

THE ADVANCE OF THE URBAN FRONTIER: THE SETTLEMENT OF NUEVO SANTANDER

by

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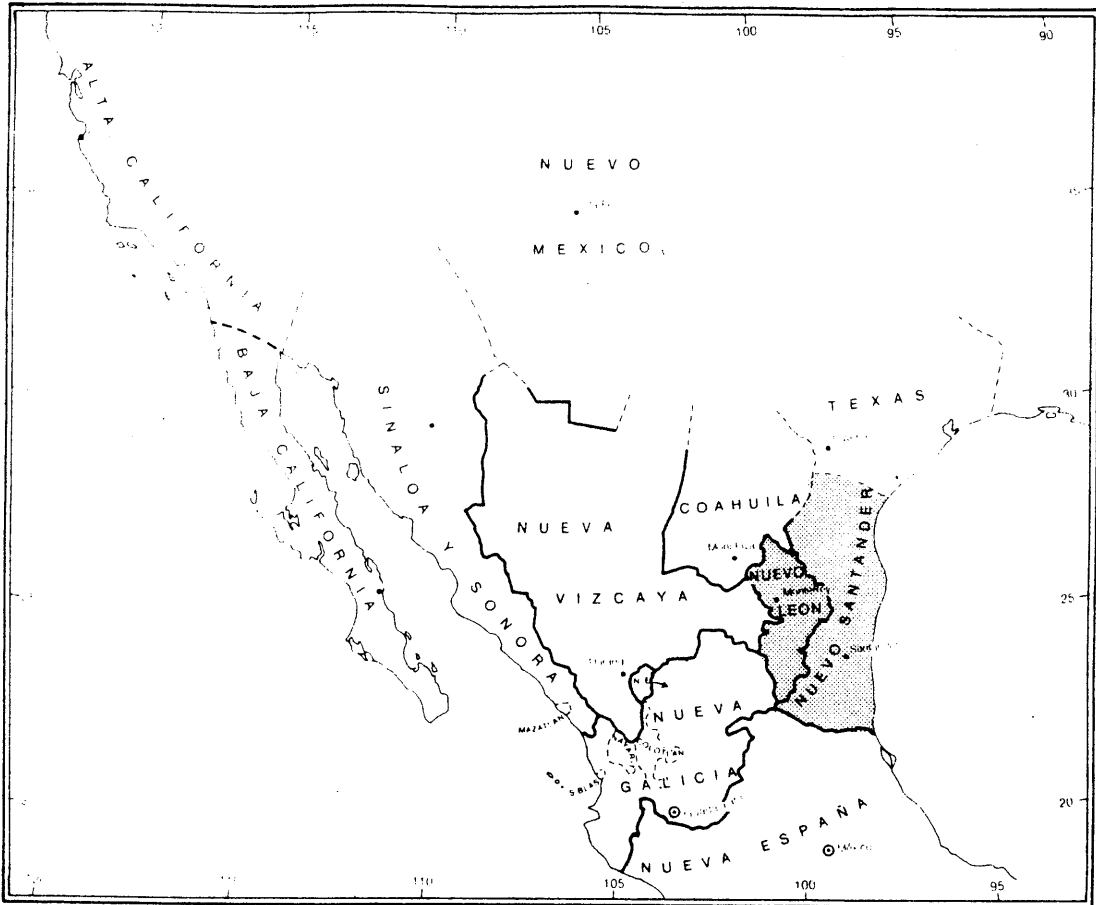


Figure 2: North Frontier in 1786

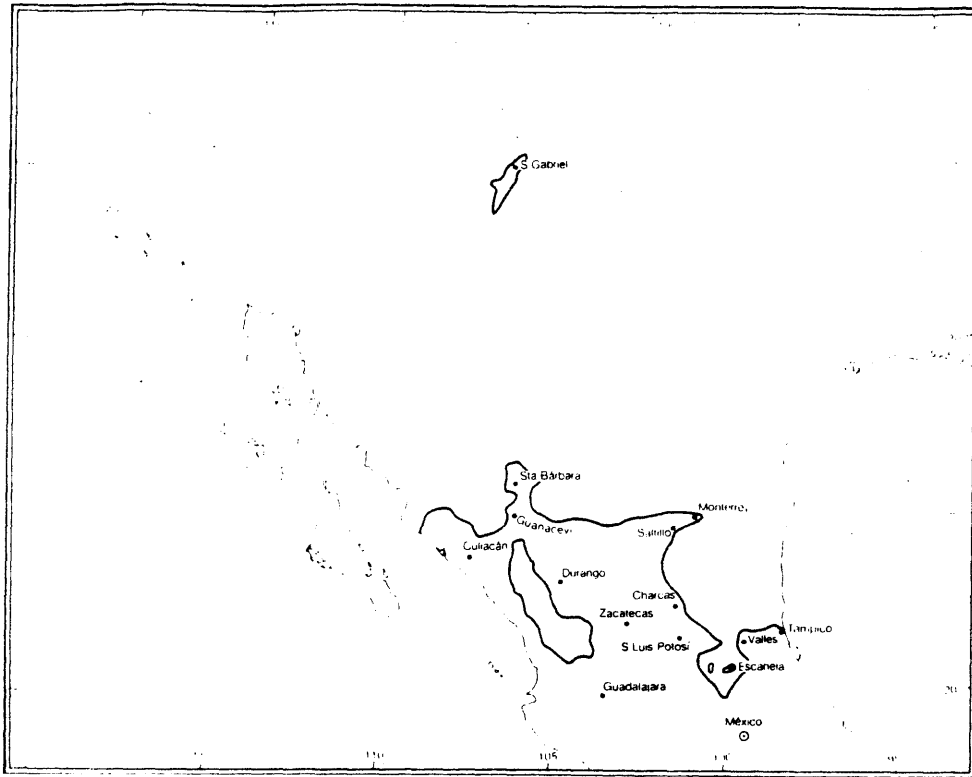


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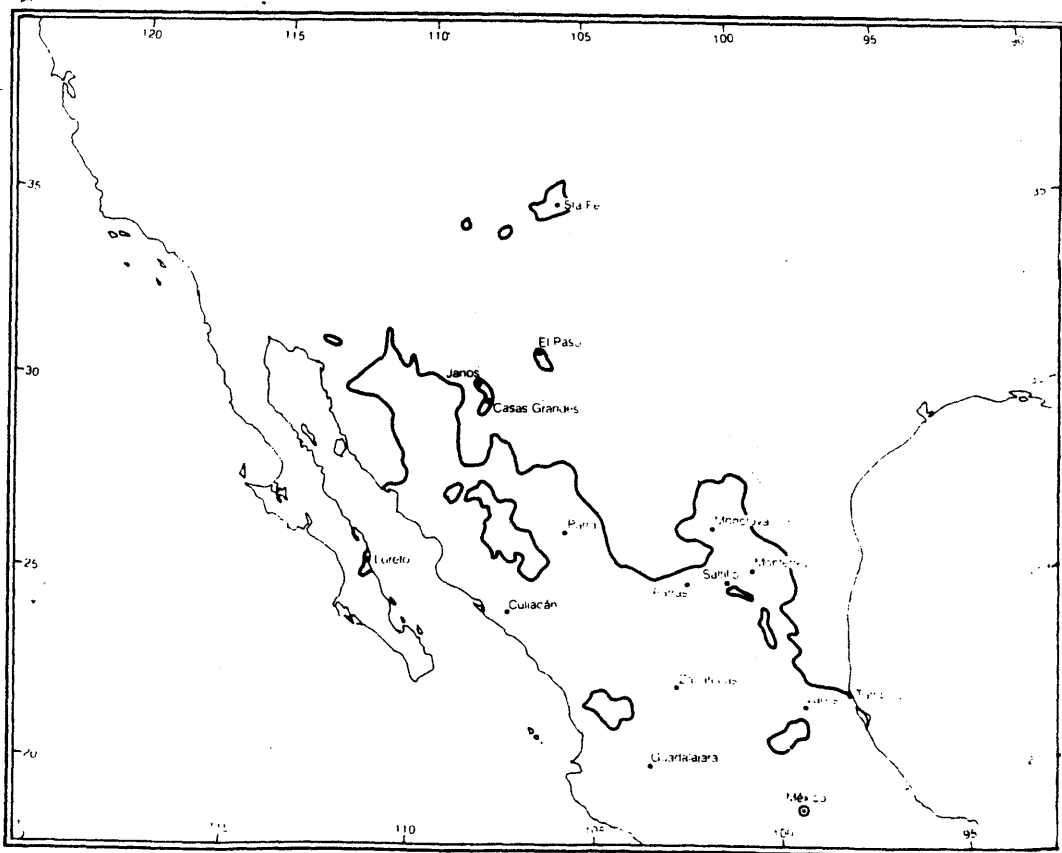


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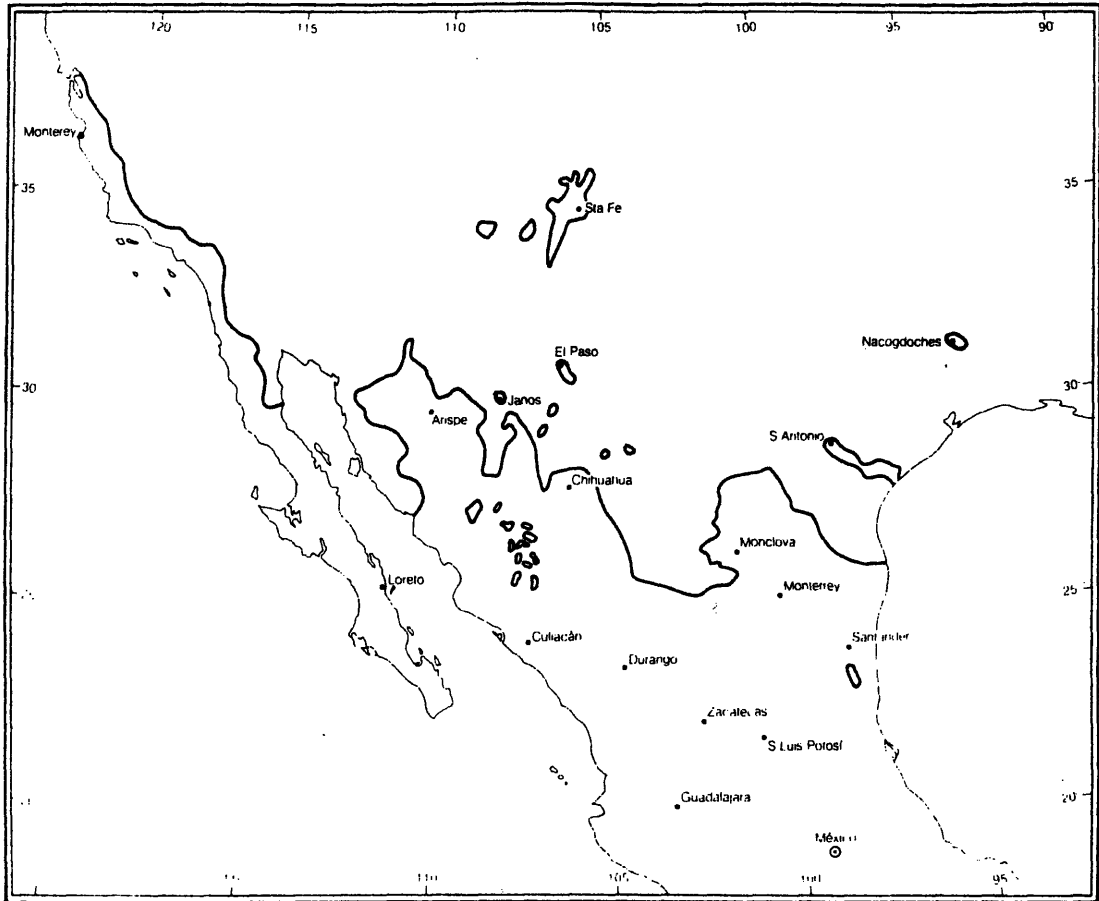


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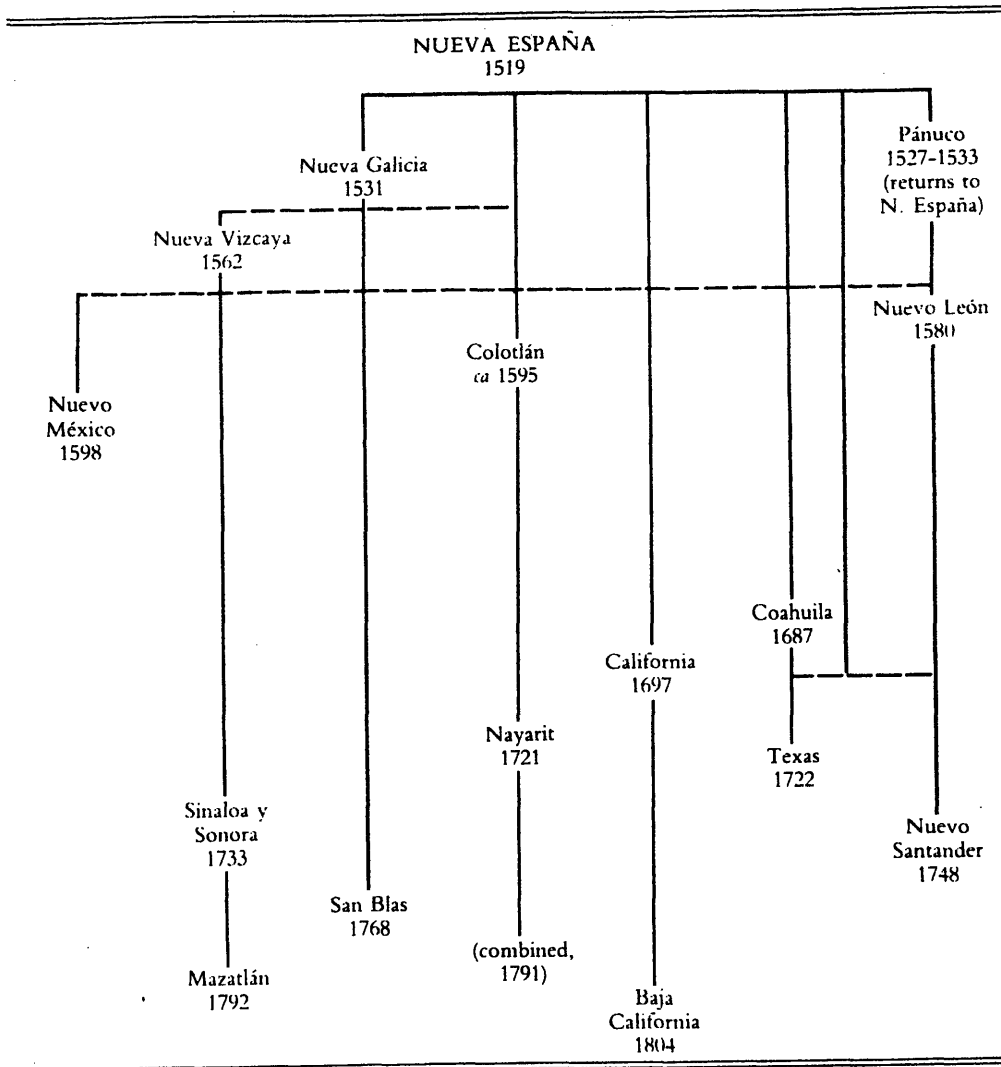


Figure 6: Evolution of Gobiernos on the North Frontier

SETTLEMENT OF THE NORTHERN PROVINCES OF NUEVA ESPAÑA. The region of Nuevo Santander at the extreme right of the diagram. Pánuco, one of the southernmost cities in the geographical area was settled and its government established during 1527-1533.

The territory of Nuevo Leon, located west to the area of Nuevo Santander was colonized also in the sixteenth century.

Nuevo Santander colonized in the mid eighteenth century shows that for two hundred and twenty five years it remained uncolonized.

INTRODUCTION

Chapter 1

Introduction

What were the reasons to establish a city in eighteenth century Mexico? By whom? Could anybody do it? Why were twenty three cities established in Northeastern Mexico in five years? Was there a common plan for their foundation? If so, what was the legal code regulating these foundations? Was there a Governmental Policy for Settlements? Does this example follow the same pattern of foundation of the rest of territorial appropriation of the Spanish Crown? If different, How and Why? Did the Settlers come from Spain as in earlier colonizations of Mexico? I have looked at these and some more questions in the process of this work.

The intention of this thesis is to investigate the planning process for settlement of new territories, as put into effect by Spain in America. As a departure point I assumed that the procedures and laws, as well as the priorities of the Spanish Crown in America remained virtually unchanged throughout the colonial period. I also hypothesized that all and every action of the Conquistadores had to be backed by a legal code which would support if not encourage their endeavors. In the same manner, I presumed that even in the eighteenth century the Planning for Colonization was done by the appointed Governors, following the original operational model of the sixteenth century. I also supposed that the 1573 Ordinances of Discovery and Population, the 1680 Recopilacion de las Leyes de los Reynos de las Indias, in conjunction with the documents about the Colonization of Nuevo Santander, and some other government documents of Nuevo Leon would provide the needed pieces to put together an overview of the whole planning process.

I proceeded as follows: I examined the foundation of twenty-three towns in Nuevo Santander during the mid-eighteenth century as the main case examined to answer them. Nuevo Santander is the northeastern territory of Mexico, now called State of Tamaulipas. The north part of this territory forms the eastern international borderline with Texas USA. I also reviewed the earlier colonization of Nuevo Leon (1580). It is presented as partial frame of reference for comparison and contrast of the planning procedures and preparations for settlement implementation as followed in Spain by the Governors assigned to colonize a territory in New Spain.

The analysis of the eighteen century Policy is based on the examination of official documents prepared by the Viceregal Government for the colonization of Nuevo Santander and Nuevo Leon. In both cases I have made a correlational link with the Ordinances for Discovery and Population issued by Felipe II in 1573, and with the 1680 Recopilacion de las Leyes de las Indias. The latter document has been a key instrument for the analysis of the foundation of cities in Nuevo Santander and for the proper understanding of the early colonization of Nuevo Leon. I found that the Recopilacion is a document of enormous importance to analyze and understand the social, political, and economic structure of Latin America in general. It also became apparent that the 1680 Recopilacion not been fully explored in previous settlement analyses.

Contrary to one of the original assumptions, I concluded that the Colonization of Nuevo Santander was a government effort. It was planned, implemented and revised by the viceregal government. Families were transported from other provinces of Mexico into this northeastern region to settle the new villages. A higher number of towns were founded than in previous settlement commitments. A deadline was also fixed to achieve the foundation of the new towns. These combined factors confer unique characteristics to this foundational effort.

Something totally different happened in earlier settlement projects. For instance, in the case of Nuevo Leon, planning was done by the Governor to be. He also recruited 100 settlers in Spain to establish a only three towns. Also the rhythm of colonization of the Sixteenth and Seventeenth Centuries was much slower than that of the Eighteenth Century.

1.1 Organization Of The Material

I have divided the work according to the actors involved in the process of colonization: **Government, Settlers or Population, Native Population, and Missionaries.** The parallel example of **Nuevo Leon Colonization will be in an appendix.**

In the **Government** section I analyze the reasons and needs existing for the colonization of Nuevo Santander. The Planning Stages as prepared by the Viceregal Officials are also examined, as well as four projects for colonization of the territory. It contains observations about the implementation of the selected project. Layout issues of the new villages constitute the last part of the Government section.

In the second part, named **Population**, I try to determine the level of welfare of the new towns at the time of the viceregal inspection conducted in 1757. I have constructed several demographic indicators for this purpose. This part as well as the Government one are supposed to be the core of this work. Both include appropriate observations of the laws of Indies pertaining the issues treated and the presentation of the laws themselves The correlation between actual facts and the Laws or the absence of any link between facts and laws has also been indicated.

The third part, **Native Population**, shows the counterpart of the colonization. For the native Indians of Nuevo Santander the colonization meant the

depopulation and eventual extinction. These issues as well as the Laws dealing with the indians are presented.

The fourth part, **Missions**, explore the relationship existing between the Colonizer Escandon and the friars in charge of the colonization. The power struggle of the Orders and the Government in matters of control of the Indians is presented concerning the specific example of Nuevo Santander. The failure of the Missionary activity in the new territory, its causes and effects are also discussed. The missionaries were responsible for the fall of Governor Jose Escandon, the man who conducted the colonization of the territory. I found that the missionaries had a diminished power as compared with the earlier colonizations. It also became apparent that they did not realize it.

In **Appendix A**, I present an overall view of the 1580 **Colonization Of Nuevo Leon** as performed by Luis de Carvajal y de la Cueva and a group of Portuguese Sephardic families. I also include the preliminary procedures followed by Carvajal for the Colonization. I also incorporate a copy of the **Governor's Oath**, as well some other laws appertaining to this issue. This appendix also contains the **Act Of Foundation Of Monterrey**, the main town first founded by Carvajal and later repopulated by Diego de Montemayor the second governor of the Province.

Appendix B deals with the side-effect of the establishment of villages in Nuevo Santander: Indian mistreatment and extinction of the natives.

1.2 Conditions Prior To The Colonization

Why did the Nuevo Santander region remain uncolonized two hundred and twenty five years after the Spaniards landed into Mexico? These are some of the explanations:

1. The slow paced structure of colonization previously employed by Spain concentrated the colonization efforts in the central territory of Mexico.

2. The intricate migratory system enforced by the Crown controlled the passage of a limited number of people to the New Continent. Immigrants to the new colonies were very few and only those authorized by the Crown, thus the number of possible settlers was reduced.

3. The native population of America had decreased by the millions during the XVI Century in one of the worst biological tragedies caused by European germs brought by the colonizers. The number of allied natives which could be resettled through the formation of indian towns had been diminished during the sixteenth century, and those left in the area, were nomadic and resisting settlement.

4. "A hostile environment and the lack of precious metals in the country insured that the Northeast frontier of New Spain would remain relatively static for ... two centuries..." (Gerhard, 1982). It was however an excellent habitat for undominated natives. The latter also deterred the colonization of the territory.

On the other hand, what were the motives for the sudden colonization of the whole territory during the eighteenth century? Powerful incentives promoted the rapid colonization of Nuevo Santander.

1.2.1 Motives For Colonization Of Nuevo Santander

The reasons for the colonization of the Nuevo Santander were strategic and defensive. Territorial integration was also an important factor.

1.2.1.1 Strategic-Defensive Reasons For Colonization

The region was an attractive territory for expansion of foreign nations. France had settlers in Louisiana. Robert Cavalier de la Salle and Saint Dennis are two of the well known French aventureros who reached the present territory of Texas and Nuevo Santander. The English Colonies were also expanding and threatened the northern Spanish Territories, specially those in the Atlantic coast. With a shore line extending from the mid Gulf of Mexico to Texas, Nuevo Santander was also exposed to illegal pirate commerce. Royal Cedula's at the end of the seventeenth century attest the Crown uneasiness about this fact. Due to the presence of the French, the Spanish Viceroyalty of Mexico had started the colonization of Texas in 1716. Texan missions such as El Alamo and the town of San Antonio de Bexar (Texas), had been established to prevent foreign settlements of French and English in the area.

At the time Nuevo Santander territory was "...the most immediate, more exposed to foreign Colonies, [having in its periphery only]...the towns of Xalapa, Tampico, Panuco, Valles [to the south], and the Presidio de los Adays [TX], to the north]..." (Velazquez4, 1979, 37). The territory was an empty, uncolonized land in the Northeast of Mexico, almost inaccessible due to the presence of belligerent natives.

It was an Indian territory with no Spaniard inhabitants but surrounded by a few Spanish towns. In general the northern region had been for the both Governments, Mexico and Spain "...a minor financial and administrative burden

and a late sporadic strategic worry, if also a potential growth [area] for a distant future...” (Altman, 1976, 197).

1.2.1.2 Colonization As A Need For Regional Territorial Integration

The zone had been an Indian Frontier until its colonization during the mid eighteenth century. The royal Cedula of Carlos II dated May 14 1686 acknowledges the presence of Indians and related problems in the Province of Nuevo Leon, adjacent to the west of Nuevo Santander, as well as along Mexico’s Gulf coast from Florida to Campeche and Guatemala. (Muro-Orejon, 1956, LXVI)

1.2.1.3 Communication Needs As Colonizing Incentive

Another reason to promote the colonization of this region was the excessive round-about way needed to communicate the Capital of Mexico with Texas. The shortest distance in-between crossed the dangerous Indian region of Nuevo Santander. Texas was one of the distant regions with which the Viceroyalty needed to communicate.

1.2.1.4 Other Motives For The Nuevo Santander Colonization

The need to colonize the empty lands of the North Mexico was clearly a priority of the Bourbon administration during the eighteenth century. I observed that the need for immediate territorial occupation resulted in the implementation of a different mode of colonization based on a more dynamic rhythm and intensity in the establishment of new towns. Settlers from other provinces were motivated to participate in the formation of new villages. During the Bourbon Crown Government internal colonization cases seem to dominate over settlements done with immigrants from Spain. For example the eighteenth century Chilean settlements and those established in Colombia by Mon y Velarde at the end of the same century, follow a similar pattern. In Mexico, other northern regions such as north Nueva Vizcaya were populated simultaneously to that of Nuevo Santander.

1.3 Spanish Institutions Of Colonization

Three primary agencies intervened in the Spaniard “pacification” model,

1. The Conquistador representing the Government,
2. The Church dealing with the Indians, and
3. The Soldiers.

In early colonial times, sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, the Conquistador was to recruit settlers from any of the Castillian kingdoms, and put together cattle, ammunitions, staples, clear the migratory regulations for the settlers, in order to sail to the new lands and settle the previously agreed territorial tract. The Conquistador had to take oath at the Casa de Contratacion, deposit a “fianza,” a monetary deposit, and conduct the colonization at his own expense, to be later compensated with the new richness to be exploited, and with the nobility granted to him by the Crown for his services. Both the words, Conquista, and Conquistador, were deleted in the law in early colonial times and substituted by the word “Pacificacion, and Capitan”. (An example of this system can be seen in Appendix A which deals with the Colonization of Nuevo Leon).

1.3.1 Actors In The New Frontier

In Nuevo Santander the same three colonizing institutions were present: **the Spanish Capitan, named Jose de Escandon, the Franciscan Friars of Zacatecas, and the soldiers.** The settlers in this particular case came not from Spain but from the nearby Mexican provinces of Queretaro, Nuevo Reino de Leon, San Luis Potosi, and Coahuila. These were the new frontier actors: Government, Soldiers, Friars, Settlers and indigenous population.

1.3.2 Two Styles Of Government: Hapsburg And Bourbon

The control of the Spanish Crown by the Hapsburg House ends with the seventeenth century. The eighteenth century starts with the Bourbon Crown in Spain. The changes originated by the new Royal Government led to a new style of Government and colonization.

1.3.2.1 Hapsburg And Bourbon Colonization Patterns

Some of the differences of the operational modes of colonization of the Hapsburg and the Bourbon Houses are illustrated in the following table. The legislation about the Indies was a work of the Hapsburgs. Felipe II 1573 Ordinances, and the 1680 Recopilacion are issued before the Bourbon era.

**Hapsburg Model
XVI-XVII Centuries**

1. Discovery and colonization at the expense of the colonizer.
2. Agreement for the new colonization done with the king. Casa de Contratacion.
3. Recruitment of 100 families from the kingdoms of Castilla and Aragon.
4. Compromise to found two to three cities in less than four years
5. Land and Indian labor granted to the new Governor and settlers.
6. Promise of Nobility Title as compensation for a good performance of the new Governor.
7. Rights of the new Governor to assemble a Mayorazgo. (Entailed estate).
8. Right to the new Governor to appoint Justices, and majors. Right to inherit Governorship to son.

**Bourbon Model
XVIII Century**

1. Same
2. Usually with the Viceroy
3. Settlers were usually taken from adjacent provinces. Planned number of families agreed by both the government and the new governor.
4. Planning for higher number of towns done by government and the appointed governor.
5. Land grants, no Indian labor granted.
6. Same
7. Same
8. Same

The Bourbons were to increase the exploitation of the colonies, to establish

new priorities of government, to expel the Jesuits of Spain and the colonies, and to face the Independence wars of their American dominions. These were the preconditions existing before the colonization of Nuevo Santander, as well as the implicit and explicit needs for the immediate control of the empty territory.

Economic priorities caused by recurrent European wars demanded a more intense exploitation of the colonies. The basis for richness was extractive not productive. A larger area under control meant a higher possibilities for extraction. More intense extraction meant more richness. To the huge needs, the adequate solution was the more intense exploitation. The needs of territorial occupation required a higher and more intensive number of settlements and cities: timing was essential.

THE GOVERNMENT

Chapter 2

The Government

2.1 New Policies for Colonization

A new settlement policy is practiced by the Bourbon dynasty in the eighteenth century: Intensive occupation of empty territories in the colonies. Territorial appropriation is achieved through government planned-financed colonizations. Such was the case of Nuevo Santander. New economic and defensive priorities superseded previous priorities of religious conversion.

The key institution for colonization was the Government. Thirteen villages were founded in the first two years of settlement in Nuevo Santander 1748-49. A total of twenty-three were to be completed by the end of 1755. The rate of foundations in the eighteenth century is not only more intense but there is a change in the Settlement Policies and priorities of the Government. The new preeminences are expressed by Escandon, the colonizer of Nuevo Santander, in a communique to the central government.

“...In the new colony [of Nuevo Santander], the rules prescribed by the Laws [of the Indies] for the new conversion of the Indians must not be followed because this settlement has been formed by cities and Villages of Spaniards, and the Indians have to be reputed as aggregated and subordinated to the Justice representatives in them...” (Archivo1, 1929, Vol.1,197)

However in matters of public image, the Crown still kept alive the idea of Christian conversions as the main motive for colonization. The friars did not

realize their diminished power which was made evident after a missional failure due to lack of governmental support.

In the mid eighteenth century the Viceroy's were able to commission new discoveries. Law III, III, 28 of Indies declares:

“We grant faculty to the Viceroy's for when even being prohibited to grant new discoveries, pacifications, and populations [settlements], they may do it if necessary in the purpose of the peace, calmness or pacification. We allow them to appoint, the persons... more suited for the purpose. We mandate the Viceroy's and Oidores to extend them the necessary titles and instructions, for being the main motives the [territorial] expansion, [and] the instruction of the doctrine of our Holy Catholic Faith; be the naturals well treated.”

There were two main objectives to be reached: (1) The appropriation of the uncontrolled territory by the creation of settlements of 'colonos', and (2) The clustering the nomadic natives in missions concentrations. Indian Missions were units of control of Indians. The territorial occupation goal was to be successfully achieved. New towns of Spaniards were established. On the other hand, the missional activity failed. Indian settlements at mission sites did not succeed. The natives were to be ultimately exterminated in a struggle of more than seventy years of fight and hostility. (Zorrilla, 1976, 8)

2.2 Planning Stages Of Colonization

I will proceed to the revision the process of colonization as planned and executed by the Viceregal government in 1748. First it is necessary to analyze the causes that generated the change of policy in the new Government.

The war of succession culminated with the ascension to the Spanish Crown of Felipe V. It was the end of the Hapsburg dynasty, but also a new Bourbon era for Spain and its colonies. As a consequence of this change, the bureaucracy transmuted from aristocracy to a new technocracy. A new meritocratic system operated as a general principle. Government posts were to be occupied by technicians rather than by aristocrats. Spain was in war. It had a huge continent with uncolonized areas. The choice for the government was either to become more efficient, or be doomed to lose the new territories to other countries. This need to control and secure more territory with minimum expenses brought as a result a more efficient government and the appearance of a change in priorities and policies. Colonization was to be more intensive both in time and in extension. This is reflected in the policy-making documents prepared for the Mexican Viceroy by the Marques de Altamira, regarding the colonization of the Sierra Gorda or South Nuevo Santander. The documents provide a precise account of how the planning stages for the colonization of the new territory were to be conducted. Juan Rodriguez de Albuerno, Marques of Altamira, was to typify this new high-ranking generation of well informed, ad-hoc trained, independent and powerful Viceregal bureaucrats. He planned the colonization of the new region. Later, the government was to order an Inspection of it, a feedback mechanism.

2.2.1 Reconnaissance Of The Territory

The steps for colonization included preliminary exploration followed by the settlement process. The explorer of the territory was to be preferred for the governership of the settlement under the condition of his previous good services.

The following government report was prepared for the Viceroy concerning the planning stages of the colonization of Nuevo Santander. These are the instructions of Rodriguez de Albuerno, Minister of War, to survey the territory in three sectors:

“...**One from south to north**, [from the Panuco River] to the mouth of the Rio Grande river (also called Rio Bravo), **another** from the Bahia del Espiritu Santo [Matagorda Bay, TX USA], to the same mouth of the river [Rio Grande], in such a way that those in charge of the reconnaissance be able to meet at once in one and the other riversides at its mouth in the Seno Mexicano [Gulf of Mexico]. Both reconnaissances will need sufficient people to register and examine accurately the traveled terrain in its entire width, from the coast of the said Seno Mexicano [Gulf of Mexico] to the already pacified and populated [western lands of Nuevo Leon], stating the existing distances, plains, valleys, canyons, mountains, rivers, streams, [drinking] water sources, sites for settlements [pueblos], farmlands, pasture, number of barbaric Indians, their families, their nations, and any other important issues...To don Joaquin de Orobio, capitan of the said Bay [Espiritu Santo, see map p. 51], it could be delegated the reconnaissance of the territory beginning there at the Bahia [and moving southward] to the aforesaid mouth of the Rio Bravo river, ordering also to the [Spanish] governor of Texas that from his Presidio [garrison post, named] ‘de los Adays,’ to send twenty five ‘presidiales’ to accompany don Joaquin [de Orobio], with some other twenty [soldiers] from said Presidio of the Bahia so that he [Jose de Orobio] may go back. Be also ordered to Don Pedro de Rabago Teran Governor of Coahuila [Mexico] to assign an experienced individual he trusts upon, who with twenty five soldiers from [the Presidio] San Francisco de Coahuila, with the largest available amount of residents [vecinos] he may recruit, ...[together with] the new soldiers destined to the missions of San Antonio de Bexar [TEXAS] to do a similar reconnaissance of the settled and pacified areas within that Province of Coahuila, along the Sabinas River, entering later to the said Rio Grande,

following to where the Nueces Rivers mingles in, and meeting in that site, the Captain from the Bahia [and his soldiers], so that together [the troops] proceed to the said Rio Bravo river mouth. **A third expedition shall be delegated to the Teniente de Capitan General [Jose del Escandon, beginning from the [southernmost part of the] said Sierra Gorda [Eastern Sierra Madre], Villa de Valles [TAMS], and seaports of Panuco and Tampico [TAMS] to the same Rio Grande del Norte or Bravo mouth rendezvous site,** where he shall meet the Captain of the Bahia, having according previously about their respective departure and meeting dates. [What follows are the most revealing data of the document...] Since it is ordered by the Laws of the Indies 1, 4, 6, and 8 Title IV, Book IV that by soft means attain the friendship of the naturals, [this is an almost direct copy of the law] giving them some things of their preference, without craving for theirs or taking them without payment, and thus establishing friendship with the principal Indians that be of importance for their pacification. **And if being enough for the pacification the religious friars, no other person who may be obtrusive shall enter,** [this is also a direct copy of the Laws of Indies], and that in the new discoveries, the word 'conquista' be not mentioned and 'pacificacion' and 'poblacion' [settlement] be used instead [this is one of the first Laws of Indies]. Consequently, the said Teniente de Capitan Escandon and the Captain from the Bay, shall be prevented, to make it public by 'bando' [edict] to their people [about the treatment to the Indians, the transgressors were to] be punished with the penalty of life...The Governor of Coahuila and the Captain of the Bay, do order to all the governors, Alcaldes Mayores (city Majors), Justicias, [Justice representatives], Military Officers, Corporals [Cabos -- usually the second in command of a town], and military Soldiers, and to any other persons, under the most grave punishment, not to impede by any

means such reconnaissances, or any other of the related proceedings, but on the contrary to provide all the help and favor, which will be taken into account for its fair and proper compensation...and do communicate [it also] to the Marques del Castillo de Aiza [land holder of huge extensions of pasture land within Nuevo Santander], so that his people may help, since his lands will be crossed [by the expeditionaries]....” (Velazquez2, 1976, 62)

This was the plan of the Auditor de Guerra, Marques de Altamira for the colonization of the Nuevo Santander. The text above establishes a firm evidence that colonization of the new territory was planned by Government. The fact becomes even more explicit by the presence of four projects presented to the authorities for the colonization of the land.

2.3 Projects For Colonization

According to the preceding document, in 1746 Jose de Escandon had already been commissioned to implement the future settlement. There were four projects for the colonization of the same territory including the one by Escandon.

1. One was presented by the Governor of the adjacent Nuevo Reino de Leon, Jose Fernandez de Jauregui.
2. A second one by Narciso Barquin de Montecuesta, former Alcalde Mayor (city Major) of the Villa de Valles -- one of the towns at the southern end of the new territory.
3. The third project was by Don Antonio Ladron de Guevara, settler of

Nuevo Leon, writer of a book about that province. He traveled to Madrid to defend his proposal.

4. The fourth project was presented by Jose de Escandon. Escandon's proposal was the one selected.

There had been at least two previous independent expeditions into the territory before the projects were presented. Ladron de Guevara conducted one of the excursions. He presented his proposal in Spain, and obtained Royal recommendation for the task.

The presentation of several projects generated a order by the King for the creation of a Commission formed by the Viceroy of the New Spain, some Oidores of the Viceregal Council, and the other officials to select "...the person judged to be the most suited for the [official] expedition, providing him with the necessary assistance..." (Zorrilla, 1976,25). The Royal Cedula also recommended the project of Ladron de Guevara.

The following analysis of the selection process aims to find out if the basis for the decisional strategy employed to determine that Escandon's project was the best suited. We know that Guevara's project had the royal recommendation, but it is also known that he had one bad point against him. He favored the 'congregation' -- a local euphemism meaning slavery -- of the Indians.

Why one might ask, was the project of Escandon selected? There have been suggestions that it happened as a result of his personal contacts in the Viceregal administration. The following paragraphs attempt to find out the true rationale behind the selection by examining the section dynamics testing them vis-a-vis with the legal prescriptions of the Laws of Indies. Both the appointment of Escandon and the selection of the project shall be clarified.

2.3.1 Analysis Of Project Selection Procedures

A change of Viceroy took place when the project selection was being discussed. One has to remember the rotational characteristics of the high Spanish Bureaucracy. Although the following Viceroy was new, the new Bourbon bureaucrats provided the much needed continuity. The Marques of Altamira was informed about the issues. His judgement seems to be key factor in the final assignment of the colonization project. I have assumed that his decisions should have been supported in the law, but the analysis will provide a definite judgment.

The revision of the Laws of Indies provides a basic insight of the elements for decision-making very likely employed by Marques de Altamira. On the Chapter dealing with Discoverers Pacificators, and Settlers, Law number 4 of Book IV Title VI, proclaims:

“Do favor the discoverers pacificators and settlers and persons who have been in our service.... Favor the first discoverers of the Indies and other persons who would have served and worked in the discovery, pacification and population, by employing them and giving them preference in the matters of our Royal Service, so that they may serve us, and be placed according to the quality of their persons wherever necessary....”

The authors of the four projects were all in the Royal Service, but Guevara already had the Royal recommendation. The analysis of Escandon's project should be considered against the recommended project to determine why this was not the implemented one.

Escandon had participated the previous decade in the pacification and re-population of some abandoned Mission sites in the south part of the Sierra Gorda

[Eastern Sierra Madre in the 1740's]. This is shown in his Relation of Merits, later submitted for the granting of the Nobiliary title of Count:

“...1728: Finds a settlement of fifty families in the Sierra Gorda.

1734: Pacifies rebellion of more than 10,000 Indians in the village of San Miguel el Grande [San Miguel de Allende QRO]

1740: Appointed Coronel of the Regiment (being previously Sergeant Major).

1741: Appointed Teniente de Capitan General of the Sierra Gorda and its Frontiers [Nuevo Santander]. Since 1740 conducts four ‘entradas’ [incursions] for pacification and repopulation...” (Archivo1, 1929, vol.1, 303).

Marques of Altamira in his communication of Aug 27 1746 also notifies the Viceroy about Escandon's previous activities:

“...by then the Coronel of the Regiment of Queretaro [city] and Teniente de Capitan General of the Sierra Gorda had managed the total pacification of the territory [southern part of Nuevo Santander near the City of Queretaro where Escandon was stationed at the time], having done it at his own expense, without any expenses of the Royal Exchequer whatsoever...” (Velazquez2, 1976, 59).

By Law, all discoveries were conducted at the expense of individuals and never of the Royal Crown.

Another document found in the Archivo General de La Nacion in Mexico City provides a later account of the activities of Escandon in the Sierra Gorda and of the decisions taken by the Auditor Marques de Altamira, “...Because in four general incursions to the Sierra Gorda conducted at his own expense and without any

expense of the Royal Exchequer [Real Hacienda], the Theniente (sic) de Capitan General of it, Coronel of the Military Regiment of the City of Queretaro, Don Jose de Escandon...had visited the twenty six missions of the Sierra Gorda and Custodia of the Rio Verde river, founding and renaming eight of them, bettering and augmenting them....” (Velazquez2, 1976, 36-37)

Escandon seemed to be an experienced man in pacification matters, having performed the pacification of the Sierra Gorda. Ladron de Guevara, who usually showed himself accompanied by Indians in Nuevo Leon, had prepared his book about the towns of Nuevo Leon to demonstrate his qualifications and knowledge of Pacification issues. Fernandez and Barquin did not seem to have had special personal experience in pacification issues, although Fernandez also wrote a book about the Nuevo Reyno de Leon. This province still experienced Indian problems, which obviously neither one of them had been able to solve.

The final decision for the selection of the Project came

“...On September 3, 1748, [when] the Viceroy Francisco de Guemes y Horcasitas Conde de Revillagigedo, appointed Don Jose de Escandon: Teniente del Virrey in the Coast of the Seno Mexicano, [The Viceroy’s Lieutenant in the Gulf of Mexico’s coast] ...rejecting Don Antonio Ladron de Guevara for the task in consideration of his being a person of doubtful honesty, being notorious for his scandals [promiscuity] among the Indian [women] of that frontier... and because honest persons of that frontier, assure that he is linked to Hacendados [Hacienda land-owners] to establish in that [new] colony the congregas....” (Montemayor, 1979, intro)

The ‘congregas’, concentration of Indians, were the opprobrious form of slavery instituted in the neighbor kingdom of Nuevo Leon, by the first Governor and

settlers, causing great upheaval and decimation among the native population. Indian slavery had been abolished several times.

It is apparent that the Crown was not willing to face this old problem anymore. In the past, the forbidden Indian slavery first practiced locally in the 1580's, had contributed to the failure of two colonizations: Nuevo Reino de Leon and Nueva Vizcaya. The Indian insurrection and attacks to the new Spanish settlements had caused their eventual depopulation, with the consequent lack of land holding for the Viceregal authorities. In those times of urgent defensive priorities and extreme territorial control needs, the Viceregal authorities were not willing to risk the colonization of Nuevo Santander by the replication of old problems. Although Guevara's project was rejected, he served in the settlement implementation under the watchful eye of Escandon. When the actual settlement expeditions took place, Guevara was in charge of the group of families who having resided in Nuevo Leon, were to become first settlers of some of Nuevo Santander's villages.

The Laws of Indies and Escandon's previous record of Pacification of the Sierra Gorda were the key factors for his appointment. Nevertheless what is more relevant at this point, has been to observe how the technical efficiency-oriented Bourbon government operated. From the examples above, it seems that the old aristocratic decision-making process was a thing of the past. The new technocracy was in charge and working.

2.4 Implementation Of Settlement

The actual implementation expeditions were carried out as previously planned. The groups of settlers and soldiers were formed and departed for the new villages and to the rendezvous point. The newly appointed

“...Viceroy Revillagigedo, ordered the Governor of Nuevo Leon, to give the necessary assistance to his Teniente [Escandon. The Nuevo Leon group of settlers and soldiers, was commanded by Don Antonio Ladron de Guevara] having departed from San Felipe de Linares on January 28 1749, with 23 soldiers and the military squadron of the San Pedro Boca de Leones Presidio, seventy families [of settlers], and five Indian guides.” (Montemayor, 1979, XXI).

(One must realize that roads of any sort into the new territory were completely non-existent).

“...[Early] in the month of December [1748] Escandon [had] departed from Queretaro with 750 soldiers and presidiales, a huge number of Spanish ‘vecinos’ and Christian Indians, which with women and children made altogether more than 2,500 [persons]....” (Zorrilla, 1976, 26).

“On February 2 [1749, Guevara’s]...Indian guides made the first contact with the expedition commanded by Escandon. Once together, they continued the inspection of the region, having been attacked by the belligerent natives who were always repelled.... [On February 17, 1749, they founded the Villa de los Cinco Senores [Santander Ximenez, TAMS]. Later on Don Antonio [Ladron de Guevara], and Don Jose [de Escandon having left the families they carried in a camp], departed northward with fifty soldiers, arriving to the

[Rio Grande del] Norte river on February 24 [1749], and camped on the south riverside [present Mexican border river side, on a site] 22 leagues [60 mi-100km. west] of the Gulf coast. In this place they [awaited to meet] the expedition coming from the Gulf [Bahia del Espiritu Santo, Texas]....” (Montemayor, 1979, XXI)

Escandon had founded the first town two months before he reached the rendezvous point. He had founded Villa de Llera on December 24, 1748. Twelve new villages were founded under his orders during the first twelve months of settlement campaign. Escandon was supposed to establish two additional villages in the present territory of Texas. Bedoya and Santa Dorotea were never founded. On June 13 1749, in the middle of intensive settlement work, Escandon sent a report to the Viceroy from Queretaro.

“...Of [the village] Santa Dorotea [to be located in the vicinity of the Presidio de los Adays, in what is now Texas], I have no news, and I do not expect them until it rains, since the prevailing drought is so severe that even drinking water cannot be found along the pathways, or even men who are willing to travel. However I have no doubt that Captain Basterra, is already ‘in situ,’ at the Presidio and Mission del Espiritu Santo Bay, as ordered to him. The Villa de Bedoya in the Nueces River [Texas], was among the last to be recruited [for settlers], but he [the assigned captain also] gathered ‘his fifty families of pobladores’ and the squadron of soldiers among the best of those who were willing to go; The scarcity of maize and the pandemic [epizootic] of the horses generated by the lack of grass are [the reasons because of which] he had to delay his journey. But, he has communicated me that he did the journey and I suppose he should have been there by May 15 [1749]. Signed, Jose de Escandon. Queretaro and June 13 1749.”
(Archivo2, 1931, Volume 2, 290-291)

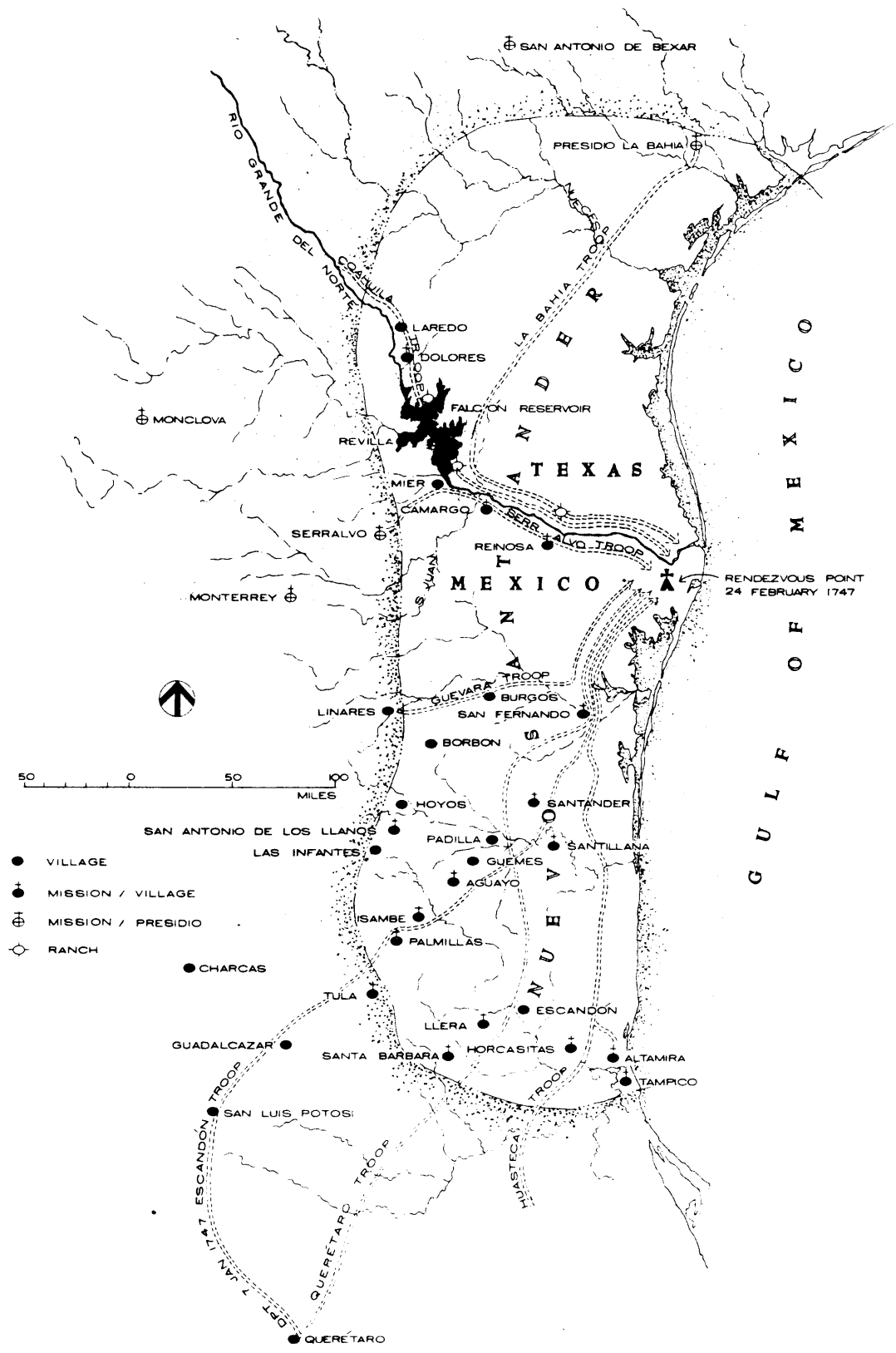


Figure 2-1: Map of Nuevo Santander Redrawn from 1792 Plan

Settlement Expeditions.

Escandon established more towns than those originally planned by him and the Viceregal government. Several scattered ranches that existed along the Rio Grande del Norte, and other unorganized settlements located at the foothills of the Eastern Sierra Madre in the vicinity of Tula, were formalized by Escandon without any expense at all from the Royal Exchequer. The already low unitary cost achieved by Escandon for the establishment of a town was reduced even more. It seems that the momentum generated by the initial settlement of towns, spread the news rapidly among the ranchers scattered in several parts of the territory, who in different occasions met with Escandon to have their settlements recognized, legalized, and hoping to enjoy the benefits that the new settlers were entitled to: ten years free of any taxes, distribution of urban and rural land in addition to the implicit recognition from the government for their service.

Several Question Arise From the Document, Such As:

- 1. What was the original number of families per town, as planned and as implemented?** Was there any difference? The planned number of families per town has not been clearly defined in the consulted documents. I assume that such data should exist in unexplored documents in the National Archives of Mexico or in the Indias Archive of Sevilla; further research shall provide an answer. All we know is that Guevara transported 70 families of settlers and Captain Basterra recruited 50 families for the town of Bedoya, but it is also know that the town of Laredo was founded with less than 10 families. No definite conclusions can be formulated from Escandon's declarations about the overall number of families that entered the territory.

2. Was there a pre-established unitary cost of foundation for each

town to be settled? Escandon mentions having submitted a minimum number of families as needed to accomplish the settlement of the territory. These families were to receive 'ayuda de costa' or financial help to settle. This expenditure is included in the overall settlement expenses. It is known how much was spent, but since the amount of financial help given to the settlers of different towns was not the same, it is not possible to determine the number of settlers for each town this way, or the cost of founding a town. Escandon also declared that more families settled the land than was originally intended.

3. Was there a policy of economic incentives for the new settlers?

There was a determined and explicit policy for the new settlers. It was first established in the 1573 Ordinances 104, 105, 106. Later these Ordinances were incorporated in the 1680 Recopilacion. In 1748 during the colonization of Nuevo Santander the same law was applicable. It is the first Law of Book IV Title XII which observes:

"To the new settlers lands shall be given, as well as urban lots, and encomiendas of Indians [distribution of forced Indian labor]....To motivate our vassals to the discovery, and settlement of the Indies, and being our desire that they can live with commodity and convenience, it is Our will that may be distributed, and be distributed house-land-lots, cavalierias lands and peonies lands, to all whom would go to

settle new lands in the Pueblos and Sites to be assigned by the Governor of the new Population. A distinction shall be made among Escuderos, infantry, and those of lesser grades and merits, according to the quality of their services so that they can take care of the cultivation of land and livestock raising. Having built their dwellings and done their cultivation and residing four years in those towns, we grant them faculty from then on, to sell them [the distributed lands] as things of their ownership, and the Governor or whoever would have our faculty, shall distribute 'encomiendas' [forced labor of Indians] in the overall repartition made..."

Indian forced labor had been already abolished. It never existed in Nuevo Santander, as a promise for the new settlers. I found in the list of settlers for the towns only one settler, coming from Nuevo Leon who declared to own one slave.

Relevant facts stated in the document above include the declaration of 50 families per town, but as previously discussed it is not constant; the presence of the soldiers is also relevant, and of scattered individual settlers in the territory specially in the plains along the Rio Grande, as well as the pattern of incentives given to the new settlers following the ideas prescribed by the Laws of Indies.

Having reviewed aspects of the planning and implementation of the colonization I will proceed to the presentation of some plans of the towns. All the villages founded by Escandon followed the grid-plaza layout.

2.5 The Towns Layout

How were the towns built? Were there preconceived town plans for the villages? Were they built following a common knowledge of how a town should be without having a previously elaborated plan?

In 1757, when the Inspection to the colony ordered by the Viceroy took place, the descriptions of the town and the declarations collected by Don Jose Tienda de Cuervo, and the engineer Don Agustin Lopez de la Camara Alta, provide one of the most interesting documents to find out the stage of construction generated in the 5 to 9 year old towns.

The Laws of Indies in this respect recommended immediate construction activities after the village foundation. "Having sown, [the land], shall the settlers commence to build" This is in Law XV of Settlement in the Laws of Indies which corresponds to Felipe II Ordinance number 132.

"After having the land sown with seeds and livestock placed in good quantity and disposition...They shall start with utmost care and laboriousness to establish and build their houses of good foundations and walls, and be provided with mud-bricks molds [tapiales], woodboards and all other convenient tools needed to build diligently and at low cost."

The inspection conducted by Cuervo and Camara Alta, describes the towns in some cases as without order and others with apparent order and good constructions around the plaza space. These indicators suggest that disorganized shacks of the earliest settlements were incrementally substituted by constructions of more permanent materials, and in a more organized layout following a preconceived plan.

2.5.1 Confusion About Town Plans

Before introducing the plans of the towns I shall address the issue of previous confusion and misunderstanding that generally has existed about old town-plans. This misinterpretation regards their representation and their contents. Do old town-plans in general represent an a-priori will of how the new village was to be built? or is it a-posteriori expression of how it was actually built?

It has been questioned if the plans for a town were actually drawn after some actual construction of the city had been already done. The inquiry stems from the fact that for some other colonizations no original plans have ever been found.

Other precarious and baseless assumptions about Spanish town's layout have been developed around the partial basis of the Ordinances of 1573. Many well intentioned and serious works studying the layouts of villages lack the needed incisiveness because of their fragmentary knowledge of the Recopilacion de Leyes de Indias, issued in 1680. The Royal Ordinances for the Layout of Towns issued by Felipe II in 1573, and the Recopilacion of 1680, are two different things. The Ordinances of Felipe II correspond to preliminary stages of colonization. The more comprehensive Recopilacion has includes not only the accumulated foundational experience, but more refined urban knowledge, and other legal ordinances are later structured and compiled in. The previous experience acquired by the Spanish institutions is reflected into the more complete 1680 compilation. The validity and use of the 1573 Ordinances ended in practice when the 1680 Recopilacion was issued. The latter remained valid until the independence of the colonies at the beginning of the nineteenth century. By assuming that the Ordinances and the Recopilacion are the same some analysis of urban layouts and of other urban related issues have arrived at erroneous conclusions. The use of obsolete or fragmentary legal information has created unnecessary confusion.

Endless sterile discussions about layout issues aimed to explain the *raison d'être* of the orthogonal layout form of Spanish America settlements are generally based in a small section of the 1573 Ordinances. Urban Design issues are not the ultimate objective of the Laws of Indies, nonetheless they are implicit in the Laws. Towns however, were not laid out without any preconceived plan as some uninformed specialists have asserted. I found out that for the foundation of a town, both the 1573 Ordinances and the 1680 Recopilacion required the previous preparation of a Plan for every new town to be established. The exploratory expeditions served the purpose of site selection and preliminary layout conception. Town plans were actually carried when the settlement took place. Cities were not to be designed *in situ*, but in advance.

A careful analysis of the original Ordinances issued by Felipe II, could have shed some light in this issue long time ago. In the Laws of Indies, Law XI, title VII of Book IV, registers in its title "The land lots shall be distributed by sortition [i.e. drawing chances -- *suertes*]." The body of this Law, indicates: "Distribute the land lots by drawing chances to the settlers, continuing from those [parcels] destined for the main Plaza, and the rest do remain for Us to grant them to those who went to settle, or whatever Our will be: **And We mandate to always carry, already made, the Plant [layout] of the place to be founded.**" (Recopilacion 1680, Libro IV, Titulo VII, Ley XI).

This was an old disposition already present in Felipe II's Ordinance 127 of 1573 which urged to carry "already made" the plant of the town to be established. A plant is the drawing of ground layout in an orthogonal view from above.

What the situation was in Nuevo Santander in this regard can be found in an inedit proceeding of the Foundation of Santa Maria de Aguayo [Ciudad Victoria, TAMS present day capital of the state]. "...the construction of the houses be

done according to the manner that his Lordship (Escandon) has indicated, and subject to the measurements of the map he left to Captain Olarazan for the purpose....” (Zorrilla, 1976, 150) In this new internal colony, the Captain, who also acted as the town’s political representative, was also responsible for the building of the town, according to a previously designed plan.

Another instance can be found in the proceedings for the foundation of the town of Laredo [now Texas]. In 1755, when Thomas de Sanchez petitioned through Jose Vasquez Borrego permission to found a town to be incorporated to the Nuevo Santander. Escandon’s answer was “...to start the settlement near the Nueces River... granting him license to do it in the name of His Majesty. **To found the Villa of Laredo... for which ordered formation a Map (village layout plan) is being sent,** as well as the title of Capitan....” (Velazquez1, 1974, 139-140)

These examples show that the layouts for the towns were prepared in advance for each site. They were used for the building of the town, and there was a person responsible for the construction of the town. This illustrates another aspect of the role of the government participation as an active planning entity in the colonization of Nuevo Santander.

2.5.2 Selected Town Plans

Fifteen of the original plans for the Nuevo Santandar towns are preserved in the National Archives of Mexico City, with the rest of the original government documents of the colonization process. Two town-plans are found in the Indias Archive at Sevilla, while a very important and accurate large plan of the region which includes the plans of the villages is held in England, and no copies are available for study. This last document would be a key element for a more complete evaluation of the physical evolution of the two to six-year-old villages.

Here, I will present a group of selected original plans of Nuevo Santander cities face to face with a present day city-plan. I expect to complement the previous discussions about town layouts with the presentation of this graphic material. I here suggest that the original drawings of the towns were prepared after the exploration expeditions but before the actual settlements were done. From the documents it is apparent that the sites were selected with anticipation and evaluated very likely according to the legal indications of the Laws of Indies.

This is one of the most complete laws for the selection of sites. Book IV, Title V, Law I. "OF SETTLEMENTS"

"The lands and Provinces selected for Population shall have the following qualities: We order that having decided to Populate one Province or District of those under our control or after being discovered the settlers consider and be advised that the land be healthy by observing:

humans	If very old men are found there and that young ones have good complexion, disposition and color.
animals	If the animals are healthy and of good size,
fruits	And good and abundant fruits and food supplies and lands appropriate for agriculture and crops. [Also], if poisonous things grow in the area.
atmosphere	If the sky is clear and benign, the air pure and soft without impediments or alterations.
temperature	If the temperature is without excessive heat or coldness and if you must choose one, select the cold weather.
pasture lands	If there are pasture lands to raise livestock, mountains and trees for fuel and wood, and materials for house and building.
water	If there are many and good waters to drink and irrigate.

Indians Indians to whom the gospel may be preached since it is the first motive of our intentions. Having found that these things are found or the main qualities here expressed, proceed to the population keeping the laws of this book.

2.6 Land

In the new villages of Nuevo Santander, land was assigned and delimited, but not legally distributed. Distribution and property titles were to be done during the 1760's, after Escandon's renounce. The urban land was laid out and the rest remained for 'ejido', pasture land, and agriculture. According to the Laws of Indies Law VI Book IV title V, if the settlement was accomplished properly, the village would be given "...four leagues in square of term and territory..." the Governor responsible for the new territory, would be eligible to own one fourth of the land. According to the law the realm was to be

"...divided among he who makes the agreement [Capitulacion] and the settlers...First reserve the necessary land lots for the Pueblo and 'ejido' [hinterland] and common land [for Pasture]... another tract of land of the same size for the common agricultural land [proprios]. **The rest of the land be divided in four parts, one of them at his choice, be for the one who has the obligation to build the town, and the remaining land be distributed in equal parts...[in lottery, and be as many lots as existing in the town]...for the settlers to be...**" (Law VII), "...and the rest remain empty, for Us to grant to those who later went to settle (Law XIII)."

It is the first Law of Book IV Title XII which observes:

"To the new settlers lands shall be given, as well as urban lots, and

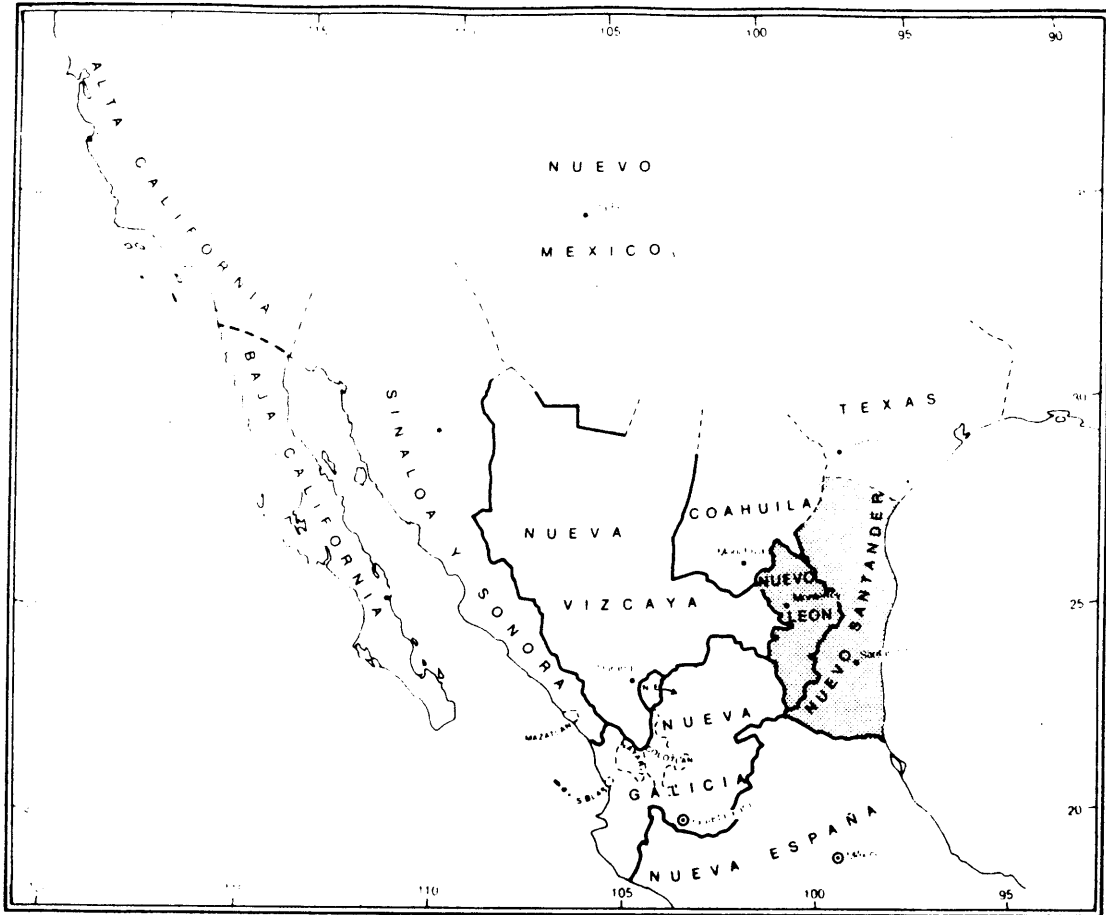
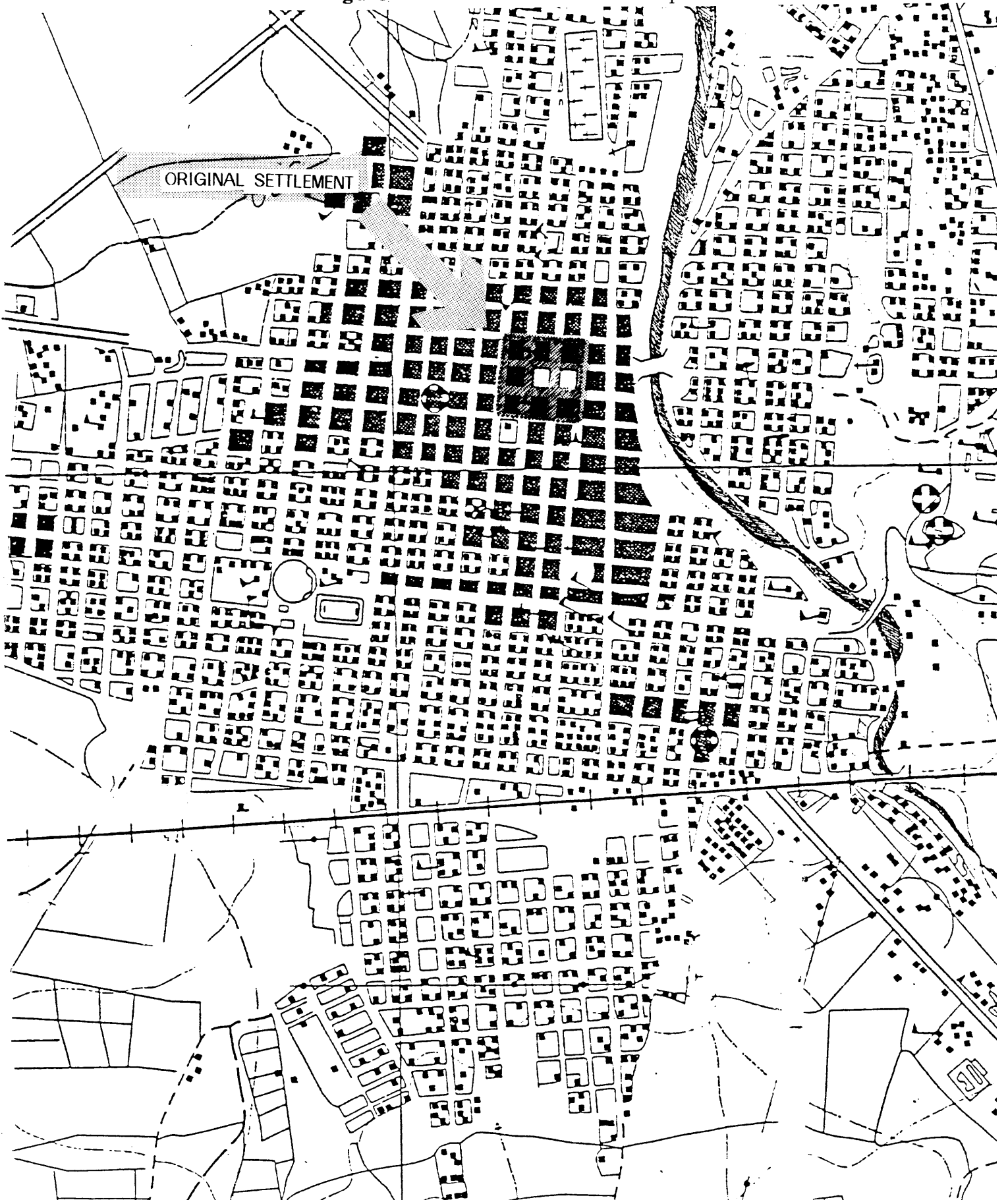


Figure 2-2: Plan Of Nuevo Santander in 1786

Figure 2-4: Ciudad Victoria Tamaulipas



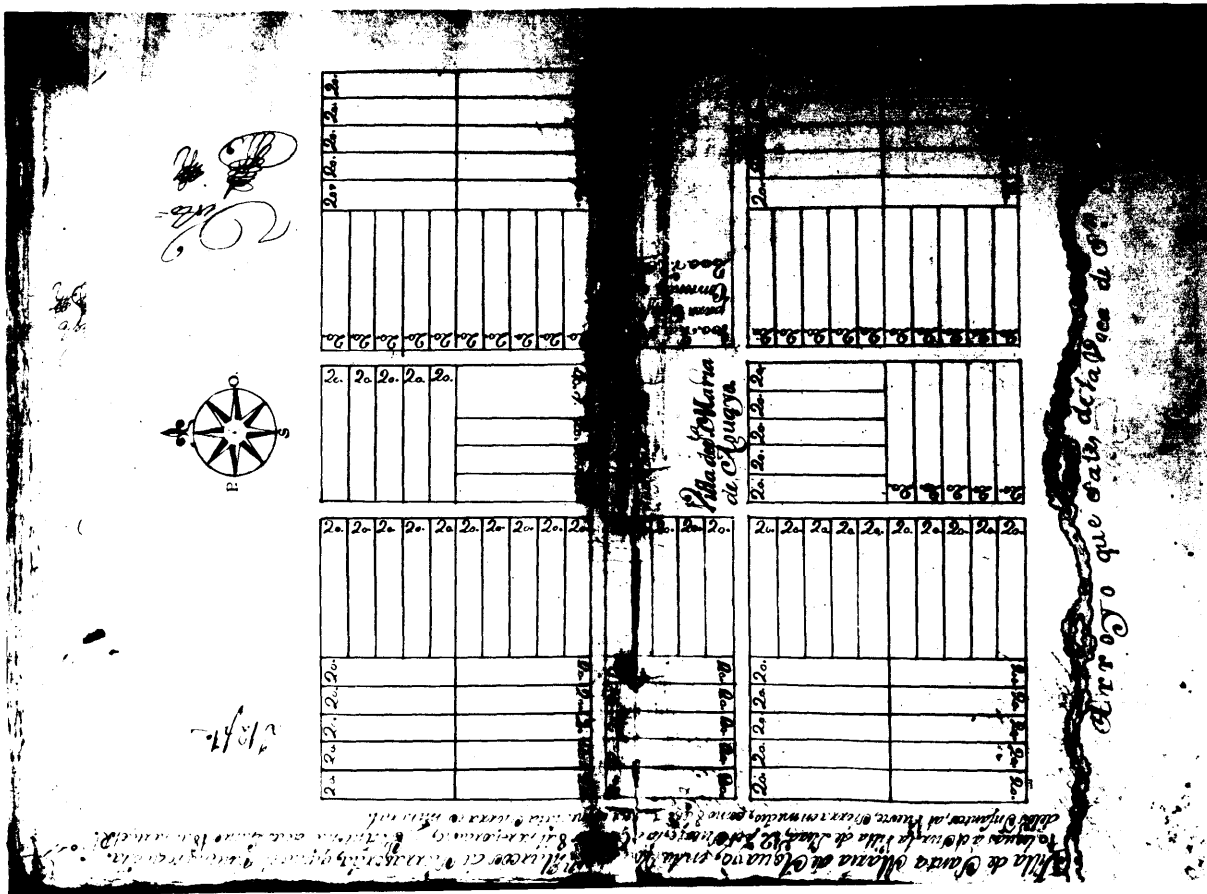


Figure 2-5: Villa de Santa Maria de Aguayo; Original Plan



Figure 2-6: San Fernando Tamaulipas

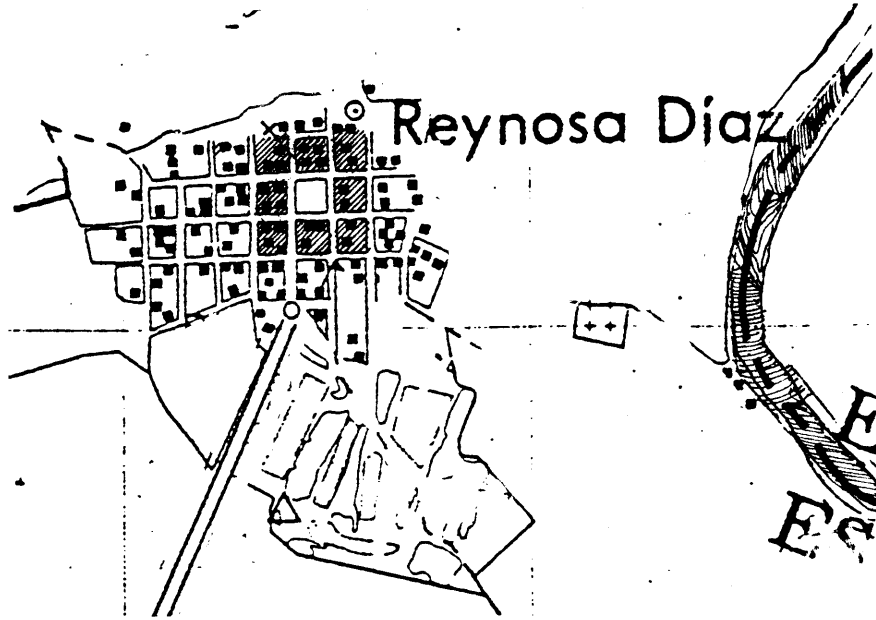


Figure 2-8: Reynosa Diaz

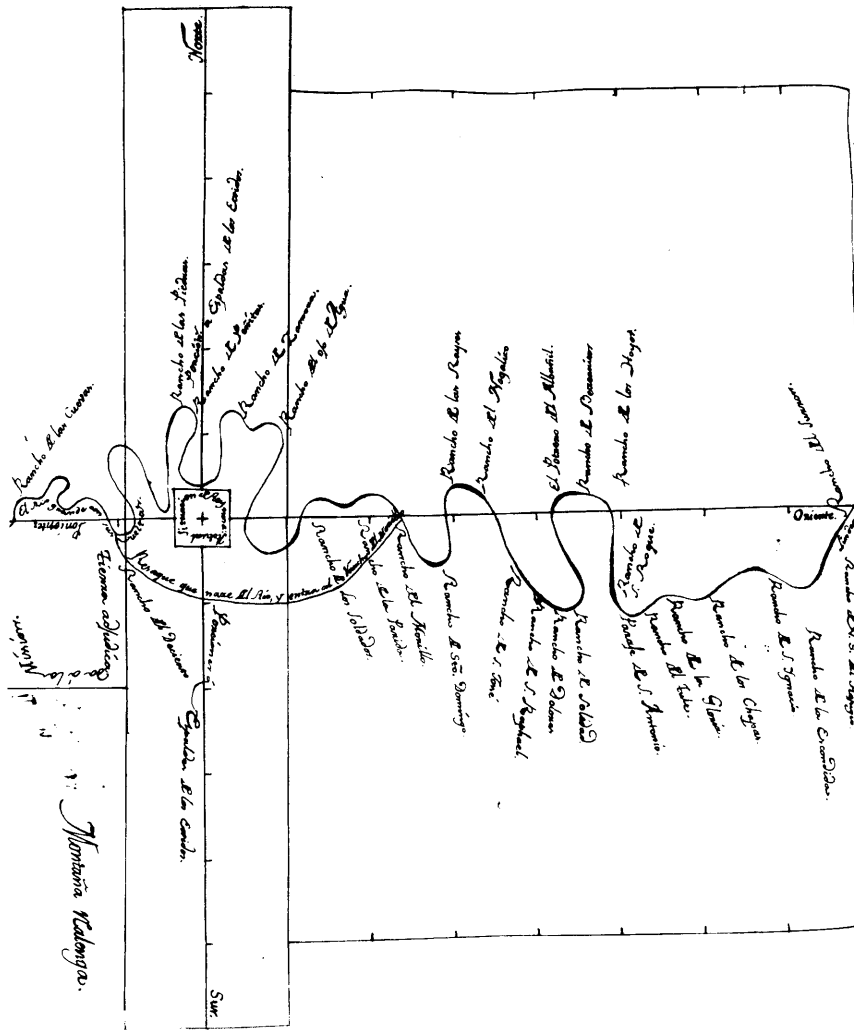


Figure 2-9: Reynosa. Map for the relocation of the Villa, 1801

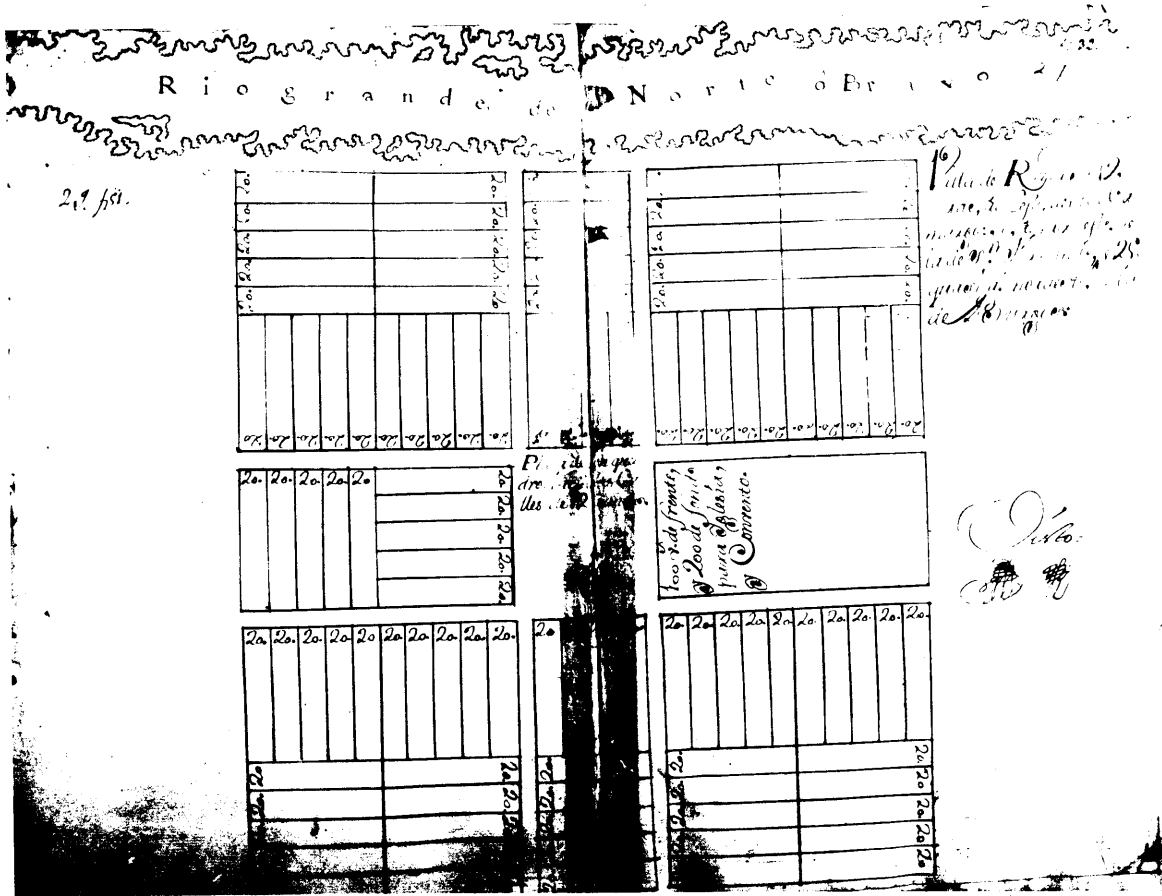


Figure 2-9 A: Villa de Reynosa. Original Plan 1750.

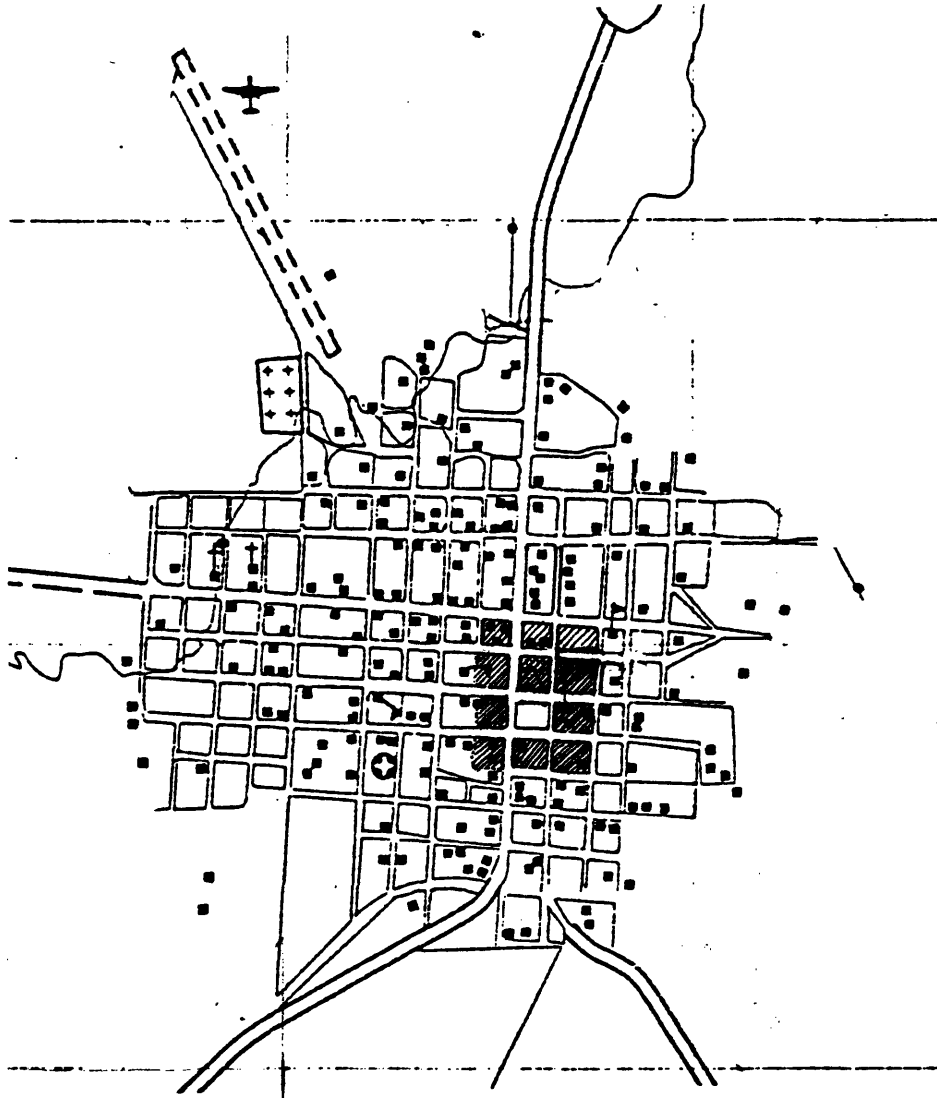


Figure 2-10: Santander Jimenez Tamaulipa

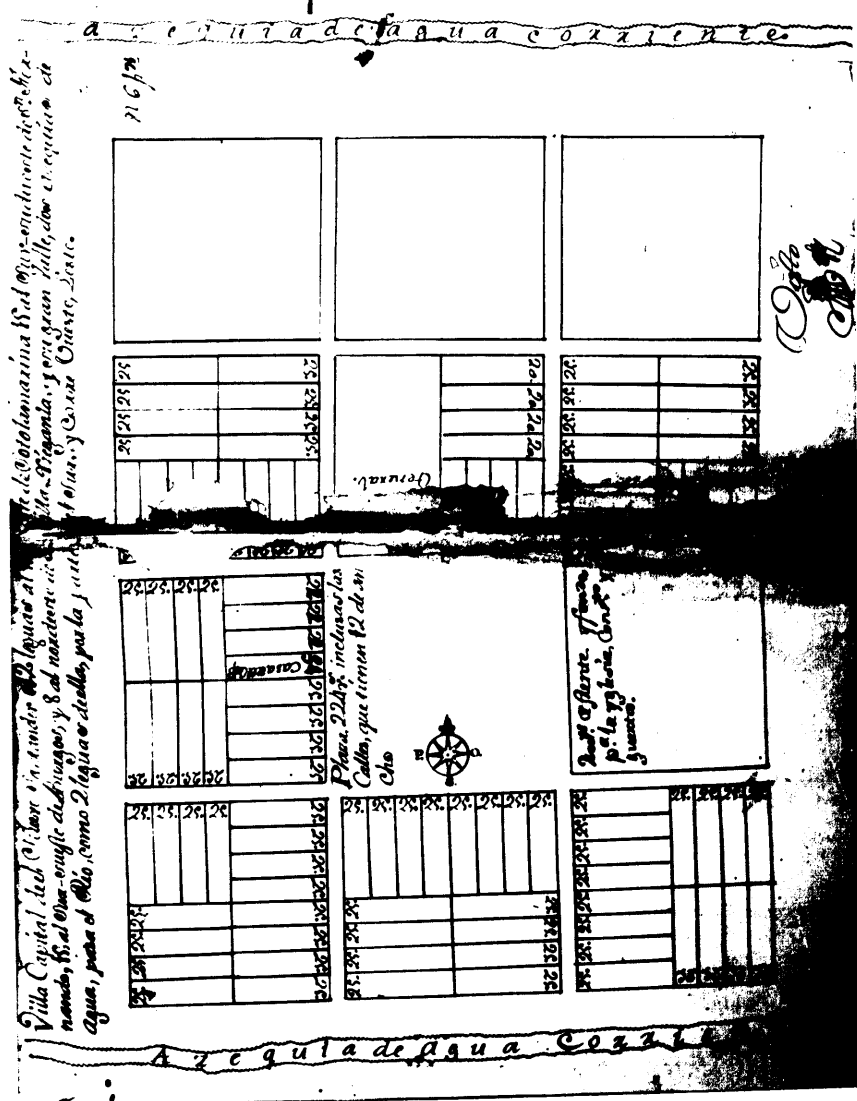


Figure 2-11: Villa Capital de Santander; Original Plan

encomiendas of Indians [distribution of forced Indian labor]....To motivate our vassals to the discovery and settlement of the Indies, and being our desire that they can live with commodity and convenience, it is Our will that may be distributed and be distributed house-land-lots, lands, cavallerias and peonies, to all whom would go to settle new lands in the Pueblos and Sites to be assigned by the Governor of the new Settlement. A distinction shall be made among Escuderos, infantry, and those of lesser grades and merits, according to the quality of their services so that they can take care of the cultivation of land livestock raising. Having built their dwelling and done their cultivation and residing four years in those towns, we grant them faculty from then on to sell them as things of their ownership, and the governor or whoever would have our faculty, shall distribute encomiendas [forced labor of Indians] in the overall repartition made...And we declare that a **peony** is a land lot of width fifty feet, and a length of one hundred feet, plus one hundred fanegas [as much tilled ground as necessary to sow a Spanish bushel of grain] of agriculture land for wheat or barley, plus ten fanegas of land for corn, plus two 'huebras'[extent of land which a yoke of oxen can plough every day], for orchard and eight 'huebras' of land for plants and other trees of dry soil, and pasture land for ten fertile sows, twenty cows, five mares, one hundred sheep and twenty goats. **Cavalleria** is a land lot [solar] of one hundred feet of width and two hundred of length, and everything else should be equal to five peonies, that shall be 500 fanegas of arable land for wheat or barley bread, fifty fanegas for corn, ten 'huebras' of land for orchards, forty 'huebras' for plants and other trees of dry soil, pasture land for 50 fertile sows, 20 mares, 500 sheep and 100 goats. And we mandate that the distribution be made so that all participate of the good, the average and what was not like that in the part that should be assigned to each one."

This is what was ordered by law. In Nuevo Santander the land was not distributed by Escandon to each individual settlers. It remained as one common tract of land for each town. There are repeated instances in which Escandon is suggested to do it. **Why then was the land not distributed?** This is the answer from Escandon himself:

“...From the beginning, -- wrote Escandon to the Viceroy on Aug. 8 1755 -- **it was proposed to distribute to each settler and soldier 2 Sitios de Ganado Menor** [a tract of land for grazing equal to 3,856 Acres or 1560 hectares], and 60 Cavallerias de Tierra [a tract of agriculture land equal to 634 Acres or 256.6 hectares], with irrigation where it existed and in quantities enough for everyone. **To the captains [twice that amount was to be distributed...and even though it has been [repeatedly] advised to me to execute that distribution [of land], I have not done it [yet], for three reasons: (1) First,** even provided that the foundation site is good, it may not contain in its surroundings [enough land] give to everyone ...resulting in difficulties and discrepancies... **(2) Second,** once distributed the land, this main incentive [distribution of land], would be lacking to [create] interest in them [future settlers]. This is what brings every day new and much more decent and useful families... So, being regulated in one tract those lands corresponding to each settlement according to the number and quality of settlers, I have considered to do the assignment of land [to the towns] with fixed terms being enjoyed in common [for]...cattle of quality and agriculture. **(3) Third,** because not having enough time for the necessary dispatches and dispositions that incessantly occur, it was not feasible to employ neither myself in such cumbersome affair, nor there is in these lands intelligent person to commission to do it, being so respectful as needed ...to execute the task with fairness and that the people be left happy....” (Archivo1, 1929, Vol.1, 39)

By reading between lines, the message seems to indicate that Escandon wanted to be the man in power. By not distributing the land, he kept power, granting permits for agriculture and grazing settlers, and others. Everyone was dependent on his orders and waiting for the eventual distribution of land. According to the inedit proceeding of the foundation of Aguayo, the land was to be distributed in the Nuevo Santander “with the condition and quality that in the first ten years it could not be sold or taken from somebody or transfer[red] and if it occurred, then be penalized with nullification [of what was as signed]...” (Proceedings of the Foundation of Aguayo) (Zorrilla, 1976,53). The formal distribution of Escandon’s assigned land was later done by Osorio y Palacio commissioned by the Viceregal government. An average ranging between 63.62 square leagues and 69 square leagues was assigned to the villages.

2.7 Colonization Expenses

Payments done by the Royal Exchequer for the colonization of Nuevo Santander were assigned to three recipients:

1. Jose de Escandon, for general colonization expenses and the foundation of cities, including ‘ayudas de costa’ i.e. financial help to the new settlers, and supplies of any sort of needs for the settlement.

2. The Military Community, Officers and Soldiers, for salaries, ammunition, and related expenses.

3. Mission Equipment and tools, and although separated as an expense

but in practice for the same use and purpose, the Missionary Friars' own salary. The friars had a annual stipend paid for the Crown until the conversions of natives ended.

The total amount spent by the Viceregal Authorities including expenses from 1748 to 1763, was \$804,047 pesos (grains and tomines excluded). Escandon spent 27.32% of it in the actual foundation of the villages. The highest portion of all the expenses 55.25%, was paid to the Soldiers. The Church demanded 13.37% for the missionaries, and 4.05% for mission buildings and working equipment for production of the missions, as well as the religious hardware.

2.7.1 Yearly Distribution Of Expenses

In the Viceroyal accounting system this is very difficult to establish, since the expenditures are registered not on the date on which they were actually spent in the field, but when the Royal Exchequer paid those expenses. The colonizer had to be reimbursed for the funds spent during the colonization. In reality Escandon acted some times as a financier for the expedition, being later paid for his expenses. Grouping expenses by year it is possible to recognize that there is indeed a direct relationship between the actual expenditures and the number of towns established.



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pg. 63

Table 2-I: Table Of Colonization Expenses

COLONIZATION EXPENSES																	
	1748	1749	1750	1751	1752	1753	1754	1755	1756	1757	1758	1759	1760	1761	1762	1763	TOTAL
FOUNDATIONS	\$90,000.00		\$32,989.00		\$12,000.00			\$51,439.00		\$24,458.00					\$8,800.00		\$219,687.00
MISSIONARIES	\$10,132.00	\$10,882.00	\$5,450.00		\$10,500.00	\$5,538.00	\$12,200.00		\$12,200.00		\$18,300.00			\$6,100.00	\$5,400.00	\$10,800.00	\$107,502.00
ACTOR	\$27,582.00			\$2,219.00		\$2,782.00											\$32,583.00
SOLDIERS			\$91,157.00	\$91,157.00		\$91,179.00	\$91,116.00	\$90,960.00	\$36,152.00	\$36,152.00	\$36,152.00	\$36,152.00	\$36,152.00	\$36,152.00	\$35,860.00	\$35,984.00	\$444,275.00
ANNUAL EXPENSES	\$127,714.00	\$10,882.00	\$69,596.00	\$33,376.00	\$22,500.00	\$39,499.00	\$48,316.00	\$82,399.00	\$48,352.00	\$60,610.00	\$54,452.00	\$36,152.00	\$36,152.00	\$42,252.00	\$90,060.00	\$46,784.00	\$804,047.00
% OF TOTAL COLONIZATION EXPENSES= \$804,047.00	15.88%	1.35%	8.66%	4.15%	2.80%	4.91%	5.39%	10.25%	6.01%	7.54%	6.77%	4.50%	4.50%	5.25%	6.23%	5.81%	100.00%
% OF ANNUAL BUDGET Annual National Budget= \$6 Million	2.13%	0.18%	1.16%	0.56%	0.38%	0.64%	0.72%	1.37%	0.81%	1.01%	0.91%	0.60%	0.60%	0.70%	0.89%	0.78%	13.40%

COLONIZATION EXPENSES ANNUAL DISTRIBUTION

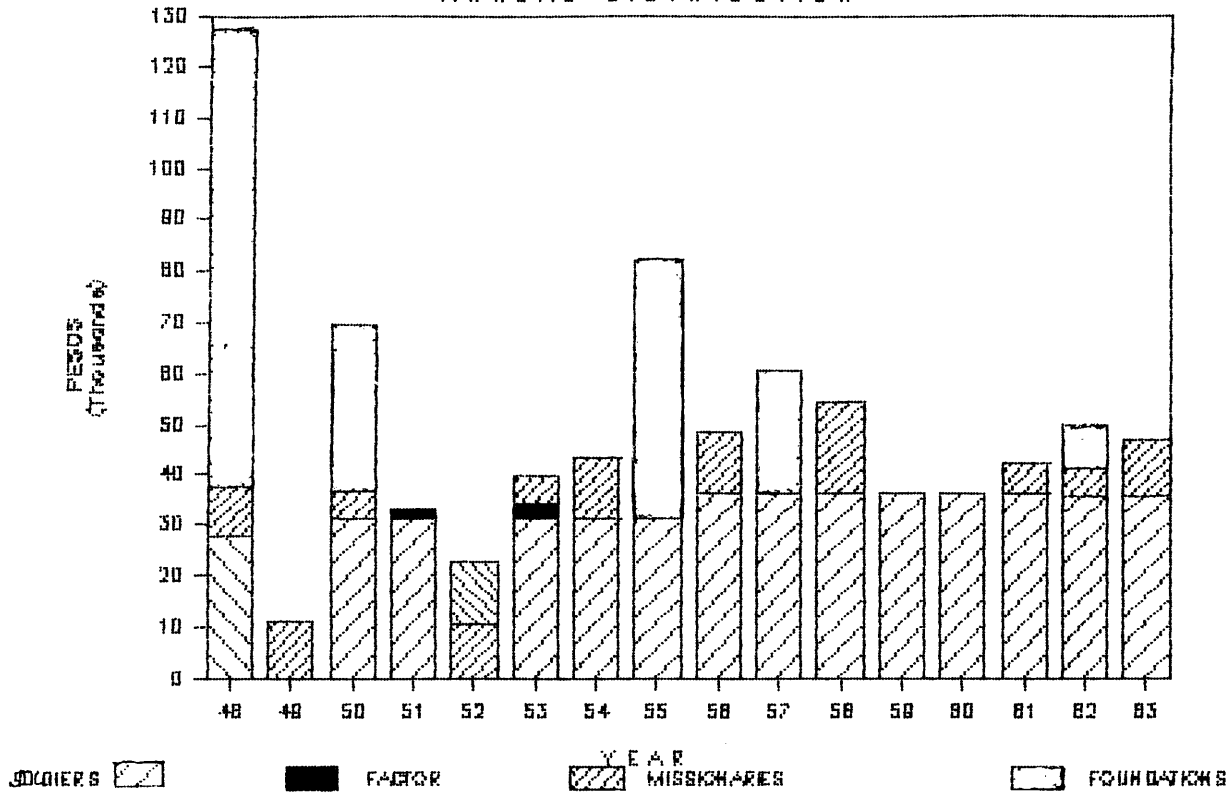


Table 2-II: Histogram of Colonization Expenses

OVERALL COLONIZATION EXPENSES

TOTAL EXPENSES \$804,047 1757-PESO'S

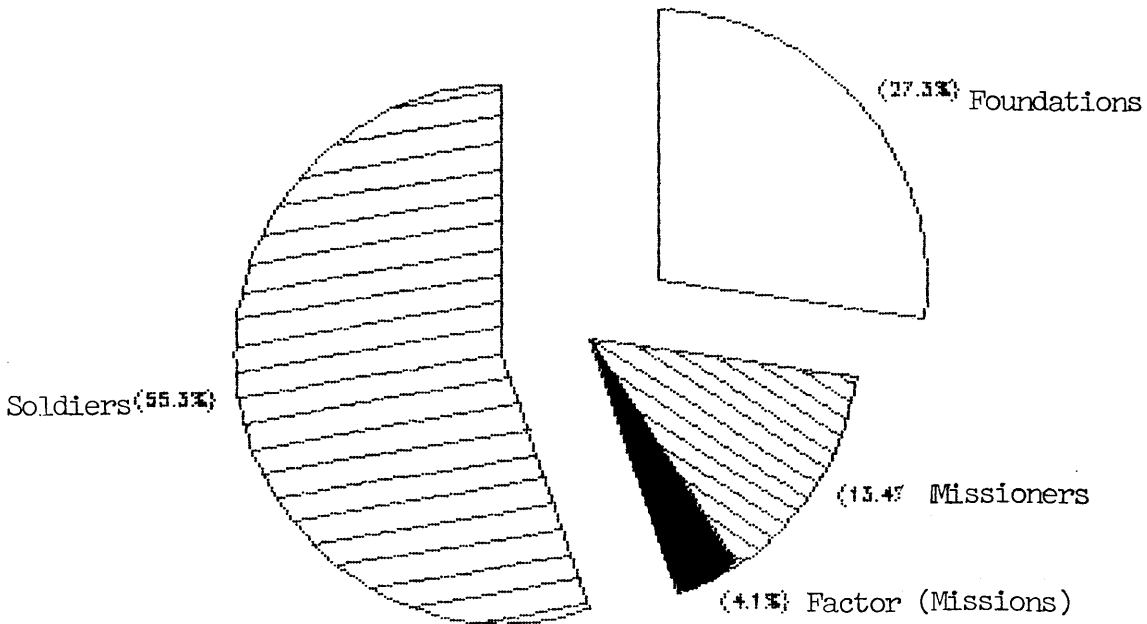


Table 2-III: Graph -- Distribution of Colonization Expenses

OVERALL COLONIZATION EXPENSES

\$428,282 spent from 1748 to 1755

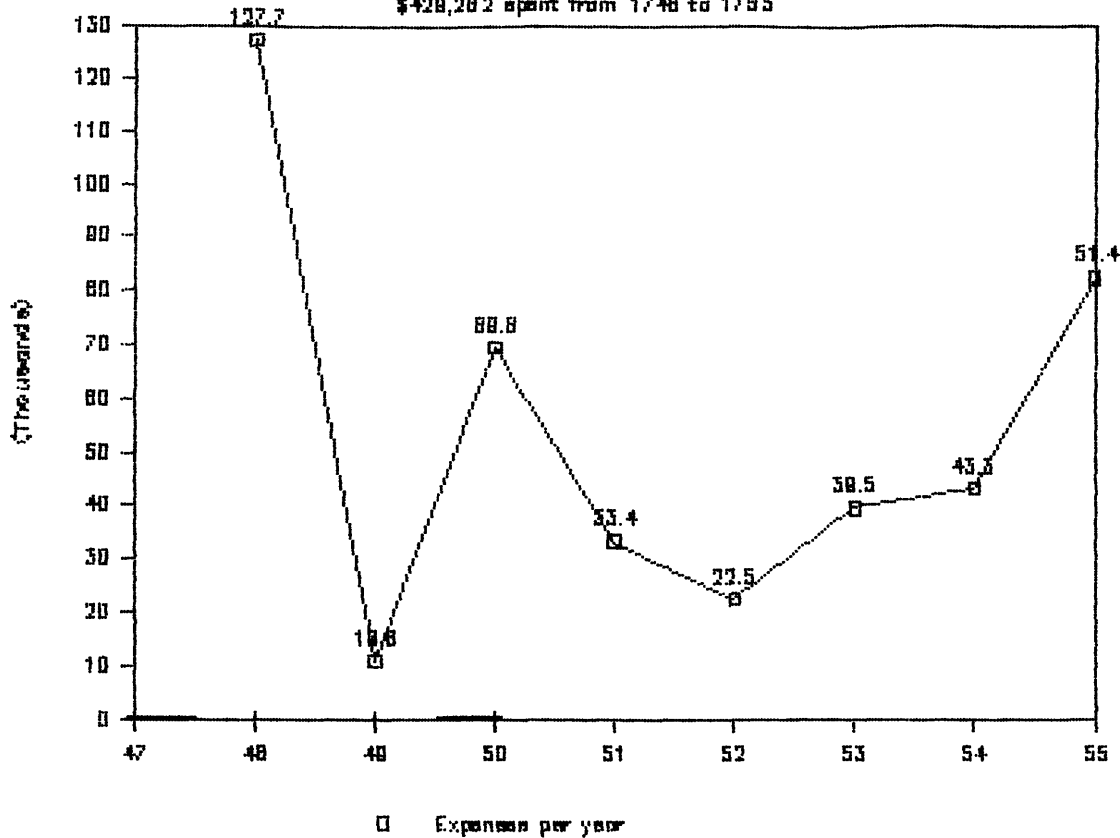


Table 2-IV: Percentage Distribution of Colonization Expenses

Frequency of Village Foundations

23 Towns Founded

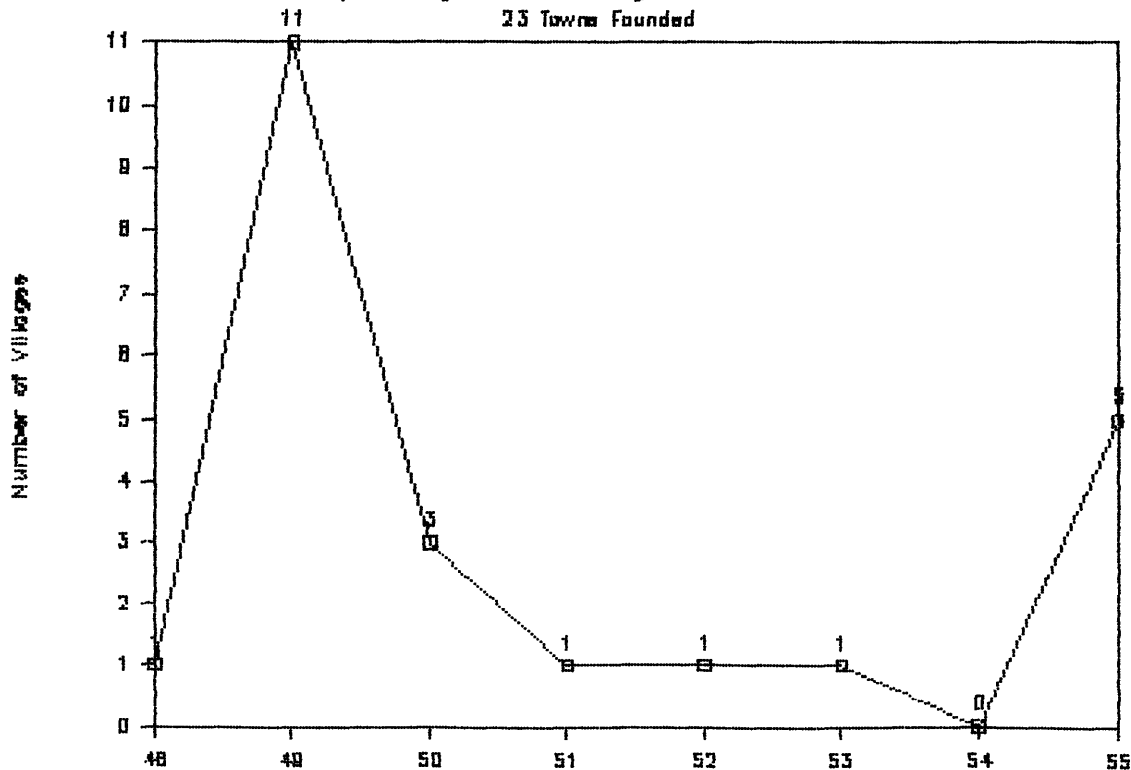


Table 2-V: Frequency Distribution of Village Foundations

2.7.2 Overall Colonization Expense Distribution

In sixteen years of Colonization expenses, 1748-1763 the total budget spent was \$ 804,047.00. For settlement and foundation a total of \$219,687 pesos, or 27.32 % were spent, making the overall average unitary-cost of town foundation \$10,461.00. Total expenditure on defense for the new colony was \$444,275.00 a yearly average of \$34,175 per year from 1750-1763.

The Missionaries expenses represent 13% of all colonization expenditure. \$ 107,502.00 pesos were paid for missionary salaries, an overall yearly average of \$7,166.00. About 20 missionaries were in the colony, one per mission. The Mission Equipment was 4% of total budget, (entered as Factor in the table), demanded a total cost of \$32,583.00 an average of \$1551.57 pesos per mission equipped. The actual distribution of expenses was not the same for each mission, thus some demanded more than others. Some towns had rudimentary missions. The yearly percentage of the National Budget varied yearly from a minimum 0.18% to a maximum of 2.12% during the sixteen years of colonization. An overall average of 0.835% (Std.dev. 0.43) from the National Budget was employed in the Colonization of Nuevo Santander. Yearly variations are expressed both in the table and Graphic of Colonization Expenses.

POPULATION

Chapter 3

Population

In this section the population of the new villages will be analyzed through demographic indicators developed from the 1757 lists of settlers. It is intended to convey a preliminary state of the living standards of the new villages. This is done since censuses or specific reports about the life conditions in the villages do not exist.

The number of families who had emigrated from the villages having been original settlers could be not determined. From the inspection lists one can only find those original families still living in the towns. Official detailed government census of the original pioneer families of Nuevo Santander is unavailable. Perhaps it never existed. Government control was performed by the Spanish authorities by means of two procedures, the Inspection and the Visita. The inspection was generally carried out by appropriate technicians according to the reasons for inspection. The Visita was usually conducted by a high Peninsular Official to examine the Viceroyalties.

The Nuevo Santander inspection corresponds to the first type of control. The inspectors were two, one in charge of the political issues, and the other was described as an engineer. The latter was in charge of collection of data about the physical aspects of the new villages. Jose Tienda de Cuervo was the political inspector. He collected the lists of settlers and performed secret interrogations of key persons of the new towns. He carried a specific list of questions the Viceroyal authorities were interested in knowing more about, such as geographical, ethnographical data, notices about the settlements, toponimical issues, commerce,

agriculture and cattle grazing production, as well as of the missions. It was almost an appraisal of the new territory for future taxation, and control. Agustin Lopez de la Camara Alta, the engineer, developed a well informed report on the towns. He also prepared maps of the region and of the cities. The following analysis is based upon the lists of settlers.

3.1 Demographics

Demographic data presented were developed from the documents of the General Inspection conducted by Jose Tienda de Cuervo and Agustin de la Camara Alta in 1757 where a list of settlers for each town inspected or visited is included. Three towns: Guemez (1749), Aguayo (1750), and Hoyos f(1752), provide the following data: Name of head of the family, civil status, if married wife's name, children's name (thus sex), and ages for the children, as well as possession of required firearms, number of horses, mules and donkeys. Additional information, not always provided includes occupation, trade tools possessed, place of origin and ethnicity.

Additional towns with less informative lists have also been analyzed, such as Jaumave, Camargo, Altamira, and Santander Jimenez.

3.2 Typical Population Segments Of The Towns

In 1757, four population groups are generally found in every town:

1. Soldier families,
2. Original settlers still living in the town,

3. Nonfinanced aggregated Settlers already registered, and

4. Nonregistered, nonfinanced settlers.

The last group is not always present. Its presence might indicate some early migration to the new villages.

From the analysis of the lists of the groups I have obtained the following indicators.

Household size distribution: (Number of children per family), to determine the dominant family sizes for the population groups available. Household size is entered as the number of children per family, parents excluded.

Children age pyramids: were done for each population group of children and one showing the aggregation of the groups constituting the town. Due to their inherent potential for information generation, in the absence of a census, the age pyramids are an appropriate indicator where the living conditions of the towns are reflected.

Population status: Percentage of boys, girls, married men, married women, single men, widowers, widows, single men, single women. The Laws of Indies made great emphasis on the married status of the settlers and vecinos. This indicator will serve to corroborate if the new settlers followed the ordinances of the laws of Indies.

General statistical manipulation of demographical data: The intention of this section is to establish the first steps to determine some indication of the quality of life in the new towns. Average number of children per family, standard deviation, median, mode, percentage of children, adults, widows-widowers, single men-women both for each family group and one for the aggregation for towns and for the whole sample analyzed.

3.3 General Results Obtained

3.3.1 First Settler Families

These are the families of original settlers still in town in 1757. In general it can be said that the families of first settlers have:

1. The highest number of children of all family groups. (up to eight children per family).
2. Highest number of married adults
3. No single women
4. Highest number of couples with children
5. Highest children/adult ratio.
6. In some cases highest number of widows and widowers.
7. This group is not always the largest family group in a town.

There are no widows in the soldier families. No soldier widow was considered as belonging to the soldier families anymore. Once the soldier died, it seems that the widow automatically belonged to the settlers' families, not to the soldiers' community. There is a rather high number of widows and widowers among the first settler families, perhaps a combination of deceased-soldier families and settler's

widows. A high number of widowers might reflect the lack of adequate sanitation at early stages of settlement. Infant mortality must have been high as can be read from the age pyramid. It can also be seen in the pyramids that a large number of children were born the year of foundation of the towns. These children in the pyramid are actually those children who survived. Many must have died, because even in 1757 the broad base of the children with less than a year of age is much wider than the one year old children. Another indicator of children's deaths are the high number of widowers, assuming that some women died of childbirth complications or post-partum illnesses.

3.3.2 First Settlers Household Size

In the analyzed first-settler families the range of household size varies from 0 to 10 children per family. The majority of the settler's families brought with them grown up children at the time of the settlement. It was required by law that the settlers were married. The age pyramids of children as well as the few singles in the towns confirms that the law was fulfilled in this respect.

The analysis of the household size shows that:

49% of Guemez families	had from 3 to 5 children
63% of Altamira families	" 3 to 5 children
48% of Aguayo families	" 3 to 5 children
40% of Jaumave families	" 3 to 5 children
27% of Hoyos families	" 3 to 5 children
36% of Camargo families	" 4 to 7 children

First settlers in Guemez have 17 surviving children born the first year of settlement. More must have been born but high mortality among zero-years of age seems apparent from the pyramid age even during 1757. The same can be observed both in Aguayo and the Hoyos pyramids. In the aggregated age pyramid for the three towns the wide base of 46 children age-zero is reduced to 17 children age-one.

Provided that 1756 was not an exceptional year of infant mortality, the trend may have been similar for previous years.

3.3.3 Aggregated Settlers

The characteristics of the Aggregated families show wide variations. Their size however is generally smaller than those of first settlers. The proportion of children to adults is also smaller, which means that there are fewer children. A few large immigrant families are found in rich towns. It is very likely that they moved into the new village in order to enjoy the benefits of first settlers. Most of these migrant families however, have newly born infants between ages 0-3. These are some facts about aggregated settlers:

- 78% of Guemez families have from 0 to 3 children.
- 75% of Altamira families " 0 to 2 children.
- 58% of Hoyos families " 0 to 2 children.
- 65% of Santander families " 0 to 2 children.
- 58% of Aguayo families " 0 to 2 children.

Aggregated settlers begin to appear in towns at different dates. In the oldest towns like Guemez, they start having children two years after foundation, as it can be read from the age pyramid. It is likely that they had arrived in 1750, one year after the foundation. This is deduced by the first birth of a boy of age 7 in 1757, born in 1750 from aggregated settlers. In Aguayo however, aggregated settlers seem to have more children than the first settlers. But in Hoyos, they might have arrived the same year of foundation since children of aggregated settlers are born that year. See age pyramids.

3.3.4 Aggregated Settlers Without Registration Or Help

These are the families with the lowest standards. In Guemez they have from one to four children, a small family compared with first settler families with up to ten children. A great majority of these families have no transportation of their own, and no weapons for protection, thus their lives were at high risk. The number of childless couples have a high incidence and one-children couples. Family household size range between zero and four children.

3.4 Analysis Of Villa de Guemez Comparative Indicators

3.4.1 Soldiers and First Settlers

At Guemez first settlers seem to have the best living standards of all the groups, in town, but also a high number of widowers, which might indicate a difficult lifestyle for the deceased women during the first years of settlement. As discussed before, there are no soldiers widows among the soldier families. Among aggregated settlers there is an apparent increase of mortality among adult married men, perhaps a result of provision, defensive, and self-employment hardships.

3.4.2 Villa Of Guemez Transportation

All the soldier families have transportation and defensive weapons against Indian attacks. In combination with the soldier group, 90% of the first settlers have transportation in the form of their own horses, the usual form of transportation mode of the time. Less fortunate are the aggregated settler families where only 76% of them have transportation means, fourteen percent less than the more affluent first settlers. The worst transportation means are those of settlers without registration, where only 66% of all the families have access to their own transportation.

3.4.3 Villa Of Guemez Defense

Weapons are owned by 94.7% of first settlers' families, but only by 74% of the aggregated settlers and 66% of families without registration. The protection standards of the non-registered settlers is the worst of them all.

3.4.4 Villa Of Guemez Childless Couples

Couples without children in colonial period are generally considered an indicator of separation of the pair by distance and/or by work. These absent husbands work away from home. Alternative explanations for childless couples might include extremely high infant mortality, leaving without children couples having given birth children. Other cases might be childless, or first-pregnant newlywed couples. Less likely is the possibility of health problems brought by extreme work and malnutrition, the latter being another reason to deter childbirth.

3.4.5 Villa Of Guemez Number Of Children

Household size has been formed with the number of children per family at the time of the Cuervo and Camara Alta inspection. The graphs of household sizes for groups reveal facts such as:

Average number of children is the highest for the first settlers (3 to 9, with a std. deviation of 2.17). It indicates a rather large variation in the size of the average family, the median is four children and the mode is also four. These results may indicate older, more stable families. The mode for the other two groups is one.

The average children per family is lowest for the aggregated registered settlers 1.53, with a std. dev. of 1.319, and dominant number of children per family is one, followed by zero children. Young working couples were perhaps those found in this group. The non-registered group of settlers shows a combination of older

families and newlywed couples. In this last group the highest percentage (20%) of single men are found.

3.4.6 Villa Of Guemez Children/Adult Ratios

In the case of Guemez, aggregated settlers have the largest proportion of children, up to 70% and 30% of parents. First settlers children in some cases might have been married, their family size thus reduced. Aggregated families are likely to have a larger amount of unmarried children. Age pyramids in combination with other data might provide specific combinations as required.

3.4.7 Villa Of Guemez Single Men

The presence of an increasing number of single men among the non-registered settlers is an indication of incipient migration of outside settlers, the new towns starting to become recipient centers for incoming migration. Towns of high reception of migration show a superavit of single men or family heads without the presence of their families, on the contrary there is a deficit of males in emigration areas. Guemez shows an early manifestation of immigration of men. The town was, due to its vicinity to Aguayo, a potential agricultural center, with abundant water sources and good soil, thus increasing demand of farm hands.

3.5 Population Graphs

3.6 Absence Of Single Spanish Or Creole Women

Few single Spanish women are available for marriage in the new villages. In Hoyos there are only three 16-year-old girls living with their parents. No women seventeen or older are found with the exception of another single woman 20 years

AGGREGATED POPULATION STRUCTURE STATUS

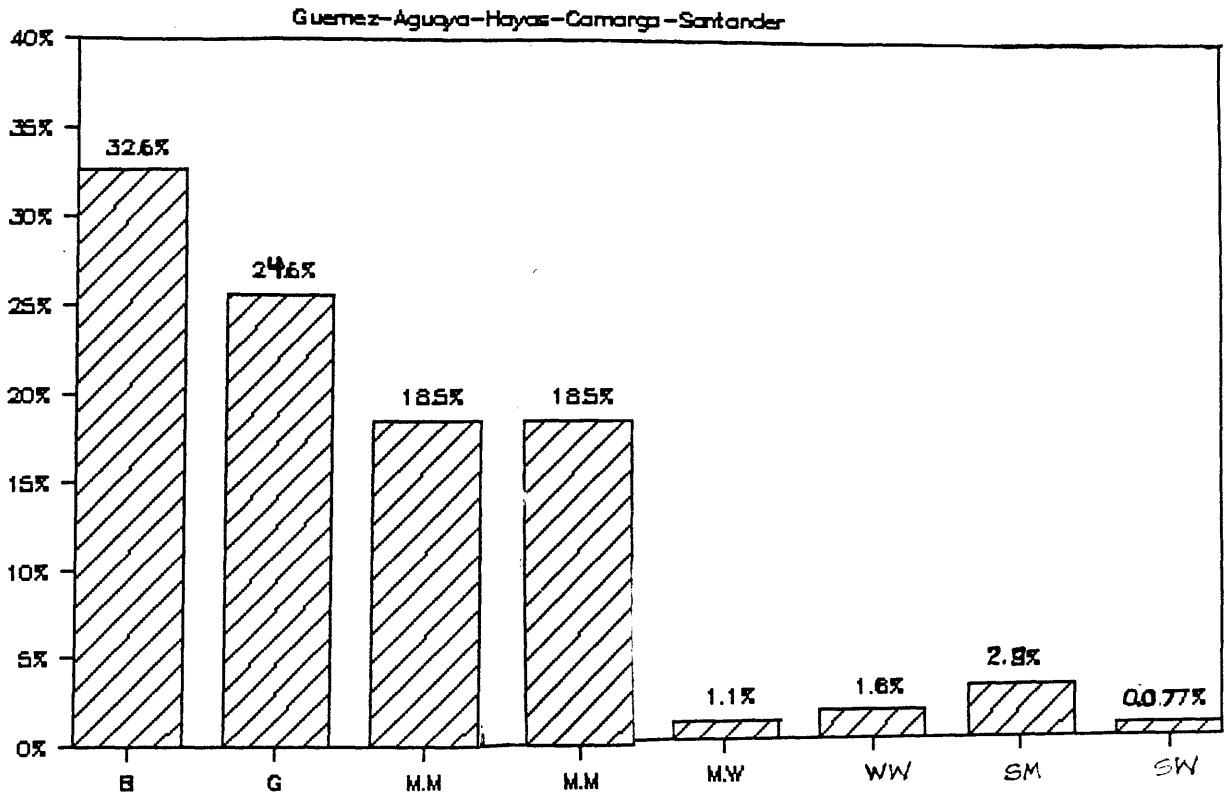


Table 3-I: Aggregated Population Status Structure

Nuevo Santander Towns included: Güemez-Aguayo-Hoyos-Camargo-Santander-Altamira-Jaumave

Camargo	105 families	467 persons	TOTAL FIGURES
Altamira	89 families	509 persons	950 Boys
Santander	106 families	450 persons	717 Girls
Jaumave	88 families	431 persons	540 married men
Güemez	76 families	364 persons	540 married women
Hoyos	97 families	423 persons	29 widowers
Aguayo	62 families	267 persons	47 widows
			86 single men
			2 single women

TOT POP 2911 persons.

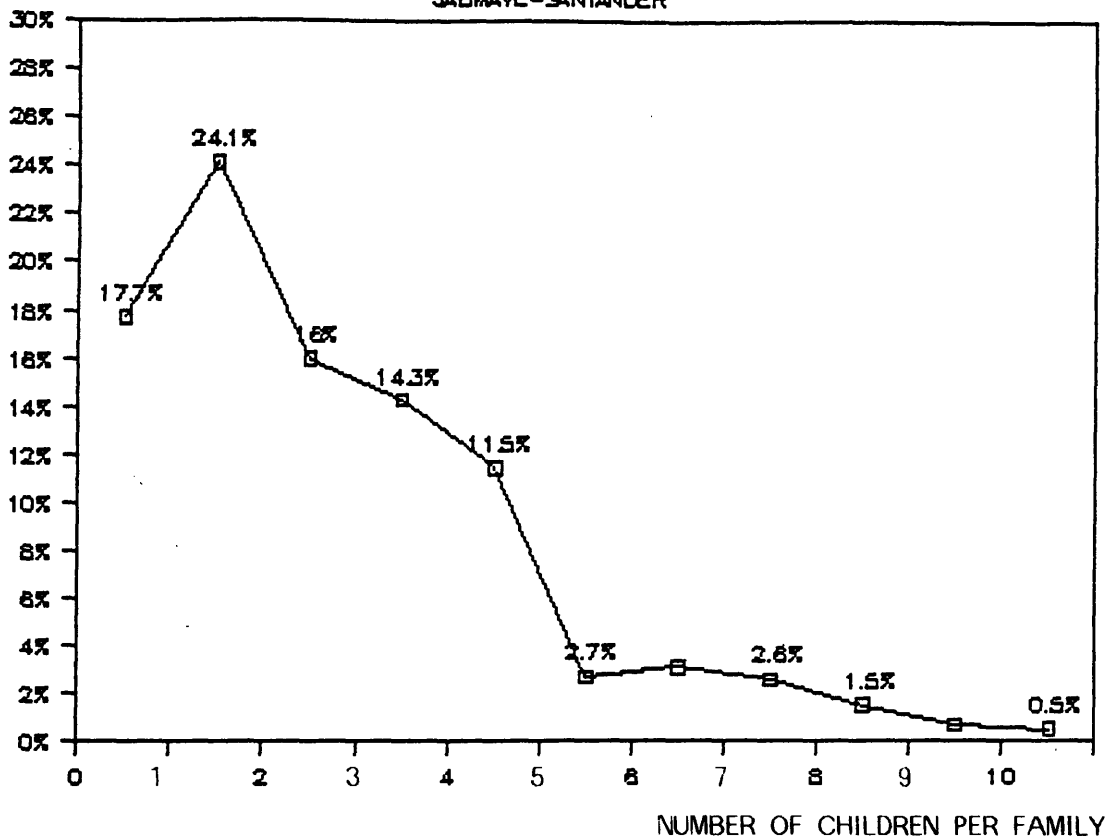
57.2% of all the population are children
 32.6% Boys
 24.6% Girls

37% are married couples
 1% are widowers
 1.6% are widows
 2.9% are Single men
 0.07% are single women

Source Viceregal Inspection 1757. (AGNM v.1-2,1929,1931).

HOUSEHOLD SIZE -SELECTED TOWNS GUEMES-AGUAYO-HOYOS-CAMARGO-ALTAMIRA

JALIMAVE-SANTANDER



Towns: Guemez-Aguayo-Hoyos-Camargo-Santander-Altami9ra-Jaumave

623 Families 1767 Children

- 17.7% of the families have (0) Cero children
- 24.1% of the families have (1) one children
- 16.07% of the families have (2) Two children
- 14.27% of the families have (3) three children
- 11.48% of the families have (4) four children.
- 7.71% of the families have (5)children
- 3.12% of t he families have (6) six children
- 2.62% of the families have (7) children
- 1.48% of the families have (8) eight children
- 0.66 % of the families have nine children.
- 0.49% of the families have ten chdren.

Source Viceregal Inspection 1757. (AGNM v.1-2,1929,1931).

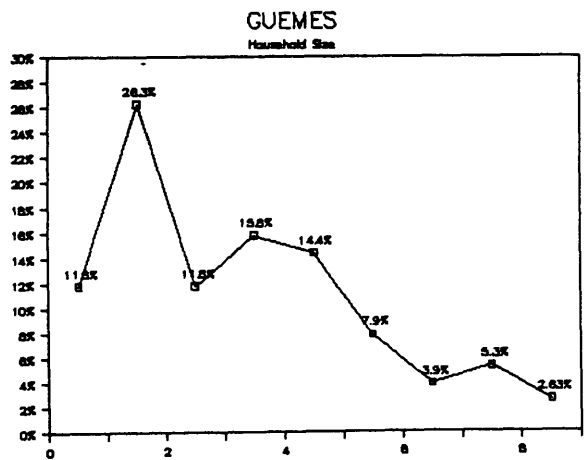
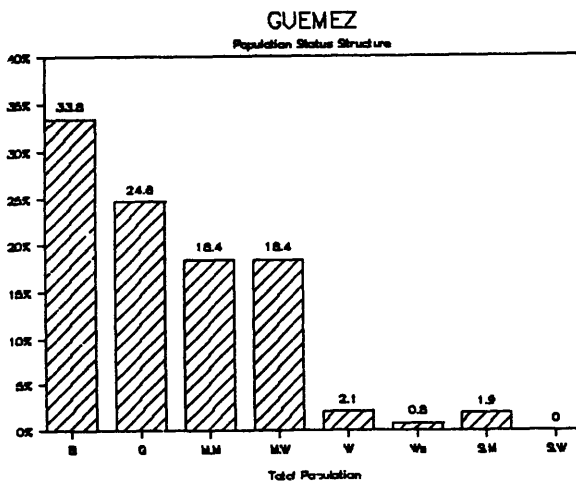
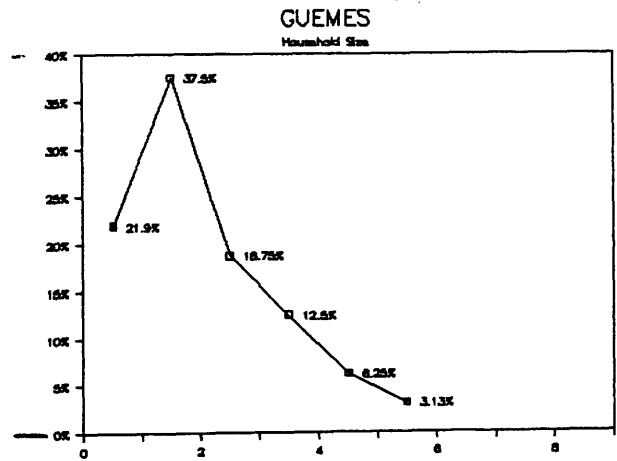
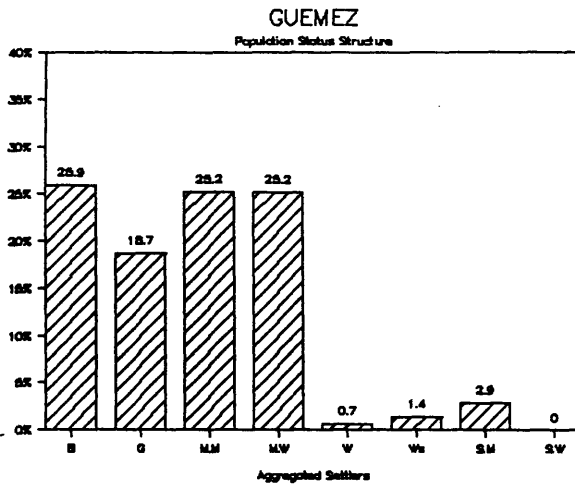
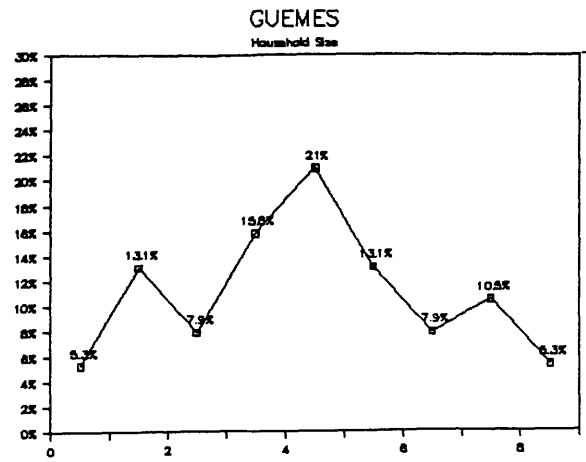
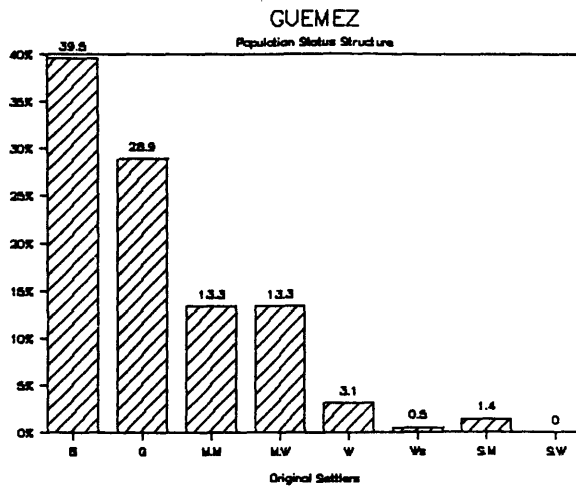
Figure 3-1: Aggregated Household size

Table 3-II: Guemez: Demographical Statistics

	B	U	E	M	E	Z
	FIRST SETTLERS AND SOLDIERS	AGGREGATED FAMILIES	NON REGISTERED FAMILIES	TOTAL		
1. NUMBER OF FAMILIES	38	32	6	76		
2. NUMBER OF PERSONS	225	209	27	461		
3. FAM. W/TRANSPORTATION	90%	76.3%	66%			
4. FAMILIES WITH WEAPONS	94.7%	74.1%	33%			
5. MARRIED ADULTS	95.8%	94.8%	80%			
6. PERCENTAGE OF WIDOWERS	18.4%	3.12%	0%			
7. PERCENTAGE OF WIDOWS	2.63%	6.25%	0%			
7.a. TOTAL PERC.OF WIDOWS	21.03%	9.37%	0%			
8. CHILDLESS COUPLES	5.26%	21.8%	0%			
9. AVG. NUMBER CHLDN/FAM	3.89	1.53	2.16			
10. STD. DEV CHLDN/FAM.	2.170	1.319	1.32			
11. PERCENTAGE OF CHILDRN	68.41%	71.3%	58.15%			
12. PERCENTAGE OF ADULTS	31.59%	28.7%	41.85%			
13. MODE CHILDREN/FAM.	4	1	1			
14. MEDIAN CHILDREN/FAM.	4	1	2			

Source Viceregal Inspection 1757. (AGNM v.1-2,1929,1931).

Figure 3-2: Guemez: Household Population and Size Status Structure

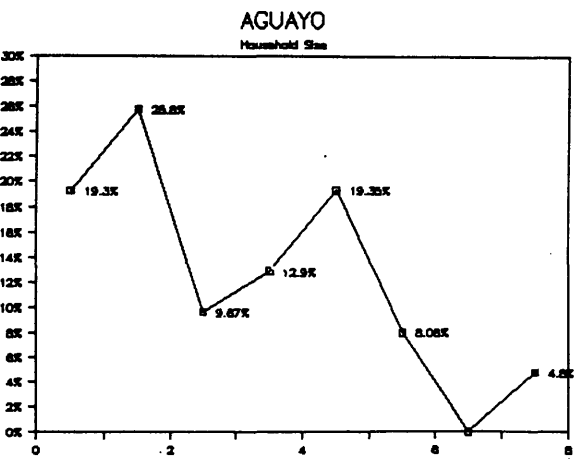
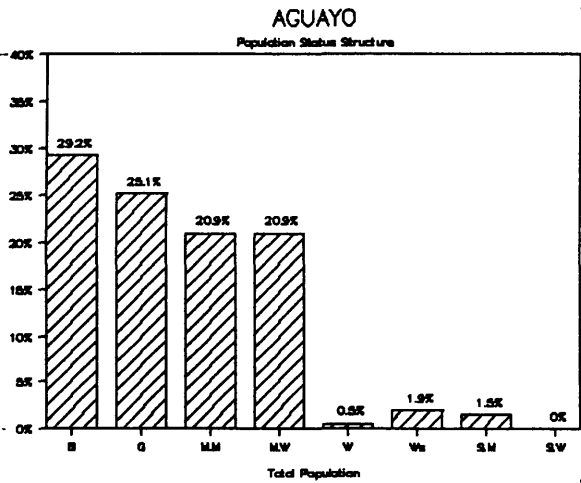
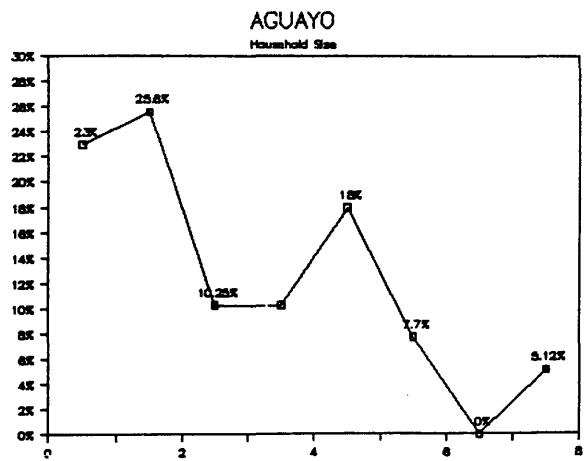
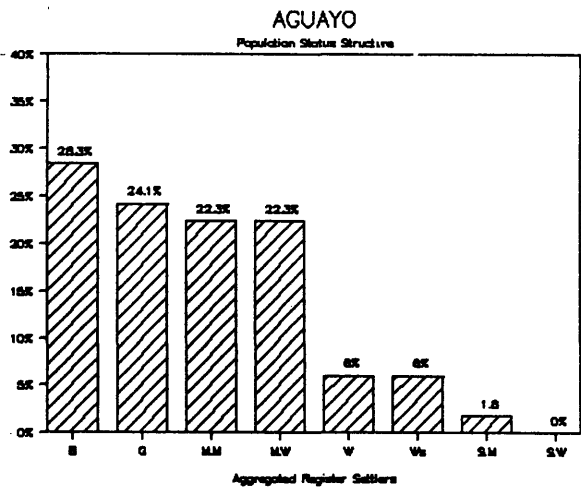
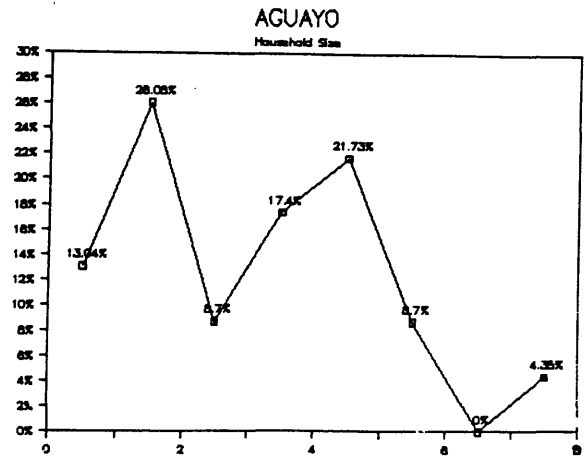
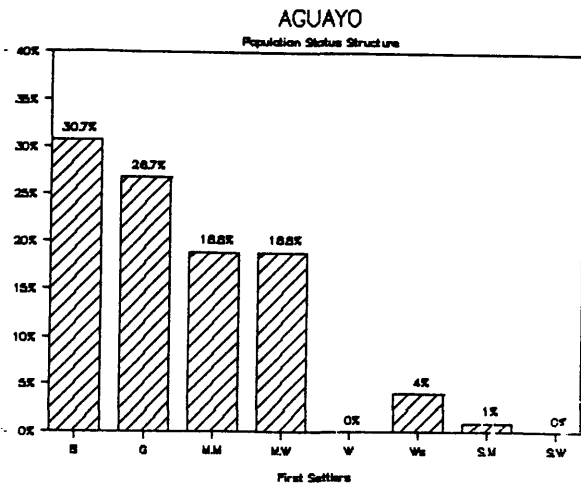


Source Viceregal Inspection 1757. (AGNM v.1-2, 1929, 1931).

Table 3-III: Aguayo: Demographical Statistics

A G U A Y O			
	FIRST SETTLERS AND SOLDIERS	AGGREGATED AND NON- REGISTERED FAMILIES	TOTAL AGUAYO
1. NUMBER OF FAMILIES	23	39	62
2. NUMBER OF PERSONS	101	166	267
3. FAM. W/TRANSPORTATION	91%	89%	
4. FAMILIES WITH WEAPONS	82.6%	85.6%	
5. PCTGE. MARRIED ADULTS	99%	96%	
6. PERCENTAGE OF WIDOWERS	0%	2.56%	
7. PERCENTAGE OF WIDOWS	17.4%	2.56%	
7.a TOTAL PERC. OF WIDOWS	17.4%	5.12%	
8. CHILDLESS COUPLES	13%	23%	
9. AVG. NUMBER CHLDN/FAM	2.56	2.23	
10. STD. DEV. CHLDN/FAM.	1.87	2.006	
11. PERCENTAGE OF CHILDRN	57.42%	52.4%	
12. PERCENTAGE OF ADULTS	42.6%	47.6%	
13. MODE CHILDREN/FAM.	3	1	
14. MEDIAN CHILDREN/FAM.	2	1	

Source Viceregal Inspection 1757. (AGNM v.1-2,1929,1931).



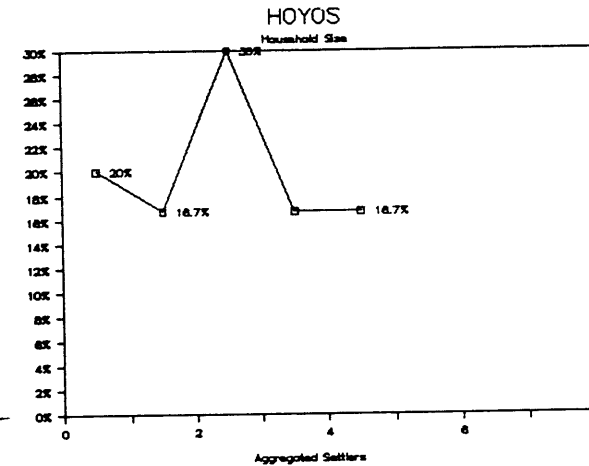
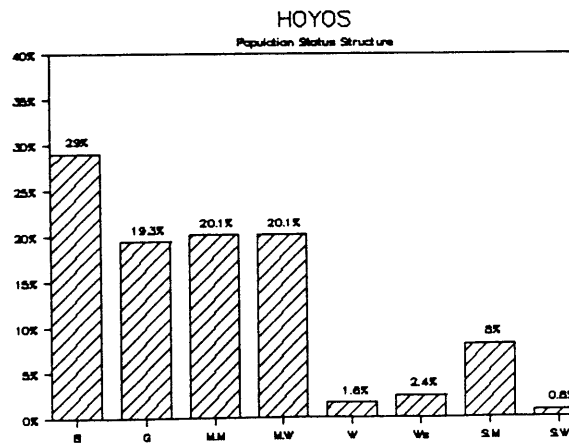
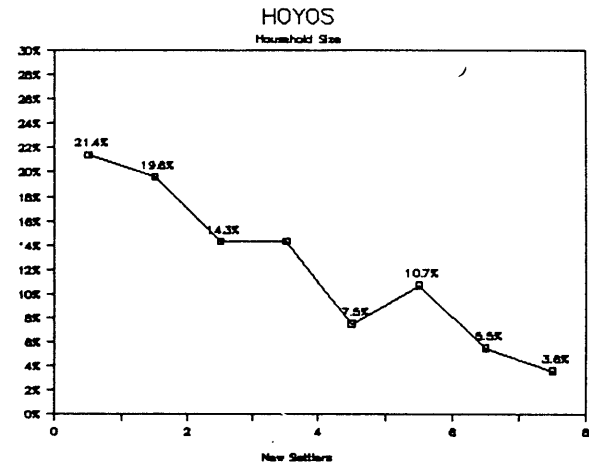
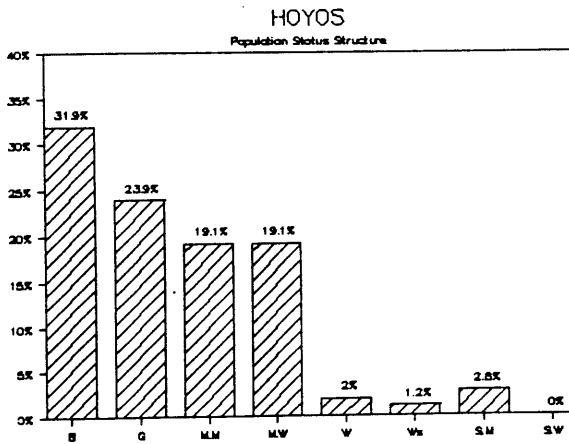
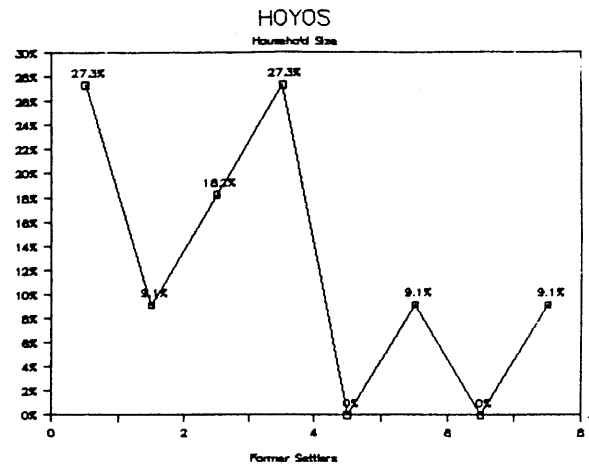
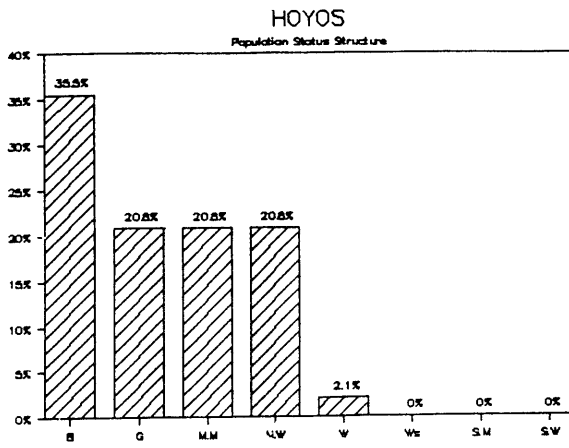
Source Viceregal Inspection 1757. (AGNM v.1-2,1929,1931).

Figure 3-3: Aguayo: Population Status Structure and Household Size

Table 3-IV: Hoyos: Demographical Statistics

H	O	Y	O	S
	FIRST SETTLERS AND SOLDIERS	AGGREGATED FAMILIES	NON REGISTERED FAMILIES	TOTAL
1. NUMBER OF FAMILIES	11	56	30	97
2. NUMBER OF PERSONS	48	251	124	193
3. FAM. W/TRANSPORTATION	100%	98%	N.A.	
4. FAMILIES WITH WEAPONS	100%	87%	N.A.	
5. MARRIED ADULTS	100%	93.7%	83.3%	
6. PERCENTAGE OF WIDOWERS	0%	9%	11.53%	
7. PERCENTAGE OF WIDOWS	0%	5.3%	7.69%	
7.a TOTAL PERC. OF WIDOWS	0%	14.3%	19.22%	
8. CHILDLESS COUPLES	18%	22%	16%	
9. AVG. NUMBER CHLDN/FAM.	2.45	2.545	1.933	
10. STD. DEV. CHLDN/FAM.	1.572	2.12	1.36	
11. PERCENTAGE OF CHILDREN	56.25%	55.77%	46.78%	
12. PERCENTAGE OF ADULTS	43.75	44.23%	53.22%	
13. MODE CHILDREN/FAM.	3	1	2	
14. MEDIAN CHLDN/FAM.	2	2	2	

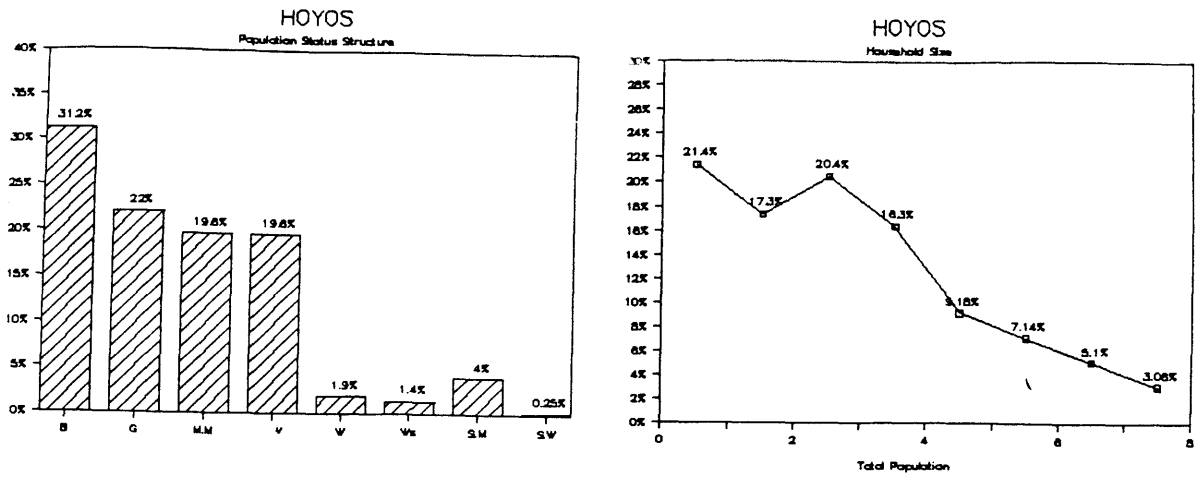
Source Viceregal Inspection 1757. (AGNM v.1-2,1929,1931).



Source Viceregal Inspection 1757. (AGNM v.1-2, 1929, 1931).

Figure 3-4: Hoyos: Population Status Structure and Household Size

Figure 3-4, continued



Source Viceregal Inspection 1757. (AGNN v.1-2, 1929, 1931).

GUEMEZ-AGUAYO-HOYOS
1757-CHILDREN'S AGE PYRAMYD AGGREGATED

BOYS

GIRLS

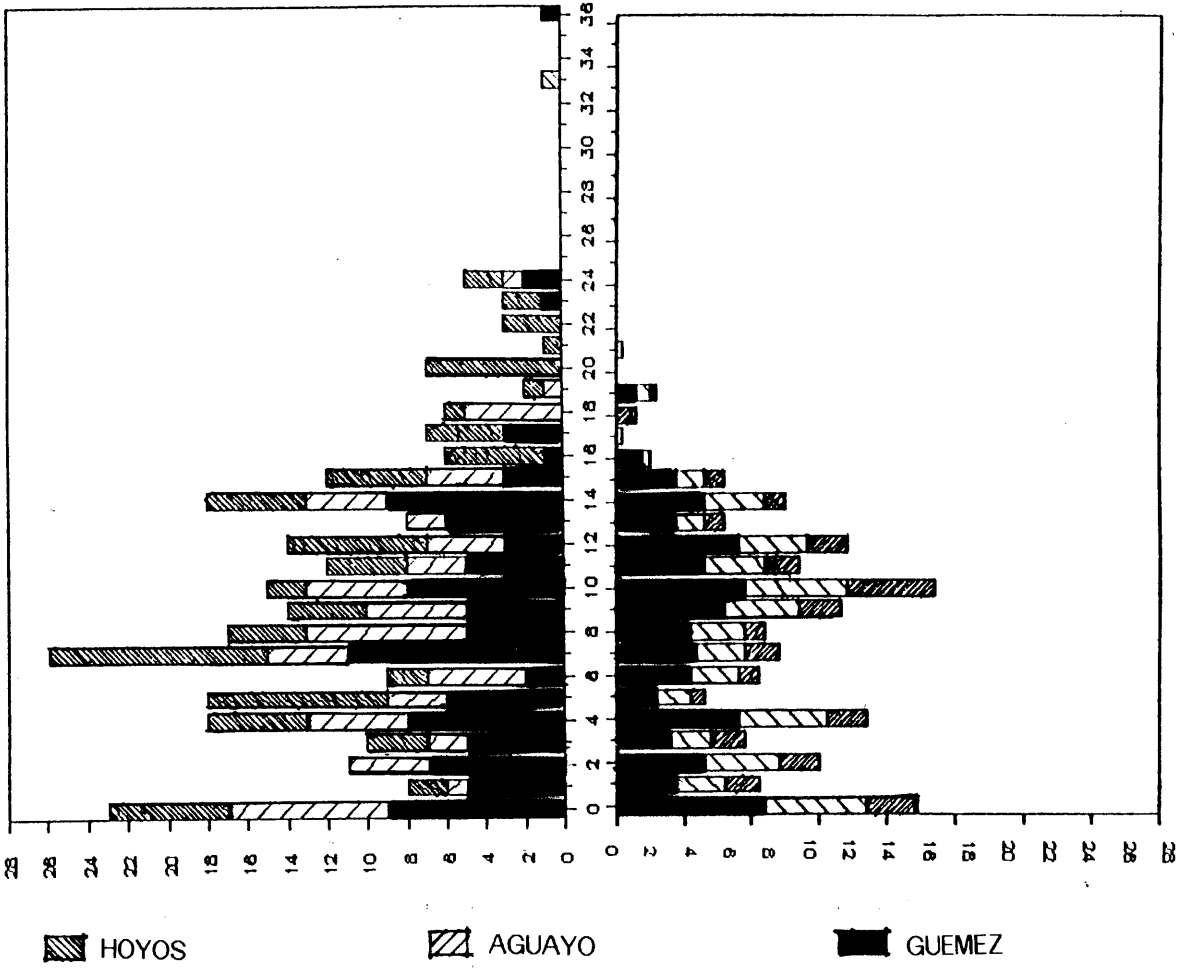


Figure 3-5: Aggregated Pyramid: Guemez, Aguayo and Hoyos

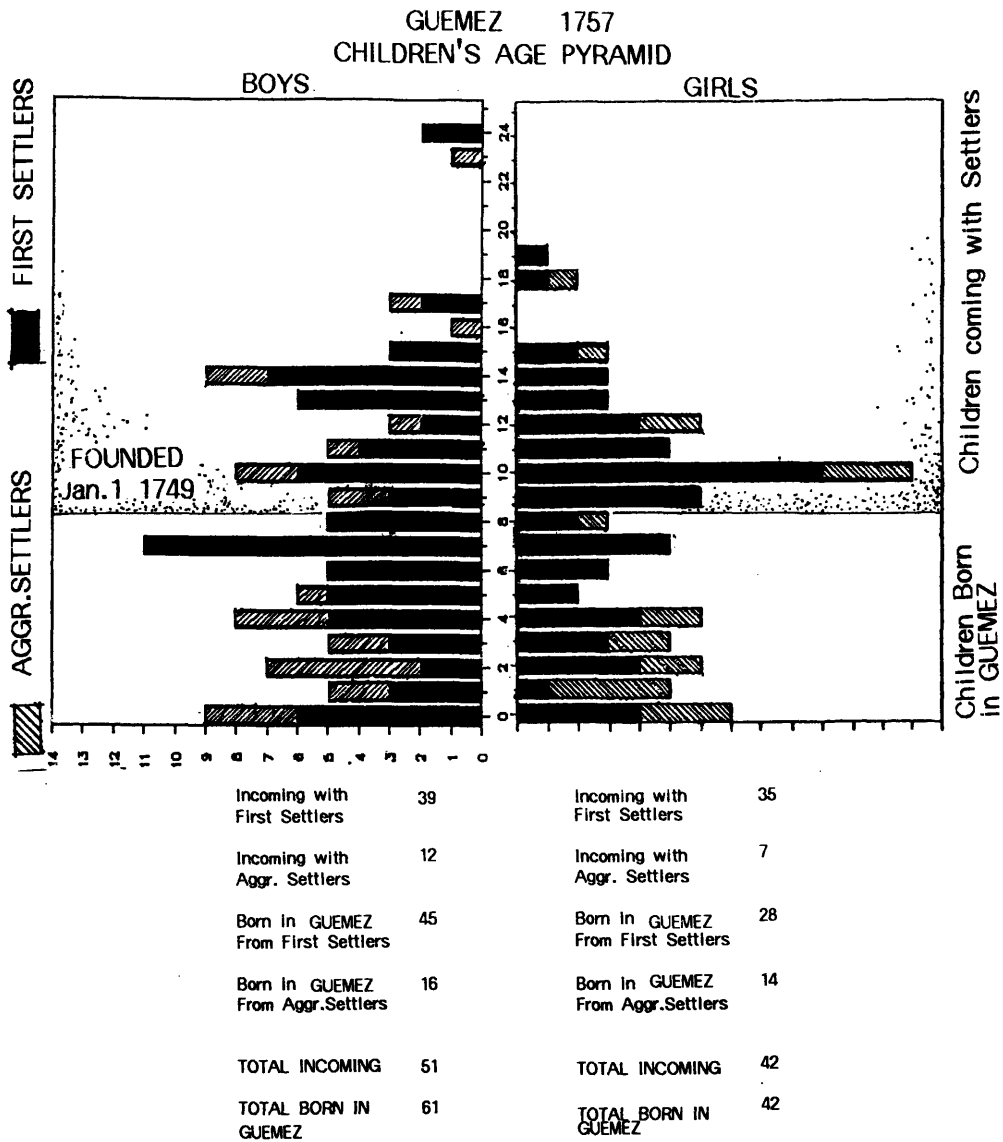


Figure 3-6: Guemez Children's Age Pyramid

Source Viceregal Inspection 1757. (AGNM v.1-2, 1929, 1931).

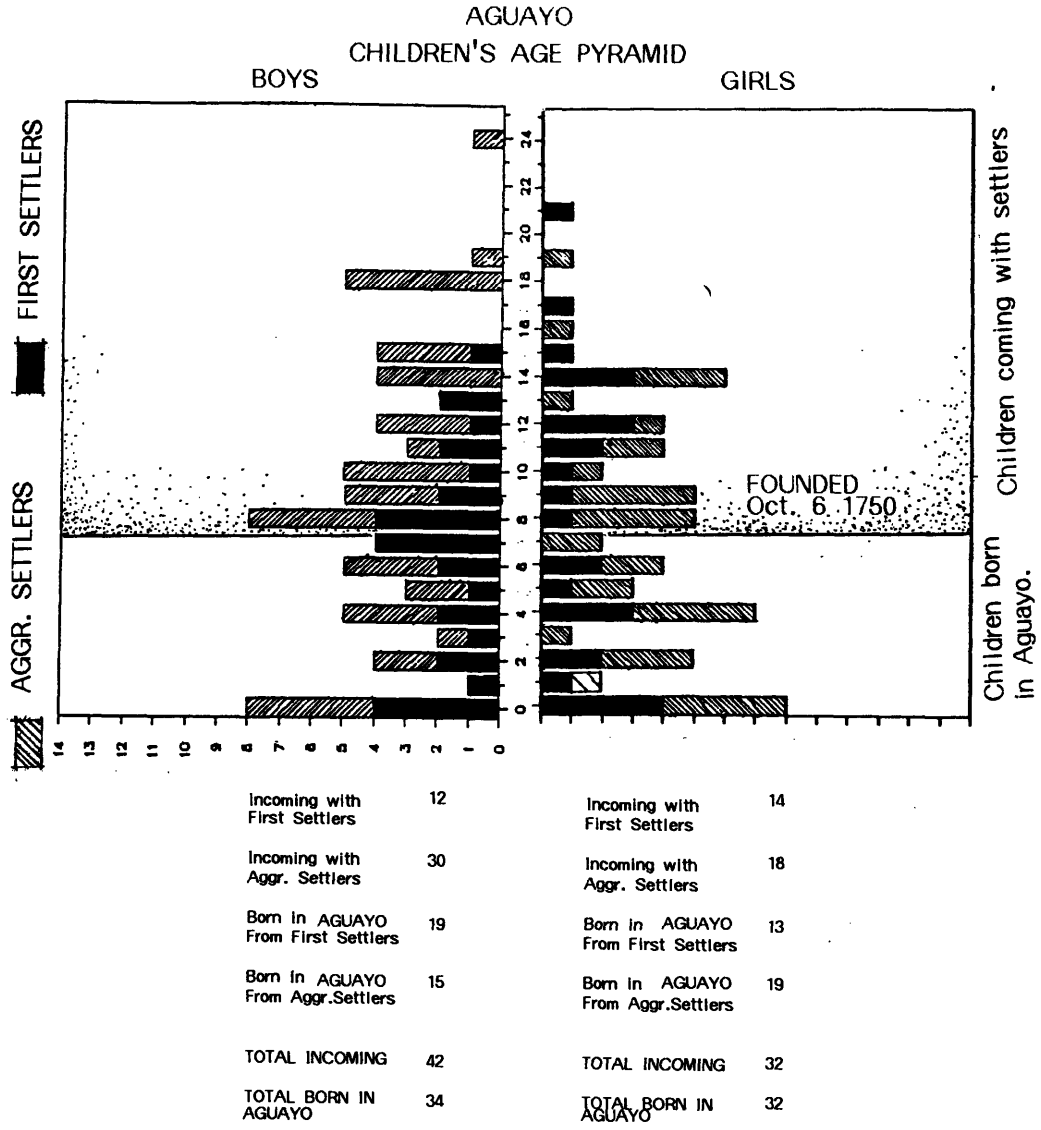
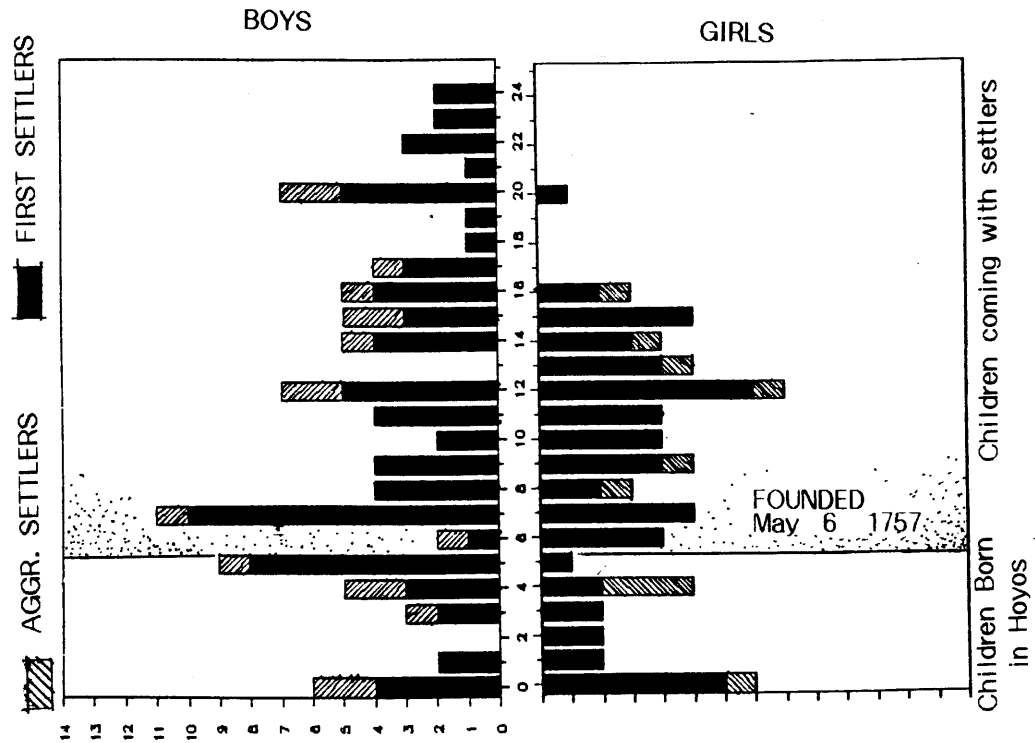


Figure 3-7: Aguayo Children's Age Pyramid

HOYOS 1757
CHILDREN'S AGE PYRAMID



Incoming with First Settlers	60	Incoming with First Settlers	45
Incoming with Aggr. Settlers	11	Incoming with Aggr. Settlers	6
Born in Hoyos From First Settlers	19	Born in Hoyos From First Settlers	15
Born in Hoyos From Aggr. Settlers	16	Born in Hoyos From Aggr. Settlers	3
TOTAL INCOMING	71	TOTAL INCOMING	51
TOTAL BORN IN HOYOS	25	TOTAL BORN IN HOYOS	18

Figure 3-8: Hoyos Children's Age Pyramid

old. In the same town of Hoyos there are 22 single men (17 to 24 years of age) in need of women to marry.

In Aguayo women seem to have married at the early age of 15. All the fifteen-year-old women seem to have married since they no longer live with their parents. There are six fourteen-year-old women living with their parents. There are only five women available to marry ages 16,17,19 and 21 in Aguayo in 1757, for a group of eleven anxious men 15 to 19, and a 21 year-old mature lad.

Neither was Guemez the ideal place to go in search for a woman to get married. There are only six nubile women: five ladies 15 years old, one sixteen, and an old lady 20 years of age. The matching group of Guemez men is formed by 31 single men ages 15 to 24. Thirty women was the demand, six the available supply.

Magnus Moerner, the Swedish demographer has mentioned a repeated pattern of absence of European women at the early stages of colonization during the 16th Century, miscegenation being the result of it. (Moerner, 1979) The lack of European women was an result of the legal dispositions preventing the passage of single Spanish women to the new continent. In Nuevo Santander in the eighteenth century, the absence of single women is the result of another legal disposition also contained in the Laws of Indies. Every new settler had to be a married man to be eligible for distribution of land. The settlers were married. That is why the number of nubile women in Nuevo Santander in 1757 is far less than ideal. The Indian native women and some young Spanish widows must have been in high demand by a much larger group of single males. In fact successive miscegenation was to continue, a process which in the North of Mexico, gave birth to a more dynamic and equalitarian society than that of central Mexico.

Due to miscegenation the North became a much more hispanized region. But

even when the circumstances forced the interracial marriages, the law had very clear dispositions not only discouraging the intermarriages between Spaniards and Indians, Indians and Blacks but regulating almost every aspect of the life of the natives.

NATIVE POPULATION

Chapter 4

Native Population

This section contains some Viceregal Policy aspects concerning the Indian tribes of Nuevo Santander. I will compare colonization facts face to face with the Laws of the Indies regulating the Indian lifestyle. Important aspects of behavior and illnesses of the Indians will serve as supporting argument for the small Indian population at the missions. Illness and mistreatment affected the relationship of the Indians with the missionary friars during the early colonization of Nuevo Santander. The Indians were never dominated. Although no Indian towns were founded in Nuevo Santander, the natives proved to be a relevant colonization factor. There were more than 175 tribes in the territory at contact with the colonization expeditions. There are reports of repeated Indian attacks to the caravans of colonizers. At least three of the new villages were depopulated by the repeated Indian attacks. Indian robbery and violence were the usual events for the first settlers. The laws of Indies established a precise regulation about almost every detail of Indian life. As a result, the native sedentary tribes were divided, transported, sold, inherited, enslaved, and used in colonization of new lands. Nomadic tribes like those found in Nuevo Santander and in general all over the wide northlands of New Spain, did resist subjugation. They had no fixed territory where to be made captives. They owned no agricultural lands. They hunted and gathered wild fruits. They were a difficult mobile target for Viceregal control. They practiced guerrilla war. But they were doomed to be ultimately exterminated.

4.1 Historical Framework

4.1.1 The Frontier in early Colonial Times

The territory of Nuevo Santander was an Indian frontier. Apaches, Comanches, Janambres, and the former Florida Olives are some of better known Indian tribes of the area.

Before colonization, Indian attacks had been perpetrated to the steward families and shepherds of the sheep-estates which grazed in the Nuevo Santander during the winter. Marques de Altamira, the War Minister, reported robberies up to 40,000 heads of livestock by the Indians in the second decade of the eighteenth century in the periphery of Nuevo Santander. During 1748-49, when the first villages were formed, several families of Olive Indians settled in the missions located in the vicinity of the towns. But even these gentrified Florida Indians retreated under the vicious attacks of the Comanche, Apache and other generic Chichimeca Indians.

Later Viceregal reports state that the Indians were hostile from August to the end of December or beginnings of January, and ceased their attacks until May when they again attacked. (Velazquez4, 1979, 101)

4.1.2 Motives For Indian Attacks

1. Separation of men from their families, a practice initiated by the religious Fray Nicolas de Ovando in 1504 in the Caribbean Hispaniola Island (Dominican Republic). He relocated Indians away of their natural habitat for extractive and production purposes. This practice brought an abundance of childless couples as shown by Moerner. The

precedent of relocation of Indians became institutionalized. It became widely practiced in Mexico.

2. Destruction of Indian farmlands by errant Spanish livestock.

3. Spanish occupation of Indian towns, farmlands, water sources. The Indians usually lived in the best available places. Many Spanish towns were founded in such sites. Indians had to retreat to the mountains if wanted to remain free. They also attacked in revenge, and to obtain some food. One has to remember that the few lands they cultivated were now worked by and producing for the Spaniards.

4. The destruction of their economic base. One of the effective ways to dominate nomadic tribes was the intervention of their economic base. Once despoiled of it, they usually surrendered or retreated further away.

4.2 Epidemics

“Disease was the great conqueror: European born disease such as measles, influenza, smallpox, typhus, the mysterious ‘matlazahuatl’ [probably a kind of typhoid] and malaria and yellow fever from the African slaves killed the natives on contact by the millions.... The most striking aftermath of the conquest was the decline in sedentary Indian

population and nomadic tribes in one of the greatest demographic catastrophes of human history. From approximately 25 million in 1519, the population of Central Mexico shrank to a little over 1 million by 1600...." (Hennessy, 1978, 46)

Epidemics among the natives were as bad for the health of the Indians as for the welfare of Spaniards and for the building of the new villages. The epidemics had left New Spain with a diminished and ailing Indian workforce. The Crown, at the petition of the colonizers, had to start importing Negro slaves from Africa to substitute for what should have been Indian workers (See Appendix A, p.139).

The contact of the Spaniards was always catastrophic for the Indian population. In the early 1520's Hernan Cortes made first contact with the Aztecs of Tenochtitlan, now Mexico City. The Spaniards were defeated in fierce combats. But the Indians died by the hundreds of the common European smallpox illness brought by the colonizers. The great number of corpses which the Spaniards dumped into the lake by which the settlement lay made of the city a place which stank even leagues away.

The same pattern of disease and death was replicated with every northward advance of the Spanish colonization of Mexico. In 1716 the first Spanish missionaries who began the pacification of Texas, brought with them epidemics which decimated the native population. Gerhard (1982) reports epidemics in Nuevo Leon and the adjacent western territory by 1707, 1738, and 1781. Indians were brought from outside after each of the early catastrophes. In Nuevo Santander 1748, there are continued reports of disease among the Indians at contact with the Spaniards. Smallpox severely diminished the native population of Nuevo Santander.

Regional estimations of native population who died victims of disease show

that in the Nuevo Santander area as many as 15,000 natives died at contact during colonization (See table of Gerhard's estimations). Jose de Escandon in full colonizing campaign, reports to the Viceregal government that many natives did not show-up because of the epidemics they suffered at the moment.

The colonizer of Nuevo Santander could not realize the true origin of the disease. "Among the Indians, there are many who have congregated [adhered to the towns], and many who offer to do it once they free themselves from the smallpox epidemic they suffer...[Escandon informed from Queretaro on June 14 1749. Later, he added]...At the same time, the inconveniences increased, worsened by the penurious smallpox epidemics suffered by many families [of Spanish colonizers] who have entered...but of 690 families [of settlers], only three children died..." (AGNM vol.2, 1931 293-297). The Nuevo Santander Missions were to suffer the consequences of a annihilated native population. It was just difficult to establish the missions. Again, Escandon reports such obstacles still without realizing the origin of the disease. "...One league away of the Spanish town of Santa Barbara, I founded the Mission of Igollo, [with] 34 families of natives...[The gifts presented by Escandon to the Indians]...would have congregated more Indians be it not, because they [the natives], are not here right now, given the smallpox epidemic of which many have died...[Later in the same document he attests]...The congregation [reduction] of the Indians [of the Tapextle Valley] could not be carried out at present because almost all of them and their families suffer the smallpox epidemics of which many had died...." (Archivo2, 1931, 287, 285)

Indian-Spaniard frontier meant also Indian-disease, Indian-deceased frontier. The incoming settlers carried the disease with them, as reported by Escandon. "...the painful smallpox epidemics that during the journey suffered the families who entered [Nuevo Santander]..." (Archivo2, 1931, 297). In Nuevo Santander

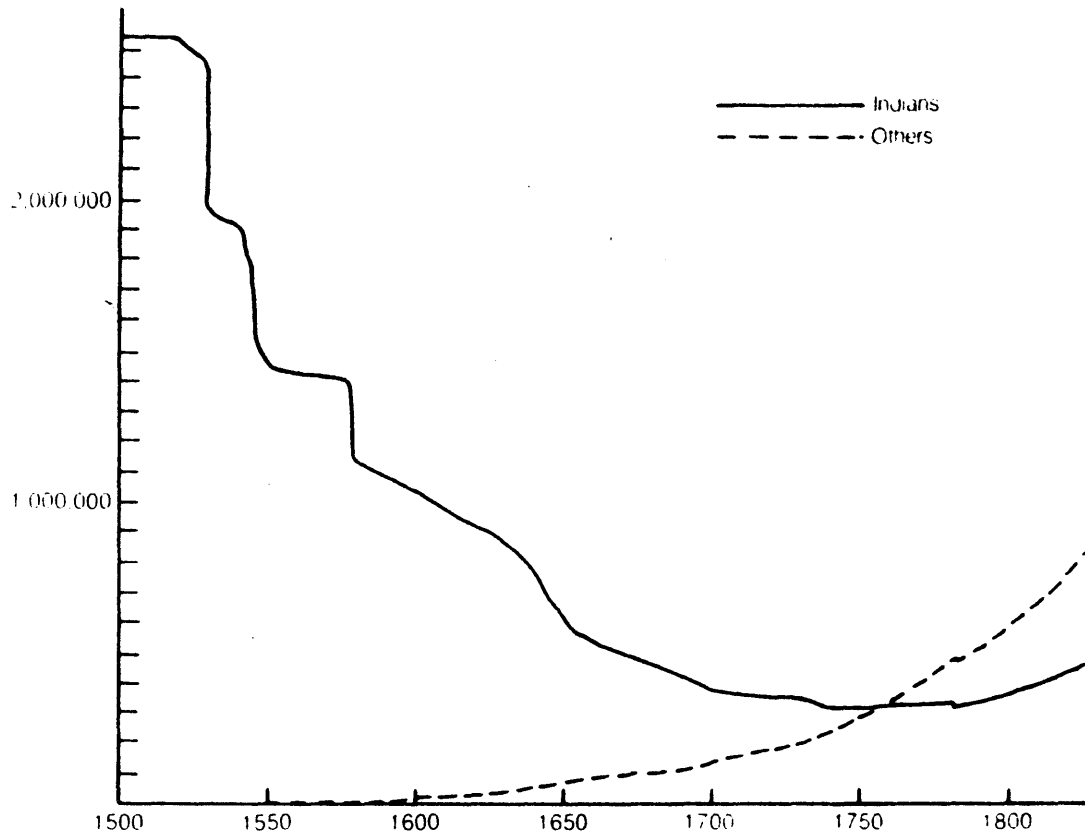
Figure 4-1: Population of the North Frontier

Estimated Population of the Northern Frontier

	1519	1550	1600	1650	1700	1750	1800	1821
Nueva Galicia								
Indians	855,000	220,000	83,000	69,000	73,000	90,000	193,000	260,000
Others	—	3,700	14,000	61,500	105,000	168,000	280,000	350,000
Nueva Vizcaya								
Indians	350,000	345,000	267,500	158,800	86,600	57,900	50,400	62,000
Others	—	—	3,700	6,800	14,900	66,500	126,800	170,000
Sinaloa y Sonora								
Indians	820,000	430,000	310,000	90,000	50,000	60,000	55,000	60,000
Others	—	300	600	5,000	15,000	30,000	70,000	90,000
Baja California								
Indians	48,000	48,000	48,000	47,500	46,500	21,000	5,000	3,000
Others	—	—	—	—	100	300	1,400	3,000
Alta California								
Indians	60,000	60,000	60,000	60,000	60,000	60,000	36,000	21,000
Others	—	—	—	—	—	—	1,800	3,500
Nuevo México								
Indians	62,000	62,000	60,000	25,000	11,000	10,000	9,000	12,000
Others	—	—	1,000	2,000	2,000	6,000	20,000	28,000
Coahuila								
Indians	50,000	50,000	45,000	35,000	2,500	2,000	3,000	4,500
Others	—	—	—	—	300	3,000	10,000	18,000
Texas								
Indians	20,000	20,000	20,000	20,000	10,000	1,600	700	800
Others	—	—	—	—	—	1,000	3,600	8,000
Nuevo León								
Indians	100,000	100,000	50,000	20,000	8,000	2,000	3,000	4,000
Others	—	—	100	1,000	5,000	15,000	35,000	70,000
Nuevo Santander								
Indians	190,000	120,000	90,000	60,000	30,000	15,000	3,000	2,000
Others	—	—	—	—	—	4,600	33,000	60,000
NORTHERN FRONTIER								
Indians	2,555,000	1,455,000	1,033,500	585,300	377,600	319,500	358,100	429,300
Others	—	4,000	19,400	76,300	142,300	294,400	581,600	800,500
Total	2,555,000	1,459,000	1,052,900	661,600	517,900	613,900	939,700	1,229,800

Note: The estimates refer in each case to the number of people within the area *finally* brought under Spanish control.

Figure 4-1: Population of the North Frontier



I. Population of the Northern Frontier

"epidemics recorded include the plague of 1684, and the matlazahuatl of circa 1740 [the latter corresponds to the early explorations and first settlements]..." (Gerhard, 1982, 366). As stated above 15,000 died during colonization. In the epidemic of 1792, children are reported to be the victims, up to 2000 having died. (Gerhard, 1982, 366)

The chronicle of Hermenegildo Sanchez dated in 1803, registers the presence of disease at the time of colonization. "...His divine Majesty, sent a generalized hunger in all this America. For many people it was good to become settlers, and in some fights against the Indians it was of great help the contagion of measles and smallpox which was highly severe among them [the Indians in the years 1751, 1765, and 1768]...." (Sanchez, 1977). What happened in Mexico also happened in all the Indian frontiers of the Americas.

From the earliest Spaniard settlements to the last European-Amerindian contacts, the pattern of severe decimation has persisted. During the first Spanish colonization of the Caribbean Islands, contagion occurred. For instance in December of 1514, six months after from Pedrarias Davila [the Spanish conqueror] had arrived to Darien, the Spanish colonial settlement of Central America, "...a plague [contagion] had diminished half of the [Indian] population...." [In Santo Domingo a similar occurrence generated]... inability for self sustainment brought the almost total disappearance of the Indian population of Hispaniola [Santo Domingo]. (Hardoy, 1975, 100,104)

Even in present day Brazil considerable numbers of native tribes who have remained isolated in the rain forest become victims of severe diseases upon contact with city people. S. Cook and Woodrow Borah, authorities on historical demography for Mexico, report that as many as 25,300,000 Indians died due to European disease in the 1519 epidemic. Yes, twenty five million. Another million

and a half were to die due to the same cause in Central Mexico circa 1650. Although unable to understand it, the Indians associated the presence of the Spaniards with disease.

Eighteenth Century history registers droughts, hunger and epidemics. These elements helped not the demographic expansion, but on the contrary they created migration movements to the cities where supply of food and of medicine and help in general was more easily available.

The presence of epidemics in Nuevo Santander did not deter the population of the area. If some villages were abandoned, it was a result of Indian attacks, not because the illnesses endangered the lives of the settlers. After all, the new settlers were the carriers of the germs, not the victims of the epidemics.

4.3 The Laws Of Indies And The Indians

Some of the laws concerning Indians and their life, shall bring a sample of contradiction between facts and reality. The first contradiction is against freedom of the Indians.

Book VI, Title VIII, First Law.

“...Being the Land at peace, the governor does distribute Indians in it. Having done the pacification and the natives reduced to our obedience... distribute the Indians [for forced labor] among the settlers so that they be in charge of those thus distributed to them, to defend them, protect them, and teach them the Christian doctrine...”

[The supposed protectors were in reality the abusers]

Law II.

“...The distribution of the Indians [forced labor] be also understood of those who are astray in the already populated districts of Spaniards, making the distribution for two lifetimes. And [the one in charge] may assign to himself one ‘repartimiento’ [lot of Indians] for two lifetimes...and better himself taking another repartimiento.

Examples: “The second governor of Nuevo Leon distributed among the new settlers, and for himself 225 families of Guachichil Indians....”(Roel 1938-1984) “...In a 1628 violent disposition Governor Martin de Zavala distributed in ‘encomienda’ [forced labor] all the baptized Indians giving them to the whites for their service and authorizing them to capture the non baptized ‘by soft means or by force’....” (Martinez, 1929, 4) The king in his cedula to Zavala, dated May 27 1625 ordered: "Be it not done in excess but distribute them according to the law...." (Hoyo2, 1985, 100) Escandon had in his ‘ranch’ at least 80 families of Indians whose production benefited the colonizer. These were the Indian protectors.

It is interesting to observe the following law, which is in presumable contradiction of the last one.

Book V. Title II, First Law. The Indians be free and not subject to servitude. We mandate that no person in war or not, may take, apprehend, employ, sell or exchange any Indian, or have him for that [slave], under pretext of a fair war or by purchase, ransom, bartering or anything else, or any other cause, even in the case that the same natives, have had him or would have among them as slave. Punishment that if someone would be found captive, or has as slave any Indians, do loose all his belongings, to be applied to our Camara and Fiscality, and the Indian returned to its own land in full and natural freedom at the expense of the capturer or those who had them as slaves...."

Sometimes the friars committed abuses on the Indians (See Appendix B). This is one of the pertaining dispositions about relations between Indians and religious men.

Book VI Title I First Law. "Be the Indians favored and protected by the Ecclesiastic and Secular Justices. ...To remedy the damages they suffer; they shall live without being bothered or vexed... [the transgressors be severely punished]... We petition to the Ecclesiastic Prelates to attain it, being the spiritual fathers...and to keep them[the Indians] in their privileges, and prerogatives and have them in their protection."

But the following law dictates that the Prelates and religious men in general do help the Spaniards to reduce and control the Indians. This control included distribution of forced labor.

Book VI Title III Law II The Ecclesiastic Prelates shall help and facilitate the 'Reducciones' [concentration of Indians]...We commission the Archbishops and Bishops that in their districts help the settlement of natives and facilitate the difficulties found attaining the settlement. [Parish priests, ministers of doctrine, and regular priests also included].

These are additional dispositions about Indian life.

Book VI Title I Law II. "The Indians are free to get married and no royal order may impede it..."

Law IV. The Indians be not separated from their parents.

Separation was a way of diminish formation of power tribal groups. It was common practice.

Law XII. Be the Indians free to move (residency) from one place to another

excepted where due to reducciones. (Usually they were reduced, and those free, as the Santander groups, experienced oppression in the form of mistreatment.)

Law XIX. Be the Indians brought to social life [town life] without being oppressed.

Law XXI Be the Indians employed in their trades and agriculture and be dressed... for more honesty and decency of their persons....

Law XXXI. Firearms shall no be sold to the Indians.

Law XXXIII. Indians may no ride horses.

Law XXXVI. Grape wine may not be sold to the Indians.

The argument: It is noxious to their health, because they are not used to it, but to the fermented cactus drinkstuff to which they are used to. Truth: Grape wine and grape liquor was imported, scarce and expensive as to start the Indians into liking, something the Spaniards valued so much.

The law supported that the Indians be sold their 'Pulque drinkstuff' made out of a cactus fermented liquid.

Law XXXVI. Pulque (agave amaryllis fermented drinkstuff) may be sold to the Indians. [some quality control recommendations included].

The following law prohibits the production of grapevines and grape wine liquor, in America according to the Spanish system of production monopolies.

IV, XVII, XVIII. "It is forbidden to plant grapevines in the West Indies and It is mandated to the Viceroy not to grant licenses to replant them or repair those depleted: However in opposition to the aforesaid, the vecinos and inhabitants of Peru have planted many [grapevines] and we could proceed against their owners for transgressing our mandate, and usurpation of the lands were they are located: Still

for using mercifulness and clemency we order and mandate that all the owners and possessors of grapevines give us and pay each year two percent of all the fruit, they obtain from them, and...[having done the paperwork for legalization of their vineyards] the Viceroy and Presidents, Governors give in our name...the necessary titled from now then on, without limitation may have them and enjoy them and repair them, and their heirs or descendants [do as they wish]...but to plant new ones. The former ordinances and law that prohibit this, still apply..."

Other laws and ordinances regulate the layout of the Indian townships as well as the behavior of their masters. In the 1715 Ordinances for Indian towns issued in Nuevo Leon 1815 by Governor Francisco Barbadillo y Victoria, it was "...forbidden to tie the Indians with a loop around the neck, and be tied only around the hands and arms, and no one dare to have private prisons in their houses, or use them with the Indians...." (Barbadillo Ordinance 71, in Hoyo 1985, 190)

MISSIONS AND MISSIONARIES

Chapter 5

Missions and Missionaries

In this section I will not discuss the missional activity or prominent personalities of the friars. I will focus on the power struggle between the religious orders and the Viceregal power. The diminished power that the church had in this Nuevo Santander pacification was to have definite effects. First, the missionary activity was to fail, due to the missionaries' inability to have absolute control over the Indians. Second, Escandon was forced to renounce the Post of Governor due to circumstances originated by complaints of the Franciscans.

5.1 Missions

The Royal Exchequer -- or Royal Treasury -- through its office called The Factor provided the necessary equipment for the Missions. An initial grant paid for bells, vestment, foundational expenses, and agricultural tools for the new Missions. It even paid the construction in selected instances. This was the usual procedure, and the way it was handled in Nuevo Santander. In the list of colonization expenses, there is an entry called The Factor. In it the detailed expenses of what was paid for equipment of the Missions can be found. During the visit of the Inspector Jose Tienda de Cuervo and the Engineer Agustin de la Camara Alta, there is an investigation and account of the material goods owned by each Mission, since the Government had paid for it.

In Nuevo Santander the Missionary Franciscan Fathers were to be the originators for the loss of Jurisdiction for Jose de Escandon in the New Colony, and

of his power position in the Government. In other parts of the country, Missions were true production centers. The Indian worked the land from dawn to sunset. The religious orders became unusually opulent and respected; they even became real estate financiers and developers. In Nuevo Santander the mendicant friars, with their vows of poverty were somewhat alien to material wealth, but did not disdain power at all.

5.2 Missionaries

5.2.1 Franciscan Power In Nuevo Santander

Religious orders were present during all the colonization period, from the first exploration trips to the end of the colonial era. The Spanish Kings were clever, almost cunning people. Experience had shown that the mendicant religious orders were not as gold-hungry as the ordinary soldiers, or even some of the other religious orders. The crown enforced the role of the religious friars in pacification issues. The friars held not only the land for the king, but also the material richness contained in the new lands. It must be pointed out that in Mexico a great part of the colonization missions were held by mendicant orders. Later on, when the extractive institutions had been established, other non-mendicant orders were allowed to go to the new lands, but only a few orders were allowed to pass to America. Some were even forbidden, as it can be read in the Laws of Indies.

In the Ordinance No. 147 issued in 1570 by Felipe II and included among the 1573 Ordinances of Discovery and Population, the king expresses the participation of the religious orders in settlement and Pacification of the new territories. It is also part of Book IV, Title IV, Law III, which reads: "If the... Predicadores [preacher men] were enough for the Pacification, no other person shall enter... other who may obstruct the conversion and pacification."

The opposite happened in Nuevo Santander. It is almost the reverse of what the law indicated: If existing enough soldiers and settlers to do the pacification, no one who shall enter, who might obstruct the pacification.

The new Bourbon conception of colonization, given the complex needs of the time, established totally different priorities. Power in Nuevo Santander was going to be centered in the Viceregal representatives, not around the friars. The policy was to settle towns of Spaniards, not of Indians. The new policy is expressed by Escandon

“...in the new colony [Nuevo Santander], the rules the Laws [of the Indies] for the new conversion of the Indians must not be followed because this settlement has been formed by cities and Villages of Spaniards, and the Indians have to be reputed as aggregated and subordinated to the Justice representatives in them...”
(Archivo1, 1929,197)

In respect to the Indians, the Crown had from the beginning three goals; to convert them, to civilize them, and to exploit them. (Webber, 1982,51) These goals could not be achieved in Nuevo Santander. The Indians became not only unimportant but undesirable to the Government. As a result of this, the Indians were punished, vexed and eventually exterminated.

But if the missions did not perform a conversion role, what was their role? The role missions had in Nuevo Santander was to hold the land. The religious orders were to become Power Groups. Constant disputes among the orders regarding the territorial limits of their intervention were common during colonial times. Other source for dispute were the concessions and preeminences granted by the Crown. The laws of Indies order a mutual vigilance between church and Viceregal orders, and to report to the king any anomalies detected. It seems to be a

case of peer evaluation of two power sectors of the Crown. The laws also ruled that a harmonious relation between the material and spiritual governments should prevail.

In Nuevo Santander the dispute of the religious Government, Franciscan Friars, and the material government, Escandon, is originated by the change of Policy in Colonization matters of the Viceregal Authority. The new Bourbon dispositions concentrated more power in colonization issues in the hands of the material government, by taking some power away from the spiritual government. However, it is absolutely clear that the Friars were not aware of this governmental policy change. They only experienced the implicit consequences of the new policy.

In some regions of Mexico religious orders had been responsible for the uncolonized areas of the Spanish colonies: They simply opposed colonization of certain territories under the argument that the entry of non-religious Spaniards to it, would damage the Indians. They did it supported on the law expressed above. It was done in this way in several regions where only religious men founded Indian towns. This is common in south central Mexico. In those regions there was simply no competition in power and production.

In the documents prepared by the Auditor Marques de Altamira regarding the Colonization of Nueva Vizcaya, the territory of the present day state of Jalisco, the opposition of the Friars to colonization can be documented.

“...It could have been attained these foundations [Nueva Vizcaya]... be it not by the invincible, closed, and absolute opinion of the religious missionaries that administer those frontiers in the spiritual and are of the opinion that the Spanish settlements and people of reason (gentes de razon) are damaging to the Christian teaching of the non-converted non-reduced Indians or of those recently converted and reduced. They make

obvious their insurmountable influence there, by impeding through all the possible ways the settlement, vicinity, or nearness of Spaniards. (Velazquez2, 1976, 116)

In Nuevo Santander the Friars were probably unaware that it was an governmental decision that the power be concentrated in the regular justices, not in the religious justices as far as Indians were concerned. The Indians were to be judged by the ordinary justices, not by the religious friars. It is apparent that the intervention power of the Friars diminished severely because of this new Bourbon disposition. In Nuevo Santander, the friars' reaction was impulsive and even irrational. First they renounce to the missions of the colony, something they had repeatedly threatened to do. Second, to placate their repressed anger they looked for someone to serve as scapegoat. Being none other around whom to blame for their disgrace, the Friars attacked Escandon. The Missionaries had no power. They had no useful jurisdiction over the Indians. From the interviews held with missionaries during the Inspection it is apparent that the Indians were not useful for agricultural production or for livestock raising in the missions. The new policy did not include a religious priority. It did not even contemplate power sharing with the Orders in matters of colonization, as observed in the governmental records of the colonization of Nuevo Santander.

5.2.2 Religious Coup D'etat

The Franciscan friars refused to supply religious men for three new villages to be founded in 1765 by Escandon after a long process of consultation and analysis of the government. A royal Cedula approving and mandating the establishment of the settlements had returned to New Spain after the king signed and approved the new towns.

Next I will present the development of events in the power dispute between Friars and the Government. I have followed a series of communiques between the friars, the Colonizer and the Government. These documents contain the proposal for the foundation of three new towns, the viceregal evaluation of the proposal, and the system of consultation for the approval. It also contains the Cedula Real in which the King approves and mandates to build those new towns.

This is the struggle between the two powers:

1. The Franciscans argued that they did not have enough friars for the new missions.
2. On Oct. 8, 1765, Fray Joaquin Garcia del Santisimo Rosario communicates to the viceroy the decision of the friars to retire from the present Nuevo Santander Missions.
3. Being informed of the situation, on Oct.15 1765, Escandon makes a petition to the Viceroy to allow him to find some other religious men willing to go, he also informs that he will depart for the foundation of the new three villages one week later.
4. The Friars' reaction appears in a communication directed to the Viceroy dated Nov. 13 1765. Velarde, a high government official explains to the Viceroy that according to the Friars, the new settlements to be founded were not convenient.

With this last declaration, the Friars were obstructing a government process initiated on March 9, 1763, when Carlos III in his palace of El Buen Retiro had sent a Royal Cedula to the Mexican Viceroy Marques de Cruillas. In his Royal Decree the king ordered to found the new three villages, as proposed by Escandon. This Royal Order was the confirmation of the proposals presented to the Viceroy after the 1757 Inspection of Nuevo Santander. The iterative process of revision and approval for the establishment of the new villages, which although not indispensable were needed for mining, took from 1758 to 1765. Forty long communications in two years time had been issued among government officials since the King's Cedula ordered the new foundations. The power deprived Friars in desperation calumniated Escandon's proposal for the new villages as inappropriate. I could not find out information as to whether Escandon proceeded to the foundational trip on the announced date or later. However, the towns were founded.

5. The true motives of the Friars appeared on January 23, 1766. Fray Manuel de Najera communicates to the Viceroy that their complaint is actually directed against Escandon, not to the foundation of the new villages. He requests the Viceroy not to expect any information from Escandon about the Friars that he was looking for. Fray Najera is willing to supply the religious men needed for the new missions.

6. In an important short document dated on Feb. 7 1766, Velarde, a man very close to the Auditor and the Viceroy, communicated that the struggle Franciscans versus Escandon required "...the most serious meditation... [since] the peace between the secular [government] and the ecclesiastic [church], [was at risk]..."

For it was written in the Laws of Indies (Book III Title I) Law III.

"That between the Ecclesiastic Jurisdiction and the Secular one shall exist peace and conformity. Because of the discord [between them] grave and inconveniences follow.... We recommend and petition to the Viceroys, Presidents and Oidores of our Real Audiencia [supreme Viceregal government], that keeping the Laws of these kingdoms of Castilla and Law LIV [Title VII Book I] of this [1680] Recopilacion, give all favor and help to the Archbishops and Bishops and to the other prelates for whatever may be convenient to do in their ministries, excusing the differences that improperly occur between both jurisdictions."

Law IV. "Observe the Laws of the Kingdoms of Castilla that forbid the Ecclesiastic Judges to usurp the Royal Jurisdiction," Law I, Title X, Book I [of the Castillian Laws]. But at the same time Law V reads "...That the prelates do not interfere in what is related to the Royal Jurisdiction, and in notable cases do give notice [directly] to the king. We entreat and recommend, the archbishops and Bishops not to interfere or obstruct in anything related to the Royal Jurisdiction and when a notable case may occur, be it of our service, do give notice to us in the Council of Indies, to provide for the remedy that shall seem convenient."

Law XXXIX. "That the Viceroys attain peace and agreement and common consent between the Prelates and Ecclesiastics.... And when any

clergy or Religious shall be scandalous, and his presence in those provinces could result as inconvenient, the viceroys write or bring to presence their Prelates [superiors], and obtaining their agreement, send them [the scandalous] back [to Spain as soon as possible].”

[All letters cited in this section are found in (Archivo2, 1931, 176-279)]

(From the instances above, I am tempted to associate the Spanish system of control with the Matrix System type which operates on the basis of a multiple control and high number of horizontal relationships rather than a pyramid type system. The study of the Spanish Royal government from the point of view of Organizations shall open a whole new horizon for the interpretation of Latin America).

According to Velazquez-Chavez, Marques de Altamira makes frequent allusions to what can be denominated the ‘vice of petition,’ or complaint to the king. Petitions and complaints of all sorts that daily reached the Viceroy’s offices obstructed and delayed the dispatch of important issues. It has been argued, they were only a pretext to postpone the execution of well-studied resolutions. (Velazquez2, 1976, 28)

Could this procedure be what the Franciscan Friars had intended to do with the foundation of the three extra towns for Nuevo Santander? There are many examples in history in which Prelates openly defied the Viceregal authorities, abusing their power for excommunication. A remedy for this problem had to be implemented. Spain participated in successive foreign wars. The internal problems had to be solved as soon as possible. The government could not entertain the idea of disorder within the kingdom.

5.3 Bourbon Solution To The Church Problem

By the end of the eighteenth century the Church in New Spain seems to have had more power than the Crown was willing to share. The religious orders had become true interest groups possessing great extensions of rural and urban land, lending money and assuming role of production in many cases through their hacienda-industries. Even in the seventeenth century it had happened in other provinces of Mexico. In Zacatecas the rich mining city, four out of the five religious orders with Convents in town were in the money-lending business, with the exception of the Franciscans. In Zacatecas the orders provided loans for 100% of the cost of house and land to miners. The great accumulation of wealth allowed them to function as sources of credit in New Spain. "Religious orders owned from one fourth to one fifth of all the houses in Zacatecas..." (Bakewell, 1971, 53-54) The Franciscans were the least inclined to money business due to their poverty practice. The Jesuits were among the richest of all the orders with residence in Mexico.

The church was violating several dispositions of the Laws of Indies. First, it was forbidden to sell the land to the Church members to prevent an excessive accumulation of economic power by the church which back in history had proved it could become not only very rich, but excessively rich.

This is the law. Book IV, title XII, Law X. "The Land distributed to discoverers and settlers may not be sold to Ecclesiastics. [And in the main body it recommended...] Distribute lands without excess among the discoverers and first settlers and their descendants that are to remain in this land. Be preferred for this the more qualified. They could not sell them [the land] to the church, or Monastery or any other Ecclesiastic person, penalty of loss of them [the lands], which [then] be distributed to others."

But the church in its enormous wisdom found out that donations of lands were not forbidden by law. Yes, donations of land to the church proliferated.

The Crown took a preliminary decision to solve two problems with one decision. There were two goals. One was to diminish the economic power of the orders and the second was to solve some numerary problems of cash flow aggravated by the constant European wars. The solution was to amortize some monetary funds that the orders usually retained with acquiescence of the Crown. The Orders had created with them some sort of revolving funds to finance some activities, such as education, not funded with charities or direct donations. Among the most notable of these Funds was the Jesuit Fund of California. "The Crown demanded that all ecclesiastical funds should be paid into the Royal Treasurer, and from then on, the Exchequer would be responsible over the deposited principal of over 40,000,000 pesos [in true precious metals]...." (Brading, 1971, 340)

Another drastic disposition was enacted. A secret Royal decree of Feb. 27 1767 was simultaneously communicated in all of the houses of the Jesuit Company on April 2, 1767. The Jesuits were sent back to the Pontifical States. More than 2700 were sent back to Rome. Their possessions were all confiscated. Their missions in the north of Mexico, were assigned to the Franciscans and Dominicans.... (Gerhard, 1982). Jesuits had also been expelled from France and Portugal.

It has been argued that the expulsion of the Jesuits led to the Independence movements in the Spanish dominions. It is debatable. More plausible are explanations based on the autonomous type of bureaucracy, a more mature population of power-hungry creoles, along with the incremented exploitation of the colonies by Spain, added to the generalized extermination of undominated rebel Indians. Back in Nuevo Santander, the missions were abandoned by the

Franciscans of Guadalupe (Zacatecas), and replaced by other set of Franciscans from a nearby Province, as had been offered to the Viceroy. Jose de Escandon was to be suspended in his governmental activities, in 1766-67. He was to die in 1770.

Chapter 6

Conclusions

6.1 Government

An achievement of this work has been to establish and to document with factual data the strictest relationship between the Laws of Indies and the procedures of the foundation of Nuevo Santander. With the analysis of Nuevo Santander's colonization, and the Laws, it has been possible to test reality and the legal frame which had generated it. The finding also extends to the effects of the exaggerated royalty-system promoted by the Spanish Crown in the form of land and labor grants to the Colonizers as a compensation for their services. It has ultimately conformed the political and socioeconomic patterns of Latin America in general. I have also concluded that the Laws of Indies originated the royalty-patterns of political systems of Spanish America. It started with Columbus. The agreements signed between the Catholic Kings and Christopher Columbus on Apr. 17, 1492, may be considered a mercantile contract by which Colon obtained one tenth of all merchandises to be brought, found or earned within the limits of his Admiralship. The successive colonization entrepreneurships followed a similar pattern. By law, the colonization was never done at the expense of the Crown. It was paid by individual colonizers who expected a top rate of return in the form of royal concessions and royalties, as well as nobility. This pattern still shapes the political reality of former Spanish Colonies. The knowledge of the Laws of Indies as the master document for the understanding and knowledge of Latin America, especially for non-natives of Latin America. This is one of the main conclusions, as far as the Government as Institution for colonization is concerned.

In Latin America the political structure, the economic organization and the production modes, as well as the social status of many countries, especially those with low degrees of miscegenation can be explained by the Laws of Indies. The analysis of Colonization expenses brought as a result the establishment of the real level of expenses that the New Colonization represented for the Viceregal Treasury.

The cost of defense, which represented 55% of all colonization costs, is suggested to have served as important source for initial economic development of the villages, in addition to the 10 year tax-exemption status for the new settlers. This initial economic stimulus combined with the tax exception incentives, had as a result an outstanding economic growth for Nuevo Santander. The issue of lack of land distribution was also clarified. Explanations ranging from the declarations of the colonizer to other interpretations were proposed. My conclusion is that Escandon wanted to keep the power by delaying the allocation of land.

6.2 Population

The analysis of population of seven out of 15 towns, produced an indication of the living standards of the first settlers of the villages. High infant mortality and high risks associated to life in frontier villages had its toll in lives. The ratio of widows and widowers attest this fact. High infant mortality can be easily read in the age pyramids formed for three towns and in the one showing the aggregation them. The household size graphics and tables allowed to establish the characterization of differences among the three main groups of settlers living in the towns at the time of the Inspection of 1757. The analysis of civil status of the population completed the characterization. Further conclusions in this area may be built by the manipulation of the population data obtained as means, standard deviations, medians and percentages, as well as by generating life-expectancy

figures. The marriage ages of women and men may be read from the age pyramids, by observing the age in which the number of girls living with their parents decreases sharply, the same for the boys. It varied from 14 to 16 years for women and 18-22 years for men. The real and painful absence of Spanish single women corroborated that the legal prescription that the new settlements was to be done with married 'vecinos.' The presence of aggregated settlers reflected the new marriages among the children of first settlers, as well as immigration generated by marriages of settlers with women from other towns given the local scarcity of nubile ladies. These couples appeared in the General Inspection as being still non-registered settlers in most villages. Incipient immigration to the new villages was shown by the initial increase in the number of males, many of them single, in the new villages. These towns became migratory recipients, a very likely sign of incipient progress. The absence of married women in the new villages and the early migration into the villages are two findings of this section.

6.3 Native Population

The antagonism between land-despoiled natives and the Spanish intruders, a confrontation of interest groups disputing a territory and its fruits, generated a clash of interests which was to end with the virtual extermination of the natives at the beginning of the nineteenth century. The violent abuses of the natives have been documented: a fact which has been rarely discussed. Explanation for it is also provided based in a Royal Cedula of Felipe II. The abuses of the Friars on the natives here documented, is another conclusion of this study. Explanations are proposed based on the general conditions originating in the reduced power of the friars and the new Borbonic policies. A relation of facts expressed by Escandon in the settlement expeditions has been correlated to the general pattern of native

decimation due to germs brought by the incoming colonizers. To show the replication of the old pattern, has been an important conclusion of this work. The presentation of the Laws of Indies regulating the way of life of the natives, helped understand the conditions of the native population.

Discrepancy in laws based in ideals and the opposed in reality has proved to be relevant in practice, since it allowed the existence of practical exploitation protected by the laws.

6.4 Missions

Missionary activity, a traditional element of colonization had a relatively low profile in this colonization scheme. Missionaries had no direct participation in the foundation of towns, which are founded at instance of the government to serve strategic, defensive and of territorial appropriation. The analysis of documents and letters among Escandon, government officials and the religious men, allowed to establish the underlying motives for the abandonment of the missions of Nuevo Santander of the Franciscan Friars of Zacatecas. It also allowed to show the transformation of the religious orders as an important power-group in the last century of the colonial era in Mexico. The expulsion of the Jesuits, who had at least one quarter of a million sheep grazing in Nuevo Santander, permitted the observation of another aspect of the Bourbon Government in action.

The assumption that the eighteenth century colonizations responding to a different set of conditions has been shown in the lack of attention paid to the missions and the missionaries by the Viceregal authorities. As a result of the colonization of the Nuevo Santander, the Nuevo Leon Missions were eliminated. Peace and stability in Nuevo Leon shows a true advance in the urban frontier; the extent of Spanish control of the northeastern territory.

6.5 Final Considerations

The improper use of the Ordinances of 1573 for the analysis of events and settlement processes occurring after 1680 has also been discussed.

The pacification of the territory had a definite effect on the territorial landholding for the country. Nuevo Santander was to be the last territory securely held by Spaniards, as opposed to Texas. The advance of the Urban Frontier generated by Jose de Escandon held forcefully as the border of the Mexican Nation. Today the Northeastern Border of Mexico along the Rio Grande is the same Urban Frontier as established by Escandon. "This method of colonization... as opposed to the presidios, -- Escandon communicated to the Viceroy -- is the only proved way to hold the land..." In fact, this was among the last expansions of the Spanish Empire, taking into account that the independence movement occurred at the end of the second decade of the nineteenth century for most Spanish American countries.

An important side conclusion has been the clear and absolute will of the Spanish Crown to disincentive the settlement of seaports. This was investigated, but not presented in the text, in relation to the rotund negative of the Crown to open a seaport in Nuevo Santander coastline. An extensive exploration of the proposed seaport was conducted during the 1757 Inspection. In the royal Cedula of March 9 1763, the king ordered the destruction of whatever work had been built for this purpose in the river where Escandon's ship landed after commercial trips to Tampico and Panuco. The Law III Vol IV title VII stated:

"Do not populate seaports, shall they be not necessary for the commerce and defense.... Do not select... sites for towns in sea-places because of the corsairs' danger... [and because] people do not commit themselves to agriculture... and the customs are not well formed in those places... if it were not where the good and main Ports... and of these

populate only those necessary for the entry, commerce and defense of the land....”

Another law also prohibited settlements along the sea:

Law V, “The territory shall not be taken in Seaport or in part that may cause damages. Territory and terms for new population, be not granted or taken for site in seaports or any other part which in some time might result in detriment neither of our Royal Crown nor of the Republic, because Our Will is that they be reserved for Us....”

Latin American Countries to this day have an insignificant number of seaports or settlement by the sea, as opposed to the United States which is a country in which the main cities are Seaport Cities. Escandon operated a private river-port which allowed access to the Gulf of Mexico for some commerce. But the Laws and the King prevented the opening of another novohispanic port in the Gulf of Mexico.

A synthesis of the colonization efforts of government and settlers are vividly portrayed in the words of Escandon the colonizer who declared:

“What I have spent in almost nine continuous years that I have occupied in [the] reconnaissance pacification and population [of Nuevo Santander] may be not less of what the Royal Treasury has spent. And it is not of less consideration what I have endured in such a long absence of my home, family and business, persecuted by criticism because I have even been reputed crazy for having assumed such a cumbersome enterprise. It has not been less what I suffered during fifteen years of the ‘Reduccion’ of the Sierra Gorda. But they have been well employed since it [my work] has produced the reduction of so many souls, an expansion of the Crown, and I have performed the trust granted by your Majesties...Most Excellent Sir, the method employed for this colonization project, previously submitted by me, has shown its good effects. It is the

only one way that may facilitate other [colonizations] which through the Presidios methods], take eternities to accomplish with useless expenses. Had it not been so fatal during the first years of this Colonization, given the generalized droughts which with simultaneous hunger and Indian attacks, obstructed [and made more difficult] my commitment.... Villa Capital de Nuevo Santander, August 8 1755, signed Jose de Escandon y Helguera.”

Many years were ahead for the end of the settlement process of the Province but the seeds had been sown in good soil. The successful integration of the territory had been accomplished.

6.6 Villages Founded By Jose De Escandon In Nuevo Santander

All towns exist. Nuevo Santander is the State of Tamaulipas.

1748

1. Santa Maria de Llera XII 25 1748

1749

2. Guemez I 17 1749

3. Padilla I 6 1749 Built in new site.
Old town now submerged in a water reservoir.

4. Santander II 17 1749

5. Burgos II 20 1749

6. Camargo III 5 1749

7. Reynosa III 14 1749 Relocated 1802

8. San Fernando III 19 1749

9. Altamira V 2 1749

10. City of Horcasitas V 11 1749

11. Santa Barbara V 19 1749

12. Real de los Infantes V 20 1749

1750

- | | | |
|---------------------------|-----------|---|
| 13. Soto la Marina | IX 3 1750 | |
| 14. Aguayo (Present Cap.) | X 6 1750 | |
| 15. Revilla | X 10 1750 | Built in new site.
1950's. Old city
submerged. Falcon
Reservoir. |

1751

- | | | |
|--------------|-------------|--|
| 16. Escandon | 15 III 1751 | |
|--------------|-------------|--|

1752

- | | | |
|----------------|-----------|--|
| 17. Santillana | 26 X 1752 | |
|----------------|-----------|--|

1753

- | | | |
|----------|------------|--|
| 18. Mier | 6 III 1753 | |
|----------|------------|--|

1755

- | | | |
|--------------------|--|--|
| 19. Real de Borbon | | |
| 20. Laredo | | (now part of the State of Texas) |
| 21. Tula | | (Repopulation of an abandoned mission) |
| 22. Jaumave | | (Repopulation of an abandoned mission) |
| 23. Palmillas | | (Repopulation of an abandoned mission) |

THE COLONIZATION OF NUEVO LEON

Appendix A

The Colonization Of Nuevo Leon

This section is intended to provide insight into the differences and contrasts between the Nuevo Santander and Nuevo Leon Colonization. Although the structure of the presentation does not follow the same pattern, the commonalities or dissimilarities shall be evident. The colonization Institutions are the same for both cases. The way they interact is dependent on the contextual historical circumstances, which also determine the outcome.

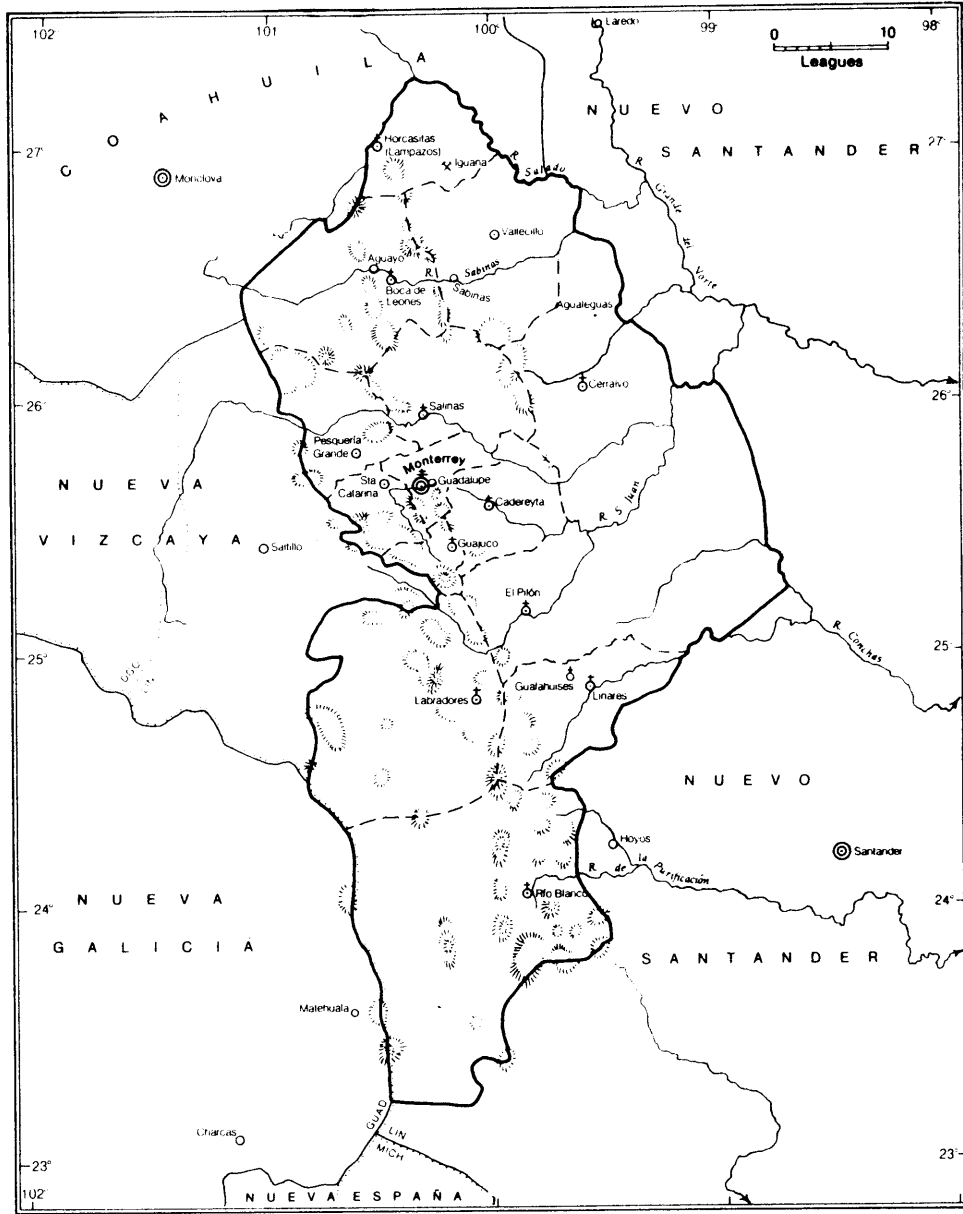


Figure A-1: Map Of Nuevo Leon

A.1 Sephardic Settlers Of The Nuevo Reino De Leon

Portuguese and Spanish Sephardic were the first colonizers of the Nuevo Reino de Leon during the last quarter of the sixteenth century. I here intend to establish historic relevance of the work of Luis de Carvajal, Conquistador and first Governor of Nuevo Leon, and to provide an overall view of the process of colonization of Nuevo Leon, which antecedes that of Nuevo Santander. Carvajal explored the territory which includes the states of Zacatecas, Coahuila, Nuevo Leon and part of Tamaulipas [or Nuevo Santander]. He colonized the territory of Nuevo Leon. In the 'Capitulaciones' -- agreement for Colonization -- dated May 30, 1579, the king Felipe II ascertains:

“...for thou [Luis de Carvajal y de la Cueva]... with people of war paid by thou, went to discover and discovered and established a pathway from the Province of Panuco, to the mines of Mazapil [silver mines of the Zacatecas Province] Kingdom of Nueva Galicia, and have also discovered certain province and land very much populated by natives, located north from said Mines of Mazapil and to the east and west flanked by both seas of the North and of the South....”

(Capitulacion de Luis Carvajal y de la Cueva para la pacificacion y poblacion del Nuevo Reino de Leon, in Toledo Spain June 14, 1579. Archivo General de La Nacion Mexico, Ramo Civil Vol. 672 f.254.) The capitulacion itself is dated in Arajuez on May 30 1579 but an error of the late XVI Century has officialized the date of June 14 which corresponds to a complementary provision of the king. (Hoyo3, 1979, 85)

The colonization of Nuevo Leon was a much more difficult task than that of Nuevo Santander, since it was done a century and a half before (1580).

Luis de Carvajal y de la Cueva, a sephardic Portuguese who had resided in

Mexico, later went back to Spain and obtained from Felipe II a 'Capitulacion' for the colonization of the Nuevo Reino de Leon. He carried back to Mexico 100 Spanish Sephardic families to settle the new Territory. Some of them were his relatives. "Carvajal recruited in Spain among those 100 settlers (families) many persons of his family and took them to Panuco [Mexican seaport in the Gulf of Mexico]. This caused him problems because without doubt, as appears during the [Inquisitional] processes, almost all of them were 'judaizantes' practicing and observing the Laws of Moses, practices, rites and ceremonies...." (Hoyo3, 1979, 112).

Another group of Portuguese were living in the mining region of Zacatecas. They later joined Carvajal in the new territory.

The colonization of New Spain was not exclusively an Spaniard enterprise. The Portuguese were notorious for their participation. They participated mainly due to the connection existing between the two reigns in the era of Felipe II.

Not only Spaniards lived in the Spanish American possessions, even given that the laws attempted to exert a strict control of foreigners. Spain was a cosmopolitan society, where the Sephardic, Muslim and Christian elements coexisted successfully. Despite the desperate attempts made by the Crown to reserve the new kingdoms exclusively for old Christian Spaniards, in reality, the population composition of the New Spain of the XVII Century were not only Castillian Spaniards. Hispanoamerican population reflected a similar composition as that of Spain. "A section of the diverse white population was also of Iberian origin, specially Basque, Portuguese and Jewish, the rest was formed mainly by [a few] Italians, mixed with French, Flemish, German or Scottish.... The foreigners issue in New Spain seventeenth century is complicated and it is inextricably intermingled with the cryptojewish issue...." (Israel, 1980, 116,126).

But, who were the foreigners in the new land where a great number were immigrants? This is what the law considered as foreigners:

“...We declare to be foreigners of the kingdoms of Indies and of their coasts, ports, Islands.... not to be able to be in them or reside in them, those who are not naturals of our kingdoms of Castilla, Leon, Aragon, Valencia Cataluna and Navarra and of the Islands of Mallorca, Menorca.... We mandate that all the rest be understood as foreigners and to practice the ‘composicion’ [regularization] as well as the applicable penalties if not done....” We also declare the Portuguese to be foreigners....” Law I, Book IX, Title XXVIII.

The first part was issued in 1596 by Felipe II; the last part was issued on Dec. 1614.

The settlers of the Mexican Northeastern territory of Nuevo Leon and part of Coahuila, whose capital cities of Saltillo, Monterrey are included, were Hispano-portuguese cryptojews. Some of these individuals, later persecuted by the Inquisition, died this way. But at the same time those who were not notorious were not molested. “One must not forget that the New Spain’s Inquisition dedicated its best efforts to the suppression of Judaism especially in the first half of the XVII Century” (Israel, 1980, 126). The cities founded by these pioneers and their descendants in the far north frontier, not only still exist today but a completely different way of being was developed in the customs of people of Northeast Mexico.

In order to explain the folkloric roots of the regions of Coahuila and Nuevo Leon, it is sometimes necessary to study the folklore of Sephardic communities of the Mediterranean. The customs of Northeastern Mexico seem to have definite influence on the traditions instituted by the first sephardic populators of the region. The religious persecutions of the Inquisition prevented the settlers to make public

their presence, but the practices, customs, food and ways of living remained inextricably rooted in the people. Recent historical approaches founded in solid documentary basis have generated additional historical research on the topic of the first settlers. The influence of Carvajal is not only expressed in the customs of the people, but also in the cities founded by him; Monterrey, the capital of Nuevo Leon, is the second most important city of Mexico. Monterrey and Saltillo, capital of the State of Coahuila, form today the northern pole of economic development of the Mexican country.

A.2 Immigration In The Laws Of Indies

How could the forbidden sephardic, or even new Christians manage to cross the Atlantic? There has been historical controversy on how Carvajal overcame the migratory barriers for his Sephardic settlers. In spite of the debate, the question is still the same.

How did the Sephardic settlers of Nuevo Leon get the permits to cross into America? I will offer an explanation to the question based in the Ordinances of Discovery and New Population. The revision of the 1573 Ordinances shall clarify this issue:

Ordinance 76 mandates:

“Issue decrees [cedulas] so that the provincial Justices from where [the new governor] wishes to depart to do his expedition, and to those Justices of the provinces he shall traverse give him all favor and help and do not obstruct his work, but provide the supplies and provisions he shall need at fair and moderate prices. And having to leave these kingdoms of Castilla, **issue a cedula for the Officials of the [House] of**

Contratacion so that they favor, expedite, accommodate and facilitate his voyage and do not ask him information about the people he shall take according to his agreement and He [the new governor] shall attain to take [as settlers] clean people being not those prohibited by the Ordinances.”

Ordinance 77 allows the passage even for those having committed transgressions to the law:

“Issue decree [to the new governor] so that the provincial Justices do not impede him to introduce the livestock he shall need and be obliged to do because of his agreement, and so that the Justices do not impede the people who wish to go be they Indians or Spaniard even if they have committed transgressions to the law [delitos], existing no part to be punished by.”

However there is another ordinance which states that the passengers should carry license and permission to cross the Atlantic.

Ordinance 123: “No natural or foreigner may pass to the Indies without license of the king or of the House of Sevilla....” Apparently, Carvajal obtained the permits of his passengers but the investigative part, which determined the ‘purity of blood’ were not carried out, since the Governor declared that the king had excused them of this requirement.

A.3 First Settlers Of Nuevo Leon

Luis de Carvajal sailed a ship of his own to transport the group of immigrants destined to settle the new territory. **Three groups of Sephardic settlers entered into Northeast Mexico:**

1. **Those who traveled from Spain with Carvajal to settle the new territory.** “Of the 103 passengers of the ‘Santa Catalina’ [Carvajal’s vessel], 36 of them belonged to the Carvajal family group. It is possible that some more were also his relatives, but not proven yet. 41 other cryptojews [were also passengers]. Among the noted travelers was Manuel [Antonio] de Morales a doctor [MD] and a great Rabbi, erudite in the Holy Scripture and everything related to the Jewish religion, a great number of the prayers and canticles as it appears in the [Inquisitional] processes are part of the cultural inheritance that he left among the novohispanic Sephardics....” (Hoyo3, 1979, 226, 265).

2. **A second group had entered through Panuco.** “This group without having been passengers of the ‘Santa Catalina’ also entered the new kingdom with Carvajal. Of forty persons, 25 were cryptojews....” (Hoyo3, 1979, 226).

3. **The third group of people entered through Saltillo.** Of 187 persons of this group, 74% of them, 130 in number, were Sephardic. In summary 177 cryptojewish (families) entered with Carvajal to populate the Nuevo Reino de Leon. (Hoyo3, 1979, 268).

The Nuevo Leon historian Eugenio del Hoyo has formed a collection of documents about the first settlers of Nuevo Leon. These are some of the conclusions of his research about the first settlers:

“In the second half of the Sixteenth century a great number of sephardics entered the Northeastern region of New Spain. They supported Luis de Carvajal y de la Cueva’s attempt to establish the Nuevo Reino de Leon. Most of them came from the ‘Raya de Portugal,’ the borderline between the old kingdom of Leon and the Portuguese Province of Traz os Montes. Many of these sephardics settled in lands of Nuevo Leon, and Coahuila. A high percentage of the present population are their direct descendants. It is also observed that these sephardic colonizers were very united. They formed highly cohesive familiar groups, with clear endogamic tendencies. In this way they formed a closed community of aristocratic characteristics which generated public officials, military men or merchants...” (Hoyo5, 1970, 270).

To the original question of how the Sephardic settlers of Nuevo Leon managed to get the permits to cross into America, Ordinances 77 offered one explanation. Another possible explanation is given by the fact that “from 1580 on when the kingdoms of Spain and Portugal were united, there was Portuguese immigration to the Spanish America, although it was severely limited again from 1640...” (HGM Lira-Muro 1981, 389). It can also be explained because the new settlers simply did not declare their cryptojudaism. In fact they declared to be old Christians. But one must not also forget that Felipe II had married in 1543 his double cousin Maria Manuela, daughter of King Juan II of Portugal. Felipe II being himself son of Carlos V and the beautiful Isabel of Portugal, and also married to a Portuguese princess. These facts have also been exhibited as a contributing factor so that the king made negotiation with a Portuguese Luis de Carvajal y de la Cueva. (Martinez, 1929, 10)

The Spanish migratory laws were restrictive and complicated. Only a few

were allowed to pass to the new Continent. However some non-Spaniards obtained permits to go to the new lands, particularly those with a trade specialization. If detected, foreigners were not allowed to remain in the new continent. They were deported, and their belongings usually confiscated. However, during the reign of Felipe IV (1598-1665) “the discovery of an illicit foreigner in New Spain did not result in an expulsion”, but a permit was issued to the person to stay upon payment of a fine proportional to his wealth. “Viceroy Marques de Guadalcazar started a program aimed to this composition.... Three hundred and thirty three foreign adult males existed at the time without a permit. Almost half of them were Portuguese....” (Israel, 1980, 126)

Portuguese was a synonym for cryptojewish at this time. In fact “the review of the Libros de Registro of Mexico’s Inquisition shows that the majority of the Jewish who secretly practiced their religion in the XVII Century Mexico were Portuguese. The overwhelming preponderance of the Portuguese among the ‘judaizantes’ sentenced in Mexico demonstrated that in Mexico City and in general in the New Spain... there were not only many more Spanish than Portuguese new Christians but also that the Spanish new Christians had abandoned their old religion more effectively. This might be explained by the fact that Portuguese Jews were descendants in their majority of the Spanish Jews that in 1492 refused to be converted to Catholicism and left Spain [to Portugal] while the Spanish new Christians descended of those who remained [in Spain and converted].” (Israel, 1980)

Some members of the Carvajal family went to reside in Mexico City, and to the silver mining town of Taxco, near Mexico city. “The foreigners, specialized in commerce, were not interested in mining activities but considered the mining towns important markets and source of precious metals.... Portuguese brought the

African slaves but were also with other foreigners marketing products of North Europe. At least one of eight of those detained by the inquisition lived in the mining zones.” (Israel, 1980, 127) The nephew of Carvajal named also Luis de Carvajal was living in Mexico City traveling frequently to Taxco for commerce purposes, as he declared during the Inquisitional process. Carvajal the young as he is known, is also considered the paradigm of sephardic mystics of New Spain. His writings are as inspirational as his conviction.

“Despite their Portuguese origin, Jews could occupy high positions in the Novohispanic society. Melchor Juarez, was until 1643 secretary of Viceroy Bishop Palafox. Jorge de Espinoza in 1647 was corregidor of Coatzacoalcos and Antonio Vaez was the general provisioner of the Army of Barlovento in 1640. [And what can be said of Luis de Carvajal who obtained agreement to colonize Nuevo Leon]. Their knowledge of Hebrew was very limited, but the laws and Jewish customs were more familiar than assumed, since six or seven of their principals had lived among the orthodox European communities. Almost all of their praying was done in Portuguese or Spanish.” (Israel, 1980, 128)

Another Portuguese was an important man in the foundations of towns of Northeast Mexico: Alberto del Canto. He was the second man to Carvajal, or at least this is what is apparent from historical documents. The cities founded by Carvajal and del Canto had not the extreme religious connotation of those founded in the central region of Mexico. Could Carvajal be considered in part a Portuguese Conquistador? The Portuguese “Conquistador mentality was not noted by its clerico-military fanaticism. It was alien to it and the ‘fidalgo’ did not share the Spanish Hidalgo contempt for commerce. Nor did the Portuguese have the proselytizing zeal of the Spanish church....” (Hennessy, 1978, 49). It seems that the way Carvajal conducted his colonization follows more the Portuguese than the Spanish *modus operandi*.

Hoyo suggests that Canto together with some of the first settlers of northeast New Spain was part of a highly notorious group of Vizcayan and Portuguese soldiers commanded by Francisco de Ibarra, settler of the province of Zacatecas. In the silver mines of Mazapil (Zacatecas), Canto met Diego de Montemayor [future 2nd Governor of Nuevo Leon], Gaspar Castano de Sosa, and Luis de Carvajal [future first Governor of Nuevo Leon] all of them sephardic Portuguese. In 1577 Del Canto was Captain and Alcalde Mayor of the Mines of S. Gregorio and Vale de Extremadura appointed by Martin Lopez de Ibarra, Governor of Nueva Vizcaya, he also founded the Villas of Saltillo and the Ojos de Santa Lucia.” (Hoyo3, 1979, 93)

“...And the aforementioned Capitan Alberto del Canto, year of seventy seven (1577), commissioned by said Governor of this kingdom Martin Lopez de Ibarra populated, [in agreement with Carvajal?] the Valle of Extremadura and called it Ojos de Santa Lucia, what today is called Ciudad de Monterrey; and proceeding with the mandate he was carrying out of the Governor of this [kingdom] of Nueva Vizcaya, he pacified the pueblo of Potosi and the Valle de Coyula (sic for Coahuila), discovering mines which he called by the name Trinidad [Monclova COAH] and by virtue of such commission... distributed land and gave it also to the Indians, specially to the nations of Coyula, to the vecinos of such jurisdictions and districts, and also administered justice, not only in the villa of Saltillo and mines of San Gregorio, but of Coyula and Trinidad.... Diego de Montemayor, [having committed uxoricide], fearful of the justices escaped to San Gregorio at the time that Governor Carvajal arrived to Conquer new lands, with military people. Having landed in Tampico and discovering land, [Carvajal] happened to meet with Diego de Montemayor who, escaping the punishment he deserved, confederated with Governor Carvajal to let him populate the place, same he consented, with the right, and what is more, against this Jurisdiction of Nueva

Vizcaya....” from Archivo del Parral Chihuahua, year 1643, Exp.22 Litigation between Governor Martin de Zavala and Luis de Valdes of Nueva Vizcaya, about the jurisdiction of the Mines of Almaden. (Hoyo3, 1979, 82).

Part of the territory assigned to Carvajal was contained within the Nueva Vizcaya territory, but such was the agreement of Carvajal with the king.

Del Canto did the first foundation of the City of Monterrey. Carvajal resettled it, to be later abandoned when Carvajal was persecuted by the Holy Office-Inquisition.

The settlers of Nuevo Leon towns retreated to the nearby village of Saltillo located some sixty miles south. It is necessary to re-evaluate the historical importance of the Carvajal and del Canto foundations. Had it not been by their initial foundational effort the later consolidation of the towns could have not been achieved. The later foundation of Monterrey was formalized by Diego de Montemayor, one of original settlers of Monterrey. He is the one who gets the credit for the foundation. Carvajal is the one who should get the credit since he initiated the process in Spain, transported the settlers to where the new city would be located. The Inquisition, however, got in the way.

Next I will introduce some of the procedures followed by the Governors in the sixteenth Century before departing from Spain to colonize the new lands in America.

A.4 Procedures To Be Followed By The Appointed Governor

Oath Taken By The Governors At The Casa De Contratacion In Sevilla.

Book V, Title II, Law VII. "All Governors Corregidores and Alcaldes Mayores, provided by Us, if they be in these kingdoms, after the titles are given [to them], and dispatched in full form, [they] do take in the Council [of Indies] the following oath:

[‘General formulary which must be according to the post granted’]

“You shall pledge to God and to this Cross, and to the words of the Gospel that you will use with good and fidelity the post of Governor and Capitan General that has been granted to you, and you will keep the service of God and of his Majesty and will take into account the good governorship of that province, and will oversee for the welfare and conservation of the Indians, and will impart justice to the parts without exception, and will keep and will fulfill the chapters of good governorship, and the laws of the Kingdoms, and the Cédulas and Provisiones of his Majesty, as well as those which may be done and given for the good government of the State of the Indies. And you will not treat or contract by yourself or by intermediation of any person, and will not have neither participation nor make agreement with your lieutenants nor Alguaciles or other officials about their salaries and rights but will leave [their salaries] free as his Majesty mandates. And you will not take nor will consent that your officers take excessive rights or gifts, or bribery, or other things more than their [true] rights, penalty of privation of their post, and fine in the seven-fold obligation. You will observe and will make observe the [Arancel] taxes, and the decrees about it. You will not take any of the said officials by request or intercession of any person of this Court or from outside of it, according to the chapter of good

government that treats it. But you will freely take the persons that you judge convenient, and that be those who are suited for the said duties, and if there were Officials whom you have accepted against these form and contents you will fire them immediately, and in everything you will do what you should do and are obligated to do.

Say: 'I do' [Si Juro].

If you shall do so, may God help you, and if not, may he demand you. Amen.”

A.5 Act Of Foundation Of The City Of Monterrey

September 20 1596

In the name of almighty God and the Glorious and blessed Holy Mary always Virgin and Mother of God and our Lady: **Know all this public instrument, Act of Foundation, how I, Diego de Montemayor, Treasurer of the Hacienda Real of this Nuevo Reino de Leon,** Teniente de Gobernador and Capitan General for the re-edification of it by the King Our Lord. Attentive to the causes and reasons expressed about the incoming to this Valley of Extremadura and Kingdom [of Nuevo Leon] for its population and the pacification of the naturals in it, with the intent that the holy Gospel be propagated and the Kingdoms and Lordships [Senorios] of his Majesty and his Royal Patrimony be incremented. Being mine such motive and zeal, they move me to this effect and pursuit, of which in the site of Extremadura 'comarca' and position where I am with the Vecinos and Settlers that have come with me with all the necessary supplies for the aforementioned settlement, and being more than exists in it and can exist within its surroundings, and since it is a peaceful site, healthy and of good weather, and good air and waters, and many trees of walnut and other fruits, and there exist, as they

effectively do, many mountains and grasses, rivers, water-wells and many arable lands for agriculture, and many silver mines, that in this area there are three, ten and fifteen leagues away, and places for cattle raising and lambs and goats and many other uses in addition to the many natives that I am bringing to peace and obedience of your Majesty for their congregation, and settlement and the teaching of the holy catholic Faith; **Because of this and because this place is in a good mid-position [from the mines of Zacatecas] in the way to the seaport of Tampico**, there are 70 leagues [some 242 miles] to it and road for carts, also to the city of Zacatecas, and other parts, and there is communication to the new poblaciones that could be done in this kingdom inland, **since it is necessary to cross the mentioned roads and else what I have mentioned, this is an appropriate place, and as such must be in the royal accountability [caja]** with the royal officers to collect the taxes and Fifth [1/5 tax] belonging to his Majesty and being so, the main-place of all this kingdom; for as above mentioned, **In the name of His Royal Majesty Don Felipe Our Lord, I do make the foundation of [a] Metropolitan City next to a high mountain [Cerro de la Silla] and [to the] water-wells named 'Ojos de Santa Lucia,'** taking the advocacy of her the Virgin Mother of God our Lady, be the major church be of her advocacy of her healthy and clean Conception Annunciation, to whom I implore as Patrona and Our Lady to attain with the Grace and of her blessed son, the zeal and work here intended; **which will be titled and do be titled, 'Ciudad Metropolitana de Nuestra Senora de Monterrey;'** and I name it with all the right and stability and firmness which all the other metropolitan cities existing in the kingdoms of his Majesty are built and populated, with the honors and privileges, and exemptions granted by his Royal Ordinances [1573 Ordinances] to these new 'poblaciones' especially to the one in this kingdom hereby

expressed and put, so they may enjoy them: To such city I give full and civil and criminal jurisdiction ('mero misto Imperio') so that the justices in it may know and do know of all the civil and criminal causes that occur in it and within its territorial terms, and judge, and determine for good, and to take the sentences to its proper execution, keeping the Laws and Ordinances of his Majesty about it, **and I give it Jurisdiction and term of 15 leagues to the east, and another 15 to the west, and from north to south the same, and everything that within those terms and jurisdiction be populated**, be it mines or Villas, be subject to it as far as appeals and else, according to the existing Ordinances on the subject, and more I give it for 'Exidos' one league in round and for 'Dehesa Boyal' [Oxen graze-land] I assign from the city upland, from the Santa Catarina Rive, taking from that river to the farm fields of the Topo [a nearby place NE of the city] from the acequia [water canal] upland to the Sierra de las Mitras [name of Mountain] and to the right side of the river, whatever may belong to it, and because in the Ordinances of Nueva Poblacion which granted and gave his Majesty to this kingdom, in number forty and three, it says that after nominating a 'Ciudad Metropolitana' a council and a Regimiento of Officers be nominated as needed, and attentive to the fact that at present there are not enough Spanish people for the nomination of such council, but in the coming future, may God will, when there be more commodity, be left this right safe for it to exist, and use his faculty as contained it, as such Metropolitan City. So only for the present, for the Administration of Justice, Council and 'Cabildo' that must exist in this town, I name thou Alonso de Barreda, and thou Pedro Inigo, [as] 'Alcaldes Ordinarios,' and to Juan Perez de los Rios and Diego de Diaz de Berlanga and to Diego de Maldonado, to be Regidores, and to [my son] Diego de Montemayor (el Mozo -the young) to be Procurador General of this Kingdom and to Diego Diaz de Berlanga to be Scrivener of the Cabildo, and that the mentioned

Procurador General may have and have vote in the Cabildo; to whom and each of them I give full power and ability in the name of his majesty so that the present year of ninety six [1596] use and exert the Post of Cabildo, Council [Consejo] and Regimiento of it, and that at its end, and beginning of the coming year, the first day, they nominate and elect for the next year, two Alcaldes Ordinarios and four Regidores, and the rest of the Officials needed for the mentioned Republica, and themselves do elect for the next year and so on, during the time the city exists, with the addition mentioned before that once existing more people a council shall be nominated with the Officials needed for a Metropolitan City by the Grants of his Majesty, by his Royal Ordinances to that mentioned Council and Cabildo of the city, that is or may be, I give enough Power in the said Royal Name enough as required by law with declaration of the officials of the royal Cabildo and Council. What is assigned to the Dehesa Boyal shall not be given or taken for agriculture or cattle rising; and in all be kept the existing Ordinances; also regarding the jurisdiction of Alcaldes Ordinarios keep what his Majesty has issued in all the New Spain and no more and do not exceed it but be kept and fulfilled as mandated by his Royal Majesty. The rest of the Officials may enjoy the 'mercedes' [grants] and exceptions that shall be given of 'sitios' [rural land grants for agriculture or livestock] and other things within the mentioned Dehesa Boyal and Exidos, and be without damage to this republic [city]. **And I, the mentioned Teniente de Gobernador and Capitan General, in the name of the King Our Lord, and by virtue of the power he possesses, have made and did make foundation of the city of Monterrey; and I ask and supplicate to the Majesty of the King Our Lord, be pleased to confirm it, [this foundation] so that with better disposition, his vassals be motivated to populate and found under his royal Crown, other Kingdoms and cities that through God's help, are hoped to be discovered**

and founded. And in faith and testimony of truth I granted and founded in the Valley of Extremadura, water-wells 'Ojos de Santa Lucia, Jurisdiction of the Nuevo Kingdom of Leon, on twenty days of the month of September of one thousand and five hundred and ninety six; and I signed it with my name with the present scrivener. Witnesses: Domingo Manuel, Juan Lopez, Diego de Montemayor and the Alcalde Alonso de Barreda. Diego de Montemayor (signature). Before me, Diego Diaz de Berlanga. (Hoyo3, 1979,150-153)

A.6 Other Compromises Of The Governor

For the Nuevo Leon Colonization it is necessary to refer to the 1573 Ordinances, not to the 1680 Recopilacion. Felipe II signed Carvajal's agreement in 1579. The Ordinances had been issued in 1573. This means that the Nuevo Leon Colonization is one of the first examples of settlements done with this legal code. As can be seen in the Act of Foundation of Monterrey, Diego de Montemayor, makes reference to Ordinance 43 "...and because in the Ordinances of Nueva Poblacion which granted and gave his Majesty to this kingdom, in number forty and three, it says that after nominating a 'Ciudad Metropolitana' a council and a Regimiento of Officers be nominated as needed...."

Ordinance No.53 states other compromises of the governor including the foundation of a fixed minimum number of towns within a deadline.

This is the Ordinance: 53. "Within the agreed deadline, be the Adelantado obligated to have erected, founded, built and populated at least three cities, one provincial and two suffragan cities."

This was the compensation for the governor:

“The Adelantado who shall fulfill his agreement of New discovery and pacification be granted: Title of Adelantado or Governor and Capitan General for his lifetime and one of a son or inheritor or person he nominates.

“To him, his son, or inheritor, during the time he be Capitan General and Justicia Mayor, be granted: sufficient annual salary from the Royal Treasury in that, Our Province.”

The above mentioned procedures had to be performed by Luis de Carvajal to commit himself to settle the new territory. How come then, Montemayor gets the credit that Carvajal should be entitled to?

The figure and history of Luis de Carvajal has not been fully evaluated because of his problems with the Inquisition, which prevented an unbiased revision of his work, but recently some works about the north of Mexico have generated a genuine interest into the clarification of these issues. It is time to really attest the true relevance Carvajal's role as a town founder. Diego de Montemayor, the signer of the Act of Foundation for the city of Monterrey gets the credit as a founder even given the fact that Monterrey had founded the town two times before him. The first city founded by Alberto del Canto in 1577. Carvajal then founded it with his name. He called it “Villa de San Luis.” It was relocated to a nearby site due to water flooding. Later, it was moved to its present site next to the water-wells of Sta. Lucia.

The credit that Montemayor gets is really be due to Carvajal. Montemayor does not even mention the other Sephardic settlers in town, at the time of foundation due to the needed discretion to avoid unnecessary attention from the Inquisition. Monterrey was founded as a Metropolitan city. It is a Metropolitan center today. Carvajal must had been fully aware of the strategic position of the

city when he established it. He had traveled the region from the southern mines of Zacatecas to the North and to his original residence site at Panuco Veracruz as attested in his agreement in his agreement with the King. It is stated in the act of foundation of the city that its location is the midpoint between the rich silver mines of Zacatecas and the road and a possible exit to the Gulf of Mexico. It could establish an alternate itinerary to the Gulf without having to go to Mexico and Veracruz. It would also communicate the kingdoms of Nueva Galicia and Nueva Vizcaya directly with Spain through the seaport of Tampico. This was the original vision and idea of Carvajal, not of Diego de Montemayor.

Another reason that has prevented a true evaluation of Carvajal's role has been his participation in the trade Black and Indian slaves. The slave issue can be explained. Spain had no African colonies, but at the same time needed slaves. The slave trade was a concession of Spain to Portugal and later to private individuals. Carvajal had worked in the Cape Verde Islands in a Portuguese slave operation, to provide the much needed black workers. Slavery was a need of the New Spain and of the new territories in general due to the massive deaths of indians. In 1518 limited licenses were granted to private individuals for the introduction of black slaves. Flemish, Germans, Genovese, Dutch or Portuguese obtained grants. Slave traffic increased. "Negroes were bought in Spain or were 'rescued' in Africa and resold in the Caribbean at a higher price. In Spain one good slave might have cost from 30 to 50 pesos. In Antilles 80 or 90 pesos. In Mexico from 100-200..."(HGM Moreno 1981, I, 1981). An average of 20% of the slaves died in the trip from Africa or the Azores Islands to America. The slave operations were backed and regulated by law. In the Laws of Indies there are dispositions ordaining to have as definite the number of slaves at the port of arrival, not at departure. Many more slaves could have left Africa before arriving America. As much as 20% of the slaves could have died during the trip.

This is what Book VIII Title XVIII, Law XI, as issued by Felipe II in Madrid, on Aug 28 1571 declares:

“Do not take notice of the number of slaves shipped in Guinea but of those who landed in the Indies. The black slaves being loaded in Cape Verde or in other places for the Indies, in more quantity or number than that contained in the registry of our Official Judges in Sevilla, must be disregarded. Instead it should be taken into account the same amount and number of those who remained alive, but it must be taken into consideration those who would have entered to, and [effectively] entered to the Indies to observe and execute what is ordered in those introduced....”

The motives for this disposition were the taxes paid on each slave entering America.

Five thousand African slaves per year were authorized for New Spain. Between 1590-1610 an average of 3,500 slaves per year were introduced. Between 1615-1622 29,574 slaves were introduced. (HGM-I Lira-Muro 1981, 391-392). In the mining centers of late XVI and XVII centuries “slaves were either Indian or Negro and Mulatto. Only in the XVI century did Indian slaves appear to have been numerous..” (Bakewell, 1971, 122)

Seen in this way, the Indian slavery procedures of the first settlers of Nuevo Leon are unsurprising, even given their negative consequences. The slavery issue should not be an element of intimidation in the evaluation of the foundational work of Carvajal.

A.7 Indian Slavery In Nuevo Leon

Even after Carvajal had died, the same needs for labor force persisted in the land. According to the registry of persons conducted by Father Andres de Leon in 1603 in Monterrey there were in the new province 34 families of Spaniards and 35,000 'baptized' -- controlled -- Indians. (Martinez, 1929, 4) This gives a ratio of about 1000 Indians per family of Spaniards. It might be assumed that the baptized Indians were under the control of Spaniards since later in 1628 the violent disposition of Governor Martin de Zavala [backed by a King's decree] distributed in encomienda all the baptized Indians giving them to the whites for their service and authorizing the to capture the non-baptized "by soft means or by force." (Martinez, 1929, 4)

Due to this incessant attempt to make them captive to work, the free Indians were forced to live away from the Spanish towns and seek refuge in the mountains, where the settlers could not capture them easily. They later attacked to obtain food or cattle every time they needed it. As mentioned above, Zavala did not act on his own decisions. His actions were backed by a Royal Order. This is the Royal Cedula issued by Felipe II to Zavala allowing him to work in this slavery issue. 1634. Chapter of the Royal Cedula of May 27 1625 entrusting Don Martin de Zavala to distribute Indians. As contained in a petition for distribution dated 1634. This document is found in the Municipal Archives of Monterrey. Vol VIII exp. 44.

"I grant thou and provide thou with power and ability enough to distribute in 'encomienda' the Indians that thou discovered and pacified in the said Nuevo Reino de Leon, to the persons who serve me in it and to the rest of the dwellers of merit so that they enjoy the products and taxes of the Indians according to the inheritance law, keeping the cedula and

ordinances in it... I mandate... to keep and fulfill this my communication to the governors of the Nuevo Reino de Leon and any other Justices and Judges of it... and I require Don Martin de Zavala to consider it in the distribution of the Indians. Be it not done in excess but distributing them according to the law....” In Madrid at May 27 1625. I the king. [Felipe IV] (Hoyo2, 1985, 100)

The signer of the Act of foundation of Monterrey, Diego de Montemayor “distributed among the new settlers, and for himself 225 families of Guachichil Indians” (Roel 1938.1984).

I have briefly reviewed the Government, settlers and the procedures of the Colonization. One element is and will be missing in this appendix, that is, the missions and missionaries of the Nuevo Leon.

A.8 Chronology Of Nuevo Leon Early Settlement

- 1530 Diego de Montemayor, second governor of Nuevo Leon, is born.
- 1539 Luis de Carvajal y de la Cueva, discoverer and 1st. Governor of Nuevo Leon, is born in the Mogodouro district of Lisbon.
- 1556 Carlos V, abdicates in favor of his son Felipe II the domains of Castilla and Aragon, Indias [or New World] and its Provinces.
- 1567 Luis de Carvajal arrives at Panuco River in the coast of the Gulf of Mexico. He establishes a cattle raising ranch near Tampico.
- 1571 The Santo Oficio, a new version of the Inquisition is created.
- 1573 Dec. 1. A Cedula Real is issued. It gives the Indians land, mountains, and ejidos.
- 1576 Viceroy Manriquez de Almanza commissions Cap. Luis de Carvajal y de la Cueva for exploration of the northeast.
- 1577 Alberto del Canto founds the towns of Saltillo and San Luis (Monterrey).
- 1579 After the northeastern exploration, Carvajal goes to Mexico [City], and informs the Viceroy about his expedition. He leaves for Spain and obtains from Felipe II the Agreement [Capitulacion] to settle the Nuevo Reino de Leon on May 31, 1579.
- 1580 Carvajal returns from Spain in the Flota of Capt. Francisco de Lujan. He transports in his own vessel, the "Santa Catalina", the families of settlers to the Nuevo Reino de Leon. The New Viceroy Conde de la Coruna, travels in the same Floatilla -- convoy -- of galleons. Carvajal lands in Tampico (See map p. 8).
- 1580 Invasion of Portugal by Duque de Alba, reunites the Courts and becomes a king.
- 1582 Felipe II becomes also King of Portugal. Carvajal and 200 men go to the Northwest of Tampico to colonize the territory previously agreed with the king. He founds the mining center of Leon (Cerralvo N.L). Initiates expeditions to the present sites of Herrera, Cienega de Flores, Salinas, San Nicolas de los Garza, Monterrey, Sta. Catarina, Saltillo (Coahuila), where he changes the established authorities. Returns to the Valley of Extremadura to do a new foundation of Monterrey, which he calls Villa de San Luis, after his own name.

Virrey de la Coruna dies.

- 1584 Sept. 27. Pedro de Moya y Contreras named sixth Viceroy of Nueva Espana. He also is the Inquisitor.
- 1585 7th. Viceroy Alvaro de Zuniga. Carvajal has established the towns of: Leon (Cerralvo), Villa de la Cueva (not in existence anymore), and San Luis (Monterrey). He has also conducted expeditions to the present sites of: Los Ramones, Cadereyta, Monterrey, Garza Garcia, Mina, and Agualeguas.
- 1588 The Spanish Invincible Navy is destroyed.
- 1589 Carvajal is apprehended in Almaden (another town he founded). Later he is transferred to the prison of the Inquisition.
- 1591 Pobladores of Nuevo Leon living in Cerralvo retreat to Saltillo because of attacks of the natives.
- 1595 Luis de Carvajal dies in prison. He had been processed by the Inquisition but was not sentenced to die.
- 1596 Diego de Montemayor resettles the former towns of San Luis previously founded by Carvajal, with original settlers living then in Saltillo. Communicates the foundation to the Viceroy. He names the city Nuestra Senora of Monterrey.
- 1598 Felipe II dies. The war against England continues.
- 1600 Diego de Montemayor is appointed Lieutenant Governor of Monterrey.
- 1603 The Royal Treasury authorizes pay for missionaries to the Nuevo Reino de Leon. (26 years after its first foundation).
- 1604 Peace treaty with England. The English stop attacks on Spanish colonies.
- 1607 Luis de Velazco 11th Viceroy (2nd Term).
- 1612 Torrential rains. Flooding of the Santa Catarina River. Monterrey houses destroyed and rebuilt at a short distance to the south.
- 1616 Indian uprising in Nuevo Leon.
- 1625 Martin de Zavala, son of Agustin de Zavala, makes agreement with the king on Apr. 3 1625. He is appointed Governor and General Captain of Nuevo Reino de Leon on May 25 1625. Zavala must found two Villas, provide priests, introduce cattle, provide 250 ploughs, provide weapons and ammunitions in a short time to settlers.

- He has the right to inherit the title to his son. He would have two encomiendas or distribution of Indians. He could distribute land minerals. Zavala arrives Monterrey Aug 24 1625. Appointment confirmed by Viceroy on Nov. 10 1626.
- 1626 Initiation of ten year campaign against the Indians. For a tax fee, Zavala authorizes settlers to forcefully capture and enslave Indians.
- Sep. 4: Repopulation of Leon (Cerralvo, NL).
- 1631 New missions founded: Sta. Maria de los Angeles del Rio Blanco (Aramberri), Rio Blanco (Zaragoza), and San Antonio de los Llanos (Hidalgo, TAMS).
- 1636 New mission of Valle de Guadalupe de las Salinas (Salinas Victoria NL).
- 1637 Last battle of the 10 year war against the Indians. March 14 1637. New Town Cadereita. Governor Zavala not present. Royal scrivener present. Special governor commissioner: D. Alonso Gutierrez de Pimentel. Land distribution. Common land. Church. Government houses built by the Government.
- 1638 The Governor visits the new town.
- 1640 New wars against the Indians.
- 1644 Gov. Zavala visits Almaden (Monclova COAH), formerly established by Carvajal. Reorganizes miners and repopulates.
- 1645 Permanent communication between Monterrey and Tampico.
- 1646 Foundation of Mission Hualahuises. Future town of Hualahuises, Nuevo Leon.
- 1650 Zavala signs peace treaty with Indians.
- 1651 Extermination of the Indians by Zavala.
- 1664 Zavala dies. Aug. 8 1664. Towns at the time: 4 Alcaldias Mayores. Monterrey, Cerralvo, and Rio Blanco. 7 Missions of Indians: S. Antonio de los Llanos(Hidalgo TAMS), S. Jose del Rio Blanco (Zaragoza), Sta. Ma. del Rio Blanco (Aramberri), Monterrey, Hualahuises, Valle de Salinas, Sta. Teresa del Alamo, Sta. Catarina, Salinas, and Cerralvo.

Appendix B contains complementary information about side effect of the Nuevo Santander colonization: Indian mistreatment. Being Indian natives, and, by definition, vassals of the king, they were to be treated in a peaceful and soft way. In some instances they were abused and mistreated. Nuevo Santandar is one of those cases. In the Laws of Indies Law XIX dealt with the treatment issue "...Be the Indians brought to social life [town life] without being oppressed...." In this section I intend to show how the settlement of Nuevo Santander was in absolute contradiction to this law.

MISTREATMENT OF THE NATIVES

Appendix B

Mistreatment Of The Natives

If epidemics did not prevent the settlement of the new villages, the Indians did. The Indians were a problem in Nuevo Santander. They were not useful for the settlement of Indian towns. Henessy argues that some tribes were not actually nomadic but they turned into nomadism after the Spanish settlements took away their lands. In fact he states that those tribes around the Spaniard towns were generally nomadic because of the Spanish settlers. Indians however, could not be openly attacked by the Spaniards. By law the Indians were considered vassals of the King, thus they had the same rights as any Castillian peninsular. But the domination of the Indians could not be achieved 'by soft means' as the law suggested, or by open aggression. The result was a form of quiet violence. The Indians were mistreated. This was the price of colonization.

In the early years of colonial times, abuses to the natives had been reported to the King. The encomenderos, owners of land cultivated by forced Indian labor, were the abusers. The Friars were the protectors. The documents of Nuevo Santander register frequent abuses on the Indians, in many cases, surprisingly enough at the hands of the friars. The subservient sedentary Indians of central Mexico were apparently much more docile than the Nuevo Santander nomadic natives.

Indian abuses seem to have been a kind of nefarious tradition of the late colonial era. They must have been highly notorious or too many, since the King intervened issuing a Royal cedula of May 20 1679 directed to the Archbishops of Peru and of the New Spain where he recommends to avoid the offenses, euphemism for abuses, that the doctrine men committed on the Indians. In areas where the

Encomiendas, forced Indian labor, still existed, the quality of life for the natives was no better. In Aug. 5 1681 “there is a request for a census to serve as an account of the Indians diminished due to the mistreatment of the encomenderos....” (Muro-Orejon, 1956, LXVII). Even the Indian Caciques, or chiefs, were responsible for the mistreatment of their own brothers.

The generalized notion for a great majority of Spaniards, especially the Peninsular ones, was that the Indians, especially the nomadic tribes, were something despicable and nefarious, almost close to close to non-human beings. This idea was shared not only by ordinary Spaniards but also by Viceregal Officials within the government, and in charge of Policy making. The Minister of War, Marques de Altamira, a man of decisive influence in the colonization of Nuevo Santander, considered the natives

“...serfs by nature, which as such must be dominated with caution. [And he added.--They are a] kind of barbarians... who like errand, inhuman, atrocious, savage beasts, noxious to others and even to themselves, live sparsed and naked by the countryside without sociability, religion laws or rules....” -- But what seem to disturb the Minister was not exactly the native idiosyncrasy but the problem they created for the government. He added-- “...it could be referred the many frustrated attempts to pacify and concentrate these barbarians [in missions to control them] after two-hundred and twenty five years of this [Spanish] Conquista, [especially... being [this Capital City] a little more than 30 leagues [about 90 mi.] away from said Sierra Gorda....” (Velazquez4, 1979, 41. AGI Mexico 690)

The Indians had been a serious problem for the occupation of the territory to the Colonial authorities. At the end of the eighteenth century, the Royal Army

became allied with some Indian tribes, to exterminate other Indian groups in a war of 'blood and fire'.

The Friars also participated in the dislocation of the primitive Indian societies. Silvio Zavala the Mexican historian of Indian Slavery asserts that Indian mistreatment "...in Texas, Nuevo Santander and Nuevo Leon was extreme.... The religious Friars walked long distances accompanied by soldiers to 'capture Indians' and take them to their missions... [where] they had stocks for punishment [cepos] and inflicted whiplash punishment to frighten them and to prevent their eviction...." (MCVCH 1979, 119,120). This is the declaration of Fray Tomas Cortes in charge of Mission La Divina Pastora in the Village of Llera Nuevo Santander: "...they [the Indians] resist correction [punishment] that I give them, something that did not happen before...." (Archivo1, 1929, 152) Fray Miguel de Santa Maria de los Dolores in charge of the Revilla Mission, speaking of the material possessions of his Mission in formed "...this is what the Mission has now... and when the time comes that I have at least two soldiers that may bring them when they evade, and help me have them captives, something that I cannot do by myself...." (Archivo1, 1929, 426) It seems that the Indians were resigned to a penurious existence. Vicente de Santa Maria in his chronicle argues that for pain, the Nuevo Santander Indians had

"...an insensibility without comparison. Frequently, --he added-- It can be seen Indians [who are] whiplashed with extreme cruelty, making the blood run to the ground and even destroying the flesh. Not even the slightest expression of pain is seen in them, on the contrary, they show an extreme docility to get close to the gibbet, and after the whiplash storm has passed, turn to the mission ary father or other persons to ask with a peaceful expression, almost smiling, for half a 'real' or any other thing they like...." (Archivo2, 1931, 403)

The laws of Indies ordered utmost care in the treatment of the Indies, but at the same time does not seem to establish severe punishment for the transgressors. Even Felipe II seems to overlook the reports of Indian abuses. The law in this respect looks more like a collection of ideal thoughts without any connection with reality. What follows are reasons which might explain the violent treatment of the natives in Nuevo Santander.

B.1 Motives For Mistreatment Of Natives

1. High demand of work force by Spaniards, low supply of Indian population, maximization of the few resources was needed.
2. Early slavery traditions instituted by former negro-slave traders who also practiced Indian slavery.
3. Early Royal custom to distribute Indian work force along with land grants, which although illegal in Nuevo Santander as to become a law of use.
4. Resistance of nomadic Indians to be captured by Spaniards.
5. Separation of Indian Families by relocation of family heads.

B.2 Forbidden Indian Reports

In 1504, a friar named Nicolas de Ovando had established the encomienda, distribution of Indians to participate in forced labor for Spanish settlers of Hispaniola (Dominican Republic). He was among the first to initiate the relocation of Indian tribes away from their natural habitat for production purposes. Ovando employed forced labor of Indians to build roads, dwellings, churches, hospitals, defensive ports and general public works. He showed that without the slave Indian work force, mineral and agricultural exploitation could not survive. (Hardoy, 1975)

The Recopilacion of 1680 urges viceroys to found towns of Indians nearby new mining towns. The extractive and production needs demanded that the available force be used intensively. The Indians were the force at hand.

It is interesting to point out that the history of mistreatment of the Indians has not been properly exposed. Bernardino de las Casas, author of the book 'Historia General de la Nueva Espana', 1569, documented accurately not only the Indian customs, but the abuses committed on the natives. The book never saw the light in his lifetime. It was confiscated by his Superiors and sent to Spain. It was rediscovered in 1777.

Besides, there is an ordinance issued by the king Felipe II regarding news about the Indians. The Royal Cedula of Apr. 22 1577 mandates: "...and be warned not to consent that no person whatsoever write things about the superstitions and way of living of these Indians in any language...." Felipe II (HGM Moreno 1981, 353).

Could this order issued six years before the Ordinances for Discovery and Population establish a rule of use in Indian issues? Was it a master move to avoid accurate historical accounts of abuses and extermination of the Indians?

B.2.1 Some Notices

The other side of the coin appears in Santa Maria's observations about the Indians and in the words of Bernardo de Galvez. "There is no doubt that the Indians of America, [wrote Santa Maria] are as human and rational as the first grandsons of Noah...." (Archivo1, 1929, 426)

Bernardo de Galvez, nephew of the powerful Jose de Galvez conceded

"...The Spaniards accuse Indians of cruelty. I do not know what opinion they shall have about us. Perhaps it is not better, but better founded. The truth is that they are as much grateful as vindictive. The latter we should forgive to a nation that has not learned philosophy with which to dominate a natural although vicious sentiment, that is heroic cause, as it also is to have a sensible heart. Be the Spaniards fair, and know that if the Indian is not a friend, it is because he owes no benefits to us, and if he takes revenge it is by fair satisfaction of his aggravations...." (Velazquez1, 1974, 135)

B.3 Indian Extinction

B.3.1 'Reformas Borbonicas'

Due to the strict regulation of Indian life some tribes were severely affected by a reduced birth rate which resulted in an overall lower of their former living standards. In Nuevo Santander they faced two main problems; the already mentioned epidemics and war, which was part of the government's attempts to effectively control the territory. The Bourbon Reforms is the name given by historians to the government changes implemented during the eighteenth century in Spain and its provinces. Jose de Galvez, Inspector of the New Spain (Visitador),

visited the Northern Provinces. He proposed a reorganization of the government of these territories. Several Reglamentos were issued for the construction of a line of presidios in the northern provinces of the New Spain. Other regulations were issued to better their government, including the war 'of blood and fire' against the Indians.

The military campaigns against the Indians had started with Viceroy Charles Francisco de Croix (Viceroy VIII-1766 to IX-1771). Croix executed Galvez' policies. In fact Croix is appointed Viceroy by suggestion of Galvez. The Spanish Inspector visits the Nueva Espana from 1765 to 1771; he traveled extensively in the country, directs Indian operations in the Northwest and imposed the tobacco monopoly in addition to new taxes. During Croix's Government the Jesuits were also expelled from Mexico (1767),

Jose de Galvez himself directed attacks against the Indians in Northwest Mexico, while investigating the rich dominions and properties of the Jesuit Order in California. Galvez in person conducted the expulsion of Jesuits in the main convent of Mexico City. Back in Spain he was appointed Minister of Indies. His nephew Bernardo de Galvez was in charge of the government of the recently reorganized northern provinces. Galvez had written good things about the Indian virtues in the past. He had even justified their aggressivity because of what he called their ignorance of philosophy (see end of last section). However once in government his attitude changed.

The Indians were a problem. Bernardo de Galvez made propositions to solve it. The Indians

“may be attracted gently to the advantage of rational life and to commerce by discrete and opportune gifts. If peace is broken... we should

rightly return to incessant and harsh war, alternating war and peace as often as... their behavior requires.... These essentially are the rules on which the proposed system is based; they appear to be just and they employ the ancient hatred factional interest and inconsistency and perfidy of the heathen tribes to their mutual destruction. I am very much in favor of the special ruination of the Apaches... because these Indians are our real enemies in the provincias Internas; they cause its desolation and are the most feared because of their knowledge, cunning and warlike customs acquired in the necessity of robbing in order to live....” [From Instructions for the Governing of the New Spain by Bernardo Galvez] (Webber, 1982, 79-80)

Going against pacted coalitions with Indian tribes, the Spaniards sought alliances with other tribes to attack enemy tribes simultaneously. It was successful. Entire groups of Indians were exterminated this way.

In 1780 the war against the Indians began in Nuevo Santander. It was carried under the commands of Governor Escandon, the son of the colonizer Jose de Escandon.

“[The new governor was]... the [second] Conde de la Sierra Grande who, informed of the Indians’ bad actions... declared the war. A hastily delivered communique sent by his military superior to J.J. Olarazan, Sgt. of the squadron of the village of Real de Borbon, read: Without loss of time come [before me]... to instruct you on a mandate issued by the Superior Government. Signed J.A. Dominguez. Dated Feb 25 1780... [the order was] to prepare... well equipped men, horses and provision for two months [of campaign against the Indians].”

History has recorded 1780 as the date when Manuel de Escandon, son of the colonizer, unleashed the war against those nomadic natives not willing to be reduced to city life.

The same had happened in central Mexico during 1540, during Viceroy Mendoza's government, the solution to the Indian problem was called the Mixton War. It was a fight which "...kept the northern frontier [of the time] aflame from sea to sea...." (Gerhard, 1982, 6) In Nuevo Santander, Indians were systematically and simultaneously attacked by the army. The choice for them was either to subjugate and live under Spanish domination in Indian towns, or to fight. War was the usual answer of the Indians due to their particular survival idiosyncrasy. War was the answer that the Spaniards expected, since their army was already prepared for it. Some Indians retreated to the northern province of Texas. These groups were to face a different army: the Texas Army. It was only a matter of time before they would die. "At the beginning of the nineteenth century, the indigenous population nuclei of Tamaulipas [Nuevo Santander], considered as tribal groups, had been exterminated. In the colonization of Nuevo Santander it was not possible to convert the hunting Indians into farmers and miners...." (Zorrilla, 1976, 24)

Similar Indian extinction took place in other frontier regions facing indomitable nomadic Indians. As opposed to the Indians of Central Mexico who were docile and able to be integrated into the new society, the northern Indians could not face the conditions imposed by the Spaniard community. Freedom was a much valued idea for the Indians. It was not for the Spaniards.

Analogous occurrences are observed in other similar Indian frontiers of the Americas. The case of the Indians in the south of Chile is just one. In Mexico the campaigns against the Northern Indians are a topic presently being researched, as well as some other formerly taboo topics like the Inquisition.

B.4 Sources of Illustrations

I. Map of the Sierra Gorda including the City of Queretaro and Costa del Seno Mexicano, near the 21 degrees to the Bahia del Espiritu Santo at the 28 1/2 degrees, its rivers, bays and provinces pacified by Don Jose de Escandon in 'Monumentos para la Historia de Coahuila y Seno Mexicano,' copy of 1792. Queretaro, Veracruz, Tamaulipas, Nuevo Leon and Coahuila. 1755.

Scale 10 leagues. Original 80cmX60cm. Archivo General de la Nacion Mexico. Seccion Historia vol 29 f. 190. Map shown: (Miller, 1980)

II. North Frontier in 1786 (Gerhard, 1982)

III. Extent of Spanish Control in 1600 (Gerhard, 1982)

IV. Extent of Spanish Control in 1700 (Gerhard, 1982)

V. Extent of Spanish Control in 1800 (Gerhard, 1982)

VI. Evolution of Gobiernos on the North Frontier (Gerhard, 1982).

VII. Map of Nuevo Santander. Redrawn from 1792 Map. (Miller, 1980)

VIII. Nuevo Santander in 1786 (Gerhard, 1982)

IX. Ciudad Victoria Tamaulipas (Chart F14A29 CETENAL MEXICO 1972)

X. Villa de Santa Maria de Aguayo. Original Plan [1750] Scale 200 [Castillian] varas. [30X40cm]. Photo from original at Archivo General de la Nacion Mexico. Seccion Provincias Internas: vol. 180, exp12, f.182.

XI. San Fernando Tamaulipas. Topographical Chart 14R G14D53. CETENAL Mexico, c.1975.

XII. Villa de San Fernando. Original Plan 1750. Scale 200 [Castillian] varas. [30X40cm] From Documents of the foundation of Poblaciones done by Jose de

Escandon in Nuevo Santander. Photo of Original in Archivo General de la Nacion Mexico. Secc. Provincias Internas: Vol 180 exp. 1. f.63.

XIII. Reynosa Diaz. (Original Town founded by Escandon: relocated in 1803). From Topograhpic Chart G14B82D, CETENAL, Mexico c.1975.

XIV. Reynosa. Map for the relocation of the Villa, 1801. In a Report about the relocation of the town due to water floods to the site named San Antonio, 1802. No scale. Original size [25x30cm]. Photograph from original at Archivo General de la Nacion (Mexico), Seccion Provincias Internas, vol. 209, exp.2. f.65.

XVI. Villa de Reynosa. Original Plan 1750. Scale 200 [Castillian] varas. [30X40cm] From Documents of the establishment of towns by Jose de Escandon in Nuevo Santander, now State of Tamaulipas. Photo of Original in Archivo General de la Nacion Mexico. Secc. Provincias Internas: Vol 180 exp.1 f.36-37.

XV. Santander Jimenez Tamaulipas. From Carta Topografica G1482, CETENAL Mexico, c.1975.

XVI. Villa Capital de Santander. Original Plan 1750. Scale 200 [Castillian] varas. [30X40cm] From Documents of the establishment of towns by Jose de Escandon in Nuevo and numerous families settled in the Nuevo Santander, now State of Tamaulipas. Photo of Original in Archivo General de la Nacion Mexico. Secc. Provincias Internas: Vol 180 f.82-83.

XVII. Map of Nuevo Leon in 1786. (Gerhard, 1982).

B.5 Additional Credits

1. Graphs And Tables For Demographics And Colonization

Expenses For all graphs of Population the source is always the List of Settlers of 1757 Inspection. Data reorganization, calculations and Graphs by Sergio Vasquez.

Source: Viceregal Account of Expenses for the Colonia del Nuevo Santander, by Jose de Tienda y Cuervo. Data reorganization and calculations by Sergio Vasquez.

Raw data for both instances can be found in (Archivo1, 1929) and (Archivo2, 1931).

2. All Ordinances 1573 have been translated from the transcription of (Altamira1, 1959) All translation from the Spanish by Sergio Vasquez.

3. Scribe formatting of this thesis document by Jean Marie Diaz '89
Student Information Processing Board / MIT.

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