

Early Settlers of Santa Cruz de la Cañada

1695-1715

José Antonio Esquibel

- 1- La Bienda de Juan Cortes
- 2- Joseph Blasquez
- 3- Juan Lorenzo de medina
- 4- manuel de sobantes
- 5- Juan de pasc Bastillos
- 6- Joseph mas Carena
- 7- Inacio de aragon
- 8- Nicolas ortiz
- 10- mygel geronimo de lagita
- 11- antonio de molla
- 12- andres de cardenas
- 13- Gabriel de ansures
- 14- Diego giron
- 15- francisco de Pybera
- 16- Juan de pios sandobal martin
- 17- Juan de medina ortiz
- 18- Juan de chirinos
- 19- Maria de mora Bienda de salgado
- 20- Diego marques

Foreword by Robert D. Martínez

Preface by Henrietta Martinez Christmas

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Early Settlers of Santa Cruz de la Cañada
1695-1715

José Antonio Esquibel

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Also by José Antonio Esquibel

Books

With John B. Colligan, *The Spanish Recolonization of New Mexico: An Account of the Families Recruited at Mexico City in 1693*

With France V. Scholes, Eleanor B. Adams, and Marc Simmons, [*Juan Domínguez de Mendoza: Soldier and Frontiersman of the Spanish Southwest, 1627-1693*](#)

With Charles M. Carrillo, [*A Tapestry of Kinship: The Web of Influence Among Escultores and Carpinteros in the Parish of Santa Fe, 1790-1860*](#)

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[“Descendants of Hernán Martín Serrano in New Mexico: The First Five Generations, 1598 to 1720”](#)

Dedication

This monograph is dedicated to the memory of the citizens of Spain in the Americas that endured hardship and risk their lives to settle the most northern territory of Spain's empire in the western hemisphere at the end of the seventeenth century and the beginning of the eighteenth century. The legacy of these frontier pioneers spans over three hundred years and is represented by their innumerable descendents living today.

There is no financial charge for this PDF. The only cost for downloading this monograph is threefold for the interested reader:

1. Search the various lists of early settlers, including a compilation or early marriage records, to find the names of individuals of interest and copy the source citation for use in any notes, databases, or family genealogy compilations.
2. Read the narrative to gain an understanding of the historical context of the time period of 1695 to 1715 and an understanding of the challenging conditions in which the early settlers lived.
3. Submit comments to the [Author's Facebook](#) page or [Goodreads page](#).

“For your honor, give your life. For your God, give both your honor and life.”

—Gonzalo Fernández de Córdoba
El Gran Capitán (1453-1515)

“History is one effective way to connect stories of the past
to landscapes of the present.”

—Douglas Seefeldt

Observations of Don Diego de Vargas Zapata Luján Ponce de León

Marqués de la Nava de Brazinas

Governor of New Mexico, 1691-1697 and 1703-1704

Founder of the Villa Nueva de Santa Cruz de los Mexicanos Españoles
de Rey Don Carlos Segundo

I am indicating for them lands cleared and plowed, known for their great fertility, with their ditches, acequias, and dams in working order, with irrigation water ensured, as well as new houses. They need nothing more than to enter immediately to live in them and prepare their lands, which I shall designate for them.

Edict, April 19, 1695

At said Villa Nueva [de Santa Cruz] I found Don José Manuel de Galdámes [Giltoméy], naked, turned into a living image of Lazarus, clubbed and badly wounded, whom the said Indians of Nambé, thinking that he was dead, had thrown into the estufa [kiva] and who, feigning that he was dead, escaped from the said pueblo to the said villa.

Letter to the Viceroy, July 31, 1696

Of no less concern is the abandonment of Villa Nueva de Santa Cruz de los Mexicanos del Rey Nuestro Señor don Carlos II.

Petition to the Town Council of Santa Fe, December 1, 1703

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Acknowledgements

First and foremost, acknowledgement goes to Catherine Aragon, my wife and companion, for her support and encouragement of my research and writing.

Special acknowledgement goes to the late John B. “Jack” Colligan with whom I enjoyed a very close collaboration on documenting the history and genealogy of Spanish settlers that arrived in New Mexico between 1693 and 1700. This led me to even deeper into the archival records of New Mexico to uncover numerous details about the history of the people who made New Mexico their home among the Pueblo Indians during a period of uncertainty and much danger.

Ronaldo Miera, president of the Hispanic Genealogical Research Center of New Mexico (HGRC), provided me the opportunity to share my initial findings about the history of the early settlers of the Villa Nueva de Santa Cruz in a lecture at a monthly meeting of the organization in Albuquerque in 1999. A video of the presentation, titled “The Early Community of Santa Cruz de la Cañada, 1695-1730,” is still available for purchase from the [HGRC Store](#) (look for V-36).

“*El Farolito*,” the quarterly journal of the Olibama López Tushar Hispanic Legacy Center, afforded me the opportunity to organize and publish my research on the early settlers of Santa Cruz in a series of articles over the space of three years, 2010 to 2012.

I am grateful to Robert D. Martínez, New Mexico’s Assistant State Historian, for reading the draft manuscript and providing a foreword to this monograph. Rob and I are regular collaborators on historical and genealogical research and as co-authors.

Special thanks are extended to Henrietta Martinez Christmas for proofreading the manuscript, for providing suggested additions based on her extensive knowledge of the history the era and the genealogy of the early settlers of the Villa Nueva de Santa Cruz, and for writing the preface to this monograph.

Foreword

You are about to read a labor of love, researched and written by a lover of genealogy and history. José Antonio Esquibel is a New Mexican renowned for his great contributions to current understandings of the origins of Hispano New Mexicans in Spain and Mexico. Recognized by the king of Spain for his exhaustive and never ending research, what really makes Esquibel the persona he is known for is his passion (one might say obsession) with finding out that one thing that we do not yet know about our Iberian and Meso-American past.

For decades, Esquibel has dreamed of writing the quintessential study of that second Spanish villa of New Mexico (after Santa Fe, of course), La Villa de Santa Cruz de la Cañada. Situated due north of Santa Fe in the fertile Española Valley, Santa Cruz unwittingly became, starting in 1695, a genetic and cultural petri dish through which future ethno-historians, genealogists, culture vultures, and every day tourists could study that which is essentially *Nuevo Mexicano*. Settled by families recruited at Mexico City in 1693, those purported *Españoles Mexicanos* would eventually intermingle with the progeny of the settlers of the previous century (so often referred to as Oñate colonists, though later settlers with names like Trujillo and Lucero de Godoy would join their ranks) and the family groups that arrived two years later from Zacatecas, Mexico.

This kind of history is my favorite kind of history. It is the people's history, filled with data, information, and stories about people. One of the many memorable images that come to life in this book is the desperation of the Mexico City colonists, pleading with the governor that the aid provided to them be continued, as they are not farmers and therefore incapable of sustaining themselves until they learn how to cultivate the earth. Also significant is the section about New Mexicans who travelled to points south, connecting New Mexico and New Mexicans with their cousins trade associates in places such as Parral, Chihuahua, Guadalupe del Paso, as well as many other communities. This makes sense, since many of the families driven out of New Mexico in the 1680 Pueblo Revolt resettled in areas south of Guadalupe del Paso, never to return to their ancestral homeland. There is a world of local and regional history to be explored regarding New Mexico's past and its relationship to northern Mexico. Esquibel opens that door and guides us to these historical signposts.

Genealogists as well as New Mexico history enthusiasts will find in this monograph a wealth of documentary history culled and collected from various sources, making research into these *Nuevo Mexicano* pioneers easier and much more accessible than ever before.

Robert D. Martínez
Assistant State Historian
State of New Mexico
October 2015

Preface

Santa Cruz de la Cañada, the second villa in New Mexico established in the colonial period, is nestled on the north side of the river with views of mesas and mountains. The founding of the villa itself is pre-dated by ranches and *encomenderos* who lived in the area in the seventeenth century. Upon the restoration of New Mexico in 1692, don Diego de Vargas reestablished the homes and prior lands along with a new group of people who emigrated from Mexico City.

It is without a doubt a historic place, a holy place, and a spoke on a wheel where many other villages were founded from. This was a starting point for many of the old families of the 1600s and the new families of the 1700s, a melting pot of sorts, one having information that the other group needed in order to survive. Yes, Vargas moved people to northern New Mexico in order to form cities, people from all walks of life and occupations. Unlike the prior one hundred years of soldier-settlers, all of a sudden we have tailors, blacksmiths, painters, shoemakers, stonemasons, weavers and much more valued trades for a town or city to grow.

Santa Cruz has a long history, and yet 300-plus years later the *Españoles* as the first European settlers more than likely were seeing what we can see today. New Mexicans were very good preservationists. The remains of the plaza, the church, old ruins, roads and the written record are evidenced by this type of preservation.

There are periods within the Santa Cruz history that are vague or unknown and some just haven't been written about. The early 1700s is one of those periods. Although we find the *Journals of Don Diego de Vargas* a valuable resource and a few others, not one book or manuscript depicts the first generation or twenty years of families until now.

José Antonio Esquibel, a dedicated genealogist and independent historian, has worked on this area of New Mexico for decades, not only the compilation of data but also an analysis and study of the settlers and the larger family groups, using primary documents and some of the best secondary sources available for New Mexico research. Herein lays the story of a generation of people, founders, settlers, tough and resilient people who made the first twenty years a success for without them we might not have had a successful second villa in New Mexico. It was a mingling of marriages, children, and land.

This is an important piece of work that José Antonio Esquibel has compiled about the area we know as Santa Cruz de la Cañada. It is an account of a historical-familial sequence of events that culminated in generations of people to follow. Many readers will see names they recognize, marriages they have heard about, and a timeline of events that can be treasured by all researchers.

Henrietta Martinez Christmas
Genealogical Research and Author
President, New Mexico Genealogical Society
October 2015

Introduction

The first settlers of the Villa Nueva de Santa Cruz in the far northern frontier of the Spanish Americas consisted of families originally from Mexico City, the largest metropolitan community in the northern Spanish Americas by the late 1600s. The difficult adjustment from city dwellers to frontier soldiers, farmers, and ranchers was made even more strenuous by the very real danger posed by bands of nomadic Indians. The fortitude of the men, women and children that dared to make a new life for themselves contributed to the foundation of the northern *Nuevomexicano* culture that developed over the course of the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries.

This monograph is a study that I have intended to write since the late 1990s. My interest in the history of the Villa Nueva de Santa Cruz, later known as Santa Cruz de la Cañada, derived from my own research accounting for the individuals and families that settled New Mexico during the period of December 1693 and 1700. Around 1992, I joined my efforts with those of John B. “Jack” Colligan who shared an interest in the same research. This combined endeavor entailed locating and reading copies of numerous original documents, in particular documents of the Spanish Archives of New Mexico, records of baptisms and marriages (before there were published books of extractions), and records of the Archives of the Archdiocese of Santa Fe, in particular the surviving prenuptial investigation records.

As our collaboration progressed, Jack and I imagined a large volume filled with our findings, meticulously cited, and consisting of sections for various groups of settler, including the original New Mexico families that returned with Governor don Diego de Vargas in December 1693, the group of settlers recruited by Vargas at Durango in 1693, the soldiers that came from outside of New Mexico between 1691 and 1697, the settlers recruited in Mexico City in 1693, and the families recruited at Zacatecas in 1695.

My interest also included a desire to expand the known genealogy of the settlers from regions outside of New Mexico, in particular Mexico City and Puebla de los Ángeles in Nueva España. Using the research notes compiled by myself and by Jack, I order microfilm copies of records various churches of Mexico City in an attempt to locate

specific records related to settlers recruited at Mexico City, in particular the Catedral de México, Santa Vera Cruz Church, and Santa Catalina Martir Church. I did the same regarding records of the cathedral and San José Church of Puebla de los Ángeles.

The research into baptismal records, banns of matrimony records, and marriage records was conducted at a time when extractions from these records by volunteers of the Family History Library were not yet completed nor available on the Internet. Microfilm copies were ordered from local LDS Family History Centers and the review of these church records was a hit and miss process in which I scanned baptismal and marriage records in hopes of finding information on individuals from the fifty plus families that volunteered to come to New Mexico. Over the course of several years I collected and extracted numerous entries mainly from the records of four churches, the Catedral de México, Santa Vera Cruz Church, and Santa Catalina Martir Church, and the Cathedral de Puebla de los Ángeles. Today, the index of baptismal and marriage records for each of these churches and digital images of those records are available on the Internet with a few clicks of the computer mouse.

During the period of research in the early to mid 1990s, Jack began collaborating with historian Rick Hendricks, who was then an editor with The Vargas Project along with historian John L. Kessell. Jack introduced me to Rick via postal correspondence with who I shared my findings regarding the settlers from Mexico City. These findings were included in the end notes of the third volume of the journals of don Diego de Vargas, *To the Royal Crown Restored* published in 1995, earning me credit as a research consultant for that volume.

Jack and I came up with a title for the book we planned to co-author, “The Spanish Resettlement of New Mexico, 1694 and 1695: An Account of the Families that Came from Nueva España, Nueva Galicia, and Nueva Vizcaya.” This unpublished volume is listed among the works cited section of *To the Royal Crown Restored* and instead of a single volume the work became two separate books and a lengthy article. The first book featured Jack as the sole author and was titled, *The Juan Páez Hurtado Expedition of 1695: Fraud in Recruiting Colonists for New Mexico* (Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 1995). This was quickly followed by Jack’s article about the little known group of settlers recruited by Governor don Diego de Vargas in the spring and summer

of 1693 in the communities of Zacatecas, Fresnillo, Sombrerete, Durango, Cuencamé, and San José de Parral, which included families such as the Benavides, Beytia (Abeyta), Fernández, Ortega, Romero (Romero-de la Cruz), Sáez, Valenzuela, and Velasco (Velásquez). The article, titled “Vargas’ 1693 Recruits for Resettlement of New Mexico,” appeared in the 1995 annual *Genealogical Journal: Society of Historical and Ancestral Research*, Vol. II (pages 169–215). Because of the importance of this study, consisting of a compilation of historical and a genealogical information about this particular group of settlers, and because the journal in which the original article was published is difficult to locate and consult, I recently prepared and edited a second publication of the article in *El Farolito*, the quarterly journal of the Olibama López Tushar Hispanic legacy Research Center (Summer 2012, Fall 2012, Winter 2012, and Spring 2013). Copies of this publication are available for purchase at www.hispaniclegacy.org.

The second book turned out to be a very large volume of 447 pages co-authored by Jack and me and published by the Hispanic Genealogical Research Center of New Mexico in 1999 with the title of *The Spanish Recolonization of New Mexico: An Account of the Families Recruited at Mexico City in 1693*. With only 1,000 copies printed, this volume of extensive historical and genealogical information on the 50-plus families that arrived in the Villa de Santa Fe in the early morning hours of June 24, 1694, is out of print and yet remains a vital reference. Used copies are far a few between and, if available, are expensive. The book can be consulted in some libraries and archival institutions and can also be ordered via Inter-Library loan at local libraries. The genealogical information traces many of the families back in time by one to three generations and forward into the 1700s and early 1800s, and source citations are included. A large number of the families recruited at Mexico City were among the original settlers of the Villa Nueva de Santa Cruz.

As part of the research into the families recruited at Mexico City, Jack and I combed through various primary records, in particular the prenuptial investigation records of the Archives of the Archdiocese of Santa Fe and both series of the Spanish Archives of New Mexico. Jack brought to light some new sources, such as the cattle distribution census of May 1697 and testimonies of families during the case against don Diego de Vargas in 1697. I spent months analyzing the two surviving versions of the 1697 livestock

distribution list. I also went digging into the surviving Santa Cruz land grant records, both the private land grant material and the surveyor general's file. This led to the extraction of several lists of early settlers that are presented in this monograph.

Not all of my findings regarding the early history of the Villa Nueva de Santa Cruz were included in *The Spanish Recolonization of New Mexico*, in particular my analysis of the families accounted for as early settlers between 1695 and 1707. I presented my findings in a lecture at a meeting of the Hispanic Genealogical Research Center (HGRC) of New Mexico in Albuquerque in 1999 titled "The Early Community of Santa Cruz de la Cañada, 1695-1730," which is still available on video from HGRC. Since that time, it has been my intention to produce and publish a study on the history of the early settlers of the Villa Nueva de Santa Cruz.

For many years I relied on my extractions for use in my research and writings on various New Mexico Hispano families. In 2009, I began preparing the various lists of names of early residents for publication, which were featured as a series of articles published between 2010 and 2012 in *El Farolito*, the quarterly journal of the Olibama López Tushar Hispanic Legacy Research Center. Much of that material is included in this monograph, plus some additional material extracted from archival sources. Of particular interest will be the compilation of marriage records preserved among the prenuptial investigations records, since the original book of marriages for the church of Santa Cruz is long lost. Not included in this monograph are findings from my research into land grants, sales of land, and civil suits, which are planned for inclusion in an expanded version of this monograph.

Numerous individuals with deep Hispano roots in New Mexico will likely find the names of one or more ancestral families in this monograph. It is hoped that in addition to locating the name of ancestors that individuals will also gain a better understanding of the history of the era and the challenges of frontier life on the northern border of the Spanish empire in the Americas. Although distant from the centers of royal government and high Spanish culture, the people of New Mexico remained connected with Spanish society and were not as isolated as popular thought is apt to consider. Spanish customs, traditions, language, and law, shaped over many centuries, and the very long practice of

Catholicism and associated religious celebration, were indelibly implanted in the region of New Mexico and adapted with local Native American influences.

Rather than looking to 1598 as the foundation for *Nuevomexicano* cultural development, it is essential to examine and understand the redefining of Spanish New Mexico during the period of 1693 through 1697 based on the merging of the older New Mexico families with the large number of settlers that arrived in New Mexico in 1694 from Mexico City and followed by another group of settlers recruited in the region of Zacatecas in 1695. Representatives of all three of these groups formed the population of the jurisdiction of the Villa Nueva de Santa Cruz that interacted with various Pueblo Indian groups, forming social ties that shaped the history and cultural development of northern New Mexico.

One

Founded in His Royal Name

It has been recognized that it is the royal will to leave the arrangements for the permanent foundation and settlement of those citizens in this kingdom up to me completely in everything. I shall designate this in the areas and places I recognize as advantageous to the royal service and the settlers' stability, permanence, safety, comfort, and utility. —Don Diego de Vargas, Governor of New Mexico, March 18, 1695¹

In a decree dated March 18, 1695, Villa de Santa Fe, Governor don Diego de Vargas declared, “The time has come when a permanent foundation must be provided for the families who came on the account of his majesty, the king, our lord, (may God keep him), and in his royal name, and were sent by the most excellent lord viceroy, the Conde de Galve, current viceroy of the entire kingdom of New Spain.”² With this decree Vargas formally initiated the establishment of a villa with settlers drawn from the families recruited in Mexico City in 1693 that arrived in Santa Fe on June 23, 1694. These settlers became the founding families of New Mexico’s second official villa, originally christened *La Villa Nueva de Santa Cruz del Rey Nuestro Señor Carlos II de los Mexicanos Españoles* and more commonly referred to as Villa Nueva de Santa Cruz in its early years and then as Santa Cruz de la Cañada. Today, this community is part of the City of Española.

After reconnoitering the region north of the Villa de Santa Fe as far as the lands of the Ute in what is modern-day southern Colorado, Vargas ordered a survey of the abandoned haciendas from Tesuque toward the Río del Norte (Río Grande) and then north to the area of La Cañada and east to the “district they call Chimayó.”³ This jurisdiction basically encompassed the region of the Tewa-speaking Pueblo Indians from San Juan Pueblo in the north to San Ildefonso and Pojoaque Pueblos in the south and from the Río Grande Valley up the Santa Cruz River Valley towards the Sangre de Cristo Mountains. Lt. General Luis Pérez Granillo left the Villa de Santa Fe on March 20, 1695, with a small company of soldiers, including at least two former residents of La Cañada

from prior to August 1680, Captain Juan Ruiz de Cáceres and his brother-in-law, Miguel Luján.⁴ They accounted for property located from Chimayo toward the Río del Norte previously owned by the Moraga, Martín Serrano, Luján, Xavier, Griego, De la Cruz, Herrera, and González families.

The favorable report submitted by Pérez Granillo to Governor Vargas resulted in the decision to found the new villa in the area of La Cañada by displacing Tano Indians from two pueblo communities occupied after 1680 on property formerly belonging to Captain Francisco Xavier, an in-law of the Griego family. Arriving at the designated site on April 22, 1695, Governor Vargas and the Spanish families from Mexico City, referred to as *Mexicanos Españoles*, gathered for the formal possession and oath of the new villa, Vargas loudly proclaimed,

Long live the king, our lord, may God keep lord don Carlos II, king of all the kingdoms of Spain of all this New World, and of this new villa that is founded in his royal name with the title of Villa Nueva de los Mexicanos Españoles. With favor of his royal crown, it is founded, settled, and increases. Long live the kingdom for many years with increases of greater dominion and monarchies.⁵

All present “repeated the acclamation three times” accompanied by the firing of three volleys while throwing their hats in the air with jubilation. The settlers each swore an oath before Governor Vargas declaring their acceptance of the location as the site of the Villa Nueva de Santa Cruz and, as loyal vassals of the king, would maintain and preserve the villa, “dying before surrendering it.”⁶ A small chapel along the plaza served as a place of worship and administration of sacraments since the church was yet to be built. Vargas formally gave possession of the chapel to fray Francisco de Vargas and assisted the friar in setting up the altar.

Although there is no surviving list of the names of the individuals and families that constituted the first settlers, there are two important records that confirm the presence of several men on the day of the founding of the new villa. It is presumed that the wives of these men were also present. The initial list is that of the first officials of the Villa Nueva de Santa Cruz:⁷

Sargento Mayor Antonio Jorge, *alcalde mayor* and war captain, and his wife, Catalina de Espíndola.

Sargento Nicolás Ortiz, lieutenant *alcalde mayor*, and his wife, doña Mariana Barba Coronado, and their children.

Alférez José Ruiz de Valdes, militia captain, and his wife, María de Medina Cabrera, and their son.

Sargento Manuel Vallejos and his wife, Mariana Hurtado.

Antonio Godines, *alguacil* (sheriff) of war, a widower, with a daughter.

Don José del Valle, squadron leader, and his wife, Ana de Ribera, with a foster son, Bernardino de Sena.

Sebastián de Salas, squadron leader, and his wife, María García.

Miguel Fajardo, squadron leader.

Miguel Ladrón de Guevara.

Juan de Paz Bustillos, squadron leader, and his wife, Antonia de Alanís, and a goddaughter, Josefa de Pas Bustillos.

On the same day as the official founding of the Villa Nueva de Santa Cruz, April 22, 1695, thirty-seven year old Juan de Dios Sandoval Martínez, a recent widower whose wife, Juana Hernández, died in the Villa de Santa Fe on March 24, 1695, submitted his petition to marry Gertrudis de Herrera, the widow of José Nuñez and a daughter of Tomás de Herrera Sandoval and Pascuala de Rivera, each of whom had traveled from Mexico City as settlers of New Mexico.⁸ Sandoval Martínez wrote:

*Juan de Dios Sandobal martines hijo legitomo de Don
Jasinto Sandoval martines y de Juana de Estrada natu
rales de la Ciudad de Mexico peresco ante V.P.M.R.
en la mayor forma que a mi derecho combenga i digo
que para mayor server a Dios N.S.^r trato de contraer Matri-*

*monio Con Getrudis de Herrera Viuda de Joseph nuñes
hija legitima de Thomas de Herrera i de Pascuala ribera
naturales de la Ciudad de Mexico y todos oy asistentes en
la Nueva Villa de S.ta Cruz i para contraer dh.o Matrimo
nio segun el horden de N.S.ta M.e Yglecia*

*A V.P.M.R. pido y suplico sesirba de prover
lo querras combenga al servicio de Dios N.S.r yo de todo de
mi viudes ofresco la informasion q[u]e tiene dispuesta el
s.to Concilio de Trento, i Juro de Dios N.S.r i a la señal de
la Cruz no ser este mi pedimentinto de malicia y en
lo nessesario f.a*

*Juan de Dios Sandoval
Martinez (rubric)*

Translation—

Juan de Dios Sandoval Martínez, legitimate son of don Jacinto Sandoval Martínez and of Juana de Estrada, natives of the City of Mexico, appears before your very reverend father in the proper form that befits my right and I say that in order to best serve God, Our Lord, I agree to contract marriage with Gertrudis de Herrera, widow of José Núñez, legitimate daughter of Tomás de Herrera and of Pascuala Ribera, natives of the city of Mexico and all, today, assisting in the [founding of] the Nueva Villa de Santa Cruz, and to contact the said marriage according to the order of our holy mother church.

To your most reverend father, I ask and plead, if you are so pleased, to decide that which is befitting to the service of God, Our Lord, and of all and of my widowhood, I offer the information that the Holy Council of Trent has directed, and I swear to God, Our Lord, and with the sign of the cross that this, my petition, is not from any mal intent. And, in all that is necessary, I sign it.

Juan de Dios Sandoval Martínez (rubric)

venta y cinco años =

Juan de Dios Sandoval Martínez hi legítimo de Don
Toribio Sandoval Martínez y de Juana de Estrada natu-
rales de la Ciudad de México perisco ante V. B. M. B.
en la forma forma que ante derecho conbenga idgo
que para nesa servir al Dios d. s. t. trato de contra exellati-
monio Con Getrudis de Herrera Viuda de Joseph nunes
hi legítima de Thomas de Herrera idposcoala a i bera
naturales de la Ciudad de México y todos oy asisten des en
la dñe villa de Sta Cruz para Contraca dñ. Matrimo-
nio segun el orden de d. s. t. y de la dñe

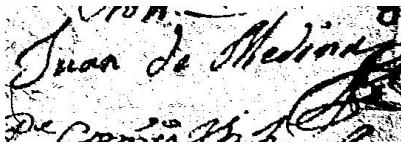
A V. B. M. B. pido y suplico señala señala de prover
lo que conbenga al servicio de Dios d. s. t. y de todo de
mi viudas ofrecola in formacion q tiene dispuesta el
s. t. Concilio de Trento, i Juro al Dios d. s. t. i la señal de
la Cruz nos es este mi impedimento de naticia. y en
lo necesario B.

Juan de Dios Sandoval
Martínez

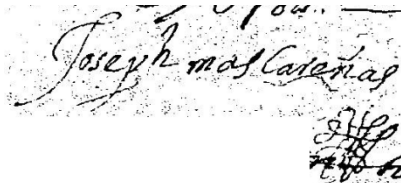
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Diligencias i ya afirmaciones que ofrec dicho por el dñe
n de Dios Sandoval Martínez mandado y mando a lñ. pñe

Statement of intent of Juan de Dios Sandoval Martínez to marry Gertrudis de
Herrera. Archives of the Archdiocese of Santa Fe, Roll 59, Diligencias
Matrimoniales, 1678-1696, DM 1695, no. 1, Santa Cruz, for José de Sandoval
Martínez and Gertrudis de Herrera.

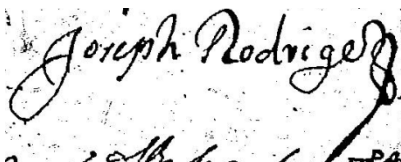
From this petition, we learn that Juan de Dios Sandoval Martínez, Gertrudis de Herrera, and her parents, Tomás de Herrera Sandoval and Pascuala de la Concepción Ribera, were additional individuals among the first settlers of the Villa Nueva de Santa Cruz. Following the acknowledgement of receipt of this petition, fray Antonio Moreno initiated the process for collecting official testimony of witnesses on behalf of the prospective bride and groom. The witnesses in this prenuptial investigation are of particular interest and value for confirming the names of several other individuals that were among the first settlers of the Villa Nueva de Santa Cruz. This included the following four men identified as residents of the Villa Nueva de Santa Cruz, and presumably their respective wives were in their company:

A handwritten signature in dark ink, reading "Juan de Medina". The script is cursive and somewhat stylized, with the first letter 'J' being particularly large and prominent. Below the main signature, there is a smaller, less legible line of text.

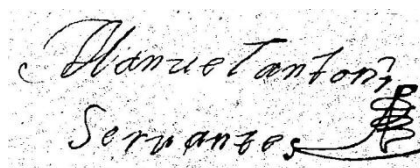
Juan de Medina, age 22, native of Mexico City, and his wife, Juana Márquez.⁹

A handwritten signature in dark ink, reading "José Bernardo Mascareñas". The script is cursive, with the first letter 'J' being large and prominent. Below the main signature, there is a smaller, less legible line of text.

José Bernardo Mascareñas, age 26, native of Mexico City, and his wife, María de Acosta.¹⁰

A handwritten signature in dark ink, reading "José Rodríguez". The script is cursive, with the first letter 'J' being large and prominent. Below the main signature, there is a smaller, less legible line of text.

José Rodríguez, age 45, native of Santa María la Real in Castilla la Vieja (Spain), and his wife, María de Samano.¹¹

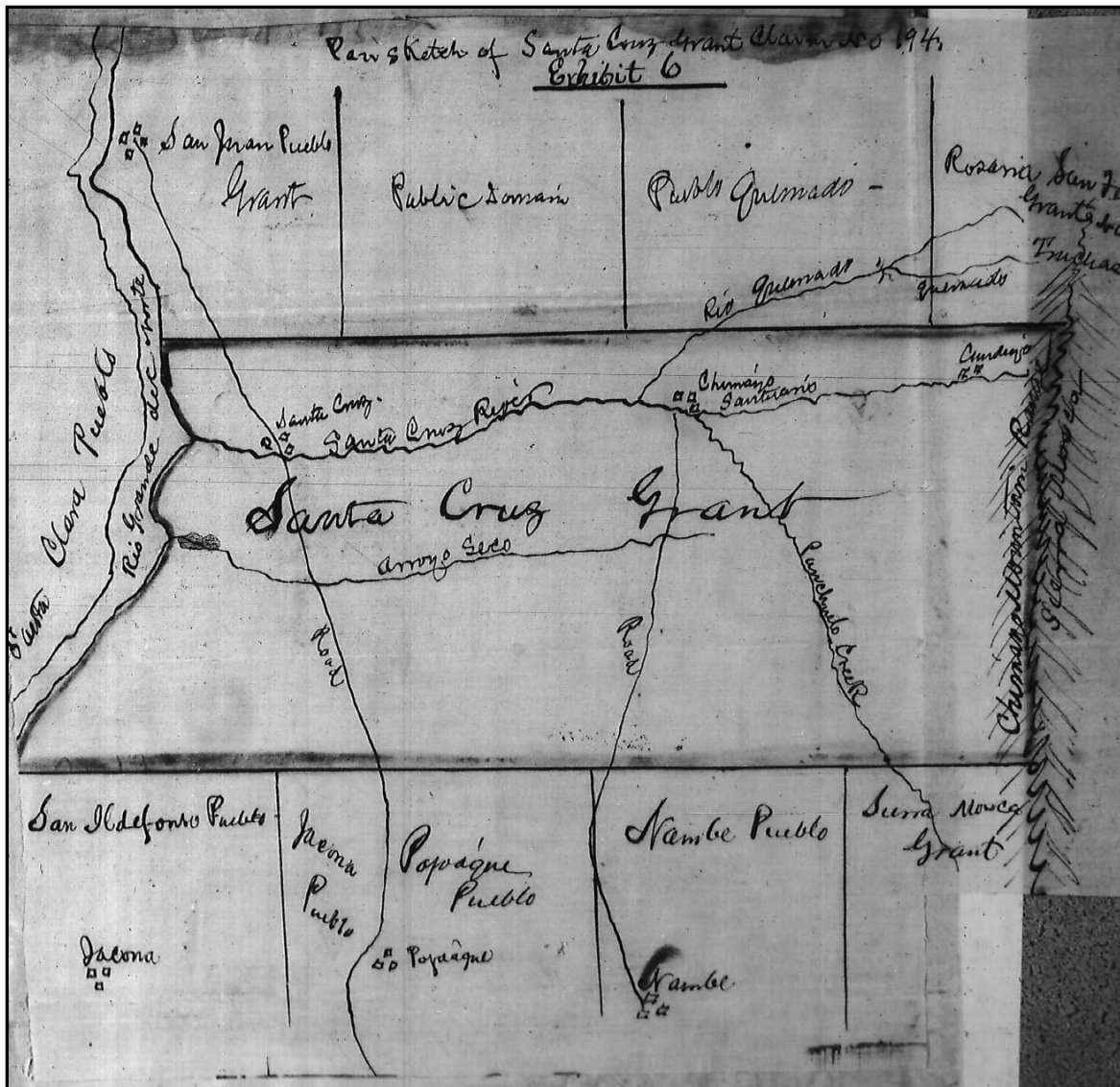
A handwritten signature in dark ink on a light, textured background. The signature reads "Manuel Cervantes" in a cursive script. The first name "Manuel" is written on the top line, and "Cervantes" is written on the bottom line, with a large, stylized flourish at the end of the last name.

Manuel Cervantes, age 22, native of Mexico City, and his wife, Francisca Rodríguez.¹²

Doña Antonia de Espíndola, a ten-year old whose parents were deceased by December 1694, was another among these first settlers in April 1695. As the heir of her parents, doña Antonia was entitled to the rights of a frontier settler and received a parcel of land in the villa granted to her by Governor don Diego de Vargas at the time the new villa was founded, which she continued to own until 1707.¹³

Although only seventeen households can be accounted for as first settlers based on the three records noted above, it is presumed that the majority of the 50-plus families recruited at Mexico City that arrived in the Villa de Santa Fe in June 1694 were among the early residents of the Villa Nueva de Santa Cruz. This included other families such as the Aguila, Ansures, Aragon-Ortiz, Atienza (Atencio), Cárdenas, Chirinos (Martínez de Cervantes), Cortes-Rivera, Jaramillo Negrete, Jirón de Tejeda-Leyva y Mendoza, Marquez de Ayala-Palacios, Medina, Moya-Morales de Guijosa, Quintana-Moreno de Trujillo, Ruiz Sayago-Mora, Silva-Ruiz.

The villa and its jurisdiction encompassed about the same area as the seventeenth-century jurisdiction of La Cañada stretching west to east from the junction of the Santa Cruz River at the Río del Norte to the tributaries of the Santa Cruz River coming from the mountains in the east and to the “lands of the Indians of San Cristóbal,” near modern-day Córdova, New Mexico. In later years the region became known as Santa Cruz de la Cañada. The jurisdiction also extended from the boundaries of San Juan Pueblo in the north to the Mesilla de San Ildefonso in the south. In addition to the parcels of land for houses around the plaza, Governor Vargas and his successor, Governor don Pedro Rodríguez Cubero, awarded land grants to settlers for farming and raising livestock within the jurisdiction of the new community.



Pan Sketch of the Santa Cruz Land Grant made in late nineteenth century showing the boundaries of the colonial period land grants of the region. Spanish Archives of New Mexico, Series I, Roll 50, Private Land Claims, Santa Cruz Land Grant, frame 391.

Also settling in the jurisdiction of the Villa Nueva de Santa Cruz were families that held land in the area prior to the August 1680 Pueblo Indian uprising, such as the large Martín Serrano extended family at Chimayó, the Moraga family in the area of Pueblo Quemado (modern-day Córdova), the Archuleta family, the Herrera family, the Salazar, and the Luján family. Other pre-revolt families that established themselves in the jurisdiction of Santa Cruz included the Apodaca, the Durán, the Madrid, the Márquez,

the Mondragón, the Montoya, the Serna, the Torres, and the Trujillo. These people identified themselves as the original families of New Mexico and their experience living on the frontier, farming the land, raising livestock, along with their long history of interactions with friendly and hostile bands of Indians, contributed greatly to the firm establishment of the Villa Nueva de Santa Cruz after the rocky start during the first ten years following its founding.

Two

From Mexico City to Frontier New Mexico, 1693-1694

On 23 June of the current year [1694], at about nine in the morning, the wagons of this custody entered. Leading them as their procurator general is the revered father, fray Francisco Farfán. In them he brings the families the most excellent lord viceroy of this kingdom and all New Spain, the Conde de Galve, selected. ...According to the list, 61½ families entered. —Don Diego de Vargas, Governor of New Mexico, June 23, 1694¹

How is it that families from one of the largest metropolis communities in the Spanish Americas became the first settlers of the Villa Nueva de Santa Cruz?

The arrival of don Diego de Vargas as governor of New Mexico in 1691 marked the beginning of the critical episode of New Mexico's restoration to the Spanish crown resulting in a remarkable reconciliation between Pueblo Indians and Spanish citizens. A thirteen-year exile followed the August 1680 Pueblo Indian uprising that expelled the Spanish citizens from northern New Mexico. In 1692, acting on orders of the royal council in Mexico City, Governor Vargas traveled with a company of soldiers from El Paso del Río del Norte to seek reconciliation with Pueblo Indian leaders with the hope of the Pueblo Indians accepting the Spanish government and returning New Mexico's citizens to the lands their families abandoned in 1680.

The various aspects of the remarkable achievements of don Diego de Vargas and Pueblo Indians leaders are documented in the Vargas journals published in a series of important books by the University of New Mexico Press and edited by John L. Kessell, Rick Hendricks, and Meredith D. Dodge, and Larry D. Miller. The detailed accounts of the Vargas journals provide an excellent source for studying and understanding the social and political dynamics influencing the re-establishment of Spanish government in New Mexico between 1692 and 1697, dynamics that shaped the future history of New Mexico as we know it today.

Vargas was endowed with a remarkable sense of loyalty and sincerity in his service to God and king. In service to the king, he hoped and asked for special privileges and titles of nobility. In service to God, he was a religious man who bound himself to Pueblo Indian leaders through the spiritual relation of *compadrazgo* and regarded his *compadres* as family. He was probably unaware that the future cultural development of New Mexico rested squarely on his decisions and deeds as the architect of the restoration of New Mexico. The initial success of Vargas in gaining the confidence of Pueblo Indian leaders in 1692 and securing an agreement for resettlement of New Mexico was a cause for community celebration in Mexico City.

Responding to Vargas' request for *pobladores* (frontier settlers), the viceroy of Nueva España issued a decree in April 1693 and read aloud in the various plazas of Mexico City.² The viceroy promised to transport volunteer families to New Mexico at the expense of the royal treasury and to provide for them until they were able to sustain themselves. In addition, they would be accorded the privileges of *pobladores* and receive grants of land. Here are the very roots of New Mexico's land grant tradition. Recruitment of prospective families occurred even before the viceroy's decree was read in the *plaza mayor* of Mexico City on April 11th.³

Viceregal stipulation required only families be recruited as *pobladores*, settlers. No single men were allowed to enlist. Furthermore, only couples that were *españoles* (Spanish), legitimately married in the Catholic Church, and of "good character," were to be accepted by the recruiters.⁴ The majority of the men who enlisted with their wives and children were artisans, most if not all trained in the various guilds of Mexico City. They were carpenters, painters, tailors, weavers, blacksmiths, and stonemasons. Although they were respectable and honorable tradesmen, they lacked social mobility and opportunities to own land in Mexico City. Spaniards of seventeenth-century New Spain highly valued honor and social status. The chance to obtain all honors and privileges of the lower Spanish nobility certainly influenced the artisan families to uproot themselves from their familiar urban environment and settle in a frontier region that was distant, hostile, and dangerous.

By May 28, 1693, twenty families consisting of seventy individuals were accounted as volunteer frontier settlers. The group swelled to sixty-eight families with a total of 235 individuals by the time the wagons left the Plaza de Guadalupe in Mexico City in early

September 1693.⁵ The anticipated 122-day journey became a nine-month ordeal on the *camino real de tierra adentro* for these urbanites. With all their belongings packed onto ox-drawn wagons, they endured a trek of nearly 1,500 miles. They slept on the ground or in wagons for approximately 283 consecutive nights, sang songs, told stories, laughed, quarreled, celebrated mass, shared meals and belongings, played games, cried at burials, rejoiced at births, shared secrets, petitioned patron saints for protection and blessings, took precautions against attacks, suffered lack of provisions, mended broken wagon wheels, sewed torn clothing, milked cows and goats, slaughtered livestock, complained about the weather when it was bad, praised God when the weather was favorable, and all the while wonder with anticipation about the new life they would have in New Mexico.

As many as ten women were pregnant when the expedition left Mexico City, and as many as eight women gave birth between early September and November 1693 on the way to New Mexico. The earliest recorded birth occurred at El Puesto de Collasillas near the city of Querétaro when thirty-two year-old María López de Arteaga, wife of Manuel González Vallejo, went into labor.⁶ Although married for over two years, this couple did not yet have any children. Other women of the group of settlers very likely assisted María in childbirth. Tragically, the birth of her son cost her own life. Her death disrupted the routine of the journey as preparations were made for her burial marked by the transport of her body to the church of San Francisco in the city of Querétaro where she was interred. Her death was one of several recorded tragedies on the long trek to Spain's distant northern frontier.

The large group of settlers travelled slowly and experienced problems with the wagons and mules. At a place know as Las Cruces, a wagon fell on twenty-two year-old José Nuñez, most likely while he was assisting with repairs.⁷ Once again, the settlers buried one of their own. His twelve year-old widow, Gertrudis de Herrera Sandoval, received comfort for her grief in the company of her parents with whom she completed the trip to New Mexico.⁸ As many as six other recruits would die in New Mexico before the turn of the century, four in warfare with Indians.

Entering the Villa de Santa Fe at 9:00 a.m. on June 23, 1694, the artisan families of Mexico City received an enthusiastic greeting by the older New Mexico families brought by Vargas from El Paso del Río del Norte in December 1693. Of the original 235 individuals who left Mexico City, 217 completed the journey, consisting of 129 adults

and 88 children under the age of fifteen.⁹ Many of these artisan families were among the founders of the settlement of the Villa Nueva de Santa Cruz in April 1695. Some of the families either remained at the Villa de Santa Fe or returned to live there because of difficulty adjusting to a pastoral, agrarian lifestyle and to the dangers of a frontier settlement.

None of the men of the artisan families were farmer or ranchers, and none were familiar with frontier warfare against bands of nomadic Indians. Trade occupations are known for thirty of the fifty-seven male heads of households that made the trip from Mexico City to Santa Fe.¹⁰ These individuals are identified in the following list by artisan categories, and those whose names are in italics were known to have been among the early settlers of the Villa Nueva de Santa Cruz de los Españoles Mexicanos del Rey Nuestro Señor Carlos II.¹¹

Blacksmiths (*herradores*)

Antonio de Silva (married with Gregoria Ruiz)

Manuel Vallejo González (widower of María López de Arteaga)

Brickmasons (*albañiles*)

José Jaramillo Negrete (married with María de Sotomayor Barusa)

Juan Lorenzo de Medina (married with Antonia Sedano)

Antonio de Moya (married with Francisco Antonia Morales de Quijosa)

Cabinetmaker and Carpenter (*ebanista y carpintero*)

Simón de Molina Mosquera (married with Micaela de Medina)

Coppersmith (*calderero*)

José Bernardo Mascareñas (married with María de Acosta)

Filigree artisan (*filigranero*)

Juan Fernández de Atienza (widower of Juana de Carranza)

Painters (*pintores*)

Tomás Jirón de Tejeda (widow of Josefa González de Aragón)

Nicolás Jirón de Tejeda (married with Josefa Sedano)

Shoemaker (*zapatero*)

Juan Cortés (married with María Gómez de Ribera)

Stonemasons (*canteros*)

Andrés de Betanzos

Diego de Betanzos y Sosa (married with María Luisa de Selorga)

Tomás Palomino (married with Gertrudis Bautista de Ulibarri)

Tailors (*sastres*)

Antonio de Aguilera Ysasi (married with Gertrudis de Herrera)

José Cortés del Castillo (married with María de Carvajal)

Juan Antonio Esquibel (married with María de San Nicolás Rangel)

Francisco González de la Rosa (married with Antonia de la Serna)

Diego Márquez de Ayala (married with María de Palacios y Bolívar)

Juan de Medina Ortiz (married with Juana Márquez)

José Rodríguez (married with María de Samano)

Manuel Rodríguez (married with María de la Encarnación de Palacios)

Juan de Dios Sandoval Martínez (married with Juana Hernández)

Weavers (*tejedores*)

Ignacio de Aragón (married with Sebastiana Ortiz)

Andrés de Cárdenas (married with Juana de Ávalos)

Miguel García de la Riva (married with Micaela de Velasco)

Diego Jirón de Tejeda (married with María de Mendoza y Leyva)

Nicolás Ortiz (married with doña Mariana de Barba Coronado)

Francisco de Porras (married with Damiana González)

Antonio Rincón (married with Antonia de Valenzuela)

The social and cultural influences introduced into New Mexico's frontier society by the artisan families of Mexico City are in need of in-depth study. These families transported the culture of Nueva España, particularly that of Mexico City, to New Mexico. As educated and highly skilled individuals, consideration needs to be given to the cultural stimulus of this group that was blended with other influences to form the

foundation of New Mexico's distinct Hispano traditions and heritage. For instance, Juan de Paz Bustillos (aka Juan de Bustos), a native of Mexico City, was teaching school at the Villa de Santa Fe where he was a resident from as early as the year 1700.¹² One of the earliest known secular teachers, he was still living at Santa Fe as late as 1721. Miguel de Quintana, also a native of Mexico City and a founder and a long-time resident of the Villa Nueva de Santa Cruz, wrote religious poetry. His writings reveal the influences of the spiritual and intellectual milieu of Mexico City in the latter part of the seventeenth century.¹³ The seven Góngora siblings who accompanied their widowed mother to New Mexico were great-grandchildren of one of Mexico City's gifted literary masters, Bartolomé de Góngora (born circa 1578, Éjica, Andalusia, Spain – died 1659, Mexico City), whose writings reveal he was an extremely well-read individual who drew from varied sources including the Bible, the classics (Ovid, Seneca, Aristotle, Virgil, and Horace), the early Church Fathers, Christian ascetics (St. Teresa, Fray Domingo de Baltanás), Spanish histories, biographies, and New World epics and histories.¹⁴ His great-grandson, Cristóbal de Góngora, served in New Mexico as a lawyer, representing clients in a variety of judicial cases. José Bernardo de Mascareñas, a coppersmith, was the son of *Bachiller* don Felipe de Mascareñas.¹⁵ The title of '*Bachiller*' indicates that his father held a degree from a university.

The settlers recruited at Mexico City were basically akin to "city slickers" transplanted into the northern frontier of the Spanish realms in the Americas and then placed on the most northern settlement of the fringes of the Spanish empire, an untamed, harsh and dangerous environment. It is not surprising that many of these families experienced hardship and failed to raise crops and livestock. Because of the unfamiliarity with the land and its climate, they relayed on paid Indian labor for planting and caring for fields. The challenges of frontier living led to such dissatisfaction that these settlers gathered together to prepare a statement describing their dire need and the great difficulty they experienced in cultivating the land. Their petition asked for aid from the royal crown that was promised to them when they were recruited in 1693. They submitted their petition, dated September 25, 1695, to Governor don Diego de Vargas declaring:

We find ourselves obliged to ask [for] that what was promised be carried out for two reasons. First, because we are extremely needy, as your lordship is aware, and otherwise we shall perish, since there is no way to obtain what is necessary. The second is because we are burdened with children and obligations and cannot, in all conscience, give up our natural right. ...We have also not harvested because of our lack of experience with the land. Since we are so recently arrived here, we do not know when to plant, in addition to having come so late to plant at this villa, and because there was a very serious plague of worms. All these are reasons for us not to harvest.

Although your lordship has given us the sustenance promised and necessary during this time, we ask you to continue this for us.

We say, sir, that the foundation of the villa and living there is very uncomfortable because there is no firewood. What wood exists is 3 leagues [7.8 miles] away since we have no horses nor any way of transporting it to this villa.¹⁶

The following thirty individuals signed the petition, attesting to their presence as settlers of the new jurisdiction of the Villa Nueva de Santa Cruz. This is the earliest known list of the settlers of the villa and may not represent all of the household settlers in September 1695:¹⁷

Don Tomás de Herrera Sandoval

Miguel Gerónimo de Aguila

José Velásquez

Juan de Medina

At Andrés de Cárdenas's request, Juan de Medina

At Juan Cortes's request, don José Manuel Giltoméy

Gabriel Ansures

Diego Márquez de Ayala

At José Cortes's request, don José Manuel [Giltomáy]

Tomás Palomino

Miguel Ladrón de Guevara

Antonio Rincón

At Juan Ruiz Cordero's request, Tomás Palomino

Manuel de Cervantes

Juan Manuel Chirinos

José Rodríguez

At José Sánchez's request, Juan de Medina

At Antonio de Moya's request, Tomás Palomino

Miguel de Quintana

Tomás Jirón de Tejeda

Nicolás Jirón de Tejeda

Francisco de Betanzos

At Miguel de la Vega's request, Tomás Palomino

Ignacio de Aragón

At Juan Antonio Esquibel's request, Juan de Medina

Juan Fernández [de Atienza]

At José del Valle's request, Juan Manuel Chirinos

Antonio de Silva

Cristóbal de Góngora

Sebastián de Salas

It is implied that these men lived with their wives and families. The names of the wives are known from other records and since those women were also settlers of the Villa Nueva de Santa Cruz they are listed here:¹⁸

Pascuala de la Concepción Ribera, wife of don Tomás de Herrera Sandoval
Gerónima de Florido, wife of Miguel Gerónimo del Aguila
Juana de Caras, wife of José Velásquez Cortés
Juana Márquez, wife of Juan de Medina Ortiz
Juana de Ávalos, wife of Andrés de Cárdenas
María de Carvajal, wife of José Cortés del Castillo
Gertrudis Bautista de Ulibarrí, wife of Tomás Palomino
Felipa Guerrero, wife of Miguel Ladrón de Guevara
Antonia Valenzuela, wife of Antonio Rincón de Güemes
María Nicolasa Carrillo, wife of Juan Ruiz Cordero
Francisca Rodríguez, wife of Manuel de Cervantes
María de Samano, wife of José Rodríguez
Antonia Sedano, wife of Juan Lorenzo de Medina
Francisco Antonio Morales de Guijosa, wife of Antonio de Moya
Gertrudis Moreno de Trujillo, wife of Miguel de Quintana
Doña Antonia Domínguez de Mendoza, wife of Tomás Jirón de Tejeda
Josefa Sedano, wife of Nicolás Jirón de Tejeda
Sebastiana Ortiz, wife of Ignacio de Aragón
María de San Nicolás Rangel, wife of Juan Antonio de Esquibel
Teresa Fernández, wife of Juan Fernández de Atienza
Ana de Ribera, wife of José del Valle
Gregoria Ruiz, wife of Antonio de Silva
Ines de Aspieta, wife of Cristóbal de Góngora
María García, wife of Sebastián de Salas

Governor Vargas reviewed the petition and sent it to royal officials in Mexico City. While awaiting a response he agreed to continue providing provisions to help sustain them the settlers. In regard to the settlers, Vargas noted:¹⁹

They saw at planting time that there were not enough [lands] and that the pieces [of land] were inadequate to take and sow the half-fanega of seeds. They should have advised me about this and the lands of the other sites and haciendas bordering them so that it would have been of record to me. I could then have given them in whole or in part what they lacked, arranging for and accommodating each one. It is not right for them to avail themselves of such a pretext, in addition to that of oxen with which to break the land and the tools, coas, hoes, and shovels that are of record as having been supplied. I am carrying them on my account until the tools the most excellent lord viceroy ordered given arrive.

All this is of value that must be taken into consideration and in greater fulfillment of what the most excellent lord viceroy promised, which is that I give the families only the place and the lot to build houses and lands to plant, understanding that the labor of both was necessarily their responsibility.

Thus the lands are in those places that must be considered as belonging to the royal patrimony, so that they may be settled without prejudice to the Indian pueblos and so that, in part, the royal desire for the settlers' permanence and the security of their lives, as well as those of their wives, and children, may be achieved.

The petition of the settlers of the Villa Nueva de Santa Cruz sparked a similar one dated November 3, 1695, from members of the town council of the Villa de Santa Fe to the viceroy in Mexico City, identifying themselves as "the original citizens of these provinces of New Mexico."²⁰ They described the "unbearable difficulties" on the way from El Paso del Río del Norte in the winter of 1693, which included the death of children en route to the Villa de Santa Fe. Although they were able to plant seed in 1694, a combination of draught and the continuous fighting with bands of Pueblo Indians and

Apache caused a loss of the harvest, and much of the livestock either died with the cold and snow or was carried away by Indians. They continued, stating:

Although we would like to trade with the Indians, we no longer have anything to trade. We have so few clothes that only with great difficulty do we cover our skins with rags. It is certain we cannot be called settlers, but souls in torment or imaginary beings, and even more today, since the aid of the maize ration the lord governor was giving us has been lacking.²¹

They entreated the viceroy for relief in the face of losing so many vassals and the kingdom itself if the requested aid was not received. In lieu of signatures and marks by all settlers, the citizens agreed to the petition being signed “by four of the more exceptional men from the earliest days” of the town council: Juan Lucero de Godoy, Antonio Lucero de Godoy, Juan Luis, and Antonio Montoya.

Governor Vargas continued to provide assistance to the settlers at his own cost in anticipation of approval for additional support from royal officials in Mexico City.

Three

A Second Group of Settlers, 1696

Moreover, when the second villa is settled in the spring in the pueblo of San Cristóbal, since they are close to each other, one community may be favored by the other. These are all fitting reasons for both the citizens and those concerned to build their houses, plow the fields, clean the acequias, and finish the water intakes and dams. —Don Diego de Vargas, Governor of New Mexico, September 25, 1695¹

In September and November 1695, Governor Vargas recorded his intention to found a second settlement a short distance from the Villa Nueva de Santa Cruz at the location of the Tano Indians pueblo of San Cristóbal toward the east.² This second community did not come to fruition, although Vargas sent additional settlers to the Villa Nueva de Santa Cruz in May 1696.

On May 8, 1696, Governor Vargas issued a decree ordering nineteen of the forty-four families that came to New Mexico from Zacatecas in May 1695 to settle at the Villa de Santa Cruz and granted them the same privileges as those given to the families from Mexico City, including grants of land.³ Vargas described the region as “*frontera principal al Pueblo de los Tewas de San Juan de los Caballeros con la fuerza de las armas Españoles que se requieren para defenderse y resistir al enemigos...como son los Yutas y Apaches*,” “a principle frontier to the Pueblo of San Juan de los Caballeros with the Spanish force of arms that is required to defend and resist against the enemy...such as the Utes and Apaches.” Vargas then listed the nineteen, consisting of ten families and nine single individuals, as follows:

1. Don Felipe de Soria, married with Teresa Ramos.
2. Agustín Rodríguez, married with Nicolasa Ortiz and has one daughter.
3. Juan de Eguido (Guido), married with Isabel de los Reyes and has one son.
4. Miguel de Ayala, single.

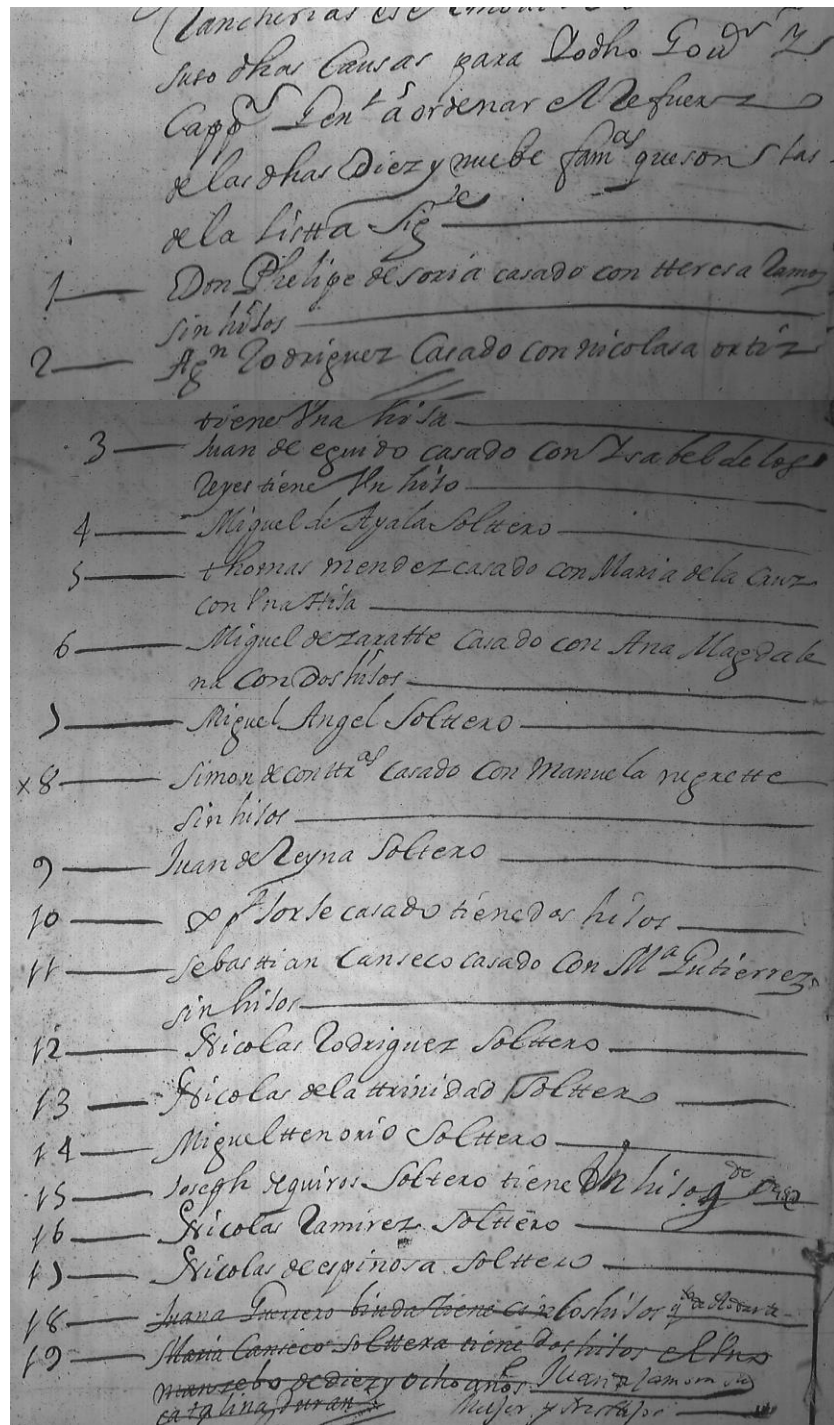
5. Tomás Méndez, married with María de la Cruz with one daughter.
6. Miguel de Zarate, married with Ana Magdalena [Hernández] with two children.
7. Miguel Ángel, single.
8. Simón de Contreras, married with Manuela Negrete without children.
9. Juan de Reyna, single.
10. Cristóbal Jorge, married [wife not named] and has two children.
11. Sebastián Canseco, married with María Gutiérrez, without children.
12. Nicolás Rodríguez, single.
13. Nicolás de la Trinidad, single.
14. Miguel Tenorio, single.
15. José de Quiros, single, with godchild.
16. Nicolás Ramírez, single.
17. Nicolás de Espinosa, single.
18. ~~Juana Guerrero, widow, with five children [Rodarte children].~~
19. ~~María Canseco, single, with two children, one a young man of eighteen years.~~
~~Catalina Durán.~~ Juan de Zamora, his wife [not named] and children.

The last two entries are confusing, given that the names were crossed out and the name of at least one additional settler, Juan de Zamora, was substituted. The name of Catalina Durán, presumably the widow of José de Armijo, appears at the end of the list and it is not clear whether this entry was intended to be separated from that of María Canseco.

Rather than establish a second settlement, intended more to keep the two groups segregated, the newcomers received land in the Villa Nueva de Santa Cruz and nearby. Writing many years later, *Maestre de Campo* Roque Madrid, confirmed:

I, said *Alcalde Mayor* and Captain of War, Roque Madrid, state and declare that it is a fact that I settled the Zacatecas families in this my jurisdiction of the Villa Nueva de Santa Cruz upon verbal order given my by don Diego de Vargas Zapata Luján, former governor and captain general of this kingdom, and partitioned to them land that on that occasion were vacant in order that

they could farm and support themselves until the said families could determine something else.⁴



List of families recruited at Zacatecas resettled at the Villa Nueva de Santa Cruz, May 1696. SANM I, no. 817, Roll 4, fr. 1351.

Only a small number of these families from Zacatecas remained as residents of the Villa Nueva de Santa Cruz. In 1712, former resident Ana Magdalena Hernández recounted:

My husband, Miguel de Zarate, myself, and my daughter, having been assigned to settle in this kingdom, it was determined by the Señor Marqués de la Nava Brazinas, don Diego de Vargas Zapata Luján, former governor of this kingdom, to send us to the Villa Nueva de Santa Cruz to reside there, where, in the name of His Majesty, each one of the families [from Zacatecas] was assigned a piece of land with which we could support ourselves by planting corps.⁵

She further stated that following the death of her husband, “For a long time I remained settled in the said tract of land that was given to me in the name of the king, and finding my hardships increased, alone, a widow and without protection, I decided to move to this Villa de Santa Fe.”⁶ Hernández sold her land to Bartolomé Lobato, a soldier who had served for ten years at the presidio in Santa Fe.

It appears that a majority of families from Zacatecas returned to the Villa de Santa Fe due to the danger and instability of the region caused by the Pueblo Indian uprising that exploded in early June 1696 and the ensuing conflict that extended through November. There were also underlying jealousies and conflicts among the various groups of settlers that may have also contributed to the Zacatecas families not remaining among the families of Mexico City. A review of other records indicates that almost all of the families recruited at Zacatecas were residing at the Villa de Santa Fe when they received livestock in May 1697.

Four

A Catastrophic Year, 1696

And they passed on to Nambé, where they found that the sacred vessels and ornaments had been carried off, the said convent had been looted, and they [the Pueblo Indians] had killed Juan Cortés, his daughter, and his son-in-law, named José Sánchez, all of the said having come with the families from Mexico [City]. —Don Diego de Vargas, Governor of New Mexico, July 31, 1696¹

The settlers from Mexico City struggled to sustain themselves under harsh conditions of drought, lack of provisions, and their own unfamiliarity with farming and raising livestock. A limited harvest in 1695 resulted in a shortage of grain and the long winter months further contributed to the hardship of life on the frontier. A simmering discontent among some of the Tewa and Tano Pueblo Indians in the vicinity caused concern among the settlers. Similar dissatisfaction among the Keres Pueblo Indians of the lower Río Grande region offered an opportunity for some pueblo leaders to plan another large scale uprising to once again force the Spanish citizens out of New Mexico.

False rumors circulated among the Pueblo communities that Governor Vargas intended to kill all Pueblo Indians. Although several Pueblo Indian leaders knew differently and preferred to remain allies of the governor and the Spanish government, others incited discord and managed to gain support for a coordinated rebellion. Word of the threat of an uprising seeped through to Governor Vargas, mainly from Pueblo Indians that informed the local Franciscan friars of impending attacks. The friars requested protection in the form of small troops of soldiers, but this measure did little to prevent an uprising.

Violence erupted on June 4, 1696. The Keres Indians of the south attacked the friars and ransacked the churches, destroying religious articles and statues, and taking livestock. The Towa Indians at Jemez killed fray Francisco de Jesús and at the nearby “old pueblo of San Juan” and killed the *alcalde mayor* of the jurisdiction, Captain Juan Holguín, along with a soldier, Melchor Trujillo.² Two women and two boys were taken

captive, including a son of Holguín and a son of Francisco de Apodaca. In the jurisdiction of the Villa Nueva de Santa Cruz, the Tano Indians of San Cristobal killed fray José Arvizu, two Indian boys, and two citizens from Mexico City, Simón de Molina, a carpenter, and Diego de Betanzos, a stonemason. Molina and Betanzos were employed by Arvizu to build the doors to the church and to construct the convento.³

At San Ildefonso Pueblo, fray Francisco Corvero was killed along with fray Antonio Moreno, the minister at Nambe who was staying at San Ildefonso. Also found dead at San Ildefonso, in the sacristy and *convento*, were doña Juana Anaya de Almazán, widow of Ignacio Baca, and her son, Alonso Baca, and her two daughters doña Leonor Baca, the wife of Pedro Sánchez de Iñigo, and doña Rosa Baca.⁴ Two women were missing and presumed captured and taken by the Indians. At Nambe Pueblo, the Indians killed Juan Cortés, his daughter and his son in law, José Sánchez, each being settlers that came from Mexico City. Also found dead was Andrés Baca, another son of Ignacio Baca and doña Juana Anaya de Almazán.⁵

The body of don José Manuel de Galdámes Gitloméy went unnoticed at Nambé. During the attack, as Pueblo Indians clubbed him, he fell to the ground and feigned death. His attackers, believing he was dead, threw his body into an *estufa* (kiva). When the attackers left, he managed to escape and make his way to the Villa Nueva de Santa Cruz practically unclothed and “turned into the living image of Lazarus.”⁶

Another body found at Nambé was that of Mateo Trujillo.⁷ His son, Agustín Trujillo, laid him to rest and his other family members, in particular his wife, María de Tapia, mourned at the news of his death.⁸ Despite five wounds, Trujillo managed to survive in a most astounding manner. On June 8th, Governor Vargas recorded:

I went onto the villa of Santa Fe, where I found Mateo Trujillo had arrived, naked. He said he had escaped with his rapier in hand and had taken four days to arrive, because he was barefoot, naked, and exhausted. He had stayed off the road to save his life and slept at night, covering himself with many branches.⁹

The news of Mateo Trujillo’s remarkable survival spread quickly across the kingdom. Writing from Bernalillo on June 10th, don Fernando Durán y Chaves wrote to Governor

Vargas stating, "We have all been very happy about Mateo Trujillo's resurrection; he had more to do than Lazarus."¹⁰ In all, five friars and twenty-one Spanish citizens were killed on June 4th and the rebelling Indians fled into the mountain nearby ranges.

Fear gripped the Spanish citizens of New Mexico. Governor Vargas ordered the religious and the settlers of outlying areas to seek safety and protection at the Villa de Santa Fe and the Villa Nueva de Santa Cruz. The Pueblo Indians leaders that remained loyal included those of Pecos, Tesuque, Santa Ana, San Felipe, and Zia. Vargas immediately enlisted large groups of loyal Pueblo Indian warriors and formed military squadrons from among the Spanish citizens. The Keres group of rebelling Indians were said to be headed toward the Pueblo of Jemez and would be joined by those of the Pueblo of Acoma, as well as by bands from the Zuñi, the Moqui, and Utes. In the north, the Tewa and Tano Indians fled east into the mountains and sought the assistance from bands of Apache.

At Taos Pueblo, Captain Lázaro de Mizquía, the *alcalde mayor* and *capitán a guerra* (war captain) of that district, fled on June 4th upon word from *Alférez* José Domínguez de Mendoza of the impending uprising of Pueblo Indians, leaving with fray Diego de Chavarría and an escort of twelve soldiers under the command of Domínguez de Mendoza. On the following day, June 5th, a group of Tewa and Tano Indians, along with some Indians from Picurís, ambushed the small party twice.¹¹ The second attack came at night in the mountainous forest on the slope of a *bajada* called El Aire. Mizquía advanced in the vanguard to attack the Indians and became separated from the other soldiers. An arrow penetrated his right thigh passing through his long leather jacket. He fired three shots of his musket and upon the third shot his horse went up wildly and threw him to the ground, at which time he realized he was wounded. He managed to remount his horse, yet the animal refuse to move, even with vigorous spurring. Unfastening the saddle and bit from the horse quickly, he slipped away on foot into the darkness of the forest. Having lost his musket when he his horse first started to buck, he tossed his ammunition into a river. A life threatening experience like this necessitated prayers, and so he called upon the aid and protection of Nuestra Señora de los Remedios.

For the next nine days Mizquía kept to the mountains and forest, skirting the camps of the rebelling Pueblo Indians and Apache that he passed along the way, making it past the pueblos of San Cristóbal, Nambe and Tesuque without detection by the Indians. He

arrived in the Villa de Santa Fe on June 14th “fatigued and exhausted” from his ordeal and much to the surprise of Governor Vargas and others who presumed him dead from the attack on June 5th. For posterity, Vargas recorded Mizquía’s account of his amazing survival:

From that day, Tuesday [June 5th], until that time mentioned [June 14th], he sustained himself with the baldric he had with him, roasting small pieces of it, and five green canutillos. He recognizes and it is acknowledged that this should be attributed to a most extraordinary miracle of the most holy Virgin, since he says he stumbled upon the camps of the rebels and Apaches who had settled in the sierra, and they did not see him.

He came with his leather jacket, his sword unsheathed, and a bridle in his hand in case he discovered a horse he could capture and escape on. Because he was so fatigued and exhausted, he was forced to leave his leather jacket in one of the cañadas near Tesuque. He took pieces of it to make shoes, which he wore tied to his feet. So that his arrival and the circumstances of the event that God Our Lord wrought by His most holy will in this kingdom may be of record, I signed it this villa de Santa Fe. Don Diego de Vargas Zapata Luján Ponce de León.¹²

News of the movements of the rebelling Indians continued to flow into the Villa de Santa Fe from the south and the north as Vargas prepared for a military campaign to track down the key leaders of the rebellion, principally the Tewa Indian leaders Lucas Naranjo and Juan Griego. Prior to the attack on June 4th, these and other Pueblo Indian leaders had spread rumors that Governor Vargas and the Spanish soldier intended to kill the Pueblo Indians. This rumor served to build fear, foster a sentiment of resentment, and convince the Pueblo Indians to attack and kill the Spanish citizens.

Not all Pueblo Indian leaders were convinced about any animosity on the part of Governor Vargas and chose to side with the governor and the Spanish citizens. Sixty Indian warriors from Pecos Pueblo arrived at the Villa de Santa Fe on June 28th, consisting of thirty mounted on horses and thirty on foot to support a campaign against the rebelling Indians.¹³ On the following day, Vargas recorded his intent to lead a

campaign to the north against the Tewa and Tano from the pueblos of San Cristóbal, San Lázaro, San Ildefonso, Nambe, Pojoaque, Santa Clara, and San Juan and “seek them out on the mesas and in the cañada, mountain ranges, canyons, and hills, wherever they may be.”¹⁴ He designated the Villa Nueva de Santa Cruz as the *plaza de armas*, the military camp, where the company of Spanish soldiers and Indian warrior allies would gather for the campaign.

Word reached the *vecinos* of the Villa Nueva de Santa Cruz quickly and a number of them met to formulate a petition seeking recourse from their hardship in anticipation of the arrival of the governor. Vargas arrived at about six o’clock in the evening of June 30th and received the following petition from eighteen residents:

Lord governor and captain general

We, the citizens of Villa Nueva de Santa Cruz, which you lordship has again founded, appear before you in the proper manner in accord with the law and that corresponds to our right. We say that an edict was promulgated in Mexico City by order of the most excellent lord viceroy, the Conde de Galve, in the name of his majesty (may God keep him) in which we were promised, aside from what we have informed your lordship about in other petitions, that we would be given this land free from enemies, with the roads and ways in and out unobstructed. He obliged us to leave our homeland in this company to come settle this kingdom, although we heard in Parral that the Indians were not keeping their word, which they had given during the first conquest your lordship made, and that you were actually at war with them.

Nevertheless, as his majesty’s loyal vassals, we continued the journey willingly until we arrived in your lordship’s presence. Feeling neglected, we came to you and found upon arrival in Santa Fe that it was true. As soon as we were there, your lordship decided to leave in campaign for Taos, Jemez, and San Ildefonso Mesa to put down the Indian’s rebellion. We all went as good Catholics and his majesty’s loyal vassals to serve your lordship in those battles.

After your lordship subjugated them with your affection and pacification, we continued in the kingdom until the present time. We now find ourselves far from having a way out, and with no hope of finding one, because the Indians

have risen again. Obstinate in their rebellion, they have killed five religious and other people from Mexico City and this kingdom. Because of this, we ask and entreat your lordship to see fit to hold a junta [council] of war and with what it decides, to take us to a place where we can live more comfortably, serving his majesty (may God keep him). We know that although your lordship would like to maintain us in the kingdom, you are unable to acquire the supplies for this, as you have always done until now.

Since the reverend father, fray Francisco Farfán, the former procurator of this holy custody in whose charge we came, will be able to inform your lordship about the arrangements and proceedings the royal junta issued for our coming, the dispatches he brought, and the reason for the royal edict, we hope your lordship will give us consolation we expect in everything. We ask for justice and swear by God and the sign of the holy cross that this our petition is not malicious, but what is necessary, and so forth.¹⁵

The individuals signing the petition presumably consisted of those residents most dissatisfied with their living conditions and what they viewed as injustice in not being accorded what was promised by the viceroy when they were first recruited as settlers. Among the petitioners were two men who were part of the recruits from Zacatecas, Juan de Reina and Miguel Tenorio. The petitioners were:

Miguel Gerónimo del Aguila

Juan de Sandoval Martínez

Tomás Palomino

Miguel de Quintana

At the request of and as a witness for Cristóbal Marcelino, Miguel de Quintana

Juan de Medina Ortiz

At the request of and as a witness for Juan Ruiz Cordero, Tomás Palomino

At the request of and as a witness for Andrés de Cárdenas, Miguel Gerónimo del Aguila

At the request of and as a witness for Juan Lorenzo de Medina, Juan Medina de Ortiz

At the request of and as a witness for Juan de Reina, José Velásquez

Gabriel de [Ansures] Tamayo

José Bernardo Mascareñas

José Velásquez

José Jaramillo [Negrete]

Ignacio de Aragón

Juan Manuel Chirinos

Miguel Tenorio

At the request of and as a witness for Diego Jirón [de Tejeda], Miguel Tenorio

Governor Vargas immediately read the petition and weighed both the advantages and disadvantages of relocating the settlers and the Villa Nueva de Santa Cruz. With the Pueblo Indians in revolt and encamped in the nearby mountain ranges, the governor's first concern was that relocating the citizens "would give all the Indians cause for great courage, effort, and drive to recover, and once fully themselves, boldly to follow us."¹⁶ The Villa Nueva de Santa Cruz held an important strategic advantage as a base of military action since one group of Indians was encamped in the mountain range near Chimayó, about five leagues to the east, and two other groups at Embudo, about five or six leagues distant, and another group in the mountains to the west of Santa Clara Pueblo, and yet one more group in the mountains near San Ildefonso. Vargas expected the campaign against the Pueblo Indians to last the whole summer and noted that he would not be able to head to Taos until September. As a result, he noted in his campaign journal that he would make a decision about changing the location of the villa around the middle or end of October.

Governor Vargas held the requested *junta* (council) of war on July 1st to discuss the request of the settlers and decide on relocation. The military leaders in attendance included *Maestre de Campo* Luis Granillo, the lieutenant governor, *Maestre de Campo* Roque de Madrid, lieutenant general of the cavalry and *alcalde mayor* and war captain of

the Villa Nueva de Santa Cruz, Lorenzo de Madrid, *maestre de campo* of the kingdom and the *alcalde ordinario* of the town council of the Villa de Santa Fe; don Antonio de Valverde, the captain of the presidio in the Villa de Santa Fe, don Martín de Urioste, the *alférez* of the presidio, and Juan Ruiz de Cáceres, the adjutant of the men-at-arms.¹⁷

The military secretary, Domingo de la Barreda, read aloud the petition of the settlers and the opinion of Governor Vargas in reply. *Maestre de Campo* Luis Granillo declared it was inadvisable to relocate the Villa Nueva de Santa Cruz. He expressed concern that if the villa was abandoned the Indians would think the Spaniards feared them rather than having left due to a lack of firewood and crop failure. The settlement and the surrounding area would become occupied by the rebel Indians “and make the nations of this kingdom arrogant.”¹⁸ Regarding the need of the settlers for further assistance, Granillo stated, “It would discredit Spanish arms for his majesty (may God keep him), to have wasted his royal wealth in transporting them and on the aid he has given them, since the lord governor and captain general has not failed to assist them with meat and maize, providing them with the guard they needed for their protection, and distributing weapons to them.”¹⁹ Each of the military leaders agreed with the opinion of Granillo. The Villa Nueva de Santa Cruz and its settlers should remain at its present location while efforts occurred to stabilize the region.

Later during the same day, Domingo Tuguaque, the governor of Tesuque Pueblo, came to Governor Vargas with information about the location of the Tano Indians in the nearby mountains.²⁰ Vargas decided to leave from the Villa Nueva de Santa Cruz under the cover of dark at 9:00 p.m. in order to reach the Indian encampment around dusk for a surprise attack in the sierra of Chimayó. Vargas and his troop of soldiers, accompanied by Domingo Tuguaque and other Pueblo Indian allies, moving slowly, traveling thirteen miles before setting up camp around 2:00 in the morning. By dusk, Pueblo Indian scouts found the encampment of the rebel Tano and Vargas guided his soldiers “at top speed” to gain an advantage in the attack.²¹ At a point where the soldiers and Indian allies were spread out and scattered along an ascent of a crest of a mountain, the Tano Indians attacked the rearguard. The soldiers fended the attack and managed to escape. As the day proceeded, Vargas and his men came upon an abandoned encampment before being attacked again at around 1:00 p.m. Although a soldier received a wound in the ensuing

battle, the attacking Indians were repelled and retreated further into the mountain range, eventually taking refuge at Taos Pueblo.

Over the course of the next two months Governor Vargas and his military leaders sought diplomatic reconciliation with the various groups of Pueblo Indians that took refuge in the northern mountain ranges toward Picuris and Taos and in the western ranges in the area of Jemez. Vargas oversaw and led several military campaigns, including a critical encounter resulting in the death in late July of Lucas Naranjo, one of the main leaders of the uprising.²² In September, Vargas again made the Villa Nueva de Santa Cruz his military headquarters and succeeded with a troop of soldiers and Pueblo Indian allies in obtaining peace with the Indians of Taos Pueblo, although many Pueblo Indians, especially those of Picurís Pueblo, remained hiding in the mountains to the east.²³ On September 25th, while encamped at Taos Pueblo, two women captives were brought to Vargas, one being María Trujillo, the wife of Juan de Mestas, and the other being a woman named Catalina Bernal, the wife of Felipe de Moraga, who happened to be one of the soldiers in the company of Vargas. They both arrived “dressed as Indian women, with the hair cut short.”²⁴

Employing a combination of force of arms and diplomacy, Governor Vargas and his Pueblo Indian allies eventually succeeded in orchestrating a remarkable reconciliation with the rebelling Pueblo Indians by the end of 1696.²⁵ Almost two years later, Antonio de Silva, a citizen of the Villa Nueva de Santa Cruz, recalled the catastrophic events of summer of 1696:

The Spaniards had to go out to the Indian pueblos and make them serve them by bringing firewood and catering water. Everybody, soldiers and citizens, was trading a lot of firearms, powder, balls, swords, lances, horses, and even their clothes to the Indians. That was why the fourteen pueblos revolted. The Indians killed five priests, their ministers and doctrineros, in their pueblos, and another thirty-four Spaniards. They burned and desecrated the churches and carried off the sacred vessels and everything the fathers had. More than two thousand of those Indian souls went away, and they were apostate from our holy faith.²⁶

Many of the settlers lost their harvest due to their participation on military campaigns between July and September and because many of Pueblo Indians, on whom they depended as paid laborers for planting and harvesting their crops, fled with the rebelling Indians. Conditions continued to deteriorate in the vicinity of the Villa de Santa Cruz during the fall. By November, Governor Vargas still had not made a decision about relocating the community. A small group of dissatisfied settlers again jointly submitted a petition to the governor in late November 1696, repeating their request to move the Villa Nueva de Santa Cruz to another location more suitable for cultivating crops and raising livestock. Although not specifically mentioned in the petition, the settlers preferred the area of Alameda in the Río Abajo as the new site:²⁷

To the governor and captain general, 1696 [November 26]

We, the citizens of Villa Nueva de Santa Cruz, appear before your lordship in the proper way and form in accord with the law, as is our right. We say that inasmuch as the aid of cattle, sheep, and goats the king, our lord (may God keep him), grants us for the settlement and to raise; and we are in this outpost, the villa of Santa Cruz, whose lack of comfort we have been experiencing, since 40 sheep and goats that belonged to the reverend father, our minister, fray Antonio Moreno (may God keep him in His kingdom) died in this outpost from eating some grass called locoweed [*garbansillo*], which abounds throughout the district, as does arrowhead [*zactilla*], which makes the livestock very ill: because of these very serious obstacles to raising cattle, sheep and goats, we ask and entreat your lordship to see fit to improve our location. Because lands and new farms are incapable of supporting us, we, the original citizens of this kingdom, decided your lordship should be able to designate places and locations that would be most advantageous for the success of our many sheep and goats and labor.

The most excellent lord viceroy and the royal acuerdo should recognize that we are trying to avoid, if not in whole, then in part, further expense to him and the loss, on our part, of what has cost his excellency so much concern. If this our proposal is inappropriate, your lordship will please see fit to keep the

cattle, sheep, and goats yourself until you give an accounting to the most excellent lord viceroy with your courier or with Lázaro de Mizquía, the procurator general of this kingdom, whom the most excellent lord viceroy has summoned.

Likewise, if your lordship sees fit to grant us Indian laborers from the pueblos during the planting season, as was formerly done, or should you see fit to give an accounting to the most excellent lord viceroy of this our request, it is understood that we will be obliged to pay these Indian laborers as they were customarily paid before.

With great respect, all of us who sign here ask and entreat your lordship for all this and everything else we may state and declare expressed here and for you to see fit to provide what is most advantageous. We justly ask this and swear in the proper form that this our petition is not malicious. We earnestly request royal assistance from your lordship in what is necessary and so forth.

Tomás Palomino

Manuel Cervantes

Diego Jirón de Tejeda

Cristóbal Marcelino [Ladrón de Guevara]

At the request and as a witness for Andrés de Cárdenas, Tomás Palomino

Cristóbal Jorge

Miguel de Coca [de la Vega y Coca]

Agustín de la Cruz

Diego Márquez de Ayala

Don Inenciano *Thomas palomino*
Manuel Escrivantes
Aguero y Portezgo Diego *Don tege*
Christobal mouselino
Aguero y portezgo de andres
de cardenas Thomas palomino
Aguero y portezgo Christo
gorge
Aguero y portezgo de migel
de la
Aguero y portezgo
Diego Marques a la

Signatures of settlers petitioning to relocate the Villa Nueva de Santa Cruz, 1696.
 SANM I, no. 818.

Upon review of the petition Vargas called upon *Maestre de Campo* Luis Granillo and *Ayudante* Juan Ruiz de Cáceres, the two men that inspected the region in early 1695 to determine the viability of retaining the villa in the region of La Cañada, which they had

originally determined as suitable for settlement.²⁸ They affirmed that the lands assigned to the settlers were indeed fertile and that the livestock was not dying because of the locoweed and the grass. Granillo and Ruiz de Cáceres further confirmed that some of the residents were placed in possession of the hacienda and ranchos that were abandoned at the time of the Pueblo Indian uprising in August 1680. Before that time, these properties flourished due to the fertility of the region. This included the raising of cattle, sheep, goats, horses and cultivated farmlands and irrigation. Vargas made the following points in his records regarding the families from Mexico City living at the Villa Nueva de Santa Cruz:

Even though I gave these citizens cleared plowed fields for farming that were known to be fertile; water intakes, ditches, and acequias, all in repair and with a good flow of water; and houses already built in the settlement, I acknowledged that they presented a petition to me in 1695. In view of the inaction and ignorance about how to cultivate their milpas [planting fields] and their incompetence, since they had not been instructed in such activities; and since they had lost their planted fields, because of the plague of worms and grain moths that had attacked their milpas, they had recourse to me, don Diego de Vargas, as a nobleman.²⁹

Vargas continued with his reflections about relocating the Villa Nueva de Santa Cruz. If the conflicts with the Navajo and Apache Indians could be ended within the space of two years, then an “improved location” would be worth considering. He recommended the abandoned pueblo of Alameda in the Río Abajo region, or the abandoned haciendas at the outposts of Mejía or Atrisco (the future site of the Villa de Albuquerque), or the site of the hacienda that formerly belonged to Salvador Holguín near Alameda, or even the old hacienda of doña Damiana Domínguez de Mendoza located north of Sandia Pueblo near modern-day Angostura. Vargas favored Alameda as the site because of its milder climate and the conditions of the abandoned houses, the acequias, the pastures, and the planting fields.

In March 1697, royal officials denied the request to move the villa, stating:

The outpost where Villa Nueva de Santa Cruz was founded is not so disagreeable. It does not suffer the inconveniences of worms and unhealthy grasses, since crops were planted and livestock raised there, as was seen at the time Villa Nueva was founded. Although the location at Alameda may be considered better, more fertile, and more comfortable place to live and may improve the planted and fallow fields and livestock of the citizens, it poses the very serious obstacle of being 20 leagues from Villa Nueva, which is a frontier with and protection against the enemy. It would be unable to resist the invasions and raids the Indians might intend to carry out, since even though they might have word of them, help would be useless at that distance. The goal, which is for them to remain and settle, would come to nothing. Thus, their plan cannot be permitted for now.³⁰

This decision did not deter several families from selling or abandoning their lands and relocating to the Villa de Santa Fe (Bustos/Pas Bustillos, Esquibel, Jirón de Tejeda-Sedano, Jirón de Tejeda-Domínguez de Mendoza, Moya, Ortiz, Rodríguez, Ruiz Cordero), or moving to the region of Bernalillo (Ansures, Aragón and Silva), or even to El Paso del Río del Norte (Aguila and Ladrón de Guevara).

The idea of relocating the Villa Nueva de Santa Cruz to the Río Abajo valley became an important seed of thought for what would later become the Villa de San Felipe de Alburquerque a decade later in 1706. In the meantime, the settlers awaited the arrival of the much needed aid in the form of livestock, grain for planting, and material for clothes.

Five

The 1697 List of Residents

With regard to the sustenance for the citizens and soldiers, his lordship has taken every care to transport it so that they do not lack what his majesty (may God keep him) has authorized. At the same time, he has been transporting large amounts of maize on his pack train to supply the citizens. —Town Council of the Villa de Santa Fe, April 27, 1697¹

A pack train of wagons left Mexico City in mid-November 1696 loaded with supplies to assist the settlers of New Mexico, consisting of 1,500 *varas* of coarse woolen cloth, 1,245 *varas* of baize, and 2,000 *mantas*. Along the way livestock was bought in late January 1697 at the Real de San José de Parral that included 3,000 ewes along with 300 rams for breeding, 600 cows with 60 bulls for breeding, 2,000 ewe goats with 200 male goats for breeding, and 200 bull oxen.² The much needed supplies of cloth and livestock arrived at the Villa de Santa Fe in late April 1697 and still expected were wagons with 2,000 *fanegas* of maize for planting.³

Governor don Diego de Vargas organized a formal distribution of the livestock and cloth that occurred on May 1, 1697. The surviving list of settlers receiving livestock and other goods is the best account of many of the early families living in the jurisdiction of the Villa Nueva de Santa Cruz in that year. Near the end of the list is a group identified as families “from Mexico City” that has the names of families found frequently in the early records of the Villa Nueva de Santa Cruz, including many families recruited at Mexico City as well as a few families with pre-revolt roots in New Mexico. The names of the heads of households and their dependents, mainly their children, were recorded as households number 201 through 238:⁴

201. Nicolás Ortiz (known to have been an early *alcalde mayor* of Santa Cruz), with his wife, doña Mariana [Barba Coronado] and the following dependents: Manuela, Nicolás, Antonio, Luis Francisco, and José.

202. Juan de Sandoval and Gertrudis [de Herrera] with one dependent, María.

203. Juan de Bustos (Pas Bustillos) and Antonia [de Alanís] with one dependent, Josefa [de Pas Bustillos y Ontiveros].
204. José de Atienza, the elder, with Gertrudis [Sevillano de Mancilla] and two dependents, Cayetano and José.
205. Juan de Atienza, widower, and his daughter, Ignacia.
206. José de Atienza, the younger, and Estefanía [Moreno de Trujillo], with two dependents, María and Francisco.
207. José Rodríguez and María [de Samano] with four dependents, Gertrudis, Juan, Juana, and Antonio.
208. Ignacio de Aragón and Sebastiana [Ortiz] with three dependents, María Antonio and Francisco.
209. Tomas Palomino and Gertrudis [Bautista de Ulibarri].
210. Diego Jirón de Tejeda and María [de Leyva y Mendoza] with two dependents, José and Gertrudis.
211. Nicolás Jirón de Tejeda and Josefa [Sedano].
212. Tomás Jirón de Tejeda and Antonia [Domínguez de Mendoza] with two dependents, Dimas and María.
213. Captain Antonio Domínguez's orphan children: Teresa, Leonor, Francisca, and Antonio.

202	Juan de Sandoval	04-03-02-20-02-02-01
	Sumo de Brucos	
3	Don B. de Muro	
	Juan de Muro	
203	Don B. de Muro	04-03-02-20-00-02-01
	Sumo de Brucos	
3	Don B. de Muro	
	Sumo de Brucos	
204	Don B. de Muro	06-05-13-20-00-02-01
	Sumo de Brucos	
4	Don B. de Muro	08-02-06-20-02-01
	Sumo de Brucos	
205	Don B. de Muro	
	Sumo de Brucos	
206	Don B. de Muro	06-05-13-20-02-01
	Sumo de Brucos	
4	Don B. de Muro	
	Sumo de Brucos	
207	Don B. de Muro	07-03-10-25-02-01
	Sumo de Brucos	
208	Don B. de Muro	03-02-06-20-02-01
	Sumo de Brucos	
209	Don B. de Muro	06-05-13-20-02-01
	Sumo de Brucos	
210	Don B. de Muro	03-02-06-20-02-01
	Sumo de Brucos	
211	Don B. de Muro	06-05-13-20-02-01
	Sumo de Brucos	
212	Don B. de Muro	06-05-13-20-02-01
	Sumo de Brucos	

Page of the May 1697 distribution of cloth, grain and livestock with the families from Mexico City residing in the Villa Nueva de Santa Cruz. Spanish Archives of New Mexico, Series II, no. 65, Division of Goods and Stocks to Residents by Vargas, May 1, 1697.

214. Antonio de Moya and Francisca [Morales de Guijosa] with two dependents, María and Francisco.

215. Teresa Fernández [widow of Juan Fernández de Atienza] and her children, Diego and María.
216. Miguel Gerónimo del Aguila and Gerónima [de Florido] with one dependent, Josefa.
217. Tomás de Herrera Sandoval and Pascuala [de la Concepción Ribera] and two dependents, Antonio and Teresa.
218. Miguel de Quintana and Gertrudis [Moreno de Trujillo] and one dependent, María.
219. Juan [Lorenzo] de Medina, the short one, and Antonia [Sedano].
220. Juan de Medina, the tall one, and Juana, with one dependent, Juana [Márquez].
221. Gabriel de Ansures and doña Felipa [de Villavicencio Lechuga] and one dependent, María.
222. Juan Antonio de Esquibel and María [de San Nicolás Rangel] with two dependents, Magdalena and Teresa.
223. Manuel de Cervantes and Francisca Rodríguez.
224. Cristóbal Marcelino [Ladrón de Guevara] and Juana [de Góngora] with his son, Cayetano.
225. Josefa Durán, widow of Agustín Griego, and their children, Antonia and Juan.
226. Salvador Durán's orphan sons, Lázaro and Baltasar.

227. Diego Márquez [de Ayala] and María [de Palacios Bolivar] with two dependents, Diego and Juan.
228. Juan Chirinos [aka Martínez de Cervantes] and María de Porras.
229. José Jaramillo [Negrete] and María [de Sotomayor Barusa] with three dependents, Pedro, José, and Roque.
230. José Cortés and María [de Carvajal] with three dependents, Rafaela, Dionisia and José.
231. Antonio de Silva and Gregoria [Ruiz] with three dependents, Gertrudis, José and Juan.
232. Andrés de Cárdenas and Juana [de Ávalos] with two dependents, Petrona and Teresa.
233. José Vásquez [aka Velásquez] and Juana [de Caras] with two dependents, María and Lorenzo.
234. Juan Ruiz Cordero and María [Nicolasa de Carrillo].
235. Felipa Martín, her husband, Agustín de Carvajal, absent, with five dependents, Juana, María, Pedro, Miguel and Antonio.
236. [Francisco] Xavier Romero and María and one dependent, Francisco.
237. Miguel Ladrón de Guevara and Felipa [Guerrero].
238. María de Mora [wife of Diego Sayago] and her son, Diego [González de la Rosa].

Not included in this grouping were families with pre-revolt roots in New Mexico, particularly those with lands in the earlier jurisdiction of La Cañada prior to August

1680, which included Chimayó and which became incorporated into the new jurisdiction of the Villa Nueva de Santa Cruz. Many of these older New Mexico families were accounted for in the 1697 livestock distribution as part of a general listing of “families, both those originally from this kingdom and those who have entered from Zacatecas, Sombrerete, and the kingdoms of Nueva Galicia and Nueva Vizcaya.”⁶

Around the same time as the livestock distribution Captain Lázaro de Mizquía, the man who survived in the wilderness following an attack by Pueblo Indians in June 1696, traveled to Mexico City as procurator general of the kingdom of New Mexico, serving as the legal representative of the civic government of the realm. Mizquía received his commission from the town council of the Villa de Santa Fe in January 1697, charged with giving an account of conditions in New Mexico.⁷

Since the time of the original request of settlers in September 1696 to relocate the Villa Nueva de Santa Cruz to a more suitable site, Mizquía contemplated the best prospects for moving the town as well as that of Santa Fe in order to establish a zone of protection along the Río Grande from north to south, “guided by my conscience and based on my many years of experience and knowledge of the land.”⁸ While in Mexico City, Mizquía submitted to the viceroy of Nueva España his strategic recommendations dated July 1, 1697, “on the means that are most advantageous for preserving those lands and most in the royal service of both majesties [God and king].”⁹ He described how the Indians held the advantage in areas nearest to the mountain ranges, along which both villas were situated. These areas provided ease of access for the Indians to seek refuge after an attack and presented challenges for the Spanish citizens on horses. He noted:

Santa Fe was established so close to the mountain range that in many places the mountains are but a musket shot away. The villa of Santa Cruz is located in a cañada, which the adjacent high hills dominate. The mountains are about 1½ leagues away. It is 10 leagues from the villa of Santa Fe to the river [Río Grande] and 2 from the villa of Santa Cruz to the river.¹⁰

Mizquía recommended locating a presidio along the banks of the Río del Norte (Río Grande) about thirty miles south of the current Villa Nueva de Santa Cruz. Going south, there would be four Indian pueblos followed by a new site for the relocated Villa de Santa

Fe along the Río el Norte, followed by four more pueblo communities, and then the relocated Villa Nueva de Santa Cruz (in the area of Alameda Pueblo, no the modern-day north valley of Albuquerque), followed by four more pueblo communities and then a second presidio in the south, most likely somewhere between Isleta Pueblo and Socorro along the Río del Norte.¹¹

Mizquía ended his report and recommendations with a personal statement:

I am a citizen of El Paso and married with children. I have been without the company of my wife and children for four years because I have been on campaign, serving his majesty during the conquest of New Mexico. My primary aim is for the heavy expenditure to achieve the permanence of our holy Catholic faith. I think it is certain that the faith cannot survive, given the situation of the two villa and the distances from the pueblos.¹²

In January 1698, the town council of the Villa de Santa Fe proposed moving Santa Fe and the Villa Nueva de Santa Cruz to different locations and establishing the presidio at Santo Domingo Pueblo with a second presidio at a campsite referred to as San Diego.¹³ Writing on January 10, 1698, Juan Ruiz de Cáceres prepared a letter to a royal official in Mexico City advising against the relocations, stating:

What occurs to me to say about this is, first, that Villa Nueva de Santa Cruz protects and forms a frontier for the nearby pueblos of San Juan, Santa Clara, San Ildefonso, Jacona, Nambe, and Tesuque. The pueblos of Picurís and Taos, which are under our control, serve as a frontier for Villa Nueva de Santa Cruz. Villa Nueva de Santa Cruz has the necessary land for planting and pasturage for livestock, and they are good. The water that comes down from the eastern mountains is sufficient to irrigate the fields. They have the firewood they need, although they have to go to the mountains 2 leagues [about 5 miles] away from Villa Nueva. Should one wish to move this villa to the site of Alameda, I find that the flooding of the Río Grande is an obstacle.¹⁴

The royal council in Mexico City determined it was not feasible nor desirable to relocate both villas and instructed Governor don Pedro Rodríguez Cubero to “assign land and pastures for both the community and each individual so that they all have enough to build houses, sow fields, and raise livestock.”¹⁵

At this time the Villa Nueva de Santa Cruz was described as being enclosed with a single gate entrance, with a main plaza and a church in which were buried some early residents, houses of residents, and a house for the priest.¹⁶ Five years later, writing in December 1703, Governor Vargas described the villa as:

A frontier, a transit point and plaza de armas for whatever operations might come up for the men-at-arms of this presidio [of Santa Fe] and to safeguard the Tewa, Picuris, and Taos nations against the Apaches and Utes. The lives of those who settled in the cañada and at other sites were defended and safeguarded by withdrawing their cattle and horse to the villa, as happened during the rebellion of 1696. It is of record how very important it was to keep the villa populated and to prevent its abandonment, which the citizens requested because of the rebellion.¹⁷

During the tenure of don Pedro Rodríguez Cubero as governor of New Mexico (1697-1703), many of the citizens of the Villa Nueva de Santa Cruz continued to struggle with farming, raising livestock, and the rising threat of attacks by bands of Navajo and Apache. Gradually, residents left the region for other parts of New Mexico. When don Diego de Vargas arrived in November 1703 for his second term as governor, he found the Villa Nueva de Santa Cruz nearly abandoned.

Six

The 1704 List of Residents

Of no less concern is the abandonment of Villa Nueva de Santa Cruz de los Mexicanos del Rey Nuestro Señor don Carlos II. —Don Diego de Vargas, Governor of New Mexico, December 1, 1703¹

Although numerous families resided on lands within the jurisdiction of the Villa Nueva de Santa Cruz, the population of those residing in the town itself dwindled during the administration of Governor don Pedro Rodríguez Cubero. In early December 1703, members of the town council of the Villa de Santa Fe complained to royal officials that Rodríguez Cubero left the Villa de Santa Fe and the Villa Nueva de Santa Cruz in disrepair and conditions had deteriorated since Vargas left office in 1697. The communication noted:

As for Villa Nueva de Santa Cruz de los Mexicanos, it is in the same shape [as the Villa de Santa Fe], laid waste and ruined, with the wood and adobes removed and only the foundations remaining. When the lord marqués [don Diego de Vargas] founded and settled it with families from Mexico City and Zacatecas, who numbered seventy, there were very large houses and a plaza with a chapel and convent, all behind a door and parapets. During the rebellion and Indian uprising of 1696, it was the only relief and support for its inhabitants.²

Nine remaining residents of the Villa Nueva de Santa Cruz prepared and submitted a petition dated December 1, 1703, to Governor Vargas complaining of insufficient lands to plant crops and to sustain their growing families, as well as concerns about Indians encroaching on their lands.³ The individuals signing the petition were:

José Mascareñas

Juan de Pas Bustillos

José Blasquez (Velásquez)

Ignacio de Aragón

Juan Lorenzo de Medina

Juan de Medina Ortiz

For Diego de la Rosa, Ignacio de Aragón

For Juan de Sandoval Martínez, Juan de Medina Ortiz

For Gertrudis Bautista de Ulibarrí, Juan de Pas Bustillos



Signature of residents of the Villa Nueva de Santa Cruz that submitted their complaint to Governor Vargas, December 1703. Spanish Archives of New Mexico, Series I, Roll 50, Private Land Claims, Case 194, Santa Cruz de la Cañada Land Grant, fr. 883.

In response to the complaint, Vargas traveled to the Villa Nueva de Santa Cruz in February 1704 to inspect conditions and encountered a settlement almost deserted and

in ruins with only a new chapel building that served as the church. Only six families resided in houses around the plaza, which included the families of 1) *Alcalde* Nicolás Ortiz, 2) Andrés de Cárdenas, 3) Juan de Dios Sandoval Martínez, 4) Antonio de Moya, 5) Miguel Gerónimo del Aguila, and 6) Diego Jirón de Tejeda.⁴ Other families lived in houses scattered on lands along the Santa Cruz River.

The inspection included an accounting of all the families of Mexico City that remained in the jurisdiction of Santa Cruz, resulting in a list of the heads of fifty-six household. Unfortunately, spouses and children were not identified and the list did not include the families living in the jurisdiction with roots in the area before August 1680. Nonetheless, the list is important for documenting the families of Mexico City that remained as residents of the Villa Nueva de Santa Cruz. The names of many of these settlers were also recorded together in the account of settlers receiving livestock seven years earlier in May 1697.

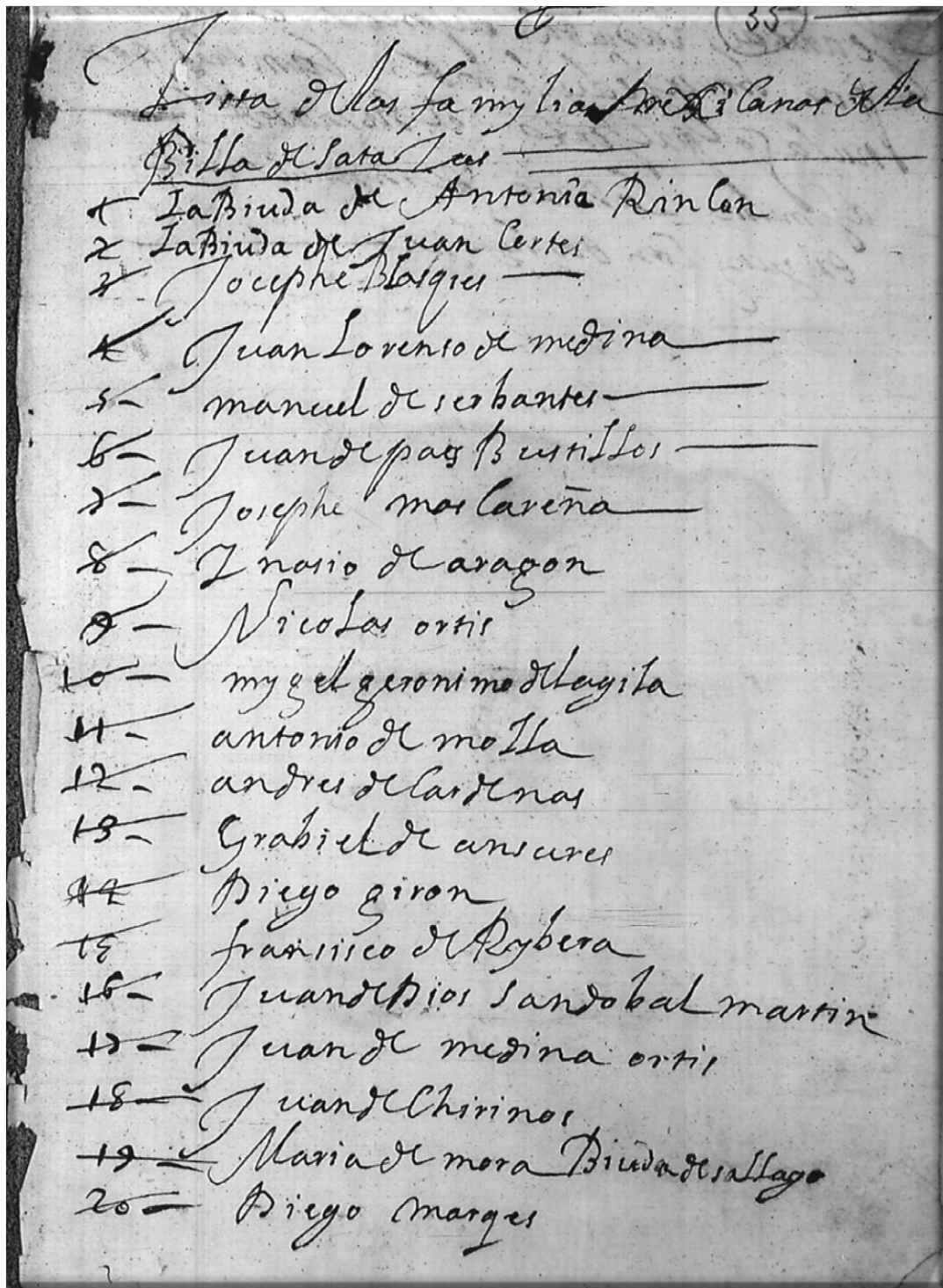
*List of Families of Mexico City Living in the Jurisdiction
of La Villa Nueva de Santa Cruz in February 1704⁵*

1. [Antonia de Valenzuela], the widow of Antonio Rincón
2. [María de Ribera], the widow of Juan Cortés
3. José Blasquez [Velásquez Cortés]
4. Juan Lorenzo de Medina
5. Manuel de Cervantes
6. Juan de Pas Bustillos
7. José Mascareñas
8. Ignacio de Aragón

9. Nicolás Ortiz
10. Miguel Gerónimo del Aguila
11. Antonio de Moya
12. Andrés de Cárdenas
13. Gabriel de Ansures
14. Diego Jirón [de Tejeda]
15. Francisco de Rivera
16. Juan de Dios Sandoval Martínez
17. Juan de Medina Ortiz
18. Juan de Chirinos
19. María de Mora, widow of [Diego de] Sayago
20. Diego Márquez [de Ayala]

Notations:

21. The widow of José Jaramillo, María de Barusa [aka María de Sotomayor], is added because of the grant that she presented, which was made to her husband having been declared void.
22. The widow of Manuel Rodríguez, [María Encarnación Palacios].



List of families residing in the Villa Nueva de Santa Cruz, February 1704. SANM I, Roll 50, Private Land Claims, Case 194, Santa Cruz de la Cañada Land Grant, fr. 909ff.

Then, on February 13, 1704, eleven individuals with land grants in the jurisdiction presented themselves before Governor Vargas. These *vecinos* were:⁶

23. Juan Tomás de Herrera Sandoval, on grant lands. He also bought the land that was allocated to Tomás Palomino, who sold it to Antonio de Silva, and the said Palomino was killed by the Zuñi during his exile.
24. José de Atienza, on grant lands.
25. Tomás Jirón [de Tejeda], on grant lands.
26. Miguel Fajardo, on grant lands.
27. Miguel de Quintana, on surplus of said grant.
28. Antonio Godines, on grant lands.
29. Pasqual Trujillo, by sale made to him by Tomás Jirón [de Tejeda] of a grant that was made to him and his wife.
30. Antonia Domínguez, widow of Andrés Hurtado, who served his majesty in the conquest of this kingdom up to the month of March 1694 and died of a wound in the bloody battle of the Mesa de San Ildefonso, and sold it to Juan de Archuleta, now deceased, for 60 pesos, a cow and two copper kettles, and the widow of Archuleta owes 14 pesos.
31. Juana María de Medina, widow of *Ayudante* Joseph Luis de Valdes, and of it has sold a hollow to the widow of Sayago [María de Mora].
32. Manuel Vallejos, deceased, with two children, one female, sold in his lifetime the grant to Juan de Archuleta for a cow, her calf, and the minors live with their step-mother, Mariana Hurtado, at their place in Bernalillo.

33. María de Mora, widow of [Diego de] Sayago, lives on a land grant given her husband and having added a hollow that she bought from Juana María de Medina, widow of Valdes, and she also added another piece of land that Manuel de Cervantes sold her and another portion of land that the orphan of don José del Valle {Bernardino de Sena], who lives in the Villa de Santa Fe, sold her.

On the following day, February 14, 1704, at the Pueblo of San Juan de los Caballeros, the following *vecinos* presented themselves before Governor Vargas asking for grants of land in the jurisdiction of the Villa Nueva de Santa Cruz:⁷

34. Miguel de Quintana, granted another half fanega of land for planting corn bounded to his current lands.

35. José de Mascareñas to be given a grant upon further investigation.

36. José Blasquez (Velásquez Cortés), a piece of land that he sold to the widow of Agustín Griego, Josefa Durán, for which reason he has no lands.

37. José Rincón, age 15 years presented himself, representing his mother, the widow of Antonio Rincón, she had one *almud* of land (about half an acre).

38. The lands of the widow of José Cortés (María de Carvajal) is occupied by the new church and the house of the priest.

39. Juan Lorenzo de Medina said he had an *almud* of land for planting corn.

40. Manuel de Cervantes sold his land to the widow of Sayago and for which reason he has none.

41. Juan de Pas Bustillos said that he sold the *almudes* of planting land that was given to him to don Tomás de Herrera (Herrera Sandoval), for which reason he asks for lands.

42. *Alcalde Mayor* don Nicolás Ortiz has only a piece of land for two *almudes* and asks for additional land.
43. Miguel Gerónimo del Aguila said he has one *almud* of land and petitions like the others.
44. Ignacio de Aragón said he did not and never did have lands for which reason de petitioned for lands.
45. Antonio de Moya has a piece has a piece of about two *fanegas* of planting land and asks for what more he needs.
46. Andrés de Cárdenas sold a piece of land given him to Tomás Muñiz for which reason he asks for more.
47. Gabriel Ansures has no lands and asks like the others.
48. Diego Jirón [de Tejeda] sold his piece of land of about half an *almud* to Andrés de Betanzos for 12 pesos for which reason he now has no land.
49. Francisco de Rivera has no lands and petitions like the others.
50. Juan de Dios Martínez (Sandoval Martínez) has nothing except as small piece in the courtyard of the church and petitions like others.
51. Juan de Chirinos has no land and petitions for land.
52. María de Mora holds lands as mentioned above and by her industry she has added to the holdings that were given to her and her son Diego de la Rosa, 19 years old represented her.

53. Diego Márquez [de Ayala], absent, with a family of wife and children, had a piece of land of about 2 *almudes* that he sold to Andrés González and he petitions like the others.
54. María de Barusa (María de Sotomayor), widow of José Jaramillo [Jaramillo Negrete] has no lands and her husband gave a piece of land to José Madrid for a horse, and she has two children and an orphan. She requested all the privileges allowed by law. Her husband fought in the battle of the Jemez Utes and the Mesa de San Ildefonso in which he lost a piece of his skull from which he suffered until he died. In 1697, her husband entered a tract of land that “in the old time” belonged to the Herreras and was granted to him conditionally should the Herreras not return to settle it within the term of one year and he was placed in full possession of the land. After two years passed, María de Barusa submitted a petition to Governor Rodríguez Cubero to confirm possession of the land and the grant was made to her. Now, Miguel de Herrera laid claim to his former lands. Governor Vargas invalidated the grant made by Governor Pedro Rodríguez to José Jaramillo in 1697.
55. The widow of Tomás Palomino [Gertrudis Bautista de Ulibarrí] has no children and he sold his lands to José Madrid and José Durán.
56. María de Benavides, widow of Diego González, presented a grant made by Governor Rodríguez Cubero to her husband consisting of the remainder of the *fanega* of planting land granted to Pedro de Ávila on October 7, 1698. She also presented another grant in favor of Francisco de la Mora made in Santa Fe on of a piece of land in the Cañada de San Cristóbal (Santa Cruz Valley) of 2 *fanegas* of cultivated land. Diego González bought in Santa Fe on December 12, 1700, land from Pedro de Ávila for 63 pesos, and one grant consisting of one *fanega* of corn land, which is now in the abandoned town of San Cristóbal, for the price of 80 pesos, and also the grant of the tract in the Cañada called San Cristóbal, which formally belonged to Francisco Xavier when the kingdom was lost and neither he or his children returned and the grant was made by Governor Rodríguez Cubero on August 14, 1697.

After examining all of the land grants owned by the residents of “San Cristóbal,” Vargas permitted and directed all residents in possession of lands for raising crops of different kinds in the Cañada de Chimayó and the Villa Nueva de Santa Cruz and other places in its jurisdiction to remain in possession of the lands granted to them “in the way in which they are now settled.”⁸ He issued an order prohibiting residents from making purchases or sales of land with punishment of the loss of office of *alcaldes mayores* and *alcaldes ordinarios* and disqualification for other appointments, their titles of land voided and vendor exiled to the frontiers of Acoma and Zuñi for a term of two years and the same punishment to anyone that attempts to make such a purchase and to the loss of the amount of what the person shall have paid and the property shall be applied to the adornment of the church and parish of the Villa Nueva de Santa Cruz.

Taking stock of the settlement conditions in February 1704, Governor Vargas set about addressing the gradual abandonment of the community of the Villa Nueva de Santa Cruz. He began with an accounting of those settlers still in the area and the land grants. He then revalidated land grants and allocated additional land to remaining residents of the Santa Cruz valley up to Chimayó. Unfortunately, the available documentation does not include an account of the land owners in the area of Chimayó.

The restoration of New Mexico to the crown of Spain in 1692 inaugurated the *Nuevomejicano* land grant tradition. With the abolishment of the *encomienda* system of seventeenth-century New Mexico and the establishment of an official presidio in the Villa de Santa Fe for protection from hostile bands of Indians, the Spanish government instituted a policy to support and foster an agrarian society in New Mexico. During the 1600s, most male citizens were expected to render military service, especially those that were given grants of *encomienda*, accepting tributes from Pueblo Indian communities in exchange for financing and participating in military service. These men served at their own cost without pay from the government. After 1692, the *encomienda* system in New Mexico was eliminated and one hundred men were enlisted as soldiers for the presidio at the Villa de Santa Fe, creating a professional military class. Settlers of the newly restored realm of New Mexico were granted lands, livestock, and grain in order to sustain themselves. Farming and ranching developed into a commercial enterprise for many citizens of New Mexico.

Seven
La Villa de Santa María de Grado, 1706

*The said two towns, one very new without foundation, and
the other one new that is called that of Santa Cruz
—Fray Agustín de Colina, December 1706¹*

The increased incursions by bands of Navajo and Apache starting in 1704 brought Pueblo Indians and Spanish residents into closer alliance for mutual protection and defense. Aware of the conditions of frontier war in New Mexico prior to his arrival in the Villa de Santa Fe in March 1705, Governor don Francisco Cuervo y Valdes ordered a muster of the Santa Fe presidio and local militias as soon as he took office.² The muster at the Villa de Santa Fe occurred on April 20, that at Bernalillo on April 22, and on April 27 eighty-three men of the jurisdiction of the Villa Nueva de Santa Cruz presented themselves for the muster.³ Among the eighty-three men, only twenty-three had horses or mules and twenty-two had no weapons. There was also a shortage of gunpowder and balls for the guns.

Writing to the new governor, the *cabildo* of the Villa de Santa Fe expressed concern for the dire conditions of the citizens of the kingdom and went so far as to state that without aid from royal officials, the citizens would “be forced to leave and look for another place outside of this kingdom.”⁴ The *cabildo* informed Governor Cuervo y Valdes that:

The past years have been so terrible with much illness, as was seen in the past year of 1704, and because of the continuing war against the enemy Apache nations who surround us. In particular the bellicose and widespread Navajo nations have arisen again, which we have experience for the first time since this kingdom was conqueror in [16]80. Their continuous invasions and ambushes have caused numerous deaths and robberies each and every day and will become worse due to their immediacy in the heavily wooded and high country which surrounds our settlements.⁵

Governor Cuervo y Valdes responded favorably to the petition and wrote the viceroy requesting the aid “in order to remedy their extreme and numerous needs, which I am aware that they are suffering, and by which I am touched.”⁶ To address the increased incursions by bands of nomadic Indians, Cuervo y Valdes organized four major campaigns against various groups of Apache and Navajo in the months of May, June, and August through September 1705.⁷ *Maestre de Campo* Roque de Madrid, the new *alcalde mayor* and war captain of the Villa de Santa Cruz de la Cañada, led a two month campaign in August and September into northwestern territory following a series of daring raids by Navajo on the pueblo communities of San Ildefonso, Santa Clara, and San Juan resulting in a loss of livestock.⁸ These military campaigns led to peace agreements in 1706, helping to stabilize the frontier for a period of several years.⁹

The conditions of the land, the severe weather, and threats of attacks by Navajo and Apache Indians eroded the fortitude of many of the settlers from Mexico City, some of who left to make their homes in other areas of New Mexico. Other settlers, including those whose families resided in New Mexico prior to 1680, chose to reside in homes on their land grants scattered along the river from Chimayó in the foothills to the banks of the Río del Norte (Rio Grande), resulting in the depopulation of the actual Villa Nueva de Santa Cruz.

Governor Cuervo y Valdes negotiated with various groups of settlers on establishing several new settlements to better consolidate the settlers into communities for better defense and to reduce the scattered residences that were extremely vulnerable to attacks. Sometime between mid-January and mid-April 1706, Cuervo y Valdes authorized the founding of a new town in the Río Abajo region that he christened the Villa de San Francisco Xavier de Alburquerque. Also during that time while making consideration to improve defense against raids by Indians, Cuervo y Valdes either convinced a group of twenty-nine residents of the area of Chimayó, or was convinced by these residents, to make the outpost of Chimayó the site a new villa, which Cuervo y Valdes christened the Villa de Santa María de Grado in honor of his birthplace in Asturias, Spain.¹⁰

Rather than repopulate the existing site of the Villa Nueva de Santa Cruz it appears that the residents of the area of Chimayó preferred to have the seat of local government closer to their properties. The exact location of the new town is difficult to ascertain. It may have been on property owned by Isabel González, the widow of Juan Archuleta.¹¹

Cuervo y Valdes neglected to seek approval from royal officials for the establishment of the Villa de San Francisco Xavier de Alburquerque and the Villa de Santa María de Grado. Fortunately, the settlement of Alburquerque received sanction and was rechristened as the Villa de San Felipe de Alburquerque. The Villa de Santa María de Grado struggled to obtain formal recognition as a town because the Villa Nueva de Santa Cruz, although nearly abandoned, still held royal sanction as the official villa and seat for local government in the area. That there were two sites contending as the municipal center of the jurisdiction is apparent in a petition of residents of the unofficial Villa de Santa María de Grado dated December 1706. The petition begins, “The taxpaying citizens of the Villa Nueva de Santa María de Grado appear before Your Very Reverend Father and we state that in this jurisdiction we find ourselves lacking spiritual pastors, a cause of deficiency.”¹² The petition continued with an explanation for the need of a religious minister assigned to the new town and noted that the town was a *visita* of the Pueblo of San Juan de los Caballeros. The following twenty-nine residents of the Villa de Santa María de Grado signed the petition:

Roque de Madrid

Juan de Medina Ortiz

Bartolomé Lobato

Miguel Tenorio de Alva

Tomás Nuñez

Domingo Martín [Serrano]

Miguel Martín [Serrano]

Juan Manuel Chirinos

Sebastián Durán

José Griego

Diego Martín [Serrano]

Blas Martín [Serrano]

Juan de Mondragón
Antonio Martín [Serrano]
Matías Madrid
Francisco de Rivera
José Madrid
Baltasar de Castro [Rodarte]
Andrés de Cárdenas
Andrés González
Ambrosio Fresqui [Fresquis]
José Naranjo
Juan de Aragón
Simón Fresqui [Fresquis]
Antonio de Sandoval
Juan de Guido
José Fresqui [Fresquis]
Antonio de Moya
Don Tomás de Herrera y Sandoval

Other historical records provide evidence that many of the men who signed this petition resided in the area of Chimayó, in particular, the Martín Serrano, the Moraga, and the Fresqui families.¹³

The spouses of the men who signed the petition deserve mention as being residents of the Chimayó area:

Juana de Ávalos, wife of Andrés de Cárdenas.¹⁴

María de Carvajal, wife of Antonio Martín Serrano.¹⁵

Juana Durán, wife of Tomás Núñez.¹⁶

Francisca de Gamboa, wife of Andrés González.¹⁷

Josefa de Herrera, wife of Domingo Martín Serrano.¹⁸

Teresa de Herrera, wife of Diego Martín.¹⁹

Catalina Luján, wife of José Naranjo.²⁰

Juana Márquez, wife of Juan de Medina Ortiz.²¹

Franciscan Antonia Morales de Guijosa, wife of Antonio de Moya.²²

María Guadalupe Navarro, wife of Juan Manuel Chirinos.²³

Lucía Ana Negrete, wife of Bartolomé Lobato.²⁴

Isabel de los Reyes, wife of Juan de Guido.²⁵

Pascuala de la Concepción Rivera, wife of don Tomás de Herrera Sandoval.²⁶

Agustina Romero, wife of Miguel Tenorio de Alba.²⁷

Antonia de la Serna, wife of Matías Madrid.²⁸

Sebastiana Trujillo, wife of Juan de Mondragón.²⁹

Rosa de Vargas Machuca, wife of Blas Martín Serrano.³⁰

Sebastiana de la Vega, wife of Baltasar de Castro Rodarte.³¹

The petition was delivered to and reviewed on December 22, 1706, by fray Agustín de Colina, the Franciscan custodian of the kingdom and the ecclesiastic judge. In his reply, dated January 1, 1707, Colina noted that the Villa de Santa María de Grado did

not have a church, “*ni fundación*,” “nor foundation,” referring to the fact that the villa was not an officially sanctioned town.³² Colina mentioned that at the “Villa de Santa Cruz” there were *vecinos* and houses and a priest visited the community from San Juan Pueblo. He emphasized that the Villa de Santa Maria de Grado did not have a convent to house a priest or the resources to maintain one. He specifically referred to “*dichas dos Villas una novisima sin fundacion, y otra nueva q[ue] a si se llama la de S[ant]a Crus*,” “the said two towns, one very new without foundation, and the other one new that is call that of Santa Cruz.”³³ Because there was a shortage of priests in the kingdom, it was not possible to assign a priest to the community as requested, even if the new villa was legitimate.

Although a church was built at the Villa Nueva de Santa Cruz, the tribulations of the town, the loss of inhabitants between 1704 and 1706, and the shortage of Franciscan priests, caused the ecclesiastical leadership in New Mexico to station a priest at the Pueblo of San Juan de los Caballeros instead of at the villa. In a report to Governor Cuervo y Valdes on the conditions and needs of the various parishes of the kingdom dated January 7, 1706, fray Juan Álvarez of Nambé Pueblo related that fray Pedro Mata, the minister at San Juan de los Caballeros, also administered to the residents of Villa Nueva de Santa Cruz and its jurisdiction, including the Cañada de Chimayó.³⁴ Álvarez noted that the priest carried “all the ornaments and the altar” from San Juan to say mass in the small church in the Villa Nueva de Santa Cruz. Even following the establishment of the Villa de Santa María de Grado by April 1706, the priest continued to be stationed at the Pueblo de San Juan de los Caballeros throughout the rest of the year.

A brief record dated May 23, 1707, signed by Governor don Francisco de Cuervo y Valdes, identified *Maestre de Campo* Roque Madrid as the “*alcalde m[ay]or de la Villa de S[an]ta Maria de Grado*.”³⁵ In the following month, writing on June 16 at the Villa de Santa María de Grado, Madrid formally gave possession of a tract of land to José Trujillo located at a place known as Arroyo Seco. One of the boundaries was “a cross placed on the royal road going to the Villa Nueva de Santa Cruz.”³⁶

It is clear that from early 1706 through at least mid-June 1707 the Villa de Santa María de Grado, located in the area of Chimayó, competed with the Villa Nueva de Santa Cruz as the seat of local government, with Santa María de Grado taking precedence for as much as a year and a half. It is not certain when the Villa Nueva de Santa Cruz

regained preeminence, but it was very likely around August 1707 when the term of Governor Cuervo y Valdes ended and the new governor, don José Chacón Medina Salazar y Villaseñor, Marqués de la Peñuela, arrived in New Mexico. With the dissolution of the Villa de Santa María de Grado, the citizens reverted to referring to the area by the long-time traditional name of Chimayó.

Eight

The 1707 Census

There are numerous individuals [in the kingdom] who do not have arms, who are destitute and very poor. —Cabildo de Santa Fe, May 8, 1705¹

A change in the backgrounds of the settlers of the town and jurisdiction of the Villa Nueva de Santa Cruz is evident in a census enumerated in 1707, including the area of Chimayó, accounting for a sizable population of seventy-two households. The number of settlers from Mexico City living in the area dwindled so that the larger number of households was now represented by members of pre-revolt New Mexico families. The census accounted for sixty-one couples, eight widows, two widowers, and one single man for a total of seventy-two households consisting of 453 individuals. The names of the heads of households (husbands, wives, widows, and widowers) were recorded, except the surnames of almost all the wives were not given. No names of children were documented.

An analysis of the origins of the 133 heads of households (inclusive of husbands and wives) reveals the following results:

- 54% were individuals from families of pre-revolt (PR) origins in New Mexico
- 20% were individuals recruited in Mexico City (MC) in 1693
- 4% were men who were recruited as soldiers (Sold.) between 1680 and 1692
- 3% were individuals recruited by Juan Páez Hurtado (PH) in the area of Zacatecas in 1695
- 2% were individuals recruited by Vargas (VR) in the area of Durango in 1693
- 17% were individuals whose origins are not known (?), including Indians

The majority of heads of household came from families with roots in New Mexico prior to August 1680. The parents of many of these individuals owned property in the area of La Cañada, as the Santa Cruz jurisdiction was known before the Pueblo Indian revolt of 1680, and their children and grandchildren returned to claim hereditary family land between 1695 and 1710.

Several family groups are evident in the census listing: Madrid-Serna (#s 1-5); Luján-Romero (#12-#16); Atienza/Atencio (#21-#23); Gamboa (#33-#35); and Martín Serrano (#57-#60, #64-#65, and #67-#71). The largest family groups were the Martín Serrano clan consisting of 18 households, the Madrid-Serna-Durán clan with 8 households, and the Luján clan with 6 households. The Martín Serrano and Luján families owned land and resided in La Cañada and the Chimayó area since the early to mid-1600s.

The following transcription of the 1707 census of the jurisdiction of La Villa Nueva de Santa Cruz is augmented with the addition of the surnames of spouses based on information from other sources, such as baptismal records, prenuptial investigation records, lists of settlers from 1692 -1697, *Origins of New Mexico Families* (Fray Angélico Chávez), *The Juan Páez Hurtado Expedition of 1695* (John B. Colligan), and *The Spanish Recolonization of New Mexico* (José Antonio Esquibel and John B. Colligan). The origins of the heads of households, if known, are identified in brackets by abbreviations listed above. This rare census was first extracted from archival records by Donald Dreeson, translated with the assistance of Robert W. Delaney and published in 1989 (*New Mexico Genealogist*, Vol. 28:1, 22-23). A copy of the original document, cited by Dreeson as Biblioteca Nacional de México, Vol. 6, pt. 1, Doc. 3, p. 566, is part of the collection of the Center for Southwest Research at the Zimmerman Library, University of New Mexico.

1707 Census of the Jurisdiction of La Villa Nueva de Santa Cruz

Abbreviations of origins of individuals:

PR = Pre-Revolt; MC = Mexico City Recruit; Sold. = Soldier Recruit; VR = Vargas Recruit

<u>Heads of Household</u>	<u># of Persons</u>	<u>[Head of Household Origin]</u>
1. <i>Alcalde Mayor</i> Roque Madrid md. with Juana de Alvirez [Arbizu?] has 8 persons		[PR/PR]
2. Cristóbal Cerna [de la Serna] md. with Josefa Madrid has 8 persons		[PR/PR]
3. Matías Madrid md. with Antonia [de la Serna] has 7 persons		[PR/PR]
4. José Madrid md. with Juana [no surname given] has 5 persons		[PR/?]

5. Lázaro Durán md. with Gregoria [de la Serna] has 5 persons [PR/PR]
6. Juan Alonso [Mondragón] md. with Sebastiana Trujillo has 7 persons [PR/PR]
7. Miguel Carrillo md. with María [de Mondragón] has 5 persons [Sold/PR]
8. Josefa Griego, widow, has a family of 11 [PR]
9. Sebastian Durán md. with Ana [Martín] has 6 persons [PR/PR]
10. Tomás Núñez md. with Juana [Durán] has 3 persons [Sold/PR]
11. Juan Chirinos, widower [of María Guadalupe Navarro] has 4 persons [MC]
12. José Trujillo md. with Antonia [Luján] has 11 persons [PR/PR]
13. Pedro Sánchez [de Iñigo] md. with María [Luján] has 9 persons [PR/PR]
14. Francisca Romero, widow [of Matías Luján] has a family of 10 [PR]
15. Félix Luján md. with Francisca [Gómez de Torres] has 5 persons [PR/PR]
16. José Naranjo md. with Catalina [Luján] has 7 persons [PR/PR]
17. Cristóbal [no surname], an Indian, md. with María [no surname] has 6 persons [?/?]
18. Sebastián [no surname], an Indian, md. with Magdalena [no surname] has 6 persons [?/?]
19. Isidro [no surname], an Indian, md. with María [no surname] has 5 persons [?/?]
20. Agustina [no surname], Indian widow has 6 persons [?]
21. José de Atienza md. with Gertrudis [Sevillano de Mancilla] has 6 persons [MC/MC]
22. José de Atienza, his son, md. with Estefanía [Moreno de Trujillo] has 8 persons [MC/MC]
23. Joaquín de Atienza md. with María [Ansures] has 2 persons [MC/MC]
24. Miguel Fajardo md. with Felipa [no surname] has 5 persons [Sold/?]
25. Sebastián Martín md. with María [Luján] has 8 persons [PR/PR]
26. Pedro Ávila md. with María [Rosa Montaña] has 6 persons [Sold/PR]
27. Blas Martín md. with Ángela [no surname] has 3 persons [PR/?]

- | | |
|---|-----------|
| 28. Juan de Medina md. with María [no surname] has 5 persons | [MC/?] |
| 29. Isabel González, widow [of Captain Juan Archuleta] has 8 persons | [PR] |
| 30. Gabriel Ansures md. with Felipa [de Villavicencio] has 3 persons | [MC/MC] |
| 31. Cristóbal Tafoya md. with María [Isabel de Herrera] has 12 persons | [Sold/PR] |
| 32. Catalina Griego, widow [of Diego Trujillo], has 5 persons | [PR] |
| 33. Cristóbal Gamboa md. with Antonia [López, a Tiwa of Sandía] has 2 persons | [PR/PR] |
| 34. Diego Gamboa md. with Josefa [no surname] has 6 persons | [PR/?] |
| 35. Agustín de Salazar md. with Felipa [de Gamboa] has 8 persons | [PR/PR] |
| 36. Diego Martín md. with Rosa [de Atienza] has 7 persons | [PR/MC] |
| 37. Domingo Martín md. with Josefa [de Herrera] has 9 persons | [PR/PR] |
| 38. Juan Lorenzo de Medina md. with Antonia [Sedano] has 3 persons | [MC/MC] |
| 39. Diego Márquez md. with Juana [Martín Serrano] has 3 persons | [PR/PR] |
| 40. María de Valdes, widow [of Tomás de Cabrera?], has 9 persons | [MC] |
| 41. Miguel de Quintana md. with Antonia [sic Gertrudis Moreno de Trujillo], 6 persons | [MC/MC] |
| 42. Roque Jaramillo [Negrete] md. with Petrona [Cárdenas] has 6 persons | [MC/MC] |
| 43. Bartolomé Lobato md. with Gertrudis [no surname] has 12 persons | [PH/?] |
| 44. Antonio Molinar md. with Teresa [no surname] has 6 persons | [Sold/?] |
| 45. Juan de Guido, Indian, md. with Antonia [no surname] has 3 persons | [PH/?] |
| 46. Baltasar Rodarte md. with Sebastiana [de la Vega] has 2 persons | [PH/?] |
| 47. Diego Jirón [de Tejeda] md. with Isabel [no surname] has 7 persons | [MC/?] |
| 48. Antonio de Moya md. with Josefa [sic Francisca de Guijosa] has 5 persons | [MC/MC] |
| 49. Miguel Martín md. with María [Archuleta] has 3 persons | [PR/PR] |

50. Tomás de Herrera md. with Pascuala [de la Concepción] has 8 persons	[MC/MC]
51. Gabriel Romero md. with María [no surname] has 7 persons	[?/?]
52. Ambrosio Fresqui md. with Francisca [no surname] has 10 persons	[PR/?]
53. Juan de Aragón md. with Margarita [Varela] has 8 persons	[PR/PR]
54. Juan de Dios [Sandoval] md. with Gertrudis [de Herrera] has 6 persons	[MC/MC]
55. Francisco [Afán] de Rivera, single, has 4 persons	[PR]
56. María de Benavides, widow [of Diego González Bernal], has 9 persons	[VR]
57. Alexo Martín md. with María [de la Rocha] has 7 persons	[PR/PR]
58. Antonio Martín md. with Ana María [Gómez] has 5 persons	[PR/PR]
59. Francisco Martín md. with Casilda [Contreras] has 3 persons	[PR/?]
60. José Sosa md. with Rosa [Martín] has 4 persons	[?/PR]
61. Martín Fernández md. with María [Montoya] has 4 persons	[VR/PR]
62. Salvador Romero, widower [of María López de Ocanto], has 9 person	[PR]
63. Miguel Tenorio md. with Agustina [Romero] has 4 persons	[PH/PR]
64. Melchora de los Reyes, widow [of Luis Martín Serrano], has 13 persons	[PR]
65. Alonso Fernández md. with Catalina [Martín de Salazar] has 8 persons	[VR/PR]
66. Antonio Bernal md. with Rosa [Romero de Pedraza] has 4 persons	[PR/PR]
67. Hernando Martín [Serrano] md. with Josefa [González] has 6 persons	[PR/PR]
68. Antonio Martín md. with María [de Carvajal] has 11 persons	[PR/MC]
69. Cristóbal Martín [Serrano] md. with Antonia [Moraga] has 9 persons	[PR/PR]
70. Cristóbal Martín, son of the above, md. with Antonia [Montoya] has 8 persons	[PR/PR]
71. Francisco Martín [Serrano] md. with Juana [García] has 6 persons	[PR/PR]
72. Clemente Montoya md. with Josefa [de Herrera] has 4 persons	[PR/PR]

Within the span of three years, from 1704 to 1707, the Villa Nueva de Santa Cruz went from a town and jurisdiction in danger of dissolution to a community with a firm foundation for future growth thanks to the experience and tenacity of members of the original New Mexico families, families with several generations of experience with living on a frontier. These families were already familiar with the challenges of farming and raising cattle in a region fraught with the danger of constant attacks by nomadic Indians and extreme weather conditions.

With the restoration of New Mexico to the Spanish crown in 1692, royal officials fostered the development of a pastoral and agrarian society. This policy set the foundation for New Mexico's land grant tradition. Starting in 1693, individuals were granted tracts of land of varying sizes with the express purpose of establishing farms and raising stock, mainly sheep, goats and cattle. Gradually, the products of farming and the growth in herds of livestock, especially sheep, would form the main basis of the new economy on New Mexico supported by commercial trade in communities to the south, in particular Parral, Durango and Sonora, and later Chihuahua.

Nine

The 1712 Tool Distribution List

By the order of Maestre de Campo Roque de Madrid, alcalde mayor of the Villa Nueva de Santa Cruz and the jurisdiction of La Cañada, on the day that appears to be most convenient, all vecinos of the area, men as well as women of all states [single, married, widowed], and taking into account those for whom it is impossible to come to this villa, will come together to receive farm tools to assist them so that His Majesty, may God protect him, may be served in their kingdom.

—Order for Tool Distribution to Vecinos, January 1712.¹

In early 1712 Governor don José Chacón Medina Salazar y Villaseñor acquired farming equipment for distribution to Spanish citizens. Not only were the citizens in need of implements for tilling the soil and planting, the underlying intention of the tool distribution was to ensure that citizens were equipped to sustain an agrarian lifestyle and thus help maintain the presence of Spanish government in the far northern frontier. In the jurisdiction of the Villa Nueva de Santa Cruz, the governor gave authority to *Maestre de Campo* Roque de Madrid to distribute the tools and to account for the persons who received the implements.

In many cases, the land owners were not present at the distribution and the tools were given to designated individuals, sometimes a family member, on behalf of the land owner. The list accounts for sixty individuals that were recipients of small hoes (*coas*), hatchets (*achas*), large hoes (*azadones*), and plowshares (*rejas*). This included nineteen women, mostly widows, and some orphans. In the following list, additional information not found in the original document is included in brackets. Farm tools were distributed to and received by the following people: ²

- [1] For Isabel de la Serna, widow [of Pedro Madrid], the said *Maestre de Campo* [Roque de Madrid] took three small hoes, one hatchet, two hoes, and one plowshare.
- [2] For Josefa Durán, widow [of Agustín Griego], Sebastián Durán took three small hoes, one hatchet, one hoe, and one plowshare.
- [3] For María Martín, widow of Domingo de Herrera, her son, Francisco [de Herrera] took three small hoes, one hatchet, two large hoes, and one plowshare.
- [4] For Isabel González, widow [of Juan Archuleta], her son [not named] took three small hoes, one hatchet, one large hoe, and one plowshare.
- [5] For Lucía Martín, widow, her grandson [not named] took two small hoes, one hatchet, one large hoe, and one plowshare.
- [6] For Ana de Archuleta, mother of Luis Durán, José Fresqui took two small hoes, one hatchet, one large hoe, and one plowshare.
- [7] For María Bernal, widow [of Sebastián de Monroy Mondragón], Nicolás Jorge took two small hoes, one hatchet, one large hoe, and one plowshare.
- [8] For Juana de la Reyes, widow, Diego Márquez took two small hoes, one hatchet, two large hoes, and one plowshare.
- [9] For Eugenia de Herrera, widow [of Antonio Córdova], her son [not named] took two small hoes, one hatchet, two large hoes, and one plowshare.
- [10] For Francisca Romero, widow [of Matías Luján], her son took three small hoes, one hatchet, two large hoes, and one plowshare.
- [11] For Gregorio Trujillo, Baltasar Trujillo took two small hoes, one hatchet, one large hoe, and one plowshare.

- [12] For Antonia Manzanares, José Trujillo took two small hoes, one hatchet, one large hoe, and one plowshare.
- [13] For doña Juana Ortiz, Miguel de Dios [(page torn) Sandoval took] one hatchet, two large hoes, and one plowshare.
- [14] For Captain José de Atienza, the elder, his son, Juan [de Ateinsa], took three small hoes, one hatchet, and two large hoes.
- [15] For Agustín de Salazar, his son [not named] took three small hoes, one hatchet, and two large hoes.
- [16] For Pedro Sánchez, Juan Luján four small hoes, one hatchet, and two hoes.
- [17] For José Madrid, his father [Roque de Madrid] three small hoes, one hatchet, and one large hoe.
- [18] For Matías Madrid, his father [Roque de Madrid] three small hoes, one hatchet, and one large hoe.
- [19] For Simón Martín, José Fresqui took three small hoes, one hatchet, and one large hoe.
- [20] For Juan de Mondragón, José Fresqui took three small hoes, one hatchet, and one large hoe.
- [21] For Ambrosio Fresqui, his son [not named] took three small hoes, one hatchet, and two large hoes.
- [22] For Baltasar Rodarte, his brother, Cristóbal [Rodarte] took two small hoes, one hatchet, and one large hoe.

- [23] For José [González] de Apodaca, his son Juan Antonio [González de Apodaca] took two small hoes, one hatchet, and one large hoe.
- [24] For Francisco Martín, his son [not named] took three small hoes, one hatchet, and one large hoe.
- [25] For Sebastián Martín de Salazar, his son, Simón [Martín] took three small hoes, one hatchet, and one large hoe.
- [26] For Clemente Montoya, Francisco Luján took three small hoes, one hatchet, and one large hoe.
- [27] For Alonso Fernández, Simón Baca took two small hoes, one hatchet, and one large hoe.
- [28] For Nicolás López took three small hoes, one hatchet, and one large hoe.
- [29] For Juan de Medina Ortiz, *Maestre de Campo* Roque Madrid took three small hoes, one hatchet, and one large hoe.
- [30] For María Jaramillo, orphan, *Maestre de Campo* Roque de Madrid took three small large hoes, one hatchet, and two hoes.
- [31] For Antonio de Herrera, his father, Don Tomás [de Herrera Sandoval], took two small hoes, one hatchet, and one large hoe.
- [32] For Miguel Luján, his brother, Juan [Luján], took two small hoes, one hatchet, and one large hoe.
- [33] For Francisco [Afán] de Rivera, Roque Jaramillo took two small hoes, one hatchet, and one large hoe.

- [34] For Cristóbal de Tafoya, his nephew [not named] took three small hoes, one hatchet, and one large hoe.
- [35] For Juan de Tafoya, his nephew [not named] took two small hoes, one hatchet, and one large hoe.
- [36] For Ana María de Herrera, the said [nephew of Tafoya (?)] took two small hoes, one hatchet, and one large hoe.
- [37] For Andrés de Archuleta, his brother, Diego [de Archuleta] took two small hoes, one hatchet, and one large hoe.
- [38] For Miguel Martín, the said Diego [de Archuleta] took three small hoes, one hatchet, and one large hoe.
- [39] For Captain [Ignacio de] Roybal, Miguel de Dios [Sandoval] took three small hoes, two hatchets, and two large hoes.
- [40] For Juan Fernández, the said [Miguel de Dios Sandoval] took three small hoes, one hatchet, and two large hoes.
- [41] For Juan de Mestas, Juan Trujillo took three small hoes, one hatchet, and two large hoes.
- [42] For José Naranjo, Capitan don Agustín [no surname] took three small hoes, one hatchet, and one large hoe.
- [43] For Antonio Martín, his brother, Alejo [Martín] took three small hoes, one hatchet, and one large hoe.
- [44] For Diego Martín, his brother, Blas [Martín] took three small hoes, one hatchet, and one large hoe.

- [45] For Felipe de Arratia, Alejo Martín took two small hoes, one hatchet, and one large hoe.
- [46] For José Luján, Alejo Martín took three small hoes, one hatchet, and one large hoe.
- [47] For Marcos Montoya, Blas Martín took two small hoes, one hatchet, and one large hoe.
- [48] For Pedro de Ávila, Cristóbal Rodarte took three small hoes, one hatchet, and one large hoe.
- [49] For Juan Márquez, Alejo Martín took two small hoes, one hatchet, and one large hoe.
- [50] For Domingo Martín, his son, Blas [Martín] took three small hoes, one hatchet, and two large hoes.
- [51] For Juana de Salazar, Cristóbal Rodarte took one small hoe, one hatchet, and one large hoe.
- [52] For Ignacio Carrasco, his brother, José [Carrasco] took one small hoe, one hatchet, and one large hoe.
- [53] For María de Cárdenas, orphan, [her brother-in-law] Roque Jaramillo took three small hoes, one hatchet, and one large hoe.
- [54] For Margarita Baca, orphan, Miguel de Dios [Sandoval] took three small hoes, one hatchet, and two large hoes.
- [55] For Ines de Aspieta [wife of Cristóbal de Góngora], Captain Agustín [no surname] took two small hoes, one hatchet, and two large hoes.

- [56] For doña María Gómez, Miguel de Dios [Sandoval] took two small hoes, one hatchet, and two large hoes.
- [57] For Ursula Ramos, Antonio Bernal took two small hoes, two hatchets, and two large hoes.
- [58] For Carlos López, his brother, Luis [López], took three small hoes, one hatchet, and one large hoe.
- [59] For Diego Jirón, his son [not named] took three small hoes, one hatchet, and one large hoe.
- [60] For María de Cabrera, Miguel de Dios [Sandoval] took three small hoes, one hatchet, and one large hoe.

Attested to and submitted by *Maestre de Campo* Roque de Madrid, January 3, 1712, Villa de Santa Fe.

This distribution of tools apparently did not include all residents of the Villa Nueva de Santa Cruz or those within the jurisdiction, since the names of other residents appear in various other archival documents. In particular, two years earlier, in February 1710, five residents of the jurisdiction of the Villa Nueva de Santa Cruz that formerly served as soldiers of the presidios of El Paso del Río del Norte and Santa Fe petitioned for a grant of land that included the ruins of the very early Spanish settlement of San Gabriel del Yunque situated at the juncture of the Rio del Norte and the Chama River. In their petition, Captain Bartolomé Lobato, Captain Matías Madrid, Captain José Madrid, Captain Sebastián Durán, and Simón de Córdova stated:

In order to get a better location for our plantings as well as for our families, the hauling of wood and other good conveniences, we have determined to proceed to settle a place which lies on the other side [west side] of the Rio del Norte [Rio Grande], which said tract is situated in front of some stone corrals and

runs from the same to the boundaries of the pueblo of Chama, which is the boundary on the north. On the east side it is bounded by the said river [Rio Grande] and on the west and south by the hills and the said corrals.³

Governor don José Chacon Medina Salazar y Villaseñor initially granted the request, however, there was a delay in actually placing the men in possession of the land and then the grant was revoked. Two years later, on March 29, 1712, the five captains were joined by *Maese de Campo* Roque de Madrid, Andrés González, Tomás Bejarano, Blas Lobato, Cristóbal de Castro Rodarte and a widow, Isabel de la Serna in another petition to the governor for land at the same site as previously requested. All declared they were residents of the Villa Nueva de Santa Cruz and they stated:

Whereas we find ourselves with the inconveniences of not being able to support ourselves in the said villa on account of the little land as well as on account of the inconveniences of hauling the wood, which is at a distance of six or seven leagues, with many other inconveniences added in order to be able to subsist in the said settlement. And, as we know the assistance that we can receive in order to proceed with our large families, we ask and request that your Excellency be pleased to make us a grant, in the name of his Majesty, of a tract which was formerly the villa of Yunque, in order to better ourselves with houses, forts and protection, as it is a frontier and it is necessary to garrison the same with arms. We ask that it be extended as far as the mesa of San Juan, the Río del Norte and Chama, which, if granted by your Excellency, will be added to the other of which your Excellency has made us a grant in the name of his Majesty, it being his will that the land of the residents be enlarged.⁴

Each of the petitioners signed the request, except Isabel de la Serna, who asked Miguel Tenorio de Alba to sign on her behalf:

Roque Madrid

Batholome Lobato

Matias Madrid

Andres Gonsales

Blas Lobato

Joseph Madrid

Simon de Cordova

Xptobal de Castro

Sebastian Duran

For Ysabel de la Zerna,

Miguel Thenorio

de Alva

into lea blei y paei...
quispizame...
D. o gicemallo
D. arholomelobato
matiasmadrid
Andres Gonzalez
Bartolobatto
Lopez mado
Thomas de Belahome
monteradonna
Xptobal de Castro
Sebastian Duran
Ysabel de la Zerna
Miguel Thenorio
de Alva
Juan de Ulibarri

Signatures of individuals request land at the Puesto de Chama, 1712. SANM I, no. 1020, Juan de Ulibarri, Bartolomé Lobato, Matías Madrid and Others, Petition for Lands near Puesto de Chama, 1710.

In his review of the request, Lt. General Juan Páez Hurtado noted that the land requested was the site of the “ancient settlement of the first settlers who came in [to New Mexico] with Governor don Juan de Oñate, which was known as San Gabriel, and by another name, the villa de Yunque.”⁵ Páez Hurtado indicated that each of the petitioners had previously “sworn to the settlement of the Villa Nueva de Santa Cruz since the year 1695,” a statement that turned out to be inaccurate. Páez Hurtado further noted that the Villa Nueva de Santa Cruz did not have a large enough population to afford being reduced by eleven households and he recommended to the governor that the request be denied. Governor Chacon Medina Salazar y Villaseñor concurred with the opinion of Páez Hurtado.

Bartolomé Lobato, writing on behalf of the other petitioners, responded immediately to the denied request with particular attention to the statement made by Páez Hurtado that they had “sworn to settle the Villa Nueva de Santa Cruz since 1695.”⁶ Responding directly to Lt. General Páez Hurtado, Lobato wrote:

As it is known, to your Excellency that I entered among the number of the families from Zacatecas, and Cristóbal Rodarte [de Castro] and also Blas Lobato, my brother, came a long time after, and the Villa Nueva [de Santa Cruz] had already been founded and sworn to, and José Madrid and Matías Madrid, at the time of the [founding of the] said settlement, were soldiers of the company under your charge at the garrison of El Paso. Likewise, at the garrison at that time, serving their parents, were Diego Márquez and Simón de Córdova, whom your Excellency must have known, and Andrés González a soldier of this royal garrison, and Tomás Bejarano, a resident of this Villa de Santa Fe, and Sebastián Durán, also a resident of this Villa de Santa Fe.⁷

Lobato stressed that none of these men, including him, were among those sworn to the settlement of the Villa Nueva de Santa Cruz at the time of its founding in 1695. Instead, they came to that jurisdiction at a later time. Still, the petitioners were not granted the lands requested.

Although Lobato and his fellow petitioners were not successful in receiving the requested grant of land, the records offer insight into how a small group of frontier

soldiers came to be residents of the Villa Nueva de Santa Cruz after its founding. The two petitions from the years 1710 and 1712 emphasize that there were additional early settlers of the Villa Nueva de Santa Cruz whose names do not appear on the various surviving lists. As a result, it is essential to utilize a variety of sources to uncover additional names. Records of prenuptial investigations, marriages and baptisms are important sources.

Ten

Residents Travelling Outside New Mexico, 1713 – 1715

No one is to leave the province without my express permission. For all of this, the said alcaldes mayores are to submit a list of all who intend to go, so that upon my reviewing it, permission is granted for them to leave.

— Governor Don Gervasio Cruzat y Góngora, 1732¹

There is a persistent misconception that once individuals and families settled in New Mexico they spent their lives living in isolation from the rest of the Spanish Americas. Although New Mexico was a distant frontier region at the northern periphery of imperial Spanish territory in the Americas, the settlers of New Mexico, including those of the Villa Nueva de Santa Cruz, remained connected to people living in other realms through an effective system of travel, communication, and commerce. Documents confirm that the settlers were more mobile than is often presumed, traveling within the spread out realm of New Mexico and traversing long distances outside the realm. The misconception about the people of New Mexico living as an isolated group is overdue to be dispelled. One way to accomplish this is to highlight the mobility of individuals based on historical documentation.

One early example for a citizen of the Villa Nueva de Santa Cruz involved in long-distance trade is that of Nicolás Ortiz and his *compadre* Francisco Javier de Barcelán, a resident of Sonora. In November 1703, Gerónimo Colomo, a resident of San José de Parral in Nueva Vizcaya, submitted a complaint against Barcelán and Ortiz to Governor don Diego de Vargas. Barcelán failed to repay a loan of 280 pesos along with two pack mules.² At Bernalillo, Ortiz stored and organized local goods belonging to Barcelán with the intent of transporting them outside of New Mexico. Vargas ordered the goods seized until payment was made to Colomo. The goods included *cueras* (leather jackets), buckskins, buffalo hides, Apache youths, mules, and horses.³ Although there is no indication that Ortiz left New Mexico, it is evident that he maintained long-distant contact with associates in two other regions, Nueva Vizcaya and Sonora.

In September 1713, José Velásquez (Blásquez), another early settler of the Villa Nueva de Santa Cruz, was so indebted to people in Nueva Vizcaya that he sold a house in the Villa de Santa Fe to raise funds and requested permission to leave New Mexico to go to Nueva Vizcaya to reside with his family and publicly pay his “large debts.”⁴ Individuals of this time period traversed vast distances. In the case of José Velásquez, this also entailed relocating his family from the dangerous frontier of the Villa Nueva de Santa Cruz to a more secure community much further south and in a different realm.

In 1713, Juan de Bustos (Pas Bustillos), who came to New Mexico from Mexico City in 1694 as a settler and resided at the Villa Nueva de Santa Cruz, was mentioned as traveling outside of New Mexico and was expected to return soon.⁵

In 1714, Antonio Godines, a native of Mexico City and a long-time resident of the Villa Nueva de Santa Cruz jurisdiction, provided a detailed account of his large debts owed to individuals in Nueva Vizcaya and Sonora, indicating his long-distance commercial interactions.⁶ He declared he owed 370 pesos to Juan Vasoca, a *vecino* and merchant of San José del Parral, 360 pesos to don Francisco Minjares and 403 pesos to Captain don José Vesoación, also of San José del Parral, one horse and a mule to Tomás Pelegrino of Chihuahua, 70 pesos to doña Rosa de Salazar of the Real de Nacosore in Sonora, a small axe owed don José de Subiare in Sonora, and 350 pesos to don Francisco Sánchez de Tagle. In all, Godines owed a staggering 1,553 pesos outside of New Mexico, or an estimated modern-day equivalent of \$150,641. By comparison, the annual salary of a soldier in New Mexico in the early 1700s was 300 to 450 pesos.

References to travel outside and within New Mexico are found in various archival documents. Among the surviving records is a very rare list of residents of New Mexico traveling with license outside kingdom during the years 1712 through 1716. This list accounts for as many as 121 individuals that traveled between November 1712 and November 1716. Given that the adult population of New Mexico was still relatively small in the early 1700s, this is a remarkable number of individuals that traveled long distances in a dangerous frontier region.

As was customary and according to Spanish law, citizens in all the Spanish realms were required to have a primary place of residence as a tax-paying citizen, as a *vecino*. The term *vecino* appears in many different documents and is an important one to make

note about. Under the law, citizens were not allowed to simply pack their things and take a long-distance journey outside of the realm of their residence. Although people were free to travel, the government required travelers to register and receive license to travel. It was important to the government to know the official places of residence of their citizens and the places they intended to travel with the expectation that citizens would return to their place of residence unless they sought permission to become a tax-paying resident of a new location.

The one surviving list of individuals travelling outside of New Mexico includes the names of thirty-two men and one woman from the jurisdiction of the Villa Nueva de Santa Cruz, including Chimayó. The destination for most of these individuals was the kingdom of Nueva Vizcaya, in particular the town of Chihuahua. Several individuals, including members of the Martin Serrano family, were traveling to Sonora.

License Granted to Residents of the Villa Nueva de Santa Cruz

Traveling from New Mexico⁷

1. On November 2, 1713, José de Atienza, resident of Villa Nueva de Santa Cruz, with a grandson [not named]. Destination unspecified.
2. On November 2, 1713, Tomás de Córdova, bound for San Buenaventura, Nueva Vizcaya.
3. On November 11, 1714, José Apodaca and Juan Antonio Apodaca, residents of Villa Nueva de Santa Cruz, bound for Nueva Vizcaya.
4. On November 15, 1714, Juan Luján Romero, resident of Villa Nueva de Santa Cruz, bound for Chihuahua.
5. On June 29, 1715, Francisco de Vargas, resident of Chimayó, bound for Nueva Vizcaya.
6. On October 16, 1715, Antonio Martín, with his son, Dionisio Martín, residents of Chimayó, bound for Nueva Vizcaya.
7. On October 16, 1715, Martín Fernández, resident of El Río Arriba, bound for Sonora.
8. On October 19, 1715, Lucas Montaña, bound for Sonora or Chihuahua.

9. On October 21, 1715, Juan de Mestas, his son, Mateo de Mestas, and his son-in-law, Pedro Griego [aka Sisneros], bound for Nueva Vizcaya.
10. On October 23, 1715, Salvador Romero, resident of Chimayó, bound for Chihuahua.
11. On October 25, 1715, Baltasar Trujillo, Lázaro Trujillo, Tomás de Vargas, Miguel de Herrera, and Juan Antonio de Herrera. Document torn, but the destination for these men may have been Sonora.
12. On October 28, 1715, Antonia Moraga, Cristóbal Martín, Diego Martín, and Domingo Laureano, bound for Sonora.
13. On October 29, 1715, Francisco Rivera and José Fresqui, residents of Villa Nueva de Santa Cruz, bound for Sonora. A note after this entry indicates that Fresqui did not leave New Mexico.
14. On October 29, 1715, Juan de Tafoya, resident of the jurisdiction of Villa Nueva de Santa Cruz a, bound for Nueva Vizcaya.
15. On October 30, 1715, Miguel Martín, Diego Martín, and Antonio Martín, all residents of the jurisdiction of Villa Nueva de Santa Cruz, bound for Nueva Vizcaya to trade.
16. On October 31, 1715, Lázaro de Archuleta, bound for Nueva Vizcaya.
17. On October 31, 1715, Diego Martín, resident of Chimayó, bound for Sonora.
18. On November 1, 1715, Captain José Trujillo and his son, José Trujillo, residents of Villa Nueva de Santa Cruz, bound for Nueva Vizcaya.
19. On November 1, 1715, José de Apodaca and his son, Antonio de Apodaca, bound for Sonora.
20. On November 26, 1715, Manuel Martín, resident of Chimayó, bound for Chihuahua.

Eleven

Santa Cruz Records of Sacraments, 1695 – 1715

The parish priest shall have a book in which he shall record the names of the persons united in marriage and of the witnesses, and also the day on which and the place where the marriage was contracted, and this book he shall carefully preserve. —Decree Concerning the Reform of Matrimony, Council of Trent, 1563

The names of residents of the Villa Nueva de Santa Cruz between 1695 and 1715 are also found in records of land transactions, last wills and testaments, civil suits, and the surviving prenuptial investigation records of the Archives Archdiocese of Santa Fe. Unfortunately, the records of baptismal, marriage and burial for the earlier years of the history of the Villa Nueva de Santa Cruz have not survived the passage of time. Baptismal records begin in the year 1710. The book of marriages and the book of burials for the years 1695 to 1715 were lost or destroyed.

Contained within the sacramental records of New Mexico is documentation of complex networks of familial, social, and spiritual relationships, as well as an account of the continuity of the Holy Roman Catholic faith. The records of baptism and marriage are a written account of individuals receiving grace through sacraments and the joining of individuals to the Roman Catholic Church as members of the body of Christ. In 1547, the Council of Trent (1545-1563) set the sanctioned dogma of the sacraments, formally recognizing their number to be seven: Baptism, Penance (Reconciliation), Confirmation, Eucharist, Holy Orders, Matrimony, and Extreme Unction (Anointing of the Sick). The establishment of Spanish government and society in New Mexico also initiated the foundation of Catholicism in the far northern frontier of the Spanish empire of the Americas.

The surviving books of baptism, confirmation, marriage, and burial are records of the transmission of the Roman Catholic faith and serve as evidence of the continuous expansion of the people of the church in New Mexico, generation by generation. As signs of faith, the sacraments mark and sanctify the passage of life from birth to death. The sacraments are signs of the unity of the church and they are keystones of the expression

of the Catholic faith. Successive generations of descendants of the earliest settlers of the jurisdiction of the Villa Nueva de Santa Cruz developed, inherited, and passed along a particular regional expression of the Catholic faith that is still evident in northern New Mexico today.

The records of baptism, confirmation, marriage, and burial are a valuable storehouse of genealogical information. These records remain the one main source for names of many individuals who would otherwise be unknown and forgotten to our memory. Extractions from baptismal records and prenuptial investigation records help to confirm the names of additional early settlers of the Villa Nueva de Santa Cruz.

The earliest book of baptisms of the parish of the Villa Nueva de Santa Cruz for the years of 1695 through 1709 are no longer around. If these records had survived, the names of the parents and godparents would have further augmented the known lists of early settlers. The book of baptisms for this community begins with entries for the year 1710 and the entries help confirm the names of many of the early settler of the area.¹

In the following list, instead of arranging baptisms chronologically, the names of parents and godparents are arranged alphabetically by couples, or in some cases single people. In parentheses, the year of the record is provided followed by the microfilm roll number of the Archives of the Archdiocese of Santa Fe and the frame number to assist interested readers in locating a copy of any records of interest. It is assumed that since the children were baptized in the parish of the Villa Nueva de Santa Cruz that their parents were therefore residents of the jurisdiction, although there may be a few exceptions as determined by further research. The abbreviation 'GP' indicates the individuals were godparents. Not all couples that were godparents were married. Some were relatives, such as brother and sister or parent and child or *compadre* and *comadre*. It is also assumed that the godparents were residents of the same jurisdiction, but this could prove not to be the case for each and every godparent.

*Residents of the Town and Jurisdiction of the Villa Nueva de Santa Cruz
Identified in Baptismal Records, 1710-1715*

Extracted from Roll #51 of the Archive of the Archdiocese of Santa Fe

GP = Godparent

Salvador Anaya and María Gutiérrez (GP 1713, 51:527)

José de Apodaca and Josefa Martín (1713, 51:630)

Juan Antonio de Apodaca and María Durán (1711, 51:622)

Juan Antonio Apodaca and María Luján (1713, 51:627)

Andrés de Archuleta and Josefa Martín (GPs 1713, 51:626; GPs 1713, 51:627)

Diego de Archuleta (GP, 1713, 51:630)

Diego de Archuleta and Josefa González (GPs 1711, 51:622)

Andrés de Arteaga and Juana Rodríguez (GPs 1711, 51:622)

José de Atienza and Estefanía de Trujillo (1712, 51:624; 1714, 51:632)

Simón Baca and Magdalena Martín (1714, 51:632)

Antonio Bernal (GP, 1714, 51:631)

Antonio Bernal and Rosa María aka María de la Rosa (1713, 51:626; 1715, 51:633)

Ana María de la Concepción (GP, 1713, 51:629)

Simón de Córdoba and Juana de la Encarnación (GPs 1713, 51:624)

Antonia Durán (GP 1711, 51:622)

Julián Durán (GP, 1713, 51:630)

Sebastián Durán (GP 1711, 51:622; GP, 1713, 51:630)

Sebastián Durán and Ana Martín (1713, 51:629)

Josefa Durán (GP 1713, 51:626)

José Fresquis and María de Herrera (1711, 51:622; 1713, 51:626; GPs, 1714, 51:633)

Antonia Greigo (GP, 1714, 51:631)
 Lorenzo Griego (GP, 1713, 51:629; GP, 1714, 51:632)
 Lorenzo Griego and Sebastiana de la Serna (GPs, 1714, 51:632)
 Miguel de Herrera and Antonia de Archuleta (1712, 51:624)
 Tomás de Herrera Sandoval (GP, 1713, 51:630)
 Roque Jaramillo Negrete (aka de Medina) and Petrona de Cárdenas (1711, 51:622;
 1712; 51:624; GP, 1714, 51:632)
 Gertrudis Jirón (GP, 1714, 51:631)
 Blas Lobato and Juana Flores (1713, 51:626)
 Pedro López and Sebastiana Martín (1711, 51:623)
 José Luján and Rosa Martín (GPs, 1715, 51:633)
 Juan Luján and Juana Márquez (GPs, 1713, 51:629)
 Juan Luján and Juana Luján (GPs 1713, 51:626; GPs, 1714, 51:632)
 Juana Luján (GP, 1713, 51:629)
 José de Madrid (GP, 1713, 51:630)
 José de Madrid and Juana de la Serna (GPs, 1713, 51:629)
 Matías Madrid and Antonia de Serna (GPs, 1712, 51:624)
 Diego Márquez and Juana Martín (1711, 51:623; 1712, 51:624)
 Juan Márquez (GP, 1711, 51:622)
 Antonio Martín and Felipa de Villavicencio Lechuga (GP 1713, 51:627)
 Blas Martín and Rosa de Vargas Machuca (1714, 51:633)
 Cristóbal Martín (GP, 1713, 51:630)
 Cristóbal Martín and María de Montoya (GPs 1713, 51:626; 1713, 51:627; 1715,
 51:633)
 Diego Martín (GP, 1713, 51:630)

Diego Martín and Teresa de Herrera (GPs, 1712, 51:624)

Domingo Martín and Josefa de Herrera (GPs, 1714, 51:632)

Francisco Martín and Juana García (1715, 51:633)

Francisco Martín and Juana Márquez (1713, 51:629)

Francisco Martín and María Martín (GPs, 1715, 51:633)

Gerónimo Martín (GP, 1713, 51:630)

Hernando Martín and his wife [not named] (1713, 51:630; GPs 1715, 51:633)

Jacinto Martín and María de la Serna (GPs, 1712, 51:625; 1714, 51:632)

Josefa Martín (GP, 1713, 51:630)

Miguel Martín and Isabel de Herrera (GPs, 1712, 51:624)

Miguel Martín and Leonor Domínguez (GPs 1713, 51:626)

Miguel Martín and María de Archuleta (GP, 1713, 51:631; 1714, 51:632)

Simón Martín (GP, 1713, 51:630)

Juana de Mondragón (GP, 1713, 51:630)

Juan Alonso Monroy (aka Mondragón) and Sebastiana Martín (1711, 51:622)

Antonio Montaña and María Madrid (GPs, 1713, 51:630)

Clemente Montoya and Josefa de Herrera (1713, 51:629)

Marcos Montoya (GP 1713, 51:627; 1713, 51:627)

Marcos Montoya and his wife [not named] (1714, 51:633)

Juana Ortiz, daughter of Nicolás Ortiz (1711, 51:623)

Nicolás Ortiz (1711, 51:623)

Miguel de Quintana and Gertrudis Trujillo [Moreno de Trujillo] (1712, 51:624; 1715, 51:633)

Ursula Ramos (GP, 1713, 51:630)

Nicolás Rodríguez and Catalina Mondragón (1711, 51:622; 1712, 51:625)

Rosa Rodríguez (GP, 1711, 51:622)

Santiago Romero and María de Benavides (GPs, 1713, 51:629)

Xavier Romero (aka Francisco Xavier Romero) and María Hinojos (1710, 51:622)

Antonio de Salazar and María de Torres (1714, 51:632)

Miguel de Salazar (GP, 1713, 51:630)

Jacinto Sánchez and María Rodarte (1713, 51:627)

Pedro Sánchez and María Luján (GPs, 1711, 51:623; GPs, 1714, 51:632)

Pedro Sánchez and María Ramos of Santa Cruz (GPs 1713, 51:627)

Juan de Dios Martínez Sandoval and Gertrudis de Herrera (1710, 51:622; 1713, 51:629)

Juana de la Serna (GP, 1713, 51:630)

Sebastiana de la Serna (1710, Roll 51: fr. 622) —see also Lorenzo Griego

Nicolás Sisneros with María Sisneros (GPs, 1712, 51:625)

Don Felipe de Soria (GP, 1713, 51:630)

Miguel de Tenoria de Alba (GP, 1713, 51:630)

Miguel Tenorio de Alba and Agustina Romero (1711, 51:622; 1713, 51:627)

Diego Torres and María Martín (GPs, 1714, 51:632)

Antonio Trujillo and ana María de Córdoba (1712, 51:624)

José Trujillo and Antonia de Herrera (1713, 51:626)

Juan Trujillo (GP, 1712, 51:624)

Juan de Ulibarrí and Rosa Rodríguez (GP, 1711, 51:622)

Martín de Valenzuela and María de Aragón (1714, 51:633)

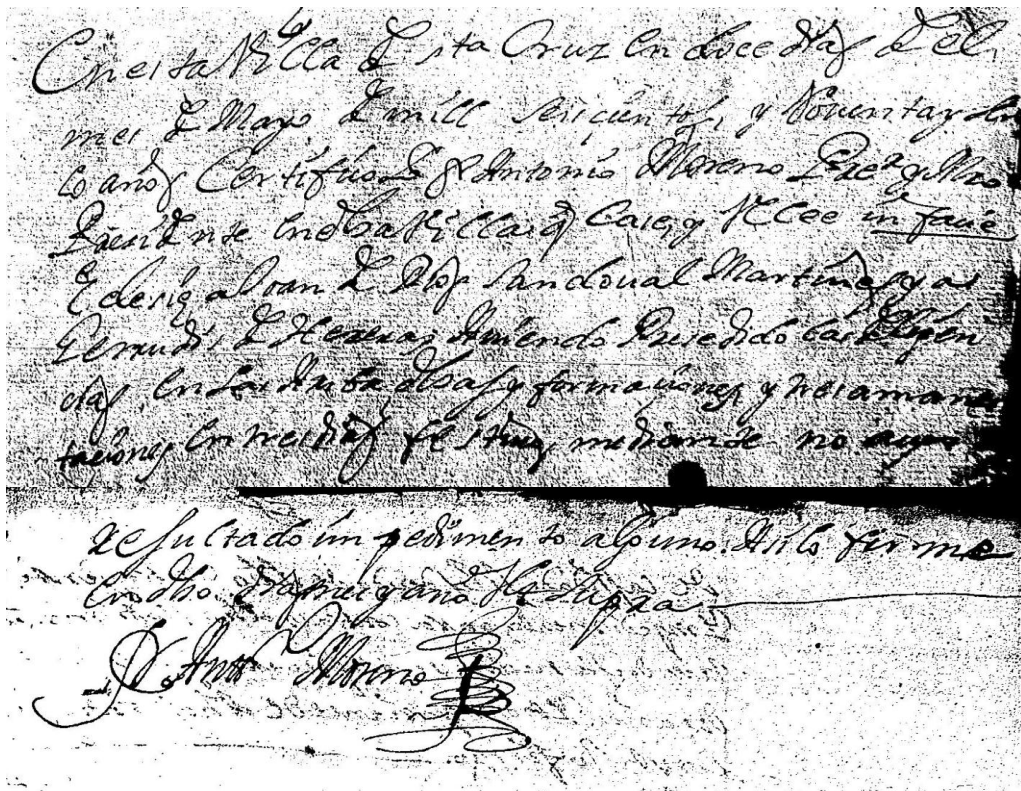
The first known marriage celebrated at the Villa Nueva de Santa Cruz occurred in mid-May 1695, following the proceedings of a prenuptial investigation. Juan de Dios Sandoval Martínez made the long trek from Mexico City to New Mexico with his wife,

Juana Hernández, and their eighteen-year old son, Miguel de Sandoval Martínez, arriving in the Villa de Santa Fe in June 1694. While preparations were being made to establish the Villa Nueva de Santa Cruz, Juana Hernandez died in the Villa de Santa Fe on March 24, 1695, and was buried in the parish church. On April 22, 1695, the same day as the official founding of the Villa Nueva de Santa Cruz, Juan de Dios Sandoval Martínez petitioned to marry Gertrudis de Herrera, a widow of José Nuñez and a daughter of Tomás de Herrera Sandoval and Pascuala de Rivera. The marriage ceremony took place on May 12th with fray Antonio Moreno administering the sacrament.

Although the first book of marriages for the community of the Villa Nueva de Santa Cruz was lost or destroyed, certified copies of marriage records for many of the earliest residents of the town and jurisdiction are preserved among the surviving prenuptial investigation records, known as *diligencias matrimoniales*.

Once a couple was married, the local priest copied the original marriage record and included this certified copy at the end of the prenuptial investigation documents for each couple. The certified copy generally provides the date and place of the marriage, the names of the couple, the names of the sponsors (*padrinos*), and the name of the presiding priest. Information about the age, birthplace, and the names of parents of the prospective bride and groom were recorded in the original petitions seeking license to marry and subsequent in testimonies of witnesses on behalf of the couple, all of which forms the basis of the *diligencia matrimonial*.

The following compilation of marriages are extraction from certified copies preserved in the *diligencias matrimoniales* for individuals that resided in the jurisdiction of the Villa Nueva de Santa Cruz between 1695 to 1715 and the list is supplemented with information about the early settlers from 1695, 1697, 1703, 1704, and 1712 accounts of settlers and baptismal records for 1710-1715, as well as land grants records dated 1695 to 1715. Although the majority of the marriages took place at the Villa Nueva de Santa Cruz, some couples were married in the Villa de Santa Fe and their marriage records are also included as supplemental marriages.²



Record of the earliest known marriage at the Villa Nueva de Santa Cruz, Juan de Dios Sandoval Martínez and Gertrudis de Herrera, May 12, 1695, Villa Nueva de Santa Cruz, with fray Antonio Moreno presiding. AASF, Roll 59, DM 1695, April 22, no. 1, Santa Cruz, f. 3r-3v.

Marriage Records of the Villa Nueva de Santa Cruz, 1695-1715

1. May 12, 1695, Juan de Dios Sandoval Martínez, widowed of Juana Hernández who died in the Villa de Santa Fe on March 24, 1695, son of don Jacinto Sandoval Martínez and Juana de Estrada, natives of Mexico City, Nueva España, and Gertrudis de Herrera, widow of José Núñez, run over by a *carro* (wagon cart) at a place called Las Cruces, daughter of Tomás de Herrera y Sandoval and Pascuala Ribera, natives of Mexico City. (AASF, Roll 59, frs. 27-530, DM 1695, April 22, no. 1, Santa Cruz; and Chávez, "New Mexico Roots," 1748-49)
2. July 29, 1696, Juan Manuel Chirinos (aka Martínez de Cervantes), 29, *Español*, native of Mexico City, widowed of Catarina de los Ángeles who died at El Puesto del

Ojo Caliente, Nueva Vizcaya, in April 1694, son of Juan Martínez de Cervantes and María Antonia Chirinos, both deceased, and María Guadalupe Navarro, 16, native of Mexico City, daughter of Antonio Navarro and Antonia González de Vargas, of Mexico City and both deceased. Sponsors: Captain Roque Madrid and María Luisa Godines. (AASF, roll 59, frs. 603-607, DM 1696, July 8, no. 8, Santa Cruz; and Chávez, “New Mexico Roots,” 384)

3. January 16, 1697, Gregorio Vicente de Pierola, 20 *Español*, native of El Real de Pachuca, Nueva España, soldier of the Santa Fe Presidio, son of Juan Vicente de Pierola, native of Navarra, and doña Josefa García de la Vega, native of Pachuca, and Josefa Ortiz, native of Pachuca, daughter of Nicolás Ortiz, native of Mexico City, Nueva España, and doña Mariana de Vargas, native of Pachuca, all *Españoles*. Witnesses: Captain Roque Madrid and Captain Miguel García. (AASF, Roll 59, frs. 693-695, DM 1696, December 19, no. 31, Santa Cruz; and Chávez, “New Mexico Roots,” 1495)
4. April 25, 1697, Tomás Núñez, 24, native of Zacatecas, Nueva Galicia, widowed of doña Gerónima López, who died in the Villa de Santa Fe fifteen months ago, son of Alonso Núñez and Francisca García, deceased, both of Zacatecas, and Juana Durán, 20, native of New Mexico, daughter of Salvador Durán and Ana Márquez, both natives of New Mexico and deceased. Witnesses: José Ruiz de Valdes and Nicolás Ortiz. (AASF, Roll 60, frs. 3-6, DM 1697, March 24, no. 1, Santa Cruz; and Chávez, “New Mexico Roots,” 1377)
5. Circa July 1697, Nicolás de Espinosa, native of the Villa de los Lagos, Nueva Galicia, son of José Gómez and María de Espinosa, natives of the Villa de los Lagos, and Josefa de la Cruz, 20, natives of the City of San Luis Potosí, Nueva España, parents unknown. (AASF, DM 1697, May 3, no. 5a, Santa Cruz and AASF, Roll 60, frs. 68-71, DM 1697, July 20, no. 18, Santa Cruz; and Chávez, “New Mexico Roots,” 474 - 475)
6. Circa September 1697, Miguel de Aguilar, 24, native of Toluca, Nueva España, and Gracia Bautista de Olivas, native of Sombrerete, Nueva Galicia, daughter of Juan

Bautista de Olivas and Magdalena Juárez. (AASF, Roll 60, frs. 37-39, DM 1697, September 6, no. 10, Santa Cruz; and Chávez, "New Mexico Roots," 17)

7. Circa September 1697, José Manuel Giltomey, 31, native of Albay Province of the Philippine Islands, son of don Juan Giltomey and doña Antonia Flores de Valdes, both deceased, and Isabel de Olivas, native of Llerena in the Real y Minas de Sombrerete, Nueva Galicia, widow of Salvador de Esparza who died there, daughter of Juan Bautista de Olivas and Magdalena Juárez. (AASF, DM 1697, September 6, no. 21, Santa Cruz; and Chávez, "New Mexico Roots," 688)
8. October 4, 1698, Lázaro Durán, 20, son of Salvador Durán and Antonia Luján, natives of New Mexico, and Gregoria de la Serna, 16, daughter of Felipe de la Serna and María Isabel Luján, natives of New Mexico. Witnesses: Don Tomás de Herrera, don José Manuel Giltomey and don Felipe de Soria. (AASF, Roll 60, frs. 110-112, DM 1698, September 15, no. 10, Santa Cruz; and Chávez, "New Mexico Roots," 440)
9. October 5, 1698, Antonio Martín, 33, resident of La Cañada, widowed of Ines de Ledesma, native of New Mexico and buried in El Paso del Norte, and María de Carvajal, 25, widowed of José Cortés del Castillo, buried in Santa Cruz, both of Mexico City and settled in Santa Cruz. Sponsors: Tomás Jirón and Antonia Domínguez. Witnesses: Captain Nicolás Ortiz, don Tomás de Herrera, and Juan Archuleta. (AASF, Roll 60, frs. 113-115, DM 1698, September 26, no. 11, Santa Cruz; and Chávez, "New Mexico Roots," 1096)

11. November 2, 1701, San Yldefonso, Joaquín de Atienza, 20, native of Mexico City and resident of Santa Cruz, son of José de Atienza and Gertrudis de Mansilla Sevillano, and Maria Josefa de Ansures Tamallo [Tamayo], 18, daughter of Gabriel de Ansures Tamallo [Tamayo] and Maria Avisá Altamirano, deceased. Witnesses: Juan Manuel Chirinos, 34, of this villa of Santa Cruz, Francisco de la Mora, 38 more or less, resident of this new villa. (Fray Ángelico Chávez, "New Mexico Roots, Lt.: An Addendum," *New Mexico Genealogist*, 49:1, March 2010, 7)
12. February 3, 1703, Miguel Martín, 18, son of Domingo Martín and Josefa de Herrera, and María Archuleta, 15, daughter of Captain Juan de Archuleta and Isabel González. (AASF, Roll 60, frs. 302-305, DM 1703, January 20, no. 6, Santa Cruz; and Chávez, "New Mexico Roots," 1097)

The image shows a handwritten document on aged, slightly stained paper. The text is written in a cursive script typical of the early 18th century. It begins with 'Certificación = En esta Villa Nueva de Santa Cruz en diez y ocho del mes de febrero de mil setecientos y tres años...'. The text describes the marriage of Miguel Martín and María de Archuleta, mentioning the presence of witnesses and the reading of banns. It is signed by Fray Francisco Jiménez, Juez Comisario, and a Notario. There are several ink smudges and a large, stylized signature at the bottom right.

Certificación = En esta Villa Nueva de Santa Cruz en diez y ocho del mes de febrero de mil setecientos y tres años Yo el P. Fray Francisco Jiménez Jefe Comisario de esta Villa Certifico como he buendo hechas las Conformaciones y hauiendo leído las tres amonestaciones en tres días festivos y no aueo Repellido ni impedimento ni de manda contra ninguno de los dichos Contrayentes por los case y Votos Intagos eclesias de Miguel Martín con María de Archuleta y dexó esta certificación puesta en el libro de los matrimonios de esta dha Villa y garaque conste lo firmo con el Notario Nombrado =

Fr. Francisco Jiménez
Juez Comisario

Notario =

Certification of the marriage of Miguel Martín and María de Archuleta, married February 18, 1703, Villa de Santa Cruz. The record states that Fray Francisco Jiménez, *juez comisario*, and presiding priest at the church of Santa Cruz, certified that the banns of matrimony (*amonestaciones*) announcing the proposed marriage of the couple were read on three feast days (*tres días festivos*) and did not result in any

impediment. As such, the couple was married and veiled (*case y vele*). The signature of the notary, José de Giltomey, confirmed that the certified copied corresponded to the original record in the book of marriages of the Church of Santa Cruz, now lost. Archives of the Archdiocese of Santa Fe, Roll 60, f. 305.

13. November 28, 1703, Juan Alonso Mondragón, 24, native of New Mexico, son of Sebastián de Monroy and María Bernal, natives of New Mexico, and Sebastiana Trujillo, 22, daughter of Bartolomé Trujillo and María Archuleta, deceased. (AASF, Roll 60, frs. 306-310, DM 1703, November 7, no. 7, Santa Cruz; and Chávez, "New Mexico Roots," 1252)
14. October 16, 1704, Diego de Gamboa, 20, parents unknown, and Ines de Herrera, 21, native of New Mexico, parents unknown. (AASF, Roll 60, frs. 322-324, DM 1704, October 9, no. 2, Santa Cruz; and Chávez, "New Mexico Roots," 585)
15. February 1, 1705, Villa de Santa Fe, Blas Martín, 18, son of Domingo Martín and Josefa de Herrera, and Rosa de Vargas Machuca, 16, native of New Mexico, daughter of Juan de Vargas and Ana Olgúin, both deceased. (AASF, Roll 60, frs. 361-363, DM 1705, January 7, no. 1, Santa Fe; and Chávez, "New Mexico Roots," 1097)
16. February 3, 1705, Diego González de la Rosa (also known as Diego Sayago and Diego Arroyo), native of Mexico City, parents unknown, and Teresa Domínguez de Mendoza, 15, daughter of Antonio Domínguez de Mendoza and Juana García de Noriega. (AASF, Roll 60, frs. 319-321, DM 1704, October 16, no. 1, Santa Cruz; and Chávez, "New Mexico Roots," 704)
17. May 19, 1705, Cristóbal de Castro [Rodarte], 20, native of El Real de Sombrerete, son of Miguel de Castro [Rodarte] and Juana Guerrero, and Bernarda Gamboa, parents unknown. (AASF, Roll 60, fr. 412, DM 1705, May 10, no. 16, Santa Cruz; and Chávez, "New Mexico Roots," 299)

21. January 27, 1709, San Ildefonso, Marcos Montoya, 30 *mestizo*, native of Guadalupe del Paso, from Los Ranchos de Valencia, widowed of Josefa de Mendoza (daughter of Tomás de la Mora and Gerónima Guillén, natives of New Mexico), who died in May 1708 at El Paso del Norte, and Sebastiana de Vargas Machuca, 21, daughter of Juan de Vargas and Ana Olguín. Witnesses: Simón Martín and Petrona Domínguez. (AASF, Roll 60, frs. 582, DM 1709, January 11, no. 18, San Ildefonso; and Chávez, “New Mexico Roots,” 1274)
22. June 1709, Pedro de Ávila, 34, native of Sombrerete, Nueva Galicia, living in the Puesto de Río Arriba, widowed of María Rosa Montaña, and Manuela Fresqui, 24, parents unknown. (AASF, Roll 60, frs. 580-581, DM 1709, May 23, no. 17, Santa Cruz; and Chávez, “New Mexico Roots,” 150)
23. August 18, 1709, Juan Márquez, 25, son of Francisco Márquez and Estela Luján, Españoles and natives of New Mexico, and Josefa Apodaca, 16, daughter of Francisco Apodaca (no mother named). Witnesses: Antonio Bernal and his wife, Rosa Zapata. (AASF, Roll 60, frs. 548-550, DM 1709, August 29, no. 6, Santa Cruz; AASF, Roll 60, frs., 564-567, DM 1709, no. 12, Santa Cruz; and Chávez, “New Mexico Roots,” 1077-1078)
24. October 13, 1709, Diego Trujillo, native of New Mexico living in El Paso del Norte, son of Sargento Cristóbal Trujillo and Micaela Archuleta, natives of New Mexico, and María Herrera, 16, native of New Mexico, daughter of Miguel de Herrera and Mariana García, deceased. Witnesses: Baltasar Trujillo and his wife, Nicolasa de Espinosa. (AASF, Roll 60, frs. 571-574, DM 1709, October 7, no. 14, Santa Cruz; AASF, Roll 60, frs. 592-596, DM 1709, no. 21, Santa Cruz; and Chávez, “New Mexico Roots,” 1926)
25. November 11, 1709, José Vásquez, 14, native of New Mexico, living in Santa Fe, parents unknown, and Francisca Martín, 30, parents unknown. Witnesses: Antonio

Martín and his wife. (AASF, Roll 60, frs. 589-590, DM 1709, no. 20, Santa Cruz; and Chávez, "New Mexico Roots," 2081)

26. December 27, 1709, Antonio Martín, 30, widowed of Ana María Gómez, son of Pedro Martín and Juana de Argüello, natives of New Mexico, and Felipa de Villavicencio, 36, widow of Gabriel Ansures, daughter of Domingo de Villavicencio and Margarita Lechuga, criollos of Mexico City. Witnesses: Domingo Martín and Josefa de Herrera. (AASF, Roll 60, frs. 601-603, DM 1709, December, no. 24, Santa Cruz; Chávez, "New Mexico Roots," 1098-1099)
27. January 2, 1710, Juan Antonio González de Apodaca, 28, native of New Mexico, son of José González de Apodaca and Isabel Gutiérrez, deceased, and María Durán, 30, native of New Mexico, daughter of Salvador Durán and Ana Márquez, natives of New Mexico, both deceased. Witnesses: Francisco Martín and his wife, Juana García. (AASF, Roll 60, fr. 606, DM 1709, December 4, no. 25, Santa Cruz; and Chávez, "New Mexico Roots, Ltd.," 44)
28. January 7, 1710, Agustín Sáez, 30, native of New Mexico, widower of Leonor de Herrera and then of Antonia Márquez, son of Captain Ambrosio Sáez and doña Leonor Rodríguez, both deceased, natives of New Mexico, and Isabel Madrid, daughter of Matías Madrid and Antonia de la Serna, natives of New Mexico. Pair related in third degree of affinity through the first wife. (AASF, Roll 60, frs. 562-563, DM 1709, December 31, no. 9, Santa Cruz; and Chávez, "New Mexico Roots," 1658)
29. June 10, 1710, Lázaro Antonio Córdova, 20, native of New Mexico, son of Antonio Córdova, native of Mexico City, deceased, and Eugenia de Herrera, native of New Mexico, and Ana Valdes, 18, native of Mexico City, Nueva España, daughter of *Ayudante* José Luis Valdes, deceased, and María de Cabrera, native of Mexico City. Witnesses: Cristóbal Tafoya and Isabel de Herrera, his wife. (AASF, Roll 60, fr. 663, DM 1710, May 30, no. 19, Santa Cruz; and Chávez, "New Mexico Roots, Ltd.," 390)

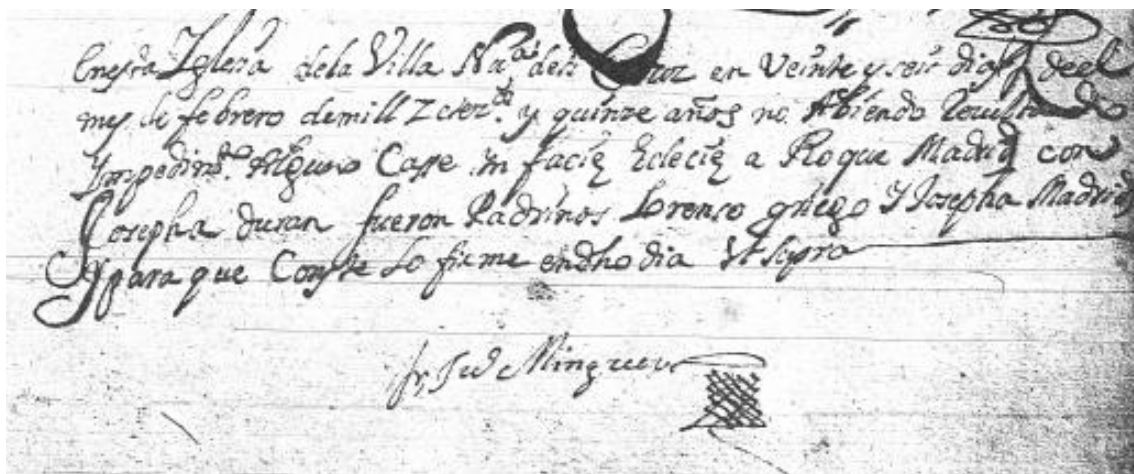
30. October 6, 1710, San Ildefonso, *Capitán* José Trujillo, 44, native of New Mexico living in Santa Cruz, widowed of Antonia Luján, and Antonia López, 17, native of New Mexico living in Santa Cruz, natural daughter of Ana María Herrera. (AASF, Roll 60, fr.642, DM 1710, no. 12, San Ildefonso; and Chávez, "New Mexico Roots, Ltd.," 1926)
31. November 24, 1710, San Ildefonso, Juan Fernández de la Pedrera, native of Castilla, widowed of María Jurado de Gracia, son of Santiago Fernández de Pedrera and doña Francisca López del Río, and doña María Peláez, 15, daughter of Captain don Jacinto Peláez and doña Margarita Gómez Robledo, both deceased. Bride related to the groom's first wife in the fourth degree of consanguinity. (AASF, Roll 60, fr. 653, DM 1710, November, no. 15, San Ildefonso; and Chávez, "New Mexico Roots, Ltd.," 504)
32. November 15, 1711, Antonio Trujillo, 30, native of New Mexico living in Pojoaque, son of Juan Trujillo and Elvira Jiménez, deceased, and María Córdova, 15, daughter of Antonio Córdova, deceased, and Eugenia de Herrera, natives of New Mexico. Witnesses: José Trujillo and Antonia López. (AASF, Roll 61, fr. 007, DM 1711, October, 6, no. 2, Santa Cruz; and Chávez, "New Mexico Roots, Ltd.," 1927)
33. December 25, 1712, Nicolás Jacinto Martín, 21, of the estancia of Capitán Sebastián Martín in Río Arriba, son of Alejo Martín and María de la Rocha, and María de la Serna, 18, daughter of Capitán Cristóbal de la Serna and Josefa Madrid. Witnesses: José de Sosa and Rosa Martín. (AASF, Roll 61, fr. 067, DM 1712, December 1, no. 4, Santa Cruz; and Chávez, "New Mexico Roots, Ltd.," 1099-1100)
34. Circa January 1713, Diego de Torres, 27, native of New Mexico, and soldier of the Santa Fe presidio, widower of María Jaramillo, who died in childbirth at Santa Cruz, and then widowed of Rosa Varela, and María Martín, native of Sonora, daughter of Alejo Martín, native of New Mexico, and María de la Rocha, native of Sonora, both living in New Mexico. (AASF, Roll 61, frs. 062-064, DM 1712, December 25, no. 3, Santa Fe and Santa Cruz)

Angélico Chávez, "New Mexico Roots, Ltd., An Addendum, Part IV, *New Mexico Genealogist*, December 2010, 49:4, 188)

37. April 22, 1714, Tomás de Bejarano, 56, widower of María Martín, son of Nicolás de Bejarano and Josefa Ruiz de Ontiveros, and Teresa Martín, 20, parents unknown. (AASF, Roll 61, fr.093, DM 1714, April 9, no. 1, Santa Cruz; and Chávez, "New Mexico Roots, Ltd.," 217)
38. May 8, 1714, Diego de Archuleta, 22, native of New Mexico, son of *Capitán* Juan de Archuleta and Isabel González, and Josefa González, 20 native of New Mexico, daughter of Andrés González, native of Zacatecas, and Francisca de Gamboa. Witnesses: Andrés de Archuleta and Josefa Martín. (AASF, Roll 61, fr. 141, DM 1714, April 14, no. 16, Santa Cruz; and Chávez, "New Mexico Roots, Ltd.," 93-94)
39. Circa May 1714, Diego Romero, 25, native of New Mexico, son of Salvador Romero and María López de Ocanto, deceased, natives of New Mexico, and María Josefa Medina, 19, native of New Mexico living in Santa Fe, daughter of Captain Diego de Medina, deceased, and María Telles Jirón, natives of New Mexico. (AASF, Roll 61, frs. 096-098, DM 1714, May 5, no. 3, Santa Cruz; and Chávez, "New Mexico Roots, Ltd.," 1581)
40. July 7, 1714, San Ildefonso, Bernardo Madrid, 22, native of El Paso del Norte, soldier of the Santa Fe Presidio, son of Pedro Madrid and Isabel Serna, natives of New Mexico, both deceased, and Gertrudis Martín, 15, daughter of Diego Martín, native of New Mexico, and Pascuala de Soto. Witnesses: Pascual Trujillo and Antonia Durán. (AASF, Roll 61, fr. 146, DM 1714, June 21, no. 18, San Ildefonso; and Chávez, "New Mexico Roots, Ltd.," 1041)
41. September 8, 1714, Martín de Valenzuela, 38, widower of Ines de la Rosa, son of Cristóbal de Valenzuela and Manuela de la Cruz, natives of Zacatecas, Nueva Galicia, and María de Aragón, 19, daughter of Juan de Aragón and Margarita Varela, natives

of New Mexico. (AASF, Roll 61, fr. 156, DM 1714, August 16, no. 21, Santa Cruz; and Chávez, "New Mexico Roots, Ltd.," 2038)

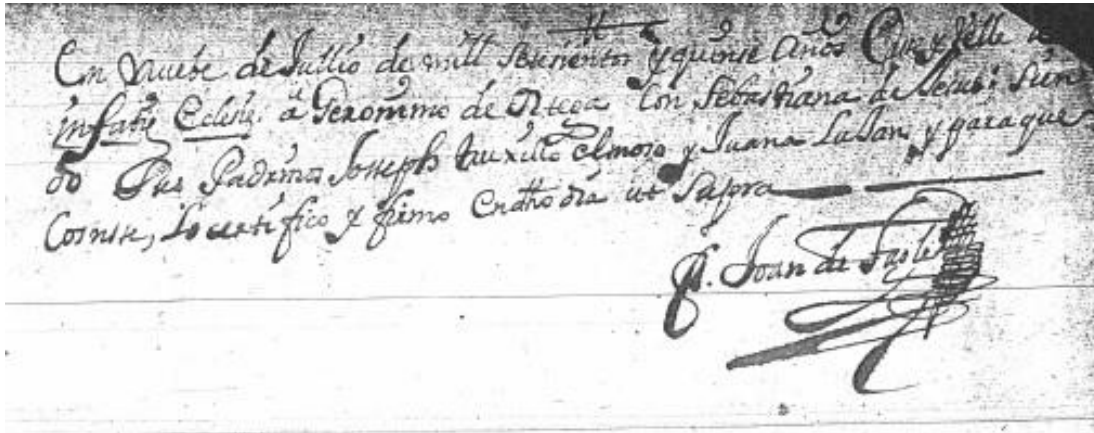
42. October 1, 1714, Antonio Martín, 17, son of Diego Martín and Pascuala de Soto, and María de Herrera, 16, daughter of Melchor de Herrera, soldier, and his first wife, Ángela González, both natives of the city of San José y Minas de Zacatecas, Nueva Galicia, [the second wife being Catarina Griego]. Witnesses: Antonio Bernal and Rosa María. (AASF, Roll 61, fr. 153, DM 1714, September 28, no. 20, Santa Cruz; and Chávez, "New Mexico Roots, Ltd.," 1000)
43. October 23, 1714, Diego Martín, 23, of Chimayo, son of Cristóbal Martín and Antonia Moraga, and Manuela Vargas, 17, of Santa Fe, daughter of Manuel de Vargas, deceased, and Luisa Ruiz. Witnesses: Sebastián de Vargas and don Alfonso Rael de Aguilar. (AASF, Roll 61, fr. 101, DM 1714, October 1, no. 4, Santa Fe; and Chávez, "New Mexico Roots, Ltd.," 1100)
44. February 26, 1715, *Maese de Campo* Roque de Madrid, 70, native of New Mexico and soldier at Santa Cruz, widower of Juana de Arbizu (Albizu) who died a year and a half ago, son of *Maese de Campo* Francisco de Madrid and Sebastiana Ruiz de Cáceres, natives of New Mexico, and doña Josefa Durán, 50, native of New Mexico and widow of Agustín Griego. Witnesses: Lorenzo Griego and Josefa Madrid. (AASF, Roll 61, fr. 201, DM 1715, February 20, no. 10, Santa Cruz; and Chávez, "New Mexico, Ltd.," 1042)



Marriage record of Roque Madrid and Josefa Durán, February 26, 1715, Villa de Santa Cruz. AASF, Roll 61, fr. 201, DM 1715, February 20, no. 10, Santa Cruz.

45. May 5, 1715, Juan Trujillo, 20, widower of Antonia Bernal, son of *Sargento* Pasqual Trujillo and Antonia Durán, and María Madrid, 18, daughter of *Capitán* Matías Madrid and Antonia de la Serna. (AASF, Roll 61, fr. 187, DM 1715, March 10, no. 6, Santa Cruz; and Chávez, "New Mexico, Ltd.," 1927)
46. May 5 1715, Lorenzo Griego, 28, native of New Mexico, son of Agustín Griego, deceased, and doña Josefa Durán, and Sebastiana de la Serna, 20, native of New Mexico, daughter of *Capitán* Cristóbal de la Serna and Josefa de Madrid, natives of New Mexico. Witnesses: Lázaro Durán and his wife, Gregoria de la Serna. (AASF, Roll 61, fr. 216, DM 1715, March 20, no. 14, Santa Cruz; Chávez, "New Mexico Roots, Ltd.," 759. Note: Lorenzo Griego was a soldier of the presidio of Santa Fe and entered his second marriage on April 24, 1728, Albuquerque, with Casilda Jaramillo, widow of Antonio Vallejo and daughter of Cristóbal Jaramillo and Leonor Domínguez. (Chávez, "New Mexico Roots, Ltd.," 759, DM 1728, March 29, no. 8, Albuquerque)
47. July 9, 1715, San Ildefonso, Gerónimo de Ortega, 21, *castizo*, native of Zacatecas, Nueva Galicia, and a soldier of the presidio of Santa Fe, son of Simón de Ortega, deceased, and María de Mares, natives of Zacatecas, and Sebastiana de Jesús

[González], 16, native of New Mexico, of unknown parents, raised by Lucía Ortiz. Witnesses: José Trujillo, the younger, and Juana Luján. (AASF, Roll 61, fr. 213, DM 1715, May 22, no. 13, San Ildefonso; and Chávez, “New Mexico Roots, Ltd.,” 1395)



Marriage record of Gerónimo de Ortega and Sebastiana de Jesús, July 9, 1715, Santa Cruz. AASF, Roll 61, f. 213, fr. 213, DM 1715, May 22, no. 13, San Ildefonso.

Several early settlers of the Villa Nueva de Santa Cruz were married in the Villa de Santa Fe, El Paso del Norte, and in one case Bernalillo. Since these individuals established families that remained in the jurisdiction of Santa Cruz, their marriage records are accounted for in this section of supplemental marriages (SM).

SM-1. March 6, 1696, Villa de Santa Fe, Captain Juan Olguín, 40, native of Río Abajo and soldier of the El Paso Presidio de El Pilar y San José, widowed of María Luján, buried two years ago in El Paso del Norte, son of Captain Salvador Olguín and Magdalena Fresqui, both deceased, and Juana de Salazar, 25, native of la Cañada, daughter of Captain Pedro Martín, deceased and Juana de Argüello. Witnesses: Sebastián Fernández and María de Valencia. (AASF, DM 1695, October 8, no. 8 and AASF, Roll 59, fr. 697, DM 1696, no. 32, Santa Fe; and Chávez, “New Mexico Roots,” 1380)

SM-2. Circa April 1696, Villa de Santa Fe, Diego González Bernal, 23, native of New Mexico, son of *Alférez* Juan González Bernal and Nicolasa Zaldívar, both deceased,

and María de Benavides, 14, native of Guadiana (Durango), Nueva Vizcaya, daughter of Juan Estéban de Benavides and María de Biezma. (AASF, Roll 59, ff.657-659, DM 1696, April 2, no. 19, Santa Fe)

SM-3. April 9, 1696, Villa de Santa Fe, Antonio Molinar, 35, Español, native of El Real y Minas de Sombrerete, soldier of the presidio, son of Domingo Molinar, deceased, and Isabel de Montemayor, and Josefa de Góngora, 14, *Española*, native of Mexico City, widow of Felipe Jiménez, soldier who died in El Camino de Salinas, daughter of Juan de Góngora, deceased, and Petronila de la Cueva. Witnesses: Captain don Antonio de Valverde and doña Francisca Gómez. (AASF, Roll 59, ff. 645-647, DM 1696, no. 6, Santa Fe; and Chávez, “New Mexico Roots,” 1251)

SM-4. May 30, 1696, Villa de Santa Fe, Juan de Guido, native of Zacatecas, Nueva Vizcaya, son of Juan de Bonifacio and María González, natives of Guanajuato, Nueva España, and Isabel de los Reyes, widow for four years whose husband was buried at Zacatecas, daughter of José de la Cruz and Josefa de la Cruz, natives of Mexico City, having resided in Zacatecas and are no residents of New Mexico. Witnesses: Andrés de Arteaga and his wife, and Benito Domínguez. (AASF, Roll 59, ff. 641-653, DM 1696, May, no. 17, Santa Fe; and Chávez, “New Mexico Roots,” 779)

SM-5. August 19, 1696, Villa de Santa Fe, Francisco de la Mora, 30, native of Jacona in the district of the Villa de Zamora, Nueva España, son of Juan de la Mora and Mariana Guerrero, natives of the Villa de Zamora, and María Luisa Selorga, 16, native of Mexico City, Nueva España, living in Santa Cruz, widowed of Diego de Betanzos, killed by Tanos Indians on June 4, 1696, daughter of Francisco Muñar and Damiana de Selorga, *Espanoles*. Witnesses: Antonio de Sayago and María de Mora. (AASF, DM 1696, August, no. 25, Santa Fe; and Chávez, “New Mexico Roots,” 1342)

SM-6 Circa September 1697, El Paso del Norte, Cristóbal Martín, native of New Mexico living in San Lorenzo, jurisdiction of El Paso del Norte, son of Hernando Martín and Catarina Griego, and Juana de la Cruz, natives of New Mexico, daughter of Diego Antonio and Josefa, both deceased. Witnesses: Pedro Hidalgo and Juan

Griego. (AASF, Roll 60, frs. 16-17, DM 1697, September 5, no. 5, El Paso del Norte; and Chávez, "New Mexico Roots," 1095)

SM-7 1698, Villa de Santa Fe, Miguel de Ayala, 20, native of Zacatecas, Nueva Galica, son of Francisco de Ayala and Margarita Martín, deceased, and Juana de Torres, 24, native of the Villa de León, Nueva España, widow of Félix Aragón, killed, and buried in the old cemetery of the Villa de Santa Fe, daughter of Blas Navarro and Matiana Torres. AASF, Roll 60, frs. 37-39, DM 1698, no. 19, Santa Fe; Chávez, "New Mexico Roots," 153)

SM-8 June 2, 1698, Villa de Santa Fe, Matías Martín, 22, native of La Cañada, parents names not recorded, and Josefa Domínguez, 14, daughter of Domingo Luján and Juana Domínguez. Witnesses: Antonio Martín and Juana Martín. (AASF, Roll 60, frs. 135-137, DM 1698, May 20, no. 18, Santa Fe; Chávez, "New Mexico Roots," 1011)

SM-9 February 24, 1699, Bernalillo, Cristóbal Martín, 22, son of Cristóbal Martín and Antonia de Moraga, and María Montoya, daughter of Felipe Montoya and María de Paredes, natives of New Mexico, both deceased. Witnesses: Don Fernando de Chaves and Martín Hurtado. (AASF, Roll 60, frs. 179-182, DM 1699, January, no. 6, Bernalillo; and Chávez, "New Mexico Roots," 1096)

SM-10. November 1700, Villa de Santa Fe, Antonio Martín, 27, son of Pedro Martín, deceased, and Juana de Argüello, and Ana María Gómez, 17, of El Paso del Norte, daughter of Antonio Gómez and Francisca Durán. (AASF, Roll 60, frs. 209-212, DM 1700, November, nos. 1-2)

En la Iglesia de N. P. S. Juan de Bernalillo en veinte y quatro dias del mes
de febr. de noventa y nueve. O. habiendose hecho las inf. y leído las pro
mutaciones segun lo ordenado por el S.º Consejo de Trento, casó, y celebró las
sig. a Cristóbal Martín con María Montoya fuesen testigos D.º Hernando
de Chavez y Martín Vellido y para que conste lo firmó en este día mes
y año ut supra --
Fray Miguel Muñoz

Marriage record of Cristóbal Martín, of the Villa de Santa Cruz, and María Montoya,
February 24, 1699, Bernalillo. AASF, Roll 60, frs. 179-182, DM 1699, January, no. 6,
Bernalillo.

Epilogue: A Foundation of Northern *Nuevomejicano* Culture

This town [Villa Nueva de Santa Cruz], which is eight leagues west of the capital, has something more than one hundred families of Spaniards, who occupy themselves raising wheat and some flocks which they keep on small ranches.

—Fray Miguel de Menchero, May 10, 1744¹

The individuals from Mexico City and other communities of Nueva España that settled the Villa Nueva de Santa Cruz in 1695 were of the skilled trade class and were able to read and write, in contrast to many of the individuals born into frontier living conditions in New Mexico. These settlers possessed little to no experience with farming or raising livestock and no experience with frontier warfare with Indians. There was eminent risk to their lives in becoming settlers of Spain's northern frontier of the Americas. Several individuals met an early death never realizing whatever hopes motivated them to leave the urban setting of their birth in exchange for uncertainty, danger, and hardship. These urban-to-frontier pioneers relied on the expertise of Pueblo Indians for planting and harvesting crops and relied even more so on the experience of the "original families" of New Mexico to teach the men how to be soldiers and instruct the women in protection and ways to maintain their families in frontier territory.

The skilled trades of the men from Nueva España proved useful in establishing settlements in New Mexico in the late 1690s. There were additional opportunities in New Mexico for these men not available to them in Nueva España. Some of the men and their sons came to occupy important civil and military positions, such as *alcalde mayor* (Nicolás Ortiz, Miguel Ladrón de Guevara, and Nicolás Ortiz y Barba Coronado), *alcalde ordinario* (José Rodríguez), *ayudante* (Juan Ruiz Cordero), *capitán* (Miguel de la Vega y Coca), and *alférez* (Juan Ruiz de Valdes and Diego Márquez de Ayala).

Several of the men that first settled the Villa Nueva de Santa Cruz distinguished themselves in service to the royal crown. A rare record of certification of services from November 1701 extols the bravery of Andrés de Betanzos, a Mexico City native whose

son, Diego de Betanzos, was killed on June 4, 1696, at the onset of a Pueblo Indian uprising. The certification of services highlights the willingness of Betanzos to risk his life in defense and protection of other citizens with an exemplary sense of duty, honor, and loyalty to the viceroy of Nueva España and to the distant king, Carlos II. The town council of the Villa de Santa Fe prepared the following official account:²

We, the cabildo, regimiento, and justicia of Santa Fe, principal town of the kingdom and provinces of New Mexico, for his majesty, and so forth, certify to the king, our lord, in the person of his viceroy and his royal acuerdo of the city and court of Mexico; to the lord governor and captain general; and to all his majesty's other tribunals and royal justices where he may deem to and does present this that Andrés de Betanzos is one of the citizens who, by order of the former lord viceroy, the most excellent lord, the Conde de Galve, came from and left Mexico City in 1693 and arrived in this villa de Santa Fe on 23 June 1694 to found and settle this kingdom. As his majesty's loyal vassal, he came and fulfilled the most excellent viceroy's order. When he arrived in this kingdom, the Tano, Tewa, Pircuris, Taos, Keres of Cochiti, and Jemez nations had rebelled again. He participated with his weapons and horses in the war for as long as it lasted, going wherever he was ordered in the service of his majesty with great loyalty, punctuality, and obedience, as a good vassal. Likewise, when most of this kingdom rebelled in 1696, he joined the guards of the bulwarks of Villa Nueva de Santa Cruz, keeping watch during the rigors of winter with painstaking care, obeying and fulfilling all orders from his military leaders as though he were a paid soldier. He gave praiseworthy accounting of everything entrusted to him.

These are his honored actions and why the cabildo found him worthy and deserving of any and all honors his majesty (may God keep him) and the other royal justices in his name may see fit to favor him with and grant him. He is issued the present certification in this villa of Santa Fe on 13 November 1701, signed and sealed with the seal of our coat of arms. It is on ordinary white paper because the stamped kind is unavailable here.

The women from Nueva España were no less influential. Existing records simply provide less documentation of their contributions. As much as the men, the women also placed their lives in danger while doing their best to make their home in a menacing place. These and other women of the New Mexico frontier are best characterized by the Spanish word *fuerza*, strength. *Fuerza* is a feminine word that carries the meaning of force, power and firmness. As a word of being, rather than a word of action, *fureza* reminds us that strength is not solely manifested in physical force and prowess, but more importantly in spirit and determination.

Josefa de Pas Bustillos, a native of Mexico City born circa 1684 and also known as Josefa de Ontiveros, was an exceptional Spanish pioneer woman. At about the age of nine years, she traveled to New Mexico with her guardian, Juan de Pas Bustillos, who was her godfather and uncle, as part of the large group of settlers recruited at Mexico City in 1693. As an original settler of the Villa Nueva de Santa Cruz, Juan de Pas Bustillos, also known as Juan de Bustos, received a grant of land in May 1695. He sold the land to Tomás de Herrera Sandoval in 1700 and after the death of Herrera Sandoval the land came into possession of his wife, Pascuala a de la Concepción. Many years later, in 1731, Josefa de Ontiveros wrote a petition stressing her rights as an original settler to part of the land her uncle sold. With confidence and resolve she stated:

I, Josefa de Ontiberos, one of the settlers from Mexico City and a resident of La Villa Nueva de Santa Cruz, appear before your Excellency in due form, according to the law, and in favor to my right I say that I have presented to Lieutenant Domingo Vijil a petition demanding a parcel of land which today is possessed by Pascuala de la Concepcion, widow of don Tomas de Herrera [Sandoval], which was given to me in the name of his majesty as a settler in this kingdom, and which was sold without my consent by Juan de Pas Bustillos, asking in said petition that the deed of sale of the said lands be manifested to me in order that in view thereof I might claim what would be rightfully mine. ... I ask and request with supplication to your Excellency that you be pleased to do and determine as I have asked because it is just, and I swear in due form that this, my petition, is not from malice, etc.

Josefa de Ontiberos (rubric)³

These words were written by a woman of determination with the knowledge and pride of having the royal privileges of a *pobladora*, a colonizer and settler of the Spanish frontier. Generally in our written histories men are remembered for their deeds in relation to the events of their surrounding circumstances and era. Women appear less frequently in historical documents and, more often than not, they are remembered in relationship to other people, particularly men, as daughters, wives, and mothers. This is certainly reflected in the available historical documentation concerning Josefa de Pas Bustillos y Ontiveros which span from 1693 until her death in 1772. Yet, as an able, resilient, independent woman she was unlike many other women of her time.

Although Josefa never married, she acquired a land grant along the Chama River and became matriarch of a large family. She had at least six known children, possibly seven and possibly by different men, who went variously by the surnames of Bustos, Valdes y Bustos, Pas Bustillos, Ontiveros, de la Rosa, González de la Rosa, and González. She lived to be about eighty-eight years of age and had as many as seventy descendants by the time of her death at Santa Cruz in December 1772.⁴ She ranks as one of the longest, if not the longest, resident of the jurisdiction of the Villa Nueva de Santa Cruz spanning a period of almost sixty-eight years from the time of its founding in April 1695 until December 1772.

The surviving writings of Miguel de Quintana (born 1677 – died 1748), a first settler and long-time resident of the Villa de Santa Cruz, are a testament to the education he received as a youth in Mexico City and reveal the influences of the spiritual and intellectual milieu of Nueva España. It is rare to have any written record concerning the spiritual reflections of the common person of Spanish American society in the early eighteenth century. The main reason for the preservation of Quintana's spiritual verses was the use of the Office of the Inquisition as a political tool in an attempt to silence and castigate his voicing of criticism against the local clergy of the small frontier Villa Nueva de Santa Cruz. Quintana's verses include encouragement and guidance of "heavenly voices," such as these words of the Queen of Heaven, "Do not dread suffering/ Suffer, because your hardships/ will find relief, Miguel/ for I will be there to intercede." Evident in Quintana's writings is the Franciscan emphasis on poverty and humility, as well as

empathy and compassion for the suffering of Christ and the significant role of the Virgin Mary as intercessor.

The fertile influence of the rich and deeply rooted Spanish Roman Catholic tradition that flourished in Mexico City in the seventeenth century nourished the mind and spirituality of Quintana. Unfortunately, his personal motives for volunteering as a settler of New Mexico are not revealed in any of his surviving writings. As a husband and father, Quintana sustained his family working as a farmer and a scribe. As a literate individual, he was sought by others to record official civil and ecclesiastical proceedings, to write letters, and is known to have written *coloquios*, plays in the form of extended dialogue.

Quintana's criticism of a local Franciscan friar and his defiance of that friar's demand to confess to him stirred a personality conflict that developed into a denunciation to the Inquisition in July 1732. The formal basis of the denunciation centered on Quintana's written spiritual prose and poetry, which local Franciscan clergy viewed as containing heretical assertions. Although Quintana maintained his innocence throughout the five years of investigation, he chose to bend as a reed with humility towards the authority of the Inquisition rather than to resist or push back. Following a recantation in 1737, he was exonerated, but only after experiencing much psychological and spiritual turmoil, which is apparent when reading his verses.

The pervasiveness and depth of Catholic religion and spirituality in the daily fabric of Spanish society is evident even in the most distant periphery of the Spanish empire. Religion and tradition obligated elected officials to participate in various religious feast days as part of their civic responsibility. In the early seventeenth century, members of the *cabildo* (town council) of the Villa de Santa Cruz were required as part of their duties to attend mass and special feast day celebrations as a group. An edict from the viceroy of Nueva España dated November 1714 specified sixteen mandatory feast days to be attended by *cabildo* members. A list of these dates recorded on January 1715, reminded *cabildo* members of their obligation to attend these religious celebrations:⁵

1. January 1st, New Years Day
2. January 25th, Feast of the Conversion of San Pablo, titular saint of New Mexico
3. February 2nd, Feast of the Purification of Our Lady

4. *Viernes de Dolores* (Friday of Sorrows), honoring Nuestra Señora de los Dolores on the Friday before Palm Sunday
5. Palm Sunday
6. Holy Thursday
7. Easter Resurrection, second day
8. May 1st, Feast of San Felipe and Santiago, the birthday of King Felipe V
9. Feast of Corpus Christi with vespers
10. August 15th, Feast of the Assumption of Our Lady
11. September 14th, Feast of the Exaltation of the Cross promised by the Villa for protection from *los rayos* with vespers
12. 1st Sunday of October, Feast of the Naval Battle
13. October 4th Feast of Nuestro Padre San Francisco
14. December 8th, Feast of the Immaculate Conception of Our Lady
15. December 25th, Christmas, second day
16. 2nd day of the Feast of Espíritu Santo, second day

Religious ceremonies and traditions of the Roman Catholic Church shaped the daily lives of the residents of the Villa Nueva de Santa Cruz in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. Life was regulated by a calendar of frequent religious feast days that governed the relations between the living and deceased relatives and community members, blending work, religion, worship, devotion, work-days, and religious ceremonies into a routine, predictable, and reassuring whole. The numerous feast days of the liturgical calendar honored the memory of saints and deceased relatives and brought people together in solemnity, shared prayer, common devotion, and celebration. Personal prayer in one home and with family members, as well as public worship and participation in the sacraments, fostered and perpetuated an association between those living and those deceased. Prayers by the living assisted the purification of the souls in purgatory prepared for their entry into heaven.

Frequent feast days were occasions for liturgical ceremonies in honor of the departed souls that also involved customs of eating and drinking as a form of uniting the living with the saints and with deceased family members. Images of the saints displayed in churches and in the home nourished spiritual life and fostered an active set of spiritual relationships with God, Jesus Christ, Mary, the saints, the angels, and departed souls. In churches —and later in chapels, and *moradas*— the faithful came together in a communion of the saints, the living, and the departed souls. This was almost literally so because people were buried inside churches, the protective space of the physical representation of the House of God and a sacred space to shelter the dead until their rebirth. In time, the descendants of the early settlers of the Villa Nueva de Santa Cruz would foster and perpetuate a particular regional expression of Catholicism, including several *cofradías* (confraternities), *penitente* practices, and eventually the distinctive expression of religious art in the form of *retablos* and *bultos*.

Over the course of the 1700s, groups of families within the jurisdiction of the Villa Nueva de Santa Cruz, consisting mostly of relatives, formed plazas for defense and protection that became small village communities, such as Chimayó, El Potrero, Cerro, Cuartélez, La Puebla, Quemado, Dolores, Cundiyo, Guadalupe, San Pedro, San Isidro, and Ranchitos. The decision to maintain the Villa Nueva de Santa Cruz and to not relocate the community elsewhere shaped the future development of northern New Mexico. The Villa Nueva de Santa Cruz became the springboard for other major communities as the growing population sought land to sustain families, leading to the settlements of Nuestra Señora de la Soledad de Río Arriba just north of San Juan Pueblo, San Pedro de Chama (modern-day Hernández), Abiquiú, Ojo Caliente, Embudo, Truchas, Las Trampas, and Santa Bárbara. Among the earliest residents to repopulate the Taos area were individuals and families from the jurisdiction of the Villa Nueva de Santa Cruz.

The first two decades of the eighteenth century initiated a sustained period of stabilization and integration for New Mexico's Spanish settlements. For the Spanish citizens, the last serious threat of a concerted Pueblo Indian revolt occurred in June 1696. Between 1700 and 1720 families became sufficiently established to sustain themselves without continual assistance from royal authorities. From this period until the

late nineteenth century, Indian attacks and counterattacks were a regular feature of daily life. Nonetheless, descendants of those who resettled New Mexico in the 1690s increased, intermarried with each other and with the Indians, founded new settlements, and actively transmitted the cultural traditions of previous generations, infusing their own innovations with each subsequent generation.

The history of the early residents of the jurisdiction of the Villa de Santa Cruz reveals that despite hardship and uncertainty their aspirations overcame their fears. Their willingness to persevere in the face of great challenges and danger deserves recognition as a foundation for the firm establishment and development of *Nuevomejicano* culture of northern New Mexico. Even with the passing of time and changes in government, their influence persisted and continues today to be perpetuated in new forms.

End Notes

ONE: Founded in His Royal Name

1. John L. Kessell, Rick Hendricks, and Meredith D. Dodge, eds., *Blood on the Boulders: The Journals of Don Diego de Vargas, New Mexico, 1694-97* (BOB), (Albuquerque: University of New Mexico, 1995), 605.
2. Kessell, Hendricks, and Dodge, eds., BOB, 605.
3. Kessell, Hendricks, and Dodge, eds., BOB, 605-606.
4. Kessell, Hendricks, and Dodge, eds., BOB, 610-614.
5. Kessell, Hendricks, and Dodge, eds., BOB, 623.
6. Kessell, Hendricks, and Dodge, eds., BOB, 621.
7. Kessell, Hendricks, and Dodge, eds., BOB, 622.
8. Archives of the Archdiocese of Santa Fe, Roll 59, Diligencias Matrimoniales, 1678-1696, DM 1695, no. 1, Santa Cruz, for José de Sandoval Martínez and Gertrudis de Herrera.
9. Fray Angélico Chávez, *Origins of New Mexico Families in the Spanish Colonial Period* (ONMF), Santa Fe: Museum of New Mexico Press (1992), 228-229; José Antonio Esquibel and John B. Colligan, *The Spanish Recolonization of New Mexico: An Account of the Families Recruited at Mexico City in 1694* (SRNM), (Albuquerque: Hispanic Genealogical Research Center of New Mexico, 1999), 37, 270-271, and 416.
10. Chávez, ONMF, 227; and Esquibel and Colligan, SRNM, 36-37, 257-269, and 415.
11. Chávez, ONMF, 268-269; and Esquibel and Colligan, SRNM, 43 and 419.
12. Chávez, ONMF, 24; and Esquibel and Colligan, SRNM, 409.

13. Spanish Archives of New Mexico (SANM), Series I, no. 427, Ramón García Jurado, conveyance of land to Bartolomé Lobato, May 7, 1707, Santa Cruz.

TWO: From Mexico City to Frontier New Mexico, 1693-1694

1. Kessell, Hendricks, and Dodge, eds., BOB, 281.
2. John L. Kessell, Rick Hendricks, and Meredith D. Dodge, eds., *To the Royal Crown Restored: The Journals of Don Diego de Vargas, 1692-1694* (RCR), (Albuquerque: University of New Mexico, 1995), 228-229; Esquibel and Colligan, SRNM, 7.
3. Kessell, Hendricks, and Dodge, RCR, 229.
4. Kessell, Hendricks, and Dodge, RCR, 233-234.
5. José Antonio Esquibel, "Mexico City to Santa Fe: Spanish Pioneers on the Camino Real, 1693-1694," in June el-Piper, ed., *El Camino Real de Tierra Adentro*, Vol. II, Cultural Resources Series, No. 13 (Santa Fe: Bureau of Land Management, 1999), 60.
6. Esquibel and Colligan, SRNM 10; and Fray Angélico Chávez, "New Mexico Roots, Ltd.: A Demographic Perspective from Genealogical, Historical, and Geographical Data Found in the Diligencias Matrimoniales or Pre-Nuptial Investigations (1678-1869) of the Archives of the Archdiocese of Santa Fe" (NMR), unpublished, (Santa Fe, 1992), 2042, DM 1694, October 22, no. 19, Santa Fe, for Manuel González Vallejo and Doña Mariana Hurtado.
7. Chávez, ONMF, 244; and AASF, Roll 59, DM 1695, April 22, no. 1, Santa Cruz, for Juan de Dios de Sandoval Martínez and Gertrudis de Herrera.
8. Esquibel and Colligan, SRNM, 30; AASF, Roll 59, DM 1695, April 22, no. 1, Santa Cruz, for Juan de Dios de Sandoval Martínez and Gertrudis de Herrera.
9. Esquibel and Colligan, SRNM, 11 and 14.

10. José Antonio Esquibel, "The Artisan Families of Mexico City that Settled New Mexico in 1694," in *Tradición Revista*, Vol. VIII, No. 1, Spring 2003, 31-36.
11. Kessell, Hendricks, and Dodge, eds., RCR, 245-249.
12. SANM I, no. 1076, Lawsuit of Josefa de Ontiveros, 1731.
13. Francisco Lomelí and Clark A. Colahan, eds., *Defying the Inquisition in Colonial New Mexico: Miguel de Quintana's Life and Writings* (Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 2006).
14. Esquibel and Colligan, SRNM, 215; and Esquibel, "Mexico City to Santa Fe," in el-Piper, ed., *El Camino Real de Tierra Adentro*, 67.
15. Esquibel and Colligan, SRNM, 258; and Esquibel, "Mexico City to Santa Fe," in el-Piper, ed., *El Camino Real de Tierra Adentro*, 67.
16. Kessell, Hendricks, and Dodge, eds., BOB, 644-645.
17. Kessell, Hendricks, and Dodge, eds., BOB, 644.
18. For the names of the wives of the men that signed the September 1695 petition, consult Chávez, ONMF, and Esquibel and Colligan, SRNM.
19. Kessell, Hendricks, and Dodge, eds., BOB, 645-647.
20. Kessell, Hendricks, and Dodge, eds., BOB, 648-650.
21. Kessell, Hendricks, and Dodge, eds., BOB, 649.

THREE: A Second Group of Settlers, 1695

1. Kessell, Hendricks, and Dodge, eds., BOB, 647.
2. Kessell, Hendricks, and Dodge, eds., BOB, 647 and 657.
3. SANM I, no. 817, Settlement of Nineteen Additional Families at Santa Cruz de la Cañada, 1696.
4. SANM I, no. 402, Ana Magdalena Hernández, proceedings against Tomás de Herrera Sandoval, Santa Cruz, 1712.

5. SANM I, no. 402, Ana Magdalena Hernández, proceedings against Tomás de Herrera Sandoval, Santa Cruz, 1712.
6. SANM I, no. 402, Ana Magdalena Hernández, proceedings against Tomás de Herrera Sandoval, Santa Cruz, 1712.

FOUR: A Catastrophic Year, 1696

1. J. Manuel Espinosa, ed. and trans., *The Pueblo Indian Revolt of 1696 and the Franciscan Missions in New Mexico: Letters of the Missionaries and Related Documents* (Norman: University of New Mexico Press, 1991), 262.
2. Kessell, Hendricks, and Dodge, eds., BOB, 720-721.
3. Kessell, Hendricks, and Dodge, eds., BOB, 870.
4. Kessell, Hendricks, and Dodge, eds., BOB, 729 and 734.
5. Kessell, Hendricks, and Dodge, eds., BOB, 728-729.
6. Espinosa, ed. and trans., *The Pueblo Indian Revolt of 1696*, 264.
7. Kessell, Hendricks, and Dodge, eds., BOB, 729 and 734.
8. Kessell, Hendricks, and Dodge, eds., BOB, 737.
9. Kessell, Hendricks, and Dodge, eds., BOB, 737.
10. Kessell, Hendricks, and Dodge, eds., BOB, 739-740.
11. Kessell, Hendricks, and Dodge, eds., BOB, 763-764.
12. Kessell, Hendricks, and Dodge, eds., BOB, 764.
13. Kessell, Hendricks, and Dodge, eds., BOB, 779.
14. Kessell, Hendricks, and Dodge, eds., BOB, 780.
15. Kessell, Hendricks, and Dodge, eds., BOB, 781-783.
16. Kessell, Hendricks, and Dodge, eds., BOB, 785.
17. Kessell, Hendricks, and Dodge, eds., BOB, 787-788.
18. Kessell, Hendricks, and Dodge, eds., BOB, 787-788.

19. Kessell, Hendricks, and Dodge, eds., BOB, 788.
20. Kessell, Hendricks, and Dodge, eds., BOB, 789.
21. Kessell, Hendricks, and Dodge, eds., BOB, 791.
22. Kessell, Hendricks, and Dodge, eds., BOB, 844
23. Kessell, Hendricks, and Dodge, eds., BOB, 1013.
24. Kessell, Hendricks, and Dodge, eds., BOB, 1025.
25. Espinosa, ed. and trans., *The Pueblo Indian Revolt of 1696*, 209.
26. John L. Kessell, Rick Hendricks, Meredith D. Dodge, and Larry D. Miller, eds.,
That Disturbances Cease: The Journals of Don Diego de Vargas, 1697-1700
(TDC), (Albuquerque: University of New Mexico, 2000), 164.
27. Kessell, Hendricks, and Dodge, eds., BOB, 1072-1073.
28. Kessell, Hendricks, and Dodge, eds., BOB, 1073.
29. Kessell, Hendricks, and Dodge, eds., BOB, 1075-1076.
30. Kessell, Hendricks, and Dodge, eds., BOB, 1112.

FIVE: The 1697 List of Settlers

1. Kessell, Hendricks, and Dodge, eds., BOB, 1129.
2. Kessell, Hendricks, and Dodge, eds., BOB, 1138.
3. Kessell, Hendricks, and Dodge, eds., BOB, 1131.
4. SANM II, no. 65, Division of Goods and Stock to Residents by Vargas, May 1,
1697. English translation published in Kessell, Hendricks, and Dodge, eds., BOB,
1138-1157.
5. SANM II, no. 65, Division of Goods and Stock to Residents by Vargas, May 1,
1697; and Kessell, Hendricks, and Dodge, eds., BOB, 1152-1154.
6. Kessell, Hendricks, and Dodge, eds., BOB, 1139.
7. Kessell, Hendricks, Dodge, and Miller, eds., TDC, 33-34.
8. Kessell, Hendricks, Dodge, and Miller, eds., TDC, 85.

9. Kessell, Hendricks, Dodge, and Miller, eds., TDC, 85.
10. Kessell, Hendricks, Dodge, and Miller, eds., TDC, 84.
11. Kessell, Hendricks, Dodge, and Miller, eds., TDC, 85.
12. Kessell, Hendricks, Dodge, and Miller, eds., TDC, 87.
13. Kessell, Hendricks, Dodge, and Miller, eds., TDC, 200.
14. Kessell, Hendricks, Dodge, and Miller, eds., TDC, 200.
15. Kessell, Hendricks, Dodge, and Miller, eds., TDC, 221.
16. John L. Kessell, Rick Hendricks, Meredith D. Dodge, and Larry D. Miller, eds., *A Settling of Accounts: The Journals of Don Diego de Vargas, New Mexico, 1700-1704* (SOA), (Albuquerque: University of New Mexico, 2002), 210.
17. Kessell, Hendricks, Dodge and Miller, SOA, 210.

SIX: The 1704 List of Settlers

1. Kessell, Hendricks, Dodge and Miller, SOA, 210.
2. Kessell, Hendricks, Dodge and Miller, SOA, 214.
3. SANM I, Roll 50, Private Land Claims, Case 194, Santa Cruz de la Cañada Land Grant, fr. 883.
4. SANM I, Roll 50, Private Land Claims, Case 194, Santa Cruz de la Cañada Land Grant, fr. 884.
5. SANM I, Roll 50, Private Land Claims, Case 194, Santa Cruz de la Cañada Land Grant, fr. 909ff. Additional information about the listed individuals appears in brackets and was extracted from Chávez, ONMF, and Esquibel and Colligan, SRNM.
6. SANM I, Roll 50, Private Land Claims, Case 194, Santa Cruz de la Cañada Land Grant, f. 884.
7. SANM I, Roll 50, Private Land Claims, Case 194, Santa Cruz de la Cañada Land Grant, f. 885.

8. SANM I, Roll 50, Private Land Claims, Case 194, Santa Cruz de la Cañada Land Grant, f. 890.

SEVEN: La Villa de Santa María de Grado, 1706

1. SANM II, no. 128, Residents of Santa María de Grado to the Governor, Requesting a Priest, December 22, 1706, Roll 4, frs. 1118-1120.
2. Linda Tigges, ed., and J. Richard Salazar, trans., *Spanish Colonial Lives: Documents from the Spanish Colonial Archives of New Mexico, 1705-1774* (Santa Fe: Sunstone Press, 2013), 34.
3. SANM II, no. 100, Juan de Ulibarri, Muster, Santa Cruz, April 27, 1705; and Rick Hendricks and John P. Wilson, eds. and trans., *The Navajos in 1705: Roque Madrid's Campaign Journal* (Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 1996), 2.
4. Tigges and Salazar, *Spanish Colonial Lives*, 35, citing SANM II, no. 114, Cabildo of Santa Fe, Petition to Governor for Assistance to Residents.
5. Tigges and Salazar, *Spanish Colonial Lives*, 35, citing SANM II, no. 114, Cabildo of Santa Fe, Petition to Governor for Assistance to Residents.
6. Tigges and Salazar, *Spanish Colonial Lives*, 36, citing SANM II, no. 114, Cabildo of Santa Fe, Petition to Governor for Assistance to Residents.
7. Tigges and Salazar, *Spanish Colonial Lives*, 14.
8. Hendricks and Wilson, *The Navajos in 1705*, 94-95.
9. Hendricks and Wilson, *The Navajos in 1705*, 96.
10. Francisco Cuervo y Valdes was born in La Frontera de Llamero in the jurisdiction of the Villa de Santa María de Grado in the northern Spanish province of Asturias where he was baptized on June 16, 1651. See Edward K. Flager, "Defensive Policy and Indian Relations in New Mexico During the Tenure of Governor Francisco Cuervo y Valdes, 1705-1707," in *Revista Española de Antropología Americana*, No. 22 (Madrid, 1992), 91-92. For the founding of the Villa de Santa María de Grado at Chimayó, see Francisco García Figueroa, *Documentos para la historia de México*, 3a ser. (1856), Vol. 1: 193.

11. García Figueroa, *Documentos para la historia de México*, 3a ser. (1856), Vol. 1: 193.
12. SANM II, no. 128, Residents of Santa María de Grado to the Governor, Requesting a Priest, December 22, 1706.
13. Kessell, Hendricks, Dodge and Miller, eds., SOA, 181, for Ambrosio Fresquis as a citizen of Chimayó; and Kessell, Hendricks, Dodge and Miller, eds., SOA, 187, for Domingo Martín and Antonio Martín as natives of Chimayó.
14. Chávez, ONMF, 156; and Esquibel and Colligan, SRNM, 153-156.
15. AASF, Roll 60, frs. 113-115, DM 1698, September 26, no. 11, Santa Cruz; and Chávez, "New Mexico Roots," 1096.
16. Chávez, ONMF, 244.
17. Chávez, ONMF, 191; AASF, Roll 61, frs. 572-574, DM 1720, April 4, no. 2, Santa Cruz; and Chávez, "New Mexico Roots, Ltd.," 705.
18. Chávez, ONMF, 222.
19. Chávez, ONMF, 225.
20. AASF, Roll 61, fr. 556, DM 1719, May 8, no. 16, Santa Cruz; and Chávez, "New Mexico Roots, Ltd.," 1365.
21. Chávez, ONMF, 270-271; and Esquibel and Colligan, SRNM, 228-229.
22. Chávez, ONMF, 240; and Esquibel and Colligan, SRNM, 277-278.
23. Chávez, ONMF, 226; and Esquibel and Colligan, SRNM, 252-254.
24. Chávez, ONMF, 206.
25. AASF, Roll 59, ff. 641-653, DM 1696, May, no. 17, Santa Fe; and Chávez, "New Mexico Roots, Ltd.," 779.
26. Chávez, ONMF, 196; and Esquibel and Colligan, SRNM, 30.
27. Chávez, ONMF, 293.
28. Chávez, ONMF, 217.
29. AASF, Roll 60, ff. 306-310, DM 1703, November 7, no. 7, Santa Cruz; and Chávez, "New Mexico Roots, Ltd.," 1252.
30. Chávez, ONMF, 306.
31. SANM II, no. 87, Proceedings against Baltasar Rodarte, Santa Fe, September 6-8, 1702.

32. SANM II, no. 128, Residents of Santa María de Grado to the Governor,
Requesting a Priest, December 22, 1706.
33. SANM II, no. 128, Residents of Santa María de Grado to the Governor,
Requesting a Priest, December 22, 1706.
34. Charles Wison Hackett, ed., *Historical Documents Relating to New Mexico, Nueva Vizcaya, and Approches Thereto, to 1773*, Vol. III (Washington, D.C.: Carnegie Institution of Washington, 1937), 374.
35. SANM I, Private Land Claim, Case 115, Arroyo Seco Grant, Roll 45, fr. 898ff. (José Trujillo Grant). See also, United States Congressional Series Set, U.S. Government Printing Office, 1881, 16, for a printed transcription of the record dated May 23, 1707, that refers to Roque de Madrid as the *alcalde mayor* of the Villa de Santa María de Grado.
36. See note 35.

EIGHT: The 1707 Census

1. Tigges, ed., and Salazar, trans., *Spanish Colonial Lives*, 34.

Chapter 9: The 1712 Tool Distribution List

1. SANM II, no. 169, Distribution of Tools to Settlers of Santa Cruz de la Cañada, January 10, 1712.
2. SANM II, no. 169, Distribution of Tools to Settlers of Santa Cruz de la Cañada, January 10, 1712.
3. SANM I, no. 1020, Juan de Ulibarri, Bartolomé Lobato, Matías Madrid and Others, Petition for Lands near Puesto de Chama, 1710.
4. SANM I, no. 1020, Juan de Ulibarri, Bartolomé Lobato, Matías Madrid and Others, Petition for Lands near Puesto de Chama, 1710.
5. SANM I, no. 1020, Juan de Ulibarri, Bartolomé Lobato, Matías Madrid and Others, Petition for Lands near Puesto de Chama, 1710.

6. SANM I, no. 1020, Juan de Ulibarri, Bartolomé Lobato, Matías Madrid and Others, Petition for Lands near Puesto de Chama, 1710.
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