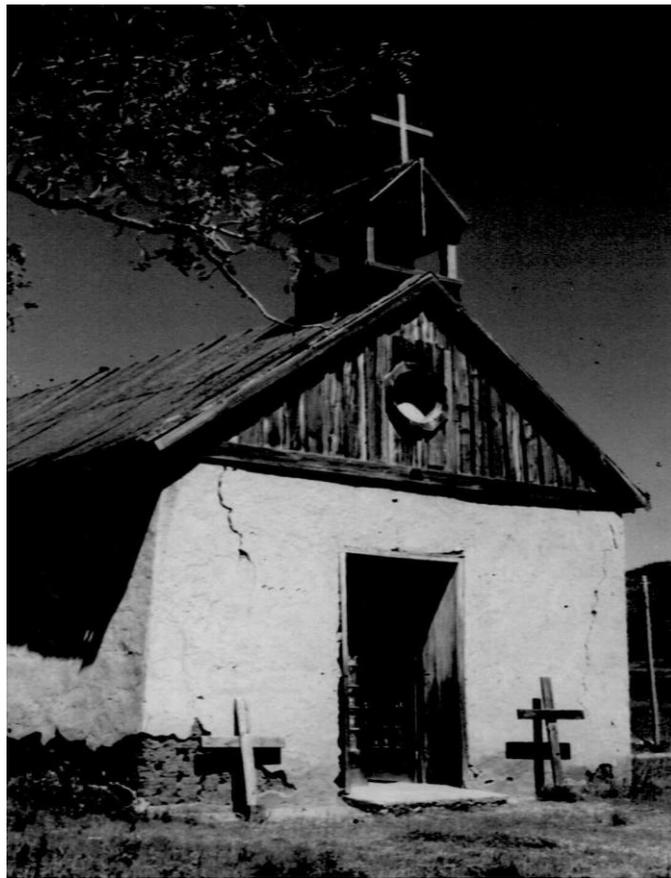
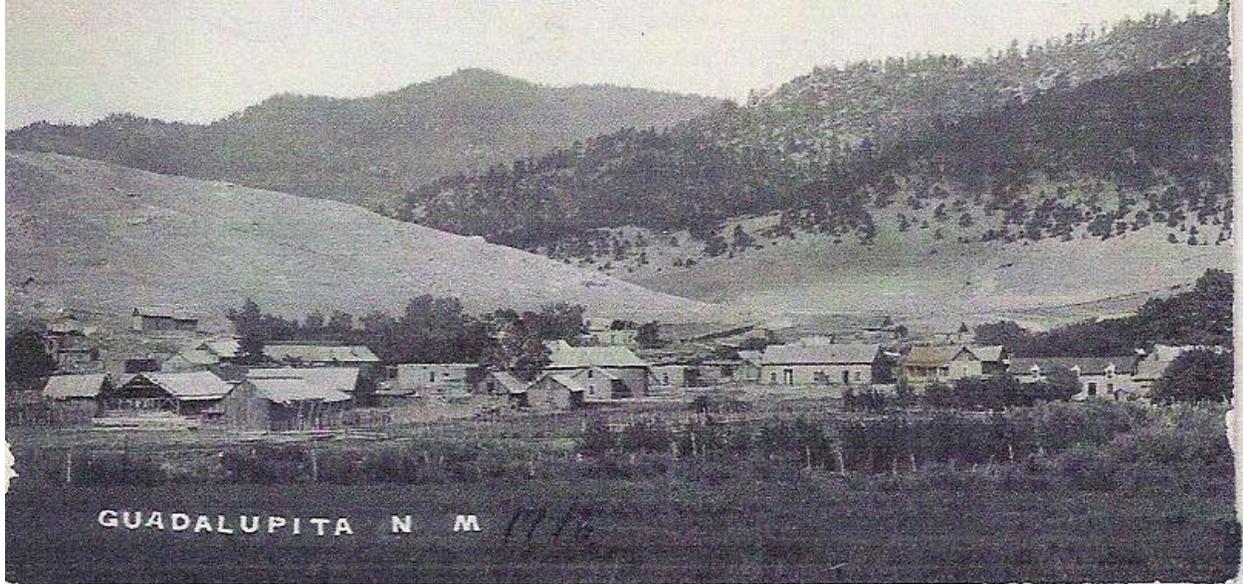


**FINAL Application for Registration of the
Guadalupita/Coyote Historic District
to the NM State Register of Cultural Properties**



Listed October 14, 2011

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Property Number: 1968

LA Numbers(s):

HCPI Number(s):

**FINAL APPLICATION FOR REGISTRATION
NEW MEXICO STATE REGISTER OF CULTURAL PROPERTIES**

Historic Preservation Division
Bataan Building
407 Galisteo Street, Suite 236
Santa Fe, New Mexico 87501
(505) 827-6320

1. **Name of Property:** Guadalupita/Coyote Historic District
Other Name(s) for Property: Settlement area of the Guadalupita Land Grant

2. **Location of Property:**
County: Mora Congressional District: Third
Municipality: none Vicinity of: Mora

Address or Rural Location: The Villages of Guadalupita, Coyote Arriba and Lucero along the Rio Coyote and Coyote Loop Road.

Not for Publication: X Zip: 87722

3. **Ownership of Property:** (Check one or more as appropriate)
Private: State: Federal: Multiple:

See Section 3 continuation sheets.

Name:
Address: Zip:
Name:
Address: Zip:

Occupant, Tenant, Manager, or Contact:
Name: Same as above
Address: Zip:

4. **Accessibility of Property:**
Open to the Public: Not Open to the Public: Visible from a Public Thoroughfare:

5. **Location of Legal Description for Property:**
Courthouse, Deed Registry, etc.: Mora County Courthouse
Street and Number P. O. Box 360
City, Town, Zip Code: Mora, NM 87732

6. **Category of Property:**
District: Buildings: Structure: Site:
Object: Collection: Other (Specify):
Historic District:

7. **Present Use of Property:** (Check one or more as appropriate)
Agricultural: Governmental: Museum: Scientific:
Commercial: Grazing: Park: Transportation:
Educational: Industrial: Residential: Work in Progress:
Entertainment: Military: Religious: Other (Specify): FORM A

8. Present Condition of Property: (Check one or more as appropriate)

Excellent: Deteriorated: Altered: Moved:
 Good: Ruins: Unaltered: Date Moved:
 Fair: Unexposed: Vandalized:

9. Present and Original Physical Appearance of Property: Provide a detailed description of the archaeological and/or architectural features present, include construction dates, dates of significant alterations, extent of any vandalism, etc. **See Section 9 continuation sheets.**

10. Summary of Property Data:

Period of Significance: 1835-1960
 Significant Dates: 1837, 1851, 1880s, 1890s
 Culture/Period/Phase: Mexican, U.S. Territorial and Early Statehood
 Architect/Builder: individual property owners and community members.

11. Thematic Classification (Check one or more as appropriate)

Archaeology-Prehistoric: <input type="checkbox"/>	Economics: <input type="checkbox"/>	Philosophy: <input type="checkbox"/>
Archaeology-Historic: <input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	Education: <input type="checkbox"/>	Politics/Government: <input type="checkbox"/>
Agriculture: <input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	Engineering: <input type="checkbox"/>	Religion: <input checked="" type="checkbox"/>
Architecture: <input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	Exploration: <input type="checkbox"/>	Science: <input type="checkbox"/>
Art: <input type="checkbox"/>	Industry: <input type="checkbox"/>	Sculpture: <input type="checkbox"/>
Commerce: <input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	Invention: <input type="checkbox"/>	Settlement: <input checked="" type="checkbox"/>
Communications: <input type="checkbox"/>	Landscape-Architecture: <input type="checkbox"/>	Social/Law: <input type="checkbox"/>
Community-Planning: <input type="checkbox"/>	Literature: <input type="checkbox"/>	Humanitarianism: <input type="checkbox"/>
Conservation: <input type="checkbox"/>	Military: <input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	Theater: <input type="checkbox"/>
	Music: <input type="checkbox"/>	Transportation: <input type="checkbox"/>
		Other (Specify): Cultural Landscape

12. Significance of Property: Trace significant archaeological or historical trends, developments, events, or historically significant persons associated with property, reference documentary sources, etc. **See Section 12 continuation sheets.**

13. Bibliographical References: **See continuation Section 13 sheets.**

14. Geographical Information:

Map Reference: (USGS 7.5' Quad) name of topo maps: Guadalupita, Lucero

Legal Description: (Describe to the nearest 1/4 1/4 1/4 Section (10 acres))

Township:	Range:	Section:	Subdivision:
Township:	Range:	Section:	Subdivision:
Township:	Range:	Section:	Subdivision:
Township:	Range:	Section:	Subdivision:

Lot: Block: Plat:

Acreage of Property: 8,140 acres

See Section 14 continuation sheet.

15. Geographical Data:

Verbal Boundary Description: On the east, the Ocate Mesa, on the south, the village of Lucero, on the west, crossing El Cerro Colorado from AP 1 to AP 17, then along a ridge to AP 16, then west across Guadalupita Canyon to AP15, then along the base of the mountains to AP 14, AP 13, AP 12, AP 10, and AP 9, to the point of beginning.

Verbal Boundary Justification: (Explain why the boundaries were selected)
The boundaries describe the area of settlement of the agricultural lands within the Guadalupita Land Grant in the 1850s. The settlers listed in the 1860 Guadalupita census lived on strips of land running from west to east, and perpendicular to the Rio Coyote and from the north at the village of Guadalupita, south along the river to the village of Lucero.

16. Photographs: (Provide a log of archival B&W photographs submitted with nomination). **See Section 16 continuation sheets.**

17. Future Research Questions: (If applicable, develop a list of questions that could be pursued by future researchers)

18. Application Submitted By:

Name: Malcolm Ebright
Organization: Center for Land Grant Studies
Address: P.O. Box 342, Guadalupita, NM
Zip: 87722 Phone: (575).387.2738

Date: July 23, 2010

19. National Register Eligibility:

Yes: No: but would benefit from additional research, survey, and documentation.
Criteria A: B: C: D:

Area of Significance: settlement, agriculture, commerce

This Space for Cultural Properties Review Committee Use Only

Date Application Received: Complete: Incomplete:

Committee Action:

State Register: Tabled: Date:
National Register Recommendation: Rejected:

Approved:

Committee Chairman: Date:

Comments:

FINAL APPLICATION FOR REGISTRATION **FORM A**
NEW MEXICO STATE REGISTER OF CULTURAL PROPERTIES
CONTINUATION SHEET Ownership of Property: Section: Page: 1

SECTION 3: PROPERTY OWNERSHIP NAMES AND ADDRESSES AVAILABLE UPON
REQUEST

Section 9 — Present and Original Physical Appearance of Property

1. Introduction

The Guadalupe/Coyote Historic District encompasses a historic cultural landscape for a cohesive land grant community in Mora County in the northeast part of New Mexico. Settlement of the Guadalupe grant was initiated in 1837 by the Guadalupe land grant, which was permanently settled in 1851. In the mid-19th century the District had developed into a cultural/agricultural landscape with residential, commercial, social, religious, agricultural/irrigation, and mining sites and resources. Much of New Mexico was settled by means of community land grants, and the Mora/Guadalupe area was one of the last to be settled, just a few years after the United States invasion in 1846. The communities of Guadalupe, Coyote, and Lucero (known as Coyote Abajo) grew up soon after the grant was established in the 1850s.

The Guadalupe land grant was one of five smaller land grants that overlapped portions of the Mora Land Grant, the first Guadalupe settlers received permission to settle there from the principal Mora grantees. The area encompassing the nominated Historic District was the primary area of settlement of the Guadalupe land grant and as such it is an intact representation of a mid-19th century land grant community, containing all the natural and agricultural resources necessary for the survival of its residents. This relatively compact land grant community is still utilized in this way by some residents, as it was traditionally, for farms, small *ranchos*, and the harvesting and management of natural resources. The District, which is ten miles from north to south, covers approximately 8,140 acres and has a total of 143 resources, including buildings, sites, and structures, 105 of which are contributing and 38 of which are non-contributing. See Historic Properties Inventory.

The boundaries of the Guadalupe/Coyote Historic District begin in the core community of Guadalupe, then past the Guadalupe cemetery to Coyote and the Los Cocas Acequia along the Rio Coyote, they extend along the Ocate Mesa on the east and the ridge parallel to the Coyote Road on the west to Lucero (Coyote Abajo). The Guadalupe/Coyote Historic District has been described as in the shape of a seahorse: the head is Guadalupe and the tail is Coyote and Lucero (Coyote Abajo).

The Historic District includes numerous New Mexico Vernacular style buildings, structures, and sites, over seventy percent of which are contributing, several cemeteries, abandoned copper mines, two churches and a *morada*, ruins/historic archaeological sites, and numerous *acequias* taking irrigation water from the Rio Coyote and knitting this Historic District together. Although many of the houses have been updated over the years with additions and new roofs, the Guadalupe/Coyote Historic District retains integrity of location, design, materials, setting, feeling and association.

The mountainous uplands provide timber for building and wood for home-heating and cooking, rock for building, herbs for healing, and the irrigated fields below the *acequias* are for growing wheat, corn, squash, and other garden vegetables. Adjacent to the *acequias* are the houses, barns, and other outbuildings.

The cohesiveness of the Historic District is somewhat rare in the modern world. Here we have what some would call a bioregion, geographically defined by the dramatic height of the Ocate mesa rising as much as 600 feet from the valley floor to an elevation of over 8,000 feet above mean sea level. The mesa then runs along the eastern side of the District from Guadalupe to Lucero; on the western side a ridge parallel to the Coyote-Lucero Road describes the eastern boundary. Down the middle

runs the Rio Coyote and the *acequias* that divert water from that river to the nearby fields (see photograph no. 7). The Guadalupita/Coyote Historic District has retained its character in part due to its historic remoteness, and highlighted by the fact that the road from Mora to Guadalupita was not paved until the late 1960s. It is rare in the modern world to have such a well-preserved cohesive area that has changed little on the ground in over 150 years so that roads, *acequias*, property lines, and even families are about the same as when the Golds, Regensbergs, Griegos, Montoyas, and other important families, first settled there. It is definitely worthy of preservation.

2. Natural Environment

Geology

West of the Guadalupita/Coyote Historic District are the Rincon Mountains, a prominent range in the eastern portion of the Sangre de Cristo Mountains; they extend from the latitude of Mora north to Black Lake. The geological structure of rocks east of the Rincon range suggests a demarcation of the boundary between the Sangre de Cristo uplift and the Las Vegas basin. The Las Vegas Basin lies east of the Sangre de Cristo Mountains. This basin is broad and rolling and ranges in elevation from 6,500 to 7,500 feet above mean sea level. Many of the high-level surfaces of the basin are protected from erosion by extensive basalt flows.¹

The steep slopes of the Ocate Mesa bound the district to the east. Ocate Mesa is a lava-capped surface extending south from the Cimarron Range. The lava-capped mesas and plateaus of the region, including Ocate Mesa, are known as the Ocate volcanic field. This volcanic field, which is in the transition zone between the Great Plains and the southern Rocky Mountains, extends to the southeast to the vicinity of Wagon Mound and as far south as the Turkey Mountains. The Ocate volcanic field marks the meeting of the Rocky Mountains and the Great Plains. The field ranges in age from late Miocene to Pleistocene. The gravels – pebbles, cobbles, and boulders – consist of Precambrian granite, gneiss, and pegmatite. The youngest flows are on surfaces that exhibit little erosion.

The basalt flows of the Black Lake/Guadalupita area are part of the Ocate volcanic field, which conceals the northwestern portion of the Las Vegas basin. The Pliocene rocks of this volcanic field along Coyote Creek between the aforementioned towns consist of olivine basalt flows. Locally, these flows are more than 150 feet thick. The southern ends of the flows are primarily confined to the valley floor. The flows lie on a relatively flat surface that gently rises toward Black Lake. The main sources of the flows consist of two vents directly south of Black Lake.

Basalt outcroppings at the eastern edge of the Coyote Creek valley cap a broad topographic shelf ending in the dramatic rim rock of the Ocate Mesa. Rising from this shelf is the Cerro Montoso, a basalt-capped volcanic formation situated 3.4 miles east of Guadalupita that reaches an elevation of 9,226 feet and stands more than 600 feet above the surrounding mesa. The basalts of this mesa are among the oldest known flows in the volcanic field and overlie well-rounded stream pebbles, cobbles, and boulders that are the highest gravel-covered surfaces in the region. The Cerro Montoso basalt flows are on a surface that slopes gently toward the southeast.²

¹ Baltz and O'Neill 1990: 69.

² Burt, Lucas, Mawer and McIntosh, *Tectonic Development of the Southern Sangre de Cristo Mountains, New Mexico* (Albuquerque: New Mexico Geological Society, 1990), 73-81.

Climate

The climate of the Guadalupita/Coyote Historic District is characterized by warm summers and cold winters, well suited to the nineteenth and twentieth century agricultural practices in the District. At Coyote Creek State Park, which is north of the northern portion of the Guadalupita/Coyote Historic District, the average daily high temperatures for January, April, July, and October are 49° F, 68° F, 87° F, and 70° F, respectively. The average daily lows are 15° F, 32° F, 52° F, and 33° F. The average annual temperature is 42-46° F. The average frost-free season is 90 to 110 days. The annual precipitation in the area is about 22 inches. Most of the precipitation results from the generally clockwise circulation of air over the Gulf of Mexico, around the Bermuda high-pressure area, and occurs from May through October; July and August are the wettest months. The Pacific Ocean is the main source of winter moisture. Snowfall in the mountains averages 5 to 6 feet annually. In general, however, precipitation varies greatly from month to month and from year to year.³

Water

The major source of surface water is Coyote Creek. The water flow varies greatly from season to season and from year to year. Most of the runoff results from summer thunderstorms and snowmelt. Coyote Creek, a tributary of the Mora River, heads near Black Lake and flows through the northern portion of Guadalupita Canyon until it diverges from the canyon just south of the village of Guadalupita and flows beneath the cliffs of Ocate Mesa until emptying onto the plains at Rainsville, finally joining the Mora River near Golondrinas. Although the river is used for irrigation, it is not a dependable water source, and water-flow is sometimes down to a trickle in July and August.⁴

Minerals and Soils

The Coyote Creek Mining District lies within the Guadalupita Coyote Historic District. Mineral discoveries were recorded there as early as 1847, and the district has yielded copper, silver, lead, uranium and selenium. The Guadalupita/Coyote Historic District includes a variety of soil types, ranging from loam to sandy loam to stony loam. The most common soil types are the Breece Variant sandy loam, the Hesperus sandy loam, and the Hillery stony loam. Rock outcrops, such as the Ocate Mesa of yellow sandstone, are also present.⁵

³ Virginia T. McLemore, "Coyote Creek; New Mexico State Park Series," *New Mexico Geology*, February 1999.

⁴ Sellnow, 1985: 4.

⁵ P.N. Dolliver, "Pre-Coyote Creek Landscape and High Plains Origins," in Bauer, Lucas, Mawer, and McIntosh 1990: 73.

Vegetation

The Guadalupita/Coyote Historic District is within the Transition Zone, which includes “the middle slopes of the higher mountains and the upper slopes or tops of most of the lower ranges.” Some high valleys also belong in the Transition Zone. In the northeast portion of New Mexico, the zone extends from 7,000 to 8,500 feet in elevation. This is the zone of the yellow pine, the principal timber tree of northern New Mexico. The vegetation of the District is variously classified as coniferous and mixed woodland. The trees of woodland vegetation rarely overlap and are generally smaller in stature, although the degree of woodland openness is variable. The two primary kinds of coniferous trees found in mixed woodland, pine and juniper lend it the name *piñon*-juniper woodland, although woodland vegetation may also include fir and broadleaf trees such as Gambel Oak, as co-dominants with conifers; this is indeed the case throughout much of the historic district. This woodland exists mainly on the steeper slopes, the valley bottom contains dry grasslands and riparian areas. Plants found in the dry grasslands below the slopes and above the river are prairie junegrass, pine dropseed, little bluestem, big bluestem, mountain muhly, needlegrass, sideoats grama, blue grama, Arizona fescue, mountain brome, and western wheatgrass. Trees of the District include Gambel oak, ponderosa oak, *piñon* pine, one-seed juniper, ponderosa pine, cottonwood, and spruce. Other plants include mountain mahogany, serviceberry or *lemitas*, fringed sage or *estafiate*, and *cotá*. Pastures, orchards and gardens are present in these areas. Trees found in the riparian area extending from the creek and occasional springs to the drier shelves below the hills include alder, narrow leaf and Fremont cottonwood, red and black willow, wild plum, and New Mexico locust. Plants of the riparian area include hops, horsetail, hemlock, asparagus, etc.⁶

Fauna

A variety of fauna is present within and near the Guadalupita/Coyote Historic District. Coyote Creek is stocked with rainbow, brook, and brown trout and other fish. Mammals include elk, mule deer, black bear, cottontail, jackrabbit, prairie dog and other squirrels, mice, woodrat, beaver, muskrat, porcupine, raccoon and pocket gopher. In addition to the black bear, carnivores include weasels, bobcats, coyotes, foxes and possibly wolves. A wide variety of birds – including turkey, quail, peregrine falcons, eagles, hawks, owls, ravens, crows, woodpeckers, kingfishers, great blue heron, and various songbirds – are also present. The Guadalupita/Coyote Historic District also contains frogs, toads, salamanders, lizards, garter snakes, and the prairie rattlesnake. Many of these animals were and are used as food and raw material resources (e.g., pelts, hides, feathers, bones) by the prehistoric and historic inhabitants of the District.⁷

⁶ Coyote Creek State Park Management and Development Plan, 2002-2006.

⁷ Coyote Creek State Park Management and Development Plan, 2002-2006.

3. Historic and Cultural Landscape Characteristics

As mentioned earlier, the Guadalupita/Coyote Historic District is unique in its off-the-beaten-track location, which has meant that the historic landscape, buildings, fence lines, fields, and families have changed very little over the past 100 years. The integrity and cohesiveness of the Guadalupita/Coyote Historic District in its natural and historic setting is increasingly rare in the modern world. Here we have what some would call a bio-region, geographically defined by the dramatic height Ocate mesa rising as much as 600 feet from the valley floor to an elevation of over 8,000 feet above mean sea level and running along the eastern side of the District from Guadalupita to Lucero, and on the western side a ridge parallel to the Coyote-Lucero Road, and down the middle the Rio Coyote and the *acequias* that divert water from that river to the nearby fields (see photograph no. 7 for a view of Santa Rita Acequia above Lucero showing the mesa, the river, the Santa Rita *acequia*, and the fields between).

Key elements that define and tie the cultural landscape together — the roads, natural landmarks, the river, the agricultural fields and *acequias*, and cemeteries — are discussed in the following paragraphs.

Roads

The District is tied together by the Guadalupita/Lucero road, which is a well-maintained dirt road running north/south parallel to State Highway 434 to the west. The Guadalupita/Lucero road connects with Highway 434 at three points: at Coyote Arriba, at Los Cisneros, and at another point roughly halfway between these two roads. As mentioned above, Highway 434 was not paved until the late 1960s; until that time residents of Coyote Arriba and Lucero would be more likely to use the Guadalupita/Lucero road than the road that would become Highway 434, especially if they were traveling to Las Vegas. Prior to 1929 the Guadalupita/Lucero Road was the main road north to Guadalupita as shown on the 1877 Wheeler map and the 1889 sectional map of Colfax and Mora Counties. It was about 1929 that the present alignment of Highway 434 was constructed.⁸

These roads are important to the cultural landscape of the Guadalupita/Coyote Historic District, especially to the themes of commerce, agriculture, ranching, mining, and logging, for the roads tie the District together and make these activities possible, especially the import of materials (such as seeds, agricultural equipment, and logs), and the export of marketable products (agricultural produce, railroad ties). The Coyote/Lucero road in particular retains the visual characteristics of a typical New Mexico unimproved road linking rural communities. This winding road, which traverses the length of the valley, opens onto some stunning views, as seen in photograph no. 7.

⁸ Marshall and Marshall, "Highway Improvement Report," 32-3.

Natural Landmarks

There are several landmarks within the Guadalupita/Coyote Historic District such as the Ocate Mesa and the Piedra Grande, or Guardian Rock that are important to the cultural landscape. Both are geological sandstone or basalt rock forms that have cultural significance to residents of the District. The Ocate Mesa looms large behind many of the houses, fields, and other resources in the Coyote to Lucero portion of the District. Guardian Rock marks the beginning of the settlement of Coyote Arriba and like many Native American landmarks, it is seen by many residents to contain the likeness of a coyote overlooking and protecting the settlements of Coyote Arriba and Coyote Abajo. These landmarks contribute to the cultural landscape of the Guadalupita/Coyote Historic District and—especially in the case of the Ocate Mesa—serve as property boundaries.

River

The Rio Coyote is the river that runs through the Guadalupita/Coyote Historic District. Although early documents refer to the Rio Coyote and not the Rito Coyote, the river has most recently been called Coyote Creek, as in Coyote Creek State Park. The description “Coyote Creek” probably refers to the fact there are times when there is so little water in the river that it is dry in places. This usually happens in June, before the monsoon rains in July. The Rio Coyote is the lifeblood of the agricultural community within the Guadalupita/Coyote Historic District; a network of irrigation ditches (*acequias*) carry water to the private tracts of land where the water flows into each field when landowners open their headgates. In Guadalupita the Rio Coyote flows into the Santo Tomás Ditches numbers 1, 2, and 3; in Coyote the Rio Coyote flows into the Los Cocas Ditch; and in Lucero it flows into the Santa Rita Ditch. Without the Rio Coyote there would be no Guadalupita Land Grant or settlements of Guadalupita, Coyote, or Lucero, for as the Spanish saying goes, “*la agua es la vida*” (water is life).

Agricultural Sites

The land covered by the Guadalupita/Coyote Historic District comprised a self-sufficient farming and ranching community that today is relatively intact – it looks from the air about the same as it did in the mid-to late 1800s when it was established. The land encompassed by the district included private tracts for houses and fields, usually running in strips below the *acequias*. In addition to the houses, gardens, and fields within the district, early settlers made use of these lands for seasonal grazing, wood gathering, hunting wild game, and gathering medicinal herbs such as *oshá*, *estafiate*, and *cotá*.

A. Fields/Agricultural Land

Early settlers in the Historical District started the process of digging *acequias* and laying out the tracts of farmland soon after they arrived. Most irrigated gardens are less than an acre, while irrigated pasture ranged from five to ten acres or more. These early *acequias* could have been started in the early decades of the nineteenth century when the entire Mora Valley was first settled, whereas the complete systems of irrigation from the Santo Tomás ditches in Guadalupita, the Los Cocas Ditch in Coyote Arriba, and the Santa Rita Ditch in Lucero, probably were completed in the 1850s, 1860s, and 1870s when the population of the historic district was at its peak (see photograph no. 19, Santo Tomás Ditch, photograph no. 13, Los Cocas Ditch, and

no. 7, Santa Rita Ditch). It was during these early decades of the settlement of Guadalupita, Upper Coyote, and Lucero (Lower Coyote) that the property lines and fences were established that are essentially the same today (see photograph no. 9, “fields north of the San Isidro *morada*”). As early as the 1860s, the farmland within the historic district was fully occupied, as new colonies of surplus settlers led by Casimiro Barela from Lucero and Felipe Baca from Guadalupita, left the area and emigrated to communities near Trinidad, Colorado, lured by the large melons and other produce grown there.⁹ The farms in the historic district, and the Mora Valley generally, were so prolific that the local newspaper, *El Mosquito*, noted in 1891 (with a large amount of boosterism) that: “Mora County is acknowledged to be ‘the granary of northern New Mexico.’ It has obtained its well know reputation from the fact that it is situated in fertile valleys, where the soil yearly gives forth a bountiful reward. The Mora County farmer who has water enough can, by deep plowing, good management, prudent fertilization and an intelligent system of diversification and rotation of crops, make his land yield him fifty bushels of first class wheat year after year.”¹⁰ The purpose of these newspaper articles was to encourage more immigration of settlers as well as an influx of capital, but their description of farming practices and yields was relatively accurate.¹¹

B. Acequias

Each community in the District has its own acequias: Guadalupita has Santo Tomas nos. 1, 2, and 3, Coyote Arriba has Los Cocas ditch, and Lucero, the Santa Rita ditch. The current *mayordomos* are Cip Torres for Guadalupita, Seva Joseph for Coyote Arriba, and Marcos Montoya for Lucero. Each acequia association has its own bylaws and the *parciantes* (land owners along the *acequia*), elect three commissioners and a *mayordomo* every year. Usually in the spring the *parciantes* gather on a day appointed by the *mayordomo* for the annual cleaning and maintenance of the ditches. The *acequia*’s governance has been called one of the oldest forms of democratic self-government in New Mexico. Irrigation by *parciantes* (land-owning irrigators), along each *acequia* is governed by a water-sharing regime imposed by each *acequia*; there has also been cooperation between the three *acequia* systems in times of water shortage.¹² Each *acequia* system is composed of a diversion dam diverting water from the Rio Coyote into the *acequia*, a series of headgates along the ditch leading to laterals, and the laterals themselves, providing irrigation onto private tracts of land. The land encompassed by the district includes private tracts for houses and fields, usually running in strips below and perpendicular to the acequias.

⁹ Fernandez, *Biography of Casimiro Barela*, 11-12; Morris Taylor, *Trinidad, Colorado Territory*, passim.

¹⁰ *El Mosquito*, Mora, New Mexico, December 10, 1891 and September 16, 1890, Amador Collection, Special Collections, New Mexico State University, Las Cruces. NM.

¹¹ Anselmo Arrelano, “Agricultural Productivity in Mora County: 1880s-1890s: The End of the Century, the End of an Era”, unpublished manuscript in the author’s possession.

¹² Interview with Seva Joseph, *mayordoma* of the Los Cocas Acequia, May 7, 2010.

4. Villages

The three villages of Guadalupita, Coyote, and Lucero had somewhat different growth patterns and each had a unique character. As we can see from the 1860, 1870, and 1880 censuses, it was only after 1870 that the three communities had separate censuses; before that all three were lumped together under the Guadalupita Precinct. Apparently, Lucero was the first village to coalesce in the plaza around the Santa Rita church, which is said to have been built around 1886. As early as 1866 there was at least one store in Lucero and others developed in or near the plaza. The growth of Lucero was due in part to the lucrative Fort Union trade, so when Fort Union closed in 1891, Lucero's population began to decline somewhat from its peak in the 1880s. However, by the 1930s, Lucero's population was about 400, the same as in 1880.

5. Building Traditions

When the early settlers migrated into the Guadalupita and Coyote valleys of the Rio Coyote, they brought with them a traditional building style that used the materials available to settlers on the northern New Mexican frontier. From nearby wooded mountain slopes they cut pine and fir and from the valley floors, cottonwood. Their earliest houses were called *jacales*, a term denoting a vertical post construction covered with earthen plaster. A grooved beam was laid over these posts to provide a frame on which cross beams, known as *vigas*, were placed. These roof beams were covered with saplings, known as *latillas*, which were then covered with layers of hay or grass and mud.

When time permitted, the settlers shifted from *jacal* to adobe bricks as the preferred building material. They mixed earth, water, and straw in wood molds to form adobe bricks. Sometimes building directly on the ground, sometimes building on a trench filled with stone rubble and earthen mortar, these settlers constructed their adobe walls and then topped them with a beam, repeating the flat roof construction they had used in the *jacal* structures.

With the advent of local sawmills in Guadalupita in the 1860s, milled planks or mill ends removed in the first pass of the saw over a trunk (known as *capotes*), were sometimes substituted for *latillas* as a roofing material. Toward the end of the century, the traditional flat roof gave way to pitched roofs. Given the relatively high annual precipitation in the upland valleys, roof leakage had been a chronic problem, and the steeply pitched roofs offered an imported solution that was widely adopted. Gable ends were usually constructed of vertical or sometimes horizontal planks and entry to the attic was often limited to an exterior wooden door in one of the gables. The gable space was approximately five feet and often limited to use as a drying and storing area (see photograph no. 10, Marino Gonzales House [C14]).

Beginning in the late 1870s, a series of imported building styles began to appear in northern New Mexico. Often local builders borrowed ornamental elements and adapted them to the local folk style, giving rise to the Folk Territorial style which appeared from the late 1870s through the early 1900s. In the upper Mora Valley the Folk Territorial style was embraced by both prosperous Hispanos and recently arrived Anglo-American or immigrant merchants. The dwellings incorporating this style tend to be some of the larger residences in the area, like the Pedro Montoya House (L5) and the Charles Bowmer House (L4) in Lucero (photographs no. 2 and 4).

The hipped box, or four-square style, which appeared in the area soon after the arrival of the railroad in 1880, continues many of the ornamental features found in the Folk Territorial. Built of adobe, this subtype is characterized by a hipped or pyramidal roof, generally steeply pitched (see the Benjamin Regensberg House [G 32], photograph 20). Many of the dwellings have front porches (see photos no. 11 and 12), with either gable or shed roofs. Most likely influenced by styles appearing in the towns along the Santa Fe Railroad, such as Wagon Mound and Las Vegas, local builders embraced the hipped box style but continued to use local materials such as pine, rock, and adobe as they adapted the style. The Hipped Box style houses in the area are usually of adobe and are covered with stucco or cement plaster.¹³

Most of the buildings in the Guadalupita/Coyote Historic District are built in the New Mexico Vernacular style. Two variations of the New Mexico Vernacular style are the Folk Territorial style (the Charles Bowmer House [L 4] and the Pedro Montoya House[L 5] in photos no. 2 and 4) and the Modified Four-square Cottage style (the Benjamin Regensberg House (G32), photo no. 20, in Guadalupita, for example) and the Delfino Griego House, Meeting and Dance Hall and Old Guadalupita Post Office (G24).

Over the years many of the buildings have been updated with additions and new roofs but the buildings retain an integrity of location, design, materials, setting, feeling and association and are contributing resources in the District. Non-contributing resources include recently constructed, owner-built homes and ranch houses, and historic dwellings that received incompatible alterations and additions that impact their integrity.

Table 1 provides a list of contributing and non-contributing properties. Each has been assigned an identification (ID) number and the properties are organized by community or location within the District. Mobile/modular homes are considered non-contributing and not noted because they are not permanent. Photographs 1 to 37 are found at the end of this application

Buildings

A. Residential Buildings

1. The Marcelino Montoya House (ca. 1885) in Lucero (L5, photograph 2)

This is one of the most elaborate of all the buildings in the District. It is a two-story adobe building in the Folk Territorial style of New Mexico Vernacular architecture. It has three wall dormer windows on both the north and south sides, each with a triangular pediment, and with 2/2 double hung windows in each dormer. The corrugated metal roof has a rarely seen clipped gable or “jerkin head” on each side. There is a shed roof of corrugated metal over the porch. Pedro Montoya was listed in the 1900 Coyote/Lucero census, along with his wife María Ramos and their six children (age 13 years to 2 months): Pedro, Tranquilino, Antonio, Adelaida,

2. Kammer, David L., “Historic and Architectural Resources of the Upland Valleys of Western Mora County: Application for listing on the National Register of Historic Places,” Historic Preservation Division, Office of Cultural Affairs, Santa Fe.

Pulcerta, and Elisa. The latter four children are all buried in the cemetery next to the Lucero church. The Pedro Montoya House was built in the 1890s.¹⁴

2. The Charles Bowmer House (ca. 1870s) in Lucero (L4, photograph 4)

This two-story adobe house, built on a rectangular plan, is another example of the Folk Territorial style of New Mexico Vernacular architecture. This one-story house has a gable corrugated metal roof and several out buildings. Charles Bowmer was a prominent physician and politician in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. He was listed in the 1900 Coyote/Lucero census, along with his wife, Elizabeth, their two daughters, Mary and Gertrude, and their grandchildren, Charles, Bessie, and Royal Lodges. The Charles Bowmer House was built in the 1890s.¹⁵

3. The Marino Gonzales House (ca. 1930s) in Upper Coyote (C 14, photograph 10)

This is a L-plan adobe building built in the New Mexico Vernacular architectural style. It has a corrugated metal gable roof with a center door at the end to the attic. The windows style is 2/2. The building is well maintained and is occupied by the great-grandson of Marino Gonzales, Albert Gonazales. Marino Gonzales, whose photograph, along with his wife, Alecia, is found at the top of photograph no. 9, was listed in the 1920 Turquillo census at age 10, the son of Braulio Gonzales and Eutemia Coca. The Marino Gonzales House was built in the early 1930s by Marino Gonzales.

4. The Blas Medina, Sr. House (ca. 1930s) in Coyote (C 11 A, photograph 11)

This is a L-plan adobe building built in the New Mexico vernacular architectural style. It has a corrugated metal gable roof with an attic with a center door at the end. The gable roof extends over the porch, which is supported by two square porch posts. The window style is 2/2. The building was owned and built by Blas Medina, Sr. in the early 1930s. Blas Medina, Sr. was a resident of Coyote Arriba in the 1930s and 1940s and a *penitente* brother in the San Isidro de las Cocas Morada.

5. The Blas Medina, Jr. House (ca. 1945) in Coyote (C 11 B, photograph no. 12)

This is an L-shaped, three-room adobe built in the New Mexico vernacular style. The west room is built out of logs that are still visible, plastered with adobe plaster. The Blas Medina, Jr. House has a gable roof of corrugated metal, with an attic with a center door at the end. The gable roof extends over a portion of the south side of the house. Blas Medina, Jr. built this house around 1945 for his sister whose husband was killed in World War II.¹⁶

¹⁴ Interview with David Rael, Lucero, April 14, 2010

¹⁵ 1900 Coyote/Lucero census, NMSCRA, Santa Fe.

¹⁶ Interview with Michael Medina, Coyote Arriba, September 6, 2009; interview with Blas Medina, Jr., Coyote, September 12, 2009.

6. The Don Shaw House (ca. 1973) in Coyote (C3, photograph no. 14)

The Don Shaw House is a two-story, owner-built residence and artists' studio. The first story was built in 1973 out of stones from a nearby ruin that was owned by Johnny Espinoza's uncle, who supported the use of building materials from his ruined building to build a new building in keeping with the mountain environment. The original building is built in the traditional manner with fir *vigas*, aspen *latillas*, and a willow thatch over the *latillas*. The first story includes several 4/4 windows and a circular 36-inch window in a wood frame foundry pattern. Ten years later in 1982-83, sculptor Shaw built the second storey of the Don Shaw house.

Also on the property is a one-room guesthouse with cement block wainscoting and wood frame construction over that built in 1986 and a one room metal sculptor's studio built in 2007. In addition to these two buildings there are six medium-sized steel sculptures, three large steel sculptures, and a small shed built in 1973 on the property.

The Don Shaw House is an example of an owner-built residence which, though it is non-contributing according to the standards and criteria established for the Guadalupita/Coyote Historic District, is in keeping with its surroundings and does not detract from the character of the district.

B. Residential/Commercial

1. The Senobio Salazar House (ca. 1920) in Guadalupita (G 20, photograph 22)

The Senobio Salazar Store in north Guadalupita, operated in later years by Onesimo Salazar, is a large adobe store and warehouse with a commercial front including paired windows flanking the entry door, and covered porch. The house, built circa 1920, has a gable roof with windows in the gable ends, 6/6 windows, and solid doors with screen doors. This building is a large one and one-half story adobe structure built in the New Mexico Vernacular style, described as one of the most historically important buildings in Guadalupita occupied by Senobio Salazar's descendant, Munira Salazar.¹⁷ There are additional rooms to the south constructed of logs with shed roofs, as well as frame and adobe additions to the west with pitched roofs. The front (east facing façade) has an elevated porch and porch cover, large windows, and storefront details. This building was a store for the village of Guadalupita, a gas station, and a private residence. The log building on the south side of the building was used as a theater where motion pictures were shown to the community (see discussion under "Village Culture"). Senobio Salazar was a prominent merchant and politician in Guadalupita who was a state senator in the early 1900s (see photograph 30).

2. The Benjamin Regensberg House (ca. 1920s) in Guadalupita (G32, photograph 20)

This two and one-half story, compact adobe building is built in the Northern New Mexico Vernacular with qualities of the four-square sub-type. It has a hipped roof that is covered in corrugated metal, two brick chimneys extend from the roof. The house was built by Benjamin Regensberg in the 1920s and was used as a store

¹⁷ Marshall and Marshall, "Highway Improvement Report," 73; Interview with Munira Salazar, March 29 and 30, 2010.

and a residence. The greenhouse addition on the south side dates from the mid-1970s. The building is currently occupied by Tita Martinez.

3. The Donaciano Sanchez House (ca. 1930s) in Guadalupita (G 26, photograph 18)

This one and one-half story adobe structure is built in the Northern New Mexico Vernacular style in the late 1930s. It has a gable roof that is covered in corrugated metal, an inset porch, a shed roofed portal along a portion of the eastern façade, and a rock retaining wall in front along the highway. The house has four doors along the front façade and a variety of window types. The property is currently a residence and has been used in the past as a grocery store. Donaciano Sanchez was also a puppeteer (*maramero*) who is said to have given performances at Griego Hall. The building is currently occupied by a son of Donaciano Sanchez.

C. Residential/Commercial/Social

1. Delfino Griego House and Meeting Hall (ca. 1920s) in Guadalupita (G 24, photograph no. 17)

Located in South Guadalupita, this is a complex of four connected buildings, built of adobe, three buildings with gable roofs and one with a shed roof. The complex is in good condition with little modification. This one and one-half story adobe structure is built in the Northern New Mexico Vernacular style. It has gable roofs that are covered in corrugated metal roofing. The layout is a rambling L-shape of consecutive additions, with one section covered by a shed roof. The eastern façade sports a stepped storefront, raised porch, and hanging portal indicative of its commercial use. The structure has served over the years as a general store, post office, and meeting hall, as well as a residence. See Section 12, B-8 for a brief biography of Delfino Griego, who lived in the residence for over fifty years with his wife, Jesusita. Delfino Griego served as Guadalupita postmaster from 1937 to 1969 when the post office was located in this building.

D. Religious

1. Churches

a. The Santa Rita Church (ca. 1886, 1920s) in Lucero (L 6, photograph no. 1) was built in 1886 according to the date on the cross in front of the church, but was probably built much earlier, perhaps prior to 1860. The church was re-modeled or re-built between 1918 and 1921. The original *bulto* of Santa Rita was brought from the old church to the present church. According to Luis Armando Montoya, the current church “was built inside the old church [and] when the new church was completed the old church was torn down around it.”¹⁸ The church is well maintained, but the community is seeking a grant from Cornerstones Community Partnerships for repairs.¹⁹ The priest from the Santa Gertrudis Parish in Mora comes to Lucero to celebrate mass every feast day for Santa Rita on May 22, as well as on other occasions.

b. Our Lady of Guadalupe Church (ca. 1970, non-contributing) in Guadalupe (G 13, photograph no. 24)

The original Our Lady of Guadalupe Church was probably built in the 1860s, or earlier in the plaza area (photos 16 and 24), at the time the area was first settled. The Lucero church, which resembles the Guadalupe church, may have been constructed a little later and followed the architectural design of the Guadalupe church. Both churches have a conical shaped four-sided belfry with metal roofing, a cross above the belfry, and a circular window below. The belfry and church in Lucero are still intact-the bell is rung at the beginning and end of the church service when the Sacristan climbs the ladder on the roof (see photograph no. 1) and strikes the bell with a hammer.

The old Guadalupe church is no longer in existence, having been torn down in the late 1960s (a discussion of the importance of Guadalupe’s patron saint, Our Lady of Guadalupe, is found at section A2, Guadalupe). The photograph no. 24, and on the cover of this report, show the old Guadalupe church in the mid-1960s, shortly before it was torn down. It is apparent from this photo that the church suffered severe structural damage that led to its demise: the roof needed to be replaced, there are long cracks in the cement plaster covering the adobe bricks, and that plaster has fallen away on the lower portion of the walls. According to several residents, it was not possible to raise the money necessary for the repairs at the time so the church was torn down in the late 1960s, the adobe bricks sold to a local Anglo resident, and the proceeds used to build the new church. Photograph no. 24 shows the new church, which was completed in 1970 at a different location (see photo 24). It is a linear design constructed of concrete block with a propanel roof and a free-standing two-story belfry in front. Mass is celebrated on the feast day of Our Lady of Guadalupe, December 12, and on several other occasions, by the priest from the Santa Gertrudis parish in Mora.²⁰

¹⁸ [Luis Armando Montoya], “The Santa Rita Church,” Lucero, New Mexico, historical plaque presented to Father John at the annual feast day of Santa Rita, May 22, 2010.

¹⁹ Interview with David Rael, March 9, 2010. The writer of this application attended the feast day of Santa Rita on May 22, 2010.

²⁰ Interview with Clorinda Griego, Guadalupe, NM, March 7, 2010; interview with Teresa Griego Vigil, Guadalupe, NM, June 29, 2010.

2. Penitente Moradas

Although there were several *penitente moradas* in the District, the only one that has been preserved is the Morada of San Isidro de las Cocas. The *penitentes*, formerly known as la Confrada de Nuestro Padre Jesús Nazareno, or the Hermanos Penitentes, is a lay religious organization primarily in New Mexico and southern Colorado related to the Roman Catholic Church.²¹ Established around the 1820s, the *penitentes* worshipped in *moradas* (meeting houses) whose architectural description is closer to the domestic architecture of New Mexico than to churches.²²

The members convened at their *morada* for Holy Week vigils and religious observances. Shrouded in secrecy and at times banned by the Roman Catholic Church in New Mexico, these religious rites continued for several days and included acts of penitence, sometimes including flagellation. The brothers (*hermanos*) would keep vigil at the *morada*; the women would bring them food such as sprouted wheat cereal (*panocha*). *Morada* architecture is by no means uniform. Each chapter constructed its meetinghouse in accordance with the site and such building materials, local resources, and technology as it commanded.²³

The Morada of San Isidro de Los Cocas (C 16, photograph no. 8) in Coyote Arriba is a stone building in the Northern New Mexico Vernacular style with a pitched tin roof, adobe plastered, the interior plaster colored blue, with a wooden altar and railing, and a deteriorating kiva fireplace. The north wall is in danger of collapse, not imminent, but inevitable unless preserved further. A plywood structure over the north gable protects the wall, but water damage is evident inside. An additional room to the north of the *morada* is unroofed. People in the community of Coyote, such as the Gonzales and Cortez families, have taken considerable steps to preserve the building. The building and adjacent cemetery are a powerful representation of a past not so distant to the relatives of the men who built the *morada*, worshipped there, and buried their families there. Several local families have members buried in the adjacent cemetery, such as Cicely Medina, daughter of Blas Medina, Sr.

3. Cemeteries

There are six public or semi-public cemeteries within the Guadalupita/Coyote Historic District: starting from the south, the first cemetery is the one attached to the Santa Rita church at Lucero, next is the cemetery attached to the Lucero *morada*, the Montoya family cemetery, the cemetery attached to the San Isidro de las Cocas Morada, the largely unmarked cemetery located at the Guadalupita plaza where the old church stood, and the main Guadalupita *camposanto* (photo no. 23) where most of the ancestors of the present-day residents of the Guadalupita/Coyote Historic District are buried. These cemeteries with their monuments certainly contribute to the cultural landscape of the District. The gravesites in these cemeteries are well kept and are visited regularly by the descendants of those buried there, especially on Memorial Day.

⁹ Weigle, *The Penitentes*, 3.

²² Ahlborn, *Penitente Moradas*, 130; Ebright and Hendricks, *The Witches of Abiquiu*, 258-59.

²³ Bainbridge, Bunting, *Taos Adobes; Spanish Colonial and Territorial Architecture of the Taos Valley*, 54.

E. Mid and Late Twentieth Century Structures

The “owner-built” contemporary houses and agricultural type structures (such as pole barns, pre-fabricated shelters, and utilitarian buildings), within the District, attributed to mid- and late-twentieth century, are similar to Virginia and Lee McAlester’s definition of contemporary folk houses which “reflect the continuing need for basic, economical shelter without concern for fashionable stylistic design or detailing.” These owner-built houses sometimes use adobe and stone building materials so that they blend in with the other houses. The “ranch” type residences with low-pitched roof and broad, rambling facades have been popular and prolific since the mid-1950s. Though these property types are non-contributing because they are outside of the period of significance, their scale and massing within the cultural landscape does not detract from the overall character of the historic district.

6. Historic Archaeological Sites

Representative historic archaeological sites from the period of significance include a copper mine, a mill and distillery site with a bunkhouse for distillery workers, the former post office in Lucero, a former hotel/boarding house, a former school, a former saloon and the plaza in Guadalupita where the historic church and cemetery were located.

These historic archaeological sites are determined contributing because they are likely to yield information important to understanding the cultural significance of the historic district. Further research may identify additional information relevant to the sites and to the historic district. Based upon the historic record, these sites reflect historical themes from the latter part of the nineteenth century and early twentieth centuries: commerce, Fort Union, grist mills, and bootleg liquor, the Guadalupita and Mora land grants, agriculture, mining, ranching, logging, and village culture. Through them we can better understand the migration and settlement of rural Northeast New Mexico from 1850 up through the mid 1960's when the road from Mora to Guadalupita was paved.

There are 21 historic archaeological sites listed in the Historic Properties Inventory, most of which consist of the adobe walls of buildings without a roof. Most of these sites or ruins are found in Lucero, a community struggling to preserve its history. With only three semi-permanent residents, the community, led by David Rael, is placing it highest priority in restoring the 1876 Santa Rita church.

In addition three archaeological sites within the Guadalupita/Coyote Historic District have been assigned Laboratory of Anthropology numbers and their descriptions are as follows:

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1. LA 5152 – This site includes the entire village of Guadalupita, which was recorded on a one page Historic Sites Inventory form, filed November 6, 1965. It contains little information other than quotations from two secondary sources. The Bureau of Immigration Bulletin for 1902 noted that Guadalupita had “a saw mill, general store, a church and a school, [as well as] a post office” and that the road to Black Lake, north of Guadalupita crossed the Rio Coyote twenty three times in the canyon.
 2. LA 125750 – Located on the north edge of South Guadalupita on a low, forested rise 7.5 ft above the valley floor, the site consists of the ruins of a small log cabin with a gabled, milled lumber roof, and associated 4.5 ft diameter depression to the east were described during a telephone cable survey in 1999.

Artifacts found on the site include a wire nail, wire, sanitary-seal cans, stovepipe, corrugated metal tin sheets, a wood plane blade, and a shovel blade.

3. LA 139970 – Located within North Guadalupita, the site has the ruins of three adobe buildings described as a barn, garage, and farmyard. It was mentioned on a 1951 highway department map and is apparently of early twentieth century origin. Probably associated with Onesimo Salazar store nearby, the structures lie between the road and the Santo Tomas No.1 irrigation canal, on a low bench above the western edge of the Coyote Creek Valley.
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Section 12 — Significance of Property

Introduction

The Guadalupita/Coyote Historic District is significant in New Mexico cultural history because of its association with individuals and families that settled the Guadalupita Land Grant and the events they initiated and contributed to during the mid-nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. Mexican Territorial Governor Albino Perez made the Mora Land Grant in 1835, which included the area of the Guadalupita Grant. Historic contexts describing the events of the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries associated with the Historic District include commerce, military (Fort Union), manufacturing, agriculture, mining, logging, ranching and community development, all of which have a unique character when associated with the Guadalupita /Coyote Historic District.

Important historical figures connected with the district included Ceran St. Vrain, George Gold, Manuel LeFevre, Charles Williams, Jacob Regensberg, Delfino Griego, Senobio Salazar and José and Abelino Lucero. The families who migrated from Taos area and settled the District are listed in the 1860 Guadalupita/Coyote census. The family names that predominate now—Castillo, Coca, Espinoza, García, Gonzales, Griego, Martínez, Montoya, Pacheco, Rael, Regensberg, Romero, Salazar, Torres, Trujillo, and Vigil—are the same ones that predominated in the 1860 Guadalupita/Coyote census. A few early names such as Gold and Lucero have all but disappeared in the Guadalupita area and several currently prominent family names such as Herrera, Medina, and Ortega did not arrive until the early 1900s and later.

Guadalupita

The boundaries of the Guadalupita/Coyote Historic District begin in the core community of Guadalupita, then following the Guadalupita cemetery to Coyote and the Los Cocas Acequia along the Rio Coyote, they extend along the Ocate Mesa on the east and Coyote Road on the west to Lucero (Coyote Abajo). Later censuses broke the area down into smaller precincts called, for example, Guadalupita, Coyote, Lower Coyote, Lucero, Turquillo, and Guadalupita, including the same families found in the 1860 census. During the latter part of the nineteenth century the communities of Guadalupita, Lucero, and Coyote Arriba were formed as the churches and *moradas* that were the center of these communities were built. The Guadalupita church was built in the 1860s and the Lucero, or Coyote Arriba, church in 1876.

The naming of Guadalupita after the Virgin of Guadalupe gives it a special status because Our Lady of Guadalupe is the patron saint of Mexico and the most popular of all the saints in New Mexico. There are three other communities in New Mexico named after the Virgin of Guadalupe, but these are all in the southern part of the state—Guadalupita is the only community in northern New Mexico to be named after the Virgin of Guadalupe.²⁴ Almost everyone in Guadalupita knows the story of the Virgin of Guadalupe: how she appeared at Tepayac Hill at the edge of Mexico City in December 1531 to a poor Nahua Indian named Juan Diego dressed in garments

²⁴ T. M. Pearce, ed. *New Mexico Place Names: A Geographical Dictionary*, (Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 1965), 67. Other communities named after the Virgin of Guadalupe are three communities named after the Virgin of Guadalupe, one in de Baca County, one in Guadalupe County, and one in Sandoval County. In addition to place names, many individual churches in New Mexico, such as Velarde, have the Virgin of Guadalupe as their patron saint.

that glowed and radiated like the sun, how she asked him to go to the Bishop of Mexico and request that a temple be built on that spot in her honor, that when the Bishop was skeptical and asked for a sign of her identity the Virgin told Juan Diego to return to the hill where he would find Castillian roses blooming in the middle of winter, that the Virgin placed the roses in the folds of Juan Diego's cloak and when he appeared before the Bishop and opened his cloak the roses tumbled out and an image of the Virgin of Guadalupe was imprinted on his cloak (*tilma*).²⁵ Many families maintain a niche in front of their homes in Guadalupita with an image of the Virgin of Guadalupe in honor of the patron saint of the village, (see photograph no. 25). The feast day of Our Lady of Guadalupe is celebrated every year in Guadalupita on December 12. There is an old place name north of Guadalupita called the Cañada de la Virgen where Sierra Bonita is now located. Local folklore attributes the naming of Guadalupita to the Taos priest, Padre Antonio José Martínez, because many of the early Guadalupita settlers came from Taos and Father Martínez "was a great promoter of the Virgin of Guadalupe."²⁶

The 1860 Guadalupita Census is the first census to locate the initial Guadalupita settlers within the Guadalupita/Coyote Historic District. The 1860 Guadalupita census enumerates 185 families containing about 830 people living in two areas, with the Guadalupita plaza, the church of Nuestra Señora de Guadalupe, and the old cemetery forming the core community of the first area, and the additional settlers in small ranchos strung along the Rio Coyote in the valley formed by the Ocate Mesa on the east and on the west the Rincon Mountains and further south the ridge that divides the Guadalupita Valley from the Valley of Coyote Creek. The families involved in the resettlement of the Guadalupita land grant spread out along Guadalupita Canyon and the valley of Coyote Creek from Coyote Arriba to Coyote Abajo (today's Lucero).²⁷

The families included in the 1860 census were a diverse group of people, mostly farmers and farm laborers, but also including a tailor, a teamster, a merchant, two carpenters, a hunter, a cooper, a fiddler and a distiller. More than 95% of the heads of households were farmers, spreading out along the valleys and constructing *acequias* along the Rio Coyote from the Santo Tomás *acequias* around Guadalupita, to the Acequia de los Cocas in Coyote Arriba to the Santa Rita and Montoya *acequias* in Coyote Abajo or Lucero. The tracts of land within the District are still primarily farmland with houses built near the road, intensive farming plots adjacent to the *acequias*, then irrigated and unirrigated pasture, and finally wooded uplands ending at the Ocate Mesa.

The 1860 Census provides a snapshot of the first phase of the development of the integrated land grant community that thrived within the Guadalupita/Coyote Historic District. There were three population centers within the district which were broken down in later censuses: to the north the community of Guadalupita, the primary community within the district, on the far south the community of Lucero or Coyote Abajo, and in between these two, Coyote Arriba located around Los Cocas Hill

²⁵ Jaqueline Orsini Dunnington, *Guadalupe: Our Lady of New Mexico*, (Santa Fe: Museum of New Mexico Press, 1999), 10-11.

²⁶ Julián Josué Vigil, a native of Guadalupita, interview, Las Vegas, May 30, 2008.

²⁷ Guadalupita census, 1860, NMSRCA, Santa Fe.

whose lands were and are irrigated by the Acequia de Los Cocas. The Guadalupita settlement grew up around the church of Our Lady of Guadalupe, which (sadly) no longer exists. It was torn down in the late 1960s because of its deteriorating condition and the prohibitive costs of maintenance. Lucero/Coyote Abajo is clustered around the Santa Rita Church and Upper Coyote eventually had the Penitente Morada de San Isidro in its midst, a *morada* still in existence today (though no longer operated by the *Penitente* Brotherhood) and an important structure worthy of preservation.²⁸

Even before the 1860 census was taken, and only six years after the resettlement of Guadalupita in 1851, Ceran St. Vrain had established a steam distillery at Guadalupita and was offering “3000 gallons of pure corn whiskey...made of good sound corn, and free from all the impurities so much used in this country” at 75 cents per gallon. This statement is found in an advertisement in the Santa Fe Weekly Gazette edition of August 7, 1858.²⁹ It appears that besides farming, the making of whiskey was a major source of revenue for Guadalupita. This is illustrated in the 1860 census. William Miller from Virginia, George Fletcher from Yorkshire, England and George McBride from Kentucky all living in household no. 4183 seem to have been making whiskey, or *mula*, since McBride’s occupation is listed as distiller and Miller is listed as a cooper or barrel maker. It is possible that these Anglos from England, Ireland, and Virginia were working for St. Vrain, but it is also possible that they were primarily in business for themselves. It is highly likely that some of the farmers in the 1860 Guadalupita census, all the way from Lucero on the south, to Guadalupita on the north, were growing “good sound” corn to sell to St. Vrain to make whiskey and bread to sell to the soldiers at Fort Union.

There is a tradition documented both in the Mora-Guadalupita area and the Tierra Amarilla area of stills making *mula* or bootleg whisky being located near and in connection with legitimate gristmills. J. J. Fuss, who built the Cleveland Roller Mill, operated a bootleg whisky operation in the 1920s under the protection of Sheriff Dan Cassidy, and was eventually sent to jail where he continued running the operation.³⁰ In the community of Rio Nutrias in Tierra Amarilla, one of the bootleg whisky operations which the army closed down, was run by a local miller of flour.³¹ So it was in Guadalupita in 1860.

Farming continued to be the primary occupation of residents of Guadalupita and Upper and Lower Coyote until the late 1800s. Farmers raised corn and wheat as well as oats, barley, *avas* (horse beans), and potatoes. During the 1860s through the late 1880s the entire Mora county area including Guadalupita consistently ranked first in the production of these crops in New Mexico. The area was known as the breadbasket of the West during this period. By 1891 however, with the closing of Fort Union, small farmers such as those who predominated in the villages within the Guadalupita Historic District, lost their greatest source of revenue from the sale of farm products. The growth of mercantile houses in Las Vegas, such as Gross, Kelly

²⁸ Guadalupita census, 1860, NMSRCA.

²⁹ Santa Fe Weekly Gazette, Santa Fe, August 7, 1858

³⁰ Interview, Casimiro Paiz grandson of J. J. Fuss, Guadalupita, September 8, 2009; Pratt, “Cleveland Roller Mill.”

³¹ Robert Torrez, “El Campo: The Native “*Mula*” Made the Tour of Duty Endurable,” *iSalsa!* 3 August 1989, History File #143, Robert Torrez Papers, NMSRCA, Santa Fe; telephone interview with Medardo Sanchez, Los Brazos, NM., April 2, 2007.

and Ifeld's, helped provide some income to farmers, but never as large a quantity as had been furnished by Fort Union.

Besides farming, stock raising, milling and distilling, other occupations recorded in the 1860 Guadalupita census are carpenter, merchant, teamster, hunter, tailor, and fiddler.³² By 1880 the occupations of the Guadalupita settlers were more diversified. In addition to the numerous farmers, there were thirty-one herders, four freighters, three musicians, eight seamstresses, three (house) plasterers, four millers, three whitewashers, a teamster, a nurse, a tailor, a carpenter, a huckster (salesman), four washerwomen, a wool worker, a miller, and an operator of a store. The 1900 Guadalupita census shows a similar breakdown of occupations including more than one retail merchant. Both Gabino Rivera and Jacob Regensberg were listed as retail merchants, operating stores in Guadalupita.³³

The building where Jacob Regensberg had his store is on the west side of the plaza area, shown in photo no. 13. In 1900 three of Regensberg's sons were clerks in the store and the large family of Bertha and Jacob Regensberg and their nine children plus a thirteen year old servant were all living in the combination home and store. In addition, the Guadalupita post office was located in this building where Jacob Regensberg was postmaster from 1879 to 1903. From 1903 to 1907 Bertha Regensberg continued to operate the post office as postmistress from this same building. The Regensberg mercantile establishment sold cigars and liquor as well, and not always legally.³⁴ In 1887 Jacob Regensberg was charged by Marshal A. Breeden, New Mexico Assistant Attorney General, with opening a saloon on Sunday and "offering for sale, goods, merchandise, beer, tobacco, and cigars to divers persons." Earlier, in 1879, Regensberg had been charged with playing poker on Sunday. It appears that these activities were taking place at the Regensberg store, west of the Guadalupita plaza (photograph no. 16 is the plaza, the Regensberg store is no longer in existence).³⁵

Coyote Arriba and Coyote Abajo

The communities of Upper and Lower Coyote were not separated from the Guadalupita census until 1870 when there were 111 households listed in Guadalupita and 116 in Upper and Lower Coyote for a total of 227 households, an increase of 42 households from the 1860 census. By 1880 the three communities were listed separately for the first time: Guadalupita at 99, Upper Coyote at 39, and Lower Coyote (Lucero) at 88 for a total of 226 households, only one less than the previous census. Although the three communities were often considered one unit, with landowners in Guadalupita also owning land in Coyote (Senobio Salazar, for instance), the communities of Coyote Abajo (Lucero, and Coyote Arriba will be dealt with separately in regard to their significance and economic development.³⁶

³² Guadalupita census, 1860, NMSRCA, Santa Fe.

³³ Guadalupita census, 1880, NMSRCA, Santa Fe.

³⁴ Guadalupita census, 1900, NMSRCA; postmasters, Guadalupita post office (Historian, Corporate Information Services: U.S. Postal Service), January 25, 1994.

³⁵ NM v. Regensberg, Criminal case no. 884; NM v. Regensberg, Criminal cases nos. 557 and 558, NM District Court Records, NMSRCA, Santa Fe.

³⁶ Guadalupita and Coyote Abajo censuses, 1860, 1870, and 1880, NMSCRA, Santa Fe: Munira Salazar, descendant

Coyote (Coyote Arriba)

Coyote Arriba, often called simply Coyote, follows the Las Cocas Ditch (photograph no. 13) from the property formerly of Blas Medina to the property currently owned by Richard Trujillo. Upper Coyote was centered around the *penitente morada* known as San Isidro de los Cocas (photograph no. 8). The acequia, the *morada*, and the hill known as Los Cocas Hill were named after the early Cocas settlers in Coyote Arriba, among them Anastacio Coca and his son, Melquiades Coca, living two houses from each other in the 1880 census. Anastacio came from Taos and was probably descended from Miguel de la Vega y Coca who came to New Mexico in 1693 with the colonists of the Reconquest, was *alcalde* of Taos and Picuris around 1730, and whose descendant, Juan de Coca, dropped the double surname and became the progenitor of the Coca family.³⁷

As the records of the *morada* of San Isidro de los Cocas have been discovered recently, it appears that Teofilo Gonzales was the *Hermano Mayor* of the *morada* in the mid 1950s and the dues-paying members included, Blas Medina, Sr., Adolfo Coca, Leopoldo Coca, Deluvino Rivera, Silviano Serna, and Encarnacion Coca. Blas Medina was the owner of property to the north of the Morada de San Isidro de las Cocas.³⁸ It is said that Medina had a still behind the *morada*; no one suspected that the smoke rising from the area by the *morada* was coming from the still and not the *morada*.³⁹

Lucero (Coyote Abajo)

Lucero or Coyote Abajo was well known as a jumping off place or staging area for the *Comancheros* and *Ciboleros*, who would travel for weeks to the Great Plains to trade with Comanche and other Indian tribes and hunt buffalo. One of the earliest *Ciboleros* was José Antonio Lucero from Peñasco, after whom Lucero was named.⁴⁰ One of the earliest references to Lucero (Coyote Abajo) is in regard to Casimiro Barela, a young man just beginning his career in the freighting business in the early 1860s. After having apprenticed to the priest (soon to become archbishop), Jean B. Salpointe in Mora, Casimiro Barela operated a mercantile store in Lucero with his sister, Seferina, for about a year.⁴¹ He then began freighting to Colorado and soon moved to a place near Trinidad with his family in late 1866. Casimiro Barela became a state senator and well-known politician and lawyer in Colorado; the place he moved to near Trinidad was known as Barela or San Francisco.⁴²

of Senobio Salazar, interview, Guadalupita, March 30, 2010.

³⁷ Chavez, Fray Angelico, *New Mexico Families* (Santa Fe: William Gannon, 1954), 307-08.

³⁸ Morada de San Isidro de las Cocas Ledger Book, letter to Teofilo Gonzales from Andres Quintana listing dues-paying members of the Morada de San Isidro de las Cocas.; interview with Albert Gonzales, Coyote Arriba, May 9, 2010.

³⁹ Jake Regensberg, interview, Guadalupita, NM, April 6, 2010.

⁴⁰ Luis Armando Montoya, telephone interview, August 30, 2011

⁴¹ José Emilio Fernandez, ed./trans. Gabriel Meléndrez, *The Biography of Casimiro Barela*, (Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 2003), 11-12.

⁴² *Trinidad, Colorado Territory*, 26-27.

In the 1880 census for Lucero (Coyote Abajo), no one was listed as a merchant, although there was a peddler and a huckster (salesman) listed, either of whom may have been running a store in Lucero. In addition there were three freighters carrying on the tradition of Casimiro Barela, a blacksmith, two herders, a musician. Among the women there were: a [house] plasterer, three needlewomen, two washerwomen, and a 90 year-old head of household named Candelaria Martínéz, who was a mattress-maker.⁴³ By 1900 the occupations listed in Lucero were less varied, though as before almost all heads of households were either farmers or laborers: there were fourteen herders and one seamstress, one physician (Dr. Charles Bowmer), George Gold (who was operating a flour mill), and Rafael Romero y Lopez who was sheriff of Mora County.⁴⁴ By 1886 a post office was established at Coyote Abajo.⁴⁵

The first church at Lucero was constructed in 1886 and remodeled between 1918 and 1921. A church bell was cast around 1886 by the early settlers, who donated “what little gold they had” for the casting. Also used was bronze, brass, copper and silver. Several castings were attempted at the Village of Lucero, but none would come out complete until they moved the casting site three miles north where another casting was made successfully. Local legend was that there were bad spirits that had prevented the successful casting in the village.”⁴⁶ In another version the church bell cracked in the first three castings because of the presence of an individual with negative energy, but when the third casting was conducted without that individual present, the bell was cast perfectly without any cracks. This is the bell that is used today and is rung at the beginning and end of each church service such as the mass held on May 22nd, the feast day of Santa Rita.⁴⁷

By the early 1930s Lucero had a population of about 400, about the same size as in 1880. The postmaster was Maria Montoya, Marcelo Montoya was a poultry-raiser, Juan B. Cruz was the constable, Benjamín Medina was Justice of the Peace. There were two billiard establishments in Lucero, two stores, and in 1930, two blacksmiths, and a lawyer named Severino Trujillo.⁴⁸

By 1900 the population of the Guadalupita/Coyote Historic District had begun to decline from its highs in the 1870s and 1880s. In the latter years the total population in the three communities in the district was about 227 while in 1900 it had dropped to 182, totaling around 800 individuals.⁴⁹

⁴³ Lower Coyote census, 1880, NMSCRA, Santa Fe.

⁴⁴ Coyote/Lucero census, 1900, NMSCRA, Santa Fe.

⁴⁵ T. M. Pearce, *New Mexico Place Names* (Albuquerque: UNM Press, 1965), 92.

⁴⁶ [Luis Armando Montoya], “The Santa Rita Church, Lucero, New Mexico,” historical plaque.

⁴⁷ Interview with David Rael, Lucero, New Mexico, March 9, 2010.

⁴⁸ *New Mexico Business Directories*, 1830.

⁴⁹ Guadalupita and Coyote censuses, 1870, Guadalupita and Coyote censuses, 1880, and Guadalupita and Coyote censuses, 1900. NMSCRA, Santa Fe.

Significant Persons Associated with the Property.

1. George Gold.

The leading settler in the 1851 resettlement of the Guadalupita Land Grant, George Gold, was also a merchant, trader, trapper, and member of the New Mexico Territorial Legislature. Gold was born in either England or Scotland in 1803 and by the 1830s was selling *piñon* and blankets in Sonora, Chihuahua, and Durango. In 1850 he married María Estefana Montoya with whom he had been living for several years. She was supposedly on her deathbed and Gold married her to legitimate their five children (in fact she survived and outlived him). In 1860, Gold is listed in the Guadalupita census, a few houses from Manuel LeFevre, with his wife Estefana, their four children and a servant. In 1851, Gold had led a group of about eighty settlers from Taos to Guadalupita to re-settle the Guadalupita grant that had been made in 1837 and then temporarily abandoned due to Indian raids.

George Gold, who was one of the few Anglos to lead a group of Hispanic land grant settlers, learned some early lessons about land grant settlement in 1848 when he attempted to establish a colony on the Sangre de Cristo grant near present day Costilla, Colorado. The grant was claimed by Charles Beaubien and since Gold had not received Beaubien's permission to establish the settlement, he was soon ejected from the grant. From this experience Gold learned that he needed to establish some claim to ownership before attempting to form a settlement on the land.

George Gold was acquainted with other well-known men of this era, including Ceran St. Vrain, under whose command he served at the Battle of Taos Pueblo in 1847 when Gold was severely wounded. Gold's connection with the Guadalupita/Coyote Historic District was further established when his daughter, Eduvigen Gold, married Jacob Regensberg, another important Guadalupita settler.⁵⁰

In addition, the remains of the still in photograph no. 27 can be traced to George Gold. In 1842 Gold purchased various materials for a still in St. Louis and sold them the next year to José Manuel Graham, the ancestor of Alonso Graham and Max Graham, owners of the property where the still may have been located. This still was probably used in connection with a mill on the property. By 1866 there were numerous mills and stills in this area as mentioned in the case of Gold v. Tafoya. This may well have been the location of the St. Vrain's steam distillery mentioned in the Santa Fe Weekly Gazette in 1858. George Gold died on May 10, 1869 at age 77, survived by María Estefana Montoya who died June 10, 1888.

⁵⁰ Julián Josué Vigil, "Notes on George Gold," passim.

2. Jacob Regensberg.

Another leading settler and merchant in early Guadalupita was Jacob Regensberg, an immigrant from Germany, appears in the 1880 census, the house he was living in west of the old Guadalupita Plaza no longer exists. Jacob Regensberg was born in Hesse Cassel, Germany where he was educated and where he apprenticed to a butcher. He followed that trade in Germany and for a while in Pennsylvania where he had immigrated with his brother Joseph in 1866 or 1867 (it was there he met Bertha who would become his second wife). He gradually drifted into merchandising and traveled from Kansas City to Ocate in an ox-drawn wagon, and eventually to Guadalupita where he ran a general merchandise operation as well as liquor establishment. In 1870 Jacob Regensberg was still in Ocate working as a clerk in the grocery store of Soloman Lowenstein. Jacob Regensberg, then age 22, was living in the Lowenstein household with Soloman and his wife Rebecca (both also from Germany), and their daughter Isidora. Rebecca Lowenstein was related to Jacob Regensberg's second wife, Bertha, who he married in 1888. Joseph Regensberg was listed in the Guadalupita census in 1870 as a single man, age 22; Jacob had not yet arrived in Guadalupita, but soon started buying land in the Guadalupita area while he was learning the grocery business in Ocate. Between 1871 and 1881 Jacob Regensberg acquired five tracts of land in Guadalupita (one of them described as a "groom house"), 100 *varas* of land in Coyote, and a tract of land in Turquillo.⁵¹

By 1880 Jacob Regensberg had moved to Guadalupita and was living with his wife Eduvigen Gold, daughter of George Gold, (who died in 1869), and their two children, Benjamin and Amalia. Also living in the house was a 46-year-old boarder from Germany named Carl Englehardt, who was a tailor. George Gold's widow, Estefana Gold, lived two houses away from Jacob and his family, with her children and grandchildren, listing her occupation as a "Mexican Miller."⁵² Jacob Regensberg was postmaster in Guadalupita from 1879 to 1903 with the exception of the period between 1898 to 1901 when rival businessman, Gabino Rivera, served as postmaster. In 1903 after Jacob's death his second wife, Bertha Regensberg from Pennsylvania (who he married in 1888 after the death of Eduvigen Gold), became postmaster from 1903 to 1907.⁵³

Jacob Regensberg had three children by his first wife and eight children by his second wife. In 1880 the census-taker listed two children in the Regensberg household, Benjamin (age 2) and Amalia (age 1), but by 1900 there were nine children plus a servant in the Regensberg house, two of whom, Maurice and Joseph, were working as clerks in the Regensberg store, while Benjamin, now 22, was listed as a stock-raiser. By 1920, two Regensberg children had begun to start large families of their own: Joseph Regensberg, with his wife Lillie and their four children and Benjamin Regensberg, with his wife Luisa McGrath and their eight children. Benjamin followed in his father's footsteps by operating a mercantile establishment in Guadalupita in addition to several sawmills on Ocate Mesa. Mora area telephone

⁵¹ Al Regensberg, "Regensberg Genealogical Information", citing 1870 Ocate census and Mora County Collection, Outsize Books, *Indirect Index to Real Property*, 224-25, NMSRCA, Santa Fe.

⁵² Guadalupita census, 1880, NMSRCA, Santa Fe.

⁵³ "Guadalupita Postmasters," *Historian*, U.S. Postal Service Corporate Information Services, January 25, 1994.

directories show that today there are several descendants of Jacob Regensberg living in the Mora Valley and in Guadalupita.⁵⁴

3. Ceran St. Vrain.

Ceran St. Vrain was connected to the Guadalupita/Coyote Historic District primarily because of the St. Vrain steam distillery located in Guadalupita in 1858. St. Vrain was one of the wealthiest and most prominent New Mexicans of the time. St. Vrain has been described by one historian as a “convivial figure, with glossy black beard and wide-set eyes that were quick to crinkle in humor,”⁵⁵ and by another as “a burly man from St. Louis with great appetites, a connoisseur of good brandy, bawdy stories, and French obscenities.”⁵⁶ As one of the wealthiest of the merchant/mountain men of Mexican Period and Territorial New Mexico, he was a successful businessman and a survivor whose success on the rough and ready frontier of Northern New Mexico may have been due in part to the fact he was a crack shot with a rifle.⁵⁷ Ceran St. Vrain’s father immigrated to St. Louis, Missouri from French Flanders in 1795, five years after his own father fled the early stages of the French Revolution. Ceran St. Vrain was born near St. Louis in 1802 and by around 1818 had begun working for and living with the well-known merchant Bernard Pratte, Jr. He learned the fur trade as a clerk for Pratte’s St. Louis store. By 1824 St. Vrain had entered the Santa Fe trade and within a year or two had established himself at Taos, learned Spanish, and taken the first of his four wives (in all cases these appear to be common law marriages). Besides trading goods shipped from Missouri, St. Vrain started going on fur-trapping expeditions himself and began amassing the wealth that would soon make him one of the wealthiest men in New Mexico. By 1834, St. Vrain had established Bent’s Fort with Charles and William Bent, a trading establishment which became a major stopping place on the Santa Fe Trail. Before 1840, Bent and St. Vrain would be collecting from \$20,000 to \$40,000 annually in the fur trade, making them one of the most important fur trading firms in the west.⁵⁸

In the 1840s St. Vrain began to expand into other ventures and in 1843 he received, with Alclade Cornelius Vigil, a huge four million acre land grant. Though he sold large amounts of this land before it was confirmed by the Surveyor General, he was embarrassed to learn in 1873 that the grant was patented at a little less than 98,000 acres.⁵⁹

St. Vrain’s mounted cavalry volunteers were instrumental in putting down the Taos Rebellion, and in 1855 St. Vrain recruited troops and again fought as a lieutenant colonel with his mounted volunteers against the Utes and Apaches. It was

⁵⁴ Guadalupita census, 1920, NMSRCA, Santa Fe; Las Vegas area US West Dex telephone directory, 2010.

⁵⁵ David Lavender, *Bent’s Fort* (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1954).

⁵⁶ Hampton Sides, *Blood and Thunder: An Epic of the American West* (New York: Doubleday, 2006), 178.

⁵⁷ LeRoy Hafen, ed. *Buxton: Life in the Far West*, quoted in George P. Hammond, *Alexander Barclay, Mountain Man* (Denver: Fred Rosenstock, Old West Publishing Co., 1976) N. 38, P. 190.

⁵⁸ Hafen, *Fur Trappers and Traders of the Far Southwest* (Logan: Utah State University Press, 1965), 233-43.

⁵⁹ Marianne Stoller, “Grants of Desperation, Lands of Speculation: Mexican Period Land Grants in Colorado,” in John and Christina Van Ness, eds., *Spanish and Mexican Land Grants in New Mexico and Colorado* (Manhattan, Kansas: Sunflower University Press, 1980), 26.

during this period that St. Vrain started to settle down in Mora, where he moved from Taos in 1855. It was in that year that he built the first large scale mill in Mora, a wooden structure no longer in existence. In 1864 two seminal events happened: his contract to supply the army with wheat for the Navajos at Fort Sumner, and the burning of his mill at Talpa. The first would show how closely St. Vrain was working with the army and the second would force him to move to Mora to build the *molino de piedra* (stone mill) there to grind flour to feed the Navajos at Fort Sumner. The first event was the “Navajo Long Walk” when St. Vrain’s friend Kit Carson “relocated” almost 9,000 Navajos to Bosque Redondo in a “forced relocation of biblical proportions, one of the largest in American history.”⁶⁰ To feed these Navajo, whose corn crops there had failed due to cutworm infestations, Ceran St. Vrain obtained the flour contract to provide them with \$41,000 worth of flour and wheat in the months of June, July, and August 1864. Just as this increase in demand occurred, St. Vrain’s Talpa mill burned to the ground in July 1864, at a loss to him of about \$5000. He built the Mora *molina de piedra* (stone mill) about this time, “the crudeness of its construction [suggesting] it was put up in a hurry.”⁶¹ The Army’s (and St. Vrain’s) increasing demand for flour “spurred New Mexico farmers to more than double their output of wheat between 1850 and 1860.”⁶² This increase continued into the 1860s during the initial settlement of the Guadalupita land grant within the Guadalupita/Coyote Historic District.

Sometime after he moved to Mora, St. Vrain moved to New York briefly to taste an urban lifestyle, but he missed Northern New Mexico so much that he soon returned to his home in Mora. During his later years, St. Vrain was living with Louisa Branch, his fourth marriage, with whom he had one child. He died at his home in Mora on October 28, 1870 and was buried in the family plot in Mora by the Masons. His funeral was attended by over 2,000 people, including all the officers and troops from Fort Union. His tombstone was briefly removed from the cemetery because it was broken and forgotten. According to former State Historian Mary Ellen Jenkins, the original gravestone was returned, a duplicate made and installed in the cemetery. According to folklore the original stone is said to be still in a shipping crate at the State Capitol. It speaks well of the Mora Valley and Guadalupita in particular, that Ceran St. Vrain, one of New Mexico’s leading and wealthiest citizens, who after tasting the social life of New York, would choose to settle in down in Mora near his imposing mill and establish a steam distillery within the Guadalupita/Coyote Historic District.⁶³

⁶⁰ Sides, *Blood and Thunder: An Epic of the American West*, 362; *The Navajo Long Walk*, passim.

⁶¹ LeCompte, “Ceran St. Vrain’s Stone Mill at Mora,” 3.

⁶² Darlis Miller, *Soldiers and Settlers: Military Supply in the Southwest, 1861-1885* (Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 1989), 132.

⁶³ Janet LeCompte, “Ceran St. Vrain’s Stone Mill at Mora,” nomination of St. Vrain’s mill to the National Register of Historic Places, Cultural Properties Review Committees Files, File no. 16164/147, NMSRCA, Santa Fe.

4. Manuel LeFevre.

Manuel LeFevre was a French trader and mountain man from St. Louis, Missouri who was a friend of Kit Carson and Ceran St. Vrain. LeFevre was enumerated in the 1860 Guadalupita census with his four children, Leonora, Teodora, Jose Miguel, and Pacifico, and his wife Maria. LeFevre's Mesa, just south of the historic district, is named after him. One of his daughters married the famous mountain man, Richens (Uncle Dick) Wooten, who operated a toll road over Raton Pass (Bullis, 2007). Another daughter, Guillerma, married Charles Williams. Charles Williams and Guillerma LeFevre were living next to LeFevre at the time of the 1860 Guadalupita census. The LeFevre name was preserved in Guadalupita as late as 1923 when Santiago LeFevre was listed in the Business Directory as operating a sawmill.⁶⁴

5. Charles Williams.

A large-scale farmer and rancher connected with Manuel LeFevre and other elites in Mora County, Williams was born Henry Reuben Starkweather and changed his name to Williams before 1850 when he joined the army. Charles Williams served as secretary to Kit Carson at this time because of his excellent handwriting and good spelling. In 1860 he is listed in the Guadalupita census with four children, his wife Guillerma, and an Indian servant, Encarnación Archuleta, with whom he is said to have had a child. He was a producer of hay for the market at Fort Union in the 1870s when he was part of an attempted monopoly (then called a combination), that tried to fix the price per ton for the hay. In 1874 members of the combination (including John Dent, John Penderies, Milner Rudolph, J. B. Watrous, W.B. Tipton and Fernando Nolan, among others), agreed to sell hay to the fort for no less than \$19.50 per ton. This attempt to destroy the competitive bidding process at Fort Union was unsuccessful (see section on Fort Union). Both Williams and LeFevre moved to Ocate in the early 1860s, but Williams' grandchildren returned to Guadalupita in the early 1900s. Williams Canyon in the northeast part of the Guadalupita Historic District is named after Charles Williams.

⁶⁴ *New Mexico State Business Directory* (Denver: The Gazetteer Publishing and Printing Co., 1929), Guadalupita.

6. Senobio Salazar.

Senobio Salazar was a prominent Guadalupita resident who became a state senator in the early 1900s and whose house is illustrated in photograph no. 22. Senobio Salazar was born on January 3, 1869, the son of Antonio Salazar and Maria Ignacia Graham. His father Antonio died in 1880 when Senobio was age 11. Senobio's mother, Maria Ignacia Graham, received a homestead patent for land in Coyote in 1898, but eventually moved to Guadalupita. Senobio is recorded in the 1920 Guadalupita census with his wife, Cornelia, age 39, his son Onesimo, age 16, and a servant, Cornelia Lucero, age 12.⁶⁵ Living next door to Senobio on one side was his mother, Maria Ignacia Graham, age 72, and on the other side was Benjamin Regensberg, his wife Luisa, and their eight children, including Roy Regensberg, who was living in Guadalupita in the 1980s and 1990s. By 1915 Senobio Salazar was a notary public in Guadalupita, and in 1919 he was listed as selling general merchandise. The store is listed in the business directory off and on through 1926.⁶⁶ From 1909 until 1913, Senobio Salazar was postmaster at Guadalupita.⁶⁷ The Senobio Salazar store is recorded as building no. 3 in the Marshall Highway Improvement Report, which states that the building was a combination store, filling station, and residence and that the store is probably one of the most historically important buildings in Guadalupita. Most of the original structure remains intact including the storefront windows and doors. Rooms appended to the original store are probably later additions, but none exhibit features uncharacteristic of Northern New Mexico style. This large building justifies preservation and is recommended as eligible for National Historic Register nomination."⁶⁸

7. José A. Lucero and Abelino Lucero.

José A. and Abelino Lucero were brothers who were prominent businessmen in the first three decades of the twentieth century. They were the sons of Juan de Jesus Lucero and Gregoria Griego. The family is listed in the 1880 Guadalupita census with four children, José A., Juan Abelino, Faustine, and Fernanda.⁶⁹ By 1900 only Juan (de Jesus) is listed as the head of family because Gregoria died in 1895. José A. is listed as age 20 and Juan Abelino is age 16. Their sister, Antonina, listed as age 14, would soon become the wife of the public school teacher in Guadalupita, Mathias Zamora, and the two brothers would individually and collectively enter into business in Guadalupita.⁷⁰

By 1915, the Lucero brothers were operating an opera house and saloon in Guadalupita while Abelino Lucero had set up business as a barber. By 1919 the Lucero brothers were still listed as joint owners of a business, but this time it was

⁶⁵ Munira Salazar, (descendant of Senobio Salazar), interview, Guadalupita, March 29, 2010; Guadalupita census, 1920, NMSRCA, Santa Fe.

⁶⁶ *New Mexico Business Directories* (Denver: Gazetteer Publishing, 1915, 1919, 1926).

⁶⁷ "Guadalupita Post Office Postmasters," Historian, U.S. Postal Service Corporate Information Services: U.S. Postal Service, 1994.

⁶⁸ Marshall and Marshall, *Highway Improvement Report*, 73.

⁶⁹ Guadalupita census, 1880, NMSRCA, Santa Fe.

⁷⁰ Guadalupita census, 1900, NMSRCA, Santa Fe.

billiards; Abelino was still listed as a barber. By 1921, José A. Lucero had opened his own mercantile business together with a liquor establishment, while the brothers were still running the billiards establishment.⁷¹ In 1925 Albino Lucero was appointed postmaster and he is listed in the 1925 (and subsequent) business directories in dark type as “Lucero, Albino-grocer, postmaster”. In 1926 José A. Lucero was still operating his merchandise establishment, but by 1928 he is listed only as a notary public. In 1929, Abelino Lucero was still serving as postmaster—he would serve until 1937—but was also listed as “general merchandise, notary.”⁷² José A. Lucero served as a justice of the peace and a member of the school board. The Lucero brothers and family members were leading members of the Guadalupita community, both as businessmen, and as members of the educational and arts community.⁷³

8. Delfino Griego.

Delfino Griego was another leading member of the Guadalupita community who was postmaster for thirty-two years, from 1937 to 1969 when the post office was located adjacent to Griego Hall and the Griego residence. Delfino Griego was relatively active in the community until his death in 2000; his daughter-in-law, Clorinda Griego, who is still active in the community, served as postmaster from 1969 to 1992, and his grand-daughter, Theresa Griego Vigil, currently serving as Guadalupita postmaster, has been in that position since 1992. In 1994 the post office was moved from the location adjacent to Griego Hall to its present location next to the Guadalupita church.⁷⁴

Delfino was born in 1899 and died in 2000 at 101 years of age. His parents, Ramón Griego and María were listed in the 1920 Guadalupita census at ages 59 and 54 respectively, living with Delfino, age 19, and a daughter, Adelina, age 17.⁷⁵ Ramón Griego was working as a blacksmith in 1919 and through the early 1920s, according to the New Mexico Business Directories, and by 1926, Delfino had opened a business selling general merchandise, probably in the same location as the Griego residence and community center. By 1928 Delfino was still operating the general store and his brother, Julio Griego, was listed as a blacksmith in Guadalupita. Many in the Griego family seem to have all tried their hands at blacksmithing and in 1936 Delfino Griego was a practicing blacksmith in Guadalupita, while Max Graham was the Justice of the Peace, Fermín Candelario was constable, Abelino Lucero was postmaster, and Coca and González and Billy Ortega were operating sawmills. The following year Delfino Griego was appointed postmaster and, as mentioned earlier, he served as postmaster for 32 years.⁷⁶ During that period and beyond, Griego Hall and the post office were the center of the community of Guadalupita. In the morning, community members would gather to wait for the daily delivery of incoming mail and the pick up of outgoing mail.

⁷¹ *New Mexico State Business Directory* (Denver: Gazetteer Publishing, 1915, 1919, 1921).

⁷² *New Mexico Business Directories, 1925, 1926, 1928, 1929*; “Guadalupita Post Office Postmasters.”

⁷³ Charles Coan, *A History of New Mexico* (Chicago: American Historical Society, 1925), 2: 236-37.

⁷⁴ Teresa Griego Vigil, interview, Guadalupita, March 8, 2010.

⁷⁵ Guadalupita census, 1920, NMSCRA, Santa Fe.

⁷⁶ *New Mexico Business Directory, 1928.*

Often this was an opportunity to exchange the latest news and gossip. In the evenings, Griego Hall would be the site of community meetings and on the weekends, of community dances. It is said that on many of these occasions, Delfino Griego and his wife Jesusita would be among the last ones dancing. As the sun was coming up Jesusita would cook breakfast for the remaining couples, who would clean up Griego Hall to make it ready for the next function.⁷⁷

⁷⁷ Sylvia Ortega, interview, Guadalupita, March 7, 2010.

6. Historical Themes Associated with the Property.

The Mora Land Grant and the Guadalupita Grant.

Early Settlement in the Mora Valley.

The Mora Valley was a place where Plains Indians (mostly Comanches and Jicarilla Apaches), congregated and built dwellings, accounting for the relatively late date of permanent Hispanic settlement in the area.⁷⁸ It was not until after the 1779 defeat of the Comanche leader Cuerno Verde by Governor Juan Bautista de Anza and the 1786 Comanche Peace Treaty that settlement began to take hold in the Mora Valley by 1816 or before. Place names such as the Cañada de los Comanches near Mora testify to the Comanche and Apache raids throughout the Mexican Period (1821-1846) caused the temporary abandonment of both the Mora and Guadalupita areas⁷⁹: the Mora area for a brief period sometime prior to 1832 and the Guadalupita area from around 1837 to 1851.

The Mora Grant.

In September of 1835, New Mexico Governor Albino Perez ordered the constitutional justice of San José de las Trampas near Taos to travel to the Mora Valley and place seventy-six settlers (coincidentally the same number of settlers who requested their own priest in 1818), in possession of lands along the Rio Agua Negro (the Mora River). The order by governor Perez and the Mora grant have been missing from the archives, but we know they existed because Justice Sanchez noted in his act of possession that his actions were pursuant to an order by the *jefe político* (governor) of New Mexico.

Justice Sanchez established two plazas, one at Santa Gertrudis (Mora) and the other at San Antonio (Cleveland). At Santa Gertrudis settlers received 5,900 *varas* of agricultural land and at San Antonio 3,610 *varas* of agricultural land, with settlers receiving strips of land running from the Mora River to the foothills of the mountains 100 *varas* wide. Each community was assigned a parcel of grazing land (like the Mora Vega), and the rest of the land within the grant was common to all the settlers living within the grant. The grant boundaries were: north, the Rio Ocate; south, where the Rio Sapello empties into the Rio de Mora; east, the Aguaje de la Yegua, and west the Estillero.⁸⁰ Locating some of these boundaries proved difficult and controversial (especially the Estillero which was not a well known place name), but when surveyed in 1861 the Mora Grant was found to contain 827,621 acres (see illustration no. 33 for a map of the Mora grant showing the location of Guadalupita).⁸¹

⁷⁸ James Gunnerson, "Archaeological Survey in Northeastern New Mexico," *El Palacio*, 66 (1959): 148; and *Archaeology of the High Plains*, Cultural Resources Series Number 19 (Denver: Bureau of Land Management, Colorado State Office, 1987). Alfred Barnaby Thomas, *After Coronado: Spanish Exploration Northeast of New Mexico, 1696-1727* (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1935), p. 94.

⁷⁹ Anselmo Arellano, "Acequias de la Sierra and Early Agriculture of the Mora Valley," Center for Land Grant Studies Research paper, indicates that the area was abandoned from the 1820s until 1834.

⁸⁰ Clark Knowlton, "The Mora Land Grant: A New Mexican Tragedy," in Malcolm Ebright, ed. *Spanish and Mexican Land Grants and the Law* (Manhattan, Kansas: Sunflower University Press, 1989), 57-59.

⁸¹ J.J. Bowden, *Private Land Claims in the Southwest*, (master's thesis, Southern Methodist University, 1969), 4: 815, 67-69.

Gradually, population expanded on the Mora grant as new communities were formed: Golondrinas around 1838, La Junta (Watrous) in 1842, and La Cueva in 1844. At the time of the United States invasion of New Mexico in 1846 the Mora area had a population of almost 1,000 individuals.⁸² In 1847 U.S. troops attacked the Town of Mora to put down an uprising connected to the 1847 Taos Revolt. Much of the town was destroyed and it is said that the town's archives were burned by the Americans, possibly explaining the loss of some of the documents connected with the Mora grant.⁸³

In 1851 Fort Union was established, providing a market for produce, hay, and timber from the Mora Valley. U.S. troops stationed at the fort helped quell Indian raids and Mora area settlements proliferated in the 1850s and 1860s. In addition, five land grants, including the Guadalupita grant, overlapped the Mora grant and settlements occurred there as well. As settlement on the Mora grant increased in the 1850s and 1860s, a process of confirmation, survey, and partition of the grant by the U.S. government and by land grant speculators would eventually lead to loss of the common lands as Stephen B. Elkins and Thomas B. Catron began purchasing interests in the common lands. By the 1870s settlers began to realize that common lands that had not been settled and/or privatized would be lost. Accordingly, an increased amount of privatization occurred on the Mora grant in the 1870s and 1880s. Communities would divide up certain parts of the common lands surrounding their communities among themselves. Thus large amounts of land at Golondrinas and Ocate were privatized in 1869, and the Guadalupita Canyon was divided in 1889 among members of that community.⁸⁴

After the Surveyor General of New Mexico was established in 1854 José María Valdez and Vicente Romero filed a petition for confirmation of the Mora grant in 1859, attaching a copy of the act of possession by Manuel Antonio Sanchez as proof of the claim.

Surveyor General Pelham approved the Mora grant over the objection by the U.S. that there was no evidence that the grant had been made, since the petition and the granting decree were missing. However, the claimants' witnesses testified they had seen the Mora grant signed by Governor Perez in the archives at Mora. Pelham recommended confirmation of the grant because it could be presumed that the Mexican government would only have allowed the occupation of the land if a grant had been made.

After Congress approved Pelham's recommendation and the grant was formally confirmed in 1860, it was surveyed in 1861 by Deputy Surveyor Thomas Means. The Mora grant was found to contain 827,621 acres, excluding the portion of the John Scolly grant that conflicted with the Mora grant on its southern boundary. A patent to the Mora grant was issued in 1876, excluding the land at Fort Union.⁸⁵

Well before the issuance of the patent Catron and Elkins began buying interests in the grant and soon residents of the Mora grant realized that speculators were

⁸² Robert D. Shadow and María Rodríguez Shadow, "From *Repartición* to Partition: A History of the Mora Land Grant, 1835-1916, *New Mexico Historical Review*, 70 (July 1995): 267; 1845 Census of Lo de Mora, MANM, Reel 40, fr. 405-427.

⁸³ James Goodrich, "Revolt at Mora, 1847." *New Mexico Historical Review*, 47 (January 1972), 49-60.

⁸⁴ Shadow and Rodriguez, "From *Repartición* to Partitio," 267.

⁸⁵ Bowden, *Private Land Claims in the Southwest*, 4: 815-16.

buying the grant common lands from under them. In 1878 a petition was filed by 920 Mora residents asking Congress to reconsider the confirmation of the grant to the seventy-six original grantees because it opened the door for takeover by speculators who claimed to have deeds signed by those seventy-six grantees, but it was too late. A year before in March of 1877 Stephen B. Elkins and Vicente Romero filed suit to partition the Mora grant.

The purpose of the partition suit was to segregate the common lands from private tracts. The speculators would receive the common lands and the rest would be assigned to individual owners. Because much of the common lands had been privatized in the 1880s and 1890s, such as the Guadalupita lands mentioned earlier, the court had a difficult time identifying these private tracts. Eventually the court segregated the private tracts into two categories: the private tracts such as those allotted to individuals at Santa Gertudis and San Antonio when the Mora grant was first made and private tracts resulting from the later privatization of the common lands such as the lands in Guadalupita Canyon (these were called the community lands).

The first kind of private lands were segregated when a party intervened in the partition suit on behalf of a community and a separate lawsuit determined the extent of the private lands in that community. In the case of Guadalupita, Senobio Salazar, who became a state senator, intervened and the court segregated the Guadalupita tracts, most of which are within the Historic District.

The Guadalupita Grant.

Settlement of the Guadalupita grant began on February 20, 1837, when a petition by three residents of Taos Pedro Antonio Gallegos, José María Silva, and Miguel Silva asked for land in the valley of Guadalupita on the Coyote River within the Mora grant. The petitioners were asking for a community grant for themselves and a group of individuals who were listed on a separate document; unfortunately that document did not survive. The Guadalupita petition was directed to the *alcalde* and the *ayuntamiento* of las Trampas de Nuestro Padre San José. Some historians have assumed that this refers to the Las Trampas we are familiar with as the principal settlement on the Las Trampas land grant, but other evidence points to a settlement near Ranchos de Taos as the source of the first Guadalupita settlers. The main concern of the petitioners was the shortage of water to irrigate their crops in the Taos area.⁸⁶ The Guadalupita petitioners approached the principal settlers on the Mora grant and received their approval for a new grant within the boundaries of the Mora grant. Alcalde Juan Nepomuceno Trujillo notified the group of colonists to present themselves at the land on April 7, 1837 so that they could be placed in possession of the Guadalupita land grant. At this point there is an end to the documentation, of the Guadalupita grant, but testimony in an 1866 water rights lawsuit *Gold v. Tafoya* partially fills in the gap in the early history of Guadalupita.

⁸⁶ Petition for the Guadalupita Grant, February 20, 1837, NMLG-SG, Guadalupita Grant, SG Roll 31, file 94, frames 325-329.

A. Commerce, Fort Union, Grist Mills, and Bootleg Liquor.

The settlement of Guadalupita, Coyote Arriba and Abajo in the 1850s and 1860s coincided exactly with the establishment of Fort Union in 1851 and an increased demand for flour, grain, and other foodstuffs to feed the soldiers and their horses at the fort. Initially the army imported flour and hard bread from Fort Leavenworth, Kansas, but the cost of transportation was often more than twice the value of the flour, (in 1850 the cost of flour at Fort Leavenworth was 3 cents per pound, while the freight rate from Fort Leavenworth to Santa Fe was 9 cents per pound). As demand increased the army attempted to bring down its cost by acquiring flour in New Mexico. At first the U. S. Army attempted to operate its own grist mills, (one in Santa Fe, the other in Albuquerque), but by the early 1850s the army started to contract with local suppliers, the largest of whom was Ceran St. Vrain.

St. Vrain's first contract with the army was in December 1849 when he and his partner agreed to deliver 1,000,000 pounds over a four year period of "good merchantable superfine flour" for 8 1/2 cents per pound in 1850 to be reduced to 7 cents per pound in 1853. St. Vrain became the largest (and only) supplier to the military in the 1850s; saving the army four to five cents per pound while making himself wealthy in the bargain.⁸⁷ St. Vrain started building the means to make good on the 1849 contract when he traveled to Westport, Missouri early in 1850 and hired five experienced millers, including Jacob Beard who would operate the first mill in Mora from 1850 to 1852. He also purchased five sets of French buhr mills for flour mills to be built at Mora, Santa Fe, Peralta, and Taos (he sold the fifth set). St. Vrain did things in a big way and was soon profiting handsomely from his foresight. After his partner McCarty died in 1850, St. Vrain moved to Talpa near Taos where he operated a mill on the Rio Grande de Rancho. At the same time his wood frame mill in Mora was operating to capacity earning him \$100 per day. A traveler in the early 1850s noted, "Mr. St. Vrain is now very wealthy owning and carrying on three large grist mills."⁸⁸ In 1853 St. Vrain contracted to sell 150,000 pounds of flour to the army to be delivered at Taos and Ft. Union. By the early 1860s after his Taos mill burned, St. Vrain was the only supplier of flour to the army from his Mora mill for all of Northern New Mexico. In the 1850s St. Vrain was sutler (supplier to military posts) to Fort Garland as well as Fort Union, supplying all provisions needed by the troops, in addition to flour. In addition to these two forts, St. Vrain contracted with the army to deliver flour to Cantonment Burgwin near Taos and later, to Fort Craig.

Another little-known connection between Fort Union and the Guadalupita Historic District was the practice of several of the elite horse-lovers in Guadalupita to drive their mares to the Fort Union horse herd kept near the post and breed them to the Fort Union stallions. The mares were then brought back to Guadalupita and the foals began a new bloodline that resulted in faster, stronger horses than if the mares had been bred to the local Guadalupita stallions.⁸⁹ Fort Union stallions were Thoroughbred horses, a breed of horses bred for speed and they were better fed. Army regulations required that army cavalry horses receive a daily ration of fourteen

⁸⁷ Robert Frazer, "Purveyors of Flour to the Army: Department of New Mexico, 1849-1861" *New Mexico Historical Review*, 47 (July 1972) 213-38.

⁸⁸ LeCompte, "Ceran St. Vrain's Stone Mill at Mora," 2.

⁸⁹ Jake Regensberg, interview, Guadalupita, April 6, 2010.

pounds of hay and twelve pounds of grain, so Fort Union stallions were better fed than those from Guadalupita, who were grazed on the common lands. Even on patrol, army horses were well fed due to the network of forage agents who were paid to provide forage to army horses who might stop there. William Kroenig and Vicente Romero were both forage agents in the Mora/San Miguel area. Army horses were stronger and better fed because “small detachments of troops frequently left posts at a moment’s notice, and their success against Indian foes depended upon speed, which in turn depended upon agents furnishing a steady supply of forage for army animals.”⁹⁰

Just as army horses were fast, so were the foals bred by their stallions. That is why, in the late 1800s three of Guadalupita’s leading citizens, Senobio Salazar, Charles Williams, and Benjamin Regensberg, would drive their mares to Fort Union to be bred by the stallions there. It seems that the Regensberg family has continued to benefit from this surreptitious commerce between Guadalupita and Fort Union: Jacob Regensberg’s great-great-grandson, Jake Regensberg is still breeding horses in Guadalupita and one of his father’s race horses, descended from the Fort Union stock, was the fastest horse in Mora County in the 1930s.⁹¹

In the 1860 Guadalupita census, the overwhelming majority of heads of households reported their occupations as either farmers or farm laborers. Of those who were not farmers, one was a hunter, one was a teamster, one was a merchant, one was a carpenter, one was a fiddler, and four men were making bootleg liquor.⁹²

Both the farmers and distillers were probably selling to Ceran St. Vrain. The distillers were probably involved in St. Vrain’s steam distillery in Guadalupita and the farmers were selling their wheat to St. Vrain, some ground into flour for their own use (St. Vrain would keep 10%) and the surplus sold to St. Vrain to be then sold to Fort Union or other more distant military outposts. The Guadalupita/Coyote Historic District encompassed a self-sufficient land grant community that prospered during the latter four decades of the nineteenth century primarily because of the ready market for their surplus wheat provided by Fort Union and Ceran St. Vrain.⁹³ Ironically, it was during this time that the commonlands of the Guadalupita grant were being lost to land speculators Thomas B. Catron and Stephen B. Elkins.

⁹⁰ Miller, *Soldiers and Settlers: Military Supply in the Southwest, 1861-1885*, 92 and 113.

⁹¹ Jake Regensberg, interview, Guadalupita, April 6, 2010; *Webster’s Collegiate Dictionary* (Springfield, MA: G. & C. Merriam Co., 1942), 1039.

⁹² Guadalupita census, 1860, NMSCRA, Santa Fe.

⁹³ Frazer, “Purveyors of Flour to the Army: Department of New Mexico, 1849-1861,” *New Mexico Historical Review*, 47 (July 1972) 213-38.

B. Agriculture, Ranching, and Mining and Logging.

1. Agriculture and Ranching

The following is a good description of the village economy that applied, with some variation, to Guadalupita, Coyote, Lucero and all Northern New Mexico villages: The small livestock holdings of most families complemented their subsistence farming. Cattle gradually became more important, while goats were raised for milk and as a delicacy. Many families maintained a team of horses for transportation and fieldwork. Many kept a few chickens; some families, a milk cow, a hog, or an occasional turkey. Irrigated fields were small; most families held five to ten acres. Corn, beans, wheat and squash were the early staples, complimented by chili, onions, carrots, cabbage, turnips, and later, potatoes. Other crops included tobacco (*punche mexicano*), rye, oats, hay and sorghum. Peaches, and to a lesser degree, cherries, and plums were also significant crops throughout the area, although late frosts destroyed the apple crop one year in three on average, and the peach blossoms every other year. Wool was woven for clothing, and hides tanned for clothing and shoes. In some villages, yucca was processed into soap, and pottery was made. Gathered plants included *quelites* (lambsquarters) and *verdolagas* (purslane), *capulín* (chokecherries), gooseberries and wild plums, *piñon* (pine nuts) and acorns, *lemita* (squawbush), *cotá* (wild tea), and numerous other medicinal plants. Local game included deer, elk and rabbit. Residents of Guadalupita and Upper and Lower Coyote would travel to the plains of eastern New Mexico and western Texas to hunt buffalo each fall and buffalo meat and robes provided a substantial resource.⁹⁴

2. Mining

The boosterism apparent in Mora County newspaper articles in the early 1890s was even more blatant when it came to mineral deposits, and in particular: copper. In addition to the remains of the copper mine shown in photograph no. 15, there are three other locations within the historic district where copper mines were located.⁹⁵ The exposed outcroppings of unusual rock formations that are evident throughout the Coyote Valley probably signaled the presence of valuable minerals to early settlers. Although the mineral prospects of the area at times seemed very promising, and some mining, mostly of copper did take place, ultimately the deposits proved disappointing. In 1890 and 1891, the Mora papers, *El Mosquito* and *La Gaceta de Mora*, did their best to promote the copper mines in Coyote (see photograph no. 15): “The coming mining camp in northern New Mexico is the Coyote mining district in Mora County, about thirty miles west of north of Las Vegas. While little has been said about it through the press, for the reason the actual promoters of the mining business is no less a personage than general (Spoon) B. F. Butler, of Boston.⁹⁶ Ultimately neither

⁹⁴ “Manzano,” Office of the State Historian Website, <http://www.newmexicohistory.org/filedetails.php?fileID=21220>. Chris Wilson, *Historic Resources Reconnaissance Survey of the Manzano and Sandia Mountain Villages* (Santa Fe: Historic Preservation Division, Office of Cultural Affairs); for more on *cotá* and other medicinal plants used by the Hispanic villagers, see L. S. M. Curtin, *Healing Herbs of the Upper Rio Grande* (Los Angeles: Southwest Museum, 1965), 70, passim.

⁹⁵ One of the largest was about one mile from Lucero, interview with Richard Antonio Mares and Joe Ruben Mares, Lucero, New Mexico, May 22, 2010.

⁹⁶ *El Mosquito*, Mora, New Mexico, December 3, 1891, Amador Collection, New Mexico State University, Las Cruces, NM.

“Spoon” Butler, nor any other mining magnate, invested money in the copper mines in Coyote. One reason could be that the Denver and El Paso road that was supposed to go through Black Lake to Mora never came to pass. In fact, the road from Black Lake to Guadalupita was not paved until the mid 1970s. But in 1891 the editor of *El Mosquito*, Camilo Padilla, wrote: “If the Denver and El Paso road should pass close to Black Lakes, it would be a good thing for that road, because it would pass through a country filled with good timber and coal, besides getting a good deal of transportation from the mines at Coyote...the best route would be by passing by Guadalupita and follow the Turquillo valley down to ... Mora. We think it would pay the officers of the proposed route to look into this.”⁹⁷ Even though the Denver and El Paso Road did not pass through Guadalupita in the 1890s, nor did “Spoon” Butler invest in the mines within the historic district, some mining explorations and other activity did take place. The traces of these explorations can still be seen on the landscape today, for example at the copper mine tailings in Coyote shown in photograph no. 15. Mining companies active in the area included the Republic Mining Company, with an office in Lucero, employing a Marcus Finch, who may be the J. M. Finch noted on the Miller Survey, and the Cuchilla Mining Company. Charles Bowmer and John Hays were associated with mines in the area. Seven individuals list their occupations as miners in the 1880 Upper Coyote and Guadalupita censuses. Old mines and mineral deposits within the Guadalupita/Coyote Historic District make up a mining district called the Coyote Creek Mining District. A mining district, which does not have specific geographic boundaries, is defined as, “a group of mines and/or mineral deposits that occur in a geographically defined are...that locally are defined by geologic criteria/distribution of deposits, mineralogy, faults, lithology, stratigraphic horizons, etc.” The Coyote Creek Mining District is defined by the deposits described as “sedimentary—copper Precambrian veins/replacements, pegmatite, sandstone uranium” that were laid down in the Pennsylvanian-Permian Periods. The deposits are primarily of copper, but also include gold, and uranium. The mineral production of copper (or any other mineral) is indicated by the estimated cumulative value of production of \$1,000 to \$2,000.⁹⁸ Mineral exploration in the area included digging test pits for uranium in the 1960s.⁹⁹

3. Logging

As farming was the main occupation of Guadalupita/Coyote men in the latter part of the nineteenth century so was logging in the early part of the twentieth century. Even up until recent times almost every working male in Guadalupita was a logger. The New Mexico Business Directories for the 1920s and 1930s tell the story: Cerro Montoso Lumber Co.; Santiago LeFevre, sawmill; Pablo Marrujo, sawmill; Leo Ortega, sawmill; and Vigil and Vigil, sawmill, six out of a total of seventeen businesses. In 1931 there were still three out of eight businesses operating sawmills:

⁹⁷ *El Mosquito*, Mora, New Mexico, December 3, 1891, Amador Collection, New Mexico State University, Las Cruces. NM.

⁹⁸ Virginia McLemore et al, *Mining Districts in New Mexico*, passim; Neal Ackerly, *An Overview of the Historic Characteristics of New Mexico's Mines*, 169.

⁹⁹ Interview with Blas Medina, Jr., September 2, 2009, Mora: Geologic Map of Area B Showing Uranium Deposits, Coyote District, Mora County, NM (Washington DC: US Department of the Interior Geological Survey, 1990); 1880 Guadalupita and Coyote censuses, NMSRCA, Santa Fe.

Coca and Gonzales Lumber Co., Coors Lumber Co., and Griego and Torrez. Several of these were operating in the Coyote Arriba area, such as Coca and Gonzales and Cerro Montoso Lumber Co.¹⁰⁰

Lorenzo Herrera describes working for his grandfather, Epimenio Vigil (Vigil and Vigil Sawmill) and his father Marcelino Herrera. They had a sawmill on Ocate mesa above Coyote Arriba. Working before the days of power saws, they would cut large pine trees with cross-cut saws, de-limb and de-bark them with axes, and bring them to the mill by horse-drawn wagon to be cut into lumber or railroad ties.

Most of the railroad ties were sold to Gross Kelly Company in Las Vegas. Gross Kelly had contracts with the railroads to sell the ties and with individuals like the Guadalupita loggers and sawmill operators to produce the ties. In 1900 Kelly had a contract to cut up to a million ties on the Maxwell Grant. They even had a five-year contract with the Mexican Central Railroad, in the state of Michoacan, to purchase railroad ties. To complete this contract, Gross Kelly had a railroad built for about forty-eight miles in Michoacan to help them get the timber out of the mountains. They also brought a crew of Hispano tie-hewers from the Mora area to teach the workmen in Michoacan how to “hew ties according to railroad specifications.” It is possible that some of the skilled loggers from the Guadalupita/Coyote area were among this work crew sent to Mexico.¹⁰¹

C. Village Culture.

Guadalupita was somewhat remote in that the road from Mora to Guadalupita was not paved until the late 1960s and the road to Black Lake and Angel Fire was not paved until the mid 1970s. From the early days in the late 1800s to the early 1900s the village life and entertainment can be described as revolving around church functions, *acequia* rituals such as the opening of the ditches, the spring cleaning of the *acequias*, and the blessing of the fields on San Isidro day, May 15. Two of the most important structures in Guadalupita, the Senobio Salazar house, store and filling station, and the Griego Dance and Meeting Hall, are associated with village entertainment. Movies were shown for village entertainment in both locations and it is said that Donaciano Sanchez, in the house shown in photo no. 15 opposite Griego Hall, would put on puppet shows, magic acts, and movies in Griego Hall as a *maromero*.¹⁰² It is likely that traveling puppet shows and those who exhibited them also came to Griego Hall. A realistic marionette show that came to Las Vegas in 1885 was described in a series of articles in the Las Vegas Optic as collected by Julián Josué Vigil. The Optic described the performance on the evening of June 9, 1885 of the Cendejas Brothers automaton (marionette) show from Mexico City as follows: “The first business on the bill was a trapeze performance by the life-like figures. One hung from a swinging bar while the second was shot by real powder from the mouth of a brass cannon, a third character touching the thing off with a lighted taper...A cock fight was then put on and reminded us of the gaff contests we have seen at Paso del Norte during the feast of Guadalupe...The finale was a real...bull fight in an

¹⁰⁰ *NM Business Directories*, 1923 and 1931.

¹⁰¹ Daniel T. Kelly, *The Buffalo Head: A Century of Mercantile Pioneering in the Southwest* (Santa Fe: Vergara Publishing Co., 1972), 61-2.

¹⁰² Julián Josué Vigil, interview, Las Vegas, NM, April 17, 2010.

amphitheatre in the City of Mexico...The doors of the bull pen were thrown open and out dashed a mad bull. The bull was furious and chased the fellows around the arena at a lively rate.”¹⁰³ While this was quite elaborate and highly professional, it would have given the *maromeros* of Guadalupita some ideas to use in their performances.

Stories told of family events often had an element of magical realism as well, providing another form of entertainment. In 1978, seventy-five year old Guadalupita resident Luisa Torres told a story about her maternal grandmother, Luisa Torres, that sounds like it came out of a novel of magical realism by Gabriel Garcia Marquez: “on the day that my grandmother was seventy I saw her open the doors of her little adobe house. It was a spring day and there were millions of orange and black butterflies around the corn plants; my grandmother ran towards the butterflies and gathered so many of them in her apron that she flew up in the air, while she laughed contentedly.”¹⁰⁴

Other events to which the community looked forward to were the regular visits of traveling merchants or drummers. Even though Jacob Regensberg, Benjamín Regensberg, Delfino Griego, Senobio Salazar, and José A. and Albino Lucero operated retail establishments selling produce, liquor, cigars, candy, and other items, Las Vegas merchants such as Charles Ilfeld and Company included Guadalupita as part of their exclusive territory. Ilfeld would load up a horse-drawn wagon with dry goods samples of merchandise such as boots, shoes, hats and clothes not carried by local Guadalupita merchants; they would also take orders for special lines of hardware such as steel ranges and house furnishings. The drummers wagon would wind through all the Northern New Mexico villages covering more than 500 miles in eight or nine weeks. In a typical trip starting March 15, 1900, the Ilfeld merchant wagon planned a Sunday stop in Guadalupita, a dead end journey from Mora and back-before arriving in Taos on May 23.¹⁰⁵ This would be another occasion where the outside world, in the form of newly available merchandise brought in on the railroad to Las Vegas, arrived in Guadalupita for a day. In addition, individual farmers from other communities would load their wagons or trucks with produce and other items and come to individual houses and farms to sell their wares. This was often a welcome break in the daily routine of farming or ranching when news and gossip from other communities would be exchanged and the children would get a treat. These farmer/merchants visited with their wares, mostly in the fall and were seen in the villages of Guadalupita, Coyote Arriba, and Coyote Abajo as recently as the 1970s and early 1980s.¹⁰⁶

Other village entertainments included traveling magicians, cock fights, dances, horse races, foot races, and the rooster pull. Lilia Pacheco Vigil recalled that “there used to be traveling magician shows which would come about once a year. They’d have two performances. Sometimes we couldn’t afford to buy tickets the first night,

¹⁰³ *Las Vegas Optic*, Tuesday, June 9, 1885, collected by Julián Josué Vigil in “The Royal Mexican Automaton of 1885.”

¹⁰⁴ Luisa Torres, ed., Gioia Brandi, “Palabras de Una Viejita,” *El Palacio*, 84 (Fall 1978), 12.

¹⁰⁵ William Parrish, *The Charles Ilfeld Company: A Study of the Rise and Decline of Mercantile Capitalism in New Mexico*, (Cambridge, Massachusetts: Harvard University Press, 1961), 221-25.

¹⁰⁶ Seva Joseph, *mayordoma* of the Las Cocas Ditch, interview, March 7, 2010.

but the second night we'd sell eggs or corn or chickens to buy tickets.”¹⁰⁷ As late as the 1940s puppet shows came to communities in Northern New Mexico. *Los Titeros*, (the puppet show), would arrive in town with their homemade puppets and collapsible stage and announce that there would be a show that night in the community center. Griego Hall would be a perfect place for such a performance as the entire community could fit in that space and still have room for the puppeteers, a stage, or a movie screen. These events were eagerly anticipated in communities like Guadalupe. Also highly anticipated were regular showings of movies at both Griego Hall and the Senobio Salazar movie theater.¹⁰⁸

On feast days, such as December 12 for Guadalupe (Our Lady of Guadalupe) and May 22 for Lucero, as well as July 25 for Santiago and July 26 for Santa Ana de Compostela, special festivities and traditional ceremonies would be held. One such tradition later adopted by the Pueblo Indians was the rooster pull. This was performed in Mora in the 1940s, but was abandoned as a public performance because of objections by animal rights activists. Also called the *corrida de gallo*, the ceremony, thought to have religious significance, involved partially burying a rooster in the ground as riders on horseback sought to be the first one to grab the rooster and then defend it from other riders.¹⁰⁹

These festivities and entertainments would be performed in the village plaza, or in the case of Guadalupe in the Delfino Griego Community Hall, or to some extent, the Senobio Salazar store and movie theater.¹¹⁰

Conclusion

The Guadalupe/Coyote Historic District is eligible for listing in the State Register of Cultural Properties because of the people and events in its communities that help us understand the migration and settlement of rural Northeast New Mexico in the mid-nineteenth century. The District embodies the cultural landscape associated with the historical themes from the latter part of the nineteenth century and early twentieth centuries: the Mora and Guadalupe land grants, irrigation, commerce, Fort Union, grist mills, and bootleg liquor, agriculture, mining, ranching, logging, and village culture, all of which have a unique character when applied to the Guadalupe/Coyote Historic District. The communities of Guadalupe, Coyote, and Lucero with their agricultural lands and *acequia* systems, the Guadalupe/Lucero road, Coyote Creek and the dramatic geological formations surrounding and in the valley, constitute a unique cultural landscape reflecting an isolated valley in northern New Mexico from the late nineteenth century up to the time the road was paved from Mora to Guadalupe and the first telephones were installed in the 1960's.

¹⁰⁷ Lilia Pacheco Vigil, *Los Tiempos de UPA: Those Were the Good Old Days* (Las Vegas, NM: Editorial Telaraña, 1980), 6-7.

¹⁰⁸ Marc Simmons, "The Southwest's Traveling Puppet Shows", in *From Taos to Tome: True Tales of Hispanic New Mexico* (Albuquerque: Adobe Press, 1978), 23-25

¹⁰⁹ Marta Weigle and Peter White, *The Lore of New Mexico* (Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 2003), 343-47.

¹¹⁰ Munira Salazar, descendant of Senobio Salazar, interview, Guadalupe, March 29, 2010.

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CONTINUATION SHEET Geographical References: Section: 14 Page: 1

Section 14 — Geographical Information:

UTM Coordinates:

AP 1 coordinates: 13 0478889 E, 3985897 N
AP 2 coordinates: 13 0479720 E, 3985620 N
AP 3 coordinates: 13 0480443 E, 3987881 N
AP 4 coordinates: 13 0480560 E, 3989008 N
AP 5 coordinates: 13 0480536 E, 3990007 N
AP 6 coordinates: 13 0480225 E, 3992487 N
AP 7 coordinates: 13 0481803 E, 3996170 N
AP 8 coordinates: 13 0481943 E, 3997378 N
AP 9 coordinates: 13 0481946 E, 3999245 N
AP 10 coordinates: 13 0479311 E, 4001232 N
AP 11 coordinates: 13 0479256 E, 4001933 N
AP 12 coordinates: 13 0476714 E, 4001795 N
AP 13 coordinates: 13 0476499 E, 4000364 N
AP 14 coordinates: 13 0477146 E, 3999996 N
AP 15 coordinates: 13 0477818 E, 3997840 N
AP 16 coordinates: 13 0480064 E, 3997917 N
AP 17 coordinates: 13 0479136 E, 3992066 N

CONTINUATION SHEETS - Photographs: Section: 16 Page: 1

The following information pertains to all photographs unless otherwise noted:

Section 16 — Photographs and Maps

Name of Property:

Location: Various, within The Guadalupita/Coyote Historic District

Photographer: Malcolm Ebright, except in historical photos and Marron & Assoc., Inc, photo 31, center

Dates taken: October, 2008 to July, 2010

Location of Negatives: New Mexico Historic Preservation Division, Santa Fe.

Photograph 1

Santa Rita Church (L6)

Lucero

Photograph 2

Pedro Montoya House (L5)

(1900 Coyote/Lucero census house #199)

Lucero

Photograph 3 (L12)

Pedro Montoya Store and Post Office

Lucero

Photograph 4 (L4)

Dr. Charles Bowmer House

Lucero

Photograph 5

Dr. Charles Bowmer Mill (L4)

Lucero

Photograph 6 (L23)

Montoya Cemetery

Lucero

Photograph 7 (L24)

Santa Rita Acequia

Lucero

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Photograph 8 (C16)
San Isidro Morada
Coyote Arriba

Photograph 9
Fields north of San Isidro Morada
Coyote Arriba

Photograph 10 (C14)
Marino and Alecia Gonzales and/Marino Gonzales House
Coyote Arriba

Photograph 11 (C 11A)
Blas Medina, Sr. House
Coyote Arriba

Photograph 12 (C 11B)
Blas Medina, Jr. House
Coyote Arriba

Photograph 13 (C 9)
Los Cocas Ditch Headgate
Coyote Arriba

Photograph 14 (C 3)
Don Shaw House
Coyote Arriba

Photograph 15 (C 1)
Copper Mine Tailings
Coyote Arriba

Photograph 16 (G 34)
Guadalupita Plaza and Small Cemetery
Guadalupita

Photograph 17 (G 24)
Delfino Griego House and Meeting Hall
Guadalupita

Photograph 18 (G 26)
Donaciano Sanchez House
Guadalupita

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Photograph 19

Headgate, Santa Tomás Ditch #1

Guadalupita

Photograph 20 (G 32)

Benjamin Regensberg House

Guadalupita

Photograph 21

Carl Regensberg Mobile Home

Guadalupita

Photograph 22 (G 20)

Senobio Salazar House and Store

Guadalupita

Photograph 23 (G 43)

Guadalupita Cemetery

Guadalupita

Photograph 24 (G 13)

Our Lady of Guadalupe Church

Guadalupita

Photograph 25 (G 36)

Elias and Angie Martinez Shrine, Outbuildings, and House

Guadalupita

Photograph 26 (G 1C)

Max Graham Bunkhouse for Distillery Workers

Guadalupita

Photograph 27 (G 1A)

Max Graham Millworks/Remnants of Still

Guadalupita

Photograph 28

Historical photo: Mora in Early 1900s

Photograph 29

Historical photo: Surveyor Claude Miller

Photograph 30

Historical photo: State Senator Senobio Salazar (head of table) (house in photo 19)

Photograph 31

Modern and Historical photos: Guadalupita in 2010, 2011, and 1946

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(Guadalupita in 2011, photo by Marron and Associates, Inc.)

Photograph 32

Historical photo: Guadalupita circa 1903

Map 33

Map of the Guadalupita (highlighted in yellow) and Mora Land Grants

Map 34

Map of the Guadalupita/Coyote Historic District

Map 35

Portion of the Claude Miller Survey of Guadalupita, 1910
Santo Tomás Ditch No. 1

Map 36

Portion of the Guadalupita Quad, USGS Map, 1966

Map 37

Portion of the Lucero Quad, USGS Map, 1966
