

THESIS

TEN HISPANIC HOMESTEAD SITES IN  
SOUTHEASTERN COLORADO

Submitted by

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## ABSTRACT

### TEN HISPANIC HOMESTEAD SITES IN SOUTHEASTERN COLORADO

The U.S. Southwest represents a frontier where different cultural groups have encountered one another in the past and present. Native Americans, Euro-Americans and Hispanics have their place in the history of this region and each approached the use of the landscape differently, based on their perceptions of how to best run a household. This thesis examines the land use patterns of ten Hispanic homestead sites in southeastern Colorado within the framework established by researchers as part of the Hispanic Cultural Landscapes Project. Directed by Richard Carrillo, Minette Church and Bonnie Clark, this group has proposed that meaningful differences exist between Hispanic and Euro-American land use patterns. It uses as evidence domestic site architecture, support structures, artifact assemblages and site placement and organization to distinguish between both groups. Ultimately, the fieldwork performed by the author aimed to test the hypothesis of the research group. The current study can be interpreted as being generally supportive of some of the group's findings concerning architecture, hearth type and hearth placement while not being particularly supportive of their model for material culture or site placement. A discussion of how the current study fits with previous work by the aforementioned researchers along with additional sources will be undertaken as well.

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## DEDICATION

Dedicated to Thelma G. Dorsey and William J. Cavanaugh. They always believed in me and I miss them deeply.

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## CHAPTER I: INTRODUCTION

This work concerns the archaeological remains left behind by Hispanic settlers in southeastern Colorado, and attempts to test the typology created by Richard Carrillo (1990) that distinguishes between their material remains and that of their non-Hispanic neighbors. A number of historical archaeologists working in Southeast Colorado have posited that there are significant differences between the way both groups approached the settling southeastern Colorado (Athearn 1985, 1992; Carrillo 1990, 1996; Carrillo and Clark 1995; Church 2001, 2002; Clark 2003; Clark and Corbett 2004; Clark et al. 2002; Earls et al. 1987; Zier 1996). These differences manifest in several ways but all relate to how individual household economies were organized. Choices made in domestic architecture, form and function of ancillary support structures and features, the artifact assemblage itself and how these characteristics manifested in each group differed. Culturally specific features such as *hornos* (Hispanic) or gabled roofs (non-Hispanic) are considered by several authors (Haynes and Bastian 1987: 3-3 – 3-5; Carrillo 1990: XX-1 – XX-25; Church 2003; Clark 2003) as evidence of one group having inhabited a site versus the other. These previous researchers gathered their data primarily from the Piñon Canyon Maneuver Site (PCMS), located in Las Animas County, Colorado. Richard Carrillo's typology was created during one such project on the PCMS (1990). Data gathered from ten Hispanic Homestead sites on the Loudon Cattle Company Ranch, located in Las Animas County near the Colorado and New Mexico Border, will provide a new data set with which to test that typology.

### **Organization of Thesis**

This work is divided into the following chapters. The second chapter provides historical background on the U.S. Southwest in general and Las Animas County in particular. Besides

giving the reader relevant background information on the social and cultural history of the area, useful works will be highlighted from the local level as well as the regional level to provide a contextual background. A comprehensive examination of how this particular region fits with the larger American economic and political regime simply does not exist, but some conclusions can be made from the local history. Oral history provided by the landowner through interviews will also figure prominently in this section.

In the third chapter, literature concerning the “Landscape Approach” to archaeology will be examined and reviewed. The reasoning behind using this approach will also be discussed. Landscape archaeology offers significant advantages to studying land use. Oriented to discovering the perceptions that past people had about the landscape, landscape archaeology integrates multiple data sets and synthesizes them to find not only the physical relationship to one another as in a more standard Geographic Information Systems (GIS) approach, but the social relationship between culture groups and their physical environment. This is particularly relevant to land use since what a group of people perceives about their immediate physical environment will dictate how and to what extent they will make use of the environment.

After the brief discussion of landscape archaeology, the methods used for researching, surveying and mapping the sites in this study will be reviewed. Preliminary research included the use of primary sources including government documents provided by the Bureau of Land Management (BLM), digitally reproduced United States Geological Survey (USGS) maps and data that were gathered while the researcher was in the field using an electronic distance-measuring device (EDM).

Following the review of methods in chapter 3, chapter 4 presents the data recovered from ten Hispanic homestead sites surveyed on Richard Louden’s Ranch in southeastern Colorado. These sites date to the early twentieth century with some nineteenth century

components. Background information about the prior inhabitants will be given when available. Detailed descriptions of the condition of the sites examined, site maps for all ten homesteads, area maps depicting site location and photographic material will be presented and conclusions regarding the hypothesis will be stated.

The fifth chapter presents information on the artifacts that were found at the Hispanic homestead sites. Doing so sheds light on consumer patterns, as well as household and work area activities. This is important because material culture does reflect the tools and often the rewards of the domestic economy, and thus conclusions can be drawn about land use from them. In this regard, artifacts can be used to judge the level of market integration as described by market access theory (Adams 1991; 2003; Adams, Bowers, Mills 2001). A brief preliminary discussion will precede the direct examination of the artifacts as they were recorded on site. While a full market access assessment is beyond the scope of this thesis, some general assessments may be made concerning the origin of several classes of material goods and the data set that was compiled may at some point in the future be valuable to a person or group wishing to do so as part of a regional analysis.

Finally, the sixth chapter provides a summary of the data gathered and how it fits into the body of archaeological and historical information available for Las Animas County, Colorado, and the U.S. Southwest in general. Problems that arose during research and potential bias will be addressed as well as solutions and further avenues of study proposed. By and large, the sites that were examined during the survey do not as a group match up well with what was found in the Piñon Canyon Maneuver Site (PCMS). For reasons that will be discussed in later portions of the thesis, the PCMS model does not seem to hold up as well on the Loudon Ranch. That is not to say that the data from this thesis contradicts

previous findings. Viewed from another vantage point, the data collected could be interpreted as generally reflecting Carrillo's (1990) findings on the PCMS for later sites. Individually, some sites did match up well with what Carrillo predicted. Unfortunately, others did not at all. This unexpected conundrum may arise from the fact that with a small sample size there is an inherently higher risk of individual anomalous data biasing the group data set as a whole. It may be more practical in this instance to relate the individual sites of this study to findings in earlier studies, rather than try to draw conclusions by considering the ten sites together. Ultimately, this study does contribute to a larger regional data set that will help to refine our understanding of the past.

## CHAPTER 2: HISTORICAL BACKGROUND

In western North America, several different nations made their presence felt over the course of time. It was the Spaniards who first brought European values and culture to this area as they expanded their New World empire. Later, two fledgling nations, the United States and Mexico, fought a war that would determine under which country's hegemony the region would ultimately fall and would substantively establish the present border between the two nations (Hall 1989:167-203). The territory that would become Las Animas County itself was at one time or another claimed by Spain, France, the Mexican Republic, the Republic of Texas, and finally the United States of America (García 1982). Below, a table summarizes the various political claims on that area.

### **Territorial Claims by Nation States on S.E. Colorado<sup>1</sup> (Table 1)**

<b>Polity</b>	<b>Dates</b>
Spain	1540-1700; 1763-1800; 1803 – 1821 (disputed)
France	1700-1763; 1800-1803
Mexico	1821-1836; 1836-1848 (disputed)
Texas	1836-1845 (disputed)
United States	1803-1819 (disputed); 1845-1848 (disputed); 1848 to present.

It should be acknowledged that southeastern Colorado could be considered disputed territory from a time before Europeans came in contact with it. Several modern Native American tribes have traditional claims to the area and often groups such as the Comanche, Ute, and Navajo would be drawn into conflict with one another as well as Hispanic and Euro-American settlers. Table 1 is meant to reflect political claims by nation states that themselves were in various

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<sup>1</sup> García, J.R. 1982:Figure 4; Weber, D.J. 1992;

stages of political and economic development internally. Indeed, one might observe that statecraft was being learned (or relearned) by European polities during the sixteenth century and that the colonial experience in particular informed European notions concerning the role of the state in both simple governance and economic development (Lynch 1991:211-249).

The scene on the frontier was actually more chaotic than a typical political map can generally depict. Precise knowledge of the frontier was not often available to colonial administrators. Policy that would be respected by potential rivals in the hinterlands as well as understood and carried out by colonists, settlers, and soldiers was often arrived at through trial and error. Being cognizant of such issues is important as we may fundamentally never know precisely what the true state of the frontier was politically since to a large degree the participants themselves lacked perfect knowledge as well. Southeastern Colorado was the extreme limit of several frontiers and the interaction that resulted from this is what shaped how and when the communities in the study area formed in the first place. From this perspective, Table 1 is substantively accurate and a correct depiction of southeastern Colorado through time.

### **An Overview of Historical Research on Southeastern Colorado**

Las Animas, as translated from the Spanish, means the “spirits” or the “souls” (Castillo and Bond 1987). The name Purgatory, the place where souls burn off their impurities before being allowed into heaven, has been applied to a river and associated drainage basin in Las Animas County, albeit, under the French cognate *purgatoire*. It is a confluence of names, reflecting a historical tragedy barely remembered by current residents of southeastern Colorado. Local tradition ascribes the name to Spanish soldiers who died without benefit of clergy along the banks of the Purgatoire River (Taylor 1959:8, 1964:57-8; Friedman 1988:3). Beyond local legends, very few people remember that Hispanics were among the first to homestead in Las Animas County.

The cultural history of southeastern Colorado has been obscured, mystified and finally ignored by the dominant Euro-American population. Indeed, when M. Beshoar, M.D. (1882) published his account of the local history of Trinidad, Las Animas County, Colorado, he described archaeological remains comprised of ancient irrigation ditches, stone artifacts, and crumbling buildings and walls. He attributed these architectural remains to an outlier community of the Aztecs (Beshoar 1882:7), supposing that their abandonment was in response to a call for mobilization against the Spanish far to the south and nearly 360 years prior to his small booklet's publication. Given what modern historians and archaeologists know about the U.S. Southwest, however, it is very likely that much of the architectural evidence that Dr. Beshoar mistook for Aztec ruins was in fact the work of Hispanics who had previously been in the area.

After Beshoar, another local historian, Morris F. Taylor, made a serious scholarly attempt to document the history of the city of Trinidad and southeastern Colorado at large (1959, 1964). His brief histories of the area generally included Hispanics, particularly the New Mexicans' role in settling and developing the area under the authority of the United States and the Homestead Act of 1862. For the most part, Taylor's work has only been of local interest and is generally hard to find outside of Las Animas County. Further, he does not deal with archaeological evidence at all. The struggle of New Mexicans, or *nuevos mexicanos*, to survive in the borderlands *previous* to 1862 may be marked by the remains that they left behind, but that was not really addressed by Taylor.

Thomas Mariano produced the most recent of the locally inspired histories of southeastern Colorado via his own local publishing company. Entitled *Western Tales of Southern Colorado* (Mariano 1991), this book offers some insights into the immigrant community that relocated to the Trinidad area after the opening of many local coal mines in the 1870s. There are many interesting anecdotes in the book, including stories about gunfights and local

politics. Not a great deal of attention is paid to the Hispanic community, but Thomas does go into some detail to describe a game known as “chueco,” that persisted locally until the 1930s among Hispanics and which was somewhat like field hockey (Mariano 1991). In general, the book focuses on the immigrants’, particularly the Italian immigrants’, experience in Trinidad, and the theme seems oriented toward an “American Dream” of success through hard work and perseverance during tough times.

On the other hand, Meketa’s *Legacy of Honor* (1986), a translation of Rafael Chacón’s diary into English, can be seen as extremely relevant in terms of social history and correcting previous bias. Chacón, alternately an active trader with Native Americans, a soldier, and Civil War hero, is very much a local legend in Southeastern Colorado and Northern New Mexico. In short, this work makes clear that Hispanics were not only present, but also instrumental in the founding of Trinidad while participating in the wider settlement of southeastern Colorado.

Southeastern Colorado is located where the U.S. Southwest runs into the Great Plains. Regional studies include Spicer’s *Cycles of Conquest* (1962), Deutsch’s *No Separate Refuge* (1987), Hall’s *Social Change in the Southwest* (1989), Weber’s *The Spanish Frontier in North America* (1992), and more recently James F. Brooks’ *Captives and Cousins* (2002). In all of these works regional socio-cultural and political processes are examined for their effects on Hispanics, Non-Hispanic Europeans, and Native Americans alike. Louden’s ranch, and hence, the ten sites examined here, fall within the regional framework outlined by the above authors. However, with the exception of Brooks’ work, the studies listed above do not provide specific, local details regarding the Southeastern portion of Colorado; indeed such specificity only comes into play for historical events that have broad and deep impacts on the region as a whole, and apparently events in Las Animas County did not rise above a certain threshold of regional significance to deserve being treated separately. The current research may be able to link the



local processes recorded by local scholars to the higher-level social processes occurring at a regional scale recounted by Spicer, Hall, and Weber. A deeper understanding of how local economics are impacted by national policy and economic trends can be achieved by studying homesteads. With the Homestead Act of 1862, an explicit attempt was made by the United States government to manage, even create, local economic and political development. In many respects, the study of the homestead should be considered the lynch-pin that joins local with regional studies.

### **Creation of the Frontier**

One basic premise behind the study of history is that knowing and understanding the past is crucial to understanding the present. Evaluating southeastern Colorado today would be impossible if one did not understand that two cultural frontiers came together in this area; specifically, a Hispanic group with deep roots in New Mexico and a Euro-American group that was relatively new to the landscape. Both groups would in turn alternate between cooperation and competition with local Native American groups who were of course indigenous to the area. The following sections shall endeavor to summarize how and why both groups settled southeastern Colorado. Ultimately, the Hispanic homesteads recorded archaeologically during this study will be placed in the context of an over-arching regional and local history that features culture change and adaptation.

### **Spanish Settlement of the Modern U.S. Southwest**

It is telling if not especially remarkable that the Spanish settlement of what is now New Mexico was precipitated by a disaster followed by a lie. Serendipity combined with deceit provided the basis for Spanish colonial policy on its northern frontier and this state of affairs is perhaps not unique to the Spanish themselves. In any case, Álvar Núñez Cabeza de Vaca had

not anticipated becoming a great explorer. Nevertheless, this role was thrust upon him after the disastrous military expedition into the interior of La Florida known as the Narváez Expedition which departed Spain in 1527 and landed in what is now Florida in 1528 (Reséndez 2007). Cabeza de Vaca's journey from what is now the Southeastern United States to Mexico City via a circuitous route along the Gulf Coast with a brief detour into the U.S. Southwest became epic. One of only four survivors, Cabeza de Vaca brought to Mexico City's Spanish authorities rumors of emeralds and large cities beyond the northern frontier (Weber 1992). After such a harrowing journey, Cabeza de Vaca was in no hurry to investigate these rumors and returned to Spain in 1537. A Moorish slave by the name of Estevan who had also survived the disastrous expedition was selected to act as a companion and guide for the vice-royal's official exploratory expedition into that area (Athearn 1992). The small group of explorers was lead by a priest, Fray Marcos, who had a reputation for being widely traveled in the Americas (Athearn 1992; Weber 1992).

In 1539 A.D., Fray Marcos, accompanied by his small retinue, was lead by Estevan to the Zuni pueblos (Weber 1992). This area was located in modern western New Mexico and eastern Arizona (Spicer 1962). Unfortunately for the Moorish guide, the Zuni killed him shortly after approaching their pueblo, which at that time was identified as Cibola by the explorers (Weber 1992). At this point, the small group headed back to Mexico City. Fray Marcos gave a detailed report to Viceroy Mendoza, indicating that the group had passed through a land of fabulous wealth and prosperous cities that were comparable to the Aztec tradition (Athearn 1992). Because of this, Viceroy Mendoza authorized a military expedition into the new territory, dubbed New Mexico due to its perceived riches. (Athearn 1992; Weber 1992).

Francisco Vásquez de Coronado, governor of Nueva Galicia, brought 230 Spanish soldiers, 800 Indian allies, and three women into Pueblo territory in 1540 (Athearn 1992). Fray Marcos was ordered to accompany this expedition as well. Upon reaching Cibola, it became

obvious to Coronado and his men that Fray Marcos had lied to the viceroy about the wealth of the settlement; he was sent back to Mexico City with a report of his deceit (Weber 1992). Ultimately, this first expedition returned as well, unable to pacify the indigenous population. An official inquiry cleared Coronado of wrongdoing against Native Americans and gross incompetence in conducting the expedition in general, twelve years after which he died in Mexico City (Weber 1992).

The Spaniards returned to New Mexico in 1598, under the leadership of Don Juan de Oñate (Athearn 1992). Sporadic reports of mining activity in New Mexico, contact with the French, and the Catholic Church's insistence that Native Americans needed evangelizing pressed the Spanish to return to that area out of political, if not economic interest (Athearn 1992; Weber 1992). In fact, the economics of Oñate's expedition into New Mexico and the subsequent colonization effort personally cost him 400,000 pesos by 1607, forcing him to resign his commission before he became totally insolvent (Athearn 1992). Three years after Oñate departed, Santa Fe was founded and became the capital of the territory.

For nearly 70 years, the Spaniards maintained a tenuous hegemony over the region. However, in 1680, resistance to the Catholic religion by the Pueblo Indians broke out into open conflict. This rebellion, known as the Pueblo Revolt, succeeded in rolling the Spanish frontier back to modern El Paso/Ciudad Juárez. Pueblo villages remained free of Spanish rule until 1692, at which point Don Diego de Vargas re-conquered New Mexico (Athern 1992; De Vargas 1998, 2002). Later military expeditions would be launched against the Comanche and the Utes of southeastern Colorado. A large battle was ultimately fought just south of modern Pueblo, Colorado, in 1779 (New Mexico Office of the State Historian 2004). The Spaniards established their hegemony over the Comanche, at least in terms of their colonists in New Mexico. The modern U.S. city of Pueblo is located in the Arkansas River Valley. This battle was the basis of

Spanish and Mexican territorial claims in the area and, New Mexico included southeastern Colorado at least up to the Arkansas River by this reasoning. Not even the later withdrawal of the Spanish Empire or the Mexican government from the region would be enough to remove Hispanics from the area.

Under Spanish rule, Hispanics in the region would re-define themselves as New Mexicans, or *nuevos mexicanos*. Whereas the initial settlers may have identified themselves as Castilian, Andalusian, Basque, or *genízaro* (a Native American who took on Hispanic culture, usually through coercion), they came to forge their identity as it related to their surroundings (Spicer 1962). Generation after generation, a frontier ethic of self-sufficiency developed and was re-enforced, which was useful, since assistance was often not forth-coming from the central colonial government in Mexico City. This state of affairs did not change after Mexico won independence from Spain in 1819. New Mexicans continued to provide for their own security and make decisions concerning their economy without the guidance of Mexico City. However, traditional economic strategies coupled with legal traditions handed down by the Spaniards were employed to meet these challenges.

The Spanish land grant system was essentially adopted by Mexico. It focused on the community and not the individual household. Land grants had several components, primary of which was the plaza. The plaza was meant to be the social center of a community, where the church and local government buildings would be erected and around which dwellings for households would also be constructed. The second component involved what could be termed the production sphere. Usually, the grant would be centered on a local body of running water, be it a river, stream or *acequia* (a community maintained canal), and from this, individual lots would be allocated to households in the community (Payne 1999:12). Each lot would be created in a manner that insured that all households would have access to flowing water. The

named patron of the land grant distributed plots of land to male heads of household on behalf of the central authority. Upon this land, individuals were supposed to raise crops. Any land that was not included either as part of the lots or the plaza was designated a commons, upon which any member of the community might let his or her livestock graze. In fairly short order, most people began to move their habitation from the plaza to their holdings, especially when their lots were further away and the threat of hostile Native Americans was perceived to have abated (Campbell and Brinkerhoff 2002). Over time, arable land was at a premium since the number of colonists slowly but surely rose, and with the Spanish system of division of inheritance in equal parts, many land holdings were subdivided between siblings at the death of their father and later subdivided again between their offspring at their own deaths. Many families continued to run their allotments as if the subdivision had not occurred since it quickly became apparent that endless subdivision of allotments would result in the diminished viability of farming (Payne 1999).

Politics and economics in New Mexico, as in many other areas, went hand in hand. Maintaining good relations between the settlers and Native Americans was of paramount importance. Good relations from the Hispanic perspective meant that New Mexicans could hunt bison on the Great Plains without fear of reprisal, livestock could be maintained without being stolen, and trade arrangements could also be used to hedge against economic uncertainty and to cement political relationships between Hispanics and Native Americans. As certain relationships strengthened and others declined, trading in captives became acceptable to frontier Hispanics and certain native groups. The enslavement of Puebloan people by Hispanics on the northern frontier, often with the assistance of *genízaros* or hispanicized Native Americans, served the economic and political aspirations of the Hispanic group and its allies while victimizing others (Brooks 2002). By the middle of the eighteenth century, *comancheros*,

New Mexicans who traded with Native Americans especially the Comanche, were relatively well established. *Ciboleros*, named after the village of Cibola that the Spanish had first contacted in New Mexico, were Hispanics who went out onto the plains to hunt bison (Carson 1998:155). It is not hard to imagine that some New Mexicans who ultimately turned away from sowing seeds to pursue full-time stock herding might find themselves in the position of simultaneously being a shepherd, comanchero, and cibolero while engaged in long range herding activities. These diverse activities insured the economic vitality of New Mexico in general as well as the viability of households that turned away from farming while simultaneously building up a knowledge base of the surrounding areas. As will be shown later, these activities and the knowledge base played a direct role in the later permanent Hispanic settlement of southeastern Colorado.

### **The American Period**

Mexico had inherited a great deal of frontier territory from the Spanish Empire along with the attendant security concerns that this entailed. To solve this problem, Mexico had initially invited Americans to settle in its Northern frontier (Texas) on favorable terms but, there were three requirements that these settlers found odious in the extreme. First, settlers would have to convert to Catholicism, and second the practice of slave holding would have to be discontinued. Finally, the settlers would then become Mexican citizens (Weber 1992). The Americans flooding into the territory generally ignored these requirements. Soon, conflict arose and the independent Republic of Texas broke away from Mexico in 1836. Territorial claims festered between Texas and Mexico for almost a decade after the war. Seizing an opportunity, the United States stepped in under the leadership of President James K. Polk and annexed Texas in 1845 and made it a new state. Texas's claim to land was taken up as the United States' own territorial agenda. This led to a war between the United States and Mexico that lasted for about

two years and culminated with U.S. Army soldiers and Marines capturing Mexico City on September 15, 1847 (Weber 1992).

The United States, having been successful in asserting its territorial claims at the expense of Mexico, laid out a plan in the Treaty of Guadalupe Hidalgo for both countries to deal with hostile Native Americans including the Navajo, Comanche, and Apache. Both nations agreed that these three groups in particular needed either to be subordinated or destroyed. In administering these policies, it became evident that New Mexico Territory would not become a state in the foreseeable future. In fact, a part of northern New Mexico located between the 37<sup>th</sup> and 38<sup>th</sup> parallels was sheared off and merged into Colorado in 1861. This facilitated Colorado becoming a territory and achieving statehood in 1876 (Hall 1989:206; Meketa 1986:306).

### **Initial Settlement of Colorado**

Under the Spanish and Mexican administration of New Mexico, not only was southeastern Colorado considered a part of New Mexico territory, but also the area to the west of it known as the San Luis Valley. Settlement here only began in earnest after the establishment of Fort Massachusetts by the U.S. Army in the 1850s (Carrillo and Jepson 1995:39). Under the protection of U.S. soldiers, *nuevos mexicanos* began the permanent settlement of Colorado.

Felipe Baca was a prominent citizen of Mora County, New Mexico. A *nuevo mexicano*, his business dealings came to include Euro-American settlements. While transporting large loads of flour to Denver by wagon in 1860, he had taken note of arable land along the Purgatoire River. In the spring of 1861, he returned to what is now the Trinidad area, cleared some land and was able to return to his hometown of Guadalupita, New Mexico, with large, ripe melons. In doing so, he was able to convince twelve families to pull up stakes in New Mexico,

and settle in the Purgatoire River Valley in the spring of 1862 (Carrillo 1990:XVIII-28). It should be noted that these initial families and those that followed founded about 27 *placitas* in the Purgatoire River Valley (Carrillo 1990:XVIII-28). These small plazas were organized in the same manner as previous plaza communities in New Mexico, using the Spanish/Mexican land grant systems as a reference point even as the U.S. Congress had introduced the Homestead Act, with its own standards for transforming public land into private claims. Ultimately, among the initial Hispanic settlements, traditional communal values prevailed over an individualistic legal tradition.

As a result of the general success experienced by Felipe Baca and those who followed him, many New Mexican families decided that the area that is now Trinidad would provide good opportunities to participate economically and politically in the U.S. system. One such person was Rafael Chacón, a man who had alternately traded with and participated in raids against Native Americans in the region. After serving in the Civil War, his personal finances were in jeopardy and after inspecting the area in the late 1860s, he decided to move his entire household to Trinidad. His family had been relatively well to do and enjoyed the benefits of being in the higher echelon of the patronage system. Hence, along with his family, he brought with him many subordinates. One might say that while his finances in terms of cash and property were at risk during this time, the human capital and labor that he could employ reflected a deeper condition of wealth, or at least entitlement (Meketa 1986).

The traditional Spanish system of patronage had survived, and *nuevos mexicanos* brought with them a fairly distinct social structure based on class. Sheep herding was a traditional economic activity that was brought to southeastern Colorado by New Mexican herders (Carrillo 1990:XVIII-12-13). Very often the shepherds (*pastores*) were subordinates of wealthier patrons who actually owned the large sheep herds. Giving them a share of the



newborn sheep often was sufficient pay for shepherd-employees, a practice known as the *partido* system (Hicks and Johnson 2000). Early on, Hispanic settlers played a large role in settling southeastern Colorado and the city of Trinidad (Friedman 1988:30). Their approach to selecting land to patent under the Homestead Act of 1862 was still informed by the cultural norms of roughly three hundred years of Hispanic settlement. Permanent non-Hispanic settlement of Las Animas County began nearly at the same time as Felipe Baca's initial expedition. Today, the Piñon Canyon area has homesteads on it in the names of Brown, Bell, Taylor and other non-Hispanic names. Still, Hispanics made up the vast majority of settlers in this sub-region of the county. In 1884, approximately 80% of landowners in the PCMS area had Spanish surnames, while by 1888 the percentage had dropped to 24% (Friedman 1985:96, 222-266; Carrillo 1990:XVIII-30). Further, the total number of settlers in the area had dropped from 66 landowners to 17 (Friedman 1985:158; Carrillo 1990:XVIII-30). This area of Las Animas County had gone from being primarily a Hispanic community to being a non-Hispanic area in the space of four years. There are several possible explanations for the precipitous decrease in the Hispanic population in the area that is now known as the PCMS. Environmental factors such as the drought in 1886 and bad winter in 1887 may have been a push factor that Hispanics and Euro-Americans could not ignore (Friedman 1988). Another push factor may have been social tension and violence. During the 1870s and 1880s, there were several incidents of illegal fencing, destruction of livestock, and outright murder of sheep raisers by cattlemen. The Prairie Cattle Company was accused of killing 4000 sheep owned by Jesus Maria Perez (Friedman 1988:57) Felipe Baca's own son was murdered while trying to enforce a court order for the return of sheep that had strayed onto the land of English cattlemen (Convery 2003:68). Euro-American sheep herders such as the Bartell brothers were actually pursued by cowboys into the high mountains, where their livestock and camp were destroyed and their herders were also fired upon (Convery 2003:69).

Undoubtedly racial bias was at play in some instances but as one former shepherd indicated to his family, the perceived threat of sheep herding to the livelihood of open range cattle ranchers was enough to incite violence and intimidation. The Bloom Cattle Company was notorious for trying to crowd out Brown's Sheep Camp by running cattle in horses near the camp's yard (Friedman 1988:57). Pull factors may have included the increasing industrialization of the surrounding area. Coal mining, railroad work, and the steel industry were changing the economy of Colorado. Families not making it on their homesteads may have turned to wage labor as an alternative, perhaps moving as far north as Pueblo to find work in the Colorado Coal and Iron Company's steel manufacturing complex. That plant was opened in 1882 (Thomas 2008); this and many associated mines and railways would have provided an incentive to try a vocation other than agriculture. Detailed oral histories might provide more insight into this realm but as with most complex decision making, multiple factors would figure into the process.

Whatever the reasons, this area of the county was depopulating after a brisk initial settlement. This trend continued into modern times and allowed the U.S. Army to create the PCMS as part of its Fort Carson Military Complex. The PCMS's primary mission is to teach tank crews how to drive, and there is quite a bit of open terrain to do it in with only a handful of homeowners left on the range. In this regard, Louden's Ranch is quite similar to the PCMS. With the exception of the Loudens themselves and a few neighbors, this portion of southeastern Colorado is sparsely populated.

### **American Settlement**

Trinidad has been the county seat of Las Animas County since its founding. The Northwest Ordinances of 1787 and subsequent ordinances had provided the Township/Range System that most U.S. territories beyond the original thirteen colonies used to organize themselves with an eye towards eventual statehood. Initially, fur-trappers, gold-seekers, and

other sorts of entrepreneurs ventured across the plains to Colorado to seek their fortunes despite spirited resistance from Native American groups (Carrillo 1990:XVIII-15). Land Reform or redistribution of federal lands west of the Mississippi River was debated in Congress for several decades. Southern politicians opposed these measures because the reorganization of western territory for the use of small, free-holding farmers was seen as a direct threat to the institution of slavery. With the start of the U.S. Civil War and the abandonment of Congress by southern congressional delegates, the way was politically clear to move forward with this policy. The Homestead Act of 1862 provided the economic incentive for Americans in the east to head west. It provided for 160 acres of land for anyone willing to take the risk of farming it for five years or residing on it for six months and purchasing it from the government for \$1.25 an acre. One provision of the statute was that the patentee had never borne arms against the United States and, U.S. Civil War veterans could deduct the time they spent in the military from the five year residency requirement. Thus, the Manifest Destiny of the United States to settle the frontier could be achieved. The U.S. economy was organized around agriculture, and this policy was directed at enhancing that, though political considerations at a time of crisis (the U.S. Civil War) weighed heavily as well (Potter and Schamel 1997). After the U.S. Civil War, the Army played a critical role in resuming offensive military actions against those Native American groups that interfered with U.S. policy (West 1998:312)

### **Industrialization and European Immigration**

The United States underwent many changes during the nineteenth century in terms of both the economy and the actual ethnic makeup of the population. Steel and coal were fundamental components to the industrialization of the American economy. Both steel and coal were necessary for the expansion of the railroads and during the post U.S. Civil War industrial boom, a good deal of labor was necessary to extract and refine the raw materials that would

make up the new American infrastructure. Both skilled and unskilled labor from abroad would participate in these changes. Coalfields north of Trinidad, and the steelworks in Pueblo, demonstrate the national industrial trends at the local level in southeastern Colorado.

Immigrants from Europe during the nineteenth century have traditionally been portrayed as an unwashed mass of peasants (Handlin 1973), escaping poverty or religious intolerance or seeking an opportunity to fulfill their dreams. What is not often mentioned is the number of skilled laborers who came from abroad who were essential to the government's plans to create national infrastructure and entrepreneurs' plans to make money. By way of example, British Immigrants were highly sought after in America's early industrial economy. Many English, Welsh, and Scottish industrial workers made their way to America where economic opportunity seemed greater than in their homelands (Berthoff 1953). American industrial capitalists were often not satisfied simply with being able to draw from a pool of skilled labor that might eventually migrate. They placed ads for workmen in British newspapers, often seeking persons with the knowledge base to design a working factory as much as to find employees to work there (Berthoff 1953:21). Immigration played a large role in both settling the West and building the United States' industrial capacity.

The turn from the nineteenth to the twentieth century saw a change in immigration patterns from Europe. In the period between 1871 and 1880, the majority of European immigrants came from Germany, England and Ireland in that order (Bodnar 1985:217). During the first decade of the twentieth century, a dramatic shift took place in that overall immigration from Europe nearly tripled and many more immigrants were received from Austria-Hungary and Italy (approximately two million from each) than in decades prior (Bodnar 1985:217).

In addition to technical knowledge of their crafts, immigrants also brought with them their own political sensibilities and views, particularly concerning labor's relationship to management.

Time and again, when immigrant workers and their employers came to loggerheads, violence was often the result. The Homestead Strike of 1892 (Berthoff 1953:67), the Pullman Strike of 1894 (Stein 1969), the Marching Strike of 1894 (Andrews 2008: 176-179) and the Ludlow Massacre (Walker 2003; Wolff 2003; Andrews 2008) provide the most graphic examples of capitalists and government officials using brute force to impose their will on immigrant labor. Ludlow directly impacted southeastern Colorado and remains part of local lore and remembrances.

After the U.S. Civil War, the Industrial Revolution had accelerated in the United States. Coal became king as railroads and manufacturers clamored for fuel. Las Animas County and Trinidad in particular, experienced a population boom as coal miners and railroad men flooded into the area. Immigrants from southern and eastern Europe flocked to Trinidad and surrounding areas in search of employment (Mariano 1991). As it happened, the large coal deposit at Ludlow, just north of Trinidad, provided the railroad with the coal it needed. Unfortunately, the miners' camp became the scene of a violent confrontation between workers and state militia in 1914, known as the Ludlow Massacre (Andrews 2008; Walker 2003). Industrialization taking place at the frontier not only integrated the area with the infrastructure of the nation, but also with the ideas and political movements of the nation at large as well. By the early twentieth century Trinidad was a small, multi-cultural city, fully integrated with the politics and economy of the United States.

## **Hard Times**

Homesteaders in southeastern Colorado contended with environmental as well as economic challenges. The plains undergo a periodic, but unpredictable, change from aridity to relatively humid conditions and then back again. A drought in the summer of 1886 combined with a bad winter in 1887 decimated crops and livestock in the region (Friedman 1988:58).

There was a national recession in the early 1890s, and drought in the area proved persistent in 1888 and 1889 (Friedman 1988:59). Many homesteads were abandoned or sold to more prosperous neighbors.

Counteracting these forces, the federal government enacted new homestead legislation. The Enlarged Homestead Act of 1909 doubled the acreage that farmers were allowed to claim: 320 acres for dry-farming (Friedman 1988:64). Seven years later, the Stock Raising Act of 1916 allowed 640 acres to be claimed if used to raise livestock or crops fed to livestock (Carrillo 1990:XVIII-34). Policymakers believed that with more acreage homesteaders would be able to support themselves at an acceptable level of productivity. A few wet years and the situation in Europe precipitated a new land rush (Carillo 1990:XVIII-65), and the First World War provided the United States with the opportunity to provide the nations of Europe with agricultural surplus. Unfortunately for the homesteaders, by the middle of the 1920s agricultural prices fell while the area became much more arid, kicking off what would become known in the 1930s as the Dustbowl (Friedman 1988:78). Once again, a pattern of abandonment and consolidation by larger holders took place. The combination of the Great Depression with the Dust Bowl of the 1930s made agriculture untenable for many in the Great Plains. Many of the last holdouts who farmed only were driven from the area by the combination of economics and ecological disaster. It was at this time that Richard Louden's father was able to expand his holdings as farmers and small ranchers and herders sold out and moved on (Louden 2002:personal communication).

### **Two Lifeways Coming Together**

In a very general sense, homesteaders were very alike no matter their ethnicity in that the inclination of those families was to pursue agriculture as a means to make a living. The original Homestead Act of 1862 along with the modifications that were made to it was intended to provide an agrarian base for the American economy. However, it was left to the individual

homesteader and his family to figure out how best to use the land. Invariably, normative cultural behavior was relied upon by Hispanics and Euro-Americans. Hispanics, relying on customs developed in New Mexico would often construct adobe *placitas* arranging them in *plazas*. Often, *nuevos mexicanos* would settle as a community in order to divide land claims into *varas*, traditional long lots with access to flowing water (Baxter 1997; Church 2003). Class differences underlie some of the economic activities (sheep herding) Hispanics pursued, but collaboration and co-operation also figure prominently as when neighbors filed contiguous claims and shared tools, livestock, and agricultural produce with one another.

In contrast, Euro-Americans operated on a more individualist basis where cash, credit, and wage labor were the normative behavior, not barter or payment in kind. Buildings and structures on their property had to rely on locally available materials, but often took on familiar forms, such as gabled roofs for homes and barns. Euro-Americans were of mixed religious background while Hispanics were universally Catholic. Additionally, while it may be argued that class, particularly economic class, played a role in the lives of everyone in one way or another; the explicit class structure of Hispanics was not accepted or implemented by Euro-Americans. Sheep herding has been ascribed to Hispanic economic strategies by some even though there are prominent examples of Euro-Americans also raising sheep. Such discrepancies might be explained by a genuine lack of cohesion or sense of community by Euro-Americans, and if such was the case, incoherent or even contradictory views could be expected to develop concerning a variety of cultural and economic subjects.

## **Culture Change**

Differences between Hispanics and Euro-Americans were most pronounced in the earliest periods of settlement. But with the political dominance of the United States and its policies concerning infrastructure development, fundamental economic change had been

realized. The American government's desire to fully integrate southeastern Colorado had been realized. Railroads in particular were able to supply mass manufactured materials from all over the nation and beyond, including large amounts of milled lumber. Between the period of 1900 and 1920, it could be said that differences between Hispanic and Euro-American Homesteads were slight (Carrillo 2003). Given the fundamental changes in the economy; the reasons for anyone to file a homestead patent need to be evaluated. Some may simply have been seeking to grab land cheaply to speculate on rather than make a concerted effort to farm or raise livestock.

On the other hand, there were those who wanted to make a living for themselves and family under the auspices of the Homestead Act and its amending legislation. Such was the case with the Louden family. The following is derived largely from oral interviews with the landowner at the time of the survey, Richard Louden.

### **Richard Louden**

Richard Louden was born September 2, 1920, in Rocky Ford, Colorado. Soon after, his father filed patent under the Stock Raising Act in a portion of the current work's study area. From the very beginning, this enterprise was to be a cattle ranch. His childhood consisted of playing cowboys and Indians with children from the surrounding area, sometimes even constructing small forts along the rims of the canyons (Richard Louden 2002:personal communication). The neighbors were an almost even mix of Hispanics and Euro-Americans according to his recollection. He shared with me the story of *La Llorona*, a woman who drowned her children to be with a man she loved. The man rejects her, and consequently she drowned herself. Denied heaven, she wanders the earth searching for her children. It is easy to imagine the young Richard Louden being told this story by playmates hustling home through



the brush towards sunset. According to folklore, *La Llorona* would snatch stray children and drown them in order to enter the afterlife (Richard Louden, personal communication 2002).

Louden's father, also named Richard, had built up a good deal of seed money before staking his homestead claim. As a result, he was the one who was primarily responsible for the growth of the ranch. During the Depression, he bought out many of his neighbors as their fortunes declined. It would be hard to say that the Loudens prospered during this era, but by enlarging the acreage and running more cattle they were able to make ends meet. According to Richard Louden, none of the dry farmers made it through this period, here or in any other part of southeastern Colorado (personal communication 2002).

For most of his life, Richard Louden was a rancher on the homestead his father founded. There were two interruptions to this way of life. He attended the University of Missouri and attained a BA in journalism and shortly thereafter entered service in the U.S. Army during World War II. Ultimately, he returned to the ranch and when his father died he proceeded to run it on behalf of his family. During the 1960s, water became increasingly scarce once again and to remain viable economically, Louden formed a cattle company with his brother-in-law. Basically, they ran the two ranches as one outfit. Other ranchers in southeastern Colorado and northern New Mexico have done the same (Richard Louden, personal communication 2002).

I first met Richard Louden in February of 2001, introduced as I was by Richard Carrillo. From that point on, Mr. Louden was very encouraging and helpful with my project, giving me his full support. He had a hearing aid for each ear and only one arm. But when I knew him I did not think of him as being in ill-health. In fact, I think he must have been one of the strongest people I have ever met. Between assisting me and my crewmembers, he still had plenty of work to do though he allowed his grandson to do the heavier work. Strong, spry, and with a keen wit; I always looked forward to interviewing him. One of the reasons he allowed me to do the project

on his land was that he was very active in avocational societies concerning local history and archaeology. Truly, he was a steward of the past. On June 18, 2008, he passed away after an extended illness (Trinidad.co Community Forum 2008). He will always be remembered as a man who gave generously of his time and who served his community with conviction and western grace.

## **Conclusion**

Fundamentally, Trinidad and Las Animas County can be seen as fully integrated both politically and economically with the United States in the modern day. Ultimately, the local economy seems to depend largely on the remnants of the railroad industry, farming and ranching, and the small junior college in the area. It may be that the population numbers are about the same or a bit more than when Trinidad was economically peaking. Today Las Animas County and Trinidad by modern American standards can be described as economically depressed. It's a situation that played out across the Great Plains.

The remains of the homesteads on the Loudon ranch tell a story. It is at once a local story but also part of a larger national epic. By examining the homestead sites through archaeology, another dimension is added to our understanding of the area and a more complete local and regional history can be known. Behavior at the household level through the study of architectural remains and artifacts can be assessed through the use of archaeology.

## CHAPTER 3: THEORY, METHOD, AND THE RECORDED LANDSCAPE

One of the major goals of this study was to test a previously used methodology (Carrillo 1990) in determining the ethnicity of those who produced homestead sites. In pursuing this goal, ten previously unrecorded homestead sites were assessed using archaeological methods. What follows is a discussion of the underlying theory of landscape archaeology, a method previously used to assess landscape and land use, how those assessments were used to determine ethnicity from the archaeological remains. Finally this study's findings will be presented concerning the ten sites recorded and will assess how well the previous study's typology applies in these instances.

### **Landscape Archaeology**

Landscapes are increasingly seen as being imbued with social meaning, as well as generating or constituting the topographic and ecological constraints imposed on humans and other animals (Layton and Ucko 1999). A society's view of the landscape is often reflected in the way in which it uses, or in some cases does not use, the land. Intentional behavior leaves a mark on the landscape that is interpreted in terms of land use. Landscape archaeology has been used to study the extremely complex and cluttered land use patterns of urban societies and also for the more spacious landscapes of hunter-gatherers (Layton and Ucko 1999). The social meaning of landscapes can be interpreted in cases where features clearly demonstrate land use strategies. Strategies by their nature reflect the perceptions of the people carrying them out. To understand a strategy is in some way to understand purpose. By examining the physical effect of homestead sites of Hispanic and Euro-American homesteads on the landscape as well as how such sites are internally organized, general patterns of behavior can be described and compared.

A system for distinguishing between Hispanic and Euro-American homesteads and other types of archaeological sites was developed by Richard Carrillo (1990). This distinction was made in a larger cultural resource management (CRM) report (Andrefsky 1990) in which Carrillo was given the responsibility of creating a methodology able to do this. He did this by noting the presence or absence of a collection of features at a site as a whole, performing architectural analysis of homestead living quarters including material types, basic morphology of the structure, and the orientation of features such as fire pits or fireplaces within or outside the building. Structural remains are relevant in terms of how groups conceptualize and re-organize their physical environments, and by using Carrillo's typology one could hypothetically distinguish between Hispanic and non-Hispanic homesteads where relevant documents were missing, incomplete, or otherwise unavailable. In substance, the present work will apply Carrillo's method concerning site analysis to a series of homesteads located on the Loudon Ranch property 20 to 25 miles southeast from the Piñon Canyon Maneuver Site.

### **Landscape and Landuse**

In the past, landscape studies were often battlegrounds between processual and post-processual archaeologists. These studies led to either hyper-relativistic statements about how subjects 'felt' about their surroundings or at the other extreme a hyper-positivist framework that understands human activity as a survival driven phenomenon that can be explained best by determining the environmental factors encountered by social groups. Ecology and environment cannot be dismissed so easily, especially in landscape studies. To what extent should environment play a role in these studies? Layton and Ucko (1999) present the debate as one between those who choose an ecological approach (to whatever degree) and those who take a cultural approach to the landscape. They proclaim that "An ecological approach explains behaviour as a response to external causes, while a cultural approach seeks to understand

behaviour as meaningful” (Layton and Ucko 1999). It is important to note that neither approach necessarily implies extremism, even though it is clear that there are those who willingly forge a path of either hyper-relativism or hyper-positivism. Finding a balance between extreme points of view often results in a better understanding of the subject matter overall.

These two approaches lead to another question. Are landscapes solely the physical environment upon which humans *have not* exerted marked change or; is a landscape the cultural perception of surroundings that include all impacts made by humans on the environment and a cultural group’s perception of the entire topography (Layton and Ucko 1999)? A social landscape can be reconstructed by judiciously applying the latter conception of a landscape in addition to acknowledging the environmental constraints to which humans must surely adapt or fail to survive. For the most part, those who consider themselves landscape archaeologists and cultural anthropologists seek to include the social as well as the physical landscape (Layton and Ucko 1999).

### **Application of Landscape Archaeology to Landuse**

Landscape and land use are tricky concepts to define and apply whether one subscribes to a wholly positivist/scientific outlook or that of a post-processual paradigm. By using what one can from both groups and by understanding those inferences about landscape, its use, and how past societies viewed both are all legitimate aims of an archaeologist. Work done in landscape archaeology will benefit from putting both perspectives in their proper context. Archaeologists recognize intention at sites when they classify them by function. Using multiple sites, land use patterns can be revealed as part of a broader landscape that incorporates community rather than stopping short and focusing on individual households.

Multiple sources of evidence beyond archaeological data greatly enhance the ability of researchers to make interpretations of landscape. One such resource is oral history. Much of this thesis' background information has come from the current landowner, Richard Louden's personal recollections. One example is the "Bell Rock" or "Chi-Chi Rock." This is a natural rock outcrop near 5LA9885, that was given two competing names by the local Euro-Americans and Hispanics respectively (Richard Louden 2002, personal communication). Euro-Americans saw the rock and it reminded them of a bell that one might ring at the front desk of a hotel. Hispanics named the rock after what they thought it looked like, a female's breast. Both names stuck, and clearly this is the type of thing that Bradley (2000) was talking about when he says that natural places can acquire archaeological significance if people ascribe personal significance to them. In the same manner, the landowner recalls each individual homestead by a "kinscape". He associated particular settings on his property with the families that used to live in each homestead, much as Bender (2001) describes in her own work. One implication of either shared or contested landscapes is that each cultural group involved may have very different perceptions of the landscape. The situation on the Louden Cattle Company Ranch seems to have been more like what Evans' described as a generally cooperative mixed community of two major culture groups that nevertheless perceived their surroundings quite differently.

Landscape archaeology is significant to the present work because to some degree, the individual sites in question were formed as part of a community that focused on agriculture, an economic strategy that explicitly depends on the practitioner being able to reliably utilize the surrounding landscape. For the ten Hispanic sites under direct examination for this study, several things about the landscape will be noted. Their overall location will be marked on a regional map, and their internal site features will be mapped and recorded in terms of their

functions, relative locations to one another, and the modification of the surrounding environment. The homesteaders are considered rational actors who could make informed decisions concerning how to make the most of their environment. In this way, the process of settlement and later abandonment can be assessed, and in doing so conclusions may be drawn about their cultural practices which will invite comparison and contrast between Hispanics and non-Hispanic Euro-Americans.

### **Previous Archaeological Investigations of Southeastern Colorado**

The importance of studying Hispanic homestead communities in the Southeastern Colorado area from an archaeological framework has only been realized relatively recently. Although some additional work has been done in this area (Corbett 2004; Earls et al. 1987; Zier et al. 1996, 1997), Richard Carrillo, Minette Church, and Bonnie Clark (Carrillo 1990, 1995; Church 2001, 2002; Clark et al. 2002, 2004) are primarily responsible for a renewed interest in Hispanic homesteads in Southeastern Colorado, under the aegis of the Hispanic Cultural Landscapes Project, Las Animas County (Clark 2003). Their efforts have centered on the Piñon Canyon Maneuver Site (PCMS), an extension of the Fort Carson military complex, though they have worked in other areas of Las Animas County and Southeastern Colorado in general. The PCMS runs along the northern edge of Las Animas County, while the project area for this paper is located in the south central portion of the county, not very far from the New Mexican border.

Richard Carrillo (1995; Zier et al., 1996) has worked in the area for quite some time; his activities include establishing chronologies based on material remains and collecting oral histories (Friedman et al 1985; Carrillo 1995). Church has focused on several issues in the area, including culture contact on the frontier, land use patterns and differences between ethnic groups' use of the land (2001, 2002). Bonnie J. Clark has also studied issues concerning homesteads, landscape archaeology, and the architecture of homestead sites (Clark 2003;

Clark and Corbett 2004). She has also collaborated with both Church and Carrillo quite frequently. At the 67<sup>th</sup> Annual SAA conference, she presented a paper that was jointly written with Carrillo and Church entitled “‘Pretty Good Old Country if it Rains:’ Living Along the Santa Fe Trail” (2002) which presented an overview of many aspects of historical archaeology in Southeastern Colorado, the challenges of homesteading in that region and the implications of both for the Hispanic Landscape Project. The current thesis follows in the footsteps of this body of research and attempts to contribute to the growing archaeological database to which these three archaeologists have made large contributions in terms of both empirical data and stewardship of the archaeological remains.

Previous work by Carrillo (Earls et al. 1987, 1990, 1995, 1997; Zier et al. 1996) and Church (2001, 2002) has identified a pattern of settlement by Hispanics during the period of homesteading that seems to demonstrate that they chose remote terrain in the canyons with a good deal of topographic relief and proximity to running water, whereas non-Hispanic homesteaders had the tendency to settle in relatively flat and open areas. There are many possible reasons for this, both endogenous and exogenous. For example, potential hostility (anything from rude or uncooperative behavior to extreme forms of aggression designed to cut another group out of the social milieu of government and economics) from the dominant society would constitute an exogenous factor and may have caused Hispanics to seek shelter and a subsistence living in the rough canyon lands. It may also be true that Hispanics purposely sought out the canyon lands independently of the social conditions in the area, choosing such places on the grounds that they offer certain advantages. One of those advantages may have been access to diverse ecological resources not found in the “flats”. The type of subsistence strategy that Hispanics chose in that era, sheep raising, may have dictated such a choice. It is also possible that Hispanic homesteaders, while organizing their communities and homes, were



simply following a long tradition of cultural and economic norms that were developed previously in New Mexico, or perhaps earlier in another portion of Mexico or the old Spanish Empire, maybe even Spain itself. Clark (2003) has noticed that Hispanics seem to have mirrored the settlement pattern of prehistoric Native Americans in the region, indicating that at least in terms of selecting residential space these two groups shared certain sensibilities. All of these possibilities can be explored through a judicious use of archaeological and historical data. Where archaeology provides information on specific subsistence strategies and land use patterns from the features and artifacts left behind, historical documents can provide social context that may not be evident in the archaeological record. It is likely that a combination of many factors, and not a single component standing alone, influenced Hispanic settlement patterns in Southeastern Colorado during the 19<sup>th</sup> century.

As is the case with many places in the United States, Las Animas County possesses an extensive prehistoric record (Zier et al 1996; Loendorf et al 1996). However, the current study concerns the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries and will only devote as much space to prior time periods as is necessary to explain the context of the current study's objectives. Several descendant groups of Native Americans, including the Apache, Comanche, Ute, Cheyenne, and Arapaho claim prehistoric people in this area as ancestors based on their own utilization of what now constitutes southeastern Colorado (Weber 1990). The prehistoric time period is also relevant as it further demonstrates the variety of land use patterns that the area has been subject to; in this case a hunter-gather economy prevailed (Zier et al 1996; Loendorf et al 1996). While many descendant groups of Native Americans in different parts of North America would develop complex horticultural and agricultural practices, there is no evidence that this was attempted in southeastern Colorado.

## Overview of the Project Area

The canyonland located about 60 miles east of Trinidad is a relatively heterogeneous environment in terms of vegetation and elevation. The Louden Cattle Company ranch comprises 30,000 acres of Las Animas County. Figure 1 depicts a regional view integrated with a local view of the area in Figure 2. The Piñon Canyon Maneuver Site, the city of Trinidad, and the study area on the Louden Cattle Company Ranch are highlighted on a map produced locally by the Las Animas County Assessor's Office.

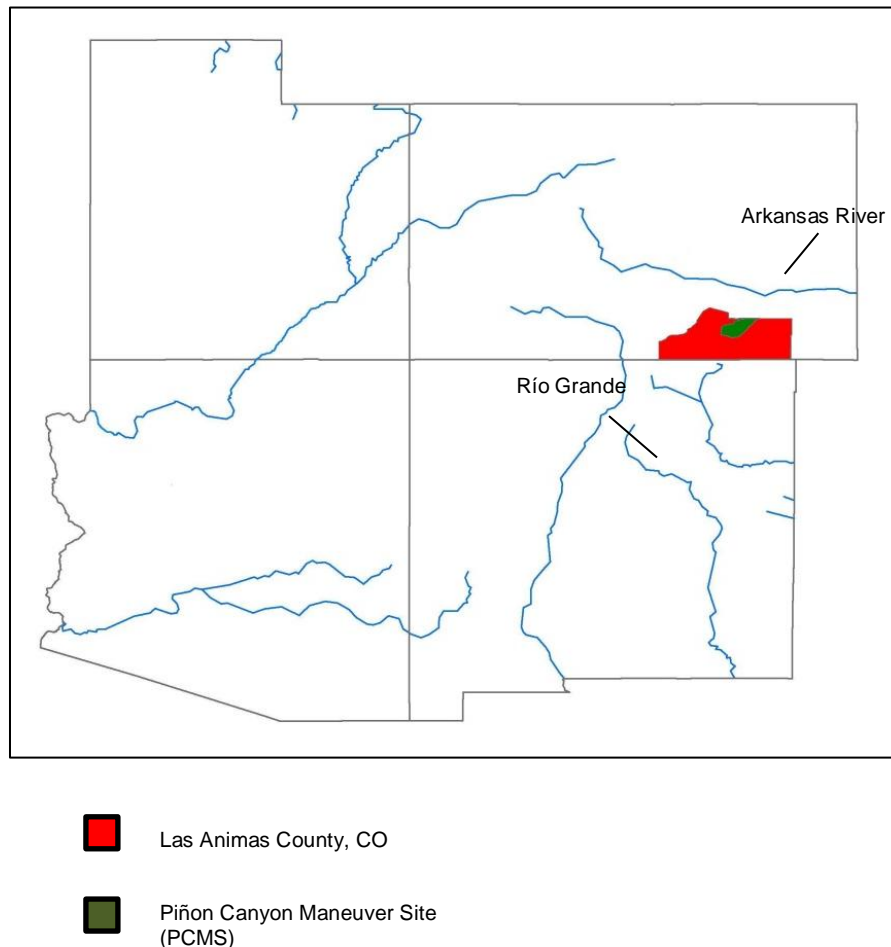


Figure 1: Regional Map of the Southwestern United States

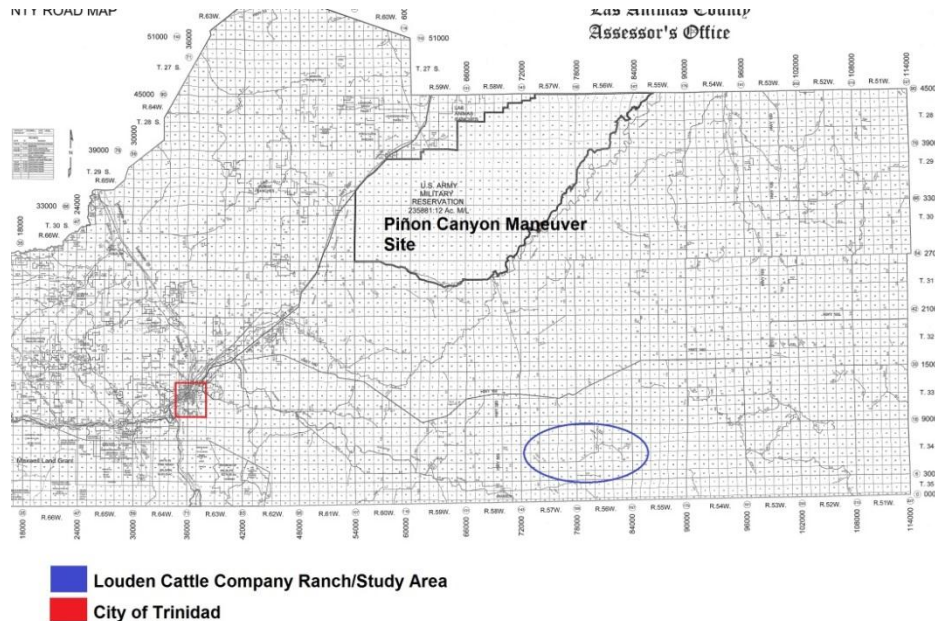


Figure 2: Map of Las Animas County, CO. Modified to indicate project area.

Cactus and thorny bushes are quite prevalent, as is the ubiquitous juniper. Wild grasses from the plains are the most common of any of the plants. Seasonal runoff collects in creek beds that are currently dry and remain dry from late spring through the winter. A series of springs in the area dried up, necessitating drilling to the aquifer during the 1960s (Louden personal communication, 2002). At the time of investigation, the drought in Colorado had already exacerbated conditions in what is normally a very dry area to begin with. Deep canyons and a large mesa break up the High Plains landscape.

During the course of the survey, homesteads were located between the elevations of 5200 and 6000 ft above sea level. The terrain encountered was quite variable and while most dwellings were located in areas that were relatively flat, the surrounding areas nearly always had a perceptible slope. Previous studies and the landowner have asserted that Euro-American sites tended to be located in “the flats” as opposed to Hispanic homesteads being located in

canyon lands, i.e. within canyon bottoms or at the top of major arroyos (Carrillo 1990:XIX-30, Loudon 2002:personal communication).

The decision by New Mexicans to settle in a varied environment might be seen as a strategy to diversify production and thus mitigate risk. These ten homesteads may also represent a break with the *partido* system or a natural progression of that arrangement whereby the subordinate has earned enough sheep to strike out on his or her own. Alternatively, the homesteads may reflect acculturation with respect to Euro-American domestic economic practices. It must be acknowledged that there may be reasons having very little to do with past economic forms that account for the settlement that occurred in and around what is now the Loudon Cattle Company Ranch. Population pressure in Trinidad or opportunistic economic development could just as easily have served as reasons for settlement in the area. Acculturation as an adaption strategy motivated by social and economic realities presents itself as an alternative to purely internal cultural continuity. It is perhaps more accurate to view economic models that deviate from past forms in New Mexico as an attempt to orient to the changing American economy.

### **Preliminary Research and Field Methods**

The author was introduced to the landowner, Richard Loudon, by Richard Carrillo in 2001. Carrillo went out of his way to mentor the author concerning this project and he suggested Mr. Loudon's ranch as a place to conduct Master's level research for the following reasons. First of all, Carrillo knew Loudon personally and also knew he would be amenable to allowing archaeological research to be performed on his property. Loudon himself was a member of several local organizations devoted to history and was also a member of the Colorado Archaeological Society (CAS). Secondly, the area was quite similar to the Piñon Canyon Maneuver Site (PCMS) in terms of environment and archaeological potential. The main

difference between the two areas is that Piñon Canyon itself is a much larger canyon than anything present on the Loudon Ranch, though there is a small canyon on the ranch that is characteristic of the entire region where both areas are found. Carrillo was able to point to several CRM reports, some of which he had a hand in creating, concerning the PCMS that proved useful. Finally, much of the Hispanic Landscapes Project had taken place on public lands. Normally, private land is inaccessible to archaeologists unless permission is given by the landowner. For someone to gain access to private land and conduct a study of the previously unrecorded Hispanic homestead sites was of potential benefit to the Hispanic Landscape project.

Prior to collecting any data, the author interviewed the landowner on several occasions concerning the identities of people at specific homesteads around his property and the approximate time these homesteads were established and for how long they were inhabited. Two formal interviews of Richard Loudon were conducted, one in October, 2001, and the other in February, 2002. These interviews established a baseline of information that the author used to conduct further documentary research. Land patents filed under the Homestead Act of 1862 and subsequent revisions of that act were examined through the Bureau of Land Management's online database and the original records on file located at the county courthouse in Trinidad. In addition to primary source material, previously published works were consulted concerning the local history of the area as well as previously concluded archaeology projects with published reports.

Site numbers were obtained from Colorado's OAHP and were assigned consecutively as fieldwork was completed. Fieldwork for the archaeological survey was performed in two parts. Sites 5LA9881 through 5LA9884 were surveyed in October of 2001 with the help of Benjamin Stanwood, while the remaining sites were surveyed with the assistance of the author's own

father, Thomas Alan Dorsey, in late spring of 2002. Both individuals participated in the flagging and recording of artifacts, the establishment of site boundaries and recording site data under close supervision of the author.

Because of the time and equipment constraints placed on the researcher, the ten most accessible homestead sites were chosen for study, as suggested by the property owner. The author rented a four wheel drive vehicle but unfortunately much of the terrain remained inaccessible. The author could not risk the rental vehicle in areas that were more secluded than the Pablo Cordova site (5LA9885) and the Antonio Vasquez site (5LA9886).

Prior to starting fieldwork, preliminary research was done at the county courthouse by examining legal documents and an oral interview of Richard Loudon concerning the locations of the sites and the people who had occupied them. What follows is a summary of the detail the landowner was able to provide for the sites that were studied archaeologically (Table 1).

**Table 1: Names and Dates of Occupation According to Richard Loudon**

<u>Site Number</u>	<u>Name of Homesteader</u>	<u>Date Range</u>
5LA9881	Romero	1900-1910 until 1920-1925
5LA9882	Unattributed	1890-1900?
5LA9883	Tafoya	1880-1890 until 1915-1920
5LA9884	Luisa Aragon	1915 until 1925
5LA9885	Esmail Martinez	1925 until 1930
5LA9886	Vasquez	Unknown
5LA9887	Fidel Maestas	1915 until 1930
5LA9888	Unknown Squatter	a few years between 1915-1930
5LA9889	Sandoval	1915-1932
5LA9890	Bonita Martinez	1910-1915 until 1936

It should be noted that the landowner was more familiar with later sites such as 5LA9884 and 5LA9889. For some sites, he simply couldn't attribute an exact date or a particular name to them. Documentary evidence from the County Records in Trinidad did not clear most of this up. Fortunately, an alternative resource presented itself. In the initial filing of land patents under the Homestead Act, the claims were filed with the county first. The federal government made the transaction of public land to a private citizen's holding official when a copy of the patent that was filed with the county was verified as authentic. The Bureau of Land Management (BLM), through its dependent organization the Government Land Office (GLO), has kept a record of every land patent filed through the Homestead Act and several other federal initiatives. These records were accessed via the Internet at the URL: <http://www.glorerecords.blm.gov/>, and this was done to find a more precise time of legal occupation when these areas were claimed under the Homestead Act. The government records depend upon the participants to act in good faith and thus cannot account for those people who did not follow the government's program for whatever reason. Table 2 summarizes the information obtained.

**Table 2: Hispanic Homestead Patent Issuance**

<u>Site Number</u>	<u>Name of Homesteader</u>	<u>Date Patent was Issued</u>
5LA9881	Antonio Romero	10/27/1904
5LA9882	Vera Louisa Kennedy	01/03/1922
5LA9883	Dandilio Romero	03/30/1905
5LA9884	Luz Aragon	01/27/1915
5LA9885	Pablo Cordova	06/18/1914
5LA9886	Antonio Ma Vasquez	04/05/1911
5LA9887	Fidel Maestas	12/02/1924
5LA9888	Fidel Maestas	12/02/1924
5LA9889	Jacobo Sandoval	04/20/1915
5LA9890	Francisco Saldivar	08/22/1921

The information provided in Table 2 should be viewed as the definitive record of legal homesteading for the sites named. It must be kept in mind that patent issuance was made five years after initial legal occupation. Table 2 seems to coincide with most parts of Table 1, but where it does not, one should remember that the documentation provided by the BLM does not necessarily trump the landowner's information. For instance, the records do not reflect the possibility of prior settlement nor do they reflect post homestead settlement land sales to other private citizens (a legal activity handled locally) or squatting (an illegal activity prosecuted locally). In any event, the GLO records provide good geographical data as to the general location of sites that could be confirmed both by the landowner and recourse to a hand held GPS unit.

The ten sites examined in this study were not isolates. For the most part, they were a segment of a larger community that included other *nuevos mexicanos* as well as Euro-Americans. According to Richard Loudon, there were six other Hispanic homestead sites on the property that were not examined and there were twelve Anglo-American homesteads that were also located on the ranch and were also left out of the survey area.

From the scant documentary evidence concerning the sites surveyed, very little is known about the individuals who filed land patents other than their names and the amount of acreage to which they were entitled. The only other source of information on these people is the landowner himself. For some sites, he was able to provide very detailed information about the inhabitants and on others he was not able to do so. One example of additional detail the landowner was able to provide was that Fidel Maestas ran a general store, which also served as the area's post office, from his home. Also, he was able to recount how the Sandoval homestead was unique in the area because the owner had imported Native American



stonecutters from New Mexico to construct the home (Richard Louden 2002:personal communication).

### **Project Area**

Compared to the PCMS, Louden's Ranch is quite small. From an ecological perspective the areas are nearly identical. The major differences arise from the fact that Piñon Canyon as a natural landscape feature is immense and a major tributary of the Arkansas River, the Purgatoire, constitutes its eastern boundary. While the Louden Ranch does have small canyons, arroyos and other features common to the region and the PCMS, it does not have a canyon comparable to Piñon and does not have a river or year round flowing water on the property. Due to a three year long drought from 1999 to 2002, this eco-system had been under an intense amount of stress, though in 2003 some relief had been felt through increasing rainfall. Seasonal runoff has not predictably or consistently filled the arroyos. At the time the survey was conducted, the Louden Cattle Company was only supporting around one hundred head of cattle. At one time, certain spring fed streams flowed year round, but this has not been the case since the 1960s (Richard Louden 2002:personal communication). Now, the Louden Cattle Company and neighboring ranches drill down to the aquifer to provide water for their stock. Water was and remains a critical resource determining land use patterns.

### **Project Objectives**

This research had several objectives. Among those goals were contributing to Colorado's archaeological database and the Hispanic Landscapes Project in particular and testing the settlement model developed by Carrillo. In a CRM report he contributed to, Carrillo provides the framework for breaking down site features, domestic architecture, and their

associations with each other to produce three homestead types that are associated with different ethnic groups (1990: XX-1 – XX-29).

At this point, several differences between the research conducted on the PCMS and the current study must be kept in mind. The scope of the research conducted in the PCMS study is much larger than the current study; in all 168 homesteads were examined by Carrillo (1990:XX-20) while only ten were recorded on the Loudon Ranch. Three sites were labeled unique by Carrillo, so only 165 homesteads were subjected to his statistical analysis (1990:XX-21). With only ten sites, statistical analysis would be meaningless in the present survey on the Loudon Ranch. Concerning the implementation of the surveys, while surveys on the Loudon Ranch were thorough they were conducted entirely above ground (Phase I Survey) while surveys on the PCMS included limited shovel testing (Phase II Survey). Finally, it should be pointed out that while the study conducted on the Loudon Ranch encountered predominantly sites dating to the early twentieth century. The survey undertaken on the PCMS included sites formed in the middle and late nineteenth century as well as the early twentieth century.

Concerning homesteads, Carrillo recorded the material used to construct a homestead, the orientation of entryways, the presence or absence of a central fireplace, the mean size of dwellings as well as their shape and configuration. In total, he cataloged eleven building types. Table 3 describes the building types and associated features.

**Table 3: Component Site Features of Site Types defined by Carrillo**

From (Carrillo 1990:XX-3 – XX-29)

<b>Domestic Architecture Types</b>	<b>Definitions</b>
Domestic Architecture 1	Structures in the shape of a square
Domestic Architecture 2	L-shaped structures; represents addition to a square or rectangular shaped building
Domestic Architecture 3	Round, elliptical, partially rectangular but includes a corner fireplace
Domestic Architecture 4	Rectangular structures that have a corner fireplace
Domestic Architecture 5	Square structures that include a corner fireplace
Domestic Architecture 6	Similar to DA3 but without a corner fireplace
Domestic Architecture 7	Dugouts with a rectangular outline
Domestic Architecture 8	Square dugouts
Domestic Architecture 9	Irregular, circular or elliptically shaped dugouts
Domestic Architecture 10	Rectangular structures without a corner fireplace
Domestic Architecture 11	L-shaped structures; with a corner fireplace
Outbuildings	Buildings in association with main homestead, built to facilitate economic activity
Associated Features	Features assisting the livability of homestead such as hornos, hearths, wells, etc...
Ancillary Features	Features not necessarily having to do with the historic site: rock art, quarries, etc...
Corrals/Pens	Anything used, regardless of material type, to confine livestock
Large Enclosure System	Includes long fence line, large enclosure of a canyon, far from nearest homestead
Livestock Associated Feature	Features associated with long range sheep herding activity, not with homesteads
Other Features	A Catch-all for "unique" features.

By then cataloging associated features such as outbuildings, wells or cisterns, and corrals to name a few, Carrillo was able to run a statistical analysis that produced clear associations of specific features with particular building types and thereby created the three homestead types (Carrillo 1990:Table XX-4 – Table XX-10). A reproduction of his table of results appears in Table 4.

The three homestead types vary in terms of both the number and complexity of associated features. Type 1 homesteads have two possible interpretations. First they could represent a rudimentary level of site formation by Euro-American settlers that did not progress to a more intense level of occupation and were abandoned. Alternatively, these sites could be interpreted as being developed by Hispanics and represent an optimum level of development for their purposes (Carrillo 1990:XX-23). Such homesteads possess the simplest architectural styles and have a lower number and variety of artifacts to examine. Type 2 homesteads are characterized as being unequivocally Hispanic in origin. Carrillo notes that Type 2 homesteads have markedly higher percentages of support features and have the highest value derived for architecture containing a corner fireplace versus a centrally placed fireplace (Carrillo 1990:XX-23). Finally, Type 3 homesteads are characterized by a higher number and variety of ancillary support structures, lack corner fireplaces, have a higher percentage of square houses and in general seem to reflect a successful adaptation to large scale commercial ranching (Carrillo 1990:XX-28). While some Type 3 homesteads have Hispanic surnames attached to their land patents, this often indicates original rather than subsequent occupants, reflecting an incidence of selling out or abandonment.

**Table 4: Mean Attribute Values For Homestead Site Types**

From Carrillo 1990:XX-22, Table XX-10

<b>N total = 165</b>	<b>Homestead Type 1</b>	<b>Homestead Type 2</b>	<b>Homestead Type 3</b>
N Frequency	110	25	30
N Percent	66.67	15.15	18.18
Domestic Architecture 1	0.327	0.240	0.733
Domestic Architecture 2	0.018	0.080	0.167
Domestic Architecture 3	0.036	0.080	0.000
Domestic Architecture 4	0.073	0.200	0.067
Domestic Architecture 5	0.082	0.200	0.033
Domestic Architecture 6	0.209	0.240	0.200
Domestic Architecture 7	0.018	0.080	0.067
Domestic Architecture 8	0.082	0.080	0.200
Domestic Architecture 9	0.200	0.320	0.233
Domestic Architecture 10	0.291	0.680	0.300
Domestic Architecture 11	0.009	0.120	0.067
Outbuildings	0.400	0.440	3.533
Outdoor Cooking Features	0.155	0.160	0.133
Associated Features	0.145	0.240	0.833
Ancillary Features	0.273	0.120	1.033
Corrals/Pens	0.073	2.280	0.700
Other Features	0.118	1.240	0.133

The current study advanced with the premise of testing Carrillo's typology. Having done a thorough archaeological survey of the sites in question, it should only be a matter of recording

the presence and associations of features at the sites and comparing to the expectations as advanced by Carrillo's previous work in the Piñon Canyon Maneuver Site to test their predictive qualities.

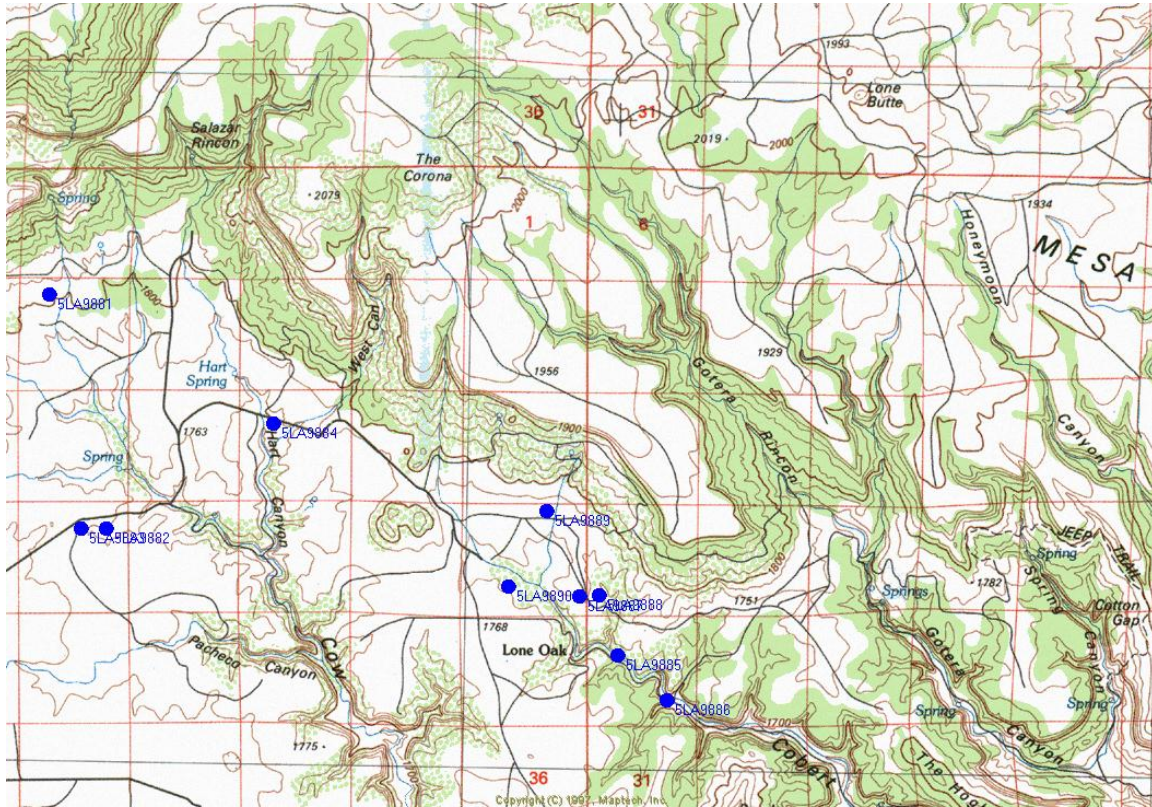
### **Site Recording Methods**

The site recording methods used were crucial to complete data recording accurately and on schedule. The work area for each site was defined based on its unique characteristics. A work site quadrangle was defined by the last cultural item to be found north, south, east, and west from the main homestead building. Rough borders of the site were thus established by using the pin flags that had marked the artifact clusters. At different times this could be an artifact or a feature. While state OAHHP forms were filled out, they did not of themselves constitute a standardized methodology for mapping the sites. In other words, at each site it was a directed survey because it proceeded on the basis of the direct observation by the participants in the survey. All mapping data were recorded through the use of an EDM and entered into the researcher's notebook, and were later transformed through the use of GIS software to create site maps. After mapping data was recorded, the researcher and his assistants systematically recorded individual flagged artifacts and artifact clusters. This process included the classification of the material culture to the best of the researcher's ability, and photos were taken and a photo log created in order to analyze them further while not in the field. Upon returning from fieldwork, all data was transferred to two sets of Excel spreadsheets; a mapping data set and a material culture set. Chapter 4 presents the data recorded for landscape and architecture on the Loudon Ranch and uses Carrillo's typology in order to test same.

## CHAPTER 4: RECORDED HOMESTEADS ON THE LOUDEN RANCH

As previously described, the researcher and Richard Louden worked together to determine which of the homestead sites would be recorded. For the most part, logistical constraints determined which sites were recorded and in what order. It was stipulated that the sites could not have been previously recorded and that they must be Hispanic homesteads. In order to test Carrillo's typology for the ability to discern ethnicity it was necessary to have control over this variable. Additionally, I will present three previously examined non-Hispanic sites from the PCMS that were recorded before Carrillo's study and apply his typology to them. By examining both Hispanic and non-Hispanic sites, Carrillo's typology can be more thoroughly tested.

Hispanic homestead sites in this area are generally located in uneven terrain, within comfortable walking distance of or in a canyon, and very close to a source of the sandstone used in constructing the primary building. The primary building is considered to be the home or shelter of each homestead. While Hispanic settlers used locally available sandstone, these shelters were constructed to appear as traditional New Mexican adobe structures would and are similar to what was found in Piñon Canyon (Carrillo 1990). In essence, the primary building was constructed as a rectangular box, with mud sealing the cracks between the cut stones. The roof was constructed in the same manner as a normal adobe, with log beams lying on top of the walls, sealed with mud and thatch. Secondary structures such as corrals, sheds, or outhouses, among others, were often made using sandstone as well. Figure 5 depicts where each site is located on the landscape; each is described below.



**Figure 5:** Location of the Ten Sites Examined

### **The Antonio Romero Site/5LA9881**

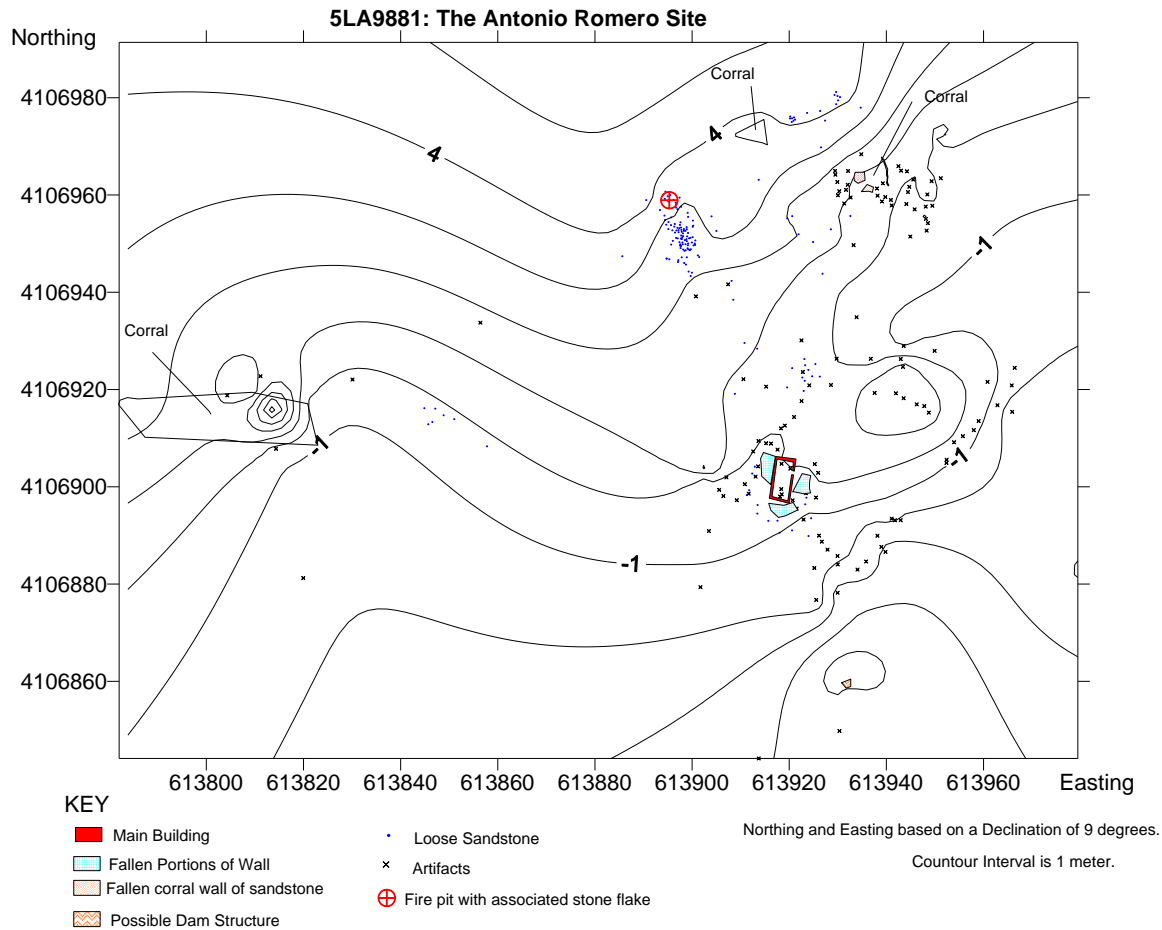
This site was one of the largest in terms of area encountered (approximately 21,600 m<sup>2</sup>) during the survey. Originally, the main building (Figure 6) had two stories, but the upper part has since fallen into the dwelling, exposing the logs that were part of the ceiling/roof. Three large sections of wall have also fallen outward. To the southeast of the main structure is a ravine that contains a primitive damming structure. Consisting of the same type of sandstone blocks used for the main building, it is possible that this was where the settlers collected their water. This ravine has not had any running water in it for quite some time (Richard Loudon, personal communication 2002). There are three corrals on the site, marked by piled sandstone and the remains of fencing and barbed wire. Sandstone is scattered across the site, which is



significant because its source was located at a lower elevation. The sandstone scatter was therefore not the result of a rockslide, and could be safely associated with the site. A site map is depicted in Figure 7. As the landowner recalls, this homestead was abandoned by 1925.



**Figure 6:** 5LA9881/The Romero Homestead



**Figure 7:** Map of the Antonio Romero Site

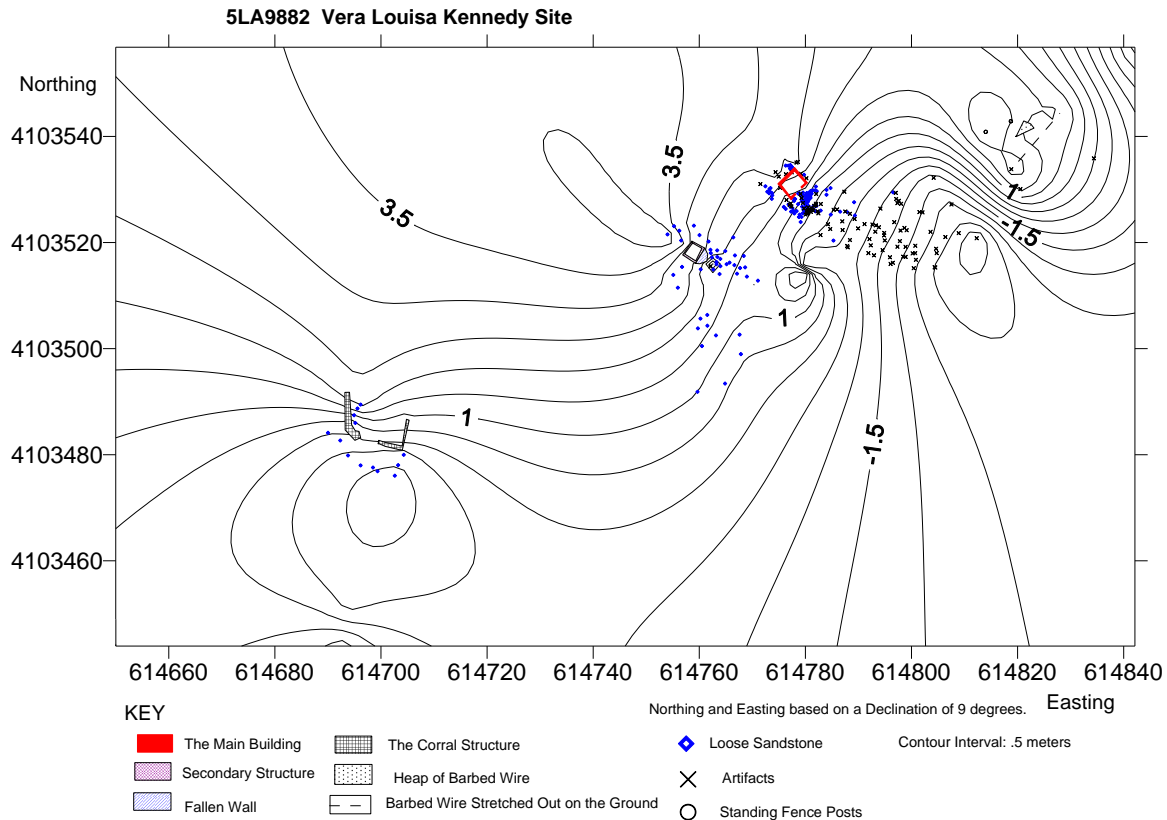
The site seems to conform most closely to a Type 2 homestead. A fire pit located on the north side of the site was judged to have not been produced by the homestead. It was deemed to have been produced by Native Americans and flaked stone found nearby would support this. If the fire pit was interpreted as being Hispanic in origin and associated with the site, it would further support a Type 2 classification of the homestead. The domestic architecture strongly supports a Type 2 interpretation of the site and the presence and number of corral features strengthens this. One feature classified as “other,” the small dam structure, is indicative of traditional Hispanic land use patterns concerning *acequías*. Located in a ravine near the home, it may have provided water for household use.

## **The Vera Louisa Kennedy Site/5LA9882**

The Vera Louisa Kennedy Site is located in a small canyon and includes three small structures. All structures were in a poor state of preservation and the area was sparsely populated with artifacts. One building had a small, rusty bedspring in it and was labeled the “main” building in as much as it appeared to be a rude set up for a sleeping quarter. A secondary structure was near the main building, and further southwest along the canyon a stone corral was in place. There were several heaps of barbed wire, and standing fence posts seem to indicate a corral had existed in the eastern part of the site. The small size of the corral and uneven terrain suggest that it was used for sheep rather than cattle. Great care was taken only to record sandstone blocks that were perceptibly modified by human agency. The landowner was not able to recall anyone living there in his lifetime. Figure 8 shows a photograph of the area; Figure 9 is the site map.



**Figure 8:** The Vera Louisa Kennedy Site/5LA9882



**Figure 9:** Map of the Vera Louisa Kennedy Site

In terms of homestead type, it appears that this site would conform to Carrillo's expectation for a Type 2 homestead. The structures were rudimentary; it was not clear that the two buildings ever had roofs. The corral structure could only have been used for sheep herding. Taken together with the characteristics of the habitation structures; this site could be construed as having been produced by Hispanic settlers. From the documents available from the BLM and the county, this area was part of a much larger claim, 320 acres in all. Additionally, the final patent reflects an issue date of January 1, 1922. The Homestead Act had been expanded twice as reported in Chapter 2 and, this level of acreage is consistent with the second expansion in 1909. Patentee Vera Louisa Kennedy had also claimed the southeast quarter of section 20 and the north half of the northeast quarter of section 29, which lay directly north and south of the

recorded site respectively. In terms of time period, one would expect a Type 3 homestead as well. However, there are significant problems with this classification.

It's not clear that Vera Louisa Kennedy would have necessarily associated herself with this site even if she did in fact own the property. The structures on site reflect habitation in as much as bed springs were found within. No sign of a water source existed, beside that of the ravine itself potentially carrying seasonal runoff. My speculation is that Kennedy proved up on her property elsewhere, and that the rudimentary architecture that was left behind was constructed by *pastores*, itinerant shepherders who ranged from New Mexico to the *llano estacado*, Staked Plain, of Texas. Mrs. Kennedy may have collected a grazing fee from these persons, if she knew of them. Perhaps she even owned the sheep and her workmen constructed the corral and the habitation structures for their own convenience in the field. These are the best interpretations, excluding trespassing, that can be made of this site. In his study on the PCMS, Carrillo does account for disassociated corral structures and sheep camps on what seems to be an ad hoc basis. In actuality, these constitute site types unto themselves, sites disassociated from homesteading activity. Potentially, a great deal of confusion could result from similar or identical feature types. Features in common with both Hispanic homesteads and independent sheep camps could obscure one or both types of sites. In this instance, context argues for this not being a permanent homestead site at all.

### **The Tafoya Site/5LA9883**

This site has been associated with the Tafoya family by Richard Loudon. It is located on a gentle slope that eventually terminates at a streambed. The streambed eventually leads through a canyon that is visible from the site. Several structures remain, including the main structure, a secondary structure that may have been constructed for storage purposes or as an additional habitation, and an L-shaped structure that may have served as a corral. By the

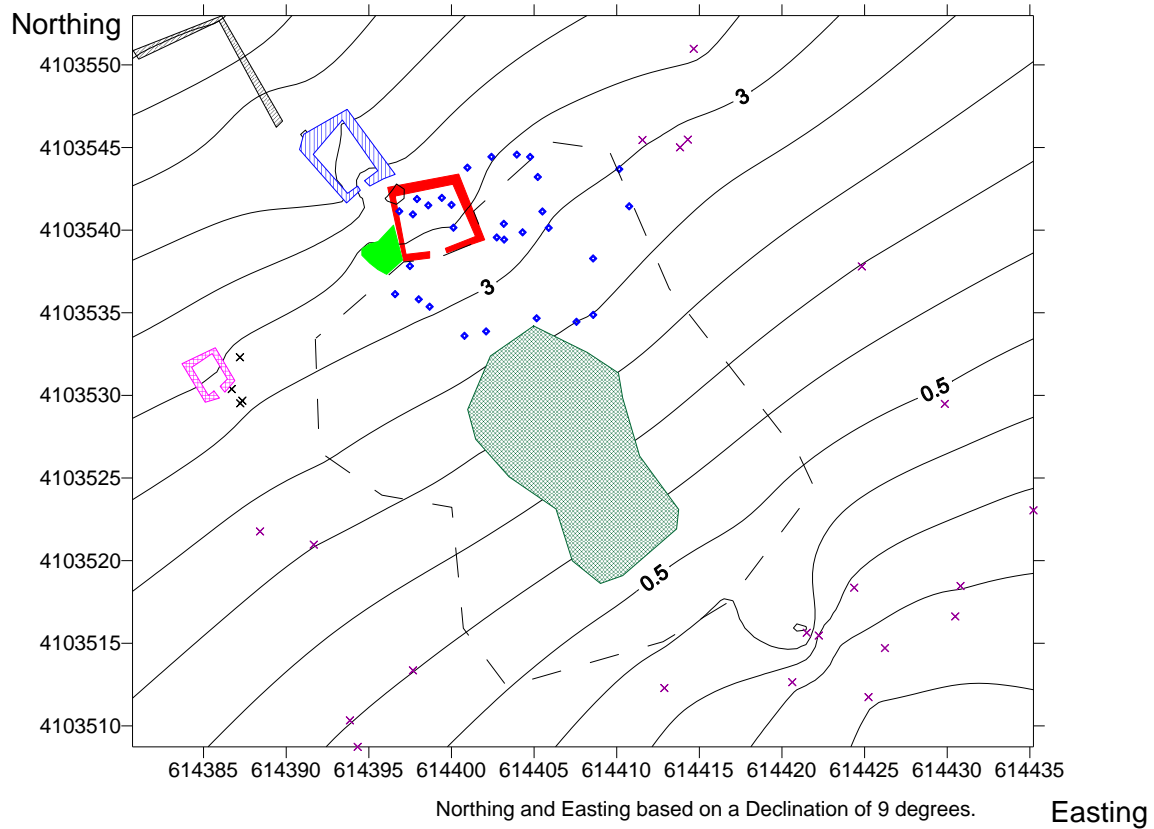
1930s, the site was abandoned and many of the stones were scavenged by the county for building projects (Richard Louden 2002: personal communication), which accounts for the poor state of preservation. Figure 10 is a photograph of the homestead's habitation while figure 11 is a site map.












**Figure 10:** 5LA9883/The Tafoya Site

Using the typology established by Richard Carrillo this site would be classified as a Type 3 homestead. The structures are rudimentary and basically square. There is some confusion about the feature labeled “small box structure”. It was in a gross state of disrepair, and proved hard to interpret. Three interpretations came to mind for it. Either it was an *horno*, a simple storage structure, or an outhouse. No ash stains were found, no artifacts suggestive of food or other household staples, and since it was not excavated, no conclusive evidence was found that this was a latrine either. It must have something to do with the household so is listed as an associated feature. As for the L-Shape wall, it was suggestive of a corral area. Perhaps it was used for livestock but since it is not enclosed very well, it may simply be an area designated as a tie-up for mounts or it may reflect an unfinished project.

# 5LA9883: The Tafoya Site



## KEY

- |   |   |
|---|---|
|  The Main Structure      |  Loose Sandstone   |
|  The Secondary Structure |  Zone of High Density of Artifacts (>5 per meter square) |
|  A Fallen Wall           |  Zone of Low Density of Artifacts (<5 per meter square)  |
|  An L-shaped Wall        |  Outlier Artifacts                                       |
|  The Small Box Structure |   |

Contour Interval: .5 meters

**Figure 11: Map of the Tafoya Site**

From Tables 1 and 2, one notes a discrepancy between the name of the patentee and the name given by Richard Louden as the land holder. The name on the patent is Dandilio Romero. This could be accounted for in several ways. First, this site may have nothing to do with the legal patent. It may have been a far earlier site than the issue date of the patent of 1905. The artifact analysis in chapter 5 supports an interpretation that indicates an early twentieth century occupation. Perhaps, Tafoya had cleared out by then. Then again, Louden believed that the site was occupied at least until 1915, if not 1920. Perhaps Tafoya and Romero had come to a business arrangement concerning the land wherein Tafoya was “proving up” the land for Romero to stake a claim. There may have been several legal transactions that have not been accounted for concerning this land. Regardless, the land was vacated during the Great Depression, allowing the county to legally take the stone blocks (Richard Louden 2002: personal communication).

#### **The Luz Aragon Site/5LA9884**

Very few remains were found at this site. In fact, the main building was completely overgrown by juniper. In addition to the main building and a stone triangle that may have served as an outdoor cooking area/fire ring, there was a slight indication of a stone structure in the nearby ravine. Aside from this, the current landowner believes that the person who settled here was simply trying to establish the bare minimum of development to meet the Homestead Act's and descendant legislation requirements for settlement on a claim. No secondary structures were found and it is not clear what could have been produced in the area. It seems likely that Luz Aragon was engaged in a low-stakes land development strategy, improving free land to the bare minimum required by law and then selling the property at the first opportunity. The land patent itself was issued in 1915, encompasses 320 acres and includes all of section 15 except for the Northwest  $\frac{1}{4}$  of the Northwest  $\frac{1}{4}$ , the South  $\frac{1}{2}$  of the Southwest  $\frac{1}{4}$ , the East  $\frac{1}{2}$

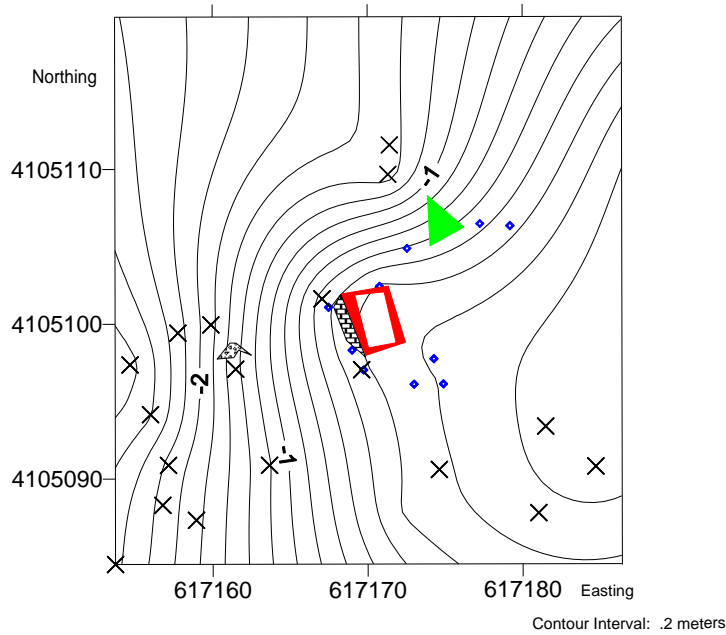


of the Northeast  $\frac{1}{4}$  and the Northeast, Southeast, and Southwest  $\frac{1}{4}$  s of the Southeast  $\frac{1}{4}$  .  
Figure 12 is a photograph of the main structures as it appears now while Figure 13 is the site  
map.



**Figure 12:** The Luz Aragon Site/5LA9884

### 5LA9884 Luz Aragon Site



Northing and Easting based on a Declination of 9 degrees.

#### KEY

- |  |   |
|--|---|
| <span style="color: red;">■</span> Main Building           | Stone structure in ravine   |
| <span style="color: blue;">◆</span> Loose Sandstone Blocks | <span style="font-size: 2em;">×</span> Artifacts                    |
| Intact fallen wall   | <span style="color: green;">▲</span> Stone Triangle/Possible Hearth |

**Figure 13:** Map of the Luz Aragon Site

The Figure 13 map represents a deviation from the normal methods of the survey. The junipers being positioned as they were right on top of the structure, it was impractical to obtain data points by using the EDM. Consequently, as many points on site were taken with the EDM as practical and from that point, measurements were taken using a tape and compass.

As far as Carrillo's typology is concerned, this may be classified as a Type 1 site simply because of its rudimentary nature but, with only two associated features, and one of them being a potential hearth it also meets Carrillo's definition of a Type 2 homestead. Overall, the poor

level of preservation makes any determination solely from architecture and associated features at best an educated guess.

### **The Pablo Cordova (Church) Site/5LA9885**

Located in a large canyon, this site covers an area approximately 12000 m<sup>2</sup>. This homestead had started out as the community's Catholic church. Over the years, different people had come to occupy it, including the land patent holder Pablo Cordova and his family. The main building structure was much larger than most of the other buildings encountered during the survey, and it had what appeared to be a back filled root cellar to the east of it. A modest stone corral (approximately 13 x 8 m) was located southeast along the canyon wall. Remaining fence posts and some pieces of barbed wire indicate that the corral could have been made larger or fenced off as needed. The building is quite close to a ravine that at one time carried running water year round (Richard Loudon, personal communication 2002), but this has not been the case for many years. Figure 14 is a photograph of the building while Figure 15 is the site map.



**Figure 14:** The Pablo Cordova (Church) Site/5LA9885

Using Carrillo's typology, this is a Type 3 homestead. It has several support features associated with it and the basic shape of the building is suggestive of a Type 3 homestead. The patent was issued in 1914 and this fits the time period type 3 homesteads are generally associated with. There are 163.63 acres in the claim and parts of the claim run northwest to southeast. Prior to being used as a home, this building was a church (Richard Loudon 2002: personal communication). It is a fine example of abandonment and adaptive reuse.

5LA9885 The Pablo Cordova Site

Northing and Easting based on a Declination of 9 degrees.

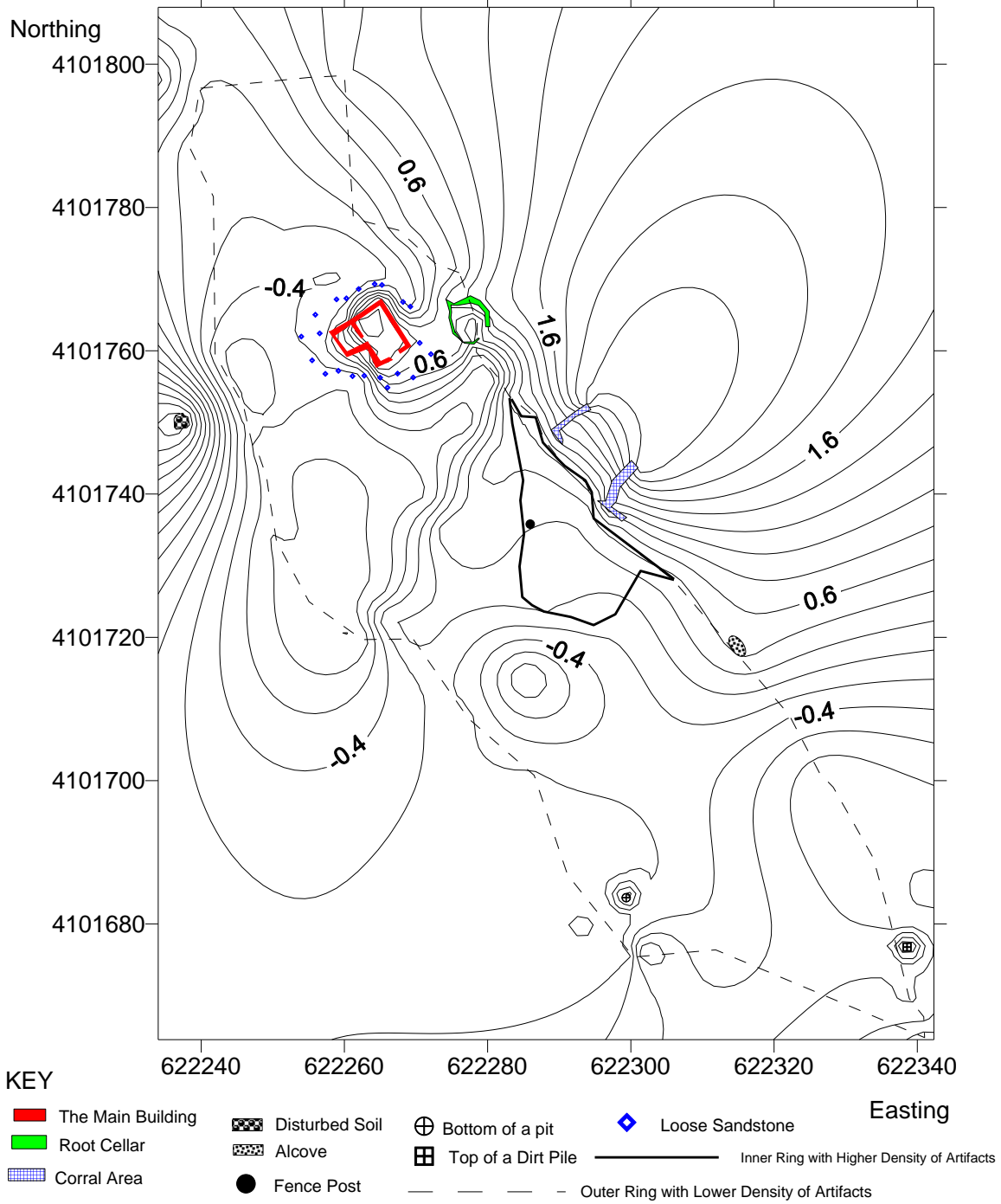


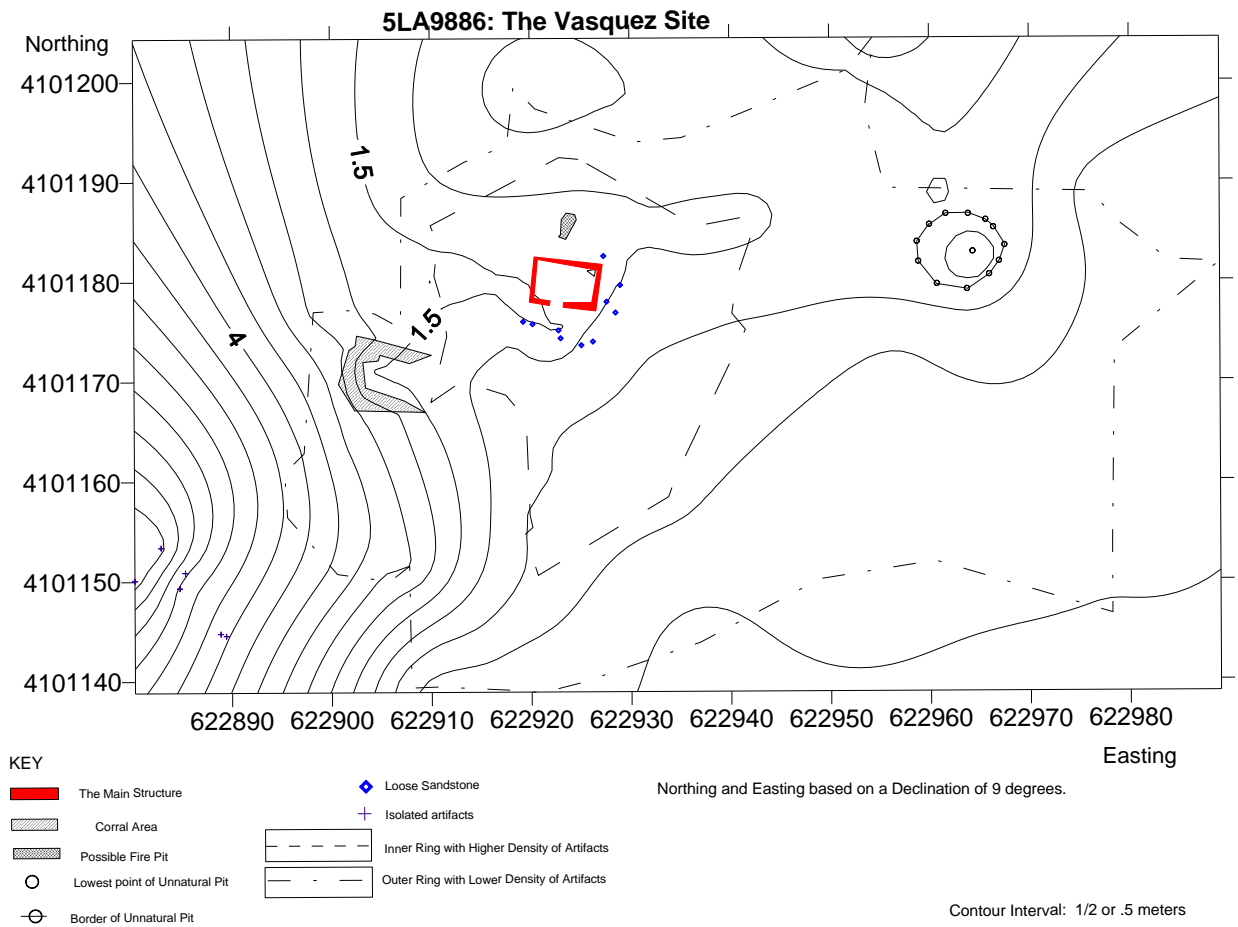
Figure 15: Site Map for the Pablo Cordova (Church) Site

## **The Antonio Vasquez Site/5LA9886**

This site is further downstream from site 5LA9885 in the same canyon. In fact, the site is located at the meeting point of several canyons. The site includes a small main building, a fire pit structure to the north of it, and a small corral-like structure to the southwest. The base of the main building remains, but very little else is intact. Figure 16 is a photograph of what is left of the main building while Figure 17 is the site map.



**Figure 16:** 5LA9886/The Antonio Vasquez Site



**Figure 17:** Map of the Antonio Vasquez Site

This site can be classified as a Type 2 homestead using Carrillo’s typology. The main structure is rectangular and is found in close association with a corral structure and a possible fire pit. Land patent documents indicate this site was part of a 160 acre claim issued in 1911. The site itself should be considered disturbed, as most of the sandstone making up the building appears to have been removed.

### **The Fidel Maestas Site/5LA9887**

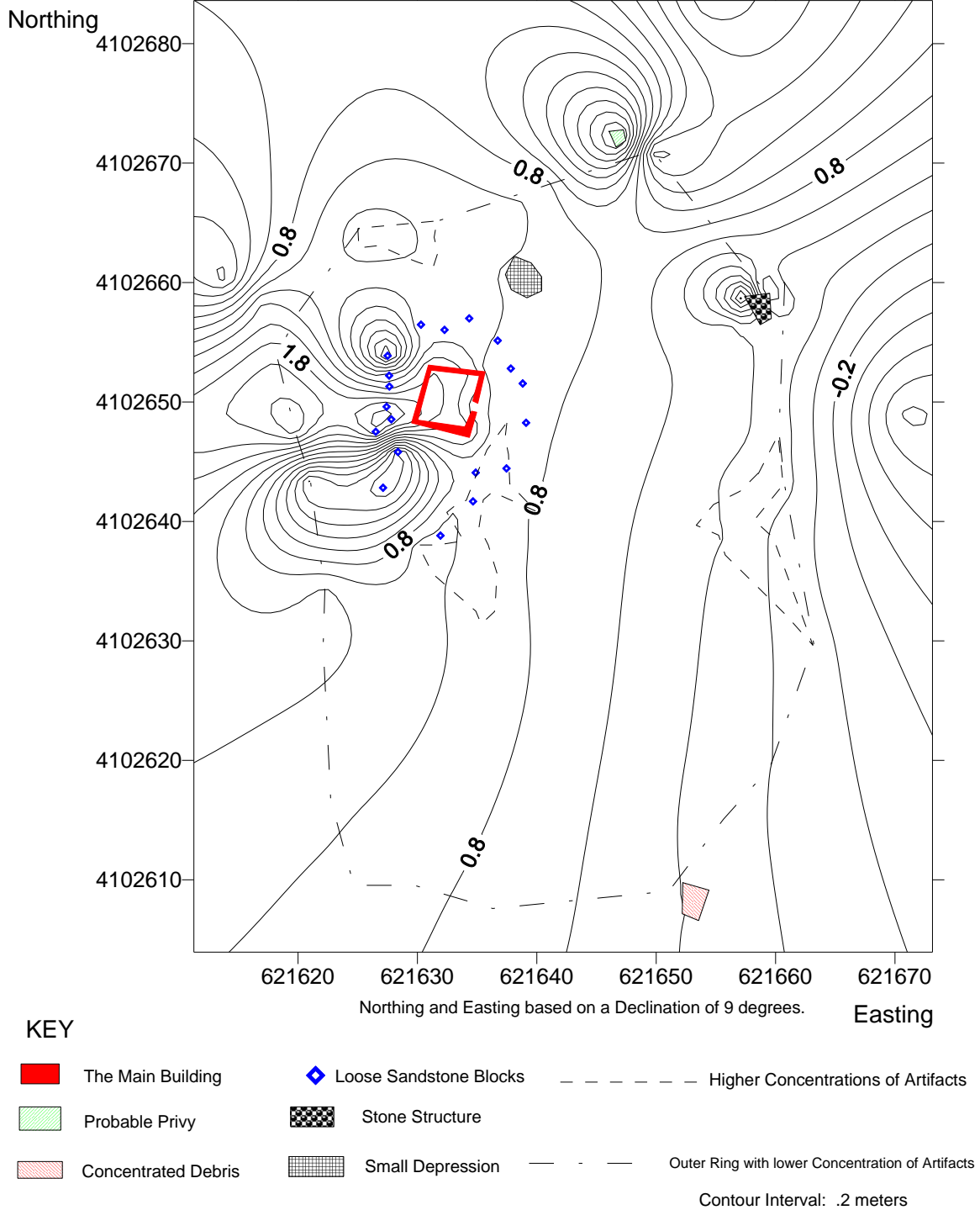
Like 5LA9885, this site was not purely a homestead. Richard Loudon recalled clearly that this site acted as a post office and general store for the community. No corral structures were present on site. There was a very wide debris scatter around the building and some concentrated debris that may have been a midden that had resurfaced, as wind erosion seemed to be occurring even as the site was being surveyed. Also, there were no signs of ravines or ditches or anything else that might indicate running water had been in the area, although a small, unnatural depression may in fact have been a back-filled well. Figure 18 is a photograph of the remains of the building. Figure 19 is the map produced of the site.



**Figure 18:** The Fidel Maestas Site/5LA9887



**5LA9887 The Fidel Maestas Site**



**Figure 19:** Map of the Fidel Maestas Site

This site on the face of it might seem to qualify as a Type 1 homestead per Carrillo's typological model. However, despite resembling a square, the primary building is more of a rectangle and is associated with features that do not seem to serve an economic purpose. One feature strongly resembled a privy in as much as two pieces of milled lumber in a sandstone box were positioned in such a way as to make a "sitting" posture possible. Tables 1 and 2 show general agreement between Richard Louden's account of who lived at this site, and the legal documents that were filed with the government. Fidel Maestas ended up taking advantage of the third expansion of the Homestead Act, and his claim reached 483.76 acres. Only a small sliver of his claim was examined by me, and it is possible that there were many more outbuildings, corrals, and other buildings and structures that allowed Maestas to "prove up" his claim to productive land. His behavior would seem to suggest that if a Type 3 homestead was possible, he probably would have built it somewhere on his property but for some reason he did not choose to improve his original homestead. This site must be regarded as strongly indicative of a Type 2 site while acknowledging the possibility that a Type 3 site may exist on another part of the Maestas property.

### **Squatter Site/5LA9888**

One of the most disturbed sites in the research area, the structure of this site overlooks a canyon. It was set up by a Mexican squatter just inside the boundary of what was Fidel Maestas' claim but later became property of the Louden Cattle Company (Richard Louden 2002: personal communication). It only has three finished walls, the west side of the building only having some basal stones. Tourists from Texas have left a small trailer on site, and they have apparently altered the structure by piling up rocks to block the back entrance to the building, and making a grill out of some of the buildings' stones. Figure 20 is a photograph of

the inside of the building and figure 21 is the site map. This building would not produce a result in Carrillo's system. It would have been recorded as an isolate.



**Figure 20:** Squatter's Site/5LA9888

# 5LA9888: The Squatter's Site

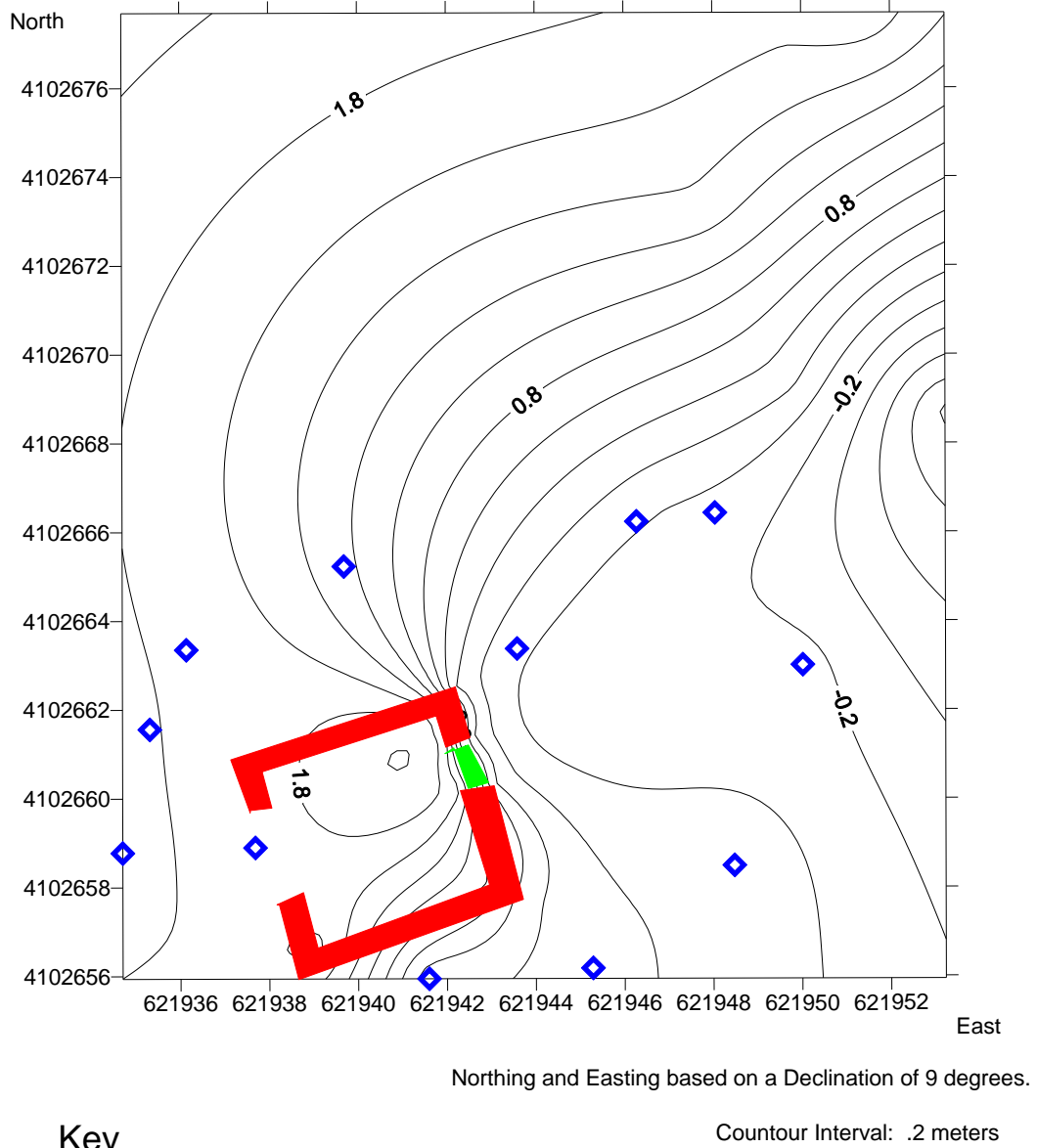


Figure 21: Map of the Squatter's Site

## **The Sandoval Homestead/5LA9889**

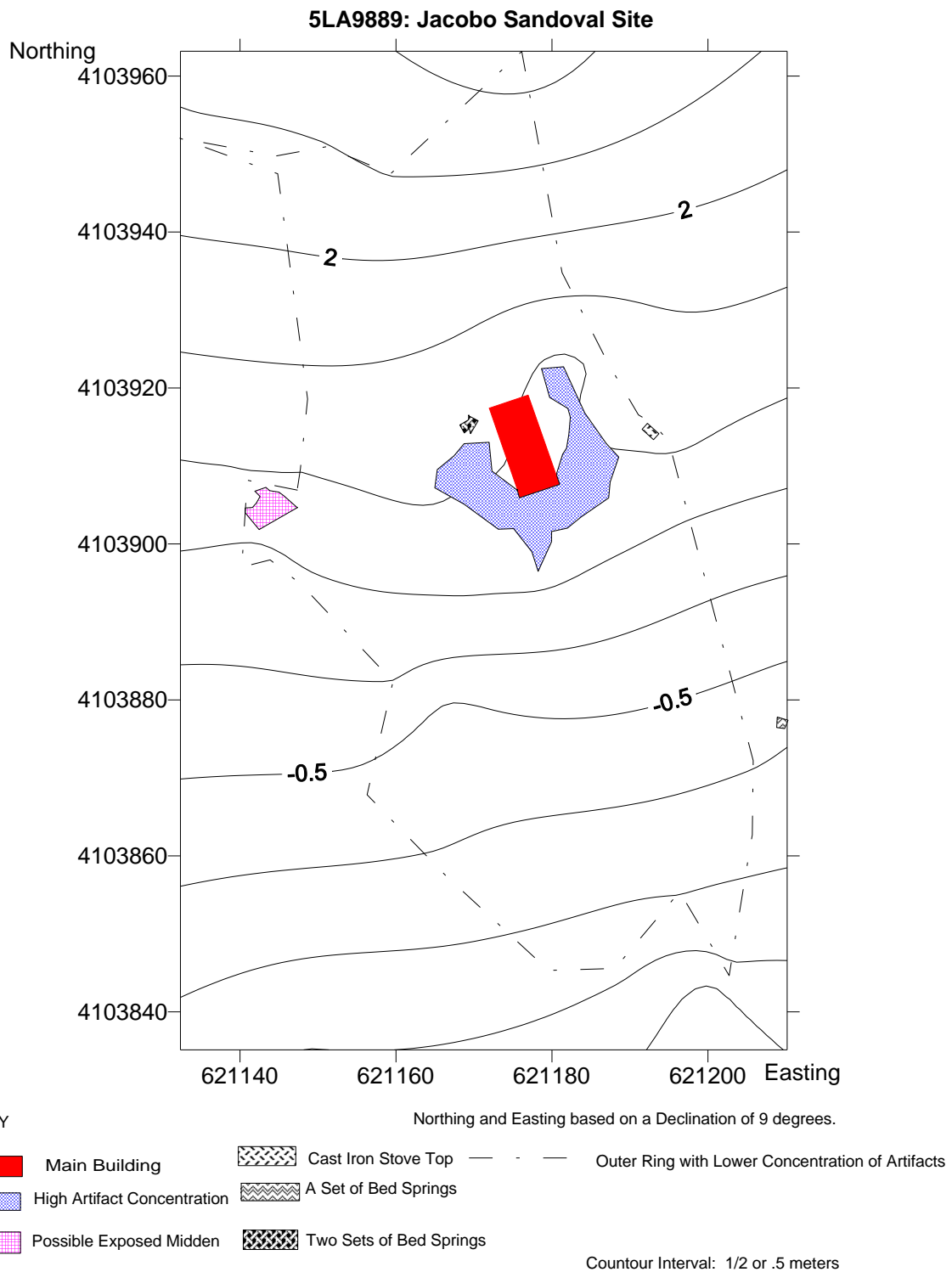
In addition to being the most intact structure, the Sandoval home is unique in several other ways. While it was constructed out of local sandstone, it was cut and laid by professional stonemasons (Richard Louden personal communication 2002). After the Louden family acquired it, a corrugated and gabled roof was added to the structure. It was used as a storage barn for quite some time before it became a shed for the University of Colorado at Colorado Springs (UCCS) field school led by Minnette Church. I was told by Richard Louden that the field school was actually looking for Native American sites, and they did not record the homestead site. Having done an exhaustive literature search, the author has not found any documentation of this.

Jacobo Sandoval was a late entrant into this area. The building was maintained well after it was abandoned as a residence by the Loudens, albeit with some modification. The site is situated near a run-off ditch that eventually terminates in a canyon to the south. Figure 22 is a photograph of the outside of the main building structure, while Figure 23 is the site map.



**Figure 22:** The Sandoval Homestead/5LA9889

This site should be classified as Type 3 homestead, but the scant amount of data left on the site would not support this conclusion independently. The building itself is gabled though Richard Loudon himself had the roof repaired at some point. However, the surrounding area is an active work site for the ranch. Some of the ranch's cattle were visible while the survey was conducted and a large cow pond was located in the vicinity of the site. The cow pond had been created with earthmoving equipment. Suffice to say, it was a very disturbed site that had been modified and re-used. Sandoval claims just over 320 acres in his land patents so he did avail himself of the last modification of the Homestead Act. Without multiple lines of evidence, particularly the oral reports of Richard Loudon, this site would be very difficult to interpret. As only one architectural feature remained, it was difficult to apply Carrillo's typology.



**Figure 23:** Map of the Jacobo Sandoval Site

## **Bonita Martinez/Francisco Saldivar Homestead/5LA9890**

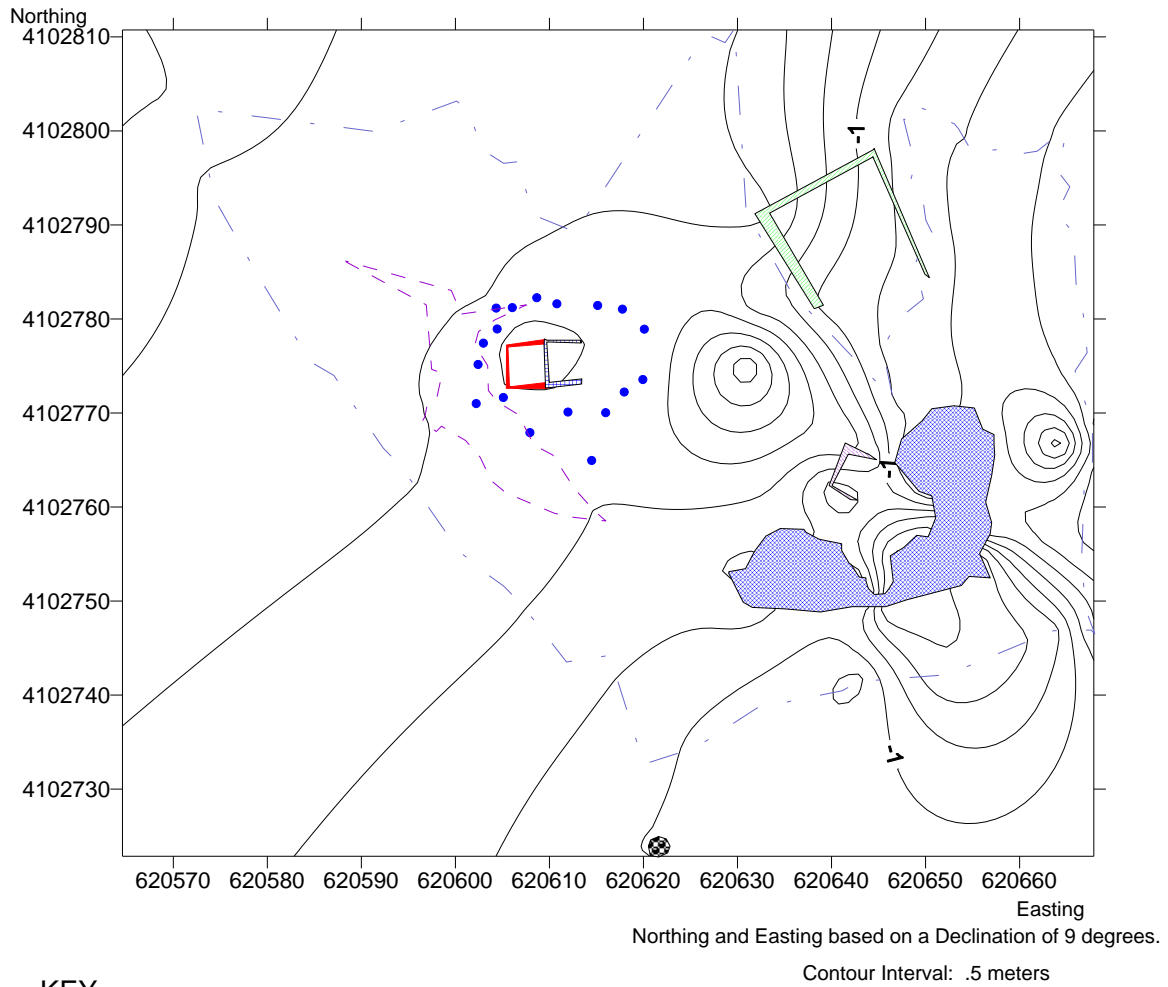
The current landowner recalls that a woman named Bonita Martinez maintained this site. She was said to be a widow, and the landowner knew one of her sons in his own childhood. The site was occupied until 1936 (Richard Loudon Personal Communication 2002). However, a land patent to this area was made out in the name of Francisco Saldivar sometime prior to this. The relationship between Martinez and Saldivar is unclear. Looking to the northeast from this site, the Sandoval homestead is clearly visible; a large canyon separates them. On the site itself, a sandstone shelf partitions the main building from the two corral areas. Figure 24 is a photograph of the site and Figure 25 is a map of the site.












**Figure 24:** The Bonita Martinez/Francisco Saldivar Homestead



**5LA9890: The Bonita Martinez/Francisco Saldivar Site**



**KEY**

- |   |  |   |  |
|---|--|---|--|
|  | The Main Building                                      |  | Possible Backfilled Well                           |
|  | Addition to Main Building (area marked out with posts) |  | Loose Sandstone                                    |
|  | Large Corral Area                                      |  | Outer Edge of Lower Concentration of Artifacts     |
|  | Smaller Corral Area                                    |  | High Concentration of Artifacts Near Main Building |
|  | Heavy Concentration of Artifacts                       |   |  |

**Figure 25:** Map of the Bonita Martinez/Francisco Saldivar Site

In regard to Carrillo's typology, the site fits a Type 3 homestead only if the proximity of the corrals is ignored. The close association of the corrals and the Domestic Architecture type fit a Type 2 homestead profile more closely. Overall, it has more features associated with Type 2 than Type 3 and would produce a Type 2 result in as much as the corrals seem to be more likely to have been for sheep rather than cattle. A sheep corral tends to be small and compact, and uses not only the available sandstone for its walls but also tends to make use of terrain features to give it a consistent shape (the wall of a canyon for example). Cattle are usually given flatter terrain and more room. Figure 26 illustrates this point with a photograph of site 5LA9886's corral.



**Figure 26:** Corral of site 5LA9886

## **Summation of Sites**

Often sites surveyed, seven sites were classified as Type 2 sites, two were classified as Type 3 sites, and one site was considered an outlier and was not classified (The Squatter's Site/5LA9888). These classifications were made using the information represented in Table 3 and Table 4 as a guide. The tables represent the feature typology created by Carrillo and the frequency that such features were present in each of the three homestead types respectively. Both the Cordova/Church Site (5LA9885) and the Sandoval site (5LA9889) were categorized as being Type 3 sites primarily due to the type of domestic architecture present on site. Type 2 sites in the survey area held a more diverse array of domestic architecture. Consequently, associated features and the presence of corrals weighed more heavily in making this classification in general. On the following page, Table 5 presents the features recorded for each site in using the typology. It seems that at least in seven cases, ethnicity was correctly matched by the typology with the Type 2 sites. There will be further discussion of this in the conclusion of the thesis.

**Table 5:** Architectural and Other Features from Sites on Louden’s Ranch Classified using Carrillo’s Typology

Sites	DA1	DA2	DA6	DA10	Associated Features	Corrals	Outdoor Cooking Feature	Dam Structure
5LA9881				1		3		1
5LA9882	2					2		
5LA9883	2				1	1		
5LA9884				1			1	
5LA9885		1			1	1		
5LA9886				1	1	1		
5LA9887				1	2			
5LA9888								
5LA9889				1				
5LA9890			1		2	2		
<b>Total:</b>	<b>4</b>	<b>1</b>	<b>1</b>	<b>5</b>	<b>7</b>	<b>10</b>	<b>1</b>	<b>1</b>

**KEY**

DA1: A Square Structure without a Corner Fireplace

DA2: L-Shaped Structure, Representing an Addition to a Rectangular or Square Structure, Without a Corner Fireplace

DA6: Non-elliptical, Non-polygonal Shaped Structure without a Corner Fireplace

DA10: A Rectangular Domestic Structure without a Corner Fireplace

## **Non-Hispanic Homesteads on the PCMS**

Having established that the vast majority of homestead research in Las Animas County has occurred in the PCMS and the reasons for that, I will now attempt to use Carrillo's system on some non-Hispanic sites. These particular sites were chosen for two reasons. First, they were recorded during a prior survey of the PCMS in a source that Carrillo himself cites in his report (1990). Second, the data sets taken from these sites can be interpreted in a way critical of his typology and run somewhat counter to an oft encountered theme of Hispanics having a monopoly on sheep herding. Nonetheless, there were some differences worth noting.

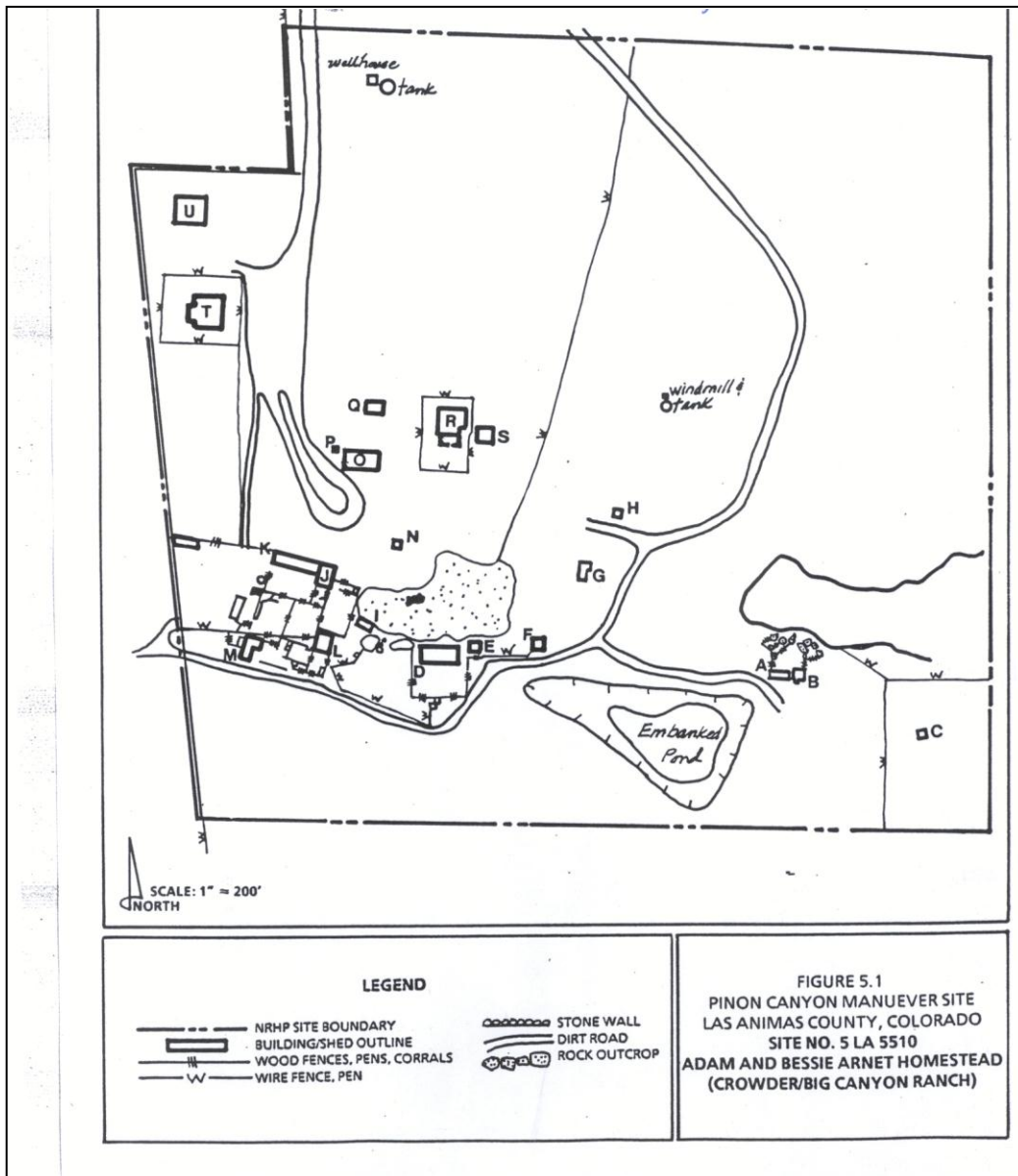
Non-Hispanic structures were often made of the same material used by local Hispanics, but featured traditional elements from northern European culture such as gabled roofs (Haynes and Bastian 1987). Even more to the point, Non-Hispanic cattle ranchers tend to develop more outbuildings and structures associated with their activities (Haynes & Bastian 1987). The site maps for three Non-Hispanic homesteads produced by Haynes and Bastian during a field season in 1987 clearly illustrate this, as in addition to barns and bunkhouses constructed for hired hands, the use of barbed wire over large areas is the classic hallmark of cattle ranching in the late 19<sup>th</sup> and early 20<sup>th</sup> centuries. This would be congruent with Carrillo's expectations for a Type 3 homestead (Carrillo 1990:XX-28).

### **5LA5510/Adam and Bessie Arnet Homestead (Big Canyon Ranch)**

Adam Arnet was in many ways not typical of the Non-Hispanic ranchers experience. For starters, he was a French immigrant from the Alsace region and secondly, his ranch at different times accommodated sheep or cattle, but not both together (Haynes and Bastian 1987). However, during its final occupation, the ranch was geared to cattle and the structural features left on the landscape reflect this. In Table 6 below, a site map depicts the final arrangement of the ranch.

**Table 6:** Key for Figure 27, (From Haynes and Bastian 1987: Table 5.1)

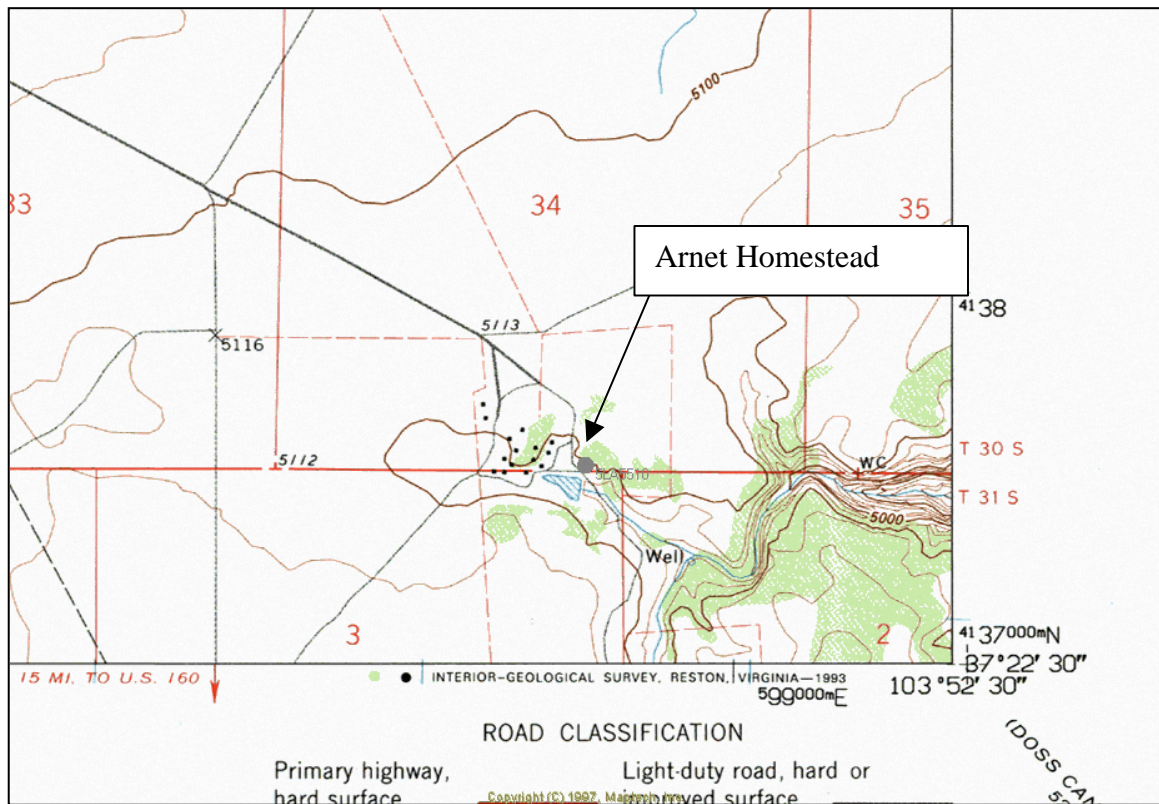
	Structure	Use	Construction Date	Major Alterations	Abandonment	Materials	Form	Comments
A	Original Residence	Arnet, Crowder	c. 1905			1983 Stone Masonry	Linear, 2 room	Oldest structure on Site
B	Dugout	Arnet, Crowder	c. 1905			1983 Stone Masonry, Log, Rock Outcrop	Dugout	Storage Cellar only
C	Chicken Coop	Arnet	c. 1905			1915 Stone Masonry	Unknown	
D	Main Residence	Arnet	c. 1915	3-Room and Porch addition c. 1918		1983 Jacal, Adobe Brick	Hipped Rectangular	
E	Generator Plant	Arnet	c. 1930	Bunkhouse Interior Modification 1960s		1983 Adobe Brick	Square	
F	Frame Garage	Crowder	moved in c. 1965			1983 Frame Construction	Rectangular	From Canyon Station
G	Older Garage	Arnet, Crowder	c. 1920			1983 Adobe Brick, Metal sheeting	L-Shape	
H	Bunkhouse	Arnet, Crowder	c. 1940			1983 Jacal	Rectangular, 1-room	
I	Chicken Coop	Arnet, Crowder	c. 1915-30			1983 Stone Masonry		
J	Adobe Barn	Arnet, Dougherty, Dillingham, Big Canyon	c. 1918			1983 Adobe Brick		
K	Attached Shed	Arnet, Dougherty, Dillingham, Big Canyon	c. 1918	Saddle Room, Enclosure 1960s		1983 Stone Masonry, Vertical Planking, Metal Sheeting, Cement Block		
L	Shed	Arnet, Crowder	?	?		1983 Milled Lumber		



**Figure 27:** Adam and Bessie Arnet Homestead (From Haynes and Bastian 1987: Figure 5.1)

Adam Arnet originally claimed this area in 1906, and his descendants did not quit claim to the property until 1983 (Haynes and Bastian 1987:5-2 –5-7). Two features on the landscape reflect the final stages of a cattle ranch, the large amount of barbed wire that was set up and the

embanked pond. Haynes and Bastian noted that periodically the Arnets would switch between raising cattle and sheep. Ill Health and mounting injuries combined to exacerbate economic distress for the Arnet family. The Arnets switched from raising sheep to raising cattle (Haynes and Bastian 1987:5-5). By the 1930's, the Arnets had accumulated enough land and livestock to be attributed with being the third largest sheep outfit in southeastern Colorado, but the Great Depression precipitated a steady decline that culminated with the Army buying the remainder of the family out (Haynes and Bastian 1987:5-2). Below is the location of the ranch on a USGS quad (Figure 28).



**Figure 28:** Topographic Map of Arnet Homestead and surrounding area

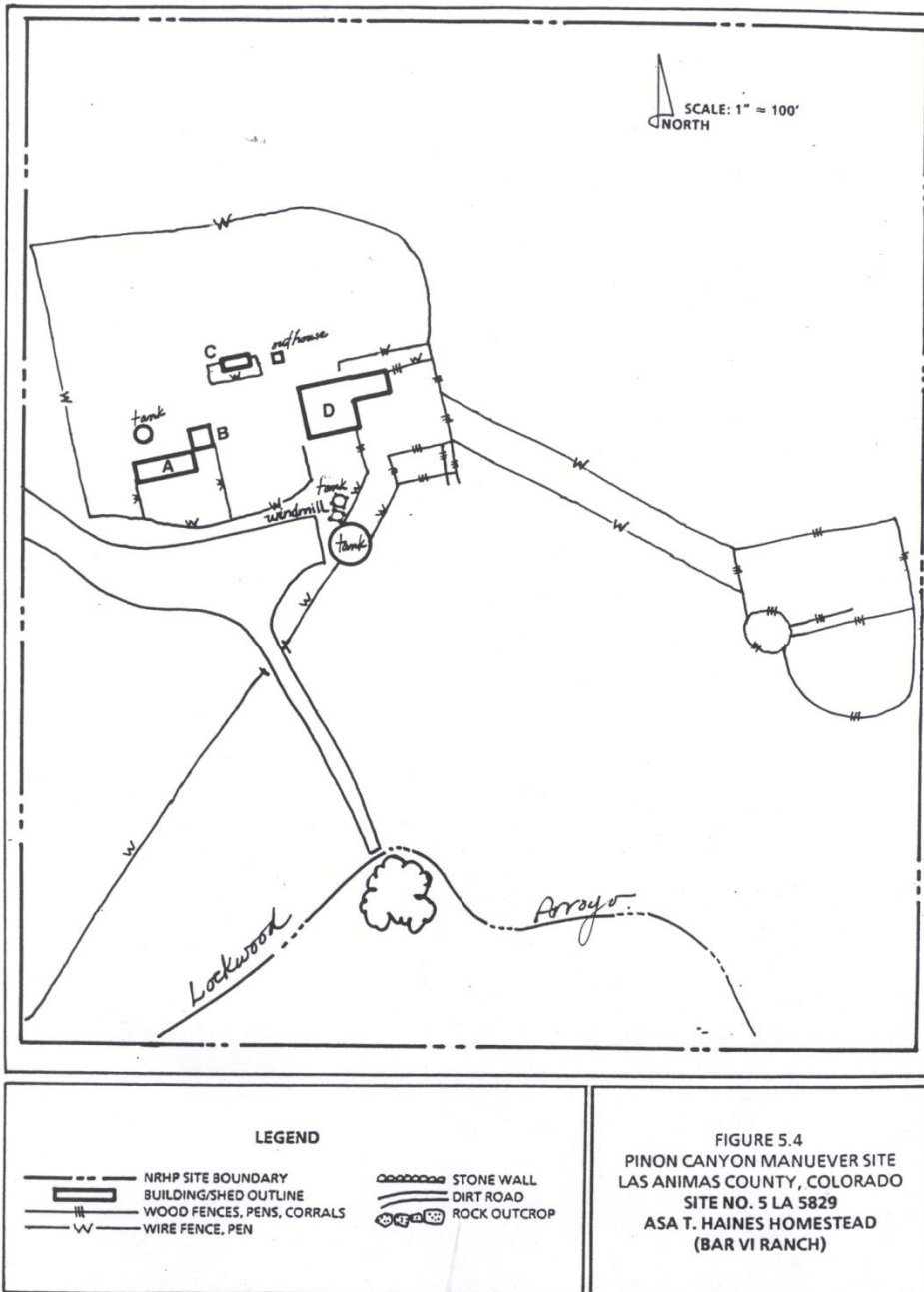
From USGS Maps and Terrain Navigator



In some ways this site represents an ideal Type 3 homestead per Carrillo's model. A large site with many outbuildings, it reflects an embrace of large scale commercial ranching of cattle. On the other hand, the Arnets actually preferred to raise sheep and the initial structures that were built on the property were *jacal* and *adobe* structures, architecture that reflected the sensibilities of local Hispanics (Haynes and Bastian 1987:5-5). Haynes and Bastian highlight this site due to the variety of different structures on it, almost every single type you could find on the PCMS according to them. This study has eschewed using the term "Anglo-American" when talking about non-Hispanics and this site points out why that term is so problematic. Adam Arnet was Alsacian (Haynes and Bastian 1987:5-2), his native tongue was French. He apparently learned English but in making economic choices for himself and his family, he had no problem mixing forms ascribed to two separate ethnic groups. This site would have been problematic to classify from using only material culture remains.

#### **5LA5829/Asa T. Haines Homestead**

Asa T. Haines originally homesteaded this site. At the time he occupied the ranch, he was operating it to raise sheep. However, by 1900 no record of Haines remained in Las Animas County, and a new comer, Kelsey E. Cross, had taken over the ranch with the express purpose of raising cattle (Haynes and Bastian 1987:5-40). Raising cattle was this site's primary economic function until it was abandoned in the 1960s. Below in Figure 29, the site map clearly reflects the cattle ranching that occurred on site



**Figure 29:** Asa T. Haines Homestead  
(From Haynes and Bastian 1987:Figure 5.4)

**Table 7:** Key for Figure 29, (From Haynes and Bastian Table 5.4)

	Structure	Use	Construction Date	Major Alterations	Abandonment	Materials	Form	Comments
A	Residence	Haines, Cross, Kitch	c. 1890	Room Addition, n.d. ; Room Addition 1924	1960s	Adobe Brick	3-Room, Linear with shallowly-curved side gable	Middle Room, Oldest section , used as a school room
B	Dugout	Kitch	c. 1930		1960s	Adobe Brick	Dugout	Always used for storage
C	Chicken Coop	Cross, Kitch	c. 1918	Addition, n.d.	1960s	Adobe Brick, stone, R.R. ties	Double pen, rectangular	
D	Stable Garage Workroom	Cross, Kitch	c. 1923	Addition, 1923; Addition, n.d	1960s	Stone, R.R. ties, Planks, Corrugated Metal	5-Bay, rectangular with lean-to	Damaged by fire c. 1964
E	Outhouse	Cross, Kitch	?		1960s	Vertical Planks		

Cross sold the ranch to his son, who in turn would sell it to a man named Kitsh in the twenties. Although this site does not have as many outbuildings as the previously reviewed non-Hispanic site, at the time it was surveyed it had a large amount of barbed wire, intact corral features and a variety of outbuildings. The extent to which barbed wire was used on this site and the size of the corrals would lead one to believe that the site's primary use was cattle ranching, even if this fact had not been documented in the report. After the initial settler abandoned the area, every owner maintained cattle on this ranch. The only feature arguing against the Type 3 homestead classification is the fact that the primary residence is an adobe which has a higher frequency in Type 2 homesteads. The weighted score derived from all features on this site would still lead one to believe this is a Type 3 homestead by using Carrillo's criteria.

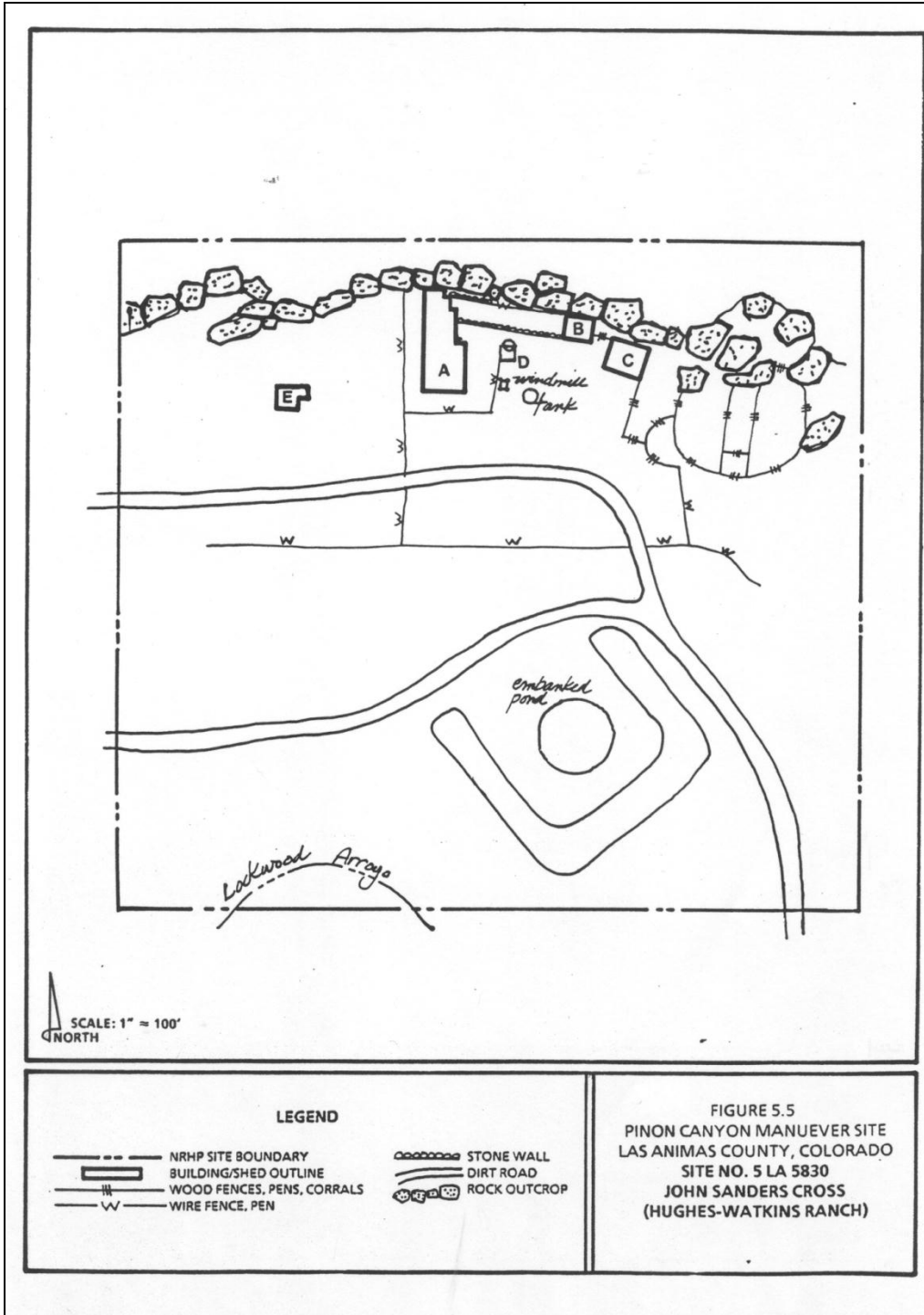
#### **5LA5830/The John Sanders Cross Homestead**

A former ranch hand established this site in 1905, and by 1920 had added a bunkhouse to accommodate hired hands, indicating at least some level of success in striking out on his own (Haynes and Bastian 1987:5-49). The site layout reveals that the area was envisioned as a cattle ranch, with the embanked pond and large corral area, and large area fenced off with barbed wire. One interesting note is that the ranch buildings as well as the corral area abut a large rock outcrop in the north, perhaps sheltering the homestead to some degree. Figure 19 depicts the site as Haynes and Bastian (1987) recorded it.

The complexity of the associated features once again points to a Type 3 homestead and there is very little to contradict this conclusion. However, the homestead does rely on the rocky outcrop making it unique and thus an outlier within this type.

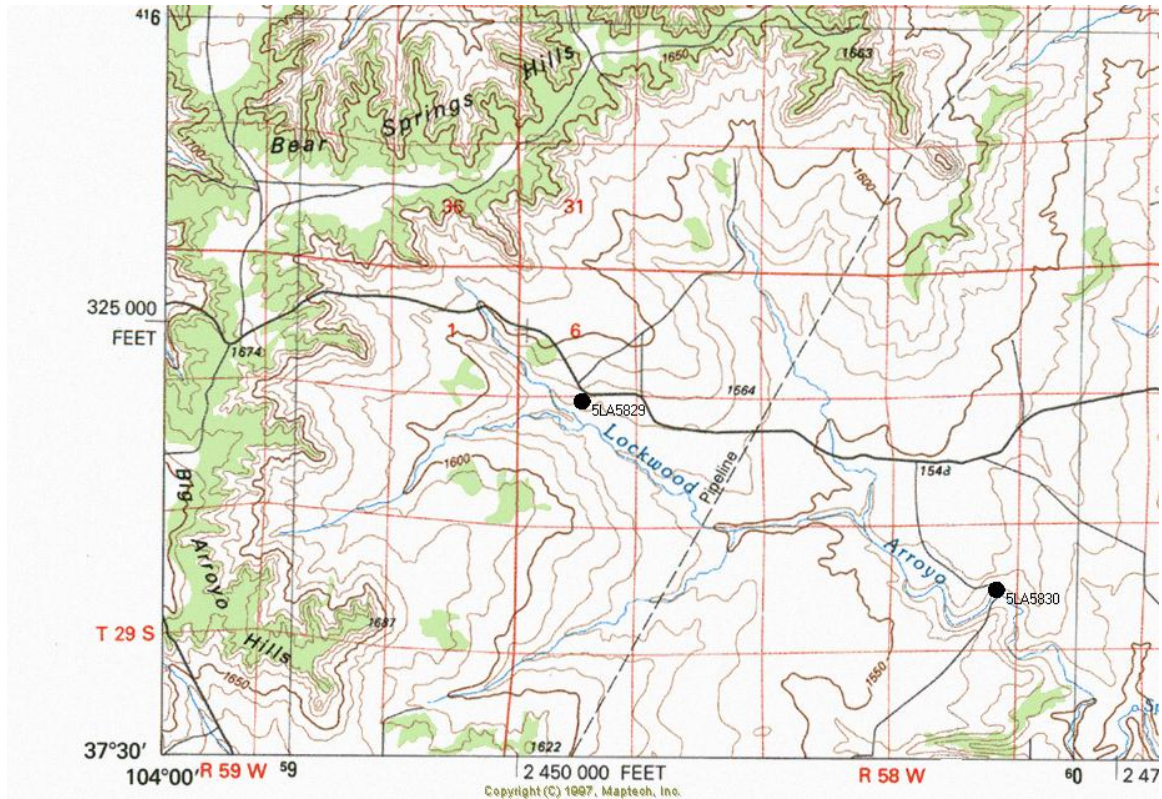
**Table 8:** Key for Figure 30 (From Haynes and Bastian 1987, Table 5.5)

	Structure	Use	Construction Date	Major Alterations	Abandonment	Materials	Form	Comments
A	Residence	Cross, Hughes, Watkins	c. 1905	Room Additions c. 1910-1915; Room and Porch Additions c. 1915, Additions c. 1924	unknown	Stone Outcrop, stone masonry, Jacal, Wooden Shingling, Wooden siding, Corrugated Metal	Irregular	Expansion of claim house into Ranch headquarters.
B	Bunkhouse	Hughes, Watkins	c. 1920	Roof Alteration c. 1940	unknown	Stone Masonry, Corrugated Metal	single pen	
C	Barn/Garage	Hughes, Watkins	c. 1915	Additions 1940s	unknown	Stone Masonry, r.R. Ties, Corrugated Metal		
D	Well House	Watkins	c. 1936		unknown	Railroad ties, Water tank		
E	Chicken Coop	Cross, Hughes	c. 1905(?)		1924			



**Figure 30:** The John Sanders Cross Ranch  
 (From Haynes and Bastian 1987:Figure 5.5)

Sites 5LA5829 and 5LA5830 are literally neighbors. Both are very close to the Lockwood Arroyo. Figure 31 shows the topographic map of the general area in which these two sites are found.



**Figure 31::** Sites 5LA5829 and 5LA5830  
 From USGS maps and Terrain Navigator

## Conclusions

On the whole, Carrillo's typology using architectural features and associated ranch features in order to group the homesteads into site types worked well (Carrillo 1990:XX-1 – XX-43). His sample size was much larger than mine or that of Haynes and Bastian. Intermediate, outlier and complete isolates can produce results that are hard to interpret. In the case of the study I performed on the Loudon Ranch, it is apparent that several sites were more dedicated to the practice of livestock herding than others. The Cordova site (5LA9885) was adapted to this purpose after initially serving as a church while the Luz Aragon site (5LA9884), the Fidel Maestas site (5LA9887), and the Squatter's site (5LA9888) clearly did not ever serve this purpose at all. These sites were challenging to classify using the Carrillo system in as much as

in some instances it could produce misleading results without the multiple lines of evidence available. With the exception of the Sandoval site (5LA9889), the remaining sites did have secondary structures indicative of raising livestock, and these fit Carrillo's model well. The Sandoval homestead did not have corral structures present on it, but there has been a great deal of disturbance in this area so no firm conclusion can be drawn of the efficacy of Carrillo's method in this case. Of the ten sites, six appear to be dedicated to raising livestock, three never served that purpose, and another site was too disturbed to make a determination. One site, the Romero site (5LA9881) seemed to occupy an intermediate position between Type 2 and Type 3; despite a domestic architecture type that generally favored an interpretation of Type 3, the corral structures and dam feature in essence over rule such a determination. For the most part, domestic architecture type played a heavier role in determining the site type. Compared with the Euro-American sites from Haynes and Bastian (1987), all of the sites found on the Loudon Ranch are less complex; having both a smaller number of associated features and for the most part less complicated domestic architecture. There are significant differences in circumstances; the three sites reviewed from Haynes and Bastian remained viable deep into the twentieth century whereas the Great Depression played a strong role in allowing the Loudens to consolidate their modern ranch as other homesteaders moved away. It is not particularly surprising then, that all three presented characteristics of Type 3 homesteads. Two of the three Euro-American sites had some history of raising sheep before switching to cattle. This observation points to the fact that sheep herding itself may not be indicative of ethnicity even as the manner in which the activity is carried out, where discernible can be. If the longevity of the Euro-American sites does not present a problem for the typology, is this longevity itself also a characteristic that differentiates themselves from Hispanic sites? That would explain to some extent why Type 3 sites are fundamentally defined as being fully integrated with the American economy, with similar physical characteristics despite the ethnicity of the homesteaders.



Further discussion of Carrillo's typology will resume in the conclusion of this study. At that point, a fuller critique of the typology will be presented. The next chapter concerns the material culture associated with the sites on Louden's ranch.

## CHAPTER 5: ARTIFACT ANALYSIS

Although up to this point architectural and other features have been used to test Carrillo's typology, the material evidence provided by artifacts present on the sites add another line of evidence with which to evaluate site types that can either confirm or disavow the site types. The composition of material culture provides a direct measurement of the level of participation in the economy and the level of integration the local economy has experienced with the regional or the world economy. Further, Carrillo (1990) asserts that there are meaningful differences between the artifact assemblages of Hispanic and Non-Hispanic households. This would suggest two competing markets, and differences between the two types of household were predicted to shrink from the early settlement period to the late as Hispanic households began participating with the larger American economy more extensively (Carrillo 1990:XIX-14). The following section comprises an full analysis of the material culture found on the sites surveyed.

### **Artifact Analysis**

Temporally locating sites can be a challenging process when using data from surface surveys. The surface scatter of artifacts often represents multiple palimpsests of debris that are intermixed with one another and this should be considered while working with such material. Because the ten homestead sites examined in this study did at some time have legal papers filed with the county in order to establish ownership by under the Homestead Act of 1862, and such papers record not only the geographic area of the claim but the relevant dates for when the homestead was established, a general comparison could be made between temporally diagnostic artifacts, the dates of settlement given by the legal patents, and the estimated date of abandonment given by Richard Loudon.

Table 3 (see Chapter 2) specifies the issuance of patent on areas in which all ten sites are located, and the procedure of these patent issuances was that a person was granted title after five years of settling and putting the land to use. So, five years should be subtracted from the patent issuance date to find the earliest, legal settlement of the land as it pertains to United State law. Table 2 (see Chapter 2), contains a date range given by Loudon for occupation of the sites. For the purpose of this analysis, only the year of abandonment shall be considered, as he was generally more confident about these later dates. A hypothesis for testing whether the historical documentation, both legal and oral, accurately represents the past reality of settlement could be constructed as follows. Either significant evidence in the form of diagnostic artifacts will correlate with the times derived from the historical information or they will not. If there is a correlation, the historical documents can be seen as very good evidence supporting a very narrow time period within which settlement took place. On the other hand, if there is no correlation between diagnostic artifacts and historical records, the artifacts must be seen as reflecting a different occupation period from the records. Perhaps complicating the issue further, instances of non-legal land use (trespassing, squatting, etc...) may leave a physical record that is not reflected in the documentary record at all. Shell casings, bottle glass, and ceramics are the three most diagnostic sets of artifacts available in terms of temporal analysis to this study.

### **Shell Casings**

Shell casings are good diagnostic artifacts to use for temporal analysis. Because they are industrially manufactured items, shell casings have known periods of time during which they were produced, and sometimes the manufacturer's marks are in sufficiently good condition to make a determination about which company manufactured the shell. Having said that, the most useful companies' marks are the ones that went out of business, merged or otherwise lost their

identity after a relatively short period of being in business, such as Union Metallic which was established 1867 and effected a merger with Remington in 1912 and Peters Cartridge Company which was formed in 1887 and was absorbed by Remington in 1934 (Department of Anthropology, University of Utah, IMACS 1992). On the other hand, the least useful information tends to come from arms manufacturers such as Remington and Winchester that have been around since the beginning of repeating arms manufacture in the nineteenth century and have lasted to this day. Some of their ammunition lines have had a good deal of staying power as well. Certain calibers produced by these companies did have limited runs, and other metric characteristics of spent shells and the occasional intact cartridge from these companies can at times produce diagnostic information. But in more popular calibers, date ranges can exceed 100 years.

Additionally, only four of the ten sites surveyed were found to have shell casings at them and at one of these (5LA9882), the casings were fairly modern, a Peters 12 gauge shotgun shell from the Referee series and a UMC-Remington 12 gauge shotgun shell from the New Club Series. At another site (5LA9886), one shell casing was found, a Remington 12 gauge shotgun shell with plastic green casing. Its color marks it as having been originally produced in the 1950s or 1960s, and such shells are still in use today (Barnes 2000:434, 440). It would be very possible to assert that someone had been hunting in the not very distant past, and that the shell was not necessarily connected to the occupants of the site early in the twentieth century. For these reasons, the shell casing analysis is not as useful as ceramics or bottle glass. But for sites 5LA9881 and 5LA9883, a significant number of shells were found that specifically could not have been produced after 1910, and thus they bear analysis.

### **Shells at 5LA9881/The Antonio Romero Site**

Of the five shells found at 5LA9881, two were unidentifiable due to rust, and not even their caliber could be discerned. The Union Metallic Cartridge Company (UMC) manufactured two of the three remaining shells. This company was formed in 1867 and stopped producing ammunition in 1910. Officially, UMC merged with Remington in 1912 after Remington acquired controlling interest in UMC; Remington's mark was put on all shell casings alongside the UMC stamp (Barnes 2000:13). The UMC .25-20 found on site was manufactured for the first time in 1882 (Barnes 2000:99). Remington produced the .25-20 in mass quantities into the 1930s and a version is produced to this day. The UMC .30-30 that was also found on site was first manufactured in 1895; the .30-30 is probably one of the most widely available cartridges to this date (Barnes 2000:52). That being said, the UMC mark means that it most definitely was not produced after 1910 (Barnes 2000:13). The markings on the final cartridge from this site make it out to be a Winchester Center Fire (WCF) .30 caliber. This is in the same class as the 30-30, but this shell could be quite modern as they are still produced (Barnes 2000:52).

### **5LA9883/The Tafoya Site**

This site produced the most shell casings, fifteen. All of them were identified as shown on Figure 4 in the Appendix. The .22 caliber shell casings have the distinction of being rim fire shells, as is the case most of the time with .22s even today. It seems that most companies produced these; the letters seem only to indicate the type of weapon in which they can be chambered. These shells were produced as early as 1857 and are produced today as well (Barnes 2000:417). Three shells bear the mark of UMC, but they are different calibers and grains from those found at the previous site. The UMC 41LC was a shell designed specifically for the .41 Long Colt Revolver that was first produced in 1877 and has not been manufactured since Winchester initiated a small manufacturing run in about 1970 (Barnes 2000:300). Both

the .44-40 and .32-20 UMC were rifle cartridges that could be used in some pistols manufactured in the late nineteenth century and today (Barnes 2000:64, 83). Again, 1910 is the cutoff for the UMC stamp. There are two Peters Company cartridges in the assemblage. Remington acquired the Peters Company in 1934 (Barnes 2000). The .41 S&W probably could have been fired from the same gun as the UMC 41LC, and 1877 is the earliest it could have been produced. The .45-70 Peters is of a caliber that the U.S. Army was experimenting with around 1871 and made its way to the civilian sporting goods market to the extent that this caliber and grain is still supported today.

### **Conclusions Drawn from the Shells**

Between the date ranges given by the legal documents is an overlap of the oral history and the data available on shell casings. The UMC casings are the most diagnostic and give strong support to the start dates established by the filed patents. Sources indicate that the last year UMC's mark appeared on newly manufactured shells without the Remington mark alongside of it was 1910 (Barnes 2000:13). As the merger between the two companies was agreed upon in 1911 and made effective in 1912, there is a gray area between 1910 and 1912 that strictly speaking isn't accounted for in the literature. It would not be unreasonable to assert that UMC stopped production sometime after the fourth financial quarter in 1910, and that their production resumed again once their stamping equipment had been retooled to reflect the merger before the beginning of the first financial quarter of 1912, but this can only be inferred from the reviewed literature. Similarly, Remington acquired Peters in 1934, so they are also indicative of late nineteenth/early twentieth century ammunition selections, though this assertion is tempered by the fact that Peters lasted twenty years longer than UMC as an independent. Unlike UMC, which remains a division of Remington, as of today Peters is no longer a part of the corporate entity; its identity has been completely absorbed by Remington. Shell casings can

be tricky to use to date sites because of the continued use of some calibers. Hunting activity is normally associated with activity away from the living space; especially when firearms are involved. While scenarios of game approaching the homestead providing for an opportunistic kill cannot be ruled out, it may be that these shell casings were dropped by a hunter post-abandonment of the site. Only shell casings that have the manufacturer's information still visible can be considered as diagnostic. In the scope of this research, the shell casing data should be seen as good but not conclusive on their own. This category is the least helpful of the diagnostic artifacts that are to be examined.

## **Glass**

Glass, particularly bottle glass, tends to be a very good diagnostic tool in historic archaeology. The features of bottle glass that make this the case are the fabrication techniques, makers or manufacturers' marks, and the actual color of the glass. Glass color in and of itself is often a very good indicator of the relative age of a bottle. However, it is imperative that the other characteristics of glass bottles are examined because while broad manufacturing trends usually mirror consumption trends, the occasional "anachronistic" piece does make an appearance and may find its way into the market and eventually in to the assemblage. This can happen through either a consumer's conservation of an heirloom or by current marketing trends, such as Skyy Vodka's cobalt blue bottle. More importantly, this illustrates that glass color is not very precise with regard to identifying dates of manufacture. But given the remoteness of the sites involved in this study, the likelihood of cross-contamination of the historical context of bottle use associated with the homestead sites with contemporary glass containers and their products seems very unlikely.

## Colors and Colorization of Glass

The chemical content of glass determines its color, and while the basic ingredient of glass is sand/silica, many chemical compounds can be added to change its basic appearance in the form of a flux. Without a flux, the natural color of glass varies from pale amber to green, to blue, and the predominant shade is often aqua (Firebaugh 1983). In large part, the intensity of the color of the glass is determined by the amount of flux material used. Below is a table reproduced from Gail S. Firebaugh's article in *Southwestern Lore* (1983), which delineates the chemical composition of the major colors in which glass is found.

Color of Glass	Additives
Red	Copper, selenium, and gold oxides
Blue	Cobalt, copper
Purple	Nickel, manganese
Green	Copper, chromium
Pink	Selenium, Manganese
Brown	Nickel, iron, and carbon
Dark Green or "Black"	Iron, carbon
Yellow	Selenium, iron
Milk	Tin, zinc

**Figure 23: Additives Used to Color Glass** (Firebaugh 1983: Table 3)

The date ranges given in Figure 24 represent the broadest probable dates for bottle glass, and to a certain extent are particular to Colorado and the U.S. West in general. Many of these various hues of glass have been used since antiquity. But it must be kept in mind that the above information pertains solely to bottle glass that packaged goods such as patent medicine,



soda pop, alcoholic beverages mineral water, condiments, and cosmetics bottles. Add to this list items such as canning jars, inkwells, food containers and other thin walled glass receptacles and that is the extent to which this list can be applied to bottle glass.

<b>General Correlation of Glass Bottle Color to Date Ranges</b>	
<b>Color</b>	<b>Date</b>
Amber(Brown)	pre. 1860s – Present
Aqua	1870s – 1920
Black (Dark Green)	pre. 1815 – 1885
Clear	1875 -present
Cobalt Blue	ca. 1890 - 1960
Honey(Yellow)	1914 – 1930's
Lime Green	1865 - 1915
Milk (White)	1890s – ca. 1960
Pink	ca. 1880 - 1915
Purple (amethyst)	ca.1880 – 1915

**Figure 24: Date Ranges by Color of Bottle Glass** *Derived from* (Carrillo 1997; Earls et al 1987; Gillio et al 1980; Horn et al 1986; IMACS 1992).

Throughout the last quarter of the nineteenth century, different fluxes were used in different amounts in order to neutralize the inherent impurities of sand used in glass making that would remove the aqua color and leave it clear (Firebaugh 1983). Manganese and selenium acted as a decolorizing agent during the manufacturing process, yet over time as such bottles were exposed to the rays of the sun, they would turn purple or pink (Firebaugh 1983; Horn et al 1986). Purple and pink glass has one of the shorter date ranges. This is due in large measure

to the fact that Germany supplied U.S. bottle makers with the overwhelming majority of the manganese that they required and subsequent loss of that supply as World War I became a reality (Firebaugh 1983; Carrillo 1997). By the early 1930s, the addition of arsenic to glass flux was regularized in the industry to produce a truly clear bottle glass at the expense of other decolorizing agents (Firebaugh 1983). Because of the circumstances surrounding its flux agent and its narrow date range, so-called Sun Colored Amethyst (purple) is the most diagnostic bottle glass using color as a characteristic. Other characteristics can be much more diagnostic and specific, and these will be discussed next.

### **Bottle Features: Clues to Manufacturing**

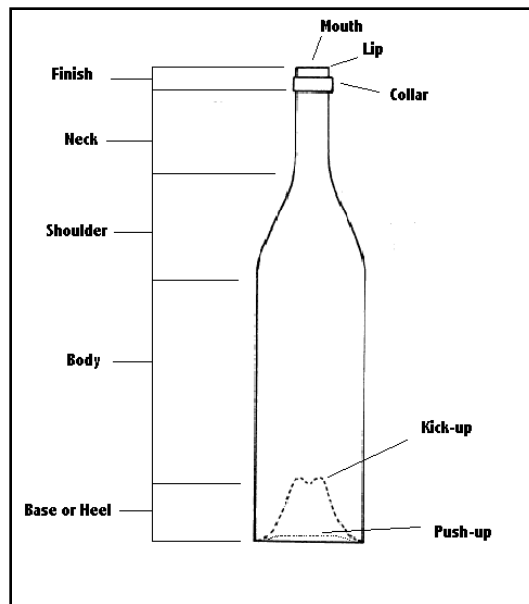
Artisans have crafted glass products for millennia. The transition between a mercantile and an industrial economy during the nineteenth century fostered a dizzying array of bottle manufacturing technologies. There are several characteristics of glass bottles that are indicative of the technology used to make them, and since such manufacturing technologies are generally limited to specific periods of time, they make very good diagnostic clues. Further, manufacturer's marks, logos, designs, and trademarks cannot only provide a much narrower date range or even an actual date of manufacture, they can provide the geographical location where a bottle was made once appropriate references are consulted (Eatwell 1971; Berge 1980; Wilson 1981). While the information gained from manufacturing characteristics and trademarks is more diagnostically useful than the color of glass, finding this information is largely dependent on the condition of the bottle glass. Often this is "the rub" as bottle glass, and glass in general for that matter, tends to be highly fragile. If the bottle or at least some of its component parts are not found intact, then establishing a range of dates on the basis of manufacturing characteristics or trademarks becomes impossible.

## Component Parts

Glass bottles have five major components that in essence, make them bottles. Those components are the finish, neck, shoulder, body, and base (Berge 1980; Firebaugh 1983). The finish has three sub-parts, the mouth, lip, and collar while at the base of the bottle, either a kick-up or a push-up may exist depending on the specific technology used during manufacture (Berge 1980). Figure 24 illustrates these characteristics.

### Figure 24: Bottle Characteristics

(Berge 1980:Figure 28; Firebaugh 1983: Figure 1)



The base and finish provide some of the most diagnostic information about the bottle. Whether a pontil rod was used to finish the base or a machine was used will normally show up in the form of a pontil scar in the kick-up, or perhaps a suction scar in the pushup if a machine was used. Other characteristics can be used to find date ranges for bottles. For example, embossed lettering or numbering is a characteristic only found after 1861 (Gillio et al 1980).

Manufacturer's trademarks are often embossed on the base while logos and other marketing features will be featured on the body of bottles. A bottle's finish becomes very important as it indicates the type of closure that was applied. Closures are very time specific and are also good indicators of a bottle's contents (Berge 1980; Firebaugh 1983). Berge (1980) and Firebaugh (1983) catalog a wide variety of these types of bottle features and additionally make use of the presence of mold seams to ascertain manufacturing method, thereby determining a bottle type and consequently being able to date them from that information. Additionally these data types are well documented in the Intermountain Antiquities Computer System (IMACS) Guide. (IMACS 1992), and this database, along with Rex L. Wilson's *Bottles on the Western Frontier* (1981) and Dale L. Berge's *Simpson Springs Station: Historical Archaeology in Western Utah* (1980) were consulted when such diagnostic material was found. What follows is an account of glass material found upon the ten sites that were recorded.

#### **5LA9881: The Antonio Romero Site**

The majority of the glass found on this site is light purple, which corresponds with the purple/sun colored amethyst category mentioned before. Just over 53% (73 of 137 shards) found on site is of this type. Five pieces of dark purple glass were found that seem to have been purposefully made purple and to be part of something other than a bottle. These fragments may have been part of a candy dish or some other type of decorative bric-a-brac. Aqua glass, the second most common glass color encountered on site, constituted almost 14% of the total, and clear bottle glass represented just over 13% of the total, making it the third most commonly encountered bottle glass. Window glass was also found on site. Below is a table that depicts the types of glass found by color.

**Figure 25: The Glass Count of 5LA9881**

Aqua/Light Blue:	19
Blue-Green:	2
Brown/Amber:	3
Clear:	18
Cobalt Blue:	1
Green:	2
Milk White:	1
Patinated	3
Purple, Dark:	5
Purple, Light:	73
Window:	10
<b>Total:</b>	<b>137</b>

**Diagnostic Elements: Basal Markings**

No whole bottles were found but several diagnostic bottle elements were found. The base of a purple bottle was discovered that had a trademark letter 'M' enclosed in a circle. This matches the trademark of Cristales Mexicanos, a Mexican bottling company (Berge 1980). Unfortunately, there is no information in the source literature concerning this company beyond its trademark. On the other hand, a clear glass base was found that held the letter I inside of an O which in turn was inside of a diamond pattern. This trademark was in use by the Owens-Illinois Glass Company from 1929 until it was changed in 1941 (Berge 1980). Another base was found with a clear trademark embossed on it, a joined (diphthong) AB with the letter E and number 7 embossed directly below. This was an aqua-blue base and the AB marking makes this part of the Adolphus Busch Glass Manufacturing Company, which manufactured bottles for

its parent organization Anheuser-Bush as well as other companies, and should date to between 1880 and 1913 (Berge 1980). Finally, a purple glass base was found without any letter or number embossing, but it did possess a huge suction scar, produced by an Owens automatic bottle machine, meaning that it would have to have been produced after 1903 (Berge 1980; IMACS 1992)

### **Other Diagnostic Artifacts**

Several clear glass bottle fragments were found with embossed letters and numbers. Of these, only one example gave any meaningful information, a 1/3 intact clear glass bottle that had the words "ONE QUART" embossed on its body near the base, an Owens-Illinois Glass Company trademark on the base and the words "Federal Law Forbids Resale or Reuse of This Bottle" . This is extremely significant because it not only marks the contents of the bottle as being an alcoholic beverage of some type, it also puts a firm date range of its manufacture to between 1933 and 1964. One bottleneck and finish was found on site. It was aqua/blue and the style of the finish conformed to that associated with patent medicine (Wilson 1981; IMACS 1992).

### **Interpretation**

Taken together, the types of glass found on site 5LA9881 ranged from material that could have been produced sometime in the 1860s to material that was more or less likely to have been produced in the last fifty years. However, the significant amount of Aqua/Blue bottle glass and its association with patent medicine bottles and the large concentration of purple/amethyst glass that has such a narrow time range points to a very late nineteenth and/or an early twentieth century occupation. Further, the diagnostic bottle features recorded were also indicative of this time period, with the exception of the post-depression clear glass bottle

fragment (Federal Law Forbids...). Placing the primary occupation of the site as being in the first decade of the twentieth century would not be unreasonable.

### **5LA9882/The Vera Louisa Kennedy Site**

The sample of glass recorded at this site was less than half that of the previous site (5LA9881). Also, while this site contained slightly more of the clear bottle glass than any other type (slightly less than 33%), other types of colored glass were well represented, with purple and aqua glass occurring in equal quantities (just over 21% each). Additionally, non-bottle glass was found on site, including plate glass and an obsidian projectile point. Plate glass is normally window glass, but the remains of the structures were in a state that a window was not observable. Below is a table detailing the type of glass fragments found by color.

**Figure 26: The Glass Count of 5LA9882**

Aqua/Light Blue:	13
Brown/Amber:	4
Clear:	20
Green:	1
Milk White:	1
Obsidian Pro. Point:	1
Pink:	1
Plate Glass:	7
Purple, Light:	13
<b>Total:</b>	<b>61</b>

### **Diagnostic Features: Bottle Glass**

Half of an aqua/blue glass bottle base was found with a large 'A' that seems to be in the style of Adolphus Busch Glass Manufacturing Company (Berge 1980). Below the large 'A' the small capital letters 'V' and 'I' and the number 2 were embossed along the rim of the base. Pieces of a clear glass mason jar were found on site, including a fragment of the body and the glass collar with continuous screw-top threads, a feature that was introduced in 1858 but remains in use to this day (Lief nd). A clear glass bottle base was found with a suction scar, which once again conforms with the use of an Owens type automatic bottle machine, meaning that the earliest it could have been produced is 1903 (Berge 1980; IMACS 1992)

### **Miscellaneous Material**

There were pieces of clear and purple decorative glass mixed in with the material. No firm date could be given to these materials since decorative glass pieces have been manufactured for quite some time and continue to be produced at present. If they had been found more or less intact, a date could have been approximated based on style matched with function. The most that was ascertained from them was that the pieces were from a bowl, perhaps a candy dish.

Entirely out of the ordinary in the context of this survey, an obsidian projectile point was found on site. It was quite small, and it is well documented that Native Americans such as the Commanche, Ute, and Cheyenne amongst many others used obsidian points when they could locate a good source. Obsidian projectile points were also used by Hispanics, as *nuevos mexicanos* were often forced to abandon gunpowder technology in favor of locally available and sustainable materials (Carrillo, personal communication 2002). Given the context of where this was found, in an area settled by Hispanics, it would be very easy to arrive at this conclusion and



stop short of fully supporting it. While perhaps not associated with site directly, is it possible that this area was part of the cultural knowledge base of *nuevos mexicanos* and that the latest state of affairs concerning the site represents an amalgamation of older and newer material? In other words, was an earlier site abandoned and then reclaimed? Given the nature of surface materials (mixed palimpsest) it is advisable to take a conservative approach, where all reasonable possibilities are admitted to but none are given more weight than any other without conclusive evidence from another source.

There was another piece of flaked glass, this time made of aqua/blue, which was broken and retouched and appeared to be in the form of either a scraper or simple blade. Such items appear quite frequently in the context of Hispanic settlement in the nineteenth century (Hardesty et al 1995; Carrillo, personal communication 2002). While this in no way conclusively proves that the obsidian projectile point was of Hispanic manufacture, it is tantalizing circumstantial evidence that lends some weight to that interpretation.

## **Interpretations**

The evidence from this site, 5LA9882, points once again to an occupation during the late 19<sup>th</sup> and early 20<sup>th</sup> centuries simply based on the glass colors found. A few diagnostic fragments indicate an early 20<sup>th</sup> century occupation. Referring to the original land patent filed on this area, the claim was not made valid until 1922. This indicates from a legal standpoint that the area was inhabited from 1917 on. However, the purple glass found on site would seem to indicate either prior habitation of the area or that a certain amount of curation was going on, since the manganese to produce such bottles was generally not available due to the First World War. Such a scenario may well have played out, given the retouched aqua bottle glass that was found. In any case, clear bottle glass technology was beginning to displace the aqua and purple glass types in the early twentieth century, and this assemblage reflects this trend. As for the

plate glass, it may have been used to allow for a durable view out of the stone structure as an attempt to have the structure be more comfortable.

### **5LA9883/The Tafoya Site**

A number of glass artifacts were found at 5LA9883. Almost 37% of this site's glass came from the light purple bottle glass category. At 30% of the total, Aqua glass comes in a close second while clear bottle glass represents roughly 16% of the total glass found on site. Other types of glass were found, and can generally be classified as decorative glass rather than bottle glass, though there is a strong possibility that the blue-green glass found on this site was at one time glass insulators from telephone poles. Below, a complete table shows the type of glass found by color.

**Figure 27: The Glass Count of 5LA9883/The Tafoya Site**

Aqua/Light Blue:	33
Blue-Green:	12
Clear:	17
Milk White	5
Purple, Dark:	2
Purple, Light:	40
<b>Total:</b>	<b>109</b>

### **Diagnostic Features**

Truly diagnostic material was not found on site. A portion of the body of an aqua glass bottle was found that conformed to a panel-case type; the body was rectangular rather than a cylinder (Wilson 1981). A rectangular paneled body was quite common for patent medicines

between the 1860s and 1915 (IMACS 1992). A clear glass fragment from the body of a bottle was found with the letters 'RIN' still visible while two different milk white bottle fragments appeared to have the letters 'IN' and the letter 'A' respectively. It is very tempting to conclude that these pieces were part of whole bottles or jars that were manufactured locally in the town of Trinidad. Unfortunately, from such literally fragmentary evidence this would be pure speculation. Another white glass fragment appeared to be the top of a continuous thread jar, and this may imply that the contents were either cosmetics or some other toiletry (IMACS 1992).

### **Interpretation**

From glass color alone, an early twentieth century context is suggested for this site. With the scant amount of supporting diagnostic bottle data, this assessment is not as solid as it could be. The land patent issued for this site was granted in 1905, and the type of glass found does seem to be indicative of that general time frame.

### **5LA9884/The Luz Aragon site**

There were no glass shards found on this site.

### **5LA9885/The Pablo Cordova (Church) Site**

The type of glass found on this site is significantly different from the types found on previously discussed sites. An absence of purple glass and very small amount of aqua glass is immediately noticeable. A clear glass with a very faint pink tint was the most common on site, and it constitutes about 23% of the total glass found. A type of clear glass that contained either white streaks in it or was in the process of becoming an opalescent foggy white (patinated) was the second most commonly found glass type. It makes up almost 22% of the glass found. Window glass constitutes a significant portion of the glass making up just over 21%. Milk white

and clear glass each account for 11.5% of the total glass count while Brown/Amber glass makes up almost 8% of the glass total. Below in Figure 28 is a table showing which colors of glass were found by number.

**Figure 28: The Glass Count of 5LA9885/The Pablo Cordova (Church) Site**

Aqua/Light Blue:	3
Bright Green:	1
Brown/Amber:	12
Clear:	18
Clear w/pink tint:	36
Cobalt Blue:	1
Milk White:	18
Patinated:	34
Window:	33
<b>Total:</b>	<b>156</b>

### **Diagnostic Artifacts**

Some diagnostic pieces were found amongst the glass on site. Two pieces of clear glass had the letters 'SY' and 'RUP' on them, indicating that it had been part of a syrup bottle. Some milk white glass in the form of a ring had the letters "MASO..." on it, indicating that it was a part of the sealing mechanism on a mason jar. A whole canning jar was found with the Kerr logo on it. It had a continuous thread, screw top finish. Unfortunately, the Kerr Glass Company has been making this type of canning jar for quite some time so this type of jar may be quite recent. Two large pieces from a large amber/brown glass bottle were found, including its base

and neck with an intact finish. The finish is a screw top and two mold lines run through it. Together with the base, this indicates that the bottle was manufactured sometime after 1924 (Lief nd; Berge 1980) and due to its color was probably manufactured sometime after the repeal of Prohibition, as the most likely contents were an alcoholic beverage of some type.

### **Interpretation**

Simply based on the glass that was found, this site's earliest occupation would seem to be around the time of World War I. The pale pink glass that was found combined with the clear glass and the very small amount of aqua glass seems to mark a transitional phase to full clear glass technology that was going on circa 1917. Additionally window glass indicates that there was an attempt to make the building more livable in the long term.

### **5LA9886/The Antonio Vasquez Site**

A total of 117 shards of glass were counted on this site. Purple glass was found in large quantity with light/sun colored amethyst being the number one encountered variety on site at about 24%. Shards of a dark purple glass were also found, along with a piece of decorative purple glass that was apparently melted in a fire. Patinated glass made up just over 21% of the total glass encountered, and window glass represented almost 19% of the glass found. A dark green/black glass was found on site that was reminiscent of early (pre-1860s) bottle glass. Pink and a nearly translucent very light blue were also recorded, which may indicate occupation during the phase when true clear bottle technology was being sought. Figure 29 is a full count of glass types by color.

**Figure 29: The Glass Count of 5LA9886/The Antonio Vasquez Site**

Aqua/Light Blue:	5
Bright Green:	1
Brown/Amber:	5
Clear, Thick:	1
Clear, Thin:	4
Clear, Tinted Pink:	1
Dark Green/Black:	2
Patinated:	25
Pink:	6
Purple, Dark:	3
Purple, Light:	28
Purple, Melted:	1
Very Light Blue:	13
Window:	22
<b>Total:</b>	<b>117</b>

### **Diagnostic Artifacts**

Many diagnostic bottle fragments were found at this site. An amber bottle glass base with the word "PATENTED" embossed upon it was discovered. Its oval shape and amber color indicate it was a liquor bottle, probably whiskey (Berge 1980). A pink bottle glass finish and neck was located that had seams going all the way through the finish, confirming that an automatic bottle machine had been used to produce it, and could therefore have dated after 1903 (Berge 1980; IMACS 1992). The style of the finish seems to indicate that it had been part

of a brandy bottle (Wilson 1981; IMACS 1992). Two more examples of this type of finish were found amongst the purple glass sample.

Three shards of purple bottle glass were found that fit together to form a neck and finish and one whole neck and finish was found intact, indicating that at least two more brandy bottles had been present. One shard of purple glass was found that had continuous threads on it, its size indicating it may have been part of a jar with a screw-on top. On the fragment of a different purple bottle's base, a small number three was embossed. Also found on site, a portion of the body and the entire base of a purple paneled bottle, a type indicative of patent medicine. There were several pieces of aqua and purple glass that may have been flaked or retouched, to be used as cutting implements. Although there are a number of cattle on the Loudon Ranch, it seemed to me that if any of the livestock had trampled the glass shards they simply would have crushed and shattered them.

### **Interpretations**

Bottle glass at this site reflects an occupation that predates World War I. Window glass and clear bottle glass argue for an occupation well beyond this time. Decorative purple glass that was found may also suggest this as well since carnival glass reflects the styles and tastes of the 1920s and 1930s. No clear manufacturer's marks were found. The pink and purple bottle and neck features that were discovered narrowed those particular item's date range considerably to between 1904 and 1915.

### **5LA9887/Fidel Maestas Site**

This site was interesting in the sense that not only did it serve as the home for a Hispanic family; but it also served the community as a general store and a post office (Richard Loudon, personal communication 2002). As a result, the material assemblage on this site

needed to be approached with more caution as it may reflect not only the consumer choices of a family unit, but also the nature of the commerce that took place here as well.

The collection was fairly typical in terms of the frequency of glass artifacts, but was composed primarily of clear glass (39%). Brown/Amber glass, the second most common glass color on site makes up fewer than 20% of the total glass assemblage while the milk white glass is third on the list at 9% of the total assemblage. Beyond this a large number of other types of colored bottle glass were found, including purple glass, though in much more limited quantities than seen at previous sites. Below, Figure 30 provides a table summarizing the types of colored glass found on site.

**Figure 30: The Glass Count of 5LA9887/The Fidel Maestas Site**

Aqua/Light Blue:	9
Brown/Amber:	26
Clear, Thick:	2
Clear, Thin:	52
Clear, w/yellow tint:	2
Milk White:	12
Patinated:	6
Pink:	2
Purple, Dark:	2
Purple, Light:	9
Very Light Blue, Thick:	8
Window:	2
<b>Total:</b>	<b>132</b>



## **Diagnostic Artifacts**

Several diagnostic glass artifacts were recovered from the site. First, a clear neck and finish were found; the finish was in the crown top style and had a seam going all the way through to the top of it. The seam indicates that the bottle had been manufactured sometime after 1903 using a fully automatic machine (Firebaugh 1983). Another clear neck and finish were found that could be pieced together. This finish was of the bead type, indicating that this bottle was used to hold something along the lines of pickles or olives (Berge 1980). All of the other diagnostic bottle glass features that were found were bottle bases.

A full purple bottle base was found with the following embossed upon it, the number "140" and underneath this the letter number sequence "PAT FEB 10 03". The embossed date indicates that it was made sometime on or after the date of February 10, 1903, but due to its color was certainly not produced after 1915. Unfortunately, there was no sign of an actual trademark on this piece. Two different milk white bases were found. In fact, the first base has a portion of the body and a sliver of the finish still attached to it. Despite the lack of markings on the base, its height, color, and the continuous thread finish mark it as being a cosmetics bottle (IMACS 1992). The other white glass base did not possess many distinguishing characteristics except that it was thick (approximately 1 cm) and was missing most of the rest of the piece. It probably was not a beverage bottle though it was a circular base. Like the previous white glass base, it may have contained cosmetics at one time.

## **Interpretations**

With the amount of clear bottle glass on site, a post World War I occupation has definitely been established. There was some purple and aqua glass but not as much as at previous sites. Occupation of the site would seem to have been going on a little before 1915

based on the color of the glass found and the diagnostic features of some of the bottle glass found reflected automatic bottling techniques developed in 1903. Since diagnostic manufacturing features were not found on every single glass shard, the possibility remains open that some of the bottle glass could potentially be of nineteenth century manufacture. One interesting detail is that Richard Loudon (personal communication 2002) thought that a Fidel Maestas had started living there around 1915 and that he moved away around 1930 (see previous chapter for figure 1.1) while the documentation of the land patent granted to that same person was issued in 1924. This should serve as a warning to those who would rely solely on documentary evidence in analyzing the past, as the evidence from material culture in this instance points to an earlier start date than what the patent would suggest.

### **5LA9888/The Squatter Site**

This site is technically a part of the land patent that Fidel Maestas had claimed. But at some point between 1915 and 1930, a Mexican squatter, not a *nuevo mexicano*, had taken up residence on this site (Richard Loudon, personal communication 2002). It fell to Richard Loudon's father, who had acquired the land, to remove the squatter by way of court order. On the whole, there were many fewer artifacts found on this site than others that were surveyed during this project (see Figure 31).

### **Interpretation**

It is highly debatable whether some or all of this glass should be attributed to the squatter's activities, as its location is within the area claimed by Fidel Maestas and the site was heavily disturbed by hunting and camping activities in more recent years.

**Figure 31: The Glass Count of 5LA9888/The Squatter Site**

Clear:	2
Emerald Green:	2
Milk White:	1
Purple, Light:	3
Window:	5
Very Thin Clear:	1
<b>Total:</b>	<b>14</b>

**5LA9889/The Sandoval Homestead**

This homestead site was extremely different from most of the other sites surveyed. In terms of the glass count in total, it seems to be fairly typical. A few features still set it apart. Clear bottle glass makes up the plurality of bottle fragments found at 27%. Patinated glass follows closely behind at 25% while window glass rounds out the top three types of glass found at 18%. Purple glass and pink glass makes up only about 7.5% of the total each while aqua glass made up only 4% of the total. Another significant feature of this glass sample is that cobalt blue glass makes an appearance, albeit in a very small amount. Below is the total glass count for this site.

**Figure 32: The Glass Count of 5LA9889/The Sandoval Homestead**

Aqua/Light Blue:	5
Clear:	36
Clear w/sea green tint	6
Cobalt Blue:	4
Milk White Glass:	3
Patinated:	33
Pink:	10
Purple, Light:	10
Very Light Blue Glass:	1
Window:	24
<b>Total:</b>	<b>132</b>

### **Diagnostic Artifacts**

Only four diagnostic pieces of glass were found. Two milk white partial bases were found, though one was tinted a greenish color. On this partial base, the letters “CAP” were discerned and underneath the series “AT-11-27-10” were found, seeming to indicate that this piece was manufactured sometime after November 27<sup>th</sup>, 1910. The other milk white base had embossing on it that indicated the product had been a salve. Two aqua/blue fragments from a crown style finish were found that had seams going all the way through the finish, indicating a fully automated machine had manufactured it (Berge 1980). Because of its color and the manufacturing method, it could have been made any time post-1903 through the early 1930s (Berge 1980; Firebaugh 1983). A partial clear bottle base was found with embossing that

indicated it had been manufactured after December 22, 1903 but its contents can only be speculated upon.

### **Interpretations**

This site was one of the latest to be settled and also one of the last to be abandoned. It has much more bottle glass material from after the WWI era, than before it. While there is some indication of settlement prior to 1915 (the purple and pink glass), the material assemblage seems to reflect the late teens through the early thirties of the twentieth century. The dearth of diagnostic material at this site prevents more solid conclusions based solely on the glass.

### **5LA9890/The Bonita Martinez/Francisco Saldivar Site**

It is worth mentioning that while this particular site was not the largest in terms of area, it definitely had the most artifacts of any site examined. 614 individual glass shards were found. Twenty different colors of glass were distinguished. Nearly 28% of the glass found was clear bottle glass and nearly 23% of it was frosted glass. Window glass was also much more prevalent on this site; it made up 16% of the total glass found. Purple glass made up 8% of the total glass. There is definitely a larger percentage and number of non-bottle glass present on this site. Finally, what appear to be six obsidian blades were found. Figure 33 details the quantity of glass found by color.

**Figure 33: The Glass Count of 5LA9890/The Bonita Martinez/Francisco Saldivar Site**

Aqua/Light Blue:	7
Brown/Amber:	21
Clear:	171
Clear/green tint:	28
Cobalt Blue:	16
Dark Black:	1
Dark Brown/Amber:	1
Dark Green:	3
Green:	10
Milk White:	40
Obsidian:	6
Orange Glass:	1
Patinated:	139
Pink:	14
Purple, Light:	50
Very Light Blue Glass:	5
Very Light Blue Glass (melted):	1
Window, Thick:	9
Window, Thin:	90
Yellowed Clear Glass:	1
<b>Total:</b>	<b>614</b>

## Diagnostic Artifacts

Diagnostic features were not found in great abundance on this site. One intact finish was recorded; a crown style finish with seams going all the way through it; indicating a post-1903 date of manufacture (Berge 1980; Firebaugh 1983). There was an amber/brown glass base that had the mark of the Illinois Glass Company on it, meaning it may have been produced anytime between 1873 and 1929 (Berge 1980). Another base that was found intact, a clear bottle with green tint, had a downward pointing triangle with the capital letters “W” and “T” in it so that the letter “T” was underneath the “W”. Below the downward point of the triangle was the number “30”. This may have been a locally produced bottle (i.e. in Trinidad) since such a trademark is not found in the usual sources. The body of such a bottle (clear w/green tint) was found, and along the area that was near where the base should be, the letters “...MAR” above the letters “COLO” and below this “6 ½ Fl. oz” was embossed. Could this then have been a soda-pop bottle that had been manufactured in Lamar, Colorado? Similarly, a clear piece of bottle glass had the single word “Trinidad” embossed upon it. It seems likely that these bottles had been produced within the region where as other types had been brought in from further away. Ultimately, the ‘diagnostic’ material on this site provided more questions than answers.

The obsidian blades found on site were about 4 – 5 centimeters in length. Like the obsidian projectile point found at 5LA9882, many cultural groups may have manufactured such items in the area. Ute, Comanche and Cheyenne and their antecedents were known to work obsidian, but Hispanic New Mexicans were known to make use of this as well. From a surface survey, artifacts like these could not be firmly attributed to any group, though the preponderance of evidence seems to favor Hispanic manufacture, solely based on their association with the homestead site and documented use patterns which will be discussed later.

## **Interpretations**

By Richard Louden's reckoning, this was the last site to be inhabited before his father completed consolidating the land for the current ranch. For the most part, the types of glass artifacts support this, and the sheer density of the glass artifacts seems to indicate an intense, if not long occupation. On the other hand, the very large amount of window glass seems to indicate a determined effort to make the structure that was on this site habitable for an extended duration. Still, the amount of purple and pink glass found on site could suggest occupation as far back as the 1880s and the clear bottle glass that was found along with the depression era glass (the orange piece) seem to indicate that the latest occupation was in the 1930s.

## **Ceramics**

Examining ceramics found within archaeological sites has been a mainstay of archaeological analysis since the founding of the discipline. Historical archaeology deals with a bewildering array of ware types, decorative types, and forms. Many ways of classifying ceramics exist. In addition to decorative type, one could just as easily use the ware type, geographic origin, or even a vessel's function. All of these typologies have their advantages and disadvantages; but some are more appropriate than others for establishing a solid chronology, or in the case of a mixed provenance, a general timeframe of site occupation.

For the most part, analysis of the ceramics was undertaken by attempting to classify the ware-type. Majewski and O'Brien (1987) advocate the use of pattern-decoration types and styles for classifying and dating ceramics. This was attempted in the analysis of the ceramics from the Louden ranch sites, but because of the lack of decorated sherds classification was restricted to ware types in most instances. In order to avoid confusion concerning ware-types, I make the following definitions available as they apply to this study.



**Earthenware:** a fired ceramic that can be left unglazed (unrefined), but typically has either a tin or lead glaze applied to it in historic and modern times. A key feature of its paste is that it is able to absorb water.

**Whiteware:** as concerns this study, whiteware should be understood to be a white bodied earthenware, rather than any “white bodied” ceramic that would include porcelain.

**Majolica:** a coarse, tin-glazed earthenware manufactured in Spain, Portugal, or in a former colony of either. It is highly decorative, reflecting Iberian ascetics, and can be used in the context of either rudimentary tableware or high end table settings. Usually has a red body.

**Stoneware:** fired at a higher temperature than earthenware, vessels classified as stoneware typically have a salt glaze, are either gray, brown or sometimes yellow and are typically encountered as a utility or kitchenware, though they are often found as mugs or steins. Stoneware’s paste will not absorb water.

**Porcelain:** fired at the highest temperature of all, porcelain can be mistaken for glass sometimes because of its vitrified paste. A highly sought after ware that seems to represent “high culture” for ceramic enthusiasts and ordinary consumers alike.

All of these wares are produced in the present day. Without being able to find a particular pattern or decoration on an individual sherd, assigning a discrete or even a meaningful range of dates becomes impossible. Diagnostic material will be singled out for analysis. Wares will be given a descriptive label based on the color of the decoration (majolica, stoneware, unrefined etc...) As with the previous artifact classes, the ceramic analysis will proceed by examining what was found on the individual sites.

**Figure 34: Ceramic Count of 5LA9881/The Antonio Romero Site**

Blue/Grey Stoneware:	5
Brown/White Stoneware:	6
Majolica:	32
Pearlware:	1
Whiteware:	66
<b>Total:</b>	<b>110</b>

Initially counted amongst the general whiteware, an English edge decorated sherd was found that may date to between the 1830s-1850s (Majewski and O'Brian 1987; Russell K. Skowronek, personal communication 2002). Comparing the digital photograph taken of this piece and comparing it with specimens photographed and scanned into the Florida Museum of Natural History's online database (FMNH 2011), the sherd is unequivocally a pearlware with green as the edge decoration color. The design seems to be a series of ovals between two parallel lines, where the ovals lay on their long axes and are alternately filled in green with the next left hollow. From the online database, this suggests a date of manufacture between 1823 and 1835 (FMNH 2011). This is the only piece that is suggestive of an earlier date of occupation than given by historical data, bottle glass and shell casings. Aside from an earlier date of occupation, the following possibilities should be considered. The piece may represent conservation within the family, i.e. an heirloom that was brought to the site. Also, the piece may have arrived there by accidental loss as the study by long distance traders as the area is located between two known branches of the Santa Fe Trail. Whatever the case, the pearlware material should be considered as anomalous with the rest of the data set, which is generally consistent with a later nineteenth and early twentieth century occupation of the site.

The Vera Louisa Kennedy Site as previously discussed, was located in a small canyon with rudimentary architectural features and an artifact scatter that was sparse compared to other sites examined. Figure 35 reflects a lack of diversity in ceramic material found on site.

**Figure 35: Ceramic Count of 5LA9882/Vera Louisa Kennedy Site**

Whiteware:	19
<b>Total:</b>	<b>19</b>

The most that can be said for the ceramics at this site is that they are consistent with a nineteenth and early twentieth century occupation of the site.

The Tafoya site is located nearby.

**Figure 36: Ceramic Count of 5LA9883/Tafoya Site**

Blue/Grey Stoneware:	11
Brown/White Stoneware:	6
Majolica:	5
Unrefined Earthenware:	3
Whiteware:	51
<b>Total:</b>	<b>76</b>

This site had a wider variety of wares than its nearest neighbor, 5LA9882. In addition to majolica, another Hispanic ware was tentatively identified as Guanajato. This was determined after consulting with a ceramic specialist via email (Skowronek, personal communication 2002). Guanajato is from Mexico and there is a strong possibility that the ware is a type of New Mexican unrefined ware or even a locally produced ware that has not been documented.

Luz Aragon's site was one of the smallest in terms of area covered and did not yield very many artifacts of other types. A moderate amount of ceramics were recovered here.

**Figure 37: Ceramic Count of 5LA9884/The Luz Aragon Site**

Blue/Grey Stoneware:	13
Doll Head:	1
Whiteware:	31
<b>Total:</b>	<b>45</b>

As discussed before, this site seems to have been occupied either seasonally or for a very short time. The most remarkable ceramic object found on site was a porcelain doll head indicating the presence of a girl.

**Figure 38: Ceramic Count of 5LA9885/The Pablo Cordova (Church) Site**

Blue/Grey Stoneware:	2
Majolica :	2
Whiteware:	133
<b>Total:</b>	<b>137</b>

This site had a very high proportion of whiteware in comparison to other ware types. A small amount of stoneware was recorded along with two sherds of majolica. Nothing was found that was inconsistent with the proposed dates of occupation for the site.

The Antonio Vasquez site contained a wider variety of earthenware ceramics, as distinguished by the color of their paste.

**Figure 39: Ceramic Count of 5LA9886/The Antonio Vasquez Site**

Blue/Grey Stoneware:	21
Brown/White Stoneware:	19
Earthenware, brown paste:	46
Earthenware, red paste:	1
Earthenware, yellow paste:	27
Whiteware:	45
<b>Total:</b>	<b>159</b>

As can be seen in Figure 39, this site's ceramics were quite different from those previously recorded in the study area. The stoneware proved to be locally produced in Trinidad as evidenced by markings on several pieces that in all probability had been part of the same vessel. In any case, nothing here pointed to this area not being a 19<sup>th</sup> to early 20<sup>th</sup> century site.

**Figure 40: Ceramic Count for 5LA9887/The Fidel Maestas Site**

Blue/Grey Stoneware:	4
Majolica:	84
Whiteware:	100
<b>Total:</b>	<b>188</b>

Several pieces of whiteware had patterns consistent with the late nineteenth and early twentieth century. A blue band circling the rim of one sherd was identified while another had a floral pattern that was hand painted. Beyond that there isn't any other diagnostic material.

Figure 41 details the ceramics found on the Squatter’s Site. Due to the disturbed nature of the site and the small sample size, formal analysis was not attempted but the record is presented for completeness.

**Figure 41: Ceramic Count for 5LA9888/The Squatter’s Site**

Brown/White Stoneware	4
Whiteware,	13
<b>Total:</b>	<b>17</b>

The Sandoval Homestead has experienced a good deal of disturbance. . Nonetheless, a large number of sherds were recorded on site and are presented in Figure 42.

**Figure 42: Ceramic Count for 5LA9889/The Sandoval Homestead**

Blue/Grey Stoneware	65
Brown/White Stoneware	3
Majolica	136
Porcelain	2
Porcelain, Japanese	1
Red Slipped Earthenware	1
Whiteware	141
<b>Total:</b>	<b>350</b>

It was determined that one sherd of porcelain was Japanese because of the tiny words “Made in Japan” that were found on it. This piece is diagnostic of the 1920s and 1930s because previous to that Japanese porcelain (and other goods) were marked “made in Nippon” (Kovel: 1986). It should be kept in mind that current Japanese ceramics exported to the United States also have this mark. The other ceramics are consistent with the timeframe set forth by Richard Loudon and homestead documents for the occupation of the site.

A large number of artifacts were documented on the The Bonita Martinez/Francisco Saldivar site. 350 ceramic sherds were documented of a total of 2127 objects. Figure 43 breaks down the ceramic data into manageable data blocks.

**Figure 43: Ceramic Count of 5LA9890/The Bonita Martinez/Francisco Saldivar Site**

Blue/Grey Stoneware:	3
Majolica:	23
Porcelain:	3
Porcelain, Japanese:	1
Whiteware:	83
<b>Total:</b>	<b>113</b>

A few more pieces of actual porcelain were found on the site. One piece matched the pattern of the Japanese porcelain on 5LA9889 so was also classified as Japanese porcelain. Aside from this, the other ceramics documented at this site seem to suggest that Richard Loudon's

assertions for the time this site was occupied are essentially correct. Copious amounts of stoneware and whiteware suggest that the inhabitants of this site were making a determined effort to not only settle but to stay in this area for a long duration. Also, given the nature and diversity of the ceramics found on this site, the household seems extremely integrated into the local, regional and national economy.

### **Interpretation of the Ceramic Data**

The ceramic data presented was rooted in a very basic typology that attempted to classify pottery sherds as specifically as possible but in many cases could not advance beyond the most general category. At times, sherds were so small that a discernible pattern could not be detected. It must also be admitted that the relative inexperience of the researcher played a role in the cursory attention given to the ceramic material. This was mitigated in part by a determined effort to keep a detailed photo log, and several items were able to be identified through reference materials and personal communications. In general, the ceramic sherds recorded reflect what the rest of the material assemblage, historical documentation, and oral history also present; that these sites are products of the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries.



## CHAPTER 6: CONCLUSION

This thesis has presented the regional and local history of Las Animas County, discussed previous work in the area concerning homesteads, tested the typology of a previous study that sought to be predictive of ethnicity, where the sites from Louden's Ranch were described and three non-Hispanic sites were also reviewed. Below, a discussion of the issues raised in the course of this study will be presented including a critique of Carrillo's typology, an examination of potential bias in the current study, and a summary of what was learned.

### **Comparing PCMS Sites to Louden Ranch Sites**

Several facts concerning the sites on the PCMS versus those found on the Louden ranch need to be acknowledged. First, the sample size of homesteads used to create Carrillo's typology (1990) was much larger (165 in number). Second, the survey done in the PCMS covered a wide area and included both Hispanic and Non-Hispanic homestead sites while the study done on the Louden Ranch was directed towards Hispanic homesteads that were relatively close to one another. Including the Haynes and Bastian (1987) architectural survey as part of the previous work under review was critical in two senses. Finally, beyond the architectural survey, the artifact analysis done on the Louden Ranch generally supports a later timeframe for all sites recorded there than those recorded on the PCMS. What the current study tested was the viability of Carrillo's typology in determining the ethnicity of the residents of homestead sites. Such a typology could be useful to historical archaeologists working in southeastern Colorado when they confront undocumented homesteads. The following is a critique of the typology as applied to the Louden Ranch sites.

## **Critique of Richard Carrillo's Homestead Typology**

Using over 17 attributes, Carrillo created a typology of three homestead types (1990). Type 1 sites accounted for 66.67% of the recorded homestead sites in the PCMS sample and were characterized as being sites that did not progress beyond a rudimentary level and included failed attempts of "Anglo-American" homesteading or an optimized subsistence strategy by Hispanics or Native Americans (Carrillo 1990: XX-23, XX-28, XXIII-2). From Table 4 presented in Chapter 3, the four most common domestic architecture types (DA-1, DA-10, DA-6, DA-9; See Table 3) are extremely rudimentary when compared to other types and exhibit a markedly lower presence of support features compared to other site types. In Carrillo's survey, roughly half of the sites classified as Type 1 were dated to between 1916 and 1930 (1990: XXIII-5), with approximately a quarter falling before this timeframe and the other quarter falling after. One is confronted with two problems with this site type. Principally, it has very little value in determining ethnicity because embedded in Carrillo's definition of the site type has two meanings. Either the Type 1 homestead represents a Euro-American attempt at homesteading that did not last past the initial stages of settlement or it represents a Hispanic occupation that was optimized for subsistence (Carrillo 1990: XX-3). With no way to distinguish between Hispanic and non-Hispanic sites or determine their economic pattern, classifying a site as being Type 1 is of a limited utility. The utility of Type 1 as a classification lay in the facts that these sites have a basic physical similarity to one another and that they do not fall into Type 2 or Type 3. In other words, Type 1 was a catch-all for sites that presented little archaeological material to be classified in the first place. No Type 1 sites were encountered during the survey on the Loudon Ranch.

Type 2 sites contrast with Type 1 in several ways. They are ascribed to traditional *nuevos mexicanos* and thus have a clear set of attributes. This is in large part due not only to

the domestic architecture comprising the home, but also corrals and other features such as *jacales* and *acequías* that are found in close proximity. Within Type 2 sites, domestic architecture types 10 and 9 are encountered with the highest frequency. Corner fireplaces within the home or traditional *hornos* located without are referenced in the text of Carrillo's study as being indicative of Hispanic ethnicity, along with flat roofed dwellings characterized by *vigas* and *latias*. However, only 23 sites qualify as Type 2 on the PCMS and by percentage seem to have the lowest incidence of both fireplaces and outside cooking features of the three site types. Yet, when domestic architecture with a fireplace was found it was overwhelmingly found in the corner, and the frequency of corral structures on Site Type 2 was much higher than either of the other two site types (Carrillo 1990:XX-22 – XX-23). Eleven sites were dated to between 1891 and 1915 and nine were dated to between 1916 and 1930, with the rest falling after 1930 (Carrillo 1990: XXIII-5). Seven of the ten sites surveyed during the Loudon Ranch study fell into this category. Much like Type 1, Type 2 spans several timeframes though it is found less frequently and its core attributes do not change. However, as a category in Carrillo's Typology, Type 2 sites are qualitatively different from the Type 1 sites because ethnicity can reasonably be ascertained from the architectural features alone since they are attributed to traditional Hispanic subsistence patterns.

While Type 1 sites are non-specific regarding ethnicity and economic practices and Type 2 sites are specific to ethnicity and indicative of a subsistence economy, Type 3 sites are considered indicative of large scale ranching for a market economy (Carrillo 1990: XX-28). The domestic architecture type is skewed heavily to type one (square houses) with gabled rather than flat roofs, and fireplaces centered on a wall rather than a corner. This site type also has the widest variety and number of associated architectural features, particularly outbuildings. Ethnicity seems to be obscured in this site type as it fundamentally represents a later time

period and could reflect a high level of acculturation by Hispanics to the American economy as well as occupation by non-Hispanics. The material culture that is present at Type 3 sites by and large represents a modernizing consumer trends in a market integrated nationally as well as regionally and locally.

Other site types reflect either a simplified subsistence level material culture (Type 1) or a material culture that is highly indicative of Hispanic practices (Type 2). With Type 3 sites, a proliferation of consumer goods appear to subsume the traditional Hispanic subsistence methods and hence is simultaneously an indication of acceptance of the dominant cultural economy and a development that obscures ethnicity both in architectural form and material culture (Carrillo 1990:XXIII-10). Two of the surveyed sites from this study fall within the Type 3 category. In Carrillo's study on the PCMS, 21 of the 26 Type 3 sites identified were dated after 1916 (1990:XXIII-5). This category shares the same problem with Type 1 in that it can be ascribed to either ethnicity, though they seemed to be predominantly Anglo-American. Haynes and Bastian (1987:6-1), note that "the interchange of ideas and the conservative continuation of traditions demand accurate and thorough historical research to clarify their material byproducts". The three sites from their study reviewed in this thesis clearly reflect that sensibility as they present a significant challenge to Carrillo's typology. They doubt that a typological method of analysis alone can be used to understand archaeological material remains, primarily due to a lack of physical integrity; and this comment is directed at earlier work done by Carrillo along these lines (Carrillo 1990:XX-29).

Carrillo's typology is workable but sometimes problematic. As noted above, Type 1 and Type 3 sites could reasonably be assigned to either Hispanics or non-Hispanics. Additionally, a few Type 3 sites that were working ranches in the late twentieth century had started as early as 1860 as essentially Type 1 sites (Carrillo 1990: XX-28). While this was addressed in the text of

his report, it makes the tables presented somewhat misleading as Carrillo lists five Type 3 sites “among others” as having such origins. The table itself gives the impression that all Type 3 sites come into being as a direct result of the Stock Raising Act, not as long term development or adaptation. The Stock Raising Act was the last piece of legislation to amend the Homestead Act and it sought to promote a ranching model that fenced in livestock rather than allow free range style grazing. The Carrillo typology thus has one strongly defined category and two categories that are not as well defined. Ideally, a typology would have strong definitions for each and every category and realistically a typology could be expected to have one category as a “catch-all” for individual sites or features that just didn’t fit with solidly constructed types. As it stands, Carrillo’s typology is solid in the middle but somewhat soft on the edges. To be fair, the nature of the sites themselves contributed to the typology’s nebulosity. By identifying the problems in this particular typology, perhaps solutions can be found to create a new typology that works better.

### **Implications from the Loudon Ranch Sites**

From the start of my survey, I knew the ethnicity of the homestead patent holders to be Hispanic. Surnames on the land patents for the area indicated Hispanic heritage and Richard Loudon assured me of the veracity of this concerning the ten sites (Loudon, personal communication 2002). What I attempted to do was apply Carrillo’s typology to known cases in order to test whether it can be used to identify the ethnic affiliation of homesteads. I cataloged all the architectural and ancillary features from each site and used his typology to classify them, identifying seven Type 2 sites, two Type 3 sites, and one site that was considered an outlier. Ultimately, the typology worked somewhat. The Type 2 sites would have predicted ethnicity and level of economic participation while the Type 3 sites did reflect, for the most part, raising livestock. But the Romero site (5LA9881) did represent a borderline case that without its

supporting features, would have been classified as a Type 3 site rather than a Type 2 site. As for the Cordova/Church site (5LA9885) and the Sandoval site (5LA9889); both were largely categorized on the strength of their architectural type. It would be hard for any archaeological strategy to deal with a site as disturbed as the Sandoval site. In the case of the Cordova site, the typology obscures the fact that the home in this instance started off as a church and it was tempting to classify it as an outlier as well, had other features not been present.

### **Bias During Data Collection**

As has been noted, the sample size on the Loudon Ranch was much smaller than that under review on the PCMS. This alone introduces the possibility of bias. Considerable logistical constraints forced the researcher to ask the landowner for directions to the most easily accessible sites. This course of action frequently did not allow for examination of what the landowner classified as both older and less accessible homesteads. Had examining these “obscured” sites been practical, a more balanced view of the area’s development over time might have been achieved. Potentially, if all of the earliest sites had been studied, at minimum the broad range of data would be that much more varied or perhaps the results of the study would have a different outcome. Fundamentally, I do not believe that my overall critique of the typology would have changed as there are substantive issues with applying it to any homestead. It was Mr. Loudon’s belief that the more isolated sites were in fact older by at least several decades (personal communication 2002). The net effect was that two potentially older sites were left out and two sites that may not have been recorded (even though they were eligible) were included. Overall, the effect of the bias in sampling can be judged to have had the effect of pushing the date range of the population later. Ultimately, the majority of Carrillo’s sites had fallen into the later time periods so even in this instance the sites on Loudon’s Ranch were comparable to what were encountered on the PCMS.

## Differences Between Hispanic and Euro-American Use of the Land

Sheep herding versus cattle ranching seems to be determined on an individual basis and often reflects an individual's opportunities in the prevailing economy rather than an inherent preference for one or the other. As previously discussed, the Arnet's experience with both sheep and cattle shows that some settlers did not have a particular bias for one type of livestock or the other. The influx of coal miners from southern and eastern European countries into the Trinidad area must be seen as a compelling economic force that fostered raising sheep. It is true that raising sheep is a Hispanic cultural trait, a trait that is shared by most countries in Europe. It happened that the Spanish version of this tradition had been carried forth into the New World first, and that the descendant people who continued it were in a position to take advantage of the boom in Trinidad. But, to some extent, the *partido* system had locked certain families into that economic role, and transition through economic cycles (such as when the boom in Trinidad was over) could be extremely difficult. These people played the hand they were dealt with the cultural tools they had available to them. Those that could transition to cattle when beef became economically more important, did so as the Arnets did. The Arnet case is compelling because as an Alsatian immigrant, this family mixed architectural forms and livestock raising strategies to match their needs and economic development of the community at large (Haynes and Bastian 1987:5-40). Those who couldn't adapt, struggled on the best they could, as represented by the *pastores* whose migration paths with their flocks ranged farther and farther away from their homes into the 1930s. Finally, many of these Hispanic families didn't so much disappear as change by way of inter-marriage with Non-Hispanic neighbors. In that respect, two communities became one.

## **Final Thoughts**

Carrillo's typology is not perfect, but it is testable. Aside from one outlier site and two sites that were tentatively classified as Type 3 sites, the other seven do match up with his typology for Type 2 sites. It would be extremely useful for an architectural typology to be able to predict ethnicity where historical documents were not available or when diagnostic artifacts were not found. The typology itself runs into problems when dealing with changes over time, both at the household level and at the regional level. It isn't very clear how many Type 3 sites started out as Type 1 or Type 2 sites. Also, using the architectural typology alone cannot reveal how integrated a household is with the American market; only an analysis of artifacts found on site can provide that. My earlier misgivings aside, this could be a starting point to develop a better typology for the region. Perhaps the solution is not to limit the classification scheme to architectural and other features, but to include material culture in general from the start, rather than have it be used as a tie-breaker of sorts. Material culture studies, particularly from the perspective of market access theory may even be a better measure of concepts such as market integration and resulting acculturation than studying architecture. Architecture after all, can be conserved and expanded upon in ways that consumer culture simply is not. A future site typology should include as much relevant data as possible from the beginning in order to create categories that are well defined and not representative of two possibilities.

## **A New Typology**

To address the concerns raised about Carrillo's typology, I am presenting a modified version below. Site Type 2 remains defined as it is, the others are altered. Also, while component features such as the domestic architecture features are exhaustively documented and defined, culturally indicative structures and features need to be committed to by naming them and defining them separately. An example is the term corral. Currently, a *jacal* in



Carrillo's tables is lumped in with all the other types of corrals; *hornos* are within the category of "outside cooking feature". When necessary, culturally neutral terms should be used when a particular feature is truly ambiguous with regard to culture such as with a simple camp fire. Overall, the terminology needs to avoid overlap because without reading the descriptions, many people would be perplexed to learn that there is a difference between a corral and a "large enclosure system". Sometimes features are encountered in areas that are not explicitly connected to a homestead site. Such features would be recorded and if another line of evidence could not be associated with a particular site it would remain an outlier. Site Type 1 and Site Type 3 would be altered by splitting them in to Hispanic and non-Hispanic groups. Material culture (artifacts) would be used explicitly to help make these determinations concerning ethnicity. The level of integration that the household experiences with the local, regional, national, and world economies can be assessed using artifact assemblages. Adams (Adams 1991, 2003; Adams, Bowers and Mills 2001) provides a way of doing this. Ethnicity signifies a variety of characteristics and one of these is the perception of difference between one group and others. Those differences often manifest in material culture. Different ethnic groups may have different values concerning certain aspects of the economy, which may reflect in the material culture as having more or less of an item than the "standard". Curation of some material or participation in two different national markets in a border zone might also affect the composition of household's material culture and might be further reflection on ethnicity. One example of this from sites examined in this study is that some sites did have *majolica*, a ceramic type that is most often associated with Hispanics both in production and use. In order to make determinations concerning market access and ethnicity, a regional database would need to be constructed that had detailed information from recorded sites concerning the material culture.

Overall, a typology I constructed would have five well defined categories with a sixth as an “indeterminate” category. Material culture would play a stronger role in defining the ethnicity of those who constructed the site. A large collaborative effort to establish and refine a regional database concerning material culture at previously recorded sites would be necessary in order to do a market access approach justice. The strength of Carrillo’s typology is that while it obscured certain aspects of ethnicity, it was also expedient and able to be used within a larger research project. Currently, my proposed typology would need a good deal of time and collaboration with others before it could even be started. Perhaps this thesis will be a guidepost for future researchers to do so.

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