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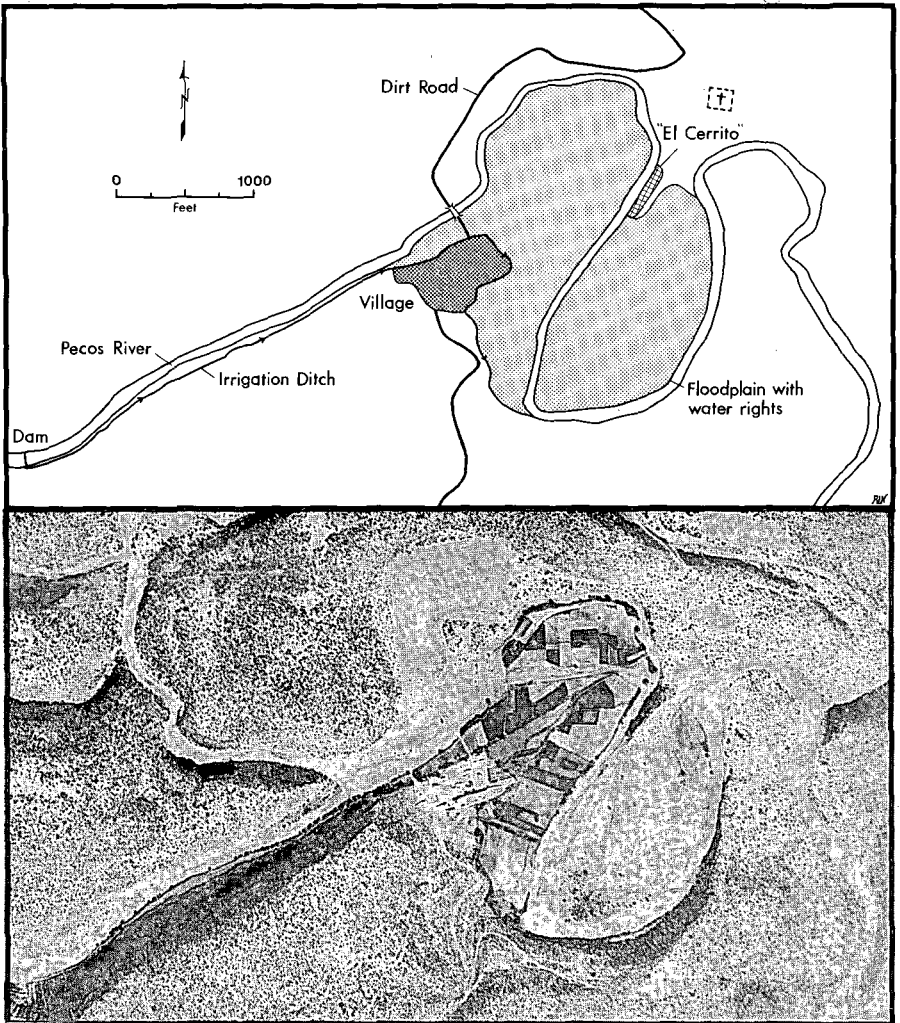
## EL CERRITO REVISITED

RICHARD L. NOSTRAND

IN THE SPRING OF 1939 two social scientists from the Department of Agriculture, Olen E. Leonard and Charles P. Loomis, were bouncing along a rough mesa road in a car some thirty miles southwest of Las Vegas, New Mexico, "looking for a typical Spanish-American village to study."<sup>1</sup> Suddenly, they came to the edge of a high bluff that overlooked the Pecos Valley and the village of El Cerrito. They stopped the car, and without saying a word, got out to gaze down at the Pecos as it tied a "silvery knot" about the little cluster of houses and small rectangular fields. So captivated were they with El Cerrito's quaintness and beauty that their desire to make it their study-village was immediate. As they inquired about El Cerrito, they found that it was, indeed, representative of the local villages, with the important exception that it was not split into rival clans or factions. So in late 1939 and in 1940 Leonard and Loomis took up residence in El Cerrito and from the experience wrote a comprehensive and insightful modern-day classic.<sup>2</sup>

Since 1940 El Cerrito has undergone dramatic change, some of which was captured in a restudy Loomis undertook in 1956.<sup>3</sup> Since 1940, moreover, population census schedules of 1900 have been released, and El Cerrito, one of the relatively few "Hispano"<sup>4</sup> villages clearly identified within its census precinct, can be described accurately.<sup>5</sup> The fortunate coincidence of the existence of the Leonard and Loomis study in 1940 and the availability of village-specific data for 1900 made a village restudy irresistible. So in 1980 the present author temporarily resided in and was a frequent visitor to the village—with the primary aim of analyzing its demographic dynamics since the turn of the century.

Figure 1.



El Cerrito setting. Between the dam and the village the Pecos River cuts deeply into the mesa, and little floodplain exists. The valley widens downstream where the river meanders, however, and there villagers have water rights to some 113 floodplain acres. In 1980 water was conducted through the gravity-flow ditch only to the village-fronting floodplain. The cemetery lies atop the mesa near an isolated valley cerrito (small hill) after which the village is named. The map is based on field work in 1980; the vertical air photo is No. 1689, CHX 3 146, taken 21 September 1939 by the Agricultural Adjustment Administration.

In 1900, 136 people (thirty families) lived in El Cerrito, a number that probably accounted for all villagers.<sup>6</sup> All were Hispanos who, for the most part, were related; all owned their homes free of mortgage; and all probably owned several acres of irrigable floodplain on which they grew household foodstuffs and livestock forage. Each person apparently lived in the compact little village that lay nestled on a low spur of mesa land within a meander of the Pecos River (Fig. 1).<sup>7</sup>

Eighteen of the thirty heads of household were stockmen—ten stock raisers and eight stock herders. The stock raisers grazed their large flocks of sheep and smaller herds of cattle on the surrounding higher mesa that they used free or leased inexpensively from the state and federal governments.<sup>8</sup> They were the village patrons, and they probably employed the eight stock herders.<sup>9</sup> Four heads of household were “day laborers,” who may have worked for the patrons or perhaps had jobs outside the village; two were farmers; one was a blacksmith; one was a carpenter; and four—all sixty-five or older—had no occupation. About 1900, a man, reportedly a cruel person, was a school teacher, but no one with that occupation was listed in the census schedules of 1900.<sup>10</sup>

The villagers thought of themselves as stockmen, not as farmers,<sup>11</sup> and wool was El Cerrito's single important product.<sup>12</sup> Both these conditions were soon altered when the villagers lost their common mesa land. In 1904 only 5,148 of 315,300 acres claimed were confirmed by the Court of Private Land Claims to residents of the San Miguel del Bado Grant.<sup>13</sup> Most of the awarded acreage was Pecos floodplain along which most of the grant's inhabitants lived in ten villages.<sup>14</sup> El Cerrito, last of the land grant villages going downstream, was given a roughly circular 117.65-acre tract that contained only the village and its solares (house lots) and the small irrigated plots located on the adjacent constricted floodplain.<sup>15</sup> After 1904 some villagers were able to purchase or lease mesa land, and after 1916 many families homesteaded mesa tracts of from forty to 640 acres;<sup>16</sup> but the homesteaded tracts were scattered in a “crazy-quilt” pattern, many had no water, and in the end only two stock raisers were able to piece together the large contiguous hold-

ings needed for successful ranching in a semiarid environment.<sup>17</sup>

The full impact of the loss of the common mesa land was not immediately felt.<sup>18</sup> Until 1916, the stock raisers apparently continued to graze their livestock on what was now public domain.<sup>19</sup> The early decades of the twentieth century were prosperous times when many male villagers readily found temporary employment cutting railroad ties or working for railroads in New Mexico, picking cotton in Texas, or working in sugar beet fields and steel mills in Colorado.<sup>20</sup> However, access to the mesa land was curtailed by homesteading after 1916, the temporary jobs disappeared when the Great Depression arrived in the late 1920s, and economic conditions became desperate. Only after 1933, when government relief programs began, was a temporary outside source of income again available to heads of households.<sup>21</sup> By enrolling at government camps, boys and girls supplemented family income as well.<sup>22</sup>

In 1940 the number of villagers was unchanged: 135 people (twenty-one families) resided permanently in El Cerrito.<sup>23</sup> An additional five men, each of whom constituted a family, had moved away, yet they continued to own, and occasionally to revisit, their village homes.<sup>24</sup> As in 1900, all villagers were Hispanos,<sup>25</sup> practically everyone was related,<sup>26</sup> and all owned their homes and their several-acre floodplain tracts, or they were in line to inherit them.<sup>27</sup> And nearly all families lived in the compact village.<sup>28</sup>

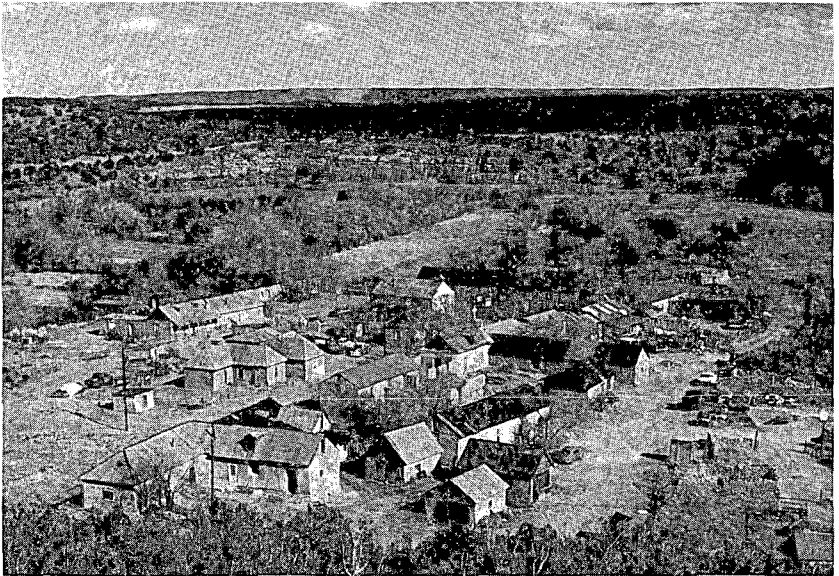
Only two families in 1940 owned sheep and cattle, and the one "big sheepman" employed three laborers, the village's only full-time employees.<sup>29</sup> Some heads of household had temporary employment: one male school teacher/principal from the village presumably received an outside income;<sup>30</sup> for a fee, one family boarded the second school teacher, a woman from Villanueva;<sup>31</sup> and a local woman was paid a small sum by the church to conduct services in the absence of the priest.<sup>32</sup> But the majority barely survived by irrigating their one- to four-acre floodplain tracts and by dry farming portions of their homesteaded mesa tracts.<sup>33</sup> A little income was derived from the sale of peaches and beans and from piñon nuts gathered on the mesa.<sup>34</sup> Some of the younger people who had recently spent time in government camps or had been away to school were now expressing a preference to live outside the village, but very few families were considering leaving it.<sup>35</sup> Although aware

of their plight, most villagers clung tenaciously to their irrigated land as they searched for outside employment; everyone knew that some major change was inevitable.<sup>36</sup>

That change happened almost immediately, and it took the form of a major exodus of families. The war effort in the early 1940s provided defense-related construction jobs at air fields and in airplane factories in New Mexico, caused mines to reopen in Arizona, and brought about farm labor jobs again in Colorado. By September of 1942 a number of El Cerrito men, some with their families, were engaged in all three enterprises.<sup>37</sup> Gradually, however, villagers gravitated to the cities as men obtained work, established a "beachhead," and later brought families and relatives from El Cerrito.<sup>38</sup> The long-term results of the exodus were clear by the summer of 1956: of the twenty-six permanent and nonresident families present in 1940, fifteen had moved away, four-fifths of them going to Pueblo and the rest to Denver, Albuquerque, and Las Vegas; three had died; and only eight remained, four of which were older couples.<sup>39</sup> These eight families represented one-fourth of El Cerrito's population in 1940;<sup>40</sup> more villagers now lived in Pueblo than in "La Placita," as they affectionately called El Cerrito.<sup>41</sup> In 1956 only three or four families planned to stay in El Cerrito,<sup>42</sup> and the exodus obviously continued, because about 1968–69 only five people in two families remained—the nadir of twentieth-century population.<sup>43</sup>

About the time El Cerrito's population reached its lowest ebb, Anglos began to buy parts of the village.<sup>44</sup> In about 1965 and 1968, two Anglo parties purchased solares, irrigated land, and mesa land from villagers, but neither moved into the village.<sup>45</sup> A hippie pair known as Mad John and Dirty Barry, who rented a village house for some six months in 1970, were the first (nonacademic) Anglos to live in El Cerrito. During the next few years five additional Anglo parties, a dozen people in all, rented houses in the village for as long as several years, and one of them, a couple arriving in late 1971, remained permanently. With three couples and a bachelor (in all, six Anglos and three Hispanos), the permanent couple purchased five solares and some irrigated land in 1972. By 1980, then, six Anglo parties had lived in the village, one of them remaining permanently, and three Anglo parties (the last being the

Figure 2.



Village of El Cerrito in April 1941 (above) and December 1980 (below), looking northeast. Houses with flat roofs had to be shoveled of snow, and a mantilla (cloth) hung at the ceiling caught any dust; by 1980 all occupied buildings had pitched roofs covered with sheet iron or aluminum. Upper photo by Irving Rusinow, National Archives Neg. 83-G-37795; lower photo by author.

mixture of Anglos and Hispanos) owned seven of the village's approximately twenty-six solares, 28.5 of approximately 113 acres having water rights, and mesa land.<sup>46</sup>

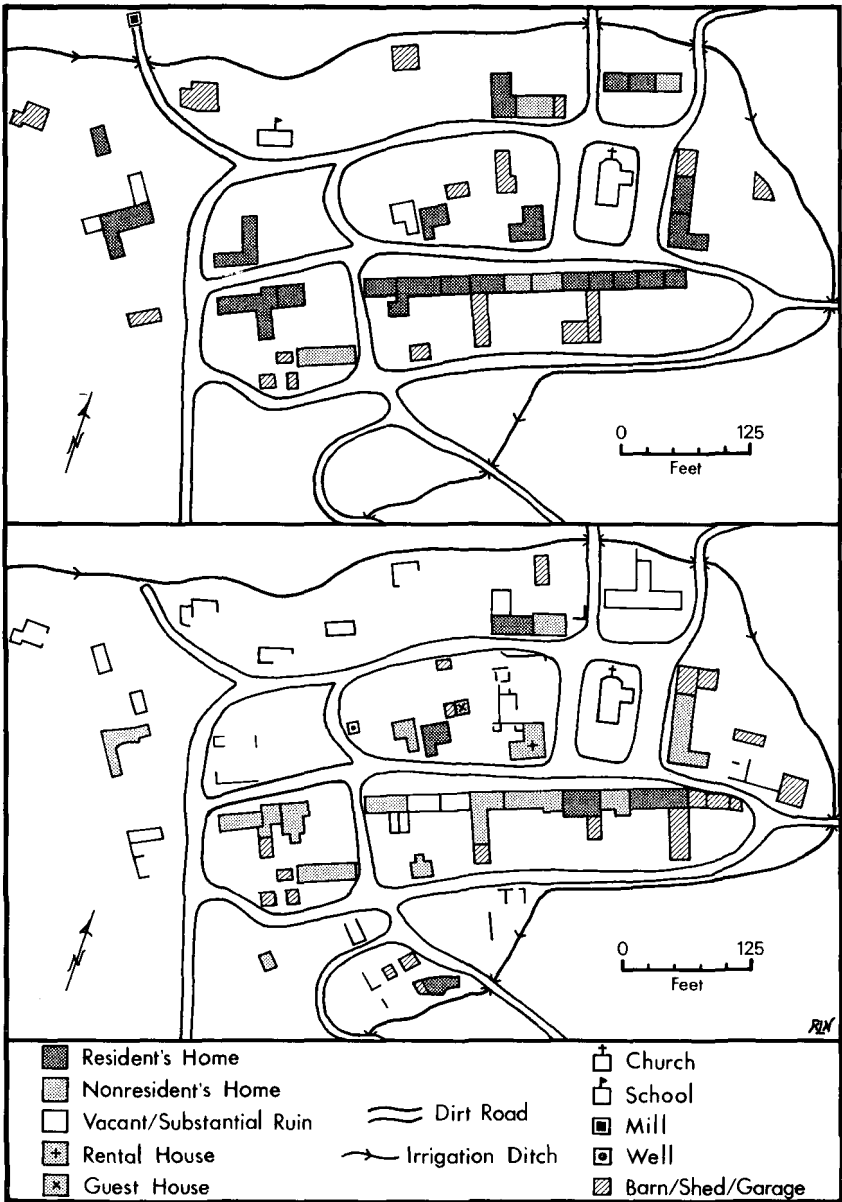
When the census was taken in 1980, eleven people (five families) resided in El Cerrito. Nine were Hispanos, most of whom were related, and two were Anglos. Although the two Anglos were neither Roman Catholic nor fluent in Spanish,<sup>47</sup> they were very much accepted by the villagers and an integral part of the community. Soon after moving to El Cerrito, the husband worked for many days to help repair the dam; residents respected him for his technical skills and grantsmanship abilities. By 1980 he had been elected president of the community acequia (irrigation ditch) commission; his wife, moreover, was in charge of the community well.<sup>48</sup> In 1980 all the villagers (or members of their extended families) owned their homes and their irrigation plots, and all lived in the compact village.

Of the five heads of household, two were primarily irrigation farmers and cattle ranchers. One, the son of a villager who had grown up in Pueblo and in the last several years had moved to El Cerrito with his immediate family to tend the family's land holdings, had recently installed a pipeline across the Pecos in an ambitious attempt to transfer water from the village irrigation ditch to fifty acres on which his family had water rights in the neck of bottomland lying just downstream from the village. Two others were primarily farmers. One, also the son of a villager who had moved from Pueblo two years earlier to live with his elderly aunt, was a student at New Mexico Highlands University in Las Vegas as well. The second farmer was the Anglo. The last head of household was now retired.

Besides the five permanent families, El Cerrito had fourteen nonresident families (approximately sixty-five people, three of them Anglos) in 1980.<sup>49</sup> Nine lived in Pueblo, Las Vegas, and Albuquerque, and the remainder lived in other New Mexico and Colorado communities. All fourteen families owned houses in El Cerrito, some were registered users of irrigation water, and some owned mesa land on which they ran cattle.<sup>50</sup> On weekends and during vacations, most of these families returned to El Cerrito to maintain their properties,<sup>51</sup> and half of them planned to retire in El Cerrito.



Figure 3.



Village of El Cerrito in 1940 (above) and 1980 (below). The 1940 map is after Leonard and Loomis, *El Cerrito*, p. 38, and is somewhat speculative—for example, the condition of the mill is not known, and the existence of a plank bridge over the irrigation ditch above it is only assumed. The 1980 map is based on field work; not shown are corrals (unless they were in substantial ruin), greenhouses, outhouses, minor ruins, and driveways.

By 1980, then, El Cerrito has undergone severe depopulation, yet many departed families continue to be active nonresidents. The presence of nonresidents explains why, four decades after depopulation began, the village has changed so little in appearance (Fig. 2). For although a few new structures such as the well house have been added, and a few old ones including the one two-story house have almost melted away, the village of 1940 is still immediately recognizable in 1980.<sup>52</sup> On the other hand, depopulation leaves its mark in occupance patterns (Fig. 3). The consolidation of several homes between 1940 and 1980 complicates generalizing, yet the number of permanently occupied houses decreased from twenty-one to five, the number used by nonresidents increased from five to fourteen, and a number are now in substantial ruin.<sup>53</sup>

In 1940 villagers perceived that their economic woes were directly attributable to the loss in 1904 of their common grazing land.<sup>54</sup> The failure of all but two stock raisers to acquire viable grazing land units out of the public domain after 1916<sup>55</sup> and a general unwillingness among most heads of households to utilize more efficiently their arable floodplain,<sup>56</sup> however, must not be ignored. Indeed, the economic vitality of this stock-raising community before 1904 is brought into question when one discovers that, as early as the mid-1870s, El Cerrito men had taken temporary railroad construction jobs and had supplied ties to the Santa Fe Railroad.<sup>57</sup> Thus, a combination of push factors at the village level and the pull of the city seems to explain El Cerrito's dramatic population loss after 1940.

Taken together, Hispano villages range along a continuum from those that have undergone complete abandonment, as in the case of La Ventana in the Rio Puerco Valley, to those that have experienced population growth, as for example at Peñasco in southern Taos County. El Cerrito is, of course, representative of the many villages that have undergone severe depopulation.<sup>58</sup> The El Cerrito example is instructive, for it suggests that where dramatic population losses occurred, many families continue to be active nonresidents. It suggests also that Hispano villages may be rejuvenating; in El Cerrito, two sons of nonresident villagers have recently become residents, and some nonresident villagers plan to retire there.

It suggests further that the influx of Anglos has not only contributed to this apparent rejuvenation but also has probably ended the days of ethnic purity in Hispano villages. Finally, the El Cerrito example underscores that village depopulation involved primarily younger people who moved to urban areas during the quarter century between 1940 and the mid-1960s.

#### NOTES

1. This account of selecting El Cerrito was given in Charles P. Loomis, "Informal Groupings in a Spanish-American Village," *Sociometry* 4 (February 1941): 36-40, quote on p. 36. The same paper, released in mimeographed form by the Bureau of Agricultural Economics of the Department of Agriculture, had been given by Loomis in December 1940 at the annual meeting of the American Sociological Society in Chicago. In 1980 the Old Town (West) Las Vegas (N. Mex.) plaza was exactly twenty-six road-miles from El Cerrito.

2. Olen Leonard and C. P. Loomis, *Culture of a Contemporary Rural Community: El Cerrito, New Mexico*, Bureau of Agricultural Economics, Rural Life Studies 1 (Washington, D.C.: U.S. Department of Agriculture, 1941). Both authors are now retired, Leonard in Tucson and Loomis in Las Cruces. Leonard (letter to author, 25 August 1980) writes that he lived in El Cerrito for seven months between October 1939 and May 1940. Loomis overlapped with Leonard in February, March, and April, and he again resided in El Cerrito in June, October, and November; Loomis to author, 27 December 1980. Leonard and Loomis note that at one time El Cerrito had been split between two rival families, the "M's" (for Manzanarese) and the "Q's" (for Quintanas), but that this conflict had ended with the departure of the M's (*El Cerrito*, pp. 57, 63). A companion volume of photographs taken 10-16 April 1941 by Irving Rusinow appeared as *A Camera Report on El Cerrito, A Typical Spanish-American Community in New Mexico*, Bureau of Agricultural Economics, Miscellaneous Publication No. 479 (Washington, D.C.: U.S. Department of Agriculture, 1942). Leonard drew heavily on his fieldwork in El Cerrito for his doctoral dissertation at Louisiana State University (1943), which has been reprinted with only minor modifications as *The Role of the Land Grant in the Social Organization and Social Processes of a Spanish-American Village in New Mexico* (Albuquerque: Calvin Horn, 1970).

3. Loomis, "El Cerrito, New Mexico: A Changing Village," *New Mexico Historical Review* 33 (January 1958): 53-75; and Charles P. Loomis, "Systemic Linkage of El Cerrito," *Rural Sociology* 24 (March 1959): 54-57.

4. I am using the term "Hispano" as a substitute for "Spanish American" or "Spanish"; those familiar with this subculture know that "Spanish American" and the Spanish consciousness it represents came to exist in the early decades of the twentieth century. See Richard L. Nostrand, " 'Mexican American' and 'Chicano' :

Emerging Terms for a People Coming of Age," *Pacific Historical Review* 42 (August 1973): 394–96.

5. Manuscript census schedules of 1900 were released in the mid-1970s in keeping with a seventy-five-year confidentiality policy. Census enumerators in 1900 were apparently instructed to ignore the one or several villages that may have existed within their precincts, and although aggregate data can be determined for all precincts, such data can be tabulated only for a relatively small number of Hispano villages identified by especially conscientious enumerators. Fortunately, in the headings for all three census schedules labeled Precinct 37, Nestor Sena, the forty-four-year-old "day laborer" from San Jose who took the census in El Cerrito, wrote "El Cerrito" in the blank spaces following the "incorporated city, town, or village" being enumerated, thus signaling that data aggregates for El Cerrito and Precinct 37 would be one and the same (U.S., Department of Commerce, Bureau of the Census, *Twelfth Census of the United States: 1900, Population*, New Mexico vol. 1, [Washington, D.C.: National Archives Microfilm Publications, n.d.], Microcopy No. T-623, roll 1002, San Miguel County, Enumeration District 108, Precinct 37, pp. 147a, 147b, 148a).

6. The census reveals that no family in 1900 was without its male head of household. Whether entire families were temporarily away from the village is not known, but if so the number would have been small (*Twelfth Census: 1900*, T-623, roll 1002, pp. 147a, 147b, 148a).

7. The removal of a few families in El Cerrito from the village to the mesa seems to have occurred after 1916 when mesa land was opened to homesteading. Families that homesteaded mesa land did live on their claims at least long enough to obtain patents (Leonard and Loomis, *El Cerrito*, p. 15).

8. Leonard and Loomis, *El Cerrito*, p. 15.

9. They may well have employed more than the eight stock herders. This analysis is based only on heads of household and ignores thirteen sons or sons-in-law whose occupations were stock herder (seven), day laborer (four), farmer (one), and stock raiser (one). One widowed daughter was also a laundrywoman (*Twelfth Census: 1900*, T-623, roll 1002, pp. 147a, 147b, 148a).

10. Leonard and Loomis, *El Cerrito*, p. 13. In 1900 schooling was in Spanish. The census schedules reveal that not one of the 136 villagers could speak English (*Twelfth Census: 1900*, T-623, roll 1002, pp. 147a, 147b, 148a).

11. Leonard and Loomis, *El Cerrito*, p. 23.

12. Leonard and Loomis, *El Cerrito*, p. 70.

13. The General Land Office Record of Patents, Private Land Claims Docket No. 119, New Mexico, dated 6 January 1910, and available at the Bureau of Land Management, Santa Fe, gives the figure 5,147.73 acres. Leonard noted the figures 5,024 of some 400,000 acres on pp. 48, 105, and on p. 104 he documented the figure 315,300 acres in his *Role of the Land Grant*. By mistake, Leonard and Loomis gave the date as 1901 in *El Cerrito*, p. 4; see note 15 below.

14. The existence of ten villages in 1900 was noted in Leonard, *Role of the Land Grant*, pp. 49, 105.

15. Plat of the San Miguel del Bado Grant, Tracts 1, 3, 4, 5, 6, 7, 8, 9, and 10, as surveyed by Wendell V. Hall, 9 December 1902–8 February 1903, approved

by the Court of Private Land Claims on 14 June 1904, available at the Bureau of Land Management, Santa Fe. Tract No. 1 was El Cerrito's grant. Tract No. 2 is shown in the Villanueva 15-minute quadrangle map, United States Geological Survey, 1960. Water rights to 113.34 acres were adjudicated in the Hope Decree of 1933 and are shown in the Pecos Hydrographic Survey Map Sheet No. A-15, May 1922. These latter documents are available at the State Engineer's Office in Santa Fe.

16. Leonard and Loomis, *El Cerrito*, p. 14.

17. Leonard and Loomis, *El Cerrito*, pp. 6, 21; quote on p. 6.

18. Leonard and Loomis, *El Cerrito*, p. 6.

19. Leonard, *Role of the Land Grant*, pp. 116, 138.

20. Leonard and Loomis, *El Cerrito*, pp. 4, 12, 60, 69.

21. Leonard and Loomis, *El Cerrito*, pp. 6, 32, 35.

22. Leonard and Loomis, *El Cerrito*, pp. 33, 60.

23. Loomis to author, 12 August 1980.

24. Loomis to author, 12 August 1980. Thus, in 1940 there were twenty-six permanent and nonresident families in El Cerrito. Leonard and Loomis, *El Cerrito*, p. 7, noted that two families had moved permanently from the village in the fifteen years prior to 1940, explaining some of the decrease from the thirty families reported in the 1900 census. Leonard noted that six families had moved permanently from the village, but no time frame was given (*Role of the Land Grant*, p. 117).

25. Leonard and Loomis, *El Cerrito*, p. 14.

26. Leonard and Loomis, *El Cerrito*, pp. 8, 41.

27. Leonard and Loomis, *El Cerrito*, pp. 14, 21. The smallest one-family irrigated tract and house lot was one-fourth acre (p. 21).

28. Three families lived on their mesa land (Leonard, *Role of the Land Grant*, p. 115). Leonard and Loomis emphasize that family and community ties were so strong in El Cerrito that removing to the mesa meant great family hardships (*El Cerrito*, p. 46; see note 7 above.)

29. Leonard and Loomis, *El Cerrito*, pp. 28, 31; quote on p. 31. Leonard characterizes these employees as part-time laborers in *Role of the Land Grant*, p. 142.

30. Leonard and Loomis, *El Cerrito*, p. 52.

31. Leonard and Loomis, *El Cerrito*, p. 72. Located three miles up the Pecos, Villanueva was the nearest village to El Cerrito, yet it was sixteen miles away (apparently in one direction) by automobile (*El Cerrito*, pp. 37, 68). (In 1980 the road distance to Villanueva was exactly eight miles: 6.2 dirt and 1.8 paved.) A state law now required that only English be spoken in schools, a regulation that was not always adhered to (*El Cerrito*, p. 52). The school's primary function was considered to be teaching English, and by 1940 many villagers knew English, yet seldom did a local child attain any degree of proficiency in it (*El Cerrito*, pp. 30, 52).

32. Leonard and Loomis, *El Cerrito*, p. 54. The priest came once a month from Villanueva.

33. Leonard and Loomis, *El Cerrito*, pp. 21, 28, 31.

34. Leonard and Loomis, *El Cerrito*, pp. 21, 24, 28.

35. Leonard and Loomis, *El Cerrito*, pp. 20, 33, 45, 60, 72.

36. Leonard and Loomis, *El Cerrito*, pp. 7, 8, 9, 15, 20, 21, 34.

37. Data for El Cerrito and the nearby village of El Pueblo were aggregated in Table 2 by Loomis in his survey of wartime village emigration conducted in 1942, and so one cannot say how many El Cerrito villagers had taken what jobs where. Some villagers had also joined the armed forces (Loomis, "Wartime Migration from the Rural Spanish Speaking Villages of New Mexico," *Rural Sociology* 7 [December 1942]: 386, 390, 391, 393).

38. Loomis, "Systemic Linkage," p. 54.

39. Loomis, "El Cerrito," pp. 55, 66, 68, 72, 74. El Cerrito was also apparently restudied in 1949 by Frank E. Wilson in an unpublished study entitled "El Cerrito: A Changing Culture." Several authors including John Burma, Juan Hernandez, and Leo Grebler et al., cite this elusive manuscript as a master's thesis filed in 1949 at New Mexico Highlands University in Las Vegas. In May 1949 Wilson was awarded a master's degree with a major in Latin American Civilization at NMHU, but that institution's registrar reported in 1980 that no thesis was noted in Wilson's record, and its library has no record of the thesis. Lynn I. Perrigo, professor emeritus of history at the school, recalls that the study was a paper in one of his seminars, but he has no record of it (Perrigo to author, 4 April 1980).

40. Loomis, "El Cerrito," p. 55; and Loomis, "Systemic Linkage," p. 54.

41. Loomis, "Systemic Linkage," pp. 54, 56; quote on p. 56.

42. Loomis, "El Cerrito," pp. 71-72.

43. Interview with Margie Quintana, 29 March 1980.

44. The information about Anglos in El Cerrito was obtained in numerous interviews during 1980 with Jack and Heidi Lanstra, El Cerrito's permanent Anglo couple. Originally from the states of Washington and Hawaii, they met while students at New Mexico Highlands University in Las Vegas.

45. Interviews with Jack and Heidi Lanstra, 31 March, 2 April, 12 August 1980. Land purchased by the first of these parties was later sold to other Anglos, and their one solar was sold back to villagers. The second party to purchase in El Cerrito acquired two solares, explaining why seven are now owned by Anglos as noted below. I was unable to verify the dates of 1965 and 1968 in the County Assessor's, Clerk's, or Treasurer's offices in the San Miguel County Courthouse in Las Vegas.

46. No records seem to exist showing the number and location of the solares. Attempts were made to locate such records at the San Miguel County Courthouse in Las Vegas and through interviews with Locario Huertado of San Miguel (26 April 1980) and Tobias Flores of Villanueva (17 May 1980), president and treasurer, respectively, of the San Miguel del Bado Grant Commission.

47. Of the nine Hispano villagers, the three oldest understood but spoke very little English. Of the remaining six, five were bilingual, but one was more comfortable in Spanish, and another, who had grown up in Pueblo, was more comfortable in English; the one child spoke English almost exclusively.

48. The community well had been dug in 1949 (Loomis, "El Cerrito," p. 60-61). The mayordomo de acequias owned land in El Cerrito but lived in Los Alamos.

A strong feeling of interdependence and cooperation existed among the villagers, and there was an absence of friction between Hispanos and Anglos. On 17 May 1980, for example, Luis Roberto Aragon, a village rancher-farmer, and Linda Quintana, both of Pueblo, were married in the first wedding to be held in El Cerrito since 1958, and Jack and Heidi Lanstra, the Anglos, were best man and matron of honor.

49. These were the active nonresident families who owned and maintained their village homes. The three Anglos were among the party of six Anglos and three Hispanos who had bought land in El Cerrito. There were also a dozen inactive nonresident parties among whom were several Anglos; most had water rights, and half owned houses that were vacant or in ruins.

50. In 1980, fifteen parties were registered users of irrigation water in the village (interview with Jack and Heidi Lanstra, 12 August 1980). As in 1956, nonresidents who did not use their arable lands sometimes leased them to the residents (Loomis, "Systemic Linkage," p. 57). Altogether, the villagers owned some 3,500 to 3,800 mesa land acres in 1980, but none owned sheep.

51. For example, on Easter Sunday (6 April) in 1980, twelve people, only five of whom were permanent villagers, attended church. Of the seven from outside the village, four were from Los Alamos, two were from Las Vegas, and one was from Pueblo. This pattern of villagers returning to El Cerrito when possible also occurred in 1956 (Loomis, "El Cerrito," p. 66).

52. El Cerrito's school has also almost disappeared. It was closed in the early 1950s, after which children were bussed to Villanueva (Loomis, "El Cerrito," pp. 59-60).

53. Florencio Quintana, El Cerrito's oldest resident, cannot explain why a number of village houses adjoined one another in one long row (interview, 12 August 1980). According to Leonard, however, the row of contiguous houses developed as married sons built homes adjacent to those of their parents (*Role of the Land Grant*, pp. 27, 45).

54. Leonard, *Role of the Land Grant*, p. 48.

55. See comments of villagers in Leonard and Loomis, *El Cerrito*, p. 34.

56. The twenty-one permanent families in 1940 had some 113 irrigable acres at their disposal, an average of more than five acres per family. The Amish of Pennsylvania, also the subject of one of the "Rural Life Studies" of the Department of Agriculture Bureau of Agricultural Economics in the early 1940s, claimed that one Amish family could easily make a living on five good irrigated acres. See comments by Loomis in Loomis and Glen Grisham, "The New Mexican Experiment in Village Rehabilitation," *Applied Anthropology* 2 (April-June 1943): 16.

57. Leonard, *Role of the Land Grant*, pp. 149-50.

58. Additional research would probably reveal that the degree of depopulation in a given village is a function of that village's commuter accessibility to major centers.