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## REBELLION IN NEW MEXICO — 1837

PHILIP RENO

FOR A SHORT TIME during August and September of 1837, a successful revolt by northern New Mexico's village poor, aided by Pueblo Indians, vested New Mexico governmental authority first in a revolutionary Canton and then in a *Junta Popular*, or "People's Assembly."<sup>1</sup> Named by the Canton as Governor of New Mexico, and confirmed in this office by the People's Assembly, was José Gonzales of Taos, whose mother was a Taos Pueblo Indian and whose father was a *genízaro* of non-Pueblo Indian lineage with some admixture of white blood.<sup>2</sup>

There is no wonder that such a government was brief, or that it achieved only *de facto* status. The wonder is that José Gonzales ever became governor at all—a singular aberration in the long succession of governors of New Mexico from other geographical areas and other classes of society.

Historians have, naturally enough, treated this episode primarily in description of the violence by which the government came to power and by which its leaders perished. For the most part these accounts have been based on the records left by Gonzales' enemies—the New Mexican political figures who overthrew his government and the American merchants then opening "the time of the Gringo"<sup>3</sup> in what was soon to become the Southwestern United States. The few records left by the rebel government itself have gone unnoted in histories, and a review of them throws a different light on its actions and intentions.

THE REVOLT OF THE CAÑADENSES OR CHIMAYOSES<sup>4</sup>

AS A RESULT of turmoil in Mexico, the remote New Mexican frontier had during the time since Mexican Independence generally looked after its own affairs. Local government was effectively in the hands of the Río Abajo *ricos*, and gubernatorial appointments usually went to members of this group.<sup>5</sup> In 1835, however, General Antonio López de Santa Ana appointed Colonel Albino Pérez, of the Mexican army, governor of New Mexico. Pérez chose his official family from among the few New Mexicans who shared his cosmopolitan ideas, the Abreu brothers being the most prominent of this group, and set out to reform the administration. Lansing Bloom has summarized Governor Pérez' aspirations and difficulties:

He came to New Mexico with high hopes, and the records of these years show how he tried in various ways to better the situation which confronted him upon his arrival. That he failed was due chiefly to the economic distress of the people, most of whom were then crassly ignorant and miserably poor, but it was also due in part to the widening breach between the impoverished mass of the population and those, relatively few in number, who were privileged and well-to-do. That Pérez was one of the latter and that within the ruling class itself were rivalries and dissensions were other important factors which were to contribute to the collapse of the administration in August, 1837.<sup>6</sup>

Lacking financial help from Mexico and from the Río Abajo rich, Pérez was unable to maintain an effective militia, and the villagers blamed him for the losses they suffered as a result of Indian raids. In 1836, when New Mexico received departmental status, village autonomy was further restricted, and, under a subsequent Mexican decree, the departmental governments were held responsible for the collection of taxes. Governor Pérez' opponents took advantage of this to inflame the northern villagers against him. As Bloom pointed out, this was not difficult, because of conditions of life among the village poor, to say nothing of the fact that, as Josiah Gregg noted, the Pueblo Indians "had always been

ripe for insurrection.”<sup>7</sup> Thus there is, in at least one thing, a common viewpoint about the revolt that erupted in August 1837; no one is surprised that it happened.

The general discontent was exploded into revolt by the high-handed act of a government official. District Judge Santiago Abreu overruled a judgment by the alcalde of Santa Cruz de la Cañada, and added injury to insult by jailing him. A rebellious multitude from the Río Arriba villages and Taos gathered at Santa Cruz and freed the alcalde. Word of this sent Lieutenant Colonel José María Ronquillo marching on Santa Cruz “to reimpose the rule of law,” according to a letter, dated August 2, 1837, which he left in Santa Fe for Governor Pérez. (SRC) Further details about Ronquillo’s announced attempt to restore order are lacking. The next time his name appears in the records it is as one of those attending the assembly called by the victorious rebels after they had routed the government forces and the governor had been killed. And not long after, Ronquillo appears to have changed sides again, joining Manuel Armijo to overthrow the rebel government.

Meanwhile, the Santa Cruz rebels named a directing “Canton” of twelve members. On August 3 they issued a proclamation which began “Viva, God and the Nation and the Faith of Jesus Christ,” and ended with the customary “God and the Nation.” Although the dateline, “Encampment, Santa Cruz de la Cañada,” suggests that armed revolt had begun, the proclamation itself simply stated the determination “not to admit the departmental plan,” nor any taxation, nor “the misconduct of those who are attempting to enforce it.”<sup>8</sup>

Antonio José Martínez, the controversial spiritual and political leader of Taos, in an account written in February of the following year, stated that he hurried to Santa Cruz to persuade the rebel leaders to abandon their intention to revolt. Failing in this attempt, and fearing for his life, he went on to Santa Fe.<sup>9</sup> Governor Pérez mobilized a small force of his supporters and a few Pueblo Indians and set out to put down the uprising. During a brief engagement near San Ildefonso on August 8, some of the Indians deserted to the rebels, and the governor’s force was routed and re-

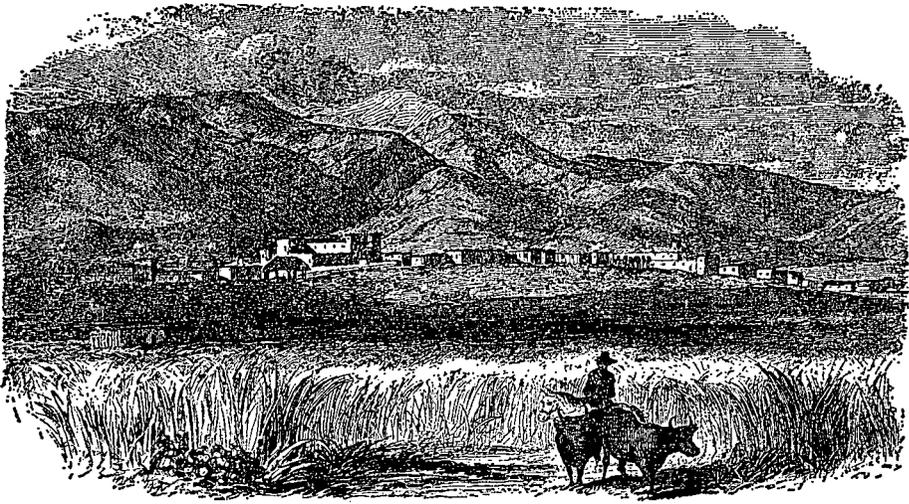
tired to the capital. That night Pérez and some of his officials fled from Santa Fe down along the Rio Grande, where they were taken and killed by Indians of the Río Abajo pueblos who had joined in the revolt. Governor Pérez, Santiago, Ramón, and Marcelino Abreu, Secretary of State Jesús María Alarid, and several army officers and soldiers all suffered a bloody and barbarous end.

The revolutionary forces occupied Santa Fe on August 9. There were a few American traders and a half-dozen American residents in Santa Fe at the time, and histories of New Mexico feature their fears that the city would be sacked. But "to the great and most agreeable surprise of all, no outrage of any importance was committed upon either inhabitant or trader."<sup>10</sup> Since the rebellion was obviously neither disciplined nor under effective unified command, there may be some truth on both sides in apparently conflicting accounts of the revolutionists' behavior when they entered the capital. One American resident told how they paraded around the Santa Fe plaza with their victims' heads on pikes, crying "death to the Americans and Gringos."<sup>11</sup> On the other hand, according to Twitchell, they went first of all to the church to thank God for their victory.<sup>12</sup> *: 1 day later*

Once in control of the capital, the rebels named José Gonzales governor, and on the following day, August 11, he addressed a message "from the Governor of New Mexico to his fellow citizens." (SRC) It is brief, naive, and appealingly humble:

By the general will of the inhabitants I have been named your governor. In such critical circumstances as those in which we see our beloved country, I could do no less than lend my efforts to the elevated destiny my fellow citizens propose . . . knowing my insufficiency for discharging the duties, and I hope that everyone will forgive the weaknesses I may incur, although without any trace of malice . . . and that you will remain fellow citizens and friends.

This message and the Santa Cruz proclamation are the chief evidence I can find of how the revolutionists viewed themselves and their purposes. Although a few later documents, notably the assembly proceedings, contain some clues, by then other strong-



DON FERNANDO DE TAOS.

willed and able men, Padre Martínez for one, were involved in the affairs of the government and must have influenced what was said and done.

Nor is much known about the revolutionists themselves. The biographers of Padre Martínez ridiculed José Gonzales as an illiterate buffalo hunter. Gregg called him "a good honest hunter but a very ignorant man."<sup>13</sup> Other Canton leaders were the alcaldes of Santa Cruz and San Juan, Juan José Esquibel and Juan Vigil, called "el Coyote,"<sup>14</sup> and among the members were Desiderio Montoya and his brother Antonio Albán y Montoya, possibly two other "persons of the name Gonzalez,"<sup>15</sup> and "General Chopon" of Taos. Many years later Benjamin M. Read, as fierce a critic as the rebellion ever had, stated that the twelve members of the Canton were "all of them ignorant and depraved criminals," who increased "their wickedness by another crime, that of inducing the Pueblo Indians to make common cause with them by means of tricks, lies, and calumnies, helping them to inscribe the blackest page in the history of New Mexico." And "not content with having satiated their criminal ambition by the shedding of innocent blood, [they] proposed to continue their campaign of murder and theft in that part of the territory which they called

the Rio Abajo."<sup>16</sup> Most historians are more reserved in expression of their adverse judgment.

What, then, do we know about the "incidents that actually occurred," the actions and the proposals of the Gonzales government? After their seizure of power, José Gonzales and some of the Canton stayed on in Santa Fe to discharge the duties of government, while their followers dispersed to their Río Arriba homes. A few letters signed by Gonzales as governor are still extant, and there is a more substantial record concerning the disposition of the property of the murdered officials of the Pérez regime. Because the American merchants in Santa Fe were involved, this is the best known aspect of the Gonzales government.

#### WAS THE MURDERED OFFICIALS' PROPERTY CONFISCATED?

THE STORY GENERALLY ACCEPTED in histories of New Mexico is that when Governor Pérez and the others were killed, their property "was confiscated and distributed among the insurrectionists and the major part of the effects of the late Governor Pérez fell to the portion of Gonzales."<sup>17</sup> Because the American merchants had, as was their custom, advanced money and goods to government officials against duties that the merchants would have to pay later, they feared that neither the rebel government nor the bereaved families would honor this indebtedness. Therefore they hastened to file a claim against the Mexican government, basing it on the failure to exercise reasonable precaution against revolt, and on collusion by the *de facto* government in the expropriation. It should be noted here that the Americans were not such novices in foreign trade as to pin their hopes of compensation solely on a favorable outcome of this claim, and took further action in accordance with the frontier maxim that grease quiets a squeaking wheel. A letter from Manuel Armijo to the American merchant José Sutton, dated September 25, 1837, shortly after Armijo had taken power from Gonzales, acknowledges the generous contribution, 410 pesos, which the Americans had made to the "re-establishment of order in New Mexico," thanking Americanos

Sutton, Sholley, Waldo, Alvarez, and Robidoux on behalf of the president of Mexico.

As for what actually happened to the property of the murdered officials, archival investigation has brought to light two sets of documents. The first relates to an inventory of the property of Santiago Abreu made by order of Governor Gonzales. The first document is a letter dated August 25, 1837, in which Gonzales advises Alcalde Ortiz y Delgado of Santa Fe that Josefa Baca de Abreu has requested a postponement of the inventory because of her grief. On September 1 the governor ordered the alcalde to proceed with the inventory because Santiago Abreu "died without having signed a will, having died in the field at the hands of Pueblo Indians." The inventory itself, which comprises four pages, was signed by Ortiz y Delgado with Domingo Fernández and Juan García as witnesses.<sup>18</sup> This indicates that if any of the rebels or Indians had taken property of the murdered men, the Gonzales government was not accepting responsibility. With regard to Santiago Abreu's property, Governor Gonzales was following usual legal procedure, and no final action was taken until after Manuel Armijo became head of the government. On September 30 Alcalde Ortiz informed Armijo, the *jefe político*, that the property left by Abreu was not sufficient to pay a fourth of his debts, since he apparently owed a large amount to the municipal treasury.<sup>19</sup>

There is also a record of the disposition of Governor Pérez' property by Gonzales and Armijo. On August 18, 1837, Donaciano Vigil drew up a list of goods belonging to the late governor, and Alcalde Ortiz certified it. These were disposed of in accordance with an accounting dated August 27.<sup>20</sup> José Sutton received two horses which he claimed for lack of payment. Francisco Sarra-cino, former departmental treasurer, claimed several large mirrors. Other items were sold and the proceeds paid into the *fondo municipal*. Manuel Armijo took action with regard to Pérez' belongings on September 26, 1837, when he ordered Alcalde Ortiz to make an inventory of them, place them in a safe depository, and hold them pending further orders. (SRC) According to Armijo,

they had been regarded as spoils of war and taken by rebels who had no title to them, from whom Ortiz was to recover them. Whether Armijo's statement reflected his belief or was simply a political maneuver, there is no further reference of this kind.

The inventory lists household effects, clothing, and personal belongings of Governor Pérez and his widow. Some of them were sold at auction on January 18, 1838, for 1327.7 pesos. On January 25 Governor Armijo again addressed Alcalde Ortiz y Delgado:

Send me a list of what you [still] have in storage of the belongings of Governor Pérez, *pues es necesario divisar a los soldados de la guarnición.* (SRC)

Finally, on March 5, 1838, Vicente Sánchez Vergara, Armijo's secretary, advised Alcalde Doroteo Pino that the proceeds from the auction had proved sufficient to satisfy the levies of the municipal treasury, the post office, and court costs. The remainder of this sum and any goods left over were to be placed "at the disposition of the government." (SRC).

It seems reasonable to conclude that the story of confiscation by the rebels repeated in New Mexico histories is largely, perhaps wholly, false, in view of the amount of property shown in the inventories and José Gonzales' actions as governor. What may have happened is that those who killed the officials appropriated the valuables on their persons. The disposition of the Pérez property shows that processes of law could be quite as effective in reducing a family to privation as the depredations of lawless men. Señora Pérez was a native of New Mexico, and Governor Armijo must have been aware of her straitened circumstances while the disposition of her husband's goods was in progress.<sup>21</sup>

#### THE JUNTA POPULAR

SUMMONED BY THE LEADERS of the revolt, the Junta Popular, or People's Assembly, met in Santa Fe on August 27, 1837. Only one invitation and the reply to another have come to light, but

invitations to send representatives appear to have been widely distributed, from Taos to Belen. They were probably sent to village leaders whether or not they were sympathizers, and also to the Indian pueblos. The object was to establish the new government on a popular base. The surviving invitation, dated August 21, was addressed to Governor Josecito Archibeque of Cochití pueblo and signed in the name of Governor Gonzales by José Esquibel and Juan Vigil as commanders of the Canton and alcaldes of Santa Cruz and San Juan. (SRC) It mentions threats to the revolution, asks the Indian governor to attend the assembly and give an account of conditions among his people, and concludes: "Let us as compatriots and good Mexicans purify our native land so that we can live in peace and quiet." In reply to another invitation, Francisco de Madariaga, alcalde of Tomé, wrote on August 24: "Your proposals seem most sound to me." But he begged to be excused from attending the assembly, pleading illness. (SRC) He and his village were soon to figure in the meeting at which Don Manuel Armijo "pronounced" against the Gonzales regime.

What appears to be the original record of the proceedings of the assembly is preserved in the Huntington Library.<sup>22</sup> According to this, action was taken on only one substantive matter. This was the naming of Manuel Armijo, Padre Martínez, and Juan José Esquibel as a commission to give assurances of loyalty and a statement of the grievances which had inspired the revolution to the Mexican government. A manuscript dated September 2, 1837, obviously written by Donaciano Vigil, mentions Padre Martínez and Vicente Sánchez Vergara (who was soon to join Armijo at Tomé) as the ones who were to go to inform the president of Mexico about the "sad manner in which Governor Pérez lost his life at the hands of bad men," and to assure him of the loyalty of the Department. (SRC) Although the reasons for the change in the membership of the commission are not clear, either group could have spoken for both the Río Arriba and the Río Abajo, although the Canton does not seem to have been represented in the second. In any event the assembly included representatives of

the major social groups in New Mexico. Armijo, and no doubt others, represented the Río Abajo rich; Ronquillo, a part of the militia; José Gonzales and the Canton, the northern village rebels; Pueblo Indians apparently accepted the invitations to attend; and Martínez spoke for the liberal Mexican nationalists.

In a message dated August 31, 1837, José Gonzales asked Tesuque pueblo to join the other pueblos in presenting their views to the "emissaries . . . who are going . . . to the capital of the republic."<sup>23</sup> This is one more indication of how much the rebels relied upon the commission to present their case to the Mexican president. But their hopes of doing so were doomed to disappointment. When the assembly failed to make him governor, Manuel Armijo took steps to overthrow the revolutionary regime.

#### LOS UBICUOS DIABLOS TEJANOS

ALTHOUGH IT SEEMS EVIDENT from the foregoing that the Gonzales government planned to remain loyal to Mexico, historians have expressed a very different point of view. In a footnote Bancroft quoted (in Spanish) the Mexican historian Carlos María Bustamante: "The entrance of a number of North American wagons bringing a large amount of merchandise, on which the Anglo-Americans were unwilling to pay duty, was the cause that gave rise to the revolution, and when the governor wished to prevent the display [of the goods], they [the merchants] stirred up the revolt." Bancroft goes on to say "that this was probably not true of the traders. Gregg tells us that they even furnished means for quelling the revolt." He then quotes Gregg directly: "Some time before these tragic events took place, it was prophesied among them [the Pueblo Indians] that a new race was about to appear from the east, to redeem them from the Spanish yoke. I heard this spoken of several months before the subject of the insurrection had been seriously agitated. It is probable that the pueblos built their hopes upon the Americans, as they seemed as yet to have no knowledge of the Texans." According to Bancroft, Gregg "also says the rebels proposed sending to Texas for protec-

tion, though there had been no previous understanding. While there is no documentary proof, it is wellnigh impossible, considering the date and circumstances, to believe that the Texans had no influence directly or indirectly in the affair." This seems a rather loose interpretation of Gregg's statement that: "In the South [Mexico], the Americans were everywhere accused of being instigators of this insurrection, which was openly pronounced another Texas affair."<sup>24</sup>

There appears to be no evidence in the records of Texan involvement, while there is evidence that the rebels hoped to make their peace with the supreme authorities of Mexico. Any relations the Anglo-American merchants had were with Armijo rather than with the rebels, and their attitude toward the Gonzales government is shown by their co-operation in overthrowing it.

#### RULE OF LAW RE-ESTABLISHED

THREE DECISIVE DOCUMENTS lead up to the end of the Gonzales government: Manuel Armijo's pronunciamiento at Tomé on September 8, 1837,<sup>25</sup> the Albuquerque proclamation of September 9, made by José Caballero, chief of the New Mexico militia;<sup>26</sup> and a declaration by José Gonzales, September 13, 1837, which for some reason has gone unnoticed, although it was in effect his abdication.<sup>27</sup>

According to the Tomé pronunciamiento the measures taken by the Canton threatened to destroy peace and property and to bring about disorder and anarchy. Therefore, until the supreme government in Mexico should decide on the proper action to be taken, no authority would be recognized in New Mexico except the prefect of Albuquerque, "the only legal one remaining." No one would be attacked in his property or rights. There would be an armed force, with Manuel Armijo as commandant. In order to preserve peace in the Indian pueblos and to prevent them from intervening in the affairs of the Mexicans, they would be warned not to take any part in the struggle unless attacked; meanwhile, they were to govern themselves until the appointment of a new

governor by the Mexican government. The authority put in office by the Canton was not recognized. The commandant of "the liberating army" was authorized to take appropriate measures to cover expenses. The Commandant General of Chihuahua and the supreme government of Mexico were to be advised of this by a special, urgent dispatch. Any contribution by the Indians to officials appointed in Santa Fe was to be returned.

On the very next day José Caballero offered the services of the militia, without pay, in the effort to "re-establish order." According to this proclamation the Río Arriba was in a "state of revolution," and the salvation of New Mexico depended upon action by the Río Abajo.

Four days later, on September 13, José Gonzales signed a document, certified by Felipe Sena, alcalde of Santa Fe, in which he "embraces and adopts" the pronunciamiento at Tomé and agreed to abide by the laws and co-operate with the authorities. According to Padre Martínez, Gonzales accompanied him to Taos shortly thereafter.<sup>28</sup> The Padre's brother had sent him a message from the Taos insurgents urging him to come home, for "the peace depended on his presence." On September 14 Manuel Armijo presided at a meeting in the Palace of the Governors at Santa Fe. (SRC)

It is generally believed that Gonzales left Santa Fe when the approach of Armijo's forces gave him no choice but to flee. There is, however, another possibility: Did he wait to meet Armijo, and did he sign the abdication on September 13 under pressure? In any event he does not appear to have put up a fight. And so the Gonzales regime came to an end—"not with a bang but a whimper." Manuel Armijo had gained the power he coveted, and a month later, on October 13, 1837, the Mexican Minister of War and Navy Michelena advised Don Manuel that he had received appointment from the President as governor of New Mexico after receipt of his letter of September 12, in which he had reported his "re-establishment of the rule of law." (SRC) Before the appointment reached Armijo, José Gálvez had already sent word of

the pending action from Chihuahua, and a contingent of troops arrived from there to enforce the law.

Meanwhile, Armijo lost no time in seeking the capture and destruction of the leaders of the rebellion. Some believe that he was anxious to ensure the silence of those who might have told of his own part in the revolt. But perhaps it was just another illustration of Spengler's historical process, in which the hangmen of today become the dukes of tomorrow. At all events Armijo sent letters to the alcaldes demanding that the rebels he named be turned over to him for punishment.

As soon as his authority had been recognized in Santa Fe, Armijo led his men north, where they engaged the rebels near Pojoaque and routed them in short order. It is not clear whether José Esquibel and Juan Vigil were taken then, or whether they accompanied the Montoya brothers when they went to Santa Fe a few days later to offer their allegiance on condition that the Departmental taxation not be enforced. In a circular dated at Santa Fe, September 26, 1837, Armijo referred to the "treaty" he had made with these men on September 21. Now that he had been accepted by the Río Arriba as well as the Río Abajo, he began to style himself *jefe superior político y militar*.<sup>29</sup>

In mid-October Armijo went to Río Abajo, leaving orders for the decapitation of the four imprisoned rebel leaders. But José Caballero, who was in command during Armijo's absence, was reluctant to execute the order and called a council of war which decided to defer the executions until such time as there was real reason to believe that the northern insurgents intended to attack Santa Fe.<sup>30</sup>

Armijo returned to Santa Fe in December. Now that his legal claim to the governorship must have been beyond doubt, the Departmental Junta was re-established. This, along with the imprisonment and impending execution of Esquibel, Vigil, and the Montoya brothers, inspired a last protest from the north. In January 1838 Antonio Vigil circulated a notice in the villages around Taos, stating that José Gonzales was the unanimously elected

governor and that Manuel Armijo had raised a revolt against him, not by the public will but by violence, and had imprisoned leaders of the government. (SRC)<sup>31</sup>

Governor Armijo saw the circular as a call to insurrection and marched north with a corps of militia. Padre Martínez, who had returned to Santa Fe in response to a letter from Armijo dated January 8, 1838, addressing him as *mi siempre amigo*, went along as chaplain.<sup>32</sup> Near Santa Cruz the troops came upon and soon routed a band of rebels. José Gonzales was with them. The story, presumably apocryphal, of Gonzales' capture and summary execution is told by Pedro Sánchez: Gonzales went to Armijo's camp of his own accord and greeted him: "Compañero, I come to ask for guarantees for my people, that no imposition nor taxation be placed upon them, and so I will keep the peace." Armijo beckoned to his guards and then turned to Father Martínez: "Confess the genízaro," Armijo told the priest, "so that they may give him five bullets."<sup>33</sup>

#### CONCLUSIONS

ALTHOUGH THE BASIS of the rebellion of 1837 may have been an uprising of the have-nots against the haves, it was far from being "an idea that found bayonets," to quote Napoleon's phrase for the classic model of revolution. The rebels hoped to continue as part of Mexico and, except for taxation, to carry on under the same government and laws as before. They contemplated no major change in the political or economic structure, but there were two tacit modifications in the focus of political power:

- 1) For the rebels, governmental power resided effectively in the village leaders.
- 2) The Pueblo Indians were included in councils on government policy.

These unexpressed principles of the rebellion and the brief government it created grew out of the way of life of the northern villagers and the dynamics of the revolt. But its tenure was too short for these principles to influence New Mexican political institutions.

## NOTES

1. The chief sources for this article are documents in the New Mexico State Records Center and Archives, Santa Fe, New Mexico, and in the William Gillet Ritch Papers concerning the History of New Mexico, 1539-1885, in the Henry E. Huntington Library, San Marino, California. When material from the State Records Center is filed by date and names alone, the reference is included in the text (SRC). Citations to those belonging to special catalogue series will be found in the notes. Citations to the Ritch Papers will be found in the notes with the Huntington Library document number and University of New Mexico Library microfilm reel number.

2. See Fray Angelico Chavez, "José Gonzales, Genízaro Governor," NMHR, vol. 30 (1955), pp. 190-94. In New Mexico the term genízaro was used in a specific sense "to designate non-Pueblo Indians living in more or less Spanish fashion. Some of them were captives ransomed from the nomadic tribes, and their mixed New Mexico-born descendants inherited the designation. Church and civil records reveal such varied derivations as Apache, Comanche, Navajo, Ute, Kiowa, Wichita, and Pawnee. Many had Spanish blood, clandestinely or otherwise. They all bore Christian names from baptism and Spanish surnames from their former masters." Eleanor B. Adams and Fray Angelico Chavez, *The Missions of New Mexico, 1776* (Albuquerque, 1956), p. 42n.

3. The title of Elliott Arnold's perceptive novel about this period (New York, 1953).

4. Pedro Sánchez, *Memorias del Padre Antonio José Martínez* (Santa Fe, 1903), p. 21, says that the revolt was known as "La Guerra de los Cañadenses o Chimayoses." W. H. H. Allison, "Santa Fe as it Appeared during the Winter of the Years 1837 and 1838," *Old Santa Fe*, vol. 2 (1914-1915), p. 170, recalls the common name as the "Chimayó Rebellion."

5. "Bacas, Chavezes and Armijos had been rulers of New Mexico." L. Bradford Prince, *Historical Sketches of New Mexico* (New York and Kansas City, 1883), p. 285.

6. Lansing B. Bloom, "New Mexico under Mexican Administration—V," Part II, *Old Santa Fe*, vol. 2 (1914-1915), p. 4.

7. Josiah Gregg, *Commerce of the Prairies*, 4th ed. (Philadelphia, 1849), vol. 1, p. 129.

8. W. W. H. Davis, *El Gringo; or, New Mexico and Her People* (New York, 1857), p. 88, gives "a true translation from an original manuscript copy in Spanish in possession of the author." Benjamin M. Read,

*Historia Ilustrada de Nuevo Mexico* (Santa Fe, 1911), p. 239, presents the Spanish text from an original in his possession, and an English version in *Illustrated History of New Mexico* (Santa Fe, 1912), p. 374. There are also English translations in Ralph Emerson Twitchell, *Leading Facts of New Mexico History* (Cedar Rapids, Iowa, 1917), vol. 2, p. 61, and in Bloom, pp. 22-23.

9. From an account "composed and written" by Padre Martínez in February, 1838. Santiago Valdez, *Biografía del Reverendo Padre Antonio José Martínez*, 1877, MS in Ritch Papers (no. 2211, reel 8).

10. Gregg, vol. 1, p. 132.

11. Benjamin Wilson's story as reported in Frank D. Reeve, *History of New Mexico* (New York, 1961), vol. 2, p. 38. See also Read, *Historia Ilustrada*, p. 240; *Illustrated History*, p. 376. [Testimony of José Sánchez y Sedillo, sixty-seven years of age, in a land claim case, November, 1887: He recognized Governor Pérez when he was dead. "I saw his head . . . . I saw papers scattered about there and the people said they were archives. They were near the Palace where the flagstaff was." United States Land Office, Santa Fe, Land Office Report 155, microfilm reel no. 28. F. D. Reeve.]

12. Twitchell, vol. 2, p. 63.

13. Gregg, vol. 1, p. 132.

14. Although the term *coyote* is used in various special senses in Mexico and Spanish America, "in New Mexico at this time it meant the child of an Indian woman by a European-born father, or the child of a Spanish New Mexico woman by a European-born father." Chavez, "José Gonzales," p. 193.

15. Allison, p. 173.

16. Read, *Illustrated History*, pp. 374, 377.

17. Twitchell, vol. 2, p. 63. A typical reference.

18. Ritch Papers, nos. 160, 164, reel 2.

19. Ritch Collection, no. 166, reel 2.

20. Ritch Collection, nos. 159, 172, reel 2.

21. "Soon after his arrival in New Mexico, [Governor Pérez] married Miss Trinidad Trujillo, a native of Santa Fe. . . ." *History of New Mexico, Its Resources and People* (Los Angeles, 1907), vol. 1, p. 60n. On the night that Governor Pérez left Santa Fe, his wife had also fled, hiding their baby with friends. She took refuge near Albuquerque, and later returned to live with her mother and young Demetrio in Santa Fe. In 1913 Demetrio wrote his recollections for Read. He said that he was seven years old when General Mariano Martínez de Lejanza, who was to succeed Manuel Armijo as governor, arrived in Santa Fe. The Señora de Martínez,

looking for a laundress, was directed to the widow of Governor Pérez. When General Martínez learned from Demetrio that his father had been governor, the family fortunes took a turn for the better. *Relación escrita por D. Demetrio Pérez, junio 22, 1913*, MS in Benjamin M. Read Papers (SRC).

22. Ritch Papers, no. 161, reel 2.

23. Ritch Papers, no. 163, reel 2. *to 10. 11. 1845*

24. Hubert Howe Bancroft, *Arizona and New Mexico* (San Francisco, 1888), p. 317n; Gregg, vol. 1, pp. 129, 133. Bustamante was naturally worked up about the Texas events and dedicated *El Gabinete Mexicano*, published in 1842, to Manuel Armijo, then a hero in Mexico for having captured the Texas expedition. Fortunately for his peace of mind, Bustamante never seems to have been aware of the relationship between Armijo and the American merchants.

25. Ritch Papers, no. 165, reel 2. Read, *Historia Ilustrada*; pp. 242-43; *Illustrated History*, pp. 378-80; Bloom, pp. 25-26n. *Tomé*

26. For the Spanish text and a translation of the proclamation, see Read, *Historia Ilustrada*, pp. 243-44; *Illustrated History*, pp. 380-82. **C**

27. Valdez.

28. *Ibid.*

29. Sánchez, p. 25; Bloom, p. 28 and note.

30. Read, *Historia Ilustrada*, pp. 247-48; *Illustrated History*, pp. 386-87; Bloom, pp. 31-33.

31. See also Read, *Historia Ilustrada*, pp. 246-47; *Illustrated History*, pp. 384-85; and Bloom, p. 35n.

32. Valdez.

33. Sánchez, p. 25.

3145 MIL. DIV. 1878  
3202 also 1878

3863 July 24. 1878  
OFFICE

472 Dec 1878  
Missouri, Dept of  
Civild General.  
File with 1405 also 1878

Returns communication  
from Rev Broome Herford  
relative to the killing of  
J. H. Tunstall by a Sheriff's  
force of Lincoln Co. Mo.,  
and encloses copies of papers  
showing the history of  
connection of military with  
civil matters in that Co. &c  
(15 E. A)

8:11 215  
✓ 215  
OVER  
16 E. A.  
Read also May 6. 78

1st Endorsement.

Headqrs Mil. Div. Ins.  
Chicago, May 2, 1878.

Respectfully forwarded to  
the Adjutant General of the  
Army. I do not know if  
this investigation will be suf-  
ficient to satisfy the Honorable  
Secretary of War. If not, and  
the papers are returned, I will  
direct Gen Pope to send some  
good officer to pursue the  
subject further. The population  
of that section is divided into  
two parties, who have an intense  
desire to exterminate each other,  
and are only prevented from  
accomplishing their purpose by  
the presence of a small military  
force. It is said that one of these  
parties is made up of cattle and  
horse-thieves, and the other party of  
persons who have retired from that  
business.

P. A. [Signature]  
Lieut General.