

The Pursuit of Longevity and Continuity: A Comparison of 1600-1780 New Mexico and New England Migration and Settlement Patterns

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Historians of colonial America have built an extensive body of work considering the goals and objectives of people who made the long journey across the Atlantic Ocean. This research considered the economic pull and culture that each settler transplanted in the new environment they resided. European colonization of America is marked first by the Spanish sixteenth-century arrival in the Caribbean. Then the Spanish Empire extended across the land that now makes up the United States South West, Mexico, and many South American countries—followed by the Portuguese, English and French colonies in North America. Historians in the subject of migration and settlement have debated whether people's motives and cultures were shaped economically or influenced by their environment. New bodies of work are seeking to find connections between the colonies and the Atlantic world and have begun to compare the colonies with each other in an effort to break the isolated magnifying glass that defined American exceptionalism.

Scholars have also considered each empire's motive to invest in the colonies as global events shape their decisions for economic and political competition, but what they have taken a greater interest in is the settler's impact in the colonies. Historians discussed how colonists had diverged from their European counterparts in cultural, religious, political, and economic practices according to their environment and place in their respective empires' peripheries.

This research follows the arguments and evidence made by scholars of their perspective geographic areas. In New Mexico, Ramon Gutierrez provided an extensive body of work that

demonstrates the gradual cultural changes that the Spanish colonists of New Mexico experience compared to their European counterparts. Gutierrez does so to contribute to a body of work that was lacking in the historiography of the American South West and provides a new indigenous oriented perspective that was not there in the 1970s, which had previously focused on the history of the Jesuit mission system. His contemporary Robert Frank also provided a significant body of work analyzing the economy of the colony following Gutierrez providing an understanding of the colony parallel to Philip Grevens dated study of New England. Others have supplemented the body of work since the 2000s and took a cultural approach, such as Susan Stamatov, who supplement the historiography with a discussion on families and women in the colonies, Patricia Seed who provides a comparison between the colonial periphery of New Mexico and the central power of New Spain, Elinore Barret and Kelly Jenkns who expanded on demographic study of the colony, how it affected the identity and social practices of the New Mexican colony and its settlers.

In New England historiography, there is an ample body of work that takes many different approaches. In the 1970s Philip Greven established a rigid economic approach, believing that the economic drive was the only logical and cultural drive of settlers migrating to New England. However scholars like Gloria Main, Patricia Seed, Carol Shammas and Mary Beth Norton, by the 1990s contested this rigid views of New England and have redirected scholars to think about women and the building of households in the colonies since the 1980s. Including Jack Greene who took both a cultural and economic approach and updating the body of work. These historians observed English colonists in very different frameworks and discuss how the colonists also differ from England and how they had shaped their society in the Americas. This research

will also use *Historical Statistics of the United States: Millennial Edition* (HSUS) to analyze New England migration patterns and sex ratios to compare New Mexico settler demographics.

Furthermore, this paper compares the colonial goals and objectives, the settlers' demographic makeup, the transplantation and transformation of their cultural, political, and economic agendas. The aim is to identify how these characteristics have shaped the Americas' settler model and determine how similar or different these colonists were from each other. Furthermore, this comparison will make connections to how their environment shaped their values and goal and seek to contribute to the new and growing comparative work that scholars such as Deborah A. Rosen, Carol Shamma, and Alison Games suggested would benefit American historiography and further break the beliefs of American exceptionalism.

Moreover, this research analyzes the colonial marriage practices and explore how they used marriage as a mechanism to reflect the larger settler values and goals shaped by the environment they inhabit. Specifically, I pose questions on how much control parents had on matchmaking, whether or not women had control over wealth after marriage and if divorce was viable for couples. These topics reflect the colonial control of their societies and how different they were from their European counterparts in this regard. If the colonies were similar in many ways, then it would indicate that settlers had great independence from the Empire culturally and politically despite living on the periphery.

Initial Goals and Objective of New Spain

Historians generally agreed that there were two waves of migration to the Americas. The first migration was of Spanish conquistadores. The objective of this first group was of conquest and discovery. According to Shamma, the first wave of migration to the Americas' purpose was

shaped by political and religious development in Europe and the near east than economic gain.¹ Kicza John argued that Spanish merchants of the sixteenth century were less interested in investing in the Americas and more interested in competing with Portuguese and Italian merchants.² Nevertheless, because there was wealth to be gained by the seventeenth century, there is a state interest in investing people over the Atlantic Ocean.³ However, Shammass says that migration was slow as the Spanish produced goods for its local market, and Portugal did not build its massive sugar plantations until it had experienced a decline in its African enterprises.⁴

In agreement with European desire for economic gain, Gutierrez illustrates the Spaniards' interest in searching mineral-rich areas through the new south and north expeditions from central Mexico. Using the story of the explorers and governors who ventured there, Coronado's story of going into New Mexico searching for gold and not having found anything worth to profit from demonstrates why the northern New Spain region remained unconquered in the sixteenth century.⁵ However, there was no lack of migrants to the north. Gutierrez reminds readers that it was the extensive zealot effort of Jesuit friars who went to Northern New Spain and set up missions that theoretically claimed this geographic area for the Spanish Empire and saw a slow migration of settlers into the area from 1581-1680.⁶ New Mexico remained mostly settled by Friars until the seventeenth century, when there were more political, economic motives. To mediate the lack of settlers, the Spanish Colonial government incentivized whole families and granted families exclusive land grants in 1695.

After New Mexico was found minerally impoverished, Gutierrez questions the few families' objective and motive to stay in the colony. To answer this, Gutierrez traces the privileges these colonists enjoyed. The first privilege these colonists received was the knighthood or noble titles as soldiers who subjugated the lands. Based on the level of the title

they received, they were entitled to land and/or Native slaves. Gutierrez describes this first facet of the colony as a diffused mirror of Spain's hierarchy, whose nobility and prestige was at the local level. Household communities called *vecinos*, categorized by *encomenderos*, who had the right to Indian tribute and labor, and *moradores*, those who did not have such rights, Pueblo Indians and Indian slaves made up the colony of New Mexico.

Stamatov argues that the Spanish crown required families to settle in the north because Spain believed that the family would act as the top-down social organization, fathers being both husbands and masters, reflecting the ideal monarchic society. However, in agreement with Gutierrez, the reality in the colony and as exemplified in documents of the New Spanish periphery, governors and clergy were involved in family disputes regarding marriage, inheritance, and dowry.⁷ Settlers moved to New Mexico not because there was mineral wealth but because they could acquire land and a Native Pueblo community they could exploit, as their New Spain counterparts did. Settlers brought the hierarchy that privileged those who could extract Native labor, such as friars, governors, mayors, and encomenderos. However, after the pueblo revolt, these people's ability to extract labor and resources became difficult as their system of privilege was changing in the eighteenth century. The distance between New Mexico and the centers of power, such as Nueva Viscaya, Chihuahua and the center of New Spain limited the manpower, economic support and bureaucratic oversight of the colony.

New Mexico: A Fluctuating Colonial Population

As whole families migrated to New Mexico steadily throughout the eighteenth century, historians would assume that the colony's demographics were stable and sufficient for exponential growth within a couple of decades. However, this was not the case for the colony of New Mexico. Historians and archeologists have dealt with lacking numerical evidence of the

colonial population. In Table 2.1, Gutierrez provides New Mexico's population in the seventeenth century, which indicates that the Spanish people's population was small and throughout the seventeenth century, no more than two hundred households settled the colony. By the end of the century, there were two thousand. While there was no exponential growth of actual Spanish settlers, there was an exponential growth of friars migrating by the middle of the seventeenth century.⁸ While Friars were settling the colony for their religious purposes, only a few soldiers and their families migrated with them. Based on early seventeenth century rollcalls, its isolated population, and slow migration, Gutierrez argues that the colony's Hispanic population was largely native born.⁹

Barret also concurred that the demographic landscape of New Mexico was limited. While there was no systematic migration flow into the colony, there is evidence that soldiers brought their families to the north. Barret in Appendix Table H provides a list of Spanish men and soldiers who brought their families, which provides an insight of what households looked like for colonial New Mexico.¹⁰ Confirming that no more than one hundred to two hundred families settled throughout the seventeenth century. Furthermore, Barret can confirm that despite the settlement of families in New Mexico, men were more likely to abandon the colony when silver or gold mines were lacking. Those who did stay were most likely soldiers of the first wave and new people who came through the caravan supply going into the colony.¹¹ Barret and Gutierrez agree that families intermarried, and migrants slowly journeyed to the colony through the supply caravans that traveled bi-yearly to the colony and that the population that did grow was largely native born.

Gutierrez calculated the sex ratio of the colony using the census. Gutierrez indicates that in 1790 the ratio of New Mexico was 85 or 87 men for every 100 women. In 1794, the ratio was

87, and in 1820 it was 94. However, Gutierrez also reminds readers that most women were indigenous as the Pueblo community exiled them because of their, mostly forced, sexual interaction with their Spanish masters. In addition to Spanish men taking in Indigenous wives as political tools or due to the colony's lack of women. Furthermore, the male ratio fluctuation may be due to the constant wars against the Apache, Comanche and Navajos surrounding the Rio Grande.¹² Like Gutierrez, Frank also finds that the sex ratio in New Mexico remained 97 to 89 men per 100 women, and argues that compared to Nueva Viscaya, New Mexico had a higher number of women perhaps due to the same ramifications Gutierrez mentioned before.¹³

From Civic to a Racial Identity

Spanish identity in the periphery experienced change due to the colony's distance from centers of influence, like Nueva Viscaya and the Chihuahua. The distance of New Mexico allowed for the change of Spanish identity. Spaniards in the colony shifted from a *casta* based identity to a socially designated one. Gutierrez argues that the *calidad*, or racial identity, of a Spaniard in New Mexico was in question only in marriage and legal proceedings. Most people's social status is equated with their civil status, which consisted of *Vecinos* (landowners), *residentes*, and *naturales* (natives).¹⁴ Gutierrez also argues that before 1760, racial identity was not a dominant way of identifying social status, however, after 1760 Gutierrez argues that there is a sharp contrast between racial labels and becomes dominant.¹⁵

Barret also agrees that the settlers' cultural identity in New Mexico changed as settler ideas of identity depended on paying taxes to be considered a *Vecino*, or member of the Spanish community until 1760. Barret finds that the documents after the Pueblo Revolt, specifically the refugees' list of El Paso reveal that people identified in relation to their status as *Vecinos*, which also entail mixed raced people as early as 1680, these documents demonstrate that racial labels

were not strict if settlers could claim *Vecino* status, until 1760 when racial labels became more frequent.¹⁶ Similarly, Jenks also concurs that New Mexico experienced a shift from Spanish and *Vecino* civic identity more frequently used racial labels. As the colony incorporated more indigenous people who were *gente de razon*, or Christianized, and participated in *Vecino* society, that is paying taxes, attending mass, intermarrying and so on to a racial status was a product of the direct involvement of the colonial government introducing the Bourbon reforms.¹⁷ With the involvement of centers of power in the colony to implement the Bourbon reform, scholars agree that there is an evident shift of racial and social identity after 1760. Documents reveal a more frequent usage of racial labels and then suddenly abolished with the independence of Mexico.

Politics: Competing powers, Settlers, the Church and the State

New Spain's political structure followed a very rigid top-down rule consistent of God, the King and church working together and then the subsequent office holders that support the state. However, the distance between centers of power allowed for much change in New Mexico. Gutierrez taught that the political landscape of New Mexico was a constant battle between the church, the state and the settlers competing interest, that was access to Pueblos people labor and tribute. This battle was evident to Gutierrez in the case Between governor Perleta and Fray Ordoñez. Perleta demanded access to Pueblo labor, Ordoñez refused this access because it was exploitive and excessive. Friar Ordoñez also had the power to give access to Pueblo labor to *encomenderos* of the colony and thus carried some favor with them. At the end of the dispute, settlers had the option to side with the governor and assist Perleta but did not oppose the decision of Friar Ordoñez.¹⁸ The account exemplifies the balance of power settlers provided when a conflict between the state and church was supposed to work together to represent the crown.

Stamatov argues that the Spanish ideas of hierarchy were reflected in the requirement to migrate entire families into New Mexico.¹⁹ Stamatov also supports Gutierrez argument that hierarchy in the colony was rigid. Having analyzed the many settlers' grievances against their governor and viceroy in the late seventeenth and early eighteenth century, Stamatov stipulated that the divide between government power and settlers were tense. While governors were intermediaries of familial problems in the frontiers and managed the settlement, settlers expected their leader to understand the frontier's realities, and governors wanted to continue to uphold hierarchical divides by favoring the prestigious families in the frontier.²⁰ While settlers had the power to balance discourse in the colony, the civil and ecclesiastic authorities were also very involved in the family's affairs. In New Mexico, the clearly disadvantaged people were the Pueblo people, as all Spanish society bodies fought each other to access their labor and surplus.

Economy: Barter and Trade

Scholars generally agree that the New Mexican economy struggled to stay afloat. Settlers heavily depended on the labor of Pueblo people and their food surplus. Additionally, generally scholars agree that there was a lack of economic activity in the region due to the distance between New Mexico, Nueva Viscaya (Sonora/Durango), and Chihuahua. Simmons observed that trade routes between the northern colonies were challenging to maintain year-round. Many raiding Comanche and Apaches attacked the routes and was utterly devastated by the Pueblo revolt of 1670.²¹ Following the reconquest of New Mexico, Spanish authorities recognized that the threat of nomadic tribes needed to be dealt with before opening any trade routes and successfully cementing an agreement with Comanche people to open the desired route into the north.

Franks has since supplemented the study of New Mexico's economy and found that the economy of New Mexico was fragile before the Bourbon Reforms, which invested heavily in the region to stimulate the economy successfully. Frank uses correspondence between the governors of Chihuahua and New Mexico to exemplify the need to secure a trade route between the two. Chihuahua is a mining colony, and New Mexico provided food stuffs and manufactures cotton for this colony. The constant raids of the Apache and Comanche cut off New Mexico from its southern neighbors. Importantly, correspondence between these two government officials and New Spain also lay out the severity of the hostile plain Indians on the settlements, both Pueblo Indians and *Vecinos* abandoning their towns for refuge elsewhere.²² In addition to Apache and Comanche's raids, the colony experienced disease that significantly crippled the colonies' ability to produce output. However, Frank argues that despite the economic decline due to constant Comanche and Apache raids, his study on the colony's epidemic reveal that people did not starve. Those who survived experienced an accumulation of wealth, specifically of cattle and other agriculture. To test this hypothesis, Frank used the *Vecino* communities' church dues owed to friars and ministers due to the lack of testaments.²³ Frank circumvents this problem by analyzing the *Vecino* community's collective wealth and its community dues to the church indicate that people's ownership of cattle increased.²⁴ Furthermore, through official correspondence, Frank shows that the Bourbon reform's biggest issue was price inflation of goods and the lack of money in specie. Using records of Chihuahua merchant ledgers, Frank argues that the barter system in New Mexico was not complicated. It was a system born from the lack of specie and ignorance of New Mexican settlers, and Chihuahua merchants took advantage of it. Ledgers revealed that the value of the products used to barter did not change. In fact, New Mexican officials were distributing cheap products to soldiers and Pueblo Indians. Chihuahua

merchants translated the items they acquired through barter to the current market price and the peso's value. The Chihuahua merchant made a profit by selling the bartered goods in Chihuahua and through settler debts.²⁵

Initial Goals and Objectives of New England

New English scholars had argued that what propelled English migration was the Empire's ability to transport bodies and goods across the Atlantic. Braddick argues that the transformation of England's military and naval capacity over the Atlantic after the Navigations act and the Dutch war created a new interest, possibility, and ambition over the American colonies possible. The seventeenth century reflects the economic interest the Empire had to compete with other European markets.²⁶ Greene argued that the communities who settled New England did so based on their own experience in England. They were creating communities where they transplant ideas of a household that was a tool to regulate the community's moral, social, and economy that made such a tightly constructed villalike Puritan New England.²⁷

To Spanish colonial scholars, Spain had the ability to transport bodies to the Americas, but it was not solely for economic gain. Scholars agree that Spaniards traveled across the Atlantic in search of gold and glory. When they did not find it or could not acquire it, they left the colonies and searched elsewhere or returned to Spain. On the other hand, new English scholars believe that it was for economic gain that settlers traveled across the Atlantic by the seventeenth century. In Shamma's table 2.1, Shamma estimates Atlantic immigration to the Americas 1491-1700; Shamma indicates that the first wave of migration consisted mostly of Spaniards and Portuguese along with their slaves. After the seventeenth century, all other European people migrated.²⁸ The table reflects the correlation that Braddick makes in his argument. Because of the aforementioned factors, Shamma's table shows an apparent similarity

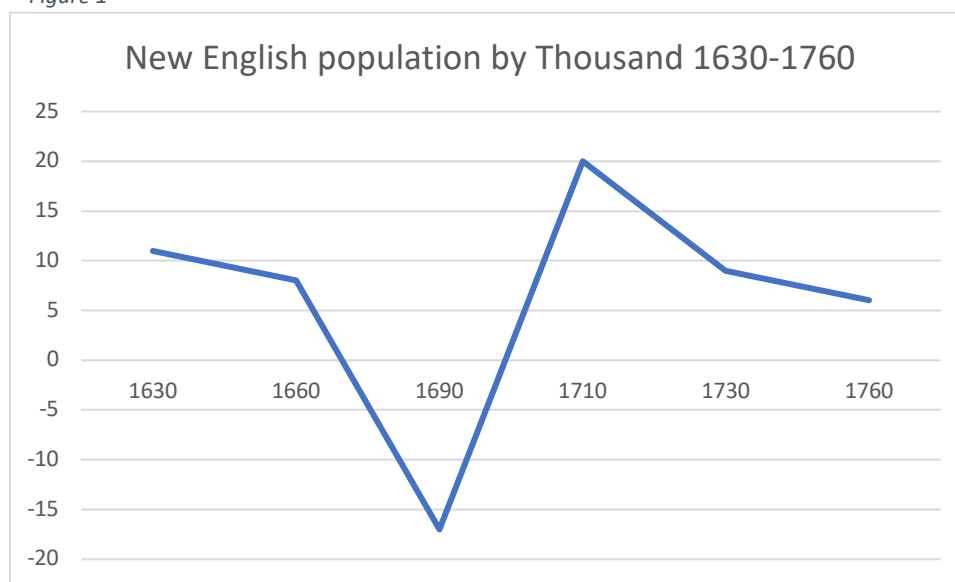
between the colonies, however, New England and New Mexico also had a religious purpose.

New Englanders sought a place to create their ideal religious society, and New Mexican Jesuit Friars were consistently migrating into the colony to polytheize Pueblo people.

New English Demographics

Through the Historical Statistic of the United States, scholars can acquire quantitative information on settlers' migration into the New English colony. Through the graph, scholars can observe some trends that correlate with what others had already researched. The graph below exhibits the English migration to New England. The increase in migration correlates with the goals and objectives scholars generally agree on. As seen in Figure 1, the first migration of New England does not reproduce and indicates some level of outmigration, as did the Spanish settlers at the same time. Nevertheless, by the eighteenth century, when migrants and colonial governments were more invested in developing a thriving and competitive economy, more settlers go into America.

Figure 1



Source: Susan B. Carter. "Decennial net migration to English America, by region and race: 1630–1800." Table Ad3-15 in *Historical Statistics of the United States, Earliest Times to the Present: Millennial Edition*, edited by Susan B. Carter, Scott Sigmund Gartner, Michael R. Haines, Alan L. Olmstead, Richard Sutch, and Gavin Wright. New York: Cambridge University Press, 2006.

Unlike the New Mexican colony, New England's population exponentially rises because it does not suffer outside interruption and a consistently equal sex ratio. Table 1 below displays a consistent sex ratio from the middle to the end of the eighteenth century that allows for a steady reproduction of the New English population. These data are consistent with historians' consensus that families make up the second wave of migrants. In terms of demographics, the population of New Mexico is slightly different from New England. They were both made up of families, but New Mexico's population does not reproduce as fast as New England due to the outside forces of disease and war. Besides, New Mexico had the addition of Native people in their population not present in New England. New England proved to be a more stable colony than New Mexico due to their more equal sex ratio and their colonies' environmental stability.

Table. 1 Male- Female Ratio for Four New England Colonies 1755-1774

Colony	total men	total women	Ratio
New Hampshire			
1767	52087	25823	2:1
1773	72423	35684	2:1
1775	80644	39628	2:1
Connecticut			
1774	96182	94296	1:1
Massachusetts			
1764-1765	53752	59501	0.9:1
Rhode Island			
1755	17960	17979	1:1

1774	26763	12348	2.2:1
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Source: New Hampshire data from John J. McCusker, "Population of New Hampshire, by age, sex, race, slave status, and marital status: 1767–1786 ." Table Eg97-109 in *Historical Statistics of the United States, Earliest Times to the Present: Millennial Edition*, edited by Susan B. Carter, Scott Sigmund Gartner, Michael R. Haines, Alan L. Olmstead, Richard Sutch, and Gavin Wright. New York: Cambridge University Press, 2006., Connecticut data from, John J. McCusker, "Population of Connecticut, by age, sex, race, and marital status: 1756–1782." Table Eg141-154 in *Historical Statistics of the United States, Earliest Times to the Present: Millennial Edition*, edited by Susan B. Carter, Scott Sigmund Gartner, Michael R. Haines, Alan L. Olmstead, Richard Sutch, and Gavin Wright. New York: Cambridge University Press, 2006. Massachusetts data from, John J. McCusker, "Population of Massachusetts, by age, sex, race, and ethnicity: 1764–1784." Table Eg117-131 in *Historical Statistics of the United States, Earliest Times to the Present: Millennial Edition*, edited by Susan B. Carter, Scott Sigmund Gartner, Michael R. Haines, Alan L. Olmstead, Richard Sutch, and Gavin Wright. New York: Cambridge University Press, 2006. Rhode Island data from, John J. McCusker, "Population of Rhode Island, by age, sex, and race: 1708–1783 ." Table Eg132-140 in *Historical Statistics of the United States, Earliest Times to the Present: Millennial Edition*, edited by Susan B. Carter, Scott Sigmund Gartner, Michael R. Haines, Alan L. Olmstead, Richard Sutch, and Gavin Wright. New York: Cambridge University Press, 2006.

A Puritan Society

Greene teaches that the Puritan's objective to America was to escape the religious prosecution of the early Stuarts and create a redemptive religious community for themselves in the New World. Greene also argues that puritans had a powerful social and spiritual dimension in New England.²⁹ Through their cultural influence, their societies were highly patriarchal and deeply rooted in local communities. The majority of these households were nuclear, where marriage began a new family unit.³⁰ They often brought with them their political and religious leaders over from the old world. Like New Mexico, the household serves as a patriarchic tool that would control settlers from the top down. Greene says that New Englanders' devotion to traditional ideas and social hierarchy and acceptance of their magistrates' authority had a lasting effect in the colony.³¹

Building on ideas of New Englander's devotion to tradition and social hierarchies, Anderson states that the settlement patterns of settlers were influenced by land ownership and

control to land access. Anderson also argues that colonists had the power to implement their land distribution requirements and that colonial officials did not supervise townspeople's activities. Through this indirect rule, Anderson says colonists developed a “scriptural precedent” in which “no town would be without a church, and no church would be without a town.”³² What further differentiated New Englanders from England was their immediate ownership of land opposed to leasing land.³³ Through New Englanders' settlement patterns, puritan ideology, and cases of land disputes, Anderson believes that New Englanders' experience formed a foundation in which settlers navigated through a fine line of economic competition and congregational equilibrium. Their covenants embody their unique imperative to live with and through their Christian neighbors. But the covenant also provided a mechanism that kept order in a society made up of equals. Unlike their New Mexican counterparts, settlers did not have to balance church and colonial government to shape their communities, instead they commanded their community's politics and land. They did not have to compete with one another as much as New Mexico settlers did for resources.

However, some New Englanders' constant movement in the early stages of settlement also indicate ideological conflict with other Christian dissidents emerging in the competition of economic advantage and community building. New England also allowed colonists to worship as they wished and acquire land ownership that they would not have had in England.³⁴ Anderson's observations show that New Englanders were shaping their environment in ways they would not have in England, their ability to own land allowed them to control their settlement.

Politics: From Charter to Colony

In the seventeenth century New England, the colonies transformed a charter governance to a more solid settler oriented political body. Analyzing the power structures of the

Massachusetts colony allows an understanding of New England's governmental makeup. Colonial leaders of Massachusetts believed that their charter had authority over settlers and Indians in New England. However, challenges arise outside and within the colony. The first is colonists' relationship with Native people who believed to be equal to New Englanders and refuse to be placed under the settlers and insisted on equal treatment of their treaties and persons.³⁵ Pulsipher states that the English settlers had experienced a civil war, where disagreements between the King and parliament's authority shaped the new government that New Englanders would establish. A sermon by minister John Davenport in 1669 illustrates the ideas that puritans had concerning government, which argued that the civil society is a voluntary union of people, with a set idea that God was at the top of the hierarchy, with the latter of King, governor, magistrate deputies, fathers, and their dependents.³⁶ Importantly, their set of beliefs also concedes the idea that voluntary union was not a tolerant environment, which prompts an expulsion of other dissenter groups who would migrate and settle in Rhode Island, Maine, and New Hampshire.

Scholars also know that the English wished to stray away from the Spanish colonial model, due to the publication of the "Black Legend" which narrated the Spanish mistreatment of Native people in America. However, in the English hierarchy, settlers thought that Native People were below the English as a conquered people and shepherds of civilization to the Americas. In their minds, the English subjugated the Native people.³⁷ Additionally, Pulsipher's analysis of the United Colonies and its relationship with Native people shows that the political sphere of New Englanders increased as their settlement expanded.

Using Providence Island as a case study, Kupperman argues that settlers treated the charter as they would a state body in England. Settlers took two approaches to their grievances.

They wrote and demanded redress of grievances to the royal government, or they would riot.³⁸

Using the correspondence between colonists, mediators, and the Providence Island charter's response, indicated that the charter of the seventeenth century's was flexible and displayed goodwill to the challenges and petitions settlers had.³⁹ Kupperman observes that, in contrast, Puritans in Massachusetts took a radical turn from the traditional English political governance. They took the charter company meetings and converted them into a colonial government. However, in Providence, the Puritans could not easily hijack political power as they had to report their every decision to London. The Providence charter co-opted the governorship and lieutenantancy as a two-way communication of policy and information. While the governor had the power to veto any move by the council, the distance crippled their power, as all final decisions still needed to be reported to London. Some colonists had powerful friends in London and Parliament who can potentially overturn these decisions, further weakening an attempt to centralize colonial government.⁴⁰

Main discussed the churches' role as the center of social activity when Puritans failed to settle in the nine original plantations. With the absence of a competing government body, the church was able to fill in as a gathering in the settlement's first days. Moving forward from the small church communities, Main also suggests that the colonial General Court experienced a radical change when townsmen challenged the Massachusetts governor and his assistants' authority. After 1636, the General Court became a town body that could grant new charters and land grants.⁴¹ Main would argue that the "New England way" of Massachusetts was more restrictive to people who were not puritans. By requiring settlers church membership and separated the converted and unconverted. The Massachusetts bay proved to be more orthodox

and ideologic to puritan beliefs, firmly centered on church members to vote for the provincial office or general court.⁴²

Historians have demonstrated that New Englanders took advantage of their distance from centers of Colonial power and reshaped the colony's bureaucratic authority to benefit the settlers. They repeated their settlement patterns continuously as they acquired more land to settle. Settlers not only brought their families to the new world, but they also brought their ministers and prominent settler representatives, and they did so without the intervention of English oversight.

Economy: Labor and Land

New England had its own set of challenges to overcome, however, scholars continue to debate how self-sufficient New England was before the eighteenth-century. Greene argues that towns, colonies, and the Atlantic world were interconnected with the New England economy. Demographics not only illustrate an increase in settlement but also a viable economic opportunity for the settlements. New England's significant economies were connected to seaports and secondary economies inland. Notably, Greene emphasizes that the increase of urbanization was due to population growth and external trade.⁴³ By the eighteenth-century, the new England economy became specialized. Another development of New England is that the men who did not inherit land or did not want to stay on the farm became part of the expanding service and artisanal industry.⁴⁴

While New England settlers continued to encroach on native land rapidly as their government permitted, settlers could not use all the land acquired. The labor of young men and women, Main claims, became more valuable to the settlement. Therefore, New Englanders found themselves with plenty of land to sell and saw new settlers in the communities created.⁴⁵ Main

argues that the seventeenth- and eighteenth-century economy was rising. The primary source of labor was the colonial youth, and their wages did not substantially decline. While developed land did rise, farmers proved to be resilient in the face of war and expanded household investment in capital improvements.⁴⁶ Through the memoirs of Samuel Lane, Main illustrates how a New Englander was able to see substantial economic growth with the land he had and the income from labor performed at different periods in different farms. Additionally, Lane had inherited a leather stake from his father and began to take part in leather tanning. Through Lane's memoirs, Main also elucidates the increase in the material wealth of eighteenth-century New Englanders. They began to build bigger houses, procure more furniture, and took pride in modest wealth displays.⁴⁷

Conclusion I

Based on the comparisons made above, there were many more similarities between the settlers than they had led scholars to believe. For one, they both believed in a strictly hierarchical society, in which God is at the top, and below this chain of command would be the King, church, governors, magistrates/alcaldes mayors, and subsequent lower offices. Both colonies were generally made up of family units that both allowed settlers to access land but also as a tool to control settlers in place of a weak governing body. Their demographic also allowed for a steady population growth in their perspective colonies, however New England saw a greater increase through new immigrating Englishmen during the seventeenth century compared to New Mexico who was struggling to secure the region from raiding nomadic groups. Secondly, settlers held power to shape a government that would benefit their interest through legislation that gives them explicit benefits and access to land, or a crucial role in balancing power. They also held an advantage from the distance from colonial oversight that allows them to be powerful political

bodies. Distance allowed New Englanders to shape a government and society that fit their Puritan ideas. While a clear bureaucratic body was present in New Mexico, like New England, it was too weak to exercise the power it was meant to wield, so it allowed either church or secular officials to compete for access to labor and materials.

Of note is that these colonies show that they broke from the settler patterns traditional to Europe. As they became more permanent, the political landscape of New Englanders and New Mexicans was shaped by their relationship with Native American and faced the challenges of living in isolation. They both encroached on Native American land and competed for the resources available. However, unlike New England, New Mexico was in close quarters with Pueblo people and competed to acquire their labor and surplus for economic gain. Colonists' ability to control their resources and land shaped their colonial identity, correlating their European identities with land ownership, their contribution to taxes, church membership and participation in their community's political bodies to differentiate themselves from the conquered Native Americans. In New Mexico there was a clear difference between Pueblo people and Spanish settlers until the Bourbon reforms of 1670 that saw the more frequent use of racial identification. In New England there was no such thing as they did not live closely with Native people, but through migration patterns within New England historians can see the difference between puritan communities and how this shaped their legislation.

Scholars should analyze the settler colonies' cultural changes by studying how marriage is a tool that reflects the larger society. Ideas of marriage in the colonies experienced not only a break from their European counterparts but the codification of marriage and the idea that parental control over marriage was distinct to the colonies. Furthermore, marriage was a tool to control

wealth, empower the head of the household as the center of settler society and reflects the values of settlers and colonial society.

Marriage and Wealth in New Mexico

In Gutierrez's discussion on New Mexican marriage, he argues that the colonies saw a stark shift from the Spanish system of honor and promises that ensured youth marriage regardless of status and wealth to one controlled by parents by the eighteenth century. To illustrate the marriage sentiment of eighteenth-century New Mexican youth, Gutierrez uses a poem and a couple of incidents between 1770 and 1790, in which young couples of different classes wish to marry, but their masters or parents would not allow such unequal marriages. The poem narrates how a young man may already be promised to a woman who may or may have been born yet and cannot change their marriage prospects once their parent chose their partner.⁴⁸ Gutierrez had also argued that the language concerning love and affection shifted when analyzing the expressions of love. Parents claimed that love was an arbitrary feeling that undermined the family status and honor, there for it is within their paternal authority to intervene in their children's marriage this was why fathers would arrange marriages.⁴⁹ Furthermore, Gutierrez states that his statement does not negate the evidence that parents were flexible in changing their prospective partners, as birth order, family status, and history dictated the options available. Importantly, these factors were considered by fathers to maximize the patrimony gained associated with marriage.⁵⁰ Following a clear shift of the language used in *las diligencias matrimoniales*, Gutierrez illustrates how status, birth order, wealth and *calidad*, and racial identity were used in match making by parents.

Scholars have continuously referenced folklore stories to illustrate parental marital decisions and demonstrate that parents preferred advantageous marriages while they were not

strict. Gutierrez references the case of Bitoria Chaves and Vicente Luna. Vicente Luna wished to marry Bitoria Chaves, but due to her low status and lack of wealth, Vicente's father threatened him, which we could only assume was to withhold inheritance rights and was betrothed to a woman of his father's choice. However, shortly after Vicente Luna's father's death, Vicente immediately petitioned the church to invalidate the engagement and marry Bitoria Chaves, whom he truly wanted to marry. Furthermore, Gutierrez also provides an example where women were forced to marry men of wealth through their own parents and elders' threats.⁵¹

Seed concedes with Gutierrez argument that parents and elders controlled the wealth and inheritance of their children. Parents had to control their matrimonial choice, however, the Hispanic culture allowed marriages regardless of status. This handicap to increasing fortunes was one reason for the small number of dynasties established in the colonial period. Seed asks why Spanish society in the new world accepts or tolerate economically unequal marriages or those that thwarted dynastic ambitions? The answer lies partially on the powerful moral critique that labeled intentions of gain as unjustifiable and even more compelling because promises of marriage lay in a major cultural tradition of Hispanic society, honor.⁵² Seed concludes that parents in the eighteenth century asserted their power to choose their children's spouses by changing the language regarding marriage and love while at the same time contesting the meaning of honor, or promise-keeping and the sanctity of female chastity. The pretexts that young people used to escape from engagements -that is anger or immaturity temporarily prevented them from knowing what they were doing- not only gave parents a justification for intervening and exercising their authority. Parents changed the language to imply that feelings of love were not valid to pursue a marriage that is a drastic and significant life decision without parental consent.⁵³ Seed also presents evidence of parents intervening in children or dependents

marriages due to economic reasons. One example was a Seventeen-year-old girl whose inheritance was controlled by her guardian. The guardian opposed his dependent's marriage to prolong the control of her finances.⁵⁴ Through this and other *deiligencias matrimoniales* Seed states that "interest" was regarded not as a demeaning passion but as a sensible motivation for everyone.

Seed and Gutierrez find that while parents had a loose grip on marriage, they took direct action in any marriage prospect that was unequal or undesirable. The evidence presented by them illustrates parents' interest in whether or not marriage prospects had wealth or were of equal status. It was more likely that women would marry into more advantageous marriages than men. Parents changed the language used to dispute and claim the right to make marital decisions for their children by mid-eighteenth-century New Mexico.

Marriage and Wealth in New England

New England exemplify how marriage was crucial to building new households. Marriage also a tool to transfer land or purchasing land for or by a couple to initiated married life and sustain the new household unit. Greven suggested that the decision to marry was carried out by the father even if there was no great wealth attached to the marriage. An example used was a middle-aged craftsman son who received a small ten acres of land upon being approved to marry. What is significant of this example, Greven argues, is that the reasonably explicit assumption that the marriage settlement and inheritance to a son result from the father's approval of his marriage.⁵⁵

Revisiting this topic, Main states that historians can gauge a better understanding between the power dynamics of parent and child/dependent through the diaries of young people.

These diaries often recorded the wages parents owed their sons after they came of age, and parents accredited their wages to them. For example, in three cases presented by Main, sons claimed their wages when their parents died and collected their dues through the estate left. Main argues that even after marriage, sons were economically linked to their parents. If sons did have no prospects to quality land as their inheritance, they left to another place with equally cheap land and high wages. However, Main also agrees that this trend was only seen in the seventeenth century and the early eighteenth century.⁵⁶

In agreement with Main, Greene argues that inheritance and prospect of economic stability was indeed a robust tool for social control.⁵⁷ Greene believes that the evidence exemplified the tendency to transfer land to young sons and increase the outmigration of sons saw a sharp drop in marriage ages among men and women.⁵⁸ Greene observes a correlation between the increasing numbers of household heads and land settlement; the correlation is that households, and subsequent marriage, begin with a piece of land in New England. However, Main disagreed with Greven in that culturally, marriage is a separate unit away from the parent households and not an extension of household units. It was the culture of New Englanders to provide land for a new household unit to ensure economic stability for them.

Similar or Different?

Historians demonstrated that both colonial societies were interested in securing their families' economic stability and progeny. The similarity between New England and New Mexico is that families start with marriages that had expected economic stability. New Mexican parents did not allow marriages that were going to decline economically and always preferred to match their children with equal or advantageous marriages. New England made this interest very explicit when households start with a piece of land to secure their children's sustenance and not

with the simple promise of inheritance or the importance of social status. Significantly, sons and daughters also depended on the promise of inheritance, and their parents' arbitrary control of their future wealth made children yield to parental choices. Furthermore, in all instances of marriage, women brought their piece of wealth in the form of their dowries. Since parents had approved the marriage of their daughters to their husbands, scholars need to consider how women had control over their wealth as well.

Women's Control of Wealth after Marriage – New Mexico

Gutierrez argued that Spanish culture in New Mexico preferred to practice an unequal distribution of wealth to maximize wealth's generational growth. Usually, the patrimony was preferably left to the eldest son, or the second eldest who inherited political rights over the family and was responsible for the family's reputation and received a more significant share of the inheritance pre-mortem. Therefore, Women received their dowries in household items and livestock and rarely inherited land from their parents. According to Gutierrez, women were given movable property because daughters wealth was a liability in the marriage market and risked absorption into their husbands' wealth.⁵⁹ However, Gutierrez also states that the dowry was guaranteed to transferred to her children and not her husband. The lack of children would only revert the dowry to her family.⁶⁰

Similarly, Stamatov found through wills and settlements that women often brought dowries into their marriages. Husbands often administered wives' dowries but were not alienated from women. In several cases presented based on these wills and settlements, Stamatov shows that men who married did not have much wealth of their own. More often than not, women's dowries started their wealth accumulation and were used to establish the couple's financial security.⁶¹ Furthermore, through an analysis of who the heads of households were, Stamatov

observes that it was not unusual for a wealthy woman not to remarry and control her estate without the state's intervention on the argument that it is within the interest of her heirs.

Comparing both New Mexico and New York, Rosen argues that women in New Mexico had a right to their dowry and Arras, *arras* is a ten percent contribution to the wife's dowry. While the husband could administer the dowry, the spouse did not have the right to sell anything without the wife's consent. Notably, the dowry was a way to secure her upkeep after her spouses' death and generational wealth as it would pass down to her heirs at her death.⁶² Rosen indicates that while women enjoyed legal protection of their property in New Mexico, the laws changed to favor men against unmarried women. An example of this was when el Alcalde (the Magistrate) Diego Arias de Quiros won a suit against him from two sisters, Juana and Maria Griegos. Who were single and owned land before the pueblo revolt that the state granted to Quiros as a reward for New Mexico's reconquest. The state took their land from them because they were single women and would be better off with the lands they owned in Santa Fe, and Quiros had precedent over them, having served the King to reconquer the land lost to the Pueblo Revolt.⁶³ This account illustrates the difficulties single women had defending their patrimony in the absence of men. Furthermore, Rosen finds that while New York women's dowry is transferred to their husbands after death, in New Mexico, the dowry is distributed to the heirs of the wife and not given complete authority over to the husband. Illustrating much greater control women had over their wealth, legally than their New York counterparts.⁶⁴

Women's control of wealth after marriage – New England

While fathers preferred to gift land to sons, Main states that dowries were capable of providing a young couple with financial stability in the seventeenth century. Women entered marriage with cattle, land, and housewares with laws that protected their rights over their

property. According to Main, these laws changed in the eighteenth century, when land prices rose, and life stock prices declined. More often than not, women entered their new married life with housewares and some livestock.⁶⁵ While they had dower rights of her deceased husbands' estate, they were also liable to lose that right if they remarried. As widows, Main finds that women were vulnerable to poverty if they did not possess substantial wealth during marriage and were more likely to remarry or did not if their dower rights were attached to the condition of not remarrying.⁶⁶

Rosen also finds that women were restricted financially during and after marriage. In the Eighteenth century, English common law forced women's dependence on the patriarch. Rosen argues that women under the English law were entitled to three things; her real estate inherited before or after marriage, dowry, and personal movable property.⁶⁷ Rosen also observed that in New York, women could not participate in the transaction of property as New Mexican women did of the property they inherited from their husbands or their dowry, the sole purpose of this property was to support themselves during their lifetime.⁶⁸ Rosen then pointed to Norton's study on women in the eighteenth century to demonstrate that women did not participate in property transactions but did in small things such as servants and housewares.

Norton argues that coverture would have mitigated women's ability to do transactions during the marriage. Norton found that couples circumvented women's restrictions by placing them in roles that represented the head of household, their husbands, and were allowed property in the forms of gifts if it was a joint postnuptial agreement.⁶⁹ Women often navigated their ability to control wealth by representing their husbands, but few women were able to use this idea to bypass patriarchal authority as widows or after divorce.

Similar or Different?

Historians can observe that both colonial settler societies were interested in preserving wealth within their families and ensuring that wealth would cycle through their heirs. It is also evident that both settler societies were interested in passing down their land to their sons and rarely willed land to daughters. Instead, the settler societies showed that doweries were a means to begin wealth or ensure that women would be taken care of if their husbands were unable to provide for them or died early. However, they did prove different in how women can control their dower and whether they were entitled to their dower after marriage. New England practices were stricter and disenfranchise women who were not or no longer married. At the same time, New Mexican society ensured that heirs had a right to control their wealth well after marriage or remarrying.

New Mexico Divorce

Seed argued that marriage in the catholic church saw a reassertion of the sanctity of marriage. This was a direct response to the protestant and Calvinist movements in Europe. Therefore, in colonial New Spain, marriage was a sacred institution.⁷⁰ New Mexico records lack evidence of divorce records, and the available divorce records Stamatov observed were infrequent in New Mexico. When a couple requested a divorce to the ecclesiastical and secular court, divorce was claimed under the husband's inability to provide for the wife and perform marital duties.⁷¹

Furthermore, Stamatov argues that women act within their right when they make these claims for divorce to the state and church. Nevertheless, these claims did not grant a divorce. Instead, the court granted separate living arrangements instead of an annulment of marriage. An example used was the case between Ines De Aspitia and her husband Cristóbal de Gongora, they were granted separate living quarters and not divorce.⁷² Divorce in Hispanic cultures was

considered sacrilegious and marriage was considered irreversible, explaining the extreme lack of evidence or mention in the New Mexican divorce scholarship.

New England Divorce

Norton observed that puritans viewed marriage as a civil contract and thus was subject to annulment. The court granted a divorce under desertion, adultery, and bigamy.⁷³ Norton also states that divorce did not always mean that remarriage was permitted. In most cases, divorce meant the separate living arrangement of spouses and providing financial support for wives.⁷⁴ According to Norton, it was up to judge whether a couple was indefinitely divorced and allowed to remarry.⁷⁵ Divorced couples were rarely granted the right to remarry unless there was an absence of heirs, in which case they were allowed to remarry.

Main concedes with the evidence presented by Norton, that marriages were difficult to terminate, and courts resolved conflict within marriages by physical separation. Main uses court cases to illustrate how married life was like in New England. Through these cases, Main demonstrates that men were in control of women's life and labor. Men and women who were unhappy in their marriages could not request a divorce so quickly, there needed to be a dire reason for divorce. In one or two cases, concerning spousal violence, women were at the mercy of their husbands, and courts did not necessarily separate these partners. The court determined that husbands live separately from their wives and provide for them, but it did not break the cycle.⁷⁶

Similar or Different?

The significant similarity between the colonies regarding divorce had been the lack of actual divorces. They both concede the importance of marriage and the unity of the family.

However, when it comes to domestic disputes, the indefinite termination of the marriage is not viable. Both settlements instead physically separate a couple and rule that husbands should provide for their wives, but an indefinite separation of property and annulment of marriage is not present in either. However, both colonies agree that remarriage is allowed only in the absence of heirs and a husband's inability to conceive progeny.

Conclusion II

Based on comparisons made in the first section of this research, Spanish and English settlers had many things in common. The first is their pursuit of land ownership and economic mobility. Settlers shape their idea of colony politics around land ownership and their ability to build their new economic enterprise by taking advantage of the distance between themselves and colonial oversight. New Englanders took advantage of the lack of a bureaucratic body in the initial stages of their settlement. New Mexicans took advantage of the literal distance through the church and civic bodies inability to govern due to the lack of funds and human resources. They were demographically dissimilar in that New Mexicans lived near Pueblo people, and New Englanders did not live relatively close to their Native American neighbors. However, they shared the desire to differentiate themselves from Native people. New Englanders placed Natives at the end of their hierarchical ladder and treated them as subjugated people. Similarly, New Mexicans used social constructs of race and civil status to differentiate themselves from Pueblo people despite being a population with plenty of mixed decent people. Both settler societies' values-centered around their ability to create a stable social order due to their distance and ability to benefit from their newly acquired land ownership.

Scholars can further analyze the settler colonies' values by studying how marriage is a tool that reflects the larger society. The codification of marriage is exemplified as means to

secure wealth for the settlers' progeny. It also demonstrated that marriage was a tool to control women's wealth at varying degrees. The denial of divorce further enhances ideas that marital status was permanent like their settlements and a means to have social and economic control. Settlers had signaled that marriage was a matter of status and economic stability. In New England, land ownership initiated new households, but it did not indicate strict parental control of marriage. In New Mexico, parents intervened in matchmaking when prospective partners were not of equal economic or social standing; otherwise, parents in both colonies do not express strict control of their children's marriage.

Furthermore, married women had control over their portion of wealth, displaying an essential value of economic continuity that ensures their survival during and after marriage. However, in contrast to New England, New Mexico women had far more control over their wealth as they had access to land rights, a privilege reserved for male heirs in New England. Insofar, ideas of permanence and continuity reflect a couple's inability to terminate a marriage altogether. Both settlers shared views of permanency and believe in the sanctity of marriage.

What this research observes is that the colonial settler and migration model shared many similarities. Historians of Colonial America previously believed that the distance and environment, of New England settlers shaped a unique colony and reflective of American exceptionalism. This research allows both historiographies to speak to each other and identify the similarities through the comparison of both English and Spanish settlers, historians can see that settlers shared experiences in an isolated environment shape identity, cultural practices, and the values that make them more similar to each other than what historians may have previously believed.

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End Notes

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