

7-1-1978

The Resettlement of Santa Fe, 1695: The Newly Found Muster Roll

Clevy Lloyd Strout

Follow this and additional works at: <https://digitalrepository.unm.edu/nmhr>

Recommended Citation

Strout, Clevy Lloyd. "The Resettlement of Santa Fe, 1695: The Newly Found Muster Roll." *New Mexico Historical Review* 53, 3 (2021). <https://digitalrepository.unm.edu/nmhr/vol53/iss3/5>

This Article is brought to you for free and open access by UNM Digital Repository. It has been accepted for inclusion in *New Mexico Historical Review* by an authorized editor of UNM Digital Repository. For more information, please contact amywinter@unm.edu, lsloane@salud.unm.edu, sarahrk@unm.edu.

THE RESETTLEMENT OF SANTA FE, 1695:
THE NEWLY FOUND MUSTER ROLL

CLEVY LLOYD STROUT

ONE of the most important documents housed in the Thomas Gilcrease Institute of American History and Art in Tulsa, Oklahoma, bears the number 215 in the *Catalog of Hispanic Documents in The Gilcrease Institute, 1962*. It brings to light many previously obscure details of the Juan Páez Hurtado expedition of 1695, one of the major efforts put forth to bring additional settlers to Santa Fe after the Pueblo Revolt in 1680.¹ The genealogical and demographic implications of this newly discovered document are great.

The first part of the manuscript is a transcription of a number of documents certified in Zacatecas City in 1694. These explain the purpose and the nature of the Juan Páez Hurtado expedition, which left for Santa Fe on February 14, 1695. In these pages exist the origin and historical background of the expedition, as well as many details of the agreement between Juan Páez Hurtado and Don Diego de Vargas, "Conqueror and Reconqueror" of New Mexico after the Pueblo Revolt.

Juan Páez Hurtado was at the time of the expedition Captain of the Spanish Presidio at El Paso del Rio Grande del Norte, on the site of what is now Ciudad Juárez, Chihuahua, Mexico. The Rio Grande there forms part of the border line between what is now part of the United States and part of the Republic of Mexico. In Páez Hurtado's time El Paso was the great northern outpost through which contacts were maintained between Santa Fe in the province of New Mexico and Mexico City, as well as all settlements between.

The Conde de Galve, as Viceroy of New Spain, *i.e.*, Mexico and its dependent territories, authorized de Vargas who chose Páez Hurtado to head the new expedition to take more settlers to Santa Fe. De Vargas issued orders to Páez Hurtado on June 5, 1694 to proceed with soldiers as a guard and escort to the area of Durango and Zacatecas in order to enlist families for the resettlement of Santa Fe.

The manuscript detailing recruitment contains the names of 46 families so enlisted, totaling 146 persons, of whom one, María Osuna, wife of José López, died after signing the roster but before the expedition got underway northward from Zacatecas. The first member of the party signed the roster on December 7, 1694; the last on February 13, 1695, one day before the expedition left for Santa Fe. The oldest member on the roll was Juan Bautista de Olivas, *mestizo*, 54 years old. The youngest members, all of whom were one year of age, were Juan Lobato, son of Bartolomé Lobato; Pascuala de los Reyes, daughter of Mateo Negrete; Juan Felipe, son of Salvador Matías de Ribera; Salvador, son of Agustín Rodríguez, who was listed as a *coyote*;² María Durán, daughter of Catalina Durán, who was the widow of José de Armijo; Domingo de la Rosa, *coyote*, daughter of Tomás Méndez; Juan Gómez, son of Laureano Gómez; María, daughter of Isabel de Olivas, widow of Sebastián de Esparza; and Blas de Zárate, son of Miguel de Zárate.

Páez Hurtado's task was not an easy one. The officials of Durango aided him little, pleading lack of funds. He then concentrated on the Zacatecas-Sombrerete area, and in Zacatecas the final enlistments were made. The Viceroy had come to his aid by sending a letter ordering royal officials of Zacatecas to furnish money for the families who might be recruited for the expedition. These monies were for living expenses until such time as the expedition was ready to proceed on its way north, and for expenses incurred on the actual trip. However, the letter failed to mention anything about the personal expenses of Páez Hurtado himself, or for his group of guards and helpers. The royal officials gave him only some 350 pesos³ instead of the 820 for which he had asked. He stated that by his own reckoning he had already spent this amount from his own funds.

For the families recruited, the Viceroy's letter ordered the royal officials of Zacatecas to provide 320 pesos for each family which consisted of four or more persons, and 300 pesos for each family which consisted of three or fewer members. In addition, each person was to be paid $1\frac{1}{2}$ *reales*⁴ a day for living expenses during such time as they were waiting for the expedition to be completely organized, payment to be made once a week. Two families, those of Sebastiana Rodríguez and of Antonio Félix, received the greatest amount of money, 421 pesos, two *tomines*.⁵ The Rodríguez family had been first to enter its name on the recruitment list; while the last family recruited, that of Jerónimo Martínez, received a total of 337 pesos, $5\frac{1}{2}$ *tomines*. It had been recruited on February 13, 1695, one day before the expedition started for its destination.

No exact equivalent can be given for living expenses then as compared with today, but each person was given only $1\frac{1}{2}$ *reales* per day for expenses for the trip north, as well as for the time spent waiting. The total amount expended for this expedition, according to the record, was 16,376 pesos, $5\frac{1}{2}$ *tomines*. The peso has been accepted as the equivalent of the dollar of the United States, and each *tomín* was equivalent to $12\frac{1}{2}$ cents, so the total amount stated was about \$17,000, a considerable sum even in present days.

The list compiled here is abstracted from the original manuscript. It presents in order of date of enlistment the families, including all the children, nephews, nieces, *et al.* who accompanied the colonist families.

Family	From	Age	Date enlisted	Total money
1. Sebastiana Rodríguez, <i>mestiza</i> , widow of Matías de Contreras Simón de Contreras, son Domingo de Contreras, son Salvadora, daughter	Zacatecas	36 25 18 5	Dec. 7, 1694	421 p. 2 t.
2. Antonio Félix, Spaniard Francisca de Valencia, wife José Félix, son Nicolás de la Trinidad, nephew, <i>mestizo</i> Nicolás Rodríguez, nephew, <i>castizo</i> ⁶	Real de San Juan Bautista, Sonora	30 26 4 20 18	Dec. 7, 1694	421 p. 2 t.
3. José López, <i>mestizo</i> María de Osuna, wife, Spaniard (died Feb. 9, 1695) María de la Encarnación, daughter	Los Lagos	47 40 5	Dec. 11, 1694	360 p. 3 t.
4. Francisco González, <i>mestizo</i> Baltazar Rodarte, cousin Teresa de Jesús, Spaniard (sister of Rodarte)	Real de San José del Parral, Nueva Viscaya Zacatecas	20 16 12	Dec. 17, 1694	370 p. 2½ t.
5. Miguel Ramos, Spaniard Antonia Ramos, Spaniard Josefa de la Rosa, servant, <i>coyota</i> ⁷	Zacatecas	26 17 20	Dec. 20, 1694	375 p. 5 t.
6. Cristóbal de Morillo, Spaniard Sebastián Canseco, <i>coyote</i> María Gutiérrez, <i>mestiza</i> (betrothed to Canseco)	Puesto de la Barca, Nueva Galicia Real y Minas de Sombrerete	32 20 18	Dec. 22, 1694	367 p. 4 t.
7. Bartolomé Lobato, Spaniard Luisana Negrete, wife, Spaniard Juan Lobato, son	Real y Minas de Sombrerete	29 1	Dec. 29, 1694	363 p. 4½ t.

	Simona de Béjar, <i>mestiza</i> Pascuala de los Reyes		18 1			
9.	José Quirós, <i>mestizo</i> , widower María Quirós, daughter Miguel Quirós, nephew	Puesto de Covadenga [sic], Nueva Galicia	45 18 19	Jan. 3, 1695	360 p.	6 t.
10.	Salvador Matías de Ribera Juana de Sosa, wife, Spaniard Juan Felipe, son	Puerto de Santa María, Spain	20 1	Jan. 4, 1695	360 p.	1½ t.
11.	María de los Reyes Canseco, widow, <i>mestiza</i> María Canseco, daughter Nicolás Aramijes Canseco, nephew, <i>mestizo</i>		40 12 20	Jan. 4, 1695	360 p.	1½ t.
12.	Francisco Hernández, <i>lobo</i> ⁸ Juana García, wife, <i>mestiza</i> Estéban Hernández, son	Nochistlán	26 28 8	Jan. 8, 1695	357 p.	7½ t.
13.	Nicholás de Sierra, <i>mulato</i> Francisca Ventura, wife Joaquín, son Domingo, son	Querétaro	34 26 5 4	Jan. 11, 1695	395 p.	
14.	Agustín Rodríguez, <i>coyote</i> Nicolasa Ortiz, wife Salvador, son	Real y Minas de Sombrerete Zacatecas	30 28 1	Jan. 11, 1695	356 p.	2 t.
15.	Francisco Montes Vigil, Spaniard María Jiménez de Enciso, wife, Spaniard Pedro Policarpio, son Juan Carlos, son	Zacatecas Zacatecas	30 8 5	Jan. 12, 1695	394 p.	2 t.

	Family	From	Age	Date enlisted	Total money
16.	José Antonio Romero, Spaniard María de la Concepción, niece María de las Nieves, niece Domingo, nephew	Carmona, Spain	27 11 9 2	Jan. 12, 1695	394 p. 2 t.
17.	Juan de los Santos, <i>mestizo</i> Josefa Cristina, wife Vicente de Armijo, nephew	Zacatecas	30 30 16	Jan. 13, 1695	355 p. 1 t.
18.	Catalina Durán, <i>mestiza</i> , widow of José de Armijo José de Armijo, son Eugenia Durán, daughter María Durán, daughter	Zacatecas	38 9 5 1	Jan. 13, 1695	352 p. 7 t.
19.	Antonio de Armijo, <i>mestizo</i> , son of José de Armijo Manuela Negrete, wife, <i>mestiza</i> Marcos de Armijo, brother of Antonio de Armijo	Zacatecas	20 16 18	Jan. 17, 1695	352 p. 7 t.
20.	Juana Gutiérrez, <i>mestiza</i> , widow of Diego Gutiérrez Pedro Gutiérrez de Quirós, son Bartolomé Sánchez, nephew	Mexico City	36 17 20	Jan. 20, 1695	351 p. 1½ t.
21.	Tomás Méndez, <i>coyote</i> María de la Cruz, wife, <i>coyota</i> Dominga de la Rosa, daughter	Sombrerete Zacatecas	24 20 1	Jan. 21, 1695	350 p. 5 t.
22.	Juana Guerrero, Spaniard, widow of Miguel Rodarte Bernabé Rodarte Catalina Rodarte	Llerena	40 24 10	Jan. 22, 1695	350 p. ½ t.
23.	Marcos Ramos, <i>coyote</i> Isabela de Larea, <i>mulata blanca</i>	San Luis [Potosí]	24 20	Jan. 22, 1695	350 p. ½ t.

24.	María de la Trinidad, <i>mulata</i> , widow of Juan Miguel Gabriel de la Trinidad, son Juan Miguel de la Trinidad, son	San Luis Potosí	30 13 12	Jan. 22, 1695	350 p.	7/2 t.
25.	Don Felipe de Soria, Spaniard María de Castro, wife, Spaniard José de Soria, son	Pátzcuaro Sombrerete	22 18 10 [sic]	Jan. 22, 1695	350 p.	1/2 t.
26.	Inés de los Reyes, <i>mestiza</i> Juana González, daughter Cristóbal González, son	Sombrerete	36 13 12	Jan. 23, 1695	349 p.	4 t.
27.	Juan de Reina, Spaniard María de la Encarnación, wife, <i>mulata</i> Antonio de Chavaría, nephew	Reino de Nuevo León Sombrerete	32 22 13	Jan. 23, 1695	349 p.	4 t.
28.	Laureano Gómez, Spaniard Josefa de la Cruz, wife, <i>mestiza</i> Juan Gómez, son	Guanajuato Potosí	30 20 1	Jan. 26, 1695	347 p.	6 1/2 t.
29.	María de San Nicolás, <i>mestiza</i> , widow of Salvador Rodríguez María de San Nicolás, daughter Antonio de San Nicolás, son	Zacatecas	25 9 7	Jan. 26, 1695	343 p.	6 1/2 t.
30.	Cristóbal de Arellano, Spaniard Ursula Ramos de Arellano, sister Josefa Ramos, niece	Aguaascalientes	22 14 5	Feb. 1, 1695	344 p.	3 1/2 t.
31.	Ana de Reinoso, Spaniard, widow of Nicolás Ramos María Ramos, daughter José Ramos, son	Fresnillo	36 12 6	Feb. 4, 1695	344 p.	3 1/2 t.
32.	Roque Pantoja Montalvo, <i>mestizo</i> Miguel Gutiérrez, <i>mestizo</i> Natiana de San José, <i>mestiza</i> , sister of Miguel Gutiérrez	Guanajuato Real de Pánuco	30 25 18	Feb. 5, 1695	347 p.	1 1/2 t.

	Family	From	Age	Date enlisted	Total money
33.	Juan Bautista de Olivas, <i>mestizo</i> Madelena Juárez, wife, <i>mestiza</i> Juana de la Trinidad, daughter	Villa de Llerena and Mines of Sombrerete	54 40 10	Feb. 5, 1695	342 p. 1½ t.
34.	Angela López, <i>mestiza</i> Juan Marcial Ortiz López, brother, <i>mestizo</i> Antonio Ortiz Morales, brother, <i>mestizo</i>	Llerena and Sombrerete	20 18 18	Feb. 5, 1695	342 p. 1½ t.
35.	Isabel de Olivas, widow of Sebastián Esparza María, daughter José Rodríguez, brother, <i>mestizo</i>	Sombrerete Sombrerete	24 1 31	Feb. 5, 1695	342 p. 1½ t.
36.	Diego Camarillo, <i>mestizo</i> Antonia Gracia, <i>mestiza</i> Juan Montes Vigil, free <i>mulato</i>	San Luis San Luis Potosí	25 16 5	Feb. 5, 1695	342 p. 1½ t.
37.	Mateo de Aranda, Spaniard Teresa de la Cruz, <i>mestiza</i> María Rodríguez, daughter of Teresa de la Cruz	Béjar, Portugal Jalpujagua [Tlalpujagua]	31 36 2	Feb. 8, 1695	340 p. 4 t.
38.	Juana Crisóstomo, free <i>mulata</i> Toribio Nicolás, free <i>mulato</i> Nicolasa Juana, free <i>mulato</i>	Zacatecas Zacatecas Zacatecas	14 10 5	Feb. 8, 1695	340 p. 4 t.
39.	Lucas Marcos, free <i>mulato</i> Juana de Guadalupe, free <i>mulata</i> Juan Nicolás, free <i>mulato</i>	Zacatecas Zacatecas Zacatecas	14 10 6	Feb. 8, 1695	340 p. 4 t.

	María de la Rosa, <i>coyota</i> , sister		10			
	Nicolás Rodríguez, <i>coyote</i> , brother		5			
41.	Miguel de Zárate, <i>mestizo</i>	Real de Pánuco	30	Feb. 9, 1695	339 p.	7½ t.
	Ana Madelena, wife, <i>coyota</i>		24			
	Blas de Zárate, son		1			
42.	Miguel Tenorio, Spaniard, son of Juan Tenorio and	Zacatecas	20	Feb. 9, 1695	339 p.	7½ t.
	Josefa López Tenorio		4			
	Juana Rodríguez Tenorio, daughter		20			
	Cristóbal Rodríguez, <i>mestizo</i>					
43.	Juan de Guido, <i>lobo</i>	Guanajuato:	27	Feb. 10, 1695	339 p.	3 t.
	Isabel de los Reyes, wife, <i>coyota</i>	Mexico City	26			
	Luis de Ribera Guido, son, <i>coyote</i>		10			
44.	Miguel de Miranda, Spaniard, widower of	Monterrey, Nuevo León	30	Feb. 12, 1695	338 p.	2 t.
	María de Vega		12			
	María de Miranda, daughter		8			
	Juan de Miranda, son					
45.	Pedro de Cortinas, Spaniard	Kingdom of León	30	Feb. 13, 1695	337 p.	5½ t.
	María de Ortiz, wife, <i>mestiza</i>	Rio Verde	26			
	Juan Cortinas, son		2			
46.	Jerónimo Martínez, <i>castizo</i>	Real de Zimapán	29	Feb. 13, 1695	337 p.	5½ t.
	Antonia de la Rosa, wife, <i>coyota</i>	Sayula	22			
	Felipa, daughter		3			

NOTES

1. Warren A. Beck, *New Mexico: A History of Four Centuries* (Norman, 1962), pp. 73 ff.

2. George P. Hammond and Agapito Rey, *The Rediscovery of New Mexico* (Albuquerque, 1966), p. 101, fn. 3. Later on the term *lobo* (wolf) is used in the same connotative sense: "These *coyotes* must have been Indians disguised as coyotes who went around howling and cavorting to amuse the crowd. The cunning coyote played the same role in Mexican folklore as the sly fox did in old European animal tales. Ethnically, the *coyote* denotes a person born to an Indian mother and a *mestizo* father, with color resembling that of a coyote. The term evidently was used to refer to men of a darker hue distinguished in this way from the others. A century later the term was applied to a Zuni Indian in a Vargas document. Three natives came to meet Vargas, two of them Moquis, and a third named Ventura, an intelligent native of the pueblo of Alona and the province of Zuni." "Coyota is the feminine form of *coyote*."

3. Alberto Francisco Pradeau, *Numismatic History of Mexico from the Pre-Columbian Epoch to 1823* (Whittier, Ca., 1938), p. 21, fn. 2: "A *peso de oro* is a term used to indicate a portion of gold weighing ninety-six grains."

4. Pradeau, *Numismatic History*, p. 12: "A *real* is a Spanish silver coin having a value of twelve and a half cents, commonly known in the southern part of the United States as a 'bit.'"

5. Pradeau, *Numismatic History*, p. 24, fn. 2: "A *tomín* is a measure of weight representing twelve grains and was used to indicate one-eighth of a *peso de oro*."

6. A *castizo*, fem. *castiza*, was the product of a Spanish and a *mestizo* parent. The combination would be 75 percent Spanish and 25 percent Indian.

7. Genetically a *coyote* was the child of an Indian and a Spaniard, being 75 percent Indian and 25 percent Spanish.

8. A *lobo*, fem. *loba*, was the child of an Indian and a mulatto. The combination resulted in the offspring being 50 percent Indian, 25 percent Spanish, and 25 percent black.