississippi	Farmer	do		do
	979	88	Hamlin, James Alonzo	35	New York	Stage driver	do		do
	980	91	Hill, Uri	40	do	Farmer	Cajon		Aug. 4, "
	981	93	Heerandner, John	41	Austria	Mechanic	San Diego	Naturalized	Aug. 5, "
	982	95	Higgins, Dallas A	22	Oregon	Farmer	Monserate		do
	983	96	Hammack, Laylor William	22	Missouri	do	Julian		do
	984	97	Hungerford, Byron Benj	29	New York	Miner	do		do
	985	100	High, John Ehst	33	Pennsylvania	do	Monument		Aug. 14, "
	986	104	Hausfelt, John	60	Germany	Farmer	Cattell Valley	Naturalized	Aug. 25, "
	987	105	Hermann, David Christopher	40	Denmark	do	San Diego	do	Aug. 30, "
	988	106	Hatfield, Abraham	30	Missouri	do	Julian		do
	989	108	Harvey, Stoddart G	44	New York	do	do		Sep. 4, "
	990	111	Hoffman, Frederick Winwright	41	New Jersey	Merchant	San Diego		do
	991	113	Hardin, Amos	57	Tennessee	Contractor	Cajon		do
	992	114	Hardin, John	22	do	Farmer	do		do
	993	115	Halloran, William	30	Ireland	Miner	Banner	Naturalized	Sep. 2, "
	994	118	Hanke, Carl Trangod	30	Saxony	Farmer	San Diego	do	Sep. 6, "
	995	119	Harris, James C	23	Texas	do	Milquatay		Sep. 11, "
	996	120	Hulsby, Homer	47	New York	Carpenter	Fort Yuma		do
	997	121	Hockinsmith, Philip H	39	Kentucky	Farmer	Milquatay		do
	998	126	Hubling, Herman	60	Germany	do	Poway	Naturalized	Dec. 20, "
	999	127	Hubling, George	31	do	Miner	do	do	do
	1000	129	Hubbell, Charles	54	New York	Banker	San Diego		May 4, 1872
	1001	131	Highaus, James	25	Oregon	Farmer	Monserate		May 24, "
	1002	132	Holcomb, Benajah E	25	Connecticut	do	San Pasqual		July 31, "
	1003	133	Henry, A M	48	Pennsylvania	do	Fort Yuma		Sep. 1, "
	1004	135	Hitchcock, George N	26	Massachusetts	Lawyer	San Diego		Oct. 22, "
	1005	138	Hinds, Edward	35	Arkansas	Stock raiser	Julian		Oct. 28, "
	1006	140	Higgins, Hiram M	52	New York	Real estate	National City		Nov. 2, "
	1007	141	Horgan, Timothy	39	Ireland	Plasterer	San Diego	Naturalized	do
	1008	142	Hill, Robert	39	New York	Cabinet maker	Cajon		Nov. 4, "
	1009	145	Halland, Patrick	29	Ireland	Blacksmith	San Diego	Naturalized	June 2, 1873
	1010	148	Heuck, Albert	21	Wisconsin	Teamster	do		June 28, "
	1011	149	High, William E	43	Pennsylvania	Farmer	Otay		July 14, "
	1012	151	Hotchkiss, A. B	34	do	Attorney	San Diego		July 23, "
	1013	152	Hunt, Stafford	45	Indiana	Laborer	do		July 29, "
	1014	153	Hollan, Charles M	29	Ireland	Farmer	San Pasqual	Naturalized	Aug. 1, "
	1015	155	Hinchman, Augustus Felix	49	New York	Attorney	San Diego		Aug. 11, "
	1016	156	Hofman, George R	30	Germany	Farmer	Poway	Naturalized	Aug. 21, "
	1017	157	Hiscock, Almon	47	Pennsylvania	Merchant	San Diego		Aug. 23, "
	1018	160	Hill, Ben Prenly	30	Missouri	Farmer	Cajon		Aug. 30, "
	1019	161	Horan, Richard	28	Ireland	Carpenter	San Diego	Father nat'd	do
	1020	165	Hofheinz, Louis	33	Germany	Saddler	do	Naturalized	Sep. 2, "
	1021	167	Horsfelt, John	21	Alabama	Butcher	do		do
	1022	168	Hutchinson, Ebenezer	57	New Hampshire	Physician	do		do
	1023	169	Hubburt, P. T	26	Mississippi	Farmer	San Luis Rey		Oct. 2, "
	1024	170	Hedden, Joel Calvin	30	Illinois	Laborer	Bear Valley		Oct. 9, "
	1025	171	Hauck, Louis	53	Prussia	Farmer	do		Oct. 13, "
	1026	172	Holmes, William	27	Kentucky	Laborer	San Diego		Oct. 14, "
	1027	173	Horan, Thomas	36	Ireland	Carpenter	do		do
	1028	177	Highland, John N	46	Maryland	Farmer	Tia Juana		May 20, 1875
	1029	178	Helms, Chatham	43	Missouri	do	Agua Caliente		do
	1030	179	Hackett, Samuel W	40	Massachusetts	Mariner	San Bernardo		do
	1031	180	Hatfield, Charles William	25	Missouri	Farmer	Julian		May 24, "
	1032	181	Hendrick, Elijah W	28	do	Lawyer	San Diego		May 27, "
	1033	182	Hensley, George B	28	England	Insurance agent	do	Naturalized	May 28, "
	1034	183	Hamilton, Martin D	31	Indiana	Farmer	Jamul		June 14, "
	1035	184	Hamilton, Frederick N	22	Ohio	Clerk	San Diego		do
	1036	186	Higgins, Harmon	23	California	Farmer	Monserate		June 18, "
	1037	187	Hicks, J. J	49	New York	do	Bear Valley		June 25, "
	1038	188	Harrison, Nathan	42	Kentucky	Laborer	Monserate		June 30, "
	1039	189	Herrick, Amos Phillips	43	New York	Apiarist	Campo		July 17, "
	1040	190	Herbest, George	45	Kentucky	Farmer	Bear Valley		July 19, "
	1041	191	Harbison, John S	48	Pennsylvania	Apiarist	Sweetwater		July 23, "
	1042	193	Howell, William C	27	Ohio	do	Monserate		July 31, "
	1043	195	Hawkins, John	62	New York	do	do		do
	1044	196	Hogan, Thomas Jones	43	do	Farmer	San Dieguito		do
	1045	197	Holm, Julius	27	Germany	Florist	San Diego	Naturalized	Aug. 2, "
	1046	198	Hoare, John	60	England	[illegible]	Cattell Valley	do	Aug. 10, "
	1047	199	Hicks, James V	27	New York	[illegible]	[illegible]		Aug. 11, "
	1048	200	Harbison, Andrew	41	Pennsylvania	[illegible]	[illegible]		Aug. 12, "
	1049	202	Hazata, Pedro	30	France	[illegible]	[illegible]	Naturalized	Aug. 19, "
	1050	203	Hastings, Charles H	24	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]		do
	1051	205	Hull, John B	28	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]		Aug. 23, "
	1052	206	Hastings, Tobias	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]		Aug. 25, "
	1053	207	Higuera, Mat	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]		Aug. 26, "
	1054	208	Holstein, John	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]		Aug. 27, "
	1055	209	Helms, William	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]		Aug. 28, "
	1056	210	Hennessy, [illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]		Aug. 30, "
	1057	213	Harper, He[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]		Sep. 1, "
	1058	214	Higgins, D[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]		Sep. 2, "
	1059	215	Hen[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]		Sep. 3, "
	1060	216	Hen[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]		Sep. 4, "
	1061	217	Hen[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]		Sep. 5, "
	1062	218	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]		Sep. 6, "

Figure 4.15. Great Register, San Diego County, 1879.

Great Register, San Diego County, 1879, page 11

(Figure 4.15)

"VOTED.:	. . . . .
NO.:	1038
REG. NO.:	188
NAMES.:	Harrison, Nathan
AGE.:	42
COUNTRY OF NATIVITY.:	Kentucky
OCCUPATION.:	Laborer
LOCAL RESIDENCE.:	Montserate
CITIZENSHIP.:	. . . . .
DATE OF REGISTRATION.:	June 30, 1875"

Great Register, San Diego County, 1880, page 12

(Figure 4.16)

"VOTED.:	_____
NO.:	669
REG. NO.:	96
NAMES.:	Harrison, Nathan
AGE.:	49
COUNTRY OF NATIVITY.:	Kentucky
OCCUPATION.:	Farmer
LOCAL RESIDENCE.:	San Jacinto
NATURALIZED—DATE.:	_____
PLACE.:	_____
BY WHAT COURT.:	_____
DATE REGISTRATION.:	August 11, 1880"



Great Register of San Diego County for 1880.

NO.	Reg. No	NAMES.	AGE.	NATIVITY.	OCCUPATION.	LOCAL RESIDENCE.	NATURALIZED—DATE.	PLACE.	BY WHAT	DATE REGISTRATION.
621	48	Howard, Bryant	44	New York	Banker	San Diego, Ward 4				May 10, 1880
622	49	Hill, Uri	49	do	Farmer	Central				June 5, "
623	50	Henderson, John F	29	Ireland	Miner	Viejas	Father naturalized			June 8, "
624	51	Hogue, Thomas J. L	56	Georgia	Trader	San Diego, Ward 4				June 9, "
625	52	Hancock, John C	41	Massachusetts	Farmer	Ballena				June 14, "
626	53	Herbert, George	50	Kentucky	do	Bear Valley				do
627	54	Hall, John	60	England	Machinist	Ballena	April 5, 1876	San Diego County	County Co	do
628	55	Hamilton, Joseph E	36	Virginia	Farmer	Julian				do
629	56	Halloran, William	38	Ireland	do	Mesa Grande	Father naturalized			do
630	57	Hoare, John R	55	England	Engineer	Julian	August 10, 1876	San Jose, Cal	County Co	do
631	58	Hamilton, J. Melvin	23	Virginia	Farmer	do				do
632	59	Hunt, Stafford	52	Indiana	Laborer	Bear Valley				do
633	60	Hayes, John Chauncey	27	California	Mail contractor	San Luis Rey				do
634	61	Hubbert, Pressley T	33	Mississippi	Farmer	do				do
635	62	Hubbert, Matthew	70	Tennessee	do	do				do
636	63	Hoffman, John	42	Massachusetts	Miner	Mount Fairview				do
637	64	Hayden, William B	60	Missouri	Farmer	Fall Brook				do
638	65	Hayward, Albert M	24	California	do	do				do
639	66	Hollan, Charles M	36	Ireland	do	San Diego, Ward 3	July 31, 1873	San Diego County	County Co	June 22, "
640	67	Hoffman, John C	21	California	Printer	do " 2				June 29, "
641	68	Hiscock, Almon	55	Pennsylvania	Merchant	do " 4				do
642	69	Hall, Edward B	29	Massachusetts	Farmer	Spring Valley				June 30, "
643	70	Hoffman, David B	50	New York	Surgeon	San Diego, Ward 3				July 6, "
644	71	Hicks, James V	32	do	Apiarist	Fall Brook				July 8, "
645	72	Hartley, Marquis D. L	44	Illinois	Manufacturer	San Diego, Ward 5				do
646	73	Horan, Thomas	45	Ireland	Carpenter	Glenwood	1866	San Francisco	District C	July 22, "
647	74	Hubling, George	40	Prussia	Farmer	Bernardo	Father naturalized			July 24, "
648	75	Hamilton, Frederick N	26	Ohio	Merchant	San Diego, Ward 4				July 20, "
649	76	Hamilton, Martin D	37	Indiana	Assessor	do " 5				August 2, "
650	77	Harbolt, James Randolph	29	Texas	Laborer	Pala				August 5, "
651	78	Hamilton, Charles S	32	Ohio	Merchant	San Diego, Ward 4				August 7, "
652	79	Hattleberg, John Olsen	42	Norway	Blacksmith	do " 4	August 27, 1861	Mokelumne Hill, Cal	District C	do
653	80	Higgins, Hiram M	59	New York	Horticulturist	National				August 11, "
654	81	Herrick, A. P	48	do	Apiarist	Campo				do
655	82	Hampton, Reuben	52	Tennessee	Farmer	Forster				do
656	83	Hyde, Elisha	73	New Hampshire	do	Jamul				do
657	84	Hammer, Marcus B	62	Pennsylvania	do	National				do
658	85	Hoffman, Fred. W	50	New Jersey	Contractor	Viejas				do
659	86	High, Samuel C	23	Pennsylvania	Apiarist	Central				do
660	87	Hood, Arthur F	27	Massachusetts	Farmer	Capitan Grande				do
661	88	Hanlon, Hall	55	Maryland	Ferryman	Colorado				do
662	89	Hart, George A	56	England	Merchant	Mesa Grande	1850	St. Louis, Missouri		do
663	90	Helm, Chattam	55	Missouri	Stock raiser	Agua Caliente				do
664	91	Helm, William	52	do	do	do				do
665	92	Hawthorn, Joseph Nathaniel	26	Minnesota	Apiarist	Aguango				do
666	93	Hawthorn, Daniel	22	do	Millman	do				do
667	94	Hamilton, James	58	Virginia	Stock raiser	do				do
668	95	Hamilton, Joseph	25	California	do	do				do
669	96	Harrison, Nathan	49	Kentucky	Farmer	San Jacinto				do
670	97	Hewitt, Henry Theodore	45	Connecticut	Rancher	do				do
671	98	Hayden, Marion D	40	Missouri	Stock raiser	Campo				do
672	99	Hackett, Samuel W			Mail contractor	Bernardo				

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Figure 4.16. Great Register, San Diego County, 1880.

Great Register, San Diego County, 1882, page 15

(Figure 4.17)

"VOTED.:	. . . . .
NO.:	847
REG. NO.:	96
NAMES.:	Harrison, Nathan
AGE.:	49
COUNTRY OF NATIVITY.:	Kentucky
OCCUPATION.:	Farmer
LOCAL RESIDENCE.:	San Jacinto
NATURALIZED—DATE.:	. . . . .
PLACE.:	. . . . .
BY WHAT COURT.:	. . . . .
DATE REGISTRAT'N.:	August 11, 1880
SWORN.:	do [ditto: Sworn]"

Great Register, San Diego County, 1888, page 68

(Figure 4.18)

"VOTED.:	. . . . .
NO.:	4325
REG. NO.:	742
NAMES.:	Harrison, Nathan
AGE.:	55
COUNTRY OF NATIVITY.:	Kentucky
OCCUPATION.:	Farmer
LOCAL RESIDENCE.:	do [ditto:Pala]
NATURALIZED—Date, place, by what Court:	. . . .
DATE OF REGISTRATION.:	August 25, 1888
SWORN.:	do [ditto: Sworn]"

Great Register, San Diego County, 1890, page 83

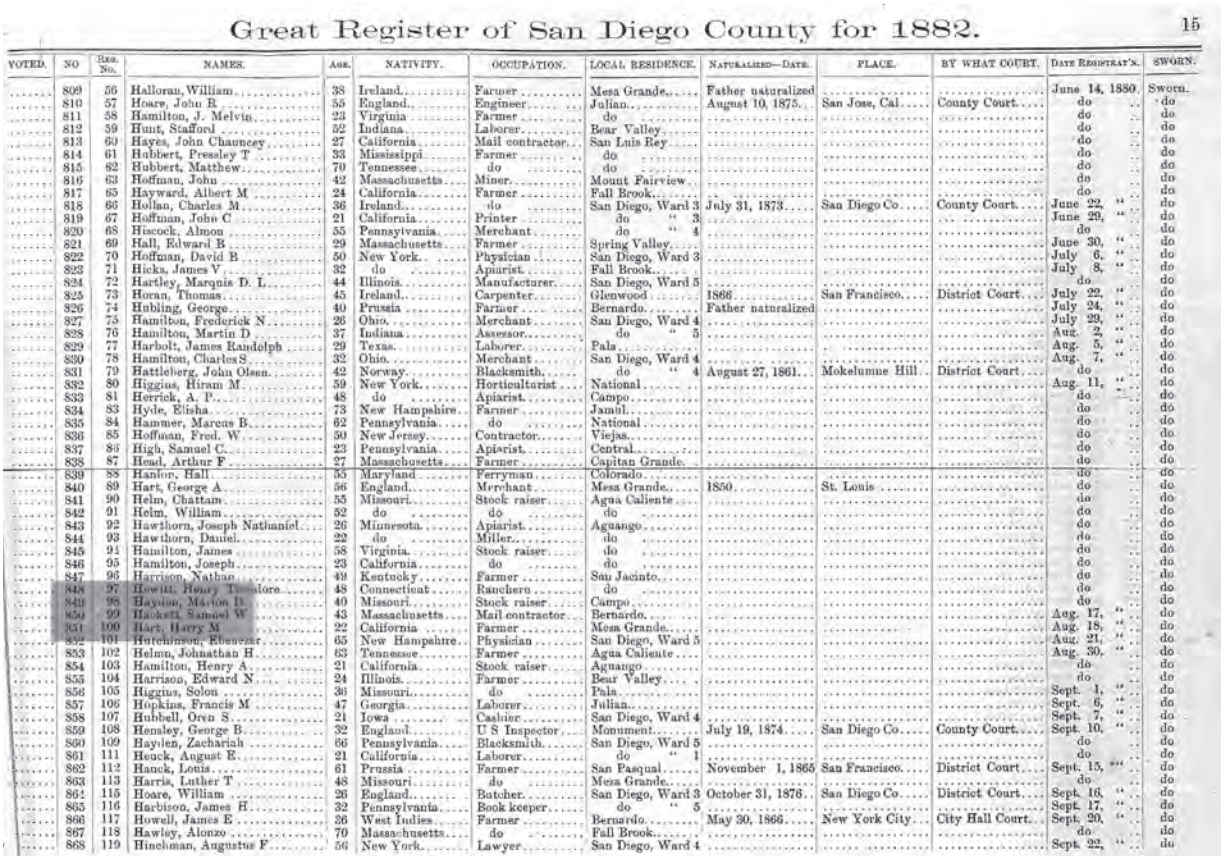
(Figure 4.19)

"VOTED.:	. . . . .
NO.:	5239
REG. NO.:	742
NAMES.:	Harrison, Nathan
AGE.:	55
COUNTRY OF NATIVITY.:	Kentucky
OCCUPATION.:	Farmer
LOCAL RESIDENCE.:	do [ditto:Pala]
NATURALIZED—Date, place, by what Court:	. . . . .
DATE OF REGISTRATION.:	do [August 26, 1888]
SWORN.:	do [ditto: Sworn]"

Great Register, San Diego County, 1892, page 42

(Figure 4.20)

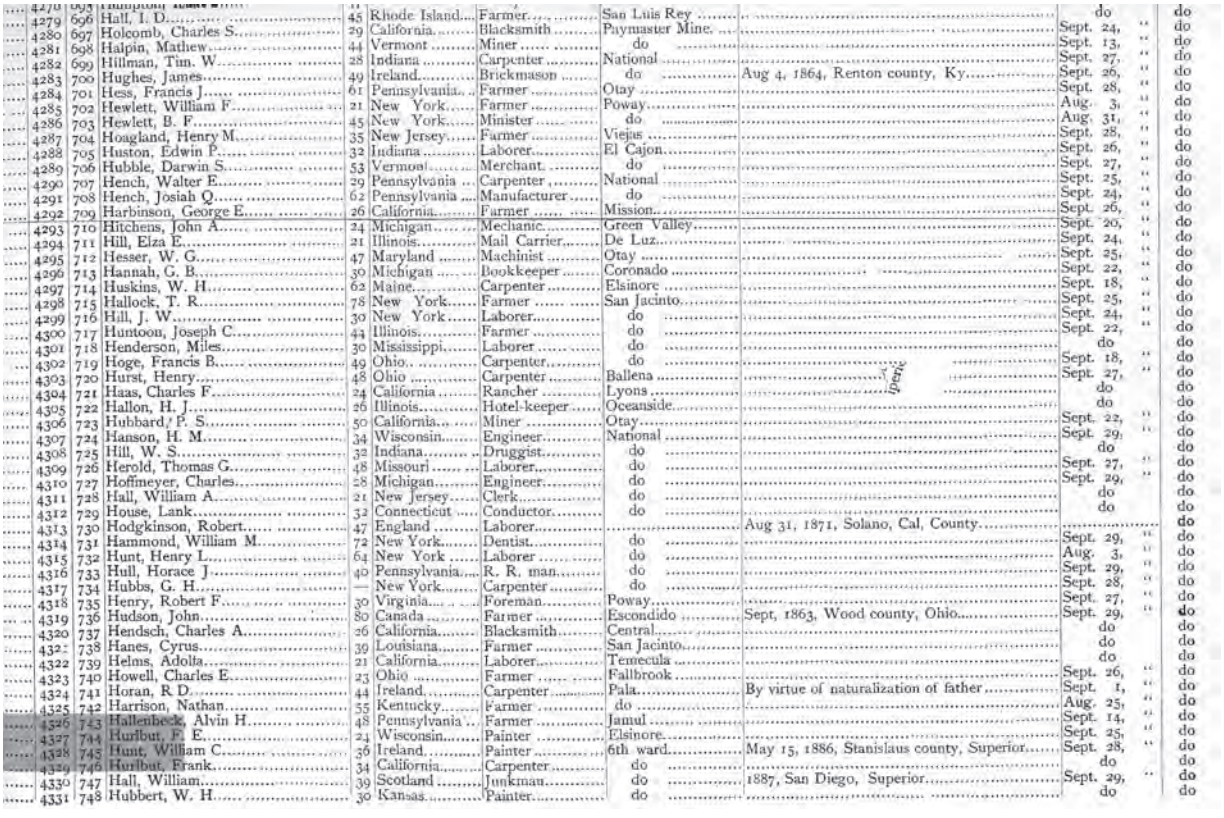
"VOTED.:	. . . . .
NO.:	3306
REG. NO.:	184
NAMES.:	Harrison, Nathan
AGE.:	59
COUNTRY OF NATIVITY.:	Kentucky
OCCUPATION.:	Farmer



Great Register of San Diego County for 1882. 15

VOTED.	NO	Res. No.	NAMES.	Age.	NATIVITY.	OCCUPATION.	LOCAL RESIDENCE.	NATURALIZED—DATE.	PLACE.	BY WHAT COURT.	DATE REGISTRAT'S.	SWORN.
.....	809	56	Halloran, William	38	Ireland	Farmer	Mesa Grande	Father naturalized			June 14, 1880	Sworn.
.....	810	57	Hoare, John R	55	England	Engineer	Julian	August 10, 1875	San Jose, Cal	County Court	do	do
.....	811	58	Hamilton, J. Melvin	23	Virginia	Farmer	do				do	do
.....	812	59	Hunt, Stafford	52	Indiana	Laborer	Bear Valley				do	do
.....	813	60	Hayes, John Chauncey	27	California	Mail contractor	San Luis Rey				do	do
.....	814	61	Hubbert, Pressley T	33	Mississippi	Farmer	do				do	do
.....	815	62	Hubbert, Matthew	70	Tennessee	do	do				do	do
.....	816	63	Hoffman, John	42	Massachusetts	Miner	Mount Fairview				do	do
.....	817	65	Hayward, Albert M	24	California	Farmer	Fall Brook				do	do
.....	818	66	Hollan, Charles M	36	Ireland	do	San Diego, Ward 3	July 31, 1873	San Diego Co	County Court	June 22, "	do
.....	819	67	Huffman, John C	21	California	Printer	do " 3				June 29, "	do
.....	820	68	Hiscock, Almon	55	Pennsylvania	Merchant	do " 4				do	do
.....	821	69	Hall, Edward B	29	Massachusetts	Farmer	Spring Valley				June 30, "	do
.....	822	70	Hoffman, David B	50	New York	Physician	San Diego, Ward 3				July 6, "	do
.....	823	71	Hicks, James V	32	do	Apiarist	Fall Brook				July 8, "	do
.....	824	72	Hartley, Marquis D. L	44	Illinois	Manufacturer	San Diego, Ward 5				do	do
.....	825	73	Horan, Thomas	45	Ireland	Carpenter	Glenwood	1866	San Francisco	District Court	July 22, "	do
.....	826	74	Hubling, George	40	Prussia	Farmer	Bernardo	Father naturalized			July 24, "	do
.....	827	75	Hamilton, Frederick N	26	Ohio	Merchant	San Diego, Ward 4				July 29, "	do
.....	828	76	Hamilton, Martin D	37	Indiana	Assessor	do " 5				Aug. 2, "	do
.....	829	77	Harbolt, James Randolph	29	Texas	Laborer	Pala				Aug. 5, "	do
.....	830	78	Hamilton, Charles S	32	Ohio	Merchant	San Diego, Ward 4				Aug. 7, "	do
.....	831	79	Hattleberg, John Olsen	42	Norway	Blacksmith	do " 4	August 27, 1861	Mokelumne Hill	District Court	do	do
.....	832	80	Higgins, Hiram M	59	New York	Horticulturist	National				Aug. 11, "	do
.....	833	81	Herrick, A. P	48	do	Apiarist	Campo				do	do
.....	834	83	Hyde, Elisha	73	New Hampshire	Farmer	Jamul				do	do
.....	835	84	Hammer, Marcus B	62	Pennsylvania	do	National				do	do
.....	836	85	Hoffman, Fred. W	50	New Jersey	Contractor	Viejas				do	do
.....	837	86	High, Samuel C	23	Pennsylvania	Apiarist	Central				do	do
.....	838	87	Head, Arthur F	27	Massachusetts	Farmer	Capitan Grande				do	do
.....	839	88	Hanlon, Hall	55	Maryland	Ferryman	Colorado				do	do
.....	840	89	Hart, George A	56	England	Merchant	Mesa Grande	1850	St. Louis		do	do
.....	841	90	Helm, Chattam	55	Missouri	Stock raiser	Agua Caliente				do	do
.....	842	91	Helm, William	52	do	do	do				do	do
.....	843	92	Hawthorn, Joseph Nathaniel	26	Minnesota	Apiarist	Aguango				do	do
.....	844	93	Hawthorn, Daniel	22	do	Miller	do				do	do
.....	845	94	Hamilton, James	58	Virginia	Stock raiser	do				do	do
.....	846	95	Hamilton, Joseph	23	California	do	do				do	do
.....	847	96	Harrison, Nathan	49	Kentucky	Farmer	San Jacinto				do	do
.....	848	97	Howitt, Henry T. [illegible]more	48	Connecticut	Rancher	do				do	do
.....	849	98	Haydon, Marion H	40	Missouri	Stock raiser	Campo				do	do
.....	850	99	Hackett, Samuel W	43	Massachusetts	Mail contractor	Bernardo				Aug. 17, "	do
.....	851	100	Hart, Harry M	23	California	Farmer	Mesa Grande				Aug. 18, "	do
.....	852	101	Hutchinson, Ebenezer	65	New Hampshire	Physician	San Diego, Ward 5				Aug. 21, "	do
.....	853	102	Helms, Johnathan H	63	Tennessee	Farmer	Agua Caliente				Aug. 30, "	do
.....	854	103	Hamilton, Henry A	21	California	Stock raiser	Aguango				do	do
.....	855	104	Harrison, Edward N	24	Illinois	Farmer	Bear Valley				do	do
.....	856	105	Higgins, Solon	36	Missouri	do	Pala				Sept. 1, "	do
.....	857	106	Hopkins, Francis M	47	Georgia	Laborer	Julian				Sept. 6, "	do
.....	858	107	Hubbell, Oren S	21	Iowa	Cashier	San Diego, Ward 4				Sept. 7, "	do
.....	859	108	Hensley, George B	32	England	U S Inspector	Monument	July 19, 1874	San Diego Co	County Court	Sept. 10, "	do
.....	860	109	Hayden, Zachariah	66	Pennsylvania	Blacksmith	San Diego, Ward 5				do	do
.....	861	111	Heuck, August E	21	California	Laborer	do " 1				do	do
.....	862	112	Hauck, Louis	61	Prussia	Farmer	San Pasqual	November 1, 1865	San Francisco	District Court	Sept. 15, "	do
.....	863	113	Harris, Luther T	48	Missouri	do	Mesa Grande				do	do
.....	864	115	Hoare, William	26	England	Butcher	San Diego, Ward 3	October 31, 1876	San Diego Co	District Court	Sept. 16, "	do
.....	865	116	Harbison, James H	32	Pennsylvania	Book keeper	do " 5				Sept. 17, "	do
.....	866	117	Howell, James E	26	West Indies	Farmer	Bernardo	May 30, 1866	New York City	City Hall Court	Sept. 20, "	do
.....	867	118	Hawley, Alonzo	70	Massachusetts	do	Fall Brook				do	do
.....	868	119	Hinchman, Augustus F	56	New York	Lawyer	San Diego, Ward 4				Sept. 22, "	do

Figure 4.17. Great Register, San Diego County, 1882.



.....	4279	696	Hall, I. D	45	Rhode Island	Farmer	San Luis Rey			do	do
.....	4280	697	Holcomb, Charles S	29	California	Blacksmith	Paymaster Mine			Sept. 24, "	do
.....	4281	698	Halpin, Mathew	44	Vermont	Miner	do			Sept. 13, "	do
.....	4282	699	Hillman, Tim. W	28	Indiana	Carpenter	National			Sept. 27, "	do
.....	4283	700	Hughes, James	49	Ireland	Brickmason	do	Aug 4, 1864,	Renton county, Ky	Sept. 26, "	do
.....	4284	701	Hess, Francis J	61	Pennsylvania	Farmer	Otay			Sept. 28, "	do
.....	4285	702	Hewlett, William F	21	New York	Farmer	Poway			Aug. 3, "	do
.....	4286	703	Hewlett, B. F	45	New York	Minister	do			Aug. 31, "	do
.....	4287	704	Hoagland, Henry M	35	New Jersey	Farmer	Viejas			Sept. 28, "	do
.....	4288	705	Huston, Edwin P	32	Indiana	Laborer	El Cajon			Sept. 26, "	do
.....	4289	706	Hubble, Darwin S	53	Vermont	Merchant	do			Sept. 27, "	do
.....	4290	707	Hench, Walter E	29	Pennsylvania	Carpenter	National			Sept. 25, "	do
.....	4291	708	Hench, Josiah Q	62	Pennsylvania	Manufacturer	do			Sept. 24, "	do
.....	4292	709	Harbinson, George E	26	California	Farmer	Mission			Sept. 26, "	do
.....	4293	710	Hitchens, John A	24	Michigan	Mechanic	Green Valley			Sept. 20, "	do
.....	4294	711	Hill, Elza E	21	Illinois	Mail Carrier	De Luz			Sept. 24, "	do
.....	4295	712	Hesser, W. G	47	Maryland	Machinist	Otay			Sept. 25, "	do
.....	4296	713	Hannah, G. B	30	Michigan	Bookkeeper	Coronado			Sept. 22, "	do
.....	4297	714	Huskins, W. H	62	Maine	Carpenter	Elsinore			Sept. 18, "	do
.....	4298	715	Hallock, T. R	78	New York	Farmer	San Jacinto			Sept. 25, "	do
.....	4299	716	Hill, J. W	30	New York	Laborer	do			Sept. 24, "	do
.....	4300	717	Humtoon, Joseph C	44	Illinois	Farmer	do			Sept. 22, "	do
.....	4301	718	Henderson, Miles	30	Mississippi	Laborer	do			do	do
.....	4302	719	Hoge, Francis B	49	Ohio	Carpenter	do			Sept. 18, "	do
.....	4303	720	Hurst, Henry	48	Ohio	Carpenter	Ballena			Sept. 27, "	do
.....	4304	721	Haas, Charles F	24	California	Rancher	Lyons			do	do
.....	4305	722	Hallon, H. J	26	Illinois	Hotel-keeper	Oceanside			do	do
.....	4306	723	Hubbard, P. S	50	California	Miner	Otay			Sept. 22, "	do
.....	4307	724	Hanson, H. M	34	Wisconsin	Engineer	National			Sept. 29, "	do
.....	4308	725	Hill, W. S	32	Indiana	Druggist	do			do	do
.....	4309	726	Herold, Thomas G	48	Missouri	Laborer	do			Sept. 27, "	do
.....	4310	727	Hoffmeyer, Charles	28	Michigan	Engineer	do			Sept. 29, "	do
.....	4311	728	Hall, William A	21	New Jersey	Clerk	do			do	do
.....	4312	729	House, Lank	32	Connecticut	Conductor	do			do	do
.....	4313	730	Hodgkinson, Robert	47	England	Laborer		Aug 31, 1871,	Solano, Cal, County		do
.....	4314	731	Hammond, William M	72	New York	Dentist	do			Sept. 29, "	do
.....	4315	732	Hunt, Henry L	64	New York	Laborer	do			Aug. 3, "	do
.....	4316	733	Hull, Horace J	40	Pennsylvania	R. R. man	do			Sept. 29, "	do
.....	4317	734	Hubbs, G. H	—	New York	Carpenter	do			Sept. 28, "	do
.....	4318	735	Henry, Robert F	30	Virginia	Foreman	Poway			Sept. 27, "	do
.....	4319	736	Hudson, John	80	Canada	Farmer	Escondido	Sept, 1863,	Wood county, Ohio	Sept. 29, "	do
.....	4320	737	Hendsch, Charles A	26	California	Blacksmith	Central			do	do
.....	4321	738	Hanes, Cyrus	39	Louisiana	Farmer	San Jacinto			do	do
.....	4322	739	Helms, Adolfa	21	California	Laborer	Temecula			do	do
.....	4323	740	Howell, Charles E	23	Ohio	Farmer	Fallbrook			Sept. 26, "	do
.....	4324	741	Horan, R. D	44	Ireland	Carpenter	Pala	By virtue of naturalization of father		Sept. 1, "	do
.....	4325	742	Harrison, Nathan	55	Kentucky	Farmer	do			Aug. 25, "	do
.....	4326	743	Hallenbeck, Alvin H	48	Pennsylvania	Farmer	Jamul			Sept. 14, "	do
.....	4327	744	Hurlbut, F. E	24	Wisconsin	Painter	Elsinore			Sept. 25, "	do
.....	4328	745	Hunt, William C	36	Ireland	Painter	6th ward	May 15, 1886,	Stanislaus county, Superior	Sept. 28, "	do
.....	4329	746	Hurlbut, Frank	34	California	Carpenter	do			do	do
.....	4330	747	Hall, William	39	Scotland	Junkman	do	1887,	San Diego, Superior	Sept. 29, "	do
.....	4331	748	Hubbert, W. H	30	Kansas	Painter	do			do	do

Figure 4.18. Great Register, San Diego County, 1888.

The Great Register of San Diego County for 1890. 83

Voted.	No.	Reg No	Name.	Age.	Nativity.	Occupation.	Local Residence.	Naturalized—Date, Place, By what Court.	Date of Registration	Sworn.
	5232	735	Henry, Robert F	30	Virginia	Foreman	Poway		do	Sworn
	5233	736	Hudson, John	80	Canada	Farmer	Escondido	Sept., 1863, Wood county, Ohio	do	do
	5234	737	Hendsch, Charles A	26	California	Blacksmith	Central		do	do
	5235	738	Hanes, Cyrus	39	Louisiana	Farmer	San Jacinto		do	do
	5236	739	Helms, Adolfa	21	California	Laborer	Temecula		" 27, "	do
	5237	740	Howell, Charles E	23	Ohio	Farmer	Fallbrook		do	do
	5238	741	Horan, R D	44	Ireland	Carpenter	Pala	By virtue of naturalization of father	" 26, "	do
	5239	742	Harrison, Nathan	55	Kentucky	Farmer	do		do	do
	5240	743	Hallenbeck, Alvin H	48	Pennsylvania	Farmer	Jamul		" 27, "	do
	5241	744	Hurlbut, F E	24	Wisconsin	Painter	Elsinore		do	do
	5242	745	Hunt, William C	36	Ireland	Painter	6th ward	May 15, 1886, Stanislaus county, Superior	do	do
	5243	746	Hurlbut, Frank	34	California	Carpenter	do		do	do
	5244	747	Hall, William	39	Scotland	Junkman	do	1887, San Diego, Superior	do	do
	5245	748	Hubbert, W H	30	Kansas	Painter	do		" 24, "	do
	5246	749	Hall, N	47	West Virginia	Section boss	do		do	do
	5247	750	Hart, O F	38	Illinois	Carpenter	do		do	do
	5248	751	Hall, George L	47	N. Hampshire	Teamster	do		" 28, "	do
	5249	752	Hester, Max	38	Germany	Musician	do	Oct., 1878, Kings county, N. Y., District	" 29, "	do
	5250	753	Houston, John	42	Ireland	Laborer	5th ward	Dec., 1874, Westchester county, N. Y., City	Oct. 30, 1888	do
	5251	754	Haarde, Frederick	37	Germany	Bartender	do	Sept. 29, 1884, N. Y., Superior	" 27, "	do
	5252	755	Hank, Archie	33	Pennsylvania	Plumber	do		" 29, "	do
	5253	757	Henshilwood, Andrew	51	Scotland	Carpenter	do	1876, Minnesota, District	" 31, "	do
	5254	758	Henshilwood, George	21	Scotland	Carpenter	do	By virtue of naturalization of father	Nov. 1, "	do
	5255	759	Hadley, James T	33	New York	Teamster	do		do	do
	5256	760	Hayward, Joseph D	28	New York	Bookkeeper	do		Nov. 2, "	do
	5257	761	Hagman, Charles F	24	Sweden	Painter	do	April 5, 1887, San Diego, Superior	do	do
	5258	762	Hoff, Lewis E	32	West Virginia	Contractor	do		do	do
	5259	763	Hauser, Louis	25	Ohio	Carpenter	do		Nov. 3, "	do
	5260	764	Harvey, Lewis A	25	California	Teamster	do		do	do
	5261	765	Heilbron, Frederick	69	Hanover	Butcher	do	Aug. 1, 1853, St. Louis, Mo., Criminal	do	do
	5262	766	Hager, Eugene B	40	Pennsylvania	Merchant	do		do	do
	5263	767	Hollingworth, D	36	Indiana	Farmer	do		" 2, "	do
	5264	768	Hiatt, Grant	35	Ohio	Carpenter	do		do	do
	5265	769	Hiatt, E E	27	Ohio	Carpenter	do		" 3 "	do
	5266	770	Honerlah, Christ	36	Germany	Cabinet maker	4th ward	Oct. 19, 1876, San Francisco, 19th District	do	do
	5267	771	Heath, Albert H	21	Iowa	Printer	do		" 5, "	do
	5268	773	Henderson, Cicero	26	Indiana	Coachman	do		do	do
	5269	774	Hyde, Gilbert F	39	Massachusetts	Jeweler	do		do	do
	5270	775	Harrison, Charles J	35	Georgia	Carpenter	Banner		do	do
	5271	776	Harriman, John A	31	Indiana	Merchant	4th ward		do	do
	5272	777	Harriman, Job	27	Indiana	Attorney	do		do	do
	5273	778	Hartis, Elann	65	Ohio	Carpenter	do		do	do
	5274	779	Holtkamp, Henry	50	Germany	Teamster	do	Nov. 5, 1865, Brown county, Ill., Circuit	do	do
	5275	781	Harbeck, Adolphus	47	Germany	Bar keeper	do	July 29, 1875, San Francisco, 12th District	Dec. 3, "	do
	5276	783	Holmes, J N	54	New York	Printer	do		Nov. 2, "	do
	5277	784	Honan, William	38	Ohio	Sign painter	do		Dec. 11, "	do
	5278	785	Hardy, George	24	California	Blacksmith	3d ward		Jan. 4, 1889	do
	5279	786	Hoffman, Albert C	25	Illinois	Liveryman	do		" 12, "	do
	5280	787	Hulings, W H	36	Michigan	Blacksmith	do		Feb. 4, "	do
	5281	788	Hunt, George F	24	Iowa	Accountant	do		Jan. 15, "	do
	5282	789	Hunt, George E P	47	Massachusetts	Boatman	do		Feb. 25, "	do
	5283	790	Harris, John H	42	Maryland	Painter	do		" 28, "	do
	5284	792	Haley, John	26	New York	Bartender	do		Feb. 27, "	do
	5285	793	Harris, Jerry	22	New York	Butcher	do		" 28, "	do
	5286	794	Holmes, Wm J	38	Kentucky	Stone mason	do		do	do

Figure 4.19. Great Register, San Diego County, 1890.

Greatt Register of San Diego County for 1892.

Reg No	Names	Age	Nativity	Occupation	Local Residence	Height Feet	Height Ins.	Complexion	Color of Eyes	Color of Hair	Visible Marks and Scars, and Where Located	Naturalized Date	Naturalized Place	Naturalized Court	Postoffice Address	Date of Registration	Sworn
144	Hamilton, Robert W	49	Ohio	Bookkeeper	5 ward, 1 prct	5	9½	Dark	Hazel	Iron Gray					New Carleton, 3d and F sts	" 26, 1892	Sworn
145	Harris, James E	36	California	Carpenter	3 ward, 2 prct	5	10¾	Dark	do	Dark Brown	Slight scar on back right hand				1240 Union st	Aug. 27, "	do
146	Hamilton, Joseph E	50	Virginia	Farmer	Julian	6	2½	Florid	Light Brown	Black					Julian	" 27, "	do
147	Harkins, Nelson Goodrich	54	Pennsylvania	Farmer	Escondido	6		Dark	Blue	do					Escondido	" 29, "	do
148	Haffenden, Edwin	46	England	Farmer	Barona	5	5	do	do	Dark Brown		July 22, 1884	San Diego, Cal	Superior	Lakeside	" 30, "	do
149	Hardy, Isaac	60	Massachusetts	Lumberman	7 ward, 1 prct	5	9	do	do	Dark					2638 N st	" 31, "	do
150	Harrison, George R	36	Massachusetts	Ice Dealer	5 ward, 2 prct	5	7½	Light	Gray	Brown					California st bet E and F	" 31, "	do
151	Hawkins, John K	35	Missouri	Gripman	2 ward, 1 prct	5	11½	Dark	Hazel	Dark	Scar right side neck				5th and Quince sts	Sept. 2, "	do
152	Harris, John R	45	Virginia	Jeweler	8 ward, 1 prct	6	7¾	do	Blue	do	Scar left thumb				Bet. 39th and 40th sts	" 2, "	do
153	Hawthorne, William Ruble	50	New York	Blacksmith	Escondido	5	9	Light	Gray	Gray					Escondido	" 2, "	do
154	Hannahs, George	69	New York	Lumberman	2 ward, 1 prct	5	5½	do	do	do					3rd and Laurel	Aug 9, "	do
155	Hanson, William John	57	New Yor	Farmer	Bear Valley	5	9	Fair	Blue	Light Brown	Cut end right thumb				Valley Center	Sept. 5, "	do
156	Hammond, Samuel A	58	Massachusetts	Carpenter	De Luz	5	4½	Dark	Brown	Gray					Fallbrook	" 5, "	do
157	Harper, John B	74	Indiana	Physician	6 ward, 2 prct	5	8¾	Light	Gray	do	Scar left wrist, cartilage nose broken				830 west 12th st	" 6, "	do
158	Hale, Daniel P	58	New York	Real Estate	2 ward, 1 prct	5	9¾	Medium	Light Blue	do	Scar forefinger and third finger left hand				1210 Cedar st	" 6, "	do
159	Haines, A	46	Pennsylvania	Lawyer	Chula Vista	5	10½	Dark	Brown	Dark					Chula Vista	" 6, "	do
160	Hauck, Michael	41	Russia	Farmer	Mt. Fairview	4	11	do	do	Black		Sept. 11, 1884	Los Angeles	Superior	Bonsall	" 7, "	do
161	Hammond Edward G	55	England	Carpenter	Encinitas	5	6	Fair	Gray	Gray		July 16, 1888	San Diego	Superior	Encinitas	" 7, "	do
162	Harde, Frederick	36	Germany	Liquor Dealer	3 ward, 1 prct	5	9½	Light	Light Blue	Brown	Scar web left hand	Sept. 29, 1884	New York	Superior	1116 D st	" 8, "	do
163	Hammond, Edward	24	England	Carpenter	Encinitas	5	10	Fair	Brown	do		By virtue of	naturalization of father		Encinitas	" 9, "	do
164	Harville Benjamin F	29	California	Merchant	2 ward, 2 prct	5	10	Light	Light Blue	Dark	Scar little finger right and mole back left hand				1640 State st	" 10, "	do
165	Haffenden, Albert	43	England	Farmer	6 ward, 1 prct	5	9	Dark	Hazel	Gray	Scar back left hand, scar under chin	July 22, 1884	San Diego	Superior	San Diego	" 10, "	do
166	Hanson, Neils O	39	Denmark	Carpenter	S. San Jacinto	5	7	Light	do	Dark		Dec. 28, 1881	Weaver, Utah	Circuit	San Jacinto	" 10, "	do
167	Hazzard George W	47	Indiana	Real Estate	2 ward 1 prct	5	9¾	Medium	do	do	Right thumb crooked, mark near web left hand				2418 5th st	" 12, "	do
168	Hagata, Pierre	48	France	Farmer	Escondido	5	7	Dark	Brown	Gray		Aug. 19, 1875	San Diego	District	Escondido	" 12, "	do
169	Harnish William D C	50	Pennsylvania	Miller	Oceanside	5	8	do	Hazel	Dark	Cut back right wrist				Oceanside	" 13, "	do
170	Hansen, Peter	42	Denmark	Carpenter	7 ward, 1 prct	5	3½	Light	Blue	Brown	Scar left little finger	Dec. 24, 1890	San Diego	Superior	Cor 29th and M sts	" 13, "	do
171	Harper, Julius D	27	California	Stock Raiser	Guatay	6	½	Fair	do	Light Brown					Cuyamaca	" 13, "	do
172	Hastings, Charles H	32	Massachusetts	Seaman	5 ward, 2 prct	5	10¾	Light	Gray	Gray	Left little finger off 2d joint				850 Arctic st	" 14, "	do
173	Hardy, George L	30	California	Blacksmith	3 ward, 2 prct	5	10¾	Medium	do	Brown	Scar left second finger				918 n. E st	" 15, "	do
174	Hayden Zachariah	76	Pennsylvania	Blacksmith	8 ward, 1 prct	5	5¾	Light	Hazel	Gray					San Diego	" 15, "	do
175	Hamlin Barton	21	Minnesota	Clerk	6 ward, 1 prct	5	7¾	Medium	Blue	Dark	Scar base left index finger, scar left eyebrow				672 16th st	" 16, "	do
176	Hamlin Aaron	55	Pennsylvania	Farmer	6 ward, 1 prct	5	8	do	Light Blue	do					672 16th st	" 15, "	do
177	Hamlin, Homer	28	Minnesota	Civil Engineer	7 ward, 1 prct	5	10½	Dark	Blue	D'k Brown	Slight scar base left index finger				340 16th st	" 16, "	do
178	Harbaugh, Horace A	37	Wisconsin	Printer	National	5	8	Light	do	Light	Scar base right thumb				National City	" 16, "	do
179	Hayden, William E	30	California	Printer	7 ward, 2 prct	5	11½	do	do	Brown					937 east 5th st	" 19, "	do
180	Harrison Ezekiel	67	Indiana	Mechanic	5 ward, 2 prct	5	8¾	do	do	Gray	Scar left third finger and thumb				Grand Central, 6th and H sts	" 19, "	do
181	Haskin, William A	46	Illinois	Musician	9 ward, 1 prct	5	7¾	Ruddy	Light Blue	Dark Brown					830 16th st	Sept. 20, 1892	do
182	Halloran, Thomas	54	Ireland	Laborer	7 ward, 1 prct	5	9½	Light	do	Gray		Dec. 1850	Burlington, Vt	Superior	2416 I st	Aug. 23, "	do
183	Haskings, George S	21	California	Butcher	Julian	6	1½	do	Light Brown	Brown					Julian	" 25, "	do
184	Harrison, Nathan	59	Kentucky	Farmer	Pala	5	3	Dark	Black	Black					Pala	" 4, "	do
185	Hayes, John Chauncey	30	California	Attorney-at-law	S. Oceanside	5	6½	Fair	Blue	Gray					So. Oceanside	" 17, "	do
186	Harris, Sidney Eugene	47	New York	Carpenter	National	5	10	Dark	Brown	Black	Second finger right hand off				National City	Sept. 13, "	do
187	Hamlin, Paul	58	New York	Miner	El Cajon	5	11½	Florid	Blue	Brown					El Cajon	" 14, "	do
188	Hallock, Herbert T	52	Michigan	Farmer	S. San Jacinto	5	4¾	Light	Gray	Gray					San Jacinto	" 17, "	do
189	Hall, Thos. C	24	Pennsylvania	Carpenter	San Luis Rey	5	9	Fair	Blue	Brown					San Luis Rey	" 12, "	do
190	Hamilton, John Roy	38	New York	Farmer	San Marcos	5	8	Light	do	Light					San Marcos	" 21, "	do
191	Harvey, Louis	31	Illinois	Stock Raiser	Dulzura	5	6½	do	Hazel Gray	do	Slight scar left forefinger				Dulzura	" 23, "	do
192	Hahn, Gustave	42	Germany	Farmer	Viejas	5	6	do	Brown	Brown		May, 1891	Atchison, Kas	District	Viejas	" 17, "	do
193	Haslam, William	63	England	Farmer	Winchester	5	6	do	Blue	Gray		Sept 6, 1889	San Bernardino, Cal	Superior	Winchester	" 19, "	do
194	Hazard, Charles	58	Canada	Carpenter	San Jacinto	5	6	do	do	do		Of American	parents		San Jacinto	" 21, "	do
195	Haberfellner, Henry	22	Germany	Farmer	Chula Vista	5	6½	Medium	Brown	Light		By virtue of	naturalization of father		Chula Vista	" 23, "	do
196	Harris, James A	48	Ohio	Bookbinder	6 ward, 2 prct	5	9¾	Light	Blue	Light Brown	Mole left of left eye				948 9th st	" 23, "	do
197	Hamilton, Joseph	35	California	Farmer	Temecula	6		Dark	Black	Black					Temecula	" 24, "	do
198	Hammond, Adam	56	Ohio	Farmer	Chula Vista	5	9	Fair	Brown	Brown					Chula Vista	" 26, "	do
199	Hammond, W. E	23	Ohio	Confectioner	Chula Vista	5	10	Light	Hazel	Light					do	" 26, "	do
200	Hawkes, Eugene	57	Maine	Miner	8 ward, 2 prct	5	9	do	Gray	Gray	Third finger rgt hand crooked				322 Milton ave	" 26, "	do
201	Harger, Henry	53	Ohio	Farmer	Otay	5	8¾	do	Blue	Dark					Otay	" 29, "	do
202	Hartz, Adolph B	37	Denmark	Machinist	Coronado	5	6	do	Gray	Dark Brown	India ink anchor web left hd, scar over rgt eye	Sept 27, 1876	Lyon Co., Kas	Circuit	Coronado	" 29, "	do
203	Harper, James	25	Scotland	Seaman	7 ward, 2 prct	5	3½	do	Blue	do	2 ink dots back lft hd & ring 2d finger left hand	Nov. 19, 1891	San Diego		1426 I st	" 30, "	do
204	Hamilton, Sanford	50	Indiana		Escondido	6		do	Hazel	Gray	Loss of right eye				Escondido	Oct 1, "	do
205	Hards, James T	57	Illinois	Rancher	Diamond	5	7	Dark	Brown	Black					San Jacinto	" 10, "	do
206	Hards, John F	27	Illinois	Merchant	San Jacinto	5	10	Light	Blue	Light	scar left hand and scar right side of chin				do	" 10, "	do
207	Hansen, Christen	47	Denmark	Laborer	Potrero	5	9	do	do	Brown		Dec. 18, 1886	Ida Co., Iowa	Circuit	Potrero	Sept. 23, "	do
208	Hawkins, George W	27	California	Nurseryman	4 ward, 2 prct	5	7	Fair	Light Brown	do					1417 5th st	Oct 12, "	do
209	Haslam, William J	40	Canada	Farmer	Winchester	5	10	Light	Black	Black		Sept 6, 1889	Los Angeles	Superior	Winchester	" 10, "	do
210	Happe, Anton	46	Prussia	Farmer	Perris	5	7	Fair	Blue	Brown	Little finger right hand off 1st joint	Nov. 8, 1887	Pope Co., Ark	Circuit	Perris	" 7, "	do
211	Hasenmaile, Antoine	52	Germany	Laborer	Encinitas	5	6	Dark	Gray	do		Nov. 1, 1880	La Salle, Ill	Circuit	Encinitas	" 1, "	do
212	Hayman, George	47	Ohio	Supt P V W Co	Palm City	5	10½	Fair	Blue	Lt Brown					Palm Springs	Sept. 16, "	do

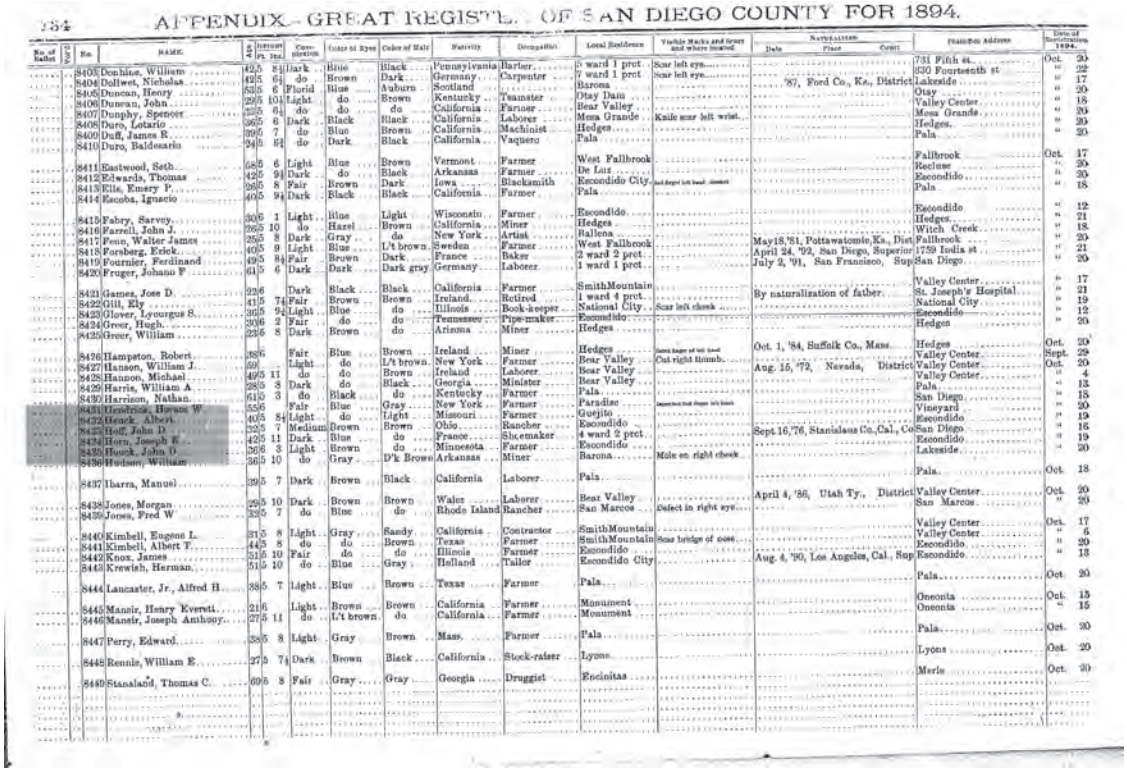
Figure 4.20. Great Register, San Diego County, 1892.

LOCAL RESIDENCE.:	Pala
HEIGHT.:	5’ 3”
COMPLEXION.:	Dark
COLOR OF EYES.:	Black
COLOR OF HAIR.:	Black
Visible Marks and Scars, and Where Located	. . . . .
NATURALIZED—Date, place, by what Court:	. . . . .
POST OFFICE ADDRESS.:	Pala
DATE OF REGISTRATION.:	August 3, 1892
SWORN.:	do [ditto: Sworn]”

Great Register, San Diego County, 1894, page 134

(Figure 4.21)

“No. of Ballot	. . . . .
VOT’D.:	. . . . .
NO.:	8430
NAME.:	Harrison, Nathan
AGE.:	61
HEIGHT.:	5’ 3”
COMPLEXION.:	do [ditto: Dark]
COLOR OF EYES.:	Black
COLOR OF HAIR.:	do [ditto: Black]
COUNTRY OF NATIVITY.:	Kentucky
OCCUPATION.:	Farmer
LOCAL RESIDENCE.:	Pala
Visible Marks and Scars, and Where Located	. . . . .
NATURALIZED—Date, place, by what Court:	. . . . .
POSTOFFICE ADDRESS.:	Escondido
DATE OF REGISTRATION.:	October 19, 1894”



134 APPENDIX—GREAT REGISTR. OF SAN DIEGO COUNTY FOR 1894.

No. of Ballot	Vot	No.	NAME.	Age	Height ft.	Height in.	Complexion	Color of Eyes	Color of Hair	Nativity	Occupation	Local Residence	Visible Marks and Scars and where located	Naturalized: Date	Naturalized: Place	Naturalized: Court	Postoffice Address	Date of Registration 1894.	
		8403	Donhize, William	42	5	8½	Dark	Blue	Black	Pennsylvania	Barber	5 ward 1 prct	Scar left eye				731 Fifth st	Oct.	20
		8404	Dollwet, Nicholas	42	5	6½	do	Brown	Dark	Germany	Carpenter	7 ward 1 prct	Scar left eye				330 Fourteenth st	"	22
		8405	Duncan, Henry	53	5	6	Florid	Blue	Auburn	Scotland		Barona		'87,	Ford Co., Ks.,	District	Lakeside	"	17
		8406	Duncan, John	29	5	10½	Light	do	Brown	Kentucky	Teamster	Otay Dam					Otay	"	20
		8407	Dunphy, Spencer	25	5	6½	do	do	do	California	Farmer	Bear Valley					Valley Center	"	18
		8408	Duro, Lotario	26	5	6	Dark	Black	Black	California	Laborer	Mesa Grande	Knife scar left wrist				Mesa Grande	"	20
		8409	Duff, James R	29	6	7	do	Blue	Brown	California	Machinist	Hedges					Hedges	"	20
		8410	Duro, Baldasarlo	24	5	8½	do	Dark	Black	California	Vaquero	Pala					Pala	"	20
		8411	Eastwood, Seth	58	6	6	Light	Blue	Blue	Vermont	Farmer	West Fallbrook					Fallbrook	Oct.	17
		8412	Edwards, Thomas	42	6	9½	Dark	do	Black	Arkansas	Farmer	De Luz					Recluse	"	30
		8413	Ellis, Emery P	29	6	8	Fair	Brown	Dark	Iowa	Blacksmith	Escondido City					Escondido	"	20
		8414	Escobs, Ignacio	40	5	9½	Dark	Black	Black	California	Farmer	Pala					Pala	"	18
		8415	Fabry, Sarvey	30	6	1	Light	Blue	Light	Wisconsin	Farmer	Escondido					Escondido	"	12
		8416	Farrell, John J	26	5	10	do	Hazel	Brown	California	Miner	Hedges					Hedges	"	21
		8417	Fenn, Walter James	25	5	8	Dark	Gray	do	New York	Artist	Ballena					Witch Creek	"	18
		8418	Forsberg, Erick	40	5	9	Light	Blue	Lt brown	Sweden	Farmer	West Fallbrook		May18,'81,	Pottawatomie,Ks.,	Dist	Fallbrook	"	20
		8419	Fournier, Ferdinand	49	5	8½	Fair	Brown	Dark	France	Baker	2 ward 2 prct		April 24, '92,	San Diego,	Superior	1759 Iodia st	"	21
		8420	Fruger, Johann F	61	5	6	Dark	Dark	Dark gray	Germany	Laborer	1 ward 1 prct		July 2, '91,	San Francisco,	Sup	San Diego	"	20
		8421	Gamez, Jose D	22	6		Dark	Black	Black	California	Farmer	SmithMountain					Valley Center	"	17
		8422	Gill, Ely	41	5	7½	Fair	Brown	Brown	Ireland	Retired	1 ward 4 prct		By naturalization of father.			St. Joseph's Hospital	"	21
		8423	Glover, Lycurgus S	36	5	9½	Light	Blue	do	Illinois	Book-keeper	National City	Scar left cheek				National City	"	19
		8424	Greer, Hugh	20	6	2	Fair	do	do	Tennessee	Pipe-maker	Escondido					Escondido	"	12
		8425	Greer, William	23	6	8	Dark	Brown	do	Arizona	Miner	Hedges					Hedges	"	20
		8426	Hampston, Robert	38	6		Fair	Blue	Brown	Ireland	Miner	Hedges		Oct. 1, '84,	Suffolk Co., Mass.		Hedges	Oct.	20
		8427	Hanson, William J	59			Light	do	Lt brown	New York	Farmer	Bear Valley	Cut right thumb.				Valley Center	Sept.	29
		8428	Hannon, Michael	49	5	11	do	do	Brown	Ireland	Laborer	Bear Valley		Aug. 15, '72,	Nevada,	District	Valley Center	Oct.	20
		8429	Harris, William A	28	9	8	Dark	do	Black	Georgia	Minister	Bear Valley					Valley Center	"	4
		8430	Harrison, Nathan	61	5	3	do	Black	do	Kentucky	Farmer	Pala					Pala	"	13
		8431	Hendrick, Howard W	55	6		Fair	Blue	Gray	New York	Farmer	Paradise					San Diego	"	18
		8432	Henck, Albert	40	5	8½	Light	do	Light	Missouri	Farmer	Guejito					Vineyard	"	20
		8433	Hoff, John D	32	5	7	Medium	Brown	Brown	Ohio	Rancher	Escondido					Escondido	"	19
		8434	Horn, Joseph K	42	5	11	Dark	Blue	do	France	Shoemaker	4 ward 2 prct		Sept.16,'76,	Stanislaus Co.,Cal.,	Co	San Diego	"	16
		8435	Houck, John O	26	6	3	Light	Brown	do	Minnesota	Farmer	Escondido					Escondido	"	19
		8436	Hudson, William	36	5	10	do	Gray	D'k Brown	Arkansas	Miner	Barona	Mole on right cheek				Lakeside	"	20
		8437	Ibarra, Manuel	29	5	7	Dark	Brown	Black	California	Laborer	Pala					Pala	Oct.	18
		8438	Jones, Morgan	29	5	10	Dark	Brown	Brown	Wales	Laborer	Bear Valley		April 4, '86,	Utah Ty.,	District	Valley Center	Oct.	20
		8439	Jones, Fred W	23	5	7	do	Blue	do	Rhode Island	Rancher	San Marcos	Defect in right eye				San Marcos	"	20
		8440	Kimbell, Eugene L	21	5	8	Light	Gray	Sandy	California	Contractor	SmithMountain					Valley Center	Oct.	17
		8441	Kimbell, Albert T	44	5	8	do	do	Brown	Texas	Farmer	SmithMountain	Scar bridge of nose				Valley Center	"	6
		8442	Knox, James	51	5	10	Fair	do	do	Illinois	Farmer	Escondido					Escondido	"	20
		8443	Krewish, Herman	51	5	10	do	Blue	Gray	Holland	Tailor	Escondido City		Aug. 4, '90,	Los Angeles, Cal.,	Sup	Escondido	"	13
		8444	Lancaster, Jr., Alfred H	38	5	7	Light	Blue	Brown	Texas	Farmer	Pala					Pala	Oct.	20
		8445	Manzie, Henry Everett	21	6		Light	Brown	Brown	California	Farmer	Monument					Oneonta	Oct.	15
		8446	Manzir, Joseph Anthony	27	5	11	do	Lt brown	do	California	Farmer	Monument					Oneonta	"	15
		8447	Perry, Edward	38	6	8	Light	Gray	Brown	Mass.	Farmer	Pala					Pala	Oct.	20
		8448	Rennie, William E	27	5	7½	Dark	Brown	Black	California	Stock-raiser	Lyons					Lyons	Oct.	20
		8449	Stanaland, Thomas C	69	6	8	Fair	Gray	Gray	Georgia	Druggist	Encinitas					Merle	Oct.	20

Figure 4.21. Great Register, San Diego County, 1894.

Great Register Index, San Diego County, 1902, page 51

(Figure 4.22)

The collections held at the San Diego Historical Society also include a 1902 index for voter registrations. The book's cover reads:

> "Registrations 1902.
> INDEX
> OUTSIDE PRECINCTS
> COUNTY CLERK"

On page 51 of the index, there is a listing for "Harrison, Nathan" of "Jessie." Jessie is likely a place name, as it is listed alphabetically between Pala and Picacho and is part of a sequence that includes Oceanside, Otay, Potrero, Poway, and Ramona. The index gives the page number of Harrison's 1902 registration as page 72, but the San Diego Historical Society does not have this volume.

Overall, Harrison is listed on the registers from 1875 through 1902 in and around Palomar Mountain. The registers support the information gleaned from primary documents listed in the 2004 technical report. Furthermore, like the documents discussed previously, they do not definitively place Harrison on Palomar Mountain before 1875.

1	Hunting, John S.	Oceanside	42
2	Hunting, Oliver R.	"	26
3	Hoefliger, Joseph	O t a y	61
4	Hollis, William C	"	32
5	Hubbard, Wm. H.	"	49
6	Huey, Alex. C.	"	38
7	Higgins, James	P a l a	57
8	Higgins, B. F.	"	45
9	Higgins, Solan	"	62
10	Harrison, Nathan	Jessie	72
11	Helm, C. K.	"	27
12	Horan, W. C.	Picacho	28
13	Higgins, Peter S	Potrero	44
14	Hartley, Wilmer	"	32
15	Hartley, Frank	"	22
16	Hill, William T.	Poway	28
17	Hilleary, Louis N.	"	49
18	Hartzell, Claud E	"	29
19	Henck, Albert	Ramona	47
20	Howard, Thomas A	"	32
21	Hatfield, A	"	62
22	Holton, Charles	"	22
23	Howard, James A	"	38
24	Hutchison, N. W.	"	34
25	Hall, George T.	"	47
26	Hinshaw, J. A.	"	38
27	Hull, Alfred D	"	50
28	Haworth, James W.	"	47
29	Haworth, Richard W	"	37
30	Howard, Osceola E. W.	"	56
31	Holton, Quincey A. R.	"	67
32			

(51)

Figure 4.22. Great Register Index, San Diego County, 1902.

San Diego County 1889-1890 Ownership Map

(Figure 4.23)

The name "Harris" is on a San Diego County 1889-1890 Ownership Map in the same location (Section 1 in Township 10 South of Range 1, west of the San Bernardino Meridian) he later officially homesteaded in 1893. This location is further corroborated by assorted historical records from 1892, 1897, and 1921, and a survey map from 1896.

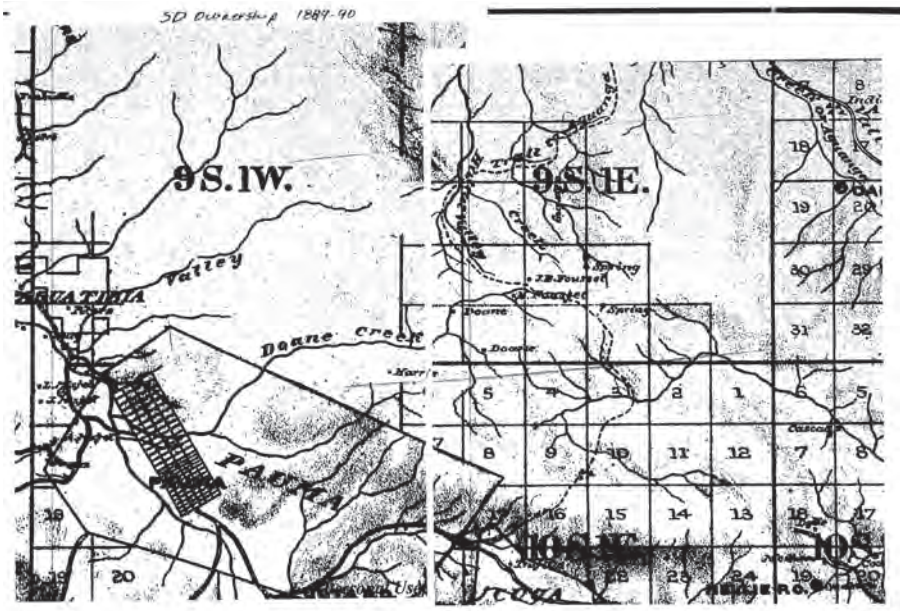


Figure 4.23. San Diego County 1889-1890 Ownership Map.

Additional Contemporaneous Historical Records

Whereas the 2005 technical report presented the written accounts of Nate Harrison from 1919-1960, this report details the 1961-2004 histories of Harrison (Figure 4.24). The accounts that post-date the start of excavation in the summer of 2004 are not included.

Mean Date	Date Range	Author	Title	Source	Collection	Report
1959	1959	Hastings	An Interview with Louis Salmons	Unpublished	SDHS	2005
1960	1960	Hastings	An Interview with Harry Jones	Unpublished	SDHS	2005
1960	1960	Hastings	An Interview with Joseph Reece	Unpublished	SDHS	2005
1960	1950-70	Lockwood	Palomartians	Fallout from the Skeleton's Closet	SCIC	2006
1962	1962	Bryson	Oldtimers Recall Negro	San Diego Union Tribune	SDSU	2006
1962.2	1955-1970	Fleischer	Short History of Nathan Harrison	Unpublished	Kirby	2006
1962.5	1956-1969	Craine	Nathan Harrison	Unpublished	Kirby	2006
1963.5	1952-75	Bostic	Nathan Harrison Early Settler	Unpublished	SDHS	2006
1966	1966	Strain	Palomar Mountain State Park	Unpublished	SDHS:Wade	2006
1971	1971	Perkins	Wayside Shrine honors former slave	Daily Times-Advocate	Kirby	2006
1972	1972	Stone	Palomar Pioneer's Body Rests	San Diego Union	Kirby	2006
1972	1972	Anonymous	Pioneer's Grave To Have Marker	Local newspaper	Kirby	2006
1972	1972	Perkins	North County nuggets: Marker Placed	Daily Times-Advocate	Kirby	2006
1974	1974	Carlton	Blacks in San Diego County	Journal of San Diego History	Kirby	2006
1976	1976	Perkins	Native of North County	Daily Times-Advocate	Kirby	2006
1977	1977	Carlton	Blacks in San Diego County	Unpublished thesis	SDSU	2006
1978	1978	Kelly	Return to the Mountain	San Diego Union	Kirby	2006
1981	1981	Madyun and Malone	Black Pioneers in San Diego	Journal of San Diego History	SDSU	2006
1981	1981	Melvin	Correspondence #1	Unpublished	Kirby	2006
1981	1981	Day	Interview with Bessie Ormsby Helsel	Unpublished	Kirby	2006
1981	1981	Melvin	Correspondence #2	Unpublished	Kirby	2006
1981	1981	Melvin	Correspondence #3	Unpublished	Kirby	2006
1981	1981	Melvin	Correspondence #4	Unpublished	Kirby	2006
1981	1981	Day and Melvin	Interview with Chris Forbes	Unpublished	Kirby	2006
1981	1981	Melvin	Correspondence #5	Unpublished	Kirby	2006
1981	1981	Day	Interview with Max Peters	Unpublished	Kirby	2006
1981	1981	Day	Interview with Jim Wood	Unpublished	Kirby	2006
1982	1982	Melvin	Correspondence #6	Unpublished	Kirby	2006
1982	1982	Anonymous	Pillar of Palomar	Daily Times-Advocate	Kirby	2006
1982	1982	Melvin	Correspondence #7	Unpublished	Kirby	2006
1986	1986	Anonymous	North County Yesterday	Daily Times-Advocate	Kirby	2006
1986	1972-2000	Anonymous	Gathering to mark slave era	Local newspaper	Kirby	2006
1990	1980-2000	Lynch	Try It Again, Sam	The Front Page	Kirby	2006
1993	1993	Anonymous	Historic Quotes	Daily Times-Advocate	Kirby	2006
1995	1990-2000	Bevil	San Diego Biographies: Nathan Harrison	SDHS website	SDHS	2006
1998	1998	Yamaguchi	Black history and the U. S. Census	Fallbrook Historical Society	FHS	2006
1998	1998	Helsel	Ormsby Story	Village News	Kirby	2006
1998	1998	Ross	Making the Grade	Valley Roadrunner	Kirby	2006
2000	2000	Palmer	Out of This World at Mt. Hope	San Diego Reader	SDSU	2006
2002	2002	Anonymous	Front Pages: Did You Know?	San Diego Magazine	Kirby	2006

Figure 4.24. Table of written accounts of Nate Harrison.

Lockwood, Herbert, "Palomartians" (circa 1960s; 1950-1970)

Lockwood wrote Volume 1 of *Fallout from the Skeleton's Closet: A Light Look at San Diego History* sometime around the 1960s. It was a light-hearted yet allegedly non-fictional account of local history. Lockwood's article on Palomar pioneers included a brief passage on Nate Harrison and an image of Harrison behind his cabin. The picture caption reads: "Nate Harrison, a former slave, lived in this cabin for 60 years on the trail to the top of Mt. Palomar. A Negro, he claimed to be 'the first white man on Palomar.' What he meant was: he was the first non-Indian to live there. Nate farmed a bit, hunted, and made a little change by supplying water and feed to travelers to the top of the mountain. One of the roads on Palomar was later named for him." The image is the same as Escondido Historical Society Image #7 and San Diego Historical Society Image #1. The article reads as follows:

"Palomartians

Brain-heavy astronomers riding shotgun on the 200-inch Hale telescope atop Palomar Mountain have discovered some strange and unusual phenomena while mucking about the galaxies and nebulae. If, however, they could turn their super opera-glass back in time, they would discover that some of their predecessors on the mountain were pretty danged strange and unusual too.

***

WE'RE NOT TALKING about the Indians, but about the people who came after they were gone. First non-Indian on the granite ridge was a Negro, called in those racially revolting days 'N----r Nate.' It may seem odd that Nate always referred to himself as 'the first white man on the mountain.' However, Nate simply meant he was the first non-Indian on the scene.

***

NATE TOLD visitors he was a runaway slave who didn't discover until some years after the Civil War was over that he was free. He had an orchard, a garden, and a kindly word for everyone who passed by his cabin. He died in 1920 age 101 and the road on which he lived was then named Nathan Harrison Grade.

A man who settled on the mountain about the same time as Nate was not blessed with the old man's longevity. He was Joseph Smith who started a ranch on the east end of the mountain in 1859."

Jamie Bryson, "Oldtimers Recall Negro Who Found Freedom in Life on Palomar Mountain" *The San Diego Union Tribune* (June or July, 1962)

In the summer of 1962, Jamie Bryson wrote an article for the *San Diego Union Tribune* that described the life and times of Nate Harrison. It contained two photographs. One was an historic close-up of Harrison (Kirby Collection Image #3); the other was a modern shot of then landowner Dewey Kelly at the Harrison Monument. The captions to these photos were: "NATHAN HARRISON… became a legend" and "Dewey Kelly with his horse Utah, checks Harrison Monument near top of road up southwestern slopes of Palomar Mountain honoring former slave." The article reads as follows:

"Woodsman lived to be 101.

PALOMAR MOUNTAIN—On a sunny summer's day shortly after the Civil War a middle-sized graying Negro trudged up the steep slopes of the mountain.

He reached the summit, breathless, and the Indian inhabitants of the high oak and pine forest saw their first 'white man.'

His name was Nathan Harrison, a former Virginia slave seeking a certain kind of freedom. Apparently he found it on the mountain because he stayed the rest of his life.

And became a legend.

The stay was a long one, too, for Harrison, expert woodsman, wrangler and jawer lived to be 101.

He became the first settler on the western slopes. His home was a picturesque plateau area just above the timberline.

He built a shack there, planted fruit trees and tended cattle and horses. Down by the creek, there was a fine spring. Up to the north there was ample timber to work. A few hundred yards south there was the mountainside and 3,500 feet below the panorama that was Pauma Valley.

DIGNIFIED, COURTEOUS

Harrison lived there and 'watched the world go by,' those who knew him relate. But his kindliness and love of fellow man are still well remembered. Oldtimers recall Harrison's quiet good-natured demeanor with pleasure even though Harrison has been dead 42 years.

'He was unusually dignified and courteous. I liked him,' said Adaline Bailey, a Palomar resident since 1913. A former school teacher in San Diego, Mrs. Bailey, now 76, met Harrison in 1911.

'I remember he was always smiling and cheerful even near the end of his life. He had a joke. He said he was the first white man on the mountain.

'He told the joke often and always got a laugh,' said Mrs. Bailey.

Charles Mendenhall, 78, member of a pioneer family on Palomar, remembers Harrison as 'smart as a whip, a good wrangler and a pretty good timber man.'

In 1900 San Diego County built a road up the southwestern slopes of the mountain and it ran by Nate's ranch.

GREETED RIDERS

'Nate had the first water after the climb and he used to be there to greet the riders and wagons when they came up,' Mendenhall recounted.

'Old Nate would sit on a rock out by the road and wait. Most times someone had a gift for him—he liked beef jerky best of all.'

The rough, twisting road, which never was paved and now is seldom traveled, is named after Harrison. At the turn near the top where he used to wait on the slowly climbing wagons and horses is a monument to the old settler, placed there by his mountain friends.

Back in the trees, Harrison's shack is gone but for a few chimney stones. So are most of the fruit trees. However, the spring still flows.

PLANS TO BUILD

The place's new owner, Dewey Kelly, a 63-year-old former Carlsbad rancher and the only other man to inhabit the land, plans to build a house there some day.

'That's when I get around to it, if I ever do, mind you,' says Kelly.

'This is a good place to be, it's far away and quiet. Makes a man want to take it easy and just let the world go on by."

Robert C. Fleischer, "Short History of Nathan Harrison, better known as N----r Nate," (c. 1955-70)

Fleischer based his unpublished history on interviews with acquaintances of Harrison and on a trip he personally made to Harrison's cabin in the spring of 1920. The narrative acknowledged the many stories regarding Harrison's coming to California and details Harrison's friendship with George Doane. It also claimed that Harrison was only hospitalized for a few weeks before his passing, not the full year that other histories and his death record asserted. This manuscript is part of the Kirby Collection. Since the manuscript refers to the name of the road being changed to Nathan Harrison Grade (an event that occurred in 1955), it must have been written after 1955. Nonetheless, since it is also based on a personal visit with Harrison in 1920, it is also likely that the text was written before c. 1970.

Fleischer's manuscript reads as follows:

"Short History of Nathan Harrison, better as known as N----r Nate

Nathan Harrison was a negro who settled up on Palomar Mountain in the early days when the mountain was known as Smith Mountain. Perhaps no one will ever know just when Nathan Harrison came to Palomar Mountain. There are conflicting stories as to who he was, why he came to Palomar Mountain, and how he got there.

One story is that he came from Virginia to California as a slave with his master, Lysander Utt, during the days of the gold rush. Mr. Utt is reported to have operated the Pioneer Trading Post at Tustin and when California passed a law against slavery, this made Nathan Harrison a free man who made his way up to Palomar Mountain.

There is another story, however, that lays claim to the fact that Nathan Harrison was a slave and was born in Kentucky. He, with his master, left Kentucky driving an ox cart and headed for California. They stopped for several months at Sedalia, Missouri, waiting for a wagon train going west.

According to the story when they reached Los Angeles they learned that a wagon road was being cut through over the Tejon Pass, so master and slave went up there and worked on this road until it was finished. In fact it is said that Nate drove an ox team at the head of the first wagon over the Pass.

Later Nate and his master prospected near Merced and while there Nate's master suddenly died and Nate slipped away at night fearing that he might be sent back to Kentucky as a slave. How long he wandered around and just where he went is unknown but at last he made his way to Palomar Mountain and lived there for many years.

The only people he knew who lived on the mountain were Indians. He lived with them and called himself 'the first white man on the mountain' because of his Indian companions. He helped the Indians herd their sheep and lived Indian style and then one day he entered land on the west end of the mountain and eventually proved up on it. He built a small cabin from the native granite rocks and planted an orchard and developed a spring which gave him plenty of water.

If he knew there were others on the mountain, he had no association because he still felt that he was a slave and would be sent back to Kentucky if found. However, one day as he was walking along a trail he came face to face with George Doane, who was another pioneer of Palomar Mountain.

Nate fell at his feet and begged him not to send him back to Kentucky. George Doane could not understand what Nate meant but finally it dawned on him that Nate did not know that the Civil War was over and that he now was a free man. Nate roamed the mountain now as a free man knowing that he would not be sent back as a slave to Kentucky. George Doane and Nate became very good friends.

In 1910 a very steep twisting road was built up the west side of the mountain and passed right close to Nate's house and spring. It was a pretty tough pull up that grade for both man and beast. Nate could always hear the wagons as they moved up the grade and he would be out by his spring to meet them with buckets of water for their horses or mules, but Nate was not only there to greet the travelers and water their stock but he was there for a hand-out as well. Sometimes it was food and sometimes tobacco and sometimes both.

Folks usually obliged with one or the other and then Nate would tell one of his tales and he had many. He would tell about the large number of horses he had on the range and the great herds of cattle and sheep he was feeding for market. There were tales of mountain lions preying on his stock and numerous encounters he had had with rustlers. As a matter of fact he did not own even a milk cow, to say nothing of great herds of cattle, sheep, and horses.

Some time after the road was opened over the west grade a water trough was built at Nate's spring. No one seems to know who built it, Nate or some others but it was built and became a watering stop for all who ventured to Palomar via the west grade. Nate was always on hand to meet the wagons and get what he could from the traveler and then he would spin his yarns even if they were not true.

In later years some autos made it up the grade and Nate was on hand at the water trough to help cool their cars with water and of course to receive their food and tobacco. After the exchange of food and other things, Nate would spin one of his yarns or maybe two if the gifts had been large enough.

Nate became somewhat of a figure, so much that the west grade became known as N----r Grade, then later as N----r Nate Grade and at last Nathan Harrison Grade by which it is known today.

In the late summer of 1920 some friends on the mountain found Nate in his cabin in deep pain and they persuaded him to let them take him to the hospital in San Diego where he died on October 10, 1920.

After his death, some friends collected money and a plaque was placed on a granite monument near the spring and his stone house which read:

Nathan Harrison Spring
Brought here a slave about 1848
Diego [sic; Died] October 10, 1920
Aged 101
'A Man's a Man For A' That.'

This short history of Nathan Harrison is compiled by Robert C. Fleischer from interviews with those who knew Nate as well as stories told about him. In the early spring of 1920 I made a trip up the West Grade and met Nathan Harrison and gathered some of the facts which I have included in this brief sketch. I am proud to have met and talked with him. He was a real pioneer of Palomar Mountain."

Johnny Craine, "Nathan Harrison" (1956-1969)

The Kirby Collection contains a one-page biography of Harrison by Craine that gave an overview of the pioneer's life. It specified that Harrison lived at Rincon before moving onto Palomar Mountain. Most historical sources credit T. O. Bailey with raising the money for the Harrison cairn on the grade, but Craine credits his son, Milton Bailey. Since the last line of the biography states that "Dewey Kelley now owns the Nate Harrison property," it is most likely that it was written between 1956 and 1969. The biography reads as follows:

"NATHAN HARRISON

by Johnny Craine

He called himself the 'first white man on the mountain'. He was called Nate or Uncle Nate by the people on the mountain. He lived so many years at a turn in the road on the West Grade that it was officially named 'N----r Grade'. He came with his master from Kentucky by ox team. After his master died, Nate found his way to the foot of Palomar Mountain and took up a claim at Rincon.

Sometimes he would live with the Indians or helped the early settlers with their sheep.

Later he sold his Rincon property and proved up a claim on the west side of the mountain, where the Nate Grade now winds. He would bring water for the horses when he heard a team coming up the grade. Usually the people gave him money or food for his kindness.

Nate couldn't read nor write and he couldn't understand much about sums of money.

Some friends took him to the San Diego County Hospital when they thought he could no longer care for himself. He died in 1920. As nearly as people could figure out Nate was 101 years old.

There is now a marker by the road where Nate greeted the travelers. Dr. Milton Bailey saw to it that the marker was made and placed by the road.

Dewey Kelley now owns the Nate Harrison property."

Dennis Bostic, "Nathan Harrison Early Settler" (1952-1975)

An additional unpublished article about Nate Harrison found at the San Diego Historical Society was written by Dennis Bostic, between 1952 and 1975. The article is type-written, but contains many hand-written notes and corrections. These notes, likely made by Rodney Stokes at a later date, are placed in parentheses and italics here. Since the article draws heavily on Rush's 1952 text, it post-dates 1952 but was written before Bostic's 1975 passing. The article reads as follows:

"*(Dennis Bostic (d. 1975)*: NATHAN HARRISON EARLY SETTLER

N----r Nate as he was known, was the slave of Lysander Utt a wealthy Virginia Planter (*James B. Utt is a grandson of Lysander Utt, one-time Master of Nate)*. Sometime in early 1848 Mr. Utt got gold fever and decided to head west. He took with him one young male slave, and this slave was Nate Harrison. The two traveled to St. Joseph, Missouri *(So. Cal. Rancher says Independence was where he outfitted for the trek)* and there joined a party heading for California. There is some confusion here, in that some old timers say that Nate came to California as a camp follower with Fremont's Battalion, it might be that he and his master did follow the Fremont party to California. Lysander Utt and Nate arrived at the Merced gold fields in late 1848 *(So. Cal. Rancher says 1849; They arrived at Mexican pueblo of Los Angeles on X-mas eve of 1849)*.

The events that took place at the gold fields are very obscure. Either Lysander Utt gave Nate his freedom, or Nate ran away. At that point in history California was Mexican territory and the slavery question was a mute [sic, moot] one. Several years later when California became a state that question was resolved, it was to be a slave free state. At any rate Nate did not remain with his master long *([Utt] Went to Auburn where he tried gold mining. After indifferent success on the placer fields of North. Calif. Went 1st to Anaheim then to Tustin where in 1874 he established L. Utt Pioneer Store)*. Later on in 1848 or early 1849 Nate showed up in the Pauma Valley area. Apparently he got a job as a herdsman on one of the ranchos in the area, because the first record of him on Palomar mountain says that n----r Nate, two dogs and a flock of sheep came to the valleys that are now known as Doane and French. After a short time Nate got tired of the company he was keeping and decided to go visiting. He packed some food and took his jug of wine and went packing off to live with the Indians at the Pauma Rancheria. He enjoyed their company and stayed much longer than he had planned. When he finally returned to the mountain he found that his sheep were gone as well as the dogs. He investigated and found some dead sheep, indicating that the mountain lions had gotten the whole flock, dogs and all.

Nate knew that he would be in trouble, loosing [sic] the flock of sheep that he had been entrusted with. But there is no record of what the result was. However, a short time later Nate homesteaded 80 acres on the west side of then called pauma mountain. He built a shack that was not like a miner's cabin, nor the shacks of cattlemen or sheepherders, but rather a so called darkey's shack *(so-called because anyone from Dixie would recognize it as such)*. When Nate became settled on the mountain he called himself 'The first white man to live on the mountain.' Meaning simply that he was the first non-indian living on the mountain. His cabin was located just inside the tree line on the mountain, just off the trail leading up the west side of the mountain, near a spring *(known as N----r Spring)*. Nate became well known throughout the area as N----r Nate, or as Uncle Nate to his closer friends. From his cabin vantage point he could see the teamsters puffing up the mountain, and would meet them with a bucket of water for man and beast. The grateful teamsters would give him a nickel or dime, or bits of food in return for his service.

According to those oldtimers who knew him *(best)* this was about the hardest work Nate ever engaged in. It seems that he loathed work of any sort, and never turned an honest day's work as long as he lived. He would promise to help out at harvest or fruit picking time, and then appear with some 'miz'ry,' and proclaim the need for some 'miz'ry' remedy, the stronger the alcohol content the better. After the remedy, the most work that he would perform was conversation about the area, seldom about himself or his past. He is said to have known more about the surrounding area than anyone else.

When Nate had no visitors for a while he would saddle up his old white horse, grab his jug, and head off to go visit his neighbors *(in the valley)* to find out why they had not been around, and stop at the winery for a refill of his jug.

A man known as Joseph Smith settled on the east side of the mountain in 1859, and for a long time the mountain was known as Smith mountain. And later on the Doane brother's homesteaded the valley that now bears the name. So Nate was not without closer neighbors than the valley below, but it seems that they did not have much to do with one another. In fact, the Doanes had cabins a few feet apart but did not speak to one another for years due to some minor quarrel and pride.

Nate had some interesting habits that would not be acceptable today and probably were not then. He would chew his tobacco and then put it out in the sun to dry and then smoke it in his pipe. They said that his pipe was so strong that tobacco was not even needed in it *(coal would do just as well)*. Nate did not bathe very often if ever, and when he got some new clothes it seems that he merely just put them on over the old ones.

Nate's friends asked him if he knew about the civil war and the fact that slaves were now free men. He replied that he knew about Mr. Lincoln, but he had his freedom long before him. His comment would seem to imply that he was given his freedom by Lysander Utt. This is conjecture.

Nate finally became too old to ride his old white horse down into the valley, and his friends worried about him caring for himself in his scavenger ways. The white men *(friends of his; county authorities)* came to get him, and he begged to be left on the mountain. But relying on their logic in the care of the aged they took him to the San Diego Home for the Aged. They peeled the layers of clothes off of him and bathed him, amid all of his protests to be returned to his mountain home. He became very ill and begged his friends to take him back to his home *(so that he could die in familiar surroundings)*. But they could not or would not and he died shortly after. Ironically, he was not returned to his mountain home and the flowers, trees and animals that he had loved, but was instead buried in the pauper's field and into obscurity.

Nathan Harrison was brought here in 1848 and he died October 10, 1920. He had lived for 72 years in the eerie eden of Palomar mountain. He was 101 years old when he died and as the monument erected honoring him says, 'a man is a man for that.' *(Rodney Stokes)*"

E. K. Strain, "Palomar Mountain State Park: Unit history" (1966)

Strain, the Assistant Park Supervisor, wrote a brief biography of Harrison in his Palomar overview. It detailed many anecdotes, including the one of the 14 1/2 –foot mountain lion that Harrison allegedly shot behind his cabin. Strain's manuscript was part of the State Parks collection that Wade forwarded to the Nate Harrison Historical Archaeology Project. The manuscript section that details Harrison reads as follows:

"NATHAN HARRISON

Two modern paved highways and one hair-raising dirt road lead to Palomar Mtn. The dirt road is a one-lane series of switch backs and sheer drop-offs called Nathan Harrison Grade. Build [sic] in 1900 and twisting upward approximate 4000' in 9 miles, it was indeed a challenge in those days, and even to this day only the more adventurous attempt the trip.

Beside the road at about the 3600' level a monument with a brass plague [plaque] reading:
Nathan Harrison's Spring
Brought here a slave about 1848
Died Oct. 10, 1920
Aged 101 years
'A man's a man for a'that'

Near this spot stood 'Uncle Nates' small cabin. Upon hearing a team of horses, and in later years automobiles, laboring up the grade Nate, with a cheerful smile, would be waiting at his spring offering buckets of water. Usually the traveler gave him a bit of food or a small amount of money in exchange.

Nate made quite a picture with his long white beard, tattered overalls and broad grin. With such tales as the mountain lion he shot behind his cabin that measured 14' 6" from 'tip to tip.' He was not beyond taking a 'wee nip' and this no doubt added a few inches to the length of the lion and the other tales he was noted for.

Rheumatism and old age finally became too much for Nate and at the insistence of friends was taken to San Diego for hospitalization, there he passed away in 1920.

As one friend of his said, 'Nate was a good-for-nothing, lovable old darkey, loved in spite of, not because of, certain qualities he possessed.'"

Eloise Perkins, "Wayside Shrine honors former slave who lived on Palomar Mountain" (May 2, 1971)

In an article for the *Daily Times-Advocate*, Perkins wrote a biography of Harrison that gave an overview of his entire stay in California, from 1848 to 1920. Perkins wrote of how she was showed around the cabin site by then landowner Richard Day. Perkins' 1971 article is part of the Kirby Collection. The article includes two pictures. The first is of the east side of Harrison's cabin after it had been abandoned. It is the same as Kirby Collection Image #14 and has the following caption: "THE LITTLE ROCK AND SHINGLE CABIN OF NATHAN HARRISON WHO CALLED HIMSELF 'FIRST WHITE MAN ON PALOMAR MOUNTAIN.' PICTURE WAS TAKEN IN 1931, JUST 11 YEARS AFTER THE FORMER SLAVE DIED IN SAN DIEGO." The second image is of the remains of the cabin in 1971. Its caption states: "RUINS OF ROCK HOUSE WHICH NATHAN HARRISON BUILT MORE THAN A CENTURY AGO ARE ALMOST LOST TODAY."

The one-page Perkins article reads as follows:

"Nathan Harrison lived up the road for many years near a switchback on the road up the west side of Palomar Mountain.

When he greeted new acquaintances by carrying water from his spring to their horses, he always said, 'I'm n----r Nate. I was the first white man on this mountain.'

Ever since the zigzag, rough dirt road was traveled, it has been named in honor of the first non-Indian to reside in the area. For many years, the road officially was named N----r Nate Grade.

The black man was called Nate, or Uncle Nate, by many residents of the area. He was very popular, especially with the children. He loved to talk and, although he sometimes acted like conversations were going over his head, he was sharp as a tack and very little escaped him.

Everyone was happy about the road's name, *including* Nate, until his death in 1920.

Many years later the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People (NAACP) petitioned for a change in its name, saying N----r Nate was a derogatory way of speaking of the man. After due consideration the road, with its series of hairpin turns and awesome drops, became Nathan Harrison Road.

Harrison came to California as a slave in 1848, living first in the Mother Lode mining district, until his master's death, and later at San Gabriel Mission. He soon found his way to Rincon, at the foot of Palomar Mountain, where he lived with the Indians.

Thirty years later before the west grade, which was to bear his name, was built, Harrison staked a claim more than halfway up the mountain. This area is heavily wooded and at that time contained two springs, both of which flowed freely summer and winter.

As soon as the road was built, Nate began his custom of bringing brimming buckets of water from the nearest spring for the horses. The grade was so steep that he could hear the teams laboring up the incline for a long time before they reached the switchback where he used to wait.

The horses' owners usually rewarded him with food or a bit of money. Employees of San Diego County later dug a well and put a pump at the roadside. But even after automobiles replaced horses on the road,

Nate waited by the well to greet travelers. The cars usually needed water too in those early days, because the climb up the steep grade would boil out their radiator water.

The well had been filled in, but Richard Day, who with his brother, Stuart, now owns 240 acres in the area, including the site of Nathan Harrison's cabin, thinks he knows where it was located.

'Whenever it rains, water running along the side of the road disappears at this spot,' he said, pointing. 'It probably runs down through the old well.'

Day, a freelance writer, makes his year-round home on the mountain. He has his land fenced and posted against trespassers.

The little cabin of rock and rough shingles where Harrison lived for so many years was knocked down in the 1930s when a Civilian Conservation Corps (CCC) camp was established on the mountain.

Day knows where the ruins of Harrison's house are located and was kind enough to show them to me, so I could take the small picture at the lower left. If you don't know where to look, it would be impossible to distinguish the site from the surrounding terrain, which is heavily wooded.

The Days purchased the property about a year and a half ago from Dewey Kelly, member of a pioneer North County family.

At the edge of the road at the spot where Nate usually stood to welcome travelers is a rough stone marker.

Upon its plaque are these words:

'Nathan Harrison's Spring
Brought here a slave about 1848
Died Oct. 10, 1920
Aged 101 years
'A man's a man for a'that"

The road turns abruptly there and whether it is called the Nathan Harrison Grade (now considered official) or the N----r Nate Grade, which is the way the 1971 edition of Thomas Brothers Maps lists it, the road still recalls the well-loved 'first white man on Palomar.'"

Joe Stone, "Palomar Pioneer's Body Rests in Unmarked Grave" (May 31, 1972)

Stone's *San Diego Union* article brought public attention to the fact that Harrison had been buried in an unmarked grave. Researcher Ed Diaz led the successful movement to get a marker placed at Harrison's Mount Hope grave. The article contains two photographs. The first is a modern image by Larry Armstrong of Diaz kneeling beside Harrison's unmarked grave. Its caption reads: "Ed Diaz is kneeling beside the unmarked grave of Nathan Harrison, former Negro slave who was a pioneer on Palomar Mountain." The second image is a close-up of Harrison; it is the same as Escondido Historical Society Image #4. The caption to this image is: "NATHAN HARRISON… suitable marker sought."

The newspaper article in its entirety reads as follows:

"EX-SLAVE NATHAN HARRISON

Palomar Pioneer's Body Rests in Unmarked Grave

A San Diego Navy man who is compiling a record of activities of Negroes in county history has found that the body of one of the best known of his subjects lies in an unmarked grave.

The researcher, Ed L. Diaz, said he was preparing stories for the second edition of 'Profiles in Black American History' when he made the discovery.

'During my research,' Diaz wrote to William Craven, county supervisor, 'I discovered that the well known Palomar pioneer Nathan Harrison was buried at Mount Hope Cemetery.

NO MARKER

'Going to the cemetery intent on taking pictures of his grave to include in the story of his life, I was astonished to find that the great pioneer and friend of humanity has no marker (let alone a headstone) on his grave.'

Diaz asked for Craven's help in getting a suitable marker for the grave. Bill Dominguez, special assistant to Craven, said no public money can be used for the purpose.

He is seeking citizens who might be interested in getting a marker on the grave.

Diaz, a member of the National Afro-American Historical Society which publishes his work, wrote to Craven, 'We would be proud to report that the citizens of San Diego County did their share to show their feelings toward one of the county's pioneers.'

Harrison was buried in Mt. Hope Cemetery, owned by the City of San Diego, Oct. 13, 1920. He had died in the County Hospital three days before. He was 97, a native of Kentucky.

There is a marker in his honor at a place called Nathan Harrison Spring on the Nathan Harrison Grade Road from Pauma Valley up the west slopes of Palomar Mountain. The 6-foot granite pillar was erected by Theodore Bailey of Palomar, who collected donations for it.

COULDN'T FINISH

Bailey was overcome with emotion and couldn't finish his speech at the marker dedication. Another friend finished for him.

Harrison is said to have come to California in 1848 as a slave. He settled on the slopes of Palomar, which was Smith Mountain until the turn of the century, nine years later. He eventually had a 160-acre homestead there.

His death certificate, Diaz learned, said he was a widower. No one here knew of a wife."

Anonymous, "Pioneer's Grave To Have Marker" (1972)

Some time between Stone's May 31, 1972 article that exposed Harrison's unmarked grave and the placement of the marker two months later, an anonymous article was printed, which stated that most of the money for Harrison's marker had been raised. The article is part of the Kirby Collection. It states:

"'BORN A SLAVE'

Pioneer's Grave to Have Marker

The unmarked grave of one of San Diego County's best known former citizens will have a headstone July 28 and engraved on it will be the words, 'Born a slave. Died a pioneer.'

The headstone at Mt. Hope Cemetery will otherwise identify Nathan Harrison, who died Oct. 13, 1920. He had spent most of his life on the 160 acres he claimed on the west slope of Palomar Mountain after coming to California from his native Kentucky in 1848.

An aide to County Supervisor William Craven said, 'We only have about half of the money we need, but we are going ahead with it.'

The aide, Bill Dominguez, was in charge of funds after Ed Diaz, Navy warrant officer who is studying Negro pioneers in the county, wrote to Craven telling of the unmarked grave and asking help in getting a suitable marker. People began making small donations after reading a story in the San Diego Union May 31.

The marker is being furnished at cost by Phil Hoadley of the Pyramid Granite Co., Escondido.

Diaz, the history student who started the effort said he is contacting church groups in Southeast San Diego in an effort to raise the remainder of about $150 needed.

Those making donations will be invited to attend the marker dedication ceremonies, which will be religious. The Rev. George Walker Smith has been asked to preside."

Eloise Perkins, "North County Nuggets: Marker placed" (August 10, 1972)

Perkins's *Daily Times-Advocate* article chronicled Harrison's life and legend up to the 1972 gravestone placement at Mount Hope Cemetery. Drawing on Wood's 1937 text, this article offers an overview of Harrison's life and gives numerous anecdotal details. A copy of this story is currently in the Kirby Collection. The article contains a large photograph of the cairn dedicated to Harrison. The caption states: "Monument on Palomar Mountain: A monument to Nathan Harrison, with the inscription: 'Nathan Harrison's Spring: Brought here a slave about 1848; Died Oct. 10, 1920; Aged 101 years; 'A man's a man for a' that,' has stood on the west slope of Palomar Mountain for more than half a century. It honors [a] pioneer resident of [the] area."

The story reads as follows:

"A handful of people gathered recently in Mount Hope Cemetery in San Diego to dedicate a simple gravestone at the spot where Nathan Harrison was buried three days after his death on Oct. 10, 1920.

Although his grave in the city was unmarked for many years, a monument was erected in his honor on the slope of Palomar Mountain soon after his death.

Nathan Harrison was a well-loved pioneer of the North County. His numerous friends usually addressed him as 'Uncle Nate,' but he always introduced himself to strangers by saying, 'I'm N----r Nate. I was the first white man on this mountain.'

Nate loved to talk, but usually said little about his own life. It is believed that he was born a slave in Kentucky and came west with his master in a wagon train. After the death of his master, Nathan Harrison came to the bottom of Palomar Mountain, by way of Mission San Gabriel, and lived for a time with the Rincon Indians.

He homesteaded a claim on the west side of the mountain just above the line where the big pine trees grow on top of the mountain. From a spot just below Harrison's little rock cabin, the mountain was bare of trees and very hot in the summer time.

When the road up this side of the mountain was built, it ran just north of the little stone cabin Harrison had constructed. His home was near a little spring from which flowed a goodly amount of pure water.

When he heard the horse-drawn wagons creaking up the steep grade, with its hairpin turns and awesome drops, he would fill a bucket with water. This he would take to the driver, who first drank himself, then gave the rest to the horses.

In turn, Harrison usually was rewarded with a monetary gift or food.

Later the county dug a well and put a pump at the roadside. There Nate awaited the travelers even after early-day automobiles made the trek up the steep road. By the time they reached the spot where Nate waited, the cars usually needed water too.

Now the modern automobile can take the grade without boiling off its water. It's a good thing, because Nate Harrison has been gone from the mountain for 52 years.

Nate could neither read nor write, but his memory was excellent. For the first 20 years he was in the area, he regularly told those he met that he would be 76 years old New Year's Day. But he later admitted that this was just because he didn't know when he was born and 76 was a good number.

His name pops up somewhere along the line in the story of almost every early-day resident of Palomar.

When the murderer of Joseph Smith—the man for whom the mountain was named shortly after his death in 1868—was hanged, 25 men, among them Harrison, were reported to have been on the other end of the rope. (The name of Smith Mountain was changed to Palomar in the early 1900s.)

George Doane, who after years of trying to marry each successive schoolteacher as she came to the mountain, finally advertised for a wife in a national publication. Out of scores of answers, he finally narrowed his choice down to a Louisiana mother and her 16-year-old daughter, both of whom had written him that they would be interested in marrying him.

He settled for the daughter and brought his wife and the young Negro maid back to his crude log cabin on the mountain.

As the trio journeyed up the west side of the mountain, they stopped for a short visit at Nate's cabin.

Doane, as the story goes, told Nate he had brought him a wife.

Nate looked the teen-agers over, both Mrs. Doane and her maid, and asked, 'Which one?'

As the kindly old man, with his long snow white beard, grew feeble, well-meaning residents of the area decided he was no longer able to care for himself. He was invited for a ride, which ended at the county hospital in San Diego. There he lived out his days, seemingly happy. He told friends who visited him there that the nurses were good to him.

It has been said, however, that when the nurses peeled off the accumulated layers of overalls it was the beginning of the end, and when they bathed him, that was the end.

He was buried in Mount Hope Cemetery and on the mountain, Theodore Bailey, another pioneer resident, headed a drive for funds for a monument to Harrison. This still stands near the turn in the road where the old man usually greeted travelers.

Jessop's Jewelry Store in San Diego made the plaque set in an indentation in the rocks. The inscription reads:

Nathan Harrison's Spring
Brought here a slave about 1848
Died Oct. 10, 1920
Aged 101 years
'A man's a man for a'that'

The marker placed in late July at the gravesite bears the words:

Nathan Harrison

Born Kentucky	Died San Diego
About 1820	Oct. 13, 1920

Born a slave; died a pioneer
Marker Donated by the Citizens
of San Diego County
Memorial services July 1972

The date of his death on the marker in Mount Hope Cemetery is in error. Oct. 13, 1920 was the date he was buried. He died three days before that.

The appeal to the residents of the county for the new marker came from the office of William Cravens, fifth district supervisor, with his assistant, Bill Dominguez of Vista, handling the arrangements. The marker was prepared at cost by Phil Hoadley of Pyramid Granite Co., Escondido.

Thus the story of Nathan Harrison was recorded."

Robert L. Carlton, "Blacks in San Diego County: A Social Profile, 1850-1880" (1974)

Carlton's 1974 *Journal of San Diego History* article included a brief passage on Harrison. It designated him as the first permanent black resident of San Diego and claimed that he settled up on Palomar Mountain between 1848 and 1857. The Kirby Collection contains a copy of this article, which is also online at: http://www.sandiegohistory.org/journal/75fall/blacks.htm.

The article contains an image of Harrison; it is San Diego Historical Society Image #6. The passage of the article that refers to Harrison is as follows:

> "The first permanent black resident of San Diego County was evidently Nathan-or Nathaniel-Harrison, referred to usually as 'N----r Nate.' He built a cabin halfway up the west slope of Palomar Mountain and settled there sometime between 1848 and 1857. Harrison did not claim the land legally until long after the anti-black provisions of California's homestead laws had been repealed. He evidently worked on farms over a wide area; his two appearances in the 1880 census occurred on widely separated farms, about ten miles from Palomar Mountain in different directions. His own 'farm' was too rocky to grow much, and it is unclear whether or not he kept any livestock. Until the early 1970s, the road going up the mountain near his cabin appeared on maps as 'N----r Nate Grade.' Harrison died in 1920."

The article also has an extensive footnote about Harrison. Footnote 23 states:

> "Even less trustworthy are the columns headed 'Cannot Read' and 'Cannot Write.' The census takers seem often to have ignored these columns. It is probably safe to assume that a person was illiterate if the blanks are checked, but not to assume that unchecked blanks necessarily mean that he was literate. For instance, Nathan Harrison appears twice in the 1880 census (after being missed in 1860 and 1870). The first time, he is listed as unable to read; the second time, both blanks are unmarked.
>
> Harrison's responses also differed slightly as to his age, marital status, birthplace, and parents' birthplace. These discrepancies probably resulted either from Harrison's not knowing and not caring, or from his having a little fun with the U.S. Census, and not from carelessness on the part of the census taker. Still, they indicate that many other entries may be equally unreliable. (There is no doubt that the two 'Nathan Harrisons' listed were the same man, interviewed by different census takers in different places a week apart. Harrison often gave contradictory information about himself. See the Serra Museum Library Biography File on him, which includes several twentieth-century newspaper articles and Harrison's voter-registration forms.)"

Eloise Perkins, "Native of North County honored for work in shop" (December 12, 1976)

Perkins wrote an article honoring Inez Thornton for the *Times-Advocate* in 1976. Thornton, born on Palomar Mountain in 1898, met Harrison many times and saw him for the last time in 1916. This article is part of the Kirby Collection. It only briefly mentions Harrison. The article states: "In the spring of 1916, while the Cooks again lived in Valley Center, Inez and Theckla James rode horses up the N----r Nate Grade to Palomar Mountain. 'That was the last time I saw Nate,' Mrs. Thorton said."

Robert Lloyd Carlton, *Blacks in San Diego County, 1850-1900* (Spring 1977)

Carlton's SDSU Master's thesis in History included intricate details of Harrison. Only Carlton identified passages in the *San Diego Union* falsely proclaiming his death in March of 1884 only to correct it a few weeks later.

There are multiple passages in the thesis that refer to Harrison. The first is on page 4. Carlton states:

> "First, it must be kept in mind that blacks encountered much less racial prejudice and violence in the West than did Chinese and American Indians. Blacks were an essential and familiar part of the culture of the United States. This sense of kinship is repeatedly expressed in contemporary references by Anglo-Americans. [Editor's note: This passage is footnoted with the following text: "Nathan Harrison, an early black settler on Palomar Mountain in San Diego County, is said to have insisted that he was 'the first white man on the mountain' (Catherine M. Wood, *Palomar from Teepee to Telescope*). This statement was evidently intended as a joke, but it also contains an important truth: blacks were essentially 'white men' because of their long participation in the Anglo-American culture. (It is perhaps noteworthy that none of the writers who have repeated this 'joke' seem to have considered this side of it.) The intermediate position of blacks in the West, between the White majority and other ethnic minority groups who were of even lower status than the blacks, is one of the special characteristics of the black experience."]

Carlton also mentions Harrison when discussing black immigration to the West. He writes on pages 24-25: "As Henry P. Walker notes in his history of wagon freighting, it was possible for individuals and even families without their own means of transportation to work their way west with wagon trains. Nathan Harrison and James Hamilton reportedly made their way to San Diego in this manner."

On pages 50 and 51, Carlton gives a brief preliminary biography of Harrison. He states,

> "The first permanent black resident of the county was evidently Nathan—or Nathaniel—Harrison, referred to usually as 'N----r Nate.' He built a cabin halfway up the west slope of Palomar Mountain and settled there sometime between 1848 and 1864. Harrison did not claim the land legally until long after the anti-Negro provisions of California's homestead laws had been repealed. [Editor's note: Footnote 16 states: "According to a newspaper reference, he made final proof on a forty-acre claim in 1892 (*San Diego Union*, 16 July 1892, p. 5:1).] He apparently worked on farms over a wide area: he appears twice in the 1880 Census, listed with the families on two widely separated farms, about ten miles from Palomar Mountain in different directions. His own 'farm' was too rocky to grow much, but he kept some poultry and possibly other small livestock."

Carlton finished the biographical information on Harrison on pages 70 and 71. He states,

> "Nathan Harrison continued to live on Palomar Mountain throughout this period, working at least occasionally on ranches in the area, and sometimes living with groups of Indians. He did not register to vote until 1877, but after that he registered regularly. Although he did not file his land claim until 1892, he seems not to have been disturbed in it. He had a small orchard and raised and sold horses occasionally. Harrison lived near a spring on the road going up the west slope of the mountain, and brought water for travelers going up the steep grade. As he grew older, he probably depended increasingly on pay for this service, and on gifts of food and whisky. He was widely, but not universally, known in the county in 1884, when the *Union* had to explain who he was in a mistaken report of his having died:
>
> Poor 'Nate Harrison was drowned in the San Luis Rey River during the recent storm. He was a Southern slave and has resided here many years.
>
> This report was corrected a month later, in a typically patronizing tone:
>
> N----r Nate is not drowned as was reported in the *Union*; he still lives to vote the Republican ticket and beat his way through the world.
>
> In numerous later articles and reminiscences, Harrison appears consistently as a lovable old 'character,' shiftless but harmless, although several statements attributed to him betray intriguing flashes of wit, perceptiveness, and irony. Harrison died in 1920, but, until the 1970s, the road up the mountain was known, and appeared on some maps, as 'N----r Grade' or 'N----r Nate Grade.'"

Allan O. Kelly, "Return to the Mountain" (August 17, 1978)

Kelly's newspaper article for the *San Diego Union* was based on his childhood camping trip to Palomar Mountain in the summer of 1908. He detailed the trip up the grade and personally meeting Harrison. This article is part of

the Kirby Collection. It contains numerous hand sketches of the landscape but no historic images of Harrison or the mountain. The lengthy article includes a few specific references to Harrison's life and times. They are as follows:

> "When I was seven years old, my father decided that the family should take a camping trip to Smith's Mountain, now known as Palomar Mountain, to see the world and to visit the Bailey family.
>
> The Baileys were a pioneer family that had come to California in about 1851 or 1852, of the exact date I am not certain. But it is a matter of record that one of my uncles, John Lincoln Kelly, had married Ethel, a Bailey daughter, in 1905. So it was that we felt a sort of family kinship with the Baileys….
>
> We arrived at 'N----r Nate's' log cabin about noon.
>
> The cabin was located in the head of a canyon and was shaded by big oak trees and pines. There was a fine spring of water and a hollowed-out log for a horse trough. We all had our fill of pure cold spring water… and we rested in the shade.
>
> The Indian, meanwhile, unhitched his team and started back down the grade -- $3 richer and no doubt well satisfied for being paid that for a half-day's work.
>
> Nate's cabin and spring were near the top of the grade. From here on, the road was in forest shade most of the time.
>
> * * *
>
> Nate, all smiles and friendly like, came out of his cabin to welcome us.
>
> "N----r Nate" was an old, white-haired Negro slave who had come to this spot some time in the 1850s or 1860s. One story was that he was a runaway slave who had jumped ship in San Diego or San Pedro and had come to the mountain to escape the law.
>
> After the new road had been built up the mountain past his cabin, he became a well-known character, a sort of gateman to Smith's Mountain. He was a natural-born greeter who welcomed the weary and thirsty travelers to the mountain.
>
> He had a lovely spot: a far distant view to the ocean, a fine spring and about an acre of good soil for a garden and a few apple and pear trees.
>
> He also kept a few pigs, which lived off the acorns. In addition, the people on the mountain brought him a sack of flour now and then so that he never lacked for food.
>
> He had a good sense of humor and many stories were told about him. His wise sayings were reported in the newspaper.
>
> But he didn't get along very well with the Indians and looked down on them to a certain degree. He was said to sometimes tell the summer tourists that came his way: 'When I first came here dere was nobody but Injuns. I was de fust white man on dis mountain.'"

Gail Madyun and Larry Malone, "Black Pioneers in San Diego 1880-1920" *The Journal of San Diego History* (Spring 1981, Volume 27, Number 2)

Madyun and Malone wrote an article that gives an overview of the Black presence in the region during the late 19th and early 20th centuries. The article begins with a summary of Africans and African-Americans who were in Southern California before the late 1800s. Nate Harrison is included in this summary. Unfortunately, none of the facts that are given surrounding Harrison's birth date and birth place are referenced. The sections of the article that refer to Harrison's life and times are as follows:

> "Actually, the black presence in what is now San Diego County was established long before whites from the United States began arriving in numbers. During the Spanish and Mexican periods, blacks, who had accompanied Cortez in 1519 and had been slaves until 1829, as well as mixed-blood Californios were found at all levels of society. They had been assimilated into the population of the Mexican-ruled California. In fact, Pio Pico, the last Mexican governor of California, was part black – his grandmother was described as a "mulatta" in a census taken in 1790. The first known black from the United States to set foot in San Diego was a sailor named John Brown who in 1804, while the naval vessel *O'Cain* was anchored in San Diego Harbor, jumped ship and successfully deserted. When California entered the Union in 1850 only eight blacks in a total population of 798 resided in the county. In 1870 there were only seventeen, but by 1880 there were fifty-five. The great majority came from the rural South, which is noteworthy in that proportionately fewer blacks migrating to other parts of California came from the former slave states.
>
> Before the population boom of the 1880s most of the new black arrivals were slaves, ex-slaves, or employees of whites whom they had accompanied. One such person was Nathaniel Harrison, born a slave in 1820 in Tennessee, who journeyed to San Diego in 1848 and became the county's first permanent

black resident. Harrison built his cabin on a 160 acre farm 3,000 feet up on the western slope of Palomar Mountain. He became the most widely known black of his day and lived to be one hundred years old. One of the earliest black women to arrive was America Newton who came from Missouri to settle in the Julian area in 1872. Unlike Nathaniel Harrison who raised and sold livestock and worked on nearby ranches, Miss Newton mainly earned her living laundering clothes. The dusty trail near her cabin was named America Grade in her honor. Likewise, Nathaniel Harrison Grade appears today on a street sign in Pauma Valley leading motorists up a road past the location where his cabin once stood."

Robert Melvin, "Correspondence #1 with Richard Day" (September 1, 1981)

In this letter, Solana Beach writer Robert Melvin introduced himself to then Nate Harrison Estate landowner Richard Day and stated that he wanted to do a magazine article on Nate Harrison. The Kirby Collection contains five letters from Melvin to Day that gave some details as to the progress of their research. The first letter states:

"September 1, 1981
Dear Mr. Day:

I am doing a magazine article on Nate Harrison and would like to come to your property to look around and get the feel of the place. I was at your gate about 10 days ago but was put off by a large, staring dog that seemed a bit too interested in me.

I got your name and address from Ranger Dietz, but since he didn't have your phone number and the phone company has no listing, I decided to write you this note.

I can drive over there in an hour or so, at your convenience, so if it's OK please call me (collect) at 755-1700, or drop me a card.

Hope we can get together soon.
Very truly yours,
Robert Melvin"

Richard Day, "Interview with Bessie Ormsby Helsel" (September 5, 1981)

On September 5, 1981, Day interviewed Couser Ranch resident Helsel, who visited Harrison in 1914. She was 9 at the time. The brief summary of the interview is part of the Kirby Collection. The interview notes, typed on the back of a membership card for Richard Day's Libertarian organization, read as follows:

"Bessie Ormsby Helsel, 9 yrs. Old in 1914, of Couser Ranch was riding down the grade after visiting Palomar with her family in an Auburn convertible. Nate Harrison came out to meet them. They had a pine tree tied onto the rear of the car. He sat down with them and had a picnic lunch. He enjoyed people, she said. 'I'm N----r Nate,' he said. He poured water into radiators, watered horses and generally helped those who came by his gate.

He was sore and moving carefully because a horse had run away with him a few days earlier. He had a bandana around his head covering a bruise gotten during that incident. She said he had chickens around the cabin. Her father knew him well, and liked Nate. They were sad to see the name of the Grade changed. Nate would have called it N----r Nate Grade, and loved it."

In handwritten script, there are two additional notes on the card. The first says, "Nate + sick dreaming of gold episode"; the second states, "Nate + unpaid taxes."

Robert Melvin, "Correspondence #2 with Richard Day" (November 2, 1981)

In this letter, Melvin writes of a February 23, 1877 courthouse record referring to the auction of Nate Harrison's 160 acres for $12.02. Melvin claims that the sheriff auctioned the property but it went unclaimed until the State of California purchased it three weeks later for $11.52. The current project has been unable to find either of these contemporary historical documents and can not reconcile these accounts with Harrison's 1879 U.S. land patent for the same property. The letter also addresses this contradiction when discussing the 1882 historical record of Harrison selling part of his land to Andres Scott. Melvin was unable to locate any historical documents before the alleged 1877 courthouse record. In addition, Melvin makes a reference to "more digging" on the Nate Harrison site, revealing that Day and Melvin repeatedly pothunted the area in and around Harrison's cabin. This letter is part of the Kirby collection.

The letter reads as follows:

"November 2, 1981
Dear Richard,

Had you been hanging out on the steps of the old San Diego courthouse on February 23, 1877, you could have picked up Nate's 160 acres for $12.02 in delinquent taxes. The sheriff auctioned it that day but there were no takers. Three weeks later it went to the State of California for $11.52.

But cagey old Nate must have gotten it back somehow, because in 1882, he sold 112 acres to an Andres Scott for $300: (SE¼ of the SW quadrant—lots 2, 3, and 4 of Section 22, Twp 10, South Range 1 west.) Looks like that left Nate with 48 acres, assuming he got the entire 160 back from the state.

Search as I might, however, I have not been able to find the date of Nate's original purchase or homestead of the land. I'm stymied at 1877. Any help from your end? I seem to recall Ranger Dietz mentioning an old "Scott cabin" up there that nobody knew anything about. I'm desperate… make something up!

Anyway, Richard, how about some more digging next Monday, the 9th. If it's OK I'd like to bring my wife along since she's dying for a look at Nate's old haunts—and we can make her dig while we watch. We can be there by 10/10:30 or so and we'll bring a picnic lunch, so please don't go to any fuss.

As we discussed, unless I hear otherwise, we'll see you on Monday.

Best regards to you and Lois,

Bob and Mary Ann Melvin"

Robert Melvin, "Correspondence #3 with Richard Day" (November 7, 1981)

The third letter between Melvin and Day in the Kirby Collection reveals an important point of clarification with regard to the specific Harrison property. Melvin acknowledges that Day is correct about the fact that the 1882 land sale from Harrison to Scott was for Harrison's Rincon property, not for the Palomar Mountain land. Melvin also states that the earliest record he can find for Harrison on the mountain is the 1897 road easement, revealing that he had yet to find the 1892 water claim, 1893 homestead certificate, and 1896 survey map. The letter also detailed plans for another meeting between Melvin, his wife Mary Ann, and Day that likely included more digging at the site.

The letter reads:

"November 7, 1981
Dear Richard,

Got your latest. (I think.) Here's mine (ditto).

You're right, of course. Section 22 is down near Rincon. Don't know how Nate ever acquired that. No record of his owning your place either, except for an easement deed granted to county in 1897 for the road. The thot plickens.

How about Wednesday, same time? Mary Ann can't come any other day. If OK, don't answer this.

Later,

Bob"

Robert Melvin, "Correspondence #4 with Richard Day" (November 13, 1981)

A fourth Kirby Collection letter from Melvin to Day made reference to Harrison's pre-Palomar Mountain residence in the valley, likely near Rincon. Melvin stated that he had seen "an ancient survey map downtown that marks 'Black Harrington's' cabin." The letter states:

"November 13, 1981
Dear Richard,

Just got your card proposing I meet you at Pauma Valley Post Office next week. OK. I've already suggested Wednesday so if that day is good for you, we're on. I really appreciate all the trouble you're going to for me and hope I can justify it with a good article.

Nate must have lived in the valley before he moved to the mountain. There is an ancient survey map downtown that marks 'Black Harrington's' cabin. I wonder…

Serra Historical Museum is interested in a Nate exhibit when they open their new hall in Balboa Park next spring. Can you dig it? So let's say Wed. at the P.O. at 10 a.m. If for any reason I can't make it, I'll ring you on your space phone Tues. night.

See ya,
Bob"

Richard Day and R. Melvin, "Interview with Chris Forbes at Pauma Reservation" (November 19, 1981)

Day and Melvin interviewed Forbes at the Dever residence on the reservation. Forbes knew Harrison during his last days on the mountain and described his deteriorating health. He also detailed Harrison's interaction with local Native Americans and confirmed his marriage to a Rincon woman with two children. The transcribed text of the interview is part of the Kirby Collection. It states:

"11/19/81 INTERVIEW WITH Chris Forbes at Pauma Valley Reservation

by R. Day and R. Melvin
Took place in afternoon at Dever residence on the reservation.
Chris's age '75 or more' Eleanor Beamer said 76.
'I knew Nate a long time, a long time.'

Chris worked for 'The Frenchman,' i.e., Augusti Nicolas and Jean Nicolas. Tended sheep. Had 17,000 sheep at one time. The Frenchmen lived in French Valley, just ran sheep on the West of the Mountain. Owned land adjoining Nate's. In fact, they discovered that the property line went through Nate's house. They joked with Nate a lot about 'owning half of his house.' There were a few trees on the Frenchmen's land. Nate had lots of trees. Oaks. He planted an apricot orchard. Had other trees, too. Yes, a quince.

Chris remembers that Nate had a dog. He also raised horses. The French put him up to asking $150 for a horse. That was an awful lot of money in those days. Chris bought one of Nate's horses. Paid him $150 for it. Was a three-year-old, a real good horse. It lived for 30 years.

When Nate died he [Chris] wonders what happened to the herd of horses. They were wild.

Millard Beemer (of Pauma Valley) said later that Charlie Frye turned up with a strange herd of horses soon after Nate died. They were wild and always trying to go from the country club (now) area where Charlie kept them through Millard's crops and up Nate's Grade. They'd always wondered about that. Charlie was a kind-hearted fellow who would feed his animals even if he didn't have anything to eat. So they guessed that he rescued the horses after Nate was taken away and he fed them and took them over. Chris didn't know what happened to the horses.

Nate was 'old, very old. About my age' (96?) when he first met him. How did he look? 'Old.' He suspects that Nate was much older than 101 when he died. In his last days on Palomar, before his friends took him to the hospital, he couldn't walk and was crawling around on his hands and knees.

Nate truly rode a white horse. Real white. It was no tale. He never rode a mule, or owned one, that Chris knew.

Max Peters' grandmother, called Sharna-Showna (Carnation in Luiseno) was Nate's Godmother. She took him to the priest at Pala to be baptized as a Roman Catholic. Nate's nickname was Inez. He attended church at the Pala Mission sometimes thereafter.

Nate loved having a good time. He liked to drink wine, which the French made. He attended many all-night parties in Pauma Valley. He loved to sing and dance and drink. Sometimes he got so drunk he couldn't walk.

Nate never worked for the French. In fact, he didn't work for anyone. However, he did come into the Valley at times and work for several weeks helping to build houses and other jobs. He was not paid. No one got paid in those days. Money was hard to come by. All you received was your meals.

Nate married a Rincon woman with two children, but they never had any children. Nate did not chase women, and was not married again, that Chris knows of. He fathered no children, according to Chris.

Nate used to get clothes brought to him by the Frenchmen, and he would put them on over his old clothes. He had as many as five layers on at once. The Frenchmen and the Indians going up to their summer acorns atop the Mountain brought him things. So did tourists and travelers along the Grade. He used to sit out at N----r Point (Billy Goat Point) often.

The Grade did NOT go past Nate's house. You had to go in a ways to reach his place. Once one of the Frenchmen took a wagon in there. It wasn't easy to reach.

The spring flowed through troughs built by Chris right past Nate's front door. It flowed 18 inches. Lots of water.

Nate's house was small and quite low-ceilinged. Nate was a short man.

One night a boy was caught on the Mountain in rainy, foggy weather and Nate invited him to stay over, sleeping with him in the house. They slept under the same blanket. The boy reported the next day that Nate shed lots of heat and it was not cold under the blanket with him. The Frenchmen joked with the boy about sleeping with a N----r.

'I'se N----r Nate,' Nate used to say.

Chris never heard him call himself the first white man on the mountain.

Nate told Chris that he arrived in California on a boat.

Nate's Indian wife died not too long after they were married.

A dead boy was found on the mountain. No one knew how he died. They took him to Pauma to be buried.

The road was graded by the county in about 1901.

Nate didn't have money. He was poor like everyone else. If he'd had money, he wouldn't have come to the Valley at times to work for meals.

Chris doesn't remember seeing chickens.

Nate had a dog. A big dog.

Boucher had a well and a hand pump. Chris built a couple of troughs up there for Boucher.

Possibility that the Frenchmen got Nate to homestead the land with their help, in exchange for giving them part of it. Nate ended up with 45.75 acres. Jean Nicolas had the 40 acres to the east and Augusti had the 125 above him.

Dewey Kelly said that Nicolas's used to come down from French Valley and spend winters with Nate because it was milder at his elevation. They brought their grapes and used Nate's water to make wine, which they both drank.

Nate made his coffee in a pot that had the bones left of a large lizard in it. He didn't even notice. None of his friends would tell him. But they'd politely refuse a cup of his coffee.

Nate had a nice rifle. Chris admired it. Wondered what happened to it after Nate left. It was a muzzle loader. [Day notes in the margin that: "A man offered it to the Park Ranger George Kowatch for a museum, when ready. This was in 1987."]

Nate did not hunt. He didn't shoot deer or mountain lions, although there were plenty of them around.

Nate had lots of friends.

He rarely went to 'Skondido.' It was too far.

The Indians thought of themselves as being cleaner than Nate Harrison and the Frenchmen. One time the Frenchman got a new suit and he put it on without first taking a bath. He was black. Everyone smelled bad in those days. There wasn't a bathtub in the area. But at least an Indian would have washed himself clean before putting on new clothes.

Showna-Sharna (Carnation (proper order of words)

He did not own a wagon;"

Robert Melvin, "Correspondence #5 with Richard Day" (November 24, 1981)

The fifth correspondence between Melvin and Day in the Kirby Collection immediately followed their interview with Chris Forbes. This letter addressed how certain predominant histories of Harrison—especially Woods's *From Teepee to Telescope*—had molded the legend of Harrison into something different than the man he was. The letter also discussed Harrison's marriage and baptism, and Melvin's desires to locate these official church records. It reads as follows:

"November 24, 1981

Hi Richard,

Thanks again for a very interesting day. I've had a few thoughts on our interviews, especially with Chris Forbes.

I forgot to ask him two important questions:

Had he ever been <u>interviewed</u> about Nate before, and had he ever <u>read</u> anything written about Nate since his death, especially Catherine Wood's Teepee to Telescope book which everybody seems to have, and which had molded much belief and memory about the way Nate was.

I was pleased that Chris did not give us that 'shufflin,' lazy, good-for-nothin' routine I've heard so much. If , as Chris said, times were so tough they were all forced to work for <u>meals only</u>, it's ridiculous that people with their own problems and families would scramble halfway up a mountain to make sure a 'lovable old darky' was well supported. Leave it to a San Diego reporter to dream that one up.

If Chris is 96, he was born around 1885 when Nate was about 66. So if Chris entered the work force even as early as age 10, Nate would be 76. The point is, I don't know how much they could have 'worked together.' Other accounts have it that Nate seldom, if ever, left the mountain after the mid-90s or turn of the century.

But, by god, Chris verified that Nate had been married and I'd give anything to be able to locate the record. It might tie right in with his baptism into the Catholic Church if the marriage ceremony was Catholic, which it no doubt was. What do you think? Might the baptism and marriage records be there at one of the missions? Think Steve Peters might know more about it?

Also, I'd give my right arm, yours too, for a picture of Nate on that famous white horse. Somebody must have one. Maybe I'll run an ad in the T/A.

Hope you and your family had a nice holiday and I'll be calling you soon.

Regards,

Bob"

Richard Day, "Interview with Max Peters, Pauma Valley" (n. d., circa 1981)

The Kirby Collection included a half sheet of binder paper with notes from Richard Day's interview with Max Peters, a man who knew Nate Harrison. Peters stated that Harrison had married a Rincon woman and that he "spoke Indian fluently." Although the notes from this interview did not mention the date the interview was done, the interview likely coincided with the research and other interviews that Day and Melvin were conducting during 1981. The notes read as follows:

"1) Nate
2) Adowd
3) Colby
Max Peters Rodriguezés (Max 86 yrs. Old)
'The Old N----r' spoke Indian fluently
Married Rincon squaw
Indians brought him tobacco, which he chewed, then dried, and smoked.
Indians gave him the land when he wanted to stay on the mountain.
Everyone who came up brought Nate a few cans of tobacco.
Nicolas hired Chris Forbes to help run sheep. Forbes in Esc. (86), Forbes, Peters, Mendenhall (Hap) ran around together to dances, etc.
Notes by R. Day. Interview w/Max Peters, Pauma Valley."

Richard Day, "Interview with Jim Wood" (n. d., circa 1981)

The Kirby Collection included another half sheet of binder paper with notes from an interview. Richard Day talked to Jim Wood, the grandson of a man who preached on Palomar Mountain during Harrison's time. Wood related to Day that his grandfather once stopped to see Harrison on his way up the mountain and "gave him 25 cents for a pine log to drag behind" his vehicle on the way back down. Like the previous set of interview notes, no date was recorded for this conversation; but it likely occurred around 1981. The brief notes read as follows:

"Jim Wood, preacher, S.Y.
760-789-1159
Jim's grandfather
Preached on Palomar
Stopped to see Nate on the way past.
Gave him 25¢ for a pine log to drag behind his Aiuver."

Robert Melvin, "Correspondence #6 with Richard Day" (January 29, 1982)

The sixth correspondence between Melvin and Day in the Kirby Collection provided no new information on Harrison, but it did raise a few questions that have still not been answered. Melvin asked about what happened to the original grade marker that was replaced in the 1950s and why Salmons sold the Harrison property so quickly after he purchased it. The correspondence included the July 5, 1921, deed of sale and the July 6, 1921, Administrator's deed for the Harrison property (See 2004 technical report for complete transcriptions of each).

Melvin's sixth letter states:

> "January 29, 1982
> Dear Rich,
> I was talking to one of you mountain people the other day (Mrs. Beishline) who said there was still snow on the ground up there. I'm still trying to find out what happened to the old 'Niger Nate Grade' sign they replaced in the 60s. According to what I've found out, if it's anywhere it is probably right there on the mountain at the county road department facility. Maybe buried in a back room somewhere. Know anybody there?
> Anyway, Mary Ann and I will be spending Sunday, Feb. 7 on your mountain, weather permitting, in our ancient motor home. We always stay at that campground across the road from the Fry Creek campground, at the foot of the trail up to the observatory. Since I can't drive our rig down to your place, maybe you and Lois can stop by and say hello. We'll spring for coffee. Hope to see you.
> I just found the enclosed documents regarding the history of your property, the only hard evidence I've found to date that Nate owned anything up there at the time of his death.
> Interesting that Frank Salmons sold Nate's land to Jean Nicolas in the same month that he acquired it. Wonder why? A few years after this transaction Augustus Nicholas died (in 1927), leaving brother Jean all the rest of what you now own. Guess Kelly picked it up from him sometime later.
> I wonder also what Administrator Reed did with the $607.50 Frank Salmons paid him for Nate's land. He certainly didn't blow it on a headstone. Maybe hospital bills? Maybe an extended toot at the Del Coronado? Quien sabe?
> Richard, I leave you with these ponderables, the answers to all of which you will surely be certain (certainly be sure?) when next we meet.
> Just heard a threatening weather forecast. Keep your mukluks handy.
> Regards,
> Bob"

Anonymous, "Pillar of Palomar" (March 14, 1982)

As part of the *Times-Advocate's* "North County Yesterday" series, an anonymous biography of Nate Harrison appeared in the Sunday paper. Although brief, this article detailed the location of Harrison's spring and gave various anecdotal stories of Harrison's life. It is the last article to detail the words on the plaque before the plaque was stolen some time in the 1980s. Its location is still unknown.

The image above the caption is Escondido Historical Society Image #3 (See Figure 4.48). This newspaper clipping is part of the Kirby Collection. The article states:

> "Pillar of Palomar
>
> On what is known as 'N----r Nate Road' (which winds up the west slope of Palomar Mountain) stands a monument with a bronze plaque which is, perhaps, the only historical monument in the county to a black person. It stands beside a spring where Nate, as everyone knew him, was a familiar figure for many years. It states: NATHAN HARRISON SPRING, Brought here a slave about 1848; Died October 10, 1920; Age 101. Nate dwelled in a house near the spring which bears his name. He was a kind, courteous, well-liked citizen who spent much time at the spring offering all who came by a refreshing drink of water, or water to cool the overheated engines of the Model T's that had labored up the grade. He was brought to the area as a youth, as a slave in his owner's party, from Kentucky. He claimed he was 'the first white man on Palomar Mountain.'"

Robert Melvin, "Correspondence #7 with Richard Day" (May 27, 1982)

The seventh and final correspondence between Melvin and Day in the Kirby Collection discussed the passing of Chris Forbes, the man Melvin and Day had interviewed months earlier. Melvin also mentioned in this letter that he had found a reference to Harrison having had two wives. The correspondence also made a plea for more pothunting at the site. The letter indicates that it originally contained the Forbes obituary, but the Kirby Collection does not have the newspaper clipping of Forbes' passing. Day likely sent it back to Melvin as Melvin instructed.

The letter states:

> "May 27, 1982
> Dear Rich,
> I got this in the mail the other day from a friend in Escondido. With the death of Chris Forbes, another important link to the past is gone. Soon there will be none left with his memories of the mountain or the valley as they used to be. Very sad.
> I've done a lot more research on Nate and have much to tell you. Newton Bailey and Doris even have reference to Nate's having had TWO wives, including the name of one of them. No actual proof, but a very good lead. Saw the probate of Nate's estate and that was interesting too.
> How about some more digging one of these days. I'm getting soft!
> Oh, almost forgot. Have found some previously unpublished photos of Nate which you will really enjoy. The Baileys also have 4 new shots of him in their photo albums, plus some great ones of grizzled old George (schoolmarm man) Doane.
> So when can we get together? Have another audience with IRS on 6/14 but other than that am free—(I hope!) Weekend is best so MAM can come too. Let me know when you feel up to it.
> P.S. Never send me down that killer road again! I was sure I was finally going to meet Nate that day. Was so nervous I had to stop and get drunk to make it home.
> Mas tarde,
> Bob
> Hi Lois.
> Please keep the obituary for me, or just mail it back."

Anonymous, "North County Yesterday" (August 17, 1986)

The Kirby Collection includes a *Times-Advocate* photograph and extended caption from 1986 that pictures Harrison and his two dogs at the southeast edge of his cabin. It is Escondido Historical Society Image 7. The caption, entitled, "On top of ol' Smith," gave a brief history of Harrison and his mountain home. It states,

> "**On top of ol' Smith** – Nathan Harrison, a freed slave, often introduced himself to strangers on Smith Mountain as 'the first white man on Smith Mountain.' The torturous dirt track to his snug rock cabin on the western slope of the mountain now known as Palomar Mountain was called Nate Harrison Grade. The old man, a dog fancier, posed in his environment for this undated photograph. A contraption suspended out of the marauders' reach hangs from a tree above the head of the dog in the foreground. Harrison was a well-liked character around these parts for many years."

Anonymous, "Gathering to mark slave era" (1972-2000)

The Kirby collection contains an anonymous article from a local newspaper that post-dates the 1972 marker placement but pre-dates the 21st century. It is part of the "In Brief" section of the paper, and the article begins on page B-9. The short account discusses a commemoration ceremony at Harrison's Mount Hope grave site. It states,

> "Gathering to mark slave era
>
> SAN DIEGO—Nathan Harrison was born a slave and died a free man. Nestled among the switchbacks and flowers of the Pauma Valley is the Nate Harrison Grade, named for the man who lived there from the middle of the past century until he died in 1920.
> On Thursday morning, as dawn breaks over San Diego, residents will gather at Harrison's burial site at Mount Hope Cemetery to commemorate the era of African-American slavery."

Neil Lynch, "Try It Again, Sam" (1980-2000)

Lynch wrote a newspaper article for Escondido's *The Front Page* and its "Off The Beaten Path" series. The story offered an overview of Palomar Mountain history and explained that the phrase "A man's a man for a' that" on the marker commemorating Harrison came from a Robert Burns poem. The poem is known by two names; some call it "A man's a man for a' that"; others use the moniker, "Is There For Honest Poverty." This Kirby collection article must have been written after 1970 because it made reference to the plaque having already been stolen, an event that happened sometime in the 1970s.

There are two sections of the article that refer to Harrison. The first is a brief passage that states: "The West Grade starts out east of the intersection of Cole Grade Road and Highway 76. A sign designates it 'Nathan Harrison Grade.' Some maps show it as 'Nate Harrison Grade.'" The second passage is lengthier; it states as follows:

> "At a particularly memorable hairpin turn, there's a large wooden gate which is usually locked. The road behind it leads to a once famous spring on private property. Near the gate is a stone monument. At one time, it contained a bronze plate that said:
>
> ***Nathan Harrison's Spring***
> ***Brought here a slave about 1848***
> ***Died Oct. 10, 1920***
> ***Aged 101 years***
> ***'A man's a man for a'that'***
>
> Sometime in the 1970s the plate disappeared. I saw it many times before then and puzzled over the last line. I later learned it's from poet Robert Burns. The mystifying 'a' is Scottish dialect for 'all.'"
>
> Editor's note: The Robert Burns poem/song, written in 1795, is significant for many reasons. It is most famous for its prophetic voice; it anticipated a more egalitarian society that developed in 19th-century liberalism and socialism. Its call for equality among all people has led to its adoption as a battle cry against tyranny and for democracy. For example, it was sung at the re-opening of Scottish Parliament.
>
> The poem reads as follows:
> "Is there for honest poverty
> That hings his head, an a' that?
> The coward slave, we pass him by -
> We dare be poor for a that!
> For a' that, an a' that!
> Our toils obscure, an a' that,
> The rank is but the guinea's stamp,
> The man's the gowd for a' that.
> What though on hamely fare we dine,
> Wear hodden grey, an a' that?
> Gie fools their skills, and knaves their wine -
> A man's a man for a' that.
> For a' that, an a' that,
> Their tinsel show, an a' that,
> The honest man, tho e'er sae poor,
> Is king o men for a' that.
> Ye see yon birkie ca'd a lord,
> Wha struts, an stares, an a' that?
> Tho hundreds worship at his word,
> He's but a cuif for a' that.
> For a' that, an a' that,
> His ribband, star, an a' that,
> The man o independent mind,
> He looks an laughs at a' that.
> A prince can mak a belted knight,
> A marquis, duke, an a' that!
> But an honest man's aboon his might -
> Guid faith, he mauna fa' that!
> For a' that, an a' that,
> Their dignities, an a' that,
> The pith o sense an pride o worth,
> Are higher rank than a' that.
> Then let us pray that come it may
> (As come it will for a' that),
> That Sense and Worth o'er a' the earth,
> Shall bear the gree an a' that.

For a' that, an a' that,
It's coming yet for a' that,
That man to man, the world, o'er
Shall brithers be for a' that."

Anonymous, "Historic Quotes" (August 11, 1993)

The Kirby Collection included an article from the "Discover Escondido" supplement to the *Times Advocate*. The article, entitled "Historic Quotes," consisted of a variety of historical facts about Escondido, including discussion of Harrison's later years on Palomar Mountain. One puzzling aspect of this article is that it contained an eye-witness description of Harrison as a "rather tall and wiry black man." Harrison was only 5' 3" tall, and his penchant for wearing multiple layers of clothing made him look stocky as opposed to thin. The article states:

> "By 1920, Nathaniel Harrison, a former slave living in a cabin on Palomar Mountain, was a North County legend. Before automobiles, he offered water and service to travelers' weary horses pushing ahead to the mountain's summit. Later he helped motorists. In 1921 Escondidans raised funds to build a monument on the west Palomar Mountain grade to honor him.
>
> Glen Wessles, who moved to Escondido with his parents in 1917 recalled seeing the 'rather tall and wiry black man' ride into Escondido at long intervals with a donkey pulling his buggy.
>
> 'He probably wanted something different from venison; he usually drove direct to the Pioneer Market on Grand Avenue,' he said. 'I often wondered what condition the meat was in by the time he got home. The trip must have taken two or three days.'
>
> According to Harrison's Palomar Mountain friends, he wasn't lacking for food. They said he came to Escondido for the trip."

Alexander D. Bevil, "San Diego Biographies: Nathan Harrison" (1990s)

The San Diego Historical Society website contains a collection of biographies of the region's pioneers, including one on Harrison. Bevil's undated summary of Harrison's life and legend can be found online at: http://www.sandiegohistory.org/bio/harrison/harrison.htm. Internal details from the document reveal that the summary was written some time after 1972. Bevil (personal communication 2006) remembers writing the article about ten years ago. The summary reads as follows:

> "**Nathan Harrison** (1823-1920)
>
> Nate Harrison, a Kentucky slave, traveled to Northern California with his master, Lysander Utt, around 1848-1850. Unsuccessful at placer mining, Utt relocated to Southern California, settling at Tustin in Orange County. When California entered the Union as a free state in 1850, Utt was forced to give Harrison his freedom.
>
> Drifting south toward Temecula, Harrison ran sheep near the Agua Tibia ranch. Later on, he helped herd sheep and cattle in Doane Valley up on nearby Palomar Mountain. As he grew older, Harrison worked as a cook and baker for the ranchers, eventually homesteading on the mountain. Building a humble cabin alongside the winding wagon road leading up from Pauma to Doane Valley, he would often greet teamsters with a pitcher of cool water taken from a nearby mountain spring. Later on, Harrison would offer water to early motorists whose overheated radiators were near-boiling. To commemorate his hospitality, the County of San Diego named the road after him. However, reflecting the prejudice of its time, the road was officially known as 'N----r Nate Grade.'
>
> It wasn't until 1955, thirty-five years after Harrison passed away, that the NAACP petitioned county supervisors to change it to 'Nathan Harrison Grade Road.' [Editor's note: The name of the road is Nate Harrison Grade Road.] A bronze plaque mounted to a rock cairn commemorates the site of his cabin and spring. At the time, it was the only county public historical monument ever dedicated to an African-American. Not so his grave, which remained unmarked at Mount Hope Cemetery until 1972. That year, through the efforts of Edward L. Diaz, a local historian writing a book on Black American history, a gravestone was finally placed on Harrison's grave. It memorializes Harrison as someone who had been 'Born a Slave [and subsequently] Died a Pioneer.'"

Elizabeth Yamaguchi, "Black History and the U.S. Census in Northern San Diego County: A Local Monument to Nathan Harrison" (1998)

Yamaguchi's overview of Harrison's life placed the Palomar pioneer's activities in the context of other African-Americans in the region. It also detailed some of his interactions with nearby indigenous populations at Pauma and Rincon. Yamaguchi wrote this essay from materials at the Fallbrook Historical Society. This article, credited to the Fallbrook Historical Society, can be viewed at: http://sd.znet.com/~schester/fallbrook/history/ey_essays/nathan_harrison.html. It reads as follows:

"Black History and the U.S. Census in Northern San Diego County: A Local Monument to Nathan Harrison

If you traveled to Julian to buy apples last fall, you may have visited some of the buildings in that gold rush town. Perhaps you stopped at the Julian Hotel. If you did, you visited the site of an early African-American business in San Diego County, for the hotel was built by a Black couple in 1887. Albert Robinson, a former slave, had married a local girl who was raised on her parents' farm in Temecula. After her husband's death, Mrs. Margaret Tull Robinson continued as proprietor of their hotel in Julian until 1925. The hotel today is listed on the National Register of Historic Places

Research has not uncovered a Black owned business in Fallbrook's early years. The person with Negro ancestry who was encountered most often by Fallbrook people in the first decades of this century was Nathan Harrison, now known as the earliest permanent African-American resident of San Diego County. Many in Fallbrook would have met Harrison because Palomar Mountain was their favorite destination for a vacation which included hunting and fishing, and the road up the mountain crossed his land. Families on their way for a week of recreation stopped at Westfall's hardware store on Fallbrook's Main Street (now the site of the Village Square), where they would buy their camping supplies and ammunition. Then they would take the Pala Road (now Fallbrook Street) out to Reche's Grove (Live Oak Park), and go down through the Gird ranch to reach the main road along the San Luis Rey River.

A few miles after passing Pala, they would start up the steep grade on which the County had constructed a wagon road in 1900. At 3500 feet, the road reached Nate Harrison's 160 acre homestead, and the horses would need water and a rest before continuing the journey up the mountain. The County had contracted with Harrison to permit travelers to obtain water from his spring, and Harrison became an unofficial greeter of visitors to the mountain. Old timers (including Victor Westfall), interviewed many years later, recalled fondly their childhood encounter with Harrison on the journey up Palomar Mountain.

Nathan Harrison had come to the mountain in the 1850's from the gold country of northern California. After herding sheep for homesteading ranchers in the high valleys of Palomar, he located his own claim. He built a stone cabin, cleared some of the land for an orchard and garden, and raised horses. For social life he attended fiestas and ceremonies with Indian friends at Pauma and Rincon.

Others in the area had Black roots, so Harrison had additional opportunities for socializing. Isabel Place Veal, the wife of the Pala postmaster who recorded Harrison's voter registration in 1894, was born in Santa Barbara. Its 1850/52 census listed Isabel's mother as 'Indian, born in California,' and her father as a 'cook, mulatto, born in the West Indies and living in New York' before coming to California. The Place family moved to Temecula, and Isabel and her sister both married white men recently arrived from Europe.

Blacks had been in Mexico since the earliest days of Spanish exploration and settlement, and, through the process of intermarriage and social acceptance, had passed into the general population. After taking California, U.S. officials recorded the Mexican governor, Pio Pico, whose grandmother was part African, as a Californio, not as a Black. Thus U.S. laws restricting Negro people did not apply to the Pico family. When the U.S. Land Commission was settling the boundaries of the Pico brothers' Santa Margarita Ranch, it was Pio Pico's nephew who resided here, in an adobe house where the high school is now located. (The Land Commission eventually reduced the size of the Santa Margarita Grant, thus opening Fallbrook's town area for settlement.) The situation was different for people of African descent who came to California from the United States, for they were classified as 'Black.' Throughout the early period, the census listed Negro laborers and cowboys on ranches in the San Luis Rey and Temecula areas. Harrison was not the only one of his ethnic background in northern San Diego County.

Harrison's health began failing in 1919, and he died the following year. He was not forgotten, however. G.F. Westfall of Fallbrook (a member of the County Board of Supervisors) chaired a committee to raise money for a monument in his honor. Among the other members of this committee were Felix Calac and Max Peters of Rincon. The monument they installed seventy years ago at Harrison's spring was about five

feet high, and was made of roughcut white quartz and granite. Its top two thirds formed a niche, enclosing a copper plate bearing this inscription:

'Nathan Harrison's Spring
Brought Here a Slave About 1848
Died October 10, 1920
Aged 101 years
A Man's a Man for a' that'

Later African-American residents of the Fallbrook area arrived 52 years ago as part of the military. During World War II, young men in navy uniforms became part of the life of the community, on leave from their barrack homes at the Ammunition Depot (now the Naval Weapons Station). Fallbrook civilians worked with them on the Depot, and gave them first priority on the road to San Diego as they drove the trucks carrying ammunition for U.S. troops fighting in the Pacific. There were also a few young Black men among the Marines who rode guard duty with the convoys of trucks which followed today's Ammunition Road and turned south to travel down US 395 (today's S. Mission Rd.).

The next time you travel to Julian by way of Highway 76, and pass by the sign labeled Nate Harrison Grade, you might remember these bits of local Black history. If you are tempted to visit the monument, however, remember that the road is not maintained, and that it is a very steep grade."

Bessie Ormsby Helsel, "Ormsby Story" (1998)

Helsel wrote a reflective story of her family that her daughter Janice Helsed Bricker edited. It detailed the Ormsbys as they ventured from Pennsylvania to California during the 19th century. The narrative also told a brief story of Bessie's trip up Palomar Mountain in 1915 that included an encounter with Nate Harrison on the grade. Helsel's account was originally published in the *Village News* on December 17, 24, and 31, 1998. It can be found online at http://www.ormsby.org/genie/Branches/Ormsby_story.html. The excerpt that describes Harrison is as follows:

"Bessie tells the story of her first trip by car up Palomar (then Smith) Mountain about 1915 when she was about nine years old. 'Uncle Ed and Aunt Mabel came down from Los Angeles in their Auburn car. It had no top but I believe it did have doors on the side, at least in the back. We went up Nate Harrison 'N----r Nate' Grade and stopped to picnic at his corner. Harrison came out to visit with his head tied in a red bandana and was using a cane. He said his horses had run away with him on the grade a few days earlier.' Bessie continued, 'Uncle Ed says that Nate was among those on Grandfather's wagon train in 1868, but I am not sure. [Editor's note: Bessie's grandfather was Matthew Ormsby, a member of General Lee's Confederate army that surrendered at Appomattox in 1865. He migrated in May of 1868 to Southern California with his family and others on a wagon train organized in Northwest Arkansas. Ormsby remarried in December of 1872; his second wife was Margaret Belle Huston of Berleson, Texas, who had also come west on the same wagon train in 1868.] Coming back down the grade we tied a tree onto the rear of the car and dragged it down the hill to save the brakes on the car, a usual thing in those days. After going over that grade in later years, I believe we all took our lives in our hands to go up and back in a car of that vintage,' she exclaimed."

David Ross, "Making the Grade" (1998)

Ross wrote a five-part series on Nate Harrison and the grade for the *Valley Roadrunner* in 1998. It provided historical background on Harrison, drawing heavily from Rush's 1952 work, and also included descriptions and photographs of many artifacts that were located by a metal-detector used at the site by a previous landowner. The stories were archived online at: http://www.valleycenter.com/frontpage/nategrade1.htm, http://www.valleycenter.com/frontpage/nategrade2.htm, http://www.valleycenter.com/frontpage/nategrade3.htm, http://www.valleycenter.com/frontpage/nategrade4.htm, and http://www.valleycenter.com/frontpage/nategrade5.htm.

Ross's articles contain 24 images, each with a separate caption. Some of the images are historic and have been documented in the 2004 technical report. For example, the first image is Kirby Collection Image #19 ("This is how Nate Harrison Grade looked back in the days when the only way up was by wagon."); the second image is Escondido Historical Society Image #3 ("Nate Harrison, the 'first white man' on the Mountain in a photo taken in the 1910s or a little later."); the eighth image is San Diego Historical Society Image #1 ("Nate Harrison at his house early in the Twentieth Century."); and the seventeenth image is Kirby Collection Image #11 ("Nate Harrison's water along

West Grade, taken sometime in the 1910's. *From Catherine Beighline Collection*.") The other images were taken in the late 1990s at the time the article was written.

The five articles are listed here in their entirety.

"Richard Sheppard NATE'S ROAD HAS STORIES TO TELL

Part I

One of the roads up Palomar Mountain has been known for five decades as 'The Highway to the Stars.' The road named after Nate Harrison might well be known as 'The Highway Back Into Time.'

If you listen, besides the sound of the wind and hawks wheeling effortlessly overhead, you can hear horses straining against their leather harnesses, wooden wagon wheels creaking, and teamsters swearing and cracking the whip over the necks of the sweating beasts.

You may see the ghost of an old white-bearded black man, the first 'white man' on the mountain, meeting exhausted horses and men just as the wagons enter the cool shade of the trees after climbing 4,000 feet in the broiling sun. He's driving a wagon loaded with cool water from the first spring discovered on Palomar Mountain. If you try, you can almost taste the dust and the sweet water on your tongue, so cold it makes your teeth hurt. . .

Nate Harrison Grade once appeared on the maps as 'N----r Nate Grade,' and even as 'N----r Grade.'

It was a cruder, crueler age in many ways, and people thought nothing of calling the freed slave who spent much of his time on what was then known as Smith Mountain, 'N----r Nate.'

By all accounts, that's what he called himself. The grade named after him was once the only way up the mountain, and it was in continual use by all the residents until east grade was built in the 1940s to transport the 200 inch mirror for the Hale telescope up to Palomar Observatory.

In fact, the Highway to the Stars was built especially for the mirror; the rest of the observatory's paraphernalia came up on the Harrison Grade, the way settlers had 'made the grade' for sixty years or more.

The grade starts in Pauma Valley, just a few hundred yards from the intersection of Cole Grade Road and Hwy 76.

When you are coming down Cole Grade from Valley Center, you can see the Nate Harrison Grade winding its way up the mountain, almost to Boucher Point, the site of the now sleeping CDF watch tower, built on a cliff at 5438 ft.

The grade criss-crosses up the mountain in long switchbacks, that, from a distance, look like hairline fractures tracing the mountain's face. The grade is about 10% on the average, which means that it's definitely four-wheel drive territory, unless, like the few residents who use it, you know it well.

Although you can undoubtedly get up to the top of the mountain in less than an hour if you push it, a road trip up Nate Harrison Grade is definitely a trip to be savored.

So if you plan to take the trip, allow at least a couple of hours, which includes time to pull off and look down into the Valley, or, if it's a clear, Santa Ana driven day, the Channel Islands off Mexico.

It's the perfect poor man's National Geographic expedition, with no discomfort, some adventure, and a lot of beautiful scenery.

Nate Harrison Grade begins with a crippled, lopsided road sign and a road that's tucked away between two citrus orchards. I was accompanied on my trip by fellow history buffs: Don Seitz, who has driven up Nate Harrison Grade since he was a boy in the 1950s; intrepid Roadrunner photographer Theresa Gallagher and Petei McHenry, author of *The History of Valley Center: The Homestead Years*, and a trained archaeologist.

We began our trip on a hot August afternoon, although it wouldn't be long into the trip before we would notice that the temperatures were cooling off as we climbed.

I was riding in Seitz's 1972 International Scout four-wheel drive, a rough, tough vehicle if ever there was one!

As we drove down into Pauma Valley Seitz recalled that when he was a boy Cole Grade was a dirt road bounded by brush on both sides. It also used to be more winding than it is today, but 25 years ago the County straightened it out in places.

Seitz first discovered the Nate Harrison Grade when he starting riding his motorcycle in 1954. At that time some motorcycle group was putting on races (!) on the grade. They raced for several years until someone (maybe the authorities) put a stop to it and Seitz was never able to actually participate in the races.

Back then the grade was dirt from the beginning and there were no citrus trees on either side of it. The road today is the same width that it was then, only paved. However, it doesn't stay paved for long.

Almost as soon as the grade passes through the citrus grove it starts to climb. Soon, if you look off behind you can see Cole Grade stretching back in the distance. Then you come to a yellow sign warning of the snakelike switchbacks to come. At this point Seitz switched into low gear.

We looked behind us, where Petei McHenry and Theresa Gallagher were following us in Petei's Jeep. Shortly after the sign announced that the road will be windy the paving tapers off, to be replaced by gravel. Straight ahead, looking far too tall to be challenging on this primitive road, is Palomar Mountain.

Palomar is Spanish for dovecote, Seitz told me, and I believe him.

Well into the Twentieth Century it was called Smith Mountain. It was here that we stopped and took our first picture behind us, a panorama of Pauma Valley. Even a few hundred feet off the Valley floor the view is impressive, and it would become more so as we climbed.

To Be Continued ...

MAKING THE GRADE: FEW TAILGATERS ON THIS ROAD

Part II of a series on Nate Harrison and the grade named after him.

Many years ago they used to iron out the ruts and holes in Nate Harrison Grade by dragging a tree downhill behind a team of horses. Often logs would be dragged behind wagons whose owners were afraid that their brakes weren't up to the challenge.

About 1904 (according to Leo Calac) a Moravian Missionary to the Indians bought lumber from the mill on top of Palomar Mountain. He used it to build the chapel that is still used at the Rincon Reservation.

The missionary, David Woosley, not only brought the lumber for the church, but also for his house down the grade by horse and buggy, dragging the log as a brake.

Another minister, Baptist preacher Thomas J. Wood, who homesteaded Witch Creek (near Santa Ysabel) in the 1870s and used to take his buggy up Nate Harrison Grade once a month to bring God's word to the mountain top.

According to his grandson, Jim Wood, on the way back down Wood would stop and get a drink from Nate. Then he would pay him a quarter to cut him a pine log to drag behind his wagon as a brake.

Some parts of the road today look like they might be kept 'flat' the same way. About two miles into the grade from the valley floor it becomes just wide enough in most places for two cars to pass each other, although there are many switchbacks and hairpin curves where you could very easily have a crack-up.

Fortunately, there's not enough traffic for that to be a real problem.

A resident of the Mountain told me that when he first moved in thirty years ago, he used to honk his horn on all the blind curves just like the DMV handbook recommends. After a few years he fell out of the habit.

As the grade's surface started to get ragged in places, Don Seitz in his International Scout and Petei McHenry in her jeep and her passenger Theresa Gallagher slowed down so much that it was possible to make out details in the off-white buckwheat that were growing in such profusion just out of reach.

'I can't believe how green some of these plants are!' exclaimed Seitz.

It was true, despite being July the climate was already starting to change as we scaled the mountain. 'It's a great motorcycle road!' he said enthusiastically as we went through one of those turns, although, fortunately, he was taking the turn that way in his memory and not in reality.

He recalled how as a youth, he used to ride his motorcycle on this road, sliding into the turns and using the momentum to pull out.

Once he got his bike up above the snow line and into a stretch of road where it was so slick and gooey that he found himself losing control as he went downhill. He was forced to abandon his bike for a time.

But now, with a few more decades under his belt, he was enjoying the sheer pleasure of driving. 'No one has passed us from the opposite direction yet and no one has tailgated us (Petei had disappeared back behind one of the switchbacks in her Jeep). This is my kind of a road!'

Once you leave Pauma and are a few hundred feet up, it's almost like the years are being left behind on the valley floor. There's no sound besides the sound of the car and you can always turn the ignition off. ..

For the first fifty years or so after he settled on the mountain Nate Harrison used to greet wagons with buckets of water for their horses. He adapted well to the Twentieth Century, and towards the end of his life he would greet automobiles with water for their radiators.

The Memoirs of Abel M. Davis quotes Mary Connaghan Newell of Escondido, who called Harrison the Good Samaritan of Palomar. He would introduce himself as 'the first white man on the Smith Mountain.' 'Endearing himself to thousands of visitors over a period of more than 70 years, he was literally 'the man by the side of the road-watching the world go by.'

He is said to have come from a Southern state as a slave accompanying his master who was prospecting for gold in Merced. He was one of the 'Forty-Niners' who helped get California off the ground by giving the whole world a gold transfusion a hundred and fifty years ago.

The master died and Nate drifted south until he reached the Palomar area and settled down to spend the rest of his life in an old cabin and being a 'character' to all who knew him. He had little worldly goods, but was rich in kindness, generosity and possessed a lively sense of humor.

Records show that as early as 1850 there were families who piled into their wagons and drove to Palomar for cooler weather and a vacation.

Of course, the Indians had been going there for centuries to gather acorns for the making of Wee-Wish, which made up 60% of their diet.

As Davis's memoirs observes, Harrison operated what in today 's parlance was the first 'filling station' along the route, comparable to our own 7-11' s, except, instead of Big Gulps, he offered cool buckets of Palomar spring water.

'After horses and sightseers were refreshed, Nate would amuse them with his comical remarks and antics. He soon became a 'must' on the traveler's list to watch for.'

He got along equally well with the native Luiseno Indians who visited the Mountain each fall. According to Calac, 'They always stopped off at Nate Harrison's place to water their horses and themselves from the cool spring. Nate bought supplies at the Rincon store and got along very well with the Indian people.'

One of his favorite pastimes was to tell tall stories about how he sought refuge on the mountain and didn't know for years that there had been a Civil War and that one of its results was to free the slaves.

But it appears he made that *story* up, according to an article published in Southern California Rancher in May of 1952. That article says Lysander Utt came from Virginia during the Gold Rush, bringing one slave with him. He was operating a trading post in Tustin when California issued a decree making slavery illegal.

Harrison probably came to Palomar because his former master had property interests in Agua Tibia. He first settled in Doane Valley and then moved below the snow line and planted an orchard.

One or two of the trees that he planted remain today, still bearing fruit if you can get to them before the birds do.

Although one might suppose that, as an 'escaped slave' Harrison was an outlaw, actually he was always on the side of law and order. He was on the posse that tracked and strung up the murderers of the Smith that Smith Mountain was called after. The mountain was a refuge for cattle rustlers and Harrison often helped the sheriff catch them too.

To be continued •••

MAKING THE GRADE: FACT & FANCY MIX AS MAN BECOMES LEGEND

Part III of a series on Nate Harrison and the grade named after him.

There's a wonderful line in John Ford's classic film *The Man Who Shot Liberty Valance* when the town newspaper editor says "This is the West, sir! When the legend becomes a fact, print the legend!"

In these parts, truth and legend do tend to meet in a gray tidal zone, and so with colorful characters like Nate Harrison, it's hard to tell where the truth leaves off and the fact begins. And, to a certain degree, it stops mattering.

For instance, there's the legend that when Nate Harrison finally got deathly ill and was checked into a hospital in San Diego, that the nurses had to peel layer after layer after layer of longjohns that he apparently wore until they rotted off his body.

He was supposedly 101 (or so he claimed, but then, does it really matter?) when he finally died in 1920.

But the reaction of his neighbors to his death is a fact not a legend. We still have the monument, made from white quartzite, mined at considerable difficulty and transported by horse drawn wagon to the spot on the grade where the small but dignified pile of rock greets the rare traveler today.

Bob Davis, an 83 year old resident of Palomar Mountain recalls that his father, Stanley R. Davis, built the monument. He also built the oldest remaining cabin on the mountain in 1918, the same year the family brought little Bob to live there. Davis, a contractor, also built the massive fireplace at the Palomar Mountain Lodge.

The monument was erected and a bronze plaque was affixed to it and quite a crowd of people attended the dedication and admired the handiwork. Davis's grandfather played "My Old Kentucky Home" and other favorites of Nate's on the violin.

As Don Seitz, Theresa Gallagher, Petei McHenry and I continued on our drive up the mountain, the desert shrubbery of buckwheat, yucca and stunted trees began to give way to substantial trees like live oaks and to signs warning trespassers away from private property.

'Feel how much cooler it is here. Ten, fifteen degrees,' commented Seitz. He was right, the air temperature felt more like that of a late spring day, than the midst of summer.

A way off to the east and up we could see the burned sides of Palomar Mountain where the disastrous fire of a decade away scarred her flanks.

Higher still, although we couldn't see it yet, is the abandoned Boucher Heights Tower, the last of the fire spotting towers to be abandoned by the CDF.

We passed a burned tree, entered into a heavier concentration of live oaks and sycamores, turned a corner, a suddenly there it was.

The modest pile of stones used to carry a plaque that read: 'Nate Harrison's Spring. Brought here as a slave about 1848. Died Oct. 10, 1920. Age 101. 'A Man's a Man for 'a That.'

We were met at the gate to Nate's old place by the current owner, who has lived there for 30 years. A friendly, hospitable man in his 60s, he also likes his privacy, which we are respecting by not mentioning his name here.

He led us up a fairly steep hill perhaps an eighth of a mile to a modest circle of stones, all that remains of Nate Harrison's cabin.

Modest, even 'tiny' are adjectives that spring to mind in seeing the stones that outline the cabin and indicate where the fireplace was.

Harrison lived simply, but he lived free and, for a man born a slave, that was probably the greatest gift of all.

Don took a seat on the grass in the middle of the stones to show how small the house must have been while Theresa snapped pictures, and Petei wandered about, speculating about what finds might still be buried in the vicinity of the cabin.

'We've actually found quite a few things with the metal detector,' said the owner brightly.

To be continued ...

MAKING THE GRADE: NATE HARRISON'S 'TREASURE'

Part IV of a series on Nate Harrison and the grade named after him.

Nate Harrison's treasure. Arrrh! It brings to mind visions of pieces of eight and the Lost Dutchman and Indiana Jones.

Wish I could say that Nate Harrison had a treasure, but I can't, although there's always legends about people who live like a hermit miles and miles away from people.

But if Nate had a treasure, he kept it and clues to it well hidden. What he did leave behind was a wealth of artifacts, junk really, that he tossed about on the ground around his cabin during the 50 plus years that he lived on Palomar Mountain.

The owner of the land on which resides the few rocks and stones that recall Nate Harrison's life had led our group to the spot and we spent about half an hour wandering around the small clearing, trying to imagine what it must have been like back then.

It probably looked pretty much as it does today, except for the cabin, which is located about 3500 feet elevation.

'The roof was shake,' the owner informed us. 'Here's where the door was, and there is the fireplace.'

It didn't look as though Nate had enough room to stretch out full length.

This was where the resident archaeologist of our little expedition, Petei McHenry, really shone. She asked intelligent, pointed questions, and was able to identify several things that had mystified the owner of the property for years.

He took us further up the hill to where the source of Nate's spring is said to have been.

Any spring that did exist is silted up now, the victim of some rain storm years ago.

Below that is a stream that still flows when it rains. He showed us a tree where barbed wire is still embedded in the bark and speculated that must be remnants of the fence that Nate put up near his spring. 'That barbed wire has been there for ninety years or more,' said Don Seitz in wonder.

Petei McHenry noted that she has a photo of the spring (reproduced here) and took a photo of Don Seitz walking at the probable location.

Everybody was, of course, excited about this discovery. We history buffs are easily amused, but lest you think that such things are totally trivial, remember that some future 'historian' may someday read this account and glean some small clue about life in San Diego County at the turn of the century.

The owner of the property is something of a 'mountain man' himself. He moved to the mountain in 1969, built a house, raised a family and sent his kids to the one room Palomar Mountain School.

Once he was done showing us where Nate's spring was he took us down into the clearing where Nate planted his orchard, and where an apricot tree still bears fruit, if you can get to them before the birds do!

He also planted a quince tree that still grows. He pointed out where the Palomar Vista Riders used to stop when they were making their epic annual rides from the top of the mountain down into Pauma Valley. They stopped doing that a few years ago when they weren't able to get permission to cross people's property any more.

Nearby an old Indian trail runs through, evidence that while Nate was the first 'White Man' on the mountain, he was certainly not the first man.

Nate is known to have married an Indian woman, who had two children, although whether they were his children is unknown.

Although he stuck pretty close to home most of the time, Nate used to occasionally get on his horse to ride further up the mountain to visit a Basque sheep herder named Boucher, after whom Boucher Heights was named.

He was also good friends with George Doane, after whom Doane Pond is named.

He showed us another tree that Nate left a shovel leaning against one day, and never returned to claim. The tree grew around the shovel, and finally engulfed the metal blade. Time has its way with all us sooner or later, whether we are flesh and blood, metal or stone.

Then he took us to his old, battered pick-up truck and dumped out Nate's 'treasure.'

It seems that for years he and his family have used a metal detector around the ruins of Nate's house, and found scads of stuff near his front door.

Remember, this is before the days of landfills and garbage collectors. 'Almost any shovelful that you come up with will have something in it,' said the owner.

Most of it, of course, is of little interest. But, over the years they have come up with quite a collection of items that give fascinating little glimpses into life in another age.

'Of course, there's always rumors that Nate had gold,' said the owner. 'But I've never found any of it.'

If he did have a treasure, perhaps he learned from the example of Long Joe Smith (the mountain was first called Smith Mountain) who was murdered by someone because they thought he had gold.

Instead of gold, the pile consists of items of everyday living: a spoon, a knife, a planer, the leg of a cast-iron stove, a horse bit, a spike, a hay hook, a chain, a length of barbed wire.

"These are wonderful," breathed Petei, fingering the items. There was more: a sardine can with a key, a broken whiskey bottle (this is in line with all of the accounts, which say that Nate liked a nip now and again), a lead canning lid, a mother of pearl button, a 12 gauge shotgun shell and a rifle shell made by Remington.

"You can find out a lot about looking through people's trash," observed Seitz. "That's what archaeology is all about," replied Petei.

NEXT WEEK: The rest of the grade, plus Boucher Heights Tower ..

To be continued ....

MAKING THE GRADE: END OF THE ROAD

The conclusion of a five part series about Nate Harrison and the road named after him.

We clambered into our cars and left the stone monument behind as we headed up on the final leg of our journey up 'The Nate,' as the locals call it.

Now the road was well-canopied by the trees that crowded in around us, a mixture of oaks and conifers. The ground was cool and mottled with shade and the air was sweet and we made several stops along the way.

While the early miles up The Nate are virtually shadeless and desert-like, the last stretch of road leading into the County park is green and relaxing.

Once we found a strange, flowering plant (see photo) of something of a delicate pink spotted color whose flower looked like an upside down snap dragon with the petals curling back exposing a yellow powder.

Don Seitz examined the petals. 'These things are loaded with pollen,' he exclaimed.

A little further along and we came to a series of road signs announcing that we were entering the County park, and to be sure to stop at the park and pay a fee. We walked along by the metal signs, all of which bore the signs of being used for target practice.

Seitz looked at me. 'Have you ever been to Boucher Tower?' 'No, I haven't.' 'Then you're in for a treat.'

We got back into the car, turned right instead of going straight ahead, and followed a winding, narrow road up to the summit of Boucher Heights.

The tower was named after William E. Boucher a homesteader and sheep rancher, and a friend of Nate's.

Boucher lookout is built on a cliff at 5438 feet. It was the last California Dept. of Forestry & Fire Protection towers to be shut down.

It operated about 40 years, from 1949 on. During its heyday lonely park rangers could pinpoint the location of a fire and dispatch crews.

Today, of course, there's so many people in the County that there's seldom a problem figuring out where a fire is.

So now Boucher is just a lonely sentinel, with the occasional visitors, like us.

The tower has a commanding view of the surrounding countryside. On clear days you can see Catalina Island, 83 miles away. You can see it from several places in Valley Center if you use binoculars, and from most of Pauma Valley with the naked eye. It is quite a view, probably the best to be had on Palomar Mountain, which is saying a lot.

Next to it is a much higher microwave telephone relay tower, the bane of all of God's high places.

'I was here last year at night,' recalled Seitz, who sometimes gets it into his head to escape from the bustle of civilization and just drive. He got out of his car and stared at the heavens for many minutes.

The night sky over Palomar has a primitive, almost religious quality that suggests caves and fires and shamen and wise men from the east. You can get lost in that bottomless sky.

After a long while, Seitz said, he got back in and drove down the hill. A large mountain lion leaped from the shadows into his headlights and vanished into the darkness. 'I was probably less than a hundred yards from that lion,' said Seitz. Of course, it could have been a saber-tooth tiger.

We followed the road back down, and took it until it merged with S-7, State Park Road.

The entire trip (not counting the protracted visit to Nate Harrison's homestead) took about two hours.

And so, we were at the end of the road. But the end of every road is also the beginning of another road, and the end of our protracted afternoon's diversion on Palomar Mountain can be the start of many journeys.

Rather than rendering my ending too zen-like (and risking the sound of only one hand clapping at the end of this piece), let me suggest that each journey belongs to the person who makes it. It's his possession. And just as you cannot step into the same river twice, you cannot make the same trip up a road like the Nate Harrison Grade. Each trip is unique.

So make the grade yourself. Happy trails.

Addendum: According to the calls and mail I've received, this has been a popular series.

One lady in the bank told me that she and her family recently took a trip up The Nate and carried my articles along to refer to as they drove along.

Several old timers have called, usually to correct me on some historical fact, and I've tried to weave those corrections into subsequent installments.

One wrote: 'Judging from recent traffic on The Nate, you need to mention that it's for street-legal vehicles only, driven by licensed drivers. It's not an off-road vehicle trail.'

I'd like to make some acknowledgements of people who have been particularly helpful:

The Catherine Beishline Collection, for some of the better old photos, longtime resident Richard Day, for some valuable information and insights, photographer Theresa Gallagher, historian Petei McHenry and fellow-traveler Don Seitz."

Barbara Palmer, "Out of This World at Mt. Hope: A Story of Old San Diego" *San Diego Reader* (October 26, 2000)

The *San Diego Reader* published a fictional article in October of 2000 whose premise was to follow city founder Alonzo Horton (1813-1909) on a contemporary walk through the city cemetery of Mount Hope and listen as he conversed with many of its deceased inhabitants. Nate Harrison's gravesite was one of his stops. The article, although fictitious, does present some of the facts of Harrison's life and adds to his legend. It states,

> "Horton continued his walk, moving into a newer section. About halfway into the section, he came across the future grave site of Nate Harrison. Lockwood writes that the 'first non-Indian on the granite ridge [of Mt. Palomar] was a Negro' named Nathan Harrison.
>
> 'Nate told visitors he was a runaway slave who didn't discover until some years after the Civil War was over that he was free. He had an orchard, a garden, and a kindly word for everyone who passed by his cabin. He died in 1920 aged 101 and the road on which he lived was then named Nathan Harrison Grade,' However, his death certificate reveals that Nathan Harrison was born January 1, 1823, in Kentucky and that he died on November 10, 1920, at age 97.'"

Anonymous, "Front Pages: Did You Know?" (2002)

A brief paragraph describing Harrison appeared in the November 2002 issue of *San Diego Magazine*. It celebrated the marker on the grade as "the county's only monument dedicated to an early black pioneer." The excerpt can be found online at: http://www.sandiegomag.com/issues/november02/frontpage41102.shtml. The anonymous passage regarding Harrison is as follows:

> "Did You Know?
>
> A bronze marker on Palomar Mountain is the county's only monument dedicated to an early black San Diegan. Nathan Harrison came to Palomar in the late 1840s from the gold country of northern California as a slave. He herded sheep for homesteading ranchers. After buying his freedom, Harrison built a stone cabin on a 160-acre spread he had cleared for an orchard and garden, on the site of a natural spring, and raised horses. He hung out with the Indians at Pauma and Rincon. After he died in 1920 at the age of 101, a monument was erected in his honor. A side road up the mountain off Highway 76, on the way to Julian, is still known as Nathan Harrison Grade."

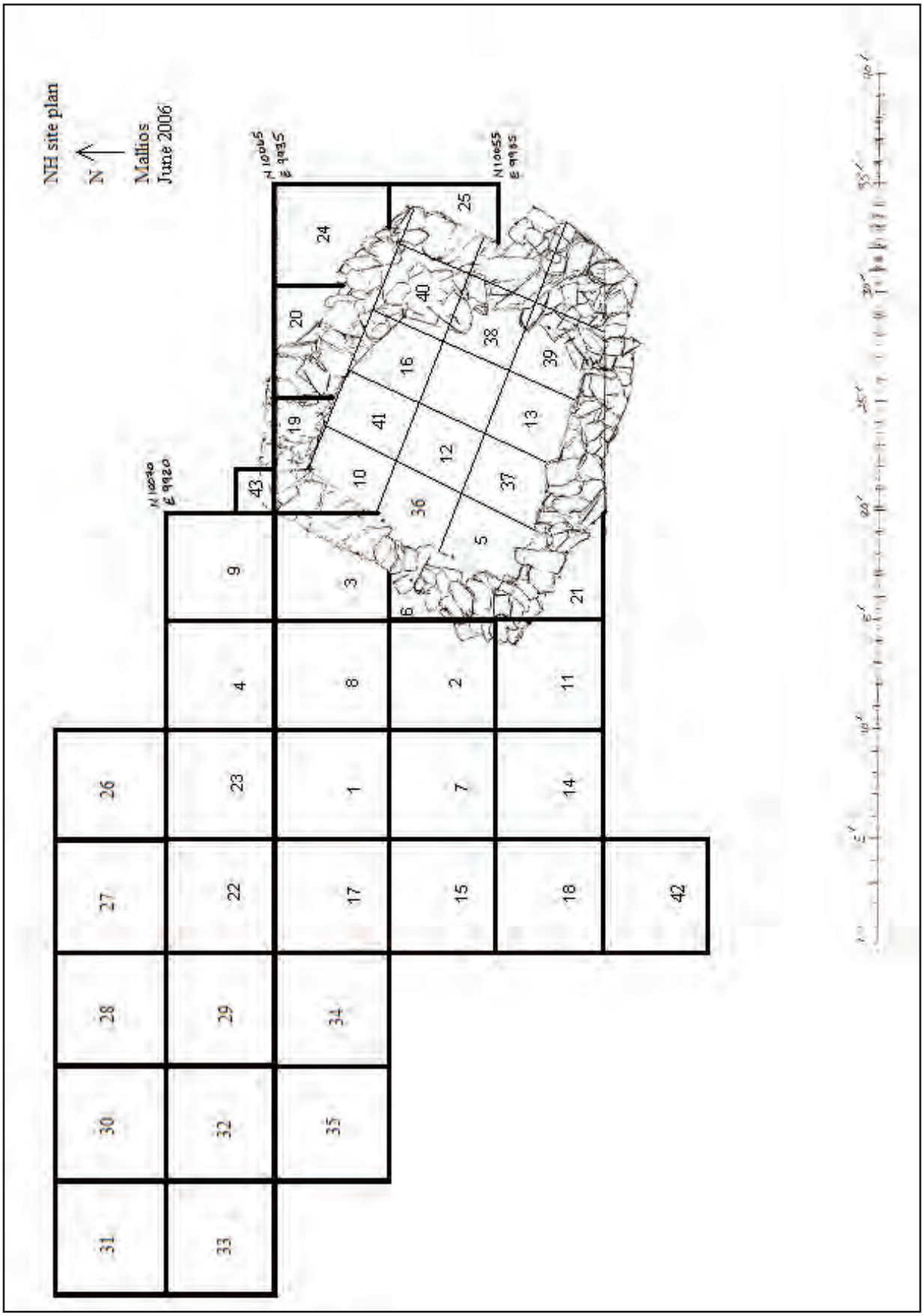


Figure 4.25. Plan map of Nate Harrison site as of June 2006.

4.4 2006 Excavation Results

In the summer of 2006, the SDSU archaeological team excavated 32 units. They dug twenty-two units in the patio area and ten 3 ½' by 3' units inside the structure (Figures 4.25 and 4.26). The twenty-two exterior units focused mainly on two unit-by-unit trenches that cut across the site north/south and east/west along gridlines. Every other square in each of these cross-trench units was dug to preserve unit profiles and eliminate the need for balks or running profiles. Most of the ten interior units dug during 2006 were the cabin units that remained after the checkerboard excavation of interior units during the summers of 2004 and 2005. The Excavation Register lists the preliminary details of each unit (Figure 4.27).

Preliminary fieldwork at the site during the summer of 2006 involved cleaning the top layer of the cabin and patio area. Despite the use of tarpaulins to cover and protect the site against the elements in between summer field seasons, the top inch of every open patio unit was impacted by rain, leaves, and erosion. Consequently, the excavation units were cleaned to start the field season. In each case, the top inch of these units was given an "A" designation to prevent temporal contamination, as was explained in the 2005 technical report. This surface clean-up only occurred in the patio-area units, NH1A, 3A, 6A, 7A, 8A, 9A, 11A, 14A, 15A, 17A, 18A, 22A, 23A, 24A, 29A, 30A, 31A, 33A, 34A, and 35A. Once the clean-up was completed, the crew set out on two primary goals for the field season: 1) continue the two cross-trenches that ran east/west and north/south across the patio, and 2) continue excavation in the cabin.

Patio Cross Trenches (NH1, 3, 15, 18, 22, 34, and 42)

The perpendicular cross trenches in the patio area were oriented along gridlines, running east/west and north/south (Figure 4.28). The east/west cross trench started at the cabin doorway and continued west through the patio area; it included units NH3, 8, 1, 17, 34, and 35. Every other unit was excavated in order to maximize profile access. As a result, work began simultaneously on unit NH3, 1, and 34. Layers were dug in arbitrary 3" (10cm) levels unless a distinct soil change was encountered, which would then be given a new layer designation. The north/south cross trench intersected the east/west trench at unit NH17 and had three units to the south (NH15, 18, and 42) and two units to the north (22 and 27). For the units to the north, the same alternating excavation technique was employed; thus only NH22 was dug during the summer of 2006. The units south of NH17 in the north/south trench followed a different excavation strategy. Since adjacent units in NH15 and 18 had been opened when attempting to locate the bottom of the patio deposit in the summer of 2005, work in these units continued with running profiles. In addition, a unit to the south of NH18 was opened because the patio fill in NH18 continued to dive south. This new south-patio unit, NH42, was undertaken with a 1' baulk between it and NH18.

East/West Trench (NH3, 1, and 34 excavated; NH8, 17, and 35 unexcavated)

NH3, the patio unit closest to the cabin doorway contained three 3" layers of sandy brown sand with a Munsell reading of 5YR 4/2. The divisions between NH3A and 3B and between NH3B and 3C were based on arbitrary levels and did not reflect a soil change. Each of the layers in NH3 contained artifact-rich fill and numerous rocks from the structure. Although excavations reached a depth of nearly a foot by the end of the summer field season, it is likely that this unit is nowhere near subsoil.

Excavators dug NH1 to a depth of over 2.0' in 3"-layers A-H. Few of the layers had discernable natural breaks between them, and all contained a uniform sandy brown sand that ranged in Munsell readings from 10YR 4/2 to 10YR 6/1. The layers were artifact rich and contained numerous rocks as well. Despite the depth of NH1H, there were no signs (e.g., fewer artifacts, soil-color transition, greater soil compaction, etc.) that subsoil would soon be encountered in this unit.

Students in NH34 excavated further than any others at the site; yet after digging nearly 2.5' down in 3" increments (A-J) they still had not encountered subsoil or anything resembling it. Although the unit was distinctive

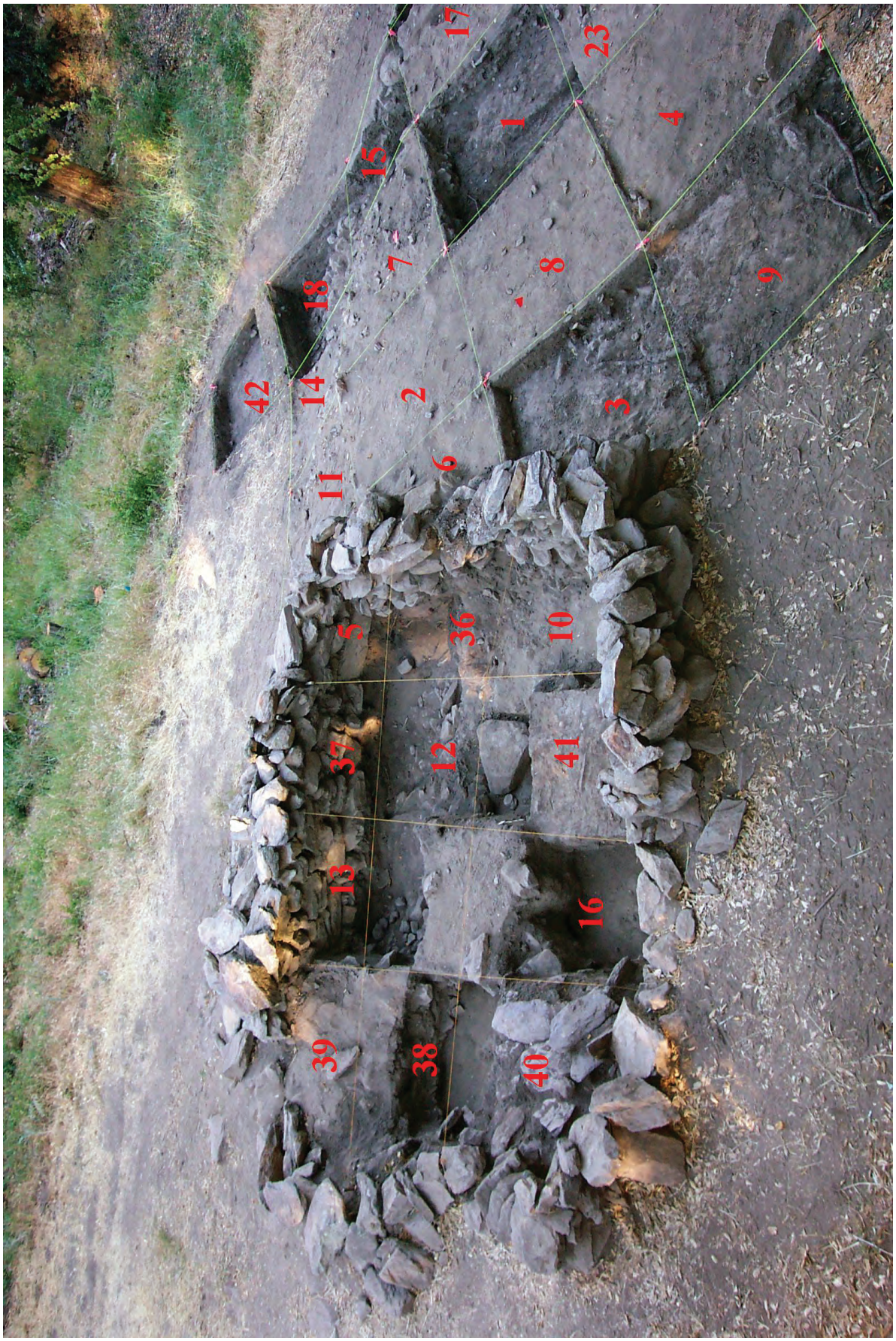


Figure 4.26. Aerial photograph of site with unit designations.

NATE HARRISON SITE EXCAVATION REGISTER (ER)

ER# (no letters)	NE corner Coordinates	General Description	Date assigned (MM/DD/YYYY)	Initials
1	N10,065 E9,910	5' x 5' unit	06/09/2004	SM
2	N10,060 E9,915	5' x 5' unit	06/11/2004	SM
3	N10,065 E9,920	5' x 5' unit	06/11/2004	SM
4	N10,070 E9,915	5' x 5' unit	06/14/2004	SM
5	N10,059.265 E9,923.310	3' x 3½' unit	06/15/2004	SM
6	N10,064.060 E9,921.075	5' x 5' unit; cut by str. 1	06/15/2004	JM
7	N10,060 E9,910	5' x 5' unit	06/16/2004	SS
8	N10,065 E9,915	5' x 5' unit	06/16/2004	SS
9	N10,070 E9,920	5' x 5' unit	06/16/2004	SS
10	N10,065.020 E9,926.940	3' x 3½' unit	06/16/2004	SS
11	N10,055 E9,915	5' x 5' unit	06/16/2004	ML
12	N10,060.660 E9,927.920	3' x 3½' unit	06/16/2004	JM
13	N10,056.320 E9,929.000	3' x 3½' unit	06/16/2004	SM
14	N10,055 E9,910	5' x 5' unit	06/17/2004	MW
15	N10,060 E9,905	5' x 5' unit	06/21/2004	HS
16	N10,061.725 E9,932.300	3' x 3½' unit	06/21/2004	SS
17	N10,065 E9,905	5' x 5' unit	06/22/2004	SS
18	N10,055 E9,905	5' x 5' unit	06/22/2004	SS
19	N10,065 E9,925	5' x 5' unit; cut by str. 1	06/23/2004	MW
20	N10,065 E9,930	5' x 5' unit; cut by str. 1	06/23/2004	JM
21	N10,055 E9,920	5' x 5' unit; cut by str. 1	06/23/2004	SS
22	N10,070 E9,905	5' x 5' unit	06/23/2004	SS
23	N10,070 E9,910	5' x 5' unit	06/23/2004	SS
24	N10,065 E9,935	5' x 5' unit	06/23/2004	SS
25	N10,060 E9,935	5' x 5' unit; cut by str. 1	06/24/2004	JM
26	N10,075 E9,910	5' x 5' unit	06/23/2005	MN
27	N10,075 E9,905	5' x 5' unit	06/23/2005	SS
28	N10,075 E9,900	5' x 5' unit	06/23/2005	SS
29	N10,070 E9,900	5' x 5' unit	06/23/2005	SS
30	N10,075 E9,895	5' x 5' unit	06/23/2005	SS
31	N10,075 E9,890	5' x 5' unit	06/28/2005	SS
32	N10,070 E9,895	5' x 5' unit	06/28/2005	SS
33	N10,070 E9,890	5' x 5' unit	06/28/2005	SS
34	N10,065 E9,900	5' x 5' unit	06/28/2005	SS
35	N10,065 E9,895	5' x 5' unit	06/28/2005	SS
36	N10,061.543 E9,924.153	3' x 3½' unit	07/13/2005	SS
37	N10,076.050 E9,938.915	3' x 3½' unit	06/01/2006	HS
38	N10,068.790 E9,943.430	3' x 3½' unit	06/05/2006	SM
39	N10,070.435 E9,947.020	3' x 3½' unit	06/07/2006	SM
40	N10,060.445 E9,940.445	3' x 3½' unit	06/07/2006	SM
41	N10,072.495 E9,936.860	3' x 3½' unit	06/08/2006	SM
42	N10,050 E9,905	5' x 5' unit	06/12/2006	JL
43	N10,067 E9,922	2' x 2' unit	06/14/2006	JL

Figure 4.27. Excavation Register of Nate Harrison site through June 2006.



Figure 4.28. The two patio trenches with their corresponding ER numbers.

in its high number of faunal remains (see Selected Artifacts discussion and Figure 4.29), the soil itself was the fairly uniform sandy brown sand seen in most other areas of the site's patio area. Profile maps for NH3, 1, and 34 have not been drawn because the excavators have yet to reach subsoil. Results from the east/west cross-trench reveal that the patio deposit does not taper off immediately to the west of the cabin and that the depth of the deposit is significantly greater than 2.0'. In addition, the uniformity of the layers strongly suggests that the fill either is of the same time period or was impacted after its primary deposition.

North/South Trench (NH22, 15, 18, and 42 excavated; NH27 and 17 unexcavated during summer 2006)

The north/south trench did not follow the same alternating checkerboard pattern as the east/west trench because of the extended profile that was started in NH18 and 15 during the previous summer. As a result, the units north of the center of the trench intersection (NH17) were dug every-other unit, but the units to the south of the center were dug simultaneously with running profiles on the north/south interface between NH15 and NH 18. In addition, a 1.0' baulk was maintained in between NH18 and NH42. These units at the south edge of the north/south trench required a different methodology because they undermined the initial assumption that NH15 marked the southern edge of the patio deposit. It did not; in fact, the patio fill continues many feet below the sloping edge of NH15 and the flat trail in NH18 and NH42. With this in mind, it is now likely that the flat path in NH18 and NH42 is a terrace that postdates Nate Harrison as it consists of his refuse. If there is an old trail—the purported



Figure 4.29. The open-house artifact table displays a small sample of the many faunal remains from NH34D and NH34E.

"Indian trail" that pre-dates Harrison or is contemporaneous with his early years on the mountain—it is most likely the second plateau well below the southern edge of NH42. The current depth of the cultural deposit in the southern units of the north/south trench, in places over 3.0', suggests that the entire patio deposit is at least this deep. It is worth emphasizing that none of these patio units in either trench have uncovered subsoil or even the tan stratum with cultural material pressed or leeched into it.

Excavators in NH22 dug the uniform grey-brown patio fill in 3" layers to a depth of 1.0'. The four layers of fill (NH22A-D) each had a Munsell reading of 10YR 4/2 and varying amounts of charcoal inclusions. NH15 was the patio test unit that had been dug to a depth of over 2.0' during the summer of 2005. Excavators continued working in this unit, digging an additional layer of rocky fill (NH15G). Likewise, excavation continued in the adjacent unit to the south (NH18). At the top of layer NH18D (depth of 0.8'), the fill in the southwest corner of this unit was significantly different than the dirt in the other corners; it was a dark brown sandy loam (5YR 5/2) as opposed to the grey/brown sandy sand seen in other areas. The matrix in this corner was moist and contained virtually none of the rocks that were so commonplace in NH18A-C. Excavators followed this layer down in the southwestern corner, switching context designations after 3" to NH18E. NH18D and 18E were nearly identical dirt; the layer switch was an arbitrary 3" level (Figure 4.30). The sharp angle of these two loamy layers made it clear that NH42, the unit directly to the south, needed to be investigated next. The top five 3.0" layers of NH42 (A-E) consisted of a uniform brown-grey sandy sand with a Munsell reading of 10YR 4/1. The layers were virtually free of rock and had minor charcoal inclusions. It is most likely that the strata that were excavated in NH42 were still above the diving loamy layers in NH18. The dark loam will likely be encountered within the next layer or two of NH42 (F or G).



Figure 4.30. Kristin Tennesen holds a scale in the southwest corner of NH18E while Kimberly Scott continues to excavate the dark sandy loam.

The Cabin: Interior Units (NH5, 10, 13, 16, 36-41)

The field school worked in nine of the cabin units during the summer of 2006. Four of these had been dug the previous summers (NH5, 10, 13, and 36); five were new units (NH37-41) (Figure 4.31). By the end of the 2006 summer field season, three-quarters of the cabin interior had been completely excavated. In addition, each of the structure's interior four corners had been located, revealing that the cabin interior was a near perfect 11.0' square. Each of the diagonals was 15.5', indicating that the structure was far more of a square than a rhombus. Units in the west half of the cabin followed the same general stratigraphic pattern observed in units dug the previous two summers. The cabin fill included 6-9" of grey sand sealing 6-9" of brown sand, which was followed by an intermittent rock layer that sealed much of the cabin's floor. The floor was not made of rocks; rocks from the cabin destruction sealed the floor and forced their way down into the soft sandy matrix (Figure 4.32). As more of the cabin floor was exposed, it became apparent that the cabin-destruction rock debris and rodent disturbances had stirred up a few additional layers of dirt that were originally at the interface between the trampled cabin floor and subsoil. Cabin units in the eastern half of the structure exhibited a more complicated stratigraphic sequence, due to the close proximity of the chimney. When the chimney fell, it fell from east to west and, as a result, the fill in the more easterly units of the cabin contained multiple layers with a significantly greater amount of chimney components (hearth ash and small structural rocks). Nonetheless, the floor was relatively flat and uniform across the cabin. There appear to be no root cellars or sub-floor pits.

Three of the previously excavated cabin units--NH5, 10, and 13--underwent only minor excavation. Additional mixed floor strata were removed, consisting of rocks and mottled grey/brown fill. A few artifacts were found in these layers, but they seem to have been forced downward into the lower fill by large rocks falling at the time of the cabin destruction or from rodent activity.



Figure 4.31. Megan Libby, Robert Tews, and Michelle Hart work in and around the cabin on one of the last days of the field school. Note that the entire west wall and almost the entire south wall are completely exposed.



Figure 4.32. Cabin-unit NH16 contains a lower layer of rock debris from the cabin destruction that seals the cabin's dirt floor.

NH16 (Figures 4.33-4.40)

Excavation in NH16, located along the north wall in the third row from the west and the second row from the east, began in the summer of 2004 and continued the following summer. By the start of the 2006 field season NH16A-G had already been excavated. Students then removed three additional strata (16J, K, and L), which were alternating 1.5" layers of mottled tan sand, rocky brown loam, and mottled tan sand. There were extensive rodent holes in these layers. The east wall of NH16 offered a striking profile of the multiple ash and rock layers that tipped in as a result of the chimney fall. The close-up image of the wall in Figure 4.41 shows a distinct ash layer half way up the ranging pole.

NH36 (Figures 4.42 and 4.43)

During the summer of 2005, the top three layers of NH36 (A-C) were excavated. Students finished this unit in 2006. The unit included no stratigraphic surprises that strayed from the sequence seen in digging the three adjacent units (NH5, 10, and 12). NH36D and 36E were sequential 3" layers of grey/brown sandy sand with Munsell readings of 10YR 4/2 and 3/2 respectively. NH36F was a rocky layer that likely resulted from the cabin destruction and chimney fall. NH36G and 36H were sandy floor layers of mottled tan dirt with rocks pressed into the matrix.

Since every unit adjacent to NH36 had already been dug, the only profile that the excavation of NH36 produced was of the west wall. The south wall of NH36 had been drawn as the north wall of NH5, the north wall of NH36 had been drawn as the south wall of NH10, and the east wall of NH36 had been drawn as the west wall of NH12. The west wall of NH36 revealed an important door-frame line in the standing structural rocks. As Figure 4.41 shows,

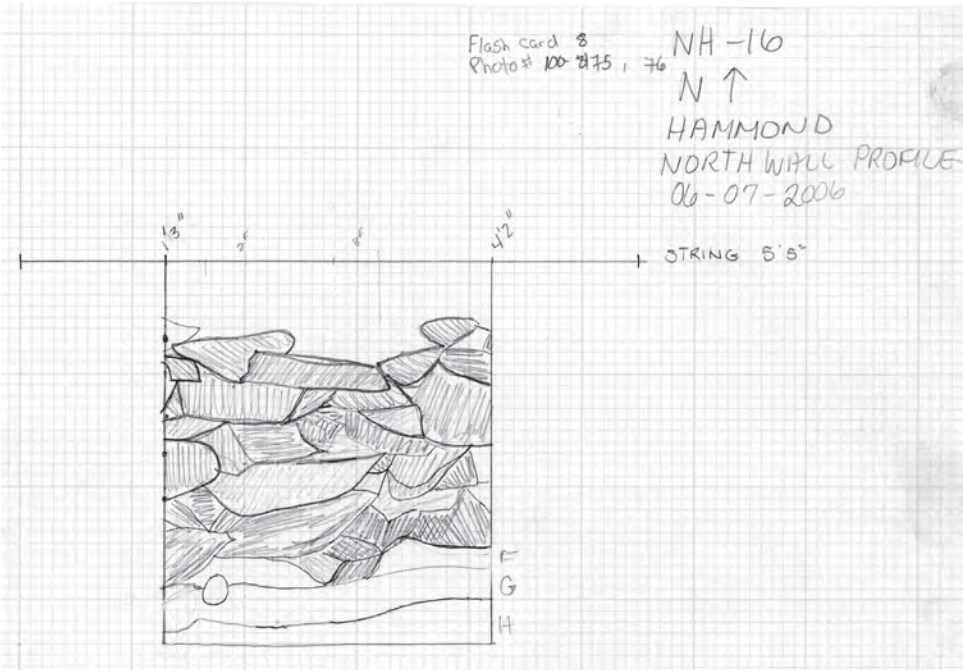


Figure 4.33. NH16 north wall profile map.



Figure 4.34. NH16 north wall photograph.

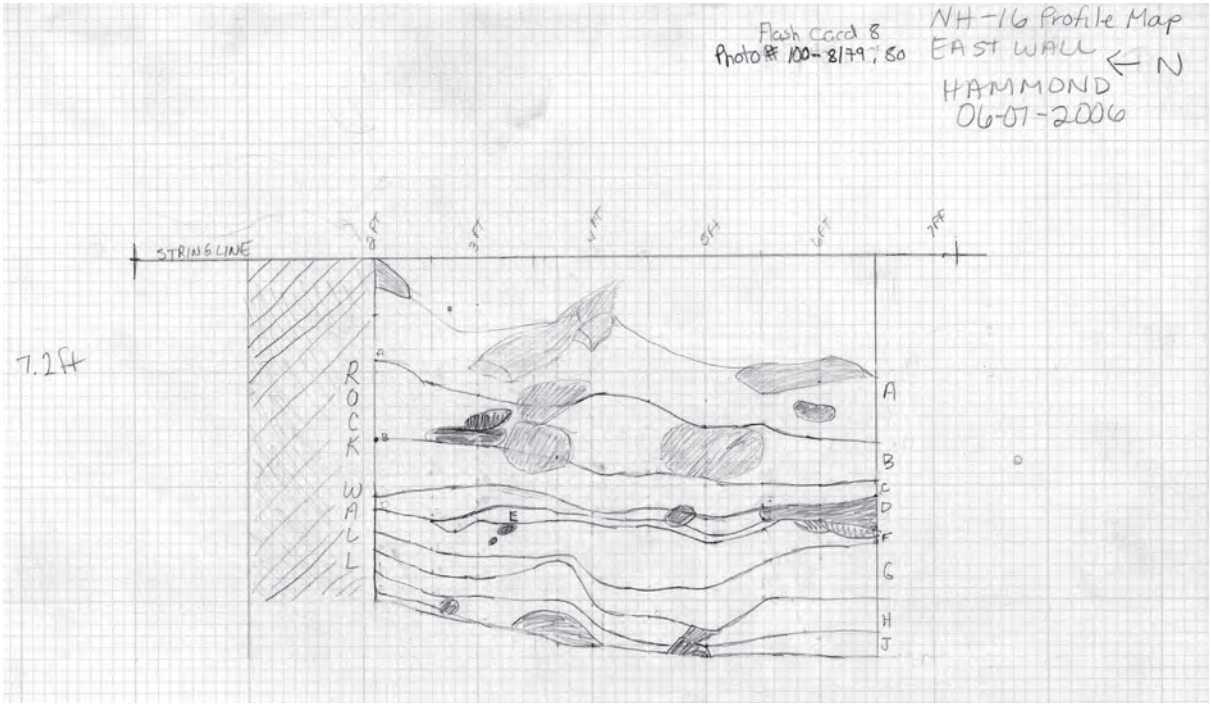


Figure 4.35. NH16 east wall profile map.



Figure 4.36. NH16 east wall photograph.

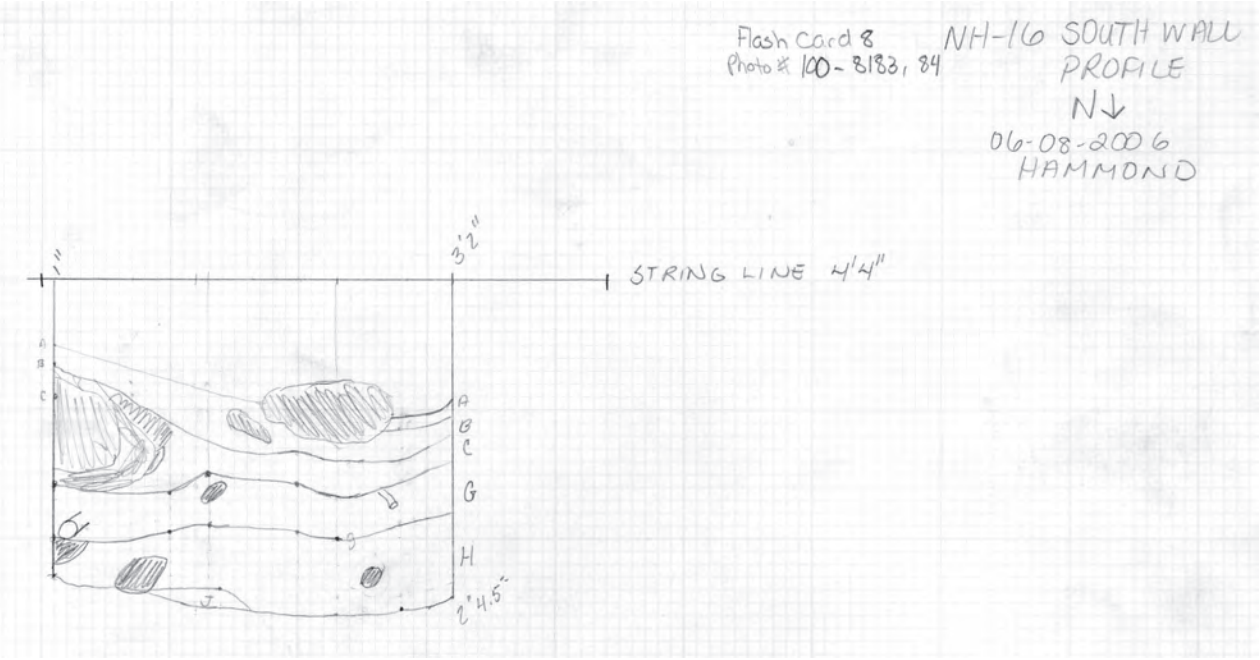


Figure 4.37. NH16 south wall profile map.



Figure 4.38. NH16 south wall photograph.

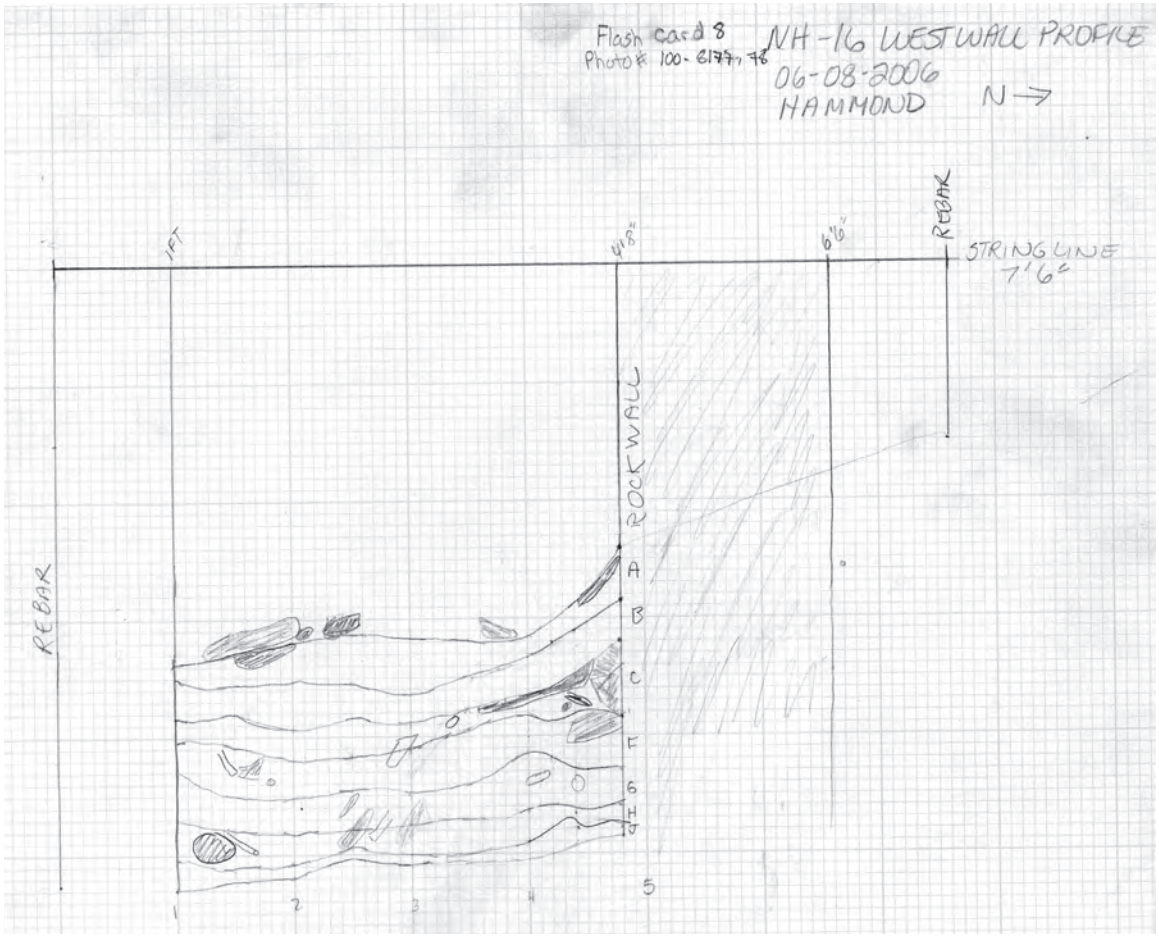


Figure 4.39. NH16 west wall profile map.



Figure 4.40. NH16 west wall photograph.



Figure 4.41. Close-up photograph of ash lens in NH16 east wall profile.

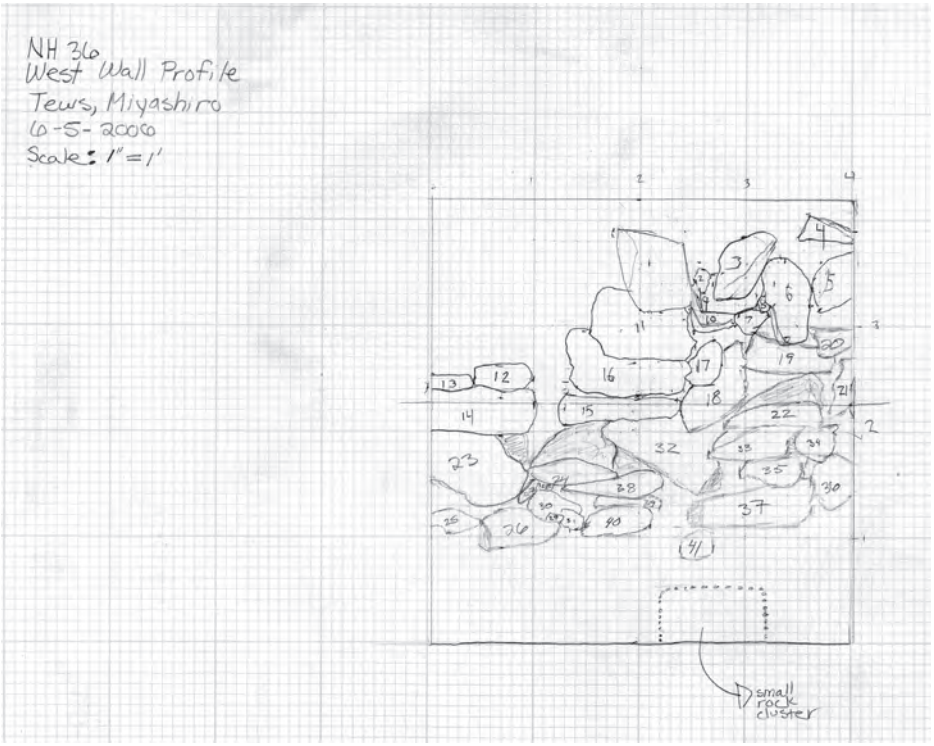


Figure 4.42. NH36 west wall profile map.



Figure 4.43. NH36 west wall photograph.

there is a vertical line formed by the edges of the stones in the west wall between stones 12 and 16, 14 and 15, 23 and 24, 23 and 27, 26 and 27, and 26 and 30. This line marks where the original door frame once stood. Although subsequent landowners and visitors to the site had, over the years, piled up stray rocks along the perimeter of the tumbled cabin wall, the west wall had a distinctive gap in the stones for the door. Figures 4.44 and 4.45 are before and after photographs of the doorway. In Figure 4.44, Dr. Mallios points to the vertical line in the stones where the doorway had been obscured. The view from the northwest exterior of the cabin shows how the west wall appeared to be complete. Figure 4.45 shows the view from the southeast once the rocks had been removed. It also shows where Harrison would have entered his cabin. This report contains additional before and after photographs (see Figure 4.0 [the report cover] and Figure 4.31) that pinpoint the doorway.



Figure 4.44. Dr. Mallios points to the vertical line formed by the edges of the rocks in the cabin's west wall that formed the north edge of the original doorway.

NH37 (Figures 4.46 and 4.47)

With NH5, 12, and 13 having been fully excavated, the crew began to dig NH37, located along the south wall in the second row from the west and the third row from the east. NH37 contained no strata that were not anticipated from the excavation of the three adjacent units. The top five layers were each 3" levels of brown sandy sand with a uniform Munsell reading of 10YR 2/2. NH37F was a rocky layer that likely resulted from the chimney fall during the destruction of the cabin. NH37G and 37H were layers of mottled tan sand with assorted intruding rocks pressed into the matrix. The tan sand likely served originally as the floor of the cabin. Like NH36, NH37 produced only one new profile for this report, as the other three walls had previously been mapped and photographed.



Figure 4.45. Mallios stands in the cabin's doorway once the secondarily-placed rocks were removed.

NH38 (Figures 4.48-4.55)

Work was begun in 2006 on unit NH38, which was centered on the most likely location of the chimney base in the middle of the fourth row from the west and the first row from the east. NH38 included three uniform 3" layers of grey sandy sand (A-C) with a Munsell reading of 7.5YR 4/2. NH38D consisted of a similar sandy grey sand but also contained substantial rock debris, likely from the chimney fall. NH38E was unlike any other strata seen heretofore at the site. It was a lens of brown-yellow tan sand (2.5YR 5/4) that had been scorched (Figure 4.56). NH38E was concentrated in the northeast corner of the unit, the area most likely closest to the hearth. In addition, a series of large rocks was clustered at the south edge of the burnt dirt, possibly outlining the south edge of the hearth. NH38F and 38G were sequential 3" layers of mottled tan fill with some rock debris. These layers were likely the cabin floor in which some of the cabin destruction debris had intruded.

NH39

Students began working on NH39 in the summer of 2006, once the excavation of NH38 had completed. NH39, the unit in the southeast corner of the cabin, was located along the south wall in the fourth row from the west and the first row from the east. Excavators dug five uniform 3" layers, each of which contained brown sandy sand and had a Munsell reading of 7.5YR 3/2. Although excavators had only dug to a depth of 1.3' by the end of the summer field season and had not encountered a chimney-fall layer, compressed floor layers, or subsoil, they did uncover the corner of the cabin under the scattered surface rocks. It was the discovery of the exact southeast corner of the cabin that enabled the calculation of wall length and an inner space diagonal. Since excavators did not reach subsoil by the end of the summer field season, no profile maps were completed.

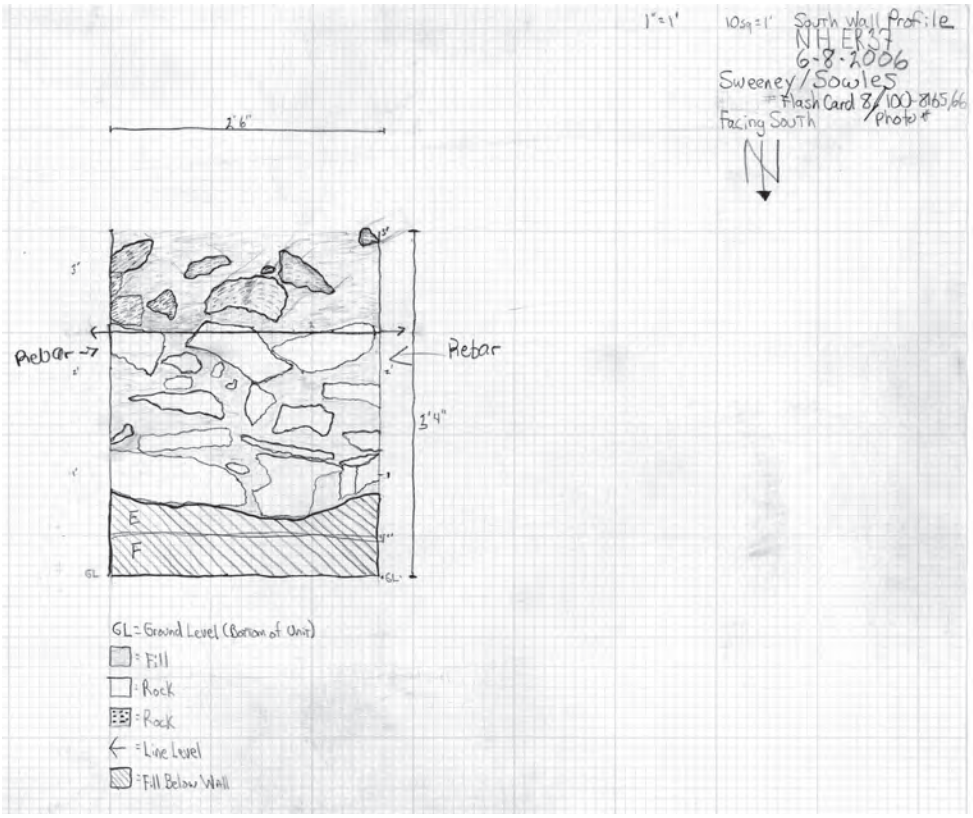


Figure 4.46. NH37 south wall profile map.



Figure 4.47. NH37 south wall photograph.

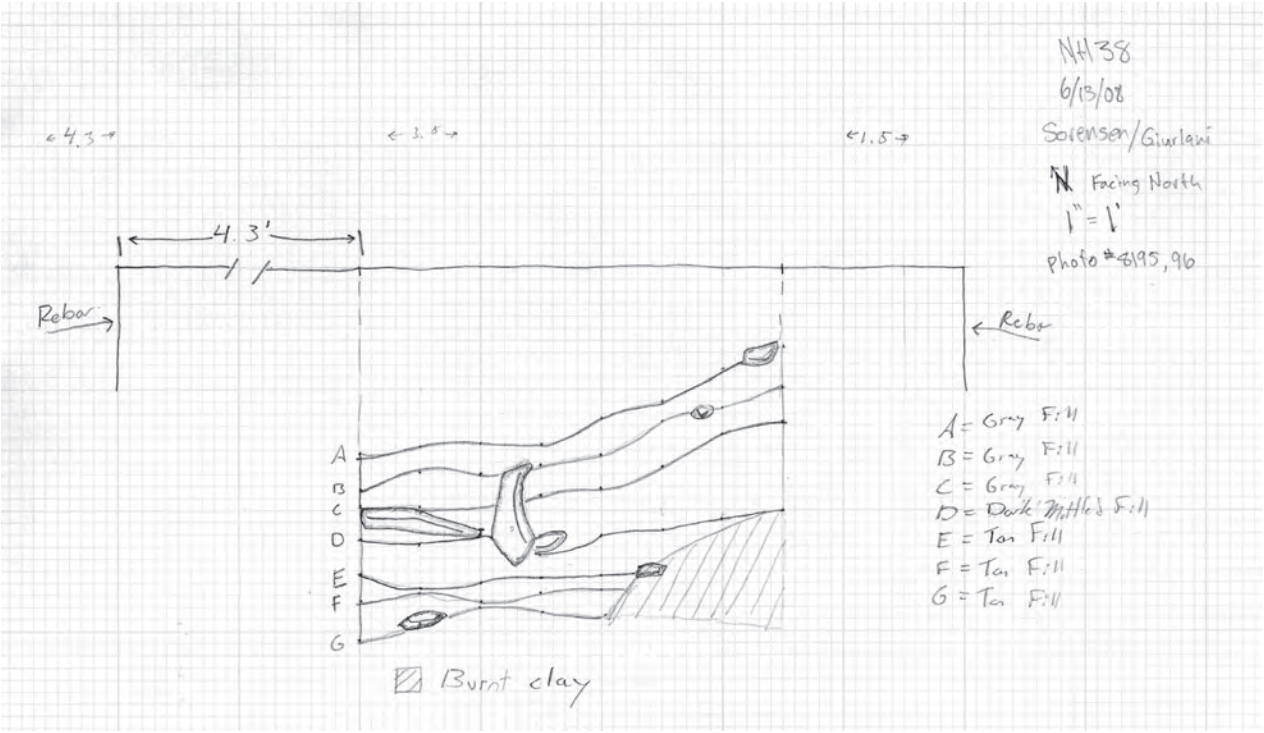


Figure 4.48. NH38 north wall profile map.



Figure 4.49. NH38 north wall photograph.

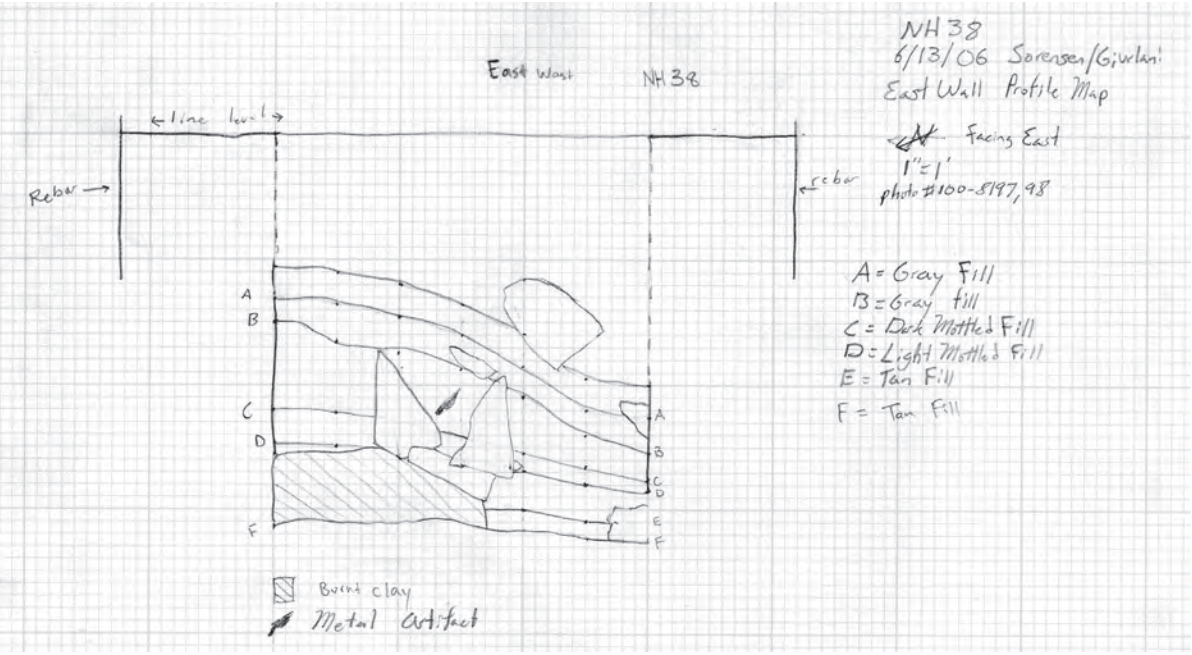


Figure 4.50. NH38 east wall profile map.



Figure 4.51. NH38 east wall photograph.

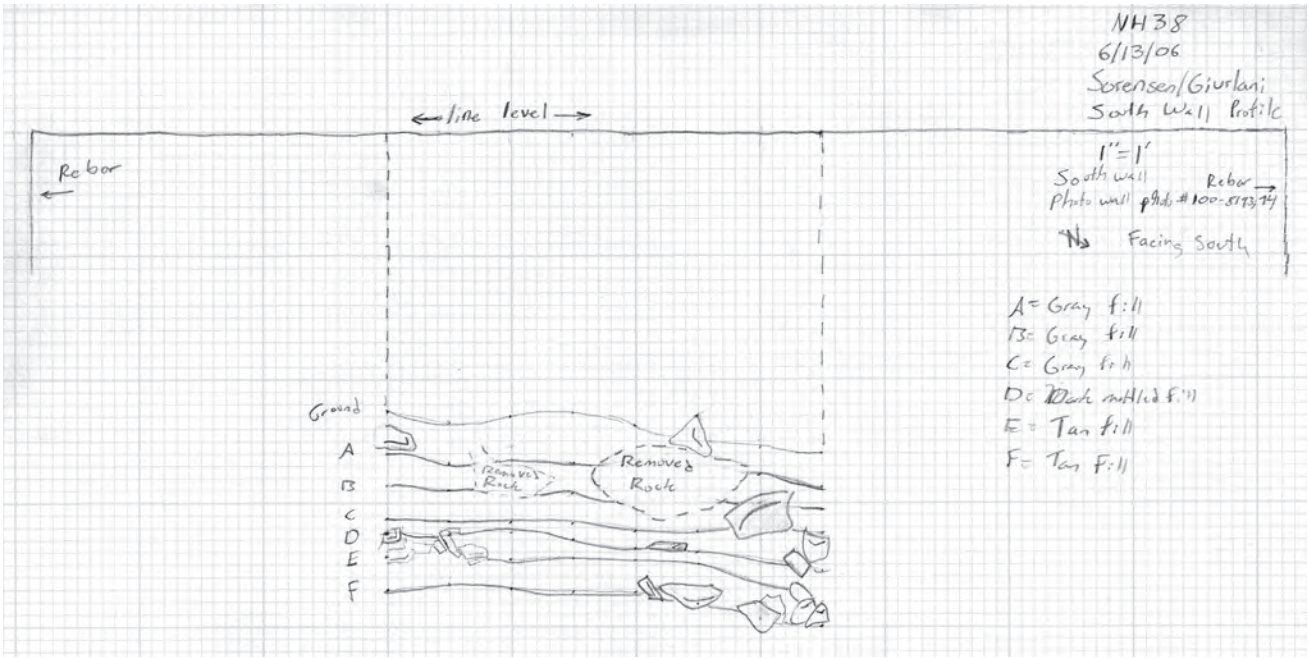


Figure 4.52. NH38 south wall profile map.



Figure 4.53. NH38 south wall photograph.

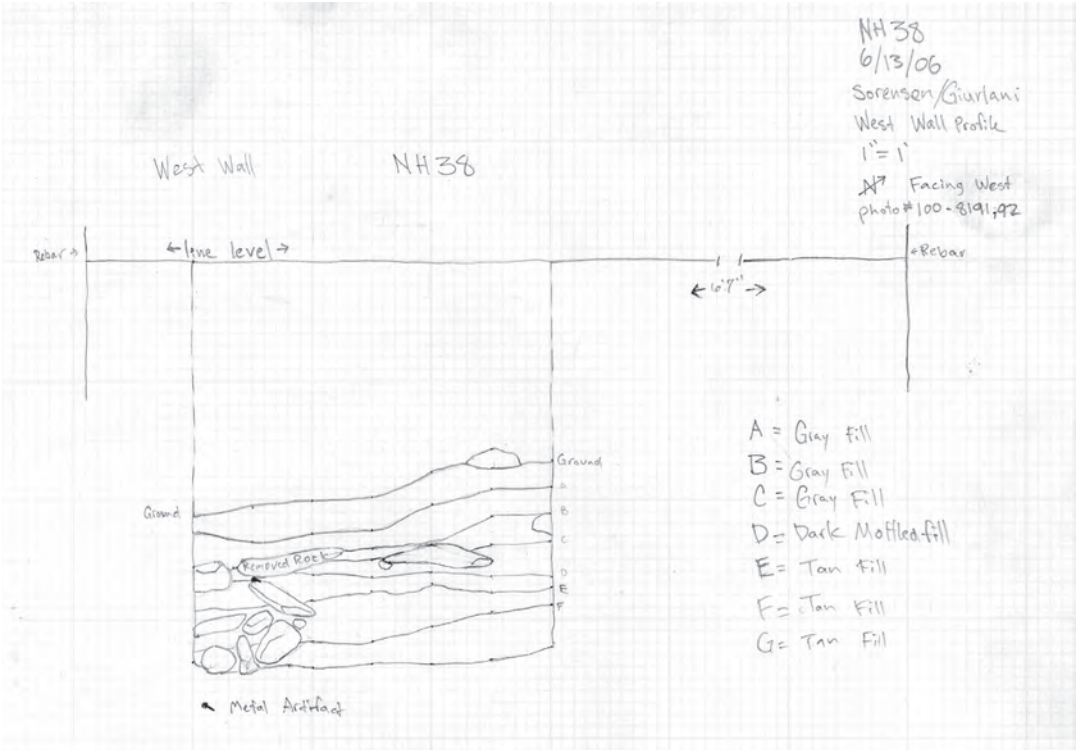


Figure 4.54. NH38 west wall profile map.



Figure 4.55. NH38 west wall photograph.



Figure 4.56. A close-up photograph of the scorched earth in the northeast corner of NH38E.

NH40

Excavators also opened unit NH40, the northeast corner unit of the cabin, during the summer of 2006. Located along the north wall in the fourth row from the west and the first row from the east, the surface of NH40 was covered with a wide scatter of large stones. Once students removed the stones, they were able to dig the stratigraphic fill layers. The results from NH40 and NH39 were nearly identical. Excavators were able to get through five uniform 3" layers of brown sandy sand (Munsell 7.5YR 3/2) before the summer field school ended. They did not reach the chimney-fall layer, compressed floor layers, or subsoil. In addition, the excavation of NH40A-E uncovered the exact northeast corner of the cabin, heretofore obscured by surface rocks and dirt. Once the exact cabin corners were uncovered in NH39 and NH40, it became clear that the original cabin was a near perfect 11' square. The profile maps for NH40 will be completed as soon as the unit has been dug to subsoil.

NH41 (Figures 4.57 and 4.58)

With every adjacent unit fully excavated to subsoil (NH10, 12, and 16), work began in 2006 on NH41, the north wall unit in the second row from the west and the third row from the east. The top three 3" layers (NH41A-C) were a uniform brown sandy sand with a Munsell reading of 10YR 4/2. The next two 3" layers (NH41D-E) were loamier in texture, although of the same color. NH41F had a high concentration of rocks and was most likely the chimney fall layer. Although excavators were not able to finish NH41F or the compressed floor layers that are likely situated below, they were able to complete most of their profile map of the north wall. Since all adjacent units had already been dug and mapped, the excavation of NH41 produced only one new profile map (the north wall).

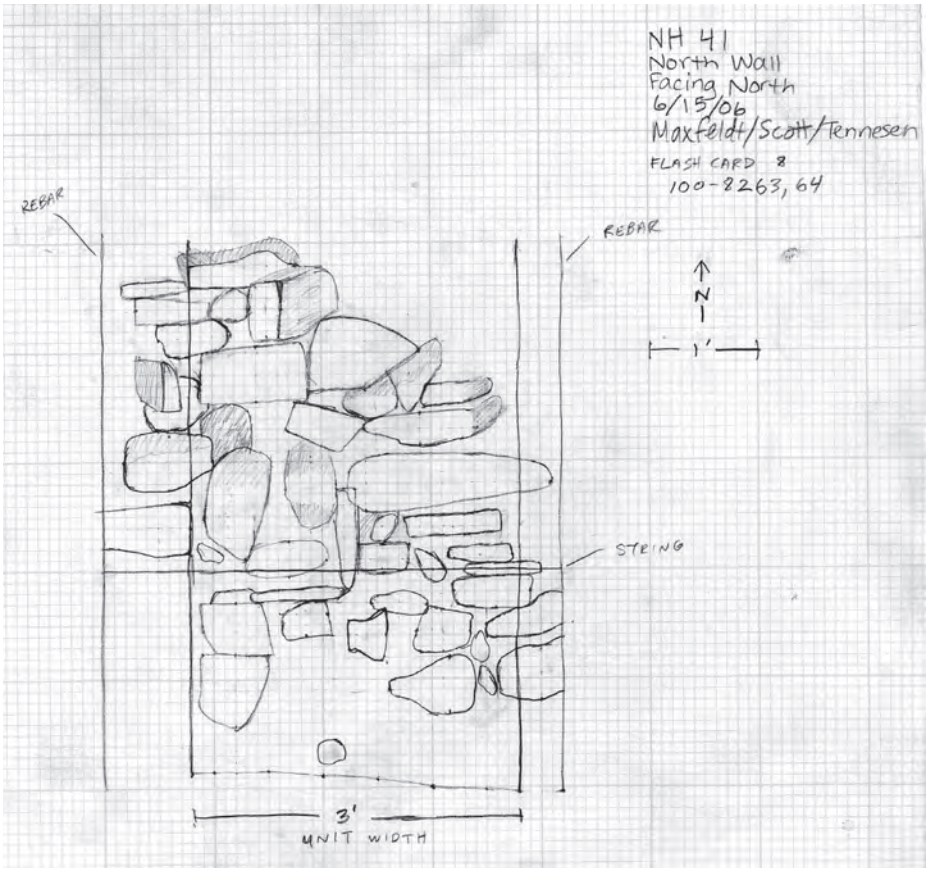


Figure 4.57. NH41 north wall profile map.



Figure 4.58. NH41 north wall photograph.

Overall Excavation Summary

The 2006 field school moved over 250 cubic feet of dirt while working on 32 units. The students' work revealed three major stratigraphic insights. First, there appears to be a relatively uniform sequence of layers inside the cabin. Each unit contains between 1-2' of grey/brown sandy sand that seals the chimney destruction layer. The rocks in the chimney destruction layer are larger and more densely located nearer the east side of the cabin, closest to the chimney base and hearth area. The chimney fall layer seals multiple compressed floor layers, which consist of a mottled tan sand. The floor layers range in depth from 0.5-1.5'. The compressed floor layers contain some rocks, but they appear to be intrusive and likely pushed in from the weight of the chimney fall. Overall the floor is flat. Subsoil is a uniform tan sand. Second, in removing much of the surface debris and secondarily placed wall stones, the original dimensions of the cabin became apparent. The interior of the cabin is a near perfect 11' square. The doorway is 3' wide and centered between two 4' segments of the western wall. The chimney base, although not fully uncovered, also appears to be centrally located along the east wall. Third, the depth of the patio area, to the west of the cabin, is still unknown as subsoil has not been uncovered. At various spots in the cross trenches, it is over 3.5' deep. It also expands further to the south than previously thought. Southern patio units NH18 and NH42 revealed that the ridge and terrace to the immediate west of the cabin is fill, as is the flat area to the immediate south of the terrace. Thus, the terrace to the west of the cabin is <u>not</u> the complete extent of the cabin fill. It extends much further and deeper to the south. This observation presents important ramifications for understanding the site's primary and secondary depositional sequences. Fill in the patio area extends well below what is pictured as Harrison's living surface in the cabin and in the patio, strongly suggesting that the patio area was heavily disturbed (i.e., bulldozed, artificially terraced, and truncated by a southern path) after Harrison left the mountain in 1920.

4.5 Analyses and Interpretations

As was the case in 2005, students during the 2006 summer session worked at the site Monday through Thursday and processed artifacts in the makeshift mountain lab on Fridays (Figure 4.59). Once the summer field school came to an end, artifact processing continued in the SDSU North American Laboratory at the Dede Alpert Center for Community Engagement in City Heights. Once the artifacts were cleaned and labeled, they were cataloged and analyzed.

This report offers preliminary analyses and interpretations of the site and its artifacts within archaeological dimensions of time, space, and form. The following discussion focuses primarily on insights gleaned from the 2006 field season. However, it also occasionally summarizes the three years of excavation at the site.

In 2006, the field-school students at the Nate Harrison site recovered 4,655 artifacts. The following analyses firmly establish that a small number of inhabitants occupied the Nate Harrison site during the late 1800s and early 1900s. The artifact assemblage reveals evidence of various cottage industries. It is also noticeably disparate, including items often ascribed to people of different gender, status, and ethnicity.

Time

Use and production date ranges for various historical artifact types found at the Nate Harrison site during the summer of 2006 establish that the site was occupied from ca. 1860-1920 (Figure 4.60). As was the case with the artifact assemblages from the 2004 and 2005 field seasons, the union of date ranges was 1820-2000. Shell buttons with sunken panels that were made from 1837-1865 serve as an occupation start date for the site. Since clothing is frequently handed down between individuals and often exhibits an extended use life, this date is tentative. A more reliable start date is the fired cartridge with the "H" head stamp, which pre-dates 1876. The site TPQ is far more reliable. Two types of fired cartridges—those with REM UMC 32 WCF" and "REM-UMC 38 S&W head stamps—were produced exclusively after 1910.

Cumulative date range intersections from all three summers (2004-2006) reveal the same occupation pattern (Figure 4.61). The artifacts clearly show a singular occupation during the last quarter of the 19th century and the first quarter of the 20th century. Various coins, bottles, buttons, and cartridges reveal that the site was inhabited ca. 1860-1920. However, none of the artifacts definitively point to a pre-1865 start date. The question of when Nate Harrison built the cabin and first began living there remains. This unanswered query is paralleled by the fact that the bottom of the patio deposit has yet to be found. Artifacts from the lowest strata at the site's deepest deposit will likely offer a reliable start date to Harrison's mountain occupation.

Space

The spatial analysis of cross-mends at the site was particularly insightful in the months following the 2006 summer field season. As was done after the 2005 field season, students spent hours looking for cross-mends in the ceramic and glass assemblages and created a master list of cumulative cross-mends from 2004-2006 (Figure 4.62). Dr. Mallios then took this list and connected the site's layers on the basis of these cross-mends. He constructed a table with individual cross-mended vessels as rows and the site's artifact-bearing layers as columns. Each cell contained the number of the row's cross-mended vessel. All of the contexts of that particular vessel were then shaded. Likewise, any other vessel with cross-mends to the layers that had been shaded were then also shaded. In the end, every column that shared a cross-mend with another column was shaded, meaning that these spatial contexts were linked by a cross-mend. Appendix A details the results. The unshaded columns were not united with the others through cross-mends. Some of these rows, however, represented layers that stratigraphically rested above others that did through the cross-mends. For example, NH16B, C, and E did not contain artifacts that cross-mended with the other layers, but NH16F did. Since NH16F was sealed by NH16E and the other layers in that unit, everything above NH16F must date either to the same time period or later. On the basis of the Law of Superposition, only 15 layers remained temporally separate from the rest of the site: NH4B, 5F, 5G, 10E, 12D-



Figure 4.59. Every Friday, students processed the artifacts that they had found during the previous week.

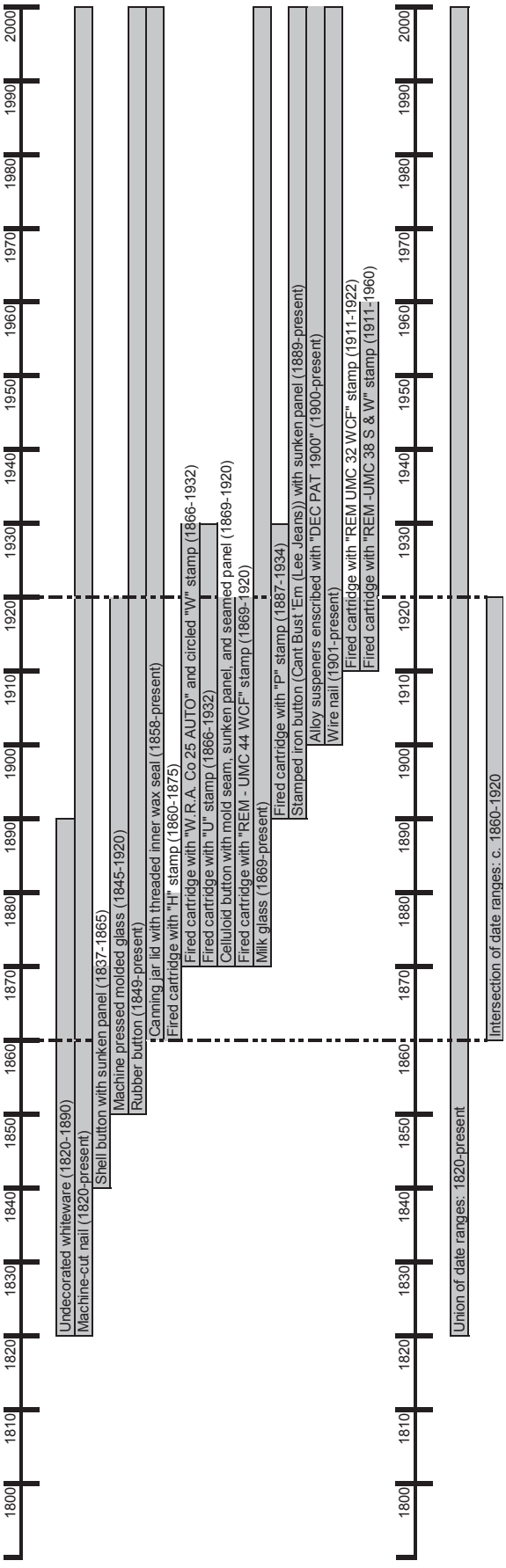


Figure 4.60. Artifact date ranges from the 2006 field season.

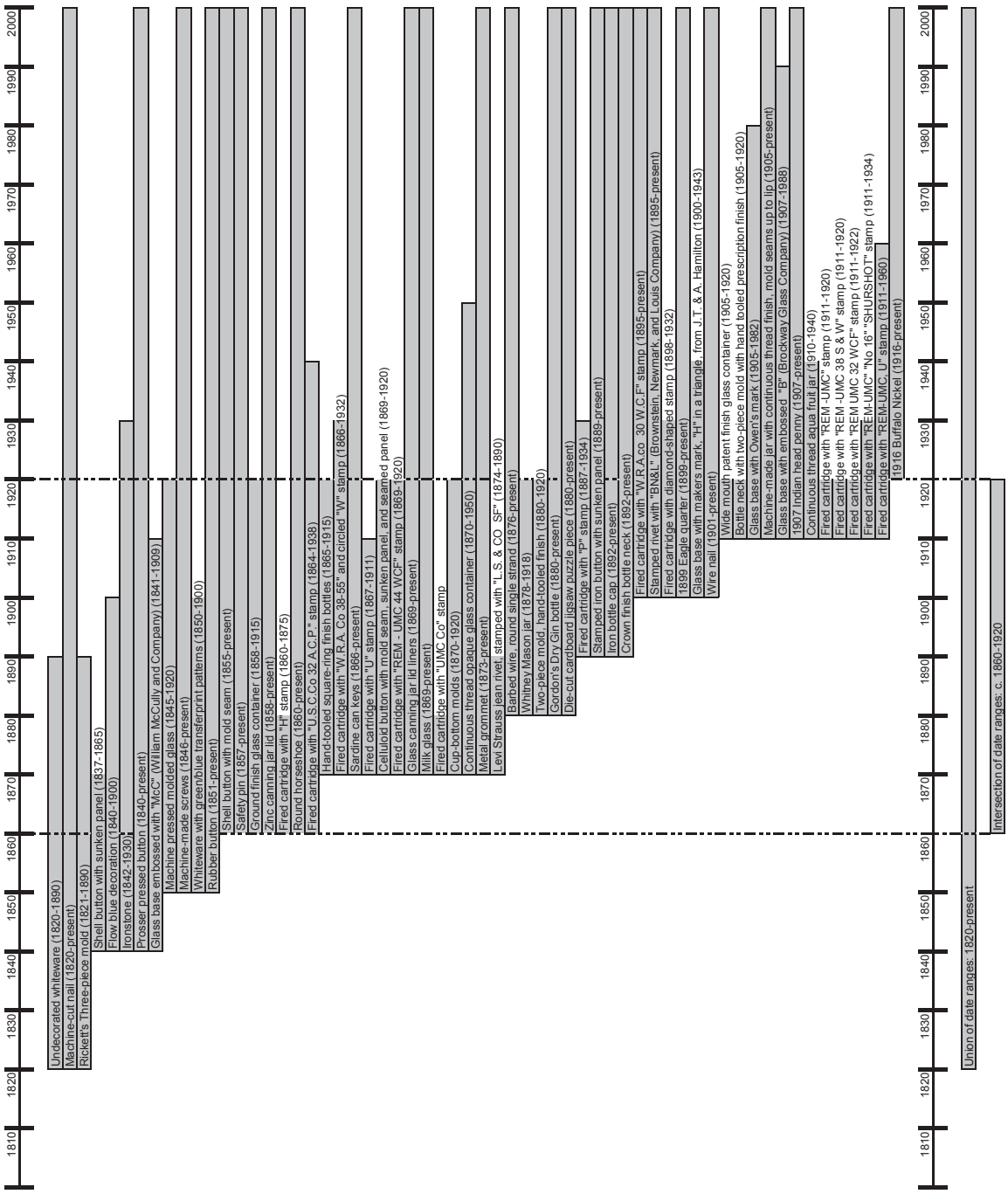


Figure 4.61. Cumulative artifact date ranges from the 2004-2006 field seasons.

K, 13F, 15G, 16G-H, and 19A. Almost all of these contexts are within the cabin, and a majority of those that are outside of the cabin are from the top "A" and "B" layers. Lower layers in those same units will very likely have ample cross-mends.

The substantial number of cross-mends has important ramifications for the interpretation of the site, its depositional sequence, and the project's digging strategy. The cross-mends strongly suggest that the entire patio area and most of the cabin is united in time. They both seem to reflect the end of occupation at the site. This time period includes the last decades of Harrison's activity in the patio area (1900-1919) and ends when he left the mountain for good in the fall of 1919. This deduction, combined with the stratigraphic uniformity of the patio area, gives strong support to the idea that the patio was significantly impacted following Harrison's demise. The

#	Vessel Description	Cross-mended contexts
1	milk glass vessel 1	1A, 15A, 22A, 23A, 31A, SF27
2	milk glass vessel 2	17A, 33B
3	copper green glass vessel 1	30A
4	copper green glass vessel 2	5A, 13C, 15C, 36C, 41C, SF42
5	copper green glass vessel 3	30B, 32B
6	copper green glass vessel 4	23A
7	copper green glass vessel 5	10D, 16D
8	copper green glass vessel 6	31B, 32A
9	copper green glass vessel 7	30A
10	copper green glass vessel 8	30B
11	copper green glass vessel 9 - large bottle	14A, 22A, 30A, 30B, 31A
12	dark green glass vessel 1	31A, 33A
13	dark green glass vessel 2	2A, 17A
14	dark green glass vessel 3	22A, 32B, 33B
15	dark green glass vessel 4	14A
16	pale green glass vessel 1 - soda water bottle	29B, 32A, SF32, SF49
17	pale green glass vessel 2 - Gordon's Gin bottle	13C, 39D, SF4
18	pale green glass vessel 3	26B, 34A
19	pale green glass vessel 4	6A, 8A, 12A
20	pale green glass vessel 5	15A, 35A
21	pale green glass vessel 6	36B
22	pale green glass vessel 7	10D, 11A
23	pale green glass vessel 8	15A, 28A, 35A
24	pale green glass vessel 9	2A, 3A, 3B, 10A,10D
25	pale green glass vessel 10	30A, 30B, 32A, 33B
26	pale green glass vessel 11	22A, 28B, 29A
27	pale green glass vessel 12	28B, 30B
28	pale green glass vessel 13	31B, 32A
29	aqua glass vessel 1 - lid	9D
30	aqua glass vessel 2	27A, 32A
31	aqua glass vessel 3	15A
32	aqua glass vessel 4	7A, 8A
33	aqua glass vessel 5	5C, 5E
34	aqua glass vessel 6	26A, 28A
35	aqua glass vessel 7	5A, 5C, 5E
36	aqua glass vessel 8	5E
37	aqua glass vessel 9	14A, 34D
38	aqua glass vessel 10	24A, SF30, SF33
39	aqua glass vessel 11	15D, 17A, 22A, 22B, 23A, 27B, 28A,
40	aqua glass vessel 12	1A
41	aqua glass vessel 13	1B, 23A
42	aqua glass vessel 14	7A, 18A, 29A
43	aqua glass vessel 15	21A, 26B
44	aqua glass vessel 16	5E
45	aqua glass vessel 17	7A, 14A, 18A
46	aqua glass vessel 18	14A, 22A, 23B
47	aqua glass vessel 19	22A, 26B
48	aqua glass vessel 20	4A, 14A
49	aqua glass vessel 21	17A, 32A
50	aqua glass vessel 22	17A, 26B
51	aqua glass vessel 23	23A, 30A, 30B, SF2
52	aqua glass vessel 24	1B, 37A
53	aqua glass vessel 25 - Mason Jar	5C, 5D, 5E
54	brown glass vessel 1	29A, 31A, 33B, 35A, SF25
55	brown glass vessel 2	14A, 23A
56	brown glass vessel 3	30A, 32B
57	brown glass vessel 4	31A, 33A
58	brown glass vessel 5	7A, 21A, 22A, 44A
59	brown glass vessel 6	34A, no context
60	brown glass vessel 7	26A, 32A
61	brown glass vessel 8	1A, 18A
62	brown glass vessel 9	31B
63	brown glass vessel 10	8A, 23A
64	brown glass vessel 11	8A, 15A, 20A
65	brown glass vessel 12	1A, 23B
66	brown glass vessel 13	7A, 28A
67	brown glass vessel 14	2A, 13E
68	brown glass vessel 15	1F, SF23
69	brown glass vessel 16	25A, 30A, 32B
70	brown glass vessel 17	3A, 31B, SF21
71	amber glass vessel 1 - Schutzen Whiskey bottle	1A, 3A, 4A, 7A, 11A, 14A, 16A, 23B
72	amber glass vessel 2	1A
73	amber glass vessel 3	14A, 22B
74	amber glass vessel 4	11A, 14A
75	amber glass vessel 5	22A, 23A
76	amber glass vessel 6	4A, 23A
77	amber glass vessel 7	3A, 4A
78	amber glass vessel 8	36B, 36C
79	amber glass vessel 9	23B, no context
80	amber glass vessel 10	3A, 22A
81	amber glass vessel 11	31A, 33A
82	amber glass vessel 12	1D, 34F
83	amber glass vessel 13	2A, 9D,10C,14A
84	amber glass vessel 14	1G, 9D
85	amber glass vessel 15	3A, 3B, 5E,9A
86	solarized amethyst glass vessel 1	3B, 11A, 42D
87	solarized amethyst glass vessel 2	22A, 22B
88	solarized amethyst glass vessel 3	30A, 34A
89	solarized amethyst glass vessel 4	22A
90	solarized amethyst glass vessel 5	27A
91	solarized amethyst glass vessel 6	22A, 23A, 23B, 28A, 29A
92	solarized amethyst glass vessel 7	1C, 7A, 28A, 29B, 30A, 31B
93	solarized amethyst glass vessel 8	6A, 8A, 14A, 23A
94	solarized amethyst glass vessel 9	28B, 30B
95	clear glass vessel 1 - window glass	5E, 21A
96	clear glass vessel 2	22A, 23A
97	clear glass vessel 3	22A
98	clear glass vessel 4	30A, 30B
99	clear glass vessel 5	8A, 16F
100	clear glass vessel 6	22A, 23B
101	clear glass vessel 7	5D, 5E
102	clear glass vessel 8	22A, 34A
103	clear glass vessel 9	30A
104	clear glass vessel 10	2A, 18A
105	clear glass vessel 11	30B, 31A
106	clear glass vessel 12	29A, 30A, 31A
107	clear glass vessel 13	5E
108	clear glass vessel 14	22A
109	clear glass vessel 15	30B, 32A, 32B, 33B
110	clear glass vessel 16	1B, no context
111	clear glass vessel 17	1B, 3B, 7A
112	clear glass vessel 18	11A
113	clear glass vessel 19	1A, 37C
114	clear glass vessel 20	30B, 32B
115	clear glass vessel 21	6A, 14A
116	clear glass vessel 22	29A, 32A, 32B
117	clear glass vessel 23	33B, no context
118	clear glass vessel 24	6A
119	clear glass vessel 25	22B, 27A, 28A, 33A
120	clear glass vessel 26	23B
121	clear glass vessel 27	36A, 39C,41D
122	clear glass vessel 28	17A, 30B, 33B
123	clear glass vessel 29	29A, 30A
124	clear glass vessel 30	29A, 32B
125	clear glass vessel 31	11A, 14A
126	clear glass vessel 32	28A, 29A, SF9
127	clear glass vessel 33	4A, 12A
128	clear glass vessel 34	5D, 5E, 14A, 26B
129	clear glass vessel 35	29A, 30B
130	clear glass vessel 36	8A, 34B
131	clear glass vessel 37 - flask	18A, 18C, 18D
132	clear glass vessel 38	42F
133	clear glass vessel 39	13A, 37C
134	clear glass vessel 40	18D
135	clear glass vessel 41	3B
136	clear glass vessel 42	23A, 29A
137	clear glass vessel 43	23A
138	clear glass vessel 44	2A, 14A
139	clear glass vessel 45	4A, 22A, 27B
140	clear glass vessel 46	1A, 14A
141	clear glass vessel 47	1A, 7A
142	clear glass vessel 48	4A, SF32
143	clear glass vessel 49	5B, 11A, 15A
144	solarized amethyst glass vessel 10 - jelly jar #2	14A
145	solarized amethyst glass vessel 11 - jelly jar #2	1A, 6A, 7A, 8A, 33A
146	clear glass vessel 50 - jelly jar #3	4A, 15C
147	clear glass vessel 51 - jelly jar #3	14A, 17A
148	clear glass vessel 52 - jelly jar #4	7A, 42C
149	clear glass vessel 53 - jelly jar #5	2A, 6A
150	clear glass vessel 54 - jelly jar #5	1B, 4A, 5E, 6A
151	clear glass vessel 55 - jelly jar #7	32A
152	clear glass vessel 56 - jelly jar #7	31A, 33A
153	clear glass vessel 57 - jelly jar #7	32A, 32B, SF20
154	clear glass vessel 58 - jelly jar #8	1B, 4A
155	ceramic vessel 1 - pitcher	5D, 5E, 11A, 18A, 37A, 37C, 37F
156	ceramic vessel 2 - plate	3A, 7A, 8A, 37C
157	ceramic vessel 3	7A,15D, 18A, no context
158	ceramic vessel 4 - tea cup	1A, 1B, 4A, 11A, 12C, 15D
159	ceramic vessel 5	5A, 7A
160	ceramic vessel 6 - plate	7A, 8A, 14A, 18A
161	ceramic vessel 7	9D, 14A, 31A
162	ceramic vessel 8 - plate	15B, 15F
163	ceramic vessel 9 - base fragment	1A, 24A
164	ceramic vessel 10 - maker's mark	9D, 10D
165	ceramic vessel 11 - plate	11A, 15A, 15F, 18D, 23B
166	ceramic vessel 12 - plate	9D, 17A, 22B
167	ceramic vessel 13 - tea cup	8A, 11A
168	ceramic vessel 14 - tea cup	2A, 14A, 18A
169	ceramic vessel 15	29A, 29B
170	ceramic vessel 16	8A, 14A
171	ceramic vessel 17	2A, 5E, 17A
172	ceramic vessel 18 - plate	14A, 36A, 36B
173	ceramic vessel 19	1F, 18D
174	ceramic vessel 20	1B, 1D, 7A, 15A

Figure 4.62. Cross-mend master list.

layers and artifacts support the premise that it had been bulldozed and terraced. This interpretation helps to explain why the patio deposit is so much lower than the surface of the cabin, even though historic photographs suggest that they were at approximately the same level. Careful excavation and analysis has revealed that a more aggressive digging strategy is warranted. Although excavators in 2007 and beyond will still work in a meticulous and extremely careful manner, those digging in the heavily impacted patio area will begin to use shovels as well as trowels.

Form

Minimum vessel counts were determined for the glass assemblage. These counts were based on the artifacts from all three years of excavation at the site (2004-2006). A summary of the site's 108 glass vessels is presented in Figure 4.63. In determining the minimum number of glass vessels in the assemblage, four different sets of criteria were used. Minimum numbers were calculated for: 1) rims and necks, 2) bases, 3) jelly jars, and 4) general glass. Five restrictive principles were followed in order to prevent redundancy. First, rim and neck counts dealt specifically with that diagnostic area and did not include whole vessels or jelly jars. Second, base counts were specific to vessel bases and did not include whole vessels or jelly jars. Third, jelly jar counts were exclusive to jelly jar fragments. Fourth, the general glass count was restricted to counts not resulting from rim/neck or base fragments. It included whole vessels, milk glass (the count of which was determined by specific defining characteristics), dark green glass (the count of which was determined primarily by color shade differences), aqua glass and pale green glass. And fifth, since base diagnostics and rim diagnostics were not necessarily mutually exclusive, the larger number of each—not the sum of the two—was used in calculating the minimum vessel counts. The details of each vessel are listed in the final four appendices of this report. Appendix B is the spreadsheet for the minimum rim and neck counts, Appendix C is base counts, Appendix D is general glass counts, and Appendix E is jelly jar counts.

	Rim and neck counts	Base counts	Jelly jar counts	General glass counts
Clear	34	36	8	7
Solarized amethyst	8	5	1	1
Amber	1	6	0	0
Brown	5	12	0	0
Dark green	0	0	0	3
Copper green	1	3	0	0
Pale green	2	7	0	2
Aqua	11	11	0	2
Milk glass	0	0	0	2

Figure 4.63. Table of minimum vessel counts for the site's glass assemblage.

4.6 Selected Artifacts

Each year, the technical report details a group of artifacts that were uncovered during the past field seasons. These items were chosen subjectively and do not represent any representative sampling.

Cock and Egg Carved Pipe (NH13A, 34D, 37D)

Excavators working in the interior of the cabin (NH37D) uncovered three carved pipe stem and bowl fragments in the summer of 2006. These fragments mended to each other and also to two additional bowl fragments found in patio unit NH34D. In the fall of 2006, students volunteering in the lab further discovered that a bone pipe bowl fragment found in 2005 from cabin-unit NH13A belonged to this same pipe (Figure 4.64).

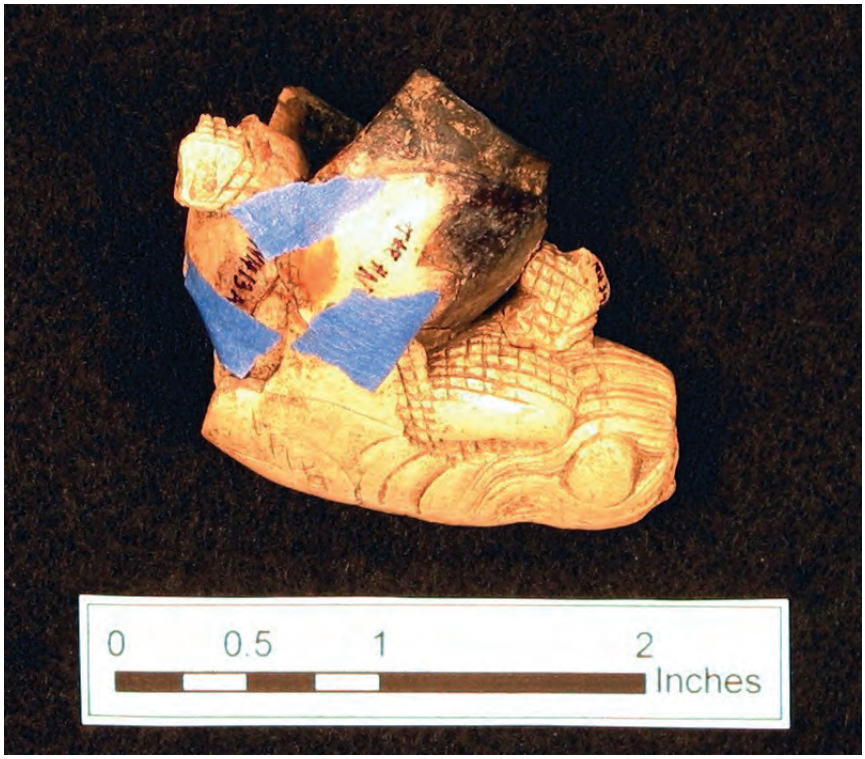


Figure 4.64. Photograph of cross-mended Cock and Egg pipe fragments.

The carving on the pipe is commonly named the Cock and Egg design; it is also known as the "Large Eagle Talon pipe." This particular design was introduced to tobacco smokers and pipe collectors circa 1920 and was popular through the 1930s and '40s. Shirley Watson of Ron and Shirley's Fine Antique & Collectibles in Manitou, Manitoba, Canada, graciously forwarded multiple images of a complete Cock and Egg pipe bowl to the Nate Harrison Historical Archaeology project (Figure 4.65). As Figure 4.65 shows, the rooster's talon grips the egg, which is the bowl itself. The stem of the pipe interlocks in the circular opening of the rooster's leg. The leg is carved with cascading lines, depicting the feathers on the rooster. There are crosshatched marks found near the top of the leg and on the bowl, giving the illusion of the rough skin of the bird. On the right hand side of the rooster's leg there is a circular notch that obtrudes from the feathers. Two of the talons that grip the bowl are carved as a raised relief, while the other two that hold the front and back of the bowl extend from the base piece.



Figure 4.65. Image of complete Cock and Egg pipe.

The President Suspenders (NH9D)

The fourth layer of the northeastern unit in the patio area revealed four metal suspender clips stamped with "PRESIDENT" on the front and back of each clip (Figure 4.66). A description of these same suspenders appears in the 1902 edition of the Sears, Roebuck Catalogue (Figure 4.67). The advertisement includes the image of a man from behind as he puts on the suspenders. The page-997 ad states:

> "The President Suspender. No. 34R746. A new style recently patented suspender with improved back which equalizes the strain on all parts with every attitude. Relieves the strain on shoulders and not likely to pull off buttons. Made with strong non-elastic web cord in back and high grade elastic webbing in main parts. Every pair warranted to wear to the entire satisfaction of the purchaser. Made in fancy webs or plain colors.
>
> Price, per pair $0.45
>
> Per dozen . . . $5.40
>
> If by mail, postage extra, per pair, 5c."

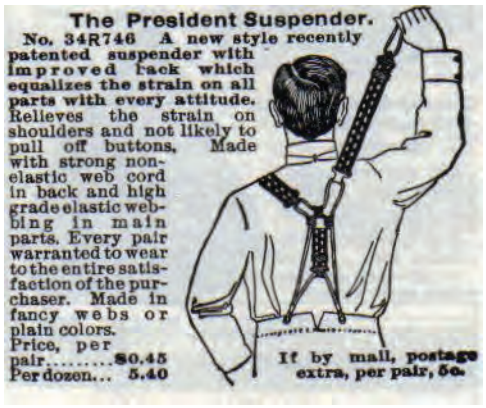


Figure 4.67. Advertisement from the 1920 Sears, Roebuck Catalogue for "The President Suspender."



Figure 4.66. Photograph of President Suspenders.

C.F. Co./UK Metal Button Snap (NH1G)

A well-preserved and fully intact metal snap was found in patio-unit NH1G. The front of the snap is engraved with the official coat of arms of the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland (Figure 4.68). It depicts a lion on the left and a unicorn on the right, standing on their hind legs facing one another. Between the two animals there is a cross enclosed by an oval. A simple crown rests above the heads of the lion and unicorn. Their hind hooves rest on a crescent. The crescent lies on its back, with two swirl designs protruding from the crescents points. The back of the snap is stamped with "C.F. Co" at the top. On the bottom are two star symbols with the letters "CFC" stamped between them. The first "C" in CFC is backwards. In the hole of the snap itself, there is a raised embossment of a cross. The history of C.F. Co. is unknown at this time.



Figure 4.68. Photograph of C.F. Co./UK metal button snap.

Alameda Water Co. Bottle (NH29B and NH32A)

In 2004 a bottle base decorated with two embossed shaking hands was recovered as a surface find west of the cabin at coordinates N10070/E9890. The bottle base also includes the letters "RADE M REGISTER" (Figure 4.69). Students then found additional sherds of this bottle in 2005 when they excavated patio-unit NH32A.

The bottle was mended in the lab in 2006. The mended pieces revealed that the vessel is a soda water bottle from Oakland, CA. Further research concluded that the bottle was produced by the Alameda Soda Water Co. According to Peck and Audie Markota's 1999 book *A Look at California Hutchinson Type Soda Bottles*, Thomas Lund and Lot Moore founded The Alameda Soda Water Company in 1898 in Alameda, California (1999:3). Moore left the company in 1900, forcing Lund to relocate to Oakland, California in 1902 (1999:3). The Alameda Soda Water Company ended its production of carbonated beverages in 1919 (1999:4). The particular bottle that was found at the Nate Harrison site dates between 1902 and 1919.



Figure 4.69. Photograph of Alameda Water Company bottle sherds.

Stone Marble (NH41F)

Students uncovered a stone marble in one of the cabin-area units along the north wall. It is smooth although not perfectly round (Figure 4.70). Stone and ceramic marbles were far less expensive than glass marbles during the end of the 19th century. Archaeological work on an assortment of 19th-century domestic sites has revealed that status often dictates the material of the site's marbles. Whereas wealthier sites have equal numbers of glass, stone, and ceramic marbles, working-class sites contain virtually no glass marbles (Basinet 2000).

Archaeologists frequently associate marbles in the material record with the presence of children at the site (Burgarin 2005). The recovery of a stone marble from the lower levels of the cabin's interior strata, as well as the miniature ceramic saucer found during the 2004 summer field season, suggests a child's presence at the site. Since the historical records offer conflicting accounts as to the presence and number of wives (and children) that Harrison had, close attention will be paid as to whether the Nate Harrison site appears to have an archaeological footprint that reflects the presence of children.

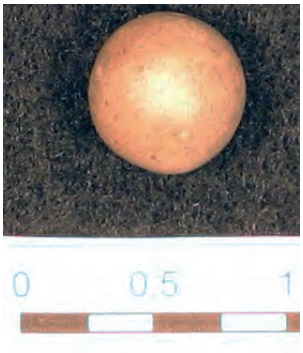


Figure 4.70. Photograph of stone marble.

Celluloid Imitation Tortoise Shell Comb (NH37E)

Near the south interior wall in the fifth layer of NH37, students uncovered a fragment of a well-weathered comb. It measures approximately 3" in length, with only 13 tines remaining. Although the comb resembles bone, its surface has a glossy brown, tortoise-shell color (Figure 4.71). The engraved line running along the top of the comb and the even spacing of the tines reveals that this comb was mass-produced. Designed to mimic ivory or tortoise shell, this comb was made from low-cost celluloid. Celluloid was the first plastic created in the 1840s; it was later perfected in the 1860s. The 1897 Sears, Roebuck Catalogue advertised a variety of celluloid combs, some of which were "Imitation Tortoise Shell" (Figure 4.72). The ad that most closely resembles the comb found at the Nate Harrison site states:

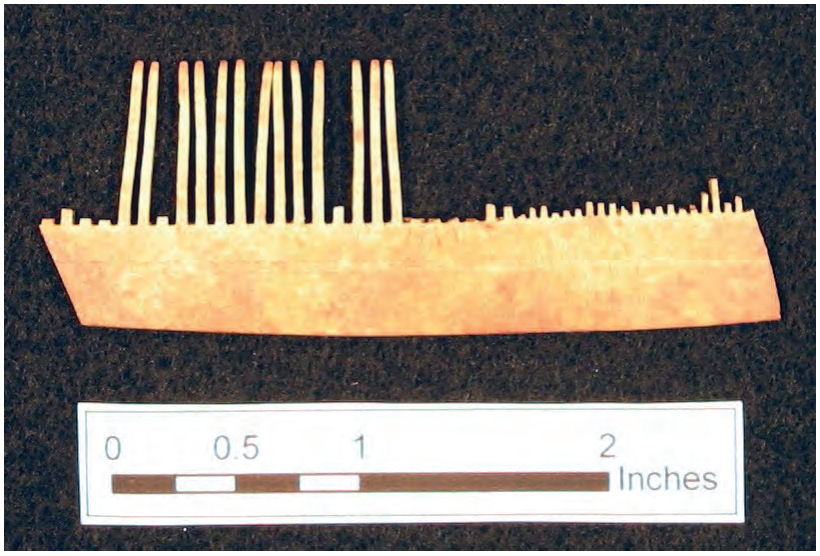


Figure 4.71. Photograph of celluloid comb.

> "25549 This pretty Imitation Tortoise Shell Celluloid Barber's Comb (gentlemen's combs), 7 inches long, is really worth 25 cents. Each . . . . . $0.15."

Over time, celluloid cracks and turns yellow (Goebel 2005). The comb recovered from the site has fractured and attained a yellowish hue.

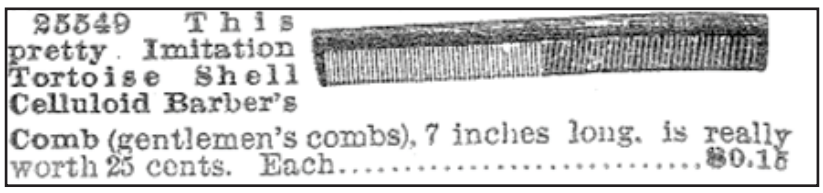

25549 This pretty Imitation Tortoise Shell Celluloid Barber's Comb (gentlemen's combs), 7 inches long, is really worth 25 cents. Each.....$0.15

Figure 4.72. Advertisement from the 1897 Sears, Roebuck Catalogue for "Imitation Tortoise Shell Celluloid Barber's Comb."

Door Hinge (NH9D)

As discussed earlier, the doorway in Nate Harrison's cabin was identified by the two sets of vertical stone lines in the west wall. Once the rocks that had been placed in the doorway gap after Harrison's death were removed, the doorway became obvious. In the fourth layer of the patio unit adjacent to the doorway (NH9D), excavators uncovered one of the hinges to the door (Figure 4.73). The hinge was nearly intact, measuring 17.5" long and roughly 0.5"thick (Figure 4.74). The first 7.0" of the door hinge is a long rectangular shape, nearly 4.5" wide. The finished edge of the rectangular portion is broken off. On the broken edge, a large semi-circle is present. Three inches below that, there is a nail hole 0.5" in diameter. The remaining 10.5" of the hinge is a long bar which projects out from the rectangular shape and then narrows to 1.25" in width. The tip of the bar becomes a point and directly above it is another nail hole.



Figure 4.73. In situ door hinge.



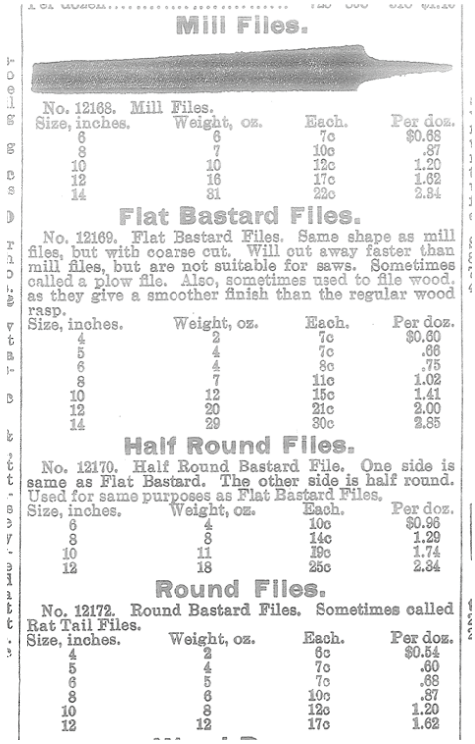
Figure 4.74. Photograph of door hinge after being processed in the archaeological laboratory.

Iron File (NH37D)

Students working in NH37D, the fourth layer of an interior cabin unit along the south wall, uncovered a complete flat iron file (Figure 4.75). Although the foot-long file was heavily corroded, its fine double-cut teeth were still visible. The 1897 Sears, Roebuck Catalogue contains an advertisement for a Mill file that is nearly identical to the one found in NH37D (Figure 4.76). The ad states that the foot-long file weighs a pound and sells for 17 cents a piece or $1.62 per dozen.



Figure 4.75. In situ iron file.



Mill Files.

No. 12168. Mill Files.

Size, inches.	Weight, oz.	Each.	Per doz.
6	6	7c	$0.68
8	7	10c	.87
10	10	12c	1.20
12	16	17c	1.62
14	31	22c	2.34

Flat Bastard Files.

No. 12169. Flat Bastard Files. Same shape as mill files, but with coarse cut. Will cut away faster than mill files, but are not suitable for saws. Sometimes called a plow file. Also, sometimes used to file wood, as they give a smoother finish than the regular wood rasp.

Size, inches.	Weight, oz.	Each.	Per doz.
4	2	7c	$0.60
5	4	7c	.66
6	4	8c	.75
8	7	11c	1.02
10	12	15c	1.41
12	20	21c	2.00
14	29	30c	2.85

Half Round Files.

No. 12170. Half Round Bastard File. One side is same as Flat Bastard. The other side is half round. Used for same purposes as Flat Bastard Files.

Size, inches.	Weight, oz.	Each.	Per doz.
6	4	10c	$0.96
8	8	14c	1.29
10	11	19c	1.74
12	18	25c	2.34

Round Files.

No. 12172. Round Bastard Files. Sometimes called Rat Tail Files.

Size, inches.	Weight, oz.	Each.	Per doz.
4	2	6c	$0.54
5	4	7c	.60
6	5	7c	.68
8	6	10c	.87
10	8	12c	1.20
12	12	17c	1.62

Figure 4.76. Advertisement from the 1897 Sears, Roebuck Catalogue for "Mill Files."

Schutzen Strasse Number 9 Bottle (NH1A, 1B, 1G, 2A, 3A, 4A, 5G, 8A, 9A, 9B, 9D, 10C, 11A, 14A, 16A, 22A, 23A, 23B, 32B, 36A)

Both cabin and patio areas of the Nate Harrison contained portions of a distinctive Schutzen Strasse Number 9 bottle, manufactured by distiller J.A. Gilka from Berlin, Germany (Figure 4.77). This company manufactured the unique amber eight-sided bottles from 1876 to 1920 (Mullins 2006). Although deemed a whiskey bottle, the contents of this type of vessel also contained kummel, a 76-proof German liquor. A non-alcoholic version of kummel was popular in America just prior to World War I.

Large Leather Shoe (NH39D)

Although other shoes had been uncovered at the site in 2004 and 2005, a leather shoe from southeastern cabin unit NH39 was distinctive in terms of its overall size. The shoe found in 2006 was 12" long and 3" wide at the heel (Figure 4.78). The previously found footwear was considerably smaller, measuring only 9" long and 2" wide. The striking size difference strongly suggests that these shoes were worn by different individuals. As mentioned in the 2004 report, Harrison's small stature (5' 3") is consistent with the smaller-sized shoes. In addition, the size of the



Figure 4.77. Photograph of Schutzen Strasse Number 9 bottle sherds found at site.



Figure 4.78. Photograph of leather shoe.

large shoe is consistent with descriptions of George Doane's wife's African-American servant, Amy, whom some called Nate Harrison's wife. As was detailed in the 2005 technical report, Nate Harrison nicknamed Amy, "Cubby," because her feet were as big as a bear-cub's feet. Hastings detailed that Amy's feet were a foot long. In his 1959 "Interview with LOUIS SHANNON SALMONS," he wrote,

> "The maid that came out, she was a big colored girl. She was about six feet; she wasn't fat, she was just big. Had a foot that long. Old Nate – the boys used to go around and measure her tracks, you know. And old Nate said, 'I always call her my 'cubby.' She's got a foot like a cub 'bar.'"

However, Wood wrote in *Palomar from Teepee to Telescope* (1937) that,

> "The negress, about sixteen years old and very large, wore no shoes and was designated by some of the mountain people as 'Amy N----r with the big feet,' but Nate named her 'Cubby' because she had feet as big as a bear's."

The leather shoe uncovered in 2006 would have fit Amy's large feet, but it is debatable how often she wore shoes.

Cosmetic Tin (NH1D)

Students working in patio unit NH1D uncovered a small, round and flat. cylindrical container that was completely sealed (Figure 4.79). It measured 1.5" in diameter and 0.5" in height. These dimensions were typical of early 20th-century rouge containers. "Rouge" means "red" in French and comes from the Latin word "rubeus," meaning "ruby." Modern usage of the word refers to a variety of reddish cosmetics in powder, paste, or liquid form for coloring or highlighting cheeks and lips. When the recovered container was opened in the laboratory months later, the contents were found to be white, not red, consisting of a white waxy substance in addition to some water that had separated out of the mixture (Figure 4.80). The Nate Harrison Historical Archaeology Project is in the process of locating a chemist who can determine the exact identity of the cosmetic substance in the tin.

Commercial cosmetics grew in popularity during the late 19th century. Powders, bases and waxes of a light color, containing chemicals such as zinc oxide, mercury, lead, nitrate of silver, and acids, were in high demand (Seleshanko 2004). However, as safety became the selling point for many of these products during the early 1900s, companies worked with doctors to develop healthier chemical blends for their products (Seleshanko 2004). Lipstick surged in popularity during the 1910s and peaked in the 1920s. During this time, wax-based lipstick and rouge in metal tins became commonplace, even in the most remote rural settings (French 2004).



Figure 4.79. In situ cosmetic tin.



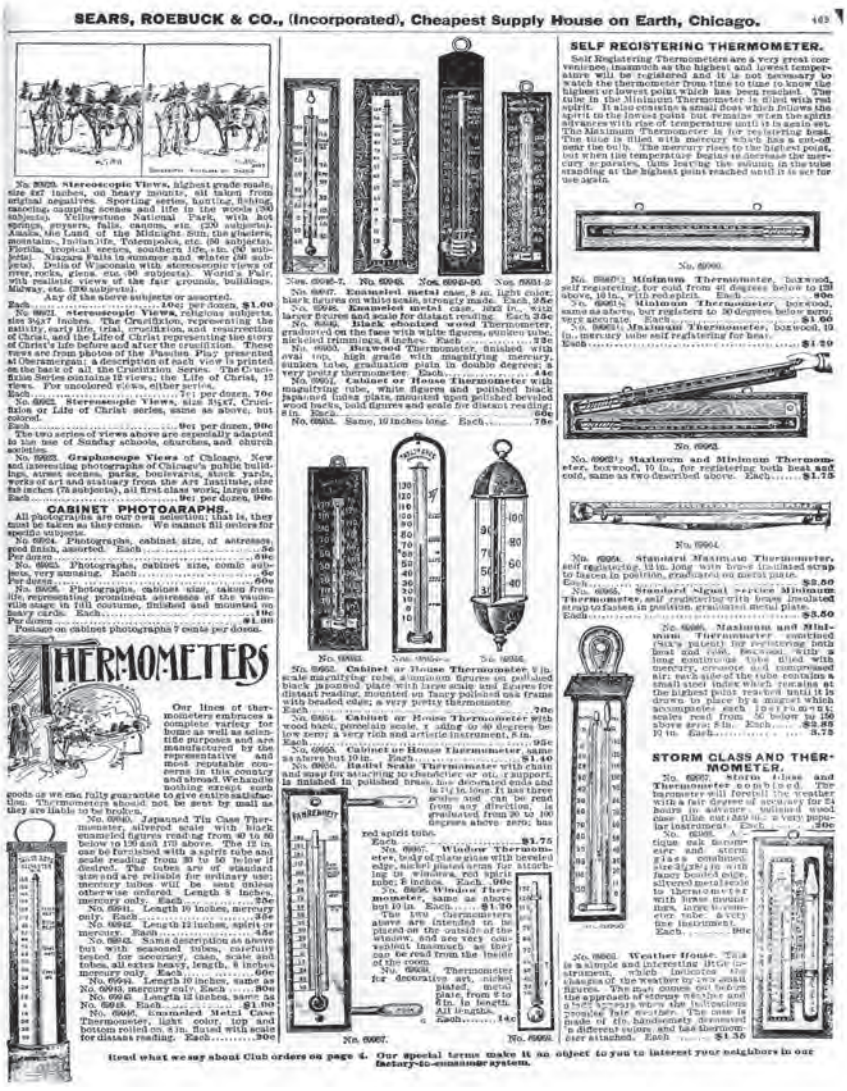
Figure 4.80. The white waxy contents of the cosmetic tin.



Figure 4.81. Photograph of glass thermometer sherds.

Thermometer Mercury Tubes (NH39A and NH36B)

Students excavating the southeastern corner cabin unit (NH39A) uncovered part of a small glass phial that was extremely thin and delicate. It resembled the sherd of a similar thin glass phial that had been uncovered in 2005 at the other side of the cabin in NH36B (Figure 4.81). These sherds are likely part of the mercury tube of a late 19th- and early 20th-century thermometer. The 1897 Sears, Roebuck and Company Catalogue included a wide variety of thermometers, ranging in price from 14 cents to $3.50. Figures 4.82a and 4.82b depict the many thermometers listed on pages 469 and 470 of the catalog.


SEARS, ROEBUCK & CO., (Incorporated), Cheapest Supply House on Earth, Chicago. 469

CABINET PHOTOGRAPHS.

THERMOMETERS

SELF REGISTERING THERMOMETER.

STORM GLASS AND THERMOMETER.

Figure 4.82a. Page 469 advertisements from the 1897 Sears, Roebuck Catalogue for "Thermometers."

470 SEARS, ROEBUCK & CO., (Incorporated), Cheapest Suppl

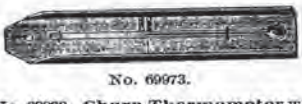


No. 69970.

No. 69970. Clinical Thermometer, for physicians' and nurses' use, self registering, 4 in. long in a neat hard rubber case, straight pattern with bulb very accurate. (The two cuts represent the thermometer in and out of the case.) Each.....$1.00

No. 69971. Clinical Thermometer, for physicians' and nurses' use, self registering, 4 in. long, in plain enameled case with gilt band, safety chain and clasp to prevent it being lost from the pocket; a certificate of accuracy is furnished with each one of these thermometers. Each.....$2.00

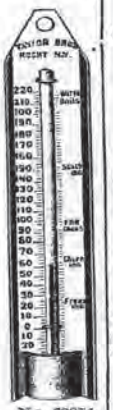
No. 69972. Chemical Thermometer, all glass, with graduations etched on tube with scale up to 300 or 600 degrees Each.....$1.75



No. 69973.

No. 69973. Churn Thermometer with flange scale, tested at 62 degrees for churning. Each.....15c

No. 69974. Dairy Thermometer with flange like cut for general dairy use. Each 8 in.....15c
Each 10 in.....25c



No. 69974.



No. 69975.

No. 69975. Dairy or Bath Thermometer, all glass; a very desirable instrument and easy to keep clean. Each.....20c



No. 69976.

No. 69976. Dairy Thermometer, all glass, standard floating; a new and superior instrument, 9 in. long with swell tube, floats upright. Each, Small, 30c.; Large.....50c



69977

No. 69977. Incubating Thermometer, each 4½ or 6 in., long with graduated metal scale, very sensitive and accurate Each.....50c

No. 69978. Bath Thermometer. 8 in. glass tube, with scale, white wood frame, with round handle. Each....40c

No. 69979. Hot Bed Thermometer, round 15 in., hard wood frame with handle and sharp pointed hollow brass ferule to penetrate the soil, red spirit and boxwood scale; is an indispensable article to gardeners or florists. Each.....$1.80

No. 69980. Evaporating Thermometer, for drying fruit, ovens, dry kilns, etc., reading to 300 degrees and over, with flanged scale, extra heavy. Each.....$1.65

No. 69981. Confectioner's Thermometer, heavy copper case, 12 in. long, scale reading up to 350 or 400 degrees, very accurate. Each.....$1.75



69978

No. 69982. Lactometer, for testing the quality of milk, shows the effects produced by changes in the animals diet, as different articles of food produce milk of different density; also shows the amount of water contained in milk; complete instructions accompany each instrument. Each.....35c

No. 69983. Urinometers, used for determining the condition of the system by the specific gravity and the quality of the urine; a circular accompanies each instrument, giving full instructions as to how it should be used, complete with jar enclosed in a round wood box. Each.....35c



No. 69984.

No. 69984. Hydrometers, for testing the specific gravity of different liquids, as given in the following list:

Give name and number when ordering.

No. 1 Acid.	No. 2 Alkali.
No. 3 Sugar and Syrup.	No. 4 Vinegar.
No. 5 Salt, 0 to 50.	No. 6 Salamander, 0 to 100.
No. 7 Cider.	No. 8 Shellac.
No. 9 Spirit, plain.	No. 10 Bark (for tanners.)
No. 11 Liquids heavier than water.	
No. 12 Liquids lighter than water.	
No. 13 Sachrometers.	No. 14 Ammonia.
No. 15 Coal Oil.	

Price of any of the above. Each.....50c



No. 69986.

No. 69985. Hydrometer Jars, with foot and pouring spout, but without degrees, weight 6 to 8 oz., height 10 in., diameter 1⅛ in. Each.....30c
Height 12 in., diameter 2 in. Each...40c
Height 15 in., diameter 2 in. Each...50c

No. 69986. Hydrometer Jars, with foot and pouring spout, degrees engraved from 0 to 30, weight 6 to 8 oz. Height 10 in., diameter 1⅛ in. Each.....50c
Height 10 in., diameter 1⅛ in. 0 to 90 degrees. Each.....60c

No. 69987. Rain Gauge, 8 in. in diameter, copper funnel with galvanized overflow and measuring stick used by the Signal Service. Each.....$2.25

No. 69988. Hygrometer or Moisture Gauge, mounted on wood base for the use of florists, gardeners, incubators, etc. Each.....$1.25
Postage 10 cents.



No. 69988.



No. 69989.

No. 69989. Hygrometer or Moisture Gauge, German, with brass case, card dial, 2¼ inches in diameter; weight, 4 ounces, for general purposes. Each.....$1.75

BAROMETERS.

For the benefit of those who do not know, we will explain that barometers are scientific and practical instruments, used to forteil the indications of the weather by the varying pressure of the atmosphere. They are of inestimable value to farmers, gardeners, mariners, etc They are also used by tourists in the mountain regions to determine the altitude or distance abovethe sea level. Full instructions accompany each instrument.



Nos. 69990-91.

No. 69990. Aneroid Barometer, in nickel plated case, open face, with card dial 2½ inches in diameter. Each.....$2.00

No. 69991. Aneroid Barometer, brass case, with metal dial, 4 in. in diameter, open face. Each,....$3.50

No. 69992. Aneroid Barometer, lacquered, brass case, entire open face dial etched on plate glass front, beveled edge; a very fine little instrument, 4 inches in diameter. Each..$5.50

No. 69993. Aneroid Barometer, lacquered, brass case, open face, silvered metal dial, with Fahrenheit thermometer, 4½ in. in diameter. Each.....$9.60



No. 69993.

No. 69994. Holosteric Barometer, in lacquered brass case, open face, with silvered metal dial, 6 inches in diameter, with two thermometers representing the Fahrenheit, Centigrade and Reaumur scales. This instrument is a standard of very fine quality. Each, $15.50

MOUNTAIN POCKET BAROMETERS.
For Measuring Heights.

These instruments are now made nearly as portable as an ordinary watch, and yet are fully as accurate as the larger sizes. They are of great service to engineers and tourists, as well as to scientific observers, especially in mountain districts, as they indicate correctly the the distance above the sea level.

No. 69995. Pocket Aneroid Barometer, watch size, 1⅝ inches in diameter, nickel case, metal dial, open face, without thermometer, reading to 10,000 feet. Each.....$7.65

No. 69996. Pocket Aneroid Barometer, watch size, 2 inches in diameter, nickel case, open face, metal dial, with revolving ring, reading to 15,000 feet, compensated for temperature, thermometer and compass on the reverse side; a very complete and accurate instrument. Each.....$10.35

MERCURIAL BAROMETERS.

No. 69997. Mercurial Barometer, 39 in. long, with porcelain scales, light and dark frame. Each...$5.00

No. 69998. Standard Mercurial Barometer, same principle as those used by the weather bureau, 36 inches long, ivory scales, oak frame; a very complete and practical instrument, Each.....$10.35

The Graphophone—the wonder of the Centure and heretofore only bought by the wealthy is

Figure 4.82b. Page 470 advertisements from the 1897 Sears, Roebuck Catalogue for "Thermometers."



Figure 4.83. Field-school participants (left to right) Cole Giurlani, Justin Sorensen, Jaime Lennox, Michelle Hammond, Kimberly Scott, Kristin Tennesen, Thomas Sowles, Hillary Sweeney, Robert Tews, Michelle Hart, Matthew Maxfeldt, and Onika Miyashiro pose at Billy Goat Point, the spot at which Nate Harrison frequently surveyed the entire valley.

4.7 A Final Note…

Up to this point in the Nate Harrison Historical Archaeology Project, archaeological investigations at the site have focused primarily on the cabin and adjacent patio area. Preliminary analysis of the 20,000 artifacts uncovered in these areas offers great insight into the daily life of Harrison in his primary living space. The coming year's technical report (2007-2008) will focus on the cabin's architecture and attempt to provide cultural context for his unique dwelling. This analysis will coincide with the complete excavation of the cabin's interior. By the end of the 2006 field season, approximately 20% of the cabin—including most of the chimney—had yet to be uncovered.

The historical records compiled in the last two technical reports emphasize that Harrison's activities took him all over the local terrain; he spent considerable time at his spring, his lookout (Billy Goat Point), and much of the mountain, valley, and surrounding areas as well (Figure 4.83). Harrison's daily interaction with the mountain is part of a cultural landscape that this project endeavors to grasp. He impacted the land directly by building a cabin, tending to livestock, planting trees, etc. Harrison also indirectly influenced activity in the mountain by facilitating greater use of the road. He supplied travelers with water, but he also provided something much more enticing—himself. This former slave who chose to live at a great distance from the city was an exotic anomaly for the region, and he was charismatic as well.

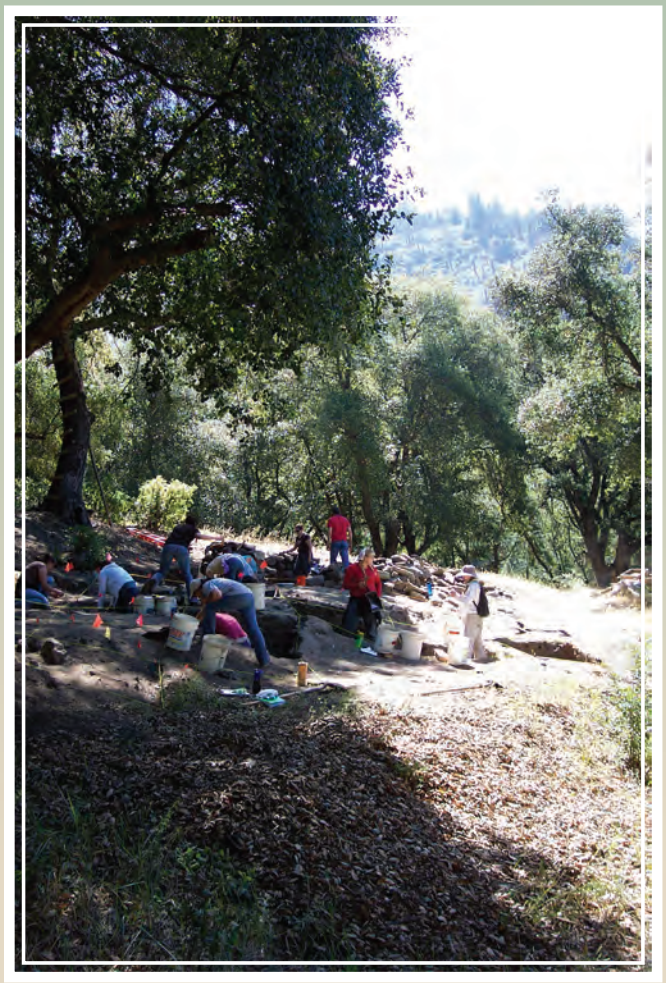
In the future, the Nate Harrison Historical Archaeology Project will continue to research all aspects of Harrison's life and legend and present its results in a public and timely manner (Figure 4.84). We continue to produce annual reports. The cumulative nature of archaeological research and the thrill of discovery keep everyone affiliated with the Nate Harrison Historical Archaeology Project eager for the start of the coming summer field season.



Figure 4.84. San Diego State University Executive Vice President for Academic Affairs Ethan Singer and Provost Nancy Marlin stand at the entrance to Nate Harrison's cabin with Professor Mallios during the annual archaeological open house and discuss what everyday life in the 19th century must have been like on this mountain homestead.

PART V

An Interim Technical Report for the 2007 Field Season



Cover image 5a. A view from the west; the student crew excavates the Nate Harrison site during the 2007 summer field school.



Cover image 5b. An undated picture likely from the early 1900s of Nate Harrison at his Palomar-Mountain cabin. This image is classified in the 2004 technical report as Kirby Collection Image #4. Both of the cover photographs were taken from approximately the same spot on the rise to the west of where Harrison once lived.

Seth Mallios

With Contributions by Matthew Tennyson, Hillary Sweeney, Jaime Lennox, Brenda Cabello, Erika Kleinhans, and David Caterino

Part V List of Figures

Cover image 5a. A view from the west; the student crew excavates the Nate Harrison site during the 2007 summer field school. 337

Cover image 5b. An undated picture likely from the early 1900s of Nate Harrison at his Palomar-Mountain cabin. This image is classified in the 2004 technical report as Kirby Collection Image #4. Both of the cover photographs were taken from approximately the same spot on the rise to the west of where Harrison once lived. 337

Figure 5.1. The new owners of the Harrison property: Elisa Kisselburg, Vicki Morgan, and Susie Silvestri. 346

Figure 5.2. 2007 field crew. From left to right, bottom to top: Rob Tews, Samantha Stevens, Kyle Dolph, Seth Mallios, Henry Mendoza, Hillary Sweeney, Erika Kleinhans, Matthew Maxfeldt, Lisa Bender, Katherine Sholan, Brenda Cabello, Laura Weide, Jaime Lennox, Nicole Benson, and Kristin Tennesen. Not pictured: Joseph (Marc) Barca. 346

Figure 5.3a. Professor Mallios and the 2007 Trowlie recipient Rob Tews. Tews also teamed to win the field school's horse shoe tournament and the watermelon seed (rind) spitting contest, an unprecedented sweep (hat trick) of the summer program's top honors. 347

Figure 5.3b. Jaime Lennox and Hillary Sweeney screen dirt in addition to their endless duties as co-crew chief, camp manager, and laboratory supervisor. 347

Figure 5.4. The summer field crew excavates the north/south patio-area trench. From left to right: Jaime Lennox, Kathy Sholan, Erika, Kleinhans, Nicole Benson, and Samantha Stevens. Kristin Tennesen stands inside of the cabin excavation area, and Laura Weide and Hillary Sweeney screen dirt off to the far right. 348

Figure 5.5. Kyle Dolph and Laura Weide measure and construct a profile map of their unit's west wall at the southern terminus of the north/south patio-area trench. 349

Figure 5.6. The Guy B. Woodward Museum Collection Image #1. 350

Figure 5.7. Additional information listed on back of Guy B. Woodward Museum Collection Image #1. 350

Figure 5.8. Page 1 of September 10, 1979 letter that accompanied the Guy B. Woodward Museum Collection Image #1. 352

Figure 5.9. Page 2 of September 10, 1979 letter that accompanied the Guy B. Woodward Museum Collection Image #1. 352

Figure 5.10. Earthfast structure from Kelso 1984:75. 354

Figure 5.11. Floor plan of hall-and-parlor house from Bell 2005:452. 355

Figure 5.12. Floor plan of I-house from Bell 2005:453. 355

Figure 5.13. Saltbox house from Glassie 2000:123. 356

Figure 5.14. Shotgun house from Vlach 1986:60. 357

Figure 5.15. Example of a Victorian house from McAlester and McAlester 1984:283. 359

Figure 5.16. Example of a ranch style house from McAlester and McAlester 1984:479. 360

Figure 5.17. Example of Craftsman style house from McAlester and McAlester 1984:459. 360

Figure 5.18. San Diego Historical Society Image #4 (see 2004 Technical Report) depicts the standing Harrison cabin in 1926. The photograph was taken uphill, from the southeast. 363
Figure 5.19. Table comparing historical San Diego houses. 364
Figure 5.20. The Charles Hamilton Residence, 1886. Courtesy San Diego Historical Society. 365
Figure 5.21. The Victorian house at 6th Ave. and Cedar Street, 1887. Courtesy San Diego Historical Society. 365
Figure 5.22. The D. D. Bailey House, 1876. Courtesy San Diego Historical Society. 365
Figure 5.23. The Doane Ranch, no date. Courtesy San Diego Historical Society. 366
Figure 5.24. The Mendenhall Residence, 1902. Courtesy San Diego Historical Society. 366
Figure 5.25. The Marston House, 1905. Courtesy San Diego Historical Society. 367
Figure 5.26. Table comparing historical African-American houses in San Diego County. 367
Figure 5.27. Black's IXL Laundry, circa 1890s. Courtesy San Diego Historical Society. 368
Figure 5.28. The Clauder House, 1916. Courtesy San Diego Historical Society. 369
Figure 5.29. The Hudgins House, no date. Courtesy Madyun and Malone 1981:93. 369
Figure 5.30. The Johnson House, circa 1910. Courtesy Madyun and Malone 1981:98. 369
Figure 5.31. The Robinson Hotel, no date. Courtesy Madyun and Malone 1981:101. 369
Figure 5.32. Table comparing Harrison cabin with local historical indigenous structures. 370
Figure 5.33. Indigenous thatch house 1, 1897. Courtesy San Diego Historical Society. 371
Figure 5.34. Indigenous thatch house 2, 1897. Courtesy San Diego Historical Society. 371
Figure 5.35. Indigenous thatch house 3, 1911. Courtesy San Diego Historical Society. 371
Figure 5.36. Mountain Kumeyaay structure, no date. A note accompanying this photograph states that this hut was similar to structures built by Mountain Kumeyaay. Courtesy San Diego Historical Society. 372
Figure 5.37. Mountain Kumeyaay teepee, circa 1910. A note accompanying this photograph states that this was Palomar Mountain's "last teepee." Courtesy San Diego Historical Society. 372
Figure 5.38. Homes at Pala Indian Reservation, circa 1910. Courtesy San Diego Historical Society. 372
Figure 5.39. Laguna Mountain home, 1908. Courtesy San Diego Historical Society. 372
Figure 5.40. "Indian Home," 1904. Courtesy San Diego Historical Society. 373
Figure 5.41. Pala Reservation adobe, no date. Courtesy San Diego Historical Society. 373
Figure 5.42. Thatch structure at Pala Indian Reservation, no date. Courtesy San Diego Historical Society. 373
Figure 5.43. Adobes at Warner Hot Springs, no date. Courtesy San Diego Historical Society. 373
Figure 5.44. Adobe at Warner Hot Springs, 1899. Courtesy San Diego Historical Society. 374
Figure 5.45. Table comparing Palomar Mountain residential structures. 374
Figure 5.46. The Bailey House, 1892. Courtesy San Diego Historical Society 375
Figure 5.47. The Frye cabin, 1915. Courtesy San Diego Historical Society. 376

Figure 5.48. Table comparing local historical house interiors. 376
Figure 5.49. Archaeological interior of Nate Harrison cabin. 377
Figure 5.50. Interior of Doane house, no date. Courtesy San Diego Historical Society. 377
Figure 5.51. Interior of Doane house, no date. Courtesy San Diego Historical Society. 377
Figure 5.52. Interior of Native American house, circa 1911. Courtesy San Diego Historical Society. 378
Figure 5.53. Interior of Spring Valley home, 1897. Courtesy San Diego Historical Society. 378
Figure 5.54. Slave cabin 1. Courtesy Vlach 1993:170. 380
Figure 5.55. Slave cabin 2. Courtesy Vlach 1993:173. 380
Figure 5.56. Slave cabin 3. Courtesy Vlach 1993:174. 380
Figure 5.57. Plan map of Nate Harrison site as of June 2007. 384
Figure 5.58. Plan-view photograph of cabin area of site with ER designations. 384
Figure 5.59. Plan-view photograph of patio area of site with ER designations. 385
Figure 5.60. Excavation Register of Nate Harrison site through June 2007. 386
Figure 5.61. NH42 east wall photograph. 387
Figure 5.62. NH42 west wall photograph. 388
Figure 5.63. NH18 east wall photograph. 389
Figure 5.64. NH18 west wall photograph. 389
Figure 5.65. NH15 east wall photograph. 390
Figure 5.66. NH15 west wall photograph. 390
Figure 5.67. NH17 east wall photograph. This image is of the west wall of NH1, the contiguous unit to the immediate west of NH17. Since they share a wall, the two-dimensional west wall of NH1 occupies the same flat space as the east wall of NH17. As a result, the photograph of the west wall of NH1 is the exact mirror image of the east wall drawn in the profile map. The image depicted here shows NH17 before excavation yet also depicts the east-wall profile. 391
Figure 5.68. NH17 west wall photograph. This image is of the east wall of NH34, the contiguous unit to the immediate east of NH17. Since they share a wall, the two-dimensional east wall of NH34 occupies the same flat space as the west wall of NH17. As a result, the photograph of the east wall of NH34 is the exact mirror image of the west wall drawn in the profile map. The image depicted here shows NH17 before excavation yet also depicts the east-wall profile. 391
Figure 5.69. NH22 east wall photograph. 392
Figure 5.70. NH22 west wall photograph. 392
Figure 5.71. NH27 east wall photograph. 392
Figure 5.72. NH27 west wall photograph. 392
Figure 5.73. NH3 north wall photograph. 393
Figure 5.74. NH3 south wall photograph. 394
Figure 5.75. NH8 north wall photograph. 395
Figure 5.76. NH8 south wall photograph. 395

Figure 5.77. NH1 north wall photograph. 396

Figure 5.78. NH1 south wall photograph. 396

Figure 5.79. NH17 north wall photograph. This image is of the south wall of NH22, the contiguous unit to the immediate north of NH17. Since they share a wall, the two-dimensional south wall of NH22 occupies the same flat space as the north wall of NH17. As a result, the photograph of the south wall of NH22 is the exact mirror image of the north wall drawn in the profile map. The image depicted here shows NH17 before excavation yet also depicts the north-wall profile. 397

Figure 5.80. NH17 south wall photograph. This image is of the north wall of NH15, the contiguous unit to the immediate south of NH17. Since they share a wall, the two-dimensional north wall of NH15 occupies the same flat space as the south wall of NH17. As a result, the photograph of the north wall of NH15 is the exact mirror image of the south wall drawn in the profile map. The image depicted here shows NH17 before excavation yet also depicts the south-wall profile. 397

Figure 5.81. NH34 north wall photograph. 398

Figure 5.82. NH34 south wall photograph. 398

Figure 5.83. Excavators Rob Tews, Matthew Maxfeldt, Kyle Dolph, and Laura Wedie uncover numerous artifacts in NH47 and 48. 399

Figure 5.84. Composite profile map of eastern and western walls of the North/South Patio Trench. Maps from four seasons of excavation were combined to produce this profile. 400

Figure 5.85. Composite profile map of northern and southern walls of the East/West Patio Trench. Maps from four seasons of excavation were combined to produce this profile. 400

Figure 5.86. Oblique-angle photograph of west wall of North/South Patio Trench and south wall of East/West Patio Trench. Excavators from left to right are: Matthew Maxfeldt, Kristin Tennesen, Kyle Dolph, Robert Tews, and Henry Mendoza. 401

Figure 5.87. Oblique-angle photograph of east wall of North/South Patio Trench and (again) south wall of East/West Patio Trench. Excavators from left to right are: Henry Mendoza, Matthew Maxfeldt, Robert Tews, Kristin Tennesen, and Kyle Dolph. 401

Figure 5.88. Photograph of north wall of East/West Patio Trench. 402

Figure 5.89. Photograph of north half of hearth. Dr. Mallios brushes a can base that was found resting on one of the hearth cobbles. Note the triangular area of burned clay at Mallios's left and the rodent hole just behind the clay. 403

Figure 5.90. NH39 east wall profile map 403

Figure 5.91. NH39 east wall photograph. 404

Figure 5.92. NH39 south wall profile map 404

Figure 5.93. NH39 south wall photograph. 404

Figure 5.94. Rob Tews, Matthew Maxfeldt, and Hillary Sweeney excavate the stratum just above the original floor in NH44. 405

Figure 5.95. Kristin Tennesen maps the southern half of the cabin hearth, a small circular area that protrudes beyond the east-wall foundation. 406

Figure 5.96. Profile map of west wall interior. The numbered rocks (1-41) in NH36 are the stones that filled the doorway long after the cabin had been abandoned. 407

Figure 5.97. Photograph of west wall interior. The line marks the door jam showing where post-Harrison occupation rocks had been placed in the doorway. 408

Figure 5.98. Photograph of west wall interior. Using the vertical line of end stones that marked the door jam, rocks were removed to show the original doorway opening and threshold. Excavators from left to right are: Matthew Maxfeldt, Kristin Tennesen, and Robert Tews. 408

Figure 5.99. A photograph taken from a slightly oblique angle shows the original door frame and emphasizes the vertical stone-line on the doorway's north side. 409

Figure 5.100. Photograph of north wall interior. Excavators from left to right are: Matthew Maxfeldt and Kristin Tennesen. 409

Figure 5.101. Photograph of south wall interior. Notice the rodent hole near the cornerstone to the right. Excavators from left to right are: Kyle Dolph and Kristin Tennesen. 410

Figure 5.102. Photograph of east wall interior. Excavators from left to right are: Matthew Maxfeldt, Kyle Dolph, and Kristin Tennesen. 411

Figure 5.103. Photograph of chimney base. Kyle Dolph (left) is on the north side of the hearth base near the rodent hole and burned clay, and Hillary Sweeney (right) is next to the unexcavated circular area on the south side of the hearth. 411

Figure 5.104. Photograph of nearly the entire hard-working crew. From left to right: Lisa Bender, Hillary Sweeney, Marc Barca, Matthew Maxfeldt, Henry Mendoza, Nicole Benson, Kyle Dolph, Jaime Lennox, Kristin Tennesen, Samantha Stevens, Erika Kleinhans, Katherine Sholan, and Brenda Cabello. 413

Figure 5.105. David Lewis (left) and David Caterino (right) carefully map the cabin foundation. Scott Mattingly sets up the transit in the background. 414

Figure 5.106. A digital terrain map of Palomar Mountain's western slopes with the Nate Harrison Grade on the left. 415

Figure 5.107. A digital topographic map of Palomar Mountain's western slopes with the Nate Harrison Grade on the left. 415

Figure 5.108. An AutoCAD map of the Nate Harrison site area. This map shows the cabin outline, the patio units, and the purported (yet archaeologically debunked) "Indian trail" running just south across the cabin and patio areas. 416

Figure 5.109. Every Friday, students processed the artifacts that they had recovered during the previous week. The crew pictured here are (left to right): Rob Tews, Laura Weide, Henry Mendoza, Katherine Sholan, Marc Barca, Samantha Stevens, Jaime Lennox, Matthew Maxfeldt, Erika Kleinhans, Lisa Bender, Nicole Benson, and Kyle Dolph. 417

Figure 5.110. Artifact date ranges based on materials found during the 2007 field season. 418

Figure 5.111. Cumulative artifact date ranges from the entire Nate Harrison (2004-2007 field seasons). 419

Figure 5.112. Table listing the amount and percentage of artifacts and rocks per layer for each layer in NH1. The r^2 value is -0.46. 420

Figure 5.113. Table listing the amount and percentage of artifacts and rocks per layer for each layer in NH3. The r^2 value is -0.99. 420

Figure 5.114. Table listing the amount and percentage of artifacts and rocks per layer for each layer in NH8. The r^2 value is -0.64. 420

Figure 5.115. Table listing the amount and percentage of artifacts and rocks per layer for each layer in NH15. The r^2 value is -0.56. 420

Figure 5.116. Table listing the amount and percentage of artifacts and rocks per layer for each layer in NH17. The r^2 value is -0.71. 421

Figure 5.117. Table listing the amount and percentage of artifacts and rocks per layer for each layer in NH18. The r^2 value is -0.52. 421

Figure 5.118. Table listing the amount and percentage of artifacts and rocks per layer for each layer in NH22. The r^2 value is -0.49. 421

Figure 5.119. Table listing the amount and percentage of artifacts and rocks per layer for each layer in NH27. The r^2 value is -0.93. 421

Figure 5.120. Table listing the amount and percentage of artifacts and rocks per layer for each layer in NH34. The r^2 value is -0.59. 422

Figure 5.121. Table listing the amount and percentage of artifacts and rocks per layer for each layer in NH42. The r^2 value is -0.50. 422

Figure 5.122. Scatter-plot diagram of artifact and rock percentages for each patio cross trench context. 423

Figure 5.123. Table of new cross-mends from the 2007 field season. 423

Figure 5.124. Photograph of various keys to cans of processed meats and fish..... 424

Figure 5.125. Photograph of various oblong cans..... 424

Figure 5.126. Matthew Maxfeldt, excavating in the East/West Patio Trench, uncovers an artifact scatter that includes the base of a can, the lip to a glass vessel, and butchered faunal remains..... 424

Figure 5.127. Image of famed French inventor Nicolas Appert. 424

Figure 5.128. Henry Mendoza excavates a hinged tobacco can in NH8B. 426

Figure 5.129. Photograph of tobacco can following excavation. 426

Figure 5.130. Image of well-preserved Prince Albert tobacco can. 426

Figure 5.131. Photograph of copper rivets from west end of patio trench uncovered in 2007..... 427

Figure 5.132. Photograph of pen cap and clip uncovered from dirt floor of cabin. 428

Figure 5.133. Patent drawings associated with Ochoa's pen and pencil clip. 428

Figure 5.134. Photograph of the site's lone brick. 429

Figure 5.135. Photograph of granite metate. 429

Figure 5.136. Photograph of granite metate in relation to structural foundation..... 429

Figure 5.137. Kristin Tennesen uncovers a long strand of barbed wire that was connected to the exterior east wall of the cabin. 430

Figure 5.138. The Murine Eye Remedy bottle that was uncovered in NH8A during excavation in the summer of 2004..... 431

Figure 5.139. The 1908 AMA article includes these images of the dubious Northern Illinois College degrees and the following caption: “Photographic reproduction (much reduced) of some of the ornate diplomas issued by the exploiters of Murine. As the ‘college’ catalogue states, most of these diplomas ‘frame handsomely 28 x 28 inches.’ While this is a college of ‘otology,’ it will be noticed that no degrees of ‘fellow,’ ‘bachelor,’ ‘doctor,’ or ‘master,’ of ‘Otology’ is granted. Why the institution is called a college of otology it is hard to guess—possibly because it sounds well.” 433

Figure 5.140. The 1908 AMA article includes these images of the dubious Northern Illinois College office and the following caption: “Photographic reproduction (reduced) of one of the pages from the catalogue of the ‘Northern Illinois College of Ophthalmology and Otology.’ While this ‘college’ apparently does not teach either ophthalmology or otology it does teach spectacle fitting—and incidentally seems to be used to exploit the ‘Infallible, Imperial, Oriental, Optic Liniment and Salvation for Sore Eyes’—Murine.” Note the two poster-sized advertisements for Murine Eye Tonic prominently displayed in the office, ... 433

Figure 5.141. Photograph of Billy Goat Point, the spot on the grade from which Nate Harrison often surveyed the valley below and awaited visitors. It was completely burned during the 2007 Poomacha fire..... 434

Figure 5.142. Possible second structure. 435



Figure 5.1. The new owners of the Harrison property: Elisa Kisselburg, Vicki Morgan, and Susie Silvestri.



Figure 5.2. 2007 field crew. From left to right, bottom to top: Rob Tews, Samantha Stevens, Kyle Dolph, Seth Mallios, Henry Mendoza, Hillary Sweeney, Erika Kleinhans, Matthew Maxfeldt, Lisa Bender, Katherine Sholan, Brenda Cabello, Laura Weide, Jaime Lennox, Nicole Benson, and Kristin Tennesen. Not pictured: Joseph (Marc) Barca.

5.1 Acknowledgments

No archaeological project is a singular endeavor; field work is a team effort that requires the consistent diligence, patience, and generosity of many individuals. Accordingly, the fourth consecutive season of summer excavation at the Nate Harrison site relied on the talents of a wealth of people. First and foremost, the project is indebted to the new owners of the Harrison homestead: Elisa Kisselburg, Vicki Morgan, and Susie Silvestri (Figure 5.1). The Nate Harrison Historical Archaeology Project has continued as a direct result of their support. In addition, Susie was especially helpful in enabling the field school to function on a daily basis during the summer. The new land owners have established Harrison's historical property as "Pacha Mama's Grove: A Place of Laughter, Love, and Healing." Their mission statement is to "bring together people from all walks of life for growth and healing." It is worth noting that Nate Harrison was historically renowned for his ability to bring together people of different ages, ethnicities, and statuses during his lengthy tenure atop Palomar Mountain. One of Harrison's most significant legacies is both reflected and reified by the inclusive mission of Pacha Mama's Grove.

The 2007 field students were outstanding. Collectively, Joseph (Marc) Barca, Lisa Bender, Nicole Benson, Brenda Cabello, Kyle Dolph, Erika Kleinhans, Matthew Maxfeldt, Henry Mendoza, Katherine Sholan, Samantha Stevens, Kristin Tennesen, Robert Tews, and Laura Weide were motivated, observant, and skilled excavators (Figure 5.2). Although only one of them—Rob Tews (Figure 5.3a)—could be awarded the coveted *Trowelie* for "Most Outstanding Archaeological Crew Member," they each deserved substantial consideration for this prestigious accolade. Hillary Sweeney and Jaime Lennox (Figure 5.3b) continue to excel as co-crew chief, camp manager, and laboratory supervisor. In addition, Hillary, Jaime, Erika, Brenda, and Nicole together put in the hundreds of hours necessary to process the 2007 artifact assemblage.

Many San Diego State University faculty and staff members were essential to the continued success of this summer field program. We are very appreciative of the support from Anthropology Department Administrative Coordinator Kathleen Peck, College of Arts and Letters Dean Paul Wong, and Provost Nancy Marlin.

In addition, Scott Mattingly, David Lewis, and David Caterino completed an extensive survey and map of various areas of the site. And finally, we also wish to express our extended debt of gratitude to Jamey and Hannah Kirby, who first granted us access onto their land to start the excavation.



Figure 5.3a. Professor Mallios and the 2007 Trowlie recipient Rob Tews. Tews also teamed to win the field school's horse shoe tournament and the watermelon seed (rind) spitting contest, an unprecedented sweep (hat trick) of the summer program's top honors.



Figure 5.3b. Jaime Lennox and Hillary Sweeney screen dirt in addition to their endless duties as co-crew chief, camp manager, and laboratory supervisor.



Figure 5.4. The summer field crew excavates the north/south patio-area trench. From left to right: Jaime Lennox, Kathy Sholan, Erika, Kleinhans, Nicole Benson, and Samantha Stevens. Kristin Tennesen stands inside of the cabin excavation area, and Laura Weide and Hillary Sweeney screen dirt off to the far right.

5.2 Introduction

Using multiple lines of historical and archaeological evidence, the Nate Harrison Historical Archaeology Project endeavors to broaden insight into the local past. It scrutinizes long buried artifacts and often forgotten texts, following famed historical lexicographer Samuel Johnson's assertion that, "...words are the daughters of earth, and... things are the sons of heaven" (Johnson 1755). This ongoing archaeological field and laboratory project is simultaneously a research endeavor and an active training ground for students (Figures 5.4 and 5.5). It endeavors to unite research, teaching, and service to the community. Excavation started in 2004 and is tentatively scheduled to continue for at least the next three years. Harrison was a San Diego County pioneer who has achieved legendary status in the years since his passing. In attempting to discern fact from fiction regarding Harrison's life and times, this project is both an analysis of San Diego County's early U.S. American history and a study of how modern San Diegans present their past.



Figure 5.5. Kyle Dolph and Laura Weide measure and construct a profile map of their unit's west wall at the southern terminus of the north/south patio-area trench.

The 2007 interim technical report presented here is a continuation of the 2004, 2005, and 2006 interim technical reports. All of these documents are available on the web at: http://www-rohan.sdsu.edu/~histarch. Except where noted, this report employs the same core research design, field methods, and laboratory techniques that were detailed in the 2004 report and amended in the 2005 and 2006 reports.

The 2007 report begins with an additional historical photograph of Harrison and associated materials. The 2004 report, which contained forty late 19th- and early-20th century photographs of Harrison and his environs, fortuitously inspired other San Diegans to send their Palomar-Mountain images to Professor Mallios. We hope this

continues. Anyone with an historical image or any information regarding Harrison is urged to e-mail the project director at smallios@mail.sdsu.edu, call him at (619) 594-4748, contact him by mail at Seth Mallios, Department of Anthropology, San Diego State University, 5500 Campanile Drive, San Diego, CA 92182-6040, or just drop by his office (AL448A at San Diego State University). Following the photographs, the next section of this report corrects a few errors present in the previous three reports. It then embarks on an extended architectural analysis of the cabin. This study draws heavily on an SDSU Department of Anthropology Master's thesis completed by Matthew Tennyson in 2007. His detailed historical study examines folk architecture in North America and demonstrates the striking resemblance between Harrison's cabin and slave quarters of the Antebellum South.

Like the 2004, 2005, and 2006 reports, the 2007 report then discusses the excavation results from the past summer field season (2007). It details stratigraphic insights from the excavation season, provides temporal and spatial summaries of the site's material assemblage, and details a select group of recently discovered artifacts. In synthesizing the fourth year of historical and archaeological work on the Nate Harrison Historical Archaeology Project, this annual publication serves as the 2007-2008 interim technical report.



Figure 5.6. The Guy B. Woodward Museum Collection Image #1.

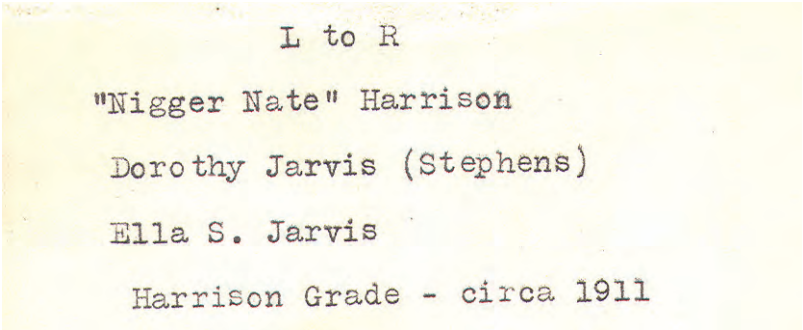


Figure 5.7. Additional information listed on back of Guy B. Woodward Museum Collection Image #1.

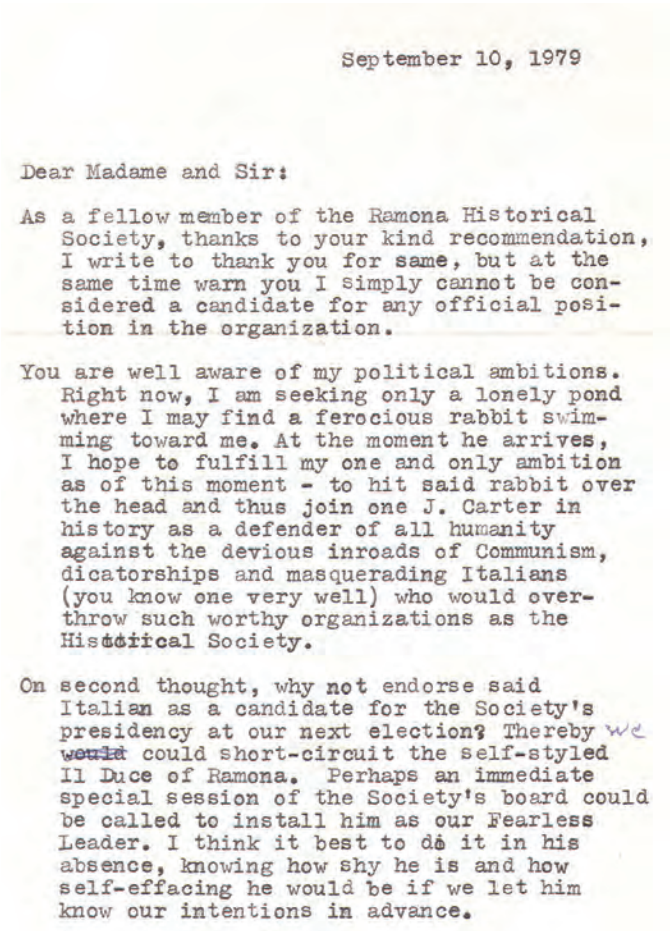
5.3 Additional Historical Information

Since the 2006 technical report was published, an additional historical photograph was forwarded to the project director. Harrison, the most photographed 19th-century San Diego County resident, was clearly a focal point of local interest for many reasons. The many images both proved to others that the photographer had indeed scaled the precipitous mountain road—no small feat!—and captured this exotic other in his element. It is worth noting that downtown San Diego had a sizeable and significant African-American population during the early 20th century that was rarely celebrated by contemporary white San Diegans. However, Harrison represented something entirely different to the region during this time. In striking contrast to a burgeoning black community in the urban core of the city, Harrison chose to live apart and atop a remote mountain. He was a self-segregated black man with a direct tie to slavery. It was this symbolic individual that white tourists from San Diego repeatedly flocked to visit and capture on film.

The Guy B. Woodward Museum Collection Image (#1)

The Guy B. Woodward Museum in Ramona, California, has a circa 1911 image of Harrison in its archive (Figure 5.6). The photograph shows Harrison sitting on the side of the grade—likely near his water pump—with a young girl and a woman to his left. The reverse of the image lists the names of the people in the picture (Figure 5.7). The girl is listed as Dorothy Jarvis (Stephens), and the woman is Ella S. Jarvis, presumably Dorothy's mother.

There is a typewritten letter from 1979 explaining how the museum obtained this image (Figures 5.8 and 5.9). The verbose and lighthearted letter, obviously between friends, gives some background information on the photograph. The correspondence was written by a man with the first name of Boyd. He clearly takes joy in mocking then President Carter and a friend of Italian descent.



September 10, 1979

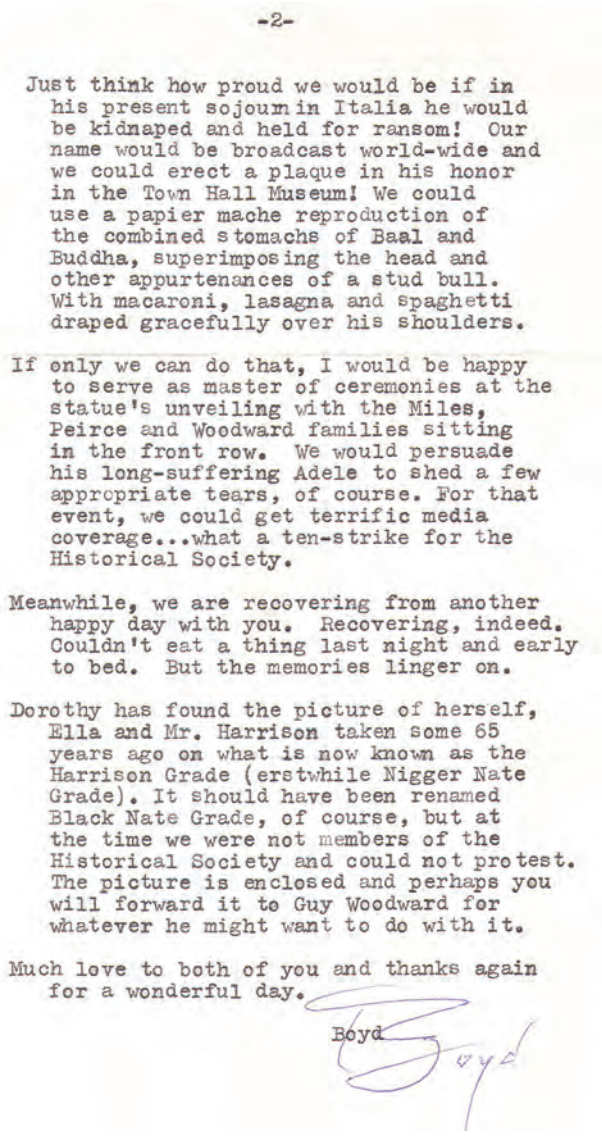
Dear Madame and Sir:

As a fellow member of the Ramona Historical Society, thanks to your kind recommendation, I write to thank you for same, but at the same time warn you I simply cannot be considered a candidate for any official position in the organization.

You are well aware of my political ambitions. Right now, I am seeking only a lonely pond where I may find a ferocious rabbit swimming toward me. At the moment he arrives, I hope to fulfill my one and only ambition as of this moment - to hit said rabbit over the head and thus join one J. Carter in history as a defender of all humanity against the devious inroads of Communism, dicatorships and masquerading Italians (you know one very well) who would overthrow such worthy organizations as the Historical Society.

On second thought, why not endorse said Italian as a candidate for the Society's presidency at our next election? Thereby we ~~would~~ could short-circuit the self-styled Il Duce of Ramona. Perhaps an immediate special session of the Society's board could be called to install him as our Fearless Leader. I think it best to do it in his absence, knowing how shy he is and how self-effacing he would be if we let him know our intentions in advance.

Figure 5.8. Page 1 of September 10, 1979 letter that accompanied the Guy B. Woodward Museum Collection Image #1.



-2-

Just think how proud we would be if in his present sojourn in Italia he would be kidnaped and held for ransom! Our name would be broadcast world-wide and we could erect a plaque in his honor in the Town Hall Museum! We could use a papier mache reproduction of the combined stomachs of Baal and Buddha, superimposing the head and other appurtenances of a stud bull. With macaroni, lasagna and spaghetti draped gracefully over his shoulders.

If only we can do that, I would be happy to serve as master of ceremonies at the statue's unveiling with the Miles, Peirce and Woodward families sitting in the front row. We would persuade his long-suffering Adele to shed a few appropriate tears, of course. For that event, we could get terrific media coverage...what a ten-strike for the Historical Society.

Meanwhile, we are recovering from another happy day with you. Recovering, indeed. Couldn't eat a thing last night and early to bed. But the memories linger on.

Dorothy has found the picture of herself, Ella and Mr. Harrison taken some 65 years ago on what is now known as the Harrison Grade (erstwhile Nigger Nate Grade). It should have been renamed Black Nate Grade, of course, but at the time we were not members of the Historical Society and could not protest. The picture is enclosed and perhaps you will forward it to Guy Woodward for whatever he might want to do with it.

Much love to both of you and thanks again for a wonderful day.

Boyd

Figure 5.9. Page 2 of September 10, 1979 letter that accompanied the Guy B. Woodward Museum Collection Image #1.

5.4 Architectural Analyses

Matthew Tennyson's 2007 Master's thesis, "'Straight out of Dixie': An Analysis of the Architecture of the Nate Harrison Cabin" provides a detailed discussion of American vernacular architecture and makes a strong argument regarding the similarities between the Harrison cabin and slave quarters of the Antebellum South. The second half of his thesis has been modified for presentation in this report.

American Vernacular Architecture

There are various architectural forms prevalent in America that can be called vernacular. What does it mean to be *vernacular*? When applied linguistically, the term refers to language that is used in local or informal settings as opposed to the dominant language or *lingua franca* of a particular group. The term can be applied to all aspects of historical and contemporary life. Defining what vernacular is, however, often proves problematic. The term is elusively relativistic. What is vernacular to one culture may, in fact, be formal or entirely alien to another.

Vernacular refers to the implementation of the local, rather than deferring to the formal structure defined by a separate entity beyond the immediate horizon. But it is much more than a simple local/non-local dichotomy. Calling something vernacular stresses its connection to the immediate environment, but it can also refer to a local adaptation of a larger or non-local form.

This view of vernacular can be applied to any number of cultural and archaeological concepts, architecture being one of the best examples. Vernacular architecture conjures images of rural, poorly built, or dilapidated structures. In actuality, vernacular architecture refers to building forms that are designed and constructed according to regional and local styles. Vernacular or folk buildings are often those structures that implement or emulate styles that are popular on a larger scale but have been modified to reflect a local style or a style based on the experiences and knowledge of the local builder. Vernacular structures are likely to be built by the person who uses the building or someone of a similar background rather than a professional builder or formal architect who designs but has little invested in the project beyond its construction.

As Dell Upton states, "vernacular architecture is regional architecture. The vernacular buildings of any area display a mixture of indigenous forms and more broadly distributed folk and academic ones that are combined in a distinctive local manner" (1986:315). Though Upton is referring to architectural design in 18th-century Virginia, his idea can be applied to vernacular architecture during other time periods and in other areas. Systematic analyses of local design processes reveal the reasons for choosing certain forms and how new designs fit into the local landscape. Rather than casting off new ideas in favor of established local trends, vernacular builders learned new architectural concepts and incorporated them into traditional styles, thereby demonstrating how vernacular architecture responds to influences from local and more distant sources (Upton 1986:316, also see Glassie 1975).

An important point to make when studying vernacular or folk culture has been discussed by Henry Glassie (2000). Since vernacular refers to informal rather than formal processes, the very study of vernacular culture becomes difficult. Formal study and analysis are concepts that belong to the academy and, by extension, are not vernacular. In essence, social scientists who undertake vernacular studies are automatically removed from their object of study. In anthropological research, intimate familiarity is required to undertake proper research. The very act of categorizing, quantifying, and analyzing vernacular forms is anathema to the concept of vernacular. Identifying this at the outset of a research project is necessary because even though it may not be possible to understand completely the object of study, scholarly analysis of cultural processes can still provide useful information about how culture affects life.

There are numerous forms that could be discussed in terms of how they reflect vernacular design. However, a few examples will suffice in demonstrating how vernacular architecture has shaped the American landscape. An analysis of architectural styles prevalent in American history relies on the notion that architecture can be analyzed in terms of what the occupant wished to project to the outside world (see Bell 2005, Deetz 1996, Glassie 2000, and Upton 1998). Structures discussed in the following sections are associated with different ethnic and socio-economic groups. Though some designs were influenced by previous designs, or grew directly out of them

in some cases, each example represents different ideas. The designs discussed in the following pages are earthfast structures, hall-and-parlor houses, I-houses, saltbox houses, and shotgun houses.

In the late medieval period and early Anglo periods in Virginia, architecture emphasized collectivity and community (Bell 2005:449). Community planting plots necessitated collective planning and fostered community ties. As time passed, capitalistic goals changed the way planters interacted with one another as individual ownership and accumulation of private wealth became more important goals (Bell 2005:449). As a result, fewer towns emerged in the Chesapeake like those found in New England. Instead, individual and scattered settlements persisted for a longer period of time (Bell 2005:449; also see Horn 1994:139 and Walsh 1988:202). Despite this shift, community ties were still needed and desired. People often visited one another in an effort to keep their community ties. This took the form of dining together or establishing borrowing networks (Bell 2005:449; also see Walsh 1988:202) or relying on neighbors to help maintain personal structures (Bell 2005:450; Glassie 2000:41-42).

Earthfast Houses

Among the earliest European structures in North America, the earthfast or post-in-ground structure was a cheap and efficient dwelling for a person who wanted to use the land to capitalistic ends. The earthfast structure (Figure 5.10) was a quickly and easily constructed house that reduced initial building costs (Upton 1998:152). Posts were placed directly into the ground rather than into a foundation. Quickly constructed wooden framing, shingling, clapboards, and chimneys were used to build a suitable house (Bell 2005:449-450).

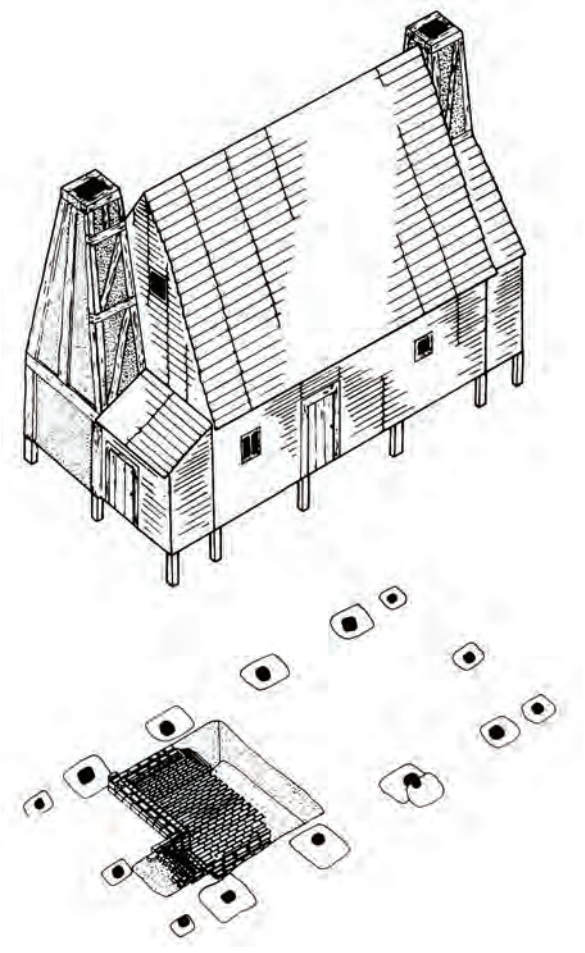


Figure 5.10. Earthfast structure from Kelso 1984:75.

Alison Bell notes that the use of the earthfast structure by people of varied backgrounds and diverse means corresponds with a capitalistic perspective, as it points to the goal of establishing a cash crop sooner rather then spending an extended period of time and costs building a house (2004:450). Community ties were maintained in this environment because of the constant upkeep required for a lightly built earthfast structure in the humid Chesapeake (Bell 2005:450).

Earthfast structures represent an important shift in the mindset of folk builders in the early European settlement of the Chesapeake. The quickly-built earthfast structures demonstrate how planters in Virginia were primarily concerned with the establishment of cash crops and economic wealth. Likewise, the establishment of independent farms rather than community-based plots worked by neighbors suggests an increasing sense of individuality. However, the constant visiting of neighbors, the establishment of borrowing networks, and the reliance on others for the upkeep of structures ensured that community ties were only transformed and not lost altogether (Bell 2005:450)

Hall-and-Parlor Houses

Architecture reflected more permanence as people established firmer roots in the North American colonies. The earthfast structures of the late medieval and early colonial periods in Europe and North America often forced land owners and laborers or servants to dwell in the same structures (Bell 2005:451-452). The hall-and-parlor house (Figure 5.11) represented a desire for builders to establish personal space and distance between themselves and the outside world (Bell 2005:450, Glassie 1975:120-121). It became one of the defining features of the

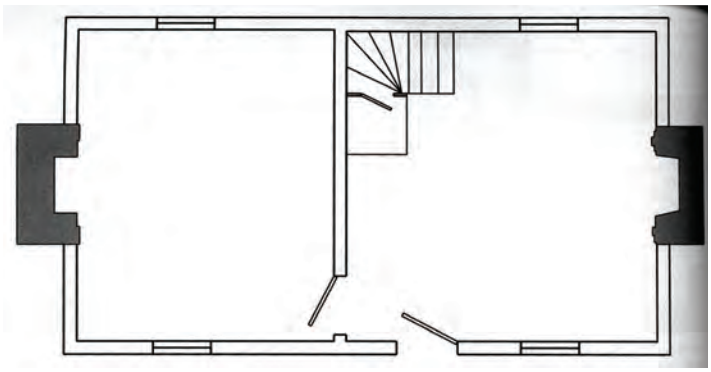


Figure 5.11. Floor plan of hall-and-parlor house from Bell 2005:452.

Virginia landscape. The hall-and-parlor house was characterized by two rooms of unequal in size, in which the larger hall served as a multi-purpose room where servants would work, guests would be engaged, and general interactions ascribed to the public sphere were undertaken. The hall was the center of all interactions, what has been termed as the meeting point between the inside and outside worlds (Upton 1986:320-321). The smaller parlor was usually only accessed through the hall, making it the more private area of the house (Deetz 1996: 152-164; also see Bell 2005).

The hall-and-parlor house suggests changes in the social aspects of living in early America. The separate rooms of the hall-and-parlor house allow for a separation between the public and private aspects of life as well as a separation between landowners, laborers, and slaves. This separation helped facilitate the establishment of outbuildings and the beginnings of the plantation economy (Bell 2005:451). Claiming a space for the landowner and assigning spaces for laborers and slaves emphasizes the disparity between the two groups (Bell 2005:452). Though generally an open floor plan, the hall-and-parlor house presented a desire by builders to keep themselves physically distanced from others and to keep laborers out of the way (Bell 2005:451-452).

The hall-and-parlor combination became the basis for other houses in 17th- and 18th-century America. The following two examples demonstrate how the hall-and-parlor house evolved through time and was adapted to reflect local stylization.

I-Houses

The I-house (Figure 5.12) contained significant differences from the hall-and-parlor house. It maintained two rooms of equal size separated by a central hallway, rather than consisting of a public hall and private parlor accessed through the hall (Glassie 1986:409-411). Glassie has identified the ways in which various patterns grew out of the I-house. For instance, the chimney of the I-house was located in the center of the house in New England, flush against each gable wall in the Mid-Atlantic region, and externally attached to one gable end in the Chesapeake (Glassie 1986:409). Later versions of the I-house became more symmetrical. As central-hall I-houses became larger, the gable-end chimneys became more common. Glassie attributes the similarity in structures to the influence of the Georgian architectural style and its focus on balance (Glassie 1986:409,411). However, styles emerged that both conformed to the rules of order and allowed for regional variation. Examples of this include building material (i.e. wood versus stone or brick), fenestration on the gable ends, and patterned-brick decorations (Glassie 1986:409; Gowans 1986:367-393).

Another way the I-house demonstrates regionalization and acculturation has been described by Edward Chappell (1986:27-57). German immigrants in the Shenandoah Valley created houses similar to those in their homeland, a house consisting of two to four rooms of varying sizes with a central chimney (Chappell 1986:29-30). This form, known as *Flurküchenhaus*, had a front and rear entrance; the kitchen functioned as an informal living space, much like the hall in the hall-and-parlor house (Chappell 1986:29). Versions of this form persisted in Pennsylvania until about 1800 when German farmers typically built houses in the I-house tradition (Chappell 1986:42).

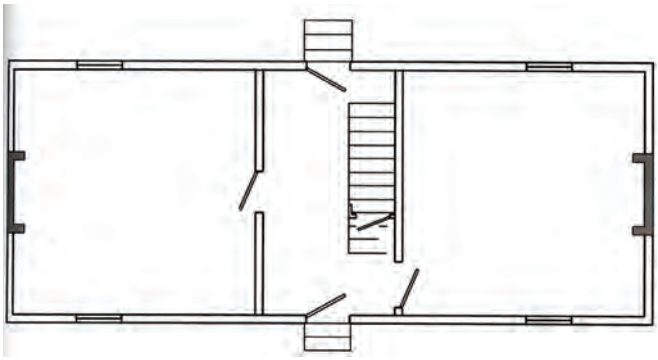


Figure 5.12. Floor plan of I-house from Bell 2005:453.

James Deetz (1996) has suggested that the I-house represents a desire by early American builders to create symmetry and establish privacy in their lives. Upon entering the I-house, the visitor is neither in the house nor outside it. Rather, they enter into a central hallway between the two main rooms. In all likelihood, the visitor would then move into the hall, where public interaction took place. The parlor would be on the opposite side of the house. The parlor would be closed off by doors, thus establishing the public and private spaces in the house (Glassie 1986:409).

Glassie views I-houses in a different way. He has examined how they conform to Georgian influences and are fused with local and older styles to accommodate local needs (Glassie 1986:411-412). He states:

> Culture is an inventory of learned concepts. The cultural process consists of selecting from among the concepts, some of the new, some of the old, when a problem such as walking, courting, or building a barn has to be solved. Some concepts are fully accepted, some are modified, some are torn apart and combined with others, and some are rejected. The acceptance of the Georgian form meant not only the appearance of new things but also the disappearance of old things.

Accordingly, the form of the house can be altered to meet the needs of the builder; there are rules that must be followed in order to design and construct a space properly.

Saltbox Houses

Similar in shape to the I-house, the saltbox house was most prominent in New England. Like the hall-and-parlor house and the I-house, the saltbox house was designed to separate insiders from outsiders and family members from servants (Glassie 2000:126). The saltbox house (Figure 5.13) presented a symmetrical façade, but moved the kitchen to the rear of the house. This served to remove the servants from the main house and isolate the homeowner and family inside (Glassie 2000:124). Like the hall-and-parlor house and the I-house, visitors entered into a hallway and were neither in the house nor outside it. This established where a visitor's place in the house was and preserved the privacy of the homeowner and family (Glassie 2000:124). Another difference in the saltbox houses was the location of the chimney. The chimney was placed in the center of the house rather than at both ends, as was common with most hall-and-parlor inspired architecture. Placing the chimney in the center of the house helped distribute heat in the winter and cool the house in the summer (Glassie 2000:126).

Though the central-I house and the saltbox house are directly related to the hall-and-parlor house, there are differences that arise out of regional stylization and environmental necessity. Despite the differences, there is more in common between the houses because they communicate a desire for privacy rather than an open plan allowing anyone access to the house. Also, the Georgian form demands a symmetrical façade. Builders in early America followed this rule, but also created their own style to reflect their individual tastes (Glassie 2000:126).



Figure 5.13. Saltbox house from Glassie 2000:123.

The hall-and-parlor house, I-house, and saltbox-house demonstrate how local styles interact with extra-local influences to create vernacular forms. As time passed, new innovations were created to reflect changing values. Prosperous planters decided to divide their spaces to reflect the social separation between master and servant (Upton 1986:317). The change of the parlor from a mere private area in the hall-and-parlor house to a separate private space in the I-house and saltbox house demonstrates this growing social divide. This is particularly true with saltbox houses, that both separated insiders from outsiders by incorporating a vestibule at the entrance, and separated master from servant by moving the kitchen to the rear of the structure (Glassie 2000:122).

Reinforcing this difference in social rank, the removal of servants from the house and the establishment of separate structures for them away from the main house set the conditions for the plantation economy in the 18th

and 19th centuries (Bell 2005:452, Upton 1982:53). Structures built for slaves on the plantation typically were square or rectilinear in shape (Vlach 1993:153-182). The entrance was on the façade of the house and the chimney was at the gable (Vlach 1993:170-173). These structures were not unlike many of the other outbuildings on the plantation and they were intended to appear as such (Vlach 1993:162-163). However, there are African-American architectural styles which have been developed in specific areas and diffused to new areas (Kniffen 1986:16).

Shotgun Houses

The shotgun house (Figure 5.14) is an African-American contribution to the American landscape. It is distinctly different than European derived architectural styles (Glassie 2000:143). The shotgun house was prominent in New Orleans among free African-Americans who were able to purchase and build their own houses and control their physical environments (Vlach 1986:63). Shotgun houses may have been popular among free African-Americans because they were different from structures built for slaves on the plantation, usually square cabins (Vlach 1986:67). The shotgun house is unique as an architectural form in several ways. The entrance is at the gable end instead of on the façade, as with the structures outlined above, and each room is arranged in a linear fashion.

Deetz identifies three main differences between the shotgun house and contemporary structures of European origins. First, the gable end of the shotgun house faces the street, as opposed to European structures with the eave façade facing the street. Second, the rooms are lined up so that a room is entered on one side and exited on the other. Lastly, the doorways to rooms are in line with one another so that the entire building can be passed through in a straight line (Deetz 1996:216)

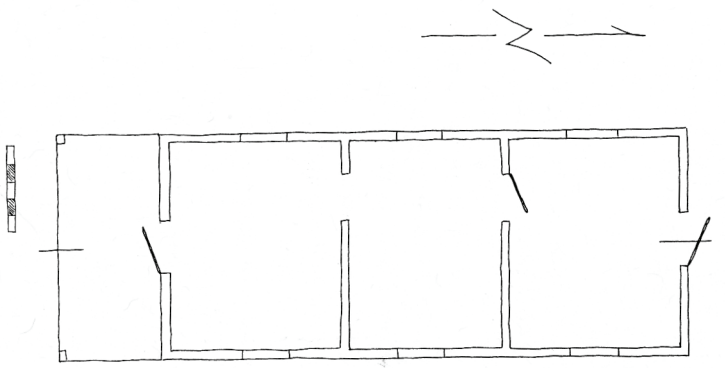


Figure 5.14. Shotgun house from Vlach 1986:60.

John Vlach claims that the shotgun house demonstrates the differences between freed African-Americans and slaves, and maintains a connection with Haitian and West African architectural styles (Vlach 1986:67). The shotgun house was a style created in Haiti by West African slaves who blended their architectural styles with indigenous and European influences (Vlach 1986:71). Former slaves who moved to New Orleans built structures reminiscent of the Haitian-West African style, at which point it began to move across the American landscape. Vlach believes these structures are heavily influenced by the Yoruba from in West Africa and are indicative of a collective memory shared by enslaved people (Vlach 1986:71-74).

Studies of American architecture lend themselves to discussions of how ideas and forms move and change across space and through time. The examples of the I-house and the saltbox house demonstrate the ways different regions accept, reject, and change aspects of architectural forms to meet local needs and desires. Glassie (2000:126-131) provides another example of how formal architectural styles are changed to reflect local styles. Glassie references houses that still conform to the rules governing different architectural styles though issues of space impair a builder's ability to create a complete or proper house. The result is a compromise in the form of one-third and two-thirds I-houses that still conform to the rules of symmetry while solving problems related to urban space and resource availability (Glassie 2000:129).

As cultural ideas move across space, they change as they encounter and interact with other cultural ideas. Fred Kniffen (1986:3-26) has explored the ways architectural ideas diffuse across the landscape. Architectural style such as the *Flurküchenhaus* as it relates to German immigrants (Chappell 1986) and the shotgun house as it relates to Haitian immigrants and free African-Americans underwent change as they diffused across the American landscape. It has been the work of scholars such as Kniffen and Glassie to define how ideas moved across the landscape and how they change when faced with new environments and different cultural choices. This phenomenon relates directly to the Nate Harrison cabin. Harrison came to California with a set of ideas and values learned during his

lifetime. Harrison's cabin on Palomar Mountain combines the his cultural knowledge from the South, the physical conditions in which the cabin was built, and the external influences encountered after his arrival. Understanding the interplay of various ideas and how they affected Harrison's choices when constructing his physical space provides the basis for the analysis of the cabin.

Photographic Search and Analysis Overview

On March 1st and 2nd, 2007, a survey of photographs at the San Diego Historical Society was undertaken. Chris Travers, Director of the Booth Historical Photograph Archives, provided digital copies of all selected photographs. Photo Archivist Carol Myers and Assistant Archivist Sean Stewart also provided support during the search.

The archives contain photographs relating to various aspects of San Diego history, including regional architecture. Since the present study is a comparative analysis of Nate Harrison's Palomar-Mountain cabin, it was necessary to review various architectural styles prevalent in San Diego history, as well as architectural styles prominent to various social and ethnic groups. Photographs in the archive are organized under subject headings, which are listed in a catalog. In addition to the listed headings, the catalog contains sub-headings that divide headings into more manageable categories or alphabetized ranges for headings contained in multiple boxes. For instance, the category of "Dwellings" was sub-divided alphabetically for houses with known names. The category of "Dwellings" also included sub-headings for "Ranches," "House Interiors," and "Unknown Residences."

The search covered several categories consisting of multiple headings and sub-headings. The three main categories reviewed were photographs of architecture in San Diego, photographs of people, and photographs of San Diego places. The heading of "Dwellings" provided the basis for the initial search. Sub-headings reviewed included Ranches, Residences (listed by location), Unnamed Residences, House Interiors, and an alphabetical listing of residences with known names or owners. People in San Diego required a search under two headings. The first heading was "African-American People" and consisted of photographs of African-Americans in San Diego from the late 19th century through the 1980s. The second heading was "Native Americans," which provided numerous photographs of Native American People throughout San Diego from the 19th and 20th centuries. In both instances, individuals were often photographed in front of residences that can be related to their ethnic identities, providing a baseline for research. The final category includes photographs according to the areas in which the photographs were taken. The heading reviewed under this category was "San Diego Communities and Neighborhoods." Three sub-headings were reviewed in association with San Diego communities. The first was Pala, California, the American Indian reservation located near Palomar Mountain and a place Harrison was likely to have visited. The second sub-heading reviewed was Pauma, California. Like Pala, this area is a reservation located at the foot of Palomar Mountain. It also was likely to have been visited by Harrison during his lifetime. These areas are important for analysis. If Harrison did visit these areas and interact with the Native American residents who lived there, it is possible that the architectural styles utilized and incorporated by the Native Americans may have influenced the way Harrison constructed his cabin. The final sub-heading was Palomar, California. Photographs from this area were particularly useful because several structures from Palomar Mountain contemporaneous with Harrison's cabin were found. These photographs provide an important basis for comparative analysis.

Each category consists of dozens to hundreds of photographs kept in several books. Each book is stored in archival boxes in order to protect the photographs. Larger categories fill several boxes. During the survey of photographs from the archives, hundreds of photographs in over fifty books in fourteen archival boxes were reviewed. The search resulted in forty photographs relating to San Diego architecture or the Nate Harrison Historical Archaeology Project.

On March 3rd, 2007, photographs chosen for analysis were photocopied and numbered. A catalog was created in order to track the location of each photograph in the archive so that digital copies could be easily retrieved. The photocopies were reviewed to determine which best represented San Diego architecture. In some cases, several examples of architectural styles were photocopied and the best example was used. Ultimately, thirty-five photographs were selected for analysis and on March 8th, 2007, digital copies of the selected photographs were ordered. The photographs were placed on a CD in .jpeg format and received on March 22nd, 2007.

Additional photographs of African-American structures were obtained from an article in the Spring 1981 issue of *The Journal of San Diego History*. The article, "Black Pioneers in San Diego: 1880-1920," contained three additional images that were not encountered during the photo search undertaken on March 1st and 2nd, 2007. These photographs were incorporated into the collection of photographs compiled during the photograph search and analyzed in conjunction with the comparative analysis of the Nate Harrison cabin.

Two kinds of analyses were undertaken through the photographic search. The first analysis explored the evolution of architecture in San Diego throughout the city's history. During the search for photographs of structures that could be used in a comparative analysis with the Nate Harrison cabin, the manner in which architectural styles changed over time became apparent. Thousands of images of San Diego architecture give impressions as to which styles were prevalent in various areas around the county. During the search, a stark difference between urban and rural architecture became clear. Different architectural styles were apparent between ethnic groups as well. The photographs reveal the ways cultures have adopted different architectural forms over time. Though the evolution of architectural styles became apparent as a result of examining various books of photographs, empirical evidence showing the differences between styles has to be demonstrated. In order to demonstrate that Harrison's cabin is a unique structure on the San Diego landscape, a categorical analysis of architecture in San Diego becomes necessary.

A systematic analysis based on the presence of certain features was undertaken to show how Harrison's cabin differs from other vernacular structures in San Diego County. Categories were based on the shape of the structure, such as rectilinear or round. A second category was based on the type of architectural style to which a building could be assigned. Examples of these include Victorian, ranch, Craftsman, shotgun, and the cabin. Building materials used in the construction of the building were the basis for a third category; the fourth set of criteria were additional features present on various architectural forms.

Categories based on structural shape are determined by the overall structural form. Rectilinear structures are those in which opposite walls are parallel to one another. Most structures in San Diego are rectilinear with four main walls and parallel walls of equal length. Square structures are those whose walls are the same length. Though most structures in San Diego are rectilinear, round structures have been present in the past. Typically, traditional Native American houses were round.

Victorian architecture was a prominent style in Europe and the United States during the 19th century. Victorian architecture is sometimes referred to as Classical Revival and Renaissance Classical depending on the source (McAlester and McAlester 1984:6-8). Victorian architecture has been further sub-divided based on regional style, historical influence, and date of construction. Greek, Roman, French, Italian, and English influences have created different versions of Victorian buildings (McAlester and McAlester1984:8, 10).

Victorian style has been described as one of the last vestiges of a hierarchical class system that was soon to be reoriented by the emerging middle class (Jordan 1966:224). Architecture and internal furnishings were based on the notion of how a house should look rather than expressing views of the individual builder or occupant (Ames 1986:240-241); expression was equally as important as function. Buildings and bridges of Victorian design were meant to project a sense of stability, control, and craftsmanship as much as they were intended as functional objects in society (Curl 1974:32-33). Steeply pitched roofs are a common feature of Victorian houses, as are cast-iron adornments, asymmetrical façades, and multiple gables (McAlester and McAlester 1984:239, 289). Figure 5.15 is a photograph showing a typical 19th-century Victorian house. Houses exhibiting these features can be found throughout San Diego. For the purposes of the comparative analysis, Victorian



Figure 5.15. Example of a Victorian house from McAlester and McAlester 1984:283.

architecture includes structures from the 19th century which display ornate features such as cast-iron fixtures, roofs with multiple gables, and asymmetrical façades.

The roots of the ranch style house have been linked to 19th-century California and the Spanish influence present at that time (Allen 1996:156). These buildings have been associated with the Spanish missions and rancheros. They are characterized by low-pitched roofs with overhangs that served as eaves on the exterior of the house (Allen 1996:157). At the end of the 19th century, American influences changed the way the ranch style house was conceived. Wood framing allowed for rapid construction during the late 19th century and into the 20th century. Modern conveniences like indoor plumbing and electricity were well-integrated into the ranch style house, making it a fixture in American architecture (Allen 1996:158). During this time, the ranch house was a one-story rectilinear structure commonly constructed of wood. It typically consisted of two rectilinear structures conjoined at two of the gable ends to form an L-shape (Figure 5.16).



Figure 5.16. Example of a ranch style house from McAlester and McAlester 1984:479.

For the purposes of the current analysis, a ranch style house is defined as one that meets this design found during the late 19th and early 20th centuries. Examples of ranch style houses in San Diego are those that conform to the L-shape, have low-pitched roofs, and overhanging eaves that serve as a cover for a porch or patio.

Craftsman style architecture is another major architectural style prevalent on the San Diego landscape. Craftsman style houses reflect a larger movement in architecture and design known as the Arts and Crafts movement, a movement that turned its back on tradition and modernized the ornamentation of previous styles (McAlester and McAlester 1984:10). Elements of the Craftsman style include exposed structural elements, wide overhangs, and feature either symmetrical or asymmetrical façades (Figure 5.17). These features represent modernity because they were associated with a style begun at the turn of the 20th century and exhibited a simplified and elegant style separate from the audacious representations of earlier styles (McAlester and McAlester 1984:10).



Figure 5.17. Example of Craftsman style house from McAlester and McAlester 1984:459.

The shotgun house has been described as the major African-American contribution to American architecture that has been incorporated into different social and ethnic groups (Vlach 1986). The shotgun house is seen in San Diego among different ethnic groups. Examples include the shotgun houses of African-Americans as well as those built by Native Americans on the Pala reservation.

Cabins are not an architectural style, but the term is used in this analysis as an architectural category. The category of cabin is employed to describe the type of house that Nate Harrison lived in while on Palomar Mountain. A cabin can be described as a rural structure built of local materials such as wood or stone. They are closely tied to the building material used in their construction (i.e. a log cabin, wood cabin, or stone cabin). Cabins are likely to have been built by their occupants, or the occupants are believed to have had a hand in their design and construction.

An important distinction to make is the difference between cabins and indigenous structures. In this analysis, "indigenous" refers ethnically to Native Americans, not to anything made of local materials. Indigenous structures, usually constructed of thatch, could be identified as cabins because they meet the criteria outlined above. Indigenous structures in San Diego have not been referred to as cabins historically and in the current analysis. Native American structures are analyzed as a separate type of dwelling.

The third category of analysis is the primary building materials used in the construction of the structures. Secondary building materials are incorporated as well. Wood was a main raw material for many of the structures under review. However, wood was utilized in different ways. Some buildings had wooden clapboards; others had wood of various shapes and sizes used in the construction of a wall. The use of logs with corner notches was also a common building technique. Clapboards are cut and planed pieces of wood overlapped either horizontally or vertically on the frame of a building and are usually of uniform size and shape. The use of clapboards is a building technique referred to as cladding (McAlester and McAlester 1984:40-41). Cladding is the technique for working with these sorts of shingles on the exterior or the roof of a structure. Clapboarding and shingling are used in several of the buildings in the comparative analysis and therefore are referred to individually rather than simply as cladding. When cladding was not present in a wooden structure, a reference to the use of wood was noted simply as such. Other materials used in the construction of houses in San Diego included brick, stucco, adobe, and thatch. Brick was used in several structures, often in association with other building materials like wood or stucco. Adobe is a building material found in Native American and Spanish-influenced structures. Adobe structures are made of mud brick that is easily produced but must be consistently maintained. Another material associated with Native American structures is thatch. Traditional Kumeyaay structures were constructed of thatch.

The last category in the analysis examines features that are present in the structures. Features are aspects of houses that are present in most or all structures but are variable. They often help to define the differences between houses. Examples of features in the present study include the locations of patios and windows and their presence or absence. Patios are areas designated as a part of the house but exterior to the structure. The patio is often enclosed with a fence but is not considered to be an indoor space. Another feature considered was whether the structure was raised. Some structures were raised in order to create a level surface while others were built directly on the ground. Entrances were also examined; in some houses, the entrance is located at a gable end of the house, while in others they are located on an eave wall of the building. These categories were used as a basis for observations on the structures found throughout San Diego County at the time Harrison lived on his Palomar-Mountain homestead.

Charts were constructed based on the presence or absence of each aspect of the above categories. Observations were made using the Harrison cabin and comparing it to photographs of various structures whose names or locations were known. However, this did not include all structures observed or collected during the photo search at the San Diego Historical Society. Structures whose names were unknown were included because they were examples of buildings associated with different social or ethnic groups in San Diego.

Presence or absence was recorded using Microsoft EXCEL spreadsheets. Cells corresponding to a certain house and category were marked with an "x" to indicate the presence of that category at a certain house. If the category was not observed or not applicable to a structure, the cell was left blank. In some instances, a category was observed but was not a primary feature of a house. For instance, the use of brick or stone to construct a chimney on a wood framed house does not correspond to a structure that is constructed exclusively of brick or stone. When

this secondary aspect occurred, the corresponding cell was marked with a "y" to indicate that the category was not a primary aspect to the house, but was present nonetheless.

Several analyses were undertaken based on different criteria. The first analysis considered the broad range of structures found in San Diego County during the late 19th and early 20th centuries. Structures used in this analysis were those for which the name or location of the house was known. In addition to Nate Harrison's cabin, thirteen other photographs showing houses were analyzed. These structures include the D. D. Bailey house, the Theo Bailey house, the Clauder house, the Doane ranch, the Frye cabin, the Johnson house, the Hamilton residence, the Hudgins house, the Marston house, the Mendenhall residence, houses from the Pala Indian Reservation, a house located at 6th Avenue and Cedar Street in San Diego, and Native American structures at Warner Hot Springs (an area located east of Palomar Mountain).

The next analysis compared Harrison's cabin to other African-American structures in San Diego from the late 19th and early 20th centuries. Though there are hundreds of photographs of African-Americans throughout the history of San Diego in the Historical Society's collection, there are few photographs of African-American houses. Most are of Harrison's cabin. Photographs of only two other African-American structures were found during the photo search. These included a photograph featuring an African-American woman standing in front of a house. The reverse of the photograph states that the house was built by George Clauder. The other photograph was of the IXL Laundry, a business owned by Edward Anderson between 1897 and 1909 (Madyun and Malone 1981:92). Three additional photographs were obtained from *The Journal of San Diego History*. These photographs were of the Johnson house, the Hudgins house, and the Hotel Robinson (what is today the Julian Hotel).

Another ethnic group was the basis for the third analysis. The Pala and Pauma Indian reservations are located at the base of Palomar Mountain. Therefore, a comparison to Native American architecture was included. Several Native American groups are indigenous to southern California. The Kumeyaay represent a Native American group with which Harrison most likely had prolonged contact, as they are indigenous to the area and evidence of their culture can be found all over San Diego County. In addition to the Kumeyaay, the Luiseño and Cahuilla tribes lived near Palomar Mountain. The Pala and Pauma reservations, located at the base of Palomar Mountain, are populated by Luiseño and Cupeño Indians. Many of the structures were not built using traditional Native American methods. However, cultural information from these groups could have been communicated to Harrison. Since the boundaries between the tribes were never formal, it is possible that Harrison may have been influenced by the cultural traditions of the Luiseño, Cupeño, and the Kumeyaay Indians.

Photographs of different Native American houses found in San Diego, both traditional and modern, were considered in this analysis. Thatch was a common building material for the indigenous groups and three photographs of thatch houses are included, as are photographs of two traditional Native American structures on Palomar Mountain. Houses on the Pala Indian reservation included those built from materials considered "modern" for the time, an adobe house, and a house constructed of various traditional materials but arranged to look like a more modern structure. Other photographs for the analysis include adobes from Warner Hot Springs, a house located on Laguna Mountain, and a photograph referencing an "Indian Home" that appears to be a modern rectilinear, clapboard-covered framed house.

An analysis comparing Harrison's cabin to other structures located on Palomar Mountain was considered next. All are located in the same area and were built around the same time as one another. Houses on Palomar Mountain are located in rural San Diego County, which might suggest that their construction was influenced by neighboring structures to a greater extent than structures located off the mountain or in the urban parts of San Diego. In addition to the Nate Harrison cabin, houses located on Palomar Mountain include the Theo Bailey house, the Doane ranch, the Frye cabin, and the Mendenhall residence.

The final analysis deals with interiors of San Diego houses from the late 19th and early 20th centuries. Just as house design and construction is influenced by cultural influences and personal preference, so too are house interiors, perhaps to an even larger degree. A comparison of photographs of the interiors of several San Diego houses and the interior of Nate Harrison's cabin based on archaeological excavations from 2004-06 reveal the ways in which Harrison's home conforms to and departs from other house interiors. The presence/absence analysis demonstrates the ways in which Harrison's cabin stands out. Categories include the type of floor, the types of interior walls, whether the structure was a single- or multiple-room dwelling, and the types of fireplaces or hearths.

Photographs of house interiors are representative of various ethnic and social groups in San Diego. Interior photographs of George Doane's house are representative of structures on Palomar Mountain. More modern Native American structures are represented by a photograph of a hearth in an unnamed home believed to belong to a Native American because of the presence of two metates near the hearth. These types of large stones were commonly used by Native Americans to process seeds (Kroeber 1925:411-413). No photographs showing the interior of traditional Kumeyaay structures were found. The final photograph of an interior is from a home, according to a note in the Historical Society archives, thought to be in Spring Valley and built in 1897. Though no photographs of the interior of the Nate Harrison cabin that date to his occupation are known to exist, extensive documentation of the excavation exists in the form of photographs and sketch profiles.

Comparative Analysis

A comparison with other vernacular structures in San Diego demonstrates how Harrison's homestead differs from any other style present during the late 19th and early 20th centuries. Photographs obtained from the San Diego Historical Society provide a substantial baseline for comparative analysis with Harrison's cabin (Figure 5.18). Examining photographs of structures in San Diego from the 19th and 20th centuries reinforces the idea that Harrison's cabin is a unique structure on the San Diego landscape drawing on extra-local influences in design and construction. Thousands of photographs viewed during the search revealed how architecture in San Diego has evolved as the city has grown over the last century. Photographs of houses give an impression of how styles ebbed and flowed over the course of history. Though impressions are not empirical data, they help in the formation of questions, the construction of research designs, and the overall understanding of the architectural history of the region.



Figure 5.18. San Diego Historical Society Image #4 (see 2004 Technical Report) depicts the standing Harrison cabin in 1926. The photograph was taken uphill, from the southeast.

The photographs collected are representative of different architectural styles throughout San Diego during the time Harrison lived in the county. Figure 5.19 lists named structures for which the location can be established. The purpose of this table is to illustrate how Harrison's cabin compares with architecture across the spectrum of San Diego County during the late 19th and early 20th centuries. The dwellings were analyzed to determine what style of house they most closely resemble, what types of materials were used in their construction, and features that help identify differences and similarities between one another. What is evident in Figure 5.19 is that there is no single category to which Harrison's cabin exclusively belongs. Features present in the Harrison cabin are found in some form or another in at least one other house in San Diego, demonstrating that there is a degree to which houses in San Diego at this time are similar. However, there are differences that separate groups of houses from others. Features that were commonly observed in many of the houses were lacking in Harrison's cabin.

	Rectilinear	Square	Victorian	Ranch	Craftsman	Shotgun	Cabin	Stone	Wood	Clapboard	Brick	Stucco	Adobe	Thatch	Shingles	Patio	Windows	Raised	Gable Entrance	Eave Entrance
Harrison Cabin	X	X					X	X	Y						Y	X			X	
D. D. Bailey House	X			X						X					Y	X	X			X
Theo Bailey House	X		X										X		Y	X	X		X	
Clauder House	X					X				X				Y		X	X		X	
Doane Ranch	X			X			X		X						Y	X	X			X
Frye Cabin	X						X	Y	X											X
Johnson House	X	X			X					X					Y		X	X		
Hamilton Residence	X		X						X						X	Y	X	X		
Hudgins House	X					X				X					Y	X	X	X	X	
Marston House	X				X						X	X			Y	Y	X	X	X	
Mendenhall Residence	X			X				Y		X					Y	X				X
Pala Houses	X		Y			X				X							X	X	X	
6th & Cedar House	X		X							X	Y				Y		X	X	Y	
Warner Hot Springs	X												X	Y	y	X	X		X	X

Figure 5.19. Table comparing historical San Diego houses.

All the structures in this group were rectilinear. Only two structures—Harrison's cabin and the Frye cabin—were square. Architectural styles observed consisted of Victorian houses, Craftsman houses, ranch houses, shotgun houses, and cabins. Three Victorian houses were identified. The Charles Hamilton Residence (Figure 5.20) is the best example of Victorian architecture. With multiple gables, bay windows, shingled façade, multiple porches, and ornate fixtures, the Hamilton Residence shows the opulence that defines Victorian architecture. A house located at 6th Avenue and Cedar Street (Figure 5.21) in downtown San Diego is a second, more modest, example of Victorian architecture. Bay windows and ornate railing and gable adornments are visible on this house. The 6th and Cedar house is less resplendent than the Hamilton Residence, indicating that the Victorian style was accessible to both the upper and middle-class builders. The Theo Bailey House, an adobe structure on Palomar Mountain, is the final Victorian structure. Its location demonstrates how widespread this architectural form was in the late 19th century. It suggests that Theo Bailey was a wealthy individual, especially when his residence is viewed alongside other houses in the immediate area.

In contrast to these Victorian structures, the Nate Harrison cabin is a completely different type of building. His cabin is a one-room structure constructed of local stone. It is square, with none of the adornment characteristic



Figure 5.20. The Charles Hamilton Residence, 1886. Courtesy San Diego Historical Society.



Figure 5.21. The Victorian house at 6th Ave. and Cedar Street, 1887. Courtesy San Diego Historical Society.

of Victorian architecture. The contrasts speak to the idea that the cabin is representative of an entirely different architectural tradition altogether.

The ranch style house is another architectural tradition visible in San Diego history. Three structures in this comparison can be defined as ranch style: the D.D. Bailey house, Palomar Mountain's Doane Ranch, and the Mendenhall Residence (Figures 5.22-5.24).



Figure 5.22. The D. D. Bailey House, 1876. Courtesy San Diego Historical Society.

Ranch style houses are one-story rectilinear buildings that are entered through a door on one of the building's eave walls. All three structures used wood as their primary building material. The D.D. Bailey house and the Mendenhall Residence used cut clapboard, whereas the Doane Ranch structures are constructed of cut wood fashioned into boards. All three structures have shingled roofs. This is listed as a secondary feature rather than a primary feature. An example of shingles as a primary feature would be the shingled exterior walls of the Charles Hamilton Residence (See Figure 5.20).



Figure 5.23. The Doane Ranch, no date. Courtesy San Diego Historical Society.



Figure 5.24. The Mendenhall Residence, 1902. Courtesy San Diego Historical Society.

As with Victorian architecture, there are contrasts between the ranch style houses and the Harrison cabin. Namely, Harrison utilized wood as a secondary feature to his cabin in the construction of the lean-to and roof. Like George Doane, Harrison used cut wood to shingle his roof. Also, Harrison's cabin has a gable entrance while the ranch styles do not, and Harrison's cabin is the only structure that is a square, not rectilinear.

There are several similarities among the structures which should be noted. For instance, the Doane Ranch and Mendenhall Residence have stone as secondary features. Both have stone chimneys, which may indicate a feature that is prevalent on Palomar Mountain. The D.D. Bailey house appears to have a stove-pipe chimney at the rear of the structure. Another similarity is that all four structures have a patio. A significant portion of the photographs taken of Harrison show him on the patio in front of his cabin, and the number of artifacts recovered from the patio versus the cabin's interior suggests Harrison spent a significant amount of time on the patio. There is no indication for what the patios of the other three structures may have been used, but the presence of fences at all three houses suggests it was important to the builders to delineate the edges of a patio area.

At the turn of the 20th century, Victorian architecture became less prominent in San Diego. Craftsman houses became a major part of San Diego's architectural landscape. One of the best examples of the Craftsman style in San Diego is the Marston House near Balboa Park, built in 1905 (Figure 5.25). It exemplifies Craftsman architecture with its overhanging eaves, exposed rafters, extended porches, and square columns. It is built mostly of brick, with a shingled roof and a symmetrical shape. Though several porches are present in the Marston House, there is no patio in the same sense as the patio at the Harrison cabin or the ranch style houses.

There is little similarity between the Harrison cabin and the Marston House. Craftsman architecture post-dates Harrison's arrival on Palomar Mountain by several decades. Structurally, the craftsman house is meant to display balance and symmetry. The large size, the number of rooms, and the number of windows is in significant contrast to Harrison's modest stone structure.

Comparisons between houses reveal differences and similarities in architectural categories. While a comparison across a region the size of San Diego over a period of twenty to thirty years demonstrates that there are categorical differences between different houses, it does not take into account all factors that may shape the choices a person like Nate Harrison might make when building a home, especially the architectural influences of the diverse individuals Harrison encountered. Analysis of the architecture of different social and ethnic groups in San Diego at the time Harrison arrived on Palomar Mountain demonstrates how his cabin is a unique structure on the cultural landscape.



Figure 5.25. The Marston House, 1905. Courtesy San Diego Historical Society.

African-American Comparison

As a freed slave, the African-American community is one of the ethnic groups with which Nate Harrison can be closely associated. As has been discussed by Vlach (1986), the shotgun house is considered to be a significant African-American contribution to American architecture. Since its inception in New Orleans, it has diffused to become a form used by various ethnic and social groups besides African-Americans. In San Diego, shotgun houses are associated with African-American and Native-American communities.

A comparison with African-American architecture reflects, to a certain degree, the extent to which Harrison identifies with other African-Americans in San Diego. Most African-American dwellings were located in downtown San Diego during the late 19th and early 20th centuries. Figure 5.26 is a table comparing structures belonging to African-Americans, including two African-American businesses.

	Rectilinear	Square	Craftsman	Shotgun	Cabin	Stone	Clapboard	Shingles	Patio	Windows	Raised	Gable Entrance	Eave Entrance
Harrison Cabin	X	X			X	X		Y	X			X	
Clauder House	X			X			X		X	X		X	
Black's IXL Laundry	X						X			X			
Johnson House	X	X	X				X	Y		X		X	
Hotel Robinson	X						X	Y		X	X	X	
Hudgins House	X			X			X	Y	X	X	X	X	

Figure 5.26. Table comparing historical African-American houses in San Diego County.

The comparison illustrates the relative uniformity of African-American architecture in San Diego County. All structures, with the exception of Black's IXL Laundry (Figure 5.27), have their entrances at the gable end. The roof to Black's IXL Laundry has no pitch, so gables are not present. Since Black's IXL laundry was located



Figure 5.27. Black's IXL Laundry, circa 1890s. Courtesy San Diego Historical Society.

downtown, it likely conformed to the design of surrounding businesses in order to create a sense of proximity and interconnectedness that became prevalent in the 19th century. Storefronts constructed in this manner create a sense connection and order that helped drive the economic development of an urban city (Upton 1998:195, 196).

Other African-American structures reflect formal architectural styles. Two shotgun houses, the Clauder House and Hudgins House (Figures 5.28 and 5.29), exhibit the gabled entrance and single-file room orientation characteristic of the style. True to form, the Clauder House has the entrance and exit in line with one another so that a person could pass from one room to another in a straight line. The Johnson House (Figure 5.30) is a Craftsman style house featuring a gable entrance. The pyramid roof featuring exposed rafters sits atop the square structure. Square-columned porches are another feature of Craftsman houses visible in the Johnson House.

The last example of African-American architecture is the Hotel Robinson (Figure 5.31). The Hotel Robinson is famous for being the oldest continuously operated hotel in southern California (Madyun and Malone 1981:92). The two-story structure features a gable entrance attached to the façade of the building and a roof with a cross-hipped gable. A cross-hipped gable is one in which four sloping planes meet at a 90-degree angle (McAlester and McAlester 1984:42). Clearly, the Hotel Robinson is distinctly different from the Harrison cabin, a single-story, single room dwelling constructed of uncut stone for a single occupant.

Notable differences between the Harrison cabin and San Diego's African-American architecture is the use of clapboards and the presence of windows. Though there are other examples of patios associated with African-American architecture, Harrison's patio is the only one that appears to be a place of continued activity. Patios at the Clauder House and the Hudgins House are a feature of the shotgun house's design (See Vlach 1986). The patio at Harrison's cabin is different because it apparently functioned as a center of activity rather than a simple design element.

The similarities of African-American architecture in San Diego are striking. Nearly all feature clapboard construction and gable entrances. With the exception of the Harrison cabin, African-American architecture



Figure 5.28. The Clauder House, 1916. Courtesy San Diego Historical Society.



Figure 5.29. The Hudgins House, no date. Courtesy Madyun and Malone 1981:93.



Figure 5.30. The Johnson House, circa 1910. Courtesy Madyun and Malone 1981:98.



Figure 5.31. The Robinson Hotel, no date. Courtesy Madyun and Malone 1981:101.

conforms to architectural styles. Examples from San Diego suggest idea that African-Americans are able to use styles already a part of the cultural landscape as well as incorporate styles of African-American origin. In contrast, the Nate Harrison cabin stands out as a structure that differs from other African-American structures in San Diego.

Indigenous Structure Comparison

Another ethnic group that likely influenced Harrison was the Native Americans of San Diego. Several stories proclaim Harrison had close contact with Native Americans from Palomar Mountain and the surrounding areas (See Mallios et al., 2005 and Mallios et al., 2006, as well as Bostic c.1952-1975; Bryson 1962; Carlton 1977; Craine c. 1956-1969; Fleischer 1955; Perkins 1971, 1972). There is also written evidence that Harrison married a Native American woman prior to his arrival at the homestead site on Palomar Mountain (See Mallios et al., 2005 and Mallios et al., 2006, as well as Heath 1919, Day and Melvin 1981). A comparison with indigenous structures may demonstrate the degree to which Harrison was influenced by the indigenous groups in San Diego County, informing some of the choices he made when building on Palomar Mountain.

Figure 5.32 is a table that compares the Nate Harrison cabin with indigenous structures from San Diego during the late 19th and early 20th centuries. This comparison features both traditional indigenous structures, modern indigenous structures, and those that blend traditional and modern elements. Traditional indigenous structures include houses constructed of thatch (Figures 5.33-5.35) and structures attributed to the Mountain Kumeyaay (Figures 5.36 and 5.37). Modern structures are shotgun houses from the Pala Indian Reservation (Figure 5.38), Laguna Mountain (Figure 5.39), and a dwelling identified as the "Indian Home" (Figure 5.40). Structures that incorporate traditional and modern elements include an adobe from the Pala Indian Reservation (Figure 5.41), a thatch building from the Pala Indian Reservation (Figure 5.42), and adobe structures from Warner Hot Springs (Figures 5.43 and 5.44).

	Rectilinear	Square	Round	Victorian	Shotgun	Cabin	Stone	Wood	Clapboard	Adobe	Thatch	Shingles	Patio	Windows	Raised	Gable Entrance	Eave Entrance
Harrison Cabin	X	X				X	X	Y					X			X	
Thatch House 1			X								X		X				
Thatch House 2	X										X		X			X	
Thatch House 3	X				Y						X					X	
Mountain Kumeyaay			X					X									
Pala Reservation	X			X	X				X					X	X	X	
Laguna Mountain	X						Y	X	X			Y	X	X			X
"Indian Home"	X								X			Y		X			
Pala Adobe	X							Y		X				X			X
Pala Thatch	X		X		Y			X	X		X		X	X		X	
Warner Hot Springs	X				X					X	X	Y	X	X		X	X

Figure 5.32. Table comparing Harrison cabin with local historical indigenous structures.

There are similar elements between Harrison's cabin and indigenous structures, but the analysis shows that Harrison's cabin is distinct from Native American architecture. The majority of historical Native American structures in San Diego County are rectilinear, yet traditional indigenous structures are round. This circular shape is exhibited in the first example of a thatch house and the Mountain Kumeyaay structures. The rectilinear shape can be attributed to exposure to European and U.S. American culture. European influence is visible in the examples of modern structures. The shotgun houses from the Pala Indian Reservation have Victorian-style adornments on the crests of the roofs, indicating that they were constructed by non-Natives. The modern houses feature building materials indicative of European and American influences as well. These include clapboard construction and metal roofs. The use of adobe as a building material is another example of European influences. Adobe was used by the Spanish when they arrived in California and was later incorporated into Native American buildings (Allen 1996:156).

Nineteenth- and early 20th-century indigenous architecture reflects how much the style has changed as a result of cultural contact. Traditional indigenous structures are less prevalent on the landscape than modern structures. Structures that feature both modern and traditional techniques maintain cultural building traditions while incorporating new styles may have been imposed by controlling forces. Similarities between the Harrison cabin and Native American structures may be tied to common colonial influences. Harrison grew up in a cultural tradition heavily influenced by the power of European and American control. The changes seen in the evolution of traditional to modern indigenous buildings are reflective of the same over-arching European and American cultural traditions.



Figure 5.33. Indigenous thatch house 1, 1897. Courtesy San Diego Historical Society.



Figure 5.34. Indigenous thatch house 2, 1897. Courtesy San Diego Historical Society.



Figure 5.35. Indigenous thatch house 3, 1911. Courtesy San Diego Historical Society.



Figure 5.36. Mountain Kumeyaay structure, no date. A note accompanying this photograph states that this hut was similar to structures built by Mountain Kumeyaay. Courtesy San Diego Historical Society.



Figure 5.37. Mountain Kumeyaay teepee, circa 1910. A note accompanying this photograph states that this was Palomar Mountain's "last teepee." Courtesy San Diego Historical Society.



Figure 5.38. Homes at Pala Indian Reservation, circa 1910. Courtesy San Diego Historical Society.



Figure 5.39. Laguna Mountain home, 1908. Courtesy San Diego Historical Society.



Figure 5.40. "Indian Home," 1904. Courtesy San Diego Historical Society.



Figure 5.41. Pala Reservation adobe, no date. Courtesy San Diego Historical Society.



Figure 5.42. Thatch structure at Pala Indian Reservation, no date. Courtesy San Diego Historical Society.



Figure 5.43. Adobes at Warner Hot Springs, no date. Courtesy San Diego Historical Society.



Figure 5.44. Adobe at Warner Hot Springs, 1899. Courtesy San Diego Historical Society.

Comparison with Palomar Residents

Dwellings on Palomar Mountain could have influenced the way Harrison built his home. Functionality and environmental conditions tend to influence builders to create similar structures. Figure 5.45 is a table comparing the Harrison cabin with four other structures from Palomar Mountain. As with other buildings from San Diego County, there are similarities that become apparent when analyzing these structures. However, the differences in these structures reveal that there was a wide range of architectural styles present on Palomar Mountain during Harrison's time.

	Rectilinear	Square	Ranch	Cabin	Stone	Wood	Clapboard	Adobe	Shingles	Patio	Windows	Gable Entrance	Eave Entrance
Harrison Cabin	X	X		X	X				Y	X		X	
Theo Bailey House	X							X	Y	X	X	X	
Doane Ranch	X		X			X			Y	X	X		X
Frye Cabin	X			X		X			Y				X
Mendenhall Residence	X		X				X		Y	X	X		X

Figure 5.45. Table comparing Palomar Mountain residential structures.

All of the Palomar Mountain structures are rectilinear, but the Harrison cabin is the only square structure. The most elaborate structure is the Victorian-style Theo Bailey House (Figure 5.46), the only two-story house analyzed. It is also the only adobe structure and features a hip-on-gable roof, a roofing technique where there is a recessed slope where the roof and façade meet (McAlester and McAlester 1984:43).



Figure 5.46. The Bailey House, 1892. Courtesy San Diego Historical Society.

The Doane Ranch and the Mendenhall residence (See Figures 5.23 and 5.24) are similar structures. Both are ranch style houses, one-story rectilinear structures with shallow pitched roofs. They differ in that the Doane Ranch is built of cut wood and the Mendenhall residence is constructed of more uniform clapboards.

Aside from Harrison's cabin, the simplest known structure on the mountain is the Frye cabin (Figure 5.47). The Frye cabin is constructed of cut logs that are saddle-notched at the corners. Saddle-notching requires that semi-circular cuts be made at the ends. Adjacent logs are attached to one another at the corners of the structure as it is progressively built up. Saddle-notching is the simplest method of constructing a log cabin but the least rigid (McAlester and McAlester 1984:34). The roof of the Frye cabin is constructed of cut shingles that appear to be laid across logs that act as beams. The door opening of the cabin appears to have been cut out after the structure had been erected.

The Harrison cabin is a unique structure on Palomar Mountain. It is the only structure constructed of stone, although other structures feature stone attachments in the form of external chimneys. The only similarity the Harrison cabin shares with the other Palomar structures are common to nearly all houses in San Diego County, namely the use of shingles for roofing. Even though the houses on Palomar Mountain were all constructed in the same physical environment, they display the highest degree of variation among houses in San Diego. One possible explanation for this is the fact that these houses are all removed from urban society and their builders were not compelled to follow the style of the houses around them. They were free to construct a house as they saw fit, based on their knowledge of how a house should look and their freedom to disregard the styles of others.

Comparison of House Interiors

The last comparison examines Harrison's cabin interior. Though no photographs of the interior of his cabin are known to exist, excavations over the last several years have revealed that Harrison had an earthen floor. Various documentary accounts support this notion (See Mallios et al., 2005, and Mallios et al., 2006). Figure 5.48 is a table comparing four types of house interiors in San Diego. The first is the Harrison cabin (Figure 5.49), the second is the interior of the Doane Ranch on Palomar Mountain (Figures 5.50 and 5.51), the third is the interior of a Native



Figure 5.47. The Frye cabin, 1915. Courtesy San Diego Historical Society.

	Dirt Floor	Wood Floor	Other Floor	Stone Walls	Wood Walls	Single Room	Stone Hearth	Brick Hearth
Harrison Cabin	X			X		X	X	
Doane Ranch		X			X		X	
Native American			X	X			X	
Spring Valley		X			X			X

Figure 5.48. Table comparing local historical house interiors.

American home from the late 19th or early 20th century (Figure 5.52), and the final is the interior of home from San Diego at the turn of the 20th century believed to be located in Spring Valley (Figure 5.53).

Harrison's cabin appears to be the only structure with an earthen floor. Flooring materials used in San Diego are slats of wood, as can be seen in the Spring Valley home, or wood planking of various sizes, seen at the Doane Ranch. Historical Native American homes often feature ceramic tiles around a stone hearth. Although no photographs were found showing the interiors of traditional Kumeyaay structures, thatch houses had earthen floors perhaps covered by stones and brush.

Hearths are a common feature to all house interiors in the comparison. The Spring Valley home has a brick fireplace, while the other three have stone fireplaces. As is the case with roofing shingles, only a certain amount of variation is possible before the function of the item is impeded. Fireplaces require a material that will not burn and can sustain a fire as a source of heat for cooking and temperature control. Most buildings in San Diego were



Figure 5.49. Archaeological interior of Nate Harrison cabin.



Figure 5.50. Interior of Doane house, no date. Courtesy San Diego Historical Society.

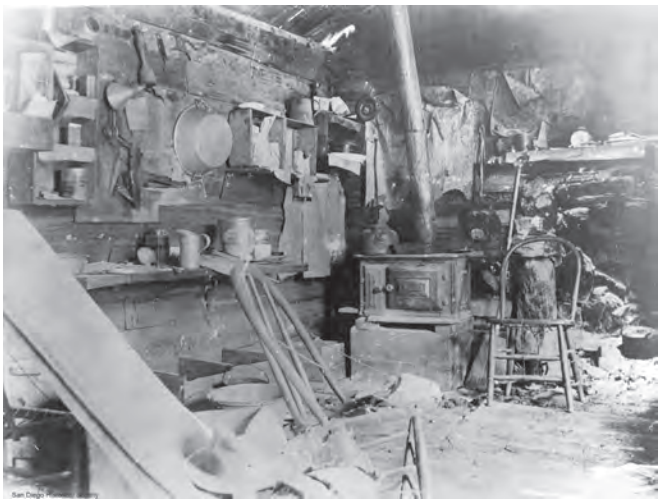


Figure 5.51. Interior of Doane house, no date. Courtesy San Diego Historical Society.



Figure 5.52. Interior of Native American house, circa 1911. Courtesy San Diego Historical Society.



Figure 5.53. Interior of Spring Valley home, 1897. Courtesy San Diego Historical Society.

built primarily with wood and only used stone for fireplaces and chimneys. The Harrison cabin is unique in this respect because it is completely constructed of stone, including the chimney.

Other Comparative Observations

Comparative analysis reveals the broad spectrum of houses found in San Diego during the close of the 19th century and beginning of the 20th century. Different social and ethnic groups tend to live in certain houses, but there is no single category (with the exception of traditional Kumeyaay thatch structures) belonging to one social or ethnic group. For example, the shade of the Clauder house (see Figure 5.28) is similar to the sun shades visible in the adobes from Warner Hot Springs (see Figures 5.43 and 5.44) and other Kumeyaay structures. The African-American inspired shotgun house is used by Native Americans as well as African-Americans. Furthermore, the shotgun house is not the only dwelling used by African-Americans; craftsman housing was used as well (See Figure 5.17).

Another aspect of San Diego housing is the degree to which different styles are fused. The shotgun houses from the Pala Indian Reservation have Victorian style decorations on the roofs (Figure 5.38), fusing African-American architecture with European inspired modifications. Native American adaptation of different styles can also be seen in the use of adobes. Adobes were brought to California by the Spanish, but examples from Warner Hot Springs that have thatch sun shades show how different cultural styles blend together.

These complex interactions create a varied architectural landscape in which different groups adopt and reject different features. They make the features of Nate Harrison's cabin even more singular. Harrison's cabin is the only structure built of stone. It is one of the few square structures, and the only square structure in the immediate area around his property (including Palomar Mountain and the Indian reservations at the base of Palomar Mountain). The aspects of the Harrison cabin that are not unique are features that seem to be universal in San Diego architecture. The use of shingles, a stone chimney, and the rectilinear form are nearly universal features in San Diego architecture (see Figure 5.19). Most common elements in San Diego architecture are present in the Harrison cabin, with the notable exception of windows. What is important about the Nate Harrison cabin is that the differences it exhibits are unique or nearly unique to the point that it must be considered anomalous on the cultural landscape. Clearly, Harrison's ideas and motivations for building his house on Palomar Mountain did not come from the San Diego area. They came with him across the country and were put into action when he constructed his cabin on Palomar Mountain some time during the second half of the 19th century.

Discussion

Comparative architectural analyses demonstrate that the Nate Harrison cabin is different from contemporaneous structures in San Diego. A new environment, his freedom, and a multi-cultural landscape had seemingly little effect on how Harrison chose to construct his house. Rather than copy a design common to San Diego, Harrison chose a cabin reminiscent of slave architecture found on plantations throughout the Antebellum South. Architectural styles Harrison had been exposed to during his years in the South were his primary influence as he built his home in Southern California.

It is important to state at the outset of this discussion that theoretical explanations are considered when undertaking formal analysis, but rarely when a person is expressing them in real world. This point is perhaps best illustrated by a discussion Edward Sapir's book, *Language* (1921). Sapir uses the example of the word, "house" to describe the way a combination of acoustic resonances of hearing the word, tactile feelings of speaking the word, visual perceptions of the hearer, tactile processes of writing the word, memory associated with the word, and any infinite number of other factors only gather meaning as a linguistic symbol when they are connected with an image of a house (Sapir 1921:11-12). Sapir continues:

> The world of our experiences must be enormously simplified and generalized before it is possible to make a symbolic inventory of all our experiences of things and relations and this inventory is imperative before we can convey ideas. (Sapir 1921:12)

In other words, before we can understand the intricacies of culture, we must understand cultural processes in broad terms. In the case of Nate Harrison's cabin, before all aspects of the cabin can be described, it must be noted that, to Nate Harrison, the cabin is first and foremost his home.

Examples of slave architecture presented by Vlach (1993) reinforce the idea that Harrison's cabin resembles slave cabins from Southern plantations. One of Vlach's primary sources is Frederick Law Olmsted. Olmsted was a traveler who wrote *The Cotton Kingdom: A Traveller's Observations on Cotton and Slavery in the American Slave States* (1953). Olmsted noted that slave cabins were small, generally ten to twelve feet square, and that there were no openings besides the door (Vlach 1993: 156, Olmsted 1953:161, 290). Vlach also cites ethnographic accounts given by former slaves that confirm slave structures were typically square, had few or no windows, and included a stone fireplace for cooking (Vlach 1993:156). Archaeological investigations and photographic evidence have demonstrated that Harrison's cabin was eleven feet square and was constructed entirely of stone with four wooden corner posts.

Another feature of the cabin is the lack of windows. Photographs of three of the cabin's four walls show no windows, leaving the north wall as the only place a window could be placed. A window on this wall makes little sense as it faces the hillside to the immediate north of the cabin. There is one historical reference to a window at Harrison's cabin (Bartlett 1931), and window glass has been recovered from the interior of the cabin. However, a window in a stone structure would require framing and no evidence of window framing has been observed at the cabin. Flat glass recovered from the site could belong to picture frames that Harrison owned.

The square house was a common feature of the plantation landscape. Outbuildings on the plantation were square so there was little distinction between the kitchen, tool sheds, and slave quarters (Vlach 1993:162-163). This landscape was where Harrison learned how a house "should" look and would likely be a major influence on him when he built his homestead in California.

Although Harrison's cabin appears similar to slave houses from southern plantations, there are important differences between his cabin and traditional slave quarters. Most of the examples Vlach presents in his analysis of the plantation landscape show a door on the eave end of a structure and an external chimney at one of the gable ends (Vlach 1993:170, 173, 174). Figures 5.54-5.56 depict slave houses from plantations in the South featuring eave entrances and external chimneys at the gable ends.

As this analysis shows, Harrison's cabin featured a gable entrance rather than an eave entrance. The placement of the external chimney at the gable end is consistent with plantation slave architecture. The placement of the entrance at the gable end is likely due to the environmental constraints of Palomar Mountain. The construction of the cabin on the hillside necessitated the location of the door at the western end of the structure. Had the door



Figure 5.54. Slave cabin 1. Courtesy Vlach 1993:170.



Figure 5.55. Slave cabin 2. Courtesy Vlach 1993:173.



Figure 5.56. Slave cabin 3. Courtesy Vlach 1993:174.

been placed on the northern wall, the entrance into the cabin combined with the sunken floor would create a larger step than is present at the western wall. An entrance on the southern wall would negate the problems created with the sunken floor, but would present different challenges. As was discussed earlier, the southern wall was a load-bearing wall. It helped hold the house in place against pressure from the slope to the north. A door on this wall would weaken the cabin structurally, making it susceptible to collapse.

The constraints of the hillside that necessitated the location of the doorway at the gable end also forced the chimney to be located on the eastern wall rather than on the northern of southern walls. Had the chimney been constructed on the northern wall, it would either have been above the floor of the cabin or required extra excavation into the hillside to create a level surface for the fireplace. A chimney on the southern wall would have been built on a slope and would have been susceptible to collapse down the hill.

Because the physical environment caused Harrison to alter the form of his cabin, a question as to why he built at that particular spot can be raised. When Harrison lived at the site, there were flat areas on his property. Today, buildings on the property are built on these flat areas. A possible reason for the location of the cabin is tied to the spring Harrison owned. Constructing the cabin near the spring allowed Harrison to monitor what was likely his most valuable resource.

A second potential factor in the placement of the entrance to the Harrison cabin at its gable end may reflect San Diegan African-American traditions. As mentioned earlier, virtually all African-American structures in San Diego had gable-end entrances. One could suggest that Harrison's gable-end entrance faces the street in a typical shotgun-house manner. Historical photographs reveal that the area to the west of the structure was cleared and mostly free of trees. This suggests that the Harrison cabin is a classic slave quarters that was influenced by certain shotgun-house modifications. The timing of this influence would be appropriate for San Diego as the Clauder house photograph (See Figure 5.28) is from 1916 and the undated Hudgins house image (See Figure 5.29) is likely from the late 19th century on the basis of the clothing the people are wearing. Harrison's gable-end entrance is an intriguing architectural characteristic that can be used to argue functionality (load bearing wall on a hill requires it), regionality (it follows the entrance placement of all other local African-American structures), cultural norms (part of shotgun-house tradition is to face the closest street), or even agency and hegemony (gable-end houses emphasize freedom).

Historical Narratives of Harrison Cabin

This analysis suggests the way Harrison adapted a familiar architectural form to his new environment. Though his cabin was changed to suit his surroundings, Harrison's cabin was viewed as a building with Southern influences. In fact, two sources refer to the cabin directly as a structure that appeared to be an African-American house from the South.

The first account was written by Virginia Stivers Bartlett for *Touring Topics*, the Automobile Club of Southern California's member magazine. The article was entitled "Uncle Nate of Palomar" and was published in October of 1931. In the article, she relates how she came upon the cabin and how it appeared to her:

> Clambering a little way up the mountain side, we found the cabin of N----r Nate. It is not like a miner's cabin, nor the shacks of cattlemen or sheepherders. Any one from Dixie would see it and say, 'a darkey's shack!' It looks as though it might have been brought sticks, stones, and mud for the chinking straight from Nate's birthplace, Kentucky, and set up on one of the West's oldest mountains. Nate built its one room, twelve feet square, with its door and window, himself, and the weird, rambling fireplace that looks like an Arthur Rackham illustration for a haunted house. Once it was covered with a shake roof, but that has fallen in during the rains and suns of a decade that has passed, since its dusky owner left it. (Bartlett 1931)

Bartlett makes the point that Harrison's cabin appears different from any other cabin she might expect to encounter on the mountain. Furthermore, she declares that any person from the South would be able to identify it as a cabin belonging to an African-American. In fact, Bartlett proclaims that the cabin may very well have been moved from the South to Palomar Mountain, further supporting that Harrison's cabin was different from other structures in San Diego. She emphasizes that Harrison built the cabin himself.

The second source is an unpublished article by Dennis Bostic written between 1952 and 1975. The article entitled "Nathan Harrison Early Settler" is part of the San Diego Historical Society's collection of historical documents. Bostic relates how Harrison built a cabin on Palomar and how it would have been recognizable to anyone from the South, stating:

> However, a short time later Nate homesteaded 80 acres on the west side of then called Pauma Mountain. He built a shack that as not like a miner's cabin, nor the shacks of cattlemen or sheepherders, but rather a so called darkey's shack *(so-called because anyone from Dixie would recognize it as such*). (Bostic 1952-1975, emphasis original)

The article reiterates the notion that Harrison's cabin is unlike other cabins found in Southern California. Rather, the cabin is recognizable to someone from the South as one that would belong to an African-American.

The later source by Bostic uses the same wording as Bartlett to describe Harrison's cabin. It is most likely that Bostic had read Bartlett's 1931 article and incorporated it into his own work. Bostic's article does not relate all the information present in Bartlett's article. Bartlett mentions that the materials used and the appearance of the cabin make it seem that the cabin was brought directly from the South to Palomar Mountain, reinforcing the idea that the cabin is inspired by Harrison's Southern origins. Bostic does not relay this information in his article when describing Harrison's cabin. Rather, he continues on to describe the spring present at Harrison's homestead site.

There are several other narrative sources that mention Harrison's cabin. Many of these are first- and second-hand sources that reference Harrison as an historical figure in San Diego. Sources presented below are those that refer directly to Harrison's cabin in terms of its construction.

A newspaper article written by J. H. Heath on October 22, 1919, entitled "Aged Negro, Owner of Mountain Spring, Enters County Hospital For the Remainder of His Days," refers to Harrison's "miserable cabin on the mountainside."

Edward Henry Davis's unpublished manuscript from 1938 entitled "Palomar Mountain History" relates the author's interactions with Harrison. Davis describes Harrison's cabin, noting:

> He lived alone in a one room cabin about 200 feet from the road, with a cold spring of water a short distance from his house. His house was built mostly of rocks chinked with mud and roofed over with split shakes which were being warped by the summer heat. At one end of his hut was a stone fireplace in which he did his cooking. His room had a dirt floor, with a bed in one corner, a few boxes with some flour, beans, coffee and bacon (when he could get it) in another corner, and some dry sticks near the fireplace. Two or three rickety chairs and a wobbly table completed his furnishings. (Davis 1938)

An anonymous article from the Kirby Collection briefly mentions Harrison and refers to the cabin as, "a crude stone and wood cabin with some scrawny chickens and hogs who sometimes shared the hut with him" (Anonymous 1958).

An unpublished manuscript written by Robert C. Fleischer reinforces many of the details presented in other documents that refer to Harrison. Fleischer states, "He built a small cabin from the native granite rocks and planted an orchard and developed a spring which gave him plenty of water" (Fleisher 1955-1970).

Writers later in the 20th century continued to describe the way Harrison's cabin was constructed. A 1971 article from the *Daily Times-Advocate* written by Eloise Perkins provides a short biography of Harrison. Perkins relates that the cabin was razed after Harrison's death and notes, "The little cabin of rock and rough shingles where Harrison lived for so many years was knocked down in the 1930s when a Civilian Conservation Corps (CCC) camp was established on the mountain" (Perkins 1971).

Perkins wrote a second article about Harrison for the *Daily Times-Advocate* in 1972 when a grave marker was placed at his burial site in Mount Hope Cemetery. She again describes the materials of Harrison's cabin, stating, "He homesteaded a claim on the west side of the mountain just above the line where the big pine trees grow on top of the mountain. From a spot just below Harrison's little rock cabin, the mountain was bare of trees and very hot in the summer time" (Perkins 1972).

In 1998, Elizabeth Yamaguchi wrote an article on Harrison and also mentioned the cabin. She stated, "He built a stone cabin, cleared some of the land for an orchard and garden, and raised horses" (Yamaguchi 1998).

Clearly, the cabin is an important feature relating to Harrison's life and legend. Although only two of the sources emphasize the connection between Harrison's cabin and African-American architecture in the South, their acknowledgement of its overall appearance suggests that it stood out as an important aspect of Harrison's story.

Examples of slave architecture presented by Vlach suggest that Harrison's cabin is similar to those found in the slave quarters of Southern plantations. Comparative analysis with other houses in San Diego suggests that Harrison's cabin is different. Together, these points show that the Nate Harrison cabin is modeled after slave

architecture from the South with seemingly little to no influence from the architecture of southern California. Essentially, Harrison transported the slave cabin to San Diego when he built his home on Palomar Mountain.

The origins of African-American architecture on the plantation have been discussed by a number of scholars. Constraints placed on African slaves by white plantation owners did not erase African culture. Rather, African culture continued in a number of ways that have been documented historically and archaeologically. Vlach discusses this phenomenon on the plantation in the case of a former slave named Susan Snow. Snow recounted how her African-born mother's cabin was the only one on the plantation with a dirt floor, and that she would not have a wood floor installed because she was African (Vlach 1993:165).

Vlach recounts the observations made by Olmsted in his travels across the South. Vlach suggests that the small houses that Olmsted claims are difficult to imagine as houses may, in fact, connect African slaves and West and Central African architectural traditions. According to Vlach, traditional West and Central African architecture consists of houses that measure 10' by 10' or less and often contain only a single doorway as the only opening (Vlach 1993:165).

African contributions to American architecture reflect the idea that African culture was not lost when forced to adapt to a new cultural system (Ferguson 1992:75). African culture continued to be expressed by slaves throughout the South, suggesting that slaves maintained a connection with their homeland and would continue to pass their culture on through the years (Ferguson 1992:74, Vlach 1993:85-86, 165-166). African-influenced architecture has been recorded on archaeological sites throughout the South dating into the 19th century (Ferguson 1992:67-69).

Architectural expression of African and African-American culture was one of the ways slaves were able to cope with forced servitude. Individuals living on the plantation would know that the differences between their houses and the other buildings on the plantation represented cultural expression. Plantation owners likely viewed African-American structures as economic shelters for their slaves and not as a means of maintaining connection with African cultural traditions (Vlach 1993:166).

Tradition is an important concept when considering the Harrison cabin and its relationship to other structures in southern California. Glassie has described culture and tradition as forces that are created by individuals. Furthermore, individuals from similar backgrounds create similar cultural institutions while deviating from the cultural institutions of those from different backgrounds (Glassie 1995:398-399). Tradition is a temporal concept where influences from the past interact with the circumstances of the present to inform the individual as to how to act (Glassie 1995:399). In his past, Harrison was socialized to the life of a slave in the South. When he came to California, Harrison had the knowledge of how a house should be constructed based on slave architecture on the plantation. Tradition would dictate how Harrison should build his house in relation to the houses of other individuals from different cultural traditions.

Excavations of Harrison's cabin and comparison with other San Diego area houses from the time he lived on Palomar reveal that the cabin is closely related to Harrison's past as well as his present. The resemblance to a slave cabin demonstrates that Nate Harrison's upbringing in the South had a lasting impact on the way he lived his life in California. His interactions with others once in California reveal that Harrison was active on the cultural landscape and not merely a passive observer subject to the forces that shape culture. Harrison probably did not think of his cabin in terms of the degree to which it conformed to or deviated from the patterns prevalent on the plantation, on Palomar Mountain, or in San Diego. He built his home as he saw fit, based on his knowledge, and with the materials available to him.

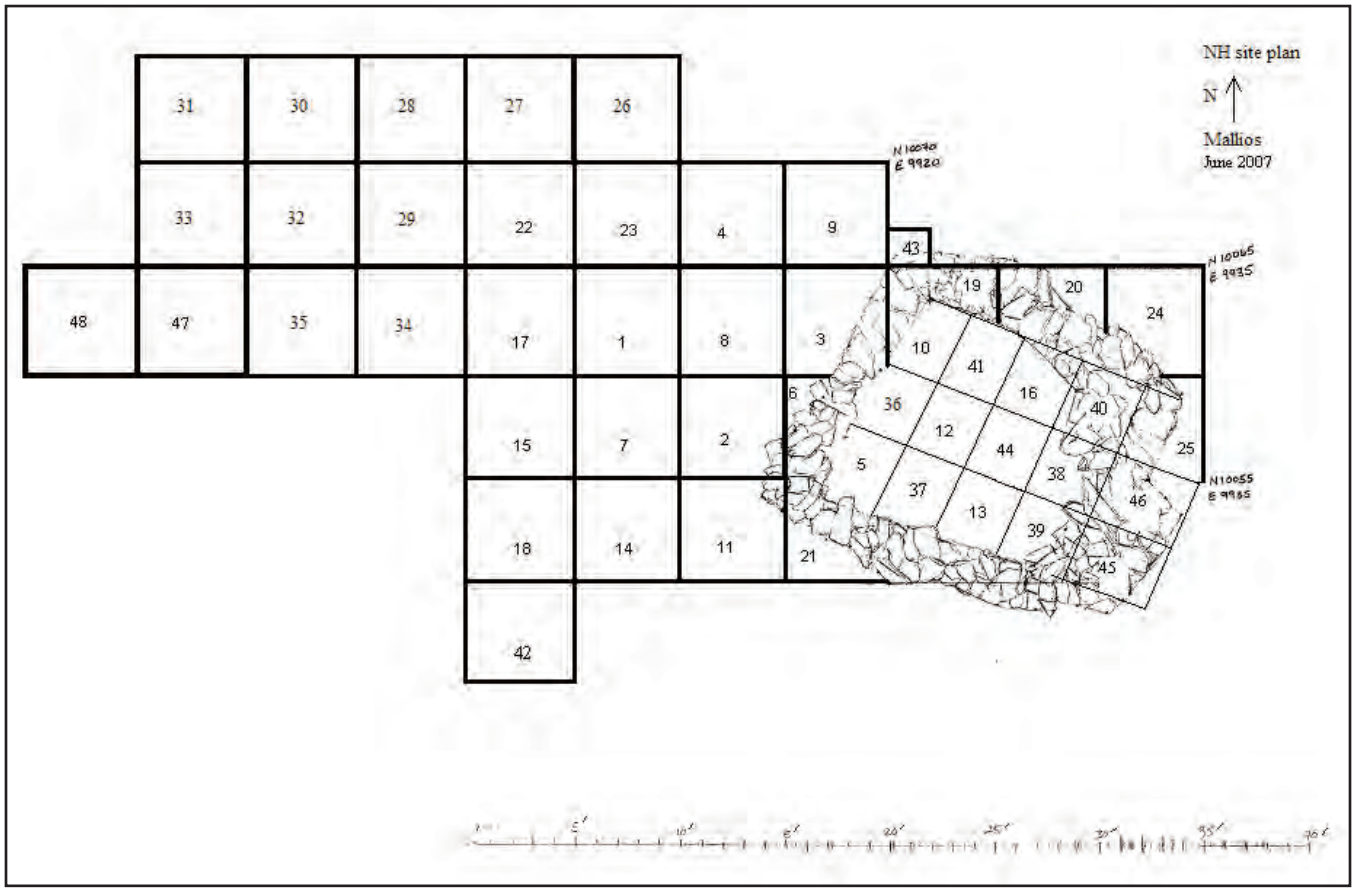


Figure 5.57. Plan map of Nate Harrison site as of June 2007.

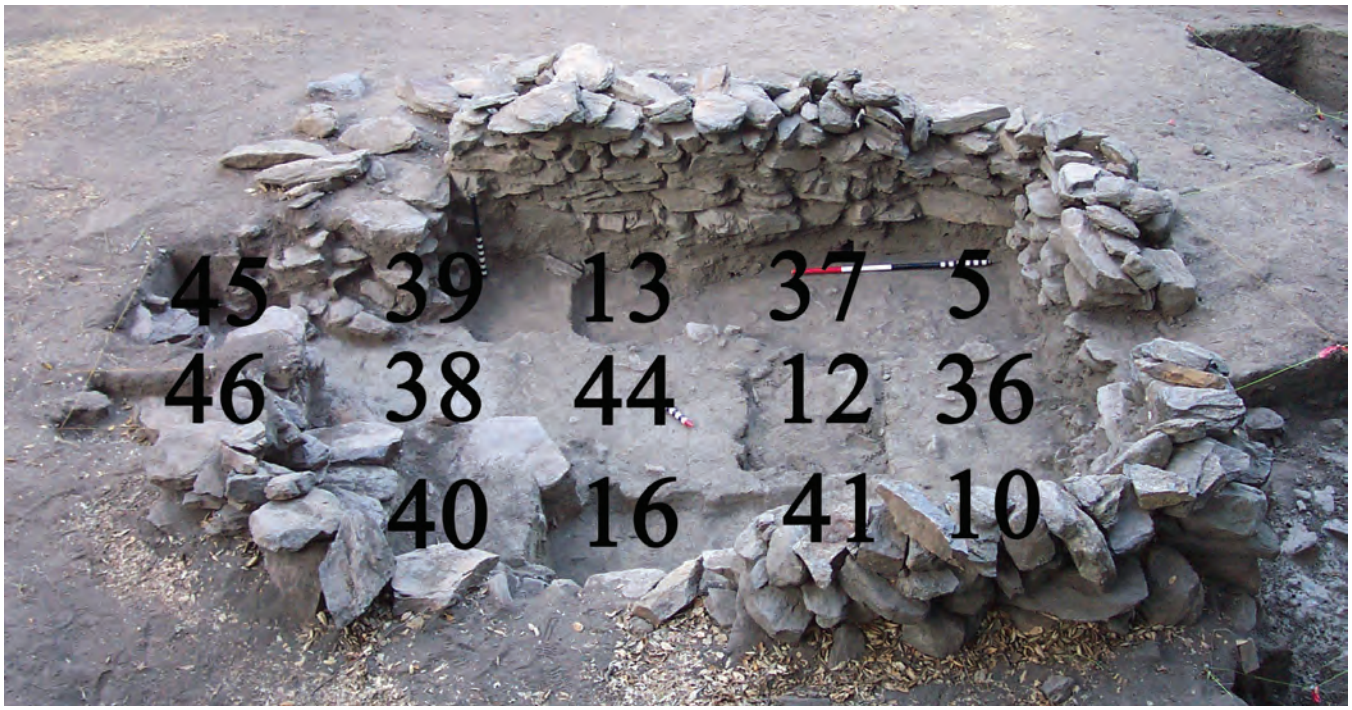


Figure 5.58. Plan-view photograph of cabin area of site with ER designations.

5.5 2007 Excavation Results

The 2007 SDSU summer field school excavated 19 different units at the Nate Harrison site. They dug thirteen 5.0' by 5.0' units in the patio area and six 3 ½' by 3' units inside the cabin foundation (Figures 5.57-5.59). The patio units were part of an elaborate set of trenches that criss-crossed the area along north/south and east/west gridlines. The six interior units nearly completed the excavation of the cabin. Only two interior areas were left partially unexcavated. Digging stopped in NH40 at layer F because an original living surface was encountered. NH40E was a thin (less than 0.1') and perfectly flat buried ash horizon that marked the interface with Harrison's dirt floor. Although adjacent units were dug deeper to reach subsoil, they contained what appeared to be leeched subsoil impacted by bioturbation and chimney fall. For example, little cultural material was uncovered in NH16J-L and NH38G. As a result, Dr. Mallios decided to leave the rest of NH40 unexcavated. In addition, the excavator working in NH45 on the south chimney unit did not reach subsoil by the end of the 2007 field season; she reached NH45D and is likely only tenths of a foot from sterile soil. The Excavation Register lists the preliminary details of each unit (Figure 5.60).



Figure 5.59. Plan-view photograph of patio area of site with ER designations.

As was the case with the past two summer field seasons, preliminary archaeological work at the site in 2007 began with an extensive clean up of the site. Although tarpaulins help to protect the site between summer field seasons, the excavation area nonetheless is disturbed annually by rain, leaf fall, and erosion. As a result, each unit that was to be dug during the 2007 field season first had to be cleaned to ensure against spatial-temporal contamination. The top 0.3' of each unit was designated as an "A" layer—even if it had been excavated to lower layers in past summers—to prevent post-excavation taphonomic forces from compromising the integrity of these lower strata. This decision to round up with clean-up layers is discussed at length in the 2005 and 2006 technical reports. The surface clean-up occurred in both patio-area and cabin-interior units and included the following contexts: NH1A, 3A, 8A, 15A, 17A, 18A, 22A, 27A, 34A, 35A, 41A, and 42A. Once they had completed the extensive clean-up, the crew embarked on completing the two primary goals of the 2007 field season: 1) excavate

NATE HARRISON SITE EXCAVATION REGISTER (ER)

ER# (no letters)	NE corner Coordinates	General Description	Date assigned (MM/DD/YYYY)	Initials
1	N10,065 E9,910	5' x 5' unit	06/09/2004	SM
2	N10,060 E9,915	5' x 5' unit	06/11/2004	SM
3	N10,065 E9,920	5' x 5' unit	06/11/2004	SM
4	N10,070 E9,915	5' x 5' unit	06/14/2004	SM
5	N10,059.265 E9,923.310	3' x 3½' unit	06/15/2004	SM
6	N10,064.060 E9,921.075	5' x 5' unit; cut by str. 1	06/15/2004	JM
7	N10,060 E9,910	5' x 5' unit	06/16/2004	SS
8	N10,065 E9,915	5' x 5' unit	06/16/2004	SS
9	N10,070 E9,920	5' x 5' unit	06/16/2004	SS
10	N10,065.020 E9,926.940	3' x 3½' unit	06/16/2004	SS
11	N10,055 E9,915	5' x 5' unit	06/16/2004	ML
12	N10,060.660 E9,927.920	3' x 3½' unit	06/16/2004	JM
13	N10,056.320 E9,929.000	3' x 3½' unit	06/16/2004	SM
14	N10,055 E9,910	5' x 5' unit	06/17/2004	MW
15	N10,060 E9,905	5' x 5' unit	06/21/2004	HS
16	N10,061.725 E9,932.300	3' x 3½' unit	06/21/2004	SS
17	N10,065 E9,905	5' x 5' unit	06/22/2004	SS
18	N10,055 E9,905	5' x 5' unit	06/22/2004	SS
19	N10,065 E9,925	5' x 5' unit; cut by str. 1	06/23/2004	MW
20	N10,065 E9,930	5' x 5' unit; cut by str. 1	06/23/2004	JM
21	N10,055 E9,920	5' x 5' unit; cut by str. 1	06/23/2004	SS
22	N10,070 E9,905	5' x 5' unit	06/23/2004	SS
23	N10,070 E9,910	5' x 5' unit	06/23/2004	SS
24	N10,065 E9,935	5' x 5' unit	06/23/2004	SS
25	N10,060 E9,935	5' x 5' unit; cut by str. 1	06/24/2004	JM
26	N10,075 E9,910	5' x 5' unit	06/23/2005	MN
27	N10,075 E9,905	5' x 5' unit	06/23/2005	SS
28	N10,075 E9,900	5' x 5' unit	06/23/2005	SS
29	N10,070 E9,900	5' x 5' unit	06/23/2005	SS
30	N10,075 E9,895	5' x 5' unit	06/23/2005	SS
31	N10,075 E9,890	5' x 5' unit	06/28/2005	SS
32	N10,070 E9,895	5' x 5' unit	06/28/2005	SS
33	N10,070 E9,890	5' x 5' unit	06/28/2005	SS
34	N10,065 E9,900	5' x 5' unit	06/28/2005	SS
35	N10,065 E9,895	5' x 5' unit	06/28/2005	SS
36	N10,061.543 E9,924.153	3' x 3½' unit	07/13/2005	SS
37	N10,076.050 E9,938.915	3' x 3½' unit	06/01/2006	HS
38	N10,068.790 E9,943.430	3' x 3½' unit	06/05/2006	SM
39	N10,070.435 E9,947.020	3' x 3½' unit	06/07/2006	SM
40	N10,060.445 E9,940.445	3' x 3½' unit	06/07/2006	SM
41	N10,072.495 E9,936.860	3' x 3½' unit	06/08/2006	SM
42	N10,050 E9,905	5' x 5' unit	06/12/2006	JL
43	N10,067 E9,922	2' x 2' unit	06/14/2006	JL
44	N10,058.410 E9928.590	3' x 3½' unit	05/30/2007	SM
45	N10,054.340 E9,936.240	3' x 3½' unit	05/30/2007	SM
46	N10,057.325 E9,937.385	3' x 3½' unit	05/30/2007	SM
47	N10,065 E9,980	5' x 5' unit	06/07/2007	JL
48	N10,065 E9,885	5' x 5' unit	06/12/2007	SM

Figure 5.60. Excavation Register of Nate Harrison site through June 2007.

the two cross-trenches that ran east/west and north/south across the patio to subsoil, and 2) complete excavation in the cabin interior.

The following section of this report details each of the units excavated during the summer of 2007 and provides profile maps and photographs of each completed unit. Since mapping and final photography is performed at the close of each unit, sections of this report that discuss contexts still under excavation do not have these visual aids. In addition, nearly all of the profile photographs for the patio-area trenches do not include the top two layers of each unit. The "A" and "B" layers of these units were excavated and mapped during the previous three summers. These maps were combined with the profile maps that were drawn during the summer of 2007 to create complete profiles for each individual unit. As a result, the total height of each side wall in the photographs below is often 0.5-1.0' less than that shown on the complete profile map of the same wall.

North/South Patio Trench (NH15, 17, 18, 22, 27, 42)

The patio trench running north/south consists of six 5.0' by 5.0' units in a line that extends 30.0' across the site. From south to north, they include NH42, 18, 15, 17, 22, and 27. This trench cuts the flat area at the base of the cabin and rises nearly 4.0' to the north side of the cabin where the mountain's slope increases significantly. The individual units in the north/south trench are discussed from south to north, starting with NH42.

NH42 (Figures 5.61 and 5.62)

NH42 is at the south edge of the patio area. Unlike the other areas to the southwest of the cabin doorway, the surface of NH42 is relatively flat. Previous landowners had told Dr. Mallios that this flatness was due to the fact that an "ancient Indian trail" ran along the southern edge of the cabin. While a detailed topographic map of the immediate site area (see Figure 5.108) does verify the existence of a level path along the cabin's south side, the excavation of NH42 reveals that the fill within this path dates to the late 19th/early 20th century. Multiple artifacts from NH42J, the deepest context in the unit, post-date 1901 and indicate that this path does not have great antiquity nor pre-date the cabin occupation. NH42 consists of uniform brownish gray sandy sand with a Munsell reading of 10YR 4/1. It contains charcoal inclusions and numerous rocks. The nine layers (42A-J, omitting "I") are relatively uniform and correspond approximately with .25' (3"/10cm) levels that parallel the slope of the terrain and with the flat surfaces of the larger rocks within each stratum.



Figure 5.61. NH42 east wall photograph.



Figure 5.62. NH42 west wall photograph.

NH18 (Figures 5.63 and 5.64)

NH18 has a steep slope to the north when compared with the relatively flat surface of NH42. It consists of eight 0.2-0.4' layers (18A-H), each of uniform brownish gray sandy sand with a Munsell reading of 10YR 4/1. These contexts each contain charcoal inclusions and numerous rocks.

NH15 (Figures 5.65 and 5.66)

NH15, like NH42, has nine layers (NH15A-J). Each of the layers is approximately .25' in depth and slopes downward to the south. Each stratum is a uniform brownish gray sandy sand (Munsell reading of 10YR 4/1) with charcoal inclusions and extensive amounts of rock.

NH17 (Figures 5.67 and 5.68)

NH17 is the center unit of the two patio-area trenches. It only contains seven layers (NH17A-G), each of which are 0.2-0.4' deep. The layers correspond with the dirt in the adjacent units—uniform brownish gray sandy sand with Munsell readings of 10YR 4/1—and contain charcoal inclusions and numerous rocks.

NH22 (Figures 5.69 and 5.70)

NH22 is striking similar to all of the other units in the patio area with one exception. It contains a giant rock that cuts through each of its eight uniform brownish gray sandy sand layers (NH22A-H with Munsell 10YR



Figure 5.63. NH18 east wall photograph.



Figure 5.64. NH18 west wall photograph.



Figure 5.65. NH15 east wall photograph.



Figure 5.66. NH15 west wall photograph.



Figure 5.67. NH17 east wall photograph. This image is of the west wall of NH1, the contiguous unit to the immediate west of NH17. Since they share a wall, the two-dimensional west wall of NH1 occupies the same flat space as the east wall of NH17. As a result, the photograph of the west wall of NH1 is the exact mirror image of the east wall drawn in the profile map. The image depicted here shows NH17 before excavation yet also depicts the east-wall profile.



Figure 5.68. NH17 west wall photograph. This image is of the east wall of NH34, the contiguous unit to the immediate east of NH17. Since they share a wall, the two-dimensional east wall of NH34 occupies the same flat space as the west wall of NH17. As a result, the photograph of the east wall of NH34 is the exact mirror image of the west wall drawn in the profile map. The image depicted here shows NH17 before excavation yet also depicts the east-wall profile.



Figure 5.69. NH22 east wall photograph.



Figure 5.70. NH22 west wall photograph.



Figure 5.71. NH27 east wall photograph.

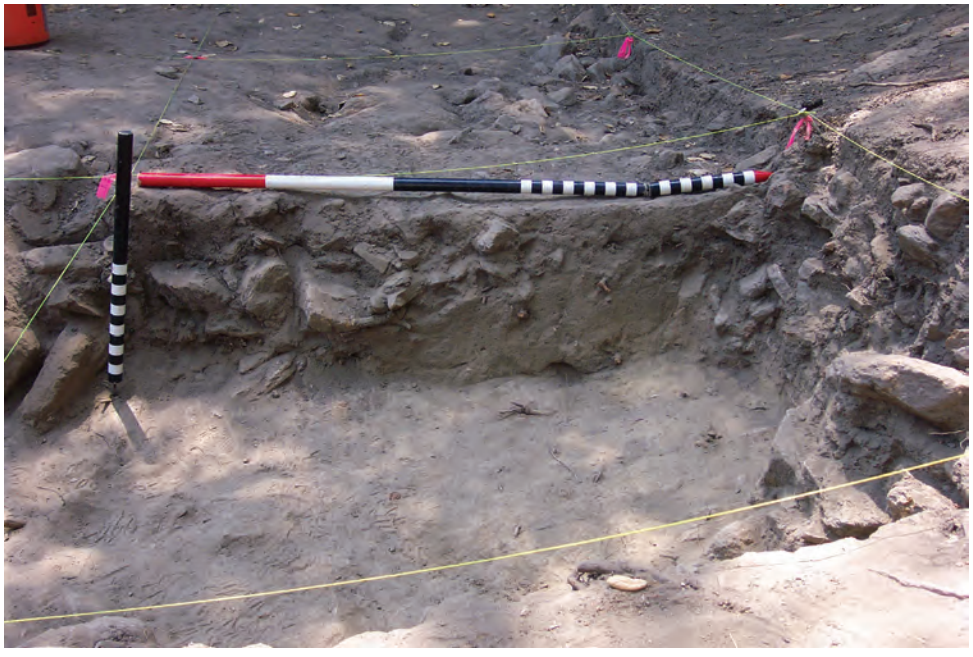


Figure 5.72. NH27 west wall photograph.

4/1). This boulder verifies what many of the cross-mends throughout the site suggest: the patio-area fill is all contemporaneous. Any singular object that is found in every layer of a unit unites those particular strata in time.

NH27 (Figures 5.71 and 5.72)

NH27 is the northernmost unit in the north/south patio trench. It contains eight layers (NH27A-H), each of which are 0.2-0.4' deep. The strata are a uniform brownish gray sandy sand with Munsell readings of 10YR 4/1; they each contain charcoal inclusions and extensive amounts of rock.

East/West Patio Trench (NH1, 3, 8, 17, 34)

The patio trench running east/west consists of five 5.0' by 5.0' units in a line that extends 25.0' across the site. From east to west, they included NH3, 8, 1, 17, and 34. This trench cuts the flat area at the base of the cabin doorway and extends gradually downhill at an oblique angle toward to adjacent southern path. The individual units in the east/west trench are discussed from east to west, starting with NH3.

NH3 (Figures 5.73 and 5.74)

NH3 is the easternmost unit in the east/west trench. It intersects with the threshold stones at the base of the cabin's original doorway. As a result, the south profile does not extend a full 5.0'. When excavations began at the site in 2004, the crew encountered rocks stacked above the doorway threshold, effectively filling the space where the doorway once stood. It was easy to spot the secondary deposition of these stones because they were wedged in and aligned next to a perfectly vertical set of rocks that denoted the exact edge of the original doorway. NH3 contains six uniform brownish gray sandy sand layers (NH3A-F with Munsell 10YR 4/1) with many large rocks. Each layer is approximately 0.2-0.4' deep.



Figure 5.73. NH3 north wall photograph.



Figure 5.74. NH3 south wall photograph.

NH8 (Figures 5.75 and 5.76)

NH8 has five layers (NH8A-E). Each of the layers is approximately .25' in depth and slopes slightly downward to the west. Each stratum is a uniform brownish gray sandy sand (Munsell reading of 10YR 4/1) with charcoal inclusions and numerous rocks. The bottom layer, NH8E, has numerous rocks at the western edge of the unit, many of which dive downward at a steep angle.

NH1 (Figures 5.77 and 5.78)

NH1 contains 11 uniform layers (NH1A-L) of brownish gray sandy sand (Munsell reading of 10YR 4/1) with charcoal inclusions and rocks. The layers vary from 0.2-0.4' in depth and are relatively level from east to west. The mass of stones on the west lower edge of NH8 continues on the eastern lower edge of NH1, creating a solid block of rocks that is present in the southeastern corner of NH1F-K.

NH17 (Figures 5.79 and 5.80)

NH17, the center unit of the two patio cross trenches, is described above. There is little in the north and south profiles that differs from the east and west profiles. In fact, both emphasize relatively uniform layers with many rocks at the base of NH17G, the bottom stratum of the unit.



Figure 5.75. NH8 north wall photograph.



Figure 5.76. NH8 south wall photograph.



Figure 5.77. NH1 north wall photograph.



Figure 5.78. NH1 south wall photograph.



Figure 5.79. NH17 north wall photograph. This image is of the south wall of NH22, the contiguous unit to the immediate north of NH17. Since they share a wall, the two-dimensional south wall of NH22 occupies the same flat space as the north wall of NH17. As a result, the photograph of the south wall of NH22 is the exact mirror image of the north wall drawn in the profile map. The image depicted here shows NH17 before excavation yet also depicts the north-wall profile.



Figure 5.80. NH17 south wall photograph. This image is of the north wall of NH15, the contiguous unit to the immediate south of NH17. Since they share a wall, the two-dimensional north wall of NH15 occupies the same flat space as the south wall of NH17. As a result, the photograph of the north wall of NH15 is the exact mirror image of the south wall drawn in the profile map. The image depicted here shows NH17 before excavation yet also depicts the south-wall profile.

NH34 (Figures 5.81 and 5.82)

NH34 is distinct from the other units in the east/west patio trench in that its layers are not level. The unit pitches down at a sharp angle to the west. NH34 contains 11 uniform layers of brownish gray sandy sand (Munsell reading of 10YR 4/1) with charcoal inclusions and rocks. The strata range in depth from 0.2-0.4'. The lower strata are more level than the top layers.



Figure 5.81. NH34 north wall photograph.



Figure 5.82. NH34 south wall photograph.



Figure 5.83. Excavators Rob Tews, Matthew Maxfeldt, Kyle Dolph, and Laura Wedie uncover numerous artifacts in NH47 and 48.

NH35, 47-48

The East/West Patio Trench continues 15.0' past NH34 and includes NH35, 47, and 48. These three units were dug during the summer of 2007, but excavators did not reach subsoil by the end of the field season. Excavation in NH35 included an initial clean-up layer (NH35A) as this unit had been opened the previous summer. In addition, during 2007 excavators dug four fill layers (NH35B-E). Each of these fill layers consisted of brownish-gray sandy sand (Munsell 10YR 4/1) with charcoal inclusions and rocks. They ranged in depth from 0.2-0.4' and were contiguous with adjacent layers to the east. Excavators also dug four layers each in NH47 (A-D) and NH48 (A-D). These new units were very similar to one another; each strata was brownish-gray sandy sand (Munsell 10YR 4/1) with charcoal inclusions and ranged in depth from 0.2-0.4'. No profile maps or final photos of NH35, 47, and 48 are presented here because these units are not yet finished. Both NH47 and 48 contained many artifacts and emphasize that that the patio-area deposit continues to the west (Figure 5.83).

Patio Trenches Summary (Figures 5.84 and 5.85)

The patio trenches demonstrate that this area of the site has remarkably uniform stratigraphy. Furthermore, multiple cross-mends temporally unite nearly every excavated context in the patio. Since every unit in the area is riddled with rodent holes, the line between undisturbed subsoil and cultural fill is somewhat blurred. The units of the trenches show that both the fill and subsoil slant downward to the southwest (Figures 5.86-5.88). Furthermore, rocks are fairly uniform throughout the area.

The trenches verify ethnohistorical accounts of the patio area being terraced with a tractor at the request of a post-Harrison landowner. In addition, these excavated units detail that this secondary earth-moving event resulted in the creation of a patio deposit that is far deeper than the original dirt floor of the cabin. Overall, the trenches successfully bolster the explanation as to why the patio deposit and cabin floor are of different depths, despite the fact that various historical photographs suggest they were at a uniform level.

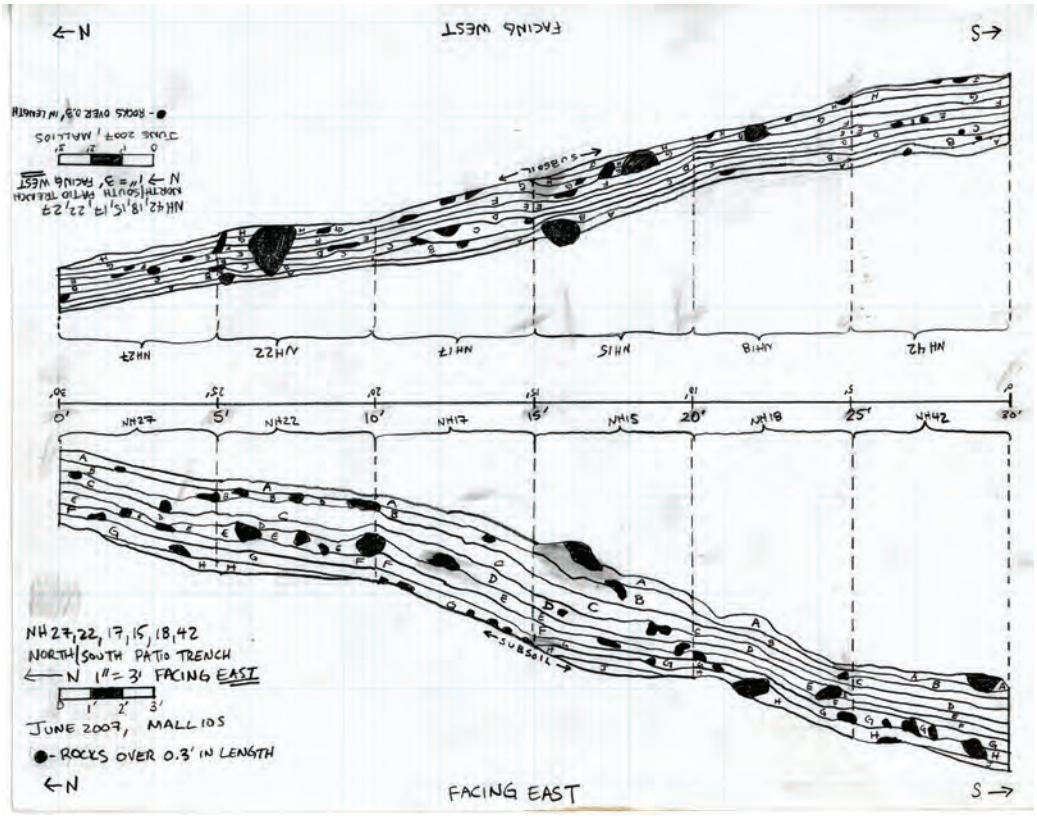


Figure 5.84. Composite profile map of eastern and western walls of the North/South Patio Trench. Maps from four seasons of excavation were combined to produce this profile.

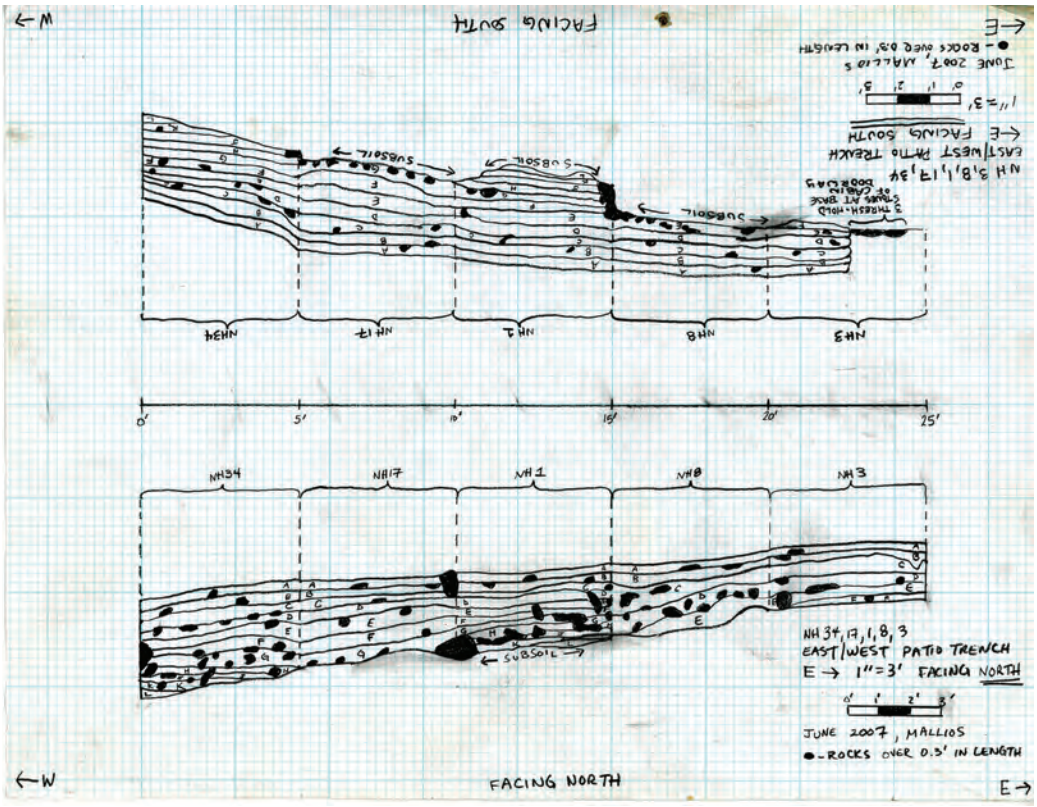


Figure 5.85. Composite profile map of northern and southern walls of the East/West Patio Trench. Maps from four seasons of excavation were combined to produce this profile.



Figure 5.86. Oblique-angle photograph of west wall of North/South Patio Trench and south wall of East/West Patio Trench. Excavators from left to right are: Matthew Maxfeldt, Kristin Tennesen, Kyle Dolph, Robert Tews, and Henry Mendoza.



Figure 5.87. Oblique-angle photograph of east wall of North/South Patio Trench and (again) south wall of East/West Patio Trench. Excavators from left to right are: Henry Mendoza, Matthew Maxfeldt, Robert Tews, Kristin Tennesen, and Kyle Dolph.



Figure 5.88. Photograph of north wall of East/West Patio Trench.

The Cabin: Interior Units (NH38-39, 41, 44-46)

Field-school students excavated in six of the cabin's interior units during the summer of 2007. Three had been dug in previous field seasons (NH38, 39, and 41), and three were new units (NH44-46). At the close of the 2007 field season, over 95% of the cabin interior had been completely excavated; only a small area in and around the chimney base had yet to be dug. Overall, newly excavated strata in the cabin's interior units followed the same stratigraphy observed in adjacent units. The cabin fill included 0.50-.75' of gray sand sealing 0.50-.75' of brown sand, which was followed by an intermittent rock layer covering much of the cabin's floor. However, the cabin floor was not made of rocks. It was a dirt floor that was sealed and punctured with rocks when the cabin fell apart. Archaeological investigations have produced no evidence of root cellars or sub-floor pits in the cabin. Cabin-destruction rock debris and rodent disturbances erased much of the interface between the cabin's trampled dirt floor and subsoil.

NH38

In 2006, students excavated five fill layers (A-E) in NH38, the unit that contains the western half of the chimney base. Their work exposed a right triangle of burned clay approximately 1.5' by 1.5' by 2.2' that was next to the squared-off north end of the hearth (Figure 5.89). This clay contained pockets of hearth ash, which had first been encountered in NH16E. In 2007, this ash was excavated in NH38 as layer F. It was less than 0.1' in depth, and its removal exposed additional burned clay and subsoil. The ash did not intersect the walls of the unit and therefore did not make it onto any of the units' profile maps drawn the year before and published in the 2006 technical report.

NH39 (Figures 5.90-5.93)

NH39 was partially dug in 2006. Excavators removed five uniform 0.25' layers (NH39A-E). Work continued in NH39 in 2007, with students excavating the unit's four remaining strata (NH39F-J). These layers were a uniform brown sandy sand (Munsell 7.5YR 3/2) with charcoal inclusions. Each was approximately 0.25' in depth. The



Figure 5.89. Photograph of north half of hearth. Dr. Mallios brushes a can base that was found resting on one of the hearth cobbles. Note the triangular area of burned clay at Mallios's left and the rodent hole just behind the clay.

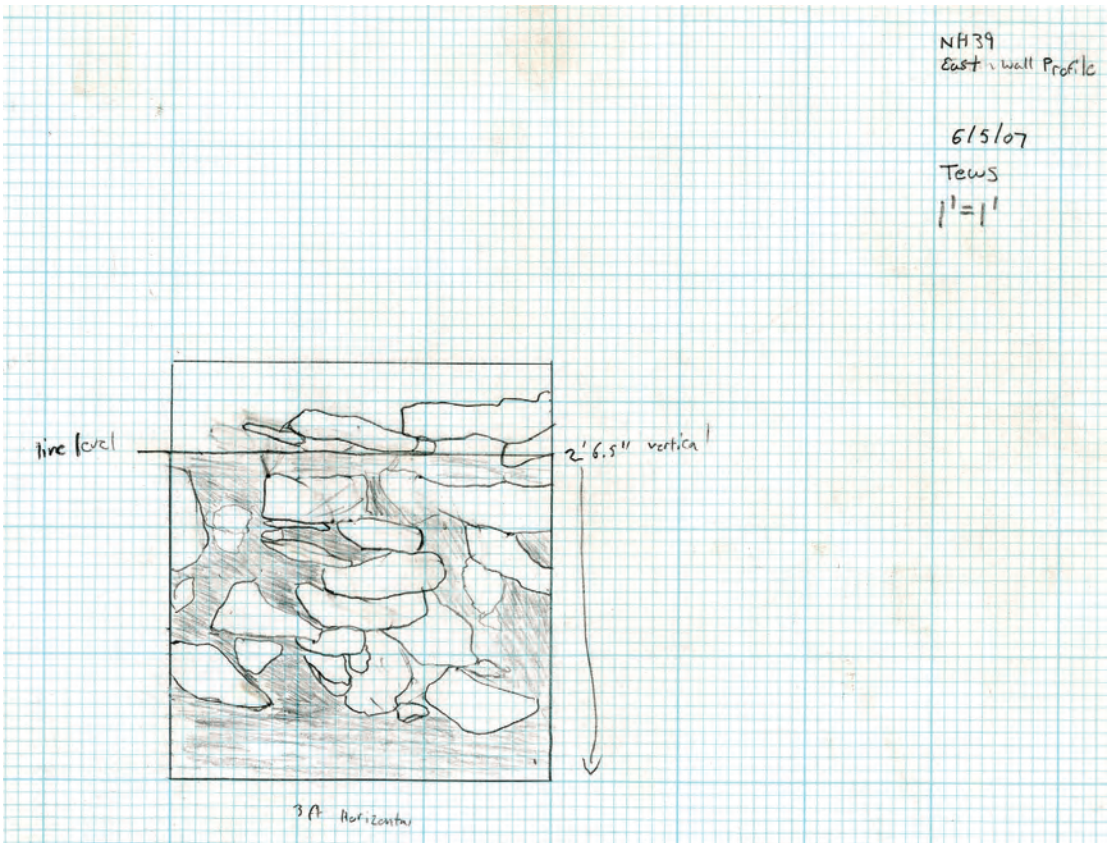


Figure 5.90. NH39 east wall profile map.



Figure 5.91. NH39 east wall photograph.

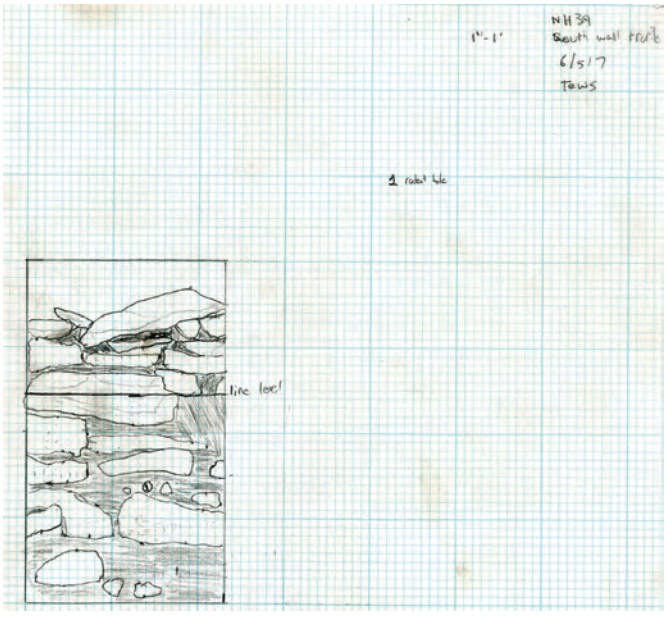


Figure 5.92. NH39 south wall profile map.



Figure 5.93. NH39 south wall photograph.

bottom of NH39F was most likely the cabin's floor as it was relatively flat and lacked the clay inclusions and numerous rocks found in the three lower layers (NH39G-J). NH38G, H, and J contained a few nail fragments and were not sterile layers. However, they were much harder and grittier strata, resembling lower layers in adjacent and nearby units. These units contained original subsoil that had had substantial amounts of rocks and a few artifacts forced into them during the cabin's destruction. The north and west profile maps and photographs for NH39 were published in past technical reports with their adjacent units. The NH39 north wall was NH38's south wall, and the NH39 west wall was the NH13 east wall.

NH41

NH41 was completely excavated previous to the start of the 2007 field season. However, a clean-up of the entire cabin interior before final photographs exposed a few artifacts in NH41. Rodents likely dragged these items into the unit during the winter while the site was covered with tarpaulins. Nonetheless, these finds were cataloged as part of the NH41A clean-up layer.

NH44

NH44 is located in the center of the cabin. By the start of the 2007 field season, every unit adjacent to it had been excavated, making it a standing pillar of dirt in the middle of the stone foundation (Figure 5.94). Excavation of NH44 produced stratigraphic results that mirrored findings in the units surrounding it. NH44 had five fill layers (NH44A-E). The first two layers, NH44A and B, were each 0.3' strata of brown sandy sand (Munsell 10YR 4/2) with charcoal inclusions. There was very little difference in the fill between the layers, except that NH44B contained ash inclusions as well. The next two layers, NH44C and D, were each 0.3' strata of grayish-brown sandy sand (Munsell 10YR 3/2) with charcoal inclusions. Whereas layers A-D each contained modest amounts of rock (0.5-1 bucket), the fifth and final cultural layer in NH44 included nearly 3 buckets of rock. NH44E was also grayish-brown sandy sand (Munsell 10YR 3/2) with charcoal inclusions, but it was distinct in its massive amounts of rock. This layer was most likely the cabin's original floor with the destruction rubble pushed into its sandy fill. This report does not include any profile pictures or profile maps of NH44 because they have been published before in previous reports with the adjacent units. NH44's west wall was the east wall of NH12, NH44's north wall was the south wall of NH16, NH44's east wall was the west wall of NH38, and NH44's south wall was the north wall of NH13.



Figure 5.94. Rob Tews, Matthew Maxfeldt, and Hillary Sweeney excavate the stratum just above the original floor in NH44.

NH45 and 46

Once students had completely excavated NH38 and 39, it became clear that the base of the chimney continued eastward. The footings of the cabin's east wall stopped at the edge of the chimney base and turned 90 degrees outward to the east. The chimney base was built into the east wall. Two additional cabin units were placed at the eastern edge of the burned clay to follow the edges of the chimney and find where it intersected the east wall (Figure 5.95). A 1.0' balk was left between these two units. NH45 was the more southern of the two. It measured 3.0 by 3.5' and was located just east of NH39. NH46 was located just to the north of NH45; it also measured 3.0' by 3.5', although the balk along its southern edge and *in situ* large rock cobbles of the foundation rendered it more of a 2.0' by 2.0'-sized unit. Excavators dug four layers of NH45 (A-D) and had not encountered subsoil by the end of the summer field season. Each sequential 0.3' layer consisted of gray sandy sand (Munsell 10YR 5/2, 4/1, 4/2, and 4/2 respectively) with charcoal inclusions. NH45B contained a large piece of barbed wire that was still attached to some of the cobbles of the chimney base. Excavators dug two layers in NH46, A and B. These strata were gray sandy sand (Munsell 10YR 5/2) with charcoal inclusions. Their removal revealed the edge of the eastern wall and the fact that all of the unit was either on top of, or outside of, the eastern wall and chimney base. Profile maps and final photos of NH45 and 46 will be completed when the units are finished.



Figure 5.95. Kristin Tennesen maps the southern half of the cabin hearth, a small circular area that protrudes beyond the east-wall foundation.

The Cabin Wall Interiors

By the end of the 2007 field season, excavators had fully exposed the interior walls of the cabin. The exterior walls measured 12.0' square, while the interior walls were 11.0' in length. The average wall width across the structure was 1.0'. The cabin walls and the space within offer many insights into the construction and destruction of the structure. These observations tie in directly with the preceding discussion of vernacular architecture.

The West Wall

(Figures 5.96-5.99)

The western wall is comprised of NH5, 36, and 10 (from south to north). The entrance to the cabin is visible in the profile map where NH5 and 36 meet. Rocks obscured the doorway because visitors to the site after Harrison's death built up portions of the cabin in an effort to preserve the structure. However, the outline of the doorway was still visible in the western wall as gaps between the stones suggest that they had been placed there after the structure had been constructed and not as part of the original cabin. The archaeological evidence of the doorway coincides with photographs of Harrison's cabin, which show the entrance to the cabin located in the middle of the western wall. Measurements of the cabin foundation confirm that the doorway is indeed centered on the western wall. The exterior wall is 12.0' long, and the 4.0' doorway is symmetrically placed between two 4.0' wall sections. Excavation of the western wall also shows that the floor of the cabin was sunken, as indicated by the presence of rocks below the threshold and the lower horizontal burn layer near the hearth.

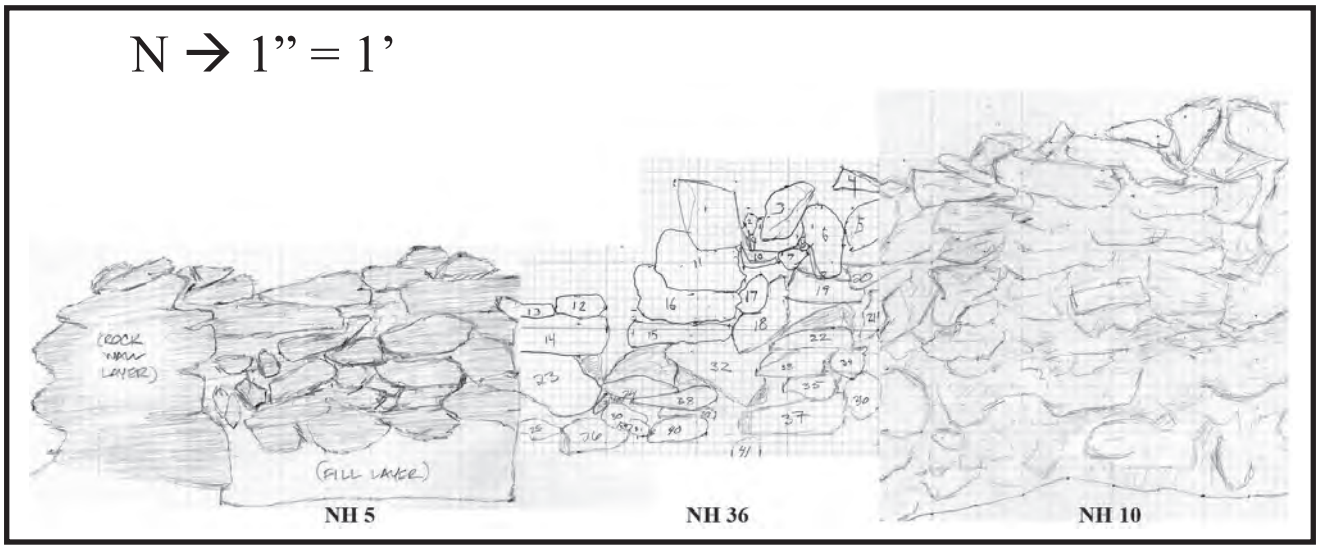


Figure 5.96. Profile map of west wall interior. The numbered rocks (1-41) in NH36 are the stones that filled the doorway long after the cabin had been abandoned.

The North Wall

(Figure 5.100)

The north wall of the cabin is comprised of NH10, 41, 16, and 40 (from west to east). It faces the hillside adjacent to Harrison's cabin. None of the historical photographs accumulated by the project show this side of the cabin in any detail. The north wall was built up significantly by site visitors over the years; many of these rocks are not directly above the buried wall that excavators uncovered. The rocks of the wall in NH16 do not reach as high as in the adjacent units. In addition, loose rocks were removed from NH16 in order to reveal the original rocks of the north wall *in situ*. The north arrow on the right side of the photograph in Figure 5.100 rests atop the ash layer that marks the original floor of the cabin. The foot of fill below it is from bioturbation and the destruction of the chimney that pressed many large rocks into subsoil.



Figure 5.97. Photograph of west wall interior. The line marks the door jam showing where post-Harrison occupation rocks had been placed in the doorway.



Figure 5.98. Photograph of west wall interior. Using the vertical line of end stones that marked the door jam, rocks were removed to show the original doorway opening and threshold. Excavators from left to right are: Matthew Maxfeldt, Kristin Tennesen, and Robert Tews.



Figure 5.99. A photograph taken from a slightly oblique angle shows the original door frame and emphasizes the vertical stone-line on the doorway's north side.



Figure 5.100. Photograph of north wall interior. Excavators from left to right are: Matthew Maxfeldt and Kristin Tennesen.

The South Wall

(Figure 5.101)

The southern wall of Harrison's cabin faces the down-slope of the property. It is comprised of NH39, 13, 37, and 5 (from east to west). The south wall appears in many of the photographs of Nate Harrison and his cabin. The wooden lean-to structure discussed could be construed as an extension of the southern wall into the patio. What is more likely is that the wooden structure represents more of an addition to the already-built cabin rather than a structural component. The southern wall had no other openings such as windows. The dirt mortar used to cement the stones together is visible between the rocks of the southern wall. The material used is indistinguishable from the sediments found throughout the site, suggesting that Harrison used a mixture created from raw materials from the surrounding area and not brought in from some other source.

The south wall also helped reinforce the cabin. Since the cabin is built on a slope, the southern wall bears a disproportionate weight relative to the other three walls. The southwest cornerstone is the largest rock in the entire foundation of the building, and it also bears the most weight as the steepest pitch of the hillside is to the southwest. In addition, the southern wall is thicker than the other three walls, particularly nearer to the base. It appears that the southern wall was built in sections as the lower portion serves as a load-bearing wall while the upper portion is constructed in the same manner as the other three walls.



Figure 5.101. Photograph of south wall interior. Notice the rodent hole near the cornerstone to the right. Excavators from left to right are: Kyle Dolph and Kristin Tennesen.

The East Wall

(Figure 5.102)

The eastern wall is composed of NH40, 38, and 39 (from north to south). The chimney is not perfectly centered along the 11.0' east wall interior. The 4.0'-wide chimney sits in between a 4.0' section of wall to the north and a 3.0' section to the south. The chimney base consists of two areas: 1) a squared off 1.0' deep by 2.0' long space to the north that was centered over the burned clay, and 2) a contiguous 2.0' circular area—perhaps a small oven—to the south (Figure 5.103).



Figure 5.102. Photograph of east wall interior. Excavators from left to right are: Matthew Maxfeldt, Kyle Dolph, and Kristin Tennesen.



Figure 5.103. Photograph of chimney base. Kyle Dolph (left) is on the north side of the hearth base near the rodent hole and burned clay, and Hillary Sweeney (right) is next to the unexcavated circular area on the south side of the hearth.

Cabin Architectural and Archaeological Summary

Harrison's cabin is a small structure built into a hillside located just off the Nate Harrison Grade. Though the structure itself is level, the surrounding area is sloped. The cabin was constructed of uncut stone and had a wood-shingled roof. The entrance to the cabin was on the western wall and an external chimney was located on the eastern wall, directly across from the entrance. The entrance and the chimney are located at the gable ends of the structure and the eave walls do not appear to have additional entrances or openings, such as windows. Photographs of Harrison outside his home show a wooden structure attached to the exterior of the cabin on the southwestern corner. It is likely that this structure was a lean-to (a shed that is attached to the frame of a building) or used as a storage or work area and not a formal addition to the cabin. Excavation of the area adjacent to the four walls of the cabin interior confirms that the cabin is square, rather than a rectilinear form. Square architecture is prominent in African-American traditions on both the plantation and in free society (Vlach 1986, 1993). In Vlach's analysis of slave quarters on Southern plantations (1993:153-181), slave quarters were square or rectilinear buildings. Typically, rectilinear dwellings were sub-divided into square rooms to house more than one family.

Harrison's cabin appears to be a simple structure intended for the use of one to several occupants. However, labeling the cabin as simple belies the cultural processes that take place when a dwelling of this sort is conceived and constructed. Historical and archaeological analyses have shown that the cabin is a square, has one entrance centrally located on the western side of the building, and a chimney located on the eastern side of the building. The eave walls are on the northern and southern walls and the gables are located on the eastern and western walls, respectively.

The cabin is constructed from locally available materials, namely uncut stones mortared together with local sediments. A structure built in this way suggests that it was easily and inexpensively constructed. Uncut stones are easier to use as there is little modification and few tools required. When compared with other structures on Palomar Mountain and throughout San Diego County, Harrison's cabin differs in significant ways. Harrison's cabin, for example, is the only structure on Palomar Mountain from the late 19th and early 20th centuries that is constructed of stone. When considering the cost involved in cutting and planing wood to construct a house, the use of stone provides an inexpensive alternative to a wooden house. The form of the cabin is similar to dwellings constructed for slave laborers on Southern plantations. The dirt floor can also be traced to an African-inspired form of protest practiced on Southern plantations (Vlach 1986:165).

There is one important difference between Harrison's cabin and traditional slave quarters described by Vlach. In most cases, single-occupancy slave quarters were entered through a door on an eave wall of the house and the chimney was located on one of the gable walls. The chimney was usually to the right upon entering slave houses (Vlach 1986:170, 173, and 174).

In the case of shotgun houses, the entrance was at the gable end and the placement of the chimney was not uniform. Also, the shotgun house is comprised of several rooms in a row (Vlach 1986:65-66). Because of this defining feature, Harrison's cabin more closely resembles traditional slave quarters and not a shotgun house. As has been shown in Harrison's cabin through historical and archaeological evidence, the entrance to the cabin is on the gable end. This differs from the traditional layout of the slave cabin. Had Harrison's cabin followed the pattern of the slave cabin, the entrance would have been on the southern wall, leading perilously downhill.

Excavation Summary

In 2007, field school participants moved over 430 cubic feet of dirt while excavating 19 units (Figure 5.104). They finished the cross trenches in the patio area and nearly completed the cabin interior. There were many insights from the crew's hard work. First, the patio trenches revealed approximately 3.0' of consistent stratigraphic fill across the west section of the site. Second, the patio-area refuse continues to the south and west but not to the north. Third, excavation inside of the cabin further corroborated the structure's uniform fill episodes, consisting of 1-2' of grey/brown sandy sand that seals the subsoil-impacted chimney-destruction layer. These two major fill episodes are separated in the north and east areas of the cabin by a horizontal ash layer, marking the structure's

original dirt floor. Fourth, the students' careful excavation of the Harrison chimney base revealed important nuances regarding the dual-use of the hearth, identifying the main fireplace and an additional side compartment.



Figure 5.104. Photograph of nearly the entire hard-working crew. From left to right: Lisa Bender, Hillary Sweeney, Marc Barca, Matthew Maxfeldt, Henry Mendoza, Nicole Benson, Kyle Dolph, Jaime Lennox, Kristin Tennesen, Samantha Stevens, Erika Kleinhans, Katherine Sholan, and Brenda Cabello.

Digital Maps

The 2007 summer field season also benefited from the aid of various GIS and AutoCad specialists. Scott Mattingly (Figure 5.105) generated two three-dimensional maps for the entire mountain based on existing GIS data (Figures 5.106 and 5.107), and David Lewis—based on extensive surveying with David Caterino and Scott Mattingly—produced a topographic map (Figure 5.108) of the excavation area for the project as well. Each of these images contains a wealth of data and hint at the unlimited digital mapping and analytical potential of this site.



Figure 5.105. David Lewis (left) and David Caterino (right) carefully map the cabin foundation. Scott Mattingly sets up the transit in the background.

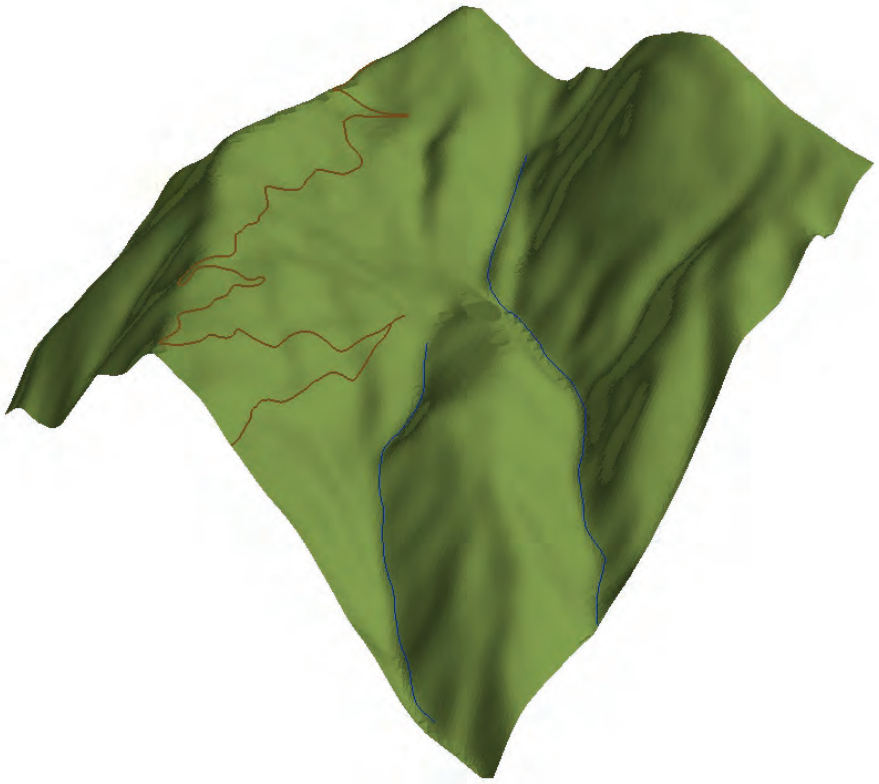


Figure 5.106. A digital terrain map of Palomar Mountain's western slopes with the Nate Harrison Grade on the left.



Figure 5.107. A digital topographic map of Palomar Mountain's western slopes with the Nate Harrison Grade on the left.

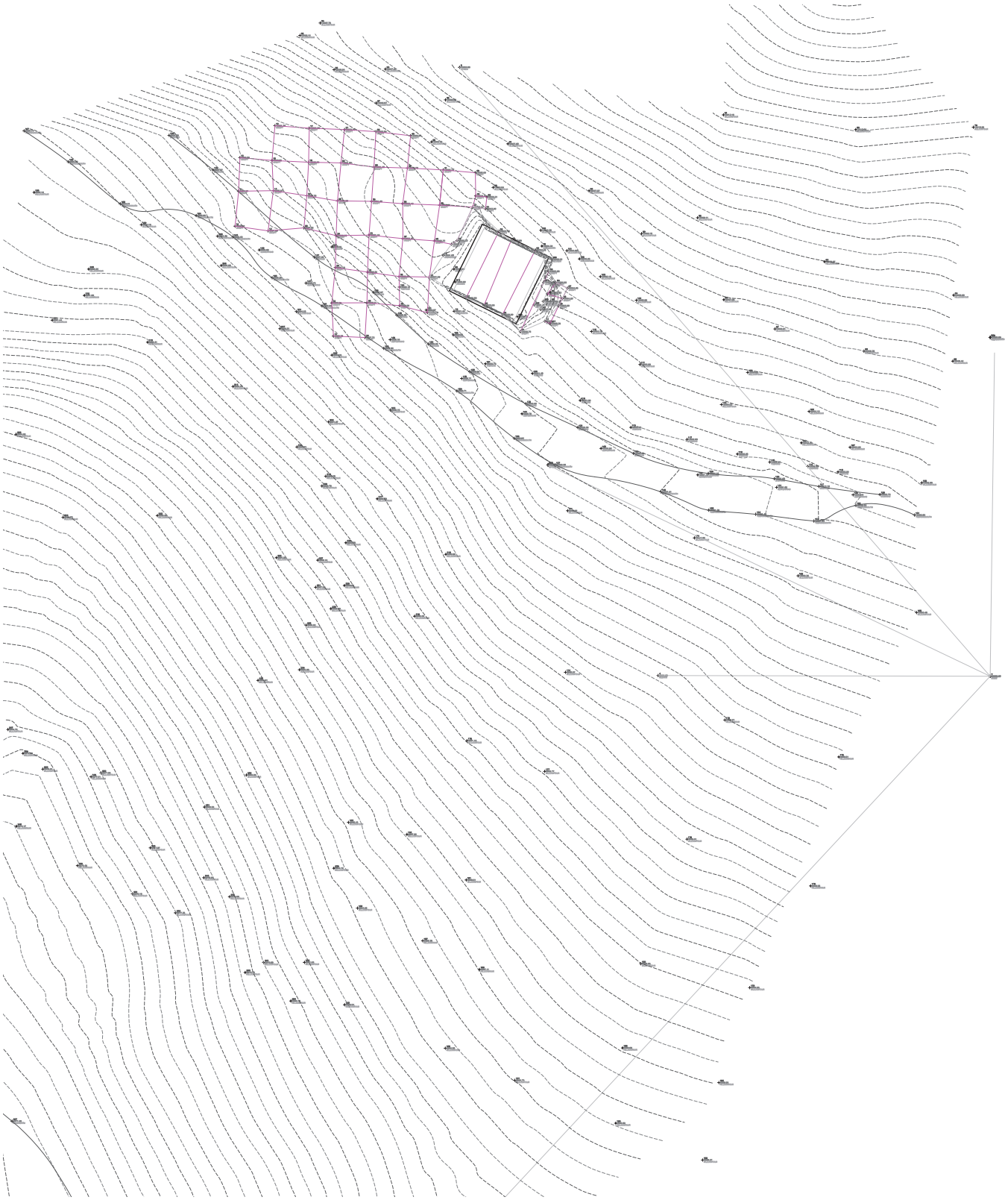


Figure 5.108. An AutoCAD map of the Nate Harrison site area. This map shows the cabin outline, the patio units, and the purported (yet archaeologically debunked) "Indian trail" running just south across the cabin and patio areas.

5.6 Analyses and Interpretations

During the 2007 summer session, students excavated at the site Monday through Thursday and processed artifacts in the makeshift mountain lab on Fridays (Figure 5.109). Artifact processing continued at the SDSU North American Laboratory in the Dede Alpert Center for Community Engagement in City Heights once the field school ended.



Figure 5.109. Every Friday, students processed the artifacts that they had recovered during the previous week. The crew pictured here are (left to right): Rob Tews, Laura Weide, Henry Mendoza, Katherine Sholan, Marc Barca, Samantha Stevens, Jaime Lennox, Matthew Maxfeldt, Erika Kleinhans, Lisa Bender, Nicole Benson, and Kyle Dolph.

The report presented here offers preliminary analyses and interpretations of the site and its material assemblage. It emphasizes change in form over time and space. It focuses primarily on insights gleaned from the 2007 field season but occasionally summarizes the four years of excavation at the site.

In the summer of 2007, the field-school students at the Nate Harrison site recovered 3,717 artifacts. Fewer artifacts were found at the site during the 2007 field season than in any of the previous three excavation seasons. This was due to the fact that the 2007 field season marked the first time that excavators at the site were reaching the bottom of the historical layers in the patio area. The students moved nearly twice as much dirt as each of their counterparts from previous field seasons at the site. Although extensive root and rodent disturbance at the site caused occasional bits of potential cultural material to be found in predominantly sterile contexts, the overall dearth of finds in the lowest layers of the patio were essential in attaining a more complete understanding of the stratigraphy just west of the cabin. Therefore, while participants in the 2007 field school found fewer artifacts than in previous years, they uncovered more layers and more insight about the formation of the site than any of the other field schools.

Overall, the following analyses definitively establish that a small number of inhabitants occupied the Nate Harrison site during the late 1800s and early 1900s. In addition, the artifact assemblage reveals a singular occupation, with extensive cross-mends between nearly every layer of the site.

Time

Use and production date ranges for various historical artifact types found at the Nate Harrison site during the summer of 2007 establish that the site was occupied from ca. 1860-1920 (Figure 5.110). This was also the case with the artifact assemblages from the 2004, 2005, and 2006 field seasons. Shell buttons with sunken panels that were made from 1837-1865 serve as an occupation start date for the site. However, since clothing is frequently handed down between individuals and often exhibits an extended use life, this date is tentative. A more reliable start date is the fired cartridge with the "H" head stamp, which pre-dates 1876. The site TPQ is far more reliable. A synthetic pen cap with metal clip embossed with "K-CLIP PAT FEB.12.07" that was found on the cabin's living surface was produced after 1906.

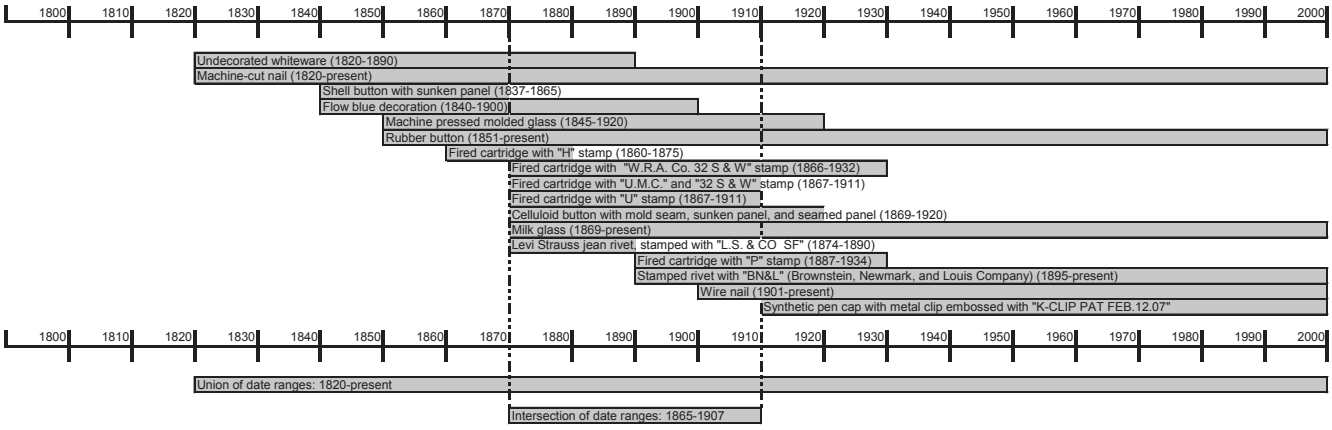


Figure 5.110. Artifact date ranges based on materials found during the 2007 field season.

Cumulative date range intersections from all three summers (2004-2006) reveal the same occupation pattern (Figure 5.111). The artifacts clearly show a singular occupation during the last quarter of the 19th century and the first quarter of the 20th century. Various coins, bottles, buttons, cartridges, and thousands of other finds reveal that the site was inhabited ca. 1860-1920. However, none of the artifacts definitively point to a pre-1865 start date. The question of when Nate Harrison built the cabin and first began living there remains to be answered.

Space

In general, artifact counts diminished gradually by sequential vertical layer in each unit. In nearly every patio-area unit, the A layer was the most artifact-rich. Due to bioturbation and the sandy nature of subsoil at the site, the lowest strata rarely contained zero artifacts. However, the dramatic drop-off signaled the presence of leeched subsoil and the end of the historical cultural deposit. A frequency seriation of artifact counts across each of the layers in the patio cross trenches pinpointed the drop-off by vertical context. Numerous cross-mends had previously linked all these contexts in time and emphasized that the cabin- and patio-area units were not phased or temporally discrete. Furthermore, the amount of rock in each patio-area unit increased gradually by vertical context. As a result, there is a strong inverse relationship between the amount of rock in each layer and the number of artifacts. The tables in Figures 5.112-5.121 list by layer the percentage of a specific unit's total artifacts and the percentage of the unit's total rock by layer.

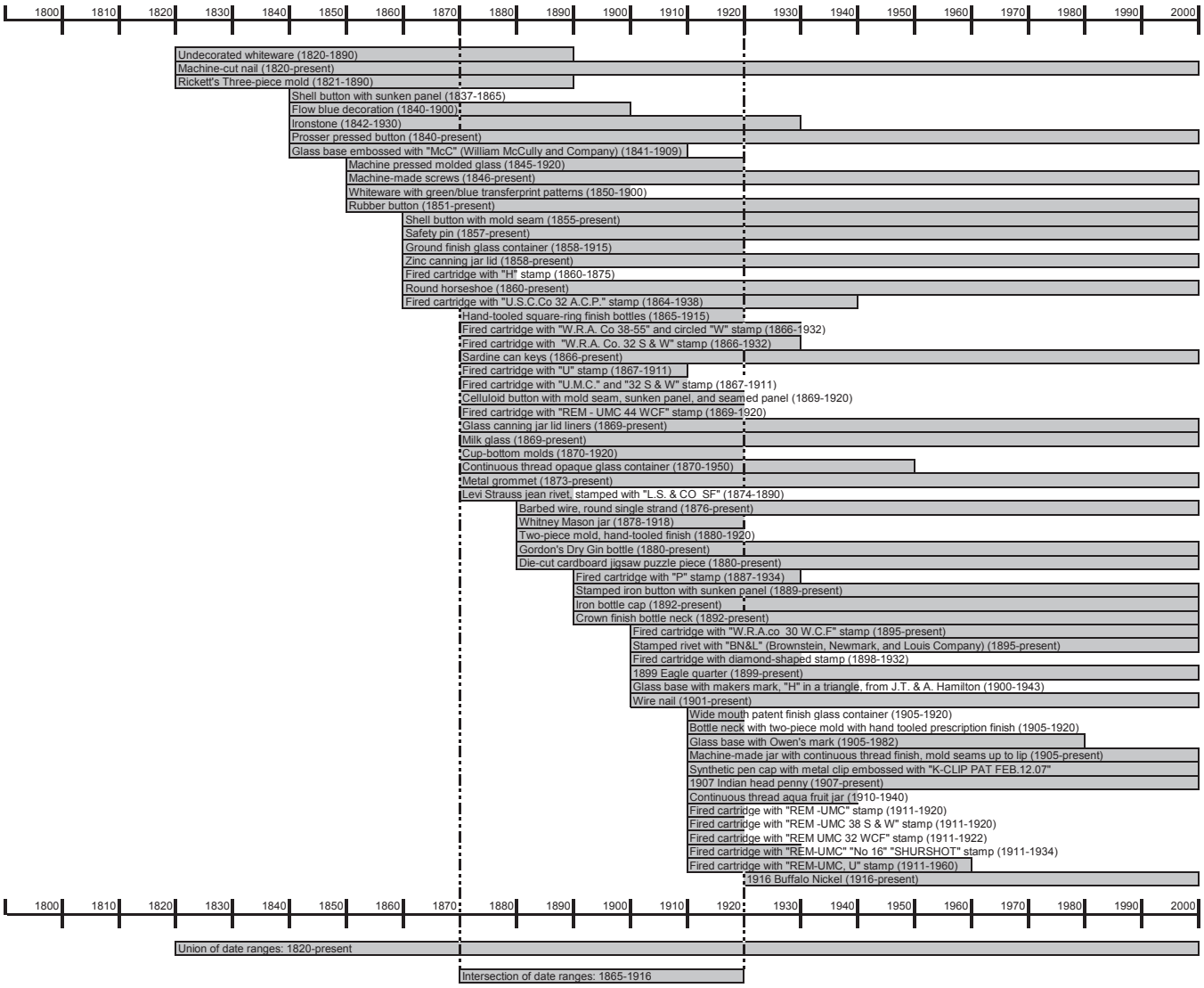


Figure 5.111. Cumulative artifact date ranges from the entire Nate Harrison (2004-2007 field seasons).

The correlation coefficient for each of the units in the completed patio-area cross trenches is statistically significant—ranging from -0.49 to -0.99—and shows the interrelatedness between a layer's total artifacts and total amount of rock. These correlation coefficients reveal that the amount of variation in the number of artifacts in each layer is inversely related to the amount of variation in the volume of rock in the same layer. In fact, the overall correlation coefficient for every layer in both cross trenches is -0.44, indicating that this pattern extends throughout every layer in the entire patio area. Figure 5.122 is a scatter-plot diagram of artifact and rock percentages for each patio cross trench context. The progression of points downward and to the right emphasizes the inverse relationship that the correlation coefficients identify and substantiate.

Lab work following the 2007 field season produced additional cross-mends between artifacts as well (Figure 5.123). These mends further united the different areas of the site in time, each apparently reflecting the end of occupation at the site. This time period includes the last decades of Harrison's activity in the patio area (1900-1919) and ends when he left the mountain for good in the fall of 1919.

Context	Percentage of unit's total artifacts (count)	Percentage of unit's total rock (volume in cubic feet)
NH1A	40 (445)	0 (0)
NH1B	12 (134)	3 (.5)
NH1C	11 (127)	7 (1)
NH1D	9 (105)	10 (1.5)
NH1E	0 (0)	0 (0)
NH1F	5 (50)	7 (1)
NH1G	4 (49)	7 (1)
NH1H	15 (161)	7 (1)
NH1J	1 (8)	13 (2)
NH1K	2 (22)	13 (2)
NH1L	1 (7)	33 (5)
Total	100 (1108)	100 (15)

Figure 5.112. Table listing the amount and percentage of artifacts and rocks per layer for each layer in NH1. The r^2 value is -0.46.

Context	Percentage of unit's total artifacts (count)	Percentage of unit's total rock (volume in cubic feet)
NH3A	48 (243)	1 (0.1)
NH3B	35 (176)	9 (0.6)
NH3C	14 (74)	16 (1.1)
NH3D	3 (15)	26 (1.8)
NH3E	0 (0)	24 (1.7)
NH3F	0 (2)	24 (1.7)
Total	100 (510)	100 (7)

Figure 5.113. Table listing the amount and percentage of artifacts and rocks per layer for each layer in NH3. The r^2 value is -0.99.

Context	Percentage of unit's total artifacts (count)	Percentage of unit's total rock (volume in cubic feet)
NH8A	57 (517)	3 (0.3)
NH8B	11 (102)	3 (0.3)
NH8C	25 (222)	21 .(2)
NH8D	5 (42)	26 (2.5)
NH8E	2 (20)	47 (4.5)
Total	100 (903)	100 (9.6)

Figure 5.114. Table listing the amount and percentage of artifacts and rocks per layer for each layer in NH8. The r^2 value is -0.64.

Context	Percentage of unit's total artifacts (count)	Percentage of unit's total rock (volume in cubic feet)
NH15A	55 (508)	2 (1)
NH15B	13 (119)	4 (2)
NH15C	6 (55)	11 (5)
NH15D	10 (89)	2 (1)
NH15E	10 (92)	4 (2)
NH15F	4 (36)	7 (3)
NH15G	0 (2)	28 (13)
NH15H	1 (5)	20 (9)
NH15J	1 (12)	22 (10)
Total	100 (918)	100 (46)

Figure 5.115. Table listing the amount and percentage of artifacts and rocks per layer for each layer in NH15. The r^2 value is -0.56.

Context	Percentage of unit's total artifacts (count)	Percentage of unit's total rock (volume in cubic feet)
NH17A	47 (391)	4 (0.8)
NH17B	12 (99)	21 (4)
NH17C	7 (58)	26 (5)
NH17D	12 (102)	26 (5)
NH17E	12 (97)	10 (2)
NH17F	11 (88)	13 (2.5)
Total	100 (835)	100 (19.3)

Figure 5.116. Table listing the amount and percentage of artifacts and rocks per layer for each layer in NH17. The r^2 value is -0.71.

Context	Percentage of unit's total artifacts (count)	Percentage of unit's total rock (volume in cubic feet)
NH18A	39 (299)	1 (0.5)
NH18B	5 (40)	1 (0.3)
NH18C	13 (100)	1 (0.5)
NH18D	28 (217)	1 (0.3)
NH18E	4 (34)	11 (5)
NH18F	2 (14)	13 (5.5)
NH18G	9 (66)	36 (15.5)
NH18H	0 (4)	36 (16)
Total	100 (774)	100 (43.6)

Figure 5.117. Table listing the amount and percentage of artifacts and rocks per layer for each layer in NH18. The r^2 value is -0.52.

Context	Percentage of unit's total artifacts (count)	Percentage of unit's total rock (volume in cubic feet)
NH22A	60 (573)	4 (0.7)
NH22B	30 (283)	3 (0.5)
NH22C	3 (29)	3 (0.5)
NH22D	6 (60)	13 (2.5)
NH22E	0 (4)	17 (3.5)
NH22F	0 (1)	8 (1.5)
NH22G	0 (4)	17 (3.5)
NH22H	1 (9)	35 (7)
Total	100 (963)	100 (19.7)

Figure 5.118. Table listing the amount and percentage of artifacts and rocks per layer for each layer in NH22. The r^2 value is -0.49.

Context	Percentage of unit's total artifacts (count)	Percentage of unit's total rock (volume in cubic feet)
NH27A	39 (138)	1 (0.2)
NH27B	32 (114)	4 (1)
NH27C	19 (66)	7 (1.7)
NH27D	5 (19)	16 (4)
NH27E	1 (3)	22 (6)
NH27F	0 (0)	14 (3.5)
NH27G	0 (2)	17 (4.3)
NH27H	4 (14)	19 (5)
Total	100 (356)	100 (25.7)

Figure 5.119. Table listing the amount and percentage of artifacts and rocks per layer for each layer in NH27. The r^2 value is -0.93.

Context	Percentage of unit's total artifacts (count)	Percentage of unit's total rock (volume in cubic feet)
NH34A	17 (211)	7 (1)
NH34B	17 (199)	7 (1)
NH34C	9 (113)	4 (0.5)
NH34D	20 (242)	4 (0.5)
NH34E	17 (205)	7 (1)
NH34F	12 (142)	7 (1)
NH34G	4 (48)	7 (1)
NH34H	2 (25)	7 (1)
NH34J	1 (10)	11 (1.5)
NH34K	0 (1)	7 (1)
NH34L	0 (4)	18 (2.5)
NH34M	1 (14)	14 (2)
Total	100 (1214)	100 (14)

Figure 5.120. Table listing the amount and percentage of artifacts and rocks per layer for each layer in NH34. The r^2 value is -0.59.

Context	Percentage of unit's total artifacts (count)	Percentage of unit's total rock (volume in cubic feet)
NH42A	17 (111)	3 (0.2)
NH42B	8 (58)	12 (0.7)
NH42C	18 (123)	5 (0.3)
NH42D	19 (126)	0 (0)
NH42E	17 (115)	0 (0)
NH42F	15 (99)	0 (0)
NH42G	1 (5)	8 (0.5)
NH42H	2 (12)	5 (0.3)
NH42J	3 (20)	67 (4)
Total	100 (669)	100 (6)

Figure 5.121. Table listing the amount and percentage of artifacts and rocks per layer for each layer in NH42. The r^2 value is -0.50.

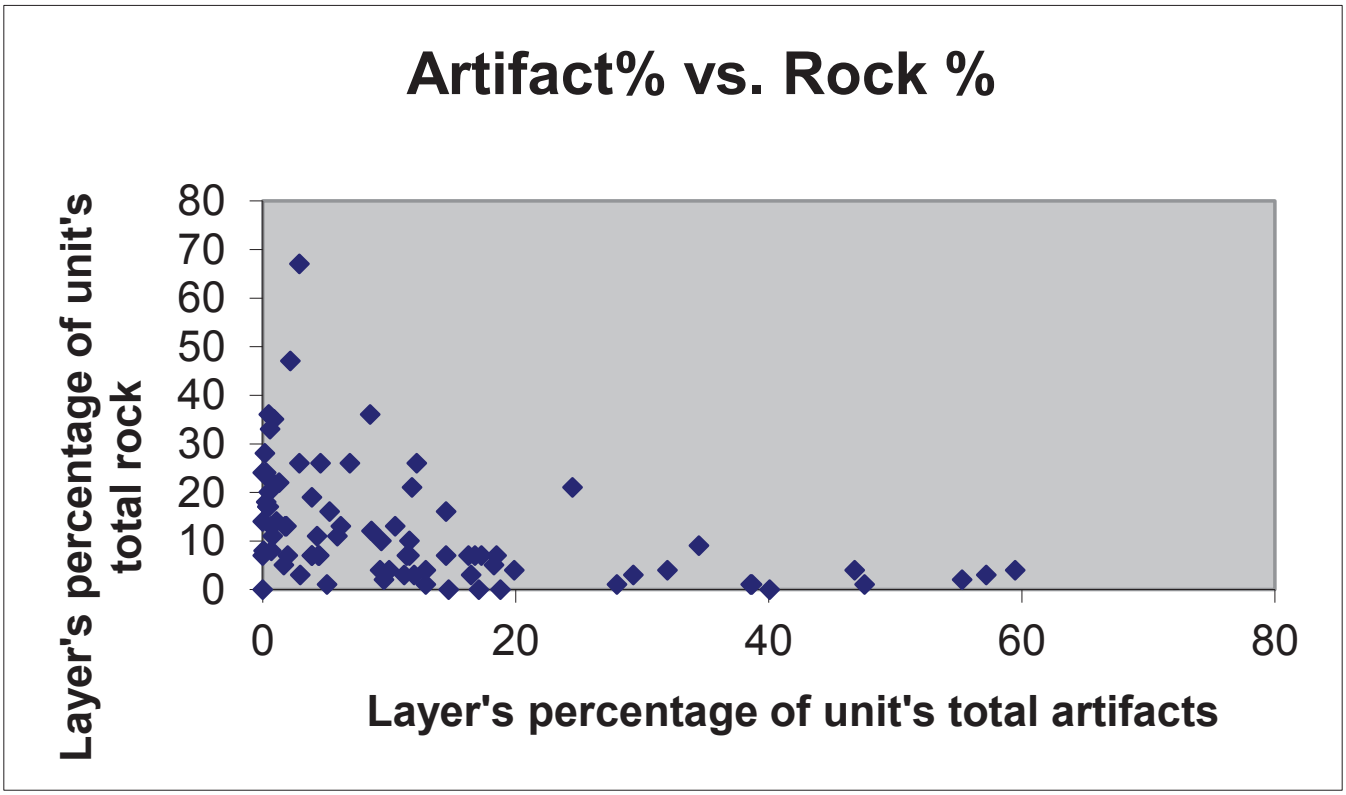


Figure 5.122. Scatter-plot diagram of artifact and rock percentages for each patio cross trench context.

Artifact	Notes	New 2007 ER context	Previously established context
Aqua glass	Concave, possible lid, edged mold seam, molded, embossed with "E-Z"	NH8A	NH9D
Brown ceramic	Concave, pipe bowl fragment, embossed with lines	NH8B	NH34D
Aqua glass	Concave, possible lid, edged mold seam	NH8B	NH9D
Clear glass	Jelly jar rim fragment, embossed with three rows of tiny vertical lines	NH17D	NH4A
Clear glass	Rim fragment, molded, iridescent patina	NH17F	NH11A
Clear glass	Concave, angled sides, iridescent patina	NH35A	NH33B
Clear glass	Rim fragment, ground finish, iridescent patina	NH42A	NH14A
Brown glass	Base fragment, mold seam	NH47A	NH17A, NH31A
Brown ceramic	Concave, pipe bowl fragment, embossed with lines	NH47B	NH42D
Whiteware	Concave, undecorated	NH47D	NH35B
Whiteware	Concave, base fragment, possible plate	MH48A	NH23B
Clear glass	Jelly jar base fragment, row of embossed vertical lines	NH48C	NH14A

Figure 5.123. Table of new cross-mends from the 2007 field season.

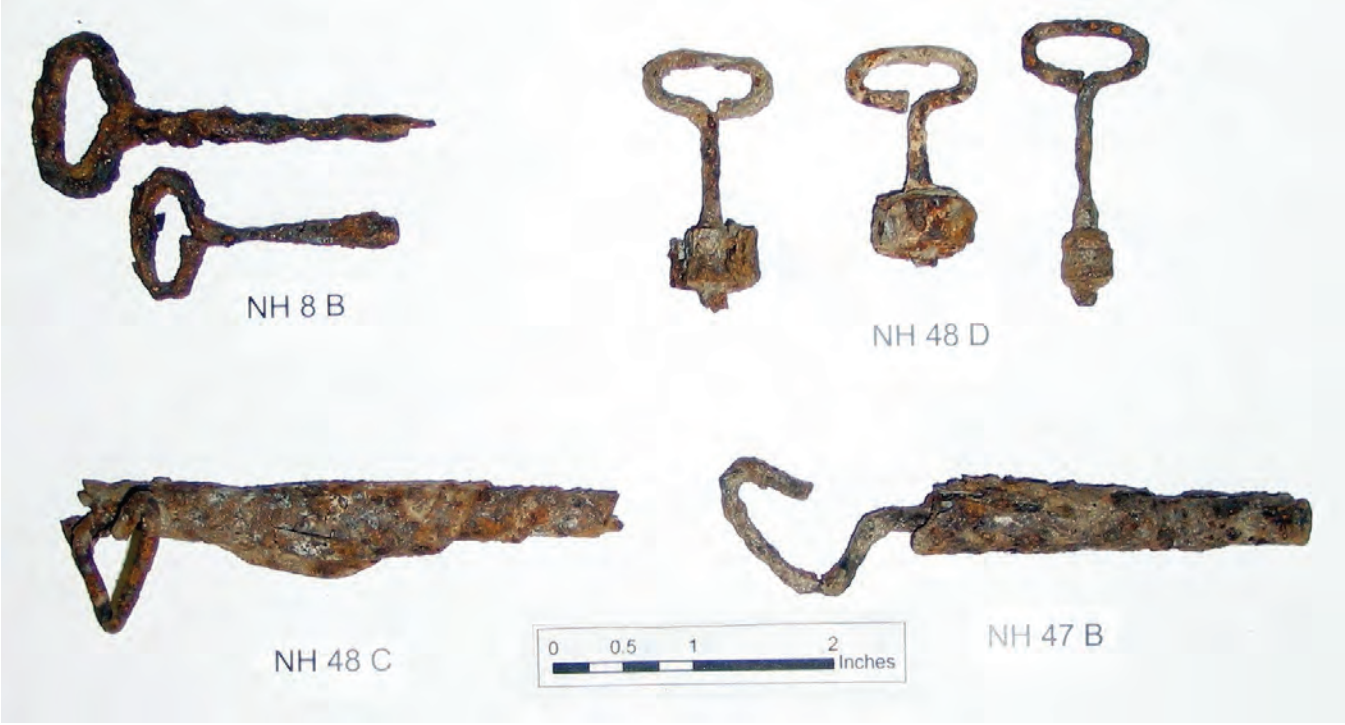


Figure 5.124. Photograph of various keys to cans of processed meats and fish.



Figure 5.125. Photograph of various oblong cans.



Figure 5.126. Matthew Maxfeldt, excavating in the East/West Patio Trench, uncovers an artifact scatter that includes the base of a can, the lip to a glass vessel, and butchered faunal remains.

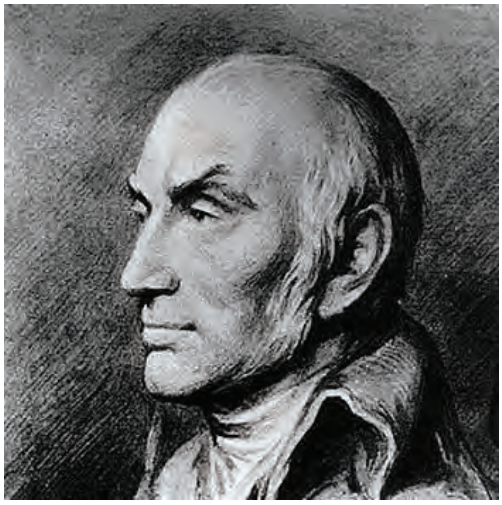


Figure 5.127. Image of famed French inventor Nicolas Appert.

5.7 Selected Artifacts

Each year, the technical report spotlights a group of artifacts that were uncovered during the past field seasons. These items were chosen subjectively and do not reflect any representative sampling. Many were selected because they tie directly to previous discussions in this report regarding the cabin's foundations and original floor.

Keys to Processed-Meat Cans (NH8B, 47B, 48C, 48D)

Excavators working in various strata of the patio-area cross trenches uncovered multiple keys that were used in opening cans of processed meats. Some of them even included the opened can lid wrapped around the key (Figure 5.124). The bottom row pictured in Figure 5.128 consists of sardine-can keys; the top row contains examples of keys from oblong cans.

Oblong Cans (NH47D, 48D)

In the same extreme western area of the artifact-rich patio trench, field workers uncovered multiple oblong cans (Figures 5.125 and 5.126). These containers often held various processed meats, including chopped ham, boneless ham, and corned beef.

The canning industry has great antiquity and owes much of its innovation to Napoleon Bonaparte. During the end of the 18th century, French forces lost more casualties in Russia from malnutrition and starvation than from enemy fire. Since the Russian army had retreated and stripped its own countryside of food, Bonaparte's army was desperate for food that would not spoil immediately. As a result, Napoleon offered a 12,000-franc reward to anyone who could develop a reliable method of food preservation. Nicolas Appert (Figure 5.127), an obscure confectioner, brewer, and baker, won the prize by developing a method of preserving food in bottles. He packed foods in glass bottles, corked them, and submerged them in boiling water, unknowingly sterilizing the vessels and impeding bacterial growth. Napoleon personally presented the reward to Appert. Englishman Peter Durand improved upon Appert's design by sealing food in sturdy tin containers as glass vessels were cumbersome, expensive, and fragile. Commercial canning industries began to emerge in England and the U.S. during the first decades of the 19th century. Despite the advances beyond the glass-sealing preservation process, early can making was relatively slow; expert tinsmiths produced far fewer than 100 cans a day.

Durand's innovative can design was difficult to open. Early product-label instructions on these solid vessels often stated: "Cut round the top near the outer edge with a chisel and hammer." Early can openers were small curved bayonets that were driven into the can and worked around its edge. Ezra J. Waterbury patented the first American can opener in 1858, and then in 1866, American J. Osterhoudt patented a tin can that could be opened with a key. Four years later, William Lyman patented a can opener that used a small wheel that rolled around the rim of the can. Various advances in tin-can openers help narrow down the date range of the cans and keys found at the Nate Harrison site to the late 19th and early 20th centuries.

Tobacco Can (NH8B)

The patio-area also produced a flat tobacco tin (Figures 5.128 and 5.129). This type of flattened tin with a hinged lid was patented on July 30, 1907 by the R. J. Reynolds Tobacco Company. Many different tobacco brands were marketed in these particular cans, but they soon became widely known as "Prince Albert" cans after the leading brand (Figure 5.130). These metal cans held 1.5 ounces of shredded cigarette tobacco, measuring 4.0" in height and having an oval top that was 3.0" by 1.0".

These cans gained much fame in popular American culture during the 20th century. The joke— "Do you have Prince Albert in a can? Well let him out!"—was ubiquitously told. In addition, marijuana joints were often called "lids" because they were commonly rolled in the convenient flip-up lid of the Prince Albert can. Furthermore, asking someone if "Prince" [Albert] or "Red" [the can was bright red] was around became a common coded reference for



Figure 5.128. Henry Mendoza excavates a hinged tobacco can in NH8B.



Figure 5.129. Photograph of tobacco can following excavation.

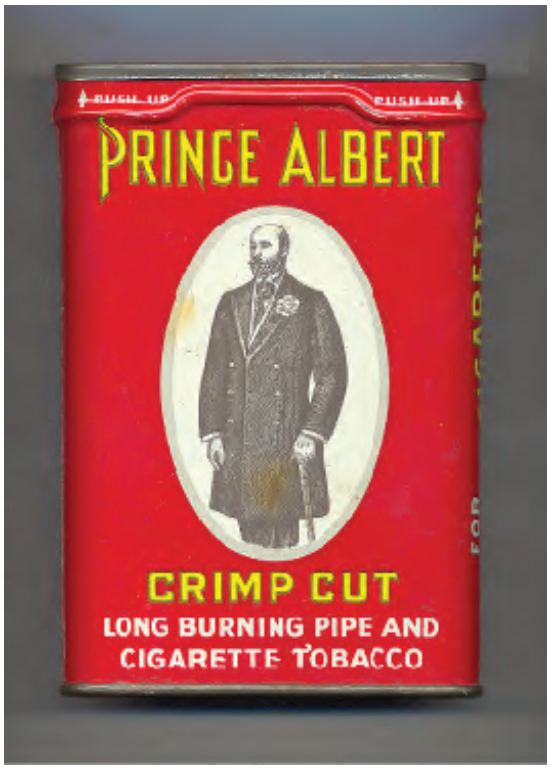


Figure 5.130. Image of well-preserved Prince Albert tobacco can.

someone attempting to obtain marijuana. Tobacco cans dwindled in popularity during the 1940s as far cheaper and less messy mass-manufactured, machine-rolled cigarettes became the norm.

Pant Rivets (NH44C, 47A, 48C)

Over 30 rivets from denim pants have been found at the Nate Harrison site from 2004-2007 (Figure 5.131). Many of them do not contain recognizable markings and are thus from unknown brands. However, ten are marked "L.S. & CO SF," revealing that they were from jeans produced by Levi Strauss and Company in San Francisco.

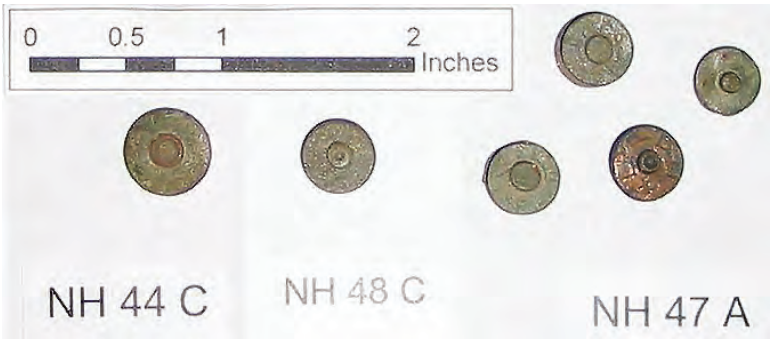


Figure 5.131. Photograph of copper rivets from west end of patio trench uncovered in 2007.

The Levi Strauss legacy in the denim industry dates back to the middle of the 1800s, although denim production began much earlier in 16th-century Europe. Levi Strauss came to America from Bavaria in 1847 and joined his family's dry goods business in New York City. Six years later, he moved to San Francisco to set up his own store. Although a wholesaler of denim pants during this time, Strauss did not enter the manufacturing business until 1873. Jacob Davis was an important partner in Strauss's clothing business as it was Davis, a Latvian immigrant, who first attached copper rivets to pants pockets to strengthen the garment. Davis, overwhelmed with requests for his newly designed riveted pants, contacted Strauss about patenting the idea and going into business together. In May of 1873, they received a joint patent for "An Improvement in Fastening Pocket Openings," and soon afterward Davis moved to San Francisco to oversee pants manufacturing—"copper riveted waist overalls"—at Levi Strauss and Company. Their patent expired in 1890, and many competitors, like Sweet Orr and Can't Bust Em, began selling riveted trousers. Levi Strauss rivets that were produced during the patent years were stamped with "L.S. & CO SF PAT May 1873," whereas those that post-dated the patent's expiration were marked with "L.S. & CO SF." This temporal distinction reveals that the rivets found at the Nate Harrison site post-date 1890.

Pen Cap (NH44D)

Excavators working on the cabin floor in the eastern half of the structure, specifically at the interface between NH44D and 44E, uncovered a complete synthetic pen cap (Figure 5.132). The cap had an attached metal clip embossed with "K-CLIP PAT FEB.12.07." It is black/dark green and measures 2.5" in length.

Famed Mexican inventor and revolutionary Victor Leaton Ochoa created a variety of products during the late 19th and early 20th centuries. One of these devices was a pen and pencil clip for securing the writing utensil to the pocket. He patented this idea (Figure 5.133) and later sold the patent to the American Pen & Pencil Co. in 1907.

The patent-date *terminus post quem* is consistent with other materials on the cabin floor; they confirm the abandonment of the structure in the first quarter of the 20th century. In addition, the pen cap joins the multiple sharpened pencil leads as another example of the writing instruments found in Harrison's home. According to census records, Harrison was illiterate until his stay in the San Diego hospital in 1919-20.



Figure 5.132. Photograph of pen cap and clip uncovered from dirt floor of cabin.

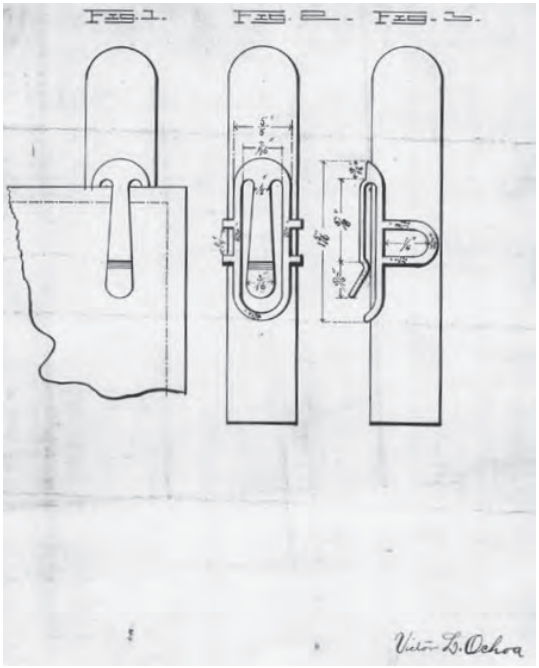


Figure 5.133. Patent drawings associated with Ochoa's pen and pencil clip.

Brick (NH40D)

Student excavators working in the northeast corner unit of the cabin uncovered a brick at the interface between NH40D and 40E which marked the structure's original dirt floor. The brick measured 2 ¼" by 7 3/8" and contained various rust spots where it had been in direct contact with metal (Figure 5.134). In addition, the orange brick was scarred with a few burn marks and may have had a hole drilled into one of the edges. The provenience of this brick placed it adjacent to the chimney base. What is most surprising about this find is that it is the only brick that has been uncovered at the entire site through four years of digging. In fact, the various crews had not even recovered a brick inclusion up until the discovery of this brick and have noted none since.

Legendary historical archaeologist Ivor Noël Hume warned long ago that:

> [Bricks] have also served as a kind of Rosetta Stone for architects and archeologists attempting to date old foundations and buildings. The sad truth of the matter, however, is that individual bricks are not nearly as informative as we are often led to believe, though when seen in their original coursing they can offer us a few general guidelines. ... The fallacy of trying to date a building by its brick sizes is exhibited time and again when one measures numerous examples from one foundation and finds half a dozen different sizes used in its construction. These variations may be all of the same date, but they may also be derived from the long-established practice of robbing abandoned buildings of their bricks and re-using them in later walls. Such loot can often be identified by the presence of more than one type of mortar on a single brick (1970:80, 82).

While bricks have changed in form over time in meaningful ways, the brick uncovered at the Harrison site conforms to a relatively standardized modular or paver form for the time period.

Metate-Turned Foundation Stone (Surface Find)

Of all the large granite cobbles used in the foundation and chimney of the Harrison cabin, one stood out from the others due to obvious re-use. Just off the edge of the southeastern corner of the cabin, the crew encountered



Figure 5.134. Photograph of the site's lone brick.



Figure 5.135. Photograph of granite metate.



Figure 5.136. Photograph of granite metate in relation to structural foundation.

at the site's surface level a large flat granite cobble—1.9' in length, 1.0' in width, and likely broken in half—that had clearly once stood as part of the original structure (Figures 5.135 and 5.136). However, the stone also had an obvious prior use: the center of the cobble had been ground down to form a circular hole 4.0" in diameter. This structural cobble was originally a portable granite metate. Palomar Mountain contains many prehistoric sites and many of these are centered about bedrock milling features. The mountain has great indigenous antiquity and Harrison's interaction with different native groups in the area is an important part of his life and legend. His use of a granite metate in the foundation of his cabin further bolsters the argument made earlier regarding the environmental modifications that influenced Harrison's vernacular cabin design.



Figure 5.137. Kristin Tennesen uncovers a long strand of barbed wire that was connected to the exterior east wall of the cabin.

In situ Barbed Wire (NH45A)

The southern chimney unit along the east wall (NH45) contained a long strand of *in situ* barbed wire just a few inches into its A layer (Figure 5.137). It measured over 3.0' long and continued into adjacent units to the east and to the west. Although crew members had uncovered numerous fragments of barbed wire at the site over the last four years, none of these artifacts had been in their original use-related context.

The history of barbed wire is tied closely to westward migration across the American frontier into the Great Plains. Traditional fencing materials, like stone and wooden rails, were difficult to obtain in these rural areas, forcing various pioneers to come up with innovative ways to prevent livestock from escaping given areas. Although various inventors tinkered with different pointed wire designs during the middle 19th century, Joseph Glidden patented his barbed wire fence in 1874 and would go on to become known as the "Father of Barbed Wire." He had to fight for this title, however, as the 1870s witnessed over 500 barbed wire patents and numerous lawsuits. Glidden's barbed-wire business was extremely lucrative; by the time he died in 1906 he was one of America's wealthiest men.

The barbed wire uncovered at the Nate Harrison site closely resembles Glidden's barb. It is two zinc-coated steel strands with two-pronged barbs evenly spaced at 6" intervals.

More on Murine (NH8A)

Noted bottle expert and author Dr. Cecil Munsey contacted the project director with additional information regarding the Murine Eye Remedy bottle found at the Nate Harrison site during the first season of excavation (Figure 5.138). He forwarded a 1912 *Journal of the American Medical Association* article, "Miscellaneous Nostrums," which details numerous medicinal frauds of the early 20th century. The article, originally published in the AMA journal on November 7, 1908, was later included in one of a series of volumes entitled *Nostrums and Quackery*. The AMA battled the rampant health frauds, publishing nine volumes of articles to expose these scams. The article concerning the Murine Eye Remedy is highly informative and is also reflective of the time in which it was written. Directly following a brief description of "Munyon's Pile Ointment," it offers a 5-page summary of the extensive Murine fraud. Some of the article's historical details seem almost fictional, they are so symbolic, ironic, and unethical. For example, the owners of the snake-oil-esque company that bilks money out of the unsuspecting general public are named the McFatrich brothers—yes, in a singular name they are fat and rich doctors, and they foreshadow the series of 20th-century Mc-companies that capitalize by offering empty products. It is because of these remarkable details that such a large section of this AMA article is reprinted here. The section of the article on the Murine Eye Remedy states:



Figure 5.138. The Murine Eye Remedy bottle that was uncovered in NH8A during excavation in the summer of 2004.

MURINE EYE REMEDY

To be all things to all men is the alpha and omega of successful advertising. Ad address to Bowery toughs in terms of Chesterfieldian elegance not only would fail to carry conviction, but might lead to mob violence on the part of the audience. This principle, which is recognized by all astute advertisers, is beautifully exemplified in what follows.

Murine Eye Remedy is an "eye lotion" advertised in street cars, on bill boards and fences and in the daily press. During the Chicago session of the American Medical Association the promoters of this nostrum conceived the idea that it might as well work the medical profession in a way that has become classic among certain manufacturers. The following appeared in Chicago newspapers: "**The Entire Medical Profession** Are cordially invited to visit our Exhibit and our Offices at Michigan Ave. & Randolph St. (Opposite Public Library) while in Chicago, and those unable to do so may send us their address Cards, on receipt of which we will forward by Express ample Supplies of Murine Eye Remedies and Literature. The demand was so great as to render this notice necessary. –MURINE EYE REMEDY CO."

To lead the public to infer that this company had an exhibit at the American Medical Association was a masterstroke of advertising mendacity. The fact that a large portion of the laity has confidence in physicians is recognized by the Murine Eye Remedy Company in its advertising to the general public, and the approval which physicians are alleged to accord their preparation is enlarged on.

To those unstable individuals, however, who embrace the various 'pathies and 'isms, and to whom a decent medical man is a *bête noire*, this company appeals through the various freak publications which pander to this class. In one of the best known of this type of periodicals is a three-quarter page advertisement of Murine—the balance of the page being taken up with quotations from Ernst Renan on religion, Wordsworth on nature and Swedenborg on love. The antimedical faddists are told that "a group of business and professional men in Chicago recently banded together to give an ailing public an eye lotion that will further the interests of humanity." How this altruistic spirit does pervade the "patent medicine" fraternity! Everything is done for "humanity"—providing "humanity" will pay the bill! "Of course" continue our eye remedy friends, "many of the Learned Guessers object to this lotion, saying 'things' about it whenever they get the chances—that's natural." Perfectly! "So let the Learned Guessers howl—to howl is an M.D.'s privilege."

WHAT MURINE WAS—AND IS

Before the advent of that potent influence for commercial veracity, the Food and Drugs Act, the carton in which this "eye water" was sold read as follows: "MURINE-A POSITIVE CURE FOR SORE EYES, RED, INFLAMED AND ITCHING LIDS."

Since that law has become operative and a lying label has become illegal instead of merely immoral, the carton bears this legend: "MURINE-A RELIABLE RELIEF FOR SORE EYES, RED, INFLAMED AND ITCHING LIDS."

In the pamphlet which accompanies each bottle of the preparation, we are told that Murine is "compounded by Eye Specialists who have used it successfully in their private practice as Oculists for over twenty years." "Murine is Indicated in Cases of Weak Eyes, Inflamed Eyes, Tired Eyes, Strained Eyes, Children's Eyes, Itching Eyes, Blurring Eyes, Red Eyes" and numerous other kinds of eyes—in fact, Murine is "a Favorite Lotion for those who wear Artificial Eyes."

One is carried back to that delightful character of Mark Twain's, "Colonel Sellers," who was about to put on the market his "Infallible, Imperial, Oriental Optic Liniment, and Salvation for Sore Eyes—the Medical Wonder of the Age! Small bottles fifty cents, large ones a dollar."

The composition of such a unique and universal remedy for all the ills the eye is heir to will naturally interest physicians. Analyses made in the Chemical Laboratory of the American Medical Association gave the following results:

CHEMIST'S REPORT ON MURINE

Murine as found on the market to-day is an amber-colored liquid, practically odorless, having a slightly bitter taste, and giving an alkaline reaction to litmus. From the examination we conclude that Murine is essentially an aqueous solution of borax (2.6 gm. per 100 c.c. or 12 grains to the fluid ounce), containing a trace of berberin or some golden seal preparation.

It is interesting to note that Murine is variable in composition. A sample examined Nov. 30, 1907, contained a carbonate and responded to alkaloidal tests very feebly; while the product to-day contains no carbonate and shows definite traces of alkaloids.

One wonders to what extent the therapeutic action of Murine is due to the price charged for it. If instead of paying $1.00 an ounce—the price charged—the public could buy it for 5 cents a gallon—the estimated cost—would the removal of such a potent psychic influence have any effect on the virtues of the preparation? The question is not one to be lightly disposed of or settled off-hand.

In all seriousness, however, the law which permits men engaged in such a business to continue the practice of medicine seems lamentably weak. It would seem that the medical profession, if not for its own self-respect, at least for the protection of the public, should have some means of making clear to that public the difference between ethical practitioners of medicine and those, who, posing as much, conduct a business whose success lies in humbugging and deluding the innocent.

ITS PROMOTERS AND THEIR "COLLEGE"

The president of the Murine Eye Remedy Company is James B. McFatrich, M.S., M.D., an eclectic physician of Chicago; the treasurer is George W. McFatrich, M.D., also an eclectic practicing in Chicago. O.F. Hall is the secretary. These three men are said to be the directors of the company. The McFatrichs are the originators and practical owners of the business.

In addition to their "patent-medicine" interests, the McFatrichs are, respectively, the president and secretary of a school of spectacle fitters rejoicing in the sonorous title of the "Northern Illinois College of Ophthalmology and Otology." This seat of learning confers no fewer than seven degrees, to-wit: FELLOW OF OPTICS, BACHELOR OF OPTICS, DOCTOR OF OPTICS, BACHELOR OF OPHTHALMOLOGY, MASTER OF OPHTHALMOLOGY, DOCTOR OF OPHTHALMOLOGY, AND HONORARY DEGREE.

The diplomas issued are, it is needless to say, most ornate (Figure 5.139), and are well calculated to inspire the mere "layman" with a healthy respect for the erudition of their possessors. As the "college" catalogue states, most of the diplomas "frame handsomely 28 x 28 inches."

Why the term "otology" is added to the title of the "college" has not yet been determined. So far as can be learned, the eye is the only organ which is even supposed to be studied. Possibly "otology" is thrown in for good measure. Incidentally, we would suggest that as fitting of glasses is taught instead of ophthalmology, the latter term would seem to constitute misbranding—but, then the Food and Drugs Act doesn't apply here.

The catalogue is profusely illustrated with reproductions of the diplomas, and full-page half-tones of the "professors" and of the classrooms. The pictures show large advertisements of "Murine" on the walls of the class-rooms, the general office being particularly well supplied with these works of art (Figure 5.140).

The "college" itself is hardly as imposing as its name might indicate. The illustrated cover of the catalogue and the catalogue itself convey the impression that the "Northern Illinois College—,"



Figure 5.139. The 1908 AMA article includes these images of the dubious Northern Illinois College degrees and the following caption: "Photographic reproduction (much reduced) of some of the ornate diplomas issued by the exploiters of Murine. As the 'college' catalogue states, most of these diplomas 'frame handsomely 28 x 28 inches.' While this is a college of 'otology,' it will be noticed that no degrees of 'fellow,' 'bachelor,' 'doctor,' or 'master,' of 'Otology' is granted. Why the institution is called a college of otology it is hard to guess—possibly because it sounds well."

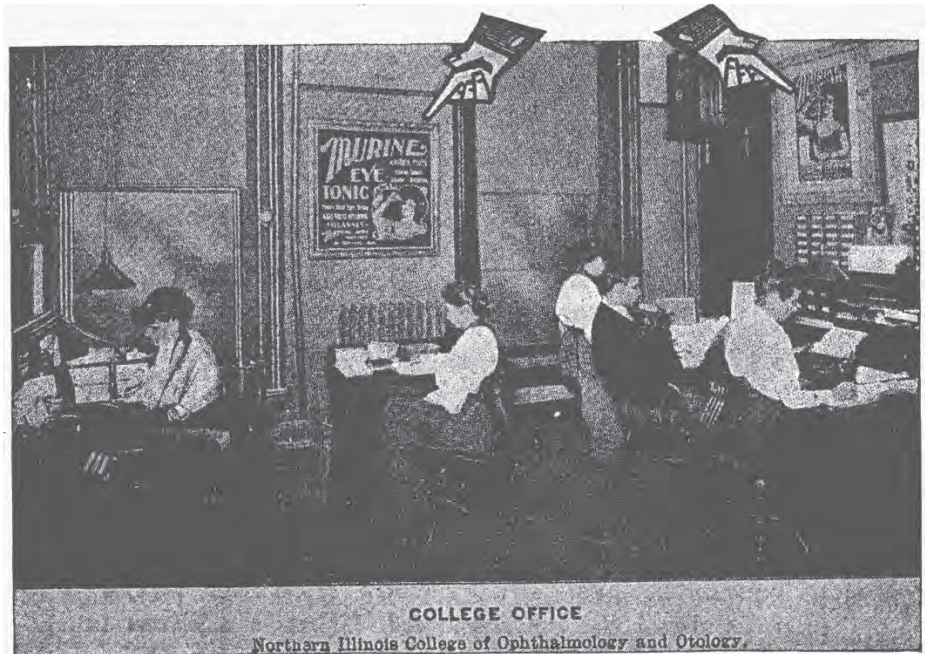


Figure 5.140. The 1908 AMA article includes these images of the dubious Northern Illinois College office and the following caption: "Photographic reproduction (reduced) of one of the pages from the catalogue of the 'Northern Illinois College of Ophthalmology and Otology.' While this 'college' apparently does not teach either ophthalmology or otology it does teach spectacle fitting—and incidentally seems to be used to exploit the 'Infallible, Imperial, Oriental, Optic Liniment and Salvation for Sore Eyes'—Murine." Note the two poster-sized advertisements for Murine Eye Tonic prominently displayed in the office.

etc., is located in the Masonic Temple, one of the largest office buildings in Chicago. As a matter of fact, it is on the third floor of an old building in the wholesale grocery district, and the Murine Eye Remedy Company occupies the same floor. The "college," in fact, appears to be a sort of annex to the "patent-medicine" concern. The only apparent connection between the college and the Masonic Temple is that its "President and Professor of the Principles of Ophthalmology and Otology"—James B. Fatrich, M.S., M.D.—and its "Secretary and Professor of Clinical and Didactic Ophthalmology and Otology"—George W. Fatrich, M.D.—have their offices in the latter building.

These gentlemen evidently believe that not only "to howl is an M.D.'s privilege," but also that to commercialize the profession of medicine is equally his privilege. Whether selling a "course" in optics with a "diploma" thrown in for $25.00, or dispensing Murine Eye Remedy at $1.00 an ounce, or treating patients professionally—all is grist to their mill.

And the public? Well, P. T. Barnum is authority for the statement that it likes to be humbugged. The danger in the indiscriminate use of this eye water is probably a negative one in most cases. It may, however, by lulling the patient into a false sense of security, and by causing him to temporize, be a very real one. This is realized when we see its use recommended in ophthalmia neonatorum and other conditions equally serious. But "the law allows it," and, as our old friend Colonel Sellers remarked, "There's millions in it."



Figure 5.141. Photograph of Billy Goat Point, the spot on the grade from which Nate Harrison often surveyed the valley below and awaited visitors. It was completely burned during the 2007 Poomacha fire.

5.8 A Final Note...

The devastating Poomacha Fire in late October 2007 burned much of Palomar Mountain, including the Nate Harrison site. Record-setting rainstorms in early December triggered various mudslides as well. In past years, tarpaulins had protected the site area; but in this off-season the tarps melted, ash covered the Harrison hillside, and extensive rains created large gullies that washed away large amounts of soil. The landscape has been significantly transformed (Figure 5.141). Fortunately, none of the new landowners' structures were destroyed by the blaze.

One of the archaeological consequences of the fire was that areas of the mountain previously covered with brush, poison oak, and trees were suddenly free of debris. Due to this new visibility, Dr. Mallios's 2008 summer archaeological field school will focus most of its attention on conducting an extensive shovel test-pit survey of the entire hillside. One of the major points of interest on this survey will be a series of rock cobbles that forms a right angle on the eastern edge of the ravine closest to the site (Figure 5.142). These stones may form the outline of a second structure!



Figure 5.142. Possible second structure.

With the near completion of the cabin excavation and the patio-area trenches, and the lingering question of whether the site shows evidence of a Harrison occupation before the 1880s, the impending survey will become the next phase of work at the site. Moving from the known to the unknown, the crew will endeavor to locate Harrison's primary refuse dump and determine its antiquity.

The Nate Harrison Historical Archaeology Project continues to research all aspects of Harrison's life and legend and present its results in a public and timely manner. This booklet is our fourth annual report. In addition, our publications and database are entirely accessible via our website—<http://www-rohan.sdsu.edu/~histarch>. And, the project director continues to give dozens of local presentations about this ongoing project each year. Overall, the cumulative nature of archaeological research, the thrill of field excavation, and the past and present legacies of Nate Harrison keep everyone affiliated with this project eager for the next discovery.

PART VI

An Interim Technical Report for the 2008 Field Season



Cover image 6. The 2008 field school excavates and records a second structure at the Nate Harrison site, hundreds of feet to the south of the main cabin.

Seth Mallios

With Contributions by Jaime Lennox, Hillary Sweeney, Kimberly Scott, Matthew Maxfeldt, David Caterino, Kristin Tennesen, and David Lewis

Part VI List of Figures

Cover image 6. The 2008 field school excavates and records a second structure at the Nate Harrison site, hundreds of feet to the south of the main cabin. 437

Figure 6.1. 2008 field crew. From left to right, bottom to top: (bottom row) Denise Redden, Hillary Sweeney, Joe DeWolf, Seth Mallios, Matt Maxfeldt, Stephen Rochester; (second row) Jackie Herrera, Cole Tepper, Jodi Roberts, Maggie David, Shelby Gunderman; (third row) Anna Quimson, Jaime Lennox, Monique Larragoitia; (fourth row) Kjrsten Hefty, Chanthy Choeum; (fifth row) Kristin Tennesen; Rob Tews (right) steadies the five-level human pyramid. 444

Figure 6.2. Professor Mallios (left) shakes the hand of 2008 Trowlie recipient Matthew Maxfeldt (right). 445

Figure 6.3. Legend of Automobile Club of Southern California Map #1077 (Courtesy Automobile Club of Southern California). 446

Figure 6.4. Automobile Club of Southern California Map #1077 detailing Palomar Mountain area (Courtesy Automobile Club of Southern California). 448

Figure 6.5. 1920 USGS map, Ramona 1:125,000 quadrangle (Courtesy South Coastal Information Center). 448

Figure 6.6. 1860 United States Federal Census, Placerville Ward 3, El Dorado, California. 451

Figure 6.7. 1932 John P. Harrington field journal. 452

Figure 6.8. Seriation of “Harrison state of origin” at 10-year intervals. 464

Figure 6.9. Seriation of “Referred to as…” at 10-year intervals. 465

Figure 6.10. Seriation of “Master identity” at 10-year intervals. 465

Figure 6.11. Seriation of “Inventory” at 10-year intervals. 466

Figure 6.12. Seriation of “Inventory–Animals” at 10-year intervals. 466

Figure 6.13. Seriation of “Inventory–Plants” at 10-year intervals. 467

Figure 6.14. Seriation of “Inventory–Dwelling” at 10-year intervals. 467

Figure 6.15. Seriation of “Travelers” at 10-year intervals. 468

Figure 6.16. Seriation of “Emancipation details” at 10-year intervals. 468

Figure 6.17. Seriation of “Age at death” at 10-year intervals. 469

Figure 6.18. Seriation of “Marriage” at 10-year intervals. 469

Figure 6.19. Seriation of “Children” at 10-year intervals. 470

Figure 6.20. Seriation of “Leave the mountain” at 10-year intervals. 470

Figure 6.21. Seriation of “Worked/Lazy” at 10-year intervals. 471

Figure 6.22. Seriation of “Work” at 10-year intervals. 471

Figure 6.23. Seriation of “Lazy” at 10-year intervals. 472

Figure 6.24. Seriation of “Arrive to California/San Diego” at 10-year intervals. 472

Figure 6.25. Seriation of “Hospital” at 10-year intervals. 473

Figure 6.26. Seriation of “Items given” at 10-year intervals. 473

Figure 6.27. Seriation of “Legend” at 10-year intervals. 474

Figure 6.28. Seriation of “Language” at one-year intervals. 475

Figure 6.29. Seriation of “Language” at 10-year intervals. 475

Figure 6.30. Seriation of “Quotes” at 10-year intervals. 476

Figure 6.31. Seriation of “Read/Write/Educated” at 10-year intervals. 476

Figure 6.32. Seriation of “Character” at 10-year intervals. 477

Figure 6.33. Seriation of “Lincoln and the Civil War” at 10-year intervals. 477

Figure 6.34. Seriation of "Talk of past" at 10-year intervals. 478
Figure 6.35. Seriation of "Alcohol" at 10-year intervals. 479
Figure 6.36. Seriation of "Bear and mountain lion stories" at 10-year intervals. 479
Figure 6.37. Seriation of "Food stories" at 10-year intervals. 480
Figure 6.38. Seriation of "Relationship with Indians" at 10-year intervals. 480
Figure 6.39. Seriation of "San Diego County" at 10-year intervals. 480
Figure 6.40. Excavation Register of Nate Harrison site through June 2008. 485
Figure 6.41. Plan map of shovel test-pits 486
Figure 6.42. Four teams of students dig shovel test-pits along one of the center transects south of the main cabin (Courtesy Trevor Prough) 487
Figure 6.43. This lightweight PVC pipe X-frame forms a 2.5' square at its corners; when combined with a compass it enabled the crew to lay out shovel test-pits with great speed and accuracy (Courtesy Trevor Prough). 487
Figure 6.44. SDSU graduate students Maggie David (far left) and Shelby Gunderman (center) excavate a shovel test-pit while undergraduate Joe DeWolf screens (Courtesy Trevor Prough). 488
Figure 6.45. SDSU undergraduate Jackie Herrera (left) creates a map of the shovel test-pit's north face while fellow student Monique Larragoitia (right) measures the depth of each natural layer (Courtesy Trevor Prough). 488
Figure 6.46. Profile map of shovel test-pit NH51's north wall. 489
Figure 6.47. Finishing photograph of shovel test-pit NH51. 489
Figure 6.48. Profile map of shovel test-pit NH52's north wall. 490
Figure 6.49. Finishing photograph of shovel test-pit NH52. 490
Figure 6.50. Profile map of shovel test-pit NH53's north wall. 492
Figure 6.51. Finishing photograph of shovel test-pit NH53. 492
Figure 6.52. Profile map of shovel test-pit NH54's north wall. 492
Figure 6.53. Finishing photograph of shovel test-pit NH54. 492
Figure 6.54. Profile map of shovel test-pit NH55's north wall. 492
Figure 6.55. Finishing photograph of shovel test-pit NH55. 492
Figure 6.56. Profile map of shovel test-pit NH56's north wall. 493
Figure 6.57. Finishing photograph of shovel test-pit NH56. 493
Figure 6.58. Profile map of shovel test-pit NH57's north wall. 493
Figure 6.59. Finishing photograph of shovel test-pit NH57. 493
Figure 6.60. Profile map of shovel test-pit NH58's north wall. 493
Figure 6.61. Finishing photograph of shovel test-pit NH58. 493
Figure 6.62. Profile map of shovel test-pit NH59's north wall. 494
Figure 6.63. Finishing photograph of shovel test-pit NH59. 494
Figure 6.64. Profile map of shovel test-pit NH60's north wall. 494
Figure 6.65. Finishing photograph of shovel test-pit NH60. 494
Figure 6.66. Profile map of shovel test-pit NH61's north wall. 495
Figure 6.67. Finishing photograph of shovel test-pit NH61. 495
Figure 6.68. Profile map of shovel test-pit NH62's north wall. 496
Figure 6.69. Finishing photograph of shovel test-pit NH62. 496
Figure 6.70. Profile map of shovel test-pit NH63's north wall. 496

Figure 6.71. Finishing photograph of shovel test-pit NH63. 496
Figure 6.72. Profile map of shovel test-pit NH64's north wall. 497
Figure 6.73. Finishing photograph of shovel test-pit NH64. 497
Figure 6.74. Profile map of shovel test-pit NH65's north wall. 497
Figure 6.75. Finishing photograph of shovel test-pit NH65. 497
Figure 6.76. Profile map of shovel test-pit NH66's north wall. 498
Figure 6.77. Finishing photograph of shovel test-pit NH66. 498
Figure 6.78. Profile map of shovel test-pit NH67's north wall. 499
Figure 6.79. Finishing photograph of shovel test-pit NH67. 499
Figure 6.80. Profile map of shovel test-pit NH68's north wall. 499
Figure 6.81. Finishing photograph of shovel test-pit NH68. 499
Figure 6.82. Profile map of shovel test-pit NH69's north wall. 500
Figure 6.83. Finishing photograph of shovel test-pit NH69. 500
Figure 6.84. Profile map of shovel test-pit NH70's north wall. 500
Figure 6.85. Finishing photograph of shovel test-pit NH70. 500
Figure 6.86. Profile map of shovel test-pit NH71's north wall. 501
Figure 6.87. Finishing photograph of shovel test-pit NH71. 501
Figure 6.88. Profile map of shovel test-pit NH72's north wall. 501
Figure 6.89. Finishing photograph of shovel test-pit NH72. 501
Figure 6.90. Profile map of shovel test-pit NH73's north wall. 502
Figure 6.91. Finishing photograph of shovel test-pit NH73. 502
Figure 6.92. One of the many peach pits found during the shovel test-pit survey (Courtesy Trevor Prough). 502
Figure 6.93. The second structure was uncovered on a flat area at the base of the hill leading up to the main cabin. Note the charred trees from the fire the previous fall. 503
Figure 6.94. Before any trees were removed and any soil was excavated, the wall section appeared to be 2.5' wide and form a right angle near the base of an intrusive burnt tree. 503
Figure 6.95. Two teams of graduate students map the second structure before excavation. Matthew Maxfeldt (far left) and Stephen Rochester (second from left) compile a rock-by-rock plan map of the stone wall, while Shelby Gunderman (second from right) and Kristin Tennesen (far right) complete the profile map of the wall's eastern face. 504
Figure 6.96. Pre-excavation plan map of Structure II. The rocks in the area bounded by dotted lines were located on the face of the very steep hill below the wall. It is highly unlikely that these stones are in their original context. 504
Figure 6.97. Pre-excavation profile map of Structure II wall, exterior eastern face. 504
Figure 6.98. Plan map of Structure II excavation-area units. 505
Figure 6.99. Structure II's first north/south profile; profile map of NH82's west wall. 506
Figure 6.100. Structure II's first north/south profile; profile map of NH76's west wall. 506
Figure 6.101. Structure II's first north/south profile; profile map of NH80's east wall. 506
Figure 6.102. Structure II's second north/south profile; profile map of NH75's west wall. 507
Figure 6.103. Structure II's second north/south profile; profile map of NH76's east wall. 507
Figure 6.104. Structure II's second north/south profile; profile map of NH74's west wall. 507
Figure 6.105. Structure II's second north/south profile; profile map of NH77's west wall. 507
Figure 6.106. Structure II's first east/west profile; profile map of NH79's south wall. 508

Figure 6.107. Structure II's first east/west profile; profile map of NH76's north wall. 508
Figure 6.108. Structure II's first east/west profile; profile map of NH75's south wall. 508
Figure 6.109. Structure II's second east/west profile; profile map of NH80's north wall. 509
Figure 6.110. Structure II's second east/west profile; profile map of NH76's south wall. 509
Figure 6.111. Structure II's second east/west profile; profile map of NH74's north wall. 509
Figure 6.112. Photograph of Structure II excavation area once "A" and "B" layers had been excavated. Note the slight soil discoloration—NH85—to the northwest of the trowel. 510
Figure 6.113. Plan map of NH85 at base of NH74B, 76B, 81B, and 83B. 510
Figure 6.114. Profile map of NH85's west wall. 511
Figure 6.115. Photograph of NH85 profile. 511
Figure 6.116. Plan map of NH85 at base of feature. 512
Figure 6.117. Photograph of NH85 at base of feature. 512
Figure 6.118. SDSU graduate student Shelby Gunderman excavates a tobacco can and a sheep mandible from the artifact-rich patio-area units at the western edge of the main cabin site. 513
Figure 6.119. Artifact date ranges based on materials found during the 2008 field season—shovel test-pit survey. 515
Figure 6.120. Artifact date ranges based on materials found during the 2008 field season—Structure II. 516
Figure 6.121. Artifact date ranges based on materials found during the 2008 field season—Main cabin (Structure I) area 516
Figure 6.122. Cumulative artifact date ranges from the main cabin area (2004-2008 field seasons). 517
Figure 6.123. Table showing correspondence between a unit's proximity to Structure II and its artifact assemblage containing over 50% definitively historical materials. 518
Figure 6.124. Map of soil-chemistry phosphorus readings for the Nate Harrison cabin site (Structure I). 521
Figure 6.125. Map of soil-chemistry phosphorus readings for the Nate Harrison site shovel test-pit survey. 522
Figure 6.126. Map of soil-chemistry phosphorus readings for the Nate Harrison site Structure II excavation area. 523
Figure 6.127. Map of soil-chemistry calcium readings for the Nate Harrison cabin site (Structure I). 524
Figure 6.128. Map of soil-chemistry calcium readings for the Nate Harrison site shovel test-pit survey. 525
Figure 6.129. Map of soil-chemistry calcium readings for the Nate Harrison site Structure II excavation area. 526
Figure 6.130. Map of soil-chemistry strontium readings for the Nate Harrison cabin site (Structure I). 527
Figure 6.131. Map of soil-chemistry strontium readings for the Nate Harrison site shovel test-pit survey. 529
Figure 6.132. Map of soil-chemistry strontium readings for the Nate Harrison site Structure II excavation area. 530
Figure 6.133. Map of soil-chemistry lead readings for the Nate Harrison cabin site (Structure I). 531
Figure 6.134. Map of soil-chemistry lead readings for the Nate Harrison site shovel test-pit survey. 532
Figure 6.135. Map of soil-chemistry lead readings for the Nate Harrison site Structure II excavation area. 533
Figure 6.136. Map of soil-chemistry sulfur readings for the Nate Harrison cabin site (Structure I). 534
Figure 6.137. Map of soil-chemistry sulfur readings for the Nate Harrison site shovel test-pit survey. 535
Figure 6.138. Map of soil-chemistry sulfur readings for the Nate Harrison site Structure II excavation area. 536
Figure 6.139. Map of soil-chemistry iron readings for the Nate Harrison cabin site (Structure I). 537
Figure 6.140. Map of soil-chemistry iron readings for the Nate Harrison site shovel test-pit survey. 538
Figure 6.141. Map of soil-chemistry iron readings for the Nate Harrison site Structure II excavation area. 539
Figure 6.142. Map of soil-chemistry barium readings for the Nate Harrison cabin site (Structure I). 540
Figure 6.143. Map of soil-chemistry barium readings for the Nate Harrison site shovel test-pit survey. 542

Figure 6.144. Map of soil-chemistry barium readings for the Nate Harrison site Structure II excavation area. 543
Figure 6.145. Map of soil-chemistry zinc readings for the Nate Harrison cabin site (Structure I). 544
Figure 6.146. Map of soil-chemistry zinc readings for the Nate Harrison site shovel test-pit survey. 545
Figure 6.147. Map of soil-chemistry zinc readings for the Nate Harrison site Structure II excavation area. 546
Figure 6.148. Table and line graph of average densities for the four elements that were the most diagnostic for the Structure II excavation area and comparisons with nearby historical and prehistoric layers. 547
Figure 6.149. Photograph of Poway Serrated quartz projectile point from NH36C. 548
Figure 6.150. Photograph of Homer Laughlin ceramic base fragment from NH8A. 548
Figure 6.151. Image of complete Homer Laughlin maker's mark. 548
Figure 6.152. Photograph of Walker's Grape Juice "ten-pin" bottle recovered south of the main cabin. 550
Figure 6.153. Photograph of embossed base with the lettering: "WALKER'S GRAPE JUICE, ERIE, PA". 550
Figure 6.154. A 1910 advertisement for Walker's grape juice from Scriber's Magazine. 551
Figure 6.155. Photograph of Libby, McNeill & Libby glass jar recovered from NH7A. 552
Figure 6.156. Photograph of embossed base with the lettering: "LIBBY, McNEILL & LIBBY/ INCORPORATED/ July 11 1893/ CHICAGO, USA". 552
Figure 6.157. A 1907 advertisement for Libby, McNeill & Libby products from The Atlantic Monthly. 553
Figure 6.158. Photograph of eraser head within its metal ferrule from NH4A. 553
Figure 6.159. Sketch of Kelly Thorny Common barbed wire from 1868 (Devil's Rope Museum 2007). 554
Figure 6.160. Sketch of Glidden Winner barbed wire from 1874 (Devil's Rope Museum 2007). 554
Figure 6.161. Sketch of Glidden Round Single Strand from 1876 (Devil's Rope Museum 2007). 554
Figure 6.162. Table of barbed wire by context, style, and patent date. 554
Figure 6.163. Photograph of looped plain wire from NH35C. 554
Figure 6.164. Photograph of hose garter clasp from NH3A. 555
Figure 6.165. A 1905 advertisement for the Boston Garter. 555
Figure 6.166. A 1906 advertisement for the Needraw Boston Garter. 555
Figure 6.167. An advertisement from 1910 to 1919 for children's George Frost Company garters. 555
Figure 6.168. George H. Phelps's 1902 garment-supporter patent. 556
Figure 6.169. Photograph of cylindrical ink bottle recovered south of the main cabin. 556
Figure 6.170. Photograph of the Pinex bottle from NH4A. 557
Figure 6.171. Photograph of the obverse of the 1916 Liberty dime from NH7A. 558
Figure 6.172. Photograph of the reverse of the 1916 Liberty dime from NH7A. 558
Figure 6.173. SDSU undergraduate Chanthy Choeum carefully excavates the wooden pipe bowl in the western patio area. 559
Figure 6.174. Photograph of wooden pipe bowl from NH47A. 560
Figure 6.175. Page 345 of the 1897 Sears Roebuck & Co. Catalogue contains a variety of wooden tobacco pipe bowls similar to the one found in NH47A (Sears, Roebuck and Company 1897:345) 560
Figure 6.176. The poster from the 2008-09 SDSU library exhibit 561



Figure 6.1. 2008 field crew. From left to right, bottom to top: (bottom row) Denise Redden, Hillary Sweeney, Joe DeWolf, Seth Mallios, Matt Maxfeldt, Stephen Rochester; (second row) Jackie Herrera, Cole Tepper, Jodi Roberts, Maggie David, Shelby Gunderman; (third row) Anna Quimson, Jaime Lennox, Monique Larragoitia; (fourth row) Kjrsten Hefty, Chanthy Choeum; (fifth row) Kristin Tennesen; Rob Tews (right) steadies the five-level human pyramid.

6.1 Acknowledgments

Five years is a long time; and yet, it has gone by very quickly. As the Nate Harrison Historical Archaeology Project embarked on its fifth consecutive summer field season, it was difficult not to reminisce about the duration of the dig. The project continues to benefit from many individuals. Without the support of landowners Elisa Kisselburg, Vicki Morgan, and Susie Silvestri, there would be no excavations. In addition, various members of San Diego State University, including President Stephen Weber, Provost Nancy Marlin, College of Arts and Letters Dean Paul Wong, and Anthropology Department Administrative Coordinator Kathleen Peck, have provided unrivaled enthusiasm and timely resources for the project.

The 2008 field students were diligent, tough, and motivated. As a group, Chanthy Choeum, Maggie David, Joseph DeWolf, Shelby Gunderman, Kjrsten Hefty, Jackie Herrera, Monique Larragoitia, Matthew Maxfeldt, Anna Quimson, Denise Redden, Jodi Roberts, Kristin Tennesen, Cole Tepper, and Laura Weide were excellent (Figure 6.1). Matthew Maxfeldt won the coveted *Trowelie* award for the "Most Outstanding Archaeological Crew Member" (Figure 6.2). Hillary Sweeney and Jaime Lennox were extraordinary in their duties as co-crew chiefs, co-camp managers, and co-laboratory supervisors. Stephen Rochester graciously volunteered at the site for the entire dig and provided skilled assistance in all digital mapping endeavors. Kimberly Scott spent time cataloging and researching the Nate Harrison artifacts.

The project also benefited from a variety of volunteers. Professional photographer Trevor Prough spent a week at the site and took hundreds of magnificent images. SDSU graduate students Rob Tews and Donna Byczkiewicz also visited the site during the final week of excavation and graciously aided the crew in all endeavors.



Figure 6.2. Professor Mallios (left) shakes the hand of 2008 Trowlie recipient Matthew Maxfeldt (right).



Figure 6.3. Legend of Automobile Club of Southern California Map #1077 (Courtesy Automobile Club of Southern California).

6.2 Introduction

The Nate Harrison Historical Archaeology Project unites research, teaching, and service to the local community. It offers new insight into the multi-ethnic development of San Diego County, trains the next generation of archaeologists, and celebrates public history in a most accessible manner. The project, which began in 2004, is an ongoing endeavor.

The 2008 interim technical report presented here is a continuation of the 2004, 2005, 2006, and 2007 interim technical reports. All of these documents are available on the web at: http://www-rohan.sdsu.edu/~histarch. Except where noted, this report employs the same core archaeological techniques detailed in the 2004 report and amended in the 2005-07 reports.

The 2008 report begins with an additional set of maps that identify the areas in which Harrison lived. These maps were forwarded to Professor Mallios by the Automobile Club of Southern California. This project has repeatedly benefited from the insight of interested community members. Anyone with an historical image or any information regarding Harrison is urged to e-mail the project director at smallios@mail.sdsu.edu, call him at (619) 594-4748, contact him by mail at Seth Mallios, Department of Anthropology, San Diego State University, 5500 Campanile Drive, San Diego, CA 92182-6040, or just drop by his office (AL448A at San Diego State University). Following the maps and the other recently uncovered historical materials, this report embarks on an extended analysis of the ways in which the stories about Nate Harrison changed over time. This study draws heavily on an SDSU Department of Anthropology Master's thesis completed by Jaime Lennox in 2008. Her analysis pinpointed many important narrative trends that highlighted how Harrison grew into a local legend.

Like the four previous technical reports from 2004 to 2007, the 2008 report also discusses the excavation results from the past summer field season (2008). It details stratigraphic insights from the excavation season, and provides temporal and spatial summaries of the site's material assemblage. The report concludes with an overview of the 11-case exhibit on the Nate Harrison Historical Archaeology Project that the San Diego State University main library hosted from August through December of 2008. In synthesizing the fifth year of historical and archaeological work on the Nate Harrison Historical Archaeology Project, this annual publication serves as the 2008-2009 interim technical report.

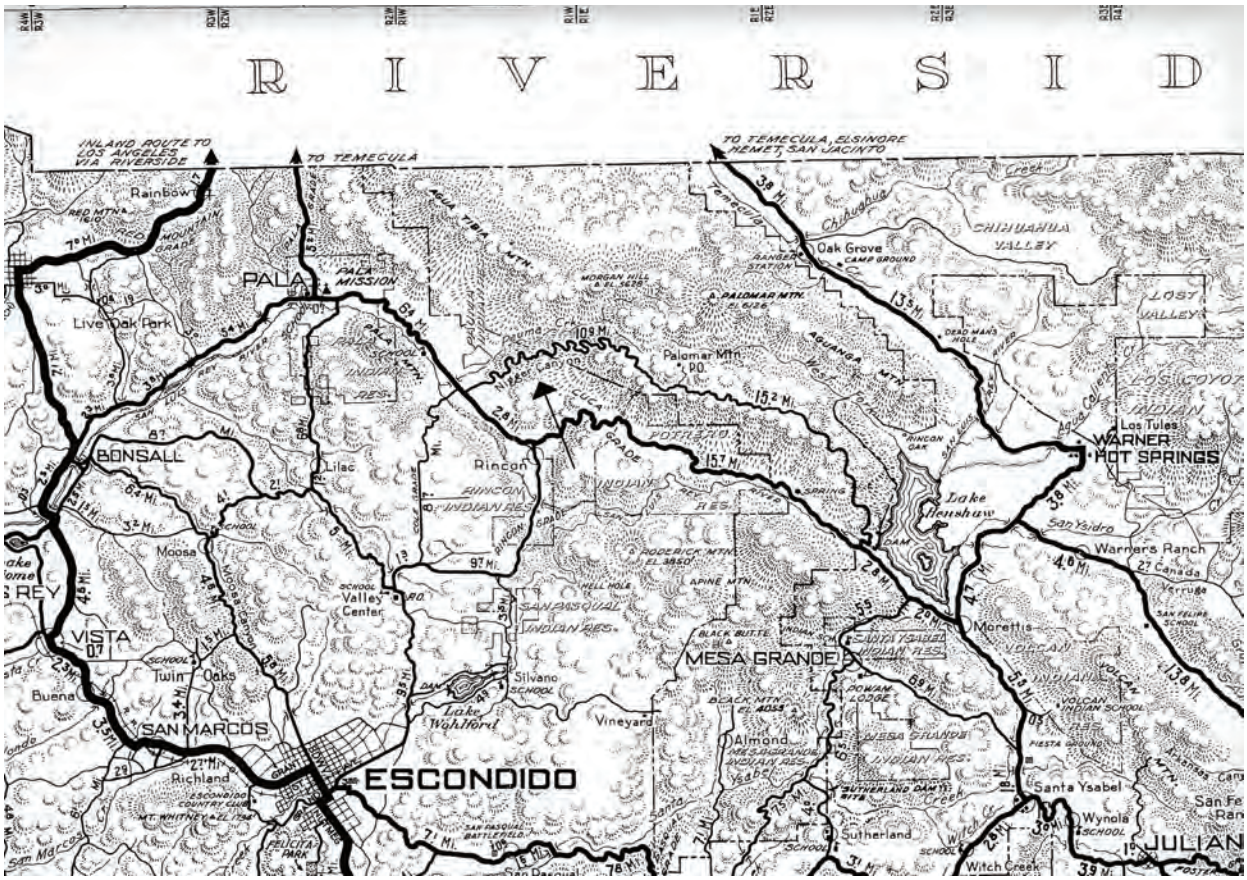


Figure 6.4. Automobile Club of Southern California Map #1077 detailing Palomar Mountain area (Courtesy Automobile Club of Southern California).

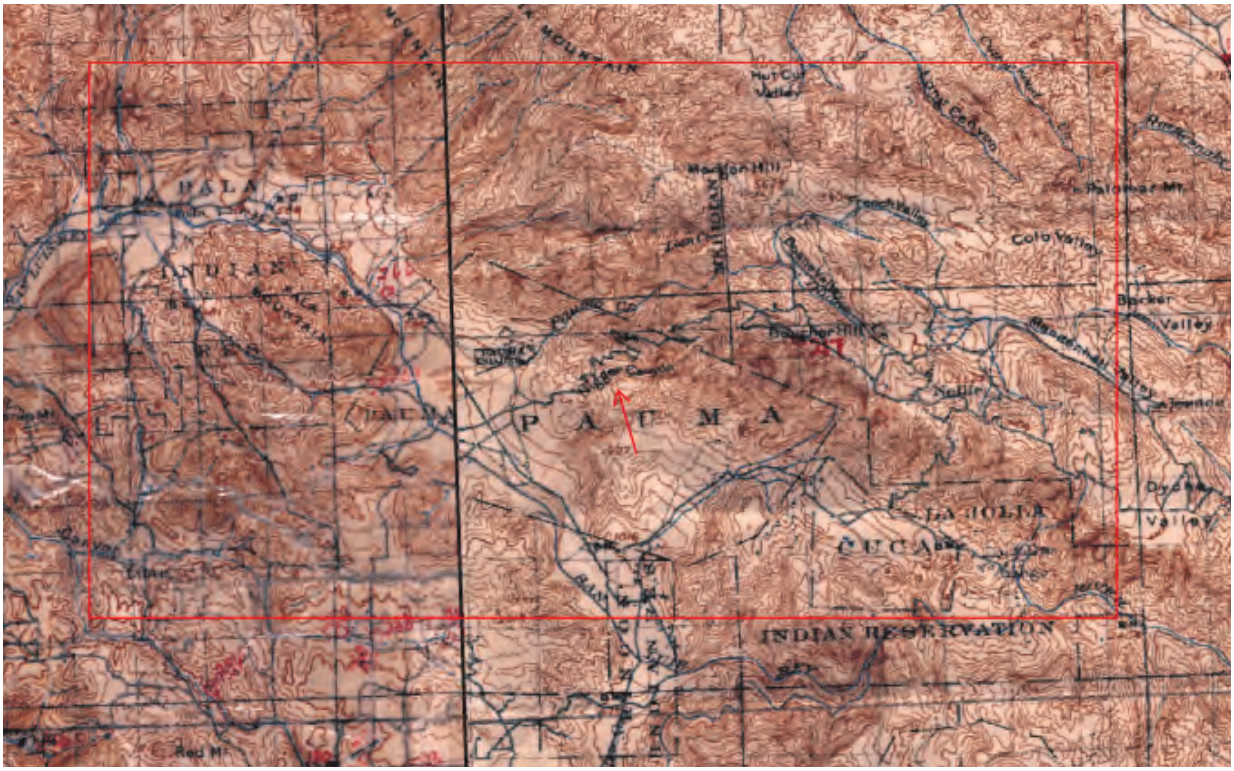


Figure 6.5. 1920 USGS map, Ramona 1:125,000 quadrangle (Courtesy South Coastal Information Center).

6.3 Additional Historical Maps and Records

Ongoing research by members of the Nate Harrison Historical Archaeology Project and interested members of the local community have located additional sources of historical information pertaining to Harrison's life and times on Palomar Mountain. Old maps, journals, and records continue to contribute to a better understanding of this local legend. However, the findings often raise as many questions as they answer. The additional historical sources are discussed in the order they were encountered by members of the research team.

1925 Automobile Club of Southern California Map #1077

Vista resident Kurt Olney contacted Dr. Mallios after reading on-line the first three Nate Harrison technical reports. He owned an early 20th-century map of San Diego County that including the road leading to Harrison's cabin. The entire area was labeled, "N----r Canyon." Olney sent Mallios a digital photograph of the map. Additional research and a conversation with an Automobile Club archivist revealed that this document was a camping map for San Diego, originally printed in 1925 and then reprinted in 1928, 1929, and 1930. The legend of the map and the particular section of the map including Palomar Mountain are reproduced in Figures 6.3 and 6.4. As mentioned in earlier technical reports, the Nate Harrison Grade was known as "N----r Nate Grade" until the NAACP petitioned to have the name changed in 1955.

1920 USGS Map, Ramona 1:125,000 Quadrangle

A search of the historical maps at the South Coastal Information Center located spatial information regarding Harrison's land. The 1920 USGS map of the Ramona 1" = 125,000 miles quadrangle includes the label "N----r Canyon" where Harrison once lived (Figure 6.5). This map was first printed in 1903 and then re-printed in 1920. It is unknown whether the phrase "N----r Canyon" was on the original 1903 version.

1860 United States Federal Census, Placerville Ward 3, El Dorado, California

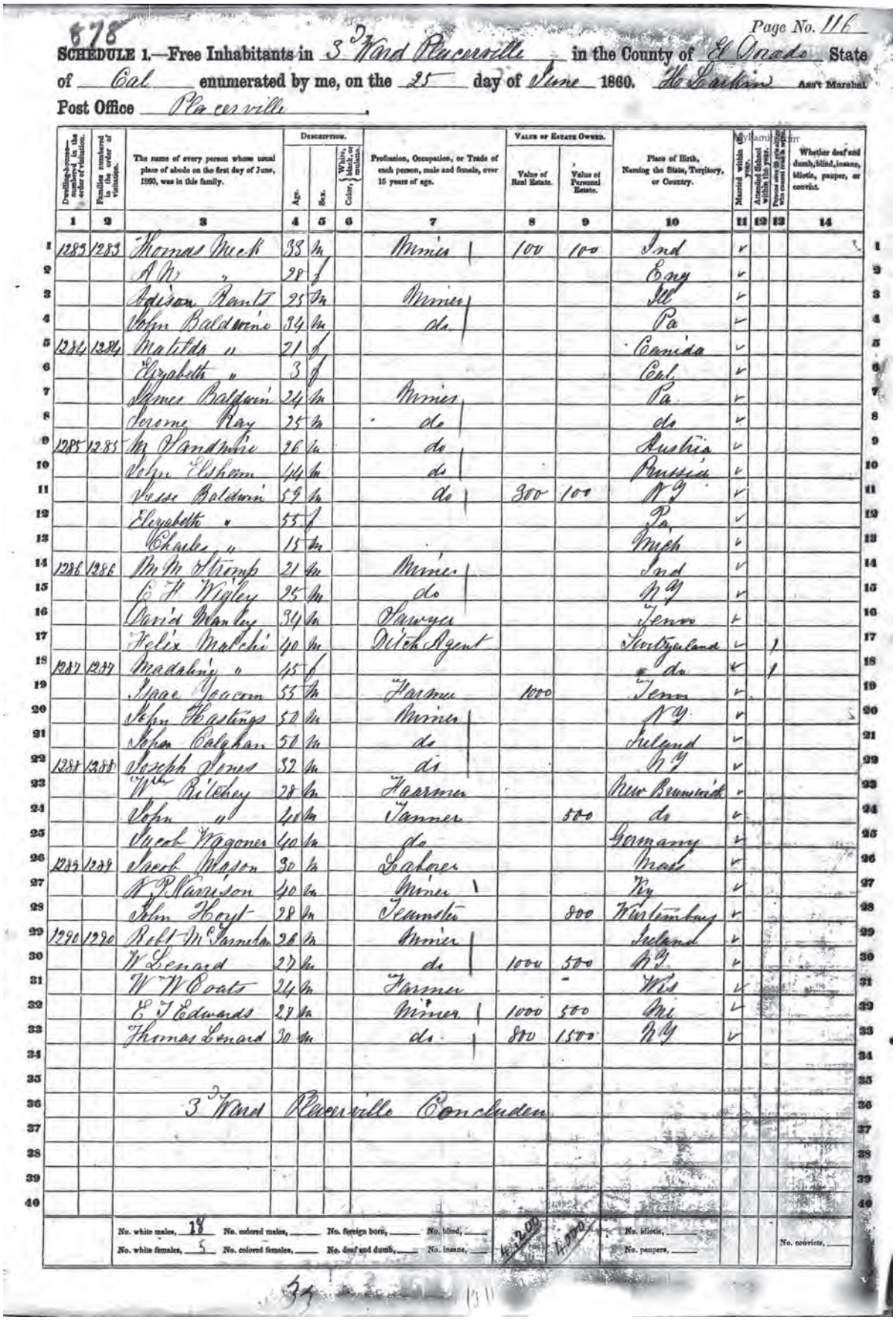
Although several historical sources allude to Harrison coming to California with his owner during the Gold Rush, no definitive primary records of his time in northern California have been found. San Diego State University History Professor Andrew Wiese located an "N. P. Harrison" on the 1860 United States Federal Census, for Placerville, California. Placerville is near Sacramento and was known historically as Dry Diggin's (a reference to a specific gold mining technique) and Old Hangtown (for its numerous historical hangings). The census record, taken on June 25, 1860, lists N. P. Harrison as a 40-year-old male miner from Kentucky (Figure 6.6). Other primary records from Southern California detail Harrison's state of birth as Kentucky, including the 1875, 1877, 1879, 1880, 1882, 1888, 1890, and 1894 Great Registers for San Diego County, the 1880 U. S. Federal Census for the San Jacinto Township in San Diego County, Harrison's October 22, 1894 voter registration form, the 1900 U. S. Federal Census for the Smith Mountain Township in San Diego County, the 1920 U. S. Federal Census for the San Diego Township in San Diego County, and his October 10, 1920 death certificate. In addition, a majority of the secondary historical sources also state that Harrison was from Kentucky. However, the 1860 Placerville census lists N. P. Harrison as white, raising some doubt as to whether N. P. Harrison is indeed San Diego County African-American pioneer Nate Harrison. None of the historical records for San Diego's Nate Harrison list his middle name or initial. Perhaps N. P. Harrison was Nate Harrison's owner; four secondary sources from the 1930s, '40s, and '50s state that Nate Harrison's owner was a man named "Mr. Harrison." It is worth noting that the 1860 Placerville census taker did not specify the race of the 33 individuals on page 116 on a case by case basis. He merely noted in his enumeration at the bottom of the page—"25 white males… 5 white females." The Placerville census also

included additional information. It stated that N. P. Harrison lived with two other men, a 30-year-old laborer from Massachusetts named Jacob Mason and a 28-year-old teamster from Württemberg (a former state in southwestern Germany), who owned the $800 estate on which they all resided. The census also noted that N. P. Harrison, like each of the other 32 individuals on the page, had been married within the year, had not attended school within the year, and was literate.

1932 John P. Harrington Field Journal

Dr. Lisa L. Woodward of the Pechanga Cultural Resources Department uncovered an extended reference to Harrison's cabin in the field notes of legendary linguistic anthropologist John P. Harrington. Celebrated for his archival legacy (Golla 1991) and derided for his monomaniacal behavior (Laird 1975), Harrington dedicated his life to documenting indigenous languages and successfully collected data on "over 125 separate languages in California and the Far West" (Golla 1991:340). One of Harrington's many field journals described a trip he took with Juan Sotelo Calac of Rincon in June of 1932. Various numbers in the text likely refer to spatial designations along the grade. The following four-page excerpt (Figure 6.7) is from volume 3, reel 119, frames 153b, 154a, 154b, and 155a (Harrington 1986: Frames 153-155). It contains various racial epithets of the time, a mix of terms from different languages, and is transcribed as follows:

> "Page 21: We see la loma [the hill] of paxávxa [Kumeyaay] way off to north – he [Calac] calls my attention to it [note: the hill is in Temescal Canyon].
>
> A 30 year old negro named Harrison came with the very first Americans that reached Palomar Mountain and later lived downslope of us and hence called it n----r grade. Harrison died 15 years ago, he talked good Luiseño and he had a…"
>
> "Page 22: …monument at 578 says: 'Nathan Harrison's spring. Brought here a slave about 1848. Died October 10th, 1920. Aged 101 years. 'A man's a man for a' that.'
>
> His hut was over southeast of the monument, which is on the left side of the road [note: the Harrison cabin is northeast of monument; in addition, monument is on left of road when one travels down the grade (mostly to the south and west)].
>
> The Spanish had a road for bueyes [oxen] going down the north point of Palomar Mountain and dragged pinos [pines] of all kinds down."
>
> "Page 23: That n----r talked good Sp [Spanish] and Ind [Indian], sang in Ind [Indian], and was helpful to everybody. The n----r used to go down on horseback and walked back up caballeando [leading the horse] and el caballo [the horse].
>
> 594 past rock ½ fork off on left where the n----r used to sit and look off at Pauma."
>
> "Page 24: La Cresta del Negro [Negro Hill], n----r grade (Henry) [note: Dr. Woodward posits that a "Henry" accompanying Harrington on the trip suggests the name "La Cresta del Negro" for the area. This label is not mentioned in any other historical or modern descriptions of Harrison or Palomar Mountain].
>
> 589 a man went off grade.
>
> The n----r had a ½ Indian wife who had already had a baby.
>
> The n----r was not extremely black.
>
> Use[d] to be lots of bears here."



878

Page No. 116

SCHEDULE 1.—Free Inhabitants in 3d Ward Placerville in the County of El Dorado State of Cal enumerated by me, on the 25 day of June 1860. H. Larkin Ass't Marshal.

Post Office Placerville.

Dwelling-houses numbered in the order of visitation.	Families numbered in the order of visitation.	The name of every person whose usual place of abode on the first day of June, 1860, was in this family.	Age.	Sex.	Color, White, black, or mulatto.	Profession, Occupation, or Trade of each person, male and female, over 15 years of age.	Value of Real Estate.	Value of Personal Estate.	Place of Birth, Naming the State, Territory, or Country.	Married within the year.	Attended School within the year.	Persons over 20 y'rs of age who cannot read & write.	Whether deaf and dumb, blind, insane, idiotic, pauper, or convict.
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14
1283	1283	Thomas Meek	33	m		Miner	100	100	Ind	✓			
		A N "	28	f					Eng	✓			
		Adison Rants	25	m		Miner			Ill	✓			
		John Baldwin	34	m		do			Pa	✓			
1284	1284	Matilda "	21	f					Canada	✓			
		Elizabeth "	3	f					Cal	✓			
		James Baldwin	24	m		Miner			Pa	✓			
		Jerome Ray	25	m		do			do	✓			
1285	1285	M Sandmire	26	m		do			Austria	✓			
		John Elsham	44	m		do			Prussia	✓			
		Jesse Baldwin	59	m		do	300	100	N Y	✓			
		Elizabeth "	55	f					Pa	✓			
		Charles "	15	m					Mich	✓			
1286	1286	M M Stromp	21	m		Miner			Ind	✓			
		C H Wigley	25	m		do			N Y	✓			
		David Manley	34	m		Sawyer			Tenn	✓			
		Felix Malchi	40	m		Ditch Agent			Switzerland	✓		1	
1287	1287	Madaline "	45	f					do	✓		1	
		Isaac Joacom	55	m		Farmer	1000		Tenn	✓			
		John Hastings	50	m		Miner			N Y	✓			
		John Calghan	50	m		do			Ireland	✓			
1288	1288	Joseph Jones	32	m		do			N Y	✓			
		Wm Ritchey	28	m		Faarmer			New Brunswick	✓			
		John "	40	m		Tanner		500	do	✓			
		Jacob Wagoner	40	m		do			Germany	✓			
1289	1289	Jacob Mason	30	m		Laborer			Mass	✓			
		N P Harrison	40	m		Miner			Ky	✓			
		John Hoyt	28	m		Teamster		800	Wurtemberg	✓			
1290	1290	Robt McFarnehan	26	m		Miner			Ireland	✓			
		W Lenard	27	m		do	1000	500	N Y	✓			
		W W Coats	24	m		Farmer		-	Wis	✓			
		E T Edwards	27	m		Miner	1000	500	Me	✓			
		Thomas Lenard	30	m		do	800	1500	N Y	✓			

3d Ward Placerville Concluden

No. white males, 18 No. colored males, ___ No. foreign born, ___ No. blind, ___ No. idiotic, ___ No. convicts, ___

No. white females, 5 No. colored females, ___ No. deaf and dumb, ___ No. insane, ___ No. paupers, ___

4,200 4,000

34

Figure 6.6. 1860 United States Federal Census, Placerville Ward 3, El Dorado, California.

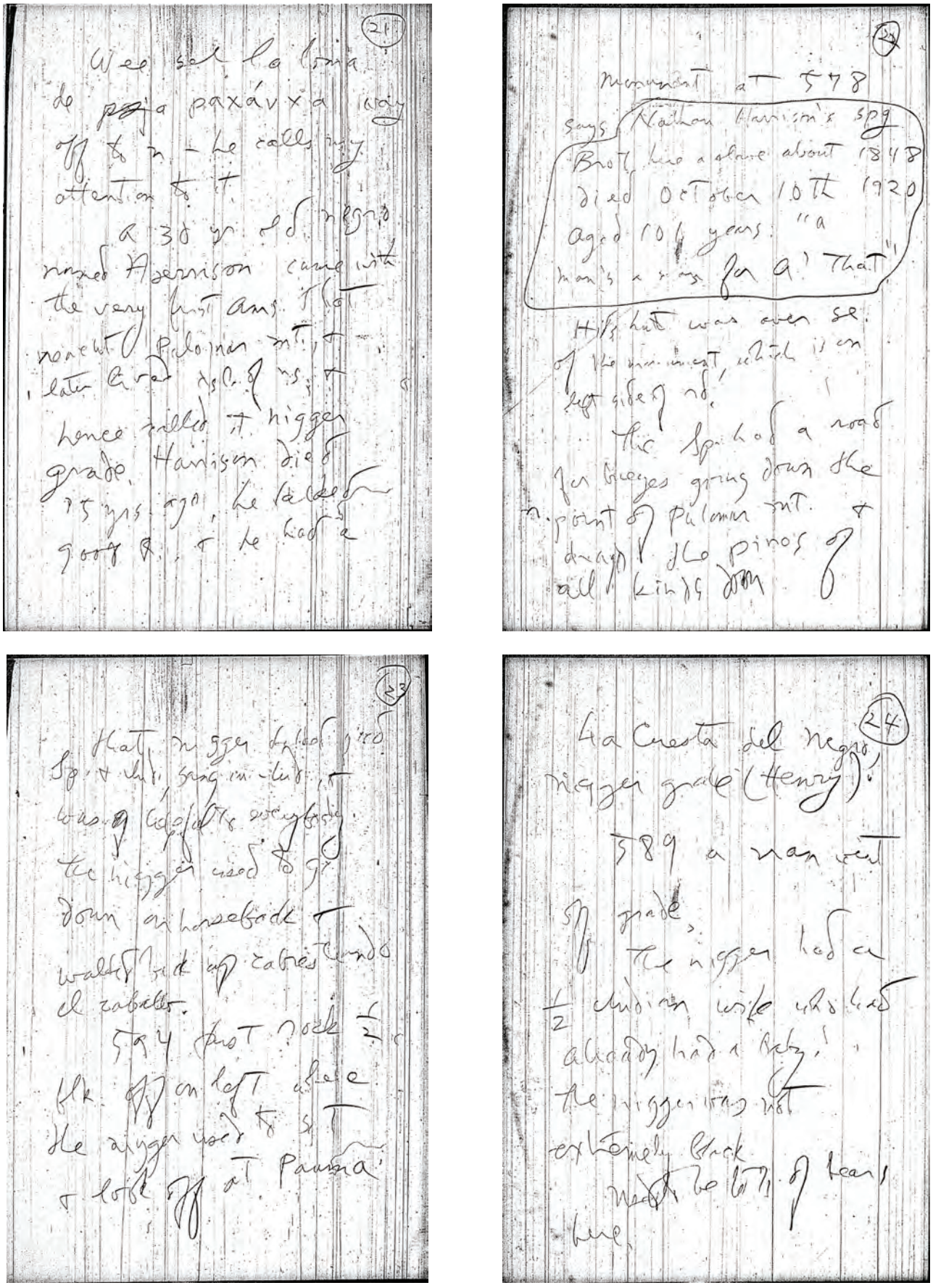


Figure 6.7. 1932 John P. Harrington field journal.

6.4 Seriative Analyses of Harrison Narratives

Jaime Lennox's 2008 SDSU Department of Anthropology Master's thesis, "Archaeological History: Seriation of Nathan Harrison Narratives" provides a detailed discussion of how stories of Harrison changed over time. Portions of her work have been modified for presentation in this report. Lennox's thesis examines the nature of change in material culture as understood by archaeologists and anthropologists, specifically through an historical archaeological assessment of how and why people from the past are made into myths and legends. For this, historical accounts which focus on Nathan Harrison, the first African-American homesteader in San Diego County, are examined. These stories change markedly over time and paint very different pictures of who Harrison was and how he lived his life. The narratives clearly evolved, even though they often refer to the same events and times of Harrison's life. Through a seriative analysis of these documents, unique insight is yielded not only on the archaeology and history of Nathan Harrison but also on the nature of change in these historical narratives. Seriative analysis, or seriation, is an archaeological method based on an assumption regarding theoretical models of culture change and is used here as the primary means of examining changes in the Harrison documents.

Background of Research Focus

Historical archaeology is a unique subfield within archaeology that provides opportunities for research both within and outside of an active excavation setting. As historical archaeology deals with a relatively recent past, photographic images and written documents are frequently useful in the research process, enabling historical archaeologists to understand sites, artifacts, and individuals. This analysis focuses on such a research opportunity whereby the documentation about a single person provides special insights into the past. Specifically, it examines the written accounts of Nathan Harrison, a former slave who is considered one of the first African-American rural settlers in San Diego County, living on Palomar Mountain from the late 1800s to 1919 (Mallios et al., 2005).

The documents of interest for this analysis are part of the archival research for the Nathan Harrison Historical Archaeological Project. For purposes here, the documents were chosen based on specific references to aspects of Harrison's life. Those which made either very brief or casual mention of Harrison or the Nate Harrison Grade (the road running past Harrison's property) were not included in the analyses after an initial inventory.

The 45 documents for this study span from 1919 to 2002. They include various articles, personal accounts, and interviews. As these documents cover substantial lengths of time and come from a number of different sources, they describe aspects of Harrison's life with great variety. The documents were compared to one another in order to understand what descriptions of Harrison changed over time. As a means of understanding the nature of narrative change, a seriative study of different variables within the documents was performed. These variables pinpointed essential aspects of the stories regarding Harrison, such as descriptions of his character, details of past events, and notations of physical items associated with Harrison.

Seriative Analysis

The following is a general discussion which includes definitions and a basic explanation of seriative analysis in archaeological inquiry. An overall history of the use of seriation in anthropology is provided as a means of creating an analytical framework for the nature of change. This framework is then used to analyze the Harrison documents.

Seriation has been defined in a number of ways. In a recent textbook, seriation is identified as "a technique that seeks to order artifacts 'in a series' in which adjacent members are more similar to each other than to members further away in the series" (Sharer and Ashmore 2003:315). An older textbook describes seriation as "the determination of the sequences of styles, types, or assemblages of types (cultures) by any one or combination of various methods" (Heizer 1958:114). Still another deems seriation "a descriptive analytic technique, the purposes of which are to arrange comparable units in a single dimension (that is, along a line) such that the position of each

unit reflects its similarity to other units" (Marquardt 1978:258). These definitions serve as a starting point for understanding how perspectives on seriative analysis have changed. Overall, seriative analysis essentially includes the ordering of material culture in such a way as to create a relative chronology or derive information from the chronological order to understand patterns or changes over time. For this study, a chronology is already known for the Harrison documents. This study uses that temporal knowledge to pinpoint important subtleties in how and why they changed.

There are multiple forms of seriation, often divided into two separate categories: 1) similarity seriation, and 2) evolutionary seriation. Similarity seriation assumes that cultural change is gradual while evolutionary seriation is "done on the basis of an assumed general law of cultural development" (Rowe 1961:324). Evolutionary seriation is not connected to evolutionary theory, but is technically a kind of similarity seriation (O'Brien and Lyman 1999). However, due to its basic tenets (where seriation is conducted based on a supposed law of cultural development), its credibility has been questioned (Rowe 1961). Evolutionary seriation is not explored further in this summary.

In assuming that cultural change is gradual, similarity seriation stipulates that subsequent ordering is not based on a rule of development (O'Brien and Lyman 1999). It includes phyletic, occurrence, and frequency seriations. Phyletic seriation is defined as the "chronological ordering of objects based on similarity in appearance", i.e. pottery could be ordered on the basis of suspected form (O'Brien and Lyman 2000:403). Occurrence seriation is defined as a "technique for chronologically ordering collections of presumably historical types such that each type has a continuous distribution" (O'Brien and Lyman 2000:402). Ordering is also based on the presence and absence of types in an assemblage. Frequency seriation, the most commonly used form of similarity seriation, is a process of "determining a sequence of sites or deposits by studying the relative frequencies of certain artifacts types" and then presenting the pattern visually as "battleship-shaped curves" (Sharer and Ashmore 2003:316). Common in seriative analysis, "battleship-shaped curves" are histograms in which the pattern of data-derived frequency bars begin small, expand, and then taper, superficially resembling the plan view of a battleship. These elliptical "curves" represent visual descriptions of the histogram whereby the frequencies of the seriation are expressed in the resulting "battleship-shaped" bar clusters. Depending on the nature of the data, these clusters (which are all detached) will ascend or descend along the same axis.

Although frequency seriation is more common than occurrence seriation, the two have some similarities. Both employ notions of "historical and heritable continuity" (O'Brien and Lyman 2000:283), specifically in the "type-species and tradition-lineage sense" (O'Brien and Lyman 1999:117). Along with this, both fall under the category of "Americanist" archaeology and are considered to be the foundation of the seriation model (O'Brien and Lyman 1999). Therefore, both can be used simultaneously in a seriative analysis.

Throughout the history of the use of seriative analysis, many ideas have been presented regarding its application. For example, Robert Dunnell (1970) provides an explicit set of conditions for seriation use. These conditions include that all groups considered in a seriation must be of a comparable duration, must belong to the same cultural tradition, and must come from the same cultural area (Dunnell 1970). With these groups (or types), a chronological order can be assessed or additional inferences can be made from any observed patterns or trends.

Overall, seriative analysis stipulates that units that are most similar to one another, in terms of historical and temporal types, are closer together in time (Dunnell 1970). The resulting series is testable as a reflection of the passage of time can be found based on the "tendency of classes of objects to change through time" (Sharer and Ashmore 2003:315). Thus, seriative analysis, if properly executed, has the potential to yield significant amounts of information valuable to archaeological and anthropological inquiry, such as changes in artifact types or whole assemblages.

History of Use and Change with Seriative Analysis

The use of seriation in archaeological analysis began in the 1800s. In one of the earliest examples of seriation, Christian J. Thomsen organized collections from the Danish National Museum into a series in 1816 (Rouse 1967). Thomsen's work was based on the assumption that culture developed through Stone, Bronze, and Iron ages, and serves as an example of "evolutionary seriation" (Rouse 1967:154). Another early use of seriation can be found in the work of John Evans, who seriated gold coins in Great Britain during the 1850s (O'Brien and Lyman 1999).

Evans' work was based on the notion that age was based on similarity, therefore serving as an early example of "similarity seriation" (Rouse 1967:154). Still another early example of seriation use can be found with A. H. L. Fox Pitt-Rivers, who examined copper and bronze axes in the 1870s with specific focus on ideas of heritable continuity (O'Brien and Lyman 1999).

Despite these examples, a majority of archaeologists cite the work of Flinders Petrie as the earliest use of seriative analysis, specifically in his study of Egyptian burials in the 1890s (Petrie 1899). Petrie examined grave goods from Pre-Dynastic cemeteries to develop his "sequence dating" for prehistoric Egypt (Fagan 1996:567). With a focus on pottery, Petrie based his analysis on attributes that changed through time—specifically studying pottery-vessel handles—which enabled him to construct a temporal sequence (O'Brien and Lyman 2000). As an early example of "phyletic seriation" (O'Brien and Lyman 1999:87), Petrie essentially arranged the burials into chronological order based on the changes in the pottery attributes (Rouse 1967).

The late 1800s proved to be a crucial time for the development of archaeological inquiry in spite of the setbacks of academia at the time. By the 1890s there were very few full-time, permanent employment opportunities for archaeologists, and for this reason the majority of practicing archaeologists conducted their work at irregular intervals (Meltzer 1985). As of 1900, anyone entering into archaeology essentially came from other disciplines; there were no university-trained North American archaeologists in the 19th century (Meltzer 1985). Beginning in the early 1900s, Americanist archaeologists found various ways to measure similarity (O'Brien and Lyman 2000), one being the increasing use of seriation methods and stratigraphy. The units of observation most favored by archaeologists in the early 1900s involved "culture traits," with a focus on "general units" (i.e. pottery, basketry, etc.) (Lyman et al., 1997:33). With the emergence of stratigraphic excavation, seriative techniques began to take on a more coherent methodology and became increasingly applied into the 1910s and 1920s.

Early use of stratigraphic excavation was evinced in archaeological excavations conducted by Thomas Jefferson on mounds in Virginia in the late 1700s (Sharer and Ashmore 2003). Another early practitioner of stratigraphic excavation was Max Uhle, who applied principles of seriation and stratigraphy with his work in Chile and Ecuador between 1892 and 1905 (Fagan 1996). However, the first use of stratigraphic excavation is generally credited to the work of Manuel Gamio (a student of Franz Boas) in Mexico during a 1914 excavation (Adams 1960). With stratigraphic excavation, the passage of time is understood through "monitoring the relative vertical positions" of artifacts within a site (Lyman et al., 1998:244). The direct connection of stratigraphy to seriation in this case rests with the fact that Boas conducted a seriation on surface-collected pottery sherds and used Gamio's stratigraphically created sequence as a check (Rouse 1967). As such, stratigraphic excavation and seriation were frequently tied together in subsequent analyses.

After 1914, major changes occurred in archaeology. With the expansion of the university system and the discovery of a "great antiquity of human occupation on the continent," a firm methodological basis for addressing culture change in North America was developed which featured seriation (Meltzer 1985:256). Beginning in 1916, initially with Alfred L. Kroeber and Nels C. Nelson, it was realized that culture change could be understood by examining the shifts in frequencies of styles of artifacts (O'Brien and Lyman 2000). From that point into the 1920s, Kroeber and Nelson, along with Alfred V. Kidder and Leslie Spier, dominated work in seriation.

Kroeber first became involved with archaeology in 1903 (Rowe 1962) and in 1916 it is generally agreed that he invented "frequency seriation" with his study of surface pottery sherds at Zuni Pueblo in New Mexico (O'Brien et al., 1997). With the development of frequency seriation, Kroeber went beyond simply chronologically placing artifacts. First, he "assessed similarity in a new way" by examining relative frequencies of a type of artifact in multiple collections of artifacts, and then ordered the collections based on similarities of the initial relative frequencies of that type of artifact (Lyman and Harpole 2002:322). Second, Kroeber interpreted resulting chronological orders as "one that measured the passage of time" (Lyman and Harpole 2002:322).

Kroeber was the academic advisor for Nelson (Lyman et al., 1997) and heavily influenced Nelson's work. Credited as one of the pioneers of stratigraphic excavation (Browman and Givens 1996), Nelson also studied pottery sherds in New Mexico in 1916. Nelson's work is viewed as important to the development and use of seriation because he demonstrated that pottery types altered in absolute frequencies through time in a manner that he characterized as "normal frequency curves" (Lyman et al., 1997:44). This is coupled with the fact that

Nelson moved away from assumptions associated with presence or absence of culture traits by documenting the changing frequencies of pottery types (Lyman et al., 1997).

Along with Kroeber and Nelson, Kidder is also viewed as central to the development of the seriation method at this point in time. Kidder is best known for following Nelson's lead and expanding upon it (Kidder 1917). Like Nelson, Kidder understood absolute frequencies of pottery against their vertical position in an excavation but expanded upon this by graphing the changes in relative frequencies of the pottery types against the excavation levels (O'Brien and Lyman 2000). In presenting seriation in his dissertation in 1915 (Browman and Givens 1996), Kidder is credited with creating a chronological ordering based on changes in pottery designs (O'Brien and Lyman 2000).

Spier has been noted as the first American archaeologist to use the term "seriation," applying it in reference to Kidder's and Kroeber's work (Spier 1917). Basing his studies on Nelson's, Kidder's, and Kroeber's research on ceramic frequencies, Spier expanded seriation methods through incorporation of regression analysis (O'Brien and Lyman 2000). Spier used ethnographical information to correlate various pottery types for seriation and inferred population movements based on these findings (Lyman et al., 1997).

As chronological inquiry came to dominate archaeological research during the first half of the 20th century, the work of Kroeber, Nelson, Kidder, and Spier employed what came to be known in the 1930s and 1940s as "the direct historical approach" (Lyman et al., 1997:70). Results were almost immediate as a chronological order could be constructed with seriation and tested by stratigraphy (O'Brien and Lyman 1999). Of critical importance is that Kroeber, Nelson, Kidder, and Spier were not merely plotting the frequencies of cultural traits, they were plotting the frequencies of the variants of traits (Lyman and O'Brien 2000).

The next major innovations in seriative analysis spawned directly from the efforts of Kroeber, Nelson, Kidder, and Spier. Between 1920 and 1960, their ideas on Southwestern pottery types began to be applied elsewhere in the United States, most notably in the Southeast with the work of Philip Phillips, James A. Ford, and James B. Griffin. Phillips, Ford, and Griffin are best known for their study of the chronology of ceramics in the Mississippi Valley conducted in the 1940s and published in 1951 (O'Brien and Lyman 2000). This work is considered especially important to seriation use in that they provided very clear statements on archaeological types, specifically through the pottery assemblages studied (O'Brien and Lyman 1999). Phillips, Ford, and Griffin believed that their typological framework would identify variation that yielded time-space contexts, thus creating the type-variety concept that played a large role in Americanist archaeology (Lyman et al., 1997). Their work included particular analytical foundations and restrictions: use of seriation in their studies necessitated that the population was stable in the survey area, sites were of short occupation duration, cultural change was gradual, pottery types were to have a singular peak in popularity, and frequency curves would differ (Deetz and Dethlefsen 1965). In general, Phillips, Ford, and Griffin exercised an important influence that extended beyond the use of types, and serve as a central point for current discussions on seriation (Dunnell 1985).

Seriation underwent further methodological development in the 1940s and early 1950s (Lyman, O'Brien, and Dunnell 1997). Apart from the earlier efforts of Spier with regression analysis, an element of this development included further attempts at incorporating statistical and mathematical techniques to aid in seriative analysis. Most notable were the efforts of W. S. Robinson and George W. Brainerd, who in 1951 created a mathematical technique for measuring similarity between artifact assemblages (Lyman et al., 1997). With all of the previous developments in method and theory through seriative analysis, by the 1950s, similarity in form was associated with similarity in time (Lyman et al., 1997).

Seriative analyses were used differently beyond the 1950s. Trends in archaeological thinking in the 1960s included an increased concern over the "integrated nature of culture," a new stress on more precise techniques, and an increased concern over the role of analogy in archaeological inference (Deetz 1970:117). Furthermore, the goals of archaeological inquiry in the 1960s changed. The new "paradigm" was scientific and evolutionary in character (Meltzer 1979:654). With the additions of new dating methods (such as radiocarbon dating) and computers (O'Brien and Lyman 1999), seriative analysis, although still popular throughout the 1970s, changed dramatically.

In the 1960s, seriation was applied to previously unexplored subjects. One example is James Deetz and Edwin Dethlefsen's 1966 study of New England gravestones. Regarded as a "classic study" for seriative analysis, this work examined individually dated gravestones and confirmed assumptions inherent to stylistic and frequency seriations (Fagan 1996:527). These assumptions had been previously addressed by other types of artifact assemblages, most commonly pottery.

Along with new technologies, many works involving seriation from the 1960s to the present comment on the overall use and understanding of seriative analysis. Some examples of this can be found with Deetz and Dethlefsen (1965), Robert C. Dunnell (1970, 1985), and R. Lee Lyman, Steve Wolverton, and Michael J. O'Brien (1998). Aside from a trend in discussing the overall understanding of seriative analyses, current works include specific reference to evolutionary theories as a means of exploring trends in changes of artifact assemblages (see O'Brien and Lyman 2000), as well as examination of unique forms of material culture (see Mallios 2007).

Overview of Harrison Documents and Variables Used for Analysis

The major question posed by this research concerned the ways stories about Harrison changed over time. As the primary means of investigation, a seriative analysis of historical accounts focusing on Harrison was conducted. These historical narratives are the result of archival research conducted in conjunction with the Nathan Harrison Historical Archaeological Project and include many articles, personal accounts, and interviews. A total of 57 documents were consulted, with 45 selected for analysis. These 45 documents were chosen based on content; the remaining 12 mention only the Nate Harrison Grade or made casual reference to Harrison. The chosen documents were examined separately, with all features of the content noted. "Features" refer to elements within the document. The features related directly to Harrison, such as events, stories, descriptions of character, possessions, etc. This ultimately provided the basis for the variables (and categories within the variables) for seriative analysis.

Once all of the features of the documents were noted, a spreadsheet was created that separated the features into three different categories: plot, character, and inventory. The plot variables included any event involving Harrison; character variables involved aspects of Harrison's personality; and inventory variables related to physical items associated with Harrison. The variables in each category were subdivided into either divisive variables or diagnostic variables. Divisive variables divided the features into clearly discernable and often evenly-distributed categories. Diagnostic variables included the features which appeared to distinguish one document from another. Ultimately, ten divisive variables and 32 diagnostic variables were examined. Each variable was further divided into categories which were based on the different plot, character, and inventory variables present in the document; special attention was given to those categories within the variables as they provided the data for seriative analysis. With the 42 total variables and the associated categories, seriations were conducted on each variable in an attempt to find any temporal patterns or correlations within a variable's categories or with multiple variables together.

Divisive Variables

Ten divisive variables were chosen. For the purposes of organization, the following list provides a description of the variable, the associated categories, and the total number of documents where the variable was found.

Variable 1: "Harrison state of origin" (23 total).
Description: This included any reference to where Nate Harrison initially resided prior to California.
Categories: Kentucky (15 total), Missouri (1 total), Virginia (7 total), Mississippi (1 total), Tennessee (1 total), Other (1 total).

Variable 2: "Referred to as…" (38 total).
Description: Although Harrison is consistently referred to as "Nate," other references appear throughout the documents.
Categories: "N----r Nate" (21 total), "Uncle Nate" (10 total), Nathaniel/Nathanial (6 total), Nathan (21 total), Other (3 total).

Variable 3: "Master identity" (17 total).
Description: There are numerous references to Harrison's master. The analysis included any mention in the document that Harrison traveled with his master and any name provided for the master.
Categories: Traveled with master (16 total), Master Harrison (4 total), Master Utt (3 total), Other (2 total).

Variable 4: "Inventory" (33 total).
Description: The first of four "Inventory" variables, this variable examined whether the document mentioned any animals and plants owned by Harrison or a description of Harrison's dwelling. For all of the "Inventory" variables, documents that made specific mention of Harrison not owning particular items were included (these documents were rare and the majority dealt with animals).
Categories: Animals (21 total), Plants (13 total), Dwelling (26 total), Other (6 total).

Variable 5: "Inventory – Animals" (22 total).
Description: Animals owned by Harrison – it should be noted that this category did not include whether Harrison took care of animals (as in employment), as this typically related to other variables in the context of the document. As such, this variable strictly dealt with animals owned by Harrison and did not include instances in which documents mention Harrison's interaction with animals outside of ownership.
Categories: Cattle (3 total), Bees (1 total), Chickens (5 total), Horses (9 total), Dogs (5 total), Hogs (4 total), White Horse (4 total), General Livestock (2 total), Sheep (2 total), Cats (1 total).

Variable 6: "Inventory – Plants" (13 total).
Description: Includes plants on Harrison's property.
Categories: Orchard (8 total), Garden (5 total), Fruit Trees (2 total), Apricot Trees (1 total), Apple Tree (1 total), Pear Tree (1 total), Quince Tree (1 total), Grapes (1 total), Currant (1 total), Gooseberry (1 total), Corn (1 total), Potatoes (1 total), General Vegetables (1 total), Other (1 total).

Variable 7: "Inventory – Dwelling" (26 total).
Description: Includes all descriptive references to Harrison's home.
Categories: Shack (5 total), "Darkey's Shack" (2 total), Hut (3 total), Crude Cabin (2 total), House (5 total), Cabin (13 total).

Variable 8: "Travelers" (17 total).
Description: This variable includes documentation of anything Harrison allegedly gave to or received from travelers on the grade who passed by his property.
Categories: Gave Water To (15 total), Gave Food To (1 total), Gave Help To (1 total), Received Food From (5 total), Received Money From (3 total), Received Items as Reward for Water (2 total), Received because "Customary" to Give (1 total).

Variable 9: "Emancipation details" (16 total).
Description: This variable details how it came to be that Harrison was no longer enslaved.
Categories: Freed (3 total), Master Died (9 total), Ran Away (4 total), Bought Freedom (1 total).

Variable 10: "Age" (19 total).
Description: This variable includes any reference to Harrison's age (in years) at death.
Categories: 80-89 (2 total), Less Than 90 (1 total), 90-99 (3 total), More Than 90 (2 total), 101 (9 total), More Than 100 (2 total).

Diagnostic Variables

Thirty-two diagnostic variables were examined. Since these variables were chosen based on the notion that diagnostic variables appear to distinguish and isolate a document, the majority of variable categories are based

on specific language within the documents as opposed to general categories about what was described in the narratives. As with the divisive variables, each variable is listed with a brief description and totals. It should be noted that some variables had either very few occurrences (four or less) or had only one category; in these instances a seriative analysis was not undertaken.

Variable 11: "Marriage" (15 total).
Description: Included in this variable are all references to Harrison's alleged marriages, to whom, and the various wives. Categories are all based on who was directly named as a wife or what the author mentioned in terms of marital status. Also of note, the category of "Amy/Cubby" refers to the same person, but different documents either mention her as "Amy" or "Cubby."
Categories: Possibly Married (2 total), Number of Wives (3 total), Indian (4 total), La Jolla (1 total), Pechanga (1 total), Rincon (1 total), Amy/Cubby (4 total), Married, but Not Identified (2 total), Never Married (2 total).

Variable 12: "Children" (5 total).
Description: Although none of the historical sources ever explicitly mentioned Harrison as being a biological father to any children, multiple documents refer to Harrison having children that were not his direct descendents.
Categories: Had children (3 total), Was not the father (2 total), Number of children (2 total).

Variable 13: "Leave the mountain" (11 total).
Description: It is common knowledge that Harrison left the mountain and was taken to a hospital in San Diego at the end of his life. The descriptions of the departure vary. Did he want to leave or did he want to stay? Did he have to be persuaded? Was he found sick or in pain?
Categories: Did Want to Go (1 total), Did Not Want to Go (4 total), Was Persuaded (5 total), Was Found Sick/In Pain (7 total).

Variable 14: "Worked/Lazy" (18 total).
Description: Did Harrison work or was he lazy?
Categories: Worked (16 total), Lazy (5 total).

Variable 15: "Work" (15 total).
Description: What did Harrison do for work? This variable investigates whether Harrison worked directly for a particular individual, handled animals, or engaged in anything that could be considered employment.
Categories: For Ranchers (4 total), With Sheep (7 total), With Cattle (3 total), Baked/Cooked (3 total), Odd Jobs (2 total), With Hogs (2 total), Build (1 total), For Individual (2 total).

Variable 16: "Lazy" (5 total).
Description: If the document referred to Harrison as lazy, did the author elaborate or use a particular phrase? Particular phrases included: "never did a solid days work in his life" (category title "Solid Day"), "asked for work, but meaning food and a comfortable home" (category title "Asked/Meaning"), and "absolutely allergic to labor" (category title "Allergic"). Elaborations included if the document stated that Harrison would leave a job without any notice (category title "Leave") or that he loathed work (category title "Loathed"). As with the "Work" variable, this variable is separate from the initial "Work/Lazy" variable due to the specific description in the text.
Categories: Solid Day (2 total), Asked/Meaning (2 total), Leave (2 total), Allergic (1 total), Loathed (1 total).

Variable 17: "Arrive to California/San Diego" (29 total).
Description: This variable includes references as to how Harrison came to California and San Diego.

Categories: After Freed (3 total), With Fremont's Battalion (2 total), From Los Angeles (4 total), Master Died (8 total), Ran Away (7 total), When Young with Master (3 total), With Master (6 total), In Wagon Train (3 total), By Ox Team (1 total), Around the Horn (1 total), By Boat (3 total), From northern California (6 total).

Variable 18: "Hospital" (8 total).
Description: This variable refers to details about Harrison's stay at the hospital at the end of his life. Categories include any mention that nurses peeled layers of clothing off of Harrison (category title "Peeling Clothes"), if he wanted to go home (category title "Go Home"), if he was happy, or if the nurses were good to him.
Categories: Peeling Clothes (5 total), Go Home (4 total), Happy (3 total), Nurses Good (2 total).

Variable 19: "Items given" (23 total).
Description: Included here are any items that were given to Harrison from visitors.
Categories: General Gift/Donation (5 total), Whiskey (3 total), Given for Water (12 total), Food (4 total), Tobacco (1 total), Land (1 total), Money (2 total).

Variable 20: "Legend" (16 total).
Description: Many documents make reference to Harrison as something more than an average person; included here are references to Harrison as a legend, a pioneer, etc.
Categories: Legend (5 total), Well Known (10 total), Pioneer (3 total), Stories/Tales (6 total).

Variable 21: "Language" (25 total).
Description: This variable included any instances of an author directly quoting Harrison. The focus of this variable was on whether the author emphasized Harrison using correct or broken English. It should be noted that there was some overlap with this variable, as some documents included quotes with both correct and incorrect grammar.
Categories: Broken (10 total), Good (20 total).

Variable 22: "Quotes" (25 total).
Description/Categories: Initially analyzed under the "Language" variable, the "Quotes" variable involves any instance where Harrison was quoted directly. If a document made a reference to something Harrison said, but did not quote, it was not included. Some quotes had slight variations (i.e., good versus broken language); unless the difference was substantial, these were grouped together in a category. With 18 total categories, these quotes included a range of contexts. The following is a list of each quote, what it references, and the totals:

"how come?" (1 total) – if no one came to see Harrison for some time, he was quoted as wanting to go to the valley to find out why.

"folks an' comp'ny" (1 total) – referring to Harrison's love of people and visitors.

"miz'ry" (3 total) – if put to work, Harrison suddenly wouldn't feel well, and was quoted as having a case of "miz'ry."

"g-bye all" (1 total) – when taken off the mountain, waving a final farewell to his friends.

"Louis, I's gone to set right down in my cabin, along with this here bottle and I's gonna set there, till there ain't nary a drop left" (3 total) – is associated with a story that every Christmas Louis Salmons would bring Harrison a bottle of whiskey; included in this category is a similar quote, "Ise jus' goin' ta sit on that thar bench agin the house, an' sip that liquor little at a time, to make it las' all day long, till there aint nary a drop lef'. My but that sho' will taste good. Lord bless you Massa Louis for remembering Uncle Nate."

"first white man on the mountain" (17 total) – arguably the most famous quote from Harrison dealing with his joke that he was the first non-Indian to live on the mountain. Included in this category are the quotes "first white man on Palomar", "the first white man on Smith mountain" (the mountain was named Smith Mountain before Palomar), "I was de fust white man on dis mountain", and any quote with just "white man."

"seventy-six years old next New Years" (1 total) – refers to what Harrison would say if asked about his age.
"Skundido" (2 total) – how Harrison pronounced Escondido.
"Awful hot mornin', Mr. Jackson. Keeps your collar all the way up the hill, don't it" (1 total) – associated with a story of Harrison talking to a motorist driving up the grade.
"not 'less I fades considerable" (2 total) – when asked if Harrison could be mistaken for an Indian.
"I know about Abe Lincoln. I had my freedom long before that" (2 total) – when asked if Harrison knew about the Civil War and that slavery had ended.
"which one?" (4 total) – relates to the story of George Doane coming to visit Harrison with his new wife, and bringing a wife for Harrison. Included in this category are the similar quotes "which one, George?" and "which one, Mr. Doane?"
"after I go I want my daughter to have it" (1 total) – Harrison was quoted as wanting to leave his mountain property to his daughter after he had died.
"you could hear them poppin' their teeth" (2 total) – Harrison referring to the bears on the mountain.
"just wait till I get my tooth in it" (1 total) – refers to an instance where Harrison was given food.
"I always call her my 'cubby'. She's got a foot like a cub 'bar'" (1 total) – Harrison referring to his wife Amy and her large feet; initial analysis separated the sentences into two categories.
"when I first came here dere was nobody but Injuns" (1 total) – in context of Harrison describing the mountain upon his arrival.
"I'm N----r Nate" (4 total) – how Harrison would introduce himself. Included in this category is the quote, "I'se N----r Nate," which was initially analyzed as a separate category.

Variable 23: "Smith murder" (4 total).
Description: This variable was intended to examine the instances where a document mentioned Harrison's involvement with either the Smith murder trial or the hanging of the man accused of the murder. A seriative analysis was not conducted due to the small number of occurrences (less than five).

Variable 24: "$150 horse" (3 total).
Description: In three documents there was mention of instances where Harrison would attempt to sell his horses for $150 apiece. As the total is low, a seriation on this variable was not performed.

Variable 25: "Doane wife" (5 total).
Description: As previously mentioned, there was a story involving George Doane visiting Harrison with his new wife and bringing a wife for Harrison (Amy/Cubby) as well. The differences in this story center on Harrison asking Doane "which one?," meaning which woman was Doane's wife and which one was to be Harrison's bride.
Categories: For Doane (2 total), For Harrison (3 total).

Variable 26: "Read/Write/Educated" (11 total).
Description: This variable involves any mention of Harrison's intelligence or ability to read or write. It is separate from the "Language" variable due to the specific reference to Harrison's intelligence, not just his language abilities.
Categories: Could Not Read/Write (4 total), No Education (2 total), Good Memory (4 total), Cultivated (2 total), Intelligent (4 total).

Variable 27: "Character" (26 total).
Description: With the most categories (28 total), this variable includes mention of any aspect of Harrison's character. Later analysis of this variable included seriations of characteristics which were mentioned more than once, twice, and three times.

Categories: "Good For Nothing" (3 total), Irresponsible (2 total), Lazy (2 total), Friendly (5 total), Enjoyed People (3 total), Cheerful (4 total), Courteous (4 total), Grateful (1 total), Honest (1 total), Good Neighbor (2 total), Respected (1 total), Faithful (1 total), Humble (1 total), Interesting (1 total), Useful (2 total), Well Liked (7 total), Talkative (3 total), Dignified (2 total), Poised (1 total), Kind (9 total), Sense of Humor (2 total), Liked to Have Fun (1 total), Popular/Many Friends (7 total), Generous (1 total), Thrifty (1 total), Popular with Children (2 total), A Noted Character (2 total), Good Natured (1 total).

Variable 28: "76 New Years" (3 total).
Description: Harrison said that he would be "76 next New Years" when asked about his age. With the low number of instances, a seriative analysis was not performed on this variable.

Variable 29: "Leave sheep and dogs" (3 total).
Description: This variable refers to a particular story. Harrison, while tending sheep, allegedly decided to go into the valley and left his dogs to watch over the flock. Upon return, Harrison found the sheep and dogs missing. Since this variable had few cases, a seriation was not performed.

Variable 30: "49ers" (6 total).
Description: Some stories regarding Harrison's arrival in California mention that he and his master were '49ers before Harrison came to San Diego County. A seriative analysis was not performed on this variable.

Variable 31: "Lincoln and the Civil War" (8 total).
Description: One story about Harrison involves his awareness of the Civil War and the Emancipation Proclamation. The variable is named "Lincoln and the War" because in all instances of this case, Harrison is asked if he knew about President Lincoln. Categories for this variable include Harrison's knowledge of Lincoln, the Civil War, and the abolishment of American slavery. There is also a case of overlap as Harrison was once quoted as saying he did not know of these events, but the author of the narrative felt that he was being deliberately duplicitous for entertainment value.
Categories: Knew (4 total), Did Not Know (5 total).

Variable 32: "Talk of past" (11 total).
Description: This variable addresses instances in the documents in which the authors report that Harrison either would or would not talk about his past.
Categories: Did Not Talk of Past (6 total), Would Not Talk about Self (2 total), Tell Stories about Self (4 total).

Variable 33: "Alcohol" (13 total).
Description: There are several differing accounts of Harrison's drinking habits; this variable includes any mention of events or behavior involving alcohol.
Categories: Sober (1 total), Drink at Times (6 total), Whiskey (5 total), Go to Winery (3 total), Drunk (1 total).

Variable 34: "Bear and mountain lion stories" (4 total).
Description: Some of the documents mention aspects of wildlife and nature as Harrison would have experienced them. This variable includes details of stories including bears and mountain lions.
Category: Bears (2 total), Mountain Lions (3 total).
Variable 35: "Religion" (3 total).
Description: This variable includes any mention of Harrison practicing a religion or having any spiritual beliefs. As there were only three occurrences, a seriative analysis was not performed.

Variable 36: "Food stories" (7 total).
Description: Some authors described Harrison's cooking abilities; others mentioned stories of the

food Harrison consumed (i.e. mountain lion jerky, or a lizard in the coffee grounds). These were all included as categories in this variable.
Categories: Good Cook (1 total), Bake/Cook (for work) (2 total); Not Careful Cook (1 total), Mountain Lion Jerky (1 total), Lizard Coffee (2 total), Tobacco (3 total).

Variable 37: "Relationship with Indians" (13 total).
Description: There are varying accounts of how much Harrison interacted with the Indians in the area.
Categories: Married (7 total), Lived With (5 total), Friend (3 total), Adopted into Tribes (1 total), Participated (i.e. ceremonies or parties) (2 total), Worked For (1 total), Did Not Get Along With (1 total), Looked Down On (1 total), Received Gifts (2 total), Received Land (1 total), Spoke Language (1 total).

Variable 38: "Horse run away" (2 total).
Description: This variable is based on a story about Harrison getting thrown from a horse, and, as a result, had a bandana wrapped around his head to conceal the bruise. A seriative analysis was not conducted due to the low number of instances.

Variable 39: "San Diego County" (12 total).
Description: Any reference to where Harrison lived in San Diego County outside of Palomar Mountain was included with this variable.
Categories: Reservation (w/ Indians) (4 total), Rincon (4 total), Temecula (2 total), Pauma (1 total), Agua Tibia (1 total).

Variable 40: "Fugitive" (10 total).
Description: Some documents state that Harrison came to Palomar Mountain because he was a runaway slave and a fugitive escaping the law.
Categories: Runaway (9 total), Fugitive (3 total).

Variable 41: "New Clothes" (5 total).
Description: This variable included two different stories, both of which involved Harrison's clothing. One story recalls that Harrison would put any new clothes he received on over his old. The other involves Harrison's stay at the hospital, where nurses had to "peel off" the layers of Harrison's clothing upon his arrival.
Categories: Nurses (5 total), Put on (2 total).

Variable 42: "Unique Stories" (29 total).
Description: Included here were instances where stories, events, items, quotes, etc. appeared in only one document. Although this variable has one of the highest number of occurrences, a seriative analysis was not conducted in the same manner as with the other variables. It was impossible to create categories from these unique stories as each document presented a different recollection of Harrison. As such, the seriative analysis for this variable required dividing the stories by the content, whether by plot, character, or inventory factors (or a combination of the three), in a fashion similar to the initial division of variables mentioned previously.
Categories: Plot (23 total), Character (13 total), Inventory (9 total).

Seriative Analyses of Harrison Documents

Once all variables and associated categories were chosen for analysis, spreadsheets were created for each variable where the furthest left column contained the dates of the documents, and different categories filled cells in the first row. From here, an "X" was placed in the respective cells when the category of the variable appeared in the documents. Upon completion of the narrative review, rows with documents that did not contain the variable were deleted and the columns were rearranged in order to identify meaningful seriative patterns. Many documents

had date ranges rather than a single date of writing, as such, the middle point of the range was utilized for this portion of analysis. It is also worth noting that for this study there were no documents from 1920 to 1929.

The resulting seriations for the variables produced mixed results. Some appeared to form a clear pattern over time, with an evolving narrative trend showcased in graph of diagonal (and often elliptical) "X"s from top left to bottom right. However, other variables showed stasis (an unchanging narrative element) or apparently random changes. All of the seriations are presented here in ten-year document date increments. For the original data and for seriations based on five-year increments, consult with the Lennox thesis (2008). For each seriation, the source of the documents is noted. As previously mentioned, all documents are articles or are based on personal accounts or interviews (or any combination of the three); whether the document was an article, account, or interview was taken into consideration as a means of examining another formal aspect of the seriative analyses.

Divisive-Variable Seriations

Variable 1: "Harrison State of Origin"

(Figure 6.8)

Fifteen different accounts identify Kentucky as Harrison's state of origin; Virginia was next highest with seven occurrences. However, the stories change over time. In the decades following Harrison's death, various authors claim other birth states for Harrison. Missouri appeared early, Kentucky throughout, Mississippi in the middle, and Tennessee later. It is worth noting that the greatest variety was in the 1950s when three locales were claimed.

Date	Missouri	Kentucky	Virginia	Mississippi	Tennessee
1910-19					
1920-29					
1930-39	X	X			
1940-49		X			
1950-59		X	X	X	
1960-69		X	X		
1970-79		X			
1980-89		X			X
1990-99		X	X		
2000--		X			

Figure 6.8. Seriation of "Harrison state of origin" at 10-year intervals.

Variable 2: "Referred to as…"

(Figure 6.9)

This variable contains a high number of documents and a broad date range. Many of the terms for Harrison are used throughout the decades. However, there is a clear pattern of near mutual exclusivity between the monikers "Nathaniel" and "Uncle Nate." Use of "Nathaniel" (or "Nathanial") begins early, but "Uncle Nate" has a dense and narrow date range (1931 to 1972) that is ultimately replaced by a resurgence of "Nathaniel." "Nathaniel" has a formality to it that was often coupled in the narratives with respectful passages about Harrison. "Uncle Nate" is often used in a patronizing manner, a derisive and indirect reference to the racial epithet "Uncle Tom" from Harriett Beecher Stowe's late 19th-century novel *Uncle Tom's Cabin*.

Date	"Nigger"	Nathaniel	Uncle	Nathan
1910-19	X	X		
1920-29				
1930-39	X	X	X	X
1940-49			X	X
1950-59	X		X	X
1960-69	X		X	X
1970-79	X	X	X	X
1980-89	X	X		
1990-99	X	X		X
2000--				X

Figure 6.9. Seriation of "Referred to as..." at 10-year intervals.

Variable 3: "Master Identity"

(Figure 6.10)

There is a clear temporal delineation between those narratives that name Nate Harrison's master as "Mr. Harrison" versus those that claim his owner was "Lysander Utt." "Mr. Harrison" appeared exclusively in earlier accounts and "Utt" was only recorded later. The two "Other" instances appear at the same time as the "Utt" references, and both state that Harrison's master was possibly Utt or someone else.

Date	Harrison	Utt	Other
1910-19			
1920-29			
1930-39	X		
1940-49			
1950-59	X		
1960-69		X	X
1970-79			
1980-89			
1990-99		X	X
2000--			

Figure 6.10. Seriation of "Master identity" at 10-year intervals.

Variable 4: "Inventory"

(Figure 6.11)

With a broad date range (1919 to 2002) and a high number of occurrences, a pattern was difficult to find in this overly general variable. Of note is the fact that the "Plants" category appears later (1941) than the other categories. Overall, it was clear that further and more specific analyses were needed in order to understand what was written about Harrison's possessions. As a result, more precise variables were created within the "Inventory" variable, including "Inventory–Animals," "Inventory – Plants," and "Inventory – Dwelling."

Date	Animals	Dwelling	Plants	Other
1910-19	X	X		
1920-29				
1930-39	X	X		X
1940-49	X		X	
1950-59	X	X	X	
1960-69	X	X	X	
1970-79	X	X	X	X
1980-89	X	X	X	X
1990-99	X	X	X	X
2000--	X	X	X	

Figure 6.11. Seriation of "Inventory" at 10-year intervals.

Variable 5: "Inventory–Animals"

(Figure 6.12)

For this variable, the category with the highest occurrence was "Horses," with a total of nine and a broad date range of 1937 to 2002. "Chickens" and "Dogs" both had the second highest, with a total of five each. Categories with smaller totals but with other interesting aspects included "Cattle," with three total but a large date range (1919-1995); "General Livestock" with two total, but both questioning whether Harrison had any; "Bees," mentioned once, but very early (1919); and "Cats" with the author stating Harrison had none. Overall, the majority of documents mentioning animals fell within the 1930s to the 1970s, the greatest variety occurring in the 1930s (with five categories). It is also worth noting that stories of Harrison's legendary white horse—shown in no photographs but alluded to often—are a later narrative element, exclusive to the 1950s and beyond.

Date	Bees	Cattle	Cats	Chickens	Dogs	Horses	Sheep	Hogs	White Horse	General Livestock
1910-19	X	X								
1920-29										
1930-39			X	X	X	X	X			
1940-49					X	X	X	X		
1950-59				X		X		X	X	
1960-69		X				X			X	
1970-79				X		X		X		X
1980-89				X	X	X			X	
1990-99		X				X	X			
2000--						X				

Figure 6.12. Seriation of "Inventory–Animals" at 10-year intervals.

Variable 6: "Inventory–Plants"

(Figure 6.13)

The overall pattern within the Plant Inventory variable is readily apparent. The majority of occurrences are with the "Orchard" (eight total, date range 1958 to 2002) and "Garden" (five total, date range 1963 to 2002) categories. A pattern of change over time is clear as narratives of Harrison's plant cultivation evolved from more basic descriptions of singular items to the later and more elaborate monikers "Orchard" and "Garden."

Date	Grapes	Currant	Gooseberry	Corn	Potatoes	Gen. Veggie	Fruit Trees	Orchard	Garden	Other
1910-19										
1920-29										
1930-39										
1940-49	X	X	X	X	X	X	X			
1950-59							X	X		
1960-69							X	X	X	
1970-79							X	X	X	
1980-89							X			X
1990-99							X	X	X	
2000--								X	X	

Figure 6.13. Seriation of "Inventory–Plants" at 10-year intervals.

Variable 7: "Inventory–Dwelling"

(Figure 6.14)

Expressions of this variable clearly changed over time. A distinct progression occurred between 1919 and 2002, as the authors of the documents used different terms to describe Harrison's home. Beginning with "Shack," "Crude Cabin," and "Hut," these first three monikers do not occur after the 1960s, and are used either alone or with one of the other two descriptions. "House" and "Cabin" follow the other three and appear from the 1950s onward, without being used with any other category. "Cabin," with the latest date range (1959 to 2002), also had the highest number of occurrences (13 total). The 1950s is the only decade that witnesses the use of every term.

The progression shown in this variable suggests a larger meaning. The various authors were trying to convey a particular image of Harrison's living quarters. The first three categories conjure negative, derogatory, or derisive images while the last two are more general or positive. It is worth noting that the term "shack" was often part of a racial epithet describing Harrison; on multiple occasions authors labeled his home a "darkey's shack."

Date	Shack	Crude Cabin	Hut	House	Cabin
1910-19	X				
1920-29					
1930-39	X	X	X		
1940-49					
1950-59	X	X	X	X	X
1960-69	X				X
1970-79					X
1980-89				X	X
1990-99					X
2000--					X

Figure 6.14. Seriation of "Inventory–Dwelling" at 10-year intervals.

Variable 8: "Travelers"

(Figure 6.15)

This variable has two general trends. First, the "Gave Water" description is consistent throughout the entire timeframe. Second, there appears to be a slight change over time with other details. The stories regarding which goods were exchanged evolved from "Gave Food" to "Received Food" and "Received Money" to "Gave Help."

Date	Gave Water	Gave Food	…b/c customary	Received Food	Received Money	…as reward	Gave Help
1910-19	X	X					
1920-29							
1930-39	X		X	X	X		
1940-49							
1950-59	X			X	X		
1960-69	X			X	X		
1970-79	X					X	
1980-89	X						X
1990-99	X						
2000--							

Figure 6.15. Seriation of "Travelers" at 10-year intervals.

Variable 9: "Emancipation Details"

(Figure 6.16)

Expressions of this variable revealed an important trend. When describing Harrison's emancipation, the narratives first stated that he "Ran Away" but later noted that Harrison obtained his freedom when his "Master Died." In the 1950s, a new narrative emerges, one that suggested that Harrison's master "freed" him. Lastly, an account emerged claiming that Harrison purchased his freedom from his Master.

This pattern reveals narrative changes whereby Harrison's agency and dignity could be recalled in different ways. The notion of Harrison running away could imply illegality or cowardice; according to European-American norms of the time, this was not seen as an honorable way to gain freedom as a slave. The next category involves Harrison gaining freedom through the death of his master; freedom is gained through passive means. Harrison does not earn his freedom but is merely the recipient of beneficial circumstances. This is distinct from the next category, where the documents allege Harrison was given his freedom—an implication of intentional action on the part of the master. It adds greater respectability and honor to the details of Harrison's emancipation. The last category mentions Harrison buying his own freedom, which can be viewed as Harrison exhibiting empowerment and agency through his own actions. The changes between the categories over time and the implications of the categories present different portraits of Harrison's character. The first two categories imply negativity, while the last two depict Harrison in a positive sense. Arguably, the documents initially degrade Harrison but later empower him.

Date	Ran Away	Master Died	Freed	Bought Freedom
1930-39	X	X		
1940-49				
1950-59	X	X	X	
1960-69	X	X	X	
1970-79		X		
1980-89				
1990-99		X		
2000--				X

Figure 6.16. Seriation of "Emancipation details" at 10-year intervals.

Variable 10: "Age at Death"

(Figure 6.17)

As was noted in the first technical report (Mallios et al. 2005), Harrison's birth year was generally recorded earlier with each passing year. The primary documents exhibited an inverse linear relationship between Harrison's recorded birth year and the year the particular document was being filed. Likewise, the subsequent historical narratives exaggerate his age over time. Whereas many of the pre-1940 accounts allege Harrison was in his 80s when he died, the post-1950 histories often claimed much greater antiquity and place him at over 100.

Date	>90	<90	80-89	101	>100	90-99
1910-19						
1920-29						
1930-39	X	X		X		
1940-49			X			
1950-59				X	X	X
1960-69				X		
1970-79						X
1980-89			X		X	
1990-99				X		X
2000--				X		

Figure 6.17. Seriation of "Age at death" at 10-year intervals.

Diagnostic Variable Seriations

Variable 11: "Marriage"

(Figure 6.18)

Discussions concerning the number and identities of Harrison's wives vary greatly over time and fail to follow a uniform pattern. Even though the decades of the 1940s and '50s had relatively few documents, they contained the most varied responses of any 20-year period.

Date	La Jolla	Amy/Cubby	Indian	# Wives	No ID	Possible Marriage	Pechanga	Not Married	Rincon
1910-19	X								
1920-29									
1930-39		X	X						
1940-49				X	X	X	X		
1950-59		X	X	X		X			
1960-69								X	
1970-79		X						X	
1980-89				X	X				X
1990-99			X						
2000--									

Figure 6.18. Seriation of "Marriage" at 10-year intervals.

Variable 12: "Children"

(Figure 6.19)

In all of the historical narratives where children were mentioned, Harrison was never explicitly said to have been their biological father. Nonetheless, there is mention of him having children, marrying a woman with children, or taking care of the children. Unfortunately, the small number of cases and large date range in this category made finding a pattern difficult. Initially, Harrison is mentioned as having children, later it is emphasized that he was not the father, and lastly the documents provide a specific number of children.

Date	Had Children	Not the Father	# of Children
1910-19	X		
1920-29			
1930-39		X	
1940-49	X		
1950-59			
1960-69			
1970-79			
1980-89	X	X	X
1990-99			X
2000--			

Figure 6.19. Seriation of "Children" at 10-year intervals.

Variable 13: "Leave the Mountain"

(Figure 6.20)

The first portion of these seriations concerns whether Harrison wanted to leave the mountain for the hospital. The second part involves whether Harrison had to be persuaded to leave, if he was found sick or in pain, or if the circumstances were known as to how he left. The earliest document stated that Harrison wanted to go (1919), while the others generally stated that he did not want to leave (1941 to 1963). In addition, there appears to be an overall pattern of later documents emphasizing that he was found sick or in pain (1941 to 1981).

Date	Yes	No		Persuaded	Don't know how	Found Sick/in Pain
1910-19	X			X		
1920-29						
1930-39		X			X	
1940-49						
1950-59		X		X		X
1960-69		X		X		X
1970-79						X
1980-89						X
1990-99						
2000--						

Figure 6.20. Seriation of "Leave the mountain" at 10-year intervals.

Variable 14: "Worked/Lazy"

(Figure 6.21)

These seriations presented an interesting outcome in which one category appeared far more than the other, and, rather than a pattern of change, an overlap of the two categories occurred. The notion that Harrison worked (19 total) appears to overshadow the suggestion that he was lazy (five total), especially since there are two cases where the author describes Harrison as "lazy" and simultaneously noted that he also worked. Along with this, the "Lazy" category has a much more narrow date range, with all occurrences falling between the 1930s and 1960s, while the "Worked" category spans the entire variable (1919-2002).

Date	Worked	Lazy
1910-19	X	
1920-29		
1930-39	X	X
1940-49	X	
1950-59	X	X
1960-69	X	X
1970-79	X	
1980-89	X	
1990-99	X	
2000--	X	

Figure 6.21. Seriation of "Worked/Lazy" at 10-year intervals.

Variable 15: "Work"

(Figure 6.22)

There were no obvious patterns for the "Work" variable. There is a broad date range (1919 to 1998) for categories featuring any work-related activity. The category with the highest occurrence was "With Sheep," with seven total and a date range of 1937-1998. The greatest variety in category usage appears in the 1950s, with six different categories.

Date	For Ranchers	W/ Sheep	W/ Cattle	Bake/Cook	Work for person	Odd Jobs	Hogs	Build
1910-19	X							
1920-29								
1930-39		X						
1940-49			X	X	X			
1950-59		X	X	X	X	X	X	
1960-69	X	X						
1970-79	X							
1980-89						X		X
1990-99		X	X	X				
2000--								

Figure 6.22. Seriation of "Work" at 10-year intervals.

Variable 16: "Lazy"

(Figure 6.23)

Although this variable mirrors the initial "Work/Lazy" distinction, the categories here were based on any additional comments the authors of the documents made in describing Harrison as lazy. A pattern was difficult to find with these seriations due to the low number of cases. However, the fact that all occurrences fall between 1930 and 1970 is of note, as well as the relatively high number of categories in the 1930s.

Date	Never did a Solid Days Work…	Asked for work, but meaning…	leave w/o notice	Allergic to labor	Loathed work
1910-19					
1920-29					
1930-39	X	X	X		
1940-49					
1950-59				X	
1960-69	X				X
1970-79					
1980-89					
1990-99					
2000--					

Figure 6.23. Seriation of "Lazy" at 10-year intervals.

Variable 17: "Arrive in California/San Diego"

(Figure 6.24)

Stories of Harrison's arrival in California and San Diego were varied and did change over time. The earliest document claimed that Harrison arrived after being freed from slavery. In the 1930s, authors began writing that Harrison came with "Fremont's Battalion," ventured down to San Diego from Los Angeles after his master died, or that he ran away from his master. In the 1940s, the documents noted that he arrived as a young man with his master's party. In the late 1950s (with the most categories--nine total), five new explanations arose as to how Harrison arrived. These included: with his master, from northern California, in a wagon train, by boat, and "around the horn" (James 1958:40) meaning that Harrison sailed around South America. Beyond the 1950s, the only other category was by ox team and was only mentioned once.

Date	After Freed	Fremont's Battalion	From LA	Master Died	Ran Away	Young, w/ Master's Party	w/ Master	From Northern CA	Wagon Train	By Boat	Around Horn	Ox Team
1910-19	X											
1920-29												
1930-39		X	X	X	X							
1940-49						X						
1950-59			X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	
1960-69	X	X		X	X		X					X
1970-79				X			X	X	X	X		
1980-89						X					X	
1990-99				X			X	X	X			
2000--	X				X							

Figure 6.24. Seriation of "Arrive to California/San Diego" at 10-year intervals.

Variable 18: "Hospital"

(Figure 6.25)

All of the categories for this variable first appeared in the 1930s, with the "Peeling Clothes" variable appearing most (five total) and throughout the date range. There was little discernable change over time.

Date	Want to Go Home	Peeling Clothes	Happy	Nurses Good
1910-19				
1920-29				
1930-39	X	X	X	X
1940-49				
1950-59		X	X	
1960-69	X	X		
1970-79		X	X	X
1980-89				
1990-99		X		
2000--				

Figure 6.25. Seriation of "Hospital" at 10-year intervals.

Variable 19: "Items Given"

(Figure 6.26)

Although no significant pattern emerged with these seriations, there were some interesting trends. Most of the categories first appear in the 1930s, but "Tobacco" and "Land" did not occur until 1981. The category with the highest number was "For Water," where the document contained references to items given to Harrison in exchange for water from his spring (12 total, date range of 1937 to 1977).

Date	Gen. Gift/Donation	Whiskey	For Water	Food	Tobacco	Land	Money
1910-19							
1920-29							
1930-39	X	X	X	X			X
1940-49							
1950-59			X	X			
1960-69	X		X				
1970-79	X		X	X			
1980-89	X				X	X	
1990-99							X
2000--							

Figure 6.26. Seriation of "Items given" at 10-year intervals.

Variable 20: "Legend"

(Figure 6.27)

The "Legend" variable had the potential to answer a fundamental question of this research: when did Harrison become a legend? As shown through the seriations, it is difficult to pinpoint if there was one point in time when this occurred, although the ten-year seriation shows the term was first used in the 1930s. Aside from reference to

Harrison as a "Pioneer," the other categories all appear early and continue into the 1990s. Mention of Harrison as "well known" had the most occurrences with ten total, five of which appear with at least one of the other categories. Documents noting that tales about Harrison were commonly told had the second highest category with six total; all but one of the occurrences here appear with the "Well Known" category. Also of note is that all four of the categories appear in the 1960s, perhaps an indication as to when Harrison's legendary status was fully realized.

Date	"Legend"	Well Known	Stories	"Pioneer"
1910-19				
1920-29				
1930-39	X	X	X	
1940-49				
1950-59	X	X	X	
1960-69	X	X	X	X
1970-79		X	X	X
1980-89		X		
1990-99	X	X	X	
2000--				

Figure 6.27. Seriation of "Legend" at 10-year intervals.

Variable 21: "Language"

(Figures 6.28 and 6.29)

Although nearly all of the seriations produced the clearest patterns when the documents were grouped in ten-year intervals, the "Language" variable was an exception. In this case, the ten-year grouping disguised the relevant temporal change. In the seriation at one-year intervals (Figure 6.28), the "Broken" language category is clearly shown as appearing in the 1930s and being phased out during the '50s, while the "Good" language category, which has no single concentration, begins in the late 1930s and continues into 1998. The same seriation at ten-year intervals misses the pattern and makes it seem as if the "Broken" and "Good" language categories are entirely contemporaneous (Figure 6.29).

Variable 22: "Quotes"

(Figure 6.30)

For organizational purposes, the quotes chosen for categories were assigned numbers for the first row of the spreadsheet. The following is a list of quotes attributed to Harrison and the corresponding numbers:

- 1) "how come?"
- 2) "folks an' comp'ny"
- 3) "miz'ry"
- 4) "g-bye all"
- 5) "Louis, I's gone to set right down in my cabin, along with this here bottle and I's gonna set there, till there ain't nary a drop left"
- 6) "first white man on the mountain"
- 7) "seventy-six years old next New Years"
- 8) "Skundido"
- 9) "awful hot mornin', Mr. Jackson. Keeps your collar all the way up the hill, don't it"

Date	Broken	Good
1931	X	
1932	X	
1937	X	X
1937	X	X
1938	X	X
1932-1950		X
1924-1937	X	
1951		X
1952	X	X
1958		X
1958		X
1959		X
1960		X
1950-1970		X
1955-1970		X
1956-1969		X
1952-1975	X	X
1971		X
1972		X
1977		X
1978	X	
1981		X
1981	X	
1982		X
1998		X

Figure 6.28. Seriation of "Language" at one-year intervals.

Date	Broken	Good
1910-19		
1920-29		
1930-39	X	X
1940-49		X
1950-59	X	X
1960-69	X	X
1970-79	X	X
1980-89	X	X
1990-99		X
2000--		

Figure 6.29. Seriation of "Language" at 10-year intervals.

- 10) "not 'less I fades considerable"
- 11) "I know about Abe Lincoln. I had my freedom long before that"
- 12) "which one?"
- 13) "after I go I want my daughter to have it"
- 14) "you could hear them poppin' their teeth"
- 15) "just wait till I get my tooth in it"
- 16) "I always call her my 'cubby'. She's got a foot like a cub 'bar"
- 17) "when I first came here dere was nobody but Injuns"
- 18) "I'm N----r Nate"

The authors' use of particular quotes reveals a general pattern. Quotes #1, 2, 4, 5, 7, 9, 10, 11, 14, 15, and 16 only appear in the 1930s, while the last four (15-18) are found only in the documents from the 1950s and later. Quote #6 ("first white man on the mountain") was the most frequent, with 17 total observations and a date range of 1937 to 1998; this quote is Harrison's most famous attribution. The punch line to the Doane-wife story (see Variable 23)—"which one?—and the purported self-introduction—"I'm N----r Nate"--are the second most

common quotes (4 total each). It is worth noting that all three of these passages deal with ironic plays on ethnic identity as Harrison is not white, the notion that George Doane would bring Harrison a white wife is shocking for the time period, and Harrison's use of a racial epithet on himself is the opposite of what one would expect.

Date	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14	15	16	17	18
1910-19																		
1920-29																		
1930-39	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X						
1940-49						X							X	X				
1950-59			X			X						X		X	X	X		
1960-69			X			X						X						
1970-79						X						X					X	X
1980-89						X		X										X
1990-99						X												
2000--																		

Figure 6.30. Seriation of "Quotes" at 10-year intervals.

Variable 26: "Read/Write/Educated"

(Figure 6.31)

The seriation reflects a pattern in which Harrison appears to get "smarter" over the years after his passing. He is initially described in the 1930s as having no education and no ability to read or write. By the 1940s, Harrison is celebrated for being "cultivated"; and by the 1950s, he is deemed "intelligent," a description that persists into the 1970s.

Date	No Education	No Read/Write	Cultivated	Intelligent
1910-19				
1920-29				
1930-39	X	X		
1940-49			X	
1950-59			X	X
1960-69		X		X
1970-79		X		X
1980-89				
1990-99				
2000--				

Figure 6.31. Seriation of "Read/Write/Educated" at 10-year intervals.

Variable 27: "Character"

(Figure 6.32)

The original "Character" variable contained 28 separate categories. Nearly all of the categories are positive character attributes. The only three categories which were negative involved aspects of laziness: that he was "good for nothing," lazy overall, or that he was irresponsible (responsibility sitting "light on his shoulders"). All three of these categories appear early with few instances; the date range for the three was 1931 to 1966, with none exceeding three occurrences. With all of the characteristics, only two initially appear prior to the 1930s (useful

and friendly, both in 1919), and nine emerged after the 1930s. These nine character traits describe Harrison as interesting, well-liked, talkative, thrifty, dignified, poised, having a sense of humor, and generous.

Date	Useful	Friendly	Good for Nothing	Children	Folks an'...	Lazy	Light Shoulders	Noted Character	Popular, Friends	Cheerful	Kind	Courteous	Grateful	Honest	Respected	Faithful	Humble	Good Natured	Good Neighbor	Interesting	Well-Liked	Talkative	Thrifty	Dignified	Poised	Sense of Humor	Have Fun	Generous
1910-19	X	X																										
1920-29																												
1930-39		X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X									
1940-49									X											X								
1950-59	X				X				X		X	X									X	X	X	X	X			
1960-69			X			X		X		X	X	X												X				
1970-79		X		X					X	X	X										X	X				X		
1980-89									X		X	X									X						X	
1990-99											X								X							X		X
2000--											X																	

Figure 6.32. Seriation of "Character" at 10-year intervals.

The characteristics which appeared the most described Harrison as "well-liked" (seven total, "kind" (nine total and a broad date range 1938 to 2000), and that he was popular and had many friends (seven total, also with a broad date range of 1937 to 1981). The 1930s witnessed the most diversity in describing Harrison, with eighteen total categories found; the 1950s were a distant second with ten total characteristics.

Variable 31: "Lincoln and the War"

(Figure 6.33)

With only two categories, this variable still presented an interesting pattern; it appeared that Harrison alternated back and forth multiple times about having knowledge of the Civil War and the abolishment of slavery. The only case of overlap for the categories was in 1998 where the author mentioned Harrison not knowing, but ultimately felt that this was a story Harrison told for entertainment value (Ross 1998).

Date	Knew	Didn't Know
1910-19		
1920-29		
1930-39	X	
1940-49		
1950-59		X
1960-69	X	X
1970-79		
1980-89		
1990-99	X	X
2000--		X

Figure 6.33. Seriation of "Lincoln and the Civil War" at 10-year intervals.

Variable 32: "Talk of Past"

(Figure 6.34)

A clear pattern resulted from these seriations. All three categories within the variable dealt with the theme of how Harrison would portray himself to others and whether he would talk about himself or his past. The initial seriation shows that a change occurred in the late 1950s, with Harrison telling stories about himself when previously he had allegedly never spoken of his past. This change continued as the documents no longer mentioned Harrison avoiding discussions of his past; at this point there are two cases of documents mentioning that Harrison did not talk about himself at all (1963 and 1972). Beyond the early 1970s however, two more documents note that Harrison told stories (1998 and 2000). Overall, the changes occurred within the 1950s and 1960s, and the 1960s saw examples of all three categories. There is an underlying irony to this variable; if it is true as the early documents suggest that Harrison did not talk about himself, then his much-discussed past is entirely constructed by others. Despite numerous attributions, Harrison's voice would be largely silent in his emergence as a local legend.

Date	Not Talk of Past	Told Stories	Not Talk of Self
1910-19			
1920-29			
1930-39	X		
1940-49			
1950-59	X	X	
1960-69	X	X	X
1970-79			X
1980-89			
1990-99		X	
2000--		X	

Figure 6.34. Seriation of "Talk of past" at 10-year intervals.

Variable 33: "Alcohol"

(Figure 6.35)

The categories for this variable produced a noteworthy pattern of change; the more time that had elapsed since Harrison's passing, the more people remembered him consuming alcohol. It is as if the memory of Harrison drank more and more over time. In 1919 Harrison was described as "sober" (Heath 1919:10), while the latest example portrayed Harrison as so drunk "that he couldn't walk" (Day and Melvin 1981:35). Within this time frame (1919 to 1981), there appeared to be a progression from describing Harrison as sober, to receiving and enjoying whiskey, to traveling to the winery, to drinking occasionally, to the account of him being incapacitated due to his overindulgence in alcohol.

Variable 34: "Bear and Mountain Lion Stories"

(Figure 6.36)

This variable had few occurrences; it appeared in only four documents, and the date range for these stories was relatively narrow (1941 to 1966). This particular period of time seems to be especially significant for the rise of details that celebrate Harrison's legend.

Date	Sober	At Times	Whiskey	Go Winery	Drunk
1910-19	X				
1920-29					
1930-39		X	X	X	
1940-49					
1950-59		X	X		
1960-69		X		X	
1970-79					
1980-89		X			X
1990-99					
2000--					

Figure 6.35. Seriation of "Alcohol" at 10-year intervals.

Date	Bears	Mtn. Lions
1910-19		
1920-29		
1930-39		
1940-49	X	X
1950-59	X	
1960-69		X
1970-79		
1980-89		
1990-99		
2000--		

Figure 6.36. Seriation of "Bear and mountain lion stories" at 10-year intervals.

Variable 36: "Food Stories"

(Figure 6.37)

This variable featured categories involving different aspects of Harrison's habits with food and tobacco. Although the seriation shows little significant change over time within these categories, it is again worth noting that the period with the greatest variety of details is again in the 1950s.

Variable 37: "Relationship with Indians"

(Figure 6.38)

This variable showed little meaningful change over time. All but one of 13 total documents contained positive depictions of Harrison's relationship with local Indians.

Variable 39: "San Diego County"

(Figure 6.39)

The seriation shows a gradual but likely superficial change over time with stories changing from Harrison living on a reservation, to living in Rincon, Temecula, Pauma, and finally in Agua Tibia.

Date	Good Cook	Bake/Cook	Tobacco	Lizard	Not Careful	Mtn. Lion
1910-19						
1920-29						
1930-39						
1940-49	X					
1950-59		X	X	X	X	X
1960-69			X			
1970-79						
1980-89			X	X		
1990-99		X				
2000--						

Figure 6.37. Seriation of "Food stories" at 10-year intervals.

Date	Lived W/	Married	Friend	Participate	Adopted	Work	Didn't Get Along	Looked Down	Gifts	Land	Spoke Lang.
1910-19	X	X									
1920-29											
1930-39	X	X									
1940-49		X									
1950-59		X	X	X	X						
1960-69	X					X					
1970-79	X						X	X			
1980-89		X							X	X	X
1990-99		X	X	X							
2000--											

Figure 6.38. Seriation of "Relationship with Indians" at 10-year intervals.

Date	Rez/Indians	Rincon	Temecula	Pauma	Agua Tibia
1910-19	X				
1920-29					
1930-39		X			
1940-49			X		
1950-59		X	X		
1960-69	X	X		X	
1970-79	X	X			
1980-89					
1990-99					X
2000--					

Figure 6.39. Seriation of "San Diego County" at 10-year intervals.

Summary of Seriations of Elements from Nate Harrison Narratives

Seriations of 42 variables from the secondary histories revealed meaningful trends in the apotheosis of Nate Harrison. Although many of the stories were contradictory, isolated, and partial, when analyzed as a group it was possible to discern a broader pattern of myth making. There are both general gradual trends and moments of punctuated shifts in the development of Harrison's legend. In general, during the eight decades since Harrison's death, descriptions of his home have evolved very gradually from a "shack" to a "crude cabin" to a "house" and "cabin." The quality of his residence transformed as his posthumous stature grew. Likewise, written accounts of his surroundings changed from isolated trees to an orchard and garden. The stories of Harrison's emancipation grow more empowering over time; he is transformed from a fugitive to a passive recipient of freedom to an active economic master of his own destiny. In addition, in the years following his passing, the narratives portray him as more and more intelligent and more and more prone to drinking alcohol. The 1950s are an especially prominent and punctuated time of invention and hyperbole for Harrison's legend. During this decade, his antiquity is greatly exaggerated, tall tales regarding how he came to California and his rugged exploits with various lions and bears emerge, and even the identity of his owner is abruptly changed. It is worth noting that the 1950s also mark a time in which the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People (NAACP) successfully petitioned San Diego County to change the official name of the road from "N----r Nate Grade" to "Nate Harrison Grade," the landmark 1954 U.S. Supreme Court decision of *Brown v. Board of Education* that overturned the precedent of "separate but equal" (established in the 1896 *Plessy v. Ferguson*), and the beginnings of the nationwide Civil Rights Movement that would bring about monumental changes in the 1960s. The gradual and punctuated story-telling changes noted in the above seriate analyses reveal as much about the life and times of those in San Diego County following Harrison's demise as Harrison himself.

6.5 2008 Excavation Results

The 2008 SDSU summer field school performed three separate excavation-based tasks. First, they dug 23 shovel test-pits (2.5' by 2.5') in the areas to the immediate east, south, and west of the cabin. Second, the students excavated 11 units (5.0' by 5.0') adjacent to the remains of a second stone structure over 200' south of the main cabin. Third, they excavated various existing units in the patio area of the main cabin. The Excavation Register lists the preliminary details of each unit (Figure 6.40)

ER# (no letters)	NE corner Coordinates	General Description	Date assigned (MM/DD/YYYY)	Initials
1	N10,065 E9,910	5' x 5' unit	06/09/2004	SM
2	N10,060 E9,915	5' x 5' unit	06/11/2004	SM
3	N10,065 E9,920	5' x 5' unit	06/11/2004	SM
4	N10,070 E9,915	5' x 5' unit	06/14/2004	SM
5	N10,059.265 E9,923.310	3' x 3½' unit	06/15/2004	SM
6	N10,064.060 E9,921.075	5' x 5' unit; cut by str. 1	06/15/2004	JM
7	N10,060 E9,910	5' x 5' unit	06/16/2004	SS
8	N10,065 E9,915	5' x 5' unit	06/16/2004	SS
9	N10,070 E9,920	5' x 5' unit	06/16/2004	SS
10	N10,065.020 E9,926.940	3' x 3½' unit	06/16/2004	SS
11	N10,055 E9,915	5' x 5' unit	06/16/2004	ML
12	N10,060.660 E9,927.920	3' x 3½' unit	06/16/2004	JM
13	N10,056.320 E9,929.000	3' x 3½' unit	06/16/2004	SM
14	N10,055 E9,910	5' x 5' unit	06/17/2004	MW
15	N10,060 E9,905	5' x 5' unit	06/21/2004	HS
16	N10,061.725 E9,932.300	3' x 3½' unit	06/21/2004	SS
17	N10,065 E9,905	5' x 5' unit	06/22/2004	SS
18	N10,055 E9,905	5' x 5' unit	06/22/2004	SS
19	N10,065 E9,925	5' x 5' unit; cut by str. 1	06/23/2004	MW
20	N10,065 E9,930	5' x 5' unit; cut by str. 1	06/23/2004	JM
21	N10,055 E9,920	5' x 5' unit; cut by str. 1	06/23/2004	SS
22	N10,070 E9,905	5' x 5' unit	06/23/2004	SS
23	N10,070 E9,910	5' x 5' unit	06/23/2004	SS
24	N10,065 E9,935	5' x 5' unit	06/23/2004	SS
25	N10,060 E9,935	5' x 5' unit; cut by str. 1	06/24/2004	JM
26	N10,075 E9,910	5' x 5' unit	06/23/2005	MN
27	N10,075 E9,905	5' x 5' unit	06/23/2005	SS
28	N10,075 E9,900	5' x 5' unit	06/23/2005	SS
29	N10,070 E9,900	5' x 5' unit	06/23/2005	SS
30	N10,075 E9,895	5' x 5' unit	06/23/2005	SS
31	N10,075 E9,890	5' x 5' unit	06/28/2005	SS
32	N10,070 E9,895	5' x 5' unit	06/28/2005	SS
33	N10,070 E9,890	5' x 5' unit	06/28/2005	SS
34	N10,065 E9,900	5' x 5' unit	06/28/2005	SS
35	N10,065 E9,895	5' x 5' unit	06/28/2005	SS

ER# (no letters)	NE corner Coordinates	General Description	Date assigned (MM/DD/YYYY)	Initials
36	N10,061.543 E9,924.153	3’ x 3½’ unit	07/13/2005	SS
37	N10,076.050 E9,938.915	3’ x 3½’ unit	06/01/2006	HS
38	N10,068.790 E9,943.430	3’ x 3½’ unit	06/05/2006	SM
39	N10,070.435 E9,947.020	3’ x 3½’ unit	06/07/2006	SM
40	N10,060.445 E9,940.445	3’ x 3½’ unit	06/07/2006	SM
41	N10,072.495 E9,936.860	3’ x 3½’ unit	06/08/2006	SM
42	N10,050 E9,905	5’ x 5’ unit	06/12/2006	JL
43	N10,067 E9,922	2’ x 2’ unit	06/14/2006	JL
44	N10,058.410 E9928.590	3’ x 3½’ unit	05/30/2007	SM
45	N10,054.340 E9,936.240	3’ x 3½’ unit	05/30/2007	SM
46	N10,057.325 E9,937.385	3’ x 3½’ unit	05/30/2007	SM
47	N10,065 E9,980	5’ x 5’ unit	06/07/2007	JL
48	N10,065 E9,885	5’ x 5’ unit	06/12/2007	SM
49	UNASSIGNED			
50	UNASSIGNED			
51	N10,010 E10,000	2.5' x 2.5' unit	05/21/2008	SM
52	N10,030 E10,000	2.5' x 2.5' unit	05/27/2008	SM
53	N10,050 E9,920	2.5' x 2.5' unit	05/28/2008	SM
54	N10,030 E9,920	2.5' x 2.5' unit	05/28/2008	SM
55	N10,010 E9,920	2.5' x 2.5' unit	05/28/2008	SM
56	N9,990 E9,920	2.5' x 2.5' unit	05/28/2008	SM
57	N10,040 E9,900	2.5' x 2.5' unit	05/28/2008	SM
58	N10,020 E9,900	2.5' x 2.5' unit	05/28/2008	SM
59	N10,000 E9,900	2.5' x 2.5' unit	05/28/2008	SM
60	N9,980 E9,900	2.5' x 2.5' unit	05/28/2008	SM
61	N10,050 E9,880	2.5' x 2.5' unit	05/28/2008	SM
62	N10,030 E9,880	2.5' x 2.5' unit	05/29/2008	JL
63	N10,010 E9,880	2.5' x 2.5' unit	05/29/2008	JL
64	N9,900 E9,880	2.5' x 2.5' unit	05/29/2008	JL
65	N9,970 E9,880	2.5' x 2.5' unit	05/29/2008	JL
66	N10,070 E9,880	2.5' x 2.5' unit	05/29/2008	JL
67	N10,060 E9,860	2.5' x 2.5' unit	06/03/2008	HS
68	N10,040 E9,860	2.5' x 2.5' unit	06/03/2008	HS
69	N10,020 E9,860	2.5' x 2.5' unit	06/03/2008	HS
70	N10,000 E9,860	2.5' x 2.5' unit	06/03/2008	HS
71	N9,980 E9,860	2.5' x 2.5' unit	06/03/2008	HS
72	N9,960 E9,860	2.5' x 2.5' unit	06/03/2008	HS
73	N10,080 E9,860	2.5' x 2.5' unit	06/03/2008	SM
74	N9,750.273 E9,952.290	5' x 5' unit adj. to str. 2	06/03/2008	SM
75	N9,760.209 E9,952.978	5' x 5' unit adj. to str. 2	06/03/2008	SM
76	N9,755.842 E9,947.714	5' x 5' unit adj. to str. 2	06/03/2008	SM
77	N9,745.503 E9,951.923	5' x 5' unit adj. to str. 2	06/03/2008	SM
78	N9,755.218 E9,957.636	5' x 5' unit adj. to str. 2	06/03/2008	SM

ER# (no letters)	NE corner Coordinates	General Description	Date assigned (MM/DD/YYYY)	Initials
79	N9,763.260 E9,946.109	5' x 5' unit adj. to str. 2	06/05/2008	JL
80	N9,753.426 E9,945.182	5' x 5' unit adj. to str. 2	06/05/2008	JL
81	N9,753.002 E9,950.125	5' x 5' unit adj. to str. 2	06/05/2008	JL
82	N9,762.940 E9,951.024	5' x 5' unit adj. to str. 2	06/05/2008	HS
83	N9,757.573 E9,955.548	5' x 5' unit adj. to str. 2	06/05/2008	JL
84	N9,758.312 E9,945.609	5' x 5' unit adj. to str. 2	06/05/2008	SM
85	N9,754.315 E9,951.258	Amorph. feat. w. of str. 2	06/11/2008	SM

Figure 6.40. Excavation Register of Nate Harrison site through June 2008.

Shovel Test-Pits (NH51-73) (Figure 6.41)

Students dug a series of shovel test-pits to the south and west of the main cabin's artifact-rich patio area. No test-pits were placed on the steep hill to the north of the cabin because artifact tallies for the units to the north of the patio (NH26-28 and 30-31) and to the north of the cabin (NH19-20, 24, and 43) were very low. In addition, the pitched grade of this area to the north made it highly unlikely that Nate Harrison would scatter refuse uphill where it would inevitably roll back down into his home and main occupation area. Likewise, areas to the southeast of the cabin were not tested because the patio-area unit (NH21) and cabin units (NH 25, 43, and 46) in this part of the site were relatively artifact-poor. Overall, the shovel test-pit strategy was engineered to evaluate the areas adjacent to the densest artifact scatters that had been previously uncovered. In addition, two test pits were deliberately placed off-site as controls.

By design, the test pits were placed on north/south transects at 20.0' intervals (Figure 6.42). Test pits in each transect were staggered 10.0' off of the adjacent lines to the east and west, creating a checkerboard effect that maximized coverage. The transects were shot with the total station, and students marked the northeast corner of each shovel test-pit with a pin flag. Using a compass and a 2.5' square PVC X-frame, the other three corners of the shovel test-pits were then pin-flagged as well (Figure 6.43).

Students dug the shovel test-pits by natural layer and screened 100% of the fill through 1/8" mesh (Figure 6.44). They began with shovels and then transitioned to trowels at the base of each layer and once the test-pit reached a depth of over 0.5'. For each layer, the crew recorded soil type, texture, inclusions, color, and Munsell readings, and took soil chemical and soil archive samples as well. They also noted each layer's stratigraphic position relative to others in the shovel test-pit. Once students completed each shovel test-pit by reaching subsoil—an extremely hard and compact tan sand with numerous large rocks, no charcoal inclusions, and no artifacts—they completed a profile map of the test-pit's north wall at 1"=1' (Figure 6.45). The project director or a site supervisor then took a record photograph of the finished test-pit that captured both the bottom plan and north profile wall. The units were back-filled at the end of the field school.

Control Shovel Test-Pits (NH51-52)

Two control test-pits were placed 80.0' east of the main area being surveyed. These test-pits were on the same transect line as the site's primary datum. The first test pit (NH51) was staggered 10.0' north of the datum. NH51 (Figures 6.46 and 6.47) contained two natural and relatively horizontal layers, a 0.3' dark brown (10YR 2/1) sand "A" stratum and a 0.3' tan (10YR 3/2) sand "B" stratum. The layers had minimal artifacts—5 total—and no features were evident. Subsoil was marked by a gritty tan sand with numerous large rocks and no inclusions. NH52 (Figures 6.48 and 6.49) was 20.0' north of NH51 and maintained similar strata. NH52 contained three natural layers, a 0.3' dark brown (10YR 3/1) sand A stratum, a 0.3' brown (10YR 2/1) sand B stratum, and a 0.3' tan (10YR 3/2) sand "C" stratum. Each of the layers sloped to the west. The strata had few artifacts—2 total—and no features were evident. Subsoil was the gritty tan sand with a few large rocks and no inclusions.

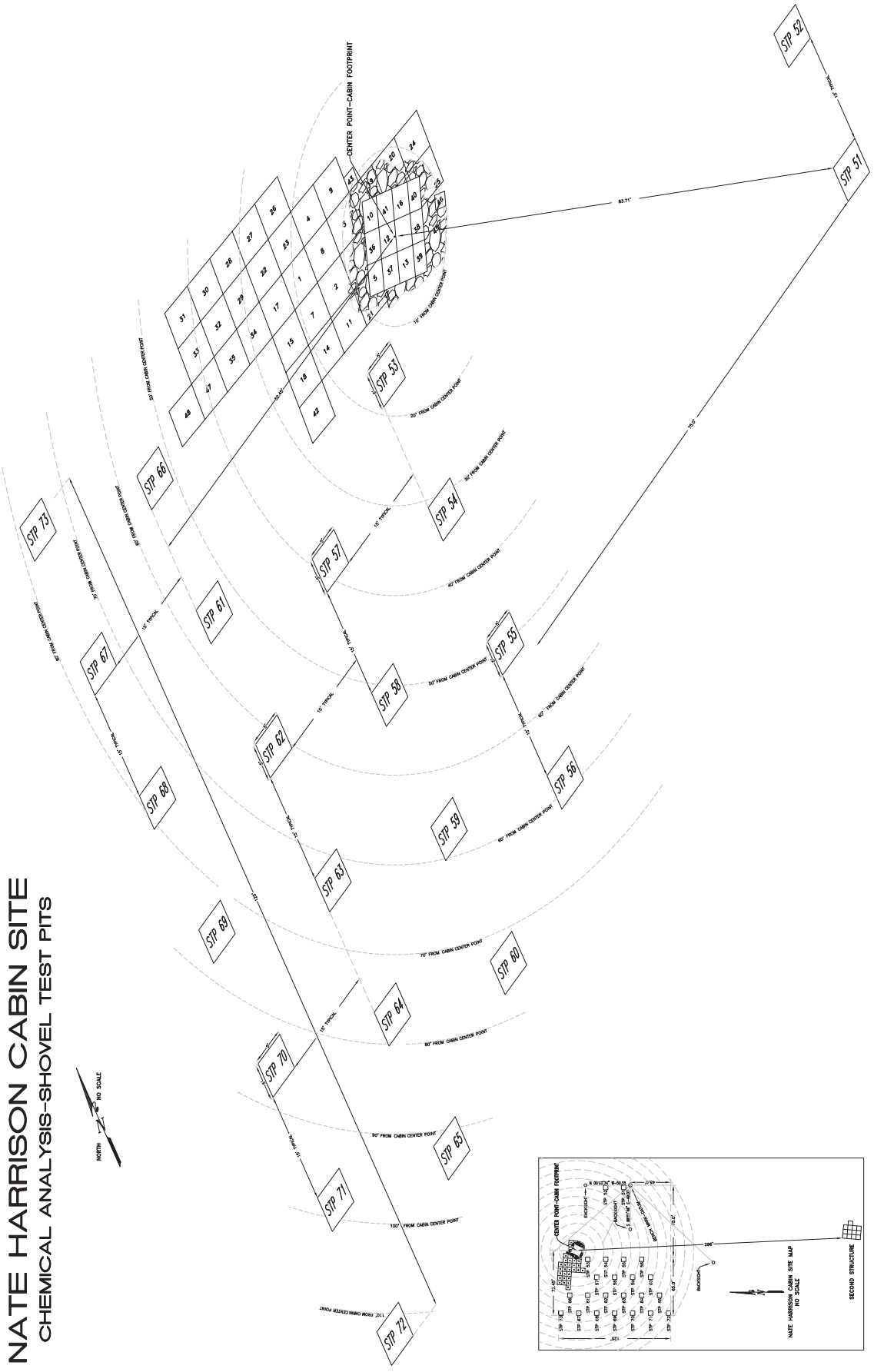


Figure 6.41. Plan map of shovel test-pits.



Figure 6.42. Four teams of students dig shovel test-pits along one of the center transects south of the main cabin (Courtesy Trevor Prough).

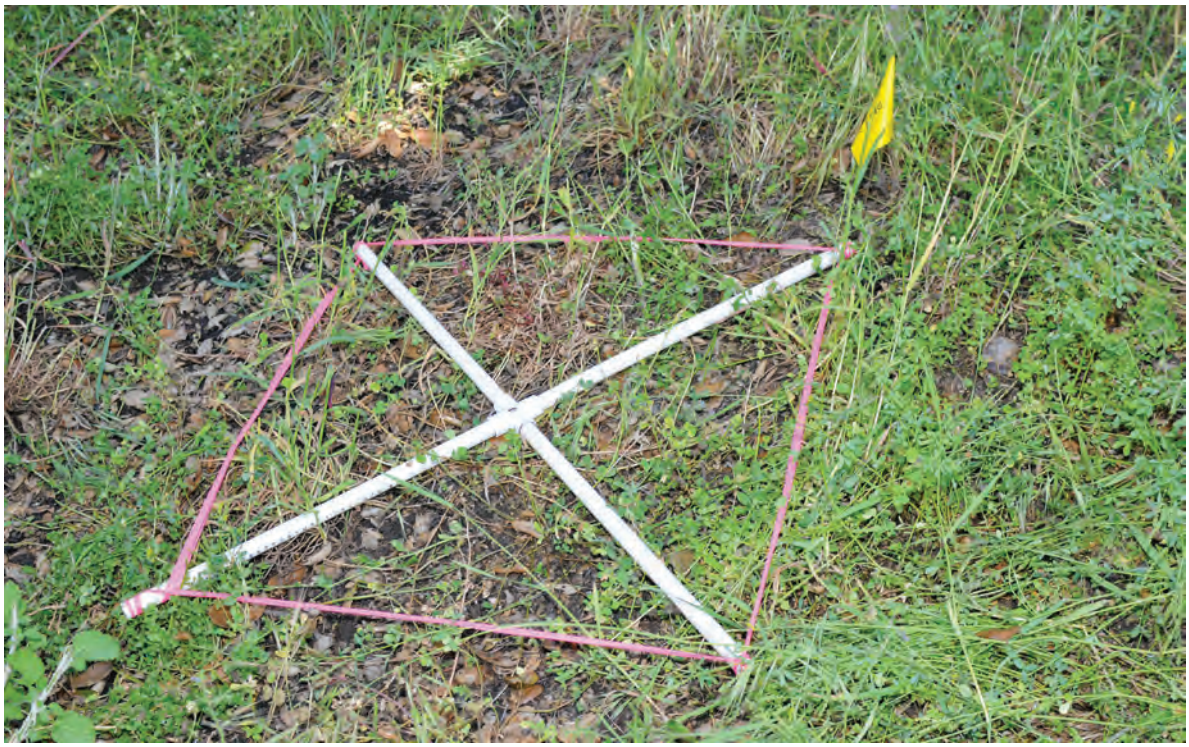


Figure 6.43. This lightweight PVC pipe X-frame forms a 2.5' square at its corners; when combined with a compass it enabled the crew to lay out shovel test-pits with great speed and accuracy (Courtesy Trevor Prough).



Figure 6.44. SDSU graduate students Maggie David (far left) and Shelby Gunderman (center) excavate a shovel test-pit while undergraduate Joe DeWolf screens (Courtesy Trevor Prough).



Figure 6.45. SDSU undergraduate Jackie Herrera (left) creates a map of the shovel test-pit's north face while fellow student Monique Larragoitia (right) measures the depth of each natural layer (Courtesy Trevor Prough).

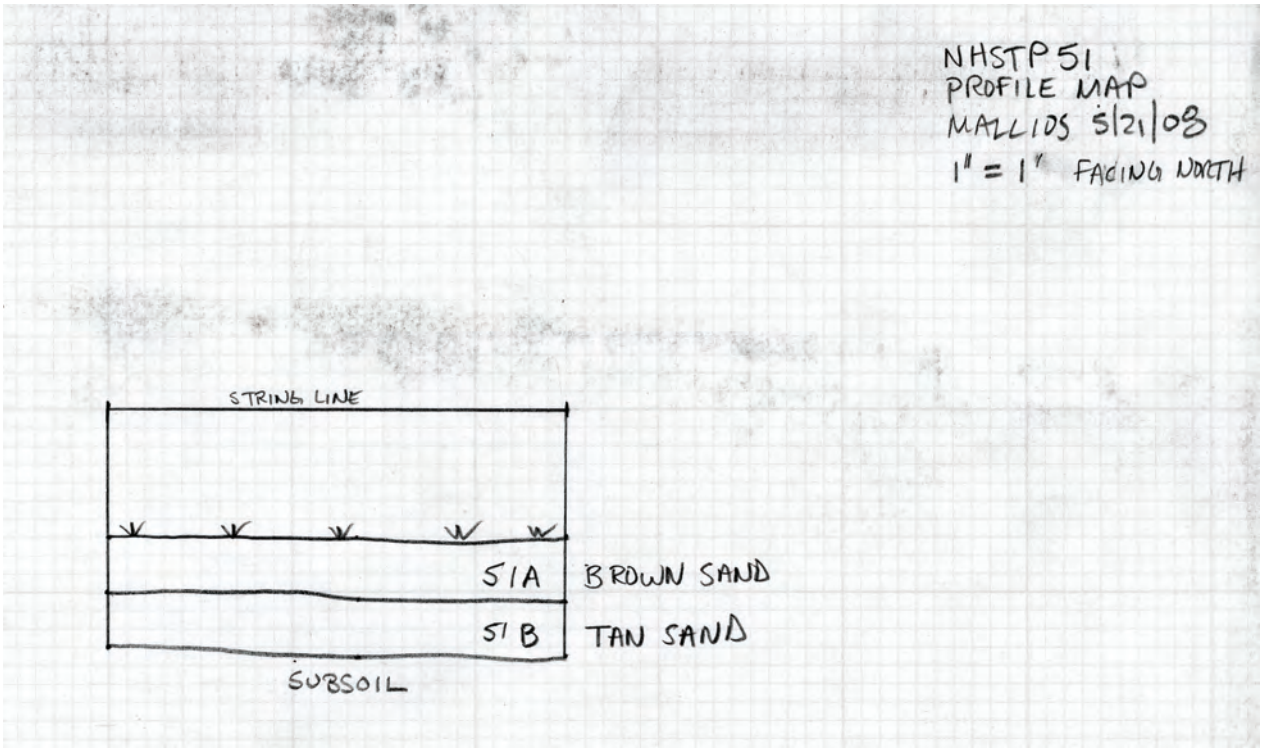


Figure 6.46. Profile map of shovel test-pit NH51's north wall.



Figure 6.47. Finishing photograph of shovel test-pit NH51.

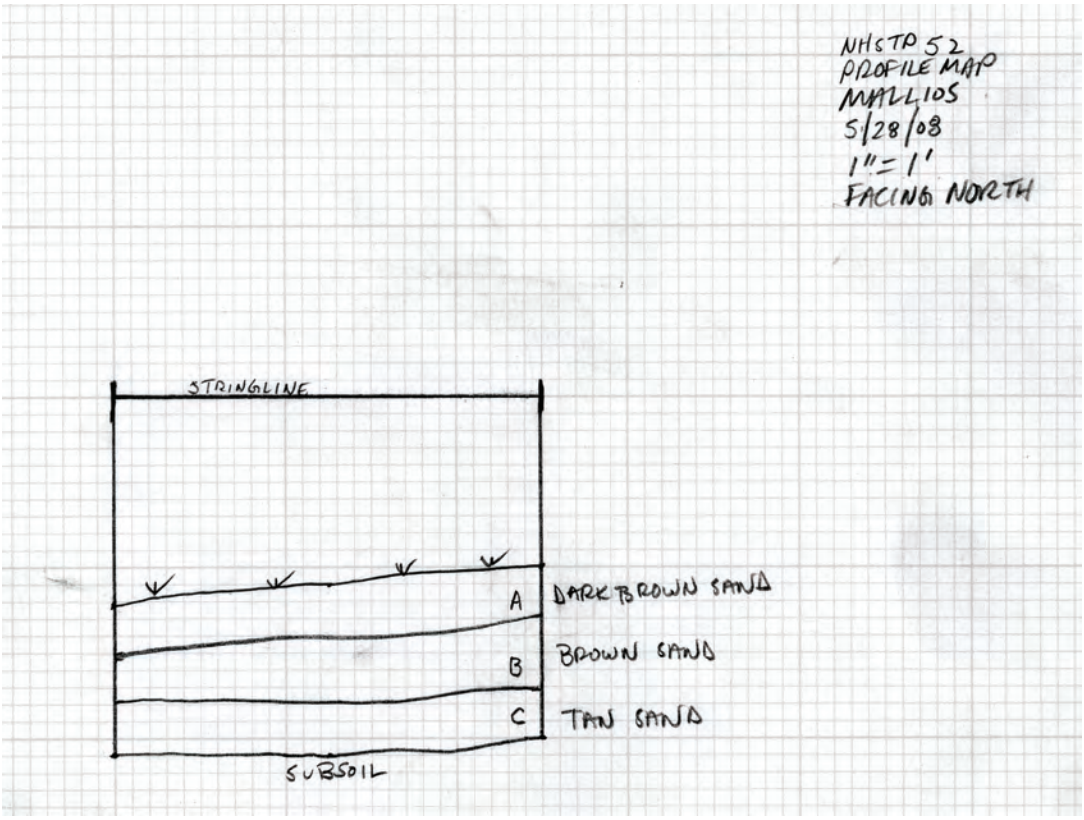


Figure 6.48. Profile map of shovel test-pit NH52's north wall.



Figure 6.49. Finishing photograph of shovel test-pit NH52.

The control shovel test-pits suggested that the entire site area, regardless of historical occupation, was covered with between 0.6-1.0' of brown sand fill. Subsoil appeared to be a uniform compact tan sand with large rocks. These observations corresponded with units to the north of the cabin area (NH19-20, 24-25) dug during the inaugural 2004 field season, which only had minimal fill above a compact and rocky subsoil (See Mallios et al. 2005). Since much of the west face of Palomar Mountain burned during the 2007 Poomacha fire, varying amounts of ashy fill on top of the usual sand layers were expected, although little was seen in the control units.

Transect I (NH53-56)

Transect I included four shovel test-pits at 20.0' intervals along the E9,920 grid line, running south of the southwest corner of the cabin. NH53 (Figures 6.50 and 6.51) consisted of two natural layers sloping gradually to the west. NH53A was a dark brown (10YR 2/1) sand with mica inclusions; it sealed NH53B, a gray-brown (10YR 3/2) sand also with inclusions of mica. Subsoil, a gritty tan sand with a few large rocks, was sealed by NH53B. NH53 contained 22 artifacts, many of which were very similar to those found in the Harrison cabin and main patio area.

NH54, 20.0' to the south of NH53, contained three natural layers sloping moderately to the west (Figures 6.52 and 6.53). The undulating layers varied in depth from 0.1' to 0.5'. NH54A consisted of dark brown (10YR 2/1) sand, NH54B was brown (10YR4/2) sand, and NH54C was made up of tan (10YR 3/2) sand. None of the strata had any inclusions. Subsoil was almost entirely large rocks with small amounts of gritty tan sand. Collectively, the layers of NH54 contained many artifacts—24 total—almost all of which resembled material finds from the cabin site.

NH55 contained three natural layers, each of an even 0.3' depth and sloping gradually to the west (Figures 6.54 and 6.55). The strata followed the same three-layer sequence found in many of the other test-pits: "A" was dark brown (10YR 2/1) sand, "B" was brown (10YR4/2) sand, and "C" was tan (10YR 3/2) sand. The gritty tan-sand subsoil had sizeable rocks only in the northeast corner of the test-pit. All of the layers of NH55 together contained only 5 artifacts.

NH56, the southernmost shovel test-pit in Transect I and the unit closest to the dirt road that leads from the original Nate Harrison spring area to the modern residence, was within 1.0' of a large oak tree (Figures 6.56 and 6.57). Nonetheless, its strata maintained the same tripartite sequence: dark brown (10YR 2/1) sand layer "A", brown (10YR4/2) sand layer "B", and tan (10YR 3/2) sand layer "C" above a gritty tan-sand subsoil with many large rocks. NH56 contained only one artifact.

The strata in the test-pits of Transect I were relatively uniform, consisting of 2-3 evenly dispersed layers. They mirrored the control units, suggesting that these test-pits were not a locus of significant activity. Furthermore, the artifact totals in Transect I, running from north to south and away from the main cabin site, dropped dramatically from the middle 20s to single digits at a distance of 50.0' south of the structure.

Transect II (NH57-60)

Transect II consisted of four shovel test-pits that were located from just south of the most artifact-rich patio-area units (NH34-35) to the dirt road at the base of the rise. This transect held much promise for historical refuse as it was located directly downhill from the patio, thought to be a center of activity for Harrison during his time on Palomar Mountain. Furthermore, the steep pitch of the hillside and the strong seasonal rains during the late fall and early spring might have caused many of the artifacts to wash down the ravine.

NH57 included five layers of sandy soil with no inclusions (Figures 6.58 and 6.59). Each layer was relatively flat and 0.3' deep. The strata ranged in color from very dark brown (A: 10YR 2/1) to dark brown (B: 10YR 4/2) to brown (C: 2.5 YR2/2) to light brown (D: 2.5 YR 3/2) to tan (E: 10YR 3/2). The interface between 57E and subsoil included only a few rocks. The overall test-pit contained 15 artifacts.

NH58, 20.0' south of NH57, followed the same three-layer sequence found in many of the other test-pits: "A" was dark brown (7.5YR 4/2) sand, "B" was brown (7.5YR 2/2) sand, and "C" was tan (5YR 3/2) sand (Figures 6.60 and 6.61). The gritty tan sand subsoil had sizeable rocks only in the eastern half of the test-pit. All of the layers of NH58 together contained only 7 artifacts.

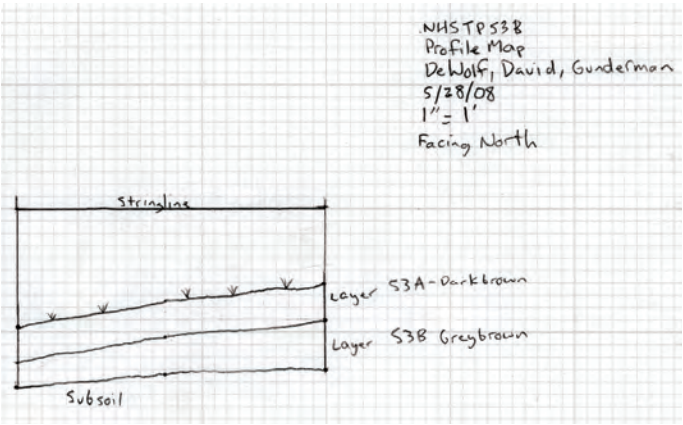


Figure 6.50. Profile map of shovel test-pit NH53's north wall.



Figure 6.51. Finishing photograph of shovel test-pit NH53.

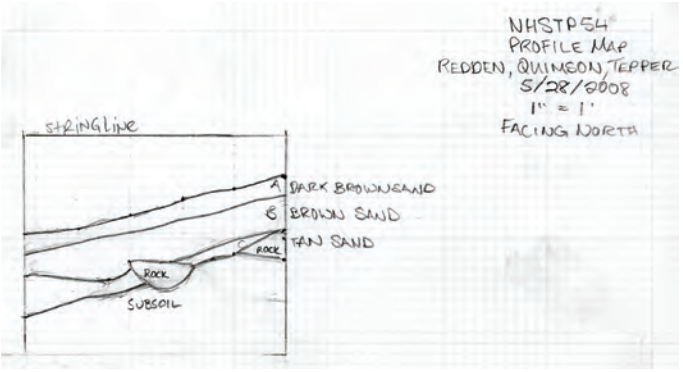


Figure 6.52. Profile map of shovel test-pit NH54's north wall.



Figure 6.53. Finishing photograph of shovel test-pit NH54.

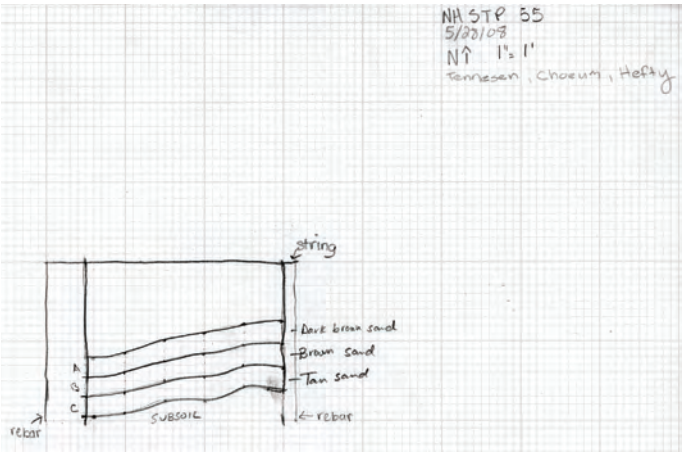


Figure 6.54. Profile map of shovel test-pit NH55's north wall.



Figure 6.55. Finishing photograph of shovel test-pit NH55.

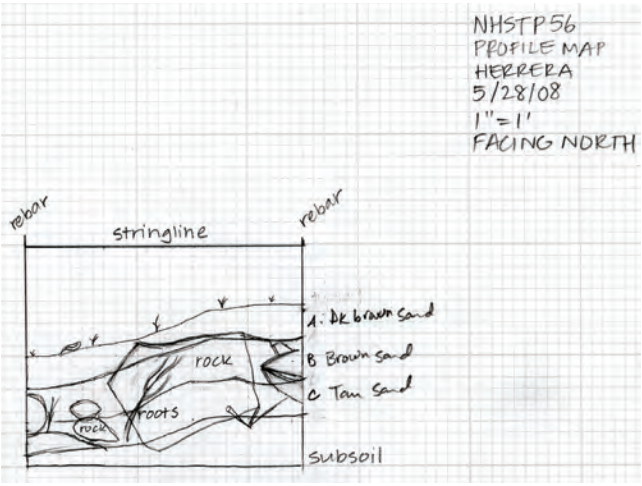


Figure 6.56. Profile map of shovel test-pit NH56's north wall.



Figure 6.57. Finishing photograph of shovel test-pit NH56.

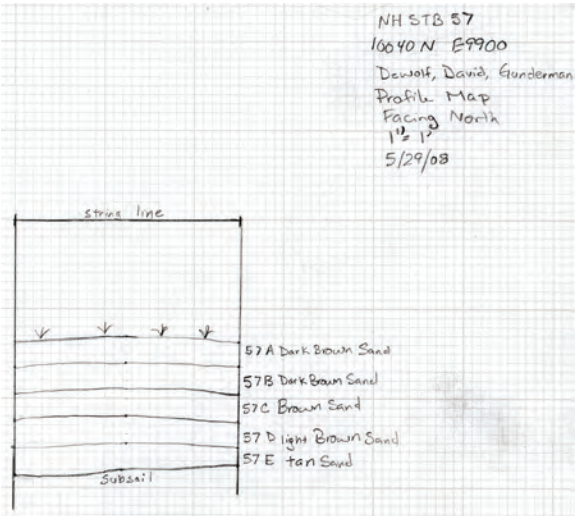


Figure 6.58. Profile map of shovel test-pit NH57's north wall.



Figure 6.59. Finishing photograph of shovel test-pit NH57.

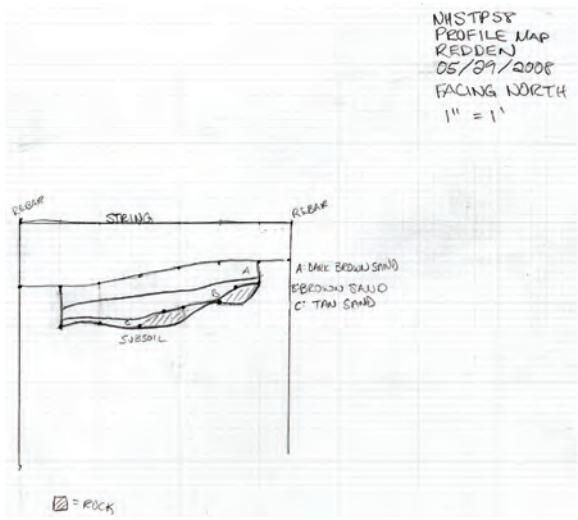


Figure 6.60. Profile map of shovel test-pit NH58's north wall.



Figure 6.61. Finishing photograph of shovel test-pit NH58.

The strata in NH59 mirrored the layers in NH58; there were three uniform sandy layers of varying colors (Figures 6.62 and 6.63). The dark brown "A" layer (10YR 2/1) sealed a brown (10YR 3/2) "B" layer, which covered a tan "C" layer (10YR 3/1). The layers sloped gradually to the west and had charcoal inclusions. NH59 contained only 1 artifact.

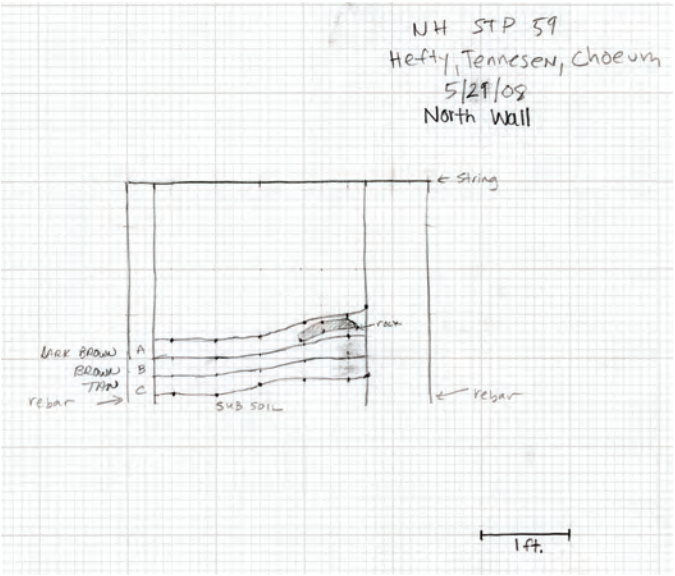


Figure 6.62. Profile map of shovel test-pit NH59's north wall.



Figure 6.63. Finishing photograph of shovel test-pit NH59.

NH60 had the steepest pitch of all of the shovel test-pits (Figures 6.64 and 6.65). Its three layers were each 0.3' deep and consisted of sandy soil with charcoal inclusions. The top stratum was dark brown (A: 10YR 2/1), the middle was brown (B: 5YR 3/1), and the bottom was tan (C: 10YR 4/2). The gritty tan subsoil had multiple large rocks embedded in its matrix. A total of 11 artifacts were found in the layers of NH60.

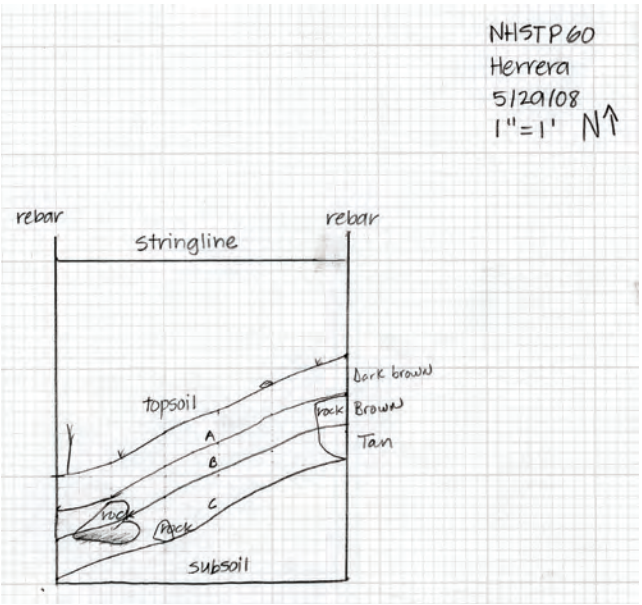


Figure 6.64. Profile map of shovel test-pit NH60's north wall.



Figure 6.65. Finishing photograph of shovel test-pit NH60.

With the exception of the northernmost shovel test-pit, all of the STPs in Transect II consisted of the three-layer dark brown-brown-tan sequence of sandy strata found commonly across the area south of the Harrison cabin.

Overall, artifacts diminished at distances further from the patio area, although the southernmost test-pit was somewhat anomalous. Contrary to initial expectations, Transect II contained no loci of Harrison-related activities on the basis of elevated artifact quantities.

Transect III (NH61-66)

The third transect of shovel test-pits consisted of six units just south of the western edge of the excavation in the patio-area of the main cabin site. NH61-65 had the same north coordinates as the first transect (N10,050, N10,030, etc.), but NH66 was 20.0' to the north of NH61 and just west of patio-area unit NH48. Since the westernmost patio-area units (NH34, 35, 47, and 48) were some of the most artifact-rich areas of the site, this transect also held much promise for containing a dense historical artifact scatter.

NH61 was the only shovel test-pit in this transect that followed the common three-layer sequence (Figures 6.66 and 6.67). It featured three consecutive and relatively flat strata of dark brown (A: 10YR 3/2), medium brown (B: 5YR 3/1), and tan (C: 10YR 4/2) sand. The layers contained no inclusions, and the bottom stratum sealed a brittle and rocky tan subsoil. Only two artifacts were found in NH61.

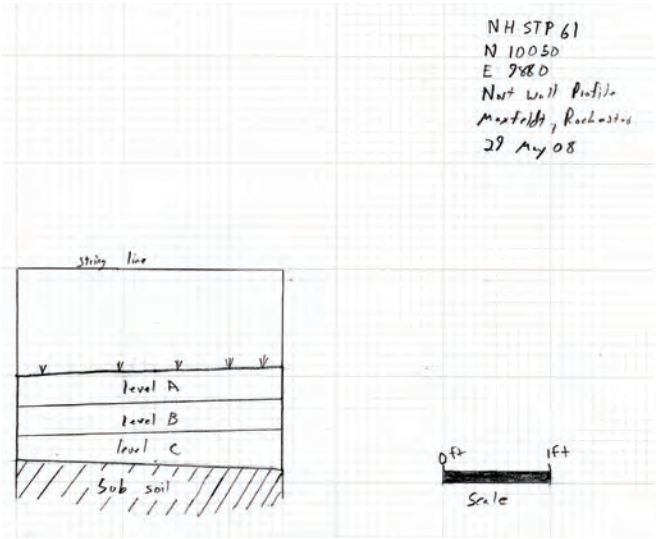


Figure 6.66. Profile map of shovel test-pit NH61's north wall.



Figure 6.67. Finishing photograph of shovel test-pit NH61.

NH62 contained eight layers of fill and measured over 2.0' in depth (Figures 6.68 and 6.69). The strata consisted of consecutive 0.3'-deep natural sandy layers that formed a gradient from dark brown to light brown (A: dark brown 10YR 2/1, B: dark brown 5YR 2/1, C: dark brown 10YR 3/1, D: light brown 10YR 4/2, E: light brown 5YR 3/2, F: light brown 5YR 3/2, G: light brown 5YR 3/2, H: light brown 5YR 3/2). Soil moisture likely contributed to the apparent differences in soil color. There was little distinction in color or texture between the bottom four layers. Subsoil consisted of a compact and rocky tan sand. NH62 contained 40 artifacts, many of which were pieces of wire fencing (both barbed and unbarbed).

Five relatively flat layers of brown sand made up the fill of NH63; each was approximately 0.3' in depth and none contained any inclusions (Figures 6.70 and 6.71). Whereas NH62 maintained a gradient from dark brown to light brown dirt, the layers within NH63 were all brown (A: brown 2.5YR 3/2, B: brown 2.5YR 2/2, C: brown 5YR 2/1, D: brown 10YR 2/1, E: brown 10YR 2/2) and of uniform moisture. NH63E sealed a brittle tan sand subsoil. This test-pit contained more artifacts—202 total—than the other 22 test-pits combined. Wire fragments and fruit seeds were found in abundance.

NH64 included the same five layers as NH63 but contained virtually no artifacts (4 total) (Figures 6.72 and 6.73). The layers sloped gently from east to west and were brown throughout (A: brown 2.5YR 3/2, B: brown 2.5YR

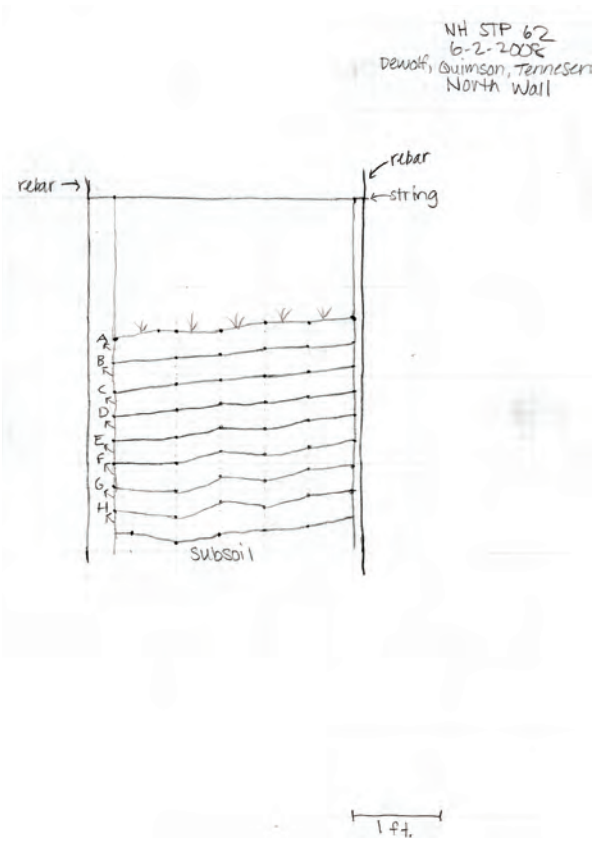


Figure 6.68. Profile map of shovel test-pit NH62's north wall.



Figure 6.69. Finishing photograph of shovel test-pit NH62.

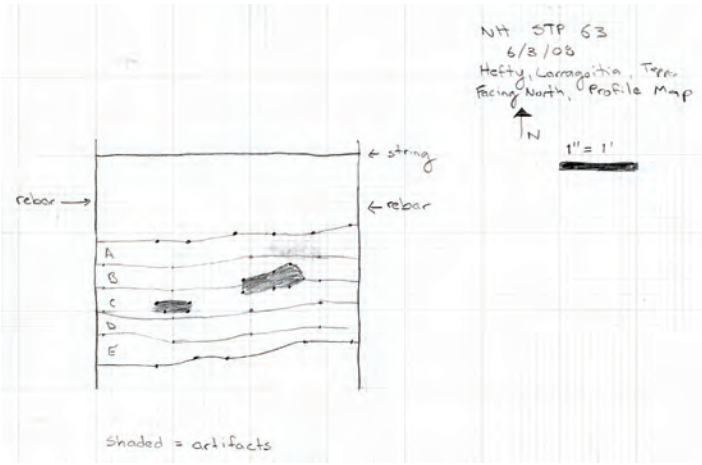


Figure 6.70. Profile map of shovel test-pit NH63's north wall.



Figure 6.71. Finishing photograph of shovel test-pit NH63.

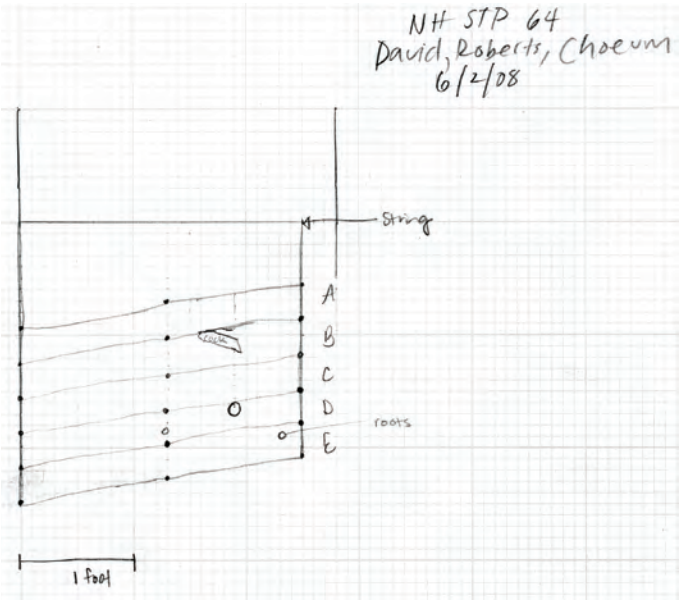


Figure 6.72. Profile map of shovel test-pit NH64's north wall.



Figure 6.73. Finishing photograph of shovel test-pit NH64.

2/2, C: brown 5YR 2/1, D: brown 10YR 2/1, E: brown 10YR 2/2). None of the strata had inclusions, and the only artifacts consisted of unidentifiable bone fragments. The lowest layer (NH63E) sealed a compact tan sand subsoil.

NH65 was the only shovel test-pit with no artifacts. Located at the southern edge of the test area near the road, it maintained similar stratigraphy with NH63 and 64 (Figures 6.74 and 6.75). NH65 included six relatively flat 0.3' layers of sandy fill with no inclusions. The layers were all brown (A: brown 2.5YR 3/2, B: brown 2.5YR 2/2, C: brown 10YR 2/1, D: brown 10YR 3/2, E: brown 5YR 2/2, F: brown 10YR 2/1), above a gritty tan subsoil.

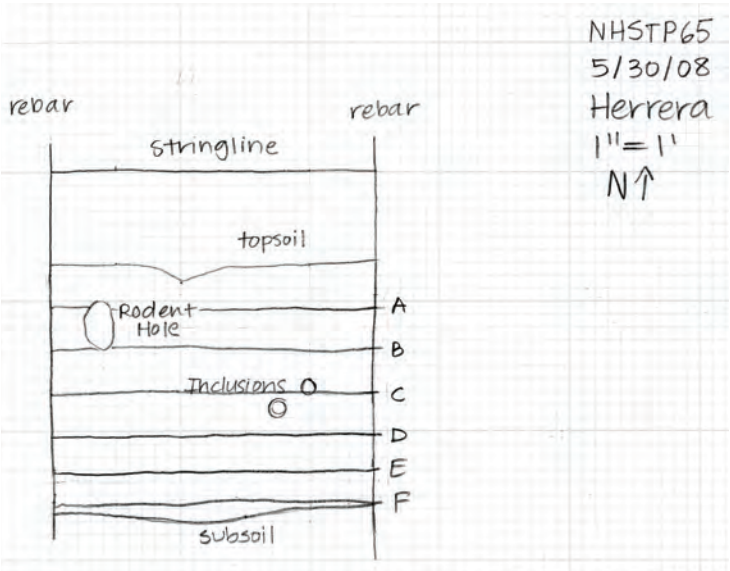


Figure 6.74. Profile map of shovel test-pit NH65's north wall.



Figure 6.75. Finishing photograph of shovel test-pit NH65.

NH66 was at the northern edge of Transect III. If the east/west patio trench was extended 5.0' to the west it would encompass this shovel test-pit. NH66 was very similar in stratigraphy and artifact content (99 total) to the patio-area units at the west edge of the site. It included five layers of uniform 0.3' depth, each sloped to the west (Figures 6.76 and 6.77). The strata were each different shades of brown (A: brown 10YR 3/2, B: brown 5YR 2/2, C:

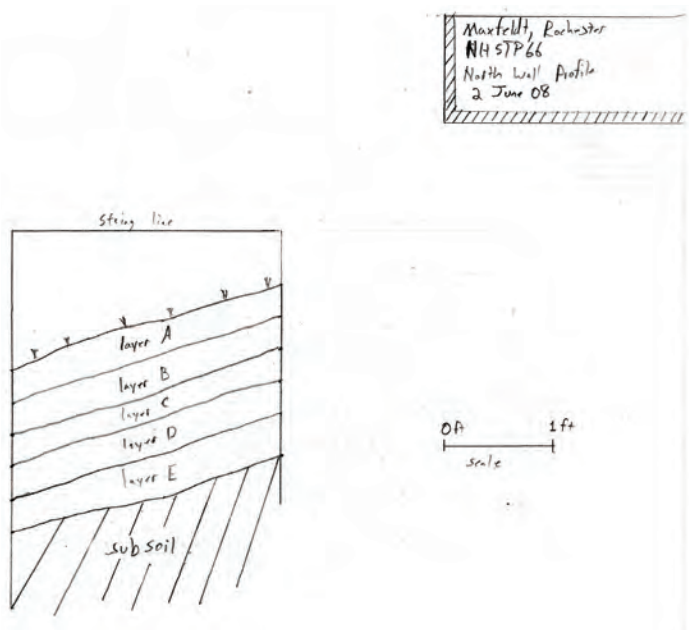


Figure 6.76. Profile map of shovel test-pit NH66's north wall.



Figure 6.77. Finishing photograph of shovel test-pit NH66.

brown 10YR 2/1, D: brown 10YR 3/5, E: brown 2.5YR 2/2, F: brown 2.5YR 3/2). The lowest layer (NH66F) sealed a compact tan subsoil.

The shovel test-pits in Transect III followed a bi-modal spatial pattern moving north to south. The unit to the extreme north, which was in reality merely an extension of the main cabin's patio area, was artifact rich. The artifact densities gradually dropped 20-40' to the south before peaking again in NH63. The two test-pits to the south of NH63, like all of the STPs to the south of the N10,010 line, were artifact poor. Transect III pinpointed the only artifact hotspot in the survey area, directly in the center of the ravine to the south of the western edge of the patio. This artifact locus, however, was dominated by wire fragments and seeds as opposed to traditional domestic refuse.

Transect IV (NH67-73)

Transect IV consisted of the westernmost seven shovel test-pits. They were at the base of a steep slope rising to the west, making it highly unlikely that any refuse was deposited beyond this transect to the west. The seven STPs extended from the site area to the road at the base of the rise. The transect followed a small natural gulch, evinced by the many small cobbles that surrounded each of the STPs in this line (E9,860).

NH67 was 65.0' west of the main cabin's southwest corner (Figures 6.78 and 6.79). Although relatively close to the patio area and to one of the most artifact-dense shovel test-pits (NH66), it had virtually no artifacts (3 total). The top layer (NH67A) consisted of ashy sand and clearly reflected the recent Poomacha fire that swept across Palomar Mountain. NH67A was gray-brown (10YR 3/2) and thicker on its eastern edge. The next three layers were reminiscent of the other shovel test-pit strata found in the area; they were 0.3' in depth, relatively flat, and progressed in color from dark brown to light brown (B: dark brown 5YR 2/1, C: brown 10YR 2/2, D: light brown 10YR 4/2). These layers had no inclusions, and the bottom stratum (NH67D) sealed subsoil, which contained very large rocks that covered most of the base of the test-pit.

The layers in NH68 were nearly identical to NH67. NH68 contained four strata; the first was brown/grey ash (A: 10YR 3/2) and the next three were dark brown, brown, and light brown sand (B: dark brown 5YR 2/1, C: brown 10YR 2/2, D: light brown 10YR 4/2) (Figures 6.80 and 6.81). Each of the layers tipped down slightly to the west and contained no inclusions. There was a large rock on the western base of the STP and a large root on the eastern base, making the profile somewhat limited. Unlike NH68, NH67 contained a modest amount of artifacts (16 total).

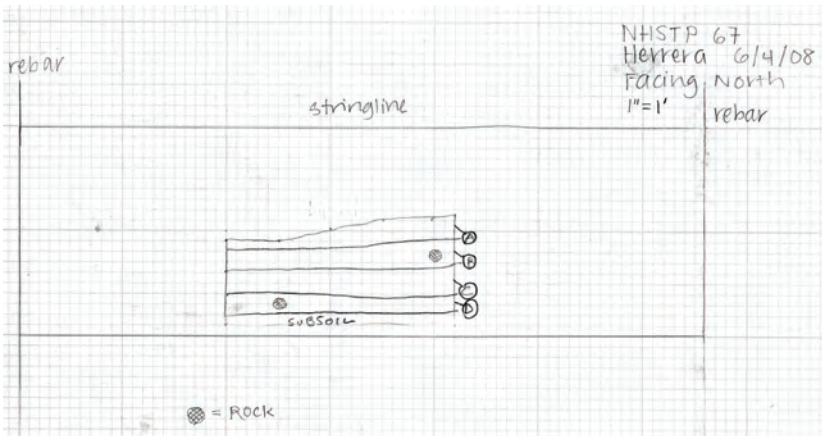


Figure 6.78. Profile map of shovel test-pit NH67's north wall.



Figure 6.79. Finishing photograph of shovel test-pit NH67.

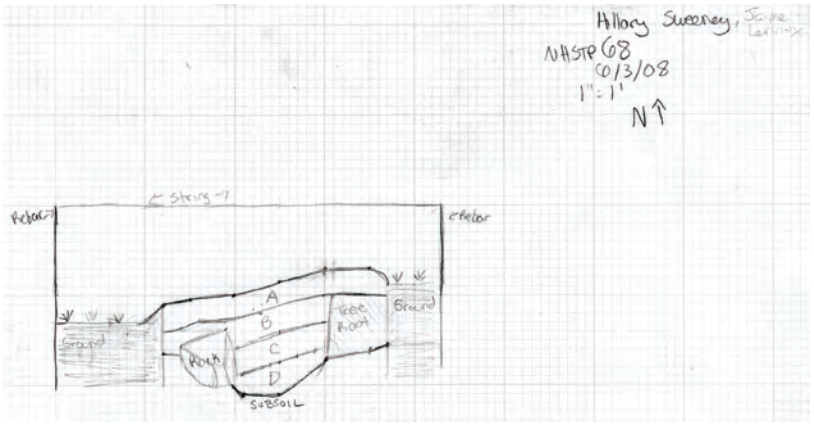


Figure 6.80. Profile map of shovel test-pit NH68's north wall.



Figure 6.81. Finishing photograph of shovel test-pit NH68.

NH69 pitched up in the center of the test-pit, resulting in concave layers (Figures 6.82 and 6.83). This test-pit did not have a top ashy layer. Its three layers (A: dark brown 5YR 2/1, B: brown 10YR 2/2, and C: light brown 10YR 4/2) paralleled the second, third, and fourth strata of NH67 and 68. NH69 contained 12 artifacts. Its bottom layer (NH69C) sealed a brittle and compact tan sand with large rocks.

NH70 was a relatively flat shovel test-pit with four 0.3' deep layers (Figures 6.84 and 6.85). These strata had no inclusions and consisted of sandy fill. Ranging from dark brown to light brown, top to bottom (A: dark brown 10YR 2/1, B: brown 10YR 3/1, C: light brown 10YR 4/2, D: light brown 5YR 3/2), the layers of NH70 followed similar stratigraphic patterns of adjacent units to the north and east. The bottom layer (NH70D) contained many large rocks and sealed a compact tan sand subsoil. Overall, 8 total artifacts were uncovered in NH70 .

The three strata that made up NH71 were flat 0.3' deep, and strikingly similar to the layers seen across the survey area in the test pits with low-artifact densities. NH71A was dark brown (10YR 2/1) sand, 71B was brown (10YR4/2) sand, and 71C was tan (10YR 3/2) sand with many rocks (Figures 6.86 and 6.87). The gritty tan-sand subsoil had sizeable rocks across the entire test-pit. All of the layers of NH71 together contained only 4 artifacts.

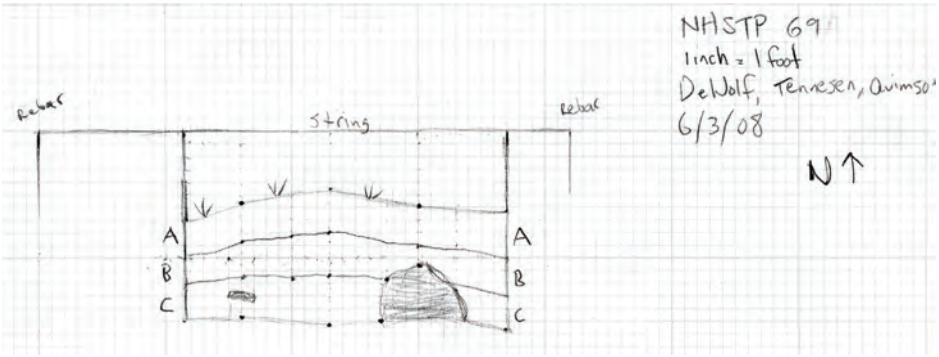


Figure 6.82. Profile map of shovel test-pit NH69's north wall.



Figure 6.83. Finishing photograph of shovel test-pit NH69.

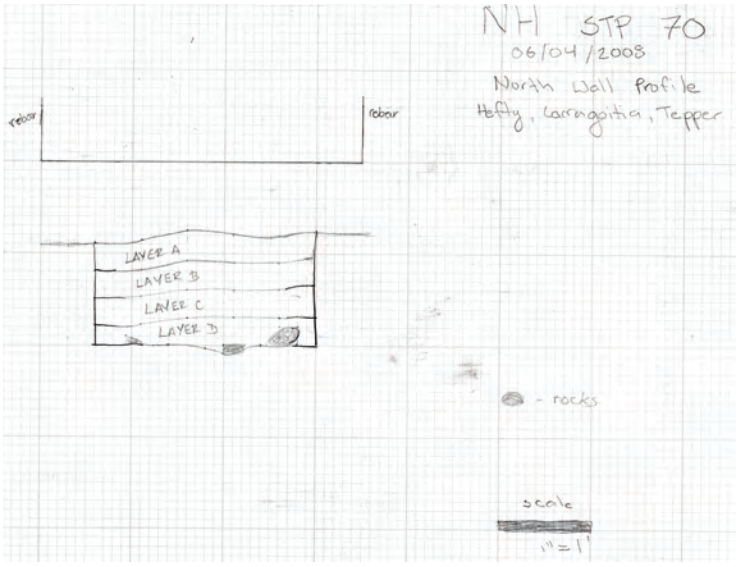


Figure 6.84. Profile map of shovel test-pit NH70's north wall.



Figure 6.85. Finishing photograph of shovel test-pit NH70.

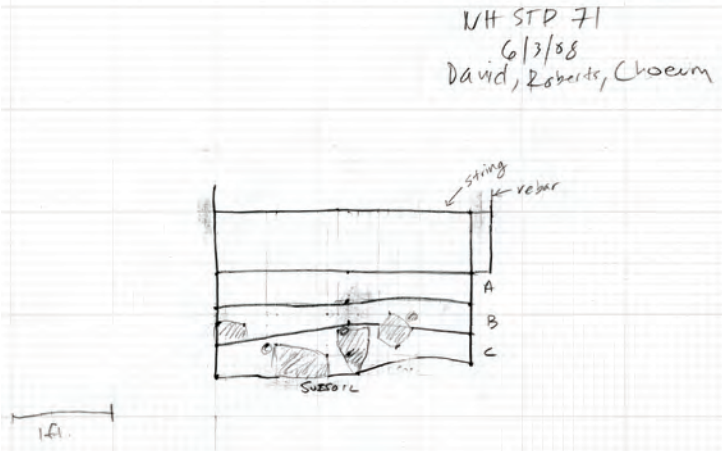


Figure 6.86. Profile map of shovel test-pit NH71's north wall.



Figure 6.87. Finishing photograph of shovel test-pit NH71.

NH72 contained a large tree stump in its northeast corner that took up more than half of the north profile and more than three-quarters of the entire shovel test-pit (Figures 6.88 and 6.89). The strata within NH72 were nearly identical to NH67 and 68. The first layer was brown/grey ash (A: 10YR 3/2) and the next three were dark brown, brown, and light brown sand (B: dark brown 5YR 2/1, C: brown 10YR 2/2, D: light brown 10YR 4/2). Each of the layers tipped down significantly to the west and contained no inclusions. The bottom layer (NH72D) sealed a compact tan sand subsoil. Overall, this test-pit, which was located at the southern boundary of Transect IV near the road at the base of the hill, contained 7 artifacts.

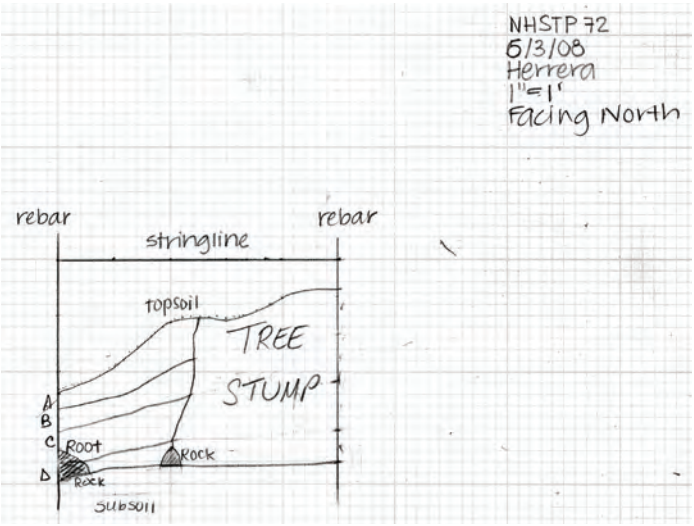


Figure 6.88. Profile map of shovel test-pit NH72's north wall.



Figure 6.89. Finishing photograph of shovel test-pit NH72.

NH73 was located at the northern edge of Transect IV; it was in-line with many of the patio area units near the cabin and relatively close to NH79, a shovel test-pit with many artifacts. Despite its close proximity to the main refuse area of the site, NH73 contained surprisingly few artifacts (4 total). As a result, this test-pit likely marked the western edge of the main patio deposit. NH73 was a relatively flat shovel test-pit with four uniformly 0.3' deep layers (Figures 6.90 and 6.91). These strata had no inclusions, consisted of sandy fill, and ranged in color from dark brown to light brown (A: dark brown 10YR 2/1, B: brown 10YR 3/1, C: light brown 10YR 4/2, D: light brown 5YR 3/2). The bottom layer (NH73D) contained many large rocks and sealed a compact tan sand subsoil.

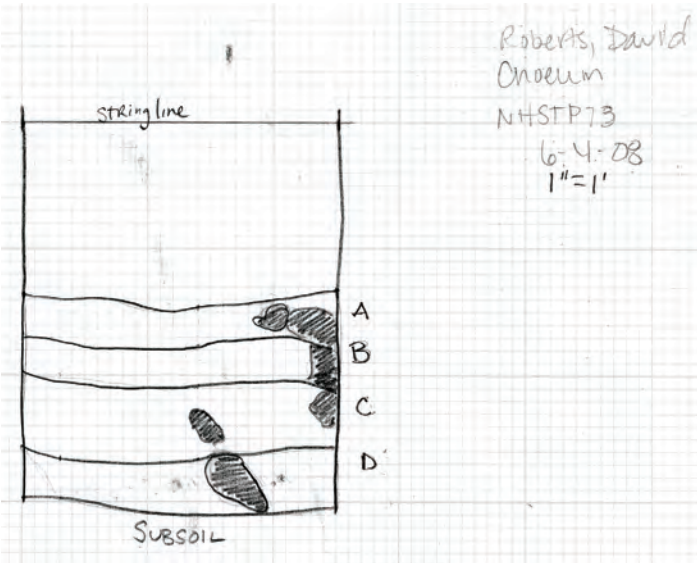


Figure 6.90. Profile map of shovel test-pit NH73's north wall.



Figure 6.91. Finishing photograph of shovel test-pit NH73.

Shovel Test-Pit Summary

The shovel test-pit survey provided many important insights into the Nate Harrison occupation at Palomar Mountain. First, it suggested clear boundaries as to the main deposits associated with the cabin and patio. Whereas NH54, 57, and 66 maintained relatively-high historical artifact concentrations and were adjacent to the cabin and patio deposits, NH55, 58, 61, 67, and 73 contained few artifacts. The arc that divides these two sets of units marks the edge of the cabin/patio deposit. Second, the shovel test-pits located an artifact concentration directly adjacent to the main cabin and patio: NH63. It is worth noting that nearly half of the 202 artifacts found in this test-pit were wire fragments. NH63 contained the highest number of seed pits (peach and apricot) of any test-pit (Figure 6.92). Drawing on this evidence, the third insight from the test-pits concerned the nature of the entire survey area. This area to the south of the cabin and patio is dominated by fencing and floral remains. Fourth, the control test-pits that were dug off-site (NH51-52) revealed that nearly every area within 200' of the site has some historical residue, but that these more peripheral regions are easily distinguished in artifact quantities from the more central points of activity. Fifth, the entire site area appears to have three general kinds of deposits: 1) units in and around the main cabin and patio-area range in depth from 2.0-4.0' and contain 3-10 natural layers, 2) units approximately 20.0-60.0' away from the main cabin and patio-area range in depth from 1.0-2.0' and most often contain 3-4 natural layers, and 3) units over 75.0' from the main cabin and patio-area range in depth from 0.5-1.0' and contain 2-3 natural layers.



Figure 6.92. One of the many peach pits found during the shovel test-pit survey (Courtesy Trevor Prough).



Figure 6.93. The second structure was uncovered on a flat area at the base of the hill leading up to the main cabin. Note the charred trees from the fire the previous fall.

Structure II (NH74-85)

The 2007 Poomacha fire burned off much of the undergrowth around the Nate Harrison site and revealed a second stone structure approximately 300' to the south of the main cabin (Figure 6.93). A series of partially scorched trees bordered an 8.0' section of stone wall made from large cobbles nearly identical to the shape, size, and stacking formation as the rocks of the foundation and walls of the Harrison cabin (Figure 6.94). A large heavily-rusted metal can, likely from the early 20th century, was found next to the wall.

The field crew removed the charred trees and undergrowth and then proceeded to complete plan and profile maps of the stone structure (Figure 6.95). Triangulating off three nearby grid points (N9,760 E 9,930; N9,9750 E9,930; N9,740 E9,930) that were tied to the primary datum near the cabin along the E9,930 transect line, students completed a rock-by-rock plan map (Figure 6.96). The wall was oriented approximately 10° east of grid north/south. The profile map of the eastern exterior face of the stone wall revealed that much of the above ground 8.0' section consisted of 4-6 stacked stones, ranging in size from 0.5-2.0' in length (Figure 6.97). The stacked stones were relatively flat along the base and mounded in the middle.



Figure 6.94. Before any trees were removed and any soil was excavated, the wall section appeared to be 2.5' wide and form a right angle near the base of an intrusive burnt tree.



Figure 6.95. Two teams of graduate students map the second structure before excavation. Matthew Maxfeldt (far left) and Stephen Rochester (second from left) compile a rock-by-rock plan map of the stone wall, while Shelby Gunderman (second from right) and Kristin Tennesen (far right) complete the profile map of the wall's eastern face.

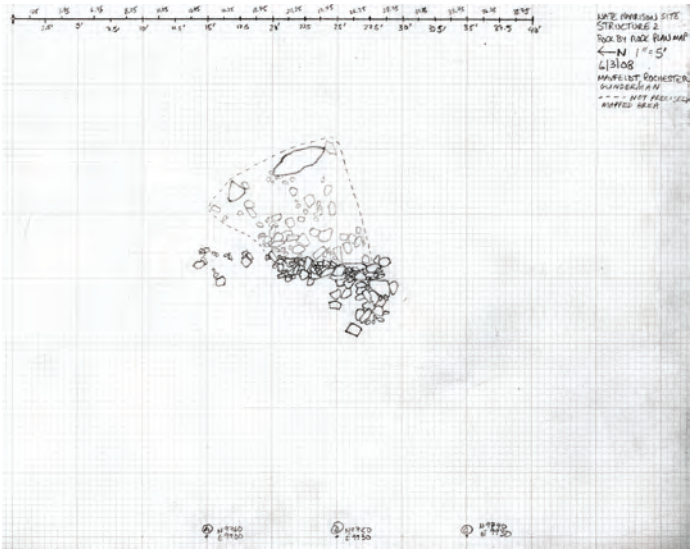


Figure 6.96. Pre-excavation plan map of Structure II. The rocks in the area bounded by dotted lines were located on the face of the very steep hill below the wall. It is highly unlikely that these stones are in their original context.

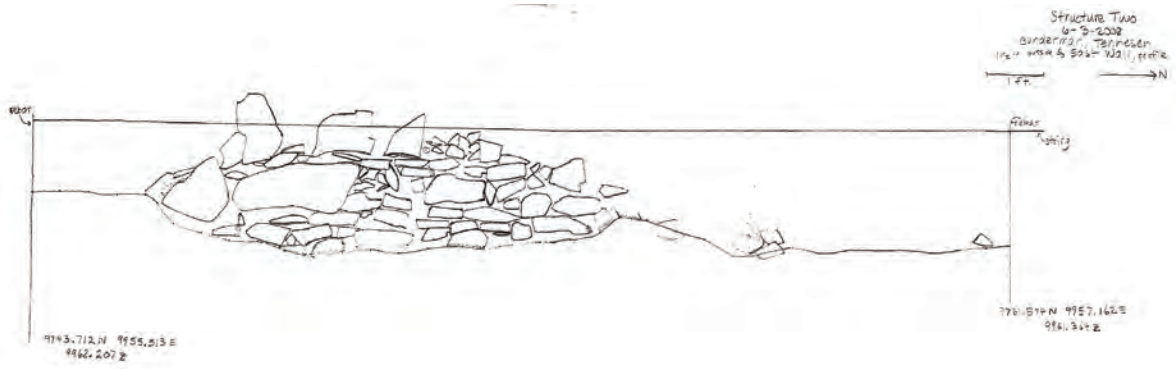
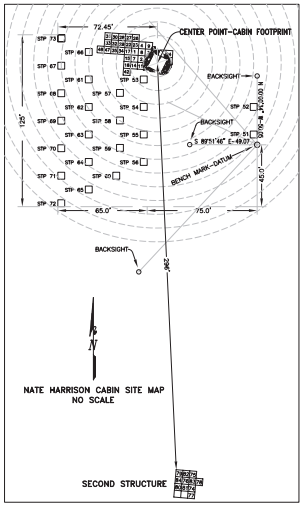


Figure 6.97. Pre-excavation profile map of Structure II wall, exterior eastern face.

Just as the units inside of the main cabin were oriented to the remains of the standing structure and not to grid lines, the excavation units that were placed to investigate Structure II were aligned to the stone wall and not to grid north. In total, the field crew dug 11 5.0' by 5.0' units in the Structure II excavation area (Figure 6.98). The above-ground wall appeared to face west for two reasons. First, it formed a right angle at its southern and western extreme, creating an interior corner open to the west. Second, the very steep ravine immediately to the east of the wall strongly intimated that the main activity area was to the west. As a result, 10 of the 11 units were placed adjacent and to the west side of the wall, while only one was placed adjacent and to the east. Collectively, nine of the ten units to the west formed a 15.0' square centered on the midpoint of the wall. The one unit on the southern edge was adjacent to the corner. The initial four units, NH74-77, were dug in a checkerboard pattern—just like the initial main cabin and main-cabin patio-area units in 2004—maximizing the number of profile maps that could be completed. As a result, two sets of north/south and east/west profiles were drawn for the 10-unit area to the west of the wall. All of the units in the Structure II excavation area were dug with trowels by natural layers when evident. If no natural division between strata was apparent, the units were excavated in 0.3' levels following the contour of the land.

NATE HARRISON CABIN SITE
CHEMICAL ANALYSIS–SECOND STRUCTURE UNITS



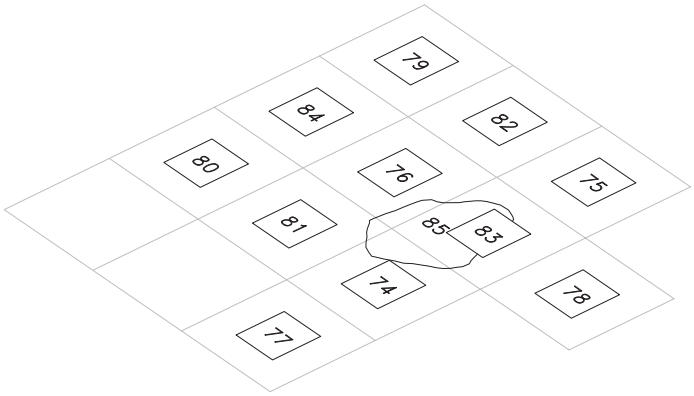


Figure 6.98. Plan map of Structure II excavation-area units.

The stratigraphy across the Structure II excavation area (NH74-77, 79-84) was relatively uniform. The top "A" layer consisted of brown (10YR 3/2) sandy sand and was dug to a depth of 0.3'. The "B" layer was indistinguishable from "A" in terms of soil color, type, and texture. It too was 0.3' deep and sealed a more compact tan sand with many rocks. The "A" and "B" layers contained extensive charcoal inclusions and rocks as well. Artifacts from the "A" and "B" layers included a mix of historical items (glass, metal, and high-fired glazed ceramics) and items that were likely prehistoric (chipped stone). A "C" layer was dug in two of the units (NH77 and 80). It strongly resembled the subsoil found at the main cabin site in terms of soil color, type, and texture. Neither of the "C" layers contained any definitively historical artifacts; both had a few pieces of chipped stone that were likely deposited well before Nate Harrison arrived on Palomar Mountain.

The first north/south profile (from north to south) included the west wall of NH82, the west wall of NH76, and the east wall of NH80 (Figures 6.99-6.101). The second north/south profile was 5.0' to the east of the first; it consisted of the west wall of NH75, the east wall of NH76, the west wall of NH74, and the west wall of NH77 (Figures 6.102-6.105). There was little difference between these two sets of maps.

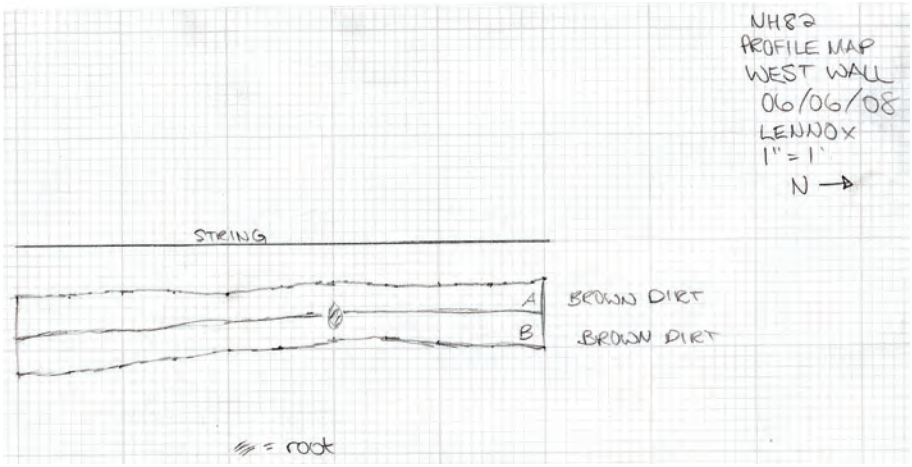


Figure 6.99. Structure II's first north/south profile; profile map of NH82's west wall.

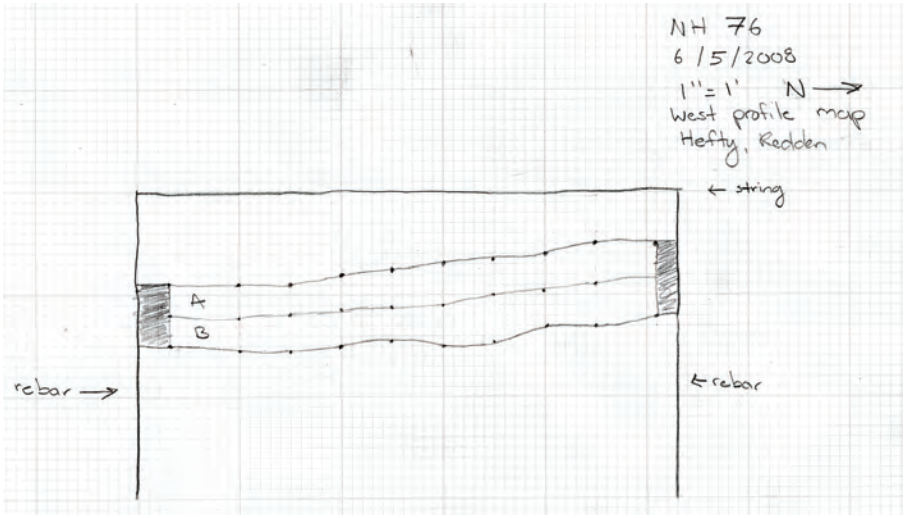


Figure 6.100. Structure II's first north/south profile; profile map of NH76's west wall.

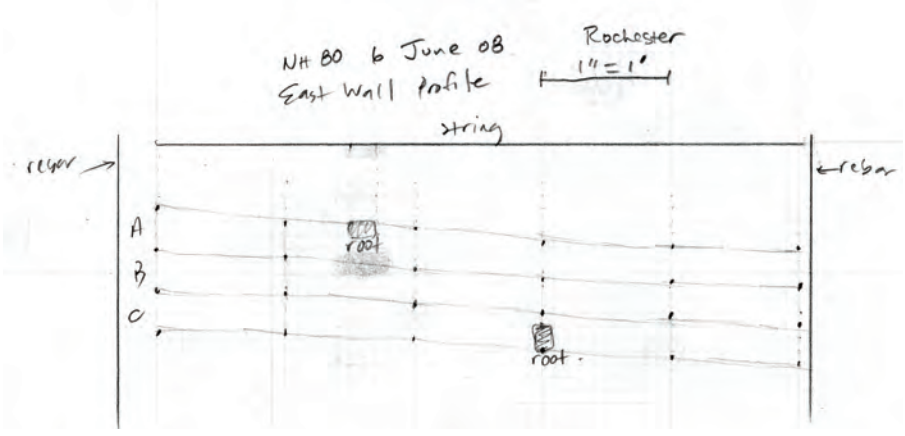


Figure 6.101. Structure II's first north/south profile; profile map of NH80's east wall.

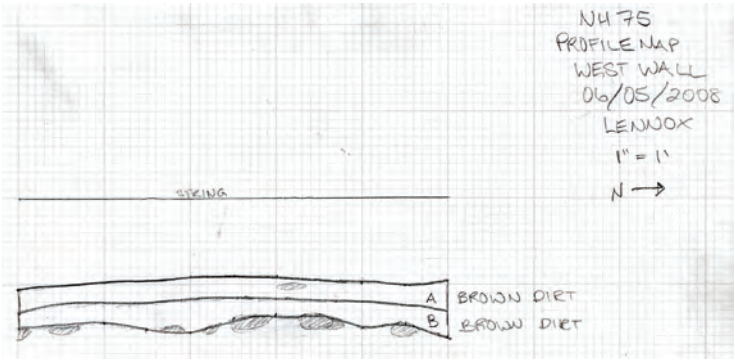


Figure 6.102. Structure II's second north/south profile; profile map of NH75's west wall.

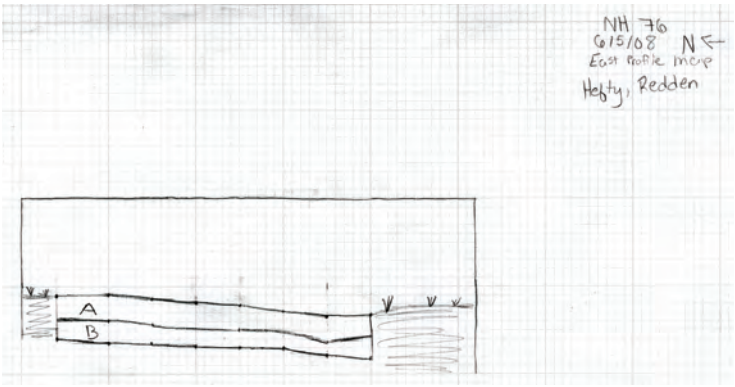


Figure 6.103. Structure II's second north/south profile; profile map of NH76's east wall.

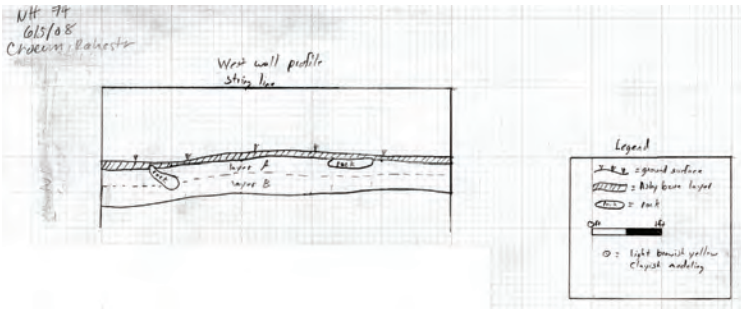


Figure 6.104. Structure II's second north/south profile; profile map of NH74's west wall.

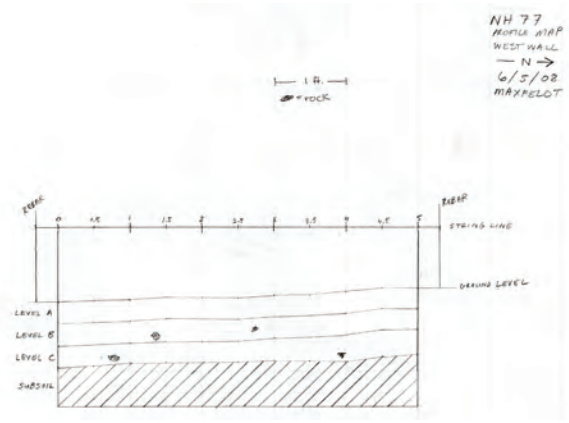


Figure 6.105. Structure II's second north/south profile; profile map of NH77's west wall.

The first east/west profile (from west to east) included the south wall of NH79, the north wall of NH76, and the south wall of NH75 (Figures 6.106-6.108). The second east/west profile was 5.0' to the south of the first; it consisted of the north wall of NH80, the south wall of NH76, and the north wall of NH74 (Figures 6.109-6.111). Both profiles showed the terrain tilting down significantly to the east approaching Structure II.

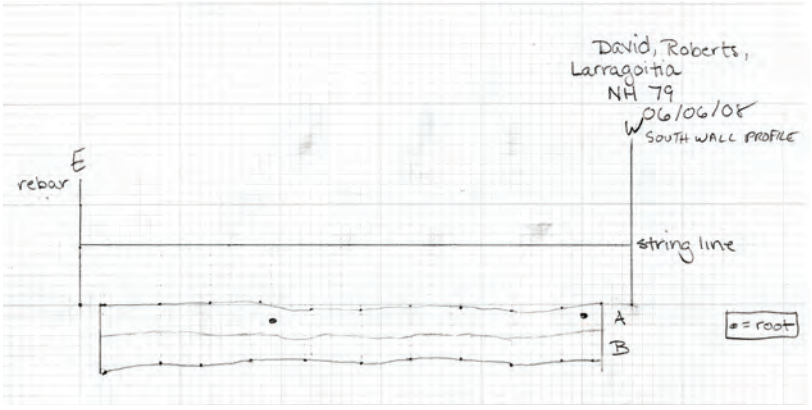


Figure 6.106. Structure II's first east/west profile; profile map of NH79's south wall.

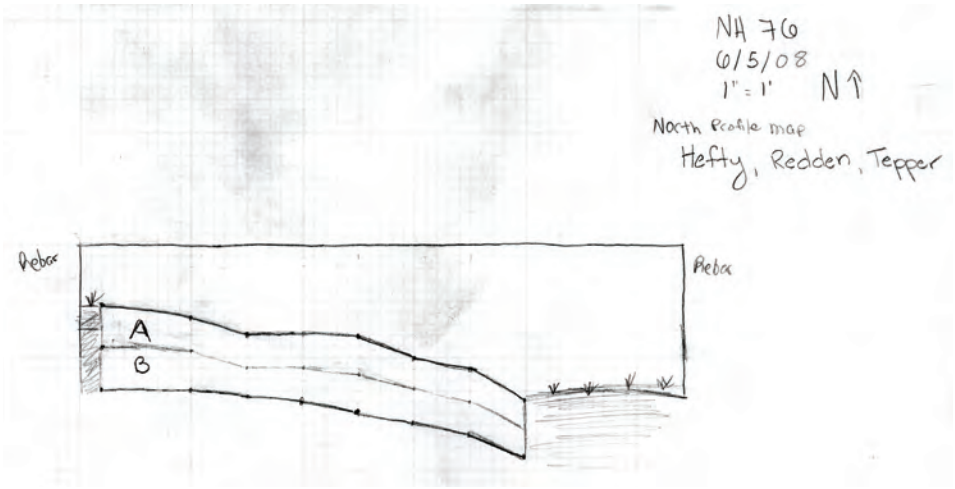


Figure 6.107. Structure II's first east/west profile; profile map of NH76's north wall.

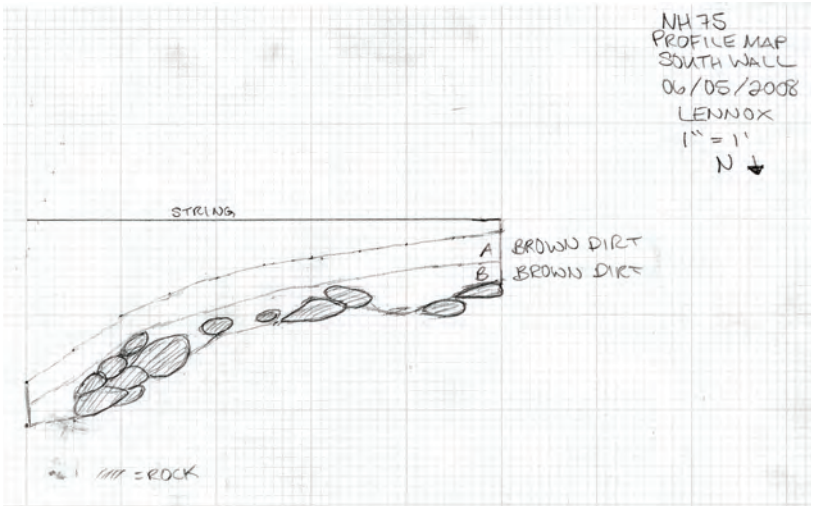


Figure 6.108. Structure II's first east/west profile; profile map of NH75's south wall.

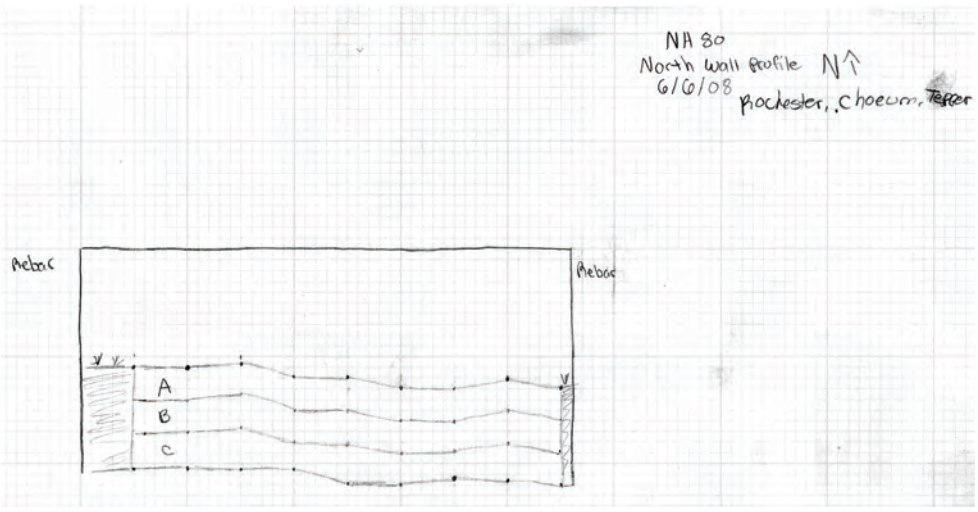


Figure 6.109. Structure II's second east/west profile; profile map of NH80's north wall.

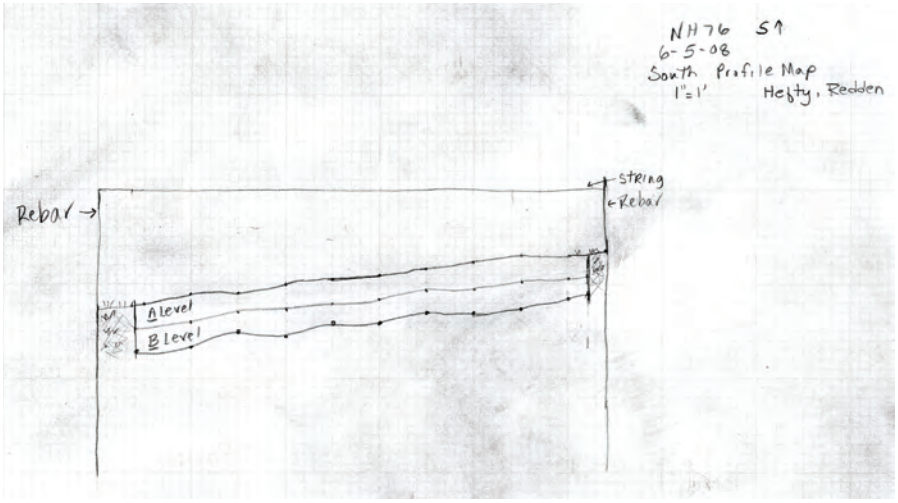


Figure 6.110. Structure II's second east/west profile; profile map of NH76's south wall.

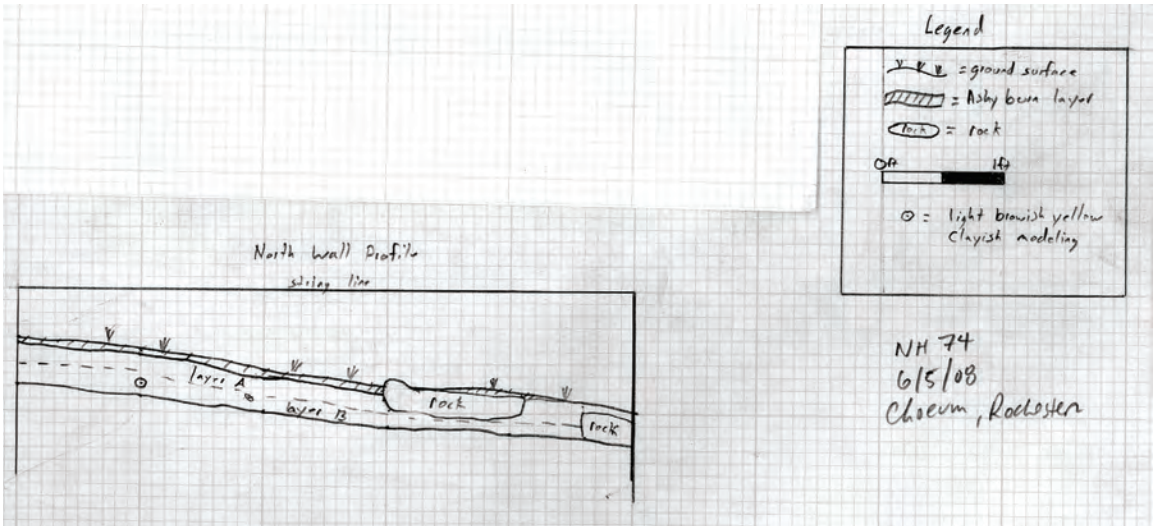


Figure 6.111. Structure II's second east/west profile; profile map of NH74's north wall.

NH78, the only unit to the east of the wall, contained a single 0.3' layer of brown (10YR 3/2) sandy sand. There was no B layer; NH78A sealed the gritty tan subsoil. This unit sloped very steeply down the ravine to the east of the wall.

Once the eleven units in the Structure II excavation area were dug down to the base of the B layer, a large amorphous stain was noted at the intersection of NH74, 76, 81, and 83 (Figure 6.112). This feature was pear-shaped; it measured approximately 5.0' north/south and 5.0' east/west but was twice as wide at the southern end than at the northern end. This sub-surface context was assigned the ER designation NH85 and mapped (Figure 6.113). It contained two apparent layers, an inner yellow/orange (NH85A: 10YR 7/6) clay area that likely consisted of fire-affected soil and an outer gray/tan (NH85B: 10YR 5/3) sand with much charcoal.



Figure 6.112. Photograph of Structure II excavation area once "A" and "B" layers had been excavated. Note the slight soil discoloration—NH85—to the northwest of the trowel.

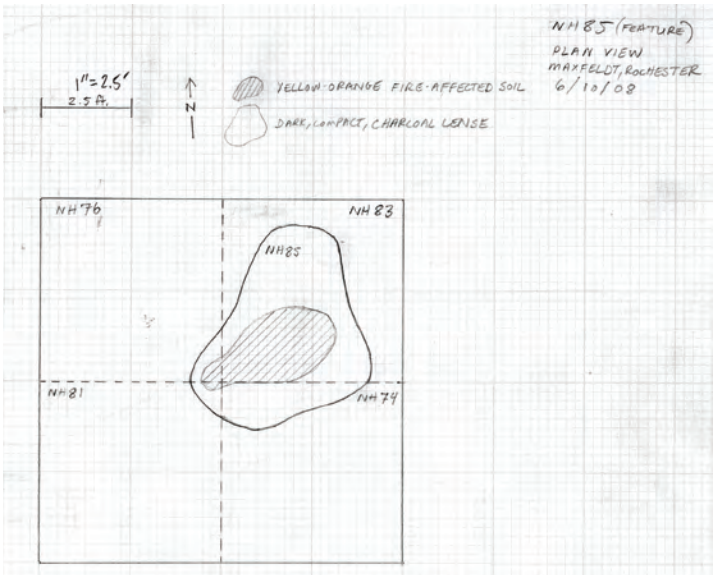


Figure 6.113. Plan map of NH85 at base of NH74B, 76B, 81B, and 83B.

Excavation of the feature revealed that it was shallow (less than 0.5' deep) and dish-shaped in profile (Figures 6.114 and 6.115). Furthermore, NH85A was not a typical layer. Although this clay was mostly concentrated in the top center of the feature, additional lumps appeared at its base. NH85B had many large rocks at its base, and none were fire altered. By the time the feature was completely excavated, the stones at the base of the feature blended in with the surrounding rocks that marked both debris that had likely fallen from the stone wall and the rocky interface between B layer contexts in the Structure II excavation area and the lithic-rich subsoil (Figures 6.116 and 6.117).

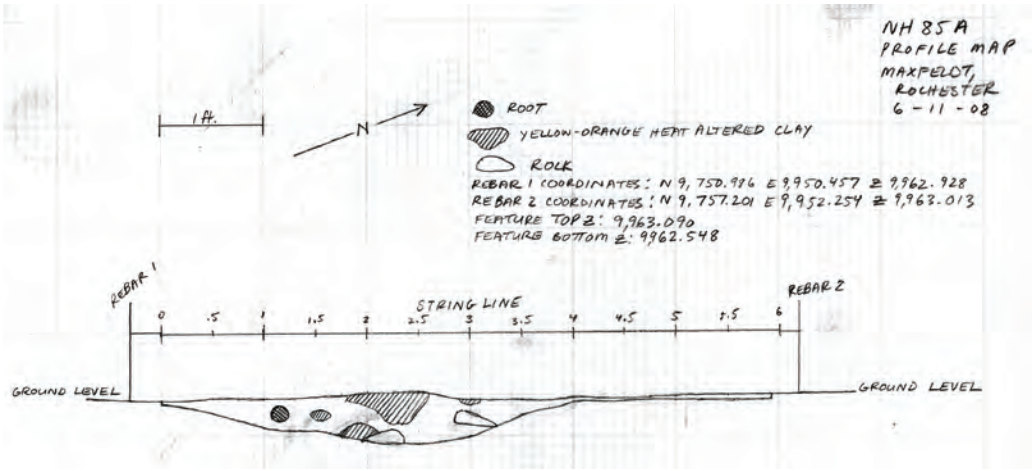


Figure 6.114. Profile map of NH85's west wall.



Figure 6.115. Photograph of NH85 profile.

NH85 proved to be enigmatic. On the one hand, it was centered on the above-ground section of the stone wall and, thus, appeared to reflect activity connected with the structure. In fact, it could be argued that the debris from Structure II formed a circular arc—about 1/3 of a circle—around NH85. On the other hand, NH85 contained no definitively historical artifacts and resembled many of the prehistoric strata in adjacent or nearby units. Perhaps this area saw multiple uses, initially as a prehistoric hearth, and then later as an historical wall.

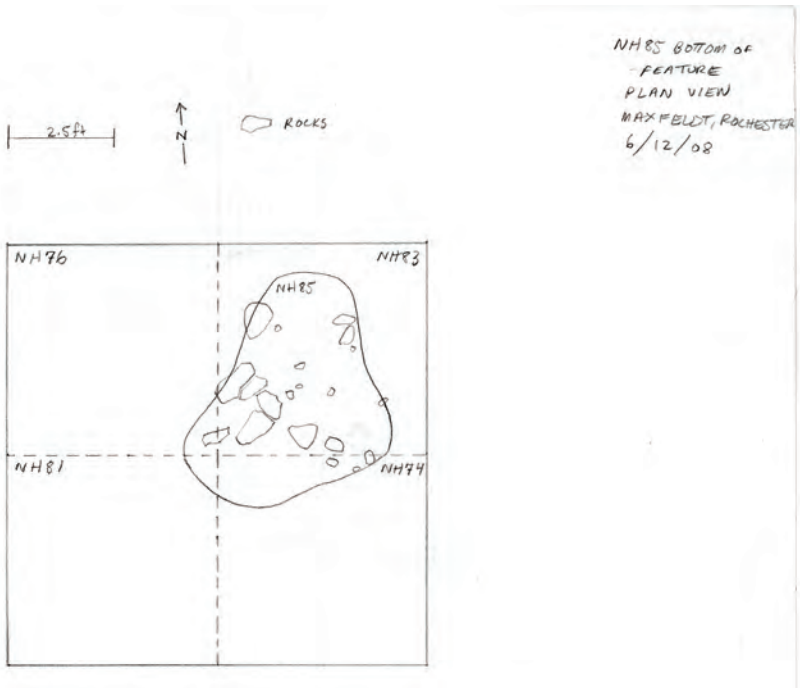


Figure 6.116. Plan map of NH85 at base of feature.



Figure 6.117. Photograph of NH85 at base of feature.

Structure II Summary

As is discussed in the following analysis section, historical artifacts clustered about the stone wall, strongly suggesting that it was contemporaneous with Nate Harrison's occupation at Palomar Mountain. Similarities in the construction of the wall intimated that the main cabin and Structure II were of the same time period. The units furthest from the wall had few historical artifacts. In fact, their respective artifact tallies and the two-layer stratigraphy containing historical material resembled the shovel test pits that were over 75.0' from the main cabin site. This was especially pronounced when the totals were normalized to take into account the fact that the 5.0'-square units in the Structure II excavation area were four times the size of the 2.5'-square shovel test-pits. Since no post holes of any kind were found in alignment with the stone wall and since the artifactual debris was light, it is highly unlikely that the stone wall served as any sort of house, shed, or industrial area with multiple extended walls and a roof. It does appear to be an activity area, but the nature of which is still yet to be determined. The Structure II excavation units were backfilled at the end of the 2008 summer field season.

Patio-Area Excavation (NH2-4, 7-8, 11, 14, 23, 26, 28-35, 45, 47-48)

The 2008 summer field school tested additional units in the southeast, northeast, and northwest quadrants of the main cabin's patio-area. Each of these units had been started in earlier seasons. In addition, many of the patio-area units were aggressively trowel-cleaned in an effort to remove debris from the 2007 Poomacha fire that scorched much of the site. These contexts (3A, 4A, 7A, 8A, 23A, 28A, 30A, 31A, 34A, 35A, 45A, 47A, 48A) were all given "A" contexts in order to prevent potential temporal contaminants that would skew the site's chronology. In each case, students excavated the top 0.3' of fill in the unit. Some of the more spectacular finds from the summer—the 1916 dime, the Libby meat jar, and the pipe bowl (all of which are detailed in the "Selected Artifacts" section of this report)—came from these clean-up layers. Field-school participants dug the top two layers (an initial "A" clean-up layer and a secondary sealed-context layer) of three units in the southeast quadrant of the

main patio-area (NH2, 11, and 14). The layers were 0.3' in depth, consisting of grey/brown sandy sand (5YR 4/1) with charcoal inclusions. In the northeast quadrant, students excavated two units (NH23 and 26). Each of these units contained three layers (an initial "A" clean-up layer and two sealed-context layers). These strata were 0.3' in depth, consisted of grey/brown and brown sandy sand (B: 5YR 4/1 and C: 10YR 3/1), and contained few artifacts and no inclusions. The units in the northwest quadrant of the patio area (NH32-33) were the most artifact-rich. These units were adjacent to the four westernmost units in the east/west patio trench (NH34-35, 47-48) that had the highest artifact density for the entire site (Figure 6.118). NH32 and 33 contained an initial "A" clean-up layer, and two sealed contexts. The strata measured 0.3' in depth and consisted of grey/brown and brown sandy sand (B: 5YR 4/1 and C: 10YR 3/1). None of the patio-area contexts excavated during the summer of 2008 sealed subsoil. As a result, no profile maps or finishing photographs were recorded.



Figure 6.118. SDSU graduate student Shelby Gunderman excavates a tobacco can and a sheep mandible from the artifact-rich patio-area units at the western edge of the main cabin site.

Patio Trenches Summary

Continuing work in the patio area supported the conclusions of the previous field seasons. This area of the site has remarkably uniform stratigraphy. Furthermore, multiple cross-mends temporally unite nearly every excavated context in the patio. Since every unit in the area is riddled with rodent holes, the line between undisturbed subsoil and cultural fill is somewhat blurred. The units of the trenches show that both the fill and subsoil slant downward to the southwest. Furthermore, rocks are fairly uniform throughout the area.

Excavation Summary

In the summer of 2008, field school participants moved over 600 cubic feet of dirt (300+ cubic feet in the STP survey, 150+ cubic feet in the Structure II excavation area, and 150+ cubic feet in the main cabin's patio area). The crew completed a shovel test-pit survey of the area surrounding the main cabin and identified at least one significant artifact locus. They also excavated a second structure hundreds of feet south of the main cabin. In addition, the field school further investigated the artifact-rich patio area to the west of Nate Harrison's cabin. There were many insights from the crew's hard work. First, results from the STP survey emphasized that the main cabin's patio area is still the primary locus of Harrison's historical activity. Second, the survey identified the general boundaries of the site. Third, it pinpointed the likely location of Harrison's orchard. Fourth, excavation units in the vicinity of Structure II, the above-ground stone wall, revealed that this area was an additional activity area during Harrison's time. And fifth, excavation in the main cabin's patio-area indicated that this artifact-rich deposit continues further to the west.

6.6 Analyses and Interpretations

During the 2008 field season session, students excavated at the site for three weeks and then processed artifacts in the SDSU North American Archaeology Laboratory in the Dede Alpert Center for Community Engagement in City Heights during a fourth week. The following section of this report offers preliminary analyses and interpretations of the site and its material assemblage. It emphasizes change in form over time and space, focusing primarily on insights gleaned from the 2008 field season but occasionally summarizing the five years of excavation at the site.

In the summer of 2008, the field-school students at the Nate Harrison site recovered 2,954 artifacts. Fewer artifacts were found at the site during the 2008 field season than in any of the previous four excavation seasons, suggesting that a majority of the primary historical deposits and core activity areas have been previously unearthed. Overall, the following analyses definitively establish that a small number of inhabitants occupied the Nate Harrison site during the late 1800s and early 1900s. The artifact assemblage reveals a singular occupation at the main cabin.

Time

Since the field school conducted work in three separate areas of the site, use and production date ranges for the artifact types found had to be—at least initially—compiled separately. Following analytic protocol established in previous Nate Harrison technical reports, artifact date ranges are based on the earliest end-of-production date and the latest start-of-production date for any artifact in the given assemblage. Date-range intersections for materials uncovered during the shovel test-pit survey establish that the large area to the west and south of the main cabin was occupied from 1890 to 1922 (Figure 6.119). Sherds of undecorated whiteware made from 1820 to 1890 provide the occupation start date for the STP survey units. A fired rifle cartridge with an "F.C." stamp, first made in1922, establishes the end date and also serves as the TPQ for the area.

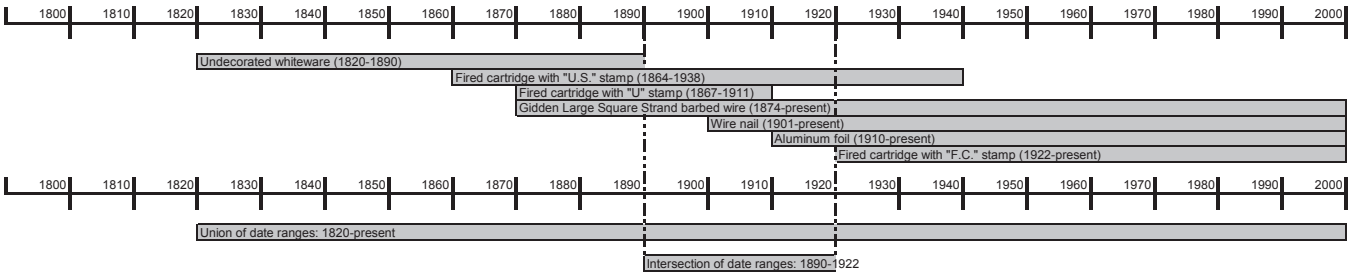


Figure 6.119. Artifact date ranges based on materials found during the 2008 field season—shovel test-pit survey.

Artifacts from the Structure II excavation area produced date-range intersections that are virtually identical to those established at the main cabin site in previous technical reports. The area in and around Structure II was used from 1865 to 1912 (Figure 6.120). Shell buttons with sunken panels that were made from 1837-1865 provide the occupation start date for the site. However, since clothing is frequently handed down between individuals and often exhibits an extended use life, this date is somewhat tentative. A more reliable start date is the undecorated whiteware end-of-production date (1890). Similar to the STP survey units, a fired rifle cartridge, stamped "REM-UMC NITRO CLUB No 12"—first made in1912—secures the end date and TPQ for Structure II as 1912.

The main-cabin patio-area units that were excavated in 2008 produced an artifact date-range intersection of 1875-1916 (Figure 6.121). This range is very similar to the chronologies established by temporal analyses of artifacts from previous excavation seasons. A fired cartridge with an "H" stamp that was not produced after 1875 provides the occupation start date for the 2008 patio-area units. The 1916 Liberty dime serves as an end date and TPQ.

Cumulative date range intersections from all five summers (2004-2008) reveal the same occupation pattern (Figure 6.122). With a few isolated off-site finds as exceptions, the artifacts clearly show a singular occupation at

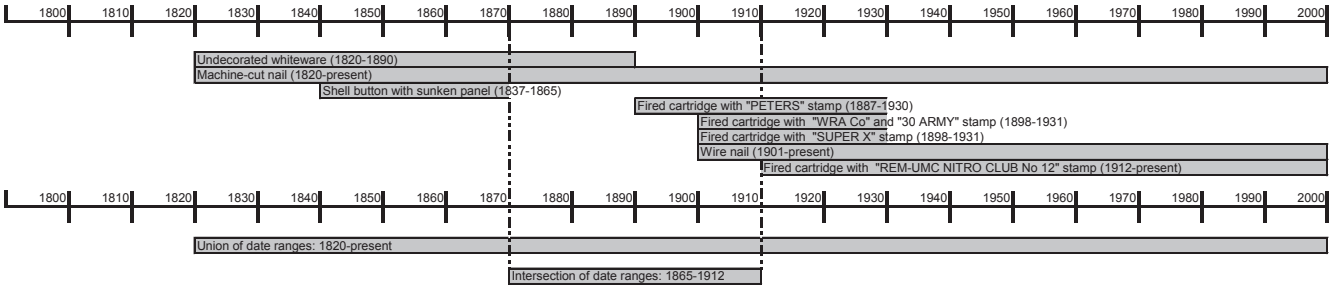


Figure 6.120. Artifact date ranges based on materials found during the 2008 field season—Structure II.

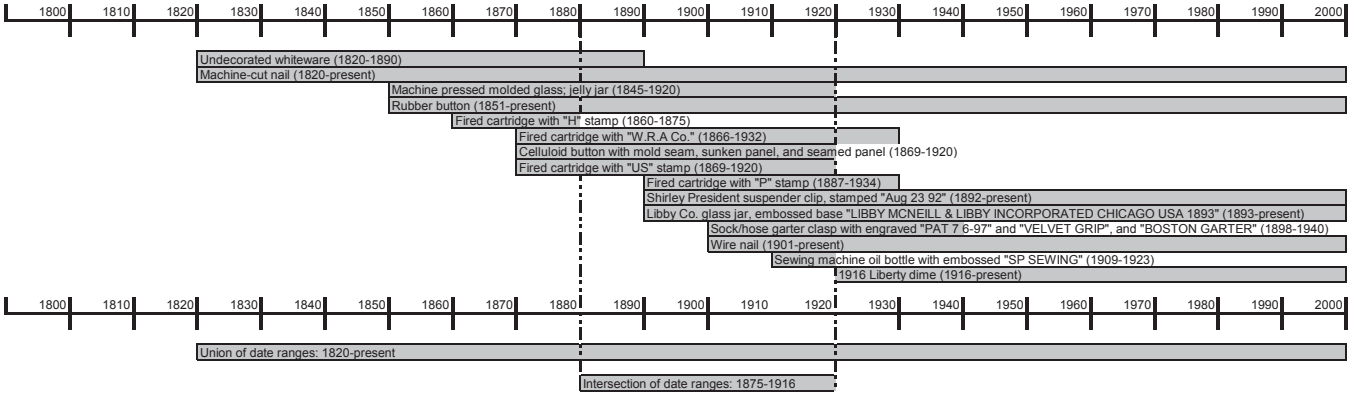


Figure 6.121. Artifact date ranges based on materials found during the 2008 field season—Main cabin (Structure I) area.

the site during the last quarter of the 19th century and the first quarter of the 20th century. Various coins, bottles, buttons, cartridges, and thousands of other finds reveal that the site was inhabited from 1865-1916. Shell buttons with sunken panels provide the start date and two 1916 coins serve as end date and TPQ for the site. Contrary to many of the established stories of Nate Harrison and his time on Palomar Mountain, none of the artifacts definitively point to a pre-1865 occupation date at the site.

Space

As discussed earlier, results from the shovel test-pit survey identified a spatial pattern across the area to the south and west of the main cabin area. STPs within 20.0' of the cabin averaged 3.0' in depth and often contained five or more natural layers. Test-pits between 20.0' and 60.0' from the Harrison cabin were usually 1.5' deep and included 3-4 natural strata. Units over 75.0' from the main cabin area, including the squares in the Structure II excavation area, ranged in depth from 0.5-1.0' and contained 2-3 natural layers. The units in structure II reflected an additional spatial pattern as well. Each of the units adjacent to the stone wall contained more definitively historical artifacts than those that were likely prehistoric (Figure 6.123). Conversely, units that were at least 5.0' from Structure II contained more probable prehistoric artifacts than historical finds.

Soil Chemistry Analyses

Chemical analyses of soil at archaeological sites often provide numerous insights into past activities and lifeways. Elevated levels of various elements can pinpoint occupation areas, disposal practices, and specific behaviors (Lambert 1997). Although archaeologists usually focus most of their attention on features and artifacts, recent studies have shown the remarkable amount of information in the site's soil itself. For example, through soil chemical analyses, Ascher and Fairbanks (1971) located the living surfaces and fireplace of a Georgia slave cabin, Keeler (1978) identified primary waste-dumping areas as well as broadcast tendencies in the 17th-century Chesapeake, Mallios (2000) pinpointed differential room layout and use in Jamestown's early 1600's hinterland,

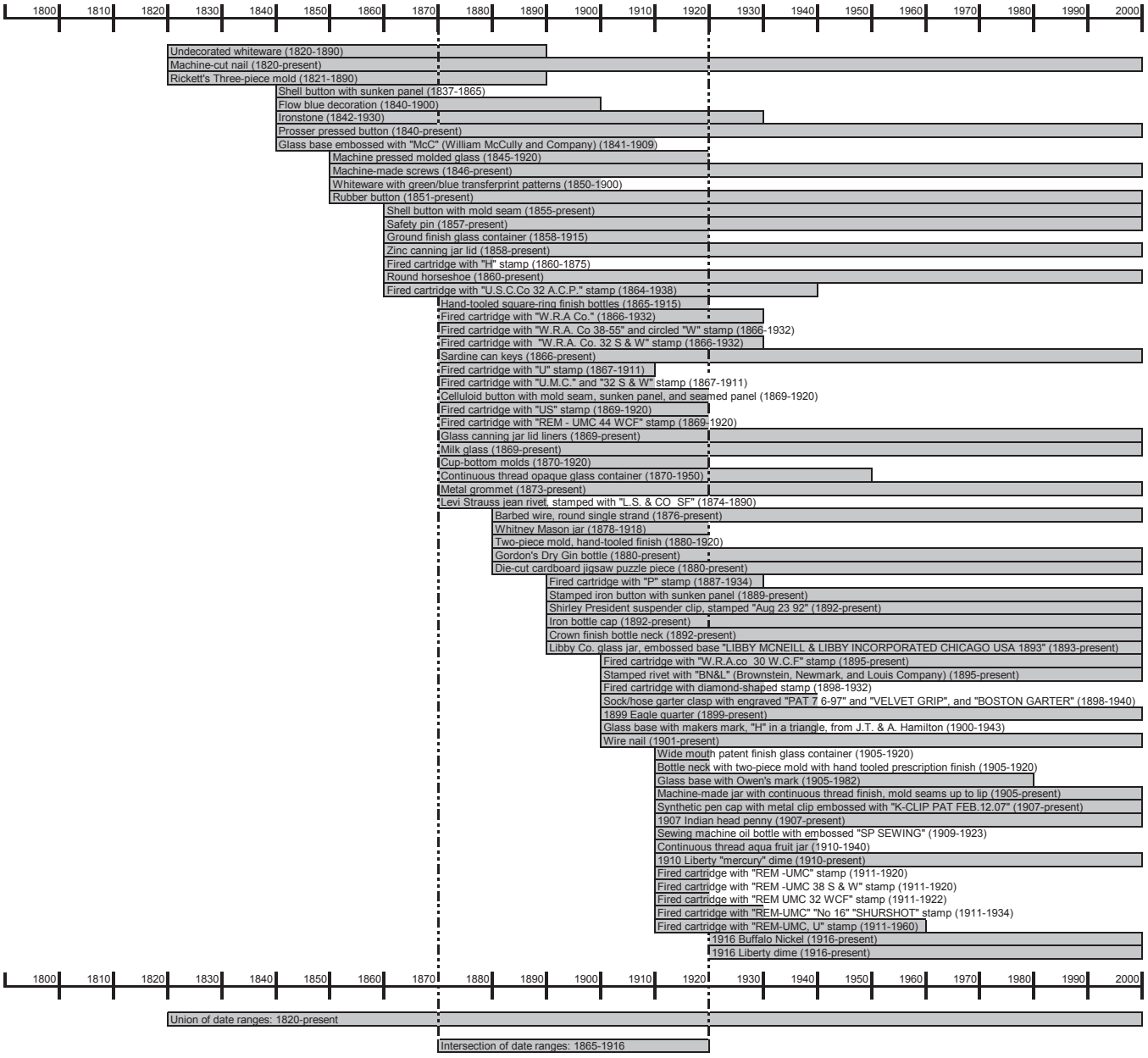


Figure 6.122. Cumulative artifact date ranges from the main cabin area (2004-2008 field seasons).

and Sullivan and Kealhofer (2004) identified distinct activity areas on a colonial Virginia house lot. These and other studies have developed links between specific elemental signatures and various archaeologically-verified activities. The significance of eight elements is discussed in the following section.

Phosphorus (P) occurs naturally in animal tissues and feces—fats (phospholipids) and bones (phosphates)—and is often a strong indicator of repeatedly used areas, including privies, animal pens, barns, food preparation and animal processing sites, trash pits and middens, and locations around dwellings where chamber-pots were emptied. It also reflects burning and is present in wood ash. Phosphorus is one of the best soil chemical indicators of past human or animal activity in an area.

Calcium (Ca) is a major component of shell, bone, and hard tissue in animals. It reflects many of the same activities as phosphorus, such as food preparation and animal processing areas, trash pits, and middens. Calcium is also present in wood ash and indicates the presence of wood burning.

ER#	Total # of artifacts	Total # of likely prehistoric artifacts	Total # of definitively historical artifacts (%)	Unit adjacent to Structure II?
74	17	3	14 (82%)	yes
75	75	22	53 (71%)	yes
76	10	5	5 (50%)	no
77	19	9	10 (53%)	yes
78	12	2	10 (83%)	yes
79	8	4	4 (50%)	no
80	12	7	5 (42%)	no
81	8	4	4 (50%)	no
82	4	4	0 (0%)	no
83	9	3	6 (67%)	yes
84	8	4	4 (50%)	no
85	3	3	0 (0%)	no

Figure 6.123. Table showing correspondence between a unit's proximity to Structure II and its artifact assemblage containing over 50% definitively historical materials.

Strontium (Sr) naturally occurs with calcium and is concentrated in the bones of herbivores. Although it is also used in the production of various glass wares, glazes, and alloys, strontium traditionally is associated with food preparation and animal processing areas, trash pits, and middens.

Lead (Pb) is less frequently used in soil chemistry analyses at archaeological sites, but its presence can nevertheless identify and isolate various crafts and items, including painting, glazing, glass-making, projectiles (e.g., bullets), weights/sinkers, sheeting, solder, alloys, and candle-wick production.

Sulfur (S) isotopes, like strontium isotopes, can be used to identify dietary sources. However, since sulfur is only present in one amino acid, it is rarely a strong and consistent indicator of human activity at a site. Massive amounts of collagen are necessary to produce a high sulfur reading.

Iron (Fe), like lead, often reflects craft-production activities. High levels are commonly associated with burning, pigment-production, and ritual activities involving blood (e.g., slaughtering and sacrifice). Although soil chemistry analyses tracking iron can be highly insightful, they are often masked by the fact that many soils contain high natural levels of iron.

Barium (Ba) is rarely highlighted in archaeological soil-chemistry studies. Nonetheless, it is present in organic refuse and various craft-production residues, such as those from the making of bricks, glass, rubber, and pigments.

Zinc (Zn) is concentrated in the bones of carnivores. It is often associated with strontium, due to the herbivores on which these animals prey. Zinc reflects many craft-production activities, including the making of coins, alloys, paints and pigments, rubber, and wood preservatives.

The soil chemical analyses presented here would not have been possible without the time, effort, and generosity of Julia Kleyman, Deblyn Palella and their employer Thermo Fisher Scientific. Free of charge, they provided the Nate Harrison Historical Archaeology Project's research team with the tools and knowledge to successfully conduct x-ray fluorescence (XRF) studies of the site's soil with remarkable results. Thermo Fisher Scientific (2007) advertises that, "Whether in-situ or on prepared samples, by performing soil analysis with an XL3 analyzer at a site of suspected prehistoric or historic[al] human activity, the user can delineate and map areas of such activity. This has been shown in certain buried architectural features by elevated levels of calcium and strontium; in hearth areas and fire pits by elevated levels of potassium and magnesium; and in burial grounds by elevated levels of phosphorus, calcium, and strontium, among other elements." The following section of this report validates these claims and serves as a strong supporter of this type of non-destructive analytic technique.

Appreciating certain nuances of x-ray fluorescence helps to situate the resulting analyses. Thermo Fisher Scientific (2007) explains that:

> The nucleus of an atom is made up of both positively charged particles called protons and electrically neutral particles called neutrons. Orbiting around the nucleus are negatively charged electrons. Electrons can have different orbits, called shells, which are labeled sequentially starting with K, L, M, etc.
>
> The electrons of the K shell are of the lowest energy; therefore, the bond to the nucleus is the greatest. The electrons of the L shell, M shell, etc. are of higher energy and are therefore not as tightly bound to the nucleus. When an outer shell electron jumps to an inner shell, less energy is required to maintain that lower energy orbit and thus the leftover energy is emitted by the atom as a characteristic x-ray. These are the x-rays that are analyzed by the detector within the XRF analyzer.
>
> Gamma rays or x-rays with sufficient energy can knock an atom's electrons out of orbit. This primary exciting radiation is generated within the instrument by an x-ray source, either an x-ray tube or radiation emitted by the natural decay of a radioactive isotope. The source in the instrument is positioned in such a way as to allow the exciting x-rays to fluoresce the sample, but not to enter the detector.
>
> When an electron is ejected from its shell, the vacant shell is usually filled by an electron from another shell in a step-wise fashion. For example, when a K shell electron is emitted, an L shell electron jumps into its place and creates a subsequent vacancy in the L shell. Similarly, the L shell vacancy is filled by an M shell electron, with the simultaneous emission of the characteristic L x-ray of that element. This process continues to the outer shells in such a way that when K x-rays are generated, L, M, N, (and so on) x-rays are also emitted. This cascading effort does not have to be initiated at the K shell. It can start at the L, M, or higher shells.
>
> X-rays form part of the electromagnetic (EM) spectrum and have similarities to other forms of EM radiation, such as infra-red and radio waves. Each element in the periodic table has a characteristic x-ray spectrum that is rather unique, rather like a fingerprint. These unique x-ray energies are measured with a high resolution SI PIN detector, which identifies the energy of the incoming signal (which identifies the element), and counts the number of signals occurring at that particular energy (which defines the concentration of the element within the sample). Since each energy represents the presence of a specific element such as chromium (Cr), iron (Fe), or nickel (Ni), the specific element and its percentage concentration within the sample can be calculated by the instrument's computer.

SDSU graduate student Kristin Tennesen used the following methods to process the soil samples. First, fill the provided sample cups with the soil samples roughly three-quarters full, avoiding larger particles. Connect the Niton machine to the computer via a USB cable. Second, turn the machine on and open the program NDTr 6.4. Once in the program, click "connect." The machine can now be controlled from the computer or the machine's keypad. Using either the computer keyboard or the machine's keypad, log into the machine using the given password. Choose "mode," "bulk analysis," "mining mode," and then "data entry." Once there, click on the keyboard icon to come to the screen where the sample can be named. Type in the sample name; Nate Harrison site samples were standardized as Site-Unit-Layer (e.g., NH52B). Third, place one sample directly above the lens of the machine and close the protective lead box cover. Using the computer mouse or the machine keypad click "return" to go back to the main screen from the data entry screen and click "start." The analysis will run for 180 seconds. When it is done, remove the sample and replace with a new one, close the lid. Repeat the steps above to name the new sample and start the analysis. Fourth, when this has been done for all of the samples click "disconnect" in NDTr 6.4, close that program, and open up NDT. Click "download" and then "query readings." All of the samples will appear on the screen. Choose which of the samples to be downloaded, choose the destination folder, and name the file. Click "download." Once the downloading is complete, click "done." The computer will automatically open up the newly downloaded NDT file, as well as a duplicate file in Excel form. From here, the data can be analyzed as either an NDT file or Excel file.

Overall, the elements tested clustered into four groups. Group I consisted of elements that were identified in detectable amounts and diagnostically specific to only some areas of the site. Phosphorus (P), calcium (Ca), and

strontium (Sr) were present in large enough quantities to register on the XRF detector, and they also formed a spatially distinct pattern of being relatively concentrated in some areas and diluted in others. Group II included the elements iron (Fe), barium (Ba), and zinc (Zn). Although these elements were easily detected in the chemical analysis, they were present in every sample in uniform amounts. For the most part, iron, barium, and zinc are consistent and ubiquitous in the Palomar Mountain soil and are not likely reflective of human activity. Group III consisted of elements that went virtually undetected (less than 100ppm throughout or present in less than 50% of the samples). It included cadmium (Cd), palladium (Pd), silver (Ag), molybdenum (Mo), niobium (Nb), rubidium (Rb), Bismuth (Bi), selenium (Se), lead (Pb), tungsten (W), copper (Cu), nickel (Ni), cobalt (Co), potassium (K), chlorine (Cl), sulfur (S), magnesium (Mg), and arsenic (As). Only Group I provided differential readings that could be used to distinguish different activity areas of the site. Group II had the potential to offer insight into natural resources that could have been tapped by the site's inhabitant(s). Group III has the potential to reveal whether an activity with a specific chemical signature likely occurred at all. Appendix A includes all of the data from the project's soil chemistry tests.

Phosphorus averaged approximately 1,500ppm in the two off-site control shovel test-pits (NH51-52), with the soil chemistry maps showing a consistent phosphorus background reading of 1,500ppm across the three site areas. At the main cabin site (Structure I), there were two spikes in the phosphorus readings (Figure 6.124). The first was in the southwestern excavation area of the patio. The top two-to-four layers of NH48, 47, 35, 34, 17, 15, and 7 (from west to east) included phosphorus readings that were often well above 3,000ppm (more than double the control test-pits). NH34D indicated the highest phosphorus density, registering at 7,185ppm. The second major concentration of phosphorus was in the main cabin at the fifth layer of NH16 (4,727ppm) and NH38 (2,728ppm). These layers were marked stratigraphically by a perfectly horizontal ash lens that appeared to mark the original cabin floor.

Phosphorus readings from the shovel test-pit survey revealed two areas of interest (Figure 6.125). High readings in NH66B (3,116ppm) emphasized that the patio deposit continued at least 5.0' west of the current excavation in NH48. In addition, Transect IV's NH68B had a moderately high reading of 2,562ppm. Three other test-pits in this transect also had values slightly over the average background noise (NH67, 69, and 71).

The map of phosphorus readings for the Structure II excavation area included one spike, but it was not near the stone wall (Figure 6.126). The units adjacent to the stone wall produced slightly higher-than-normal readings but nothing of statistical significance. The lone elevated phosphorus reading was in the top layer of the northwest-corner unit (NH79A: 2,526ppm).

Calcium readings strongly mirrored phosphorus levels across much of the Nate Harrison site. The off-site control STPs indicated an average of approximately 17,000ppm for calcium. The main cabin area map for calcium included two sizeable spikes (Figure 6.127). The first was in the top layers of the southwestern excavation area of the main patio (NH48, 47, 35, 34, 17, 15, and 7 [from west to east]); these strata included calcium readings that were often well above 34,000ppm (more than double that of the off-site controls). The highest reading was in NH34D, which registered 86,698ppm. The second calcium locus was inside the main cabin in NH16E (45,036ppm) and NH38E (22,729ppm), the original living surface of the Harrison home. These two chemical hotspots were exactly the same as the ones pinpointed by the phosphorus readings.

Calcium readings from the shovel test-pit survey highlighted two areas (Figure 6.128). Elevated readings in NH66 (25,215ppm) suggest that the main patio deposit continues to the west of NH48. Transect IV's NH70A also had a high reading of 36,611ppm. This was the only STP to indicate a calcium value over 30,000ppm.

The map of calcium readings for the Structure II excavation area mirrored the off-site units; there were no spikes (Figure 6.129). In fact, there was not a single calcium reading over 20,000ppm.

Strontium levels across the site paralleled those of phosphorus and calcium. The off-site (NH51-52) readings were approximately 165ppm. The main cabin area map for strontium included two significant spikes (Figure 6.130). The first was in the southwestern excavation area of the main patio (NH48, 47, 35, 34, 17, and 15 [from west to east]); these strata included strontium readings of 300ppm, nearly double the control amount. The highest reading was found in NH34D, which registered 421ppm. The second strontium peak was inside the main cabin in NH16E (254ppm) and NH38E (188ppm), likely the cabin's original dirt floor. These two strontium-rich locations correspond with spikes in phosphorus and calcium readings.

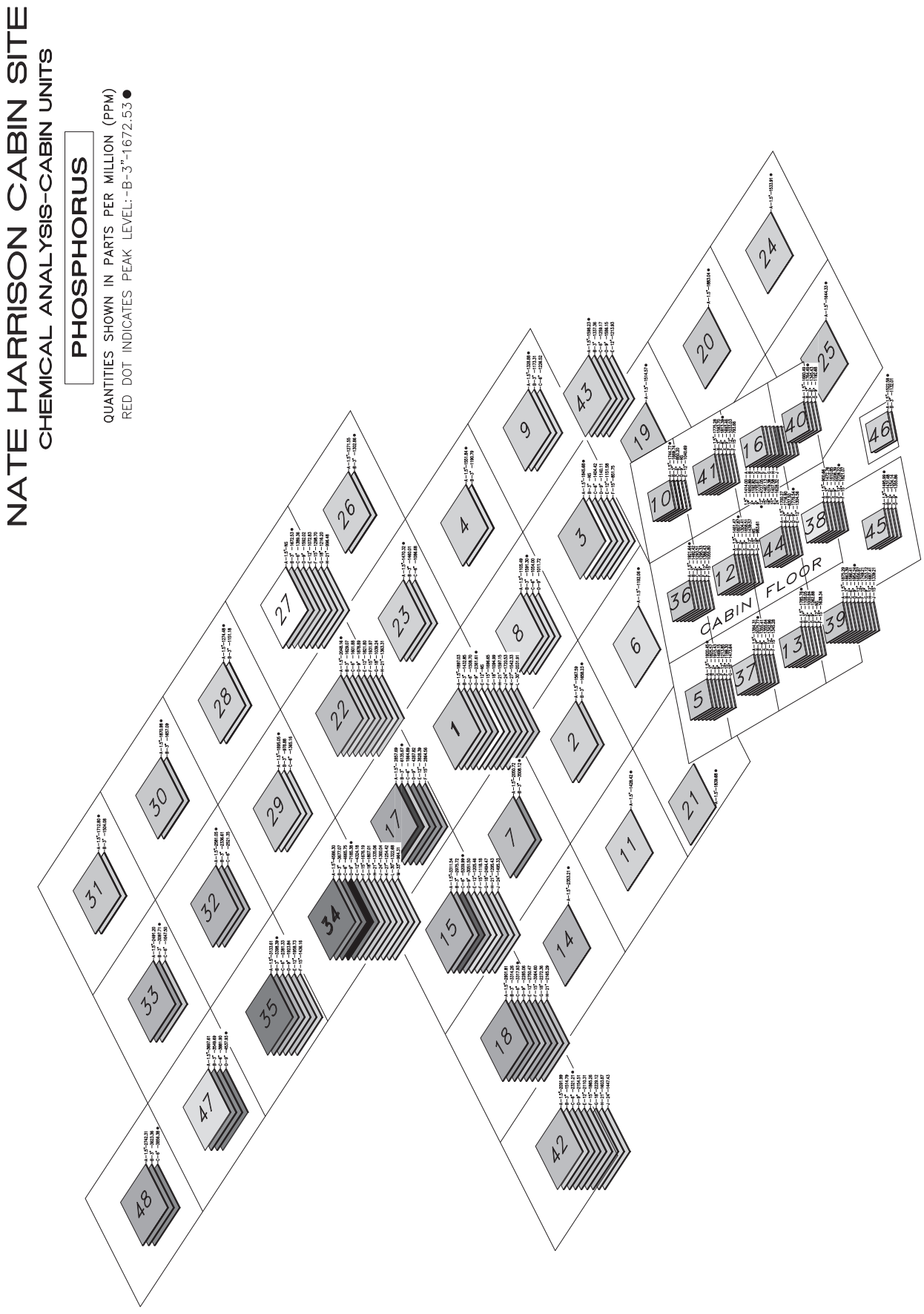


Figure 6.124. Map of soil-chemistry phosphorus readings for the Nate Harrison cabin site (Structure I).

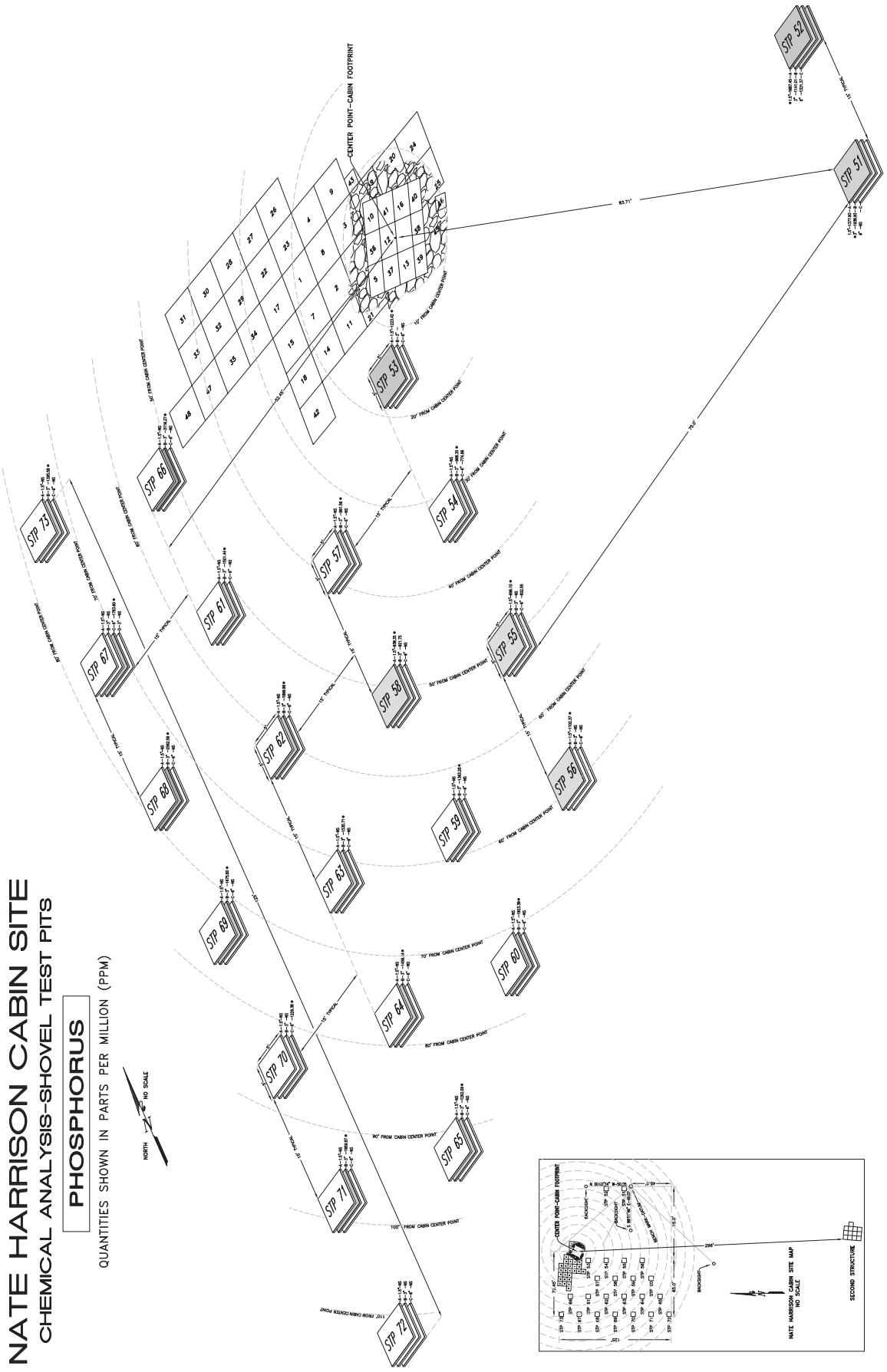


Figure 6.125. Map of soil-chemistry phosphorus readings for the Nate Harrison site shovel test-pit survey.

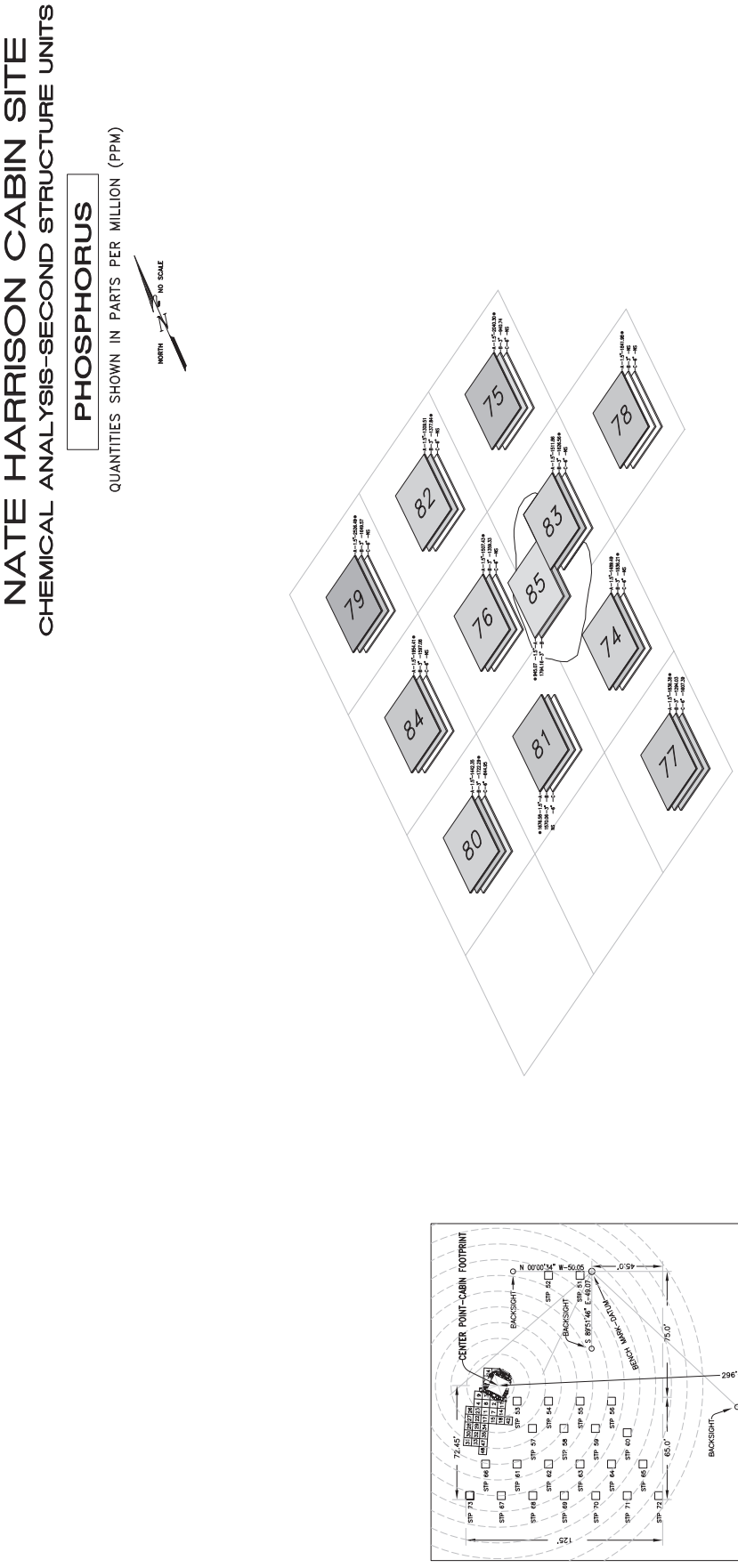


Figure 6.126. Map of soil-chemistry phosphorus readings for the Nate Harrison site Structure II excavation area.

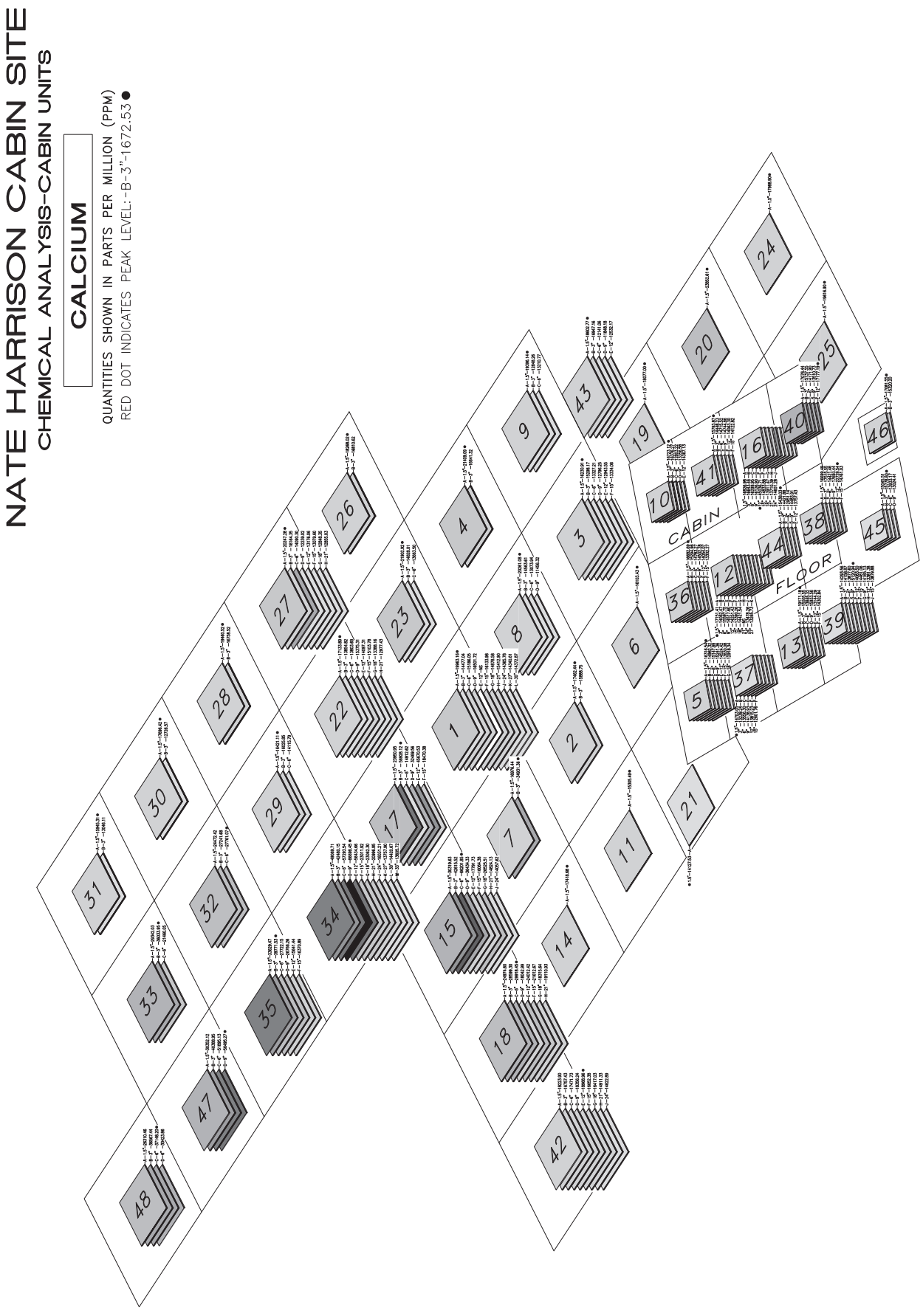


Figure 6.127. Map of soil-chemistry calcium readings for the Nate Harrison cabin site (Structure I).

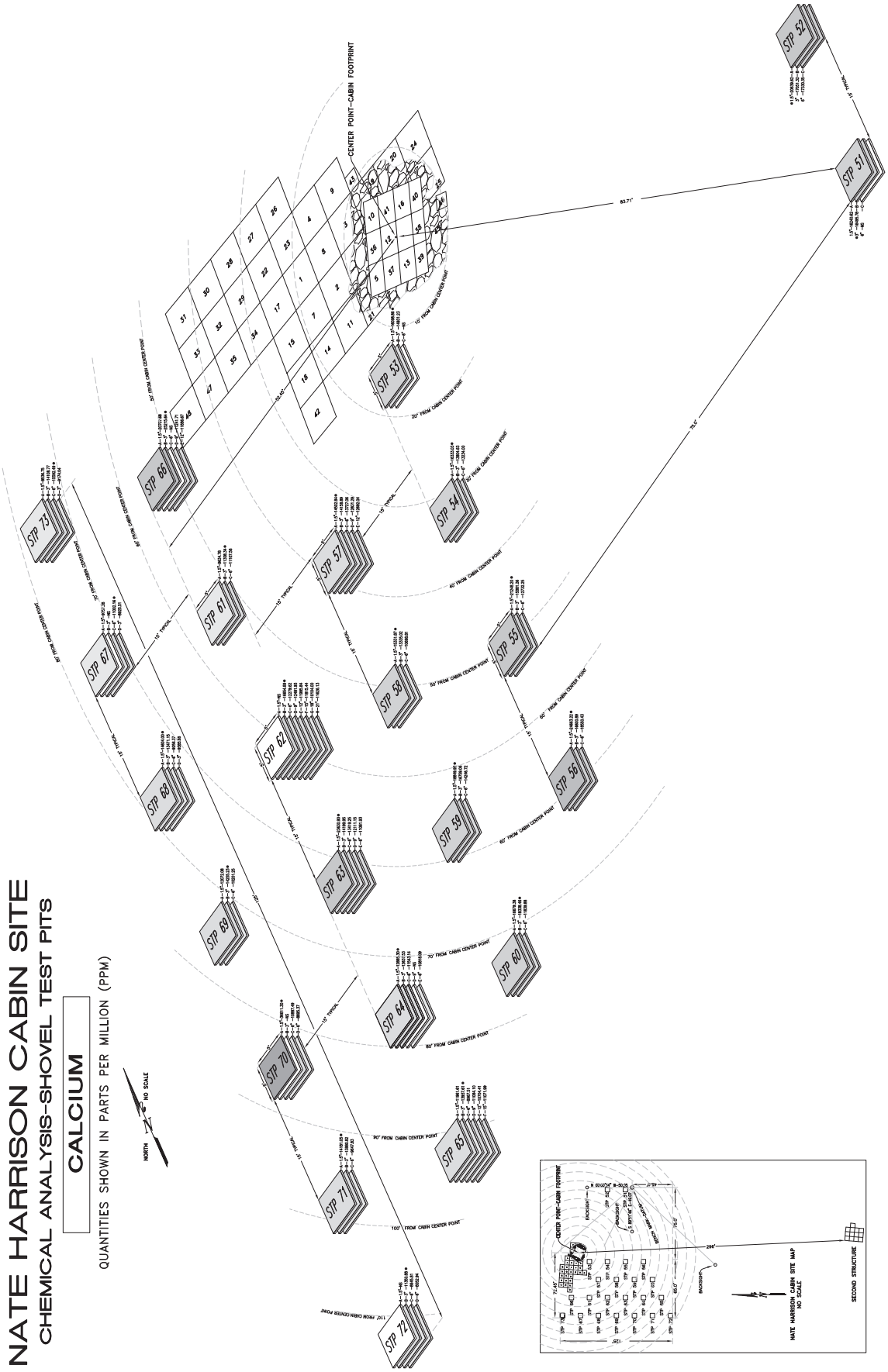


Figure 6.128. Map of soil-chemistry calcium readings for the Nate Harrison site shovel test-pit survey.

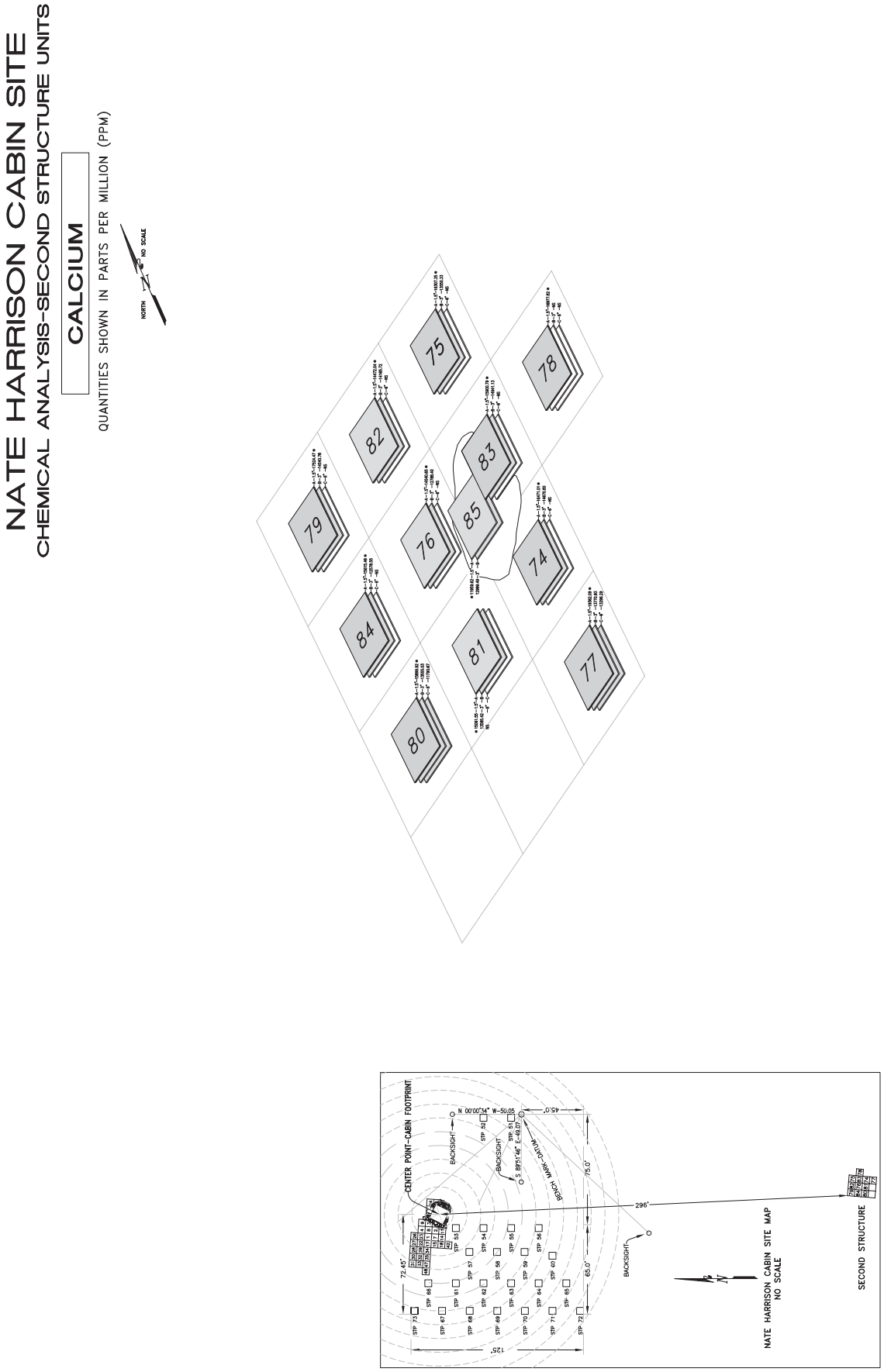


Figure 6.129. Map of soil-chemistry calcium readings for the Nate Harrison site Structure II excavation area.

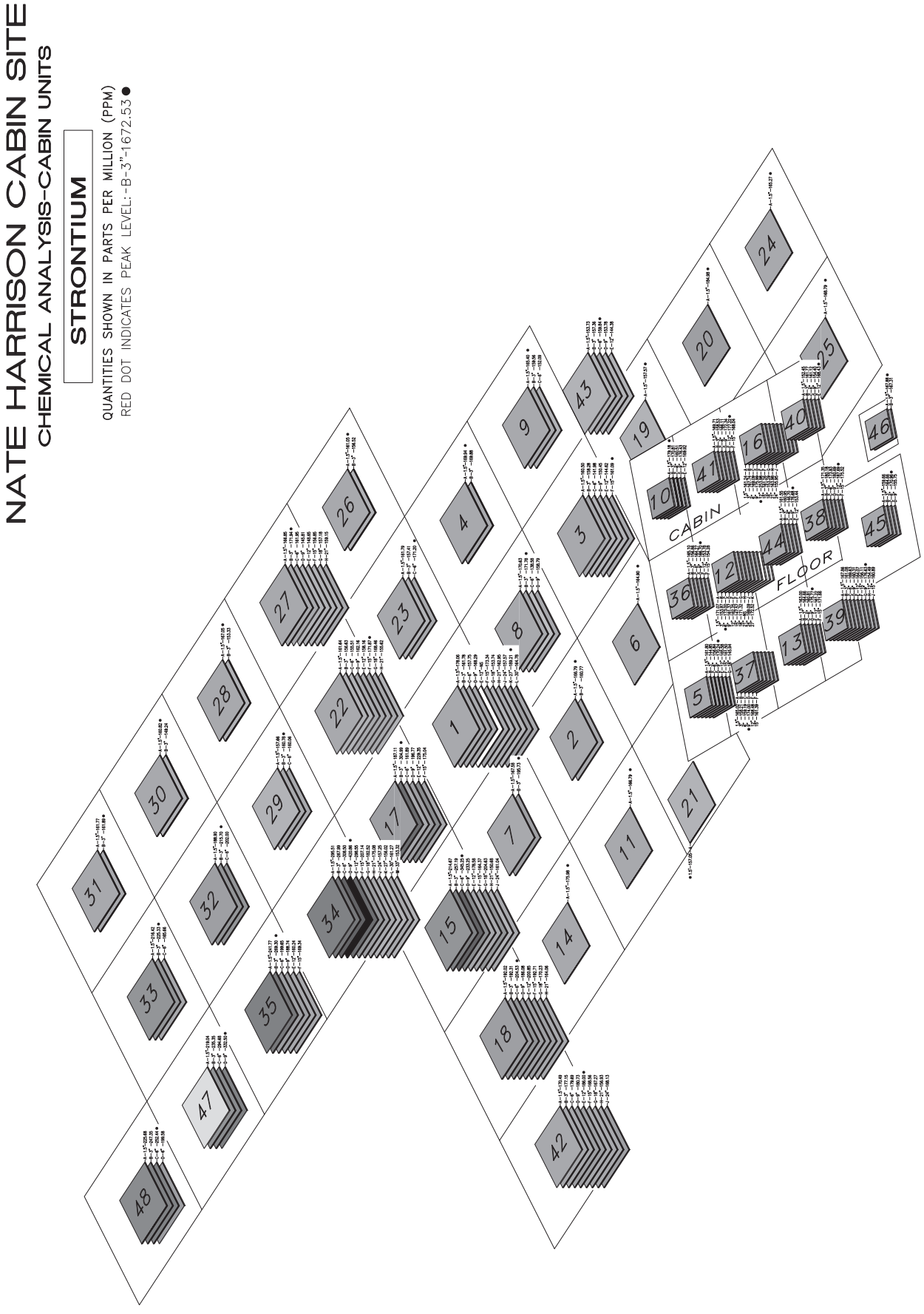


Figure 6.130. Map of soil-chemistry strontium readings for the Nate Harrison cabin site (Structure I).

Strontium levels from the shovel test-pit survey emphasized two areas (Figure 6.131). Elevated readings in NH66A (192ppm) indicate that the main patio deposit continues beyond NH48. Two other STPs also had high readings: NH70A (204ppm) and NH63A (192ppm).

The map of strontium readings for the Structure II excavation area mirrored the off-site units; there were no elevated levels (Figure 6.132). In fact, there was not a single reading over the control level of 165ppm.

Lead was considered a borderline element in the chemical studies because its average off-site value was very low (26ppm) and it often fell below the monitor's level of detection (LOD). Nonetheless, it produced some interesting results, many of which paralleled phosphorus, calcium, and strontium. Lead peaked in two areas in the main cabin site (Figure 6.133). The first was in the southwestern patio area, especially in NH47, 35, and 34 (from west to east). NH47B had the maximum reading at 321ppm, 12 times the expected amount. The second hotspot was the entire excavation area inside of the cabin and in the patio. Every unit, with the exception of the units to the north and west of the cabin, included at least one layer with a lead reading over twice the control amount.

Lead levels from the shovel test-pit survey emphasized two areas (Figure 6.134). Elevated readings in NH66A and 66B (78 and 83ppm respectively) suggest that the main patio deposit continues to the west of NH48. One other STP also had high readings: NH57A (64ppm).

The map of lead readings for the Structure II excavation area was very different from that of any other element discussed up to this point (Figure 6.135). NH78A, the unit to the immediate east of the stone wall had a very high lead level of 257ppm, nearly 10 times the control amount. In addition, NH74A and 74B had strikingly high readings of 107 and 95ppm.

Like lead, sulfur was a borderline element because its levels were often below the monitor's LOD. Sulfur's average in the control STPs was 462ppm, but its readings varied dramatically (Figure 6.136). Within the main cabin area, sulfur levels were highly inconsistent. There were various peaks in the north areas of the patio (880ppm in NH27A) and to the north of the cabin itself (814ppm in NH20A); both of these areas contained minimal artifacts and maintained low soil chemical readings for traditional measures of human activity, like phosphorus, calcium, strontium, etc. Furthermore, the strata with the highest readings for phosphorus, calcium, strontium (NH34D, 16E, and 38E) were well below the control readings for sulfur. The significance is unknown at this time.

Likewise, sulfur measurements from the shovel test-pit survey were strikingly different from the previously discussed elements (Figure 6.137). NH66, the unit to the west of the patio-area excavation had a lower-than-control sulfur reading. The two southernmost STPs in Transect I (NH55 and 56) were the only two contexts with above average sulfur levels.

The map of sulfur readings for the Structure II excavation area indicates one spike (Figure 6.138). NH78A, the unit to the immediate east of the stone wall had a reading of 557ppm. None of the other units had levels close to the off-site controls.

Iron is ubiquitous in the granitic soil of Palomar Mountain. The control STPs indicated an average of 43,300ppm for iron. As opposed to individual spikes, iron had a generally higher reading inside of the cabin and in the patio to the immediate west of the cabin (Figure 6.139). The western area of the patio that maintained high readings for phosphorus, calcium, strontium, and lead had low iron levels. The iron-rich loci seem to parallel the units with most of the architectural debris, especially the nails. The levels were most pronounced in the wall units of the cabin and the patio units to the immediate west of the structure.

Iron levels from the shovel test-pit survey emphasized two areas (Figure 6.140). Elevated levels in NH62-63 and 68-69 corresponded to STPs with significant fragments of wire. NH72 also indicated a slightly high iron level.

The map of iron readings for the Structure II excavation area includes no significant spikes (Figure 6.141). Every unit was uniformly slightly above the controls.

Barium levels across the landscape were relatively consistent. The off-site (NH51-52) control readings were approximately 222ppm. The main cabin area map for barium includes two slightly high areas (Figure 6.142). The first is in the center of the main patio (NH34, 17, and 15 (from west to east). The second barium concentration is inside of the main cabin in the lower layers of the center and northeast corner: NH16G (298ppm), NH40E (311ppm), and NH44E (303ppm), likely below the cabin's original dirt floor. Neither of these two barium peaks is very pronounced.

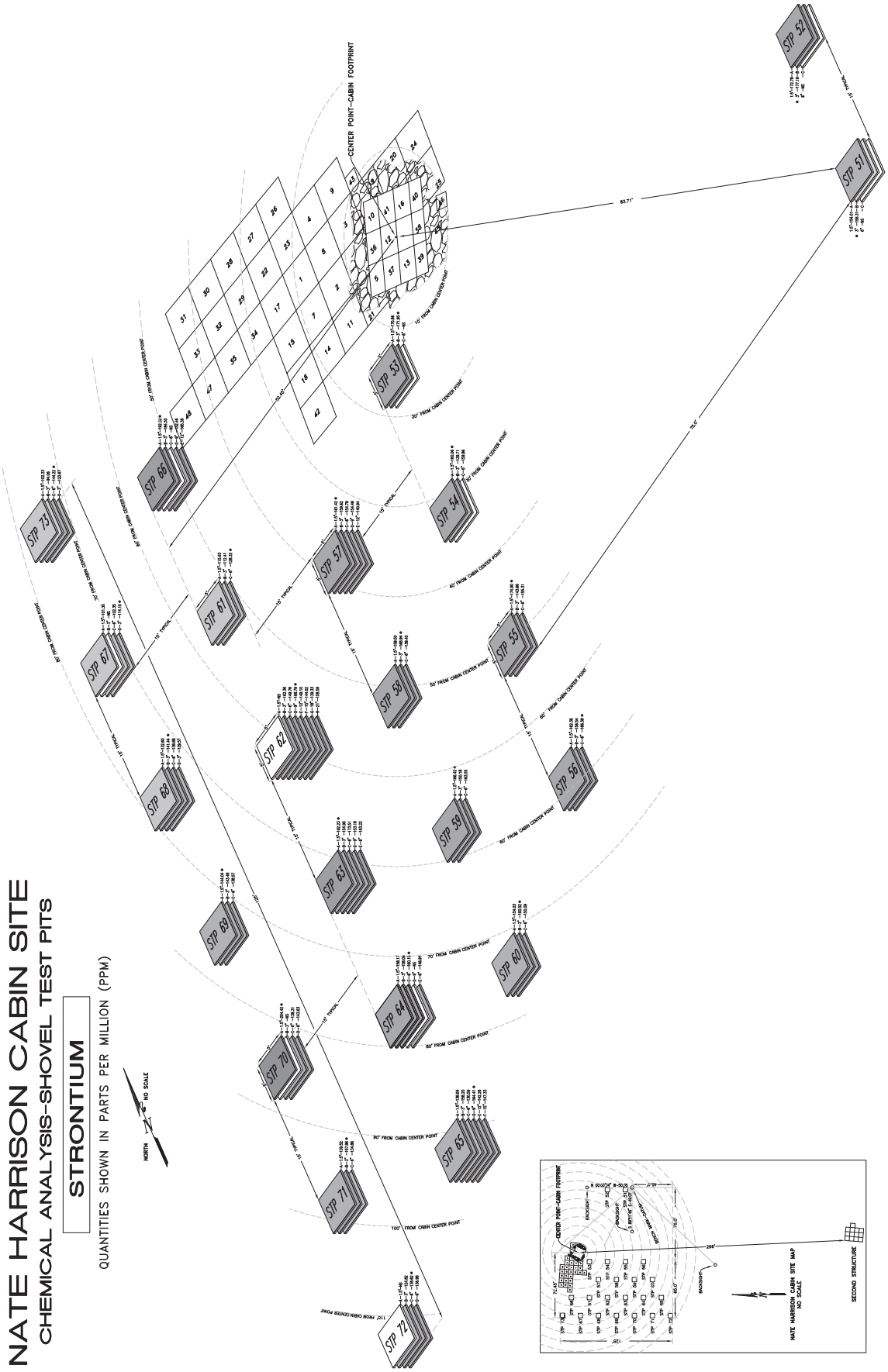


Figure 6.131. Map of soil-chemistry strontium readings for the Nate Harrison site shovel test-pit survey.

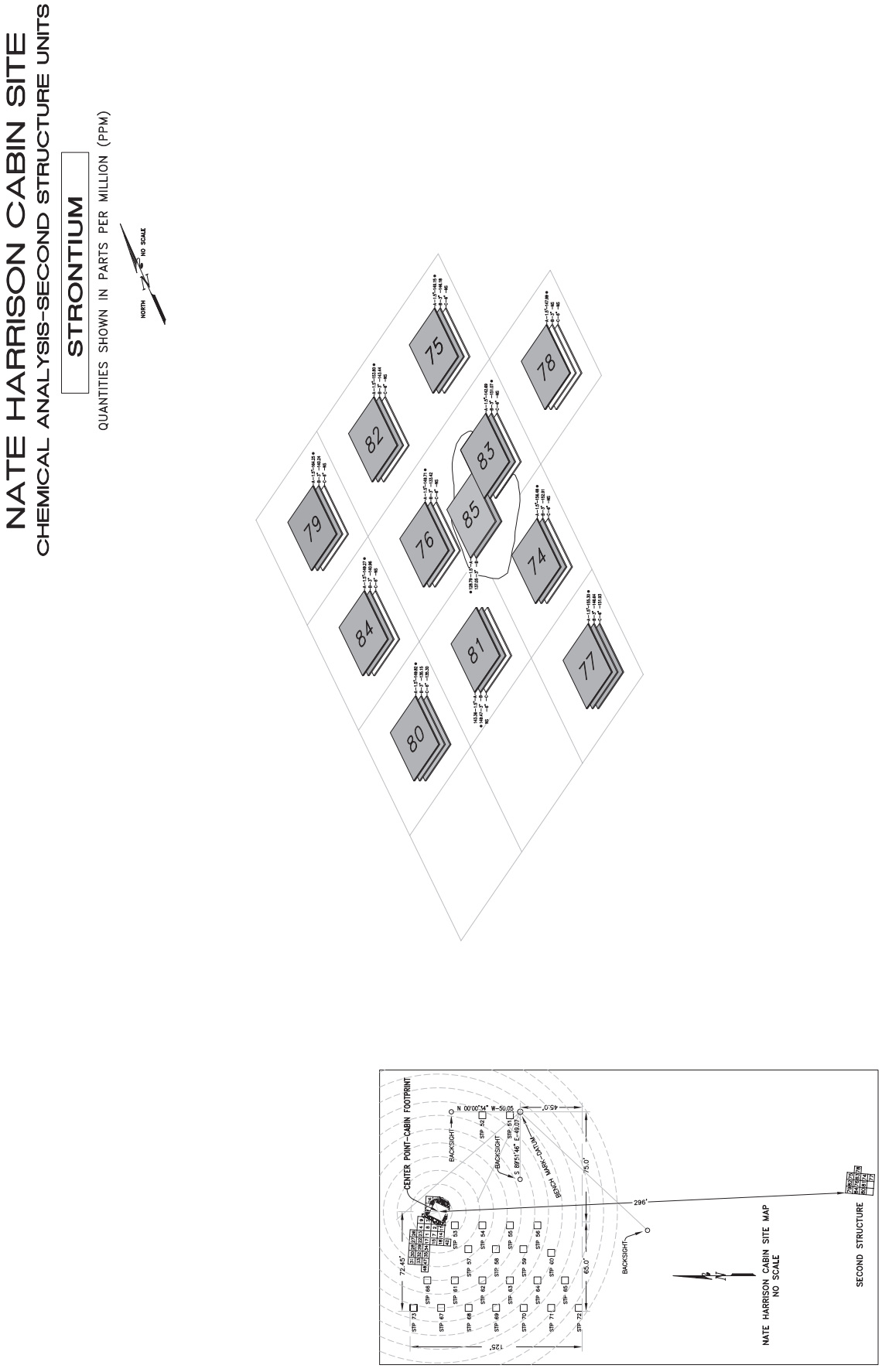


Figure 6.132. Map of soil-chemistry strontium readings for the Nate Harrison site Structure II excavation area.

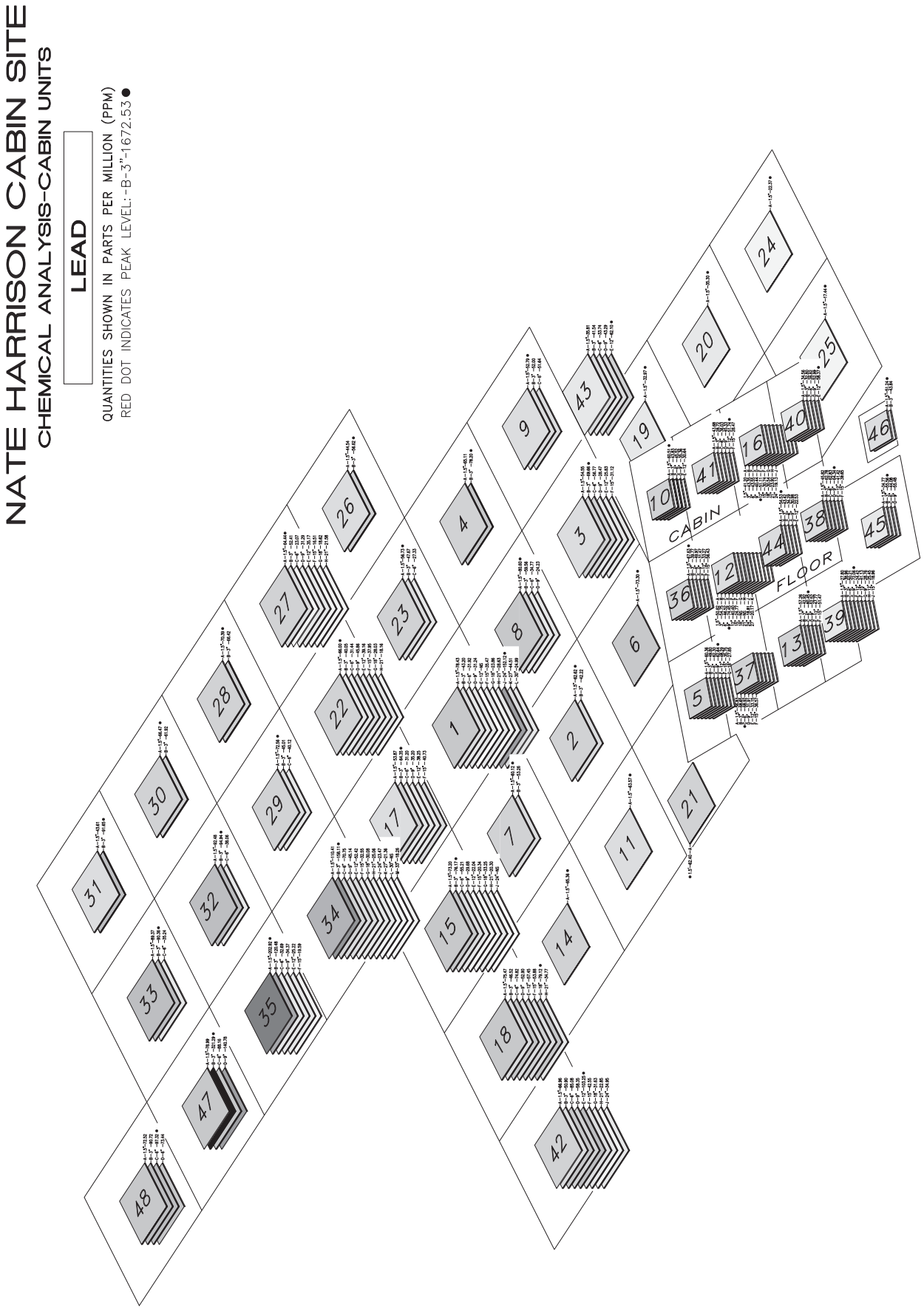


Figure 6.133. Map of soil-chemistry lead readings for the Nate Harrison cabin site (Structure I).

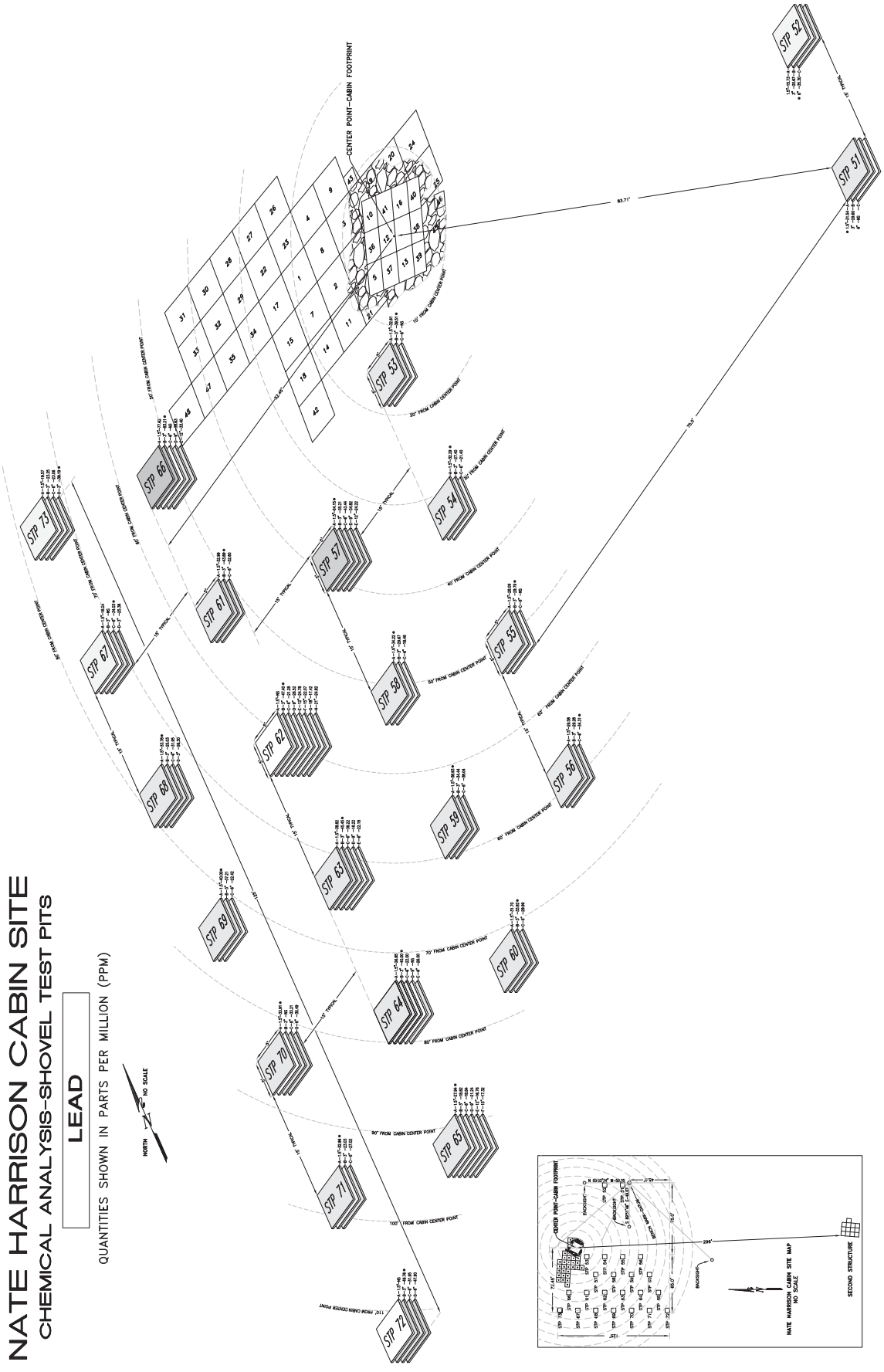


Figure 6.134. Map of soil-chemistry lead readings for the Nate Harrison site shovel test-pit survey.

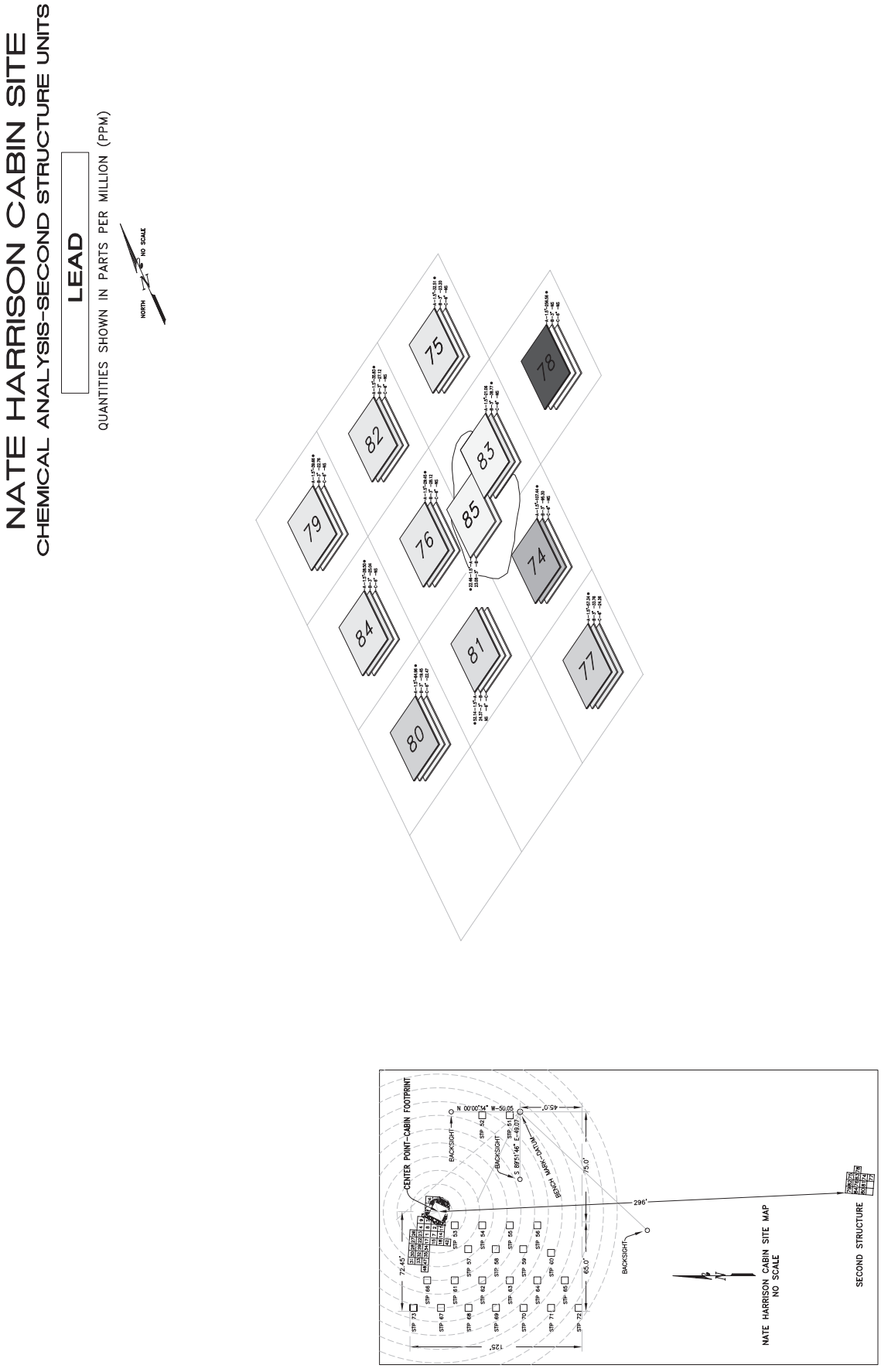


Figure 6.135. Map of soil-chemistry lead readings for the Nate Harrison site Structure II excavation area.

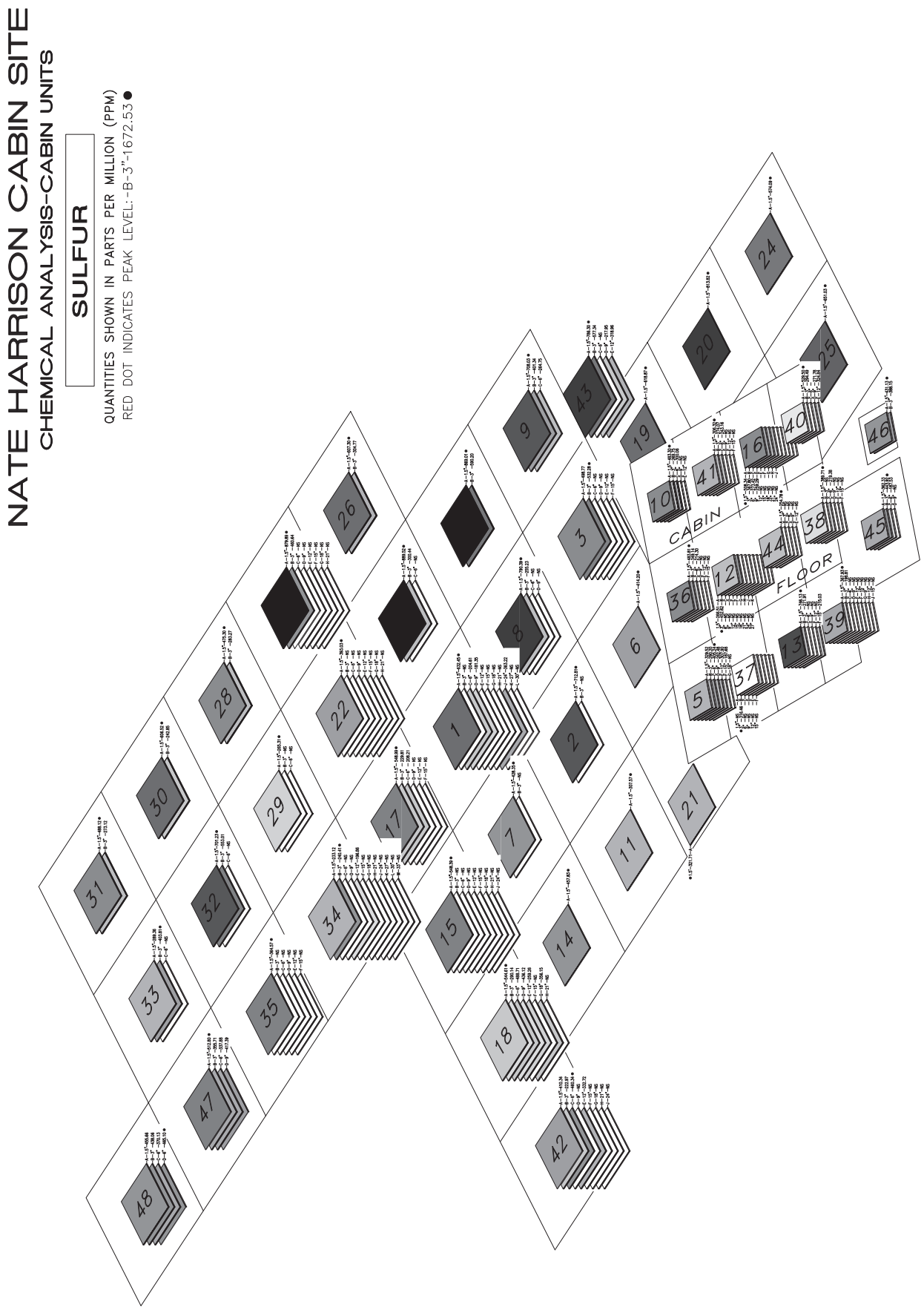


Figure 6.136. Map of soil-chemistry sulfur readings for the Nate Harrison cabin site (Structure I).

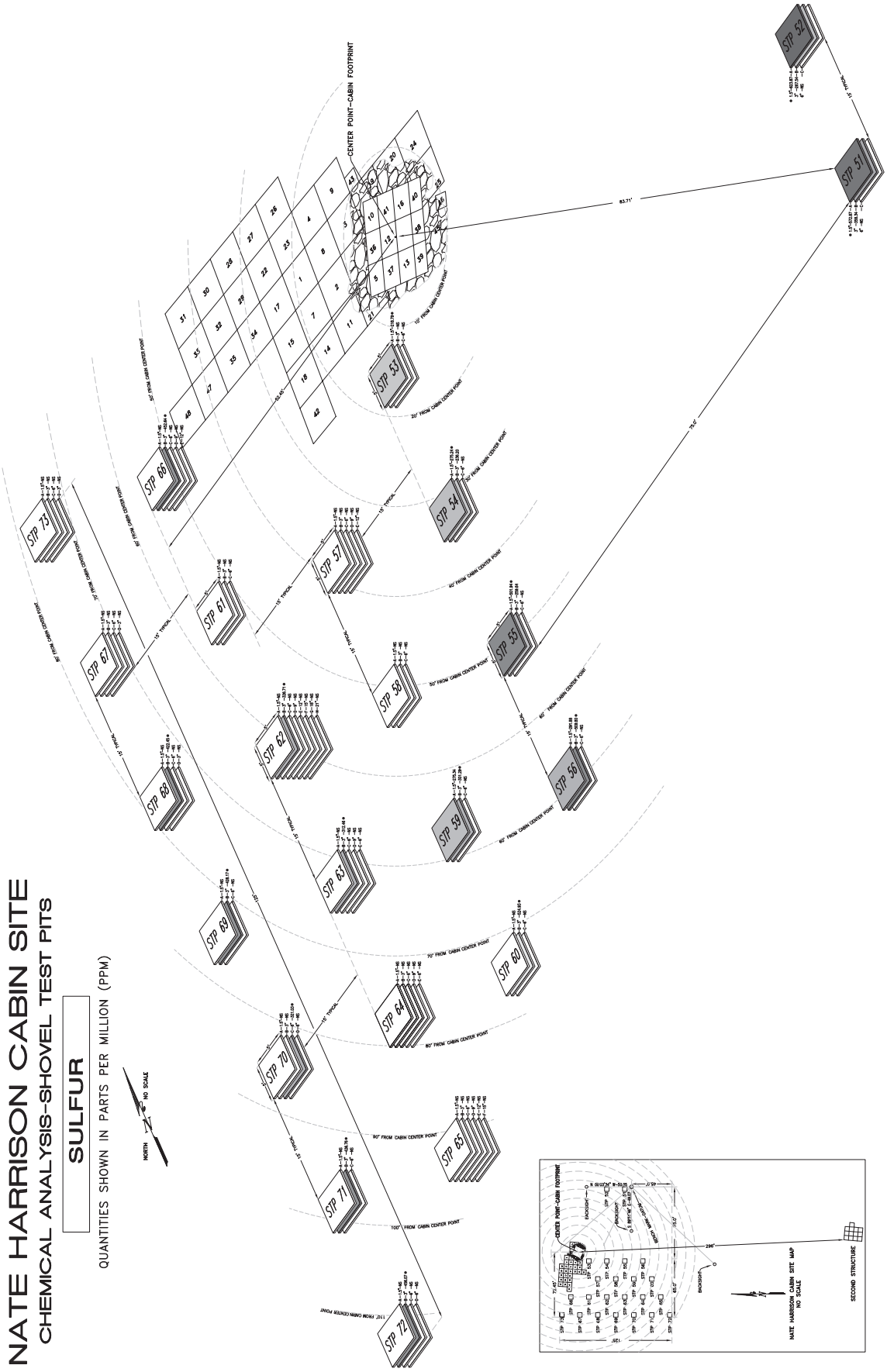


Figure 6.137. Map of soil-chemistry sulfur readings for the Nate Harrison site shovel test-pit survey.

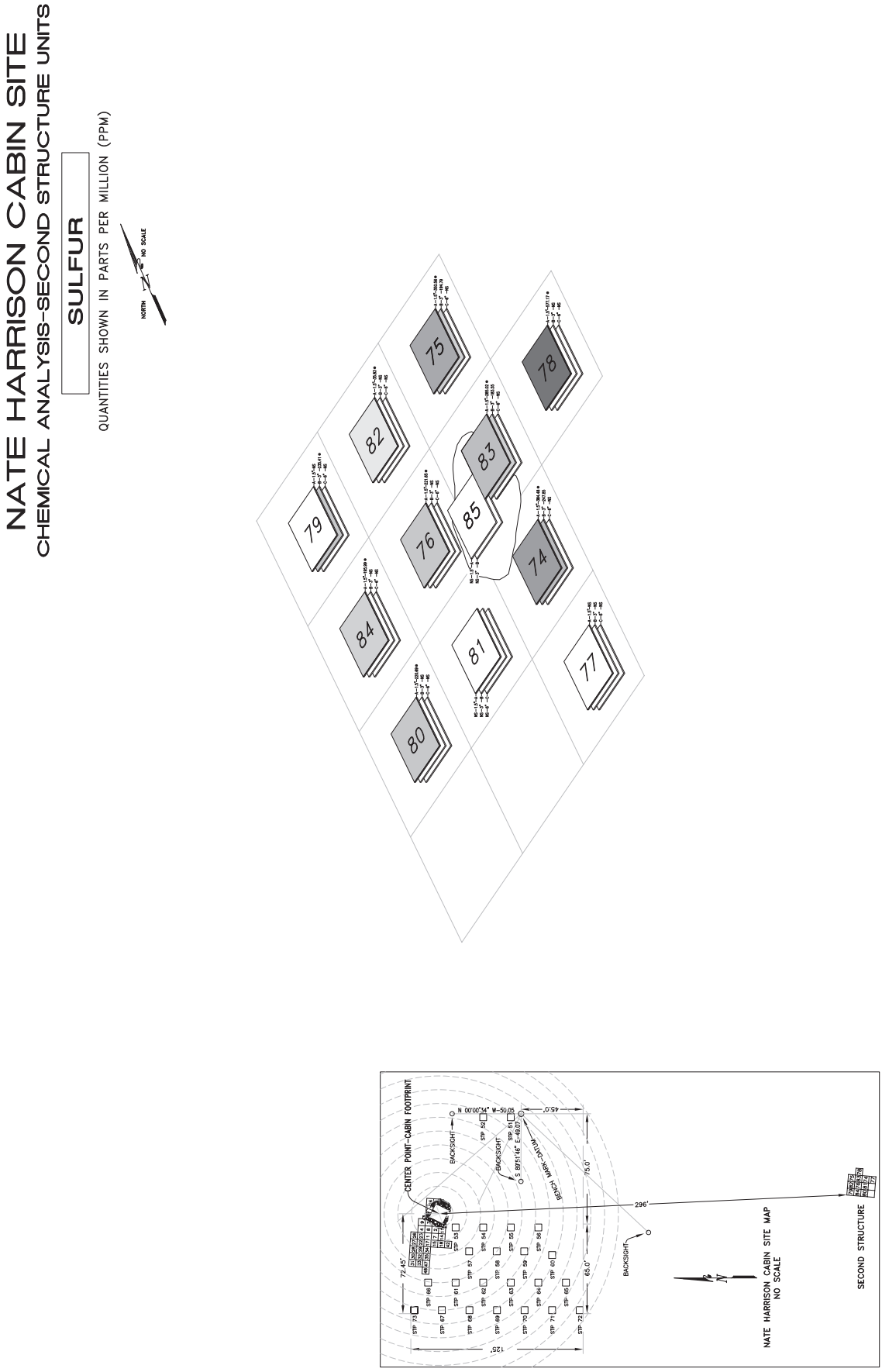


Figure 6.138. Map of soil-chemistry sulfur readings for the Nate Harrison site Structure II excavation area.

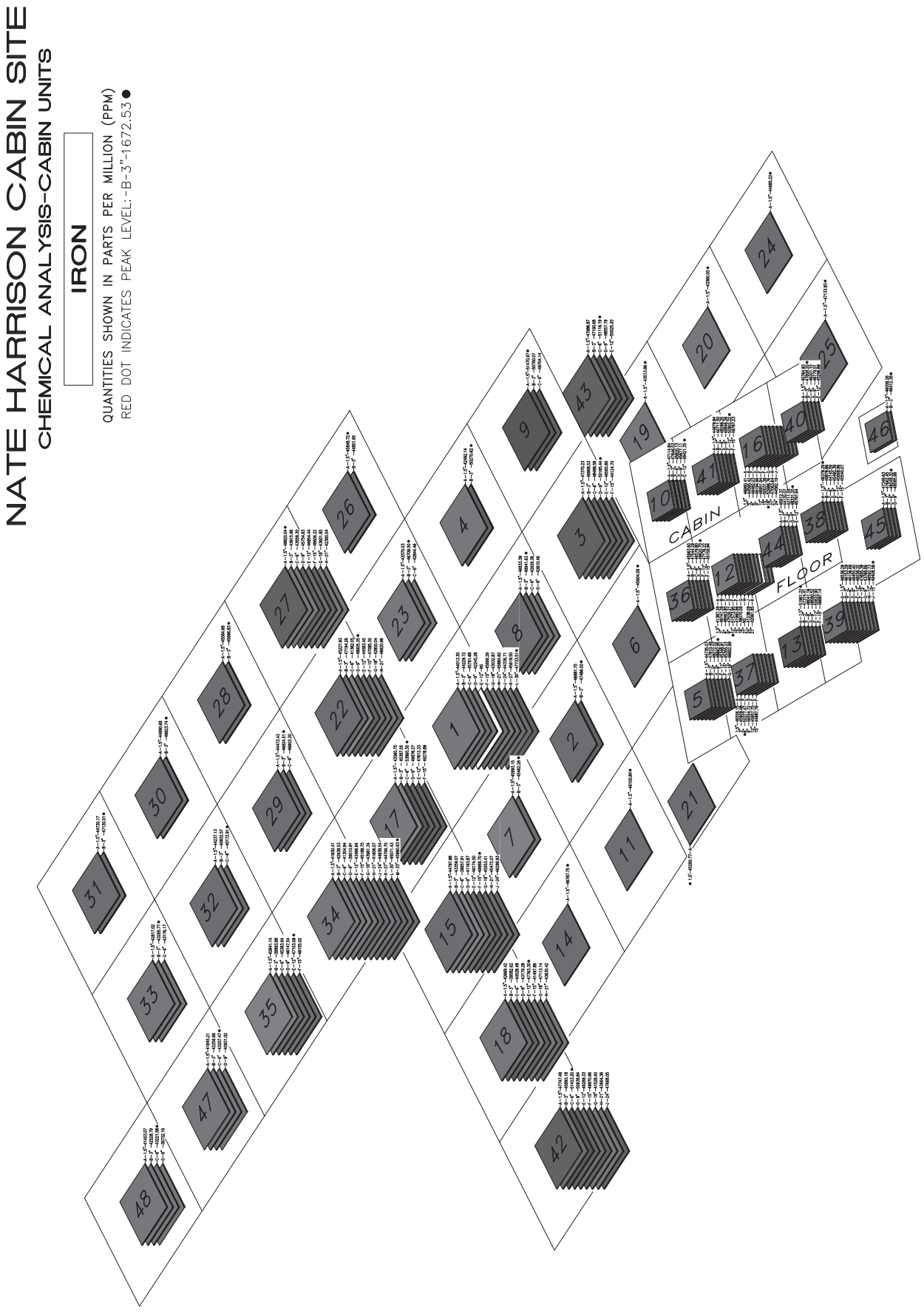


Figure 6.139. Map of soil-chemistry iron readings for the Nate Harrison cabin site (Structure I).

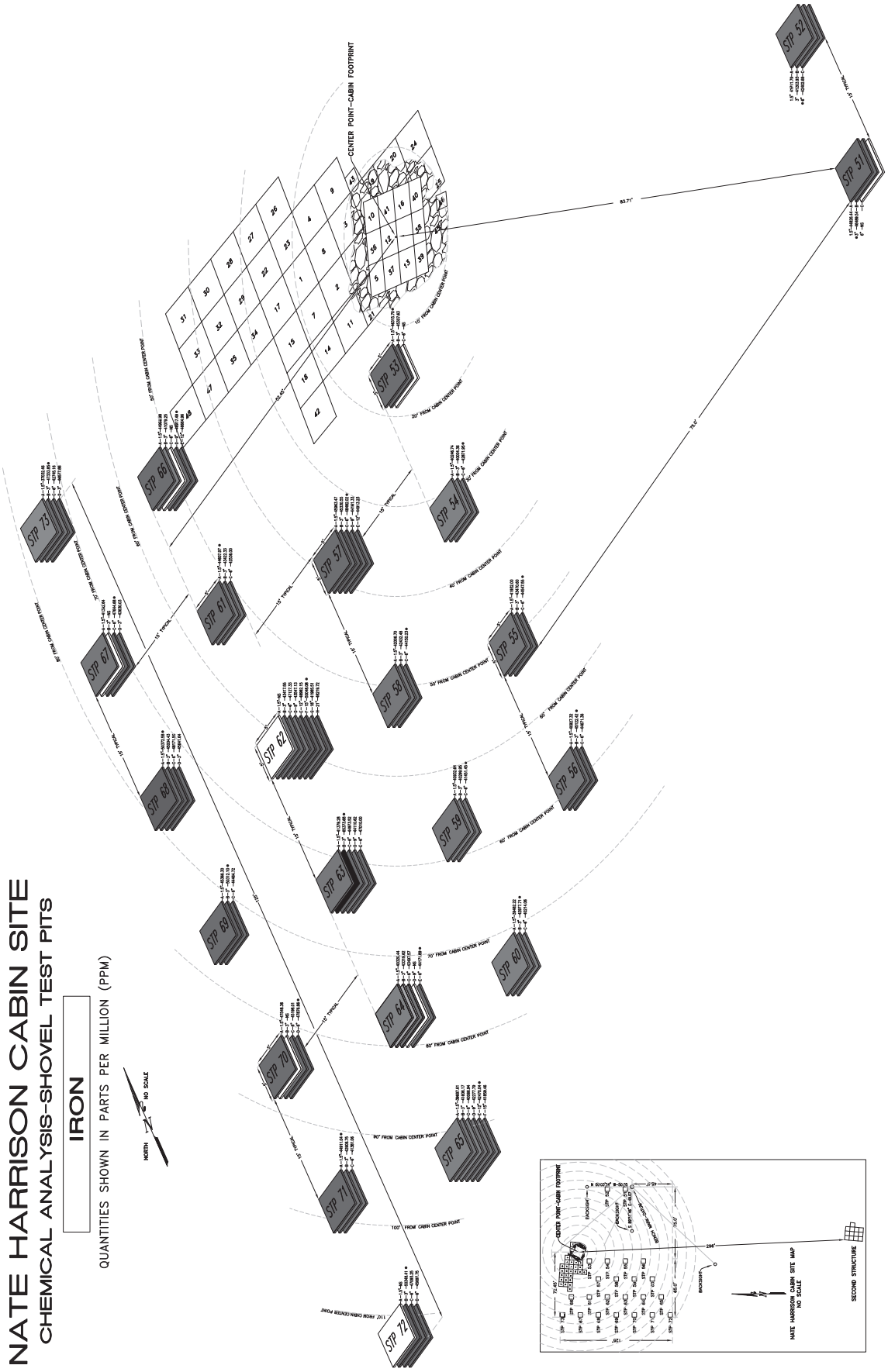


Figure 6.140. Map of soil-chemistry iron readings for the Nate Harrison site shovel test-pit survey.

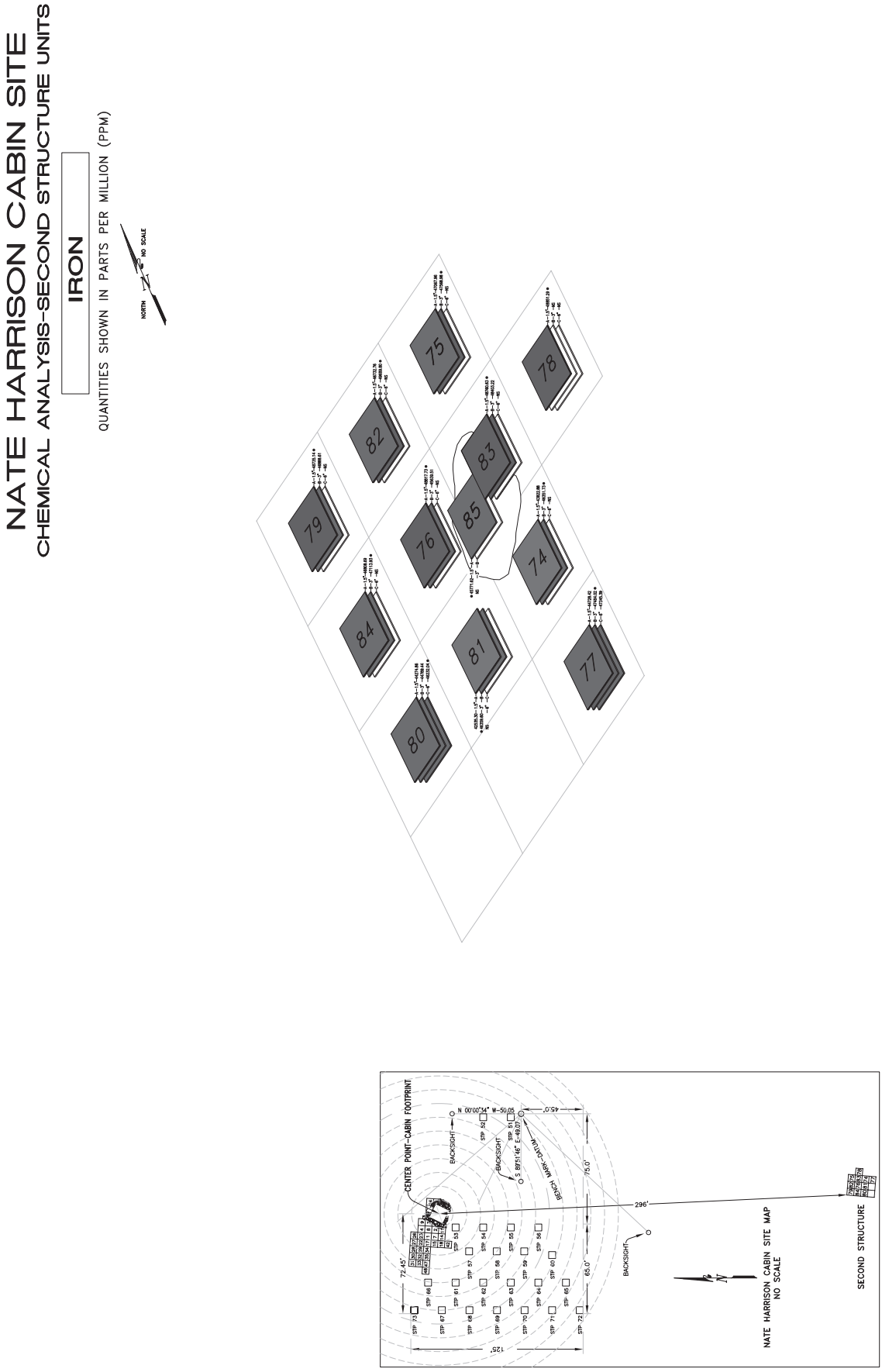


Figure 6.141. Map of soil-chemistry iron readings for the Nate Harrison site Structure II excavation area.

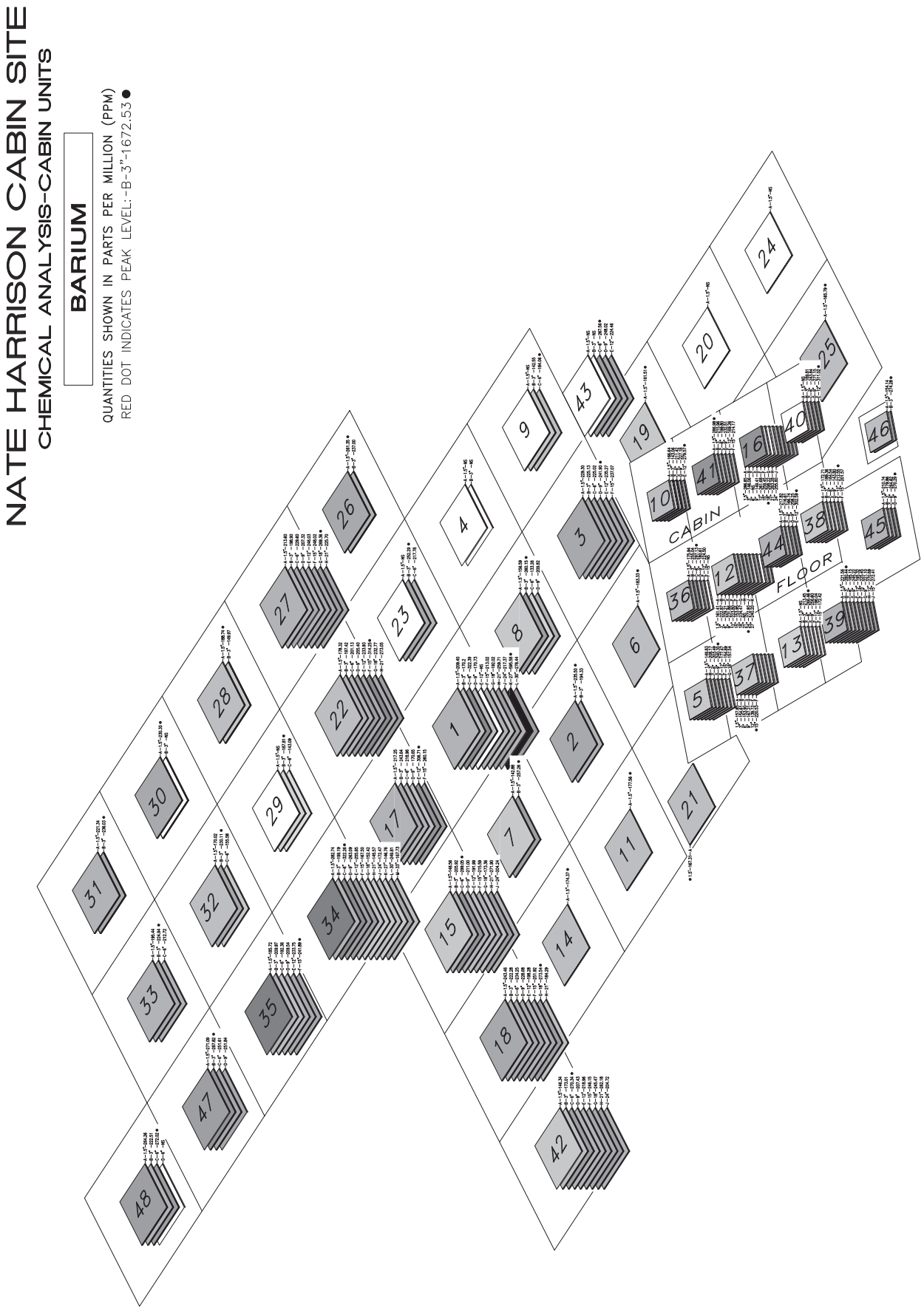


Figure 6.142. Map of soil-chemistry barium readings for the Nate Harrison cabin site (Structure I).

Likewise, barium levels from the shovel test-pit survey were slightly high in two units to the west of the main excavation area (Figure 6.143). Elevated levels in NH61B (355ppm) and NH73A (303ppm) were noted. In addition, NH70 in Transect IV also indicated a slight peak (304ppm).

The map of barium readings for the Structure II excavation area indicates no significantly elevated levels (Figure 6.144).

Zinc readings were fairly uniform across the site areas, suggesting that it is ubiquitous in the granitic soil. The control readings (NH51-52) were approximately 127ppm. The main cabin area map for zinc indicates two slightly high areas (Figure 6.145). The first is in the northeastern units of the main patio (NH17, 1, 8, 4, and 27). The second is inside of the main cabin. These zinc peaks are not pronounced.

Zinc levels from the shovel test-pit survey revealed a minor emphasis on two units in Transect IV (Figure 6.146). Elevated readings in NH68A (185ppm) and NH70A (189ppm) were noted.

The map of zinc readings for the Structure II excavation area shows one slight peak (Figure 6.147). NH78A, the unit to the immediate east of the stone wall indicates a somewhat high zinc concentration of 178ppm.

Overall, the soil chemistry tests, in conjunction with previous insights from the archaeological and laboratory work, enabled a series of tentative conclusions to be drawn regarding site activity areas. Phosphorus, calcium, and strontium clearly pinpointed the western end of the patio, especially NH34 as the primary food preparation and midden area. They further suggest that the midden deposit continues to the west beyond the current limits of excavation. Soil chemical analyses also identified the cabin's likely living surface (floor) as NH16E and NH38E.

There was an important division within the chemical elements in Group I. Phosphorus, calcium, and strontium offered relatively consistent and corroborative readings within and between the three site areas (Main cabin, STP survey, and Structure II). A series of regression analyses between phosphorus, calcium, and strontium levels reveal that these elements are highly interdependent. The r-squared value between phosphorus and calcium was 0.89667; the r-squared value between phosphorus and strontium was 0.84615; and the r-squared value between strontium and calcium was 0.93748. All of these values are overwhelmingly statistically significant and reveal their high-degree of interdependence and consistent reflection of past human activity.

The soil chemistry data provided additional insights. It suggested that some of the areas in the shovel test-pit survey merit further investigation. NH70 maintained elevated calcium and strontium levels. The chemical tests also supported the artifact-based notion that Structure II was a wall and not a multi-sided building. The few elevated chemical readings in the Structure II excavation area were adjacent to the stone wall; they were rarely detected in units that did not touch the stacked rocks. The relatively high phosphorus reading (and low artifact density) in the northwest corner unit of the Structure II excavation area suggested that this area might have been used as an animal pen (manure residue) or reflect the presence of livestock manure for pasturing (Sullivan and Kealhofer 2004:1671).

The soil analyses also intimated that NH85, the amorphous soil stain of burnt earth to the west of the stone wall, was more likely to be a prehistoric feature and less likely to be associated with the later historical wall. Figure 6.148 presents the average levels for the four elements that were the most diagnostic for the Structure II excavation area: phosphorus, lead, sulfur, and zinc. The average soil-chemistry values for NH 85 were compared with the average readings for: 1) the historical layers of the units adjacent to the wall (NH74A/B, 75A/B, 78A, and 83A/B), and 2) the prehistoric layers of the units not adjacent to the wall (NH77C and NH80C). According to the phosphorus, lead, and sulfur levels, NH85 was far more similar to the prehistoric strata than to the historical layers. Zinc levels for NH85 resembled neither the historical nor the prehistoric layers. Overall, this line of evidence suggested that NH85 was a prehistoric feature.

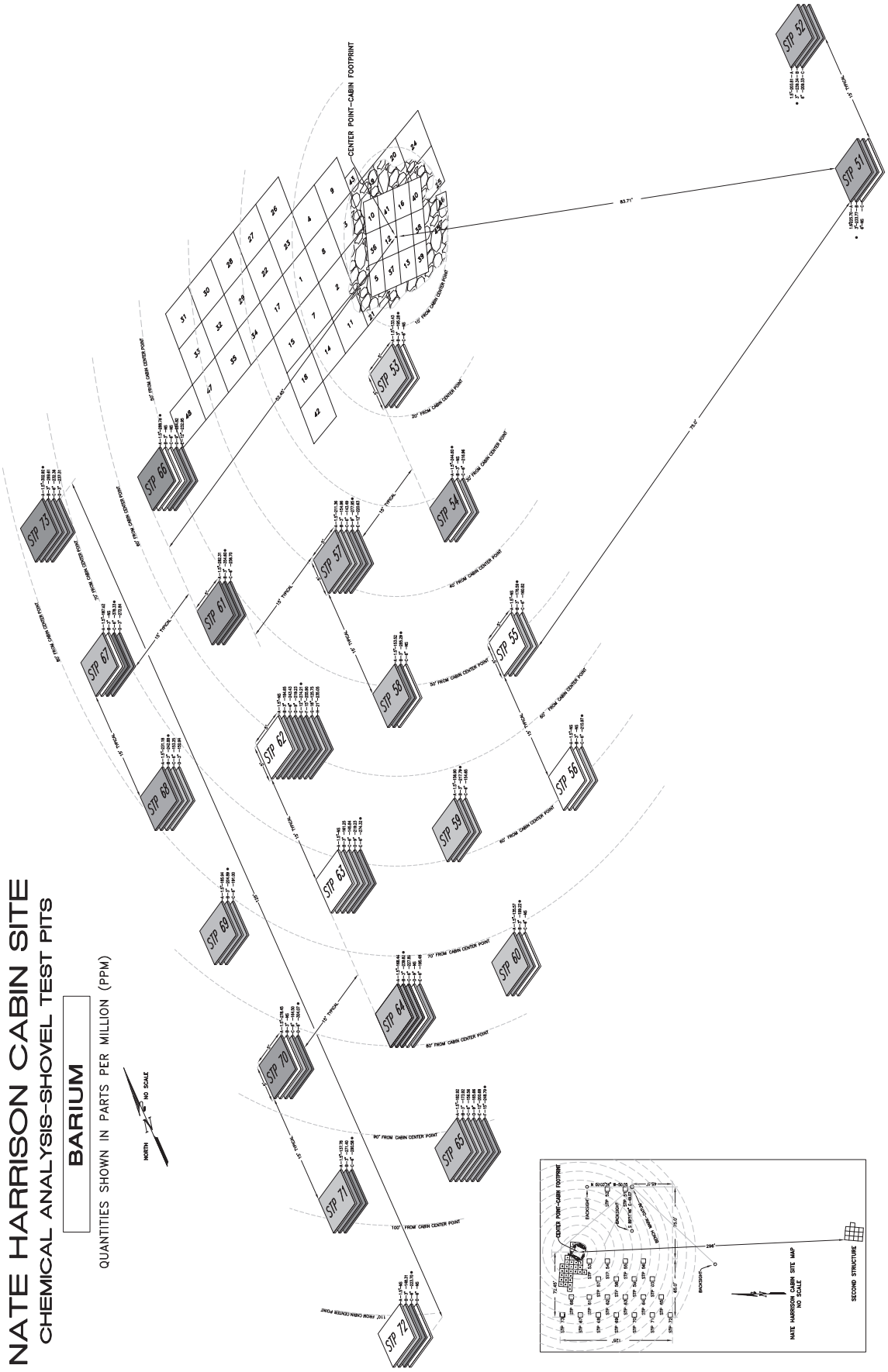


Figure 6.143. Map of soil-chemistry barium readings for the Nate Harrison site shovel test-pit survey.

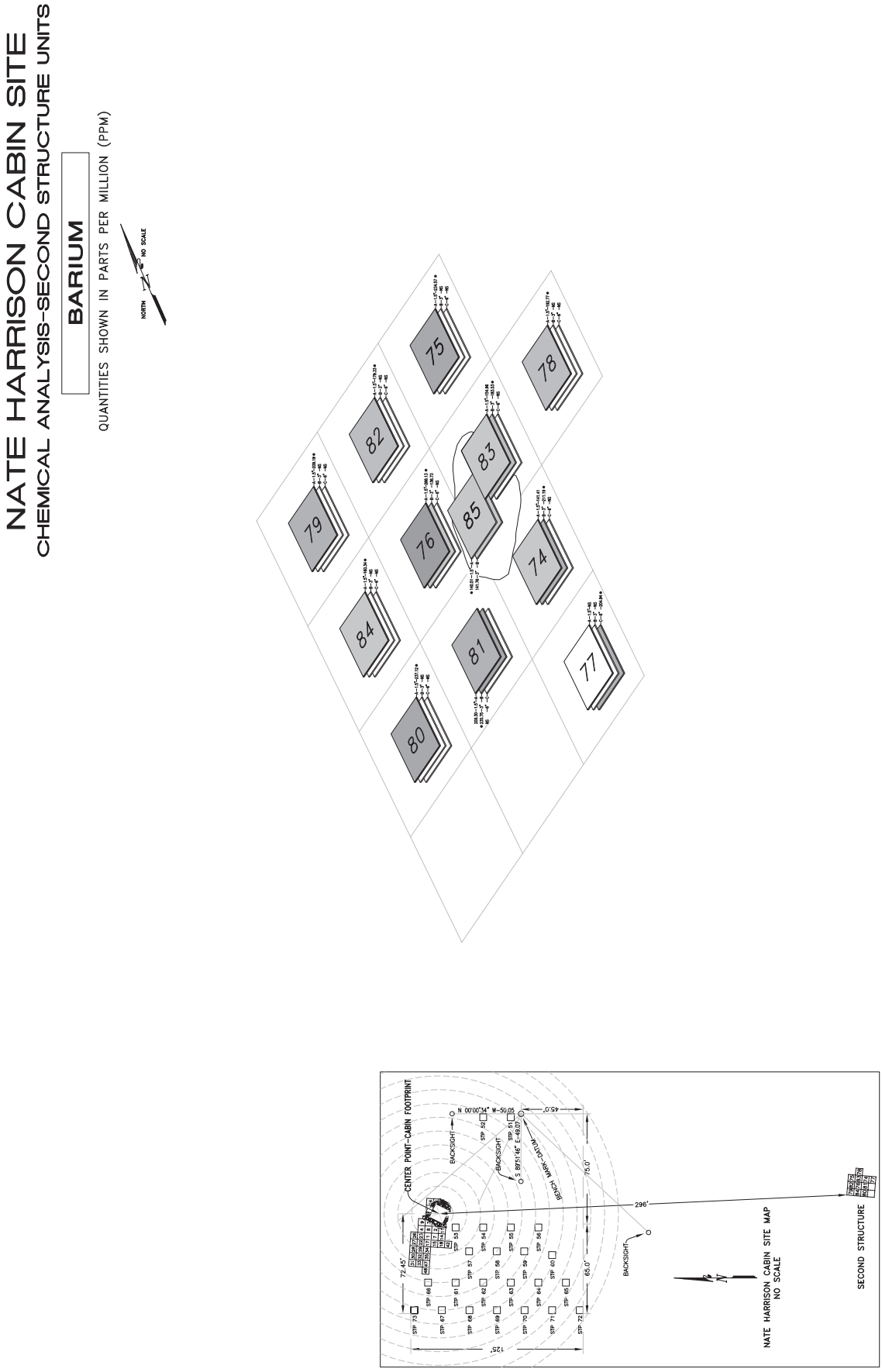


Figure 6.144. Map of soil-chemistry barium readings for the Nate Harrison site Structure II excavation area.

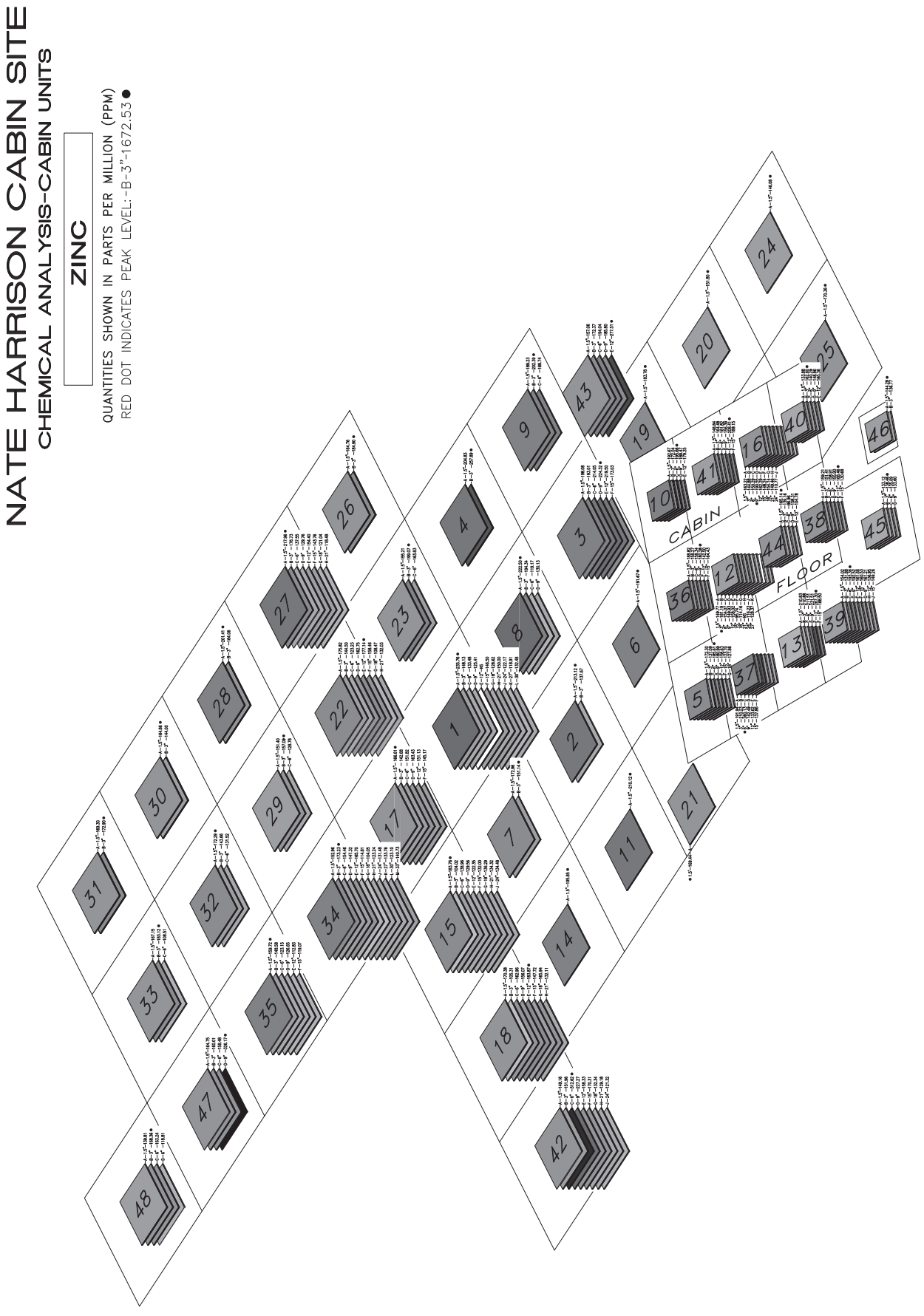


Figure 6.145. Map of soil-chemistry zinc readings for the Nate Harrison cabin site (Structure I).

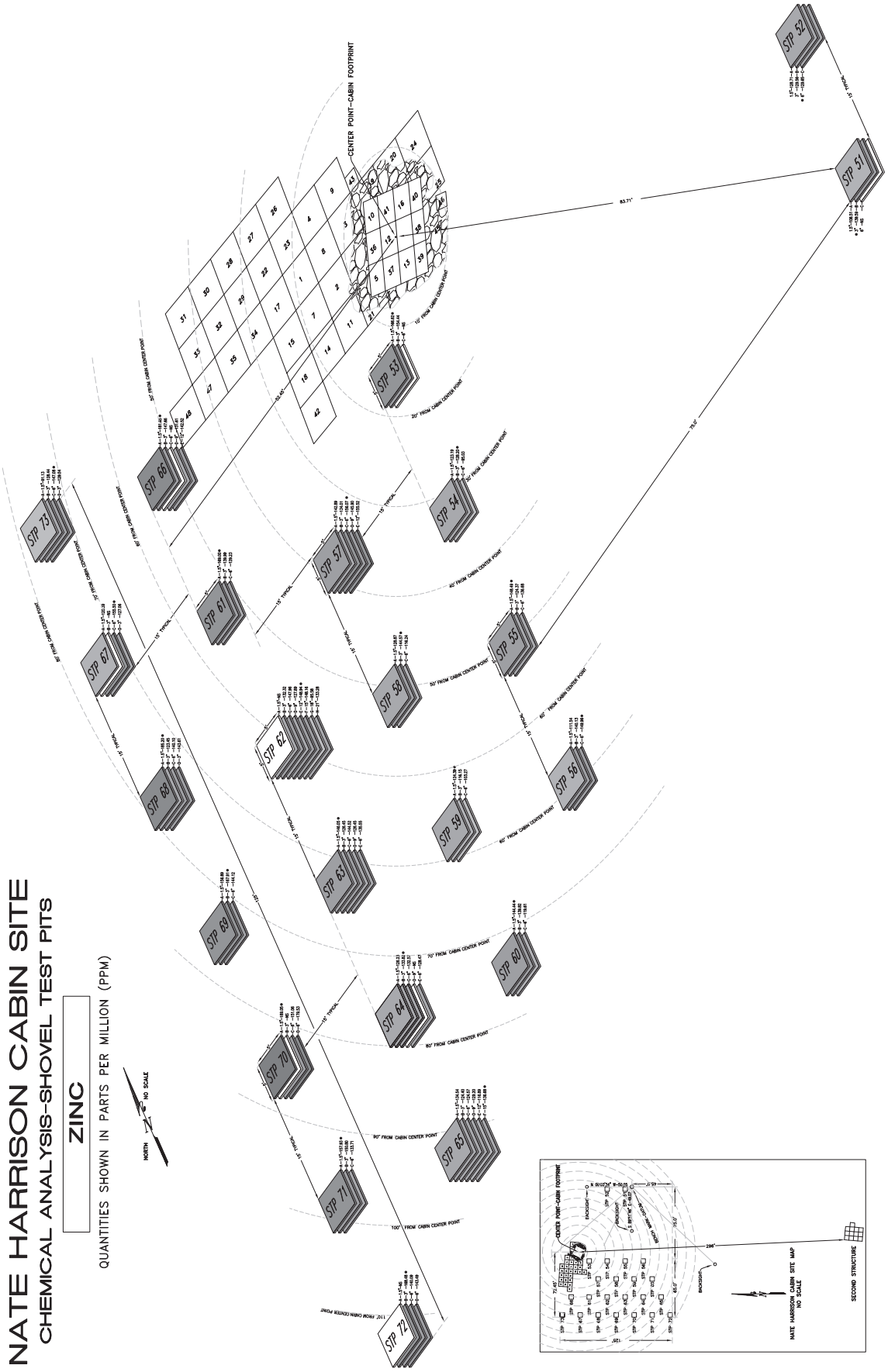


Figure 6.146. Map of soil-chemistry zinc readings for the Nate Harrison site shovel test-pit survey.

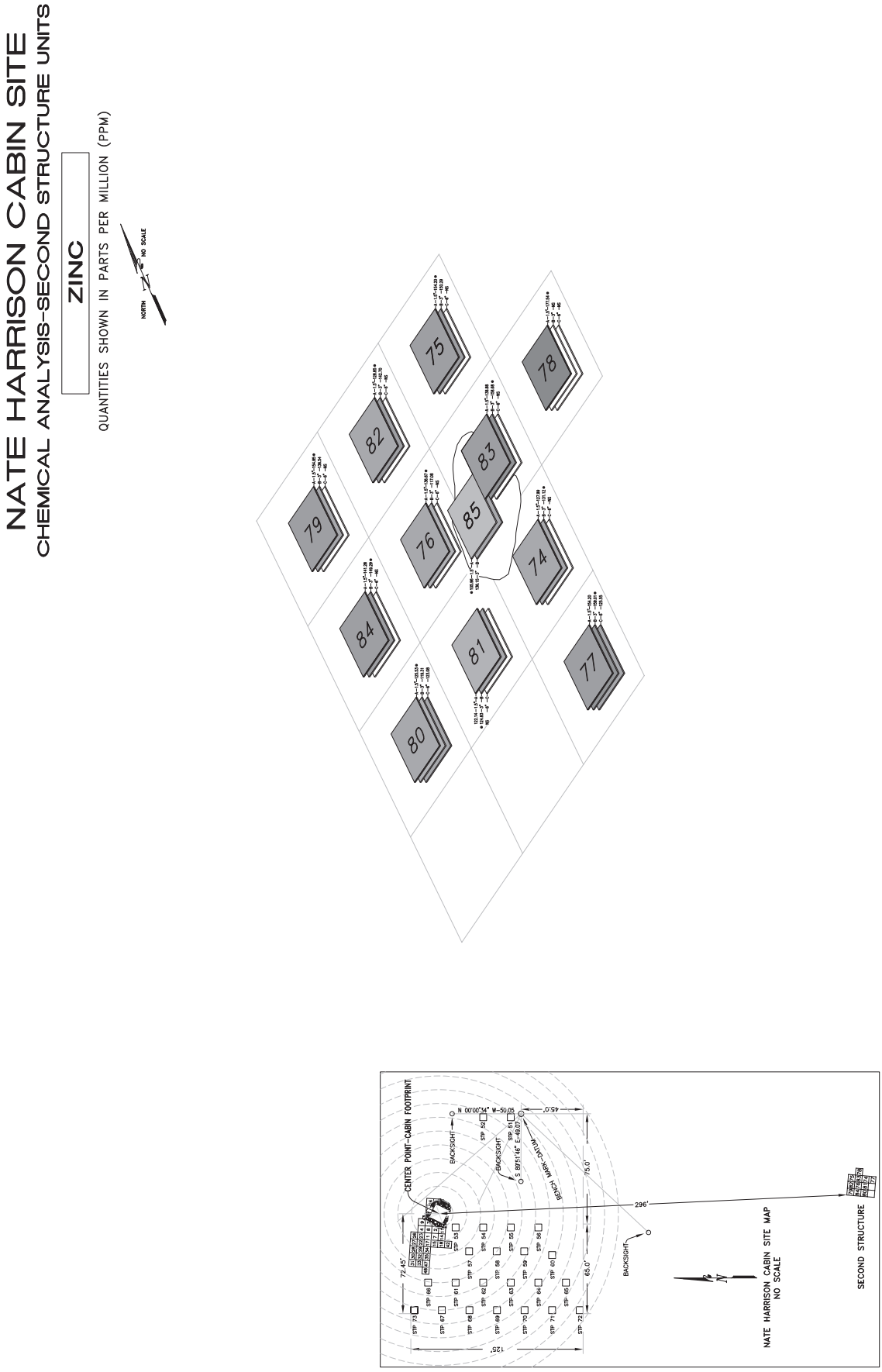
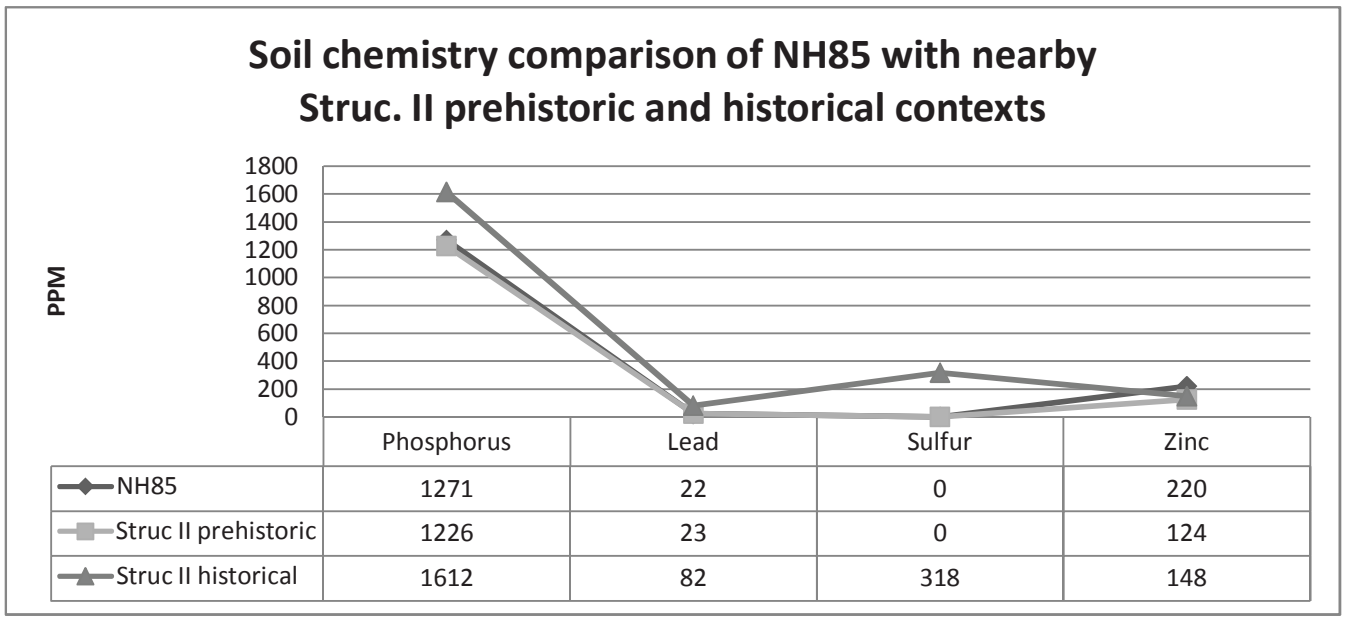


Figure 6.147. Map of soil-chemistry zinc readings for the Nate Harrison site Structure II excavation area.



	Phosphorus	Lead	Sulfur	Zinc
NH85	1271	22	0	220
Struc II prehistoric	1226	23	0	124
Struc II historical	1612	82	318	148

Figure 6.148. Table and line graph of average densities for the four elements that were the most diagnostic for the Structure II excavation area and comparisons with nearby historical and prehistoric layers.



Figure 6.149. Photograph of Poway Serrated quartz projectile point from NH36C.



Figure 6.150. Photograph of Homer Laughlin ceramic base fragment from NH8A.



Figure 6.151. Image of complete Homer Laughlin maker's mark.

6.7 Selected Artifacts

Each year, the technical report discusses individual artifacts uncovered during past field seasons. Chosen subjectively, these finds do not reflect any representative sampling.

Poway Serrated Quartz Projectile Point (NH36C)

Students working in cabin unit NH36C recovered a crystal quartz projectile point (Figure 6.149). It is an un-notched, serrated point commonly referred to as "Poway Serrated." The point has been reworked in the haft, possibly due to previous breakage (Personal communication, G. Timothy Gross, January 26, 2009). Crystal quartz closely resembles glass, but quartz is the harder material. In this case, the projectile point easily scratched glass.

The San Luis Rey cultural tradition is most commonly associated with the Palomar Mountain region. Poway Serrated points have previously been found at Sabre Springs and in the Peñasquitos Creek drainage in Poway, but are not frequently seen as far north as Palomar Mountain. Poway Serrated points date to the late prehistoric period, and are typically found on sites with pottery and cremations. Although most serrated points found in the San Diego region are finely serrated and side-notched, Poway Serrated points are thin, coarsely serrated, lack notching, and have a narrow area at the tip that lacks serration (Gross 1992:38).

While it is difficult to ascertain how this projectile point ended up at Harrison's cabin, there are several possibilities. Since there is a Native American (Pauma) habitation site, CA-SDI-594 (Fink 1979), located near Harrison's cabin, the point could have been associated with the earlier indigenous occupation. Unglazed prehistoric earthenware ceramics and lithic debitage have also been recovered in the vicinity of the Harrison cabin, although they represent far less than 1% of the assemblage.

Furthermore, many of the other artifacts in NH36C appear to have special significance for Harrison. The silver 1899 quarter and the back plate to a watch are some of the more ornate items from the site, and they all cluster in the dense historical artifact layer just inside the cabin door. It is unlikely that the Poway Serrated quartz projectile point was debris from a nearby site and much more probable that its historical placement was deliberate and meaningful. Harrison's ties to the local Native American community were often celebrated. For example, Laura James wrote in 1958 that, "Nate was a friend of the Indians and the Indians were friends of Nate's, so much so that he was adopted into their tribes to the extent that he could take part in their ceremonial dances. He was present at all the fiestas."

Archaeologists Dennis Blanton, Veronica Deitrick, and Kara Bartels, when studying projectile points in and around the 1607 James Fort in Virginia, noted a pattern of unbroken and reworked projectile points from distant sources and more completely shattered projectile points from local sources (Blanton et al. 2001:5). This led them to conclude that the unbroken and reworked foreign points were likely gifts and the broken local points were the result of combat. Likewise, the unique origin, placement, and reworked condition of the Poway serrated projectile point found in the Harrison cabin hints at some sort of special significance, perhaps ceremonial, symbolic, or gift-based (Mallios 2006).

Homer Laughlin Ceramic Base (NH8A)

A ceramic base fragment (Figure 6.150) measuring 7.0" in diameter was found on the surface of NH8. The sherd has a Homer Laughlin maker's mark stamped on its base. The mark depicts a lion lying on its back. Overhead, an eagle attacks the lion in its most vulnerable position. The symbolism inherent to the Homer Laughlin mark is the diminishment of British dinnerware dominance (the lion) and the rising popularity of American pottery (the eagle) (Lehner 1988). This particular maker's mark was referenced in E.A. Barber's 1904 book, *Marks of American Potters* (Lehner 1988:247). The mark dates between 1900 and 1904. Figure 6.151 is the complete stamp of this particular Homer Laughlin maker's mark.

Walker's Grape Juice Bottle (Surface Find Approximately 300' South of Main Cabin)

The land owners of the Nate Harrison site found a "Walker's Grape Juice" bottle approximately 100 yards south of the Harrison cabin (Figures 6.152 and 6.153). The fully intact 9.0" vessel has a tooled finish. The body of the bottle along with the neck and base were formed by a mold; the neck and lip portion were hand blown within the mold. The tooled finish can be identified by the fading of the mold seam before it reaches the lip, indicating that the bottle was more than likely produced in a semi-automatic machine. Soda and beer bottles were produced in fully machine-made productions by 1905 when Owens was licensed to use automatic machines (Miller and McNichol 2002). The lip of the recovered bottle has a crown cap finish, patented in 1892 by William Painter (Painter 1892).



Figure 6.152. Photograph of Walker's Grape Juice "ten-pin" bottle recovered south of the main cabin.



Figure 6.153. Photograph of embossed base with the lettering: "WALKER'S GRAPE JUICE, ERIE, PA".

The Grape Products Company was created in 1909 to manufacture Walker's Grape Juice (Drury 1911:127). Walker's and Welch's were rival grape-juice producers during this time. Walker's aggressively marketed their product, placing advertisements for the "ten-pin" juice bottles in many magazines. For example, the 1910 June-December volume of *Scribner's Magazine* contained an advertisement for Walker's Grape Juice, described as "the ideal outdoor drink; especially appropriate to the next-to-nature summer season. At porch parties, picnics, motor outings, boating trips, Walker's is the most satisfactory thing that you can serve" (Figure 6.154). When Welch's expanded in 1911, they "purchased the land, building, machinery and corporate franchises of the Grape Product Company" (Drury 1911:127). This dates the Walker's Grape Juice bottle found at the Nate Harrison site between 1909 and 1911.

Historical photographs of Nate Harrison contain striking parallels with imagery of the Walker's grape juice advertisement. A circa 1911 image (Guy B. Woodward Museum Collection Image #1 in the fourth technical report [2008]) shows Harrison and two others having a picnic near his cabin, and a 1916 photograph (Kirby Collection Image #5 and Escondido History Society Image #5 in the first technical report [2005]) shows Harrison with

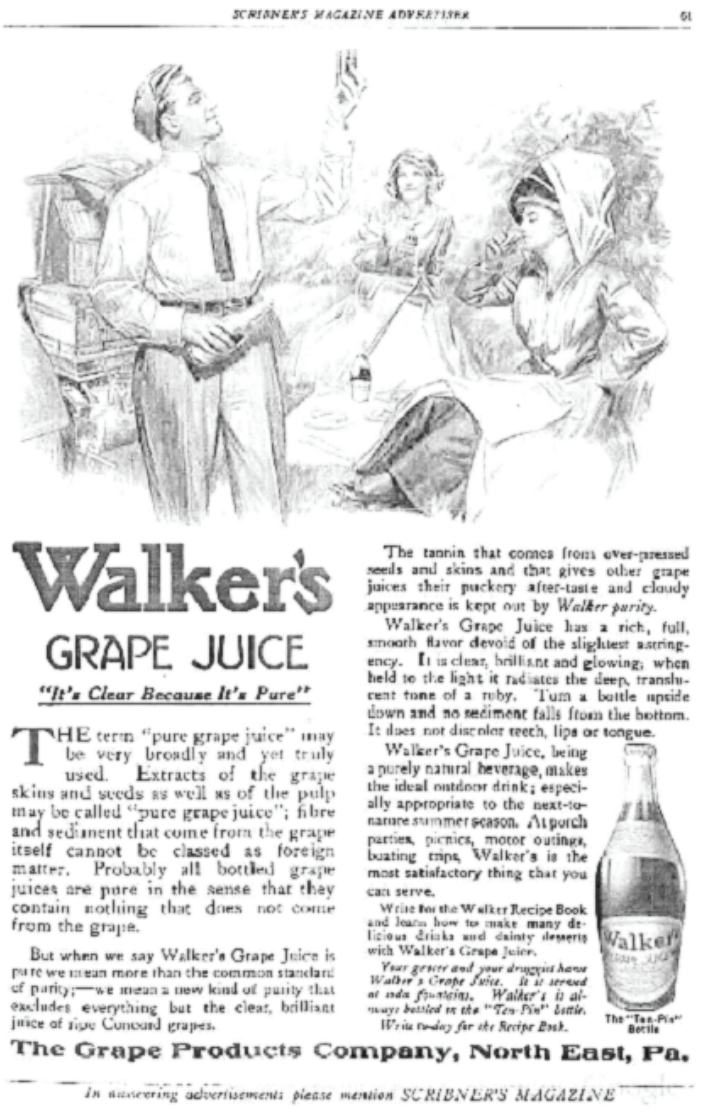


Figure 6.154. A 1910 advertisement for Walker's grape juice from Scriber's Magazine.

Escondido jeweler Frank Reynolds, who wears similarly formal picnic attire clothing (cap and tie) as the Scribner's advertisement.

Libby, McNeill & Libby Glass Jar (NH7A)

During the past 5 years of excavation at the Nate Harrison site, students have uncovered several meat and sardine cans (Mallios et al. 2008). In the summer of 2008, one excavator found a meat jar, an intact, solarized amethyst glass jar from NH7A. Embossed on the bottom of the 3 ½ inch jar is "LIBBY, McNEILL & LIBBY/ INCORPORATED/ July 11 1893/ CHICAGO, USA" (Figures 6.155 and 6.156).

The mold seam of the glass jar stretches to the highest vertical point on the rim. The lip of the jar was finished by grounding, a typical finish for fruit jars (Jones and Sullivan 1989). Based on the mold seam and the flat ground finish, the jar was semi- automatic or fully machine made. Semi-automatic machines were used before 1900, but by 1905 there was a marked increase in fully machine made glass products (Barnett 1925).

The glass jar was produced with manganese dioxide. During the production of glass, chemicals are added in order to turn glass clear from its original aqua-blue or green state (Hinson 1996). Manganese dioxide was a common agent used in glass making, imported primarily from Russia. During World War I, manganese dioxide as a resource was cut off from the U.S. due to German blockades. Glass manufacturers turned to a different chemical source, selenium (Hinson 1996). Manganese dioxide glass turns a purple color when exposed to sun for a long period of time; glass with selenium, however, does not. Based on the color of the glass jar and the fact that it was machine-made, the vessel likely dates between 1905 and 1914.

Libby, McNeill & Libby began as A.A. Libby and Company, founded in 1869 by Archibald McNeill and brothers Arthur and Charles Libby in Chicago, Illinois. Their business was meat canning. They started with general beef canning and then experimented with the preservation of ox, beef, and pork tongues (Wade 2003:103). They renamed their business Libby, McNeil & Libby in 1875, when given permission to use the newly improved pyramid cans, created by William J. Wilson of the Wilson Packing Company (Wade 2003:103). Pyramid-can packaging was widely adopted by other canning factories because the extra room at the top of the can allowed meat to slide out neatly, still in mold shape. Although many lawsuits were filed in the 1870s regarding the pyramid-can design, by 1881 the U.S. Federal Court had settled the litigation by voiding William J. Wilson's patent. The court concluded that a process for cooking and packaging meat could be seen as a monopoly and its singular ownership was therefore invalidated (Goodwin 1882).



Figure 6.155. Photograph of Libby, McNeill & Libby glass jar recovered from NH7A.



Figure 6.156. Photograph of embossed base with the lettering: "LIBBY, McNEILL & LIBBY/ INCORPORATED/ July 11 1893/ CHICAGO, USA".

Libby, McNeill and Libby were very successful; by the 1880s they had over 1,500 employees and slaughtered over 200,000 cattle per year (Wilson, Porter, and Reiff 2005). They expanded at the turn of the 20th century and began canning fruit as well. A 1907 advertisement from *The Atlantic Monthly* (Figure 6.157) illustrated the different canned and jarred products Libby, McNeill & Libby offered, including pickles, ketchup, mustard, chow chow (a Chinese preserve of fruits, peels, and ginger, or a relish consisting of chopped vegetables pickled in mustard), olives, and jams.

Pencil Eraser (NH4A)

Students working in the northeast patio area (NH4A) uncovered a pencil eraser head still within its metal ferrule (Figure 6.158). Charles Goodyear was the first American to vulcanize rubber, which he discovered in 1839 and patented on June 15, 1844. The curing process stabilized the rubber and made it much more durable. In 1853, Goodyear detailed the concept of attaching an eraser to a pencil, writing that erasers are to be "set into metal sockets…or formed into rings or heads which are intended to slip over the ends of a wooden pencil" (Goodyear 1853:39). Hyman Lipman was issued the first patent for an attached pencil eraser in 1858. His eraser was glued into a groove within the pencil, which could then be shaved down to form an eraser tip. Lipman's patent was voided by the United Stated Supreme Court several years later because the combination of an eraser and pencil did not constitute a new invention.

Barbed Wire (NH6A, 11A, 33A, 35C, 36B, 42E, 47A, 48A, 48C, 48D, 55B, 63B)

A comparative analysis of the barbed wire fragments excavated from the site, organized by patent and production dates of various styles, further detailed the artifactual chronology of Harrison's occupation at the site. Many of the historical photographs of the cabin contained partial images of wire fencing around the cabin area (see Mallios et al. 2005). Certain sections were clearly barbed, while other parts appear to be simple barbless strands.



Figure 6.157. A 1907 advertisement for Libby, McNeill & Libby products from The Atlantic Monthly.



Figure 6.158. Photograph of eraser head within its metal ferrule from NH4A.

There is written evidence that Nate Harrison herded sheep for homesteading ranchers, plus the archaeological discovery of sheep sheers and faunal remains (James 1958, Yamaguchi 1998). Cattle ranching was also common in the Palomar area in the early 1900s. The possible presence of ranch animals at the site might substantiate the need for barbed wire fencing.

Wire fencing emerged as an early alternative to wood fences or stone walls. The first wire fences were often single strand. They were easily broken by cattle, requiring inventive ways to deter livestock (Ray and Schamel 1997). Michael Kelly invented and patented the first barbed wire fencing in 1868, consisting of two twisted wire strands with a pointed sheet metal barb. Stronger than the single strand and an effective cattle deterrent, this wire was called the "Kelly Thorny Common" (Figure 6.159). Joseph Glidden acquired multiple patents in 1874 for coiling a two-point barb around a double twisted strand. This common type of wire became known as the Glidden Winner (Figure 6.160). Figure 6.161 shows a variation on one of Glidden's patents, a single strand with a two-point coiled barb (Devil's Rope Museum 2007). Glidden is also responsible for inventing machinery for mass producing barbed wire and describing a method for locking the barbs in place. Numerous barbed wire styles have been patented since the mid-1800s (Ray and Schamel 1997).

Figure 6.162 includes a list of the barbed wire (and plain, single-strand wire) fragments excavated from the site, the unit and layers from which they were excavated, a physical description and patent name, and patent dates. Using information from the Devil's Rope Museum website, as well as patent dates and styles from the *Barbed Wire Identification Encyclopedia* (Hagemeier 2001), the barbed wire excavated from the site shows a date-range intersection of 1868-1881. This chronology reflects the early years of Harrison's time on the mountain. Multiple styles of wire fencing are present in the assemblage; they include common single strand wire (Figure 6.163), Glidden Winner, Glidden Round Single Strand, and multiple 5-point star barbs. One of the many patents for a 5-point star barb was the Kennedy 5-point Star (1874). Images of 5-point barbs in Clifton's comprehensive book (1970) illustrate the Kennedy 5-point Star barb, mounted on a single-strand wire. It resembles the star barbs found at the Nate Harrison site. Another 5-point star barb was patented by McGlin and Hart (1876) for use with multiple strand



Figure 6.159. Sketch of Kelly Thorny Common barbed wire from 1868 (Devil's Rope Museum 2007).



Figure 6.160. Sketch of Glidden Winner barbed wire from 1874 (Devil's Rope Museum 2007).

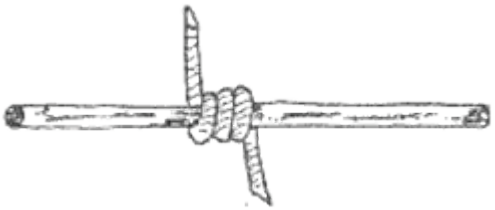


Figure 6.161. Sketch of Glidden Round Single Strand from 1876 (Devil's Rope Museum 2007).

Context	Style	Patent date
NH6A, 45A, 56A	Glidden Winner	1874
NH11A	Glidden Round Single Strand	1876
NH18D	Barker Five Point Star Barb (single strand wire); detached from wire (though present)	1881
NH33B	Barker Five Point Star Barb (single strand wire); detached from wire (though present)	1881
NH33A, 35C, 36B, 42E, 47A, 48A, 48C, 48D, 55B, 63B	Single strand wire, looped at far ends, no barbs present	Pre-1868

Figure 6.162. Table of barbed wire by context, style, and patent date.



Figure 6.163. Photograph of looped plain wire from NH35C.

wire fencing (3 holes are present in center of star barb). However, close examination of the Nate Harrison star barbs reveals that they are "Barker Five Point Hanging Stars," patented by George E. Barker of Waverly, New York (PAT 251,505) on December 27, 1881 (Marshall personal communication, 2009; Sowle personal communication, 2009; Hagemeier 2001).

Hose Garter Clasp (NH3A)

Students uncovered an intact sock or hose garter clasp in NH3A (Figure 6.164). It has a loop for attaching a button, as well as a hinged clasp on the top of the loop. The clasp is engraved on both sides. The front reads "PAT 7 6-97"; the back is engraved with the words "BOSTON GARTER." The front of the looped portion includes the following engraved information: "VELVET GRIP," "12.31.95," and "PAT 4.30.95." There was likely a knitted (non-elastic) leg band or belt for attaching the garter to the calf, or for attachment to knee length under-drawers. An early advertisement for the Boston Garter or Velvet Grip supporter appeared in 1905 (Figure 6.165). An advertisement from 1906 (Figure 6.166) states the garter is "Especially designed to wear with knee drawers." Hose supporters were used by both sexes and people of all ages, as shown in the Velvet Grip hose supporter advertisement (circa 1910-1919) in Figure 6.167. "Velvet Grip Hose Supporters," often worn by woman and children as well, continued to be popular through the 1940s (Stone 1930).



Figure 6.164. Photograph of hose garter clasp from NH3A.



Figure 6.165. A 1905 advertisement for the Boston Garter.

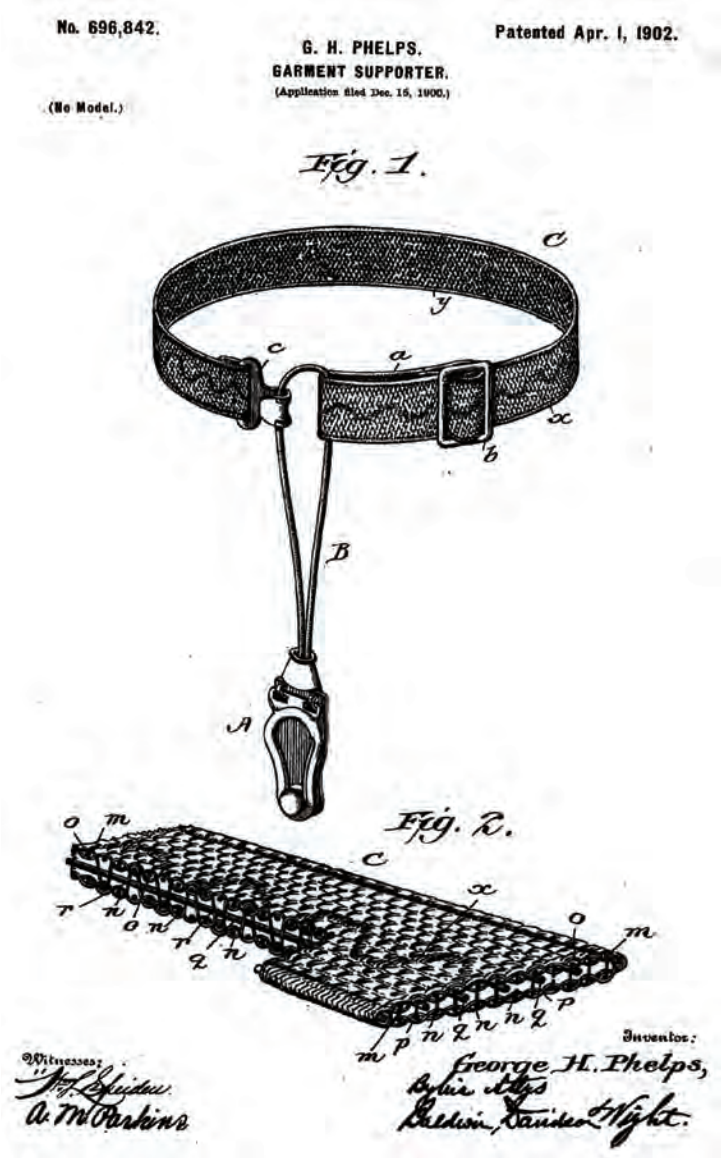
Boston Garter made clasps from 1898 to 1940. The clasp material is gilded nickel and was advertised as "non-rustable." The George Frost Company originally produced the Boston garter as a supporter for men's calf-length socks. George Phelps, assignor to the George Frost Company, filed a patent for an early garment supporter for children that was approved in 1902 (Figure 6.168). The patent states that the clasp style shown in the patent image was already "well known and extensively used" (Phelps 1902:60). By 1915, patents for improved clasp styles were being developed by assignors of the George Frost Company (Glidden 1915). The garter clasp found at the site likely dates from 1905 to 1915.



Figure 6.166. A 1906 advertisement for the Needraw Boston Garter.



Figure 6.167. An advertisement from 1910 to 1919 for children's George Frost Company garters.


No. 696,842. Patented Apr. 1, 1902.

G. H. PHELPS.

GARMENT SUPPORTER.

(Application filed Dec. 15, 1900.)

(No Model.)

Fig. 1.

Fig. 2.

Witnesses:

A. M. Parkins

Inventor:

George H. Phelps,

Baldwin, Sanders & Wright.

Figure 6.168. George H. Phelps's 1902 garment-supporter patent.



Figure 6.169. Photograph of cylindrical ink bottle recovered south of the main cabin.

Ink Bottle (Surface Find Approximately 300' South of Main Cabin)

A large cylindrical ink bottle was found by the landowners and acquired by the SDSU excavation team in 2008 (Figure 6.169). The bottle has a lip finish that is rounded and flanged; it likely had a cork stopper, common to vintage ink bottles. The neck is 11/16" in length and embossed with "3 ½ OZ." There is a bead string rim at the base of the neck. The height of the bottle is 3 12/16", with a base diameter of 1 15/16". A significant amount of dried black ink is still present on the inside of the bottle. Possible label residue is present on one side of the bottle body, though it has no distinguishing marks. A mold seam is present to the lip, and evidence of machine production dates the bottle to 1900 or later (Kendrick 1963). An embossed maker's mark on the bottom of the bottle identifies it as a Hazel Atlas brand bottle. This particular mark was used from 1920 to 1962 (Toulouse 1971).

Covill's *Ink Bottles and Inkwells* (1971) discusses the various shapes of ink bottles from the early 1800s to mid-1900s. Cone-shaped ink bottles were common from the early 1800s to early 1900s; square-shaped ink bottles were used after 1860; and cylindrical bottles were used after 1900. Various other shapes such as hexagonal, barrel, or

igloo shaped bottles were also common in the late 19th century. With the invention of the ballpoint pen in the 1930s, the ink well became less common. The cylindrical, or spool, shape of this artifact, as well as the maker's mark, places the production and use of this ink bottle most likely after Harrison's death in 1920.

Pinex Bottle (NH4A)

Students found fragments of a Pinex Cough Syrup bottle in the main cabin's patio area. The bottle's body and base were successfully mended, resulting in a nearly intact vessel (Figure 6.170). The bottle is approximately 5" in height. There are a significant number of small bubbles in the glass throughout the body and neck. The rectangular body and base measure 2" across the front with 1" side panels. The side panels are embossed along the length with the word "PINEX" in capital letters. The finish (Davis-type, stacked bead rings) shows a mold seam present to the lip, suggesting a machine-made manufacturing process. Machine-made bottles were first produced in 1905 by Owens Illinois Company (Miller and McNichol 2003) and were common throughout the U.S. by 1915. Although Kendrick (1963) notes that early mouth-blown and machine-made bottles with a significant number of bubbles suggest manufacturing prior to 1910, other authors maintain that there no such temporal bubble gradient (Jones & Sullivan 1989).



Figure 6.170. Photograph of the Pinex bottle from NH4A.

Laura and William Noll of Fort Wayne, Indiana founded the Pinex Company in 1905. By 1910, its most popular product—Pinex cough remedy—could be purchased in most drugstores across the United States. By 1913, it was sold internationally (Leininger 1981). Early Pinex advertisements appealed to high-class clientele, emphasizing that when a customer "…starts using Pinex he forgets about the 'cough medicine that mother used to make', because he has found something a great deal better. Therefore, he is not a 5-cent or 10-cent customer—*he's a 50-cent customer*" (Eberle 1911:11). The same 1911 advertisement boasts Pinex's most important ingredient as "imported Norway pine tar;" it asserts that "Pinex has brought to the druggist a veritable flood of half dollars from people WHO WOULD NOT BUY READY MIXED COUGH SYRUPS—your own or any other"; and it self-reflectively concludes that, "Some druggists feel that our ads in the past have been 'too near like reading matter'. Well, gentlemen, we took the shortest route to reach THE CLASS OF CUSTOMERS WE WERE AFTER" (Eberle 1911:11).

Pinex's advertising campaign underwent a striking shift by the 1930s, one that abandoned the previous posturing for a more mainstream audience. During the Depression Era, Pinex cough syrup was often advertised on country music variety programs such as *Jamboree* (station WWVA in Wheeling, West Virginia), and *Dinner Bell Roundup* (station KXLA in Pasadena, California). Cincinnati's station WLW produced the *Pinex Cough Syrup Show*, featuring the Pine Mountain Merrymakers, female country singers who integrated ads, music, and yodeling to promote Pinex (McCusker 2008). Lily May Ledford, one of the most popular female country performers in the 1930s, was depicted as "Lily May, Mountain Gal" in a comic strip sponsored by Pinex Cough Syrup in *Stand By!* magazine, a weekly periodical of WLS radio in Chicago (Williams 2003).

Liberty Dime (NH7A)

Four dated coins have been unearthed during the Nate Harrison Historical Archaeology Project, including a 1916 dime that was found during the 2008 field season in patio-area unit NH7A. The obverse depicts Lady Liberty's wreath bedecked head and the word "Liberty" (Figure 6.171). The reverse bears the words "ONE DIME" in the center surrounded by the cereal wreath. An "S" indicates minting in San Francisco (Figure 6.172). This particular Liberty dime is known as the Barber dime, nicknamed after its designer, Charles Barber. It was minted from 1892 to 1916 (Berman and Guth 2007). In 1916 two different Liberty-head dimes were minted. The initial 1916 dime was Barber's design; the latter was Adolph A. Weinman's "Mercury" Liberty dime. The Mercury nickname comes from the fact that Liberty is wearing a winged Phrygian cap, like the Roman god, Mercury.



Figure 6.171. Photograph of the obverse of the 1916 Liberty dime from NH7A.



Figure 6.172. Photograph of the reverse of the 1916 Liberty dime from NH7A.

Wooden Pipe Bowl (NH47A)

Excavators working in the western patio-area (NH47A) uncovered a complete wooden pipe bowl (Figures 6.173 and 6.174). Often made of polished apple wood or rosewood, these late 19th-century pipe bowls usually connected to a large bit rubber stem, many of which have been found at the site (See 2005-08 Technical reports). Nate Harrison's ubiquitous pipes were prominent in historical accounts and photographs and well represented in the archaeological assemblage as well. The 1897 *Sears Roebuck & Co. Catalogue* sold a variety of these relatively inexpensive pipes (Figure 6.175). They could be purchased for less than a nickel a piece.



Figure 6.173. SDSU undergraduate Chanthy Choeum carefully excavates the wooden pipe bowl in the western patio area.



Figure 6.174. Photograph of wooden pipe bowl from NH47A.



Figure 6.175. Page 345 of the 1897 Sears Roebuck & Co. Catalogue contains a variety of wooden tobacco pipe bowls similar to the one found in NH47A (Sears, Roebuck and Company 1897:345).

6.8 A Final Note…

From September 2008 through January 2009, the San Diego State University Main Library hosted an 11-case exhibit on the Nate Harrison Historical Archaeology Project. Entitled "The Archaeology of Nate Harrison: Legends and Legacies of an African-American Pioneer in San Diego County," the exhibit was located in the Donor's Hall and was viewed by thousands of students, faculty, staff, and members of the community (Figure 6.176). The following section of this report presents an overview of the exhibit text. Portions of the exhibit are scheduled to travel to San Diego's Museum of Man for display during 2010.

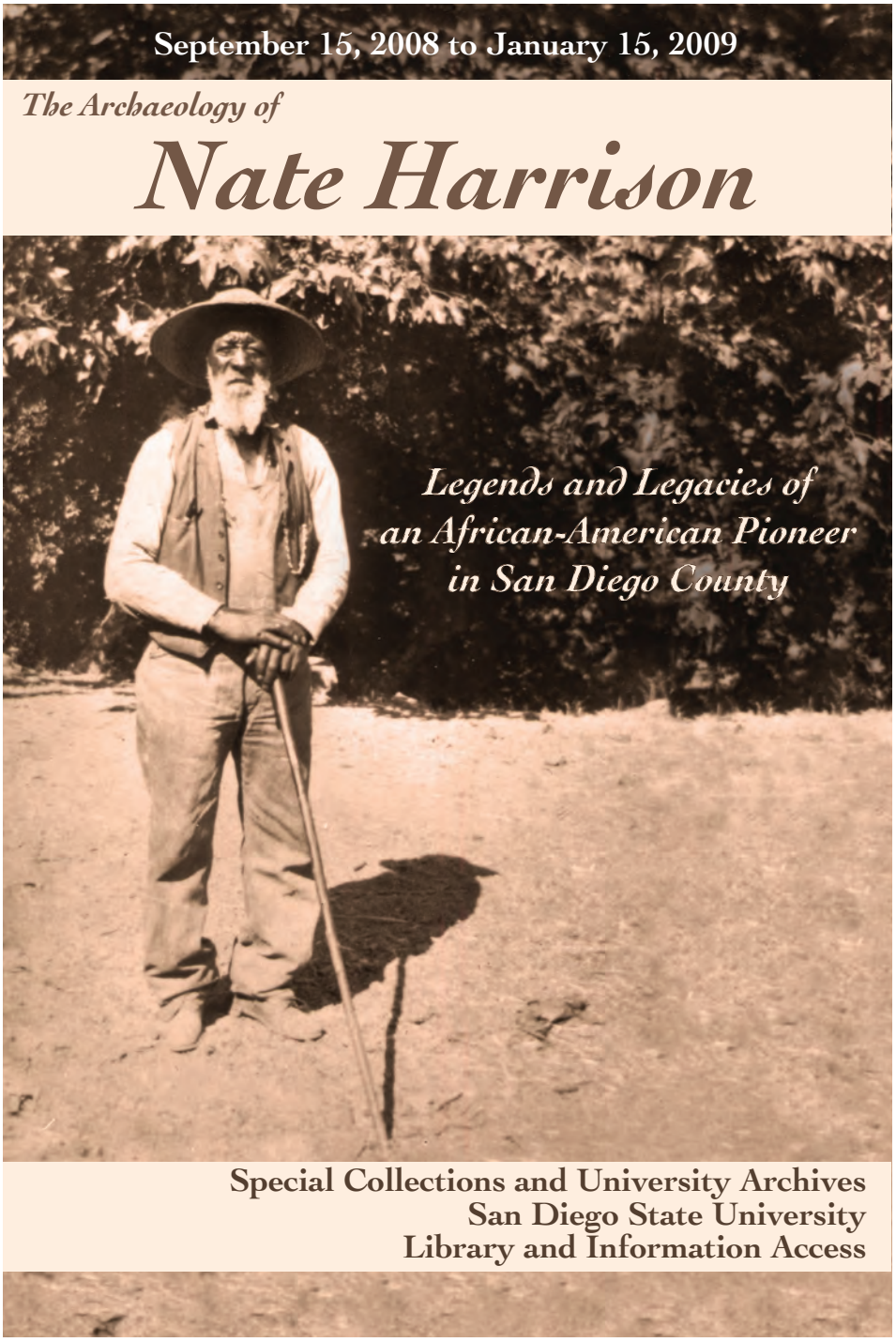


Figure 6.176. The poster from the 2008-09 SDSU library exhibit.

The eleven cases had the following themes:

1. Introduction
The Nate Harrison Historical Archaeology Project

The legend of Nate Harrison looms large in San Diego County. Mythical stories abound of the region's first African-American homesteader, this former slave from the South who lived during the late 19th and early 20th centuries atop Palomar Mountain. The tall tales have grown over time; each subsequent generation adds to Harrison's larger-than-life status as mountain man, pioneer, and emancipated slave.

Dr. Seth Mallios, professor and chair of Anthropology at SDSU, started the Nate Harrison Historical Archaeology Project in 2004. Over the past five years, Mallios and dozens of SDSU students have excavated Harrison's historic hillside home, unearthed over 20,000 artifacts, and, in the process, revealed numerous insights into everyday life on the frontier. In addition, Mallios and his students have analyzed all of the historical records, photographs, and narratives regarding Harrison, pinpointing important transformations in the stories of this famed Palomar pioneer that reveal as much about modern San Diego as its past. The following exhibit showcases the archaeology of legend and everyday life.

2. Harrison photo gallery
The most photographed 19th-century San Diegan

There are more historical images of Nate Harrison than any other 19th-century San Diegan, more than city founder Alonso Horton or famed lawman Wyatt Earp. Why so many photographs? One explanation is that the image served as proof that visitors had indeed made it up the treacherous road. Another explanation reveals more about historical race relations in San Diego. Harrison opted to live apart from most of white San Diego at a time when the African-American population began to grow in number, wealth, and visibility in the downtown area. Nate Harrison, with his ties to slavery and the South, was exotic; yet he was also very non-threatening in his diminutive size (5' 3") and in the fact that he chose to self-segregate.

This entire exhibit case is dedicated to some of the many historical photographs of Nate Harrison. It is worth remembering that when these images were taken, cameras were neither common nor cheap. Those who took the pictures were very deliberate in what they captured on film and why they choose to shoot it.

3. Photographic and archaeological correspondence
Exact archaeological parallels

It is not often that you get to call your shots in archaeology. In the case of the Nate Harrison site, however, the many historical photographs enable archaeologists to look for specific items that were clearly of value to Harrison. Although we never recovered his trusty walking stick, field school students did succeed in unearthing his ubiquitous pipe and his watch and chain.

4. Archaeological dimensions of time, space, and form
How do you know this is Nate Harrison's place?

Archaeological dimensions of *time*, *space*, and *form* guide scientific excavations and consequent interpretations at all sites. Answers to these most basic questions: 1) "how old is it?", 2) "where was it found?", and 3) "what is it?" enable professional archaeologists to assess and attribute meaning to the artifacts, features, sites, and landscapes of the past. Historical archaeologists—those who dig sites with associated documentary evidence —have the added issue of evaluating how archaeological finds support, contradict, or broaden the written records. They balance an inherent bias in the written word with the fragmentary nature of archaeological artifacts and sites. In this exhibit case, separate temporal, spatial, and formal analyses are used to demonstrate how we know that this site was indeed the former hillside home of Nate Harrison.

5. Myth busting at the Nate Harrison site
Nate Harrison was neither alone nor destitute

Archaeology is well suited to busting myths, and the recent excavations at the Nate Harrison site have strongly questioned many long-held assertions about Palomar Mountain's famed African-American pioneer. This display counters the accepted notions of Harrison as a destitute hermit. Archaeological evidence reveals Harrison had

many visitors and owned a mix of high-status and low-status goods. It suggests that he was neither alone nor impoverished.

6. More myth busting at the Nate Harrison site
Nate Harrison's mountain-based hide-tanning industry

Many of the written histories of Nate Harrison have undeniably racist overtones. Stories from the 1930s and '40s often employ the offensive stereotype of "the lazy black man." For example, Virginia Stivers Bartlett claimed in 1931 that, "Uncle Nate never did a solid day's work in his life." This passage is doubly offensive as it also hints at Harrison's similarity to an "Uncle Tom," a racist allusion to overly subservient black men. Did Harrison work? Multiple lines of archaeological evidence suggest that he ran his own cottage industry at the site, hunting deer and prepping hides for tanning on a regular basis.

7. Harrison's goods in context of the Wild West
Early U.S American material culture

The site's total artifact assemblage is both specific to Nate Harrison and general to frontier life in the Wild West during the Early U.S American period. This display case explains how many of the objects that Harrison used on a daily basis reflected the deeper societal and technological issues confronting the U.S. at the time, like Prohibition, national advertising campaigns, snake-oil salesmen and rampant medical fraud, the transcontinental railroad, and the standardization of time zones. Just as Harrison's legend became incorporated into so many different iconic stories of frontier life, the bits and pieces of his everyday life reflect ideas that are quintessentially and undeniably American.

8. Goods from around the world on historic Palomar Mountain
Nate Harrison's cosmopolitan goods

Traveling up the Nate Harrison Grade, even in the 21st century, gives you the feeling of leaving the world behind and separating from society. Yet, the materials from the archaeological site emphasize just the opposite—they re-connect the remote hillside homestead with the rest of the world and reveal that Harrison's water spring was a nexus of exchange and interaction with a wide range of individuals and communities. The points highlighted on the global map represent the city of origin for many of the recovered artifacts.

9. The architecture of the Nate Harrison cabin
A San Diego slave quarters

Nate Harrison's cabin did not resemble any other structure in 19th- and 20th-century San Diego. A new western environment, his freedom, and a multi-cultural landscape had seemingly little effect on how Harrison constructed his house. Rather than copy a design common to San Diego, Harrison chose a cabin reminiscent of slave architecture found on plantations throughout the Antebellum South. Architectural styles Harrison had been exposed to during his years in the South were his primary influence as he built his home in Southern California. His house would have blended in perfectly with slave quarters separated from early 20th-century Palomar Mountain by 100 years and 3,000 miles.

10. The death and memorialization of Nate Harrison
Harrison's unceremonious burial

Nate Harrison—the exotic, charismatic, self-segregating former slave—was celebrated when he was on the mountain. Yet, his last year and ultimate resting place in the city of San Diego was met with little attention. Harrison spent the final year of his life in the San Diego County Hospital and was then placed in an unmarked grave at Mount Hope Cemetery when he died. This legendary pioneer was in an anonymous plot for over 50 years.

11. Digging local history
The field school experience

Each summer, Professor Mallios takes a team of SDSU students up Palomar Mountain to excavate at the Nate Harrison site. The crew camps on the remote mountain for a month, completely immersed in the Nate Harrison Historical Archaeology Project.





Afterword

Despite the fact that this volume serves as the final report for the first decade of historical and archaeological research at the site, there are still many important research questions regarding the life and legacy of Nate Harrison that have yet to be answered. It is worth noting that only a very small percentage of the original Harrison tract on Palomar Mountain has been surveyed and excavated. Furthermore, today's Nate Harrison Serenity Ranch has unlimited potential for community engagement for all of San Diego County through a stimulating, vital, and diverse public history program. Clearly, work on the Nate Harrison Historical Archaeology Project is not finished, and accordingly, excavations at the site resumed in the spring of 2017.

(Courtesy of Trevor Prough)

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