

NATIONAL HISTORIC LANDMARK NOMINATION

NPS Form 10-900

USDI/NPS NRHP Registration Form (Rev. 8-86)

OMB No. 1024-0018

TRUJILLO HOMESTEADS

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United States Department of the Interior, National Park Service

National Register of Historic Places Registration Form

1. NAME OF PROPERTY

Historic Name: Trujillo Homesteads

Other Name/Site Number: Teofilo and Andrellita Trujillo Homestead/5AL791
Pedro and Sofia Trujillo Homestead/5AL706

2. LOCATION

Street & Number: Unnamed road, [redacted]

Not for publication: X

City/Town: Hooper

Vicinity: X

State: CO County: Alamosa Code: 003

Zip Code: 81136

3. CLASSIFICATION

Ownership of Property

Private: X
Public-local:
Public-State:
Public-Federal:

Category of Property

Building(s):
District: X
Site:
Structure:
Object:

Number of Resources within Property

Contributing
2
2
1
0
5

Noncontributing
0 buildings
0 sites
0 structures
0 objects
0 Total

Number of Contributing Resources Previously Listed in the National Register: 4

Name of Related Multiple Property Listing: N/A

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**4. STATE/FEDERAL AGENCY CERTIFICATION**

As the designated authority under the National Historic Preservation Act of 1966, as amended, I hereby certify that this \_\_\_ nomination \_\_\_ request for determination of eligibility meets the documentation standards for registering properties in the National Register of Historic Places and meets the procedural and professional requirements set forth in 36 CFR Part 60. In my opinion, the property \_\_\_ meets \_\_\_ does not meet the National Register Criteria.

\_\_\_\_\_  
Signature of Certifying Official

\_\_\_\_\_  
Date

\_\_\_\_\_  
State or Federal Agency and Bureau

In my opinion, the property \_\_\_ meets \_\_\_ does not meet the National Register criteria.

\_\_\_\_\_  
Signature of Commenting or Other Official

\_\_\_\_\_  
Date

\_\_\_\_\_  
State or Federal Agency and Bureau

**5. NATIONAL PARK SERVICE CERTIFICATION**

I hereby certify that this property is:

- \_\_\_ Entered in the National Register
- \_\_\_ Determined eligible for the National Register
- \_\_\_ Determined not eligible for the National Register
- \_\_\_ Removed from the National Register
- \_\_\_ Other (explain):

\_\_\_\_\_  
Signature of Keeper

\_\_\_\_\_  
Date of Action

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**6. FUNCTION OR USE**

Historic:	Agriculture/Subsistence	Sub: agricultural
	Agriculture/Subsistence	Sub: animal facility
	Domestic	Sub: single dwelling
Current:	Agriculture/Subsistence	Sub: agricultural
	Vacant/Not in Use	

**7. DESCRIPTION**

Teofilo and Maria Andrellita Trujillo Homestead:

ARCHITECTURAL CLASSIFICATION: Other: Pioneer Log

**MATERIALS:**

Foundation: Concrete  
Walls: Adobe, Wood/log  
Roof: metal  
Other: brick

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**Describe Present and Historic Physical Appearance.****INTRODUCTION**

The Trujillo Homesteads National Historic Landmark encompasses two nineteenth century Hispano ranching properties located west of the Great Sand Dunes National Park and Preserve in the San Luis Valley of southern Colorado. The 35.2-acre nominated area includes the 1865 Teofilo and Andrellita Trujillo Homestead and the 1879 homestead of their son and his wife, Pedro and Sofia Trujillo. The homesteads are nationally significant under National Historic Landmark (NHL) Criterion 1 in the areas of Exploration and Settlement and Ethnic Heritage (Hispano), under the NHL theme of Peopling Places and subthemes Migration from Outside and Within and Encounters, Conflicts, and Colonization. The homesteads are associated with a broad pattern of United States History: the northward movement of Hispano Americans into a newly acquired region of the American frontier. They represent a pattern of dispersed independent settlement by individuals who focused on amassing available public lands rather than founding colonies on land grants. The sites significantly further our understanding of the nation's Hispano-American legacy and the interlocking of different cultures and economic interests on the frontier. Teofilo Trujillo initially raised cattle but became a major sheep grower in the 1880s, facing growing hostility from large-scale Anglo cattle interests entering the area. The battle over the open range culminated in the burning of the Teofilo and Andrellita Trujillo homestead and killing of many of their sheep in 1902 and the sale of all of the nearly 1,500 acres owned by the family. The Trujillo homesteads are exceptionally important under NHL Criterion 6 in the area of historical archeology, because the site has yielded and is likely to yield further information of major scientific importance affecting theories, concepts, and ideas to a major degree. The sites can and will provide data that affects our national understanding about archeological and anthropological theories and concepts related to ethnicity and racialization, and the interrelated topics of settlement and subsistence/economic patterns, in the new American frontier. These theories and concepts are important in historic archeological research on a national level and the archeology of the Trujillo homesteads, in particular the pristine Teofilo and Andrellita Homestead site which burned in 1902 and was never re-occupied, is ideal for conducting archeological investigations and research to address these important themes.

**PRESENT APPEARANCE OF THE HOMESTEADS**

The Trujillo homesteads are situated in an isolated area in north-central Alamosa County in the east-central portion of Colorado's San Luis Valley (see Figure 1), a high, flat, semi-arid mountain park that receives about seven inches of precipitation annually (see Photographs 1 and 2). Alamosa, the county seat, lies [REDACTED] south-southwest and the Great Sand Dunes National Park and Preserve visitor center is [REDACTED] to the east. The nearest community is Hooper, population 103 in 2010, [REDACTED] to the west. Beyond the sand dunes rise the jagged peaks of the Sangre de Cristo Mountains, with landmarks in the vicinity including Carbonate Mountain (12,308') and Mount Zwischen (12,006'). The intermittent Medano, Little Medano, Sand, and Arena creeks flank the sand dunes and flow south and southwesterly from the mountain range. Since 1999 The Nature Conservancy has owned both Trujillo sites as part of its Medano-Zapata Ranch. The Teofilo and Andrellita site lies within the authorized boundary of the Great Sands Dunes National Park and Preserve, while the Pedro and Sophia site is located within the authorized boundary of the Baca National Wildlife Refuge.

The Trujillo Homesteads NHL consists of two discontinuous pieces of land within the former headquarters areas of the ranches established and operated by Teofilo and Andrellita and Pedro and Sofia Trujillo during 1865-1902 (see Sketch Map 1). The 2.9-acre Teofilo and Andrellita Trujillo site [REDACTED] contains no standing resources but encompasses archeological features associated with an adobe ranch house and other ranch resources destroyed by fire in 1902. The Pedro and Sofia Trujillo site, [REDACTED], includes 32.7 acres and contains two standing buildings (a two-story log ranch house and a log stable) and one structure (a large corral).

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Descriptions of the five identified resources within the district appear below. All are evaluated as contributing. The period of significance extends from 1865 to 1902. Each resource description is preceded by a one-line heading including the resource name, type of resource, year built, resource number (which identifies the resource on the sketch maps), contributing status, and photograph numbers. The locations of resources and photograph locations are shown on the included sketch maps.

**Teofilo and Andrellita Trujillo Homestead*****Teofilo and Andrellita Trujillo Homestead Site, site, 1865, Resource 1, contributing, Photographs 23 through 49***

The Teofilo and Andrellita Trujillo Homestead site lies [REDACTED] of the Pedro and Sofia Trujillo ranch headquarters (see Sketch Map 1). The site (see Sketch Map 2) [REDACTED]. The higher portions of the site provide a 360° view of the San Luis Valley and surrounding mountains, especially the Sangre de Cristo mountain range (see Photograph 23). The Pedro and Sofia Trujillo house is also visible from the Teofilo and Andrellita Trujillo site, especially at Feature 1, the location of the adobe structure remains. A artesian well/stock tank on the southwestern end of the site is utilized by free-roaming bison owned by The Nature Conservancy. A partially collapsed three-strand barbed wire fence with wood posts extends through the southern third of the site from the southwest to the southeast. This fence was built to separate the little and big Trujillo meadows by the Linger family when they owned the Medano Ranch in the first half of the twentieth century (J. Robert "Bob" Linger, personal communication 30 July 2011).

The Teofilo and Andrellita Trujillo site includes the archeological remains of at least two structural features: Feature 1, an adobe structure containing Artifact Concentration 2; and Feature 2, aligned upright wood posts encompassed by Artifact Concentration 1 (see Sketch Map 2). A third probable adobe feature is located to the east of Feature 1. The site also contains two discrete cobble concentrations; one is adjacent to Feature 2 and the second one consists of Feature 3. In addition, the site also exhibits one very large area (see Photograph 24) and three discrete smaller areas exhibiting numerous cobbles. Artifacts are scattered across the entire site, but there are four additional mapped areas of dense artifacts (Artifact Concentrations 3 through 6).

*Concentration 1.* Artifact Concentration 1 encompasses a large concentration of cobbles, artifacts, and Feature 2, a concentration of aligned upright wooden post remnants (see Photographs 25 and 29). Twenty-one posts in linear alignments were either visible or uncovered during site recording (see Sketch Map 3). The main area containing posts is approximately 31' east-west x 16' north-south. Four additional posts were located within the concentration to the south and southeast of the linear alignments. The diameters of the posts (see Photograph 27) are large, between 6" and 10.6". The tree species of the posts were not definitely identified in the field, but appeared to be Rocky Mountain Juniper based on the shapes of the posts and pattern of tree rings. Juniper would have been available approximately ten miles to the east or northeast of the site along the slopes of the Sangre de Cristo Mountains.

The pattern of the western-most exposed posts suggests a possible small barn/stable with internal dividers (pens or stalls). A small concentration of cobbles (3' x 3') is located at the southwestern corner of this area, suggesting a possible entrance doorstep (Photograph 28). The width of the internal divided areas is narrow, approximately 3'-6.5'. Seven additional posts run north-south and then east-west to near the northwestern corner of Feature 1. These posts and the four posts located to the south and southeast may have been part of an additional structure or possibly part of an outdoor walled courtyard. The posts may have been cut off at the ground or just above ground level. A few of the posts were visible on the surface and others were located just beneath the surface sands. Some of the posts may have been slightly burned, but it was not obvious in the field

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whether the dark brown to black coloring on the posts was from burning or is natural coloration due to weathering of the wood. If the upper portions of the posts were not completely burned in the fire of 1902, they may have been removed for reuse at other sites in the area.<sup>1</sup>

Artifacts in Concentration 1 include the following: burned adobe brick, fire brick, a *mano* (hand grinding stone), a kerosene can, a hay rake tine, square nails, white earthenware fragments, a brown salt-glazed crockery fragment, a four-hole white button, an iron hook, an amber glass bottle neck fragment, melted glass (see Photograph 41), and a purple (sun-colored-amethyst) glass bottle neck.

The cobbles are concentrated outside and to the south and southeast of the Feature 2 area and to the eastern edge of Feature 1 (see Photograph 32). The cobbles also extend to the south of Feature 1, over Artifact Concentration 6, Feature 3, and to the southwestern corner of the site (see Sketch Map 2). Three additional smaller concentrations of cobbles are located in the southeastern portion of the site, south of the fenceline. The cobbles range in size from approximately 4"-8" in length, except in Feature 3, which exhibits much larger cobbles. The original locations of some of the cobbles, especially those near the stock tank, may have been altered by bison trampling of the area, as was observed after a rain on 27 July 2006. Based on an estimated count of cobbles in 34 of the 16' x 16' mapped grid units placed over Artifact Concentrations 1, 2 and 6, there are over 2,000 cobbles on the surface of the site.

The cobbles were all brought from off-site, perhaps from the upper reaches of the Sand Creek drainage to the northeast or somewhere along the edge of the Sangre de Cristo Mountains to the northeast or east. The closest location containing cobbles of this size is at least ten miles away (Fred Bunch, personal communication 2006). Transporting these cobbles to the site would have taken a significant investment of time and energy. Based on their placement in discrete locations, especially around Features 1 and 2, it is hypothesized that the function of the cobbles was as pavers for pathways and/or a courtyard. The laying of cobbles in heavily utilized and/or very sandy or wet areas of the site would have been an excellent method to stabilize the sandy sediments, which are easily windblown and eroded by hard rains or livestock.<sup>2</sup>

*Concentration 2.* Artifact Concentration 2 contains numerous artifacts and Feature 1, the remains of a large, burned adobe structure. The outline of the adobe structure is rectangular in shape, [REDACTED] (see Sketch Map 2). The area containing the adobe remains exhibits a thick layer of fine disintegrating adobe, burned adobe brick fragments, red bricks, melted glass (see Photograph 42), unmelted window glass, square nails, and small pieces of probable interior or exterior wall plaster (see Photograph 30), all indicative of the remains of a burned and weathered adobe habitation structure. Feature 1 is interpreted to be the remains of the Teofilo adobe house that burned in 1902. The adobe concentration and the area immediately surrounding it primarily contain domestic types of artifacts, including many that were obviously burned (see Photograph 43). Artifacts within and immediately adjacent to Concentration 2 include the following: San Juan Red-on-tan sherds, Taos Micaceous sherds, a sadiron metal handle (see Photograph 37), red bricks, burned adobe brick, a stamped green glass fragment, metal stove parts, historic white with brown transferware patterned ceramic fragments, a ceramic fragment with a blue flower pattern, a salt glazed crockery base fragment, a brown decorated crockery fragment (see Photograph 34), a blue-glazed earthenware ceramic fragment, melted glass (white, green and brown), and thin metal wire.

<sup>1</sup> An example of reused beams was noted at the Pedro Trujillo Homestead. Portions of the roof beams in the stable were very large-diameter logs, several of which were heavily burned, although the structure itself does not appear to have been burned. This reuse of logs is not unexpected because of the long distance required to obtain large-diameter wood beams.

<sup>2</sup> A cobble pathway from one ranch building to another was also used historically at the nearby Medano Ranch to stabilize sandy sediments (J. Robert "Bob" Linger, personal communication 1 August 2011).

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**Concentration 3.** Artifact Concentration 3, [REDACTED] and contains a wide scatter and several smaller concentrations of artifacts related to both domestic and ranching/farming activities. The southern end of the concentration is also covered with scattered cobbles. Some of these artifacts may represent discrete household cleanout/dumping episodes or activity areas. For example, one of the smaller artifact concentrations contains over 24 San Juan Red-on-tan sherds (see Photograph 46), historic Anglo-American ceramics, a unifacial *metate* (grinding slab) fragment of pink sandstone, a bifacial sandstone *mano*, and two vesicular basalt *mano* fragments that appear to be from a single item (see Photograph 38). Examples of other artifacts in Concentration 3 include the following: a miniature china toy tea set lid (see Photograph 48), a porcelain doll head and doll arm fragments, a metal triangular-shaped strap, a white earthenware rim fragment with a brown stripe, a metal hoe (see Photograph 44), a leather fragment with copper rivets, a leather shoe fragment with square nails, a tool sharpening stone fragment, a white earthenware fragment with blue decoration, whiteware fragments with bright blue glaze and small gold line decorations, a gun cartridge (WRA Co. 40-82 W.C.F.), a ceramic furniture wheel fragment, a shell button fragment, a ceramic white earthenware plate rim fragment, a salt glazed crockery fragment, an iron pipe clamp, a green two-hole button, white ceramic lead-glazed crockery, a ceramic earthenware gray transferware fragment, a ceramic earthenware brown transferware fragment, a metal mower tooth, and a metal upright flat post/possible horse picket with a hole through the top.

**Concentration 4.** Artifact Concentration 4, [REDACTED], and contains a wide scatter of artifacts. The artifacts are primarily items of domestic discard and include the following: a purple glass bottle neck fragment, a round cobble *mano*, an earthenware ceramic plate fragment with green and red decoration, ceramic earthenware with blue and gold decoration, red brick fragments, a ceramic earthenware plate fragment with green and purple decoration, ceramic gray transferware fragments, an aqua glass plate fragment, a white earthenware ceramic fragment with a scalloped edge, and brown glazed crockery fragments.

**Concentration 5.** Artifact Concentration 5 is a large area, [REDACTED] and contains the greatest number of artifacts of any of the concentrations. It includes several smaller concentrations of artifacts that are probably the result of discrete dumping, primarily of discarded domestic household items. A number of the artifacts, especially the glass items, have been burned and/or melted, suggesting that some of the domestic trash was being burned or that the area was burned during the 1902 fire. A linear, dense concentration of burned adobe and artifacts, approximately 6.5' x 52' in extent, is located near the western edge of Concentration 5. This area contains numerous pieces of broken window glass, burned colored vessel glass, micaceous pottery fragments, metal stove parts (see Photograph 36), red brick, and crockery, and likely represents the remains of an additional adobe feature (see Sketch Map 2). Other artifacts scattered over Concentration 5 include: ceramics (earthenware), a white-glazed crockery base fragment (see Photograph 35) with a "Warranted Goodwin Bros" trademark (ca. 1875-1893), salt glazed crockery fragments, and white earthenware. Glass includes melted white glass, over 100 fragments of burned and unburned clear window glass, a piece of melted thin multi-colored layered glass, clear glass bottle and canning jar fragments, purple glass bottle and jar fragments, aqua glass fragments, amber bottle glass fragments, a cobalt blue glass fragment, and white milkglass fragments.

Metal includes a square nail, a finishing nail, a decorative metal stove fragment, two unidentified gun cartridges, a metal handle for a clothes iron, a flattened metal washtub or bucket, unidentified cast iron metal (possibly stove parts), a metal handle fragment, a rivet, a rod, a tin can fragment with a hand-soldered seam and several other unidentified metal fragments that appear to be deteriorated tin cans, and unidentified copper fragments. Toys include a porcelain doll leg and doll head fragments (see Photograph 33). Native American ceramics include 11 San Juan Red-on-tan sherds and 7 micaceous Native American sherds (Taos Micaceous

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and an unidentified micaceous ware, possibly Apache Ocate Micaceous) (Reed 2006a). Lithics include a gold chert hafted biface (arrow point) and 7 chert flakes (debris from stone tool manufacture). Bone includes burned animal bone fragments (numerous small pieces and a few larger ones, including one that was cut). Structural material includes an adobe brick fragment with visible straw impressions (see Photograph 31), 8 additional adobe brick fragments, and 8 red brick fragments. Other miscellaneous artifacts include: ceramic furniture wheel fragments, a *metate* fragment, a black button, and a piece of coal.

*Concentration 6.* Concentration 6 is located [REDACTED]. The concentration is covered with scattered cobbles and also contains artifacts such as a clear glass bottle fragment embossed with letters ("LON TEA..."), a brown glazed ceramic furniture leg caster fragment, 3 red bricks, an adobe brick fragment, 2 milled wood fragments, several unidentified earthenware ceramic fragments, a white glass fragment with ridges, a decorative brown transferware ceramic fragment (see Photograph 39), and several unidentified metal fragments.

Feature 3 consists of three upright wooden posts and a concentration of approximately 50 large cobbles (between 6"-20" in length) located southwest of Concentration 6 along the existing (fallen) barbed wire fence (see Photograph 26). The rocks are in a basically circular pattern approximately 16' north-south x 16' east-west and are generally much larger in size than the cobbles located in Concentration 1 and those scattered throughout the site (see Sketch Map 4). The rocks may have served as a platform, possibly for a water tank or some sort of superstructure such as a windmill. There are three upright posts in a line parallel to the existing fallen fenceline that may be associated with the feature. No other artifacts are located in direct association with the feature that would suggest a specific function.

*Additional Artifacts.* Artifacts located throughout the remainder of the site outside of the mapped concentrations include numerous additional domestic and farming/ranching related artifacts including ceramics (both Native American and Anglo-American), window and bottle glass (melted and unmelted), and various metal artifacts, such as an 1854 U.S. military general service uniform button, and machinery and tool parts such as hay rake tines, mower knife blades, square nails, a handle fragment from a sheep shear or hay knife (see Photograph 40), mule shoes (see Photograph 45), and two ax heads (see Photograph 47).

**Pedro and Sofia Trujillo Homestead<sup>3</sup>**

***Pedro and Sofia Trujillo Homestead Site, site, 1879, Resource 2, contributing, Photographs 1 through 22 and 50 through 53***

The Pedro and Sofia Trujillo Homestead site, [REDACTED], includes the ranch headquarters area and contains a two-story log ranch house (surrounded by a wood post and pole fence), a stable to the north, and a large corral to the south (see Sketch Maps 5 and 6). An artesian well and circular metal stock tank (with a narrowleaf cottonwood tree growing in it) lie about 30' south of the house; the flow from the well drains to the south (see Photographs 6 and 7). Artifacts are scattered throughout the site, including square nails, glass fragments, a mule shoe (see Photograph 51), gun cartridges, wire (smooth and barbed), a 1917 Liberty Head dime, and numerous fragments of metal. [REDACTED]

[REDACTED] including buttons, square nails, glass fragments (purple, clear, amber, olive green, and cobalt blue) including a miniature clear glass bottle with an embossed dog design (see Photograph 52), milled lumber, tin cans, red bricks, white earthenware ceramic fragments, leather and miscellaneous metal scraps, numerous square nails, three *manos* (see Photograph 50),

<sup>3</sup> Dates of resources discussed come from the General Land Office land patent case files.

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and two *metates*. Artifact Concentration 2, [REDACTED] contains a metal sign, miscellaneous metal machinery parts and scraps, purple and clear glass fragments, and San Juan Red-on-tan Native American ceramics (see Photograph 49). Artifact Concentration 3 contains numerous fragments of clear bottle glass, white earthenware ceramic fragments, numerous tin cans including a sanitary tin can and a conical tin can (ca. 1935-1957), and fire-cracked rock. Artifact Concentration 4 contains many tin cans and fragments of window glass. Artifact Concentration 5 exhibits white and orange earthenware ceramic fragments, cinders, and numerous clear bottle glass fragments. Artifact Concentration 6 contains 2 clear Hazel Atlas bottle bases, ca. 1920-1964 (Toulouse 1971), 15 sanitary tin cans, numerous white earthenware ceramic fragments, 2 red bricks, and many unidentified metal fragments. Concentration 7 contains a complete clear glass bottle with a Hazel Atlas trademark, ca. 1920-1960 (Toulouse 1971), 1 clear glass Hazel Atlas bottle base that was flaked into a scraping tool (see Photograph 53), numerous clear and amber glass fragments, 1 stone biface (tool flaked on both surfaces), and 1 vesicular basalt bifacial *mano* fragment.

The artifacts in the concentrations represent evidence of domestic occupation and disposal of broken or used items, and remains associated with ranching operations, construction, and maintenance activities. The dates of the artifacts range from possible prehistoric/protohistoric times to the documented historic period occupation. The archeological deposits have not been formally tested, but the site has been revisited numerous times since the original recording in 2002, and based on the artifacts that have been observed to be continually eroding out of subsurface deposits in several areas on the site, it is likely it contains significant intact buried cultural remains. Two piles of building debris (possibly small collapsed outbuildings) lie north of the northeast corner of the corral. West-southwest of the ranch house is a smaller pile of building materials and other items. Two more recent piles of building materials are also present: one between the ranch house and the corral (date unknown) and another west of the ranch house (2010).

*Alterations.* Between 1919 and 1937, three small outbuildings<sup>4</sup> and what appears to be a loafing shed were erected near the northeast corner of the corral (Maria T. Causby, personal communication 2003; San Luis Valley Aerial Photograph 1937); they are no longer extant. An additional debris pile, added at the time of the 2010 rehabilitation of the ranch house, lies west of the house. At the same time, a sturdy post and pole fence with two gates was placed around the house to keep resident bison away, with gravel spread between the house and the fence perimeter. It is not known to what extent the house rehabilitation disturbed artifact Concentration 1.

***Ranch House, building, 1879-85, Resource 3, contributing, Photographs 3 through 8***

The ranch house is an east-facing two-story rectangular (20' x 16') log dwelling with a one-story lean-to log projection (19' 5" x 16' 7") on the rear. All of the windows (four-over-four-light) and doors (vertical board) have plain wood surrounds. The house has a side gabled roof with metal panel roofing and overhanging eaves, and the lean-to projection also has metal panel roofing. The interior plan of the house is similar to that of a nineteenth century I-house, although the stairs are located to the north side of the main room rather than in the center. The house is composed of mostly unhewn logs, with wide sections of daubing between the logs. The corner logs of the main part of the house are joined with V-notches (see Photograph 8). The historic rear projection displays square-notched logs. The house now sits atop a poured concrete perimeter foundation beveled along its top.

The front wall (east) has round logs on the upper story and square-hewn logs on the lower story (see Photographs 3 and 4). There is a center entrance with plain board surround flanked by tall, narrow windows. Centered above the windows are similar windows on the second story.

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<sup>4</sup> Architect Mark Jones believes one of the buildings was a bunkhouse (2003:67).

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The north wall is composed of round logs extending to the eaves and has no openings (see Photographs 4 and 5). Logs in the gable face are smaller in diameter than those near the ground. There are plain trim boards. The north wall of the one-story projection is composed of square-hewn logs with square notches and has wide daubing. The upper section of the wall under the eaves is clad with vertical boards. One window is located near the center of the north wall of the projection.

Only a narrow strip of the rear wall (west) of the house under the eaves is visible, due to the presence of the rear projection. The wall of the projection has square-hewn logs with square notches and one center window (see Photograph 6).

On the south, the projection is clad with vertical board siding on the upper part of the wall and has square-hewn logs with square notches below. There is an off-center entrance with a vertical board door. The south wall of the two-story part of the house is composed of round logs with V notches. Like the north wall, the logs in the gable face are smaller in diameter than those near the ground. The wall has a small window on the first story at the center (see Photographs 6 and 7).

*Alterations.* In 1919, a one-room addition to the north wall of the house was present, apparently with its own exterior entrance. A 1937 aerial photograph shows this addition, which was removed about 1940. It is not known if this addition dated to the Trujillo era.

At the time of the 2003 fieldwork associated with the preparation of the National Register historic district nomination for this property, most of the windows and doors were missing, other components were deteriorated, and the house had been open to the weather and animals for some time (see Figure 2). Part of the metal panel roofing was missing, with horizontal roof planks exposed. The house rested on a decayed log pier foundation with concrete along the perimeter. The main chimney was deteriorated and losing bricks. Bison, which freely graze in the area, were rubbing against the house. Most seriously, the one-story rear projection had been undercut by erosion, causing it to twist and pull away from the two-story section.

In 2010, Benjamin and Carole Fitzpatrick of Niwot, Colorado, contributed funds to The Nature Conservancy to address the building's deterioration. Van Iwaarden Builders, Inc., of Alamosa, Colorado, served as general contractor for the project. Workers disassembled and removed the one-story rear section, labeling individual logs with tags. Animal waste and other debris were cleared from the interior of the two-story section, which was then jacked up, and a concrete perimeter foundation poured for the entire building. The rear section was then reassembled (with about three deteriorated logs replaced) and roofed with metal roofing similar to that present on the main part of the house. A somewhat more recent orange brick chimney with a metal top present on the shed roof rear section was not rebuilt. The deteriorated red brick chimney on the rear roof slope of the two-story section was rebuilt and missing metal roofing panels replaced. Window openings received replacement four-over-four-light windows replicating the originals, and new vertical board doors were crafted and installed (Bob Van Iwaarden, personal communication 2011).

***Horse Stable, building, pre-1885, Resource 4, contributing, Photographs 9 through 14***

The rectangular horse stable is about 52' x 16', with its long axis oriented north-northwest/south-southeast (see Photographs 9 and 11). The building has a low, slightly overhanging side gabled roof; board roofing; a log ridge beam; and log rafters (some of which display charring from a fire, suggesting they were reused from another location) (see Photograph 14). The walls are composed of round and square-hewn logs, the corners display V-notching (see Photograph 13), and gaps between the logs are filled with narrow quarter-poles as well as some adobe daubing. The building is divided into three bays on the east and west walls by paired log posts where the

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horizontal logs of adjoining bays are joined with square notches. The north bay has been undercut by erosion and is dropping and pulling away from the remainder of the building.

The front wall (east) is partially collapsed at the south end and the roof above is sagging. Toward the north end of the east wall is a low entrance with upright logs on either side; strap hinges indicate the opening once held a door. The north wall of the stable is composed of full-width logs alternating with courses filled with narrower logs of varying lengths. The wall has no door or window openings.

The upper west wall has a narrow horizontal opening across the width of the building (the opening in the north bay is triangular due to the dropping of that end of the building) (see Photograph 10). It is unclear if the opening is an original design element or if logs are missing. At the west end the south wall is composed of logs; the center section has short boards applied horizontally; and the east section and southeast corner sections of the wall are missing (see Photograph 12). Both square and round nails are present. The stable interior features stalls defined by four low partitions clad with vertical boards; the board floor rests on log joists (see Photograph 14). Trujillo descendants indicate this building was used as a horse stable.

*Alterations.* Wall sections at the southeast corner of this deteriorating building are missing, and at the north end the building is being undercut by erosion, causing it to sag and pull away from the southern part.

***Corral, structure, north portion probably pre-1885, southern portion post-1937, Resource 5, contributing, Photographs 15 through 21***

The large corral (206' x 200') is oriented north-northwest/south-southeast and is divided into six large holding pens (see Photograph 15). The pens are composed of horizontal boards and log posts. The north fence is faced with vertical slab logs (see Photograph 16), while most other fences are post and pole (see Photographs 17 through 19). Several gates in the corral are flanked by tall posts with cross-pieces. A swinging gate at the southeast end and other gates have metal cables for support. The center junction of the four northern holding pens features a gate arrangement that permits gates to be selectively opened and closed for cutting livestock into the desired pens. There is a metal watering trough west of the gate junction. Opening onto the gate junction from the east is a log post and milled board squeeze chute (see Photographs 20-21).<sup>5</sup> The chute has a V-shaped fenced area at its east end that funnels livestock into the chute. The walls of the chute are slanted, and a board catwalk parallels the chute on the south. A loading chute is at the northwest corner of the corral (see Photograph 17); a fenced area for funneling livestock into the loading chute extends across the north side of the northwest holding pen. A collapsed woven wire and log fence extends west from the corral near its north end.

*Alterations.* Based on a 1937 aerial photograph, the corral appears to have been extended southward since that date with the addition of an east-west alley and two holding pens (each roughly 104' x 40'), reflecting continued use of the structure. The loading chute at the northwest corner also came after that date, as well as the small rectangular fenced area within the northwest holding pen and the alley along the east center of the corral. Some gates and sections of perimeter fence have fallen down.

## **HISTORIC APPEARANCE OF THE HOMESTEADS**

No historic photographs, drawings, or detailed contemporary descriptions of the two homesteads are known to exist. The isolated location of the Trujillo ranches did not draw casual passersby. While there are historic photographs of the Medano Ranch headquarters a few miles southeast, cameras were rare in the area well into

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<sup>5</sup> A squeeze chute is a device within a corral used to direct and restrain cattle and horses, consisting of a narrow passage through which animals are made to walk, with a stall near the chute's end featuring a head bail and back gate. Once the animal is confined by the head bail within the stall, it can then be examined or treated. Ranch hands deployed on the catwalk above encourage animals below to keep moving through the chute.

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the twentieth century.<sup>6</sup> Trujillo descendants and families of later owners do not have photographs of the homestead buildings. In the absence of such sources, a picture of the historic appearance of the homesteads can be assembled from land patent proof testimony, brief newspaper notes, interviews with family members and other informants, and, perhaps most importantly, from the archeological resources that provide the best evidence about what the homesteads looked like historically and how the land was utilized over time.

**Teofilo and Andrellita Trujillo Homestead**

Surveyor E.H. Kellogg,<sup>7</sup> while establishing the boundary between sections 1 and 12 in 1878, remarked that the house of “Teophilo Trujillo” [REDACTED] (see Figure 3). This closely corresponds to the location of adobe building remains identified in recent archeological investigations.<sup>8</sup> Between the southwest corner of the section and the house, Kellogg noted a corral three chains (198’) long. The surveyor provided no additional descriptive detail for either resource (USDOI, SGO 1878a:335). Testifying in his pre-emption cash entry proof testimony in 1881 for the [REDACTED] Trujillo stated he “settled and moved into my house with my family” on 21 July 1879, although the house appeared on the 1878 map.<sup>9</sup> His improvements included a house with four rooms, a corral, outhouses, and a ditch<sup>10</sup> and side ditches, with all of the land fenced. Trujillo’s two witnesses noted the house was made of adobe. The claimant estimated his improvements were worth at least \$800 (USDI, GLO 1881).

In 1886, Trujillo testified concerning the improvements on his separate homestead claim, 160 acres lying between his earlier cash entry claim and his son’s property to the west (see Figure 4). He stated he had lived “on the ranch” continuously for the past 21 years and estimated its value at over \$1,500:

In 1874 I built my first home. I now have 2 houses-1 a five room log, 1 a 4 room adobe. ½ mile of irrigating ditch. 1 mile of good fence. 1 stable. chicken house. 3 wells of water with pumps one has a wind mill on it (USDI, GLO 1886).

It appears in this testimony Trujillo was re-listing improvements already noted on his cash entry parcel in 1881. In his mind, he and his family resided on “the ranch” without distinction as to what parcel held which improvements. If duplicates are removed, leaving items not listed in 1881, the homestead claim held the five-room log house and possibly the stable, chicken house, and one or more water wells. The stable and chicken house, however, might have been among the “outhouses” noted in the 1881 affidavit. More difficult to reconcile (possibly attributable to translation and transcription problems) is Trujillo’s assertion he had resided on the land since 1865, but built his first house in 1874.

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<sup>6</sup> The Linger family owned the larger ranch of which the homesteads were a part from 1912 through 1947. Betty Linger Shawcroft, who grew up at the Medano Ranch headquarters, recalled that she received her first camera in 1947, a year before she got married (Betty Linger Shawcroft, personal communication August 2011).

<sup>7</sup> Kellogg was under contract with the U.S. General Land Office to establish the subdivisions within Township 40 North, Range 11 East, New Mexico Principal Meridian.

<sup>8</sup> Bob Linger, who spent summers at the Medano Ranch in the 1940s, also identified this as the location of Teofilo Trujillo’s house based on information provided by members of his family and their employees as he was growing up.

<sup>9</sup> In “proving up” their eligibility to gain title to public domain lands, the U.S. General Land Office required claimants and witnesses to submit affidavits demonstrating that the requirements of the applicable law had been satisfied. Understanding and correctly answering the questions may have been difficult for Teofilo Trujillo, who spoke only Spanish. He could not write in that language, signing legal documents with an “X” that was witnessed, and it is unclear if he could read. The 1870 census indicated that he could not read, while the enumerations for 1900 and 1910 reported that he could. The General Land Office forms were printed in English and claimant’s answers were written in English, thus it would appear that the services of a translator were utilized.

<sup>10</sup> Teofilo Trujillo constructed the Trujillo Ditch in 1874 (Colorado District Court 1895).

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By 1886 Teofilo Trujillo succeeded in developing a sizable ranch headquarters, including two houses, outbuildings, fencing, and a water supply and delivery system that included ditches and wells. Archeological evidence indicates that Teofilo's adobe house measured about 62' x 55.' Most adobes in the Valley during the period were one-story, constructed as historian Olibama Lopez Tushar described:

The outside walls of these first houses were of unusual thickness, sometimes as much as sixteen inches thick, built thus at first, for protection, and later because they were found to make the houses very cozy in winter and cool in summer. The roofs were flat, allowing of course, a slight pitch for drainage. They were made by setting the huge, rough round beams of fir or pine [*vigas*] about one yard apart in these thick walls, and then laying the *latilla*, or lath (which were of aspen or cedar) crosswise on them. On these were placed straw or amole leaves, then a layer of mud, and the whole topped off with a layer of dirt. These made the roof rain-tight except in the case of rainfall of cloudburst proportions (2007:67).

A linear plan was the most common arrangement for such dwellings, with "a series of side-by-side single file rooms with separate entrances and privacy walls" (Mondragón-Valdéz 2000:43-44). As more space was needed, rooms were added, in some cases producing L- or U-shaped plans. Some adobes received an upper story with a gable roof and a dormer or dormers. Floors in the houses were generally of hard-packed, tamped earth, and windows were small and placed high on walls. Settlers built the principal fireplace of the house on an outside wall or in a kitchen corner, with smaller fireplaces constructed in other rooms. Outside, a beehive-shaped *horno* served as an oven for baking (Tushar 2007:67; Adams 1974:36-41).

Red bricks found on and adjacent to the burned adobe structure at the Teofilo site suggest the house had a brick chimney. Remains of cast iron stove parts indicate a stove was utilized for cooking, at least in later times. No obvious remains of an outside *horno* have been found, but those remains may be covered with sand and could be identified during future archeological excavations. The archeological investigations conducted to date have not identified the internal layout of the burned adobe house, but future archeological excavations can reveal how the house and other site structures and features were constructed and utilized.

The *Mosca Herald* described Teofilo's dwelling as "one of the best ranch houses in the valley" (quoted in *Center Dispatch* 7 February 1902:1). In the words of agricultural historian Edward Norris Wentworth, Teofilo "built a remarkably fine home for the period—one with many stained glass windows" (Wentworth 1948:332). Newspaper accounts of the 1902 burning of Teofilo's ranch buildings provided a few additional details about the headquarters area at that time. One article noted in addition to Teofilo's house the site contained the dwelling of a "Mexican workman" (*Monte Vista Journal* 8 February 1902:1). Another newspaper reported that "not long ago Senor Trujillo's barn was burned by incendiaries" (*Fort Collins Weekly Courier* 20 February 1902:3).

**Pedro and Sofia Trujillo Homestead**

In October 1879, Pedro Trujillo settled on an L-shaped piece of land [REDACTED] (see Figure 4). In his December 1885 pre-emption proof testimony, Pedro stated he built a three-room house, a stable, a windmill, a corral, and 1.5 miles of fence, with a total value of about \$1,100. No further information about construction materials or the character of the improvements was provided. The site contained a privy that archeological investigations suggest might have been north of the ranch house. Andrea Trujillo Lujan (1904-2005), the granddaughter of Pedro and Sofia Trujillo, stayed at this site one summer in about 1919 with the Eulogio Martinez family and recalled the interior arrangement of the log ranch house at that time. Entering at the front door, the first story of the two-story part of the building held a

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combination kitchen and dining room, with stairs to the upper story at the north end of the room. The rear one-story section was used as a bedroom, as was the upstairs, which contained one large room (Lujan 2003:2). Based on extant fences and standing fence posts, it appears a perimeter fence linked the corral, ranch house, and stable and defined the ranch yard. The house, stable, and corral are visible on a 1937 aerial photograph of the site (San Luis Valley Aerial Photograph 1937) (see Figure 5) and are still present in the same locations today. The aerial also showed: what appear to be two outbuildings north of the northeast corner of the corral; a possible loafing shed to their east; a 35'-40' diameter circular structure in the ranchyard between the stable and the corral; and what might be a building north of the ranch house. According to Andrea Lujan, the only buildings and structures present in 1919 were the ranch house, stable, and corral, indicating the additional facilities shown on the aerial were erected later in the Linger tenure, between 1919 and 1937. None of these latter resources are present today, but the archeological resources at the sites could be used to reveal the locations, functions, and chronological associations of each of these additional buildings/structures.<sup>11</sup>

**NATURAL ENVIRONMENT**

The Trujillo Homesteads are located in the San Luis Valley within the Rio Grande Basin of south-central Colorado. The broad, flat valley is bounded on the north by Poncha Pass, on the east by the Sangre de Cristo Mountains, and on the west by the San Juan Mountains. The basin extends southward into northern New Mexico, and the high mountains form the boundary of the watershed. The mountains and valley are drained by the Rio Grande, which flows eastward out of the San Juan Mountains to the approximate center of the floor of the San Luis Valley, where it turns southward and flows into New Mexico.

The Trujillo sites are located along the eastern edge of the San Luis Valley near the western base of the Sangre de Cristo Mountains, across from where the Rio Grande exits the San Juan Mountains into the valley. The most striking landform in the vicinity is the large, active dune mass nestled at the base of the Sangre de Cristo Mountains.<sup>12</sup> These are the tallest such formations in North America, towering over 600' above the valley floor. Medano, Mosca, and Music Passes provide routes over the Sangre de Cristo Mountains eastward to the Wet Mountain Valley. North, south, and west of the dune mass is a combination of sand sheet and sabkha that extends from Rito Alto Creek (north of Crestone) and south beyond U.S. 160. The Trujillo sites are located in the sand sheet.<sup>13</sup>

The regional climate is quite variable, and fluctuates according to elevation and from year to year. Areas on the floor of the San Luis Valley are best characterized as semi-arid and cool, with very cold temperatures in the winter, sometimes reaching well below 0° F due to cold air drainage (Western Regional Climate Center [WRCC] 2010). Wind is the dominant natural element within the San Luis Valley, "and the winds blow persistently" (Anderson and Bunch 2005). Average wind speed at Alamosa, approximately 20 miles to the southwest, is 8.3 mph, with a maximum speed of 95.7 mph recorded June 1982 (WRCC 2010).

The Teofilo and Andrellita Trujillo site is located [REDACTED]. Natural sediments on the Trujillo sites are primarily a tan, fine-grained sand. The nearest mapped permanent water is located [REDACTED].

<sup>11</sup> Mrs. Lujan also described what she called "the added room to the North side" of the ranch house, present in 1919 and used as a bedroom, storage room, and dispensary (2003:2). This may be what appears to be a building immediately north of the house in the 1937 aerial. The north wall of the ranch house displays no evidence of a doorway, so the added room must have had an exterior entrance. She did not indicate whether the room was present during the Pedro Trujillo era; the added room is no longer present.

<sup>12</sup> The term "dune mass" refers to the broad, tall, unvegetated, active dune field that is the main attraction at Great Sand Dunes National Park.

<sup>13</sup> "Sabkha" is an Arabic name for a salt-flat ordinarily found near sand dunes. These relatively flat and very saline areas of sand or silt form just above the water-table where the sand is cemented together by evaporite salts from seasonal ponds (Hands on the Land 2003).

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Other springs and creeks nearby include Little Spring Creek, San Luis Creek, Sand Creek, and Arena Creek. Numerous lakes are located to the southwest of the sites, including Head Lake, San Luis Lake, Dollar Lake, Cotton Lake, and many smaller unnamed lakes. Sand Creek, which flows on the north and northwest side of the dune mass just to the northeast of the Trujillo sites, is a losing stream,<sup>14</sup> although it can reach playa lakes to the west of Great Sand Dunes National Park and Preserve with proper conditions (Valdez 1996). A large circular depression is located immediately west of the Teofilo site and contained visible water in a 1936 aerial photograph (USDA SCS). In July 2011, this depression was dry, but it may hold water seasonally based on the thick grasses growing on the floor of the basin. Vegetation on the Trujillo sites includes bunch grasses, rabbitbrush, snakeweed, Rocky Mountain bee plant, four-wing saltbrush, Russian thistle, greasewood, scurf pea, Indian rice grass, and salt grass. Rushes are found in the wetter riparian areas just south of the Teofilo site where the stock tank drains. No trees exist on the Teofilo site, but a single narrowleaf cottonwood tree is present at the stock tank/well location at the Pedro site.

**PREVIOUS ARCHEOLOGICAL INVESTIGATIONS**

The location of the Teofilo and Andrellita Trujillo homestead site (5AL791) was rediscovered in 2002 by RMC Consultants, Inc., (RMC) with the assistance of J. Robert "Bob" Linger, a member of the family that owned the Medano Ranch from 1912 to 1947. The Teofilo site was visited briefly on 10 October 2002 by RMC to map the general location and evaluate the potential for future work. During the site visit and another brief visit 10 May 2006 by National Park Service (NPS) employees Fred Bunch and Dr. Adrienne Anderson, evidence of structural remains was observed, including burned adobe and cobbles. Artifacts observed on the surface included fragments of burned glass, Native American ceramics, fragments of decorated earthenware ceramics, and a lid to a child's miniature toy tea set.

RMC contracted with the Rio Grande County Museum and Cultural Center, Del Norte, Colorado, to conduct an archeological site assessment of the site in 2006 (Martorano 2007). The project was completed for the Colorado State Historical Fund (SHF), with additional funding provided by the National Park Service. The purpose of the 2006 project was to record and evaluate the Teofilo Trujillo homestead site for eligibility to the National Register of Historic Places (NRHP) and to provide recommendations for site preservation and future research needs.

RMC conducted the initial site recording of the Teofilo and Andrellita Trujillo homestead on 25-27 July 2006 with the assistance of volunteers from the NPS, U.S. Fish and Wildlife Service, Front Range Community College in Fort Collins, and the San Luis Valley Archeological Network. The entire site area was surveyed for the locations of artifacts and features and to determine the site boundary. Pin flags were used to mark artifacts and possible feature locations. A basic recording of the site was conducted during this project. Colorado Office of Archeology and Historic Preservation (OAHP) resource forms were completed and the site was mapped and photographed with film and digital images. The site boundaries were determined by the extent of surface-visible artifacts and features. Features and artifact concentrations were identified and mapped. The extent of Feature 1, the burned adobe structure, was identified based on the surface extent of the adobe concentration. The wood posts comprising Feature 2 were identified on the surface or were uncovered, if shallowly buried. Each post was mapped, photographed, and measured. To determine an estimated number and horizontal extent of the cobbles on the site, 42 16' x 16' grids were placed over Features 1 and 2 and the northern portion of artifact Concentration 6. A sample of 35 of the 42 grids was selected for mapping and recording/counting of cobbles and artifacts.

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<sup>14</sup> A "losing stream" is a stream or river that loses water as it flows downstream, with its water infiltrating into the ground and recharging the local groundwater.

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An overall site map showing locations of features and concentrations of artifacts was drafted utilizing paced and taped measurements. Detail maps were also made of Concentrations 1 and 2 (containing Features 1 and 2), Feature 2, and Feature 3. A Geo-Explorer 3 Global Positioning System (GPS) unit set at North American Datum (1927) was utilized to record the site boundary, feature locations, and selected artifact locations. The GPS data was differentially corrected in the laboratory after fieldwork. Artifacts in each concentration were described/tallied and selected artifacts photographed, but not point plotted. Gun cartridges were hand-drawn to scale. Selected artifacts such as the Native American ceramics and other artifacts that required lab analysis or archival research were collected. Lori Reed, Animas Ceramic Consulting, Inc., (2006a) analyzed the Native American ceramics, and the function and date of other artifacts were identified in the lab using comparative literature. All collected artifacts are curated at Great Sand Dunes National Park and Preserve.

The Pedro and Sofia Trujillo homestead site was initially recorded in October of 2002 by RMC Consultants, Inc., Front Range Research Associates, Inc., and volunteers from the San Luis Valley Archeological Network as part of a Colorado State Historical Fund grant obtained by The Nature Conservancy. The objective of the grant was to record and research the site to evaluate it for eligibility to the State or National Register. Utilizing the information collected as a result of field work and historical research, consultation regarding the eligibility of the properties was conducted to determine the appropriate type of designation to pursue. A historic context was produced, as well as a summary historical overview for interpretive purposes. The summary overview included a discussion of the significance of each property. A cultural resources inventory report was prepared, including a summary of the findings of the historic resources survey component and description of the survey methodology.

The entire Pedro and Sofia Trujillo homestead site was surveyed for the locations of artifacts and features and to determine the site boundary. Pin flags were used to mark artifacts and possible feature locations. A basic recording of the site was conducted during this project. OAHHP resource forms were completed and the site was mapped and photographed with film and digital images. A Colorado Historical Society 1403 (Architectural Inventory) survey form was prepared. The site boundary was determined by the extent of surface-visible artifacts and features. Features and artifact concentrations were identified and mapped. An overall site map showing locations of features and concentrations of artifacts was drafted utilizing paced and taped measurements. A Geo-Explorer 3 GPS unit set at North American Datum (1927) was utilized to record the site boundary, feature locations, and selected artifact locations. The GPS data was differentially corrected in the laboratory after fieldwork. Artifacts in each concentration were described/tallied and selected artifacts photographed, but not point plotted. Selected artifacts such as the Native American sherd and other artifacts that required lab analysis or archival research were collected. Lori Reed, Animas Ceramic Consulting, Inc., (2006b) analyzed the Native American sherd, and the function and date of other artifacts were identified in the lab using comparative literature. All collected artifacts are curated at Great Sand Dunes National Park and Preserve. Both sites have been briefly revisited between 2002 and 2011 by RMC, FRRA, and the NPS, and RMC and FRRA revisited the sites 19-21 July 2011 to assess the current site condition and archeological integrity.

**INTEGRITY**

The Trujillo Homesteads NHL retains a high degree of integrity of location, setting, design, materials, workmanship, feeling, and association.

**Location**

The Trujillo Homesteads NHL possesses integrity of location, as none of the historic features at either site have been moved since the period of significance.

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**Setting**

The setting of the Trujillo Homesteads retains excellent integrity and remains essentially as it was during the period of occupation by the Trujillos. After their departure in 1902, the surrounding lands continued to be used for livestock grazing extending to the present day, with bison now replacing cattle, horses, and sheep. Water still flows from artesian wells and the meadows continue to supply sustenance. No development has occurred in the vicinity of the homesteads. The nearest standing building is miles in the distance. The properties have long been part of the larger Medano-Zapata Ranch, acquired by The Nature Conservancy in 1999, and the ranching landscape remains undisturbed.

**Design**

The designed layout of the Pedro and Sofia Trujillo Homestead is essentially unchanged. The ranch house, stable, and corral all existed during the tenure of the Trujillos, as well as historic post and barbed wire fence alignments and a flowing well to the south. The historic character of the house remains basically unaltered, reflecting the simple, symmetrical, vernacular log design employed by the builder. The corral complex features a clever center gate area capable of directing livestock into desired holding pens. Tall posts with crosspieces featuring turnbuckle and chord support for the heavy corral gates reduced the number of workers needed for efficient operation. The squeeze chute, east of the center gate area, is a well-crafted example of this vital animal control device. Although deteriorated, the interior stall arrangement of the stable can still be understood. Archeological investigation has provided clues to the layout of the Teofilo and Andrellita Homestead, made possible by the lack of disturbance to the site. Future site investigation has the potential to reveal more information regarding the design.

**Materials**

The resources at the Pedro and Sofia Trujillo Homestead retain integrity of materials, including logs of varying diameters used in the walls of the ranch house. The recent stabilization of the house resulted in replacement of the missing windows with new ones replicating the originals in appearance and new metal roofing supplanted metal roofing in very poor condition. Entrances lacking doors received vertical board doors. A new concrete foundation was built, replacing an existing concrete foundation (the original foundation appeared to consist of vertical logs set in the ground that had rotted away). The stable retains log walls and log posts, and milled boards and log posts are employed in the corral.

At the Teofilo and Andrellita Trujillo site, the main ranch house remains display adobe construction that used clay available in the immediate vicinity. Artifacts of burned adobe, plaster, brick, and fused window glass are present in abundance and powerfully speak to the 1902 conflict between cattle and sheep raisers over the open range, which resulted in the dwelling's destruction. The site's thousands of stone cobbles illustrate the effort required to obtain necessary materials outside the immediate landscape.

The archeological integrity of materials at the Teofilo and Andrellita Trujillo site is pristine because after the site burned in 1902, it was abandoned and not vandalized, reoccupied, or altered after that time. The archeological integrity of the Pedro and Sofia Trujillo site is good. The surface artifacts in the concentration around the house may have been impacted during the house stabilization efforts in 2010, but there are many additional artifact concentrations remaining on the site that are likely to contain intact archeological deposits related to use of the site during the Trujillo occupation. The shifting sands at both sites have likely protected archeological materials (artifacts and features) by burying and preserving them.

**Workmanship**

The Pedro and Sofia Trujillo Homestead retains integrity of workmanship, with two resources (the ranch house and stable) demonstrating pioneer log construction techniques, including V and square notching, using both hewn and round logs. Original workmanship is also seen in the corral's sturdy vertical posts and in the squeeze

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chute's slanting board interior walls, stop gate, and raised catwalk. Future archeological investigations may reveal aspects of original workmanship at the Teofilo and Andrellita Trujillo Homestead.

**Feeling**

The Trujillo homesteads possess integrity of feeling. Accessed by narrow, two-track dirt roads, the Pedro and Sofia Trujillo two-story log house and associated ranch features on the flat, nearly treeless floor of the San Luis Valley, with no other standing buildings in sight for many miles, strongly provide a sense of the isolated and sometimes dangerous nature of frontier life. While both homesteads' virtually unchanged natural settings and views of the Sangre de Cristo Mountains are splendid, the environment can be harsh and destructive, including frequent winds, occasionally blinding sandstorms, and bitter, subzero winter temperatures. The large amount of archeological artifacts scattered throughout the Teofilo and Andrellita Trujillo site and the remains of a once splendid house show evidence of destruction by fire and evoke a sense of the violence and loss that occurred in 1902.

**Association**

The Trujillo homesteads are direct links to an important theme in American history: the movement of Hispano ranchers north into a recently-acquired section of American frontier. In particular, these resources are associated with the settlement of independent Hispano families in isolated and undeveloped areas of the public domain. The homesteads are associated with the successful establishment of ranching operations that required an emphasis on self-reliance and utilization of federal land laws to achieve economic goals. Teofilo Trujillo, a native of New Mexico who came to this location in 1865, embraced this quintessentially frontier approach, establishing a successful cattle and sheep ranch that he expanded with his son, Pedro, to nearly 1,500 acres and operated for nearly forty years.

The homesteads are associated with the intersection of cultures on the borderlands, including persons of Native American, Hispano, and Anglo heritage and the adaptations to each culture made by the others. The homesteads are also linked to the daily lives of families on the frontier facing the rigors of life on an isolated cattle ranch preserving traditional customs relating to class, gender, religion, and ethnicity. The homesteads, especially the Teofilo and Andrellita Trujillo site, are significantly associated with the violent range war between cattlemen and sheepraisers that ensued in the American West during the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries.



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**State Significance of Property, and Justify Criteria, Criteria Considerations, and Areas and Periods of Significance Noted Above.****SIGNIFICANCE**

The Trujillo Homesteads National Historic Landmark is nationally significant under NHL Criterion 1 in the area of Exploration and Settlement for exceptionally representing an important topic of American history: the expansion of Hispano-American settlement into a newly acquired region of the American frontier. These first settlers of European descent in the area came in a northward migration, analogous to the westward push of agrarians from the Midwest, bringing traditional Hispano agricultural methods, architecture, language, foods, land and water laws, and land settlement patterns to the region. This stands in contrast to the earlier spread of settlement in the Southwest achieved during Spanish and Mexican control of the area, which was partially motivated by efforts to secure possession of the territory and influence United States foreign policy. This wave of northern settlement by newly minted American citizens of Hispano background is key to understanding the settlement history of the United States and the attendant influence of Hispano culture on the nation. The Trujillo Homesteads NHL is also significant under Criterion 1 in the area of Hispano Heritage for its illumination of Hispano lives on the frontier and the ways in which traditional Hispano culture was transported, preserved, and impacted by the presence of Native Americans and expanding Anglo settlement in a borderland setting.<sup>15</sup> The homesteads, particularly the Teofilo and Andrellita Homestead, additionally speak to the late-nineteenth and early twentieth century conflict between cattlemen, primarily Anglos, and sheep raisers, primarily Hispanos, over access and control of the open range. The property is further significant under NHL Criterion 6 in the area of Historical Archeology, for its high potential to yield information addressing nationally significant research questions and produce data affecting theories and concepts on ethnicity and racialization as viewed in the context of settlement, subsistence, and economic patterns. This data will provide a nationally important contribution to our understanding of this pattern of northward Hispano settlement and its attendant adaptation to the new frontier.

Teofilo Trujillo, a New Mexico native, traveled north from his Taos-area home as a young man and in 1865 settled on an isolated and undeveloped site in Colorado's high, arid San Luis Valley a few miles west of the present-day Great Sand Dunes National Park and Preserve and the towering Sangre de Cristo Mountains. Together with his young New Mexican wife, Andrellita, he became one of the first permanent residents to claim land and develop a ranch in an area considered the domain of indigenous peoples. During the course of almost four decades, Teofilo and Andrellita, their son, Pedro, and his wife, Sofia, erected houses and agricultural facilities and expanded their holdings to nearly 1,500 acres by astutely taking advantage of opportunities to acquire public domain, including actions under the Homestead Act, as well as purchasing property from other Hispanos. To increase the productivity of their land, the Trujillos created a system of irrigation ditches providing water to the lush hay meadows and became leading raisers of cattle, sheep, horses, and other agricultural products.

During the years following their initial settlement, Teofilo and Andrellita Trujillo became parents of six children and buried five. They built a substantial adobe house and other dwellings and agricultural buildings, maintaining a combination of traditional Hispano folkways as influenced by Native American culture and new customs learned from Anglos later moving to the area. The two generations of Trujillos differed on ranching philosophies, as the older couple eventually added a large herd of sheep to their operations despite their son's protests. The elder Trujillos built one of the larger and wealthier Hispano ranch operations in the San Luis

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<sup>15</sup> "Anglo" is used herein to apply not just to those whose ancestry is traceable to England, but in the sense used by Nostrand (1992), Carrillo (2007), Deutsch (1987), Andrews (1997), and academics who study and write about the Southwest: "anyone of European descent *except those that would be considered Hispanic*" (Carrillo 2007:178).

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Valley, where most Hispano farmers possessed small amounts of acreage or labored for others. Pedro Trujillo went even farther than his father in adapting to the growing Anglo dominance of the area by raising only cattle, building a two-story log house on his own homestead, and speaking English. In 1902 conflict over Teofilo's grazing of sheep on the open range led to cattlemen killing a large number of the Hispano pioneer's sheep and burning the Trujillos' ranch headquarters to the ground. Shortly thereafter, both generations of the family sold their homesteads and moved to other locations in the San Luis Valley.

Very few resources associated with the northward movement of Hispano settlement in America have been recorded in historic resource surveys and nominations, and none so documented appear to represent the same period, geographic vicinity, and settlement pattern as the Trujillo Homesteads NHL. The Pedro and Sofia Trujillo Homestead was listed in the National Register in 2004, cited for its significance in history because of its association with Hispanic settlement and agriculture, its representation of log homestead house construction, and its potential to yield information. The period of significance for the Trujillo Homesteads NHL district extends from 1865, when Teofilo and Andrellita Trujillo first settled at the site and established a ranch, to 1902, the year the two Trujillo families sold their properties and abandoned their longtime home after experiencing violent intimidation. Significant dates include 1879, the year Pedro Trujillo testified he started his homestead, and 1902, the year cattlemen burned Teofilo and Andrellita Trujillo's home.

***Criterion 1*****Exploration and Settlement**

Just as the more traveled and well known journey westward from established centers of population helped accomplish the goal of expanding American settlement within its territory, so too did the transverse push northward from New Mexico. The migration of Anglo-American agriculturalists to western regions of the country began in the late 1830s, an advance that established settlements in parts of the country inhabited by Native Americans. The corresponding northward Hispano-American push from New Mexico began following America's 1848 acquisition of Mexico's northern territory. Geographer John Philip Andrews observed: "Anglo expansion in North America, or the 'westward movement,' became a term synonymous with the 'frontier' to many Americans. Equally significant, although not usually recognized within the U.S. educational system, was the 'northward movement,' or Spanish expansion into the Southwest 'frontier' areas" in the late 1840s and early 1850s" (1972:22-23). Photographer and landscape historian Robert Adams contrasts the northward migration of Hispanos to southern parts of the San Luis Valley in the late 1840s and early 1850s with the arrival of the Pilgrims in New England two centuries before:

The [Hispano] pioneers came, much as many Europeans had earlier come to the Atlantic Coast, skilled in the basic crafts and agriculture, without formal education, without any but rudimentary tools, and possessed of a deep religious sense; what they found, however, were not Indians offering help, as at Plymouth, but Indians made hostile by over two centuries of war in defense of land they believed their own. They attacked almost at once and the colonists' effort had to be abandoned (Adams 1974:10).

Hispanos moved northward from a homeland along the Rio Grande in northern and central New Mexico. By 1800 the homeland's Hispano population had grown to about 35,000, with settlement gradually advancing in several directions, although slowed by resistance from non-pueblo Indian tribes (Adams 1974:7). Studying the pattern of expansion during 1790-1890, geographer Richard L. Nostrand identified a "hierarchy of village source areas" by which settlements progressed. He analogized the process to "a fireworks display of shooting stars: each star that shot into space gave rise to several new stars, which in turn parented stars of their own, all headed in the same direction" (1992:96). Santa Fe, Albuquerque, and Santa Cruz became fountainheads of colonist production, giving rise to such "major village springboards" as Taos, Mora, and Abiquiú, from which

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other colonies were launched. Nostrand noted: “As has been documented for the westward movement of Anglos, families involved in this process were sometimes repeat migrants. . . . Thus, some villages were stepping stones as well as springboards” (1992:96).

The 1860s constituted “the decade of greatest areal gains” for the Hispano homeland, as the presence of the U.S. military stemmed the threat of Native American response to loss of their territory and facilitated creation of new settlements. Nostrand characterized the northern frontier—southern Colorado—as “the most dynamic demographically,” with 16.5 percent (23,315) of the nation’s 140,690 Hispanos residing in the area along the New Mexico border by 1900. This represented the largest number of Hispanos outside of New Mexico.<sup>16</sup> Nostrand observed “this higher and relatively well watered country also attracted Anglos, who by the 1860s were blunting Hispano expansion” (1992:96).

The migration of Hispanos into southern Colorado manifested itself through two distinct approaches: cooperative settlements on Mexican land grants and independent undertakings by individuals who focused their efforts on available public lands. After achieving independence in 1821, Mexico employed land grants to secure its northern border by encouraging settlement in the region. To that end the governor of New Mexico made large land grants in what is now southern Colorado and northern New Mexico. The grants carried the requirement that grantees recruit settlers and take tangible steps to develop their awarded acreage. Early efforts to establish permanent settlements met armed opposition from Utes and other indigenous inhabitants of the area. Far from Mexico City, the central government failed to establish an effective military presence to foster settlement on its northern frontier.

Several factors converged by the late 1840s and early 1850s to set the stage for south-central Colorado to become a focus for Hispano northern migration. The year 1848 saw approval of the Treaty of Guadalupe-Hidalgo, formally ending the Mexican War and transferring all or parts of seven future states to United States sovereignty. At that time south-central Colorado remained devoid of permanent Hispano settlements and was perceived as an untapped outlet for migration and settlement although inhabited by semi-nomadic Native Americans.<sup>17</sup> The Rio Grande drainage functioned as a conduit into the southern end of the San Luis Valley, providing ready access from existing settled areas of New Mexico. Responding to Indian threats toward new settlements that threatened to encroach on their traditional lands and perhaps seeking to solidify its hold on the area, the United States placed military garrisons in the region. Fort Massachusetts, established in 1856 on the southeastern flank of Mount Blanca, was replaced two years later by Fort Garland in the San Luis Valley near the foot of present-day La Veta Pass. Although the Utes did not cede the area until approval of a treaty with the United States in 1868, Fort Garland provided a certain sense of security for prospective settlers and, as development advanced, served as a market for agricultural products, livestock, firewood, and other goods.

Hispano-American migrants of the 1850s and 1860s looked northward because other potential areas in the Southwest had already been settled or were not yet ripe for such efforts. Nostrand described the movement of persons of Hispano heritage northward into America as “not one grand march but through thrusts that were separated in time and space” (1992:3). He compiled extensive data on settlements to trace Hispano migration paths from the Rio Grande Valley of central and northern New Mexico (see Figure 6). In Colorado, Hispanos established settlements on both sides of the San Luis Valley and on the east side of the Sangre de Cristo Mountains in western Las Animas and Huerfano counties.

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<sup>16</sup> Nostrand tabulated Hispano statistics from Census manuscript returns for 1900 (Nostrand 1990). The 1890 Census returns were destroyed by fire and unavailable for analysis.

<sup>17</sup> The indigenous Utes had occupied the area for hundreds of years before the arrival of the Hispanos; significant Anglo interest and migration to the San Luis Valley would not occur until the arrival of the Denver and Rio Grande Railroad in 1877-78.

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The northern migration of Hispano-Americans achieved its first permanent success in 1851 with the colony of San Luis de la Culebra, on the Sangre de Cristo grant some 14 miles north of the today's Colorado-New Mexico border. The first settlers (*pobladores*), who also established other nearby villages, including San Pablo, San Pedro, San Acacio, San Francisco, and Chama in the Culebra Creek watershed, brought traditions of land use, water allocation, and town and farm layout developed during more than two centuries of Spanish and Mexican rule. The small settlements included common lands available to residents for such purposes as livestock grazing, firewood collecting, hunting, and timber harvesting. Cooperative irrigation systems were built to distribute water to agricultural land using hand-dug, earthen *acequias* (ditches), with water flowing by gravity from streams. The *acequias* irrigated *extensiones*, or narrow, long-lot fields, whose linear expanses sometimes extended several miles and provided farmers with lands of differing character suitable for varying agricultural uses, such as grazing, crop raising, and timber harvesting. The fortified plaza communities provided some modicum of collective security in the untested environment.<sup>18</sup>

Other Hispano settlers set out for the new American frontier independently to seek their fortunes, including more distant parts of the San Luis Valley. In advance of the westward-bound Anglo-American farmers and ranchers, these agriculturists represent the vanguard of settlement outside of communities. The Trujillo Homesteads NHL exemplifies this second type of Hispano settlement pattern, which the availability of open public land made possible.

To encourage orderly settlement of the public domain and raise revenue, the United States government enacted land laws and established policies regulating and prescribing its occupation and acquisition. The Trujillo Homesteads NHL is an outstanding example of Hispano settlers' use of a variety of public land acts to secure acreage necessary to establish a successful ranching operation in the face of increasing Anglo settlement and an influx of large corporate cattle interests. Among the land acts the Trujillos employed to acquire hundreds of acres of public domain were the 1841 Preemption Law, the 1862 Homestead Act, and the Desert Land Law of 1877. These laws required claimants to meet certain specifications regarding settlement, improvements, and cultivation that influenced their built environment and land use. The acquisition of public lands for their ranch was one way in which the Trujillos readily adapted to the laws of the United States to further their economic goals and stands in contrast to other forms of land acquisition employed in the northern frontier.

**Ethnic Heritage/Hispano**

The Trujillo Homesteads NHL is also significant in the area of Ethnic Heritage for its exceptional representation of the lives of Hispanos on the American frontier, the ways in which they preserved their traditional culture, and the ways their culture influenced and was impacted by interaction with Native Americans and Anglo-Americans in this borderland region. The Trujillo sites are also an important reminder that Anglos were not the only persons acquiring homesteads (Devon Peña, personal communication 2011). The settlement choices pursued by the Trujillos contrasted dramatically with what the family might have experienced in a land grant colony. Their selected location was on land still part of the Native American domain and was isolated and sparsely populated. Opportunities for frequent social interaction with other Hispanos appear to have been limited until other settlers arrived. A trip of some 41 miles by wagon road lay between the Trujillo Homesteads and Sangre de Cristo Catholic Church in San Luis, where Pedro and Sophia Trujillo's children were baptized. Historian Sarah Deutsch concluded "homesteads carried with them substantial costs, both monetary and social." Settling outside a plaza removed the benefits of cooperative effort, as well as proximity to a church, school, stores, and other amenities and was "risky at best." In addition, homesteading "required permanent, not episodic, entry into a world and a culture alien to the Hispanics' own" (Deutsch 1987:31).

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<sup>18</sup> A separate National Historic Landmark nomination reflecting this settlement pattern is forthcoming.

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Beginning with the Spanish *entrada* into New Mexico in 1598 and resuming following the Reconquest of 1692, the area of effective Spanish settlement focused on Santa Fe and extended from Socorro on the south to Taos on the north and from Pecos on the east to Jemez on the west (Nostrand 1992:36). Nostrand characterized this area of New Mexico as the “Hispano Homeland,” an arid and sparsely-vegetated region Hispanos stamped with their “cultural impress” (1992:217). Adapting to their environment, Hispanos produced such distinctive imprints on the land as: long-lot agricultural fields laid out perpendicular to streams; settlements of villages or plazas; adobe brick as the most common building material; dome-shaped outdoor ovens (*hornos*); communal irrigation systems; and Roman Catholic village churches and religious-inspired place names (Nostrand 1992:217-23). Nostrand contended Hispanos “are culturally distinctive among members of the larger southwestern minority,” citing: their version of the Spanish language, which preserves “archaic words and expressions, constructions and sounds” (Espinosa quoted in Nostrand 1992:8); distinctive surnames (including Trujillo); and such folk arts as the production of *santos* (carved and painted religious images) (Nostrand 1992:7-11). Hispano culture spread as the homeland expanded, leaving a permanent legacy on the newly settled lands. Historian David J. Weber, writing more generally of the Hispanic contribution across the country, noted the persistence of Spanish place names on the land and the role the ethnic group played in “local arts, architecture, foods, language, literature, laws, music, and the management of water and livestock in arid lands” (Weber 1992:333).

The legacy of Hispano ranchers such as the Trujillos was particularly influential. The Anglo cattlemen who arrived after Hispano settlement and establishment of ranches “saw the system of handling cattle, branding and of organization, and they adopted it because it worked” (Goff and McCaffree 1967:13). The early Hispano ranchers brought customs of land and livestock management developed in Spain and Mexico and suited to land in the new American territory. They also carried ideas of range and irrigation law that were incorporated into the statutes of their new state. As Colorado cattle industry historians Richard Goff and Robert H. McCaffree acknowledge, “These laws have endured because they were practical, they were simple and they were eminently fair. They were based on the simple assumption that those who braved the first hardships of a wilderness area were entitled to protection from the encroachment of later arrivals” (Goff and McCaffree 1967:14). Hispano concepts also influenced today’s fence and brand laws. Many terms commonly used in the sheep and cattle industries today are Spanish in origin, including remuda, stampede, chaps, lariat, vamoose, buckaroo, mustang, ramada, and ranch (Onis 1976:xix). As historian Robert V. Hine observed, “The western ranch came to embrace two cultures, because its Hispanic beginnings were fused with Anglo economics. . . . during the nineteenth century within these corralled sanctuaries the vaquero evolved into the cowboy, the *patrón* became the rancher, and the *mesta*—the Spanish-style cattle breeders’ union—was replaced by the stockgrowers’ association—all suggesting major changes in the community” (Hine 1980:153).

Teofilo and Andrellita Trujillo’s gamble to settle in an isolated area suitable for ranching paid off in terms of material rewards, as they eventually were among the wealthiest livestock producers in the Valley. Teofilo’s decision to obtain land through the homestead process permitted the accumulation of acreage necessary to undertake larger-scale ranching operations and generate greater revenue than generally possible under a long-lot land use pattern in a land grant colony. The scope of Trujillo’s enterprise went well beyond subsistence, as reflected in the listing of his cattle operation in the *State Business Directory* during the late 1870s and early 1880s.

The lifestyle of the Trujillos at their homesteads blended traditional Hispano culture with elements reflective of Native American traditions and the Anglo cash economy that fully emerged in the area with the arrival of the railroad in 1877-78. Following Hispano tradition, Teofilo Trujillo’s ranch house had adobe walls, but it reportedly featured several stained glass windows. In addition to childrearing, Andrellita and Sofia Trujillo served as vital economic partners of their husbands and active participants in the successful functioning of the ranches. The elder woman, keeping with the traditional Hispano property system, also owned one of the parcels

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of land comprising the ranch. The sale of sheep, wool, cattle, horses, milk, butter, and hay yielded sufficient cash income for the Trujillos to purchase such items as crockery, metal tools, farm implements, and children's toys. Yet *manos* and *metates* were still utilized in food preparation. As was common among wealthier Hispanos, the household included at least one Native American slave and other servants. In his study of American Indian slavery in Colorado and New Mexico, Estevan Rael-Gálvez observed that "while the subject of indigenous captivity and servitude continues to be absent from both American history, writ large, and the American imagination, the reality was, that in this region, it was indeed a part of the historical past that existed" (Rael-Gálvez 2002:26).

The Trujillo Homesteads were part of an intercultural frontier in what was the northern territory of Mexico before 1848, a borderland, which, as Sarah Deutsch described, "illuminates both the specific local and the larger picture of cultural interactions" (1987:3). She noted the immigration history the Hispano northern migration represents is one of transplanting, emphasizing "cultural continuity rather than disorganization" and "acculturation rather than assimilation" (Deutsch 1987:6). In a reversal of the migration process occurring in much of the rest of the country, in the Southwest the first Hispano-American settlers greeted the later-arriving Anglo-Americans, who initially "displayed characteristic immigrant patterns of organization." As Anglo domination of the economy increased over time, the Hispanos, like European immigrants, "found themselves partially incorporated into an increasingly powerful national and international capitalist economy controlled by an alien culture" (Deutsch 1987:6-7). As Deutsch concluded, "Only by recognizing the differences in interaction across the region, as Anglos and Hispanics met in various settings, and by examining how those settings were related, can the nature of Anglo-Hispanic interaction and its ramifications for both groups be understood" (1987:12).

Expansion of corporate cattle interests into the area by the 1880s coincided with Teofilo Trujillo's switch to large-scale sheep raising. The family's ranching operations required frequent interactions with Anglos to sell livestock and other farm products. Although the Culebra settlements remained isolated from the dominant culture, Anglo settlers soon moved onto the public lands in the vicinity of individual homesteaders such as the Trujillos, exposing them to a heterogeneous spectrum of society. The Trujillo Homesteads NHL is nationally significant for increasing our understanding of the adaptation of and conflict along zones of contact between different ethnic and economic groups in the West, as revealed through its direct link with the violent range war between cattlemen and sheep raisers during the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries.

As the livestock industry in the Valley expanded, competition for access to grazing lands intensified. The late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries were times of bitter and sometimes violent struggles between cattlemen and sheep growers for control of the open range in the West. In his seminal *History of Agriculture in Colorado*, Alvin T. Steinel observed: "Brutality that admits of neither apology nor excuse was ascribed to cattlemen in the war to keep sheep out of certain areas" (1926:147). In southern Colorado, these conflicts also reflected the collision of cultures, as mostly Hispano sheepgrowers faced the advance of Anglo-American cattlemen. Pedro Trujillo, a horseman who preferred cattle raising, realized his father's emphasis on sheep might lead to problems. Pedro, who sometimes preferred "Peter" and could read, speak, and write English, may have found himself cross-pressured in the midst of a turbulent, transitional period in ranching. When the dispute over sheep violently struck his father's homestead in 1902, he, too, sold his property and left the area. As one Trujillo descendant reflected: "The range war was not only between owners of sheep and cattle but between persons of different cultural backgrounds" (Sargents Centennial Bicentennial Committee ca. 1977). The experience of the Trujillos has been cited in numerous books discussing violence against Hispano sheepmen, beginning with Charles Wayland Towne and Edward Norris Wentworth's 1945 treatise, *Shepherd's Empire*, and extending to the present day.

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***Criterion 6***

The Trujillo homesteads meet Criterion 6 for their exceptionally high potential to yield information addressing nationally significant research questions and data affecting historic archeological theories and concepts of ethnicity and racialization viewed in the context of settlement and subsistence/economic patterns during the first wave of Hispano settlement north into the newly acquired United States frontier following the Mexican War. Due to their pristine character and extensive archeological remains, the Trujillo homesteads can and have yielded information that could address nationally significant research questions related to these themes and make a major contribution to our understanding of these early Hispano settlers on the American frontier. Even with the limited archeological investigations conducted to date, the sites have proven their capability to yield significant archeological information on ethnicity and racialization, and settlement, subsistence, and economic patterns that can provide remarkable details about the lifestyles of early Hispano settlers during this time period.

The concepts of ethnicity and racialization are important themes in past and current national historic archeological theory and research (Orser 2007, Jones 1997, and Carrillo 2007). Sian Jones (1997:56-83) describes the basic concept of ethnicity as social identification based on the presumption of shared history and a common inheritance. Jones relates ethnicity to archeology by raising the question of what information can be inferred about past ethnic groups from archeological remains. Charles Orser (2007:7) defines ethnicity as a “collective understanding among people who find enough social commonality that they believe they constitute a group they can distinguish as ‘us,’” and states that “The archeological basis of ethnic study is the idea that material culture constitutes an important element of a people’s commonality.” Richard Carrillo, a historical archeologist who has extensively studied Hispano settlement in southeastern Colorado, supports those authors with his statement that “All studies of ethnicity and archeology rely on the existence of a significant relationship between material culture and ethnicity” (2007).

The basic premise of racialization is described by Orser (2007:9) as the assignment of men and women to essentialist groups, based on physical appearance or other readily identifiable characteristics that allow them to be perceived as biologically inferior or socially unequal. Orser (2007:13) ties the concept of racialization to the material culture of archeology by stating that the connection between race and material culture in the modern world is based on the foundation of consumption—that people consume what is meaningful to them within the universe of what they can afford. Therefore, the study of archeology and material cultural can be utilized to understand racialization.

The umbrella archeological concepts of ethnicity and racialization are interrelated with the archeological research topics of settlement, subsistence, and economic patterns in the new American frontier. The research domains of settlement, subsistence, and economy relate primarily to the selection and use of areas for settlement, economic lifestyle, investment in facilities, subsistence system behavior, consumption of material goods, market availability, and how they manifest themselves in the archeological record. The archeology of the Trujillo homesteads can address these concepts and research domains because of the homesteads’ many important attributes, such as near-perfect integrity, quality/quantity of archeological remains, known complex ethnic relationships (Hispano, Native American and Anglo-American), and documented discrete dates of settlement, occupation and abandonment.

There are no existing NHL-listed Hispano homestead sites in the southwestern United States, including Colorado, New Mexico, California, Texas, Nevada, and Arizona. In southern and southeastern Colorado, there are less than ten Hispano homestead sites with dates that may overlap the occupation of the Trujillo sites that are listed in the Colorado Historical Society site database Colorado Historic Information Preservation Program Online (known as CHIPPO or Compass). Based on the existing data available on the resource forms and

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according to archeologist Richard Carrillo (personal communication 2011), none of these Hispano homestead sites date to the early homesteading era and contain the level of integrity of archeological deposits found at the Trujillo sites. Only one recorded early Hispano homestead site, 5SH1906, is located in the San Luis Valley near Saguache, to the northwest of the Trujillo sites. This site, the Jose Prudencio Garcia Homestead, dates to 1867 but does not contain a significant level of integrity of archeological deposits due to the minimal period of Hispano occupation and continued use of the site, which damaged the integrity of the earliest site components.

The Trujillo homesteads have the potential to provide a complete image of Hispano homesteading and ranching from 1865 to 1902, from early subsistence-based settlement and initial homesteading through the major changes in economic subsistence to a cash-based economy. They also contain data to examine changes in views of ethnicity and effects of racialization between one Hispano generation (the Teofilo and Andrellita Trujillo family) and the following one (the Pedro and Sofia Trujillo family). The archeology of the Teofilo and Andrellita homestead is especially important due to the very high level of integrity of its archeological deposits. This significant level of integrity is present because the site was burned in 1902 and totally abandoned; there was no subsequent occupation. The site has not been vandalized or altered significantly during recent times. Modern impacts have been very minor and include only a barbed wire fence and a stock tank in the southeast corner of the site which attracts resident bison. The largest identified structural remains on the Teofilo and Andrellita homestead include the probable adobe ranch house burned in 1902. This adobe feature is in pristine archeological condition. The adobe roof and walls that collapsed when the structure burned created a sealed archeological deposit with the potential to reveal a rare glimpse into the everyday lives of one contingent of Hispano settlers in the new American frontier. The archeological trash deposits and remains of wood structures/features surrounding the adobe structure at the Teofilo and Andrellita site can also yield important chronologically specific information about traditional and non-traditional domestic activities, as well as the evolution of ranching practices during the early Hispano homesteading/settlement period. The Pedro and Sofia site also contains important archeological deposits that can yield important data on the themes of ethnicity, racialization, and settlement, subsistence, and economic patterns.

These types of information can be obtained through further analysis of archeological artifacts and architecture at both sites and have potential to provide data about lifeways not generally available in the written record. A more complete picture of an early Hispano ranching family can be obtained by combining information from existing historical documents with the archeological data available in buried cultural material deposits at the Trujillo homesteads.

**Archeological Research Questions Relevant to the Trujillo Homesteads**

The archeology of the Trujillo sites can assist in answering many important nationally significant research questions relevant to NHL themes on settlement in the new American frontier, as noted above. Archeological research domains and questions relevant to early Hispano ethnicity, racialization, settlement, subsistence, and economy in the new American frontier created after the end of the Mexican War are outlined below:

**Ethnicity and Racialization**

The Trujillo homesteads contain traditional Hispano, Native American and Anglo-American food procurement, preparation, storage, and consumption-related artifacts. Traditional Hispano subsistence-related artifacts at the Teofilo and Andrellita homestead include lithics, Native American ceramics, and groundstone. The Pedro and Sofia Trujillo homestead contains the same types of items, but in noticeably lesser quantities. The overall role of Native Americans as slaves or servants in Hispano household contexts in the southwestern United States and especially in the San Luis Valley (Deutsch 1987:16, and Tushar 2007: 8) is an important national historic archeological research issue related to ethnicity and racialization. This significant topic can be researched at the Trujillo sites. As noted below, the Teofilo and Andrellita household had documented Native Americans listed in

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the census records, but there is no evidence in the historic record that the Pedro and Sofia Trujillo family ever had Native Americans living in their household. Many archeologically-related questions are raised by this data. Did the existence of Native Americans in a Hispano household affect use of the sites and is this visible in the archeological record? How were the Native Americans that lived in the Hispano households treated? Were they housed with the Hispano household members or in separate quarters? Was there a difference in treatment by gender? Is this visible in the archeological record? Was the use of Native American “servants/slaves” based primarily on economic status (ability to purchase or trade for human labor), or was it also based on the simple basic need for labor? For example, the Teofilo and Andrellita family only had one child reach adulthood and may have had a more significant need for labor assistance in the contexts of the household and farming/ranching tasks, especially as their ranching operations and land ownership grew. The Pedro and Sofia Trujillo family had nine children during their occupation of the site and may not have needed additional labor for household or ranching/farming tasks.

A discussion of specific traditional Hispano, Native American, and Anglo-American artifacts found at each of the sites and potential implications for evaluating these artifacts using the concepts of ethnicity and racialization are included below.

The Teofilo and Andrellita Trujillo homestead contains a few lithic artifacts including two small hafted bifaces that may have been utilized with the bow and arrow during early occupation at the site. The Pedro and Sofia Trujillo homestead contains a stone biface and several waste flakes from stone tool manufacture. Were these lithic artifacts made and/or utilized by the Trujillo family occupants? If so, how long did this ethnic tradition last at the Trujillo homestead sites? Carrillo (2007) notes that traditional use of lithic artifacts was common on early Hispano sites since there was often a shortage of firearms in many areas, including the San Luis Valley, even as late as the mid-1800s. The Pedro and Sofia homestead also contains a flaked glass tool (see Photograph 53) that appears to post-date the Trujillo occupation but likely dates to later Hispano occupation of the site. This artifact could be further evidence of the longevity of flaked tool traditions in Hispano households. Further analysis of the lithics and other flaked artifacts and dating of gun cartridges on both homesteads could shed light on this topic.

In addition to lithics, the Teofilo and Andrellita Trujillo homestead contains at least three types of Native American ceramics (see Photograph 46) including numerous sherds of San Juan Red-on-tan, fragments from a Taos Micaceous jar, and a sherd of micaceous ware that is possibly of Apache origin (Ocate Micaceous). The Pedro and Sofia homestead also contains a single sherd of San Juan Red-on-tan (see Photograph 49). The San Juan Red-on-tan sherds are from two or three vessels, produced at San Juan Pueblo between 1750 and 1925. Dittert and Plog (1980) indicate that many of the pots of San Juan Red-on-tan were traded in Jicarilla Apache settlements on the upper San Juan River between 1875 and 1925. The Taos Micaceous jar was produced in the Northern Rio Grande region and was probably contemporaneous with the San Juan Red-on-tan vessels. If the indeterminate sherd is of Apache origin, it probably falls within the description of Ocate Micaceous (Gunnerson 1978) produced between the mid-1500s and 1750.

The research topic related to which ethnic groups (Native American and/or possibly Hispano) were producing various types of micaceous pottery in the historic period is complex and intriguing and is an important research topic in Southwestern United States archeology (White 2005). Ethnographer David White has found historical documentation (White personal communication 2002) that the Jicarilla Apache made and sold pottery to local Hispanics near Picuris and Taos from the early to mid-nineteenth century. He believes this is probably one of the reasons there is so much similarity between Jicarilla, Taos, and Picuris pottery. White also believes vessel shapes of these pottery types probably have been under Hispanic, and later Anglo, customer influence since the 1830s or earlier.

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Historic census records show that the Teofilo and Andrellita Trujillo family had a servant of Native American ancestry living with them by 1880 who may have brought the Native American ceramics with her to the site. Tushar (1972) also notes that early Hispano settlers in the San Luis Valley used “clay dishes that were obtained from the Indians.” All of this data suggests that the historic Native American pottery found at the Trujillo sites would not be unusual for a Hispano family to have and use during this time period, especially with their known ties to the Taos area.

A comparison of the types and numbers of Native American ceramics found at both sites may also reveal how ethnicity and racialization could have differentially affected the first Hispano settlers (the Teofilo and Andrellita Trujillo family) and the next generation Hispanos (the Pedro and Sofia Trujillo family) in the San Luis Valley. For example, the Teofilo and Andrellita homestead site contains numerous sherds of at least three types of Native American ceramics while the Pedro and Sofia Trujillo homestead has revealed only one sherd and one type of Native American ceramics. How did the Teofilo and Andrellita family view the use of Native American ceramics in their household versus the Pedro and Sofia Trujillo family? Did this view change through time? Did the Pedro and Sofia Trujillo family prefer to purchase and use Anglo-American ceramics as a way to fit in with local Anglo-American society? Due to the existence of Native American ceramics at both homesteads, additional archeological investigations are likely to provide further information about this important research topic.

Another research question related to ethnicity/racialization on early Hispano sites is to what extent did they utilize traditional groundstone artifacts such as *manos* and *metates*? The tradition of utilizing groundstone artifacts such as *manos* and *metates* is both a Native American and Hispano tradition. Did the Trujillos bring this Hispano tradition with them from New Mexico and/or did the Native Americans that lived with the family bring or continue their traditions? The groundstone artifacts found at the Teofilo site include four *manos* and two *metate* fragments. Three of the *manos* are typical of groundstone artifacts found at nearby prehistoric Native American sites in the area, for example, at sites such as 5SH181 in the vicinity of Big (Indian) Springs to the southeast. One of the *manos*, composed of two fragments made of distinctive black vesicular basalt is not typical of groundstone in the area (see Photograph 38). This vesicular basalt may originate from south of the site (the southern part of the San Luis Valley or New Mexico where volcanic outcrops are common). This basalt artifact was definitely transported to the site from many miles away. In addition, several *manos* and *metate* fragments were found adjacent to the Pedro and Sofia house and in one of the artifact concentrations. A vesicular basalt *mano* fragment, similar to that found at the Teofilo and Andrellita homestead, was also found at the Pedro and Sofia homestead, suggesting similar use of groundstone at this location.

According to Carrillo (2007), early Hispano settlers utilized *manos* and *metates* to grind meal. Their preference was to use groundstone made of basalt since it would not leave as much grit residue in the meal compared to implements made of sandstone. Sofia Trujillo, who married Teofilo’s son, Pedro, was observed by relatives utilizing *manos* and *metates* (Maria T. Causby, personal communication 2004). All of this evidence suggests that the Trujillo family participated in this traditional activity at both of these site locations but it is not clear to what extent this occurred and how it may have changed through time. Many research questions are raised by this data, such as what Hispano ethnic traditions were passed down from one generation to the next and how long were these traditions held to be important and viable in Hispano households? Was this an ethnic tradition that was possibly not affected by the concept of racialization? Additional archeological investigations into the sources of the groundstone material at the Trujillo homesteads may help to answer questions about use of *manos* and *metates* on historic period Hispano sites (with or without Native American occupants) throughout the entire southwestern United States.

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In addition to the normal domestic-related items on the Teofilo and Andrellita homestead, there are also artifacts representing children's toys, including pieces of three porcelain doll heads, one leg, and one arm; as well as a toy miniature china tea set lid (see Photographs 33 and 48). These items presumably belonged to the Teofilo and Andrellita girls (who may have lived to early childhood prior to their deaths) or possibly to the daughters of Pedro and Sofia Trujillo. The Pedro and Sofia homestead also contained a miniature bottle that was likely a toy (see Photograph 52). How do these items relate to ethnicity and racialization? They appear to be additional evidence of the result of the change to a cash economy and the ability of the family to purchase material goods that served a purpose beyond basic subsistence. Research into the source and dates of these artifacts can provide important data into when the Teofilo and Andrellita family may have had surplus cash to purchase these types of material goods. These items are also evidence of the types of purchased material goods that may have been important to early Hispano families, i.e., as related to ethnicity and racialization.

The Teofilo and Andrellita homestead contains numerous Anglo-American-style ceramics, crockery, and glass artifacts (see Photographs 34, 35, and 39). It is especially interesting to note the large numbers and variety of decorated Anglo-American ceramics. Questions relevant to the research topic of racialization can be addressed through further examination and comparison of Hispano versus Anglo-American household uses of ceramics during similar time periods. Were these items the same or different from those available to the local Anglo-Americans and other Hispanos during the same time period? Were the Anglo-American ceramics utilized in the same manner by Hispanos and Anglo-Americans? For example, were these items utilized by the Trujillos for everyday purposes or for special occasions only, and why were they considered important since they obviously represent material goods that were costly beyond basic necessity? How did the Hispano women of both families influence the material consumerism in each household? Another important research topic that could be addressed at the site relates to when these items were purchased, where they originated, and what functional purposes the items served. Did these items become easily obtainable after the coming of the railroads to the San Luis Valley, and where were they purchased? Manufacturer's trademarks, types of ceramics, and designs/patterns can all be utilized to determine the functions, origins, and dates of production of these types of artifacts. Questions regarding function, origins, and dates of use of specific ceramic artifact types may be answered through archeological excavations of specific household areas such as kitchens and artifact concentrations/dumps.

**Settlement/Subsistence/Economy**

Archeological research themes related to settlement, subsistence, and economy have been previously identified by Carrillo (2007). The research domains are structured in terms of the following nationally important research objectives that are also tied to the overall significant themes of ethnicity and racialization: 1) settlement patterns and 2) subsistence/economic activities.

- Settlement patterns or the selection and use of areas for settlement are based on a number of factors such as geographical constraints and ethnicity. Settlement patterns in the San Luis Valley were likely influenced significantly by large and small scale geographic factors such as topography, availability of land and water, and ethnic traditions. At the Trujillo sites, questions pertaining to three-way ethnic relations between Hispano, Native American, and Anglo-American and their relationship to settlement patterns can also be addressed at both sites.
- Subsistence and economic activities are closely connected and are discussed together. The subsistence system is comprised of basic behavioral units such as food procurement, food preparation, food storage, food consumption, and food remains. Each of these subsistence behaviors has the potential to leave a trace in the archeological record and can be utilized to support research addressing the use of material goods and changes in market availability. Economic patterns and activities relate primarily to the theme of investment in facilities, i.e., the remains of features such as houses, barns, corrals, etc. These features are associated with the housing of individuals and

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livestock and are represented by architectural features and artifacts whose association would reflect specific functions of features. Investments in facilities tie directly to economic lifestyle such as types of livestock and crops being raised, construction techniques and materials, and the natural environment where the activities take place. In the case of the Trujillos, the investments in facilities appear to be related to ethnicity and racialization in addition to environment constraints and economic conditions. The investment in facilities at the Trujillo sites varies between the two homesteads and also may have changed through time

### Settlement Patterns

Questions related to settlement patterns explore the overall theme of Hispano settlement of the new American frontier after the Mexican War. How and why did early Hispano settlers choose to settle in traditional or non-traditional ways? The Teofilo and Andrellita family did not settle on a land grant or in a communal plaza and instead chose a very isolated location away from other Hispano settlers. Why did the Teofilo and Andrellita family select the original homestead site, and how did they decide where to locate their residence and associated ranching/farming-related structures? Did geographical variables such as availability of water and large areas of land that could be irrigated have the most significant effect on the location chosen for their homestead? Did the original site layout follow any traditional Hispano patterns, such as a south-facing adobe house? Did the site layout change through time? How did site layout differ between the Teofilo and Andrellita Trujillo homestead and the Pedro and Sofia Trujillo homestead sites? What factors supported their settlement decisions and how did these choices ultimately allow the Trujillo families to become more successful than many settlers who chose more traditional Hispano settlement patterns on land grants and in plazas? Archeological investigations of the domestic and ranching-related features at both sites can help to answer these nationally significant settlement pattern research questions.

### Subsistence and Economic Activities

Many research questions related to subsistence/economic activities including the investment in facilities and consumption of material goods and also to the larger concepts of ethnicity/racialization can be addressed by studying the archeological remains at the Teofilo and Andrellita homestead. Did the Teofilo and Andrellita family remain self-sufficient in terms of production of food for themselves and their livestock? It is assumed that they were self-sufficient during the early settlement/homesteading period, but did this change during later years under a more cash-based economic lifestyle? When were the Trujillos able to purchase more non-subsistence items (such as Anglo-American ceramics and children's toys), what types of material goods did they purchase, and where did they obtain those items? Why did they invest in certain material goods and not others?

The general domestic artifacts at the Teofilo site have been compared with artifacts found at the townsite of Duncan (site 5SH3484), occupied from 1890-1900, and located about 12 miles to the northeast. It is interesting to note that the Teofilo and Andrellita homestead contains very little evidence of the use of food products in tin cans (less than five were identified during site recording), while site 5SH3484 contains many thousands of tin cans that contained food items. The Teofilo and Andrellita homestead also contains numerous fragments of crockery that suggest home preservation of vegetal foodstuffs. This would indicate that even with the increased availability of canned goods after the coming of the railroads, the Teofilo and Andrellita family may have continued to grow their own foodstuffs. Historical records indicate that the Trujillos were selling many of their agricultural products, such as peas, potatoes and tobacco, to other consumers by 1870. Additional archeological investigations (artifact analysis and other ancillary studies such as pollen analysis) into this topic of subsistence may provide data on what items the Trujillos produced for themselves and as cash crops and what outside material culture products that became available during the beginnings of a cash economy were or were not important for them to purchase.

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Artifacts related to ranching/farming were primarily those made of metal and are numerous in certain areas of both homesteads. Detailed analysis of those artifacts can be utilized to assist in the study of the evolution of ranching practices related to economic changes during the early Hispano homesteading/settlement period. Questions may be answered such as how and when the Trujillos were able to invest in new farming technologies, such as mowers or other equipment, and how those purchases may have affected their investments in land and livestock and their interactions with other Hispanos and Anglo-Americans.

Research questions related to economy and investment in facilities at the Teofilo and Andrellita homestead and Pedro and Sofia homestead would include the following: How did architecture at these sites compare to other Hispano and Anglo-American homesteads occupied during the same time period, and how did the architecture vary between the two sites and through time? Carrillo (2007) suggests that archeological signatures of Anglo-American homesteads during this time period have specific characteristics that would have differed from Hispano architecture. In the Piñon Canyon area in Las Animas County, southeastern Colorado, however, many homestead structures appear similar to traditional Hispano adobe and *jacal* (upright log and adobe structure) architecture but were located on Anglo-American homesteads. These features may have been built by Hispano laborers, or perhaps the traditional architectural materials utilized by Hispanos were the most cost-effective materials available (Lysa Wegman-French, personal communication 2011).

The archeological remains at the Trujillo sites may reveal how the architecture was similar and/or different from traditional or non-traditional Hispano and Anglo-American homestead architecture of the same time period. One question relates to how the architecture of the earlier Teofilo and Andrellita Trujillo homestead compares to the later Pedro and Sofia Trujillo homestead. The main Teofilo and Andrellita homestead house appears to have been a traditional adobe structure similar to others built in the Hispano plaza areas of the San Luis Valley, while Pedro and Sofia built a two-story log house. The Pedro and Sofia house was more similar in architectural style to Anglo-American domestic construction, such as those houses built at the townsite of Duncan (site 5SH3484). No evidence has been found to date that any of the Pedro and Sofia Trujillo site structures were made of adobe. Is this further evidence that Pedro and Sofia Trujillo attempted to emulate the Anglo-American architectural styles of the area, while Teofilo and Andrellita Trujillo originally chose and continued to maintain a more traditional Hispano architectural style of dwelling?

An additional important question is whether the archeological architectural remains at the Teofilo and Andrellita homestead can show how the site architecture at a traditional Hispano style adobe house may have changed when the subsistence economy of the family evolved to a more cash-based focus. Many early adobe structures in the area had very small windows covered with material such as parchment made of sheepskin due to defensive concerns and the lack of access to window glass (Tushar 2007:67). There is no mention in the literature of any other early adobe house in the San Luis Valley having stained glass windows. The Teofilo and Andrellita homestead house was constructed of adobe, yet it reportedly exhibited stained glass windows, which would suggest purchase of material goods beyond general subsistence requirements. When and how would the Teofilo and Andrellita family have had access to and the ability to purchase stained glass windows? Why would this have been an important economic investment?

Traditional Hispano adobe structures of the early to mid-1800s had dirt floors; "Because of the scarcity of lumber, the floors, even in homes of the wealthy, were of dirt, hardpacked and well smoothed by frequent sprinkling and tamping." (Tushar 2007:67). The Pedro and Sofia house exhibits wooden floors, but how did this compare to the Teofilo and Andrellita homestead? It is assumed that the original floors of the Teofilo and Andrellita homestead house were dirt, but did they install wood flooring at some point during their occupation of the site? If so, when did this occur and what does it mean about their social/economic status and the

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influences of Anglo-Americans/racialization? Archeological excavations in the Teofilo and Andrellita Trujillo adobe house would likely reveal the answers to these questions.

Were there any architectural features at either site that may have suggested defensible architecture? During the early Teofilo and Andrellita homestead occupation time period in the southern portions of the San Luis Valley, Hispano architecture often included walled, fortified plazas for defense against Native Americans (Tushar 2007:51 and 66). Could some of the upright posts at the Teofilo site be part of a walled courtyard that was defensive in nature, or, if there were walled components of the site, were they simply part of Hispano traditional architecture, or both? In addition to early period defensive architecture is there any evidence at either site of architectural remains that suggests defensible components that may have also been utilized during the later 1900s violence and intimidation that occurred during the sheep and cattle conflicts that ultimately resulted in the burning down of the Teofilo and Andrellita homestead house in 1902? Is there any evidence in the archeological remains (architecture or artifacts) to suggest how the ranch was destroyed by the fire in 1902? How did the adobe structure catch fire? According to stories told by family descendents of the Trujillos, kerosene soaked rags were thrown in the window of the house and caught the curtains on fire. This story has not been verified, but a kerosene can was found on the surface of the site directly adjacent to the adobe house remains. This question could be addressed during excavation of the adobe structure and other burned features on the site.

Archeological excavations of features and activity areas, such as the artifact concentrations, at the Trujillo sites can be utilized to help determine answers to these important interrelated questions dealing with subsistence, economic patterns, investment in facilities, and ethnicity/racialization and provide further data to address research questions related to how the Trujillo families relied upon or were affected by the Anglo-American style of cash economy toward the end of their occupation of the site.

These nationally significant questions and many additional specific settlement, subsistence, economic, and ethnicity/racialization-related research questions can be addressed through further research into the archeological remains at the Teofilo and Andrellita Trujillo and Pedro and Sofia Trujillo homesteads. Additional site survey, artifact documentation, and archival research are suggested for both homesteads. In addition, site testing and excavation is recommended at the Teofilo and Andrellita Trujillo homestead at the locations of the adobe house and other potential structures or features, such as the upright wooden post alignments, in the cobble concentrations, and in the numerous artifact concentrations. Testing is also recommended within and adjacent to features and artifact concentrations at the Pedro and Sofia Trujillo homestead to identify artifactual, architectural, chronological, and functional potential for each area, site, and feature. Ground Penetrating Radar (GPR) or other non-invasive geophysical investigations also may be useful to identify locations of additional features that are assumed to have been located at each site such as privies and other structures that were described in the historical records (adobe chicken house, barn, "Mexican workman house," wells, and corral at the Teofilo and Andrellita homestead and the unidentified outbuildings visible on historic aerials at the Pedro and Sofia homestead). These features may currently be covered with a layer of sand, but could potentially provide a wealth of information about the Trujillo occupations at both sites.

**DEVELOPMENT AND OPERATION OF THE TRUJILLO HOMESTEADS****Trujillo Family Background and the Early Development of the San Luis Valley**

San Luis Valley pioneer Teofilo Trujillo (ca. 1842-1915) was born in Rio Arriba County, New Mexico, when Mexico still possessed the area (see Figure 7).<sup>19</sup> In 1826 his father, Pedro Antonio Trujillo, born ca. 1807 in

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<sup>19</sup> Historic documents indicate various spellings of the elder Trujillo's first name; the most frequently used are "Teofilo" and "Tiofilo." The exact date of his birth (and those of some other family members) is uncertain. A birth date of 1842 is indicated in the 1845 New Mexico Colonial Census records transcribed by Virginia Langham Olmstead (<http://worldconnect.rootsweb.ancestry.com>)

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Taos County, married Abiquiú native Maria Rafaela Quintana, who was born in 1808 (Martinez 2001). Genealogists indicate Pedro Antonio's ancestors arrived in New Mexico in the 1630s from New Spain (Roots Web 2011). New Mexico, formerly part of New Spain's northern frontier, became part of Mexico in 1821. The United States acquired the territory in 1848 as a result of the Mexican War and the Treaty of Guadalupe-Hidalgo, suddenly making the Trujillos citizens of a country with a different culture and language. Two years later the New Mexico Territorial Census found the family living in the Northern Division of Taos County. In addition to ten-year-old Teofilo, members of the household included: Meliton (age 16), who worked as a blacksmith; an older sister, Romalda (14); and younger sisters Angela (8) and Maria Rita (3). Albino Trujillo, a boy the same age as Teofilo whom the census identified by race as "copper" and with a birthplace indicated as "Indian Country," also lived with the family (USDI, BC 1850). He was one of the large numbers of Native American children captured in raids and sold or traded to Hispano families, who baptized and "adopted" them as enslaved servants, herders, or laborers during the nineteenth century.

Teofilo may have been taught to read but not to write, forcing him as an adult to sign legal papers with a mark (X) rather than his name.<sup>20</sup> He did not learn English, as most relationships during his early life were with fellow Spanish-speakers. His father, a farmer, owned real estate valued at \$300 in 1850 (USDI, BC 1850).<sup>21</sup> Many agriculturalists in the area followed the established practice of living in communal villages and working riparian long-lot fields (*extensiones*) that included frontage on a stream or ditch and extended through varied topography and habitat (Carlson 1974:48). As Professor Devon Peña described: "The long-lot represents a type of cultural landscape compatible with the biogeographical properties of high-altitude arid environments" (Peña 1998:252). Pastures and irrigation systems on grants were owned, maintained, and operated communally. Most families pursued varied production of crops and livestock on a subsistence basis, including at least a few sheep. As Sarah Deutsch noted, the labor of each Hispano family member played an important part in the group's economic success. From an early age, sons generally worked as shepherds or farm laborers for their fathers or other farmers to assist their families and gain the resources necessary to begin their own careers (Deutsch 1987:15). As the number of people in a village grew and the amount of desirable agricultural and grazing lands shrank, groups of people left to form new settlements on available land. Other individual families acquired land in more isolated areas and established livestock ranches.

Pedro Antonio Trujillo passed away in October 1863, and shortly thereafter Teofilo left to establish a life on his own in the San Luis Valley of Colorado Territory (Roots Web 2011). Created in 1861 from New Mexico Territory, Colorado contained a few small Hispano settlements about a decade old in the southern part and recent Anglo mining camps along the Front Range of the Rocky Mountains. A number of factors may have played a role in Trujillo's decision to move north. Hispanos had long known the agricultural potential of the area and utilized it for trapping and grazing and as a travel route. During the 1830s and 1840s New Mexico Governor Manuel Armijo had awarded land grants to individual citizens and groups willing to establish colonies that would bolster Mexican claims to their vast northern frontier and lend northern New Mexican villages a degree of safety against Indian raids. As a result of decades of rapid population growth during the nineteenth century, settlers spread throughout northern New Mexico, taking up arable lands and grazing areas and forcing later settlers further into new and untested areas still the domain of indigenous tribes.

In 1843 Governor Armijo approved the application of Stephen Lee and Narciso Beaubien of Taos to secure an immense tract of land within the future borders of New Mexico and Colorado designated the Sangre de Cristo

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2011). Trujillo, himself, provided information indicating several different birth dates in the period 1838-44 on census and homestead documents, perhaps as a result of translation problems.

<sup>20</sup> The 1870 census indicated that Teofilo Trujillo could not read, but the censuses of 1900 and 1910 stated that he could.

<sup>21</sup> This amount is equivalent in value to \$8,640 dollars in 2010 (latest year available) based on the Consumer Price Index.

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Grant. Charles Beaubien acquired the grant after the owners' deaths in the 1847 Taos Revolt.<sup>22</sup> The awarded land included part of the San Luis Valley. Charles Beaubien, complying with rules of the grant, invited Hispano settlers (*pobladores*) to establish colonies on the land, which became part of the territory of the United States in 1848. In 1851 people from the Taos vicinity founded the first permanent settlement, San Luis de la Culebra, in the south-central part of future Colorado. As historian Maria Mondragón-Valdéz described, Beaubien added "a covenant granting an easement to *pobladores* to use the surrounding uplands to graze and gather wood, designated a community commons near villages, and deeded *varas*, or long lots, extending from rivers to foothills" (Mondragón-Valdéz ca. 2006). Several groups of New Mexican colonists arrived subsequently, founding other communities in the valley (see Figure 8).

The first Hispanos to locate in the valley constructed traditional plazas, consisting of central courtyards surrounded by the adobe dwellings and stables of the colony members. Lands outside the plaza were used for communal farming on *extensiones*, and livestock grazed on communal pastureland. The settlers worked together to construct irrigation ditches (*acequias*) whose water they shared. The people also established religious and cultural practices their ancestors brought from Spain to Mexico and northward into New Mexico (Fort Garland Museum 2005: 22). New Mexican farmers, ranchers, and traders began serving the markets for their products created by these newly established villages (Deutsch 1987:17).

Andrews found successful northern settlement also resulted from the new tolerance, even encouragement, of the Utes, who had become dominant in the valley and relied on appropriation of the livestock and other foodstuffs produced by Hispano farmers and ranchers to survive (Andrews 1997: 26, 34-35, 46). By the 1850s the Utes and Jicarillas were the only free tribalized Indians of consequential numbers traveling through the valley, with Utes control of the area basically unchallenged (Andrews 1997: 35). Ute primacy constituted "the single most important factor in opening the Valley to colonists," according to Andrews (1997:49).

Hispano settlement resulted to some extent from the growing Anglo military presence to the north. To protect travelers and settlers in the region, in 1856 the American army established Fort Massachusetts, superseded in 1858 by Fort Garland. In 1861-62 the adobe post served as an enlistment site and rendezvous point for companies of Colorado Volunteers preparing to stop Confederate plans to seize New Mexico. The "largely Hispano" First New Mexico Volunteers were stationed at the fort in 1862-63 and 1866-67 (Colorado Historical Society 2005:30, 40). A Colorado Historical Society history of the fort described how it benefited the economy of Hispano settlements and attracted new residents to the San Luis Valley during its early years:

Fresh stock, grain, and hay came through brokers from the valley's Hispano *placitas* [villages], which multiplied during the 1850s and 1860s. Those settlements included San Luis de Culebra, San Jose, and San Rafael. Fort Garland thus created a local market for cattle, grain, flour, and produce raised in the San Luis Valley. In later years, after the railroad arrived in 1877, the fort also acted as a point of procurement for products like beef and potatoes to be sent to Fort Union and other points outside the valley. Until 1877, advertisements requesting bids for supplies in Santa Fe and Taos appeared in both Spanish and English—and quartermasters learned to deal in corn and wheat by the *fanega*, a traditional Spanish measure equal to 1 ½ bushels (Colorado Historical Society 2005:40-41).

The fort represented an important market for Hispano farmers and ranchers to sell their products through merchant subcontractors dealing with the fort's sutler (Lantis 2003:21). The sellers were paid in United States currency, making it possible for them to more easily purchase American goods and obtain bank credit (Romero-Anderson 2007:18).

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<sup>22</sup> Charles Beaubien was the father of Narciso (sometimes shown as Narcisco) and the brother-in-law of Stephen Lee.

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**Teofilo and Andrellita Trujillo Establish a Ranch at Medano Springs**

Another factor influencing Teofilo Trujillo's decision to move north may have been the 1862 Homestead Act, by which the United States invited persons over 21 years of age to claim 160 acres of the public domain by living on, building a home, and making improvements to the land for five years. In 1864 he journeyed northward from New Mexico into Colorado, acquiring a small property and residing for a year near San Pablo, one of the Culebra River villages dating to 1851 (Gibson 1933-34a:93). He married Andrellita Lucero, the daughter of early settlers of La Culebra, Juan Julian Lucero and Maria Francisca Cordova (Martinez 2003). In 1865 the Trujillos obtained a small ranch northwest of Fort Garland from George Crist known as "Rancho de los Ojitos" (Gibson 1933-34a:93) (see Figure 8). Apparently unsatisfied with that location, about 1865 the couple moved further northwest, settling in an undeveloped area [REDACTED], west of the Great Sand Dunes (Gibson 1933-34a:93; USDI, GLO 1886) (see Figure 8).<sup>23</sup> They were among the area's first settlers, perhaps the earliest, to establish a permanent home and begin ranching (Gibson 1933-34a:93). In 1866 their son, Pedro, was born, establishing the first generation of American-born citizens in the family (Gibson 1933-34a:93; USDI, BC 1870).

In his historical geography of the San Luis Valley, David W. Lantis found, "The first two decades of Mexican occupancy in the San Luis Valley were characterized by almost extreme isolation" (Lantis 1988:14). So little population was present that the first settlers faced abundant opportunities to take up land throughout the valley. As Lantis noted, "The land was unoccupied, hence it was regarded as free" (Lantis 1988:20). Some settlers moved near Fort Garland almost as soon as it was completed in 1858, with the expectation of selling hay and other produce or working as day laborers at the fort. Several families moved to Zapato Creek near the Great Sand Dunes in 1864 (Lantis 1988:21).

The Trujillos selected a location [REDACTED] northwest of Fort Garland [REDACTED] where the presence of water was determinative, providing for domestic and livestock needs, a family vegetable garden, and sustaining lush hay meadows. The nutritious native grasses lasted through the winter due to the climate (Andrews 1997:36). Agnes King moved to the area with her parents in the 1880s and later recalled the promising environment: "the land was verdant and lush in those early days, with grass 'stirrup high' everywhere" (Colorado Prospector c. 1980). Abundant wildlife supplemented the family's livestock and crops, and forested foothills provided wood for construction requirements, implements of daily life, and fabricating agricultural implements.<sup>24</sup> The site offered clear views of the surrounding terrain and magnificent vistas of the mountains. Without an official survey of the area yet completed, Teofilo could not file a formal homestead claim when he became one of the first ranchers on the western slope of the Sangre de Cristos (Harlan 2002:151). A few ranchers had transient sheep and cattle camps in the vicinity at that time, including Lafayette Head of Conejos and Salazar and Gallegos of San Luis (Harlan 2002:46).

According to Pedro Trujillo, the entire vicinity was a favorite Native American hunting ground (Gibson 1933-34a:93). The San Luis Valley held immense importance for bands of the Ute people, particularly the Mouache, who utilized it as their wintering grounds and a thoroughfare to the Great Plains and New Mexico and benefited from its wildlife, fresh water, and plentiful native plants (Andrews 1997:16). Other indigenous groups, including members of Navajo, Jicarilla Apache, and Plains Indian tribes, also hunted in the valley (Stoller and Steele 1982:28; Andrews 1997:17). The Utes formally ceded the area east of the continental divide to the United States in 1868, but some small bands continued to visit it. Pedro, who herded his father's cattle assisted by an Indian boy adopted to work for the family, recalled often hiding among the larger clumps of greasewood

<sup>23</sup> In his 1886 homestead proof, Teofilo stated that he had lived on the land for 21 years (USBC, GLO 1886).

<sup>24</sup> Historian Randall Teeuwen indicated "everything the settlers had was handmade. The first plows used hardwood shares secured by leather thongs and the hand tools for gardening were also fashioned from wood (Teeuwen 1985:10). Andrews reported that even by the 1850s wildlife was less abundant than in earlier times.

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(*chico*) when he spotted a cloud of dust marking the arrival of Native Americans. Although the boys were never harmed, Pedro reported the indigenous people "...helped themselves from the herd to what beef they wanted. Occasionally they stopped at the ranch and took anything they fancied, as Teofilo, the lone settler, did not dare to antagonize them" (Gibson 1933-34a:93). The boys also visited the places where the Indians had camped and "they always had their pockets full of arrow and spear points" (Gibson 1933-34a:93). Fort Garland provided a measure of safety and a potential market for cattle and other products the Trujillos produced, but living some distance from the post forced the Trujillos to establish their own relationship to the Native groups passing through. According to Virginia Sanchez, the early Hispanos in the valley depended on trade with the Indians for supplies such as pottery and hides (2010:27). Indigenous people faced an increasingly desperate situation due to loss of their traditional hunting areas and failure of the government to furnish promised food and supplies and at times resorted to theft rather than starvation (Sanchez 2010:29).

Lantis found "the entire Valley, except for the small occupied districts, soon became one great pasture for the cattle and sheep of the Mexican farmers" (1988:24). With the removal of the Utes stock raisers no longer feared the loss of their animals and grazed them everywhere on the open range. He noted, "There was no trouble between the sheepman and the cattleman; in fact, most farmers kept both types of animals." Much of the rancher's life revolved around animal care associated with the seasons. A fall round up of cattle consumed nearly a month each year and, although not all cows were branded, the small numbers present allowed ready identification. A few herds were driven over La Veta Pass to Dodge City, Kansas, or later to Pueblo (Lantis 1988:24). By the 1870s some of the wealthier farmers and ranchers purchased steel plows, haymowers, and wagons with steel rimmed wheels. The movement toward improved technology increased following connection to the railroad (Lantis 1988:25).

The 1870 census of Costilla County documented the household at the ranch, listing: the elder Trujillos; Pedro, age four; a ten-year-old boy, Antonio Trujillo, who was born in New Mexico and identified as a farm laborer; and 14-year-old Manuela Atencio, a servant (United States, Department of Interior, Bureau of the Census [USDI, BC] 1870).<sup>25</sup> Five years previously, Indian Agent Lafayette Head had completed an inventory of Indian slaves, commonly referred to as captives or servants (*criados*) at government request. Teofilo Trujillo of Costilla County appeared on the list as the owner of a seven-year-old Navajo boy, Antonio, who was purchased in Colorado in 1863 from "Mexicans" (Head 1865). The document indicated the boy was not willing to return to his tribe (Head 1865).<sup>26</sup> San Luis Valley historian Virginia Sanchez recently compiled an additional list of Native American captives from Costilla County baptism, birth, death, and marriage records. The Sanchez list indicates Teofilo Trujillo still owned Antonio Maria Trujillo, when he married in 1881 (Sanchez June 2008). Most captives were emancipated upon marriage. Trujillo descendants indicate the family also took in an orphaned Indian girl (Maria Causby, personal communication 2006).

San Luis resident Emilia Gallegos Smith reported Utes and Navajos captured children of other tribes and sold them to settlers in San Luis in exchange for money, flour, groceries, and merchandise (Smith 1947:25). Virginia Sanchez judged, "Indian and Hispano trade in captives was a part of Southwest culture and the norm" (Sanchez 2010:32). Essentially, this established a form of slavery in the valley, as these captives were removed from their families, given new names, required to assist with work, and were not free to leave. As part of the process, Hispano families baptized captured Indian women and children in the Catholic Church and Christianized them.

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<sup>25</sup> Costilla County, one of 17 territorial counties, included the Medano Springs area until 1913, when Alamosa County was created. A descendant of the Trujillos confirms that Teofilo and his wife took in an orphaned Indian girl (Maria Causby, personal communication 2006). It is unclear whether this was Manuela Atencio or a 10-year-old girl identified as Mariana Trujillo in the 1885 Colorado State Census.

<sup>26</sup> Many slaves, taken as children, did not remember the people, language, or culture of their tribe and preferred to stay with their "adopted" family.

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Girls often received training in household duties and weaving, while boys became laborers and livestock tenders. Captive Indians worked as cooks, general household helpers, herders and livestock tenders, sheep shearers, weavers, gardeners, and performed general labor (Sanchez 2010:32). Some early Anglo settlers in the valley also adopted this practice of acquiring Native American slaves, including the Conejos Headquarters Indian Agent Lafayette Head (Sanchez 2010:33). Andrews judged the system of slavery was “a crucial part of the Valley’s social landscape” that heightened their owners’ economic and social power (1997:79).

In 1865 Head found 61 such Native Americans in Costilla County; most were Navajo people, with a few members of Ute and other tribes present. The 1863 Emancipation Proclamation and an 1867 Congressional Act forbidding peonage in New Mexico resulted in many of the servants receiving their freedom, although Stoller and Steele indicated “apparently few left their adoptive families or villages” (Stoller and Steele 1982:28). As San Luis Valley historian Olibama Lopez Tushar reported, “The fact that Indians were held in slavery in the San Luis Valley into the late 1880s is not only a matter of record in the Federal and State official documents but there are personal remembrances and interviews of the relationships between the households and the Indians” (Tushar 2007:36).

Andrellita Trujillo gave birth to six children while at the ranch, of whom only one, Pedro, lived to adulthood. Census and genealogical records indicate five daughters were born to the Trujillos (Martinez 2001 and USDI, BC 1880). All died as children, principally due to the impact of typhoid fever and diphtheria before 1885 (Martinez 2001; Colorado State Census 1885). By 1886 Teofilo stated he had only one offspring (USDI, GLO 1886). J. Robert “Bob” Linger, whose family owned the property after the Trujillos departed, was told several, if not all, of the daughters are buried on the site (Linger, personal communication 2002). The location of these graves is unknown.

The Agricultural Schedule of the 1870 census indicates Costilla County’s farmers and ranchers were overwhelmingly Hispanos who raised sheep rather than cattle, with 18 times as many sheep as cattle counted (USDI, BC 1870).<sup>27</sup> An 1871 Colorado gazetteer also reported livestock raising was the principal industry in the county, including “sheep, horses, goats, cattle, and asses” (Wallihan & Co. 1870:57-58). Unlike most other early Hispano-American settlers in the area, during his first years on the land Trujillo’s primary interest was cattle. Some accounts indicate his herd was once as large as 800 head. The cattle grazed in natural meadows between water sources on the public domain (Gibson 1933-34a; Oliver 1985).

By 1870, Teofilo’s livestock had the highest value of any of the Costilla County Hispano farmers and the second highest of all the ranchers in the county. He reported 30 head of cattle and no sheep and assessed the worth of his farm at \$3,000, with \$300 in farm implements and machines. Trujillo’s other livestock included 10 horses, 3 mules or asses, 100 milk cows, 10 oxen, and 3 swine. The animals were valued at \$5,115 (USDI, BC 1870). The presence of a large number of dairy cattle was unusual for a Hispano rancher. Olibama Lopez Tushar, a daughter of San Luis Valley pioneers, reported most families relied on goats for their milk (Tushar 2007:100). Trujillo’s large herd of dairy cows produced enough milk to make 75 pounds of butter, much of which was probably sold to produce additional revenues. The slaughter of farm animals added \$500 to the family income (USDI, BC 1870).

Crops raised on Trujillo’s land included 80 bushels of spring wheat and 15 pounds of tobacco, as well as small amounts of peas and potatoes. The success of the tobacco crop is unknown; it may have been sold to add to the family’s profits or fulfilled the family’s needs.<sup>28</sup> The total value of all farm production was \$1,178. Trujillo

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<sup>27</sup> The census reported 22,510 sheep and 1,267 cattle (excluding milk cows) in the county.

<sup>28</sup> In 1870, Costilla and Conejos counties produced a total of 890 pounds of tobacco; they were the only counties in Colorado to produce the crop.

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indicated that he paid no wages; members of his family assisted with the necessary work and he traded goods for labor (USDI, BC 1870). As the family's wealth increased, Teofilo became a *patrón*, employing boys and men of lesser economic status to tend his herds. After Antonio Salazar's father died, he was left to support his family. Salazar agreed to watch Teofilo Trujillo's sheep for a year in return for groceries (Gibson 1933-34a:106). The fact that Teofilo was one of only a handful of Hispano-surnamed cattle growers and dealers mentioned in a statewide "Colorado Livestock Directory" in 1879 testified to his economic success (Colorado State Business Directory 1879). The statewide advertising listing provides evidence the Trujillos probably shipped cattle to markets outside the San Luis Valley after the railroad arrived.

Delivering an adequate supply of water to irrigate the property's meadow lands was essential for grazing livestock. In 1874 the Trujillos undertook construction of an irrigation ditch bringing water from Sand Creek to their lands. The Trujillo Ditch had its headgate in the Northeast Quarter of Section 1 and extended southwest toward the ranch headquarters. An 1895 water rights adjudication awarded the ditch Water Priority No. 2 from Sand Creek, with a right to 13.33 cubic inches of water per second (Colorado District Court 1895). In his 1881 land proof testimony for his cash entry, Teofilo listed an irrigation ditch and side ditches. His 1886 homestead proof affidavit reported the ditch's length at half a mile (USDI, GLO 1881 and 1890).

In 1874 a post office opened at Medano Springs, [REDACTED], operating until Zapato, several miles further south, claimed the designation in 1879 (Bauer, Ozment, and Willard 1990:97 and 155).<sup>29</sup> In 1875 the U.S. General Land Office, taking note of increased population in the region, surveyed the exterior boundary of the township where the Trujillos settled. Three years later surveyor E.H. Kellogg marked the sections within and made general observations regarding the land's character in the vicinity of the Trujillo property, finding the "soil 1<sup>st</sup> rate" and the "surface level." [REDACTED]

(see Figure 3).<sup>30</sup>

During the 1870s, the Ohio-born Dickey brothers settled at Medano Springs, established the nucleus of a large cattle empire, and began buying out smaller homesteads (Oliver 1985). Historian Frank C. Spencer reported ranchers from the eastern states were "kindly received by the Mexican settlers" (Spencer 1925:67). The Dickeys acquired large herds of Texas cattle, brought them into the valley to graze, and then drove them to the booming mining camp of Leadville, where the brothers operated a meat market (Gibson 1933-34b:36). They were at the forefront of a new wave of Anglo ranchers whose numbers increased with the arrival of the railroad at Fort Garland in 1877 and Alamosa in 1878.

### Legally Claiming the Land

As competition for available grazing and homestead lands increased along with the ever-growing Anglo presence, early Hispano ranchers faced the loss of their acreages if they did not establish documented legal claims under the American system. Medano Springs-area historian Agnes King, whose family settled in the vicinity, reported: "Several Spanish-American families had been living on the creek, but they had just come in and built their adobe cabins, put in their little track patches and did not acquire legal right to the land. When the cattle men came in they proceeded to chase the 'squatters' out" (King 1947). These small farmers may have been unaware of the Preemption Act's provisions or may not have had the means to pay filing fees for acquisition of their land. Many Anglo ranch owners acquired additional land by paying their workers to

<sup>29</sup> More recently, the community has been called "Zapata."

<sup>30</sup> This corresponds to the location identified by Bob Linger and Trujillo descendants and confirmed by recent archeological investigations.

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establish homestead claims, which were quickly relinquished to the employer when proved up (Lantis 1950: 178 and 189). By 1900, there were few Spanish-surnamed families left in the vicinity of the Trujillo ranch (USDI, BC 1900).

For many Hispanos, obtaining patented land seemed an unreachable goal due to the financial costs of the application process, as well as the inherent difficulty of understanding rules and regulations of another culture in a foreign language (Deutsch 1987:31). The Trujillo case is evidence of a different thread of the story. Teofilo quickly availed himself of American methods of acquiring public land and shrewdly manipulated the system to obtain more acreage, just as many Anglo-Americans did at the time. By adapting so readily to the new culture and its view of landownership, he became one of the wealthiest Hispano-American ranchers in the region.

Aware of the growing threat to his ownership posed by increased settlement and the arrival of large Anglo ranching concerns, in the late 1870s Teofilo Trujillo took steps to gain legal title to the acreage where he and his family had been living and ranching for more than a decade. The U.S. Surveyor's plat of the related township was filed with the Del Norte Land Office in late December 1878, clearing the way for homestead applications. In July 1879, Trujillo traveled to Del Norte and submitted a preemption claim to his headquarters area (USDI, GLO 1879). Preemption, as permitted by the federal government, allowed an individual to claim 160 acres of public lands on which he or she had resided and produced agricultural products on before surveys were completed at the minimum price per acre. As historians James Muhn and Hanson R. Stuart observed, the Preemption law "allowed tens-of-thousands of farmers to obtain title to the land they had worked so hard at improving" (Muhn and Stuart 1988:13). On 1 June 1881 Teofilo testified as part of his preemption proof that his property on the site consisted of "a house with 4 rooms, a corral—out houses[,] all the land fenced—one irrigating ditch and side ditches valued at least \$800.00."<sup>31</sup> In addition, he reported having "ten acres cultivated in vegetables and the balance in hay," and asserted he first moved with his family into a house he built on the land on 21 July 1879 (USDI, GLO 1881).<sup>32</sup> Witness Pedro A. Trujillo, a cousin, supplied an additional detail: the house was adobe. On the day he testified, Trujillo paid \$1.25 per acre, or \$200, for his 160-acre claim. He received a patent the following year, thereby securing his ranch headquarters (USDI, GLO 1881).

On the same day in June 1881, Trujillo applied for a homestead entry to an adjoining tract of land (USDI, GLO 1881). After waiting the required five years, he announced his intent to make final proof on his homestead (USDI, GLO 1886). The rancher and two witnesses testified he built his first house there in 1874, although he entered the land in 1865. He reported ownership of two houses: a five-room log house and a four-room adobe dwelling, again listing a half-mile of irrigating ditch, as well as a mile of fence. Other improvements on his ranch included an adobe chicken house and a stable, as well as three water wells with pumps and one with a windmill on it. He valued the improvements at over \$1,500 and stated he had raised crops on about 40 acres for the past six years (USDI, GLO 1886). This testimony appears to combine the improvements and history of both the land he filed for in 1879 and that of the 1881 homestead application. A supporting witness indicated Trujillo settled on the homestead land in 1881, but had "lived in the same place for twenty years" (USDI, GLO 1886). The land office delayed approving the application, but ultimately determined not to investigate further and issued the patent on 29 March 1890 (USDI, GLO 1890).<sup>33</sup>

<sup>31</sup> It is unclear what the term "out houses" referred to; he may have meant agricultural support buildings or privies.

<sup>32</sup> This testimony, corroborated by two witnesses, conflicts with the 1878 surveyor's plat showing Trujillo's house in the quarter section claimed, which is the same location identified in recent archeological investigations.

<sup>33</sup> The confusing nature of the statements, when compared to Trujillo's proof for his 1881 land, may indicate inadequate translation between Spanish and English speakers, a failure to understand the questions asked, or an effort to convince the land office that the law's requirements had been met despite some irregularities. Recent archeological investigations found the site of his preemption claim appears to include his adobe residence.

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Teofilo Trujillo received 320 acres of public land, the full amount available to an individual at that time. He apparently added to this public domain acreage through purchase; by 1885 his ranch included 640 acres (Colorado 1885). In this process the elder Trujillo acquired the property of other Hispanos in the surrounding vicinity, much as Anglo livestock men were consolidating small operations into their larger holdings. These acquired lands, combined with free grazing on the open range, enabled the successful operation of a ranch.

Expanding the landholdings of the family further and protecting its agricultural interests, Pedro Trujillo also began the process of obtaining a portion of the public domain. In 1883 the younger Trujillo (then 17) filed a preemption declaration for 160 acres [REDACTED] where his headquarters buildings exist today. He stated he first settled upon the land in October 1879.<sup>34</sup> In 1885 Pedro and his witnesses arrived in Del Norte to provide testimony for his preemption proof. Although he was 19 years old, less than the required 21, the young man and his witnesses asserted he was 25. They described his improvements as a three-room house built in 1879, stable, windmill, corral, and one-and-a-half miles of fence valued at \$1,100. Further, he stated he had broken and cultivated 123 acres of land, 3 for vegetables and 120 for hay (USDI, GLO 1885). Pedro paid \$1.25 per acre, or \$200, for the land in 1885. However, documents in the associated homestead case file indicate the government had questions about his claim; further notice and testimony were required in 1890, with the patent finally approved in 1891 (USDI, GLO 1890 and 1891).

In January 1900 Pedro expanded his holdings by acquiring a tract of state land, which abutted his property and his father's, paying \$420 for 120 acres (Colorado, State Board of Land Commissioners 1900). In August of the following year, he received a homestead patent for 168.11 acres, which was not contiguous with his other land, but touched the quarter-section containing his father's house (USDI, BC 1891). Finally, Pedro also obtained a Desert Land patent in August 1901 for 80.26 acres (USDI, BC 1901). The Desert Land Law, which became applicable in Colorado in 1891, allowed entry at \$1.25 per acre on non-mineral and non-timber lands and receipt of a patent if irrigation was accomplished within three years (Muhn and Stuart 1988:23). Like Pedro's homestead tract, his Desert Land entry was not contiguous with his own land, but touched his parents' property.

Pedro recalled his efforts to obtain land in a 1933-34 interview with Civil Works Administration worker Charles Gibson, Jr.: "Before he was of legal age, Pete filed on a homestead three-quarters of a mile west of his fathers [sic] place, and set up his own establishment, confining his efforts to the raising of horses and cattle" (Gibson 1933-34a:95). Given Pedro's youth at the time of settlement and his proof testimony, it is unclear if his father provided assistance in establishing the homestead or how closely the two men were associated in ranching operations (Andrea Trujillo Lujan and Maria Causby, personal communication 2003). Traditionally, young Hispano men worked for their fathers until they acquired enough livestock knowledge to start out on their own.

It is evident that, although they each had different ideas about ranching, the father and son utilized the public land laws to cooperate in amassing a large amount of acreage necessary for successful ranching in Colorado, just as astute Anglo ranchers did. The combination of lands acquired by the Trujillos through public domain filings and purchases resulted in a ranch encompassing just under 1,500 acres and extending roughly 2.25 miles east-west and 1.5 miles north-south. These lands included property owned by Andrellita Trujillo, who was listed as an owner in the later sale of the ranch. Additionally, one of Teofilo's brothers, and perhaps other family members, lived nearby on his own ranch (Andrea Trujillo Lujan and Maria Causby, personal communication 2003).

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<sup>34</sup> However, Pedro was not listed separately from his father's ranching operation on the Agricultural Schedule of the 1880 census (USDI, BC 1880).

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**Family Life and Ranching Operations**

With the arrival of the railroad in 1877-78, many contracts previously awarded to Hispano suppliers went to Anglos who had settled in the valley (Fort Garland Museum 2005:41). In her study of railroad influences on the Culebra villages, Maria Mondragón-Valdéz found the fort's "policy of purchasing local agricultural surpluses changed to a preference to purchase products from eastern suppliers" (2003:27). At the same time, the presence of the Denver & Rio Grande Railroad (D&RG) made it possible to transport livestock from Alamosa to Denver (Baker and Hafen 1927:676; Lantis 1950:232). The Alamosa railhead lay [REDACTED] of the Trujillo ranches.

The 1880 U.S. Census for Costilla County recorded the Trujillo family, including Teofilo and Andrellita and their children: Pedro (age 16), Augustina (9), and Rafaela (7). A boarder, Rebecca Pope (16), also resided in the household, as well as a 28-year-old Native American female servant, Juana Ortega, who worked as a cook, and an 18-year-old laborer, Seledonio Mondragon (USDI, BC 1880).<sup>35</sup> The 1885 state census recorded only four family members: Teofilo, Andrellita, Pedro, and Mariana, a daughter (Colorado 1885). Family genealogical research indicates Mariana, born in 1875, was adopted by the Trujillos and died on the ranch (Martinez 2001). On 23 June 1885 Pedro had wed Sofia Martinez (ca. 1872-1950) (Figures 9 and 10) and became independently responsible for his own home and family.<sup>36</sup> Mrs. Trujillo was raised, following the death of her mother, by San Luis residents Juan Andres Trujillo, Teofilo Trujillo's brother, and Maria Lucia Martinez, Sofia's mother's sister (Espinosa Family Tree 2011). Pedro and Sofia became parents of sixteen children, nine of whom were born while they were living at the homestead (Martinez 2001).<sup>37</sup> Despite residing some distance away, all the children were baptized at Sangre de Cristo Church in San Luis (Yost 1995). A son, Federico "Fred" (born 1889), was sent by his parents to live with Teofilo and Andrellita (Maria T. Causby, personal communication 2011) (Figure 11). In his account of his 1930s interview with Pedro, Charles E. Gibson, Jr. described this act of giving the firstborn son to the father's family as an old custom that still prevailed among some Hispanos (Gibson 1933-34a:95).

In the 1880s, Teofilo began diversifying his livestock, adding sheep to his cattle holdings and increasing the number of horses. The Agricultural Schedule of the 1880 census indicates he owned a cattle herd of 55, 32 horses, 8 oxen, and 1 milk cow (USDI, BC 1880). This contrasted with the immense Dickey brothers' operation with 3,000 cattle. Trujillo still was listed as a cattle grower in the *Colorado Livestock Directory* in 1883, the last year he appeared in the publication. He reported paying \$215 for farm labor and estimated the value of his farm products at \$1,800 (USDI, BC 1880). This likely included money paid by other ranchers for hay from his sizeable meadows, which netted 100 tons of hay, and the sale of cattle (USDI, BC 1880; King 1947).

As a consequence of its rail connection and greater ability to transport wool, Costilla County emerged as the second leading sheep producer in the state. From only 1,010 sheep counted in the 1870 census, the number rose to 22,676 in 1880. Wool production also dramatically increased, offsetting the cost of raising sheep (Valdez 2003:27). As the herds became larger in the late 1870s, ranchers began practicing transhumance, or the movement of their stock between the summer mountain pastures and the winter valley pastures. Wealthier sheepmen hired their less prosperous relatives and neighbors to tend their flocks in return for a share of the wool and the animals or other consideration. (Lantis 1988:25). The life of a herder was lonely and Spartan. As

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<sup>35</sup> The 1880 manuscript census returns identified the race of Spanish-surnamed persons as "Mex." Although Indian slaves were emancipated by special order in 1867, some continued to work in Hispano families as servants in the San Luis Valley (Simmons 2011). As late as 1933-34 Charles E. Gibson, Jr., interviewing San Luis Valley residents for the Civil Works Administration, described talking to Luis Valdez, an 80-year-old enslaved Indian owned by the grandson of the man who originally purchased him from "men who made regular raids into the Navajo country for the purpose of capturing slaves" (quoted in Rael-Galvan 2002:9).

<sup>36</sup> Some sources indicate she was born in 1870; she was either 13 or 15 when she married.

<sup>37</sup> Mrs. Trujillo's name is sometimes spelled "Sophia" in historic documents, and the number of children born to her is variously reported as 14, 15, or 16. Children who survived to adulthood included eight sons and five daughters.

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Landis described, “A herder would go into the mountains in late spring with the flock of sheep, a burro, a dog, and a sack of flour; the owner would not see him again until late in the fall” (1988:28).

Although the 1880 census cited no sheep for Trujillo, he subsequently became one of the largest producers in the area. By 1885, the Colorado State Census indicated Teofilo possessed an impressively diversified livestock operation, with 600 sheep, 500 lambs, and 70 cattle (Colorado 1885). He sold both lambs and wool, including 600 fleeces. Women in the household wove some wool into the family’s clothing, rugs, and other necessities. A textile woven of Trujillo’s wool is found in the collection of the Museum of International Folk Art in Santa Fe, New Mexico (Museum of International Folk Art 1979:84). In 1885 the family’s livestock also included 100 horses, 10 milk cows, 10 swine, 25 mules, and 60 other (unidentified) animals.<sup>38</sup> The Trujillos also raised a large flock of poultry, which were the responsibility of the women. In 1889 Teofilo visited Alamosa to sell about 100 horses, perhaps because fewer were needed in sheep raising (*San Luis Valley Courier* 10 July 1889:1). In addition, the ranch cut 450 tons of hay, a portion of which was sold to other settlers. In 1885, the livestock was valued at \$6,000 and the farm at \$4,000, compared to \$1,300 in 1880 (USDI, BC 1880; Colorado 1885). Although Pedro’s operation was not detailed in the census, his daughter Andrea recalled he was a cattleman who also had horses and mules (Andrea Trujillo Lujan and Maria Causby, personal communication 2003). Transportation access further improved in 1891, when the D&RG extended its narrow gauge line from Villa Grove to Alamosa, with Hooper (1888) and Mosca (1891) developing as shipping points. Hooper was just [REDACTED] of the ranch.

Variable conditions characterized the range, testing the fortitude of ranchers. In 1879 Teofilo lost 22 cattle that strayed or were stolen (USDI, BC 1880). In 1885 he reported the deaths of 100 lambs and 20 calves (Colorado 1885). In April 1897 the *Aspen Times* mentioned the news from Hooper that “Teofilo Trujillo, the big Mexican” lost 500 head of sheep during the winter and could not recall another time when the snow was so deep (15 April 1897:2). Luck and ingenuity played a part in the rancher’s success. In 1890 the *San Luis Valley Courier* reported Trujillo “is supplying our markets with baled hay” (1890:8) (Figure 12). To transport this product across the difficult sand, Teofilo creatively coupled together two wagons loaded with hay pulled by as many as sixteen horses in a fan-shaped arrangement: “In the middle of the moving mass of horseflesh, astride a large white horse sat Teofilo Trujillo—coaxing his sweating beasts of burden across the land” (Harlan 2002: 151).

Armond Choury, a 19-year-old Frenchman who traveled to the area by rail in 1880, hoped to find his fortune working in a newly opened mine. Although that dream died, he stayed in the Medano vicinity for the rest of his life and later recalled vivid memories of the place and its inhabitants. Failing to secure a position at a mine, he visited the Zapata Ranch and other locations around Medano Springs working temporary jobs. One day a local resident, Miguel Espinosa, noticed Choury, who was fluent in Spanish, reading a book and asked if he would teach at the area school, located “about five miles south of Trujillo’s.” The Trujillos and other Hispano families of the area valued education, and Pedro and other children were taught to read, write, and speak English. As an old man, Choury recalled local ranchers such as Teofilo Trujillo, Alcarra Salazar, Miguel Espinoza, and several others whose land later became part of one large ranch owned by the Linger family in the first half of the twentieth century (King 1947:118-22).

Teofilo and Andrellita Trujillo’s life came to include elements attributed to *ricos* (rich, wealthy) families among the settlers from New Mexico. Several accounts indicate their adobe dwelling boasted stained glass windows, and it was cited as one of the finest in the area (see, for example, Wentworth 1948). Recent archeological investigations indicate the size of their adobe house was impressive by the standards of the day and the family

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<sup>38</sup> Trujillo had a surprisingly large number of horses for the size of his operation, and local newspapers reported his offering horses for sale (*San Luis Valley Courier* 10 July 1889:1). The largest cattle corporation in the state in the 1880s, the Prairie Cattle Company, used 300 horses to manage its 54,000 cattle (Baker and Hafen 1927:666).

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utilized products implying discretionary income (Martorano 2007). During the 1870s and 1880s the household included servants and slaves, possible only for well-to-do families. The Trujillos acquired vast acreage and hired other people to assist in ranch operations.

**Daily Life of Women on the Ranch**

The daily lives of Hispano women such as Andrellita and Sofia Trujillo in this isolated section of the San Luis Valley were consumed with long, hard work, much of it organized around time-consuming tasks involved in keeping their households functioning smoothly, completing agricultural chores, and taking care of their families. Andrellita benefitted from the presence of a servant and a slave, whose presence was recorded in the 1870 census, and a cook, who was listed in the 1880 census. Women grew and processed food, prepared daily meals, took care of children's needs, treated injuries and illnesses, did laundry, and cleaned and maintained the home. Another important task consisted of spinning and weaving the wool used for family clothing and household items.

Women or their servants were responsible for tending family vegetable gardens, raising chickens and gathering eggs, and milking cows or goats, from which items such as cheese were produced. They preserved vegetables, fruits, grains, and meat by drying them for use in the winter. Cooking family meals involved a great deal of prior preparation. Dried corn was ground into a useable form with handmills known as *manos* and *metates* before local gristmills were erected. Each dish required a different type of preparation of the corn. Tortillas were made from corn boiled with lime and then washed thoroughly and dried in the sun before being ground (Lopez-Tushar, 1997: 71). As historian Maria Mondragon-Valdez described, "White corn, or *chicos*, smoked in *hornos* [outdoor ovens], husked, sundried for a week, and kernels removed from the cob and cooked provided the basic dietary staples for families." Women also gathered such seasonal items as piñon nuts, greens, and berries to supplement the family diet (Mondragon-Valdez 2000:E14).

Women not only had responsibility for keeping the house clean, but also maintained the walls themselves. Each year they covered the house exterior with a thick plaster of mud and lime and the interior walls with a white plaster paste using white dirt or flour (Lopez-Tushar 1997; Payne 1996: 61 and 80). A white cloth was applied to the ceiling that helped to catch dirt sifting in from the roof. The hardened dirt floors were covered with *jergas*, a coarse woven wool cloth used also for door and window covers and in men's pants (Sanchez 2010:14). Women's and children's clothing, bedding, saddle blankets, and other items were also produced with the family wool.

In villages, women in the community often assisted each other with components of their work. Women traditionally helped each other harvest beans and plaster the outside of their homes (Lopez-Tushar, 1997: 93). They often wove and spun wool together, in the manner of a quilting bee. If one woman was sick or couldn't prepare meals or do household chores, one of her neighbors would come help out. In the early days, the lack of a collaborative settlement in the area where the Trujillos settled may have increased the importance of servants in the family. As other settlers, including some relatives, moved into the vicinity, they may have assisted Andrellita with cooperative work. Undoubtedly, the marriage of Pedro Trujillo to Sofia Martinez brought both companionship and someone to share work for Andrellita.

Teofilo and Andrellita experienced the deaths of their daughters while living at the ranch. Before coffins became available, after being washed and dressed the child's body traditionally was placed on a cloth-draped board in the home in preparation for the wake. Family members and neighbors arrived to pray for the deceased in the candlelit room until dawn. Without a church and cemetery within a reasonable distance, the body was buried in a grave on the open land the following day. If the ground was frozen, the body was covered with rocks

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(Sanchez 2010:60). Many years after the Trujillos departed from ranch, a family member returned in an unsuccessful effort to locate the graves of the daughters (Linger, personal communication 2011).

**Family Division Over Sheep and the Impact of the Range War**

Pedro Trujillo developed a somewhat different approach to ranching than his father. He grew up on Teofilo's homestead, tending animals and developing into an excellent horseman (see Figure 9). He could read, write, and speak English (USDI, BC 1900). As the first-generation of the family born in America, Pedro's life reflected the cultural tension created by the contact of established Hispano lifestyles and agricultural practices brought by Hispanos moving north from New Mexico with that of Anglos moving westward into the area. Unlike his father's one-story adobe dwelling, Pedro's two-story log house was more in keeping with Anglo-American domestic construction in the vicinity. Although Teofilo began raising sheep, Pedro remained a staunch cattleman.

In 1933-34, Civil Works Administration worker Charles Gibson, Jr., interviewed Pedro and provided this account of their differing viewpoints:

As Teofilo prospered, he added a band of sheep to his holdings of cattle and horses, and trouble developed between him and his son Pete. The boy was extremely fond of horses and was a wonderful horseman. His friends claim he could ride anything on four legs, and he says now that his years of Bronco busting is probably the cause of his present crippled condition. Pete refused to become a sheep-herder and argued with his father that the sheep would cause him trouble, as that had always been a cattle country [Gibson 1933-34a:95].

During the 1880s, ranch owners hired cowboys and shepherders to follow their livestock on the public domain. Taking advantage of the open range with its free water and native grass, the sheepmen increasingly came into conflict with cattlemen who were utilizing the same resources. The commonly held belief among cattle raisers that sheep grazing was injurious to grasses preferred by cows exacerbated the competition. Livestock organizations in the state originally included both cattle and sheep ranchers, and early stockmen often successfully raised both types of animals. However, antagonism between ranchers raising cattle and those favoring sheep eventually led to formation of separate associations, and animosity between the two groups resulted in an ongoing war for control of the public range.

Sheepraising in the San Luis Valley continued to expand during the 1890s, creating further tension with cattlemen. Some believed that the only solutions were to permanently divide the public domain or for the two groups to fight until one withdrew (*Monte Vista Journal* 29 March 1902:3). Teofilo Trujillo, as owner of one of the larger flocks in the Valley, became the focus of violent intimidation when an unidentified person burned a barn on his property (*Fort Collins Weekly Courier* 20 February 1902:3).<sup>39</sup>

The situation deteriorated further in January 1902, when local cattleman George Dorris warned Teofilo Trujillo's shepherders to remove the flock they were tending on the public domain, threatening that "failure to do so would result seriously" (*Alamosa Courier* 8 February 1902:1). As reported by Pedro, his father paid no attention to the threats (Gibson 1933-34a:95). Subsequently when the family was away for the day, four men "proceeded to enforce their injunction by the shooting process," killing a number of sheep and driving away many others in plain sight of the herders (*Alamosa Courier* 8 February 1902:1). Teofilo's workers watching the flock did not "understand this hint" that they should move the animals under their protection. Three days later, armed men returned to ride over, kill, or disperse the sheep and fire their guns into the house where three herders were sleeping, "narrowly missing the occupants" (*Saguache Crescent* 30 January 1902:1; *Monte Vista Journal* 1 February 1902:1; *Alamosa Courier* 8 February 1902:1). Describing the incident, the *Mosca Herald*

<sup>39</sup> The newspaper reported the incident in February but it occurred earlier.

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leaned toward the cattlemen's point of view: "Sheep are, of course, entitled to the same privilege as cattle on the public range, but their presence is so detrimental to other stock that cattlemen have generally refused to tolerate them." The paper concluded: "The war that has raged at different times between the cattle and sheepmen of the state has broken out in this vicinity" (*Saguache Crescent* 30 January 1902:1). However, the *Alamosa Courier* described Trujillo as "an inoffensive old man who has lived in this vicinity for the past forty years as a law-abiding citizen" and noted that warrants had been sworn for arrest of those involved (*Alamosa Courier* 8 February 1902:1).

The Trujillo family lived in fear as a result of these episodes. One night while she was in the isolated house with one of her children, Sofia Trujillo heard unknown men riding through the area. She and the child hid outside in the sagebrush all night rather than risk staying indoors (Andrea Trujillo Lujan and Maria Causby, personal communication 2003). The final blow came when Teofilo Trujillo's property was destroyed in another attempt to drive him out of the area. At the time, Teofilo and his wife were in their 60s and lived on the ranch with their young grandson (USDI, BC 1900; Gibson 1933-34a:95).

On 31 January 1902, local cowboys identified as the Dorris brothers and Burt Davis were tried at Mosca for the earlier killing of Trujillo's sheep and attempted murder of his employees. The *Monte Vista Journal* reported that "the evidence failed to identify either of the accused as parties to the sheep killing and they were consequently discharged" (*Monte Vista Journal* 1 February 1902a:1). While the Trujillo family attended the day-long trial, intruders started a fire in the cabin of one of Trujillo's workers that spread to the larger buildings of the ranch. They then went to Teofilo's sheep camp and killed or crippled half of the herd (Gibson 1933-34a:95). The family's house and its entire contents burned to the ground (*Monte Vista Journal* 8 February 1902b:1). The *Mosca Herald* reported "Trujillo had one of the best ranch houses in the valley and the loss was considerable" (*Center Dispatch* 7 February 1902:1). In addition, \$8,000 in cash on hand burned in the blaze. Teofilo did not have faith in banks because he had seen a large amount of his money disappear when the Hooper financial establishment failed a few years previously (*Center Dispatch* 7 February 1902:1).

One of Trujillo's descendants later provided this perspective on the conflict:

In the Valley the range war was not only between owners of sheep and cattle but between persons of different cultural backgrounds. It is generally believed in the Valley that it was because of his refusal to sell his land to a cattle interest that Teofilo's ranch house was burned to the ground in 1902 (Sargents Centennial Bicentennial Committee ca. 1977).

### **Departure of the Trujillos and Later Uses of the Homesteads**

In early March 1902, Teofilo, Andrellita, and Pedro Trujillo sold their lands totaling 1,496 acres, water rights, and livestock, to cattlemen Loren B. Sylvester and Richard W. Hosford, successors of the Dickey brothers at the Medano Ranch, for \$30,000 (Alamosa County 6 March 1902).<sup>40</sup> The *Monte Vista Journal* commented: "There will be no more sheep killing in that neighborhood as Mr. Sylvester is a straight cattle man" (*Monte Vista Journal* 1 March 1902:1). Teofilo Trujillo reportedly planned to return to the sheep business on a ranch in the vicinity of Fort Garland (*Alamosa Courier* 1 March 1902d:1).

The Trujillos had good reason to take the threats to their sheep and their own safety seriously, since their own previous efforts and those of others to convict the individuals who harassed Hispano sheepmen had been unsuccessful. Two men tried for "malicious mischief" as a result of killing 23 sheep, 3 burros, and 2 dogs, as well as burning the tents and bedding of Hispano shepherders during the winter of 1901-02 were acquitted, despite positive identification of the culprits (*Monte Vista Journal* 3 May 1902f: 1). Two weeks after Teofilo

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<sup>40</sup> Using the Consumer Price Index method, the value of \$30,000 in 1902 equaled about \$784,000 in 2010. Measuring worth website, <http://eh.net/hmit/compare/> (accessed 3 August 2011).

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Trujillo's house burned, Parfirio Antonte Gallegos of Capulin, a well-to-do sheep grower who grazed his animals on the open range, was ambushed and shot in the chest while on the way to check on his herdsmen (*Monte Vista Journal* 15 February 1902c:1). In April, the *Monte Vista Journal* reported: "The sheep and cattlemen are engaged in battle array over the public domain" (*Monte Vista Journal*, 5 April 1902e:1). In May, the newspaper observed: "Mexicans of the whole valley are smarting because nothing is done or attempted to be done to punish the murderer of the Mexican sheep owner who was murdered . . ." (*Monte Vista Journal* 10 May 1902g:1). Eventually, three men were arrested and charged with the crime, but the newspaper found that public sentiment favored the accused and noted the prosecuting attorney was slow to take up the case because he previously had been unsuccessful in convicting "American cattlemen for molesting Mexican sheepmen" (*Monte Vista Journal*, 7 June 1902h:1).

With little hope of gaining recourse against the crimes committed and with their family in danger, the Trujillos were forced to move from the lands the family had held for nearly four decades. Teofilo and Andrellita Trujillo acquired a new home in San Luis, where they could safely raise sheep. Teofilo died there in 1915 at the age of 77. Pedro Trujillo sold his ranch in the same transaction as his parents and moved to the Sargents area, where he purchased 400 acres of land with water rights and later served as a deputy sheriff. Trujillo descendants, including his daughter Andrea Trujillo Lujan (1904-2006) and granddaughter Maria Causby, believe that the younger Trujillo moved at the same time as his father because he was also threatened, noting that "even if Pedro raised cattle and not sheep, he was still Teofilo's son and faced the same dangers" (Andrea Trujillo Lujan and Maria Causby, personal communication 2003). Some of his descendants report Pedro never got over his anger about the events of 1902 (Deborah Quintana, personal communication 2011). When Pedro Trujillo died in 1934, the *Monte Vista Journal* judged "he played an important part in the early development" of the San Luis Valley (*Monte Vista Journal* 29 June 1934).

After the Trujillos were forced off their property, Eulogio Martinez occupied Pedro and Sofia's homestead house while working for owners of the Medano Ranch into the mid-1930s. J. Robert "Bob" Linger, son of one of the owners, recalled visiting the place and talking to Martinez quite often during this period. However, he never saw Eulogio's wife and was told she had been so traumatized by the violence and intimidation toward Teofilo Trujillo around the turn of the century that she would go upstairs in the house and hide whenever she saw dust indicating that someone was on their way (Linger, personal communication 2008).

In 1945 Charles Wayland Towne and Edward Norris Wentworth became the first writers of national scope to discuss the story of Teofilo Trujillo, basing their information on a W.P.A. manuscript<sup>41</sup> and interviews by C.E. Gibson, Jr. In another volume on the sheep industry, Wentworth described the Trujillo's "remarkably fine home for the period—one with many stained glass windows." He also detailed the destruction of the house and killing of the Trujillo sheep by cattlemen (Wentworth 1948:332-33). More than a dozen subsequent books mentioned the violence toward the Trujillos both as an example of cattle-sheep antagonism and of Hispano-Anglo conflict.<sup>42</sup>

In later years the log dwelling housed ranch hands, but it was considered less desirable due to its isolation and was eventually abandoned (Linger, personal communication 2002). The Teofilo and Andrellita Trujillo site was never reoccupied. The Nature Conservancy acquired the two Trujillo homesteads as part of the Medano-Zapata Ranch in 1999. The Pedro and Sofia Trujillo homestead was listed in the National Register of Historic Places in 2004 (NRIS 03001544) (Simmons and Simmons 2003). Descendants of the Trujillos still live in the Valley and are part of its agricultural community.

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<sup>41</sup> This manuscript was inaccessible during the preparation of this application due to the lengthy closure of the Colorado Historical Society Library.

<sup>42</sup> A number of these accounts contain historical inaccuracies.

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**COMPARATIVE PROPERTIES**

The Trujillo Homesteads reflect the first wave of northward Hispano settlement in the newly created American frontier following the Mexican War. Southern Colorado was the only place where this type of Hispano settlement occurred in the Southwest in the immediate postwar period. A brief discussion of the situation in other Southwest states at that time follows.

New Mexico became a focus of Spanish exploration, colonization, and missionization efforts in the Southwest beginning with Juan de Oñate's *entrada* of 1598. The sixteenth and seventeenth centuries saw Spanish and Mexican soldiers, friars, and settlers travel north from Mexico to establish missions and settlements near existing Native American villages. New Mexico became a province of Mexico following its independence in 1821. The northern Rio Grande valley of New Mexico served as a proving ground for development of the pattern of Hispano settlement (including colonization, ranching, water practices, land division, and construction techniques) that eventually expanded into the San Luis Valley of Colorado. Northern New Mexico was settled during the period of Mexican possession in the 1850s.

The Spanish made Texas a province in 1691 and controlled it until the nineteenth century. Following Mexican independence in 1821, Americans were invited to settle in the area, and Moses Austin, son of Stephen, received a land grant that attracted about 5,000 Anglo settlers. A large group of American farmers moved to Texas, mostly from the Southern states in a westward movement, and Mexico prohibited further immigration from the United States in 1830. In 1836 Texas declared its independence from Mexico and sought unification with the United States, which was accomplished by annexation in 1845, a year before the outbreak of the Mexican War. Settlement in Southern California occurred much earlier than in southern Colorado as a result of direct Mexican migration rather than Hispano migration. Catholic missions and Spanish presidios were established beginning in the late 1600s. Settlement of the northern part of the state resulted principally from westward Anglo migration, stimulated by the 1849 discovery of gold. California achieved statehood in 1850, just two years after becoming part of the United States.

The Spanish explored Arizona, the home of many Native American tribes, in the sixteenth century. The Jesuits established a number of missions in the 1692-1700 era. Arizona was not yet ripe for settlement during the period in question. Fierce resistance by the Apaches from 1862 through 1886 delayed widespread settlement, and Arizona did not become a state until 1912.

**Selected Properties**

Comparable properties reflecting Hispano-American movement into the northern frontier after 1848 were identified in consultation with National Park Service regional staff and Colorado State Historic Preservation Office (SHPO) staff, based on suggestions from historians, archeologists, and historic archeologists and through examination of the results of ongoing research in the San Luis Valley, a map of Hispano migration paths in Nostrand (1992:83) (see Figure 6), and a search of the SHPO's CHIPPO historic sites database. There are no comparable archeological early Hispano homestead properties. The only existing documented early Hispano homestead sites with dates that may overlap the Trujillo occupation have not been investigated or evaluated for archeological significance or do not contain integrity of archeological remains.

The southern fringe of Colorado saw some of the earliest and most concentrated Hispano migration north of New Mexico. The Rio Culebra watershed in Costilla County contains the county seat of San Luis (1851), several small villages dating to the early 1850s, and numerous farms and ranches displaying traditional Hispano settlement patterns, including long-lots (*extensiones* or *varas*), a common pasture (*vega*), water delivery to fields by the San Luis People's Ditch and other *acequias*, and adobe construction. The Culebra River Villages of Costilla County Multiple Property Documentation Form described the history and architecture of the region,

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reporting 96 percent of residents were Spanish-surnamed at the time of the 1860 census (Mondragón-Valdéz 2000:16). No farms or ranches in the Culebra area have been listed in the National Register, but four Colorado Centennial Farms are present: Corpus Gallegos Homestead; Rio Culebra Ranch; A. Prax Ortega Farm; and Los Atencios Farm.<sup>43</sup>

Outside of the San Luis area, few farms or ranches associated with Hispanos (identified by apparent Spanish surnames) are catalogued in the SHPO's historic sites database for the five counties comprising the San Luis Valley (Alamosa, Conejos, Costilla, Rio Grande, and Saguache) or for the southern counties of Huerfano and Las Animas to the east. In addition to the two Trujillo sites, the SHPO database includes only one other Hispano farm or ranch previously surveyed in the entire San Luis Valley: the Jose Prudencio Garcia Homestead west of Saguache. Two Colorado Centennial Farms in Conejos County were also recorded: Maestas-Valdez Farm, near Capulin, and Gonzales Farm, near La Jara. Dr. Heather Bailey of the SHPO suggested the Montoya Ranch (Fort Talpa) in Farisita, Huerfano County as a comparable property. In Las Animas County, a number of ranches have been surveyed within the U.S. Army's Piñon Canyon Maneuver Area, but they do not reflect early Hispano-American settlement.<sup>44</sup> A discussion of the selected comparable properties follows.

**GALLEGOS RANCH**

Located in Costilla County, one mile west of San Luis in the San Luis Bottoms, the Corpus A. Gallegos Ranch is a Colorado Centennial Farm encompassing two adobe houses, three adobe outbuildings (blacksmith shop, shed, and granary), and a board-and-batten-clad barn. José Dario Gallegos came to the area in 1851 from northern New Mexico with a group of colonists who established the settlement of San Luis on the Rio Culebra. He established the first mercantile store in Colorado and received land outside of town for agricultural pursuits. As he prospered in business Gallegos added more agricultural acreage to his holdings, buying out other settlers. While a 1991 historic resource survey by Valdez and Associates reported the Gallegos ranch buildings date between 1910 and 1922, the family indicated the buildings are considerably older, including the main ranch house (1870s). The ranch is an example of the *extensione* pattern of land use present in the area east and west of San Luis, with one *vara* strip extending onto the mesa to the south. As part of a Mexican land grant, the land was not surveyed and divided into townships, ranges, and sections. The San Luis Peoples Ditch (1852), the oldest water right in the state, flows past the ranch headquarters and supplies water to its fields.

The Gallegos Ranch has important historical associations and possesses substantial historic physical integrity. Rick Manzanares, director of the Fort Garland Museum, and Professor Devon G. Pena of the University of Washington believe the Gallegos Ranch is the best-preserved example of an *extensione* farm in the San Luis area with standing historic buildings, a judgment confirmed by recent field examination. It is a good example of an agricultural resource established under the type of land use patterns brought from northern New Mexico by early Hispano-American settlers, displaying relatively dense settlement in conjunction with a cooperative colony established on a land grant. The ranch represents traditional long lot fields and a cooperative ditch system. The present ranch owners continue this legacy, maintaining their ties to traditional methods of farming, heritage crops, and livestock raising. Their story is one of success bolstered by their proximity to the 1851 village and the cooperative nature of agricultural enterprises in the area utilizing such shared resources as the

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<sup>43</sup> To be designated a Centennial Farm a property must: have remained in the ownership of the same family for at least 100 years; be a working farm or ranch; and have a minimum of 160 acres *or* gross annual income of at least \$1,000. The program does not require that a farm possess historic physical integrity.

<sup>44</sup> The Doyle Ranch, for example, while employing Hispano construction techniques and materials, was not settled or occupied by Hispanos. A survey of rural resources by Colorado Preservation, Inc., in Las Animas and Otero counties, Colorado, is underway; preliminary results identified ranching resources associated with Hispanos but detailed information is not currently available. Survey director Abbey Christman stated that the majority of resources examined dated to the early twentieth century, with a few late nineteenth century resources. She did not believe that any of the surveyed sites had standing buildings dating to the 1860s or 1870s (personal communication 2011).

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irrigation ditches and pasture lands. This approach contrasts with that taken by the Trujillos, who chose to settle independently on the public domain and acquire land through the homestead process established by the federal government. Their path to building a life in the new land was more isolated than the colonists of the Rio Culebra and one that ultimately led them into rapid exposure to Anglo culture, conflict with large Anglo cattle interests, and ultimate loss of their land.

**GARCIA HOMESTEAD**

The Garcia Homestead lies one mile southwest of Saguache in Saguache County. Jose Prudencio Garcia settled on the land in January 1865 and received a 160-acre homestead patent in 1874. Garcia lived at the site for only a short time, and it is not clear if he or William Godfrey (the second owner, who resided there by 1867) erected the 1867 adobe main house. That house appears similar in design and construction to the Gallegos house and the main building at the Montoya Ranch (Fort Talpa) (see below). Subsequent owners were all Anglo-Americans. The ranch headquarters contains 16 buildings, most of which maintain historic physical integrity and date to the first part of the twentieth century. The ranch is notable for having served as a temporary Indian agency in the late 1860s (Simmons and Simmons 2000).

Surveyed in 2000, the ranch was evaluated as not eligible to the National Register. The most heavily modified building was the main ranch house, which was characterized as no longer conveying its historic character. The house is the only building present at the ranch that may have a connection to early Hispano settlement in the San Luis Valley, with the rest being erected under Anglo ownership in later periods.

**GONZALES FARM**

The Gonzales farm is located 1.9 miles east-southeast of Capulin in Conejos County. Jose Victor Gonzales settled on the land in about 1870 and received a homestead patent in 1881. The 1991 Colorado Centennial Farm application stated standing resources included an adobe house, a barn, and a log grain storage structure, with all reportedly at least fifty years old. The family described the site as abandoned. The application did not contain photographs of the property and did not provide additional historical background on Gonzales or the operation of the farm. The farm lies in an irrigated area with a pattern of fields conforming to the underlying public land grid.

Gonzales's settlement falls within the early Hispano period, although somewhat later than that of the Trujillos. One of the current owners reported that the adobe house had collapsed during the winter of 2010-11. The barn, composed of milled lumber, and the log granary are still extant; the owner could not provide estimates of construction dates (Maria M. Gonzales, personal communication 2011).

**MAESTAS-VALDEZ FARM**

The Maestas-Valdez Farm is located about 5.5 miles west of La Jara in Conejos County. Petronilo Maestas acquired the land for this farm from his employer in 1890; it was not his homestead. According to his descendants, he cleared the acreage of sagebrush and began raising wheat and beans and later added sheep. All of the extant buildings date to the twentieth century, ranging in construction from 1920 to 1993. The four oldest resources are a horse barn (1920), meat storage building (1939), garage (1941), and house (1942). The farm lies in an irrigated area with a pattern of fields conforming to the underlying public land grid (Valdez 1985).

Established much later than the Trujillo properties, this farm does not illustrate the earlier Hispano push into southern Colorado. The owner purchased the property rather than establishing a homestead. The area was not isolated or undeveloped. The extant resources all date to the twentieth century.

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**MONTOYA RANCH (FORT TALPA)**

Dr. Heather Bailey, Colorado National and State Register Historian, suggested considering the Montoya Ranch (Fort Talpa) in Farisita in northwest Huerfano County as a possible comparable property. A forthcoming National Register nomination argues that early Hispano settlers erected the principal building (Fort Talpa), a large adobe with a basement, for defensive purposes against Native Americans attacks in about 1869. Victor Montoya obtained a patent for the land on which the resource is located in 1887 and raised sheep on the property until 1910. Other buildings and structures are present with wide ranges of estimated dates, including four resources dating to 1869-80 (the Montoya Ditch, a sheep facility, an underground well, and an underground room) and three constructed between 1920 and 1943 (a shed, privy, and underground cistern).

At this point too little is known about the origin, date, function, and builder/owner of the resources to make an assessment of its significance in relation to the early Hispano-American settlement of southern Colorado. While it appears to be an interesting resource, it is difficult to understand why a building of this scale (74' x 46')—most likely the largest building in the township and located immediately adjacent to a well-traveled road—is not depicted on the 1870 U.S. General Land Office survey plat or mentioned in the surveyor's notes, suggesting a later construction date than 1869. The property contains standing resources with mixed construction dates. Changes to the Fort Talpa building have included addition of a long shed porch and a storefront projection, occurring during the 1910-43 tenure of Lebanese (non-Hispano) owners.

**Summary**

The Trujillo Homesteads NHL possesses superior historical significance and integrity in comparison to the properties discussed above. Teofilo and Andrellita Trujillo's ca. 1865 settlement is one of the earliest of the group, and the Trujillos' occupation and operation of the ranch extended for thirty-seven years. All of the standing buildings at the Trujillo Homesteads date to the period of significance for the property, while some of the comparables contain buildings erected well into the twentieth century. The Trujillo Homesteads are distinguishable from the Gallegos Ranch near San Luis. The Gallegos property is regarded as the most intact example of an *extensione* (long-lot) ranch, possessing a significant history and maintaining historic physical integrity. The Trujillo Homesteads manifest a more isolated and independent settlement approach that pursued acquisition of public domain lands; the Gallegos Ranch in the Rio Culebra watershed involved denser settlement on a Mexican land grant and included cooperative irrigation of the land. The Trujillos' path to life in the new land ultimately led them into greater contact with indigenous inhabitants, rapid acculturation, and conflict with large Anglo cattle interests who thwarted the Trujillos' efforts to preserve their cattle and sheepraising operations in the early twentieth century. Others of the comparables reflect later development periods and were not associated with the early wave of Hispano settlement northward into the United States following the Mexican War, contact with Indian peoples, or adjustment to a greater Anglo presence. The violent conflict at the Teofilo and Andrellita Trujillo property in 1902, associated with broader tensions between cattle and sheep raisers and Anglo and Hispano citizens, is a compelling story none of the properties above and few in the country can equal.

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[REDACTED]

[REDACTED]

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- Previously Listed in the National Register. (Pedro and Sofia Trujillo Homestead)
- Previously Determined Eligible by the National Register.
- Designated a National Historic Landmark.

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- Recorded by Historic American Buildings Survey
- Recorded by Historic American Engineering Record

Primary Location of Additional Data:

- State Historic Preservation Office
- Other State Agency
- Federal Agency (National Park Service)
- Local Government
- University
- Other (Specify Repository):

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**10. GEOGRAPHICAL DATA**

Acreage of Property: 35.6 acres

UTM References:

Pedro Trujillo Homestead (32.7 acres)

Zone	Easting	Northing
[REDACTED]	[REDACTED]	[REDACTED]

[REDACTED]	[REDACTED]	[REDACTED]
------------	------------	------------

Teofilo Trujillo Homestead (2.9 acres)

Zone	Easting	Northing
[REDACTED]	[REDACTED]	[REDACTED]

[REDACTED]	[REDACTED]	[REDACTED]
------------	------------	------------

The nominated area consists of two discontinuous pieces: the set of coordinates for the Pedro Trujillo Homestead define the polygon comprising its boundary, while coordinate E is the center point of the Teofilo Trujillo Homestead site (see USGS Location Map). [REDACTED].

**Verbal Boundary Description**

There are no legal subdivisions within this large property and there are no physical features that lend themselves to defining a boundary for the two clusters of resources. Given this, the boundary for each cluster was drawn as shown on the included to-scale sketch maps, embracing all of the standing resources and known concentrations of artifacts at the Pedro Trujillo site (defined by polygon ABCD) and the known concentration of artifacts at the Teofilo Trujillo site (point E).

**Boundary Justification**

The nominated area includes all known resources historically associated with the headquarters operations of the two homesteads, including standing buildings and structures and archeological features present at the Pedro and Sofia Trujillo site and the identified concentration of archeological features at the Teofilo and Andrellita Trujillo site.

NOTE: The lands historically associated with the Trujillo Homesteads covered nearly 1,500 acres, only a fraction of which have been surveyed. The boundary above reflects current knowledge based on existing cultural resource surveys. While there are no other standing buildings on the remaining lands, further survey may identify additional historical or archeological resources associated with the Trujillos and their occupancy and operation of the homesteads.

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