

CALIFORNIA STATE UNIVERSITY, NORTHRIDGE

MEMORIALIZATION AND MEMORY OF SOUTHERN CALIFORNIA'S  
ST. FRANCIS DAM DISASTER OF 1928

A thesis submitted in partial fulfillment of the requirements

For the degree of Master of Arts in Anthropology,

Public Archaeology

By

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## DEDICATION

For the residents of the Santa Clarita Valley and the Santa Clara River Valley, in memory of the victims of the Santa Clara Flood who perished following the breaking of the St. Francis Dam.

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## ABSTRACT

### MEMORIALIZATION AND MEMORY OF SOUTHERN CALIFORNIA'S ST. FRANCIS DAM DISASTER OF 1928

By

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Master of Arts in Anthropology, Public Archaeology

The commemoration of disasters is a product of social, cultural, economic, and political forces in human society. Southern California's largely unheard-of St. Francis Dam Disaster of 1928 provides an excellent opportunity to study this complex process of commemoration, engaging memory within difference frames of reference. In particular, evaluating how and why this man-made dam disaster has been forgotten on a state and national level, but tenuously remembered within the flood-zone, allows for consideration of the diversity of commemorative processes in the construction of memory and heritage related to major catastrophes. This research synthesizes archival and survey data to better understand how the disaster and the dead have been commemorated throughout the 54-mile flood zone: spatially, through state monuments, community memorials, grave markers, and memorabilia, and conceptually, through poems, songs, and oral histories. Identifying what parts of the past are remembered, and how they are remembered and interpreted, provides understanding of how public memory develops. Further, being able to determine the factors that influence why certain things are remembered and memorialized, while other things are forgotten, can provide insight into not only the individual motivations and perceptions related to the creation of memory, but also to the larger issues of how a culture establishes both legends and traditions.



## CHAPTER I

### INTRODUCTION

Today the St. Francis dam site is in ruins, having long-ago been dynamited into small blocks of crumbling conglomerate. The base of a monument once marking the dam's place on the landscape remains, its plaque vandalized and removed days after initially being installed. The ruins are accessible by foot path along an abandoned road section that intersects with San Francisquito Canyon Road, within the boundaries of the Angeles National Forest (ANF). A California Historical Landmark plaque recognizing the disaster sits 1.4 miles below the dam site behind a chain-linked fence in front of Los Angeles Department of Water and Power's (LADWP) San Francisquito Power Plant No. 2. Two cork boards behind glass in an adjacent parking lot display sun-faded photos of the dam in all its glory, as well as the floods aftermath. A few miles downstream from the former dam ruins, a monument to the flood victims sits in a small family burying ground on private property; its inscription obliterated by the effects of the arid climate and a forest fire, which burned through the area in 2002. Forty-five miles away, down the Santa Clara River Valley in Santa Paula, a monument recognizing heroes and survivors of the disaster can be found in the town center near a historic train depot; in a nearby cemetery, a memorial honors unidentified flood victims. Dispersed throughout the flood zone, 173 victims are interred in six cemeteries; half of these graves remain unmarked. Another 135 victims are buried in 58 cemeteries around Southern California and across the United States. As many as 117 individuals remain missing to this day.

This research focused on how Southern California's St. Francis Dam disaster of 1928 and its victims are remembered and memorialized. Both have been forgotten on a state and

national level; however, within the 54-mile flood zone, a tenuous memory of the flood and its devastation persists. I have explored what has been remembered and how the event has been commemorated by analyzing public narrative associated with the disaster, drawing from historical records, and through visiting cemeteries and communities throughout the flood zone looking for various forms of memorialization. Throughout the project I have kept an open dialog with LADWP employees, ANF Heritage Resource Managers, historical society leadership and members, dam historians, descendants of victims and survivors, land owners in San Francisquito Canyon and the Santa Clara River Valley, and other heritage stakeholders.

The public narrative observable today is largely due to the efforts of a network of historical societies and dam historians, who have come to be known as “dammies.” Local historical societies acknowledge the disaster annually through anniversary activities, such as hosting talks and providing tours the dam ruins. Many of the dammies have organized community events commemorating the disaster (e.g. tours of the dam site, survivor reunions, museum exhibits), work with local media (i.e. newspapers, television and online), and generate articles and interest around the anniversary dates. Historical society members and dammies have communicated firsthand with survivors and kin of flood victims, influencing their understanding and remembering of the disaster as well as what they choose to pass on to the public.

Operationalized within a historical archaeology framework, this thesis applies archaeological and historical data in the study of social memory to better understand how post-disaster rituals and community commemoration affect the long term memory, materiality, and heritage associated with a catastrophic event. Previously recorded oral

histories, local historians' interpretations, public commentary, archival documents, and archaeological resources are all utilized in this analysis to explore how memories are established and transmitted within a community and persist over time. This analysis will reveal the combination of forces influencing the collective forgetting of the disaster, as well as how memory has persisted within the flood zone.

### **Historical Background**

The St. Francis Dam failure is a salient component within the broader context of California history as well as the lore associated with the development of water resources in the West. The dam was a feature of the First Los Angeles Aqueduct, built by the City of Los Angeles' Bureau of Water Works and Supply (BWWS), under the direction of Chief Engineer William Mulholland. Mulholland's Owens Valley - Los Angeles Aqueduct played a central role in the explosive growth of Los Angeles. His legacy also includes what is considered to be the greatest civil engineering disaster in modern United States history (Jackson and Hundley 2004:9). The St. Francis Dam disaster is the second largest disaster in California history, in terms of loss of life, and is the largest man-made disaster in the state. The failure resulted in changes in dam design and construction in California and across the country.

A worst-case scenario, the St. Francis Dam catastrophically failed precisely at 11:57:30 p.m. on March 12, 1928. In the darkness of night, 12.38 billion gallons of water drained in less than 72 minutes down narrow San Francisquito Canyon, through the Santa Clara River Valley, to the Pacific Ocean. The flood carried with it trees, buildings, fences, telegraph poles, railway tracks – everything in its path. Some victims drown; others were crushed and mangled by impaction with moving objects (Reardon 1928; Claims Records

1928-1929: WP 19-17-01:6). Many victims were not recovered for days and weeks following the failure as their bodies were buried under feet of silt or within dense piles of debris (Dickie 1928:866; Hoffman 1998:8).

In the weeks following the flood survivors within communities of the flood zone expressed their loss on individual and collective levels. Some submitted poems and other forms of personal expression to local papers. One poignant example is from William Miller, who wrote about the golden-haired daughter of his neighbor, Hezekiah Kelley, later published in the *Fillmore American* on March 22, 1928:

Now Phyllis Comes No More

When Phyllis comes to visit me  
My ecstasy untold;  
For Phyllis' eyes are bonnie blue  
And Phyllis' hair is gold.

When Phyllis comes to visit me  
We sit upon the grass;  
And as she sweetly lisps to me  
The time doth swiftly pass.

Now Phyllis is as frank as fair,  
I'll pledge my word on that;  
And often sweetly says to me:  
"My, ain't you awful fat?"

Yet Phyllis likes me passing well,  
I'd ask of maid no more;  
And I forgive her frankness, quite,  
For Phyllis is but four.

Others rallied through their associations with community clubs and other civic organizations. The Saugus Community Club of Saugus and Southwest Improvement Club of Santa Paula both organized formal commemorative ceremonies and placed memorials following the disaster and subsequently on anniversary dates.

Newspapers around the country provided coverage on the death and destruction caused by the floodwaters; tales of horror and heroism were reported on for days (Evening Star, 13 March 1928; Chicago Daily Tribune, 14 March 1928; New York Times, 14 March 1928). Front page headlines, including “Wastes Scarred by Fearful Hand of Death Stretch Under Leaden Skies in Land of Misery,” “Corpses Flung in Muddy Chaos by Tide of Doom,” and “Desolation Stalks Where Fertile Fields Once Held Happy Homes, Now Hurlled Into Oblivion” were found in the newspaper the day after the dam failure (Los Angeles Times [LAT], 14 March 1928:6) Due to the darkness of night, survivors could not see the floodwaters coming, but many described the sounds as reminiscent of a wild animal, thunder, and even war cannons (Martinez 2014:2; see Heraldo de Mexico, 14 March 1928:1). Among the many stories reported on, survivor tales included “How Old Man Koffer [was] Swept to Safety on Mattress of His Bed,” as well as how Frank Maier “Shot his Way Out Thru Roof of House” to provide an escape route for him and his family (Fillmore American [FA], 15 March 1928:1).

Various estimates on the number of flood victims have been published over the years, ranging from 400 to 600 individuals (Hoffman 1998:8-10; Outland 2002:254). In July 1929, the Death and Disability Claims Committee, under the direction of the Citizens’ Restoration Committee, published the most conclusive report compiled by the City of Los Angeles reporting on the number of dead (Allen 1929). The report states 370 individuals (i.e. 306 identified and missing and 64 unidentified) were killed in the failure; however, no comprehensive list of victims is provided therein. What is provided in the report are lists of claimants and settlement amounts associated with death and injury directly resulting from the failure. The St. Francis Dam Claims Records (Claims Records), used by the Citizens’

Restoration Committee to determine the payout of death claims, have been digitized for this research and their contents were included in this analysis as a means by which to compile an accurate list of victims and their burial locations.

### **Study Area**

The floodwaters resulting from the St. Francis Dam failure impacted a 54-mile flood zone spanning Los Angeles and Ventura counties in Southern California (Figure 1.1). The dam was erected in rural San Francisquito Canyon; floodwaters traveled down San Francisquito Canyon to the Santa Clarita Valley and Castaic Junction, and then turned west following the Santa Clara River south of Piru, Fillmore, and Santa Paula through Ventura County to the Pacific Ocean. The area devastated by the floodwaters of the St. Francis Dam disaster is the primary setting for this research.

South of the dam site, past Power Plant No. 2's small community, ranches dot the landscape down San Francisquito Canyon until gradually meeting the suburban sprawl of Santa Clarita Valley. Along State Highway 126, west of Santa Clarita Valley, the Santa Clara River Valley is largely agricultural, consisting of ranches, orchards, and farms. Some of larger holdings include those of the Newhall Land and Farming Company and the Limoneira Ranch. Rancho Camulos, the setting for Helen Hunt Jackson's 1884 novel *Ramona*, is also within the flood zone. Past Piru, Fillmore, Bardsdale, and Santa Paula, floodwaters followed the Santa Clara River southwest through the valley, emptying into the Pacific Ocean at Montalvo.

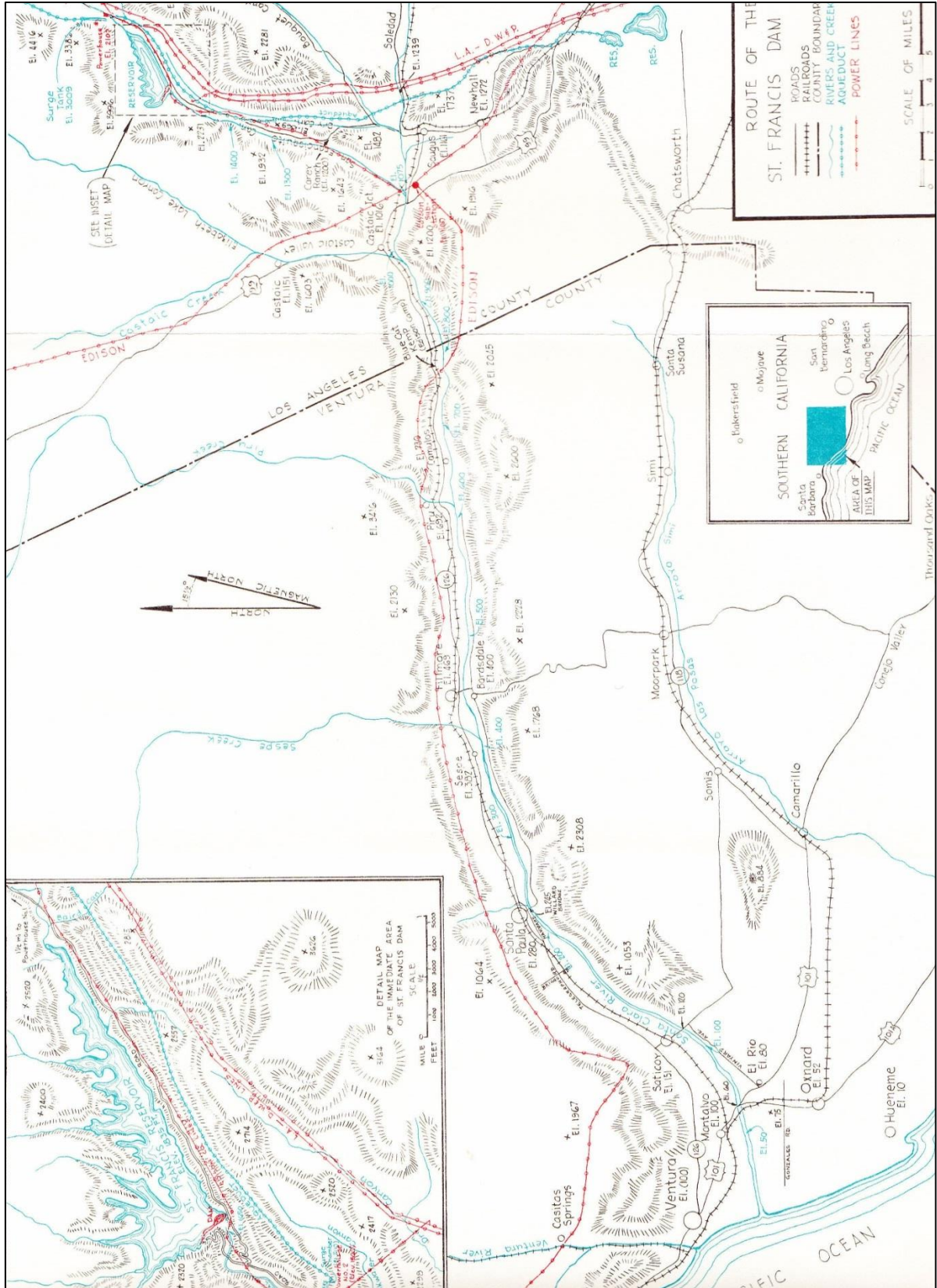


FIGURE 1.1 Map of the route of the St. Francis Dam flood (Baker 1963).

## **Methodology**

Heritage has always been a focal point in historical archaeology. The first historical archaeology projects in the United States were associated with cultural heritage – those events deemed important in American history (e.g. Jamestown, Monticello, Mount Vernon, and Colonial Williamsburg) (Orser 2010:113). Heritage is both a product of and a contributor to memory. Distinct locations are imbued with meaning, which is reinforced by the physical association (i.e. phenomenological perception), and form a dynamic part of the social memory. Contemporary historical archaeologists have come to see heritage in a broader context and are exploring the means by which it functions as a social construct regulating the what, why, and how of “remembering” (Stritch 2006).

Current projects studying identity, memory and heritage all, in some way, incorporate a landscape approach (Raj Isar et al. 2011:2-9). More specifically, this approach allows archaeologists to analyze how identity and memory are materially impressed and memory is inscribed within the landscape (Connerton 1989:22-23). Memories are, in a sense, actualized via these material remains and thereafter reinforced through social custom, practice and inhabitation within the context of the landscape (Holtorf and Williams 2006:237-238).

This research incorporates theoretical perspectives from several disciplines to study the interrelated themes of memory, materiality, and heritage. Social memory, a framework based on the work of French sociologists Emile Durkheim and Maurice Halbwachs, is the central theoretical perspective utilized in this analysis. A Functionalist approach to the study of catastrophe as a social process is also incorporated into this research. Post-disaster rituals such as searching for and identifying the dead, body recovery and management, formal memorial services, and anniversary events function to “reflect and endorse a sense of family



and community, expressing and reinforcing a shared sense of meaning and understanding, even if that sense of order and meaning has been temporarily suspended at a time of shock and loss” (Eyre 2007: 442). I apply these perspectives, in tandem with a historical archaeology based methodological framework, by incorporating Paul Connerton’s (1989) theories on inscribing practices (placing monuments, markers or other spatial mnemonics on the landscape which act to store information that will later be retrieved) and incorporating practices (rituals in which memory is transferred between individuals in a community through a process of mnemonic socialization) within my analyses.

Documenting inscribing and incorporating practices associated with the St. Francis Dam Disaster is accomplished by searching through archives for records (e.g. newspaper articles) associated with the erection of memorials and other commemorative activities, and locating and documenting various forms of memorialization within the flood zone. With this data, an analysis of the construction of memory and heritage of the event is possible. The intellectual merit behind this research design, and the overall contribution this project makes methodologically within the field of historical archaeology, is the study of the commemoration of disaster through an analysis of the construction of memory, materiality, and heritage created through the social and cultural processes that have taken place since the 1928 failure.

### **Research Questions**

The defining work on the dam and disaster is Charles Outland’s *Man-Made Disaster: The Story of St. Francis Dam*; in the preface he states that the event “has been allowed to decay into historical wreckages as shattered as the ill-fated dam itself” (Outland 2002:10). Because it has been forgotten, Southern California’s St. Francis Dam Disaster provides an

excellent opportunity to study post disaster commemoration and to analyze how social, economic, and political forces impact memorialization. Insight into how and why this man-made dam disaster has been forgotten on a state and national level, but tenuously remembered within the flood-zone, is revealed through an analysis of the construction of memory, materiality, and heritage related to this catastrophic event.

Two core research questions and one larger, overarching question are tested in this thesis:

Question 1: How are the victims of the St. Francis Dam Disaster memorialized spatially, through state monuments, community memorials, grave markers, and memorabilia and conceptually, through songs, ballads, previously recorded stories, and other forms of folklore?

Question 2: What sorts of commemorative activities have taken place within the flood zone since the disaster? How have these events been materially expressed? Are their monuments, memorials, or other portable mnemonic devices associated with these ceremonies?

Question 3: What does the synthesized archival and archaeological data tell us in terms of the social, political and economic factors impacting the remembering and forgetting of the disaster and the dead?

Methods used to address these questions required correlating data from the St. Francis Dam Claims Records, coroners' records, English and Spanish newspapers, dam historians (dammies), and physically locating graves, memorials, and monuments. Within the flood zone, data on how are the victims of the St. Francis Dam Disaster have been memorialized spatially through memorabilia, grave markers, community memorials, and state monuments,

as well as conceptually through songs, ballads, and previously recorded stories, was collected. As a list of victims and their burial locations was compiled, research and survey efforts were expanded to include interments in cemeteries throughout the greater Los Angeles area, as well as out-of-state.

There are few monuments and memorials associated with the disaster visible within the landscape today. Based on this understanding, I undertook this project expecting to explore the circumstances which led to the event being left unmemorialized and excluded from the public memory. Counterintuitive to what I was expecting, my research quickly identified dozens of diverse forms of commemoration. This discovery did not change the applicability of the research questions, but expanded them to include various forms of commemoration that have either exceeded the temporal and spatial scales which they were intended to convey and have not persisted, or are now treated as memorabilia.

My first hypothesis is that the disaster has primarily been forgotten on a state and national level because of its association with the California “water wars,” as well as the legacy of Mulholland. A primary factor in this argument is that the placing monuments and memorials and maintaining the memory of the victims was not part of the city of Los Angeles’ recovery and restoration efforts within the flood zone. Commemoration of casualties was a key focus of clubs and other service organizations within different communities the flood zone, however.

My second hypothesis is that memory of the disaster has persisted in the flood zone through a great diversity of commemorative processes. The generation that experienced the disaster most certainly remembered it, and even judged time based on whether something happened before or after the dam burst (Licon 2014). Many of the early memorials placed

during commemorative activities following the disaster may no longer be visible on the landscape, though memory of the disaster persists within Santa Clarita Valley and the communities of the Santa Clara River Valley.

My third hypothesis is that the demographic make-up of the communities of the flood zone impacted how and where commemoration occurred. Inscriptions and iconography present on grave markers of flood victims reflects respective cultural and ethnic diversities, and the placement of the graves of victims within cemeteries indicates current community practices, such as segregated burials. Being that a significant number of casualties were men temporarily working in the flood zone from out-of-state, interments are likely to be dispersed throughout the United States.

My fourth hypothesis is that the expansive landscape of the flood zone has been a key factor influencing memorialization, and by extension memory, of the disaster and its victims. The area is still largely agricultural, with small and large heterogeneous communities spread throughout the Santa Clarita and the Santa Clara River Valley. This presents significant challenges with respect to effectively placing memorials that represent the remembrances of individual survivors and communities. Few survivors are still alive; local historical societies have taken on the responsibility of honoring their legacy, and memory of the event. Several monuments have successfully been erected since the disaster. These memorials are spatial representations which reflect shared community remembrances reached by consensus.

Just as monuments have maintained the memory of the disaster, grave markers, as class of evidence -both text and artifact- have maintained the memory of the flood victims over the past 86 years. Each monument and memorial has stored information that I was able to retrieve for this analysis. Some tombstones still function publicly as mnemonic devices for

memory of the disaster and its victims (Licon 2014). Beyond being of interest to scholars, dammies, community members, and historical and genealogical societies, these markers continue to serve their primary purpose, which is perpetuate the memory of victims for descendants who continue to visit the graves of lost kin.

## CHAPTER II

### HISTORICAL BACKGROUND

The primary focus of this research is understanding how the St. Francis Dam Disaster and its victims are, and have been, memorialized, as well as identifying the factors contributing to why the event has been forgotten on a state and national level, but remembered within the flood-zone. The cultural, political, economic, and social context of Southern California in 1928 heavily impacted commemoration of the disaster and the dead. A comprehensive overview the historical background of the region provides a greater understanding of the temper of the times, the communities affected by the flood, and context for remembrance amid restoration.

#### **Water Resources in the West**

November 5, 2013 marked the centennial of the opening of the Los Angeles Aqueduct. Commemorative events included a reenactment ceremony attended by the mayor, descendants of William Mulholland and Frederick Eaton, LADWP employees, and other city officials at the First Los Angeles Aqueduct Cascades in the San Fernando Valley (LADWP Newsroom, 5 November 2013). Mulholland had stood at this same spot, a hundred years ago to the day, before a crowd of nearly 30,000. He proclaimed, “this rude platform is an altar, and on it we are here consecrating this water supply and dedicating the Aqueduct to you and your children and your children’s children-for all time,” before gesturing towards the water and shouting “there it is, take it” (Ulin 2013:32).

Other commemorative activities illustrated diverse community responses to the aqueduct and its history. The Natural History Museum of Los Angeles celebrated its own centennial just one day later, with the opening of *Just Add Water* in its historic rotunda. The

exhibit of artworks inspired by the Aqueduct “invites visitors to discover the complex story of water in Los Angeles, and to think about it in new ways” (Reynolds and Eyerman 2013:7). Another event included *One Hundred Mules Walking the Los Angeles Aqueduct*, a performative parade of 100 mules which traversed 240 miles of pipelines and canals that bring water from the Eastern Sierra through a gravity-fed system to Los Angeles (Metabolic Studios 2014). In celebration of the Los Angeles Aqueduct Centennial, and as a monument to Mulholland, the LADWP rededicated a newly constructed Aqueduct Centennial Garden at the recently-renovated Mulholland Memorial Fountain in the Los Felix section of Los Angeles (LADWP Newsroom, 12 August 2013). The new garden features a 10-foot diameter pipe section from the original aqueduct, and a path which is meant to represent the 233 mile span of the aqueduct from the Eastern Sierras to Los Angeles.

Despite these commemorative events, public acknowledgement and reflection about the Aqueduct is limited. For most Angelinos, the history behind how they have come to have tap water from the Eastern Sierras is now an obscure and distant episode. History buffs and film aficionados might stumble across *Chinatown* and recognize similarities between elements in the plot and its nonfiction counterparts in Los Angeles history, but few are aware that the Aqueduct significantly impacted both the physical and cultural landscape of much of the southern portion of the state (Deverell and Sitton, 2013:3, 7). Treatment of the topic has been relegated to “tacit acceptance of the ‘status quo’ regarding the ideology of the Water Wars in southern California – a dichotomy between the morally virtuous smallholders of the Owens Valley and the needy, unscrupulous multitudes of Los Angeles” (Snead 2014:1; see Walton 1993). Mulholland has received a similar fate - seen as both villain and visionary - one capable of considerable construction feats, yet also responsible for the collapse of a key

storage dam which resulted in significant loss of life (Bachrach, 2013: 8-10; Jackson and Hundley 2004:8). The politics of bringing Owens Valley water to Los Angeles and the legacy of Mulholland, chief engineer of the St. Francis Dam, both transcend the St. Francis Dam disaster and add an additional layer of complexity to understanding the factors influencing why the event has largely been excluded from the public memory.

### **Pueblo into City: Mulholland and the First Lost Angeles Aqueduct**

The Pueblo de Los Angeles incorporated into a municipality on April 4, 1850; 10 years later the city first entered into a contract with the privately held Los Angeles Water Company to administer water services within the city boundaries (Kahrl 1982:7-18). Originally the Los Angeles River served as water supply, acquired and distributed by a series of “zanjas” or ditches from the “zanja madre” or mother ditch (Figure 2.1). Such a system

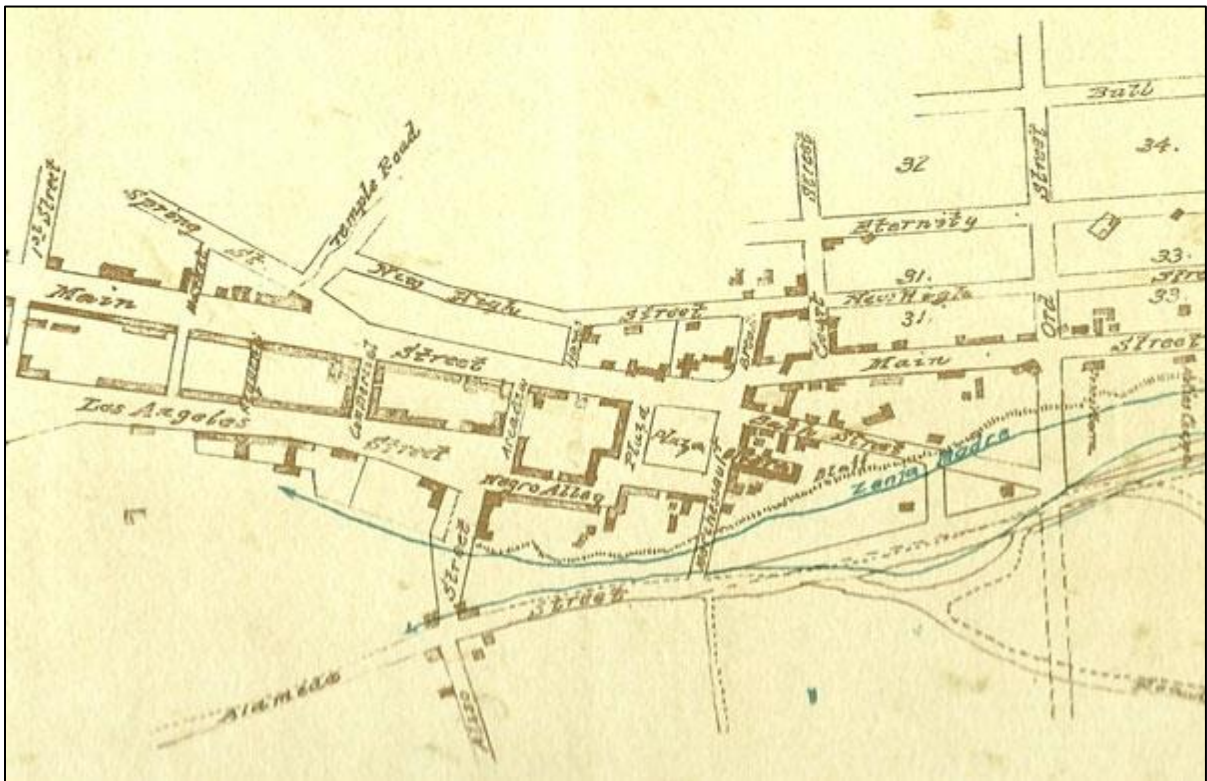


Figure 2.1 Manuscript map showing the Zanja Madre running through the Los Angeles, drawn by cartographer William Moore in 1868 (Water and Power Associates 2014).



was adequate for a population that numbered less than 10,000 (Los Angeles Almanac 2014).

Los Angeles was in the midst of depression, drought, and a grip of a smallpox epidemic in 1877, the year Mulholland arrived (C. Mulholland 2000:14). After working odd jobs around Los Angeles, and along the Colorado River in western Arizona, in the spring of 1878 Mulholland was hired by Fred Eaton to work for Los Angeles Water Company (C. Mulholland 2000:3, 23; Rogers 1995:3). It was during this time that Mulholland first became interested in the field of engineering as a drill rig operator, digging water wells in what is today Compton and Long Beach (Hoffman 1992:27). As was the tradition in that era, Mulholland educated himself by associating with many of the best water resource engineers of the time, by taking on an increasingly technical workload, and through reading leading technical literature (Rogers 1995:4).

In 1902, when the city of Los Angeles formed the BWWS and purchased the Los Angeles Water Company, Mulholland was retained as manager of the water system (Outland 2002:20). During his first three years as manager, Mulholland earned the reputation of one “who could get big things done,” as well as “possessing a willingness to work in the field under difficult conditions” (Rogers 1995:5). According to forensic engineer J. David Rogers, Mulholland, and the hundreds of civil engineers he influenced, were pioneers who answered a “high moral calling” by “harnessing nature to build a better world” (Rogers 1995:5).

In 1902, the same year that the City of Los Angeles took control of its water system, Congress created the United States Reclamation Service as part of the U.S. Geological Survey (Kahrl 1982:31-32; Rogers 1995:7). Early projects included identifying potential water reclamation projects in arid but fertile locales in which water could be used for irrigation (Kahrl 1982:39-41; Stewart 1908:9537-9539). Illustrative of the Manifest Destiny

master narrative theme of the time, the new policy took the American “ideal of the family farm” and associated it with “economic development, resource conservation, and social progress,” whereby using irrigation to open up new farming lands in the west for thousands of families (Kahrl 1982:31). Reclamation Service officials explored much of the American West, including the Colorado River, Klamath River, Kings River, the Sacramento Valley, and the Owens River Valley in Inyo County. By 1903, Reclamation Service engineers Joseph B. Lippincott and J. C. Clausen were engaged in full-scale survey in the Owens Valley; landowners were supportive of the proposed reclamation project, which would capture Sierra Nevada runoff water allowing them to farm arid lands more intensively (Kahrl 1982:41).

Between 1900 and 1904 the population of Los Angeles increased from 100,000 to 170,000, and it was quickly recognized by water officials that the Los Angeles River watershed could not support more than 200,000 individuals spread across the Los Angeles basin (Rogers 1995:6). In 1904, drought hit, sending Los Angeles into a water crisis. Eaton, Los Angeles mayor from 1898-1900, had first explored the Owens Valley as a water source during a drought that Los Angeles experienced in 1875-1877. In the fall of 1904 he returned to the Owens Valley at the invitation of Lippincott (Kahrl 1982:48-49; Rogers 1995:7). Concerned about running out of federal funding before all of the proposed work was completed, reclamation officials worked together with Los Angeles city officials to complete survey work, while residents of the Owens Valley and the city of Los Angeles remained unaware of the city’s interest in Owens Valley water (Kahrl 1982:53-61).

During this time, Eaton, representing himself as a Reclamation Service official, but in fact acting as an agent for the City of Los Angeles, secretly purchased the options to several

key pieces of land in the Owens Valley (Davis 1993:15-20; Ostrom 1953:12-13). This effectively ended the Reclamation Service's plans in the Eastern Sierra Nevada watershed. With both the City of Los Angeles, and the Federal Reclamation Service interested in Owens Valley water, Mulholland and Eaton visited the valley in September of 1904, with the goal of determining the feasibility of placing an aqueduct to carry water from the Owens Valley, across the Mojave Desert and San Gabriel Mountains, to the San Fernando Valley (C. Mulholland 2000:104). At an elevation of 3,560 feet above sea level, the terminus of the natural flow of the Owens River made the option of a gravity flow system possible, as well as the use of siphons and pressure tunnels – all recent technological advances Mulholland had read about being utilized in the construction of the Croton Aqueduct in New York (Rogers 1995:8, 10).

Mulholland's design plans for the aqueduct were heavily influenced by the latest civil engineering literature; concerned that a failed project of this scale could leave the city bankrupt, the Board of Public Service Commissioners appointed an Aqueduct Advisory Board to independently evaluate Mulholland's proposed design (C. Mulholland 2000:138-139). The board included John R. Freeman, a MIT graduate and principal architect of the Croton Aqueduct for the city of New York and the Hetch Hetchy water project for the City of San Francisco (Rogers 1995:10, 94). The board found the plans to be "admirable in conception and outline," and Mulholland was given the go-ahead to proceed with design and construction (C. Mulholland 2000:139). Unable to keep the project a secret any longer, the *Los Angeles Times* announced the city's intentions to build an aqueduct from the Owens Valley to Los Angeles (Hoffman 1992:4; LAT, 28 July 1905:1).

Considerable controversy followed the announcement, and angry Owens Valley ranchers pointed out the conflict of interests in which both Lippincott and Eaton had been engaged; however, Los Angeles quickly moved forward with voters passing the first project bonds and the city filed its first notice for water rights appropriations from the Owens Valley in the fall of 1905. Mulholland's plan called for a 233-mile aqueduct (Figure 2.2), originating 12 miles north of Independence, at an elevation of 2,714 feet above sea level and proceeding south in an open channel canal to a series of lava dams at Little Lake, where water would be stored in a reservoir behind the Haiwee Dam (Rogers 1995:12). The reservoir would also allow for the regulation of water discharged into the cut-and-cover box channel sections and siphons between Haiwee Reservoir and Mojave. The aqueduct crosses multiple earthquake fault lines, but the deeply cut ravines near Indian Wells, Red Rock, and Jawbone canyons necessitated use of huge siphon pipes, which were fabricated in Pennsylvania steel mills, shipped to southern California, and pulled into place by 52 mule teams (Ostrom 1953:14; Rogers 1995:13). Problems with the siphons pushed the aqueduct completion back six months, but it was tunneling through five miles of granite at Elizabeth Lake which proved to be the most difficult challenge. Three miles below the Elizabeth Lake Tunnel, the aqueduct drops 900 feet into San Francisquito Canyon at Power Plant 1, built in 1917; tunnels continue south in the canyon, dropping another few hundred feet at San Francisquito Power Plant No. 2, completed in 1920 (Kahrl 1982:150, 152). A series of tunnels and siphons make up the remainder of the aqueduct, which terminates in the San Fernando Valley in an open channel aeration cascade at the mouth of San Fernando Pass, where Interstate 5 and California State Highway 14 intersect today.



Figure 2.2 Map of the Owens Valley – Los Angeles Aqueduct (LADWP 2014).

Completed on-time and under budget, at the time of its opening the aqueduct was the longest of its kind, in the world. Able to transport 258 millions of gallons of water every day, cost free by gravity flow, Mulholland and his aqueduct received world-wide attention (C. Mulholland 2000:238; Rogers 1995:15). Considerable notoriety followed his monumental achievement, and local newspapers proposed he run for mayor, however, Mulholland's only retort was that he "would rather give birth to a porcupine backwards than be mayor of Los Angeles" (C. Mulholland 2000:231; Nadeau 1997:49). Investigations into corruption in the building of the aqueduct lost public attention, at least in Los Angeles, as the aqueduct waters began to flow (Kahrl 1982:173-179).

Between 1910 and 1920 the population of Los Angeles continued its exponential growth, increasing from 319,189 to 576,637 individuals (Ostrom 1953:15). The Aqueduct was intended to meet the needs of approximately 50 years of predicted growth; however, population growth exceeded his forecasts, and a series of dry winters in the Sierra Nevada's above the Owens Valley quick left Los Angeles again in drought conditions. By 1925 the BWWS had returned to Owens Valley, this time seeking additional watershed upstream of the aqueduct intake. Ranch lands which had established water rights and irrigation ditches connected to the Owens River were the initial targets of the BWWS. Some ranchers sold out while others, such as residents of Big Pine, asserted resistance. In May of 1924, the first of many dynamiting attacks against the aqueduct occurred, followed by a brief capture of the Alabama Gates facility and by throwing City of Los Angeles equipment into the Owens River (LAT, 18 Nov 1924:A4). Publicity of these events associated with the "water wars" intensified throughout the 1920's as drought continued to intermittently plague Los Angeles (Nadeau 1997:97).

While the BWWS worked in the Owens Valley to acquire additional water rights, Mulholland set out to address the need to storing water along the aqueduct, both north and south of the San Andreas fault-line. South of the San Andreas, preexisting reservoirs at Dry Canyon, Lower San Fernando, Chatsworth, Upper Franklin Canyon, Silver Lake, Bellevue, Elysian, Buena Vista, Solano, Hazard, Mt. Washington, Highland, Garvanza, San Pedro and Wicks offered a combined storage capacity of 24, 796 acre feet (Rogers 1995:19). But with more than 70% of the city's water storage north of the San Andreas Fault, in the Haiwee and Fairmont reservoirs, Mulholland and his team began survey, design, and construction on a series of reservoirs, all of which would be south of the fault line and within close proximity to Los Angeles.

Between 1910 and 1930 Mulholland consulted on a number of large hydraulic fill dam projects; however his first concrete dam was the Weid Canyon Dam, today known as the Hollywood Reservoir. In 1924 the BWWS constructed the approximately 200-foot high concrete gravity-arch dam in the hills just below where the "Hollywood" sign sits today. Shortly before its dedication the dam was named in Mulholland's honor, though the name would change just a few years later when the St. Francis Dam failed (Mulholland 1995:131). Mulholland and the BWWS designed and built a number of hydraulic fill dams throughout the early-to-mid 1920s. Despite these efforts, an entire season of crops was lost to drought in the San Fernando Valley, during the 1923-1924 growing season (Rogers 1995:20). Additional water storage was clearly desirable.

### **Construction of the St. Francis Dam**

In 1924 Mulholland first publicly declared his intention to construct a storage reservoir to hold a one-year back-up water supply for Los Angeles (Los Angeles Board of

Public Service Commissioners 1924). During aqueduct construction Mulholland had recognized the possibility of placing a dam adjacent to the San Francisquito Canyon Aqueduct Construction Camp, which was built upon an alluvial flat in San Francisquito Canyon between San Francisquito Power Plants No. 1 and No. 2. Mulholland perceived that the natural topography of the canyon was conducive to a large water storage area with a narrow dam (Outland 2002:36-37). The site was also ideal, because it was situated within the boundaries of the Angeles National Forest (ANF), where the majority of the canyon's occupants were Bureau of Power and Light (BP&L) workers and their families living on land which had previously been acquired during planning of the aqueduct and adjacent power plants.

Preliminary studies of the main dam structure were prepared in May 1923; plans called for concrete gravity arch structure identical in size and design to Weid Canyon (Mulholland) Dam to be built in San Francisquito Canyon (Rogers 1995:26). The first concrete was poured in August 1924, though it was not until January 1925 that the city of Los Angeles formally publicized construction of the dam above the Santa Clara River Valley (Rogers 1995:26-27). Some controversy ensued. Downstream residents formed the Santa Clara River Protective Organization, under the direction of Charles C. Teague, in efforts to protect their access to the perennial flow of the Santa Clara River (Outland 2002:26; Oxnard Daily Courier [ODC], 28 September 1925:1). The city reassured the public that they "did not intend to store the natural waters of San Francisquito Creek;" however, Rogers later found, though reviewing LADWP records, "that the city was including the runoff from San Francisquito Creek in its storage calculations (Rogers 1995:27).



Construction of the St. Francis Dam was completed in May 1926. The final structure contained 137,000 cubic yards of concrete, stood approximately 200 feet high, and arched upstream on a 492-foot radius (Geiger 1928:520). Outflow of the San Francisquito Creek ceased as the St. Francis reservoir filled at a rate “nothing short of dramatic by modern standards, the level rising at an average of 1.8 feet per day over the first three months” (Rogers 1995:32). Members of the Santa Clara River Protective Association responded by instructing Attorney C.E. Grunsky to resolve the dispute as necessary. California’s Chief of Water Rights, Edward L. Hyatt, called for field tests to be performed to settle the dispute, which resulted in affirmations of the protective agency’s complaints, though the matter still was unresolved at the time of the failure (Rogers 1995:33).

Various aspects of the dam’s design have been judged problematic by recent scholars. Twice during construction, BWWS engineers added capacity to the reservoir by increasing the dam’s height; they also added a concrete wing-dike 1,300 feet past the dam’s west abutment. This created a “dangerous situation,” as the strength of a gravity dam is dependent on a prescribed width/height ratio (Rogers 2006:16). This, and other design oversights, including the absence of drainage galleries needed for inspection purposes, contraction joints to control cracking, and cut-off walls or a grout curtain to control seepage and prevent uplift all resulted in the dam being a “less than conservative” design (Petroski 2003:116).

Cracks began to appear in the dam during the initial filling; Mulholland referred to these fractures, which were widest at the base and narrowed upwards, as “transverse contraction cracks” (Rogers 1995:35). In 1927 these cracks were filled with hemp, sealed with oakum, and back covered with cement grout (Rogers 1995:33, 35). In early 1928, when

spring runoff arrived, the leaks from the previous year came back and additional leaks developed at the abutments (Figure 2.3). On March 7, 1928, the reservoir was brought to

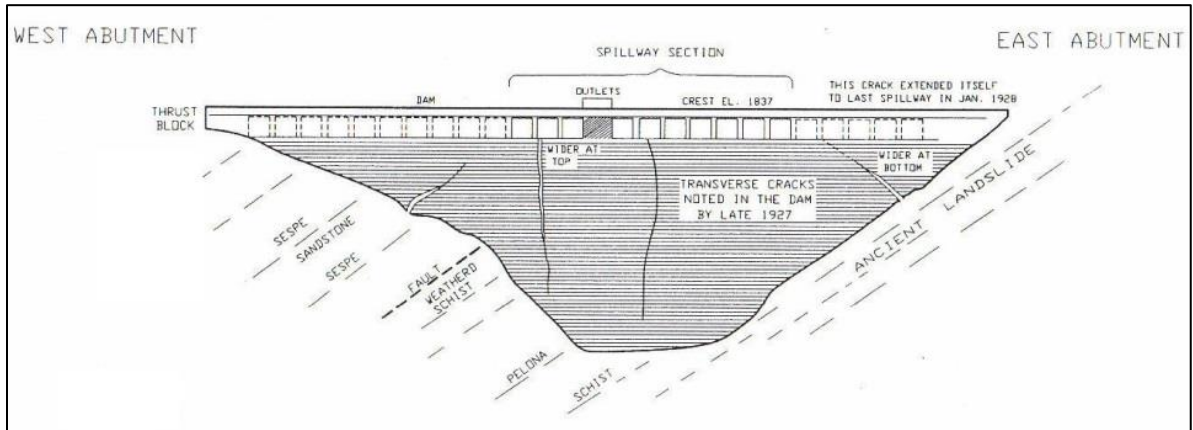


Figure 2.3 Condition of the St. Francis Dam on March 12, 1928, based on verbal descriptions and photographs (Rogers 1995:34, 39).

capacity for the first time. On March 12, 1928, dam keeper Tony Harnischfeger contacted Mulholland to notify him that the dam appeared to be leaking on the western abutment and the discharge was dirty (Mulholland 1928:13-14). Dirty seepage can be an indication that foundational material is eroding (Dyrud 2013:5). Upon inspecting the dam with assistant Van Norman, they judged the leaks to be normal, assuring Harnischfeger of its soundness and deeming the dam safe (Mulholland 1928:14). The dam failed less than 12 hours later.

### **Physical Setting of the Dam and Flood Path**

The history of the landscape below the dam is complex. The territory between Piru to the west and the dam site in San Francisquito Canyon to the NE was once known as Rancho San Francisco, one of many large land grants issued to encourage settlement in what was to become California (Figure 2.4; Table 2.1). After the Mexican War of Independence the rancho land was deeded to the Del Valle family; the land remained in that family until 1862, when floods followed by droughts forced the family to sell to the Philadelphia and California

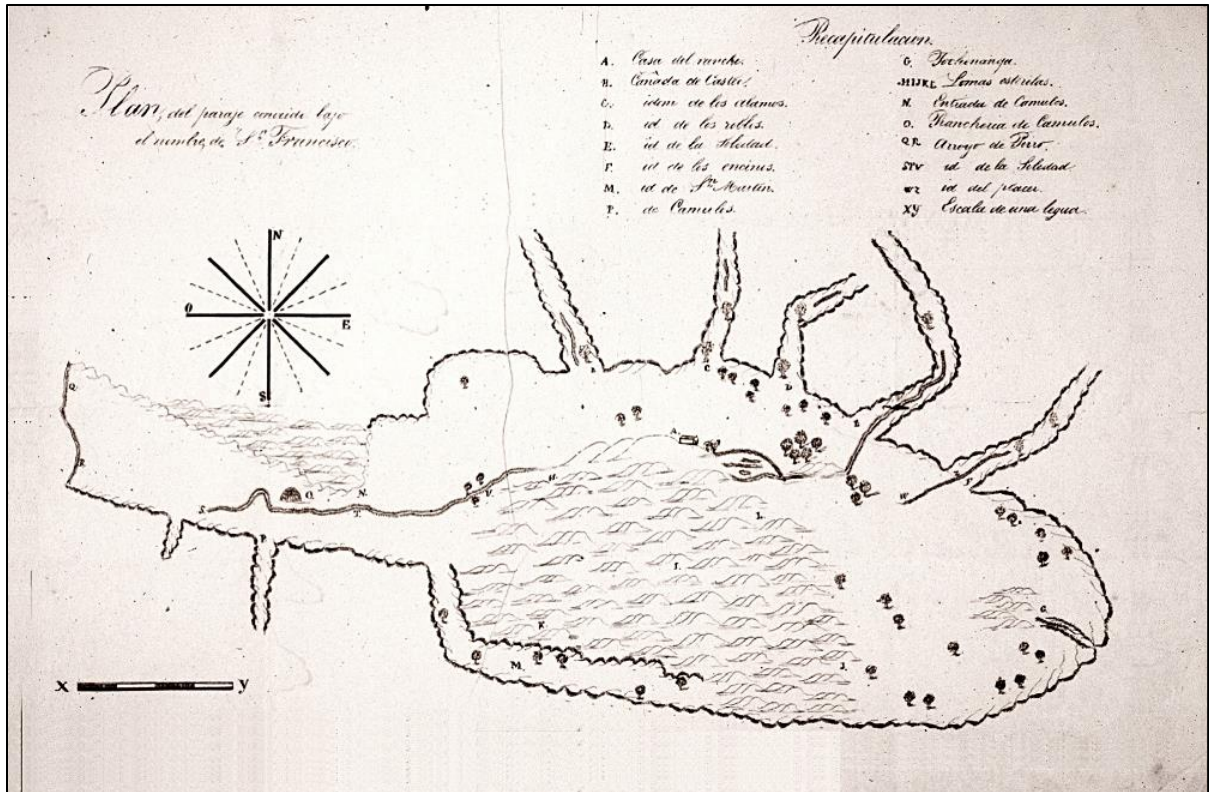


Figure 2.4 Diseno Map of Rancho San Francisco, circa 1843 (Santa Clarita Valley Historical Society 2014).

Table 2.1 Legend (and translation) for Rancho San Francisco map.

LEGEND	NAME AND TRANSLATION
A	Casa del Rancho (Ranch House)
B	Cañada de Castéc (Castaic Canyon)
C	Cañada de los Alamos (Poplar Canyon)
D	Cañada de los Robles (Oak Canyon)
E	Cañada de la Soledad (Canyon of Solitude)
F	Cañada de los Encinos (Evergreen Oak Canyon)
M	Cañada de San Martin (St. Martin Canyon)
P	Cañada de Camulis (aka Camulos or Juniper Canyon)
G	Tochananga (a Tataviam Indian village)
HIJKL	Lomas Esterilos (Sterile Hills)
N	Entrada de Camulos (Entrance to Camulos)
O	Rancheria de Camulos (Camulos Ranch)
QR	Arroyo de Pirro (a Tataviam village at Piru Creek)
STV	Arroyo de la Soledad (Creek of Solitude)
WZ	Arroyo de la Placer (Placerita Creek)
XY	Escala de una Legua (Scale from point X to point Y on map is one league)

Petroleum Company (Worden 1996). After unsuccessful attempts at finding oil, the petroleum company sold the land to the Newhall Family in 1875. To this day, much of this land is still managed by the Newhall Land and Farming Company.

After the 1870s, a series of small agricultural towns were established further downstream, in Ventura County. By 1875 the town of Santa Paula was officially recorded and in 1887 Piru, Fillmore, Bardsdale followed suit (Murphy 1979:22-23). The Southern Pacific Railroad connected Northern California with San Buenaventura (later Ventura) via Fillmore, Santa Paula and Saugus/Newhall in 1887 (Murphy 1979:25). Throughout the county of Ventura west to Newhall, large ranches, orchards, and farms small and large, have developed alongside that of their respective communities. In Santa Paula, for example, is the Limoneira Ranch; started by two men in 1893, today the Limoneira Company is a co-partner of the Sunkist Growers Corporation and one the one of the largest citrus producers in the country (McBane 1995:70; Teague 1944).

The ideal climate and fertile grounds of the Santa Clara River Valley were (and still are) a natural draws for ranchers, orchardists, and farmers. Beyond the large Newhall and Limoneira Ranches, many other small farm, orchard, and ranching families set down roots throughout the valley at the turn of the 19<sup>th</sup> century. Citrus, walnut, and row crops all flourished in the valley and provided steady year round employment opportunities; smaller farms and ranches, and larger companies, such as the Limoneira Company, provided dormitories and homes for both single workers and workers with families (McBane 1995:73). Single white and Japanese men made up the predominance of the workforce in the Santa Clara River Valley until the onset of World War I. At that time white men turned to urban war-related industries, leaving a large number of agricultural jobs available (McBane

1995:74). Although Mexican men and accompanying families began work for the Limoneira Company as early as 1906, the largest immigration to the U.S. occurred between 1910 and 1917 during the Mexican revolution. The 1917 wartime Immigration Act, intermittently renewed between 1918 and 1921, allowed the entrance of close to 73,000 Mexican workers before the border was closed in 1924 (McBane 1995:77). Many of the Mexican victims living throughout the Santa Clara River Valley in 1928 appear on the 1910 and/or 1920 United States Federal Census in this same region, bringing into question the perceived “itinerant” nature of these individuals (Ancestry.com 2014).

### **Everything in its Path: Details of the Disaster**

Less than 12 hours after having receiving a safety inspection by city engineers, the St. Francis Dam catastrophically failed. 12.38 billion gallons of water drained in less than 72 minutes down San Francisquito Canyon, through the Santa Clara River Valley to the Pacific Ocean. The floodwaters, which took five and a half hours to travel from the dam site to the ocean, caused a 54-mile wide path of destruction and death from the mountains to the sea (Figure 2.5). The waters carried buildings, trees, fences, telegraph and power poles, railway tracks, livestock, and bodies.

Although he was unaware of the significance at the time, indication of the forthcoming dam failure was observed by San Francisquito Power Plant No. 1 operator, Henry “Ray” Silvey, who noticed a 12-inch crack in the road upstream of the dam between 8:30 and 9:00 p.m. on his way up the canyon to work the night-shift (Outland 2002:234; Stone and Triem 2004:7). Dean Keagy, a warehouseman at Power Plant No. 1, passed the dam site at approximately 11:30 p.m.; he noticed lights between the dam and Harnischfeger’s

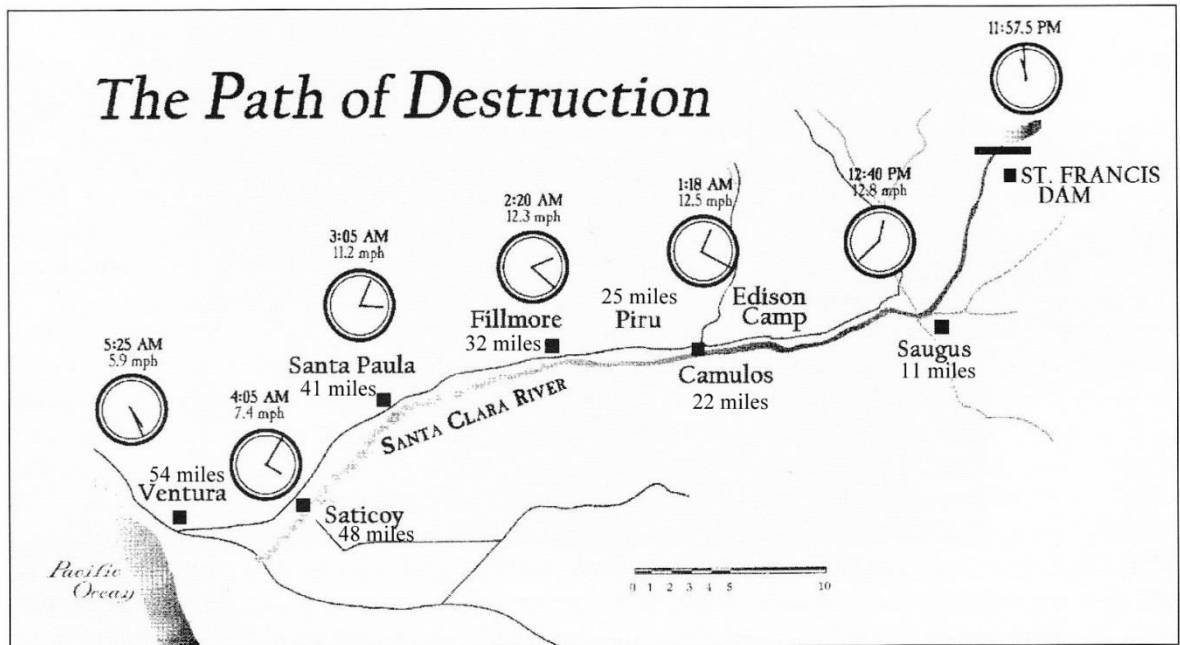


Figure 2.5 Speed of the floodwaters, distance from the dam, and time the flood arrived at each community along the flood zone (Adapted from Nichols 2002:6).

home, indicating the dam keeper and/or his girlfriend, Leona Johnson, might have been inspecting the structure just before its failure (Outland 2002:74; Wiley et al. 1928:7). A few minutes before midnight, Ace Hopewell, a form carpenter at Power Plant No. 1, rode up the canyon road on his motorcycle. About a mile north of the dam Hopewell heard a “rumbling noise” which he figured was distant landslide (Hopewell 1928:641-646). Hopewell was the only known survivor to hear the St. Francis Dam fail.

At 11:57 ½ p.m., instruments at Power Plant No. 1 registered a sudden drop in voltage, as did two receiving stations in Los Angeles, causing the city lights to briefly flicker. An oil switch at the Edison Company substation at Saugus also exploded at this same time, due to overloading of the transmission line to Lancaster (Outland 2002:81). Within a few minutes floodwaters, initially over 140 feet high and traveling down the canyon at approximately 18 miles per hour, reached Power Plant No. 2 and the adjacent workers

community located 7,300 downstream from the dam site (Stone and Triem 2004:7). The community consisted of “eleven bungalows, a club house, a school house, with garages for the accommodation of the personal and departmental cars” which were “scattered in various places where flats beside the stream afforded protections from ordinary floods and were located largely to take advantage of the grown native trees” (Gardett and Arledge 1929:3; Figure 2.6). The above ground portion of the power plant and all of the workers community were swept away (Lang 2010b:8; Rippens 2003:41). Seventy-two of the 75 BP&L employees and their family members living in this community were killed. Ray Rising, who lost his wife

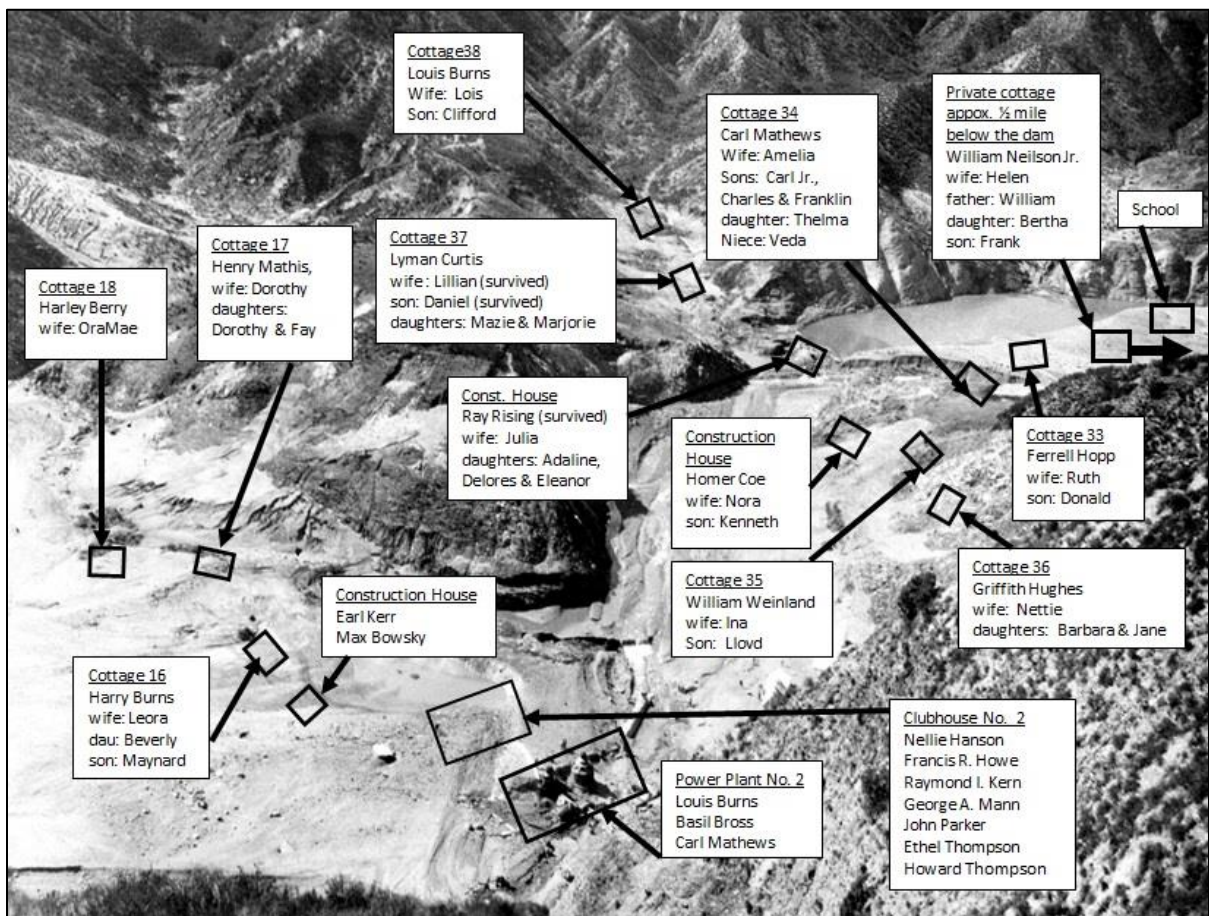


FIGURE 2.6 Aerial photograph of the flood aftermath at the Power Plant No. 2 community, with an overlay illustrating the locations of the power plant, clubhouse, school, and workers cottages (Adapted from Buttelman 2013).

and three children in the flood, provided the following account of his experiences that fateful night at the Power Plant No. 2 community:

“We were all asleep in our wood-frame home in the small canyon just above the power house. I heard a roaring like a cyclone. The water was so high we couldn’t get out the front door. The house disintegrated. In the darkness I became tangled in an oak tree, fought clear and swam to the surface. I was wrapped with electrical wires and held by the only power pole in the canyon. I grabbed the roof of another house, jumping off when it floated to the hillside. I was stripped of clothing but scrambled up the razorback of a hillside. There was no moon and it was overcast with an eerie fog – very cold” (Nichols 2002:21).

There is no estimate available indicating how many individuals lived in San Francisquito Canyon, south of the Power Plant No. 2 community. The area was so remote that no adequate maps existed showing the territory as it was before the flood; to determine the actual acreage of crops destroyed, claims agents built a map using the legal descriptions of the properties (Figure 2.7). At least thirty-seven were killed in this section of the canyon.

After traveling through the farmsteads and ranches of narrow San Francisquito Canyon, the floodwaters reached the Santa Clara River coming out of Soledad Canyon. Floodwaters did not reach the towns centers of Newhall and Saugus, however, at least 45 individuals were killed who lived on and worked the family ranches on the northern and western outskirts, Newhall Ranch lands near Castaic, at Southern California Edison substation at Saugus, and near the Southern Pacific siding at Castaic Junction. At 12:40 the flood reached the Edison Company substation, causing power outages throughout Ventura, Santa Barbara, and part of Los Angeles counties (Outland 2002:90-91). One hour after the dam failure, 60 foot floodwaters reached Castaic Junction, eradicating McIntyre’s service station, diner, and seven tourist cabins (Nadeau 1997:99). At Castaic, Highway 99 (today





FIGURE 2.7 Properties in San Francisquito Canyon below the Power Plant No. 2 community; (a) Sections 15 and 22 and (b) Sections 27 and 34 (Claims Records 1928-1929: File No. 810).

known as Interstate 5) running between Los Angeles and Bakersfield was buried under several feet of debris; the bridge over the Santa Clara River partially washed away (Stone and Triem 2004:7). Several motorists traveling along the highway were caught in floodwaters (LAT, 17 March 1928:1).

At 1:09 a.m., employees at Power Plant No. 1 reported to Los Angeles city officials that the canyon road was out and the St. Francis reservoir was nearly empty; this initiated

efforts to alert downstream residents in the Santa Clara River Valley (Outland 2002:101). Widespread power outages made this a difficult endeavor, though the County Sheriff's office in Ventura was finally notified at 1:15 a.m.; the warning was immediately relayed to Santa Paula and Fillmore (FA, 15 March 1928:1). This prompted evacuations throughout the valley, resulting in thousands of lives being saved.

Unfortunately word of the impending floodwaters did not reach Southern California Edison Company's temporary construction camp, which was located just west of the Los Angeles/Ventura County line at the Southern Pacific Railroad siding at Kemp. A 60-foot wall of water traveling at 12.5 miles per hour washed over the workers, as they slept in canvas tents on the northern bank of the Santa Clara River (Nichols 2002:37-42). The natural topography of the area created a huge whirlpool, resulting in significant loss of life. Eighty-five of the 148 men at the camp that night were killed (FA, 29 March 1928:1).

Law enforcement officers, including Under Sheriff Howard Durley, Deputy Sheriff Carl Wallace, Deputies Ray Ransdell, P.J. Ayala, Charles Clements, and Ed Hearne provided warning up and down the valley, though they were unable to reach Fillmore before the floodwaters did (Nichols 2002:23). At 2:20 a.m. the flood reached the communities of Fillmore and Bardsdale, situated on opposite banks of the Santa Clara River. The bridge connecting the two communities was instantly destroyed (Stone and Triem 2004:8). Residents of Fillmore had approximately 30-minute notice of the impending floodwaters, resulting in low loss of life within the community. On the other side of the Santa Clara River, Bardsdale residents who lived on the southern bank of the river received only a moment's notice (Nichols 2002:51). Seventy one individuals from the 8 mile stretch spanning Piru, Fillmore, and Bardsdale, were killed.

During this same time, evacuations of the lower lying areas in Santa Paula were underway. The whistle at the Union Oil refinery sounded steady shrieks. Patrolmen Thornton Edwards, John Messer, Lee Shepard and Stanly Baker drove up and down streets with sirens blaring in attempts to warn as many residents as possible (Nichols 2002:24). Telephone switchboard operators Carrie Johnson in Fillmore, and Louise Gipe, B.O. Clark, Margaret Osborne, Thelma Neugebauer, Genevieve Burns, Lela Cochran, Exie Voris, and Florence Barlowe at Santa Paula, stuck to their posts and rang rural residents, providing warning to “head for the hills” (Nichols 2002:28-29; The Transmitter 1928:46).

As the dam had only been completed in 1926, most residents were unaware of its existence; some residents chose to ignore warnings to evacuate (Hoffman 1992:203; Nichols 2002:30). Many of the residents in the low laying areas adjacent to the Santa Clara River were Mexicans, and the language barrier between police and residents is said to have delayed some evacuations (Outland 2002:131-132). Patrolman Edwards would later express that “when we aroused those Mexicans down by the river, all I could say was, *mucha agua*, and point east. Many of them laughed and looking up at the sky said, *No esta lloviendo* (It isn’t raining)” (Nichols 2002:27). The collapse of the Willard Bridge east of town, a frightful sound heard for miles, served as a final warning (Stone and Triem 2004:8). Despite being the most densely populated off all the communities in the flood zone, there were only 16 deaths in Santa Paula.

Saticoy, Montalvo, and other communities along the Oxnard Plain were mostly evacuated by the time floodwaters reached the western part of the Santa Clara River Valley. Floodwaters destroyed the state highway bridge at Montalvo immediately. Within the entire expanse of the flood zone only one bridge crossing the Santa Clara River would remain

standing, the one-lane bridge at Saticoy (Western Construction News 1928:278). At 5:24 a.m., water, silt, and a significant amount of debris emptied in the Pacific Ocean. Residents returned to their respective their communities with lanterns and flashlights as soon as the floodwaters subsided, searching debris for survivors. Eleven year old Soledad Luna was the first to be rescued from a walnut tree near Harvard and Barkla Streets in Santa Paula (Nichols 2002:34). As daylight broke, processes of response and recovery were initiated throughout the path of the flood.

### **Recovery Efforts: Care of the Survivors and Disposal of the Dead**

On the night of March 12, 1928 approximately 2,100 to 3,000 individuals were living in the path of the flood (Porter 1928; Dept. of Homeland Security 2011:67-68). At least 1,240 homes were partially or totally destroyed, and over 7,900 acres of farmland (e.g. citrus, walnuts, apricots, beets, beans, hay, alfalfa, vegetables, and grapes) were inundated and ruined by erosion (Teague 1944:184, 189). Pilots were dispatched at sunrise to report the extent of the damage and photograph the expanse of the flood zone in preparation for expected litigation against the City of Los Angeles (Ventura County Star [VCS], 25 June 2000:1; White 1936:88). One pilot, C.W. English of Southern California Edson Company, was killed in a crash while surveying the flood zone (LAT, 17 March 1928:3).

The first priority was sheltering those left homeless and recovering the dead. The Los Angeles Police Department, Los Angeles County Sheriff, available water department personnel, and charitable service organizations (i.e. American Red Cross, American Legion, Boy Scouts of America, La Cruz Azul Mexicana, and Salvation Army) were mobilized immediately. In the early morning hours following the disaster first aid stations, canteens, clothing deposits, and temporary housing were established by Red Cross chapters from

Ventura, Los Angeles, and Kern counties at Saugus, Newhall, Fillmore, and Santa Paula (American Red Cross [ARC], 1929:1; La Voz de la Colonia, 5 April 1928:1). The Los Angeles Police Department provided 300 men to assist with recovery efforts and the Board of Water Commissioners sent food and cooks (Matson 1976:56). Police were stationed throughout the flood zone to keep looters and sight-seers at bay. Rescue teams searched for survivors who remained stranded. Several were found in Santa Paula, though further up the flood zone it was quickly realized that there were few survivors.

Efforts were focused on the systematic identification of the bodies (ARC 1929:1; LAT, 15 March 1928:1). Recovering bodies was aided by use of tractors and steam shovels. The Fish and Game Commission searched far out into the sea, and the American Legion of Ventura requisitioned eight small boats which were they used to patrol up and down the coast. Only one body was found in the ocean, although others were found on snags near the mouth of the river or later floated back to the beaches of Oxnard and Hueneme directly south of the Santa Clara River outlet (Fillmore Herald, 23 March 1928:2).

Make shift morgues were established at Hap-A-Lan Dance Hall in Newhall, Riverside Dance Hall in Piru, the Methodist church in Bardsdale, French and Skillin Mortuary in Fillmore, French's Undertaking Parlor in Santa Paula, Diffenderfer Mortuary in Oxnard, and county Coroner Oliver Reardon's office in Ventura. Isolated on the south side of the river by the outing of the bridge, Bardsdale victims were taken over Grimes Grade to a make-shift morgue at a drugstore in Moorpark. Lists of identified victims and descriptions of unidentified victims were published daily in local papers (LAT, 15 March 1928:1; Santa Paula Review [SPR], 22 March 1928:1). Coroner Frank A. Nance oversaw Deputy Coroners W. A. McDonald and Bob Jones in the handling of bodies in Los Angeles County. Coroner

Oliver L. Reardon coordinated efforts in Ventura County, personally prepared many of the victims for interment, and made burial arrangements for both identified and unidentified individuals. Reardon also saw to it that unidentified victims were not buried in a potter's field, instead arranging for the City of Los Angeles to purchase plots at Santa Paula Cemetery and Ivy Lawn Cemetery in Ventura.

Bodies were hosed down with hot water so that they could be cleaned of mud and repositioned; they were then hosed with cold water and embalmed to extend preservation, and held as long as possible for identification (Nichols 2002:84; White 1936:90). Each victim recovered in Ventura County was photographed to aid in identification and to document the loss of life for potential litigation; victims recovered in Los Angeles County do not appear to have been photographed (Claims Records 1928-1929: WP 19-17-01:6). At the Newhall temporary morgue victims were laid out on narrow pine planks and placed at an angle against benches, for viewing (LAT, 14 March 1928). Survivors traveled from morgue to morgue within and beyond the flood zone to identify family and neighbors.

Mass burial services took place at Ruiz-Perea Cemetery in San Francisquito Canyon and at the city cemeteries in Piru and Santa Paula (LAT, 19 March 1928:2; SPR, 22 March 1928:1). More than 3,000 are said to have attended the mass funeral held on March 19<sup>th</sup> at the city cemetery in Santa Paula (Figure 2.8). Although a concerted effort was made to search for victims, burning of huge piles of debris on irreclaimable land in San Francisquito Canyon and throughout the Santa Clara River Valley likely served as funeral pyres for some (Spokesman Review, 20 March 1928:1). Many of the dead had families in distant parts of the county. Unemployment was on the rise in 1928, and the economic circumstances of the time



Figure 2.8 Mass funeral at Santa Paula Cemetery, March 19, 1928 (Claims Records 1928-1929: WP 19-28-7).

had men on the move in search of work (Outland 2002:97). Southern Pacific Railroad transported bodies free of charge throughout the United States, and the City of Los Angeles paid \$150 towards the cost of every burial. These circumstances resulted in many flood victims being returned home for burial once they were recovered and identified.

### **Restoration Efforts: Citizens Committees and the Claims Process**

Restoration and reconstruction efforts were simultaneous with relief efforts. Los Angeles Mayor James E. Cryer issued the following statement, acknowledging the city's potential responsibility for damage to property: "Los Angeles cannot restore the lives lost, but the property damages should be paid. The dam was a part of the city facilities for supplying Los Angeles with water; the responsibility is ours" (LAT, 15 March 1928:3). City Attorney Jess E. Stephens echoed Mayor Cryer's sentiments, stating that "the situation will

be met in a fair and proper manner, having in mind both the interests of the unfortunate people who have been directly visited with this calamity and the taxpayers of the city of Los Angeles (LAT, 15 March 1928:3).

Although Cryer and Stephens initially planned to determine fully where legal liability lay before initiating the claims process, Water and Power Commissioner John R. Richards and Councilman Peirson Hall convinced city officials to proceed, oversee all reconstruction, and provide fair compensation (Matson 1976:57). Van Norman told the city that “no question of the legal status of claims should ever be raised,” and “the moral obligation to repay damage in the valley is sufficient” (Nadeau 1997:102). While conscience may have played a part in this decision, there was also concern that a legal battle “would jeopardize the city’s position in other important matters such as the ‘water wars’ in Owens Valley and the Boulder Canyon project” (Matson 1976:57).

A Citizens’ Restoration Committee was formed to oversee the handling of claims. George L. Eastman, President of the Los Angeles Chamber of Commerce, served as Chairman of the committee; Charles C. Teague, Santa Paula banker and rancher oversaw efforts in Ventura County (Santa Paula Chronicle [SPC], 14 March 1928:1). The joint committee “had no authority from the victims of the flood to settle their claims for damages;” their task “was only seeking to determine what constituted fair compensation for individual losses” (Teague 1944:194). Offices were opened in Los Angeles and Santa Paula to expedite the claims process; identity, kinship, dependents, earning capacity, and other like information, necessary to determine proper consideration of each claim, was compiled by city investigators (Claims Records 1928-1929: WP 19-17-13). Committee members in Ventura County kept a united front with the City of Los Angeles on the handling of claims.



Claimants were advised to steer clear of “ambulance chasers,” explaining that court action would slow down the adjudication process and potentially lower payouts across the board (FA, 15 March 1928:A5; FA, 26 April 1928:A1; Claims Records: WP19-17-13).

The city swiftly settled death, injury, personal property, and real property claims. Settlements were provided in exchange for release from further liability or lawsuits. Generous settlements amounts are said to have greatly aided valley residents and helped see them through the years of the Great Depression (Kahrl 1982:314; Newhall 1958:87). The city took a hard line when it came to negotiating with claimants who signed up with contingency fee attorneys. Any out-of-town attorneys found within the boundaries of the flood zone were escorted to the Ventura county line and warned against reentry. More than 40 lawsuits were in fact brought against the city, resulting in contingency fees close to \$35,000 being paid to several different firms, including Honey and Edwards and Garrett and Garrett (Claims Records 1928-1929; Stansell 2013). Only one trial, that of Ray Rising for the loss of his family, would go to court, though many others received higher than average payouts simply because of the threat of taking cases to trial (Claims Records 1928-1929).

### **Legacy**

Los Angeles County Coroner’s jury determined that the deaths of Julia Rising et al. were accidental and that the weight of such important engineering feats should not be left to the determinations of one man, especially one that had limited experience building large concrete dams (Coroners Jury 1928:9). Although he was dissatisfied with the findings, and would remain somewhat insolent regarding accusations of incompetence, Mulholland took full responsibility for the failure of the St. Francis Dam. At the Coroner’s Inquest Mulholland told the jury, “don’t blame anybody else, you just fasten it on me. If there is an error of

human judgment, I was the human, I won't try to fasten it on anybody else" (Mulholland 1928: 378). Los Angeles residents were sympathetic of Mulholland and his culpability in the failure. In Ventura County residents were not as supportive; Outland observed that the emotional antipathy toward the water department and Mulholland were intense. One Santa Paula resident placed a sign in front of their flood damaged home which stated "Kill Mulholland!" (Outland 2002:167).

Catherine Mulholland, granddaughter of William Mulholland, states that the official response and acknowledgement of responsibility was surprisingly immediate; she not only attributes this to her grandfather taking personal responsibility of the failure at the Los Angeles County Coroner's Inquest, but that because the failure took place on the eve of the proposal of the Swing-Johnson bill in Washington, restoration efforts and claims payouts were handled quickly to remove the disaster from the public eye (C. Mulholland 1995:127, 325). Passage of the bill, authorizing a large concrete gravity-arch dam be built in Boulder Canyon, was delayed until December 21, 1928. C. Mulholland also acknowledged that within a few months of the disaster her grandfather's name, and reference to the disaster, vanished from local newspapers (C. Mulholland 2000:325-329). Kahrl makes note that "it also became customary at this time when writing biographical sketches of Mulholland never to mention the St. Francis Dam" (Kahrl 1982:316).

Early rumors included the suggestion that the dam might have been dynamited by saboteurs from the Owens Valley. Mulholland referenced this possibility in statements to the press and at the Coroner's Inquest. Dead fish in the bottom of the reservoir were thought to have been concussed by a bomb. The *Los Angeles Record* addressed this topic directly, stating "we are inclined to believe that there may be dead fish involved in this matter – a fish

so dead that it smells to high heaven - and we think that this fish may be a red herring the Water Board would like to drag across the trail that leads to those responsible for the St. Francis Dam Disaster” (in Kahrl 1982:313).

Thirteen different investigations ensued following the failure. One panel was appointed by California Governor Clement C. Young to study the disaster. Sabotage theories were rejected, and the report identified the placement of dam upon the San Francisquito fault, as well as the relatively unstable conditions of the Pelona Schist on the dam’s eastern abutment and the Sespe conglomerate on the western side of the dam, as factors contributing to the failure (Wiley et al 1928). Another investigation, requested by Gov. George Hunt of Arizona, was prompted by Bureau of Reclamation plans to build a dam similar in design to St. Francis in Boulder Canyon. Outland expressed belief that the St. Francis disaster was swept under the rug by the City of Los Angeles specifically because of the Boulder Dam project (Rogers 2002:89).

More recent assessments have determined that, among other factors, the eastern abutment was unknowingly built upon a massive paleo-megalandslide. In 1992 J. David Rogers identified 14 design deficiencies in dam construction, seven of which would have singularly resulted in the dam’s eventual failure (Rogers 2007a:72-72). Design changes during construction, lack of incorporation of hydraulic uplift theory into the dam’s design, failure to recognize that the dam would become saturated over time, and failure to provide the dam with grouted contraction joints were among the issues identified. However, the failure impacted the passage of the Boulder Canyon Project Act and design of the Hoover Dam, as well as influenced changes in dam design and construction in California and across the county (Rogers 2007b:9-10). Currently the findings of Roger’s analysis are generally

accepted as a conclusive determination of how and why the dam failed. C. Mulholland saw Rogers' analysis as vindicating her grandfather of culpability; others view his findings as further proof that W. Mulholland was responsible for the St. Francis Dam failure (Jackson and Hundley 2004).

The politics of bringing water to Los Angeles, generally discussed in terms of “water wars,” and the legacy of Mulholland, chief engineer of the dam, both transcend this event and add additional layers of complexity to understanding the factors influencing why this disaster has largely been excluded from the public memory. The legacy of the “water wars,” and the duality of Mulholland as visionary of the water supply system which brought Los Angeles to life – and as the engineer responsible for the collapse of a key storage dam which caused an expansive path of death and destruction – continue to galvanize the historical consciousness and public recollection observable today.

### CHAPTER III

#### THEORETICAL PERSPECTIVES

Understanding why memory and commemoration can be so diverse in particular circumstances, such as in the wake of catastrophe, requires comprehension of the broader theoretical ramifications involved in how memory is constructed and materializes within a landscape. In particular, comprehending what, how, and why individuals and communities choose to memorialize provides insight into the intended spatial and temporal scales of monuments and memorials, as well as their afterlives as memorabilia. A thorough review of the germane literature available, representing the perspectives of multiple disciplines, provides an adequate context in which to subsequently identify relevant patterns in ways in which the disaster and victims were commemorated.

No matter the culture, humans, as individual actors, agents, and subjects within the context of their social structures, designate certain persons, places, practices, and things as heritage (Nora 2011:ix-xi). Within a group, heritage reflects a shared collective memory; the synthesis of heritage and memory within a culture continually (re)constructs a shared cultural identity (Raj Isar et al. 2011:2-9). Identity, memory, and heritage are inexorably bound; while these concepts have independently been subjects of interest within various disciplines for a number of years, the confluence of these three processes has recently become more of a key focus within the field of historical archaeology. Across disciplines, identity has been studied, in the context of the individual to a larger group; likewise, memory studies have spanned the spectrum from a focus on individual memories, to larger collective (social) memories (Misztal 2003:5; Climo and Cattell 2002; Olick and Robbins 1998). The phenomenon of memory has a proliferation of terms attached to it: cultural memory,

historical memory, local or regional memory, official memory, public memory, shared memory, collective memory, social memory, custom, myth, roots, tradition, and finally, heritage (Climo and Cattell 2002:4). Heritage is a concept that carries numerous connotations, ranging from being interpreted as tangible objects (material culture), such as heirlooms or property that is handed down from generation to generation, to a more intangible heritage, such as cultural identity, cultural heritage, and connections to space and place (Nora 2011:ix).

### **Mnemonic Communities: Identity, Memory, and Heritage as a Cultural Process**

Together, identity, memory, and heritage manifest themselves through the practices of our cultural ways of life, and their study is increasingly central to anthropological scholarship. As memory is profoundly affixed to the identities of individuals, groups, and cultures, a synthesized examination of these concepts can provide insight into not only the individual motivations and perceptions related to the creation of memory, but also to the larger issues of how a culture establishes traditions and legends and how these act as a guide for the conduct of members within a culture. The study of memory requires an interdisciplinary approach; professionals from psychology, sociology, geography, history, and anthropology contribute to discourse on how memory works within different social, spatial, and temporal scales (Mills and Walker 2008:4).

Early memory studies and terms such as “collective memory” are traceable to Emile Durkheim (1858-1917) and his student Maurice Halbwachs (1877-1945). In *The Elementary Forms of the Religious Life* (1915 [1912]), Durkheim extensively discusses commemorative rituals. Halbwachs published a landmark study on *The Social Frameworks of Memory* (1925); in that work, and his seminal work *The Collective Memory* (1950), he suggests that

memory extends beyond the bounds of the individual and should be accepted as a social or group phenomenon (1992 [1925]:53; 1950). A nascent form of social memory, Halbwachs does not describe his concept of collective memory as being superorganic (existing beyond its individual human carriers), despite the influences of Durkheim. Instead, he presents collective memory as existing only in context to the communications between members of a group and the sharing of individual memories, for it is through the “social milieu” that “predominate thoughts of a society” come forth, and a consensus is reached as to the truth about the past and the form collective memory will take (Halbwachs 1992 [1925]:40, 184). Halbwachs argues that not only is it in society that individuals acquire, recall, recognize and localize their memories, but that people are unable to maintain memory outside the context of their group (Halbwachs 1992 [1925]; Olick and Robbins 1998). Thus, as collective memories are formed during group interactions, if the group ceases to exist, the memory will as well.

Identity, memory, and heritage are interactive socio-cultural processes within a community. Although it is the individual that remembers, collective memory develops when individuals interact and listen to the testimony of others as a means to “validate their interpretations of their own experiences, to provide independent confirmation (or refutation) of the content of their memories and thus confidence in their accuracy” (Thelen 1989:1122). Through a process of socialization, new members of a social group are integrated over an ongoing “subtle process that usually happens rather tacitly; listening to a family member recount a shared experience, for example, implicitly teaches one what is considered memorable and what one can actually forget” (Zerubavel 1999:87).

Folklore, and the existence and maintenance of rituals, legends, and other traditions are also interactive socio-cultural processes within a community. Narrative is a means by

which individual and public memories are transmitted. Personal narratives (of survivors, bereaved kin, etc.), and legends (third-personal historical narratives) are passed down from one generation to the next. These traditions contribute to archaeological analysis not as directly as data or fact, but as processes to be analyzed and understood (Layton 1999).

Families, neighbors, ethnic groups, organizations, and societies – all are types of “mnemonic communities”; these groups socialize us to what should be remembered and what should be forgotten (Misztal 2003:15). Mnemonic communities introduce and familiarize new members to their collective past, ensuring that they attain an expected social identity by identifying with the history of the group (Misztal 2003:15). Through group interactions, the materials for memories are provided, and individuals are influenced into recalling certain events and forgetting others; groups are also able to produce multi-generational memories in individuals, influencing the remembering of that which was not experienced in any direct sense (Olick and Robbins 1998). Through this process it is clear to see heritage is not just the passing down of material objects, but also the memory and meaning associated with associated with these heirlooms.

### **Mnemonic Landscapes and Objects: Monuments, Memorials and Memorabilia**

Although the study of memory is a challenging endeavor, archaeologists can contribute to this discourse through studying the materiality of memory and gaining further insight into how landscapes, monuments, and mnemonic devices influence the development and maintenance of memory within a community (Giuliano 2013; Hayes 2008). Public memorialization and imbuing places with meaning and memory act as agents for the process of remembering; over time, “sacred places commemorate not facts certified by contemporary witnesses but rather beliefs...strengthened by taking root in this environment” (Halbwachs



1992[1925]:199). This phenomenological approach to space and place is based on the idea that every human thought and action takes place within a landscape, and that “places emerge as places through their involvement in structures of understanding and practice” (Thomas 1996:83). In this way, identity, memory and heritage are inherently interconnected, in that physical surroundings not only play a critical role in the creation and maintenance of an individual’s own identity, but continually act to influence their conceptions of others within shared social systems.

Social memory is transmitted and maintained via inscribing practices (placing monuments, markers or other spatial mnemonics on the landscape) as well as through incorporating practices (rituals) (Connerton 1989:22-23). Memory is transferred between individuals through incorporating practices (bodily activities), that take place in the present (e.g. funerals); while the inherent meanings of these activities are not explicitly discussed, a common understanding is generally understood through processes of socialization. Inscribed practices differ, in that they act to store, or preserve, information which will later be retrieved (e.g. grave markers in a cemetery) (Connerton 1989:22-23). Through the constant reenactment of ritual, individuals and groups perform acts, thereby acting as agents that (re)present social memory and thus allowing the subject of the ritual to be remembered. Shared memories perpetuate an inherent “inertia in social structure” (Connerton 1989:5). While archaeologists have long studied landscapes from an economic perspective, more recently emphasis has been placed on “socio-symbolic dimensions: landscape is an entity that exists by virtue of its being perceived, experienced and contextualized by people” (Knapp and Ashmore 1999:1).

Individuals structure their physical environment to meet the needs and interests of their own cultural specificities. Understanding how individuals structure their environment or what Martin Heidegger (1962 [1927]) describes as “being-in-the-world,” requires taking into account that individuals exist only in surroundings of distinct materiality in relation to other distinctly material things which make up the world. Structure and agency are incorporated into the concept of phenomenology of landscape by Pierre Bourdieu (1977) through his concept of habitus; his perspective is that socially constructed perceptions of what is normal are constructed over time and transmitted via social interactions through (within) socially constructed physical surroundings.

Landscapes are shaped by the experiences of the preceding generation and carry the marks of previous events. Given their stable nature, environment is “an easy symbol of cultural continuity on the one hand, and a ready structural element for its memories on the other, producing what we know as ‘mnemonic sites’ – historical monuments, buildings, etc.” (Lindstrom 2008:228). These sites and other mnemonic objects aid individuals in memory recall by grounding memories of the past in places and things. Monuments we see and interact with throughout the landscape root specific history and memory of the past in the present, and designate what mnemonic groups commemorate as their heritage (Shackel 2003).

Monuments (structures created to commemorate a person or important event), memorials (objects which serve as a focus for the memory of a person or event), grave markers (the most common type of memorial), and memorabilia (objects kept because of their association with memorable people or events) are all forms of mnemonics. Portable relics and memorabilia (i.e. plaques, medals, awards, and other commemorative objects) act

as a mnemonic bridge, and allow for memory recall without being physically present in the environment where the event actually occurred (Zerubavel 2003 43-44). Mnemonics are meant to aid in memory recall. How individuals and groups interact with mnemonics can be studied as a socio-cultural process. Mnemonic devices can be large or small; any object can bear meaning and knowledge intended to be remembered and retrieved in future (Hallam and Hockey 2001). It is impossible to fully understand exactly what perceptions a mnemonic will conjure in the future; many memorials retain some shared and common “meaning in local communities and become revitalized during times of commemoration through the years” and tend to over time “acquire political significance” (Holtorf and Williams 2006:244).

### **Forgetting: Out of Sight, Out of Mind**

Memory, whether individual or collective, is (re)constructed in the logic of remembering and forgetting. Studying what has been forgotten is difficult; however, how and why forgetting happens can be revealed through an analysis of the construction of identity, memory, and heritage within a community. Forgetting happen for numerous reasons, but “forced forgetting” is generally a political act (Connerton 1989:12). This idea is clearly illustrated in Ray Bradbury’s *Fahrenheit 451* (1951), in which citizens struggle against state power (and memory against forgetting), memorizing books which were to be burned by the state, and thus keeping the memory of these books alive until they regained freedom and could print the books again.

Memory manifested through gaps or silences (omissions) in historical records generally result from acts of political and economic power (Brundage 2000:5-7). For example, during the colonization of the United States, white Southerners presented the favorable view of enslavement, depicting themselves as honorable master and those that they

enslaved as ‘content.’ The creation of this form of public memory acted to silence “alternative memories of violence, exploitation, and cruelty” (Brundage 2000:7). An African American counter-memory has emerged since the 1960s, challenging earlier narratives associated with enslavement, and we all benefit from the telling, memorializing, and remembering of a more inclusive history of our shared past (Shackel 2001). During the centuries of colonialism, recorded history was almost exclusively told from the perspective of conquerors and other power elites. In this telling of history, subordinate groups were effectively hidden or silenced; these subaltern groups became “people without history” (Wolf 1984).

Landscapes can also be used to hide the past, or make people forget, through deliberate actions of destruction (Holtorf and Williams 2006:239). Therefore, the past is always present within the landscape; however, certain elements are visible while others might be dispersed, distributed, or suppressed. While forgetting can be deliberate, it is often more subtle, and closely tied to remembering. In landscapes where people have faced death, war, migration or some other form of tragedy that, over time, become absent from the landscape, memory can be easily forgotten; however, select memories might still exist in the form of portable artifacts (songs, stories, folk beliefs, and ritual performances) in lieu of being invested in physical traces (monuments) (Holtorf and Williams 2006:239).

What will be remembered and preserved, or repressed and forgotten, is a highly political act (Natzmer 2002). How people view the past and the dead is constantly changing, but always governed by certain agendas and by the interests of the people involved. When looking at remembering in any landscape, key questions to ask are: (1) who benefits in each case; (2) who is disadvantaged; (3) whose interests are affected other than those of the people

directly involved; and (4) which power relations are at work (Holtorf and Williams 2006:253).

Control of collective (public) memory is often related to power, and both individuals and groups struggle over what certain memories will mean when an official memory is imposed by the power elite (Teski and Climo 1995:1-10). Various types of power exist; Eric Wolf has identified four modes of power: (1) power as the attribute (capability or potency) of a person; (2) power as the ability of a person to impose their will upon another; (3) power that controls social settings; and (4) structural power which designates social labor (Wolf 1990:586-587). The context of how power is used in relationship to the formation of public memory (heritage) speaks to the complexity of the use of power. Both political and economic factors influence what will be preserved, restored, documented, or not. That which binds these societal decisions also influences the symbols and social meanings that are crucial components in the formation of identities and collective memories. Identity shapes one's notion of self and other, and heavily influences how societies perceive and interact with one another (Anheier and Raj Isar 2011:103).

It is necessary to take a critical approach to accepting certain aspects of one's own heritage, as the product of memory often operates in ways that silences subaltern groups (Trouillot 1995:1-7). Understanding what parts of the past are remembered, and how they are remembered and interpreted, provides insight into how public memory develops. As public memory (of heritage) is established, there is the potential for the forgetting and excluding of certain alternative pasts; the study of heritage (public memory formation) and the politics of memory are currently the focus of most of the memory and heritage projects taking place within historical archaeology. As of recent, historical archaeologists have realized that

“heritage is a social construction that is often used to promote national ideologies and factional perspectives” (Orser 2010:131). What gets remembered and why, in the formation and maintenance of heritage, has also become of primary interest to historical archaeologists (Stritch 2006:43-44).

### **Memorialization after Disaster: Catastrophe as a Social Process**

The development of heritage is vital to the survival of communities displaced by catastrophe (Oliver-Smith 2006). The potential for disasters exists in any environment where a human population and a natural, modified, or constructed feature, that holds the potential to be a destructive agent, come into contact (Oliver-Smith and Hoffman 2002:3-22). According to Oliver-Smith and Hoffman, a disaster is “a process/event combining a potential force...and a population in a socially and economically produced condition of vulnerability, resulting in a perceived disruption of the customary relative satisfactions of individual and social needs” (Oliver-Smith and Hoffman 2002:4). Disasters bring to light the nature of a given society’s social structure, by initiating unity and social cohesion and inciting conflict along social-cultural lines (Oliver-Smith and Hoffman 2002:9). Disasters, such as floods, are social processes as well as critical events; as such, they are both objective and subjective phenomena which can act to reveal underlying political, economic, and social forces at play within a given culture.

Disasters are often thought of as events to be remembered (Ullberg 2010). The same is true of the victims of disasters. Learning from and remembering past disasters increases human capacity to cope with comparable future events by enabling communities to make adaptations that decrease vulnerability while increasing resilience (Ullberg 2010:12). The role that social memory has in this process, and how it operates in a given context, is largely

understudied: “To expand our understanding of how vulnerability and resilience to disaster are produced, we need to explore how past events and experiences are remembered” (Ullberg 2010:12).

Searching for and identifying the dead following catastrophe is a physical and emotional activity. Bereavement researcher Colin Parkes (1972) has identified patterns of “yearning and searching” in the grief process. In context to disaster, this activity is as much a physical activity, as emotion one. Finding, identifying, and officially disposing of the dead is all symbolic activity. Beyond the practical necessity of dealing with the dead following disaster, body recovery and management is a process of personalization, reflecting societal belief that victims be treated as persons, not bodies (Blanshan and Quarantelli 1981: 275). The Pan American Health Organization (PAHO), the agency governing the management of the dead in disaster situations, recently updated its guidelines to acknowledge the importance of body recovery, stating that the inability to perform mourning rituals “condemns a family to a second death: the symbolic death of their loved one for the lack of a tomb that perpetuates his or her name and confers social worth to the deceased and his or her inclusion in the generational continuity of a family” (Eyre 2007:446; PAHO 2004: 85).

Formal memorial services provide a forum for survivors to come together a publicly grieve with others while also reestablishing connections to space and place. The location, level of formality, and context of memorial services represent the scale and significance of loss (Eyre 2007:450). Anniversary events mark the passage of time chronologically and socially, and allow for the reassessment of progress towards rehabilitation and recovery. Disaster anniversaries are an interactive process of collective remembering which allow people a forum to share their personal experiences; public officials make “decorative

comments” while the media “reconstruct the disaster experience” by documenting thoughts and reflections of survivors (Forrest 1993:448). The placing of permanent memorials functions on personal and collective levels, and provides insight into the social testimony assigned to events of the past. Survivors and their kin are key stakeholders in the planning, design, and development of permanent forms of commemoration. However, as more individuals are involved in the consultation process, there is a higher likelihood for disagreement, which can ultimately impact whether memorialization takes place.

### **Historical Archaeologists as Heritage Practitioners**

As the concept of “public archaeology” continues to broaden from its focus on legal and regulatory requirements, archaeologists, as heritage practitioners, are coming to embrace efforts to collaborate with descendant communities in new and different ways in support of education, civic renewal, and social justice (Little and Shackel 2014:23, 71). There is no one way to ensure successful collaboration; however, “improving communication, sharing power and control as equal partners, and maintaining mutual respect are key ingredients” (Kerber 2006:xxx). Different stakeholders will have very different views, and memories, regarding the history of their community; some might hold concerns that their perspectives of the past will not be respected. As identified during the New Philadelphia, Illinois Public Archaeology Project, it is “important to think of ways to increase the number of people endorsing the project in a way that includes both descendants and the local community (Little and Shackel 2014:86-87).

It can be challenging to find ways for community members to endorse or even contribute to a project. Posting project related information on the Internet, archaeological and otherwise (e.g. pertinent records, newspapers, oral histories) in efforts to share knowledge



gleaned during the research fieldwork can act as “an important vehicle in trying to bridge these different groups with the intent to democratize the project” (Little and Shackel 2014:88). This sort of forum allows for researchers to present their interpretations, especially those that might directly challenge family narratives and public memory of place (Shackel 2011). Sharing a broad array of data allows observers to connect with their potential areas of interest, and increases the likelihood of feedback about how the project is viewed. Various stakeholders in a project, archaeologists and community members alike, can influence how the other views and interprets the past.

Paul Shackel (2001) has used Harpers Ferry, West Virginia as a site to illustrate the many ways in which heritage has been used as means to structure memory and tradition. The historical memory at Harpers Ferry was built around events related to the Civil War and great men associated with the time period. Since the heritage plan was put in place during Jim Crow separatism, other histories, such as those of African Americans, were completely ignored (omitted). In this case study, Shackel develops a series of counter-memories by focusing his research on the history of African Americans at Harpers Ferry. The counter-memories created by Shackel’s work allows for a retelling of history, a history of plurality and inclusion that crosses class and racial lines to allow for a telling of working-class and African American histories. Shackel’s fieldwork highlights the idea that to understand the construction of heritage, archaeologist need to take into account the socio-historical context in play at the time at which a heritage plan is designed and implemented.

In her fieldwork concerning 18<sup>th</sup> century clearances in the Scottish Highlands, Sian Jones (2012) adopted an approach similar to that of Shackel. Jones found that she was able to use excavation as both a theater for transmitting and negotiating traumatic memories and a

metaphor for the process of recovering suppressed memories. Excavation, as a means to unearthing hidden or silenced histories, works to collapse the difference between the present and past allowing individuals to shuttle between the past and present as they remember. Excavation in public places, where a community can witness the past being materialized, allows the items being excavated to act as powerful memory props. Once excavated, monuments and ruins can then become the focus of homecoming tourism, further allowing these historical landscapes to act as mnemonic devices.

Jones characterizes the social memory of these events as “post-memory,” a form of recollection that is drawn from narratives (individual testimonies and/or oral traditions) “that precede people’s birth by one or more generations” (Jones 2012:354). In her identification of post memory, Jones highlights the realization that heritage sites, museums, and popular history mediate the fragmented narratives passed from generation to generation. Specifically related to memories of painful (traumatic) pasts, Jones points out several questions archaeologists should consider concerning the politics behind the production and negotiation of memory: 1) how memories of painful or traumatic pasts are transmitted between generations, 2) how these memories frame current understandings of circumstances 3) what purposes and interests do these forms of memory service, and 4) how are archaeological remains, and the work of archaeologists, involved in this process (Jones 2012:348)?

Several studies of social memory, identity and death have recently been undertaken, incorporating analyses of mortuary practices and cemeteries (Cannon 2002; Chesson 2001; Daroczi 2012; Holtorf and Williams 2006). This combines identity, memory and heritage studies, as the placement of cemeteries within a landscape are purposeful actions that indicate how people organize their social and physical landscapes (Cannon 2002:191-193; Knapp and

Ashmore 1999). Cemeteries are liminal places that “bridge notions of self and other, time and space, individuals and community, and past and present homeland,” and in so doing “reproduce and initiate constructions of memory at individual, familial, and collective levels” (Francis, Kellaher and Neophytou 2002:57). As there is an “intensely complex interplay between people’s identities, emotions, experiences, and desires, the multiples webs of social structures, and the use of material culture in primary and secondary mortuary practices,” it is clear that social memory is crafted during mortuary rituals (Chesson 2001:1). Funerary landscapes (mortuary practices and their materializations) provide a space where mourning occurs, where social memories are created and re(created), and where individuals assert their individual identities as well as group memberships (Daroczi 2012:199-202). Social memory is formed during mortuary rituals; these rituals are also forums for the creation and negotiation of identity.

Cemeteries and graves act as mnemonics that ritually form and maintain memory; “spatial representations of death are viewed...as elements in the ritual recreation and maintenance of personal and social memories of the dead to serve the needs and interests of the living (Cannon 2002:1). Cemeteries are visible expressions of the stability and identity of a community, they reflect the attitudes and preferences of the group supporting them, and they allow the dead to retain a place in the memories of the living; memory, therefore, is created and maintained by their placement in space (Branigan 1998; Cannon 2002). Grave markers within a cemetery, and cemeteries within a community, are spatial metaphors mnemonics that create, maintain and modify social memory (Fentress and Wickham 1992:21-40). In the context of situations or events that have resulted in catastrophic loss of life, grave markers, as memorials, serve as a physical space for individuals to come together

to remember and mourn for those that were lost; cenotaphs serve the same purpose, despite the fact that an individual's remains are not physically present in the grave that is being represented (Natzmer 2002:170).

Cheryl Natzmer (2002) discusses the ownership of memory and the idea that history is shaped by both told and forgotten stories. According to Natzmer, the struggle over ownership of memory is especially intense in societies recovering from conflict, terrorism and disaster. Natzmer presents a model for constructing and reconstructing the past which incorporates and makes sense of the memories (and that which is forgotten) of all sides involved in the history within a landscape (Natzmer 2002: 165). Natzmer spent much of her time researching in the National Cemetery in Santiago, Chile, where she recorded the ritual actions of individuals who came to the cemetery to remember those who were dead or had disappeared during the time of Dictator Augusto Pinochet's rule. In this case of the Chilean National Cemetery, black iron crosses mark the mass graves of unidentified; the graves of those that are still missing are marked with cenotaphs, the graves just waiting for their intended occupants to be found. According to Natzmer, these memorials serve as a physical space for individuals to come together to remember and mourn for those that were lost, and those that are missing and have not had their bodies recovered.

Just as public monuments and grave markers act as mnemonic devices by stimulating memory, the purposeful destruction of monuments and historical sites influences processes of remembering and forgetting. Eradicating monuments and sites acts to disable negative memory conjured by a site and sets the stage for the creation of new, positive memories (Forty and Kuchler 1999:10). Shackel, Jones, and Natzmer's studies related to heritage and memory illustrate how heritage sites have been used in the past to silence subaltern groups.

However, they demonstrate how archaeology in the present can be used as an arena for excavating memory, allowing for marginalized or forgotten histories to be recovered and reintegrated into the social memory of a place. These approaches, echoed by other recent research (Kuchler 1999; Rowlands 1999), provide a useful framework for studying the intersection between monuments, memory, and landscape.

The multi- disciplinary body of literature associated with the “memory boom” is immense. As it directly applies to this research topic though, it is interesting to note that relatively few case studies exist. None the less, this review of the broader theoretical ramifications involved in how memory is constructed and materializes within a landscape highlights several issues in addressing the complex process of commemoration.

## CHAPTER IV

### METHODOLOGY

This historical archaeology project applies archival research and archaeological field methods in the study of social memory to better understand how post-disaster rituals and community commemoration efforts affect the long term memory and heritage associated with a catastrophic event. For a historical archaeology project effective, a research methodology must be employed that embraces both anthropological and historical perspectives and synthesizes archaeological and historical data in a constructive manner (Deetz 1988:362). Utilizing two different data bases, historical documents and material culture, permits the juxtaposition of several sets of data that are of anthropological and historical value. The data sets used in this analysis were created from information provided in historical documents identified in local archives, from archaeological data documented during fieldwork, and through contact with various stakeholders. The following is a description of how I went about identifying and collecting the data that I have synthesized and used to make historical and interpretive claims presented in the remaining sections of this thesis.

#### **Archival and Background Research**

Historical research was completed in Los Angeles and Ventura counties as well as Online to locate disaster related memorials, documents and ephemera. Two archives were found to hold the most applicable material relating to the disaster and its victims: the Los Angeles Department of Water and Power Records Center and the Ventura County Museum Research Library. Other archives I visited for this research included the Angeles National Forest Supervisor's Office, Los Angeles Central Library, Old Town Newhall Library, CSUN Oviatt Library, Fillmore Public Library and Historical Museum, and Santa Paula Blanchard

Public Library, which were found to have applicable, yet smaller collections. In most cases, each location held material unique to their community and unavailable in any other archive.

Topics include:

- accounting for the dead: identity, ethnicity, kinship, dependents, occupation, earning capacity, location the night of the disaster, claim payout amount, and burial location
- recovery efforts: body recovery, management, and disposal, make-shift morgue records, interment records, and cemetery plot maps indicating burial locations
- relief efforts: American Red Cross, La Cruz Azul Mexicana, American Legion, and other organizations
- restoration efforts: the Citizens Restoration Committee and claims process, illustrating the assignment of a monetary value to human life and personal property
- newspaper articles, pamphlets, magazines, journals, and other ephemera discussing:
  - the disaster and the dead
  - commemorative events held in the wake of the disaster
  - the placement of state monuments and community memorials
  - annual anniversary events and other recent commemorative activities
- songs, ballads, poems, previously recorded stories, and oral histories
- history of the First Los Angeles Aqueduct, St. Francis Dam construction, use and failure, Power Plant No. 2 and the associated workers community, San Francisquito Canyon, and the Santa Clara River Valley

Additional review was made of local newspaper. These sources proved helpful in compiling lists of the dead and locating their burial locations. They also provided information

regarding anniversary events, museum installations, and memorialization efforts, as well as serving to evaluate dissemination of information about the disaster to the public over time.

The recording process consisted of digitally capturing and converting documents into searchable portable document files (PDFs). Some documents were photographed to limit risk of damage to the original, while others were in excellent condition and able to be safely placed on a flat-bed scanner. Historical photographs, including the post mortem images taken at each of the make-shift morgues, were either photographed or scanned when they were not otherwise available through digital resources, such as the Department of Water and Power Photo Archive made available Online through the Los Angeles Public Library website. Several large maps of the Power Plant No. 2 community were photographed in segments and digitally stitched together. All of these files have been archived on portable storage devices and comprise some 37 GBs of data.

### **Los Angeles Department of Water and Power Archives**

The St. Francis Dam Claims Records (“Claims Records”) and hundreds of other documents are located in the historical archives of the Los Angeles Department of Water and Power (LADWP). In the fall of 2011 I made an initial visit with Dr. James E. Snead to the LADWP Records Center, located at 5848 Miramonte Blvd in Los Angeles, to review the Claims Records. During this visit we were able to quickly determine that sufficient data was present in the Claims Records to warrant digitization efforts and focused study. A California Public Records Act Request Form was submitted on June 1, 2012, formally requesting to review and scan documents associated with the dam’s failure and subsequent restoration efforts (Appendix A).



Records selected for review are associated with the period beginning March 12, 1928 and ending in December 1932, and include correspondence and reports on the processing of death, injury, personal property (e.g. clothing, household goods, automobiles), and real property (e.g. structures and land) claims as a result of the failure of the dam. These documents are referred to internally at the LADWP as Water Services (Aqueduct) Historical Records WP 19-17 through WP 19-27 and City Attorney's Office Historical Records WP 02-41 through WP 02-80. I spent approximately 110 hours, over the course of 18 days, reviewing the entirety of the Water Services (Aqueduct) Historical Records and City Attorney's Office Historical Records, and selectively digitizing those documents found to be applicable to research (Tables 4.1; Table 4.2). The files selected to be digitized were chosen because their contents held information directly related to the recovery and subsequent burial of identified and unidentified victims, as well as information on those reported missing. As each file was digitized, it was named based on the LADWP's internal finding aid system (e.g. WP 02-71-1; WP 02-75-2). Photographs and negatives documenting the dam site and property damage along the 54-mile flood zone, and card files, which were used for indexing and logging the status of each claim, were also digitized.

A list of victims and associated data necessary to determine interment locations was compiled from several resources obtained at the DWP Records Center (Table 4.3; Appendix B). Records utilized include transcriptions of the Coroner's Inquests held at all of the make-shift morgues, correspondence between claims agents, cemeteries, and undertakers, and primarily, documents found within the individual claims files. Applicable documents within an individual claim file include the three page claim form (Figure 4.1), death certificates for each individual being claimed upon (Figure 4.2a), and interment receipts (Figure 4.2b).

Table 4.1 Files digitized at the LADWP Records Center from Water Services (Aqueduct) Historical Records WP 19-17 through WP 19-27.

<b>File</b>	<b>Title</b>
WP 19-17-1	Coroner's Inquest – Fillmore, March 15, 1928
WP 19-17-2	Coroner's Inquest – Moorpark, March 15, 1928
WP 19-17-2A	Coroner's Inquest – Oxnard, March 15, 1928
WP 19-17-3	Coroner's Inquest – Santa Paula, March 15, 1928
WP 19-17-4	Coroner's Inquest – Ventura, March 15, 1928
WP 19-17-11	Correspondence – Burial Locations, July 1928-January 1929
WP 19-17-11A	Correspondence – City Attorney Jess Stephens, May-August 1928
WP 19-17-12	Correspondence – Identified Victims, March-May 1928
WP 19-17-13	Correspondence – Identified Victims, March-June 1928
WP 19-17-15	Correspondence – Missing Persons, March 1928-January 1932
WP 19-17-19A	Inspection Reports of Flood Area, March-September 1928
WP 19-17-20	Total of St. Francis Dam Claims Approved, August 1928-April 1932
WP 19-17-21	Report of Casualties and Related DWP Action, September 27, 1928
WP 19-17-22	Report of Deaths – Fillmore, Moorpark, Santa Paula, Newhall, Oxnard, Ventura, March 19, 1928
WP 19-17-22A	Report on Identified Dead–Citizens Restoration Committee, May 1928
WP 19-17-23	Report on Survivors from Newhall, 1928
WP 19-17-24	Reports and Lists of City Employees Lost in Flood, March-April 1928
WP 19-17-25	Unidentified, Missing, Dead Victims, March-June 1928
WP 19-17-26	Statements of Expenditure- Emergency Relief, April-December 1928
WP 19-18-2	Correspondence – Bakersfield Undertakers Claims, March-Aug 1928
WP 19-18-3	Unidentified Casualty Files, August-October 1931
WP 19-18-3A	Unidentified Casualty Files 315-326, March-September 1928
WP 19-18-3B	Unidentified Casualty Files 327-335, March 1928-December 1929
WP 19-18-4	Unidentified Casualty Files 350-369, March 1928-December 1929
WP 19-18-5	Unidentified Casualty Files 370-389, May-September 1928
WP 19-18-6	Unidentified Casualty Files 390-402, March-November 1928
WP 19-21-1A	Individual Claims Files, Southern California Edison, September 1928-May 1931
WP 19-21-1B	Individual Claims Files, Disallowed and Dismissed Claims Sept. 1928-Feb. 1932
WP 19-23-5A	Santa Paula Office Files, Telegrams, March-August 1928
WP 19-23-5B	Santa Paula Office Files, Telegrams – Unidentified Bodies, April-July 1928
WP 19-25-1	Record of Claims File Card Index, A-F, 1928 (Box 1 of 3)
WP 19-25-2	Record of Claims File Card Index, G-O, 1928 (Box 2 of 3)
WP 19-26-1	Record of Claims File Card Index, P-Z, 1928 (Box 3 of 3)

Table 4.2 Files digitized at the LADWP Records Center from City Attorney's Office Historical Records WP 02-41 through WP 02-80.

<b>File</b>	<b>Title</b>
WP 02-41 to 75	Claim No. 1-2558 (death, injury, and personal property claims files)
WP 02-75-1	Transcript Coroner's Inquest, March 21-April 12, 1928 Volume 1
WP 02-75-2	Transcript Coroner's Inquest, March 21-April 12, 1928 Volume 2
WP 02-75-3	Verdict of Coroner's Jury, April 12, 1928
WP 02-75-7	Correspondence, Legal Research, Coroner's Inquest Notes, March 1928-Nov. 1931
WP 02-75-8	Citizen's Restoration Committee Death and Injury Claims, Sept. 1928
WP 02-78-10	Citizen's Restoration Committee Report on Death and Disability Claims, July 15, 1929

Table 4.3 Information compiled for each victim. See Appendix B for complete list of victims.

<b>Information</b>	<b>Example</b>
First, middle and last name	Van Wallace Duke
Morgue number	Santa Paula #37
Date of birth	2/2/1909
Age	18y
Place of birth	Georgia
Nationality	American
Parents	J. R. and Maxie (Wallace) Duke
Employer and Residence	Towerman for SCE, Edison Kemp Camp
Where their body was found	Santa Paula
Claim number	1670
Claimant	John R. Duke, for loss of brother
Payout amount	\$1500.00
Attorney's or insurance involved in claim	Industrial Accident Commission
Undertaker	French & Skillin, Santa Paula
Burial Location	Hollywood Cemetery, Atlanta, Georgia
Presence or absence of a grave marker	Grave marker present

CITY OF LOS ANGELES  
Bureau of Water Works and Supply  
CLAIMANT'S STATEMENT

Date of Accident: March 13, 1928. Time: 1:00 A. M.  
Place of Accident: St. Francis Dam.

1. Your name in full: JESUS TORRES

If married, name of spouse in full: Married (Isabel Torres)

Nationality: Mexican

Your present residence address: 143 North Olive St., Santa Paula, Calif.  
Mrs. M. Alves

Your address at time of accident: Back of the Stork Ranch, Santa Paula, Calif.  
Wage Earner  
(Yes or no)

3. Names of persons killed or injured:

Name: <u>Isabel Torres (Drowned)</u>	Relationship: <u>Wife</u>	Age: <u>28 yrs.</u>
Name: <u>Jays Torres (Drowned)</u>	Relationship: <u>Daughter</u>	Age: <u>0 yrs.</u>
Name: <u>Mercedes Torres (Drowned)</u>	Relationship: <u>Daughter</u>	Age: <u>3 yrs.</u>
Name: <u>Luis Torres (Drowned)</u>	Relationship: <u>Son</u>	Age: <u>7 yrs.</u>
Name: <u>Pilar Torres (Drowned)</u>	Relationship: <u>Son</u>	Age: <u>3 yrs.</u>
Name: <u>Gerardo Torres (Drowned)</u>	Relationship: <u>Daughter</u>	Age: <u>6 yrs.</u>
Name: <u>Maria Torres (Drowned)</u>	Relationship: <u>Daughter</u>	Age: <u>2 mo.</u>

4. Give the name and address of anyone who of his own knowledge knows the above persons to have been injured or lost in the St. Francis Dam Flood: Mr. P. J. Dent, Stork Ranch Santa Paula, Calif.

5. Names of all members of your family, or all persons dependent for support upon the deceased person, and all of his or her heirs.

Name: <u>JESUS TORRES</u>	Address: <u>143 North Olive St.,</u>	Age: <u>35 yrs.</u>	Where born?
Name: _____	Address: _____	Age: _____	Where born?
Name: _____	Address: _____	Age: _____	Where born?
Name: _____	Address: _____	Age: _____	Where born?
Name: _____	Address: _____	Age: _____	Where born?
Name: _____	Address: _____	Age: _____	Where born?

6. If deceased person was your husband or father, were you living with him at time of accident? \_\_\_\_\_

7. If not totally dependent, was deceased contributing to your support and in what amount? Yes.

8. Occupation of deceased and earnings? (Full explanation here of nature and place of employment & that confirmation of facts stated may be had.) The Father (Jais Torres) a farmer on the ranch back of the Stork Ranch Santa Paula Calif. Salary \$5.00 per day as average.

9. Was body of deceased identified, and by whom? Jesús Torres identified the three children's bodies (Mercede) (Gerardo) (Maria) also the wife's body (Isabel).

10. Where interred? Santa Paula Cemetery, Santa Paula, Calif.

11. Who was present when you were injured? No one.

12. Who did you first call of injury, and where? Edgardo Torres, Back of the Stork Ranch

13. Name of doctor who attended you? Dr. Everette Beach, Oxnard Calif.

14. How long totally disabled? Five weeks. Partially disabled? \_\_\_\_\_

15. Nature and extent of permanent injury, if any? Not determined.

16. Have you ever been injured before? (Give details) No.

17. Have you ever made a claim or collected damages for injuries before? No.

18. Were you able bodied before this accident? Yes. Any part of body or limbs were missing, or you were without the sight of either eye or the hearing of either ear, or the motion of any joint was limited, before this accident, so state here: \_\_\_\_\_

19. Describe the accident to you: The noise of the rushing water awakened us, but it was too late to escape. The children and wife drowned in the house where we were all trapped. The water tank that was near our home bumped the house which made it collapse, and I floated about one half mile, was rescued about day-light.

Will any claim be made for Compensation under Workmen's Compensation Act of Cal? No.

Against whom? \_\_\_\_\_

20. Have you any loss other than that stated herein arising from the St. Francis Dam Flood? Yes.  
PERSONAL PROPERTY AND HOME FURNISHINGS, WHICH HAS BEEN FILED WITH THE CLAIM DEPARTMENT OF THE RED CROSS AT SANTA PAULA, CALIF.

If the statements above are correct to the best of your knowledge and belief, sign your name here.

Witness: J. P. Alvarez John J. Clarke  
R. S. Buckley Mrs. M. Alves Inter

Date of this report: 5/18/28

Figure 4.1 Claim Record of Jesus Torres (Claims Records 1928-1929: Torres #2264).

**PERMIT FOR REMOVAL AND BURIAL**  
THIS IS NOT A DEATH CERTIFICATE

California State Board of Health, Bureau of Vital Statistics

County of Los Angeles City or Town of Laurel or Rural Registration District San Francisco Canyon (No. St. Francis Dam St.; Ward) Local Registrar Number 35

\* FULL NAME Leona B. Johnson

PERSONAL AND STATISTICAL PARTICULARS			CORONER'S CERTIFICATE OF DEATH	
SEX <u>Female</u>	COLOR OR RACE <u>Cauc.</u>	SINGLE, MARRIED, WIDOWED, OR DIVORCED (Write the word) <u>Married</u>	DATE OF DEATH <u>March 12<sup>th</sup></u> 19 <u>28</u>	
If married, widowed, or divorced, name of (or) WIFE of <u>H. F. Johnson</u>			I HEREBY CERTIFY, as to the person above named and herein described, That on _____ 19____, I held an inquest and the jury rendered a verdict on the death. Or, that I have investigated the death officially on account of	
DATE OF BIRTH ____/____/____ 19 <u>01</u>			The CAUSE OF DEATH* was as follows:	
AGE <u>27</u> years _____ months _____ days or _____ hrs. _____ min.			Drowning and suffocation by immersion in salt and mixed lagoon water caused by the breaking of St. Francis Dam - Accidental.	
OCCUPATION (a) Trade, profession, or particular kind of work <u>Housewife</u> (b) General nature of industry, business, or establishment in which employed (or employer) (c) Name of employer				
BIRTHPLACE (State or country, city or town) <u>Iowa</u>			state whether attributed to dangerous or insanitary conditions of employment	
PARENTS	NAME OF FATHER <u>Unknown</u>		(Signed) <u>A. F. Wayne</u> Coroner	
	BIRTHPLACE OF FATHER (city or town) <u>Unknown</u>		Approved: (Signed) <u>Frank G. Hancock</u> Coroner	
	MAIDEN NAME OF MOTHER <u>Unknown</u>		<u>By W. A. McDonald</u> Chief Deputy	
BIRTHPLACE OF MOTHER (city or town) <u>Unknown</u>			*State the DISEASE CAUSING DEATH, or, in death from VIOLENT CAUSES, state (1) MEANS OF INJURY; and (2) whether (probably) ACCIDENTAL, SUICIDAL, or HOMICIDAL. (See reverse side for additional space.)	
LENGTH OF RESIDENCE At Place of Death _____ years _____ months _____ days (Primary registration district) (If nonresident, give city or town and state) In California _____ years _____ months _____ days How long in U.S.; if of foreign birth? _____ year _____ month _____ day			SPECIAL INFORMATION for Hospitals, Institutions, Transients or Recent Residents Where was disease contracted? If not at place of death? Former or usual residence	
THE ABOVE IS TRUE TO THE BEST OF MY KNOWLEDGE (Informant) <u>H. F. Johnson</u> (Address) <u>6259 Santa Monica Blvd</u>			PLACE OF BURIAL OR REMOVAL <u>Forest Lawn Cem</u>	DATE OF BURIAL <u>3/22/28</u>
Filed _____ 19____ Registrar or Deputy			UNDERTAKER <u>L. F. Little</u> <u>4254 So. B. Way.</u>	EMBALMER'S LICENSE No. <u>1820</u>

**LOCAL REGISTRAR'S PERMIT FOR REMOVAL**

(a)

Montalvo, Calif., April 10 1928

**RECEIVED** of City of Los Angeles Dept of Water & Power  
the sum of \$ 20.00 in payment for the privilege of burial of the body of  
Unidentified Man # 21 O J Reardon in space No. 141  
Tier No. 1 of Section D of **IVY LAWN CEMETERY ASSOCIATION**,  
as said lot, space, tier and section are described and delineated upon that certain map entitled "Map of Ivy Lawn Cemetery in Lot 1 of Ivy Lawn Subdivision, Ventura Co., California, showing subdivision of Secs. A & B and parts of Secs. C, D & G," and filed in the office of the County Recorder of Ventura County, on the 24th day of August, 1917, subject to all the rules and regulations of said IVY LAWN CEMETERY ASSOCIATION as now adopted and in force or as said rules and regulations may be hereafter amended.

**IVY LAWN CEMETERY ASSOCIATION,**

By David Darlino Its President.

By W. W. Carne Its Secretary.

(b)

Figure 4.2 (a) Burial permit for victim Leona Johnson and (b) interment record of Unknown Victim #21 (Claims Records 1928-1929: 2205; WP 19-18-04).

## **Ventura County Museum Research Library**

The Museum of Ventura County Research Library is a significant source of material pertaining to the St. Francis Dam Disaster. I visited the location on two occasions, June 21, 2012 and June 5, 2013 and reviewed their holdings related to the disaster (Table 4.4). The library has a variety of engineering and government reports which discuss why the dam was believed to have failed. Each of these items were reviewed and selectively digitized based on direct applicability. The St. Francis Dam file and scrapbook included an extensive photograph collection, Ventura County Historical Society quarterlies, and clippings from Southern California newspapers, some of which highlight recent memorialization efforts (Table 4.5). Their collection also includes a large ephemera file poems, lyrics, and other miscellaneous items (Table 4.6).

While all these sources provided excellent context for the research, Ventura County Coroner Oliver Reardon's *Record of Violent Deaths*, a notebook containing listing of the dead organized by make shift morgue number, with physical descriptions of each victim noted around the borders of their post mortem photo, proved most valuable. Hundreds of letters of inquiry about victims and missing individuals, many including dental records, photographs, and other documents that would aid in the identification process, were also found in Reardon's notebook. Reardon's notebook was photographed in lieu of scanning due to its delicate condition.

Table 4.4 Records reviewed and selectively digitized at the Ventura County Museum.

<b>Author</b>	<b>Call #</b>	<b>Title</b>
ASCE	627.82	Proceedings of the Fall Meeting, Boston Mass., October 9-11, 1929
Dispatchers Log Book	627.82	Memorandum to E.F. Scattergood, March 27, 1828, concerning destruction at San Francisquito Power Plant No. 2 and St. Francis Dam
Fife et. al	627.82	Failure of the St. Francis Dam: San Francisquito Canyon near Saugus
Garrigues	979.49	Why Didn't Somebody Tell Somebody?
Grunsky	627.80	St. Francis Dam Failure
Jenkins	789.91	The Breaking of the St. Francis Dam (sound recording)
LA Directory	917.94	Ventura County Directory, 1928
Lawrance	627.80	The Death of the Dam: A Chapter in Southern California History
Mead	627.80	The St. Francis Dam Failure
Mulqueen	627.80	History, Geology, and Photography Related to the Series of Panoramic Photographs on Display in the Wright Beach Library Documenting the Destruction Caused by the Failure of the St. Francis Dam
Nance	627.80	Verdict of the Los Angeles Coroner's Jury
Newhall	627.82	Report on the St. Francis Dam Flood for the Newhall Land and Farming Company
Outland	627.82	Charles F. Outland Collection - Man Made Disaster, Reviews and Correspondence Relating to this Book
Outland	979.49	Transcripts of Audio Tapes: The Story of the St. Francis Dam
Ray	627.82	The Dam Keeper's Daughter: A True Story
Reardon	347.01	Index of Letters Sent to the Coroner's Office
Reardon	347.01	Ventura County Coroner's Record, Violent Deaths
Reardon	347.01	Letters Sent to Coroner Reardon Regarding Victims of the St. Francis Dam Disaster
Rippens	627.82	The St. Francis Dam: a Guide to the Los Angeles Aqueduct and the Site of the Ill-Fated St. Francis Dam
Thomas	030.00	I Just Found Out: About Rebuilding After the Dam Broke
Various	627.80	St. Francis Dam Disaster, 1928 (file of clippings from newspapers)
Wiley et al.	627.80	Report of the Commission Appointed by Governor C.C. Young to Investigate the Causes Leading to the Failure of the St. Francis Dam
Willis	627.80	Report of the Geology of the St. Francis Dam Site
Winfield	979.49	Why Big Dams Burst: the Opinions of Several Eminent Hydraulic Engineers as to the Probable Case of the Collapse of the St. Francis Dam

Table 4.5 Newspaper clippings and other articles from the St. Francis Dam Disaster ephemera file digitized at the Ventura County Museum.

<b>Year</b>	<b>Author</b>	<b>Publication</b>	<b>Title</b>
1928	Unknown	Western Electric News	The St. Francis Dam Disaster
1928	Unknown	Oxnard Courier	Funerals For Flood Victims are Held Today
1928	Unknown	American Autochrome, Co.	St. Francis Dam Disaster
1978	Unknown	Progress Bulletin	Survivors Mark Collapse of Dam 50 Years Ago
1978	Willman	Los Angeles Times	Warning Ignored: Dam Collapse Killed 450
1984	Hey	Ventura County Historical Society Quarterly	The St. Francis Dam Disaster of March 12-13, 1928
1993	Rock	California Historian	The 1928 St. Francis Dam Disaster
1998	Ratcliff	Ventura County Star-Free Press	Remembering a Disaster: Museum Commemorates a Night of Terror and Heroism
1998	Editorial	Oxnard Star	We Can't Forget March 12, 1928: Monuments are Needed to Memorialize Disaster Victims
2000	Clandos	Los Angeles Times	Exhibit Gives Snapshot of a Disaster
2000	Eastlake	Ventura County Star	Plan to Rename Highway 126 Draws Fire
2000	Eastlake	Ventura County Star	St. Francis Dam Memorial Slated
2000	Gregory	Ventura County Star	75 Years Later: Memories of St. Francis Dam Disaster to Become Memorials
2001	Unknown	Ventura County Star	TV Movie to Depict 1928 Dam Collapse

Table 4.6 Additional miscellaneous items from the St. Francis Dam Disaster ephemera file, digitized at the Ventura County Museum

<b>Year</b>	<b>Author</b>	<b>Type</b>	<b>Title</b>
1928	Jones	Rhymes	When the Santa Clara Ran Red: Immortal Rhymes of the St. Francis Dam Flood
1928	Kennedy	Poem	The Breaking of the Dam
1978	SCVSH	Dedication pamphlet	St. Francis Dam: California Registered Historical Landmark No. 919
1996	Yewell	Term paper	The Collapse of the St. Francis Dam
1998	Freeman	Memorial booklet	St. Francis Dam Disaster: 70 <sup>th</sup> Anniversary
2001	Black	Song (lyrics)	St. Francis Dam Disaster
	Hendrick	Poem	The Breaking of the St. Francis Dam
	Wilkman	Proposal	A Treatment for a Ninety Minute Documentary on St. Francis Dam
	Unknown	Poem, in Spanish	La Inundacion de California
	Unknown	Cemetery Census	Ruiz-Perea Cemetery, Saugus, California



## Angeles National Forest Supervisor's Office

As the dam site, Power Plant No. 2 and associated workers community, and much of San Francisquito Canyon are within forest boundaries, I performed a records search at the Angeles National Forest (ANF) Arcadia Supervisor's Office (Table 4.7). Although it was helpful to review each of the archaeological site records for historic sites in the ANF boundaries, the two main documents most applicable in this research are the California State Historic Marker request, submitted in 1978 on the 50 year anniversary of the disaster, and

Table 4.7 Records reviewed and photocopied at the Angeles National Forest Supervisor's Office

<b>Author</b>	<b>Forest Service #</b>	<b>Report</b>
Arbuckle		St. Francis Dam Disaster Site, Survey of California Registered Historical Landmarks
Damann	05-01-53-37	San Francisquito Fire Station
Hirsch	05-01-53-319	LADWP Bridge, DPR Primary Record
Huckabee	05-01-53-335	Drinkwater Foundation #1
Huckabee	05-01-53-336	Drinkwater Foundation #2
Huckabee		Map of the St. Francis Dam remains
Kohut		St. Francis Dam Disaster Site, Application for Registration of Historical Landmark
Lang		DPR Primary Record, San Francisquito Power Plant No. 2 Workers Housing Historic District
Lee & Kennedy	05-01-00-910	San Francisquito Canyon Administrative Site Defensible Space Project
McIntyre et al	05-01-53-251	Raggio Residence, DPR Primary Record
Nilsson & Button		Cultural Resources Monitoring and Evaluation Report for the San Francisquito Power Plant No. 2 Tailings Remediation Project
Sander & Chandler	05-01-00-819	Heritage Resource Inventory for the Proposed Maintenance of Transmission Line Facilities: Power Plants 1 & 2
Shaver & Tuthill	05-01-53-109	Bee Canyon School #3
Shaver & Tuthill	05-01-53-316	St. Francis Dam Bypass Channel
Shaver & Tuthill	05-01-53-315	Historic period refuse site
Stone & Triem		Site of the St. Francis Dam, California State Landmark No. 919, National Register of Historic Places Registration Form
Wessel	05-01-52-104	St. Francis Dam

pending National Register of Historic Places (NRHP) nomination, which was submitted to the State Historic Preservation Office in 2004. The nomination was subsequently returned to the ANF, and Heritage Resource Managers are currently completing the pending items so that the request can be resubmitted. The expected timeline for resubmission is late 2014. Documents pertaining to the post-1928 Power Plant No. 2 housing community were also helpful as they provided history about the pre-1928 housing community.

### **Los Angeles Central Library**

The main branch of the Los Angeles Public Library (LAPL) holds many of the preliminary engineering reports discussing causes for the failure and large ephemera file of newspaper clippings, historical society quarterlies, and academic articles relating to the disaster and the legacy of W. Mulholland. I visited the location on January 10, 2014 and reviewed all their holding related to the disaster (Table 4.8). The library has several local Los Angeles newspapers on microfiche, including the Hearst-owned *Los Angeles Herald Examiner* that I reviewed for the months of March – July 1928. Online, the LAPL provides the *Los Angeles Times* newspaper and a large selection of historical photographs of the dam site following the failure in their Security Pacific National Bank collection and Department of Water and Power Photo Archive.

Table 4.8 Records reviewed and digitized from the California Vertical File, St. Francis Dam, at the Los Angeles Central Library

<b>Year</b>	<b>Author</b>	<b>Publication</b>	<b>Title</b>
1978	Fives & Mason	Newhall Signal	Historic Moment at Scene of Dam Tragedy
1978	Lindgren	Los Angeles Times	Services Will Honor Victims of Forgotten Dam Disaster
1978	Tyler	Los Angeles Herald-Examiner	The Day the Dam Broke
1988	Ray	LA City Historical Society	Reunion Honors Victims and Survivors
1995	Bishop	The Southern Californian	St. Francis Dam: A Personal Encounter
1995	Hoffman	Southern California Quarterly	Charles F. Outland, Local Historian
1998	Hoffman	Branding Iron	A Decent Burial: Dealing with the Victims of the St. Francis Tragedy
1998	Rippens	Branding Iron	The Night of the Flood: The Failure of the St. Francis Dam
1999	Roderick	Los Angeles Times	Dam Disaster Killed 450, Broke Mulholland: Stories That Shaped the Century
2000	Clandos	Los Angeles Times	Snapshots from 1928 Take Personal Look at Night of Terror
2000	Rasmussen	Los Angeles Times	L.A. then and Now: An Avalanche of Water Left Death and Ruin in Its Wake
2006	Iniguez	Los Angeles Times	Sprawling with Waterways
2003	Rasussen	Los Angeles Times	An Avalanche of Water Left Death and Ruin in Its Wake
2008	Bidwell	Daily News	The Day the Dam Broke

## Old Town Newhall Library

In the Heritage Room of the Old Town Newhall branch of the Santa Clarita Public Library, located at 24500 Main Street in Santa Clarita, I found the *Newhall Signal* digitized and available for viewing on a library PC. I visited the library on August 21, 2013 and examined articles from March, April, and May of 1928, as well as disaster related coverage on the first through third anniversary dates (Table 4.9). No articles made mention of the disaster on the 4<sup>th</sup> and 5<sup>th</sup> anniversaries. As the paper was published weekly, it provided relatively limited coverage of the disaster itself, though local memorialization efforts and annual commemorative activities in the months following the disaster, as well as annual events, were well covered in the Society section.

Table 4.9 Articles reviewed and printed from the *Newhall Signal* at the Old Town Newhall Library

Year	Day	Title
1928	March 29	Saugus Community Club Extends Thanks
1928	April 5	Aftermath: The Little Soldier Buried (Poem)
1928	April 5	Saugus Sayings: Nellie Hanson (Poem)
1928	April 12	Memorial Services at Saugus Community Club
1928	April 26	Memorial A Success
1928	May 24	In Memoriam: Monument Dedication Brings Great Crowd. Hero Medal Presented.
1929	March 7	Saugus Sayings: Reciprocity Day March 13 <sup>th</sup>
1929	March 14	In Loving Memory: First Anniversary of the Great St. Francis Dam Disaster
1929	April 11	Dam to Be Destroyed
1930	March 4	Saugus Community Club Held a Second Anniversary Remembrance
1931	March 12	Club Activities: Memorial Services March 13th
1931	March 12	Third Anniversary
1931	March 19	Club Activities: Memorial Services March 13th

## California State University, Northridge, Oviatt Library

At the Oviatt Library Special Collections Room on the California State University, Northridge campus, visited on March 13, 2013 and February 25, 2014, I reviewed holdings related to the disaster and Mulholland (Table 4.10). On the first visit I viewed the Beth Lomax Hawes Folklore Collection, in which was found and interview with the artist and sheet music and lyrics for a Spanish ballad written about the flood as a means to notify family members of the devastation. On my second visit I reviewed and selectively digitized records from the Catherine Mulholland Collection. The 100 year anniversary of the

Table 4.10 Records reviewed and digitized at the Oviatt Library Special Collections Room on the California State University, Northridge campus.

Year	Author	Newspaper	Title
1974	Lomax - Hawes	Western Folklore	El Corrido de la Inundacion de la Presa de San Francisquito: The Story of a Local Ballad
1978	Bidwell	Los Angeles Times	50 Years Ago: 'A Helluva Flood': Many Refuse to Flee, Die
1978	Unknown	Unknown	Dam Disaster Aired (Don Reed program)
1978	Unknown	Unknown	St. Francis Dam Marker Ceremonies Postponed
1987	Malnic	Los Angeles Times	No One is Free From Error
1992	Associated Press	Las Vegas Review-Journal	Mulholland Not to Blame for 1928 Collapse of Dam
1992	Brantingham	Santa Barbara News-Press	Blame for Dam Disaster Questioned
1992	Kozac	Daily News	Mulholland No Longer Blamed for Dam Collapse
1992	Lefler	Daily News	Rain Delays Society Tour of Disaster Site
1992	Smith	Daily News	Ancient Landslide blamed For '28 Dam Tragedy
1997	Sandoval	Los Angeles Times	Battle for Heart of San Francisquito
1998	Hulse	Los Angeles Times	Exhibit Looks at 1928 Collapse of St. Francis Dam
1998	Schubert	Daily News	Survivors Recall Dam Catastrophe of 1928
1998	Schubert	Daily News	Tour Visits Site of '28 Disaster: Evidence of St. Francis Dam Collapse Still Visible
2000	Rock	Daily News	Honoring Living Lost in Dam Disaster

Aqueduct, in 2013, prompted the library to catalog the collection, which includes a compilation of documents that chronicles the life of C. Mulholland's grandfather, William Mulholland, Chief Engineer of the LADWP. This collection includes W. Mulholland's professional office files, and documents that provide the economic, political, and social context in which Los Angeles water history developed.

### **Fillmore Public Library and Historical Museum**

At the Fillmore Library, visited on January 28, 2012, I digitized disaster coverage in two historical newspapers, the *Fillmore Herald* and the *Fillmore Independent*, for the months of March-July 1928. The library had the *Herald* available on microfilm, and the *Independent* was a bound copy of the original newspaper. I photographed individual articles directly from the microfilm reader screen and bound volume. Both were valuable additions to this research, as they provided an emic point of view, versus the *Times* and other Los Angeles based newspapers which voiced the city's perspectives.

The Fillmore Museum, visited on August 21, 2013, has a small display about the disaster and an archives room, which holds local ephemera from the Fillmore area. In a box labeled *1928 Misc. Newspapers – St. Francis Dam Flood*, I found a large number of clippings from various Southern California newspapers documenting the floods aftermath, as well as articles discussing commemorative events that have taken place over the years. I chose not to digitize the articles from 1928 because I had already obtained many of these same articles at the Fillmore Library, and most the others were from the Los Angeles Times, which are available Online through ProQuest. All articles documenting commemorative activities were digitized, however, as they included photographs which fall under different copyright laws than text and are not available Online (Table 4.11). Fillmore High School

Table 4.11 Records reviewed and digitized at the Fillmore Historical Museum.

Year	Author	Publication	Title
1978	Outland	Ventura County Star-Free Press	Disaster Sidelight: the Missing Daughter
1978	Ray	Newhall Signal	Search For the Dam Keeper's Son: An Open Letter to Coder
1978	Unknown	Newhall Signal	Anniversary of Collapse of St. Francis Dam Noted in New Book, Memorial Planned
1978	Unknown	Ventura County Star-Free Press	Photos of Disaster Were Ordered as Evidence
1978	Willman	Los Angeles Times	Disaster Was Well-Kept Secret
1978	Willman	Los Angeles Times	Iron Monster Recalls 1928 Dam Disaster
1978	Willman	Los Angeles Times	Survivor Holds Metal Awarded to Her Family's Dog Which Sounded Warning 50 Years Ago
1978	Willman	Los Angeles Times	Survivors Will Gather Today

yearbooks from the 1920's, and several historical atlases with maps dating back to the early 1900 were found in the museum's collection and digitized so they could be utilized in this research.

### **Santa Paula Blanchard Public Library**

The Santa Paula Blanchard Public Library readily provided me with searchable PDF files of the *Santa Paula Chronicle* and *Santa Paula Review* for the year of 1928. In the California room, within the library, I found several pamphlets and other ephemera discussing past memorialization efforts, including the St. Francis Dam Memorial Project *Moments in Time*, and the St. Francis Dam Disaster *Memories and Memorials* project. A file of newspaper clippings included a collection of articles documenting commemorative activities on the 5<sup>th</sup>, 19<sup>th</sup>, 24<sup>th</sup>, 25<sup>th</sup>, and 70<sup>th</sup> anniversaries of the disaster. The California Oil Museum in Santa Paula has hosted several temporary exhibits on the disaster, which were well documented in the collection of clippings (Table 4.12).

Table 4.12 Newspaper clippings and other ephemera digitized at the Santa Paula Blanchard Public Library.

<b>Year</b>	<b>Author</b>	<b>Source</b>	<b>Title</b>
1928	Renfro	Santa Paula Chronicle	The Tragedy of the St. Francis Dam
1933	Unknown	Santa Paula Chronicle	Today Fifth Anniversary of Flood Which Took 500 Lives in County
1947	Unknown	Santa Paula Chronicle	St. Francis Dam Disaster Occurred 19 Years Ago Today
1952	Unknown	Santa Paula Chronicle	Thursday 24 <sup>th</sup> Anniversary of Dam Disaster
1953	Unknown	Santa Paula Chronicle	25 Years Ago Today
1998	Gregory	Ventura County Star	Dam Break; Heroes and Survivors
2001	Kelly	Santa Paula Times	Aviation Museum of SP Presents St. Francis Dam Disaster Program
2002	Kelly	Santa Paula Times	The St. Francis Dam Disaster: Memories and Memorials' closes Jan. 20
2003	Kelly	Santa Paula News	The Warning Monument to be Unveiled at St. Francis Dam Disaster Commemoration
2004	Kelly	Santa Paula News	St. Francis Dam: Unknown Victims to be Recognized on Disaster Anniversary, March 13.
2004	Kelly	Santa Paula News	St. Francis Dam: Unknown Victims Recognized on Disaster Anniversary
2008	Kelly	Santa Paula Times	Exhibit Tells A Story About St. Francis Dam Disaster

Each of these archives provided primary source documents, including the files used to adjudicate death claims, the records from each of the make-shift morgues, poems and songs, engineering reports, oral histories of survivors, and newspaper articles from 1928 to the present. These resources proved to be invaluable when establishing a list of victims and leads on their possible burial locations, as well as understanding how the public narrative has developed over the years. There is also no shortage of resources available Online, relating to the disaster. These resources are too numerous to list in detail; however, several are well worth discussing. The *Los Angeles Times* is accessible through ProQuest Historical



Newspapers, and numerous other Southern California papers, including several published in communities in and adjacent to the flood zone, are available through Google News Archive.

### **Historical Societies and Dammies**

The public narrative observable today is largely due to the efforts of a network of historical societies and dam historians, or “dammies.” The communities with the flood zone which currently have historical societies are Santa Clarita Valley, Fillmore, Santa Paula, and Ventura. Contact was made with the leadership and members of each of these societies. The Santa Clarita Valley Historical Society (SCVHS) allowed me to view their disaster related records housed at the Saugus Train Depot Museum at Heritage Square in Newhall; they have compiled an impressive archive of photographs, oral history interviews with survivors, and newspaper headlines covering the disaster, from all over the country, which they have made available Online at <http://www.scvhistory.com/scvhistory/stfrancis.htm>. The SCVHS has hosted annual talks about the dam site and given tours since 1992, and has been instrumental in placing memorials at the dam site in 1978 and at LADWP power plant 2 in 1978 and 2003. The Fillmore Historical Society houses its historical records collection at the Fillmore Historical Museum; their disaster related archival holdings have previously been discussed. The Santa Paula Historical Society maintains an archive of materials that have been donated to and collected by the society. Their collection is housed at the California Oil Museum in Santa Paula. Disaster related materials include photographs, oral history interviews with survivors and those involved in restoration efforts, and newspaper clippings. The society has hosted talks about the failure, and has been instrumental in organizing disaster related exhibits at the California Oil Museum. In recent years, the society has placed a memorial to

the unknown flood victims in Santa Paula Cemetery and hosted annual ceremonies at the cemetery recreating the large public burial of flood victims in 1928.

Many of the dammies have organized community events commemorating the disaster, such as tours of the dam site, survivor reunions, museum exhibits; they also work with local media and generate articles and interest around the anniversary dates. Historical society members and dammies have communicated firsthand with survivors and kin of flood victims, influencing their understanding and remembering of the disaster as well as what they choose to pass on to the public. CSUN graduate Julee Licon interviewed the presidents of each historical society, as well as multiple dammies, in support of this research (Licon 2014).

### **Field Research**

My fieldwork was predominately spread out throughout Los Angeles and southern Ventura counties, though a few cemeteries were also visited in Riverside, Orange, and San Bernardino counties. Within the flood zone, fieldwork consisted of visiting each community looking for various forms of memorialization, as well as locating and documenting burials in cemeteries (Figure 4.3). In Los Angeles County, the communities I visited included: the LADWP Power Plant No. 2 workers community, San Francisquito Canyon, Santa Clarita Valley, and Castaic Junction. In Ventura County I visited communities through the Santa Clara River Valley; these cities included Piru, Fillmore, Bardsdale, Santa Paula and Ventura. Six cemeteries were visited within the flood zone, 19 in the greater Los Angeles area, and 40 throughout the United States via Findagrave.com volunteers.

## Monuments, Memorials, and Memorabilia

During the summer of 2013 I visited each of the communities affected by the 1928 floodwaters. Much of the ephemeral and permanent forms of memorialization of the disaster were documented (Table 4.13). Memorials were found through online research prior to

Table 4.13 Monuments, memorials, museum exhibits and memorabilia documented within the flood zone.

<b>Memorialization</b>	<b>Community</b>	<b>Year Placed</b>
Ruins of the St. Francis Dam	Dam Site	1928
Base of SCVHS Monument	Dam Site	May 1978
California Landmark Plaque	LADWP Power Plant No. 2	1980
Painted over LADWP Monument	LADWP Power Plant No. 2	March 2003
St. Francis Dam Disaster Memorial	San Francisquito Fire Station , USDA/Angeles National Forest	updated 2013- 2014
Memorial to Flood Victims	Ruiz-Perea Cemetery, San Francisquito Canyon	May 1928
Exhibit	Tesoro Adobe Historic Park , Santa Clarita	2000s
Saugus Community Club Plaque	Saugus Community Clubhouse	May 1928
	Saugus Elementary School	unknown
	Saugus Train Depot, Santa Clarita	March 1978
Bell from San Francisquito Canyon schoolhouse	unknown	unknown
	Saugus Elementary School	unknown
	Saugus Train Depot, Santa Clarita	March 1978
	Newhall Metrolink Station	1998
Photographs	Valencia Car Wash	2012
Exhibit	Historical Museum, Fillmore	2000s
Exhibit: <i>Dam Break: Heroes &amp; Survivors</i>	California Oil Museum, Santa Paula	2/1998-4/1998
Exhibit, photos donated from flood survivors	Snapshot Museum, Santa Paula	3/2000-6/2000
Exhibit: <i>Memories and Memorials</i>	California Oil Museum, Santa Paula	12/2001- 1/2002
<i>The Warning Monument</i>	10 <sup>th</sup> and Santa Barbara Street, Santa Paula	2003
Monument to Unknown Victims	Santa Paula Cemetery, Santa Paula	2004
Exhibit: <i>St. Francis Dam Disaster - 80<sup>th</sup> Anniversary</i>	California Oil Museum, Santa Paula	3/2008-7/2008
Isensee Panorama Images of the 1928 flood zone	Watershed Protection District, Ventura County Complex	unknown

visiting the flood zone or by contacting local historical societies. Documentation consisted of visiting, photographing, and visually inspecting each monument. Monuments were found in public spaces, cemeteries, museums, and historical societies. More ephemeral forms of memorialization, such as temporary museum exhibits and photos displayed on the wall of a car wash, were also recorded.

### **Grave Markers**

Six cemeteries were visited within the flood zone (Table 4.14). Burial locations throughout Southern California were visited as they were discovered in documents or through online research (Table 4.15). Burials outside of the greater Los Angeles area were located through Online genealogical research based on facts gleaned in the individual claims files (Table 4.16). Photographs of each of the grave markers were requested through the website Findagrave.com. The locations of those buried in cemeteries throughout the flood zone and elsewhere in Southern California were identified through the use of several sources, including the Claims Records, records from the make-shift morgues, and lists of the dead published in historical newspapers.

From these unique sources I have compiled a list of the dead and their burial locations and visited each grave to document the current state of the grave marker (Appendix B). Staff at most the cemeteries I visited provided interment data not otherwise available, as well as plot maps to aid in physically locating the burials within the cemetery. Most of the cemetery staff I spoke with were not aware that victims of the disaster were buried within their grounds, with the exception of Bardsdale, Santa Paula and Ivy Lawn cemeteries, in which staff pointed out the sections flood victims were buried without referencing records.

Table 4.14 Cemeteries visited within the flood zone

<b>Cemetery</b>	<b>City</b>	<b>County</b>	<b># of Burials</b>
Bardsdale	Bardsdale	Ventura	28
Ivy Lawn	Ventura	Ventura	57
Piru	Piru	Ventura	19
Ruiz-Perea	Santa Clarita	Los Angeles	9
Santa Clara Catholic	Oxnard	Ventura	2
Santa Paula	Santa Paula	Ventura	58

Table 4.15 Cemeteries visited in the greater Los Angeles Area.

<b>Cemetery</b>	<b>City</b>	<b>County</b>	<b># of Burials</b>
Angelus Abbey	Compton	Los Angeles	2
Calvary Catholic	Los Angeles	Los Angeles	11
Evergreen	Los Angeles	Los Angeles	6
Fairhaven Memorial Park	Santa Ana	Orange	8
Forest Lawn	Glendale	Los Angeles	18
Grand View Memorial Park	Glendale	Los Angeles	6
Inglewood Park	Inglewood	Los Angeles	2
Japanese	Port Hueneme	Ventura	1
Lancaster	Lancaster	Los Angeles	5
Live Oak	Monrovia	Los Angeles	1
Los Angeles National	Los Angeles	Los Angeles	2
Mountain View	San Bernardino	San Bernardino	1
Oakwood	Chatsworth	Los Angeles	31
Odd Fellows	Los Angeles	Los Angeles	1
Roosevelt Memorial Park	Gardena	Los Angeles	3
San Gabriel	San Gabriel	Los Angeles	1
San Gorgonio Memorial Park	Banning	Riverside	5
Santa Ana	Santa Ana	Orange	1
Woodlawn	Santa Monica	Los Angeles	4

Table 4.16 Cemeteries outside of the greater Los Angeles area visited by findagrave.com volunteers.

<b>Cemetery</b>	<b>City</b>	<b>State</b>	<b># of Burials</b>
Altoona	Altoona	Kansas	1
Berwick	Berwick	Iowa	1
Blossom Hill	Concord	New Hampshire	1
Chartiers	Carnegie	Pennsylvania	1
City Memorial Park	Honolulu	Hawaii	1
Conrad Memorial	Kalispel	Montana	1
Corpus Christi	Ft. Dodge	Iowa	1
East New Market	East New Market	Maryland	1
George West	George West	Texas	1
Greenwood	Bolivar	Missouri	1
Greenwood Memorial Park	San Diego	California	2
Hollywood	Atlanta	Georgia	1
Holy Cross	Wilson	Wisconsin	1
Home of Peace	Porterville	California	1
Knight's Ferry	Stanislaus	California	1
Lodi	Lodi	California	1
Mann	Clayton	Georgia	1
Mt. Hope	San Diego	California	1
Mt. Washington	Independence	Missouri	1
Mountain View	Auburn	Washington	1
Mountain View	Farmington	Washington	1
Murray's Chapel	Loudon	Tennessee	1
Nuevo Memory Gardens	Ramona	California	1
Oak Grove	Eudora	Missouri	1
Oakwood	Warren	Ohio	1
Partridge	Reno	Kansas	1
Pine Bluff	Galesville	Wisconsin	1
Pleasant Hill	Blount	Tennessee	3
Porterville	Porterville	California	1
Red Lodge	Red Lodge	Montana	1
Riverside	North Chelmsford	Massachusetts	1
Saltillo	Saltillo	Indiana	1
Sanger	Sanger	California	1
Santa Monica	Barrie	Vermont	1
Sebastopol	Sebastopol	California	1
Union	Bakersfield	California	2
United German & French	Cheektowaga	New York	1
Visalia Public	Visalia	California	2
West View	Sweetwater	Tennessee	1
Woodlake	Woodlake	California	1

Documentation consisted of photographing the marker and grave site and recording the inscription. I also photographed family plots in instances where an entire family was killed in the flood and buried together. Unmarked graves were photographed, individually, and in context to other victims within the cemetery, and these photos have been edited to include text indicating the location and names associated with each burial being documented. I also recorded the following data: i) the marker type (i.e. upright or flat), ii) if a family marker was present in addition to the individual marker, iii) if a marker was shared by multiple individuals, iv) the birth and death year, v) the birthday day and month, vi) age, vii) the presence of iconography and viii) epitaph.

Genealogical research on the website ancestry.com allowed for the identification of the states and home towns of many of the men associated with the Southern California Edison Kemp camp. Once I found the burial location of close kin, I was able to request that a find-a-grave volunteer visit a specific cemetery to see if a victim was buried onsite. Once located, volunteers would post photographs of the grave. When markers were not present, volunteers photographed the burial plot. Permission has been obtained for all the photographs used in this analysis. I have organized each of the grave marker photographs digitally in file folders, by cemetery. Proper photo credit is saved in the name of each file. I have also made all these photographs available on findagrave.com, in a virtual cemetery of flood victims titled *Victims of the St. Francis Dam Disaster* (Stansell 2014).

### **Public Outreach**

In the spring of 2013, under the direction of Dr. James E. Snead, I led survey efforts in San Francisquito Canyon from the dam site south to the Angeles National Forest boundary for CSUN's Forgotten Casualties Project. Our primary focus was to intensively survey below

the Power Plant No. 2 community, which was eradicated in the 1928 floodwaters. Although the results of those survey efforts are largely outside the parameters of the research design of this thesis, the semi-weekly visits to the canyon allowed me to spend significant time in the landscape of the flood zone, to monitor memorialization efforts around the dam site, and to engage with community members including local ranch owners, DWP employees, and dammies.

Sufficient interest was generated by CSUN's survey work in the canyon to necessitate a symposium, held in May 2013, which allowed a venue to present our project results and gave local dammies the opportunity to meet together and discuss their individual interests in the disaster. Formation of a Facebook group titled St. Francis Dam Archaeology shortly followed the 2013 symposium, and as of April 2014 the group has 205 members. Surveying in San Francisquito Canyon, the Forgotten Casualties symposium, and the St. Francis Dam archaeology Facebook group have each provided additional opportunities to observe how the public narrative of the disaster is currently understood, conceptualized, shared between interested parties, and presented to the public at-large.

In March of 2012 and 2013 I attended the annual talk and tour of the dam site hosted by the Santa Clarita Valley Historical Society. This event provided a forum where I could communicate with individuals having differing levels of interest in the disaster, and allowed me the opportunity to evaluate the information concerning the disaster and its victims being disseminated to the public today. An open dialog has been maintained throughout the course of the research project with members from each of the local historical societies. These opportunities allowed me to gain a better understanding of how each community, and associated historical society, remembers and memorializes the disaster.



Understanding the development of the public narrative and what has been remembered of the St. Francis Dam disaster and its victims was accomplished by reviewing newspapers articles from 1928 to the present, listening to previously recorded oral histories performed with survivors, engaging in dialog with dammies, communicating with survivors and descendants, and conversing with the public at large during field work. Drawing from a variety of resources, as well as keeping an open line of communication with local historical societies, dammies, ranchers, and other stakeholders has exposed me to how individuals in each of the communities throughout the flood zone reflect on the disaster differentially, and helped provide an overall sense of the level of remembering of the disaster.

### **Research Schedule**

This research commenced in October 2011 and was completed by February 2014. The bulk of the archival research took place over the summers of 2012 and 2013. Cemetery surveys, online research, and recording graves have been a constant throughout the span of the project. I visited each of the communities in the 1928 flood zone (San Francisquito Canyon, Santa Clarita, Piru, Bardsdale, Fillmore, and Santa Paula) documenting public memorialization during the summer of 2013.

## CHAPTER V

### DATA PRESENTATION

The St. Francis Dam disaster and its victims have been memorialized through many diverse forms commemoration: a state monument near the dam site, community memorials throughout the flood zone, grave markers in cemeteries across the United States, past and present museum exhibits, and memorabilia. Various types of ephemeral and conceptual commemorations associated with the event were also discovered. These distinct forms of memorialization pay tribute to various aspects of disaster and represent the remembrances of different communities and individuals throughout the San Clarita Valley and the Santa Clara River Valley.

#### **Monuments and Memorials**

Each monument and memorial found illustrated unique aspects of the disaster wished to be remembered and commemorated by the community and individuals that erected it. As such, the discussion which follows documents various categories of commemoration clustered by community. A description of each community as it was in 1928 and is now, as well as supporting documentation pertaining to the erection of each monument, ceremonies that were held at the time of placement, and any other pertinent information, are included in the following data presentation.

#### **Ruins of the St. Francis Dam**

The St. Francis Dam was located in San Francisquito Canyon; given the canyons narrow geography and proximity to the dam site, residents suffered the flood's most devastating impact. At the time of the disaster the canyon was a relatively remote and rural area, in contrast to the agricultural towns downstream. This distinction is remains today, as a

large portion of the land is within the boundaries of the ANF. These circumstances provide unique conditions for local commemoration.

No formal monument currently exists at the St. Francis Dam site. The remains themselves do serve as an informal memorial to the disaster, with their own unique history. As such, commemoration at the ruins is distinct from other communities within the disaster zone. The dam site is located in San Francisquito Canyon in Sec. 1, T5N, R15W, 10 miles northeast of the City of Santa Clarita, within the boundaries of the ANF. The site today consists of several dynamited blocks of dam and the dynamited west wall dyke, bisected by a former section of San Francisquito Canyon Road (Figures 5.1a and 5.1b). Access is currently by foot path along this abandoned road section, a casualty of 2005 storm runoff.

The first “monument” associated with the dam site was a fragment of the structure itself. When the dam broke apart in 1928, the center section measuring about 180 feet high, 90 feet wide, and 110 feet thick at its base remained standing while other sections were carried downstream by the powerful forces of the floodwaters (Nilsson and Button 2011:27; Figure 5.1). This standing remnant was quickly dubbed the “tombstone,” and received considerable attention in the aftermath of the flood (Ellensburg Daily Record, 25 April 1929). Although access to the flood zone in general, and the dam site specifically are said to have been limited by authorities on the grounds of public safety (Jackson 2013:128), there are photographs circulated illustrating many individuals visited the dam ruins during this period.



(a)



(b)

FIGURE 5.1 Ruins of the St. Francis Dam (a) view NE from abandoned section of San Francisquito Road and (b) view NW from Forest Hwy 6N21 (Photo by author, 2013).



FIGURE 5.2 Upstream view of the remains of the St. Francis Dam, March 1928, illustrating the “tombstone” (C.H Lee Collection, U.C. Water Resources Center Archives, Berkeley, colorized by P. Horton).

However, this and other intact sections of the dam were dynamited in 1929 by the BP&L (LAT, 11 May 1929). Eighteen year-old Leroy Parker fell from the tombstone on May 27, 1928, dying later that day in the San Fernando Hospital (LAT, 28 May 1928). Parker’s father filed suit against the City of Los Angeles following his son’s death; this might have been a contributing factor in the decision to dynamite the ruins. It is also expressed, though less commonly, that the tombstone stood as a grim reminder of the disaster (LAT, 11 May 1929; Newhall Signal 11 April 1929; Nichols 2002:22).

A second memorial at the dam site was installed in 1978, on the ridge south west of the main section of the dam ruins. The plaque was placed by the Santa Clarita Valley Historical Society in honor of the 50 year anniversary of the disaster (Figure 5.3). The

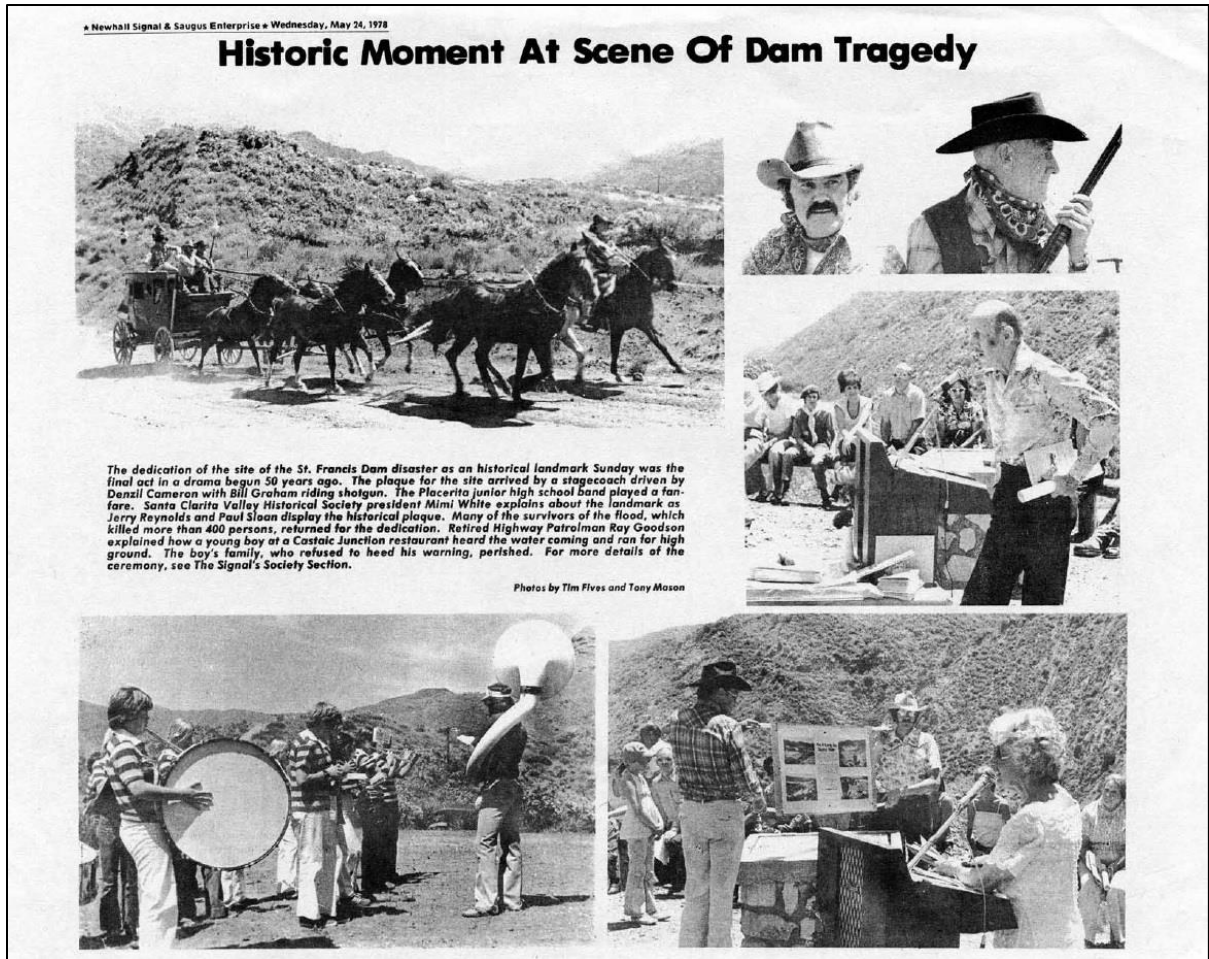


FIGURE 5.3 Photos of the dedication ceremony for a plaque placed in 1978 at the St. Francis Dam site (Newhall Signal, 24 May 1978).

dedication took place in May, as San Francisquito Canyon Road was washed out in March, on the anniversary date (Hoffman 1992:206). Flood survivors, historical society members from Santa Clarita Valley and Santa Paula, and other community members attended the commemoration. The plaque was brought in by stagecoach, along the old Butterfield route; historical society members displayed the plaque and explained the disasters historical significance (Newhall Signal, 24 May 1978). The plaque stated:

## St. Francis Dam Site

On this site in August of 1924 construction started on the St. Francis Dam, a unit of the Los Angeles Aqueduct. When it was completed in May of 1926, this concrete dam stood 185 feet above streambed, impounding a 610 surface-acre lake.

At 11:57 ½ P.M., March 12, 1928, the dam collapsed causing the second greatest disaster in the state of California. At least 425 lives were lost in the 3 ½ hours that it took the released water to travel 54 miles down the Santa Clara River Valley to the sea at Ventura.

This plaque placed by  
Santa Clarita Valley Historical Society  
March 12, 1928  
(State Historical Status Pending)

The base of this monument is still present; however, the plaque that sat upon it was removed days after initially installed. Some dammies say the plaque was vandalized; others say it was stolen (Ray 2014; Rock 2014).

Field research at the dam site in 2012 identified additional evidence of commemorative activity at the location. This ephemeral memorial consisted of a wooden cross with “St. Francis Dam Victims” written in black marker across the front; a pile of rocks was placed at its base (Figure 5.4). Several tour groups had been to the site in the preceding days, coinciding with the 84<sup>th</sup> anniversary of the failure. This may account for its placement.



FIGURE 5.4 Cross observed at St. Francis Dam ruins, March 10, 2012 (Photo by author, 2012).

### **California Historical Landmark No. 919 Plaque**

Power Plant No. 2 is a hydroelectric power plant utilizing water from the First Los Angeles Aqueduct to generate electricity. Directly west of the power plant in Burns Canyon, a complex of buildings, including one clubhouse, one dormitory, 10 Bungalow style workers cottages, recreational facilities (e.g. swimming pool, tennis court, basketball court, horse



shoe court, park, and barbeque area), and several outbuildings provide the housing and support for workers and their families (Lang 2010a:2). The power plant and associated workers housing historic district that exist today were reconstructed in 1928 and 1929 following the dam failure (Allen 1929:61-65). Of the 75 individuals living between the dam site and Power Plant No.2, only three survived the flood (Appendix B).

A California Historical Landmark plaque recognizing the disaster is presently located behind a chain-linked fence in front of San Francisquito Power Plant No. 2 (Figure 5.5). The memorial states:

#### St. Francis Dam Disaster Site

The St. Francis Dam, part of the Los Angeles Aqueduct system, stood 1 ½ miles north of this site. On March 12, 1928, the 185-foot high concrete dam collapsed just before midnight, sending 12 ½ billion gallons of water roaring down the Santa Clara River Valley 54 miles to the Ocean. This was one of California's greatest disaster; over 450 lives were lost.

California Registered Historical Landmark, No. 919

Plaque placed by the State Department of Parks and Recreation in cooperation with Los Angeles Department of Water and power, U.S. Forest Service, and Santa Clarita Valley Historical Society.

Dedicated March 12, 1978

This monument consists of a bronze plaque mounted to a piece of the dam. Although the plaque states it was dedicated March 12, 1978, the California Registered Historical Landmarks application on file at the ANF Supervisor's Office indicates rangers did not request the plaque until September 16, 1980. Additional correspondence in the file indicated the ANF delayed placement so that they might collaborate with members from the Santa Clarita Valley Historical Society in constructing the narrative placed on the plaque. Based on photographs documenting the event, the unveiling was observed by a relatively small group

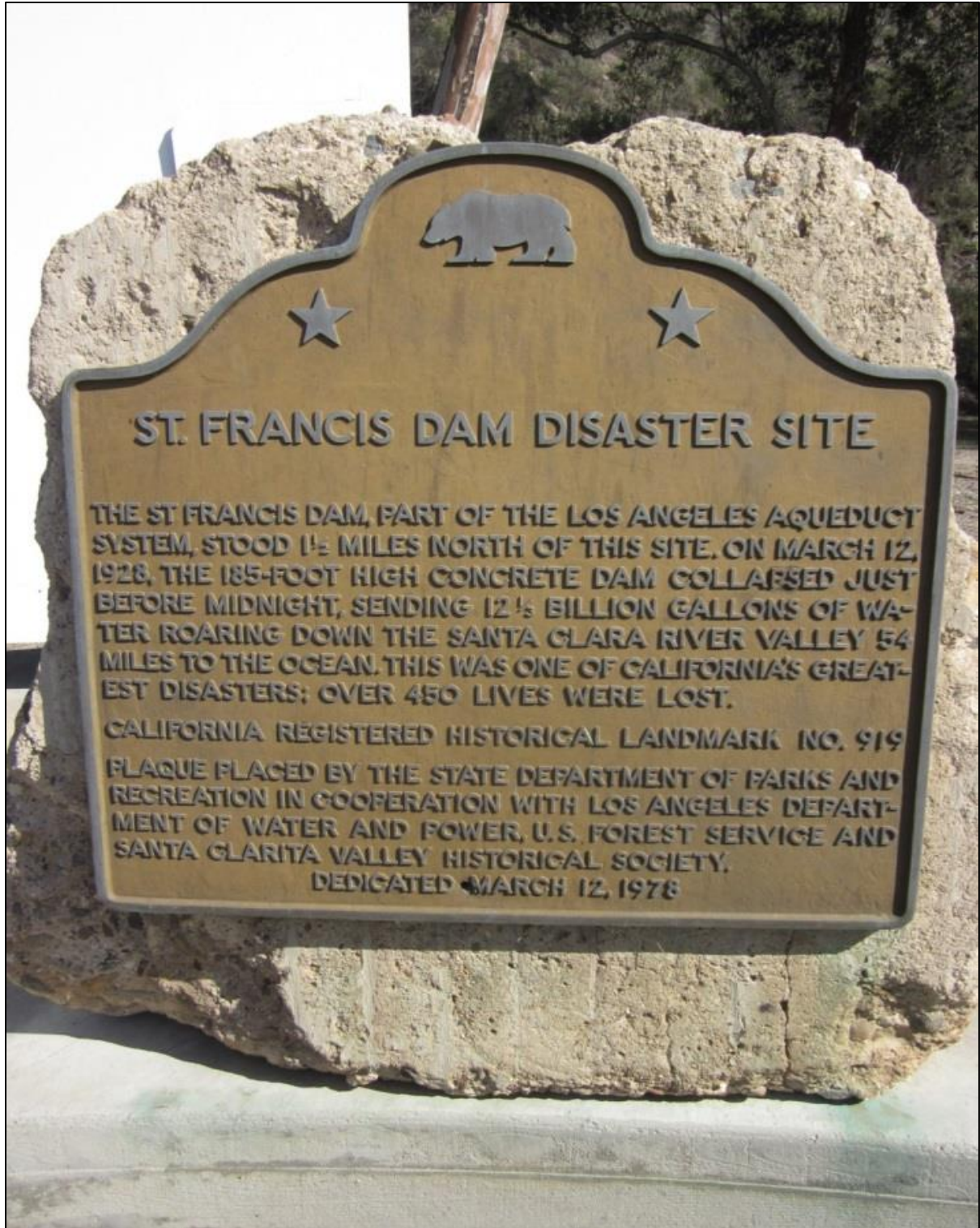


FIGURE 5.5 California Historical Landmark Plaque No. 919 located at San Francisquito Power Plant No. 2 (Photo by author, 2012).

of LADWP employees, members of the Santa Clarita Valley and Santa Paula historical societies, and ANF rangers. Dam historian Charles Outland participated in the ceremony.

### **Department of Water and Power Memorial**

On March 13, 2003, in honor of the 75<sup>th</sup> anniversary of the failure, the LADWP placed a 20-foot tall monument alongside the 1978 California Landmark Plaque (Figure 5.6). This memorial consisted of a timeline and photographs documenting the dam's construction and demise. The purpose of the memorial was to "document this event in LADWP history with a timeline and pertinent statistics to tell the story just the way it happened" (Cross et al. 2003:18). Power Plant No. 2 was repainted in preparation of the event, during which the Art Deco motifs and city seals on the building were restored to the original colors used when the building was rebuilt in 1928. The memorial stated:

#### St. Francis Dam & Reservoir

July 1923

Studies of the site and preliminary designs are completed. The project provides additional water storage at the south end of the Los Angeles Aqueduct and south of the San Andreas Fault.

March 1924

Work begins on a curved concrete gravity dam in San Francisquito Canyon; the first concrete is placed in August.

March 1926

Water from the Los Angeles Aqueduct is diverted into the reservoir for the first time. The reservoir's design capacity is 38,168 acre-feet.

May 1926

Construction is complete as the reservoir continues to fill.

March 7, 1928

The reservoir reaches its maximum elevation at 1,834.75 feet, three inches below the spillway.

March 12, 1928

William Mulholland and Harvey Van Norman inspect the dam about noon after receiving a report of leaks and find no cause for alarm. St. Francis Dam collapses at 11:57 p.m.

March 13, 1928

The LADWP housing complex and the San Francisquito Power Plant No. 2, located 9,300 feet downstream from the dam site are completely destroyed with the exception of the twin hydroelectric turbines. Floodwaters take the lives of about 450 men, women and children. 63 are LADWP work and family members.

The 2003 LADWP memorial lasted only a few years; the printing became difficult to read and it was felt to be disrespectful to the victims to leave it in a faded, dilapidated condition. The LADWP had the memorial painted over less than 10 years after it was placed.

### **Forest Service Memorial**

Adjacent to Power Plant No. 2 is the Angeles National Forest San Francisquito Fire Station. During my first visit to this location on December 3, 2011, I observed two cork boards behind glass displaying photos of the dam after aftermath of the flood and a piece of dam mounted to a concrete base along with a plaque displaying the same narrative as the California Landmark Plaque (Figure 5.7a). Over the course of the research this memorial has changed several times as fire fighters stationed at this location have worked on it during their free time. Photographs documenting the dam and disaster have been placed on the wall recently built behind the memorial displaying a piece of dam; removal of the cork boards has taken place as the new memorial is now complete (Figure 5.7b).



FIGURE 5.6 Monument placed in 2003, on the 75<sup>th</sup> anniversary of the failure, by the LADWP (<http://www.rapidog.net/BLOG/PCTRAIL.htm>).



(a)



(b)

FIGURE 5.7 Memorial at the Angeles National Forest Fire Station (a) December 3, 2011 and (b) May 20, 2014 (Photos by author, 2011 and 2014).

## **Newhall Cowboys Memorial to Flood Victims at Ruiz Cemetery**

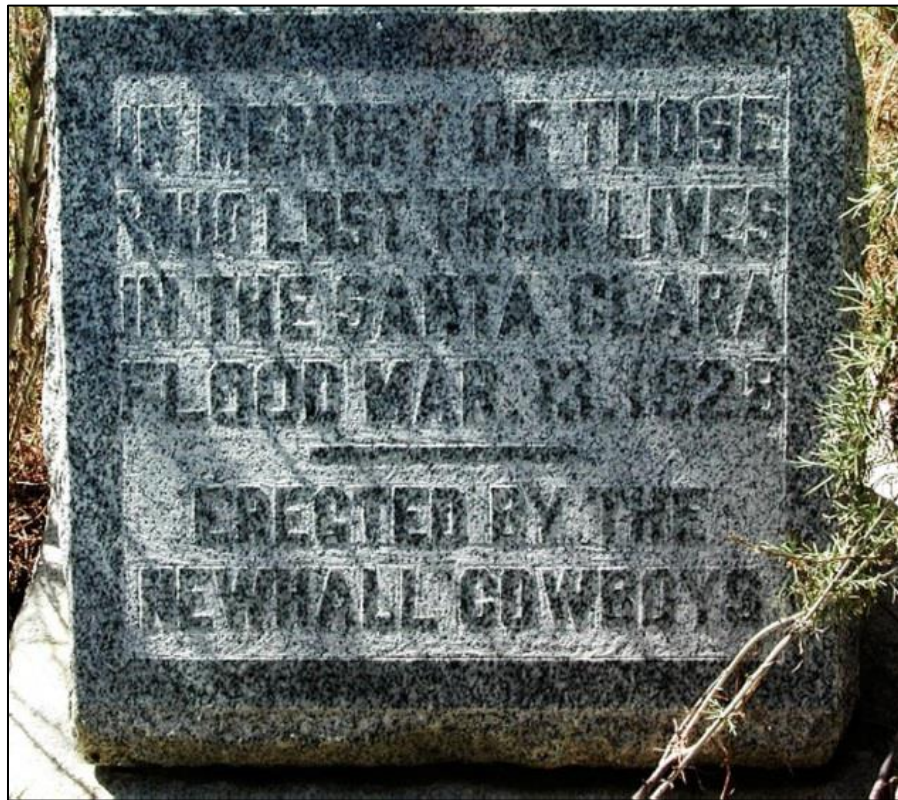
Floodwaters did not reach the towns centers of Newhall and Saugus, however, at least 45 individuals were killed who lived on and worked the family ranches on the northern and western outskirts, at Southern California Edison substation at Saugus, Newhall Ranch lands near Castaic, or near the Southern Pacific siding at Castaic Junction (Appendix B). These communities were more heavily populated at the time of the disaster than San Francisquito Canyon, just as they are today. These circumstances provide their own unique conditions for local commemoration.

A monument, placed on May 20, 1928 by William S. Hart and the Newhall Cowboys in commemoration of flood victims, sits in within Ruiz-Perea Cemetery (Figure 5.8a and 5.8b). Today its inscription is obliterated by the effects of the arid climate and from damage incurred during the Copper Fire. This monument was originally intended to mark the grave of an infant that went unidentified days in the Newhall morgue; shortly before the intended interment the boy, who was given the nickname “little soldier boy,” he was identified as 3 ½ year old John Traxler (SPC, 24 March 1928:1). Today the marker serves as a cenotaph to all flood victims.

The communities of the Santa Clara River Valley were heavily impacted by the 1928 floodwaters unleashed by the failure of the St. Francis Dam. The valley is made up of small and large heterogeneous communities interspersed over 40 miles from the Los Angeles/Ventura County line to the coast, in Ventura. The rural nature of the valley has resulted in each community creating their own unique, local forms of commemoration.



(a)



(b)

FIGURE 5.8 (a) William S. Hart and the Newhall Cowboys at Ruiz-Perea Cemetery memorial dedication, 1928 and (b) the memorial in 2002 (Photos provided by SCVHS).



## The Warning Monument

Santa Paula was the most heavily populated of all the communities impacted within the flood zone. The community received approximately 1 ½ hours advance warning of the flood, which prompted evacuations throughout the area and resulted in thousands of lives being saved. Highway Patrolmen drove up and down streets on motorcycles with sirens blaring in attempts to warn as many residents as possible, while telephone switchboard operators, known as “hello girls,” stuck to their posts and rang rural residents. All are credited as “heroes of the flood.” These circumstances created unique local conditions for commemoration, with a focus on memorializing heroes and survivors.

A memorial recognizing flood heroes and survivors of the disaster can be found in the Santa Paula town center, near their historic train depot at 10<sup>th</sup> and Santa Barbara Streets (Figure 5.9; Figure 5.10). The sculpture, titled *The Warning*, depicts two officers riding motorcycles in the act of warning the residents to head to higher ground. The Santa Paula Historical Society circulated several press releases prior to the memorial dedication, requesting names and address of survivors so that living survivors and their descendants could receive formal invitations to attend. Dammie John Nichols, who played an integral role in the placement of the Warning memorial, delivered the oration at the dedication. He stated:

“Many people here are alive today because of heroic acts performed before dawn on March 13, 1928 and in the days after. Many here today survived and went on to have children and grandchildren. Entire family lines could have been snuffed out that night without the acts of heroism that we honor here today.

For the past few years many of us here in Santa Paula have been thinking over the concept of heroism. In 1998, for the 70<sup>th</sup> anniversary of the St. Francis Dam Disaster Mike Nelson came up with the title for our exhibit at the City of Santa Paula’s California Oil Museum. It was ‘Heroes and Survivors.’ That title guided the direction of the exhibit. We chose to honor the memory of the victims by



FIGURE 5.9 The Warning Monument, in Santa Paula, memorializing heroes and survivors of the flood (Photo by author, 2013).

telling stories of the living. As the idea for the subject of the monumental sculpture took shape we followed that same path.

What has emerged out of the history of the dead and destruction caused by the flood are many true stories of heroic acts performed by heroic citizens. The stories are coming forth in books and newspaper articles, in museum exhibits and video documentaries, in radio and television interviews and in monuments like the one we are unveiling today” (Nichols 2003).

Nichols went on to communicate information about specific heroes as well as their heroic acts, as well as explain that due to the great outpouring of acts of heroism on the night of the flood no one single monument could represent each act.

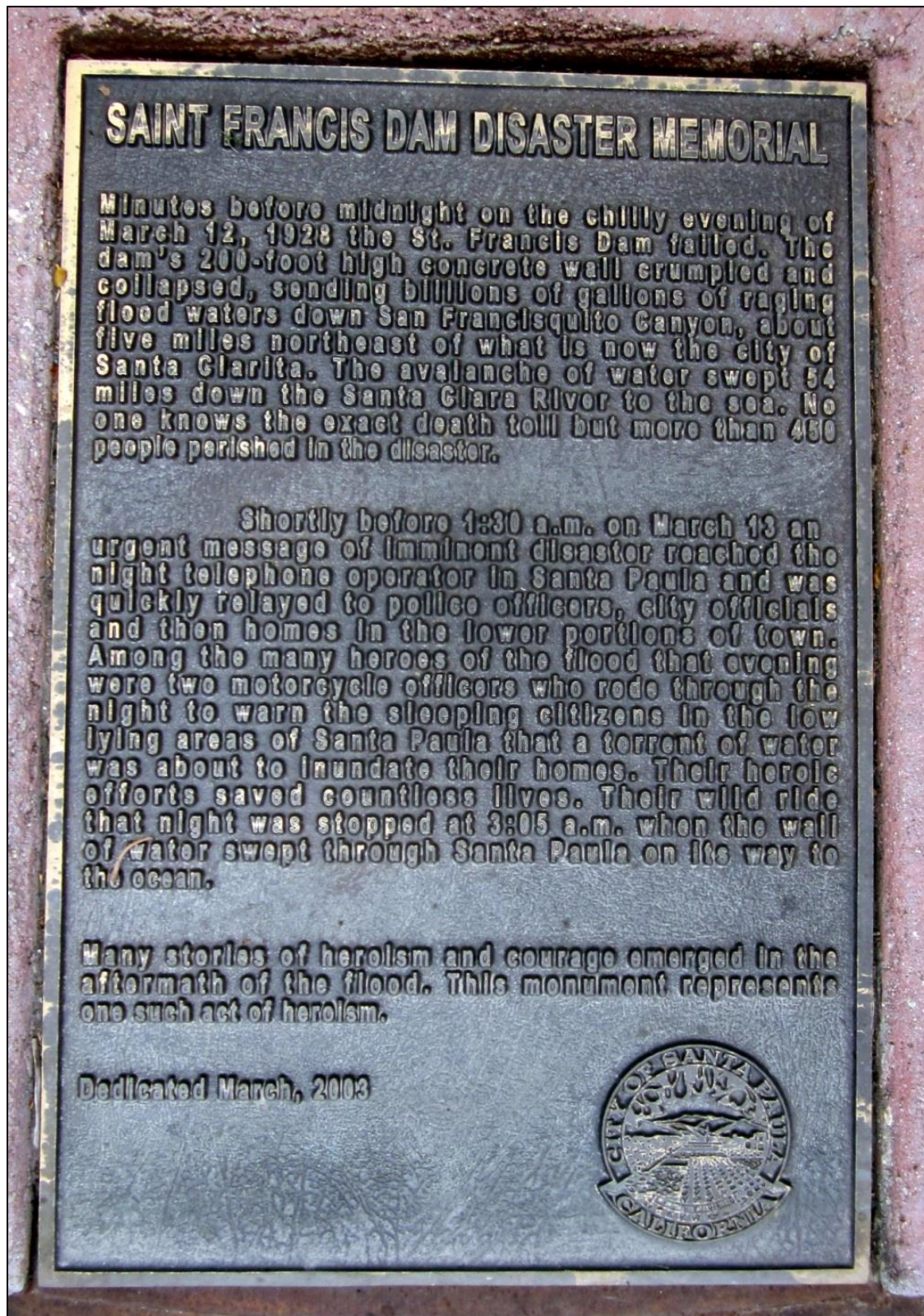


Figure 5.10 Plaque on the Warning Monument in Santa Paula (Photo by author, 2013).

The Warning memorial was placed as part of the St. Francis Dam Memorial Project *Moments in Time*, an effort started in 1998, in preparation for the 75<sup>th</sup> anniversary of the disaster. The goal of the project was to place up to seven pieces of public art along the 54 mile path of destruction, with different communities memorializing a “moment in time” when a heroic act occurred within their community. The project was organized by a committee of individuals from the Santa Paula Historical Society, Saticoy Historical Society, City of Fillmore, LADWP employees, and other community members. Santa Paula was the only community in the flood zone observed to have erected a monument for this memorial project.

### **Grave Markers**

The burial locations of 305 of the 308 recovered victims of the disaster were documented in this research. Each of the 305 burial locations identified were located and photographed by either myself or via findagrave.com volunteers. These interment locations were dispersed in 64 cemeteries across the United States. The burial locations of three victims were unable to be confirmed because they were either outside of the greater Los Angeles area and the findagrave.com requests were not fulfilled or the cemetery offices were unable to find record of the burials.

### **Burials in Cemeteries within the Flood Zone**

Just over half of the recovered victims of the disaster were buried in cemeteries within the flood zone (Appendix C). These 171 interments were in six cemeteries: one family burying ground, two small community cemeteries, two city cemeteries, and one Catholic cemetery. Eighty-seven, exactly half of these burials, were not memorialized at the time of interment, and they remain unmarked to this day. Sixty-five of these individuals were

interred without their identity being determined, most likely a factor in why the graves were left unmarked. Four grave markers, memorializing 22 victims, have epitaphs indicating that the individuals were victims of the St. Francis Dam Disaster; these four markers are all inscribed in Spanish.

### **Ruiz-Perea Cemetery**

Ruiz-Perea Cemetery is a small family burying ground, which sits on a hill behind 29615 San Francisquito Canyon Road in San Francisquito Canyon. Interments date back to the 1850s, and the latest burial in the cemetery was performed in the 1960s. The cemetery was just outside of the path of the floodwaters: nine victims, eight of which were members of the Ruiz family, were buried within its grounds (Figure 5.11). The victims lived in the canyon on the Ruiz ranch, which was adjacent to the cemetery and in the direct path of the floodwaters. The Ruiz casualties are signified by a family marker with associated headstones, although the cause of death is unspecified. The grave of one flood victim, Phillip Cesena, remains unmarked.



Figure 5.11 Ruiz and Erratchuo graves at the Ruiz-Perea Cemetery in San Francisquito Canyon (Photo by author, 2013).

Photos of the cemetery, shared on the findagrave.com, indicate the grounds were heavily overgrown in 2009; however, a visit on March 3, 2013 happened to coincide with clean-up efforts being performed by descendants. A granddaughter and several great-grandchildren of the Cooke's, another family interred at the cemetery, presently care for the grounds. Conversation with the descendants, as well as the owner of the cemetery, revealed that many wooden grave markers burned during the 2002 Copper Fire, and oral history passed down through the generations indicates interments at the cemetery may date back to the late 1700s.

### **Bardsdale Cemetery**

Bardsdale Cemetery, located at 1698 South Sespe Street, is a community cemetery surrounded by orchards in the hills south of the Santa Clara River. The earliest marked interments are from the 1870s, and it continues to serve as the only burial ground for the communities of Bardsdale and Fillmore. The victims buried at Bardsdale Cemetery lived in San Francisquito Canyon, Castaic Junction, Bardsdale, and Fillmore. Twenty-eight flood victims are interred at Bardsdale Cemetery; most the graves were memorialized, though five graves were left unmarked (Figure 5.12). Flood victims were buried in three different sections at the cemetery: families were buried in Center section, Mexican victims were buried in a section currently known as Babyland, and single individuals were buried in the Hill section. The burial locations within the cemetery indicate it was segregated at the time of the disaster. Eight members of the Carrillo family were buried in the segregated section: five were recovered and identified and the three were not found, though they were memorialized



Figure 5.12 Unmarked graves in the Hill Section at Bardsdale Cemetery (Photo by author, 2013).

through cenotaphs (Figure 5.13). The Carrillo grave marker was inscribed in Spanish; translated to:

“in memory from your husband and your daughter who said goodbye to you with screams of pain and sorrow for having encountered in that sorrowful hour of death on the 13<sup>th</sup> of March 1928. Where I hope that in God’s compassion/pity my loved ones in this tomb their mortal beings will rest.”

Hezikiah Kelley lost his wife and four children in the flood; the Kelley casualties are signified by a family marker with associated headstones. All were recovered, with the exception of 3 ½ month old Everett (Figure 5.14). Everett is memorialized by a cenotaph, which was placed at a different time than the rest of his family members headstones. This fact can be gleaned by looking at the setting for each of the markers; inclusions are found in the settings of each of the other markers, but



Figure 5.13 The Carrillo Family grave marker at Bardsdale Cemetery (Photo by author, 2013).

not in Everett's. This indicates that someone went back after the initial burials and had a cenotaph placed in memory of Everett.





Figure 5.14 The Kelley family plot at Bardsdale Cemetery (Photo by author, 2011).

The cemetery is under the management of Doug Basolo, a relative of flood victim Georgie Basolo (Figure 5.15). Members of the Basolo family visit the grave annually and consider Georgie’s grave marker to be a family memorial to their involvement with the St. Francis Dam disaster (Licon 2014). The story of Georgie’s father and brother driving to downtown Los Angeles to pick up the grave marker was passed down within the family to another descendant, Matt Basolo; he visits the grave every Memorial Day, a tradition he participated in with his father and grandfather. Matt Basolo feels that his will be last generation within the family to carry on the tradition, as his children have not participated in this annual activity (Licon 2014).



Figure 5.15 Grave marker of Georgie Basolo at Bardsdale Cemetery (Photo by author, 2011).

### **Piru Cemetery**

Piru Cemetery, located at 3580 Center Street, is a small community cemetery surrounded by orchards on the western edge of the town. The victims buried at the cemetery lived and worked on ranches along the Santa Clara River in and near Piru. Nineteen flood

victims are buried at Piru Cemetery: six members of the Gottardi family, five members of the Rogers/Topley family, seven members of the Savala family, and a single man, Librado Velasco. The casualties were buried in Section A, Tier B; Mexican victims were buried in the western half of the section and white victims in the eastern section (Figure 5.16). The Gottardi's, who were listed as ½ Mexican and ½ Italian in their claim file, were buried were buried between the Mexican and white burials. All but one grave was marked; three of the markers were placed as cenotaphs. None of the markers specify the cause of death.

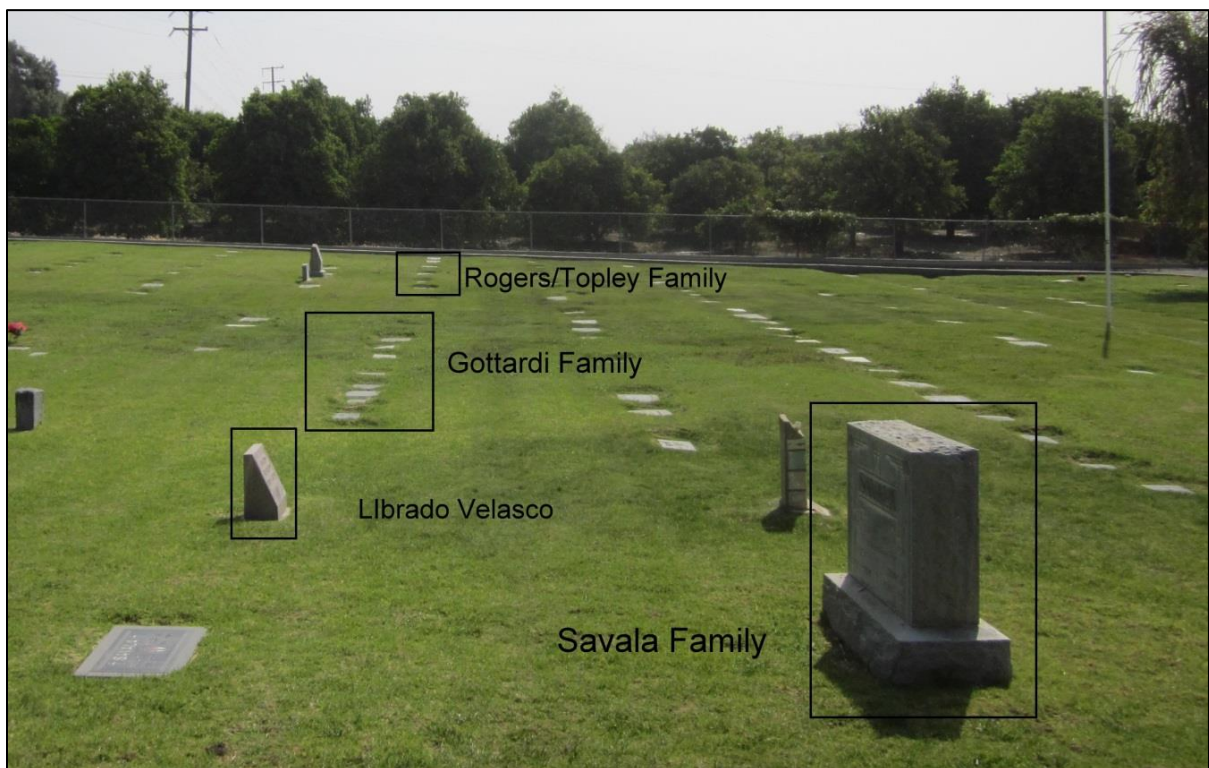


Figure 5.16 Graves of flood victims at Piru Cemetery (Photo by author, 2013).

### **Santa Paula Cemetery**

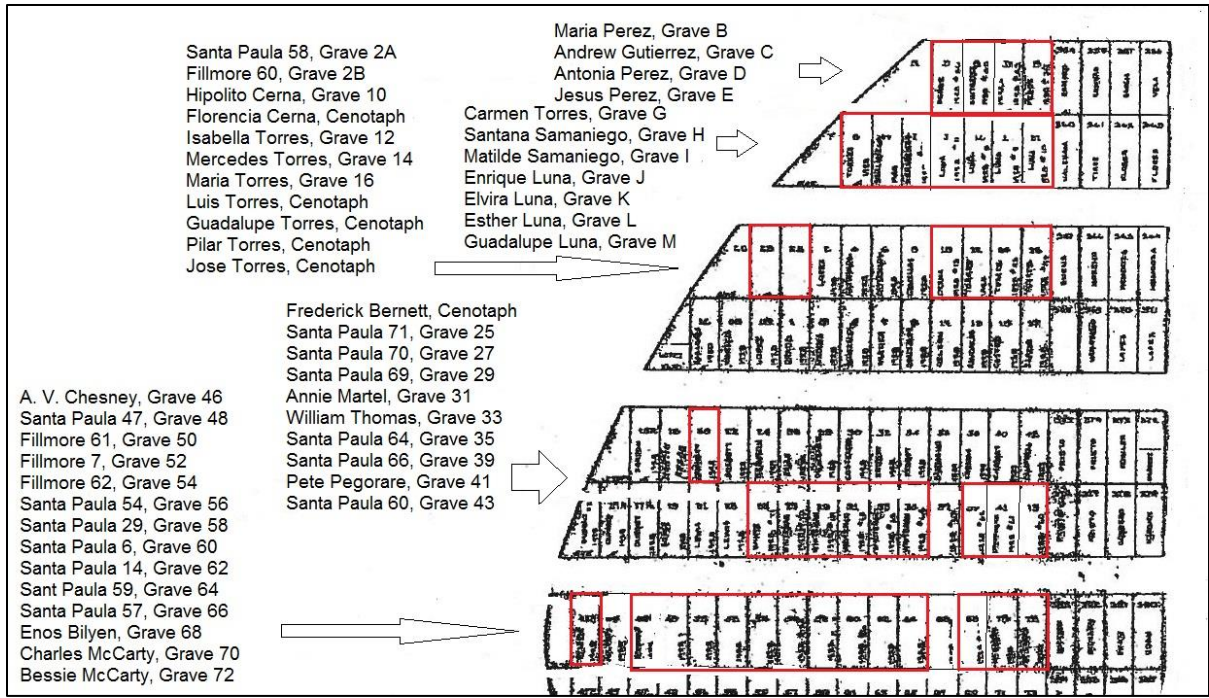
Santa Paula Cemetery, located at 380 Cemetery Road, is a large city burying ground; interments date back to the mid-1800s. Fifty-seven flood victims were buried at Santa Paula Cemetery, eighteen of which were individuals interred without having been identified. Seven

markers serve as cenotaphs. Several of the markers found at Santa Paula Cemetery are inscribed in Spanish; each these monuments emotionally state the date of burial and cause of death.

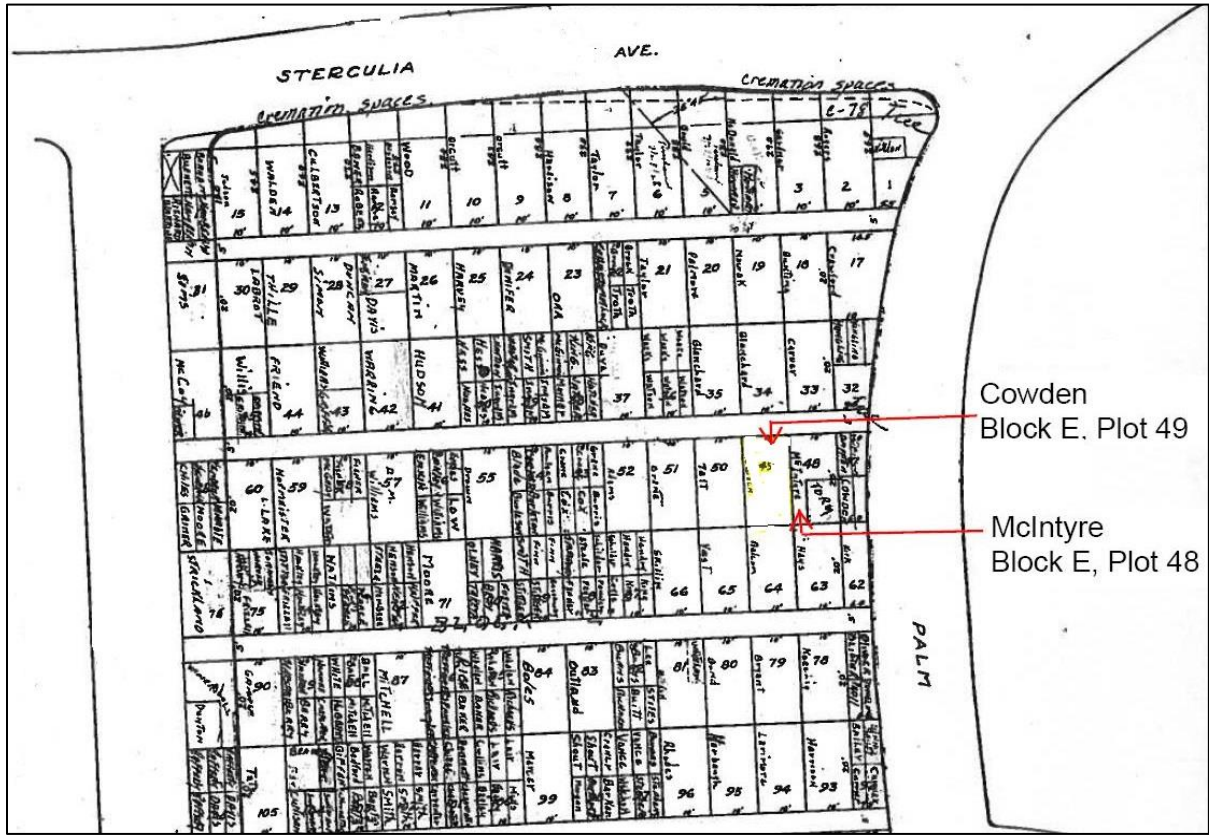
Despite being the most densely populated off all the communities in the flood zone, there were only 16 deaths in Santa Paula. The high number of burials relates to the fact that the bodies of many upstream victims were recovered in the vicinity, particularly behind the Willard Bridge, which was destroyed during the flood but caught considerable debris. Individuals buried at Santa Paula Cemetery thus also lived in Castaic Junction, Bardsdale, Piru, the Edison Kemp Camp, and Santa Paula.

Flood victims were buried in two sections of the cemetery: Mexican, unidentified, and identified but unclaimed individuals were buried in Section B, and white families were buried in Section E (Figure 5.17a and 5.17b). The graves of eleven identified victims were not marked. Several of these individuals were men from the Edison Kemp Camp, which were subsequently identified after burial, but markers were not placed.

On the first anniversary of the disaster, Santa Paulans participated in a memorial celebration at Santa Paula Cemetery. The Southwest Improvement Club, a small group of flood survivors who banded together after the disaster, organized the event. School children placed flowers on each flood victim's grave, and a squadron of planes flew over the cemetery dropping flowers. Planes also flew "from the broken remnants of the dam to the sea, following the path of the floodwaters, dropping wild flowers on the unmarked graves of the many unrecovered victims" (LAT, 13 March 1929:A2). The days commemorative activities concluded with a memorial dinner, which was attended my club members, as well as Los



(a)



(b)

Figure 5.17 Interments at Santa Paula Cemetery in (a) Block B and (b) Block E (Historical Plot Maps courtesy of Santa Paula Cemetery, adapted by author, 2014).

Angeles assistant City Attorney Lucius Green and Chairman of the Ventura County Restoration Committee, C.C. Teague.

The Bureau of Power and Light also performed commemorative activities at Santa Paula Cemetery, not on the anniversary date, but on Decoration Day (Memorial Day), for at least five years following the disaster. Maurice Scott, Chairman of the Relief and Benefit Committee, and Homer C. White, head of the Accounting Division, “jointly placed beautiful gladioluses, grown in the San Fernando Valley, upon the last resting places of 42 sleepers in the Santa Paula Cemetery (The Intake July 1928:14; SPC 13 March 1933:1) After the 5<sup>th</sup> anniversary, annual coverage of commemorative events no longer appears in local papers; thus, it is unknown if memorial activities continued at the cemetery for more than a few years following the disaster.

The unmarked graves of unknown flood victims at Santa Paula Cemetery were left unmemorialized until 2004, when the Santa Paula Historical Society placed a monument adjacent to the interment locations of these individuals (Figure 5.18). The monument was dedicated in a ceremony replicating the mass funeral service held on March 19, 1928; the event was held at the same time as the original, and the same address was delivered as was before 3,000 mourners in 1928 (Kelly, 2004). The large rock which serves as the memorial was brought in from the Santa Clara River bed. The plaque mounted upon it states:

To Honor the victims of the St. Francis Dam Disaster  
March 12, 1928  
This monument of native stone was placed in  
respectful memory of the nameless souls  
whose unmarked graves rest in this hallowed ground.  
Santa Paula Historical Society  
March 2004



Figure 5.18 Monument placed in Block B in honor of the unknown victims interred at Santa Paula Cemetery (Photo by author, 2011).

### **Ivy Lawn Cemetery**

Ivy Lawn Cemetery, located at 5400 Valentine Road in Ventura, is a large lawn-park cemetery characterized by monuments and individual associated headstones, set in expansive lawn areas. Internments date back to the late 1800s. Coroner Reardon saw to it that unidentified flood victims were not buried in a potter's field, but instead at this burial ground. Fifty-six unknown flood victims are buried in Section D at the cemetery; through correspondence with the families of men reported missing from the Kemp Camp, Reardon was able to collect dental records which allowed him to identify eight of these individuals. Markers were subsequently placed, marking four of these graves. Forty-seven individuals,

buried along the cemetery's western wall, remain unidentified to this day (Wantz 1996:25; Figure 5.19). Their graves remain unmarked.

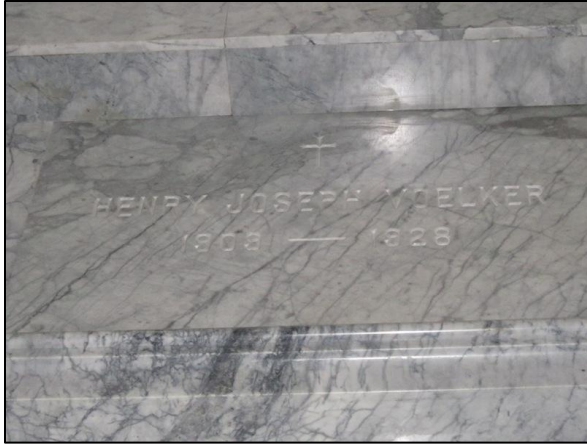


Figure 5.19 Unmarked graves of unknown flood victims buried along the western wall of Ivy Lawn Cemetery (Photo by author, 2012).

### **Santa Clara Catholic Cemetery**

Santa Clara Catholic Cemetery is a relatively small burial ground located at 2370 North H Street in Oxnard. Two flood victims were buried in a double funeral at the cemetery: Joachim Kliemann and his nephew Henry Voelker (Figure 5.20a, 5.20b, and 5.20c). The uncle and his nephew were working and living on a ranch near Castaic. Both are placed in





(a)



(b)

FUNERAL AND BURIAL EXPENSES INCURRED	
<u>Henry Joseph Voelker:</u>	
Paid HOPSON MORTUARY, Bakersfield, for bring- -ing body to Newhall from Bakersfield	\$75.00
Paid SH. DIFFENDERFFER, Oxnard, for:	
Bringing body from Newhall to Oxnard	25.00
Complete funeral	215.00
Paid SANTA CLARA CHURCH, Oxnard, for:	
Crypt	150.00
Requiem High Mass	15.00
Sealing Crypt	10.00
Inscription on crypt	29.00
	<u>\$519.00</u>
<u>Joachim Kliemann:</u>	
SH. DIFFENDERFFER, Oxnard, for:	
Bringing body from Newhall to Oxnard	25.00
Complete funeral	215.00
SANTA CLARA CHURCH, Oxnard, for:	
Crypt	150.00
Requiem High Mass	15.00
Sealing Crypt	10.00
Inscription on crypt	26.00
	<u>\$441.00</u>
Henry J. Voelker	\$519.00
Joachim Kliemann	<u>441.00</u>
	960.00
Less received by S.H. Diff- -enderffer from City of L.A. on account of J.Klieman funeral	<u>185.00</u>
	<u>\$775.00</u>

(c)

Figure 5.20 Interments of (a) Voelker and (b) Kliemann at Santa Clara Catholic Cemetery; (c) itemization of funeral and burial expenses (Photos by author, 2013).

the mausoleum at the cemetery; these burials were among the most costly of those for which interment costs were found. The city of the Los Angeles paid \$150 toward the cost of each burial, though in this case they covered a bit more. Although I was unable to track down any records from the monument makers used in 1928, this itemization of funeral and burial expenses incurred for Kliemann and Voelker provides insight into the interment process and associated costs.

### **Burials in Cemeteries within the Greater Los Angeles Area**

The graves of 109 victims were documented within the greater Los Angeles area, but outside the flood zone. These burials were in 19 cemeteries throughout Los Angeles, Orange, Riverside, and San Bernardino counties (Appendix D). Twenty-four of these graves remain unmarked. All of the markers were inscribed in English. Three of these markers, memorializing seven victims, have epitaphs which make reference to the St. Francis Dam Disaster being the cause of death.

Thirty-one victims were buried in Oakwood Cemetery at 22601 Lassen Street in Chatsworth; the town is 17 miles south-west of Newhall. Will G. Noble, the undertaker who prepared the individuals for burial at the cemetery, owned several plots in Section C (Claims Records 1928-1929: WP 19-17-11). Noble donated plots in to the city and buried white and Mexican victims side by side, something not observed at other cemeteries. The assistant dam keeper and his family are buried near the front of the cemetery, in Section G. Three young children were buried in Section M, a small area of the cemetery set aside for babies and infants; the graves are unmarked. Ten total graves remain unmarked. Four markers were placed as cenotaphs. The individuals buried at Oakwood Cemetery were from the Power Plant No. 2 community, San Francisquito Canyon, and Castaic Junction. Noble was thought

to have also buried victims at the Pioneer Cemetery, located 14451 Bledsoe St. in Sylmar, though survey of the cemetery grounds and review of interment records indicates this was not case.

Eighteen casualties were buried in Forest Lawn Memorial Park at 1712 S. Glendale Ave in Glendale, a town about 25 miles south of Newhall. Most these victims lived at the Power Plant No. 2 community, Castaic, and the Edison Kemp Camp. The burials are dispersed in various sections throughout the cemetery. All of the burials are marked, with the exception of one; the grave of Leona Johnson, girlfriend of dam keeper Tony Harnischfeger remains unmarked. Of note, William Mulholland was interred in the Great Mausoleum at Forest Lawn Memorial Park in 1935.

Eleven victims were 11 victims interred at Calvary Catholic Cemetery, located at 4201 Whittier Blvd. in Los Angeles. These casualties were all of the Catholic faith, including the Alvarez and Martinez families living at the Southern Pacific section camp at Castaic Junction, Matt Costamagna living and working on leased land in Piru, and Vida Mathews, who was visiting her uncle at the Power Plant No. 2 community the night of the failure.

Casualties were buried in 16 other cemeteries within the greater Los Angeles area (Appendix D). The burial location of each victim was generally selected by family, and cemeteries across Los Angeles were chosen because the victims were buried in family plots that existed prior to the disaster, due to personal affiliations, such as requiring Catholic rites at designated Catholic cemeteries, or military burials, including the two at Los Angeles National Cemetery. Two Japanese men killed in the disaster were sent to Japanese Undertakers in Los Angeles; one man remained unidentified and was buried in an unmarked

grave at Evergreen Cemetery in Los Angeles, the other was man was buried at Japanese Cemetery, located at the corner of Etting Road and Pleasant Valley Road in Oxnard (Figure 5.21). With exception of the cremated individuals, the burial location of just one victim out of the 306 recovered was unable to be determined; the claim file for Jessie Asher includes a receipt for his interment at Inglewood Cemetery in Los Angeles, though the cemetery currently has no record of the burial (Claims Records WP 19-17-11).



Figure 5.21 Grave of Motoye Myachi at Japanese Cemetery in Oxnard (Photos by author, 2014).

## **Burials in Cemeteries throughout the United States**

Forty-one victims were shipped outside of the Greater Los Angeles area for burial (Appendix E). The great majority of these out-of-area burials were those of men from the Edison Kemp Camp. These interments, and as well as four cenotaphs, were found in 40 cemeteries, in 16 states across the county (Figure 5.22). Many of the grave markers listed the day and year of death, as well as epitaphs providing the cause of the death. Six of the findagrave.com requests remain pending, though I was able to confirm that the internments were noted in cemetery records.

## **Museum Exhibits and Memorabilia**

While monuments and memorials both act as objects which serve as a focus for the memory of a person or event within a landscape, objects in museum exhibits, memorabilia, and other portable relics act as a mnemonic bridge. They allow for memory recall without being physically present in the environment where the event actually occurred. The disaster and its victims have been memorialized through many diverse and distinctive forms of commemoration, including plaques, medals, awards, scrapbooks, and other mnemonic objects.



(a) Hollywood Cemetery, GA



(b) Chartiers Cemetery, PA



(c) East New Market Cemetery, MD



(d) Mann Cemetery, GA

Figure 5.22 The graves of four flood victims in out-of-state cemeteries (Photos courtesy of findagrave.com, 2012-2013).

## Tesoro Adobe Historic Park

A small exhibit memorializing disaster can be found in the office of the Tesoro Adobe Historic Park, located at 29350 Avenida Rancho Tesoro in Valencia (Figure 5.23).



FIGURE 5.23 St. Francis Dam Break exhibit, at the Tesoro Adobe Historic Park (Photo by Julee Licon, 2013).

The adobe, built and owned by western film actor Harry Carey, was outside of the flood path; today it is managed by the Department of Parks and Recreation as a Los Angeles County Park. The exhibit, titled *St. Francis Dam Break*, includes photographs of the dam before and after the failure, several narratives discussing construction, the failure sequence, and aftermath, and photos of the California Landmark plaque and *The Warning* memorial.

## **Saugus Community Club Plaque**

The Saugus Train Depot, located in William S. Hark Park, at 24101 Newhall Avenue in Newhall, is home to the Santa Clarita Valley Historical Society. A plaque recognizing flood victims, who were members of the Saugus Community Club (SCC), was donated to the historical society by the Newhall Women's Club (Figure 5.24). The SCC lost seven of their members in the disaster, and their clubhouse was used as a refuge and hospital following the flood. The plaque was originally dedicated during a brief service, "simple in the extreme, but tragic in its every detail," attended by about 200 in May of 1928 (Covina Argus, 4 May 1928:1). It is unknown where the plaque was displayed, though it is believed to have sat for a time in front of the Saugus Elementary school next to the San Francisquito Canyon schoolhouse bell. The plaque resurfaced at a Survivors Reunion, held on the 50<sup>th</sup> anniversary of the disaster; it was presented to the historical society by a descendant of flood victim Nellie (Dixon) Hanson, who was memorialized on the plaque (Ray 2014). Today it hangs in the museum at the Saugus Train Depot, with some signs of wear. The plaque states: "In memory of Nellie Hansen, Nora Coe, Cecelia Small, Clara Wilmot, Ethel Cochem, Felda Pike, and Thelma Mathews. St. Francis Dam Disaster, March 13, 1928" The SCC logo is included at the bottom of the plaque.





FIGURE 5.24 The Saugus Community Club Plaque, donated to the Santa Clarita Valley Historical Society in 1978, at the 50<sup>th</sup> Anniversary Survivors Reunion (Photo provided by Don Ray, 1978).

### **San Francisquito Canyon Schoolhouse Bell**

A bell from Bee School, a one-room schoolhouse destroyed in San Francisquito Canyon during the flood, currently hangs in the tower of the Newhall Metrolink Station at 24300 Railroad Ave (Figure 5.25). The bell was originally dedicated to six Bee School students. For many years the bell sat on a pedestal in front of Saugus Elementary School. A plaque with names of children lost in the flood is said to have been displayed with the bell



FIGURE 5.25 Bell from the Bee Schoolhouse in San Francisquito Canyon, which currently hangs in the tower at the Newhall Metrolink Station (Photo by Leon Worden, 1998).

(Kott 2014). It is possible this plaque was actually the Saugus Community Club memorial. In 1978 the bell was donated to the Santa Clarita Valley Historical Society, at the 50<sup>th</sup> anniversary Survivors Reunion. The bell was donated with the intention of placing it at the Mentryville schoolhouse, though this never took place. The bell was displayed at the Saugus Train Depot Museum until, 1998, when it was loaned by the historical society to the city of Newhall for the Metrolink station tower (Worden 2014).

## Valencia Car Wash

A small display lining a hallway at the Valencia Car Wash, at 24233 Creekside Drive, honors memory of the flood (Figure 5.26). The display, placed in late 2012 by the owners of the car wash, includes photographs of the dam before and after the failure, as well as a narrative, which states:

Construction on the 500-foot-long, 185 foot-high St. Francis Dam started in August in 1924. With a 12.5 billion-gallon capacity, the reservoir began to fill with water on March 1, 1926. It was completed two months later.

At 11:57:30 p.m. on March 12, 1928, the dam failure, sending a 180-foot high wall of water crashing down San Francisquito Canyon. An estimated 470 people lay dead by the time the floodwaters reached the Pacific Ocean, south of Ventura, 5 ½ hours later.

It was the second-worst disaster in California history, after the great San Francisco earthquake and fire of 1906, in terms of lives lost. America's worst civil engineering failure of the 20<sup>th</sup> Century.



FIGURE 5.26 Small St. Francis Disaster display at the Valencia Car Wash (Photo by Thalia Ryder, 2013).

## Fillmore Historical Museum Exhibit

The small towns of Piru, Fillmore, and Bardsdale sit in the center of the Santa Clara River Valley, within an 8 mile span of each other; at least 71 individuals from this stretch of the Santa Clara River Valley were killed in the disaster (Appendix B). Today the flood devastation in this section of the Santa Clara River Valley is memorialized by one know exhibit at the Fillmore Historical Museum (Figure 5.27). The exhibit includes several

narratives about the disaster, transcriptions of poems published in the *Fillmore American* and the *Fillmore Independent* from 1928, and photographs of the dam before and after the failure as well as capturing moments in time, such as shots of the long funeral procession of cars leaving Fillmore, buildings destroyed on the Basolo Ranch, and Red Cross headquarters at the Burson Place in Bardsdale. The exhibit also includes the sign from Skillin Mortuary, one of the make-shift morgues used after the failure.



FIGURE 5.27 St. Francis Dam Disaster exhibit at the Fillmore Historical Museum (Photo by author, 2013).

### **Cruz Azul Scrapbook**

At the Blanchard Library I was also able to arrange to view a scrapbook owned by Santa Paula historian Craig Held, which documents the Cruz Azul Mexicana's fundraising efforts on behalf of Mexican survivors. The scrapbooks contents also include clippings of recovery and restoration efforts from the *Heraldo de Mexico*, a Los Angeles Spanish language newspaper (Figure 5.28). The newspaper is available Online through the Hispanic

American Newspaper collection, so I did not digitize each article but instead made note of the dates and titles of articles so I could more easily locate the files Online. Each of the historical photographs in the Cruz Azul scrapbook had previously been digitized by Santa Paula photographer and dammie John Nichols, so I did not digitize these either. Each page of the scrapbook was photographed, however, so that I would have a permanent record of its contents.



FIGURE 5.28 The Cruz Azul Scrapbook, owned by Craig Held (Photo by author, 2013).

### California Oil Museum

Several past exhibits were found to have taken place in Santa Paula: three of these exhibits were held at the California Oil Museum and one was at the Nichols Snapshot Gallery. The first known exhibit was on display between February 8, 1998 and April 26, 1998, and was titled *Dam Break: Heroes and Survivors*, curated by John Nichols. The exhibit was placed in honor of the 70<sup>th</sup> anniversary of the disaster, and featured the Isensee

panoramas, clock faces displaying the time the flood arrived and the speed of the water along significant points within the flood zone (Figure 5.29). Photographs donated by Santa Paula residents, recorded recollections of survivors and witnesses, and a recording of *El Corrido de la Inundacion de la Presa de San Francisquito* (Ratcliff 1998) were also part of the exhibit. J. David Rogers delivered a lecture on the opening day of the exhibit to a standing room only crowd.

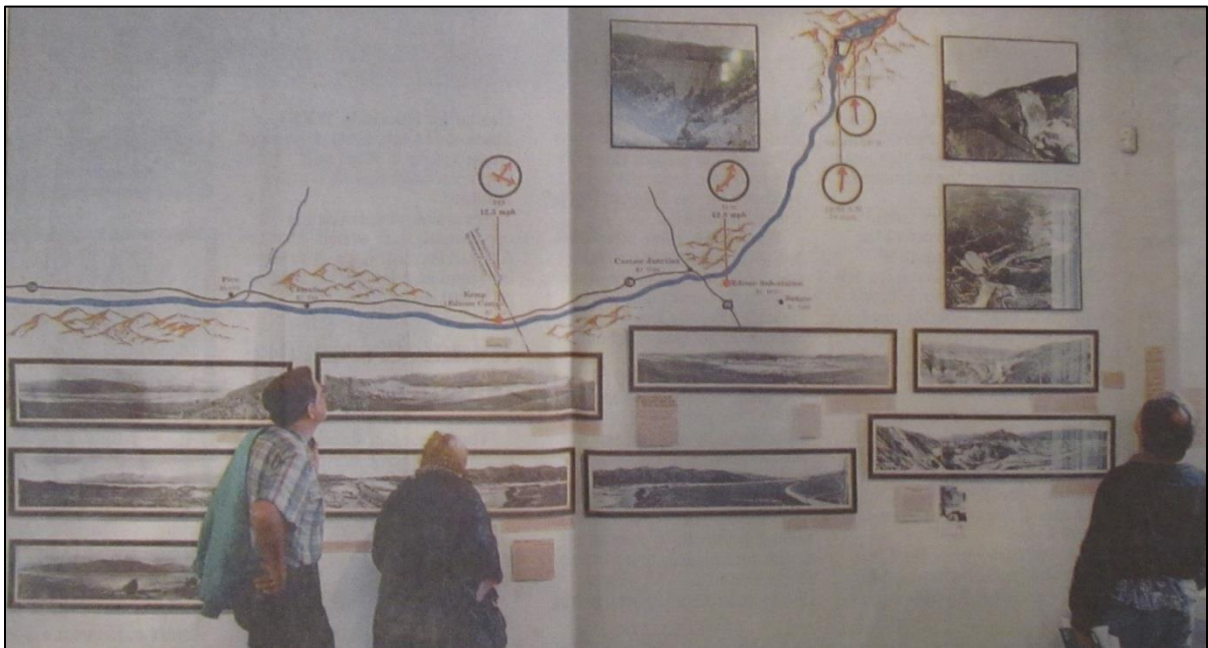


FIGURE 5.29 Pictorial timeline created by John Nichols for the exhibit *Dam Break: Heroes and Survivors* (Ventura County Star 1998).

On the 72<sup>nd</sup> anniversary, John Nichols placed an exhibit of donated family photos at his *Snapshot Museum* in downtown Santa Paula. The collection was largely compiled from “black-page family albums and yellow, crumbling envelopes,” given to him over the years by local Santa Paula residents (Clandos 2000). Doris Navarro Jackson, who was fourteen years old at the time of the disaster, visited the exhibit multiple times while it was open between

March 2000 and June 30, 2000; the photos “brought back memories she didn’t often discuss in the years after the flood” (Clandos 2000).

Between December 2, 2001 and January 20, 2002 an exhibit titled *St. Francis Dam Disaster: Memories and Memorials*, was displayed at the California Oil Museum in Santa Paula. The exhibit was placed by teacher Edward Arguelles and 65 students from Santa Paula High School, with the purpose of creating a learning experience for students and a gift to the community. The exhibit included music, photographs, oral histories and memorabilia, as well as a large memorial tombstone inscribed they constructed with the names of identified victims of the disaster (Kelly 2002).

In 2008, the California Oil Museum hosted an exhibit titled *St. Francis Dam Disaster: 80<sup>th</sup> Anniversary*. The exhibit provided a full history of the disaster, from the building to the Los Angeles Aqueduct to the collapse and aftermath. Blown up vintage photographs of the disaster, engineering drawings illustrating why the dam collapsed, the Isensee panoramas, and “the world’s longest map, which shows the entire course of the Los Angeles Aqueduct from Owens Valley to Los Angeles in a scale of 1”-2000,” were all among the items exhibited (Orcutt 2008). Effort was made to highlight Red Cross relief efforts that took place in Santa Paula, in particular. Each of the items exhibited at the California Oil Museum are now in holdings of the Ventura County Museum (Orcutt 2014).

### **Isensee Panorama Images**

Ventura, Saticoy, Montalvo, and other communities along the western part of the Santa Clara River Valley were impacted by the floodwaters, but loss of life is believed to be limited to homeless men said to have camped in culverts and under bridges near the outlet of the river (Nichols 2002:60). Floodwaters destroyed the state highway bridge at Montalvo,

and the one-lane bridge at Saticoy would be the only to remain standing, limiting access to the flood zone for several days. The Oxnard Plains' distance from the dam site presents its own unique circumstances for commemoration.

The Isensee panorama images on display at the Ventura County Watershed Protection District office at the Ventura County Court Complex represent the only known memorial to the disaster within the Oxnard Plain (Figure 5.30). Unsure of whether the City of Los Angeles would take full financial responsibility for the extensive destruction throughout his county, Ventura County District Attorney James Hollingsworth felt that a photographic



Figure 5.30 Bernie Isensee panorama images of the St. Francis Dam Disaster on display at the Watershed Protection District Office (Photo by author, 2013).

record of the flood damage was needed. Photographer Bernie Isensee, of Ventura, traveled throughout the flood zone with Deputy Sheriff Carl Wallace documenting the entire expanse with a series of panorama images (Isensee Panoramas 1928). The panoramas were not needed once Los Angeles agreed to pay individual claims and reimburse the county for Ventura for repairs, but they stand as a vivid testament to the damage.



## Medals

At least three medals were presented in commemoration of heroic acts performed during the disaster. Thornton Edwards received a Medal of Meritorious Service from the state of California for his efforts in evacuating the low lying areas of Santa Paula the night of the flood (Kelly 2010; Figure 5.31). Nick Rivera, a teenager from Castaic, received a reward for Heroism from William S. Hart and Pastor Wolcott Evans, for heroically rescuing two siblings from the floodwaters (LAT 21 May, 1928:A1; Figure 5.32a). A gold medal was presented to Chick Chivvis, in honor of the efforts of his dog, Don, whose warning on the rural ranch saved the entire family (San Bernardino County Sun, 31 July 1930:1). On the 50<sup>th</sup> anniversary of the disaster Carolyn (Chivvis) Van Laar, who was four years old at the time of the disaster, and saved by the heroic acts of her pup, posed with the gold medal for local newspapers (VCS, 12 March, 1978:4; Figure 5.32b). Only one medal resurfaced during the course of this research, though photographs and newspaper articles discussing the ceremonies in which several existed provides sufficient information about the context in which these commemorations occurred.



Figure 5.31 (a) front and (b) back of the Medal of Meritorious Service presented to Thornton Edwards by the California Highway Patrol (Photos courtesy of Terry Foley 2014).



(a)



(b)

Figure 5.32 (a) Medal awarded to Louis Rivera for heroism and (b) Carolyn (Chivvis) Van Laar, holding the medal awarded to her family's dog (SCHVS 2014; Ventura County Star 1978)

### **Conceptual Commemorations: Postcards, Pamphlets, Poems and Songs**

The disaster and victims were also memorialized through more ephemeral and conceptual forms of commemoration, including the sending of posting cards, the writing of pamphlets and poems, the singing of songs, and the telling of stories and legends. One religious pamphlet (e.g. tract), five songs, and eleven poems, commemorating various aspects of the disaster, were found in newspapers, journals, ephemera files, exhibits, and Online (Table 5.1). Each of these examples of commemoration helps provide insight into individual recollections that were forming in the aftermath of the catastrophe and contributing to the development of the public memory.

Table 5.1 Poems, songs, and other conceptual memorialization associated with the disaster.

<b>Date</b>	<b>Author</b>	<b>Type</b>	<b>Title</b>
1928	Barnard	Religious Pamphlet	Miraculously Saved From a Flood at Santa Paula, Ca., Tuesday Morning March 13, 1928
1928	Encinas	Corrido	El Corrido de la Inundacion de la Presa de San Francisquito
1928	Hutchens	Song	Breaking of the St. Francis Dam
1928	Jones	Poem	A Doll on a Pile of Debris
1928	Kennedy	Poem	The Breaking of the Dam
1928	Miller	Poem	Now Phyllis Comes no More
1928	Perez	Poem	St. Francis Dam Flood Disaster
1928	Renfro	Poem	The Tragedy of the St. Francis Dam
1928	Saugus Community Club	Poem	Nellie Has Left Us
1928	Unknown	Poem	The Little Soldier
1928	Whitehead	Poem	Dead on the Field of Honor
1971	Lawrance	Book Length Poem	The Death of the Dam: A Chapter in Southern CA History
1979	Pinkerton	Poem	St. Francis Dam Disaster, 1928
2001	Black	Song	St. Francis Dam Disaster
2003	Devere & Williams	Song	The St. Francis Dam Break
2004	Nichols	Story / Ghost Writer	Going home: A Ghost Story from the St. Francis Dam Disaster
2008	Wilson & Snider	Song	Please Pass Me By
Undated	Unknown	Poem, in Spanish	La Inundacion de California

*Miraculously Saved from a Flood*, published by the Free Tract Society of Los Angeles, provides the harrowing account of Pearl V. Barnard. Barnard was 49 at the time of the disaster; she lived in the low-lying district of Santa Paula. On the cover she is pictured, standing in front of the barn she was rescued from. The narrative provides a graphic description of being swept up into the floodwaters, and surviving after being inexplicably thrown onto a floating rooftop. Scripture and testimony is interwoven in her narration.

Most the poems found were written shortly after the disaster, and published in newspapers throughout the flood zone. Herman Perez, of Santa Paula, shared his poem *The St. Francis Flood Disaster* in the Santa Paula Chronicle newspaper shortly after the disaster; he describes the peacefulness of the valley and unforeseen nature of the impending calamity, as well as the aftermath and state of mourning the community was in (Figure 5.33a). Tad Jones, a worker that came from Van Nuys to help with cleanup efforts wrote a poem, *A Doll on a Pile of Debris*, on March 21, 1928; it was published on March 29<sup>th</sup> in the Fillmore American (Figure 5.33b).

**ST. FRANCIS DAM FLOOD DIS-  
ASTER, MARCH 13, 1928**

The evening's bright stars they  
were shining  
The moon beams shone bright  
overhead  
And all was in peace and quiet-  
ness  
Till the hour of midnight was  
at hand.

Then listen, do you hear, the cry  
"Water!"  
Like a flood from the dam it  
did roll  
And the people that were in its  
pathway  
Were then all doomed to die.

Oh, Hark! do you hear the cry  
"Water!"  
How dismal those sirens did  
sound  
The water was coming in torrents  
The unfortunate ones were to  
drown.

The city was in total darkness  
For the lights could not be  
found  
Then people were scrambling to  
high lands  
Where they would be safe from  
the flood.

Next morning in among those  
ruin  
Oh, God, what a sight met our  
eyes  
The dead, they were lying in all  
shapes  
Some there that none could rec-  
ognize.

The bridges were torn from their  
places  
And scattered in the river so  
wide  
And the buildings were torn to  
pieces  
Some of them could never be  
found.

The people were weeping and cry-  
in  
Loved ones were lost in the  
flood  
Oh, God, may their souls rest in  
heaven  
Among the innocent and bright.

What means this large gathering  
of people  
Out on such a cold dreary day  
What means this long line of  
hearses  
Their tops dressed in feathery  
array.

They're marching to the fields of  
the cemetery  
Where the unknown dead there  
to lie  
And the flowers that were sent  
them  
To remember the loved ones  
laid by.  
Written by Herman Peres.

(a)

**A DOLL ON A PILE OF DEBRIS**

Up in the valley by Bardsdale,  
Lodged high in an orange tree,  
Saw something that tugged at my heartstrings,  
A doll on a pile of debris.

We'd taken out bodies of humans,  
Rigid and stark and cold,  
That could not be measured or quitted  
By a miserly pittance of gold.

Men can't go on living forever,  
And grim horror never clutched me  
'Til I found in a mass of wreckage  
A doll on a pile of debris.

Then I pictured a raging torrent  
Of carnage words never might tell.  
Saw God's creatures mangled and broken  
In a roaring maelstrom of Hell.

But somewhere back up that canyon  
Was the picture that struck down deep,  
A sawdust doll's tiny playmate,  
Battered to death in its sleep.

Then reverently I replaced it  
Back in the selfsame spot,  
Reminding me of the babies  
Back home that I'd most forgot.

Is it not an offense to the Maker  
Who keeps this proud land of the free,  
That we call this an act of His doing,  
With a doll on a pile of debris.

—"TAD" JONES.

(b)

Figure 5.33 (a) The St. Francis Dam Flood Disaster and (b) A Doll on a Pile of Debris, two poems published in local newspapers just after the disaster (SPC, 02 April 1928:3; FA, 29 March 1928:6).

Several songs and corridos were found to have been written about the disaster. One song was written by Ed Rice and recorded in Chicago, in April 1928; the recording is available Online (Nichols 2008). *The Breaking of the St. Francis Dam* is sung in a deep folk tone. Rice was not from the flood zone, but a folk singer that often wrote about disasters. These lyrics were transcribed from a recording of a record:

Way out in the Santa Clara Valley  
'Neath the stars in the far western sky  
There hundreds of people lay sleeping  
Who knew not that soon they must die

Was way out in old California  
About 12 o'clock in the night  
That sound of the rushing of water  
Filled hundreds of people with fright

There fathers and mothers and children  
Who once were so happy and free  
Who perished that night in the struggle  
As the waters drove on to the sea

The valley lay quiet and peaceful  
'Neath the stars on that last fatal night  
But the people who lived to remember  
Can never forget that sad sight

Now the beautiful Santa Clara Valley  
As fair as the garden of God  
Behind the dark rushing of water  
Was buried deep under the sod?

It was 12 billion gallons of water  
Charging on like a battering ram  
That seemed on the meetin' of slaughter  
From the breaking of the St. Francis Dam

There's many that are in mourning  
For loved ones whose death was too slow  
To lead them to safety that morning  
When the waters did flow

We cry for the heroes now buried

In the valley beneath the dark sky  
But still many heroes are living  
Who merit the blessings of God

In the middle of the Santa Clara Valley  
Where anguish and terror were spread  
A pillar of stone now is standing  
To mark out the place of the dead.

Another song, *Pass Me By* was written by local residents Mary Z. Wilson and Merlin Snider in commemoration of the 80<sup>th</sup> anniversary of the disaster.

Sheet music, lyrics, and a recording of a Spanish corrido, *El Corrido de la Inundacion de la Presa de San Francisquito*, written by Sr. Juan Encinas, were found in folklore archives at CSUN (Lomax-Hawes 1974) Encinas had lived in the Santa Clara Valley on a family ranch near Piru since 1891; he wrote the corrido as a means by which to communicate to his ill sister the extent of the loss, including the death of her children's godfather. The verses of the corrido make reference to several families lost, including the Alvarez and Rivera families of Castaic, and the Ruiz family of Santa Francisquito Canyon (Figure 5.34).

### **Memorial Highway**

The Santa Paula Historical Society also led an effort to have Highway 126 renamed in memory of the catastrophe's victims and survivors. As the highway follows the path of the floodwaters, it was seen as an ideal way of recognizing and remembering the disaster. Residents who lived through the flood spoke out in favor of the name change at city council meetings, though the issue was later stuck down because the freeway had been named the Korean War Veterans Memorial Highway just a few years before (Eastlake 2000).

1. Señores, tengan presente presente por l'ocasión, que el año mil novecientos venticiocho fué esta grande inundación.	1. Gentlemen, bear in mind, Mindful of the occasion, That (in) the year nineteen hundred and twenty-eight There was this great flood.
2. Toda' la gente dormidas tranquilas y muy ufana', cuando se los llevó el agua se los llevó en la mañana.	2. All the people were asleep Tranquil and very content When the water carried them away, Carried them away in the morning.
3. Esta familia los Ruizes vivía en compañía de las mujeres que había no quedó más de la María.	3. This family, the Ruizes, Lived (together) in company; Of the women that were there No one was left but Maria.
4. El "Maiqui" le dice al "Jenri": —¡Ah, que suerte nos ha tocado! que el resto de la familia en el río se ha' ido 'ogado.	4. Mike says to Henry "Oh, how luck has played us That the rest of the family In the river have drowned."
5. Esa familia los Joles lloran y sembrán porque en la sesión de Castequi se les 'ogó Don José.	5. That family, the Joles, Cry and scatter, because In the region of the Castaic He was drowned, Don José.
6. Cuando Don José recordó ya recordó en las corrientes con todo su familia y en compañía de su gente.	6. When Don José came to He was recovered in the currents With all his family And in the company of his people.
7. Vuela, vuela, palomita, con tus alitas ligeras a ver que les ha pasado y esa familia Rivera.	7. Fly, fly, little dove, With your wings so light, To see what has happened To that family, the Riveras.
8. De la familia Rivera no más tres hijos se salvaron y el resto de la familia todos en l'agua quedaron.	8. Of the Rivera family Only three sons were saved And the rest of the family All remained in the water.
9. Una niña llorando junto a su mama agarrada, lloraba con amargo llanto que se iba a morir 'ogada.	9. A little girl, weeping, Holding on close to her mother, Was crying with bitter tears That she was going to die by drowning.
10. Ya con está me despido por ser el ultim' ocasión ya les canté a mis amigos parte de la inundación [sic].	10. Now with this I take my leave, Being the final occasion, Now I have sung to my friends (About) a part of the flood.
11. Este no es todo el corrido de lo que les estoy cantando; este es no más una parte de lo que paso en el río.	11. This is not all the corrido Of that, that I am singing; This is only a part Of what happened in the river.

Figure 5.34 Lyrics and translation of the Spanish corrido, *El Corrido de la Inundacion de la Presa de San Francisquito*, written by Sr. Juan Encinas (Lomax-Hawes 1974:223-225).



## **Folklore**

Although I visited San Francisquito Canyon several times as a child with my father, my first knowledge of the disaster was through exposure to an aspect of the folklore associated with the event. In October 2011, Dr. James Snead asked me if I had heard of a mass grave associated with the St. Francis Dam Disaster. Upon researching on findagrave.com, and then visiting Santa Paula Cemetery a few days later, I found that there was no mass grave, but a number of the interments in one section of the cemetery took place in what was described as a “mass burial” ceremony (SPC, 19 March 1928:1). There was also a story circulating which indicated victims were buried in a mass grave at Ivy Lawn Cemetery in Ventura. Office staff at the cemetery were able to shed light on the origins of the mass grave story; groundskeepers would collect old flowers from graves throughout the cemetery before mowing each week, and would place these flowers in one large pile on the unmarked graves of flood victims.

Within those that have knowledge of the disaster, there are various folk stories which are shared. One such story is that eucalyptus trees were planted along Highway 126 in honor of flood victims. A tree is said to have been planted for each casualty (Nichols 2002:85). I was unable to conclusively determine if the trees had been planted in memory of flood victims, as eucalyptus are commonly used in agricultural areas as wind breaks; however, an article referencing the planting of trees and shrubs along the south side of Santa Paula on the 3<sup>rd</sup> anniversary of the disaster was found (LAT, 14 March 1931:15). In the past 20 years Highway 126 has been widened in some sections, and many of the trees are said to have been removed.

Another legend associated with the disaster relates to a group of Navajo Indians living at the Harry Carey Trading Post, located at the base of San Francisquito Canyon on west side of the canyon road. Built in the early 1920s, and continuously in operation until it was destroyed by the floodwaters, about 40 Navajos lived and worked at the trading post making handmade baskets, rugs, and silver jewelry. One version of the legend has the Navajos leaving the ranch days before the disaster after their shaman had a premonition that the dam would fail. An alternative version of the story indicates their shaman went fishing at the reservoir, saw large cracks in the face of the dam, and predicted it would break. Regardless of the circumstances that led to the leaving the Carey ranch, they did in fact safely return to Arizona several weeks before the disaster, as reported by Olive Carey shortly after the failure.

Several ghost stories associated with the disaster were heard during the course of this research; some of these stories were passed along by dammies, while others were found through talking to residents of the flood zone and through online research. Apparitions, mists, fogs, cold spots, screams, and spectral children are reported to have been experienced at the dam site, Power Plant No. 2, Ruiz Cemetery, Six Flags Magic Mountain Theme Park, Camulos, Piru, Fillmore, Santa Paula, and Saticoy. The most common thread of all the stories are people stating that they have heard screams or seen ghosts of flood victims hanging in trees throughout San Francisquito Canyon and the Santa Clara River Valley.

Oral narratives, including those mentioned above, maintain memory of the disaster in the absence of monuments, memorials, and memorabilia. These commemorative legends are not necessarily based in fact, but serve a function. Stories related to the terror flood victims experienced or the vast extent of the loss necessitating a mass grave, as well as cultural

stereotyping of Navajos having spiritual knowledge different from European Americans, all have a symbolic value. Our emotional responses to these narratives function to memorialize the event.

## CHAPTER VI

### ANALYSIS

The data collected for this project provides sufficient context in which to identify and discuss relevant patterns related to memorialization and memory of the St. Francis Dam Disaster and its victims. This analysis will revisit the research questions posed in the first chapter by discussing the commemorative events that have occurred and memorials which were found to have been placed in the flood zone, following the disaster and since. Commemoration of the disaster also will be compared with similar catastrophes: the Mill River Flood of 1874, the Johnstown Flood of 1889, and the Buffalo Creek Flood of 1972.

#### **Research Questions Revisited**

Two core questions were addressed in this research: (1) how are the victims of the St. Francis Dam Disaster memorialized spatially, through state monuments, community memorials, grave markers, and memorabilia and conceptually, through songs, ballads, previously recorded stories, and other forms of folklore, and (2) what sorts of commemorative activities have taken place within the flood zone since the disaster, how have these events been materially expressed. A part of this analysis, though more atheoretical, was also the necessity to accurately determine the total number of victims, and other information, such as the community they lived in and where they were buried.

Most memorialization of the disaster was centered within Santa Clarita Valley and Santa Paula (Figure 6.1), though grave markers commemorating individuals lost in the flood can be found within cemeteries that mark the flood zone, as well as cemeteries within Los Angeles County and throughout the United States (Figure 6.2).

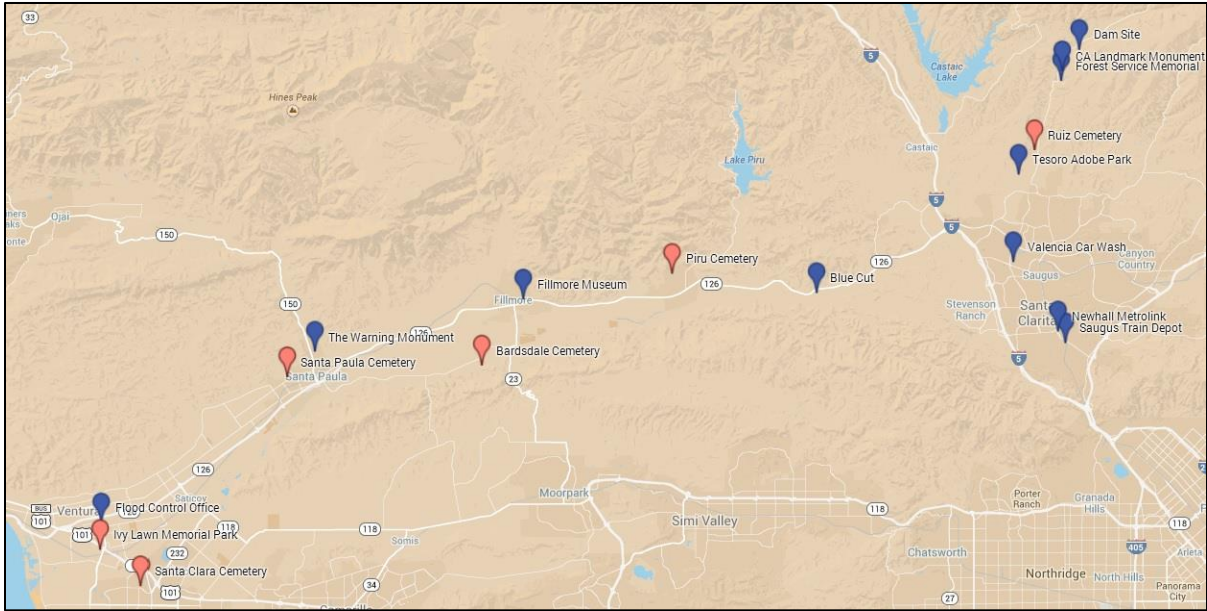


Figure 6.1 Map of northern Los Angeles and southern Ventura counties, with locations of monuments, memorials, and cemeteries visited within the 54-mile flood zone (Map by author, 2014).

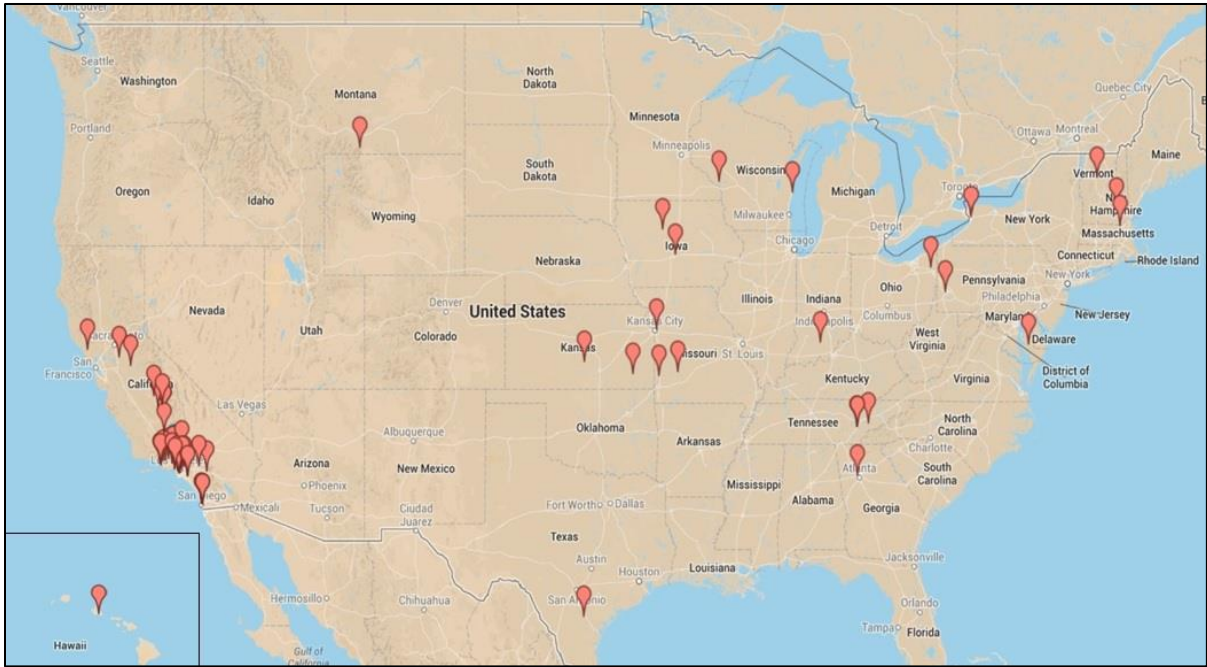


Figure 6.2 The burial locations of St. Francis Dam disaster victims throughout the United States, mapped by cemetery (Map by author, 2014).

Memorials were most prevalently found within the area today known as the Santa Clarita Valley, where more than the 47% of the victims lived (Table 6.1). Many of the monuments and memorials placed in the Santa Clarita Valley have fallen out of use. This area has experienced explosive population growth, and with the exception of those that grew up in the area, few seem know about the disaster.

Table 6.1 Statistics about the casualties, by community.

Location	# of Victims	% of Victims	Community	
			# Victims	% of Total
BLP Power Plant No. 2	72	20	Santa Clarita Valley	154 43%
San Francisquito Canyon	37	10		
Newhall, Saugus, and Castaic	45	11		
SCE Kemp Camp	85	24	Edison Kemp Camp	85 24%
Piru, Fillmore, and Bardsdale	70	20	Santa Clara River Valley	86 24%
Santa Paula	16	4		
Unknown (no claim)	32	9	Unknown Location	32 9%
			357 known +68 unidentified =425 maximum victims	

The dam site has been left largely unmemorialized; it could have stood as truly powerful metaphor for the loss of life associated with the disaster, and a tool which might have acted as an agent of social memory. However, it is understandable that the center “tombstone” section of the St. Francis Dam was a safety hazard and eyesore within the community. The dynamiting of the tombstone and other intact sections of the dam, in 1929, certainly had an effect on the remembering of the disaster, as this valuable mnemonic was forcibly removed from the eye, and memory, of the community.

The dam failing at midnight, without warning, as well as its proximity to the Power Plant No. 2 community and the narrowness of San Francisquito Canyon all created circumstances which resulted in significant loss of life; the highest loss of life was in the Newhall area, which included the Power Plant No. 2 community, the residents in San Francisquito Canyon, and individuals lost due west of Newhall on ranches along the Santa Clara River in Saugus and Castaic Junction. The victims lost from this community were commemorated through burial services and grave markers, monuments erected by community members, and through more ephemeral and conceptual memorials that were placed or presented by local community clubs. Victims from the Santa Clarita Valley were buried in Ruiz Cemetery, as well as Oakwood Cemetery in Chatsworth, two of the closest burial grounds in the area. About two months after the disaster, William S. Hart placed a community memorial at Ruiz Cemetery, at an event that was attended by hundreds of local residents of San Francisquito Canyon, Newhall, Saugus, and Castaic; at this same community ceremony he also presented young Nick Rivera with an award, for saving the lives of his two younger sisters. The Saugus Community Club placed at least two monuments, one shortly after the disaster and one on the 3<sup>rd</sup> anniversary, in 1931; the plaque from 1928 was found on the wall of a local historical society building, though the larger monument, which was described a piece of dam with close to 500 names inscribed upon it, was not located. A bell which was once used as a memorial to children lost in the flood presently hangs in the tower of a local train station, though passers-by have no knowledge of its significance.

Approximately 27% of the victims were found to have lived in the Santa Clara River Valley (Table 6.1); memorialization of victims and survivors can be found throughout Santa Paula (Figure 6.1). The communities of Piru, Fillmore, and Bardsdale, and to a greater extent

Santa Paula, all were given advance notice of the floodwaters; heroes and survivors have been memorialized near the historic train station, and unknown victims have been commemorated at Santa Paula Cemetery. The Southwest Improvement Club, an organization that sprung up in the wake of the disaster, organized memorial events at Santa Paula Cemetery and within in the community for about five years after the disaster. Victims are also memorialized at the city cemeteries in Piru and Bardsdale. A small museum exhibit currently is on display at the Fillmore Historical Museum. Several exhibits about the disaster have been held at the California Oil Museum in Santa Paula, and the Ventura County Museum retains these items so that they might be used in future exhibits.

26% of the victims were at the Southern California Edison Kemp Camp; most the men from this camp were from out of state, and were not commemorated for locally. In many cases the coroner never was able to make contact with the families of Edison men; this heavily impacted his ability to identify the unknown victims, who sit in unmarked graves at Santa Paula and Ivy Lawn cemeteries. The graves of 303 of the 306 recovered victims were documented in this research. These graves were found in six cemeteries within the flood zone, 19 cemeteries in the greater Los Angeles area, and 40 other cemeteries throughout the United States (Figure 6.2).

A complete list of casualties, and their ages, ethnicities, and burial locations, has been compiled (Appendix B). Data from information found on each grave marker has been correlated; the presence of a grave marker, different marker types (flat, upright, slanted, shared, part of a family plot), whether the marker was a cenotaph, as well as data about iconography and inscription usage was compared (Appendix C, D and E; Figure 6.3a-b).



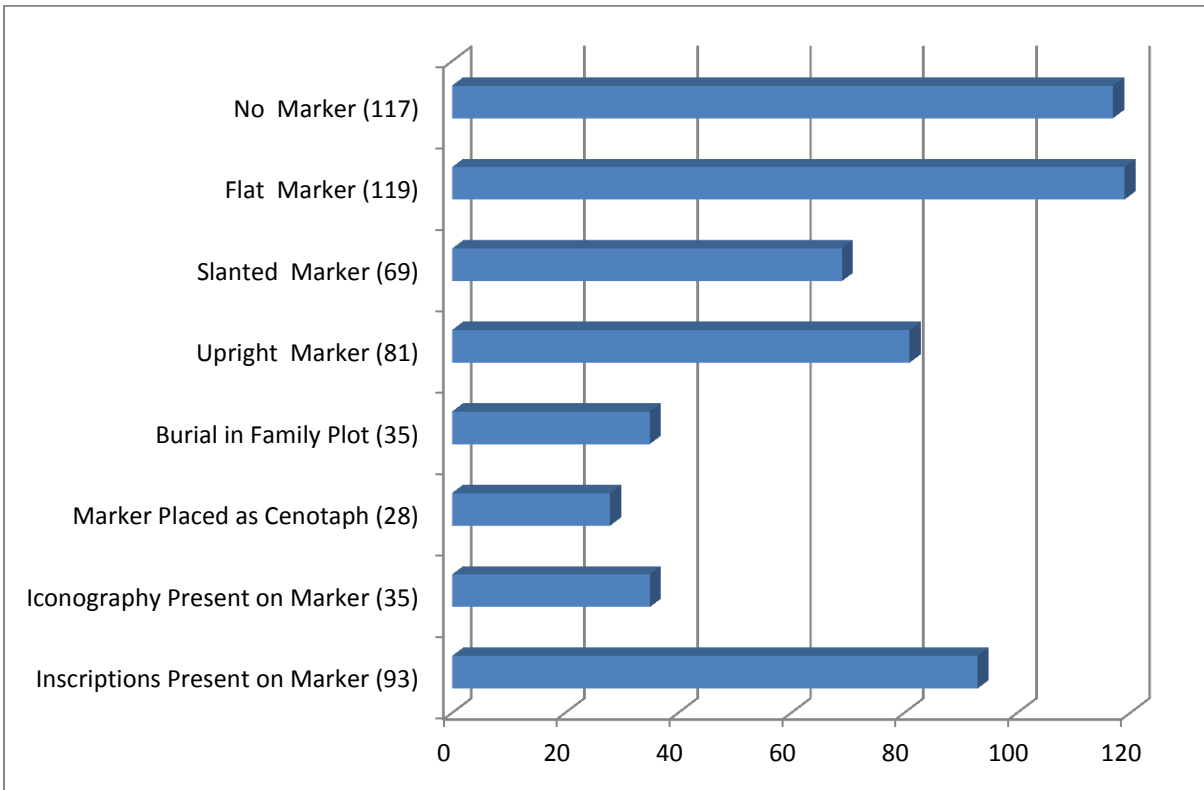
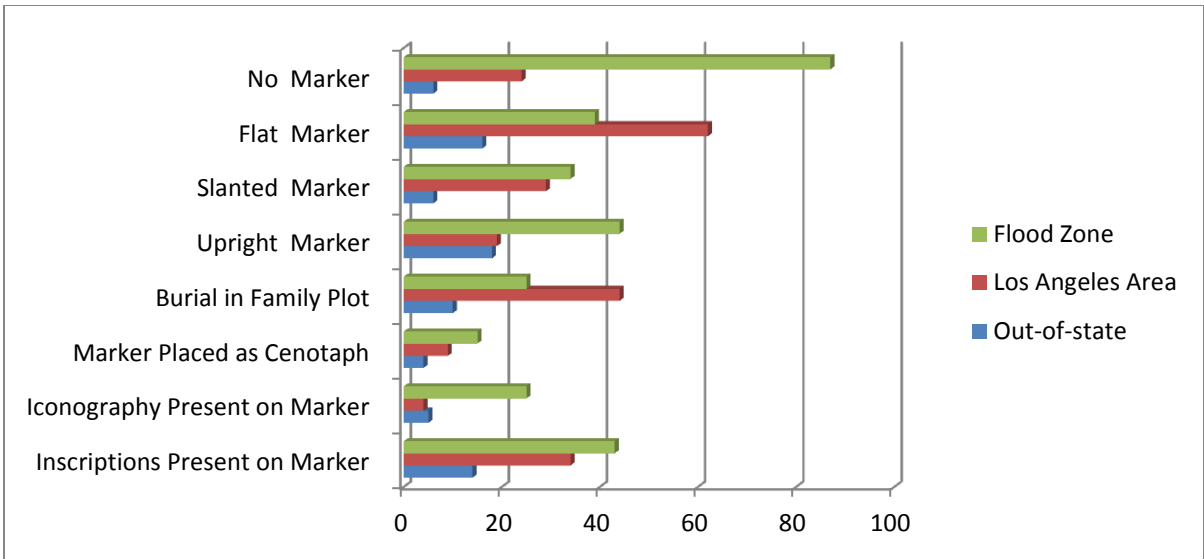


Figure 6.3 (a) Comparison of the memorialization at the burial locations of disaster victims within the flood zone, the Los Angeles area, and out-of-state, and (b) results from all the grave markers documented in this research (Charts by author, 2014).

Half of the victims were found to have been memorialized with a grave marker; 117 graves, or 35%, were found to have been left unmemorialized (Figure 6.4). Twenty-eight markers were placed as cenotaphs; eight individuals were cremated and their ashes were not interred (Figure 6.4). The highest number of unmarked graves is found within cemeteries of the flood zone; the majority of these graves belong to unidentified flood victims. Within the flood zone, victims are equally commemorated with flat, slanted, and uprights markers (Figure 6.3a). In the Greater Los Angeles area, there is a much higher prevalence of flat markers being used to mark graves (Figure 6.3a). This is most likely due to the cemeteries being of the memorial park plan era, when cemeteries began the transition to flat markers, eliminating upright memorials. Epithets were used more frequently than iconography on

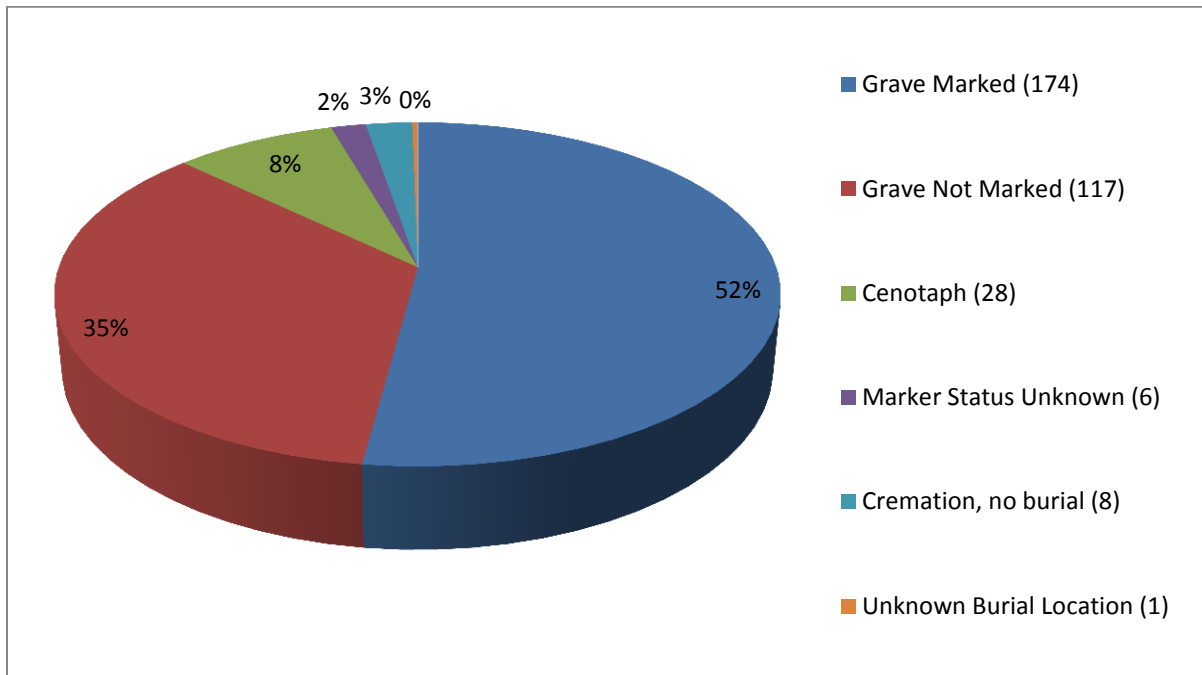


Figure 6.4 Memorialization found at the burial locations of St. Francis Dam Disaster victims (Chart by author, 2014).

graves; 43% had epithets present, and 10% of these inscriptions made reference to the individual being a victim of the disaster (Figure 6.3b).

Monuments were found to have been placed by historical societies on the anniversary of the disaster. On the 50<sup>th</sup> anniversary, the Santa Clarita Valley Historical Society placed a memorial at the dam site; it lasted for only a short time. They also worked with the Angeles National Forest to have a California State Landmark Plaque placed in 1980, though it is kept behind a chain-link fence, next to a conspicuous, painted over LADWP memorial. The Santa Paula Historical Society was integral in the placement of the *Warning* monument in Santa Paula, as well as in the placing of a memorial and plaque near the unmarked graves at the city cemetery.

### **Objects and Afterlives**

There are few monuments and memorials associated with the disaster visible within the landscape today. Some of the mnemonic devices associated with the disaster, both large and small, have exceeded the spatial and temporal scales they were originally intended to convey and have reemerged as memorabilia. These objects are kept by historical societies and dammies alike because of their association with memorable people or specific moments in time associated with the disaster. Portable relics and memorabilia include plaques, medals, awards, and other commemorative objects. Several examples include the Saugus Community Club plaque at the Santa Clarita Valley Historical Society, the Isensee Panorama Photos at the Flood Control District Office, and Highway Patrolman Thornton Edwards Medal of Meritorious Service owned by Terry Foley.

### **Opportunities for Comparison: Mill River, Johnstown, and Buffalo Creek Floods**

Relief, recovery, and restoration efforts following three other dam disasters in the United States were reviewed for comparative purposes: the Mill River Flood of 1874, the Johnstown Flood of 1889, and the Buffalo Creek Flood of 1972. The Mill River Flood was one of the first major dam disasters in the United States; 139 people were killed in the mill towns of Williamsburg and Northampton, in Western Massachusetts (Sharpe 2004). The failure of the South Fork Dam, along the Little Conemaugh River upstream of Johnstown, Pennsylvania, resulted in at least 2,209 casualties (Beale 1890). The Buffalo Creek Flood took place after the Pittston Coal Company's slurry impoundment dam failed, unleashing 132,000,000 gallons of black water waste throughout 16 small coal mining towns in Logan County, West Virginia, resulting in 125 deaths. Although this comparison is by no means comprehensive, common patterns found in the aftermath of these other disaster, as well as St. Francis Dam Disaster, have been identified.

As with the reported coverage on these three comparative cases, it appears that body recovery and management was an important aspect of the restoration process in each of these disasters. The work of coroners and morticians, hundreds of people searching the flood zone, and survivors traveling from morgue to morgue, represented physical and emotional activities characteristic following catastrophe. The need to find, identify, name, and official dispose of the dead helped family and friends fulfilled a functional need prove that the victims were really gone, and private memorialization, in the form of funerals and burials, helped initiate the healing process. The placement of monuments and grave markers within public spaces and cemeteries, inscribed the memory of the disaster and its victims to discrete placing within the landscape of the flood zone; ceremonies at which monuments were placed

were incorporating practices which allowed survivors a place in which to recollect the victims and the disaster. Now that all but a few of the survivors are alive, it seems that these monuments have fallen out of use and memory of the disaster has dissipated.

One of the most striking aspects of the St. Francis Dam Disaster, in comparison to these other cases, is that flood victims were buried in 64 cemeteries across the United States. In each of these comparative cases, research reveals flood victims were buried in one or a few cemeteries within their respective flood zones. The majority of the victims of the Johnstown Flood, for example, were interred in one cemetery, overlooking the town; 777 unknown victims were buried in one section of the cemetery, marked with a large monument (Jackson 2013:118). Similarly, the victims of the Mill River Flood in Massachusetts were buried within the communities of the Mill Valley (Sharpe 2004).

Accounting for the dead was especially necessary in this disaster, as the city of Los Angeles took responsibility for the failure, and a claims process ensued. Once the immediate need to dispose of the large number of dead was overcome, formal memorial services were held to make the event official. These services provided community members an opportunity to share grief with others, as well as a forum in which memorials were erected to commemorate the ceremonies. This set the stage for the reoccurrence of annual activities. Similar to St. Francis, no memorialization is found at the former location of the Pittston Coal Company's dam in Virginia or the Williamsburg Dam in Massachusetts. The South Fork Dam site north of Johnstown, Pennsylvania, however, is now a National Memorial, with a museum and visitors center (National Park Service 2014; Pollack 2012).

Commemorative activities held on the anniversary of the disaster allowed a forum for collective remembering, as reported on in local papers. Ceremonies were held on the 1<sup>st</sup>

through 5<sup>th</sup> anniversary dates, though they seem to have fallen off after the 5<sup>th</sup> anniversary. Events started up again at the 50<sup>th</sup> and 75<sup>th</sup> anniversary dates. May 31, 2014 will mark the 125<sup>th</sup> anniversary of the Johnstown Flood; this provides a framework in which commemoration of the 100<sup>th</sup> anniversary of the St. Francis Dam Disaster, in 2028, in can be envisioned.

## CHAPTER VII

### DISCUSSION

A variety of social, cultural, economic, and political forces are involved in the complex processes of commemoration. Evaluating how and why the St. Francis Dam Disaster has been forgotten on a state and national level, but tenuously remembered within the flood-zone, allows for consideration of the diversity of commemorative processes in the construction of memory and heritage related to major catastrophes. The overarching aim of this project was to determine what the synthesized archival and archaeological data tell us in terms of social, cultural, political and economic factors impacting the remembering and forgetting of the disaster and the dead. Documenting the inscribing and incorporating practices which took place in the floods aftermath, and engaging with the public to gauge current public recollection has provided insight into what has been remembered, and why the disaster has largely been forgotten.

#### **Conclusion**

Arguments can be made as to the specifics of forgetting in the case of the St Francis Dam Disaster. For instance, the association of the dam with the history of water resources in the West, as well as the growth of Southern California, provides historical context in which to understand the circumstances which contribute to why the disaster has been forgotten. One of the primary economic and political factors influencing the forgetting of the St. Francis Dam Disaster is its association with the California “water wars,” as well as the legacy of Mulholland. Claims were settled, land was restored, and life was returned to a sense of normalcy within a short period of time. The fact that the dam failed the morning the Swing Johnson Bill was to go before congress, resulted in the need to quickly resolve any issues

with the concrete gravity arch design, as well as process death, injury, person, and real property claim within residents of the two valleys. Funds received from the claims process are said to have saw many valley residents through the depression of the late 1920s and early 1930s.

An unfortunate social consequence of this seems to be that memorialization was not thought of as a factor in the city of Los Angeles' recovery and restoration efforts, though the Bureau of Power of and Light placed flowers from the San Fernando Valley on victims graves annually for several years after the disaster. It also seems that although the landscape was restored to pre-flood conditions, the loss of love ones and trauma from the experience of the flood left many wishing to forget and not want to discuss the circumstances of the night of March 12. The generation that experienced the disaster, however, did honor victims on anniversary dates, and say that for quite some time after the flood they judged time based on whether something happened before or after the dam burst.

A second argument pertaining to commemoration of the disaster and the dead is that the demographic make-up of the communities of the flood zone impacted how and where commemoration occurred. The floodwaters were indiscriminate as to taking the lives of white, Mexican, and Japanese individuals who came from varying backgrounds and circumstances. The burial of victims at Bardsdale, Piru, and Santa Paula cemeteries indicates that social inequalities existed within these communities; Mexican victims were buried in segregated sections, and Japanese victims were sent to designated burial grounds in Los Angeles and Ventura counties. English and Spanish commemoration was found, and grave markers from these communities reflect varying forms of recollection. The perceived iterant nature of the Mexican families living throughout San Francisquito Canyon and the Santa



Clara River Valley made many think that an accurate accounting of the dead was not possible, though in most cases it was found that the Mexican Blue Cross and other agencies worked together to ensure that all missing individuals were accounted for as victims. Early claims payouts with Mexican individuals indicate that inequalities did indeed exist, though many decided to seek council; later payouts are much higher, and on average, claims payouts to Mexicans were on par with that of whites (Stansell 2013).

A third argument related to key factors influencing memorialization and memory is the massive expansive of the flood zone. This landscape is still largely agricultural, with small and large heterogeneous communities spread throughout the Santa Clarita and the Santa Clara River Valley. This geography presents significant challenges with respect to effectively placing memorials that represent the remembrances of individual survivors and communities. As each community experienced different circumstances, based on their location within the flood zone, survivors experienced and wished to memorialize different aspects of the event.

Few survivors are still alive and local historical societies have taken on the responsibility of honoring their legacy, and memory of the event. Several monuments have successfully been erected since the disaster. These memorials are spatial representations which reflect shared community remembrances reached by consensus. Grave markers of flood victims have maintained the memory of the flood and its victims over the years, and function publicly as mnemonic devices for memory of the disaster and its victims. These markers perpetuate the memory of victims for descendants who continue to visit the graves of lost kin.

These three arguments are indications of the complexity in commemorative processes and the construction of memory and heritage related to major catastrophes. My data would suggest that each of these social, cultural, economic, and political factors were all were working simultaneously. Looking at the commemorative processes that have taken place over the last 86 years since the St. Francis Dam Disaster in this level of detail reveals how complicated, distinctly contingent, and diverse memorialization practices are. Empiricism provides the most beneficial strategy for seeing how these processes work.

### **Future Research**

It is clear that although the disaster has been forgotten at the national level, there is great interest in seeing the dam site formally memorialized and having additional monuments placed throughout the 54-mile flood zone. The Santa Clarita Valley Hiking Club and the Santa Clarita Valley Historical Society are currently seeking National Landmark status for the St. Francis Dam site; community members engaged in letter writing campaign in early 2014, and on July 31, 2014 House Resolution 5357 “to authorize a national memorial to commemorate those killed by the collapse of the St. Francis Dam on March 12, 1928” was introduced into Congress (Congress.gov 2014). If enacted, this legislation will most certainly go a long ways in commemorating this historic event which has forever changed the physical and cultural landscape of Southern California.

As this research continues to evolve, there has been recent interest raised as to the potential of identifying the unknown victims of the disaster. The posting of information pertaining to the victims on the findagrave.com website, as well the Santa Clarita Valley Historical Society website, has produced several descendants of flood victims. Descendants have been interested to learn of their connection to the disaster, and several have expressed

the need to find final closure by identifying family members that were lost in the flood. The records available certainly make this a realistic undertaking, and present an excellent opportunity for this research to continue.

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APPENDIX A

CALIFORNIA PUBLIC RECORDS ACT RECORDS REQUEST FORM



CALIFORNIA PUBLIC RECORDS ACT  
RECORDS REQUEST FORM

Requestor Information:

Name: James Gnead and Ann Stoddard  
Organization/Affiliation: Dept. of Anthropology, CSUN  
Address: 15111 Nordhoff St. Northridge, CA 91330  
Daytime Phone Number: 310-922-3433  
Fax Number (if available): 818-677-2873  
Email Address (if available): jsgnead@csun.edu  
ann.stoddard@gmail.com

Request Information:

Today's Date: 6-1-12

Records Requested (Please describe in detail):

Individual claims files related to St Francis dam disaster. These files have been pulled from storage and are set aside at the Miramonte Records Center.

Dates involved in requested documentation: June - Sept. 2012

Record Number (e.g., provide Contract, Case, or Board Resolution number if available): \_\_\_\_\_

*The information requested, while not required, will assist in our response to your CPRA request.*

APPENDIX B

LIST OF ST. FRANCIS DAM DISASTER VICTIMS



Last Name	First Name	Morgue Number	Age	Employer - Place of Residence	Ethnicity	Burial Location (Cemetery, City, County, State)
Alvarado	Luz (Chavez)	Santa Paula 28	36y	Southern Pacific Railroad - Casita Junction	Mexican	Oakwood Memorial Park, Chatsworth, Los Angeles County, California
Alvarado	Belin	Newhall 52	8y	Southern Pacific Railroad - Casita Junction	Mexican	Oakwood Memorial Park, Chatsworth, Los Angeles County, California
Alvarado	Carlos	Newhall 51	8y	Southern Pacific Railroad - Casita Junction	Mexican	Oakwood Memorial Park, Chatsworth, Los Angeles County, California
Alvarado	Antonio	Newhall 72	5y	Southern Pacific Railroad - Casita Junction	Mexican	Oakwood Memorial Park, Chatsworth, Los Angeles County, California
Alvarado	Christomo, Jr.	Missing - Claim	10d	Southern Pacific Railroad - Casita Junction	Mexican	Missing
Alvarez	Carmen (Valenzuela)	Newhall 56	34y6m	Southern Pacific Railroad - Casita Junction	Mexican	Calvary Cemetery, East Los Angeles, Los Angeles County, California
Alvarez	Jesus	Missing - Claim	43y	Southern Pacific Railroad - Casita Junction	Mexican	Missing
Alvarez	Ynez	Santa Paula 12	10y	Southern Pacific Railroad - Casita Junction	Mexican	Calvary Cemetery, East Los Angeles, Los Angeles County, California
Alvarez	Ramon	Santa Paula 55	8y	Southern Pacific Railroad - Casita Junction	Mexican	Calvary Cemetery, East Los Angeles, Los Angeles County, California
Alvarez	Julia	Filmore 12	7y	Southern Pacific Railroad - Casita Junction	Mexican	Calvary Cemetery, East Los Angeles, Los Angeles County, California
Anderson	Clinton M.	Filmore 24	52y4m12d	Southern California Edison Co. - Kemp Camp	American	Forest Lawn Cemetery, Glendale, Los Angeles County, California
Andrews	Keith	Missing - Claim	about 11y	Southern California Edison Co. - Kemp Camp	American	Missing
Andrews	Timothy	Filmore 19	26y	Southern California Edison Co. - Kemp Camp	American	Remained
Asher	Jessie Lloyd	Venura 49 (Reardon)	26y11m16d	Southern California Edison Co. - Kemp Camp	American	Unknown
Averill	Eugene Wilberforce	Missing - Claim	19y	Southern California Edison Co. - Kemp Camp	American	Missing
Barry	John "Scotty"	Filmore 14	30y	Southern California Edison Co. - Kemp Camp	Unavailable	Bardsdale Cemetery, Bardsdale, Ventura County, California
Bassolo	George Mateo "Georgie"	Oxnard 8	21y4d	Bardsdale - Basolo Ranch	Italian	Bardsdale Cemetery, Bardsdale, Ventura County, California
Berry	Harley S.	Filmore 58	37y	BP&L - Power Plant 2 Community	American	Inglewood Cemetery, Inglewood, Los Angeles County, California
Berry	OraMae Beverly (Pratt)	Newhall 29	32y1m16d	BP&L - Power Plant 2 Community	American	Inglewood Cemetery, Inglewood, Los Angeles County, California
Best	Paul J.	Missing - Claim	27y	Southern California Edison Co. - Kemp Camp	American	Missing
Bianchi	Frank	Filmore 47	33y	Southern California Edison Co. - Kemp Camp	Italian	Union Cemetery, Bakersfield, Kern County, California
Bliven	Enos	Santa Paula 38	43y	Southern California Edison Co. - Kemp Camp	American	Santa Paula Cemetery, Santa Paula, Ventura County, California
Bird	Solomon J.	Newhall 15	47y7m	San Francisco Canyon - Carey Ranch	Black	Los Angeles National Cemetery, Los Angeles, Los Angeles County, California
Boardman	Grace (Rice)	Oxnard 1	44y6m10d	Filmore	American	Bardsdale Cemetery, Bardsdale, Ventura County, California
Boardman	Florence Ellouse	Oxnard 13	7y11m37d	Filmore	American	Bardsdale Cemetery, Bardsdale, Ventura County, California
Bogue	Beryl	Missing - Claim	30y	Southern California Edison Co. - Kemp Camp	American	Missing
Bowsky	Maximilian "Max"	Newhall 41	67y6m8d	BP&L - Power Plant 2 Community	American	Berwick Cemetery, Berwick, Polk County, Iowa
Bross	Basil	Missing - Claim	23y	BP&L - Power Plant 2 Community	American	San Gabriel Cemetery, San Gabriel, Los Angeles County, California
Bryson	John Howard	Filmore 26	19y	Southern California Edison Co. - Kemp Camp	American	Missing
Burnett	Frederick Arthur	Missing - Claim	43y	Santa Paula - Hardison Ranch	American	West View Cemetery, Sweetwater, Monroe County, Tennessee
Burns	Louis Martin	Newhall 64	35y	BP&L - Power Plant 2 Community	American	Santa Paula Cemetery, Santa Paula, Ventura County, California
Burns	Lois Bessie (Wilson)	Newhall 34	31y1m20d	BP&L - Power Plant 2 Community	American	Lancaster Cemetery, Lancaster, Los Angeles County, California
Burns	Clifford Harrison	Newhall 70	8y7m15d	BP&L - Power Plant 2 Community	American	Lancaster Cemetery, Lancaster, Los Angeles County, California
Burns	Henry	Missing - Claim	33y	BP&L - Power Plant 2 Community	American	Missing
Burns	Leora	Filmore 03	31y	BP&L - Power Plant 2 Community	Unavailable	Lancaster Cemetery, Lancaster, Los Angeles County, California
Burns	Beverly	Missing - Claim	2y6m	BP&L - Power Plant 2 Community	American	Missing
Burns	Marynard	Missing - Claim	4y6m	BP&L - Power Plant 2 Community	American	Missing
Cappello	Antonio "Tony"	Oxnard 10	60y	Bardsdale - Basolo Ranch	Unavailable	Ivy Lawn Cemetery, Ventura, Ventura County, California
Carrillo	Maria DeJesus S.	Filmore 43	32y1m27d	Filmore - Cummings Ranch	Mexican	Bardsdale Cemetery, Bardsdale, Ventura County, California
Carrillo	Isavel	Missing - Claim	1y6m	Filmore - Cummings Ranch	Mexican	Bardsdale Cemetery, Bardsdale, Ventura County, California
Carrillo	Marcela D.	Missing - Claim	2m	Filmore - Cummings Ranch	Mexican	Bardsdale Cemetery, Bardsdale, Ventura County, California
Carrillo	Anacleto D. "Juan"	Venura 19 (Reardon)	2y7m20d	Filmore - Cummings Ranch	Mexican	Bardsdale Cemetery, Bardsdale, Ventura County, California
Carrillo	Adolfo	Venura 1 (Reardon)	5y	Filmore - Cummings Ranch	Mexican	Bardsdale Cemetery, Bardsdale, Ventura County, California
Carrillo	Jose D.	Missing - Claim	13y	Filmore - Cummings Ranch	Mexican	Bardsdale Cemetery, Bardsdale, Ventura County, California
Carrillo	Martilde E.	Santa Paula 07	11y	Filmore - Cummings Ranch	Mexican	Bardsdale Cemetery, Bardsdale, Ventura County, California
Carrillo	Senoua	Filmore 38	7y	Filmore - Cummings Ranch	Mexican	Bardsdale Cemetery, Bardsdale, Ventura County, California
Cerna	Hipolito	Santa Paula 51	46y	Bardsdale - Cerna Ranch	Mexican	Santa Paula Cemetery, Santa Paula, Ventura County, California
Cerna	Florencia Q.	Missing - Claim	about 48y	Bardsdale - Cerna Ranch	Mexican	Santa Paula Cemetery, Santa Paula, Ventura County, California
Cesena	Phillip	Santa Paula 46	15y11m	San Francisco Canyon - Fuiz Ranch	Mexican	Ruiz-Perez Cemetery, San Francisco Canyon, Los Angeles County, California
Chesney	A. V. "Bert"	Santa Paula 03	50y	Southern California Edison Co. - Kemp Camp	Unavailable	Santa Paula Cemetery, Santa Paula, Ventura County, California
Coe	Homer C.	Newhall 54	27y1m3d	BP&L - Power Plant 2 Community	American	Woodlawn Cemetery, Santa Monica, Los Angeles County, California
Coe	Nora F. (Hanson)	Filmore 02	21y10m17d	BP&L - Power Plant 2 Community	American	Woodlawn Cemetery, Santa Monica, Los Angeles County, California
Coe	Kenneth H.	Newhall 9	2y8m13d	BP&L - Power Plant 2 Community	American	Woodlawn Cemetery, Santa Monica, Los Angeles County, California
Coffey	Ciudra Ellen (Bailey)	Filmore 44	69y1m20d	Filmore - Schaeffer Ranch	American	Bardsdale Cemetery, Bardsdale, Ventura County, California
Coburn	Walter J.	Santa Paula 21	46y	Southern California Edison Co. - Kemp Camp	American	Union Cemetery, Bakersfield, Kern County, California
Colahan	S. J.	Missing - No Claim	about 38y	San Francisco Canyon - near Power Plant 2	Unavailable	Missing

Last Name	First Name	Morgue Number	Age	Employer - Place of Residence	Ethnicity	Burial Location (Cemetery, City, County, State)
Correz	Ancension	died a few days later	60y	Santa Paula - Oak Street	Mexican	Santa Paula Cemetery, Santa Paula, Ventura County, California
Cooper	Marrvin	Newhall 3	23y	Saugus - Burnett Ranch	American	Oakwood Memorial Park, Chatsworth, Los Angeles County, California
Cooper	Purl	Missing - Claim	20y	Saugus - Burnett Ranch	American	Oakwood Memorial Park, Chatsworth, Los Angeles County, California
Cosamanga	Mameo	Santa Paula 01	36y	Piru - Newhall Ranch	Italian	Calvary Cemetery, East Los Angeles, Los Angeles County, California
Cowden	Earl	Moorpark 9	32y/6m13d	Bardsdale - Culbertson Ranch	American	Santa Paula Cemetery, Santa Paula, Ventura County, California
Cowden	Cornias "Carnie" (Grains)	Vannura 22	29y/6m1d	Bardsdale - Culbertson Ranch	American	Santa Paula Cemetery, Santa Paula, Ventura County, California
Cowden	Alice May	Oxnard 12	11y/6m19d	Bardsdale - Culbertson Ranch	American	Santa Paula Cemetery, Santa Paula, Ventura County, California
Cowden	Marguerite	Oxnard 7	9y/2m12d	Bardsdale - Culbertson Ranch	American	Santa Paula Cemetery, Santa Paula, Ventura County, California
Cowden	William Dee	Fillmore 40	7y/8m13d	Bardsdale - Culbertson Ranch	American	Santa Paula Cemetery, Santa Paula, Ventura County, California
Cowden	Betty Lou	Missing - Claim	7m	Bardsdale - Culbertson Ranch	American	Santa Paula Cemetery, Santa Paula, Ventura County, California
Crosso	Eileen (Hunick)	Newhall 55	55y/7m	San Francisco Canyon - Hunick Ranch	American	Bardsdale Cemetery, Bardsdale, Ventura County, California
Crumley	Edward Marron	Santa Paula 17	50y/1m16d	Southern California Edison Co. - Kemp Camp	American	Bardsdale Cemetery, Bardsdale, Ventura County, California
Crum	Allen C.	Missing - Claim	Missing	Southern California Edison Co. - Kemp Camp	American	Mountain View Cemetery, Farmington, Whitman County, Washington
Cummings	Gordon E.	Moorpark 8	40y/2m17d	Bardsdale	American	Bardsdale Cemetery, Bardsdale, Ventura County, California
Cummings	Mavis	Moorpark 3	8y/4m8d	Bardsdale	American	Bardsdale Cemetery, Bardsdale, Ventura County, California
Curtis	Lynn W.	Newhall 28	35y/7m22d	BP&L - Power Plant 2 Community	American	Forest Lawn Cemetery, Glendale, Los Angeles County, California
Curtis	Marjorie Anna	Newhall 71	5y/11m9d	BP&L - Power Plant 2 Community	American	Forest Lawn Cemetery, Glendale, Los Angeles County, California
Curtis	Maize Kathleen	Newhall 14	4y/7m10d	BP&L - Power Plant 2 Community	American	Forest Lawn Cemetery, Glendale, Los Angeles County, California
Danziger	Willis Wayne	Missing - Claim	Missing	Southern California Edison Co. - Kemp Camp	American	Missing
DeCosta	J.A.	Missing - No Claim	Missing	Unavailable - No Claim	Unavailable	Missing
DeShields	Richard Bartle	Vannura 7 (Reardon)	48y	Southern California Edison Co. - Kemp Camp	American	Forest Lawn Cemetery, Glendale, Los Angeles County, California
Doty	Oscar Jim	Fillmore 27	27y/1m44d	Southern California Edison Co. - Kemp Camp	American	Home of Peace Cemetery, Porterville, Tulare County, California
Duke	Van Wallace	Santa Paula 37	18y	Southern California Edison Co. - Kemp Camp	American	Hollywood Cemetery, Atlanta, Fulton County, Georgia
Dymant	Ray Alexander	Santa Paula 15	28y	Southern California Edison Co. - Kemp Camp	American	Blossom Hill Cemetery, Concord, Merrimack County, New Hampshire
Eilason	Clarence E	Missing - No Claim	Missing	Unavailable - No Claim	Unavailable	Missing
Elliott	Maurice K	Santa Paula 50	24y	Southern California Edison Co. - Kemp Camp	American	LoDi Cemetery, Lodi, San Joaquin County, California
Ely	Aaron Jack	Fillmore 51	25y	Southern California Edison Co. - Kemp Camp	American	Freedom Cemetery, Saffilo, Washington County, Indiana
Ely	Margaret (Coleman)	Newhall 33	36y	BWWS - Power Plant 2 Community	American	Oakwood Memorial Park, Chatsworth, Los Angeles County, California
Ely	Jack Martin "Jackie"	Fillmore 59	8y/1m26d	BWWS - Power Plant 2 Community	American	Oakwood Memorial Park, Chatsworth, Los Angeles County, California
Ely	Roy Donald	Missing - Claim	3y	BWWS - Power Plant 2 Community	American	Oakwood Memorial Park, Chatsworth, Los Angeles County, California
Erratchuo	Rosaria (Ruiz)	Newhall 25	32y	San Francisco Canyon - Ruiz Ranch	Mexican	Ruiz-Peres Cemetery, San Francisco Canyon, Los Angeles County, California
Erratchuo	Roland T.	Newhall 16	14m/2m8d	San Francisco Canyon - Ruiz Ranch	Mexican	Ruiz-Peres Cemetery, San Francisco Canyon, Los Angeles County, California
Ewing	Appia J. (Utterback)	Newhall 69	62y/0m13d	Newhall - Klemman Ranch	American	Forest Lawn Cemetery, Glendale, Los Angeles County, California
Figueroa	Senora	Missing - No Claim	Missing	Unavailable - No Claim	Unavailable	Missing
Florez	Lorenzo	Missing - No Claim	Missing	Unavailable - No Claim	Unavailable	Missing
Forrester	Mrs	Missing - No Claim	Missing	Unavailable - No Claim	Unavailable	Missing
Frame	Lestlie J.	Vannura 27 (Reardon)	24y	Southern California Edison Co. - Kemp Camp	American	Ivy Lawn Cemetery, Ventura, Ventura County, California
Frame	John Harold	Missing - Claim	25y	Southern California Edison Co. - Kemp Camp	American	Missing
Frame	Vernon C	Vannura 64 (Reardon)	36y	Southern California Edison Co. - Kemp Camp	American	Porterville Cemetery, Porterville, Tulare County, California
Frazer	Eugene M.	Newhall 34	37y/5m17d	San Francisco Canyon - Frazer Ranch	American	Roosevelt Memorial Park, Gardena, Los Angeles County, California
Frazer	Minnie (McCall)	Santa Paula 35	35y	San Francisco Canyon - Frazer Ranch	American	Roosevelt Memorial Park, Gardena, Los Angeles County, California
Frazer	Melvin E.	Vannura 2 (Reardon)	11y/1m44d	San Francisco Canyon - Frazer Ranch	American	Roosevelt Memorial Park, Gardena, Los Angeles County, California
Frazier	J.A.	Missing - Claim	Missing	Southern California Edison Co. - Kemp Camp	American	Missing
Garcia	Louis	Newhall 1	26y/6m1d	San Francisco Canyon - Rogers Ranch	Mexican	Oakwood Memorial Park, Chatsworth, Los Angeles County, California
Garcia	Frances	Newhall 24	2y/4m	San Francisco Canyon - Rogers Ranch	Mexican	Oakwood Memorial Park, Chatsworth, Los Angeles County, California
Garcia	Angel	Missing - Claim	1m	San Francisco Canyon - Rogers Ranch	Mexican	Missing
Garcia	Harry A.	Newhall 46	25y/0m1d	San Francisco Canyon - Rogers Ranch	Mexican	Oakwood Memorial Park, Chatsworth, Los Angeles County, California
Garcia	Elizabeth "Tootsie" (Rivers)	Newhall 32	18y	San Francisco Canyon - Rogers Ranch	Mexican	Oakwood Memorial Park, Chatsworth, Los Angeles County, California
Garcia	Eddie	Missing - Claim	30y	San Francisco Canyon - Rogers Ranch	Mexican	Missing
George	William Randoiph "Willie"	Vannura 2 (B & M)	23y	Southern California Edison Co. - Kemp Camp	American	George West Cemetery, George West, Live Oak County, Texas
Giann	Charles H.	Missing - Claim	34y	Southern California Edison Co. - Kemp Camp	American	Charners Cemetery, Carnegie, Allegheny County, Pennsylvania
Gobetz	Joseph F.	Missing - Claim	33y	Southern California Edison Co. - Kemp Camp	American	Missing
Gold	John Earl	Missing - Claim	38y	Southern California Edison Co. - Kemp Camp	American	Missing
Goldman	Julian, Jr.	Missing - Claim	6y	San Francisco Canyon - cabin on Ruiz Ranch	American	Missing

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Gotardi	Francesa/Frances (Abalos)	Santa Paula 72	38y	Piru - Newhall Ranch	Mexican	Piru Cemetery, Piru, Ventura County, California
Gotardi	Renold "Reno"	Onard 5	14y6m4d	Piru - Newhall Ranch	Italian	Piru Cemetery, Piru, Ventura County, California
Gotardi	Joe, Jr.	Fillmore 39	11y7m20d	Piru - Newhall Ranch	Italian	Piru Cemetery, Piru, Ventura County, California
Gotardi	Richard	Fillmore 39	9y7m19d	Piru - Newhall Ranch	Italian	Piru Cemetery, Piru, Ventura County, California
Gotardi	Pauline	Venura 33 (Reardon)	7y6d	Piru - Newhall Ranch	Italian	Piru Cemetery, Piru, Ventura County, California
Gotardi	Lenore	Missing - Claim	4y	Piru - Newhall Ranch	Italian	Piru Cemetery, Piru, Ventura County, California
Grantham	Señe Drew	Santa Paula 25	27y	Southern California Edison Co. - Kemp Camp	American	Line Oak Cemetery, Montevia, Los Angeles County, California
Gregson	Paul Vernon	Venura 43 (Reardon)	44y6m	Southern California Edison Co. - Kemp Camp	American	Sebastopol Memorial Cemetery, Sebastopol, Sonoma County, California
Guertler	Alvin Joseph	Fillmore 46	26y28y	Southern California Edison Co. - Kemp Camp	American	Pine Cliff Cemetery, Galesville, Trempealeau County, Wisconsin
Halen	Carrie (Price)	Missing - Claim	56y	San Francisco Canyon - Price Ranch	American	Oakwood Memorial Park, Chatsworth, Los Angeles County, California
Halen	Leon John	Fillmore 15	27-31y	San Francisco Canyon - Price Ranch	American	Oakwood Memorial Park, Chatsworth, Los Angeles County, California
Halen	Kenneth L.	Venura 8 (Reardon)	23y	San Francisco Canyon - Price Ranch	American	Oakwood Memorial Park, Chatsworth, Los Angeles County, California
Halen	Jane G.	Onard 11	5y10m1d	San Francisco Canyon - Price Ranch	American	Oakwood Memorial Park, Chatsworth, Los Angeles County, California
Hanson	Ellen White "Nellie" (Dixon)	Newhall 8	48y8m4d	San Francisco Canyon - Price Ranch	American	Woodlawn Cemetery, Santa Monica, Los Angeles County, California
Harnischfeger	Anthony "Tony"	Missing - Claim	27y	BWWS - Power Plant 2 Community	Missing	Missing
Harnischfeger	Coder	Missing - Claim	42y	BWWS - Power Plant 2 Community	American	Missing
Harrer	Clinton William	Fillmore 13	7y	San Francisco Canyon - Carey Ranch	American	Cremated
Harrer	Marrin G. (Harrison)	Santa Paula 31	36y	San Francisco Canyon - Carey Ranch	American	Cremated
Hathaway	Vernon E.	Missing - Claim	47y	Southern California Edison Co. - Kemp Camp	American	Missing
Hawkins	George E.	Missing - Claim		Southern California Edison Co. - Kemp Camp	American	Missing
Hewitt	Jnes (Nichols) Cummings Keams	Moorpark 10		Bardsdale	American	Bardsdale Cemetery, Bardsdale, Ventura County, California
Holsclaw	David Heil	Missing - Claim	34y	Newhall - Heil Ranch	American	Fairhaven Memorial Park, Santa Ana, Orange County, California
Holsclaw	Carita	Newhall 48	6m	Newhall - Heil Ranch	American	Fairhaven Memorial Park, Santa Ana, Orange County, California
Holt	Mary Cordelia (Whitehead)	Venura 12 (Reardon)	12y2m3d	Santa Paula - 120 S. Santa Maria	American	Fairhaven Memorial Park, Santa Ana, Orange County, California
Holt	Howard Edward	Missing - Claim	60-61y	Southern California Edison Company - Saugus	American	Missing
Holt	Vera Ann (Pursley)	Newhall 13	30y	Southern California Edison Company - Saugus	American	Oak Grove Cemetery, Eudora, Polk County, Missouri
Hopp	Farrall F.	Moorpark 1	38y11m3d	BP&E - Power Plant 2 Community	American	Forest Lawn Cemetery, Glendale, Los Angeles County, California
Hopp	Frances Ruth (McInosh)	Newhall 4	30y4d	BP&E - Power Plant 2 Community	American	Forest Lawn Cemetery, Glendale, Los Angeles County, California
Hopp	Donald Ferrell	Newhall 6	30y9m3d	BP&E - Power Plant 2 Community	American	Forest Lawn Cemetery, Glendale, Los Angeles County, California
Howe	Francis R.	Missing - Claim	7y2m27d	BP&E - Power Plant 2 Community	American	Missing
Hughes	Griffith O.	Newhall 22	26y	BP&E - Power Plant 2 Community	American	Grand View Memorial Park, Glendale, Los Angeles County, California
Hughes	Joy "Nettie" (Barnesberger)	Missing - Claim	37y6m3d	BP&E - Power Plant 2 Community	American	Missing
Hughes	Barbara Ellen	Fillmore 09	about 10y	BP&E - Power Plant 2 Community	American	Grand View Memorial Park, Glendale, Los Angeles County, California
Hughes	Jane Beverly	Newhall 37	5y2m17d	BP&E - Power Plant 2 Community	American	Grand View Memorial Park, Glendale, Los Angeles County, California
Hungerford	Joseph Paul	Santa Paula 04	2y	Southern California Edison Co. - Kemp Camp	American	Forest Lawn Cemetery, Glendale, Los Angeles County, California
Hunick	Jefferson	Moorpark 11	26y27y	San Francisco Canyon - Hunick Ranch	American	Bardsdale Cemetery, Bardsdale, Ventura County, California
Hurst	Doyce M.	Venura 50 (Reardon)	82y	Southern California Edison Co. - Kemp Camp	American	East New Market Cemetery, East New Market, Dorchester County, Maryland
Hurst	Albert	Missing - No Claim	23y	Southern California Edison Co. - Kemp Camp	Unavailable	Missing
Hylton	Orrville Allen	Santa Paula 02		Southern California Edison Co. - Kemp Camp	American	Santa Paula Cemetery, Santa Paula, Ventura County, California
Innes	Violet Olive (Kalar)	Fillmore 48	36y	BP&E - Power Plant 2 Community	American	San Geronimo Memorial Park, Banning, Riverside County, California
Innes	Myron Dale	Fillmore 10	21y11m28d	BP&E - Power Plant 2 Community	American	San Geronimo Memorial Park, Banning, Riverside County, California
Isacks	Jefferson R.	Fillmore 20	7y29d	BP&E - Power Plant 2 Community	American	Evergreen Cemetery, Los Angeles, Los Angeles County, California
Isacks	Florence May (Craff)	Missing - Claim	29y	BP&E - Power Plant 2 Community	American	Evergreen Cemetery, Los Angeles, Los Angeles County, California
Isacks	Albena Alveth	Newhall 50	29y	BP&E - Power Plant 2 Community	American	Evergreen Cemetery, Los Angeles, Los Angeles County, California
Isacks	Lorraine Norman	Missing - Claim	8y	BP&E - Power Plant 2 Community	American	Evergreen Cemetery, Los Angeles, Los Angeles County, California
Isacks	Gladys	Missing - Claim		BP&E - Power Plant 2 Community	American	Evergreen Cemetery, Los Angeles, Los Angeles County, California
Janevay	Waldo Pickering	Missing - Claim		BP&E - Power Plant 2 Community	American	Evergreen Cemetery, Los Angeles, Los Angeles County, California
Jewell	Arthur G.	Missing - Claim		BP&E - Power Plant 2 Community	American	Evergreen Cemetery, Los Angeles, Los Angeles County, California
Johnson	Leona B.	Newhall 18		Southern California Edison Co. - Kemp Camp	American	Neuro Memory Gardens - Ranoma, San Diego County, California
Johnson	E. P. "Rex"	Santa Paula 26	23-24y	BWWS - Power Plant 2 Community	American	Forest Lawn Cemetery, Glendale, Los Angeles County, California
Johnson	Roy	Missing - No Claim		Unavailable - No Claim	Unavailable	Missing
Jones	Bert Lee	Fillmore 17	50y4m	Casatic Junction	American	Greenwood Memorial Park, San Diego, San Diego County, California
Jones	Lucky E.	Missing - Claim	56y	Casatic Junction	American	Greenwood Memorial Park, San Diego, San Diego County, California
Jones	Henry	Venura 37 (Reardon)	42y	Southern California Edison Co. - Kemp Camp	Unavailable	Ivy Lawn Cemetery, Ventura, Ventura County, California
Kaderabek	Robert	Fillmore 06	21y	Southern California Edison Co. - Kemp Camp	American	Corpus Christi Cemetery, Ft. Dodge, Webster County, Iowa
Kampman	Marrin Theodore	Missing - Claim	35y	Southern California Edison Co. - Kemp Camp	American	Missing

Last Name	First Name	Morgue Number	Age	Employer - Place of Residence	Ethnicity	Burial Location (Cemetery, City, County, State)
Kelley	Ida M.	Moopark 5	28y	Bardsdale - Cummings Ranch	American	Bardsdale Cemetery, Bardsdale, Ventura County, California
Kelley	Everett M.	Missing - Claim	31/2m	Bardsdale - Cummings Ranch	American	Bardsdale Cemetery, Bardsdale, Ventura County, California
Kelley	Dolores D.	Moopark 6	4y	Bardsdale - Cummings Ranch	American	Bardsdale Cemetery, Bardsdale, Ventura County, California
Kelley	Phyllis N.	Moopark 7	7y	Bardsdale - Cummings Ranch	American	Bardsdale Cemetery, Bardsdale, Ventura County, California
Kelley	Harold Herbert	Venura 17 (unk corouer)	9y1m14d	Bardsdale - Cummings Ranch	American	Bardsdale Cemetery, Bardsdale, Ventura County, California
Kennedy	Alva Thomas	Newhall 62	28y4m26d	San Francisco Canyon - Smith Ranch	American	Fairhaven Memorial Park, Santa Ana, Orange County, California
Kennedy	Réba M. (Connell)	Newhall 39	24y10m28d	San Francisco Canyon - Smith Ranch	American	Fairhaven Memorial Park, Santa Ana, Orange County, California
Kennedy	Evelyn Pauline	Newhall 49	5y2m4d	San Francisco Canyon - Smith Ranch	American	Fairhaven Memorial Park, Santa Ana, Orange County, California
Kennedy	Charles Eugene	Newhall 42	2y2m4d	San Francisco Canyon - Smith Ranch	American	Fairhaven Memorial Park, Santa Ana, Orange County, California
Kern	Raymond J.	Moopark 4	24y	BP&E - Power Plant 2 Community	American	Altoona Cemetery, Altoona, Wilson County, Kansas
Kerr	Earl Dean	Santa Paula 23	20y	BP&E - Power Plant 2 Community	American	Mountain View Cemetery, Auburn, King County, Washington
Kimball	Gerald A.	Filmore 49	20y5m8d	Southern California Edison Co. - Kemp Camp	American	Visalia Public Cemetery, Visalia, Tulare County, California
Kingston	John James	Filmore 23	31y	Southern California Edison Co. - Kemp Camp	American	Santa Monica Cemetery, Barre, Washington County, Vermont
Kinsey	Frank	Missing - Claim	47y	Southern California Edison Co. - Kemp Camp	American	Missing
Kleinmann	Jochum "Jake"	Newhall 53	44y6m	Casatic Junction	German	Santa Clara Cemetery, Oxnard, Ventura County, California
Knigh	Joe	Missing - No Claim		Unavailable - No Claim	Unavailable	Missing
Kraigh	Charles	Missing - No Claim		Unavailable - No Claim	Unavailable	Missing
Kranza	Jacob	Missing - Claim		Southern California Edison Co. - Kemp Camp	Hungarian	Missing
Kyle	Jess Theon	Missing - No Claim	30y	Unavailable - No Claim	Unavailable	Missing
Lagerman	George	Filmore 18	50y	Filmore	Unavailable	Bardsdale Cemetery, Bardsdale, Ventura County, California
Lang	C.J.	Missing - Claim		Southern California Edison Co. - Kemp Camp	American	Missing
Lawson	Andrew	Santa Paula 43	32y	Southern California Edison Co. - Kemp Camp	American	Mount Washington Cemetery, Independence, Jackson County, Missouri
Layton	Clayton Webster	Oxnard 4	44-45y	Casatic Junction	American	Ivy Lawn Cemetery, Venura, Ventura County, California
Leobner	Charles T.	Filmore 31	32-33y	Southern California Edison Co. - Kemp Camp	American	Visalia Public Cemetery, Visalia, Tulare County, California
Lee	Bruce	Missing - No Claim		Unavailable - No Claim	Unavailable	Missing
Leedy	Charles S.	Missing - No Claim		Unavailable - No Claim	Unavailable	Missing
Lehrman	Albin	Missing - Claim		Southern California Edison Co. - Kemp Camp	American	Missing
Leto	Prospero Carmine	Santa Paula 39	27y	Southern California Edison Co. - Kemp Camp	Italian	United German and French Cemetery, Cheektowaga, Erie County, New York
Locke	Edward	Filmore 30	52y	Southern California Edison Co. - Kemp Camp	Unavailable	Cremated
Logan	W. H.	Missing - No Claim	59y	Unavailable - No Claim	Unavailable	Missing
Long	C. J.	Missing - No Claim		Unavailable - No Claim	Unavailable	Missing
Ludloff	George F.	Santa Paula 42	22-23y	Southern California Edison Co. - Kemp Camp	Unavailable	Oahu Cemetery, Oahu, Honolulu County, Hawaii
Luna	Conselo	Missing - Claim	7y	Santa Paula - 138 Santa Cruz	Mexican	Missing
Luna	Esther	Santa Paula 09	1y2m	Santa Paula - 138 Santa Cruz	Mexican	Missing
Luna	Elvira	Santa Paula 08	3y	Santa Paula - 138 Santa Cruz	Mexican	Santa Paula Cemetery, Santa Paula, Ventura County, California
Luna	Enrique "Henry"	Santa Paula 11	4y	Santa Paula - 138 Santa Cruz	Mexican	Santa Paula Cemetery, Santa Paula, Ventura County, California
Luna	Guadalupe "Lupe"	Santa Paula 10	5y	Santa Paula - 138 Santa Cruz	Mexican	Santa Paula Cemetery, Santa Paula, Ventura County, California
Maes	Ben	Missing - Claim	21y	Southern California Edison Co. - Kemp Camp	Spanish	Missing
Mann	George A.	Newhall 26	25y	BP&E - Power Plant 2 Community	American	Mann Cemetery, Clayton County, Georgia
Marral	Annie	Santa Paula 68	42-43y	Piru	Unavailable	Santa Paula Cemetery, Santa Paula, Ventura County, California
Marmez	Jose	Santa Paula 27	48-50y	Southern Pacific Railroad - Casatic Junction	Mexican	Calvary Cemetery, East Los Angeles, Los Angeles County, California
Marmez	Phili Foley	Filmore 42	26y	Southern Pacific Railroad - Casatic Junction	Mexican	Calvary Cemetery, East Los Angeles, Los Angeles County, California
Marmez	Maria	Filmore 11	7y11m24	Southern Pacific Railroad - Casatic Junction	Mexican	Calvary Cemetery, East Los Angeles, Los Angeles County, California
Marmez	Rosie	Venura 10 (Reardon)	5y7m	Southern Pacific Railroad - Casatic Junction	Mexican	Calvary Cemetery, East Los Angeles, Los Angeles County, California
Marmez	Jose, Jr.	Venura 13 (Reardon)	2y	Southern Pacific Railroad - Casatic Junction	Mexican	Calvary Cemetery, East Los Angeles, Los Angeles County, California
Marmez	Esteban "Steve"	Missing - Claim	4y	Southern Pacific Railroad - Casatic Junction	Mexican	Missing
Masetti	Paul	Filmore 29	21y	Southern California Edison Co. - Kemp Camp	American	Mountain View Cemetery, San Bernardino, San Bernardino County, California
Mathews	Vida Louise	Newhall 19	21y1m	BP&E - Power Plant 2 Community	American	Calvary Cemetery, East Los Angeles, Los Angeles County, California
Mathews	Carl James, Sr.	Filmore 21	36y	BP&E - Power Plant 2 Community	American	Cremated
Mathews	Amelia (Barbeaux)	Newhall 20	25y12d	BP&E - Power Plant 2 Community	American	Cremated
Mathews	Charles	Newhall 67	6y3m18d	BP&E - Power Plant 2 Community	American	Cremated
Mathews	Carl James, Jr.	Newhall 12	2y2m	BP&E - Power Plant 2 Community	American	Cremated
Mathews	Franklin	Missing - Claim	4y	BP&E - Power Plant 2 Community	American	Missing
Mathews	Theama Hollander	Newhall 17	11y	BP&E - Power Plant 2 Community	American	Forest Lawn Cemetery, Glendale, Los Angeles County, California
Mathis	Henry F.	Filmore 22	27y	BP&E - Power Plant 2 Community	American	Angelus Abbey Mausoleum, Compton, Los Angeles County, California
Mathis	Dorothy Caroline (Rotman)	Newhall 63	26y7m18d	BP&E - Power Plant 2 Community	American	Angelus Abbey Mausoleum, Compton, Los Angeles County, California

Last Name	First Name	Morgue Number	Age	Employer - Place of Residence	Ethnicity	Burial Location (Cemetery, City, County, State)
Manus	Dorothy Fay	Newhall 40	57y6m1d	BP&E - Power Plant 2 Community	American	Lancaster Cemetery, Lancaster, Los Angeles County, California
McCarty	Charles Edgar	Moorepark 12	41y9m13d	Bardsdale - near bridge	American	Santa Paula Cemetery, Santa Paula, Ventura County, California
McCarty	Bessie	Filmore 52	37y	Bardsdale - near bridge	American	Santa Paula Cemetery, Santa Paula, Ventura County, California
McCawley	Mildred S.	Santa Paula 05	46y	Bardsdale - Chaddeley Ranch	American	Bardsdale Cemetery, Bardsdale, Ventura County, California
McCawley	Helen May	Missing - Claim	36 y	Bardsdale - Chaddeley Ranch	American	Bardsdale Cemetery, Bardsdale, Ventura County, California
McCawley	Stanora E.	Oxnard 3	17y2m13d	Bardsdale - Chaddeley Ranch	American	Bardsdale Cemetery, Bardsdale, Ventura County, California
McClain	Donald J. "Whitey"	Santa Paula 13	26y	Southern California Edison Co. - Kemp Camp	American	Oakwood Cemetery, Warren, Trumbull County, Ohio
McDougal	Silas R.	Missing - Claim	42y	Southern California Edison Co. - Kemp Camp	American	Missing
McGill	Harry G.	Missing - Claim	27y	Southern California Edison Co. - Kemp Camp	Irish	Missing
McInyre	Abury Charles	Santa Paula 52	45y	Casatic Junction	American	Santa Paula Cemetery, Santa Paula, Ventura County, California
McInyre	Joseph B.	Santa Paula 40	14y	Casatic Junction	American	Santa Paula Cemetery, Santa Paula, Ventura County, California
McInyre	William C. "Billy"	Newhall 57	5y1m12d	Casatic Junction	American	Santa Paula Cemetery, Santa Paula, Ventura County, California
Mondloch	Nicholas Bernard	Filmore 25	37y	Southern California Edison Co. - Kemp Camp	American	Holy Cross Cemetery, Wilson, Sheboygan County, Wisconsin
Monorez	Teviaro	Filmore 05	35y	Casatic Junction - Southern Pacific	Mexican	Bardsdale Cemetery, Bardsdale, Ventura County, California
Morrow	Will E.	Missing - Claim	48y	Southern California Edison Co. - Kemp Camp	American	Missing
Morrow	Roy	Missing - Claim	24y	Southern California Edison Co. - Kemp Camp	American	Missing
Mucci	unknown	Missing - No Claim		Unavailable - No Claim	Unavailable	Missing
Myachi	Motove	Oxnard 02/Filmore 57	46-50y	Filmore - Takayama Ranch	Japanese	Japanese Cemetery, Port Hueneene, Ventura County, California
Neilson	William W. Sr.	Newhall 27	60y9m29d	BP&E - Power Plant 2 Community	Scottish	Red Lodge Cemetery, Red Lodge, Carbon County, Montana
Neilson	William W. Jr.	Newhall 31	31y6m24d	BP&E - Power Plant 2 Community	American	Grand View Memorial Park, Glendale, Los Angeles County, California
Neilson	Helen (Auntinao)	Missing - Claim	27y	BP&E - Power Plant 2 Community	American	Missing
Neilson	Bertha Jane	Newhall 59	7y7m	BP&E - Power Plant 2 Community	American	Grand View Memorial Park, Glendale, Los Angeles County, California
Neilson	Frank A.	Newhall 61	5y4m7d	BP&E - Power Plant 2 Community	American	Grand View Memorial Park, Glendale, Los Angeles County, California
Neilson	William F.	Missing - Claim	baby	BP&E - Power Plant 2 Community	American	Missing
Ochoa	Francisco	Missing - No Claim		Unavailable - No Claim	Unavailable	Missing
O'Connell	John	Missing - No Claim		Southern California Edison Co. - Kemp Camp	Unavailable	Missing
Oldfield	Rube W.	Missing - Claim	49y	Newhall	American	Missing
Oliver	John C.	Missing - No Claim		Unavailable - No Claim	Unavailable	Missing
Paddilla	Guadalupe	Missing - No Claim		Unavailable - No Claim	Unavailable	Missing
Parker	John B.	Newhall 10	26 years	BP&E - Power Plant 2 Community	Unavailable	Forest Lawn Cemetery, Glendale, Los Angeles County, California
Parker	Iga Marie (Bloomers)	Santa Paula 32	51y8m4d	BP&E - Power Plant 2 Community	American	Forest Lawn Cemetery, Glendale, Los Angeles County, California
Pegoreare	Pete	Santa Paula 61	65y	Pinn - Clark Ranch	Italian	Santa Paula Cemetery, Santa Paula, Ventura County, California
Perez	Francisco	Missing - No Claim		Unavailable - No Claim	Mexican	Missing
Perez	Maria Briavo	Santa Paula 56	45-48y	Santa Paula - 417 Barkla St	Mexican	Santa Paula Cemetery, Santa Paula, Ventura County, California
Perez	Antonia	Santa Paula 33	23-24y	Santa Paula - 417 Barkla St	Mexican	Santa Paula Cemetery, Santa Paula, Ventura County, California
Perez	Jesus	Santa Paula 30	21-22y	Santa Paula - 417 Barkla St	Mexican	Santa Paula Cemetery, Santa Paula, Ventura County, California
Perez Gutierrez	Andres	Santa Paula 53	7y	Santa Paula - 417 Barkla St	Mexican	Santa Paula Cemetery, Santa Paula, Ventura County, California
Peterson	Harold Norman	Filmore 32	23y	Southern California Edison Co. - Kemp Camp	American	Courad Memorial Cemetery, Kalispell, Flathead County, Montana
Peterson	Carl Victor	Missing - Claim	33y	Southern California Edison Co. - Kemp Camp	American	Missing
Pike	Richard Earl, Sr.	Newhall 5	29y	BWWS - Power Plant 2 Community	American	Oakwood Memorial Park, Chatsworth, Los Angeles County, California
Pike	Felda Louella (Smith)	Venura 23 (coroner not specified)	22y	BWWS - Power Plant 2 Community	American	Oakwood Memorial Park, Chatsworth, Los Angeles County, California
Pike	Richard Allen, Jr.	Newhall 11	4y	BWWS - Power Plant 2 Community	American	Oakwood Memorial Park, Chatsworth, Los Angeles County, California
Pomer	Benjamin Franklin	Santa Paula 62	46y	Southern California Edison Co. - Kemp Camp	American	Ivy Lawn Cemetery, Venura, Ventura County, California
Pomer	Charles O.	Venura 3 (B & M)	28y	Southern California Edison Co. - Kemp Camp	American	Ivy Lawn Cemetery, Venura, Ventura County, California
Price	Edward P.	Newhall 21	48y	San Francisco Canyon - Ruiz Ranch	American	Oakwood Memorial Park, Chatsworth, Los Angeles County, California
Reed	James Lawrence	Missing - Claim	61y	Southern California Edison Co. - Kemp Camp	American	Missing
Reilly	Peter F.	Missing - No Claim		Unavailable - No Claim	Unavailable	Missing
Reyes	Primo	Missing - No Claim	29y	Unavailable - No Claim	Unavailable	Missing
Richardson	Monroe King	Venura 9 (Reardon)	30y3m20d	Southern California Edison Co. - Kemp Camp	American	Murray's Chapel Cemetery, Loudon County, Tennessee
Rising	Julia (Thalling)	Newhall 7	29y5m16d	BP&E - Power Plant 2 Community	American	Oakwood Memorial Park, Chatsworth, Los Angeles County, California
Rising	V. Delores	Newhall 35	7y	BP&E - Power Plant 2 Community	American	Oakwood Memorial Park, Chatsworth, Los Angeles County, California
Rising	Elenore H.	Newhall 38	5y	BP&E - Power Plant 2 Community	American	Oakwood Memorial Park, Chatsworth, Los Angeles County, California
Rising	Arlene M.	Newhall 36	1y10m	BP&E - Power Plant 2 Community	American	Oakwood Memorial Park, Chatsworth, Los Angeles County, California
Ritchie	Edward James	Venura 15 (Reardon)	47y	Southern California Edison Co. - Kemp Camp	American	Mt. Hope Cemetery, San Diego, San Diego County, California
Rivera	J. Pedro "Pete"	Filmore 16	50y10m15d	Casatic Junction - Newhall Ranch	Spanish	Oakwood Memorial Park, Chatsworth, Los Angeles County, California
Rivera	Addie M (LaBryn)	Missing - Claim	46y	Casatic Junction - Newhall Ranch	Spanish	Missing

Last Name	First Name	Morgue Number	Age	Employer - Place of Residence	Ethnicity	Burial Location (Cemetery, City, County, State)
Rivera	William Peter	Missing - Claim	24y	Casatic Junction - Newhall Ranch	Spanish	Missing
Rivera	Albert	Santa Paula 24	6y	Casatic Junction - Newhall Ranch	Spanish	Oakwood Memorial Park, Chatsworth, Los Angeles County, California
Robertson	Lionelidas Grant "Poué"	Santa Paula 18	53y	Santa Paula - Palm Ave	American	Greenwood Cemetery, Bolivar, Polk County, Missouri
Rogers	Chester R., Jr.	Fillmore 36	8y	Piru	American	Piru Cemetery, Piru, Ventura County, California
Rogers	Doris Rosetta	Fillmore 34	13y	Piru	American	Piru Cemetery, Piru, Ventura County, California
Rogers	Margaret June	Fillmore 35	5y	Piru	American	Piru Cemetery, Piru, Ventura County, California
Rogers	Richard O.	Fillmore 37	4y	Piru	American	Piru Cemetery, Piru, Ventura County, California
Rosey	Roland	Missing - No Claim	Unavailable	Unavailable - No Claim	Unavailable	Missing
Ruiz	Enrique R. "Henry"	Ventura 6 (Reardon)	60y	San Francisco Canyon - Ruiz Ranch	Spanish	Ruiz-Peres Cemetery, San Francisco Canyon, Los Angeles County, California
Ruiz	Rosaria (Peres)	Newhall 23	51y	San Francisco Canyon - Ruiz Ranch	Spanish	Ruiz-Peres Cemetery, San Francisco Canyon, Los Angeles County, California
Ruiz	Maria S.	Fillmore 01	20y4m21d	San Francisco Canyon - Ruiz Ranch	Spanish	Ruiz-Peres Cemetery, San Francisco Canyon, Los Angeles County, California
Ruiz	Marta F.	Santa Paula 16	20y5m3d	San Francisco Canyon - Ruiz Ranch	Spanish	Ruiz-Peres Cemetery, San Francisco Canyon, Los Angeles County, California
Ruiz	Raymond C.	Santa Paula 49	8y	San Francisco Canyon - Ruiz Ranch	Spanish	Ruiz-Peres Cemetery, San Francisco Canyon, Los Angeles County, California
Ruiz	Susana B.	Fillmore 08	7y1m12d	San Francisco Canyon - Ruiz Ranch	Spanish	Ruiz-Peres Cemetery, San Francisco Canyon, Los Angeles County, California
Samaniego	Santana	Ventura 1 (B & M)	about 60y	Santa Paula - 3 miles east of town	Mexican	Santa Paula Cemetery, Santa Paula, Ventura County, California
Samaniego	Marilda S.	Santa Paula 36	about 63y	Santa Paula - 3 miles east of town	Mexican	Santa Paula Cemetery, Santa Paula, Ventura County, California
Savala	Carlota (Morano)	Fillmore 41	23y4m6d	Piru - Newhall Ranch	Mexican	Piru Cemetery, Piru, Ventura County, California
Savala	Rosa	Ventura 6 (B & M)	4y6m	Piru - Newhall Ranch	Mexican	Piru Cemetery, Piru, Ventura County, California
Savala	Lucy	Missing - Claim	15y	Piru - Newhall Ranch	Mexican	Piru Cemetery, Piru, Ventura County, California
Savala	Concepcion	Santa Paula 73	8y	Piru - Newhall Ranch	Mexican	Piru Cemetery, Piru, Ventura County, California
Savala	Juana	Missing - Claim	2y	Piru - Newhall Ranch	Mexican	Piru Cemetery, Piru, Ventura County, California
Savala	Jose	Fillmore 53	2m1d	Piru - Newhall Ranch	Mexican	Piru Cemetery, Piru, Ventura County, California
Savala	Enriqueta (Santana)	Fillmore 45	23y10m	Piru - Newhall Ranch	Mexican	Piru Cemetery, Piru, Ventura County, California
Schmidt	Charles William	Missing - Claim	55y	Southern California Edison Co. - Kemp Camp	American	Missing
Seelago	Abundó	Missing - No Claim	Unavailable	Unavailable - No Claim	Unavailable	Missing
Seikman	S.O.	Missing - No Claim	Unavailable	Unavailable - No Claim	Unavailable	Missing
Small	Cecelia (Mamael)	Newhall 68	51y	Southern California Edison Co. - Kemp Camp	American	Reversible Cemetery, North Chelmsford, Middlesex County, Massachusetts
Smiley	Carl	Missing - No Claim	Unavailable	Unavailable - No Claim	Unavailable	Missing
Snidwick	Mf.	Missing - No Claim	Unavailable	Unavailable - No Claim	Unavailable	Missing
Stephens	David Samuel	Ventura 59 (Reardon)	54y	Fillmore - own ranch	American	Pleasant Hill Cemetery, Blount County, Tennessee
Stephens	Mary Eliza Jane (Russell)	Moorpark 2	44y-50y	Fillmore - own ranch	American	Pleasant Hill Cemetery, Blount County, Tennessee
Stephens	Grace L.	Santa Paula 22	17y	Fillmore - own ranch	American	Pleasant Hill Cemetery, Blount County, Tennessee
Stroud	William Thomas	Newhall 47	53y5m11d	Southern California Edison Co. - Kemp Camp	American	Los Angeles National Cemetery, Los Angeles, Los Angeles County, California
Swager	Ira W.	Missing - Claim	24y	Southern California Edison Co. - Kemp Camp	American	Missing
Taylor	Fred W.	Santa Paula 19	27y	Southern California Edison Co. - Kemp Camp	American	Knights Ferry Cemetery, Stanislaus County, California
Thomas	William Martin	Santa Paula 65	43y9m19d	Southern California Edison Co. - Kemp Camp	American	Santa Paula Cemetery, Santa Paula, Ventura County, California
Thomson	Howard William	Newhall 66	27y11m26d	BP&L - Power Plant 2 Community	American	Forest Lawn Cemetery, Glendale, Los Angeles County, California
Thomson	Ethel Elizabeth (Cochens)	Newhall 44	40y	BP&L - Power Plant 2 Community	American	Oakwood Memorial Park, Chatsworth, Los Angeles County, California
Topley	Rosetta	Fillmore 33	68y	Piru	American	Piru Cemetery, Piru, Ventura County, California
Torres	Luis, Sr.	Missing - Claim	28y	Bardsdale - Cerna Ranch	Mexican	Santa Paula Cemetery, Santa Paula, Ventura County, California
Torres	Isabella C.	Ventura 11 (Reardon)	23m	Bardsdale - Cerna Ranch	Mexican	Santa Paula Cemetery, Santa Paula, Ventura County, California
Torres	Maria	Santa Paula 44	9y	Bardsdale - Cerna Ranch	Mexican	Santa Paula Cemetery, Santa Paula, Ventura County, California
Torres	Mercedes	Santa Paula 45	3y	Bardsdale - Cerna Ranch	Mexican	Santa Paula Cemetery, Santa Paula, Ventura County, California
Torres	Carmina Ninas	Santa Paula 67	10y	Bardsdale - Cerna Ranch	Mexican	Santa Paula Cemetery, Santa Paula, Ventura County, California
Torres	Guadalupe	Missing - Claim	3y	Bardsdale - Cerna Ranch	Mexican	Santa Paula Cemetery, Santa Paula, Ventura County, California
Torres	Pilar	Missing - Claim	7y	Bardsdale - Cerna Ranch	Mexican	Santa Paula Cemetery, Santa Paula, Ventura County, California
Torres	Jose Luis	Missing - Claim	47y	Casatic Junction - travel cabin	American	Oakwood Memorial Park, Chatsworth, Los Angeles County, California
Tranler	Emma Ida (Smith)	Santa Paula 20	3 1/2y	Casatic Junction - travel cabin	American	Oakwood Memorial Park, Chatsworth, Los Angeles County, California
Tranler	John	Newhall 60	5y	Fillmore - Bard St	American	Ivy Lawn Cemetery, Ventura, Ventura County, California
Trinidad	Addie Iola	Ventura 39 (Reardon)	50-60y	Unknown - Unidentified	Unidentified	Santa Paula Cemetery, Santa Paula, Ventura County, California
Unidentified	Male	Fillmore 07	25-30y	Unknown - Unidentified	Unidentified	Santa Paula Cemetery, Santa Paula, Ventura County, California
Unidentified	Female	Fillmore 60	about 22y	Unknown - Unidentified	Unidentified	Santa Paula Cemetery, Santa Paula, Ventura County, California
Unidentified	Female	Fillmore 61	about 7y	Unknown - Unidentified	Unidentified	Santa Paula Cemetery, Santa Paula, Ventura County, California
Unidentified	Child	Fillmore 62	35y	Unknown - Unidentified	Unidentified	Evergreen Cemetery, Los Angeles, Los Angeles County, California
Unidentified	Male	Newhall 50	85y	Unknown - Unidentified	Unidentified	Ivy Lawn Cemetery, Ventura, Ventura County, California
Unidentified	Male	Onward 06		Unknown - Unidentified	Unidentified	



Last Name	First Name	Morgue Number	Age	Employer - Place of Residence	Ethnicity	Burial Location (Cemetery, City, County, State)
Unidentified	Male	Venura 63 (Reardon)	young	Unknown - Unidentified	Unidentified	Ivy Lawn Cemetery, Venura, Ventura County, California
Unidentified	Male	Venura 65 (Reardon)		Unknown - Unidentified	Unidentified	Ivy Lawn Cemetery, Venura, Ventura County, California
Unidentified	Female	Venura 66 (Reardon)		Unknown - Unidentified	Unidentified	Ivy Lawn Cemetery, Venura, Ventura County, California
Unidentified	Child	Venura 67 (Reardon)	child	Unknown - Unidentified	Unidentified	Ivy Lawn Cemetery, Venura, Ventura County, California
Unidentified	Male	Venura 68 (Reardon)	adult	Unknown - Unidentified	Unidentified	Ivy Lawn Cemetery, Venura, Ventura County, California
Unidentified	Child	Venura 68b (Reardon)	12-14y	Unknown - Unidentified	Unidentified	Ivy Lawn Cemetery, Venura, Ventura County, California
Van Meter	Lester A.	Venura 05 (Reardon)	22y5m16d	Southern California Edison Co. - Kemp Camp	American	Ivy Lawn Cemetery, Venura, Ventura County, California
Velasco	Librado	Fillmore 50	62y	Fillmore - Goodenough Ranch	Mexican	Piru Cemetery, Piru, Ventura County, California
Velasquez	Jose	Missing - No Claim	35y	Unavailable - No Claim	Unavailable	Missing
Velasquez	Janita	Missing - No Claim	28y	Unavailable - No Claim	Unavailable	Missing
Velasquez	child	Missing - No Claim	child	Unavailable - No Claim	Unavailable	Missing
Velasquez	child	Missing - No Claim	child	Unavailable - No Claim	Unavailable	Missing
Velasquez	child	Missing - No Claim	child	Unavailable - No Claim	Unavailable	Missing
Velasquez	child	Missing - No Claim	child	Unavailable - No Claim	Unavailable	Missing
Vickroy	Edward	Santa Paula 41 & 48	22y	Southern California Edison Co. - Kemp Camp	American	Antelope Cemetery, Woodlake, Tulare County, California
Vinson	Ella Della	Newhall 45	53y10m11d	San Francisco Canyon - Smith Ranch	American	Fairhaven Memorial Park, Santa Ana, Orange County, California
Voelker	Henry Joseph	Newhall 58	18y9m6d	Newhall	German	Santa Clara Cemetery, Oxnard, Ventura County, California
Weinland	William Y	Newhall 2	34y	BP&L - Power Plant 2 Community	American	San Geronimo Memorial Park, Banning, Riverside County, California
Weinland	Ina Rebecca (Kalar)	Newhall 65	37y12d	BP&L - Power Plant 2 Community	American	San Geronimo Memorial Park, Banning, Riverside County, California
Weinland	Lloyd	Missing - Claim	baby	BP&L - Power Plant 2 Community	American	San Geronimo Memorial Park, Banning, Riverside County, California
Wyeath	Joseph B.	Missing - No Claim	35y	Castaic Junction - Newhall Ranch	Unavailable	Missing
West	John, Sr.	Missing - No Claim		Unavailable - No Claim	Unavailable	Missing
West	John, Jr.	Missing - No Claim		Unavailable - No Claim	Unavailable	Missing
Westbrook	Orral Robert	Fillmore 28	24y2m21d	Southern California Edison Co. - Kemp Camp	American	Partridge Cemetery, Reno County, Kansas
Whitehead	Sarah Ann (McCuiston)	Santa Paula 34	79y	Santa Paula - 120 S. Santa Maria	American	Santa Ana Cemetery, Santa Ana, Orange County, California
Wilnot	Clara (Adams)	Newhall, no #	36y	Castaic Junction - Newhall Ranch	American	Forest Lawn Cemetery, Glendale, Los Angeles County, California
Wilnot	Raymond Ross	Newhall, no #	10y3m13d	Castaic Junction - Newhall Ranch	American	Forest Lawn Cemetery, Glendale, Los Angeles County, California
Wilnot	Velma May	Newhall, no #	about 1y	Castaic Junction - Newhall Ranch	American	Forest Lawn Cemetery, Glendale, Los Angeles County, California
Wilson	Earl W.	Venura 3 (Reardon)	30y	Southern California Edison Co. - Kemp Camp	American	Ivy Lawn Cemetery, Venura, Ventura County, California
Wilson	Charles	Missing - Claim	29y	Castaic Junction - Newhall Ranch	American	Missing
Wilson	Isaac	Missing - Claim	34y	Castaic Junction - Newhall Ranch	American	Missing
Wolf	Charles Leslie	Fillmore 04	25y	Southern California Edison Co. - Kemp Camp	American	Odd Fellows Cemetery, Los Angeles, Los Angeles County, California
Wood	Max	Missing - Claim	35y	Southern California Edison Co. - Kemp Camp	American	Missing



APPENDIX C

GRAVE MARKER DATA FOR CEMETERIES IN THE FLOOD ZONE

Cemetery	Name	Marker Type					Birth		Death		Age	Iconography				Inscription		
		No Marker	Flat	Upright	Shared	Family Plot	Cenotaph	Day	Year	Day		Year	Cross	Floral	Hands	Mason	Spanish	Epitaph
Bardsdale	John Barry	•																
Bardsdale	George Basolo			•			•	•	•	•		•					•	
Bardsdale	Grace Boardman			•	•			•		•							•	
Bardsdale	Florence Boardman			•	•			•		•							•	
Bardsdale	Maria Carrillo			•	•		•	•	•	•	•	•				•	•	•
Bardsdale	Jose Carrillo			•	•		•	•	•	•	•	•				•	•	•
Bardsdale	Matilde Carrillo			•	•		•	•	•	•	•	•				•	•	•
Bardsdale	Senona Carrillo			•	•		•	•	•	•	•	•				•	•	•
Bardsdale	Adolfo Carrillo			•	•		•	•	•	•	•	•				•	•	•
Bardsdale	Anacleto Carrillo			•	•		•	•	•	•	•	•				•	•	•
Bardsdale	Isavel Carrillo			•	•		•	•	•	•	•	•				•	•	•
Bardsdale	Marcela Carrillo			•	•		•	•	•	•	•	•				•	•	•
Bardsdale	Cintha Coffey		•					•		•								
Bardsdale	Ellen Crosno	•																
Bardsdale	Gordon Cummings		•					•		•								
Bardsdale	Mavis Cummings		•					•		•								
Bardsdale	Jefferson Hunick	•																
Bardsdale	Ines Hewitt			•	•			•		•								
Bardsdale	Ida Kelley		•			•		•		•							•	
Bardsdale	Harold Kelley		•			•		•		•								
Bardsdale	Phyllis Kelley		•			•		•		•								
Bardsdale	Dolores Kelley		•			•		•		•								
Bardsdale	Everett Kelley		•			•	•	•		•								
Bardsdale	George Lagerman	•																
Bardsdale	Milford McCawley		•					•		•							•	
Bardsdale	Helen McCawley		•			•		•		•								
Bardsdale	Stanton McCawley		•					•		•							•	
Bardsdale	Teviarro Monorez	•																
Ivy Lawn	Antonio Cappello	•																
Ivy Lawn	Leslie Frame		•					•		•								
Ivy Lawn	Harry Jones	•																
Ivy Lawn	Clayton Layton		•				•	•	•	•							•	
Ivy Lawn	Benjamin Porter		•					•		•							•	
Ivy Lawn	Charles Porter		•					•		•							•	
Ivy Lawn	Addie Truesdale		•				•	•	•	•								
Ivy Lawn	Lester Van Meter	•																
Ivy Lawn	Earl Wilson	•																
Ivy Lawn	Unidentified	48																
Piru	Frasceca Gottardi		•				•	•	•	•		•						
Piru	Renold Gottardi		•				•	•	•	•		•						
Piru	Joe Gottardi		•				•	•	•	•		•						
Piru	Richard Gottardi		•				•	•	•	•		•						
Piru	Pauline Gottardi		•				•	•	•	•		•						
Piru	Lenor Gottardi		•			•	•	•	•	•		•						
Piru	Chester Rogers		•					•	•	•								
Piru	Doris Rogers		•					•	•	•								
Piru	Margaret Rogers		•					•	•	•								
Piru	Richard Rogers		•					•	•	•								
Piru	Carlotta Savala			•	•			•		•								
Piru	Lucy Savala			•	•	•		•		•								
Piru	Concepcion Savala			•	•			•		•								
Piru	Rosa Savala			•	•			•		•								

Cemetery	Name	Marker Type					Birth		Death		Age	Iconography				Inscription		
		No Marker	Flat	Upright	Shared	Family Plot	Cenotaph	Day	Year	Day		Year	Cross	Floral	Hands	Mason	Spanish	Epitaph
Piru	Juanita Savala			•	•			•		•								
Piru	Jose Savala			•	•			•		•								
Piru	Enriquetta Savala	•																
Piru	Rosetta Topley		•		•			•		•								
Piru	Librado Velasco			•				•		•								
Ruiz-Perea	Phillip Cesena	•																
Ruiz-Perea	Rosarita Erratchuo			•				•	•	•	•		•				•	
Ruiz-Perea	Roland Erratchuo			•				•	•	•	•		•				•	
Ruiz-Perea	Enrique Ruiz			•		•		•	•	•	•						•	
Ruiz-Perea	Rosaria Ruiz			•		•		•	•	•	•						•	
Ruiz-Perea	Maria Ruiz			•		•		•	•	•	•						•	
Ruiz-Perea	Martin Ruiz			•		•		•	•	•	•						•	
Ruiz-Perea	Raymond Ruiz			•		•		•	•	•	•						•	
Ruiz-Perea	Susana Ruiz			•		•		•	•	•	•						•	
Santa Clara	Joachim Kleimann			•				•		•			•					
Santa Clara	Henry Voelker			•				•		•			•					
Santa Paula	Enos Bilyen	•																
Santa Paula	Frederick Burnett					•												
Santa Paula	Hipolito Cerna			•	•					•	•	•	•				•	•
Santa Paula	Florencia Cerna			•	•	•				•	•	•	•				•	•
Santa Paula	A. V. Chesney	•																
Santa Paula	Ancension Cortez	•																
Santa Paula	Earl Cowden		•		•			•		•							•	
Santa Paula	Corinne Cowden		•		•			•		•							•	
Santa Paula	Alice Cowden		•		•			•		•								
Santa Paula	Marguerite Cowden		•		•			•		•								
Santa Paula	William Cowden		•		•			•		•								
Santa Paula	Betty Cowden		•		•	•		•		•							•	
Santa Paula	Orville Hylton	•																
Santa Paula	Esther Luna	•																
Santa Paula	Elvira Luna	•																
Santa Paula	Enrique Luna	•																
Santa Paula	Guadalupe Luna	•																
Santa Paula	Annie Martel	•																
Santa Paula	Charles McCarty				•			•		•								
Santa Paula	Bessie McCarty				•			•		•								
Santa Paula	Asbury McIntyre		•					•		•								
Santa Paula	Joseph McIntyre		•					•		•								
Santa Paula	William McIntyre		•					•		•								
Santa Paula	Pete Pegorare	•																
Santa Paula	Maria Perez			•	•					•	•	•	•				•	•
Santa Paula	Antonia Perez			•	•					•	•	•	•				•	•
Santa Paula	Jesus Perez			•	•					•	•	•	•				•	•
Santa Paula	Andres Perez			•	•					•	•	•	•				•	•
Santa Paula	Santana Samaniego			•				•	•	•	•						•	•
Santa Paula	Matilde Samaniego			•				•	•	•	•						•	•
Santa Paula	William Thomas	•																
Santa Paula	Luis Torres				•	•	•			•	•	•					•	•
Santa Paula	Isabella Torres		•	•	•	•				•	•	•					•	•
Santa Paula	Maria Torres		•	•	•	•				•	•	•					•	•
Santa Paula	Mercedes Torres		•	•	•	•				•	•	•					•	•
Santa Paula	Carmen Torres			•	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	•					•	•

Cemetery	Name	Marker Type						Birth		Death		Age	Iconography				Inscription		
		No Marker	Flat	Upright	Shared	Family Plot	Cenotaph	Day	Year	Day	Year		Cross	Floral	Hands	Mason	Spanish	Epitaph	Disaster Mentioned
Santa Paula	Guadalupe Torres			•	•	•	•			•	•	•					•	•	•
Santa Paula	Pilar Torres			•	•	•	•			•	•	•					•	•	•
Santa Paula	Jose Torres			•	•	•	•			•	•	•					•	•	•
Santa Paula	Unidentified	19																	
Totals: 6	173	89	39	44	34	25	15	28	70	45	83	22	25	0	0	0	24	43	22

APPENDIX D

GRAVE MARKER DATA FOR CEMETERIES IN THE GREATER LOS ANGELES  
AREA

Cemetery	Name	Marker Type					Birth		Death		Age	Iconography				Inscription	
		No Marker	Flat	Upright	Shared	Family Plot	Cenotaph	Day	Year	Day		Year	Cross	Photograph	American Legion	Mason	Italian
Angelus Abbey	Henry Mathis	•															
Angelus Abbey	Dorothy Mathis	•															
Calvary	Carmen Alvarez	•															
Calvary	Inez Alvarez	•															
Calvary	Ramon Alvarez	•															
Calvary	Julia Alvarez	•															
Calvary	Matteo Costamagna	•	•					•		•		•	•			•	•
Calvary	Jose Martinez			•	•			•		•							•
Calvary	Phili Martinez			•	•			•		•							•
Calvary	Maria Martinez			•	•			•		•							•
Calvary	Rosie Martinez			•	•			•		•							•
Calvary	Jose, Jr. Martinez			•	•			•		•							•
Calvary	Vida Mathews		•					•		•		•					•
Evergreen	Jefferson Isaacks			•	•	•		•	•	•							
Evergreen	Florence Isaacks			•	•	•	•										•
Evergreen	Alberta Isaacks			•	•	•		•	•	•							
Evergreen	Lorance Isaacks			•	•	•	•										•
Evergreen	Gladys Isaacks			•	•	•	•										•
Evergreen	Unk-Newhall 50	•															
Fairhaven	Carita Holsclaw		•		•	•		•		•							
Fairhaven	David Holsclaw		•		•	•	•	•	•	•							•
Fairhaven	Mary Holt		•		•			•		•							•
Fairhaven	Alva Kennedy		•		•			•		•							
Fairhaven	Reba Kennedy		•		•			•		•							
Fairhaven	Evelyn Kennedy		•		•			•		•							
Fairhaven	Charles Kennedy		•		•			•		•							
Fairhaven	Ella Vinson		•		•			•		•							•
Forest Lawn	Clinton Anderson		•					•		•							
Forest Lawn	Lyman Curtis		•					•		•							
Forest Lawn	Marjorie Curtis		•		•			•		•							
Forest Lawn	Mazie Curtis		•		•			•		•							
Forest Lawn	Richard DeShields		•					•		•							
Forest Lawn	Appia Ewing		•					•		•							•
Forest Lawn	Leona Johnson	•															
Forest Lawn	Ferrell Hopp		•					•		•				•			
Forest Lawn	Frances Hopp		•					•		•							
Forest Lawn	Donald Hopp		•					•		•							
Forest Lawn	Joseph Hungerford		•					•		•							
Forest Lawn	Thelma Mathews		•					•		•							•
Forest Lawn	John Parker		•					•		•							
Forest Lawn	Ida Parker		•					•		•							•
Forest Lawn	Howard Thomson		•					•		•							
Forest Lawn	Clara Wilmot		•		•			•		•							•
Forest Lawn	Raymond Wilmot		•					•		•							
Forest Lawn	Velma May Wilmot		•		•			•		•							•
Grand View	Griffith Hughes		•					•		•							
Grand View	Barbara Hughes		•		•			•		•							
Grand View	June Hughes		•		•			•		•							
Grand View	William, Jr. Neilson		•					•	•	•	•						•
Grand View	Bertha Neilson		•					•	•	•	•						
Grand View	Frank Neilson		•					•	•	•	•						
Inglewood Park	Harley Berry		•					•		•							•
Inglewood Park	OraMae Berry		•					•		•							•

Cemetery	Name	Marker Type					Birth		Death		Age	Iconography					Inscription	
		No Marker	Flat	Upright	Shared	Family Plot	Cenotaph	Day	Year	Day		Year	Cross	Photograph	American Legion	Mason	Italian	Epitaph
Japanese	Motoye Myachi			•														
Lancaster	Louis Burns	•																
Lancaster	Lois Burns	•																
Lancaster	Clifford Burns	•																
Lancaster	Leora Burns	•																
Lancaster	Dorothy Mathis	•																
Live Oak	Seth Grantham		•					•		•								
Mountain View	Paul Massetti			•	•			•		•							•	
Oakwood	Luz Alvarado	•																
Oakwood	Belin Alvarado	•																
Oakwood	Carlos Alvarado	•																
Oakwood	Antonio Alvarado	•																
Oakwood	Marvin Cospser		•		•			•	•	•	•						•	•
Oakwood	Purl Cospser		•		•			•	•	•	•						•	•
Oakwood	Aaron Jack Ely		•			•	•	•	•	•	•							
Oakwood	Margaret Ely		•			•	•	•	•	•				•				
Oakwood	Jack Ely		•			•	•	•	•	•								
Oakwood	Roy Ely		•			•	•	•	•	•							•	
Oakwood	Louis Garcia	•				•												
Oakwood	Frances Garcia	•				•												
Oakwood	Harry Garcia		•			•		•	•	•	•							
Oakwood	Elizabeth Garcia		•			•		•	•	•	•							
Oakwood	Carrie Halen		•			•	•	•	•									
Oakwood	Leon Halen	•				•												
Oakwood	Kenneth Halen		•			•		•		•								
Oakwood	Jane G. Halen		•			•		•		•								
Oakwood	Richard, Sr. Pike		•			•		•		•								
Oakwood	Felda Pike		•			•		•		•								
Oakwood	Richard, Jr. Pike		•			•		•		•								
Oakwood	Edward Price		•			•		•		•								
Oakwood	Julia Rising		•			•		•	•	•	•							
Oakwood	V. Delores Rising		•			•		•	•	•	•							
Oakwood	Elenore Rising		•		•	•		•	•	•	•							
Oakwood	Adeline Rising		•		•	•		•	•	•	•							
Oakwood	J. Pedro Rivera		•			•		•	•	•	•							
Oakwood	Albert Rivera		•			•		•	•	•	•							
Oakwood	Ethel Thomson	•				•												
Oakwood	Emma Traxler	•				•												
Oakwood	John Traxler	•				•												
Odd Fellows	Charles Wolf		•			•		•		•								
Roosevelt	Eugene Frazer		•			•		•		•							•	
Roosevelt	Minnie Frazer		•			•		•		•							•	
Roosevelt	Melvin Frazer		•			•		•		•							•	
San Gabriel	Maximilian Bowsky			•		•		•		•							•	•
Sunnyslope	Violet Innes	•				•												
Sunnyslope	Myron Innes	•				•												
Sunnyslope	William Weinland		•			•		•		•								
Sunnyslope	Ina Weinland		•		•	•		•		•								
Sunnyslope	Lloyd Weinland		•		•	•	•	•		•								
Santa Ana	Sarah Whitehead	•				•												
Sawtelle	Solomon Bird			•		•			•	•		•					•	
Sawtelle	William Stroud			•		•											•	
Woodlawn	Homer Coe			•	•	•		•		•							•	•
Woodlawn	Nora Coe			•	•	•		•		•							•	•

Cemetery	Name	Marker Type							Birth		Death		Age	Iconography				Inscription	
		No Marker	Flat	Upright	Shared	Family Plot	Cenotaph	Day	Year	Day	Year	Cross		Photograph	American Legion	Mason	Italian	Epitaph	Disaster Mentioned
Woodlawn	Kenneth H. Coe			•	•	•			•									•	•
Woodlawn	Nellie Hanson			•	•	•			•									•	•
Totals: 19	109	27	63	19	29	44	9	20	76	21	77	0	3	1	1	1	1	35	7



APPENDIX E

GRAVE MARKER DATA FOR CEMETERIES OUTSIDE OF THE GREATER LOS  
ANGELES AREA

Cemetery	Name	Marker Type						Birth		Death		Age	Iconography				Inscription		
		No Marker	Flat	Upright	Shared	Family Plot	Cenotaph	Day	Year	Day	Year		Cross	Bible	Hands	Mason	Spanish	Epitaph	Disaster Mentioned
Berwick	Beryl Bogue			•		•			•		•						•		
Blossom Hill	Ray Dymont			•		•		•	•	•	•						•	•	
Chartiers	Charles Glenn			•				•	•	•	•						•	•	
O'ahu	George Ludloff	•																	
Conrad Memorial	Harold Peterson			•		•				•									
Corpus Christi	Robert Kaderabek		•		•	•				•		•							
East New Market	Doyle Hurst		•					•	•	•	•						•	•	
George West	William George			•				•	•	•	•						•		
Greenwood (MS)	Lenonidas Robertson			•		•				•									
Greenwood (CA)	Bert Jones		•					•	•	•	•								
Greenwood (CA)	Lucy Jones		•					•	•	•	•								
Hollywood	Van Wallace Duke			•				•	•	•	•				•		•	•	
Holy Cross	Nicholas Mondloch		•		•	•													
Home of Peace	Oscar Doty	•																	
Knight's Ferry	Fred Taylor		•						•		•							•	
Lodi	Clarence Eliason		•						•		•								
Mann	George Mann			•				•	•	•	•			•		•	•		
Mount Washington	Andrew Lawson			•		•				•								•	
Mountain View	Earl Kerr			•						•									
Mountain View	Edward Crumley		•		•					•		•							
Mt. Hope	Edward Ritchie	•																	
Murrays Chapel	Monroe Richesin			•				•	•	•	•							•	
Nuevo Memory Gardens	Waldo Janeway			•		•	•										•	•	
Oak Grove	Veva Holt			•				•	•	•	•						•		
Oakwood	Donald McClain	•			•														
Partridge	Orval Westbrook									•		•							
Pine Cliff	Alvin Guertler	•	•							•		•						•	
United German & French	Prospero Leto	unk																	
Pleasant Hill	David Stephens		•					•	•	•	•								
Pleasant Hill	Mary Stephens		•					•	•	•	•								
Pleasant Hill	Grace Stephens		•					•	•	•	•								
Porterville	Vernon Frame			•						•		•							
Red Lodge	William, Sr. Neilson			•				•	•	•	•							•	
Riverside	Cecelia Small			•	•	•				•		•							
Freedom	Maurice Elliott	unk																	
Sanger	E. P. Johnson		•							•		•		•					
Santa Monica	John Kingston		•		•					•		•						•	
Sebastopol	Paul Gregson			•		•		•	•	•	•								
Altoona	Raymond Kern			•						•		•							
Union	Walter Colburn		•							illegible									
Union	Frank Bianchi		•							•		•						•	
Visalia Public	Gerald Kimball			•				•	•	•	•								
Visalia Public	Charles Ledbetter	•																	
West View	John Bryson		•					•	•	•	•								
Antelope	Edward Vickroy	•																	
Totals: 40	45	7	17	19	6	10	4	17	33	18	34	1	2	1	1	1	0	16	5