Patterns of settlement in New Mexico fluctuated during the two and one-quarter centuries of Spanish rule. Expansion and contraction of the European population was determined by availability of arable land, territorial requirements of the Pueblo Indians, and pressures of hostile nomadic tribes. Study of the influences which shaped settlement patterns in New Mexico and review of attempts by government officials and others to regulate the settling of new lands and towns offer insights into some of the economic and social problems of colonial times.

When the Spaniards reached the Southwest in 1540, they found the largest concentration of Pueblo Indians along the upper Rio Grande and its tributaries with outlying nuclei of settlement to the west at Acoma, Zuni and Hopi and to the east at Pecos Pueblo and the villages beyond the Manzano Mountains. The Rio Grande drainage offered suitable home sites for the Pueblo people with sufficient land to meet their agricultural needs. The Spanish colonists as well, found the environment attractive, so they fixed their earliest farms, ranches, and towns on lands adjacent to the Pueblos. To the present day heavy population clusters occur in this same area.

Extensive exploration in the early colonial period quickly dashed hopes that New Mexico would yield treasure in gold, silver, or other profitable minerals. The fading of prospects for a mining boom meant that population growth and economic development would lack the spectacular quality which attended the colonization of some of the other frontier provinces. New Mexico, in fact, to the end of the colonial era remained thinly populated and dependent upon royal subsidies to meet her expenses. Land served as the principal source of what little wealth she possessed.

The Legal Basis of Settlement

The ultimate proprietorship of all lands in New Mexico belonged to the Spanish sovereign. By royal concession, private individuals or groups of persons might apply for lands, and after fulfilling certain legal requirements, receive a grant called a gracia or merced real.* All properties not conveyed in an official grant remained in the possession of the crown and were known as tierras realengas y baldias (royal and vacant lands). These served as a kind of reservoir from which new grants were
made and to which lands whose grantees could not acquire final title were returned.  

Land grants in New Mexico were generally of three categories: (1) municipal concessions made by the crown to an individual (*poblador principal*) or to a group of settlers who wished to found a new community; (2) private grants to farmers, stockraisers and others who agreed to develop rural property; and (3) Pueblo Indian grants, which awarded title and guaranteed full possession to the Indians of all lands they occupied or used. 

The laws regarding the laying out of new towns throughout the Spanish realm were extensive and precise. Municipal planning was to follow the grid-system, which required straight parallel streets with rectangular blocks and one or more rectangular plazas, the principal one to be designated as the *plaza mayor*. Lots were distributed to the citizens (*vecinos*) or were reserved for government and church buildings. Lands on the fringe of the municipality were set aside as commons (*ejidos*), pasture lands (*dehesas*) and municipal lands (*propios*), revenues from which helped defray community expenses. Carefully composed ordinances provided that town sites be selected after consideration had been given to matters of health, climate and defense. With regard to the last of these, settlers were instructed to erect jointly and with the greatest possible haste some kind of palisade or dig a ditch around the main plaza so that Indians could not harm them. In addition, they were encouraged to fortify their own houses. 

The royal regulations regarding conditions for the fulfillment of terms for private grants were somewhat less specific, since local conditions often determined particular requirements. A concession of land, however, was sure to include a demand that the recipient place it under cultivation and reside on it for a specified number of years. Restrictions ordinarily included the following: no grant could be made which was prejudicial to the rights of the Indians or which caused injury to a third party; a grant of land conveyed no judicial powers; and mineral rights were retained by the crown. 

**New Mexico Land and Settlement Procedures**

The colonial governors possessed broad powers with regard to the founding of new towns and the assignment of lands and water rights. The contract awarded to New Mexico’s founder, Juan de Onate, set forth in explicit terms his prerogatives in this area. It is apparent that the Ordinances of 1573 concerning the laying out of towns and other laws of the time served as the basis for the authority assigned to him. In addition to determining the location and boundaries of new communities, Onate
was empowered to decide whether the settlement should be designated a
\textit{ciudad}, \textit{villa}, or \textit{pueblo} and to organize the municipal government.\footnote{9}

Instructions to Don Pedro de Peralta, who assumed the governorship
of New Mexico in 1609, provided for the establishment of the villa of Santa
Fe, and the terms contained therein also seem to be in conformity with
the current legislation.\footnote{10} The conduct of succeeding governors furnishes
evidence that they were fully cognizant of the laws of the Indies that
pertained to the establishment of towns and the distribution of lands.\footnote{11}

Upon founding the villa of Albuquerque, Governor Francisco Cuervo y
Valdez certified that he acted in accordance with royal regulations
contained in title seven, book four of the \textit{Recopilacion}.\footnote{12}

Unfortunately in practically all instances the official records of the
actual founding of New Mexico colonial towns are missing. The
\textit{instrumentos de la fundacion}, which conveyed legal status to a new
community, often contained the petition of the person or persons seeking
to establish a settlement, the authorization of the governor, and an
account of the formal proceedings whereby the petitioners were placed in
possession.\footnote{13} Were these instruments available today, doubtless they
would shed much light on the motives of Spaniards who participated in
expanding New Mexico's frontier and would also aid in solving certain
legal problems of modern towns whose foundations date back to Spanish
colonial times.\footnote{14}

In viewing Spain's land grant policy and the influence it had on
settlement patterns, it is important to keep in mind that ultimate title to
all lands was retained by the king. Grants were made for occupation and
use, the subject taking the rents and profits.\footnote{15} If an individual failed to
meet the requirements of his grant, or if a grant was abandoned because
of the Indian menace, as was often the case, the lands reverted to the
crown. Even lands designated as belonging to municipalities remained
subject to close royal supervision. This may be noted particularly for town
lots or outlying lands which the town corporation failed to assign to
citizens.\footnote{16} Occasionally after lots had been assigned, the government
found it necessary to reclaim them for official use. Such a case occurred in
the villa of Santa Fe in 1788 when construction work and expansion of the
presidio necessitated the retaking of the lots and houses of three citizens,
who were compensated for their loss out of the \textit{tierras realengas y
haldias}.\footnote{17}

\textbf{The Seventeenth-Century Pattern}

The statements above provide necessary background for an understand-
ing of the introduction and spread of settlement in colonial New
Mexico. The initial attempt to found a Spanish community was made by
Onate at San Gabriel near San Juan Pueblo. By the spring of 1610, however, the effort at this site had been given up, and under viceregal orders the colonists moved southward to establish the villa of Santa Fe. Governor Pedro de Peralta, who was entrusted with carrying out the transfer to the new location, received instructions on the creation of a municipal government and the manner in which lands were to be distributed to citizens. Settlers who received lots in the new villa were required to live upon them for ten years, and if they should absent themselves for three months continuously without permission of the municipal authorities, they were to forfeit all property and rights of citizenship.

Down to the Pueblo revolt of 1680, Santa Fe remained the only formally organized community in the province, as the old San Gabriel settlement was totally abandoned. During this period a trend was established which was carried over and reinforced in the following century: the tendency for the majority of the population to become dispersed throughout the rural areas in isolated farms, ranches and hamlets.

By tradition the Spaniard was a town dweller, accustomed to residing in communities welded into a unit by the practical necessity of defense and the common need to produce an adequate food supply. In New Mexico, as in other remote districts of northern New Spain, the municipal tradition or "sense of community" was greatly weakened and in some cases broke down altogether. This occurred, paradoxically, when the needs of defense and economic cooperation appeared the greatest.

During the seventeenth century, the small European population labored to sustain and defend the missionary friars and to extract what meager rewards it could from the province's limited resources. Land grants were made to a number of Spanish families, the more affluent of which founded fairly prosperous haciendas. In other cases simple farmsteads strung along river or stream courses were developed by the rural folk. The principal areas of occupation were the valleys north of Santa Fe and the middle Rio Grande flood-plain from the Santo Domingo plains southward through the Albuquerque and Belen valleys. The Spaniards favored these regions because the best agricultural lands were situated here as were the heaviest concentrations of the Pueblo Indian population.

The native towns were distributed in encomienda to the leading colonists, who received from them an annual tribute, principally in maize and cotton mantas. Of greater economic significance to the majority of the settlers was Indian labor required on farms and ranches. The going wage was half a real a day until 1659, at which time it was increased to a full real a day by Governor Lopez de Mendizabal. There is abundant evidence,
however, that even this nominal sum was not always maintained, the colonists preferring to squeeze labor out of the Indians while neglecting to compensate them.

The Spaniards sought to locate themselves close to exploitable labor and within easy range of their encomienda grants. During the first two-thirds of the seventeenth century, the ratio of Spaniard to Indian was such that the number of potential workers probably exceeded the labor demands of the colonists. After 1665, however, famine, pestilence, and raids by nomadic tribes on the Pueblo people so depleted their numbers that the village Indians were hard-pressed to meet the labor requirements of the colonists. In fact, one of their chief complaints at the time of the Pueblo revolt was that the Spaniards so burdened them with tasks, that they had little time left to care for their own fields.

The more prosperous ranches might have developed in New Mexico a settlement pattern similar to that which soon appeared in the neighboring province of Nueva Vizcaya, with widely-scattered large properties supported by the labor of dependent Indians or poor mestizos. The Pueblo revolt of 1680, however, extinguished the Spanish settlement clusters in the upper Rio Grande Valley and forced a withdrawal of surviving colonists to the El Paso district down-river. When colonization was resumed some twelve years later, new patterns emerged.

New Trends of the Eighteenth Century

In the years following the Pueblo revolt and the reconquest of New Mexico by the Spaniards, the character of settlement underwent a significant change. From 1700 to the end of the Spanish period, loose agglomerations of small farmsteads termed ranches became the typical unit of colonization, in marked contrast to the seventeenth century during which the hacienda had predominated. In considerable measure, this shift from large land holdings to farms of more modest size may be attributed to the decrease in Pueblo Indian population, which greatly reduced the labor supply, and to the increase in the numbers of Spanish colonists, whose arrival created a heavy demand for farmlands in the old core area of the Rio Grande Valley.

By 1695 Diego de Vargas had reclaimed New Mexico for the Spanish crown, missions had been reestablished, the villa of Santa Fe had been put in some order and a large number of colonists concentrated there in anticipation of the reoccupation of outlying areas. A survey shortly was made of abandoned farms and ranches, and lands were distributed to both new and old settlers. In some cases it was discovered that Indians had built pueblos on the foundations of former Spanish settlements. Tano
people, for example, had moved into such a location in the valley of the Santa Cruz River. As recolonization proceeded they were evicted and the new villa of Santa Cruz de la Canada was created on the site.24

Governor Vargas was eager to found new towns, although orders from the superior government instructed him to keep the settlers together for better defense.25 Within a brief time, new communities appeared and advances were begun into regions which had not previously known European settlement. Since the population expanded far beyond previous limits, it becomes possible to place in sharper focus the distribution patterns for the later colonial years.

Description of Life

New Mexico was essentially a rural province dominated by a rural population living in dozens of small communities. Even in the several villas there is little evidence of true urbanism since the people did not group their houses compactly but scattered them over the neighboring countryside to be near their fields. An examination of the several categories of "village types" which can be defined for the late colonial period will serve to illustrate the direction and character which the pattern of settlement assumed. New Mexican communities may be categorized as villas and poblaciones or plazas for the European population, and for the Indians, pueblos and reducciones.

The Villas

No New Mexican municipality ever attained the rank of ciudad. The formal villas, however, numbered four and included Santa Fe', Albuquerque, Santa Cruz de la Canada, and El Paso del Norte. All were poorly organized and had populations of probably under 2,500, conditions which elicited the following terse comment from Fray Francisco Dominguez in 1776. Regarding Santa Fe, he declared, "Its appearance, design, arrangement, and plan do not correspond to its status as a villa" And he observed that in New Spain there were pueblos (a less pretentious title than villa) which had far more to recommend them than Santa Fe', a town that "in the final analysis lacked everything."26

According to George Kubler, the original plan of Santa Fe had embodied the royal regulations of 1573 for the laying out of new towns, so that this villa "of all Hispanic cities in the New World is a paradigm of these ordinances."27 This statement, however, represents something of an exaggeration. There may have been more regularity to the villa in the
seventeenth century than in the period after the Pueblo revolt, but at no time did it conform in more than a rudimentary way to the grid-system or to the requirement that adequate fortifications be provided. True, there was a plaza mayor fronting on the governor's residence and offices, and perhaps a secondary plaza existed to the west of San Miguel Church, but as to carefully marked streets required by the grid-pattern there were none. Dominguez reported only the semblance of a single street for the entire villa in 1776.

This lack of order in the municipal plan developed, not because of the negligence of local government officials, but through the willful determination of Santa Fe citizens to place their residences close to their fields, which were spread along the narrow valley of the Santa Fe River. They desired not only convenient access to farm plots, but wished to keep a constant surveillance over them to prevent the loss of crops to thieves and wild animals. As a result of this scattering, the limits of the villa measured about three leagues in circumference by the third quarter of the eighteenth century.

Apparently the formlessness of the community of Santa Fe was repeated in the remaining villas. Bishop Tamardn in 1760 reported that at Santa Cruz de la Canada there was no true town, the settlers being distributed over a wide area. The people of El Paso preferred to live near their vineyards located several leagues above and below the villa, while at Albuquerque only twenty-four houses were situated in the vicinity of the church, the rest being scattered for a league up-stream. Each villa did possess a plaza adjacent to the main church with "town houses" of prominent families and perhaps a government building or two on the square or nearby. Otherwise, homes and small businesses were randomly placed according to the needs of their owners, and in defiance of colonial legislation which demanded adherence to an orderly plan of municipal development.

Poblaciones and Plazas

In New Mexico the loosely-grouped Spanish ranchos were generally referred to as poblaciones, or if the population consolidated for mutual defense, as plazas. The term "plaza," and its derivative "placita," thus were employed in this province to mean a town or village. A very small place was sometimes called merely a lugar. A rancho consisted of one or more Spanish households located adjacent to farm and orchard lands. The agricultural plots were small and generally long and narrow as a result of the Spanish custom of subdividing among all the heirs. Land grants were usually apportioned along ditch or stream
frontage—those made to Ojo Caliente settlers in 1793 were 150 varas wide—with the strip extending sometimes as much as one mile back from the water.36

In frontier zones ranchos were often established informally, that is, without government sanction, by poor family heads who owned no lands in the more settled central regions and who simply did not wish to abide by the proper legal forms. In 1772, Governor Mendinueta suggested that perhaps the majority of those living on ranchos were "intrusive owners of their lands or voluntary holdings."37 If the farms prospered and survived Indian attack, the original settler or his descendants later might apply for a formal grant.

Scattered ranchos or "houses of the field," as they were occasionally termed, were the most characteristic units of rural New Mexico.38 Even when the farmsteads were dispersed over several leagues, however, a church built by the settlers served as a focal point for community activity. Under pressure of severe Indian raids in the late eighteenth century, rural people increasingly forsook their isolated ranchos and congregated in small fortified towns or plazas. In such instances, permission was usually sought from the governor through a formal petition, and regulations regarding construction of fortifications were received and executed.

Walled towns were no novelty to the Spaniard. Fortified villages were a common feature on the Moorish frontier in Spain, and at least one authority asserts that the fortifications for the military camp of Santa Fe* de Granada constructed by Ferdinand and Isabella served as the forerunner of defensive establishments in the New World.39 Cities protected by walls arose in the Antilles and in those districts of New Spain subject to enemy attack. The villa of Santa Fe had an eight-foot wall with parapets, portions of which survived well into the nineteenth century. And as a defensive measure, the lieutenant-governor at El Paso in 1780 proposed that a wall be constructed around that town, though it seems nothing was done.40

On the New Mexico frontier, the settlers usually preferred not to construct a separate wall to shield communities from Indian assault; rather, the common practice was to place houses contiguously about a central plaza. The outer walls were left devoid of windows, livestock could be corralled in the square during attack, and the single gate barred. Often there were towers or torreones constructed in a circular or polygonal fashion. Defensive plazas of this kind were known at Chimayé, Truchas, Las Trampas, Taos, Ojo Caliente, Cebolleta and elsewhere.41

The type of plaza just described was comparatively large, was composed of a number of families, and possessed the aspect of a true town. Similar to it was the "restricted plaza" or fortified dwelling of a single extended family. Such residential clusters of kin were often known
Settlement Patterns and Village Plans

by the lineage surname, and those of more imposing nature were designated haciendas.\(^{42}\) The hacienda or casa grande frequently had extensive walls, towers, parapets, and other defensive features similar to those found on the wealthy estates of northern New Spain.\(^{43}\)

Fortified plazas and haciendas in varying degrees conformed to the royal ordinances which laid down measures to be taken for defense. As indicated, the same could not be said for the individual ranchos which were located haphazardly according to no particular plan. In certain instances, however, it seems the owners of these humble farmsteads did give some attention to the protection of their families and property. The result was a unique arrangement known as the casa-corr\(\text{r}\)al unit. As described by Conway it consisted of

... a dwelling—usually the conventional one-story adobe structure—with a corral or yard for holding livestock adjoining it in the rear. The walls of the corral were frequently as high as the walls of the house and of one piece with them. A door led directly from the dwelling into the corral... and the general impression was of a small fortress with stout, high walls, few openings and a compact, economical design.\(^{44}\)

This kind of family unit clearly derived from the Ordinances of 1573 which required "houses to be constructed so that horses and household animals can be kept therein, the courtyards and stockyards being as large as possible to insure health and cleanliness, ... and to be planned so they can serve as a fortress."\(^{45}\) Admittedly however, as a defensive structure, the New Mexican casa-corr\(\text{r}\)al unit was far less ambitious than the original laws intended.

Settlers on the edges of the province in the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries frequently petitioned the superior authorities for license to desert their homes and retreat to relative safety in the Rio Grande Valley. In almost every case, their petitions were denied. Many left the frontier anyway, unmindful of threats of dire penalties. Cases of this kind were common in the Ojo Caliente-Chama district and at other points.\(^{46}\) In 1805, for example, settlers at Cebolleta beyond the Rio Puerco abandoned their community because of Navajo incursions, but they soon were ordered to return by Commandant General Nemesio Salcedo, who promised to send troops to punish the Indians.\(^{47}\)

Indian Towns

These were of three kinds: (1) those of the Pueblo Indians; (2) the settlements of genizaros; and (3) the reducciones for members of nomadic tribes. As suggested, the colonial era saw a general reduction in the area
occupied by the Pueblo peoples. This trend, which had begun as early as A.D. 1300, was greatly accelerated after the Spanish conquest, so that the Pueblo population and number of villages steadily declined. Remaining Indians concentrated into ever larger communities which were closely integrated and carefully organized for defense.48

The strategic value and secure shelter afforded by the pueblos was obvious, even to the Spaniard. Governor Mendinueta in 1772 urged a law with teeth in it which would require settlers to live in compact towns like the Indians.49 The colonists, however, appear to have been less perturbed by enemy raids than were the Pueblo people; at least, they could be induced to take defensive measures only under the most severe pressure.

Many settlers in the Taos Valley, one of the areas most vulnerable to Comanche and Ute attack, spent a great deal of time in the eighteenth century living inside Taos Pueblo.50 A plaza and fortified houses of their own had proven inadequate, so they took up more secure homes with the Indians. Father Dominguez in 1776 said of the pueblo, "its plan resembles that of those walled cities with bastions and towers that are described to us in the Bible."51 And he mentions heavy gates, fortified towers, a very high wall and solid blocks of houses. While all the pueblos were not as well-defended as this one, nevertheless, they served as a more effective refuge for their people than did the loose communities of the Spaniards.

The settlements of genizaros represent a special case, and as a village type they may be classed as a variant of the Indian pueblo. Originally the genizaros were Indian captives or slaves of nomadic tribes who were ransomed by the Spanish government. Parceled out among the colonists, they became domestic servants or laborers. As neophytes they were given Christian names and religious instruction. Unfortunately many were mistreated by their Spanish masters and became apostates. Others, however, with the support of Franciscan missionaries petitioned for permission to found their own settlements on the frontier. Believing in the justice of the genizaro complaints, the Governor of New Mexico ordered that all who were abused might apply to him for relief and receive assignment to a new town. One of the earliest of such communities was created at the Cerro de Tome south of Albuquerque.52 Other genizaros later were placed at Abiquiu and the Pecos River towns of San Jose and San Miguel del Bado.

Since most of these people were of nomadic ancestry, they proved useful to the Spaniards as scouts, spies, and auxiliary soldiers. More significant for the discussion here, their towns, located on the fringes of European settlement, constituted an important barrier between the Spanish farmers and the hostile tribes on the frontier.
During colonial times repeated efforts were made to reduce the nomadic native people to community life under supervision of proper religious and civil authority. The reduction, an instrument of Spain's Indian policy from the days of earliest settlement in the New World, aimed at nothing short of full social and cultural reorientation of native ways. In many parts of Spanish America, congregation of wandering Indians into a community had been achieved through the use of force. But in New Mexico the several tribes of nomads remained unsubjugated, so that establishment of reducciones or formal settlements for them depended upon their voluntary submission. At various times in the eighteenth century, the Spaniards responded to pleas from Navajos, Apaches, and Comanches for aid in establishing their own towns, but in the end the Indians returned to a roving life. Since the experimental reducciones were situated on the far frontiers, had they succeeded, the jurisdiction of the New Mexican government would have been appreciably expanded and new areas might have been made safe for Spanish colonization.

Attempts to Regulate Settlement Patterns

A recurrent theme in official reports of the colonial years centered upon the problems raised by dispersal of the New Mexican population and the need to consolidate for defense. As early as 1609, the people of New Mexico were described as being "scattered over [that country] so that they are destitute of administration because very few reside in each place. . . ." As a result, orders were issued to gather the colonists together so they could stand united against the Indian menace. No significant action was taken, however, and consequently the Spaniards suffered heavy casualties in the 1680 revolt—the isolation of individual families or small settlement clusters permitting the Indian forces to sweep the countryside.

In spite of this tragic experience, the same patterns of dispersal appeared on an even grander scale in the eighteenth century. The case was clearly put by Antonio de Bonilla, who, in 1776, remarked that in New Mexico

The settlements of the Spaniards are scattered and badly defended . . . and quite exposed to entire ruin. Because the greater number of them are scattered ranches, among which the force of the settlers is divided, they can neither protect themselves nor contribute to the general defense of the country. This, in consequence, results in the abandonment of their weak homes and the terror of seeing themselves incessantly beset by the enemy.
Of course, the government was concerned at the loss of life and the extra expense entailed in trying to protect an area in which patterns of settlement lacked regularity. But from a long view, of even more fundamental importance was the fact that erratic colonizing practices resulted in loss of entire blocks of territory to enemy raiders and a shrinking rather than an expansion of the frontier at various places. At least one historian has called attention to the Miera y Pacheco map of 1779, which shows there were more abandoned towns in New Mexico than there were occupied towns.55

The scattering of *ranchos* and settlements was, in part, an out-growth of the region's peculiar agricultural requirements—in a country where plowland was scarce, farms, as pointed out, were ribboned along stream valleys, and the people insisted on living near their fields, considerations of defense aside. Critics of the dispersal pattern claimed that the obstinacy and inertia of the colonists were the principal barriers to fulfillment of numerous government orders regarding establishment of organized communities. The issue was stated most forcefully by Father Juan de Morfi, writing sometime in the 1780s, who declared that the settlers like to live apart so that, far from the prying eyes of neighbors and the restraining influence of the authorities, they could commit with impunity all manner of immoral and criminal acts. He reported that some isolated colonists "were not ashamed to go about nude so that lewdness was seen here more than in the brutes, and the peaceful Indians were scandalized."56 While moral looseness does seem to have been common in colonial society—decrees were issued with frequency condemning concubinae, indecent dances and excessive gambling—other causes, as already noted, were chiefly responsible for population dispersal.

This problem, which Bonilla and others regarded as of considerable magnitude, was finally met head-on by the Spanish government. Action came, nevertheless, only when it was realized that consolidation of the settlers was essential to the defense of the province, and that it was less costly to issue orders to that effect than to accede to repeated requests for additional presidios to supply protection.

Governor Mendinueta in a report of 1772 to Viceroy Bucareli advocated compelling "settlers of each region who live ... dispersed, to join and form their pueblos in plazas or streets so that a few men could be able to defend themselves."57 The viceroy was in full agreement, but some delay arose before orders could be issued and the task of concentrating the New Mexican settlers begun.58

On July 4, 1778, a council was held in Chihuahua which recommended prompt measures for the unification of the New Mexico population. Commandant General Teodoro de Croix then issued orders to Governor Juan Bautista de Anza calling upon him to "regularize" the settlements of
his province by collecting scattered families and obliging them to dwell in compact units.\textsuperscript{59} By 1779 the villas, except Santa Fe, were reduced to some order, and in the following year considerable success was achieved in concentrating the rural folk.\textsuperscript{60} It was in this period of activity that many of the fortified or walled towns on the frontier had their beginnings.

The problem of concentrating the residents of the provincial capital remained unresolved for some time. The authorities, aware of "the churlish nature of Santa Fes inhabitants' and of "the perfect freedom in which they always lived," decided to tread slowly and to seek alternative ways to strengthen defenses of the villa.\textsuperscript{61} A formal presidio was begun adjacent to the governor's residence on the plaza mayor and was brought to completion in the early 1790s. Its purpose was to provide quarters near the center of town for officers and men of the garrison. Heretofore, some of the soldiers had lived as much as a league away from the plaza, and often it required several hours merely to assemble the troops. It is not certain what other measures may have been employed at this time to pull in the limits of the capital and congregate the residents, but in the long view it is doubtful if an\textsuperscript{4} fundamental change in the established pattern was achieved.

Conclusion

As may be seen from the foregoing, informality and a general lack of planning characterized New Mexican settlements through much of the colonial period. Economic necessity, a strong spirit of frontier individualism, a sense of fatalism about the Indian danger, and perhaps a wish to escape the paternal eye of civil government and the Church—these all influenced the settler and nourished in him the desire to build and farm on land of his own choosing, disregarding laws which were aimed at maintaining the collective welfare of the populace.

Of all causes contributing to the dispersal pattern, that which required the small farmer to live near his fields to give them proper care and protection was of uppermost importance. In this regard, it is interesting to note that the closely integrated villages of the Pueblo Indians began to break up as soon as the hostile nomads were subdued by the United States Government in the second half of the nineteenth century. With that event, it became safe for individual farmers and their families to reside permanently near more distant fields, returning to the main pueblo only on ceremonial occasions.\textsuperscript{62} Thus, it appears that only the threat of enemy raiders had prevented the Pueblo people from scattering as the colonial New Mexicans had always done.

Overall, then, it may be said that settlement patterns in this province
during the period of Spanish rule were shaped primarily by economic needs of the rural folk and only secondarily by considerations of defense. The strong tendency toward dispersion of the population was probably characteristic of most of northern New Spain, but may well have been more pronounced in New Mexico owing to greater isolation and looser enforcement of governmental decrees.

NOTES

2. Ibid., p. 36; and Julio Jimenez Rueda, Historia de la cultura en Mexico, El virrinato (Mexico, 1951), p. 42.
3. Professor Clark S. Knowlton sharply distinguishes the "proprietary grant" (that of a poblador principal) from a community grant (one extended to a petitioning group of at least ten families seeking to establish a community). "Land Grant Problems Among the State's Spanish Americans," New Mexico Business, Vol. XX (1967), p. 2.
4. The existence of actual grants for the Pueblos must be inferred, since no original title papers are known today. The "Cruzate Grants" for the Pueblos have been proven to be largely fraudulent. See Myra Ellen Jenkins, "The Baltasar Baca 'Grant': History of an Encroachment," reprinted from El Palacio, Vol. LXXVIII (1961), pp. 51-52.
8. Ots Capdequi, El estado Espanol en las Indias, p. 35; and Agustín Cue Canovas, Historia social y económicade Mexico, 1521-1854 (Mexico, 1963), pp. 114-16.
9. George P. Hammond and Agapito Rev. Don Juan de Onate, Colonizer of New Mexico, 1595-1628 (2 vols.; Albuquerque, 1953), Vol. II, p. 599. The classification of a municipality as ciudad, villa or pueblo (city, town or village) was more than a mere formality since these terms implied definite ranking according to prestige and importance. Also the number of municipal magistrates and councilmen allowed by law depended upon the status of the community. See especially Ralph Emerson Twitchell, "Spanish Colonization and the Founding of Ciudades and Villas in the Time of Onate," New Mexico Bar Association Minutes, 32nd Annual Session, Albuquerque, August, 1918, pp. 27-43.
11. See, for example, the remarks of Pedro Fernin de Mendinueta in Alfred B. Thomas, "Governor Mendinueta's Proposals for the Defense of New Mexico, 1772-1778," Net Mexico Historical Review, Vol. VI (1931), p. 33.


16. The general theory of Castilian law on the subject indicates that citizens received allotments for their use and enjoyment, "but the domain itself remained in the person of the sovereign," Ralph E. Twitchell, "Spanish Colonization in New Mexico in the Oñate and De Vargas Periods," *Historical Society of New Mexico, Publications*, No. 22, p. 9.

17. Jacobo Ugarte y Loyola to Fernando de la Concha, Chihuahua, July 22, 1788, Archivo General de la Nación, Mexico, Provincias Internas, Vol. 161, pt. 4. (From a photocopy in the Coronado Room, University of New Mexico Library, Albuquerque. Archivo General de la Nación hereinafter cited as AGN.)


23. Pueblo population in 1600 has been estimated at 35,000. According to Hubert Howe Bancroft, by 1600 it had dropped to about 20,000 and in 1760 it was down to some 9,000. *History of Arizona and New Mexico* (new ed.; Albuquerque, 1962), pp. 172-279.


25. Ibid., p. 227.


28. Vargas mentions two plazas for Santa Fe in 1695 (Espinosa, *Crusaders of the Rio Grande*, p. 225), and the Urrutia map of ca. 1766-68 shows an open space in front of San Miguel Church in the Indian barrio of Analco. Mr. Bruce Ellis of the Museum of New Mexico suggests that the present plaza was the plaza mayor or plaza de arinas of the colonial documents, and that the secondary plaza may have existed immediately to the east in front of the parish church.


30. Fernando de la Concha to Jacobo Ugarte y Loyola, Santa Fe, November 10, 1787, AGN, Prov. Int., 161.


32. Petition of Residents of El Paso, April 13, 1780, Spanish Archives of New Mexico, State Records Center and Archives, Santa Fe'. (Spanish Archives of New Mexico hereinafter cited as SAN M).


34. The designation of "pueblo" for a Spanish community was usually avoided in New Mexico since the village Indians from a very early time were called Pueblos. The term "rancho" should be translated as small farm rather than ranch. For a definition of this word "rancho" as it was used in colonial New Spain see Roberto Mac-Lean y Estends, *Indios de America* (Mexico, 1962), pp. 79-80.


38. Ibid., p. 27.


40. Petition, April 13, 1780, SANM.


43. For a description of the casa grande of Pablo de Villapando near Taos, see the legend on the Miera y Pacheco map, translated by Adams and Chavez in Dominguez, *Missions of New Mexico*, p. 4.


47. Salcedo to Chacon, Chihuahua, January 11, 1805, SANM.


56. Fr. Juan Agustin de Morfl, Deso'rdenes que se advierten en el Nuevo Mexico, AGN.

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59. Concha to Ugarte, Santa Fe, June 20, 1788, AGN, Prov. Int., 161.


61. Concha to Ugarte, Santa Fe, June 20, 1788, AGN, Prov. Int., 161.