

7-1-2016

The Mexican Side of the Magoffin Family

Rick Hendricks

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

Recommended Citation

Hendricks, Rick. "The Mexican Side of the Magoffin Family." *New Mexico Historical Review* 91, 3 (2016).
<https://digitalrepository.unm.edu/nmhr/vol91/iss3/2>

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

The Mexican Side of the Magoffin Family



RICK HENDRICKS

The Magoffin family is significant in the history of the Southwest, especially New Mexico and far west Texas for several reasons, among them the fact that James Wiley Magoffin was the most prominent pioneer in the establishment of the community that became El Paso, Texas, one of the most important cities on the U.S. border with Mexico. Through a business partnership with José Cordero of Chihuahua, Magoffin established the “largest, most important commercial operation in the American Southwest” in the 1850s.¹ The enterprise consisted of merchandising in the El Paso area and livestock raising on a nearby ranch called Canutillo. A largely ignored aspect of Magoffin’s legacy, however, is his role as the patriarch of a bicultural and binational family that produced one of the leading figures in the region during the latter half of the nineteenth century: his son Joseph who built the Magoffin Home, in El Paso. Family tradition holds that James Wiley Magoffin married Gertrudis Valdés in Saltillo, Coahuila y Tejas or Chihuahua in 1834 and that she was a member of the prestigious Veramendi family of San Antonio, Texas, as well as a distant relative of New Mexico governor Manuel Armijo. In 2004, however, the prenuptial investigation for James Wiley Magoffin and Gertrudis Valdés surfaced in the microfilm collection of the Archivos Históricos del Arzobispado de Durango

Rick Hendricks, PhD, is the New Mexico state historian. He received his BA from the University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill in 1977 and his PhD from the University of New Mexico in 1985. He is a former editor of the Vargas Project at the University of New Mexico. After the conclusion of the project, he worked at New Mexico State University, most notably on the Durango Microfilming Project. He has written extensively on the history of the American Southwest and Mexico.

in the Special Collections Department at the library at New Mexico State University. These documents, created in Chihuahua in 1839, tell a story very different from the family lore.² This new information led to archival research in San Antonio and in various Mexican archival repositories in Chihuahua, Coahuila, and Nuevo León.

What follows is the result of that research, a thorough examination of the Valdés family in Mexico, beginning with the parents and grandparents of Gertrudis and her sister, Dolores, who became James Wiley Magoffin's second wife. This investigation into the extended Valdés family includes an exploration of its connections to other prominent families and the influence they wielded. Some background on the family of Marcos Farías, Gertrudis Valdés's first husband, is provided because of the question of the paternity of some of James Wiley and Gertrudis's children. This family history is followed by a detailed examination of the marriages of James Wiley to Gertrudis and, after her death, to Dolores. Finally, there is a brief sketch of the role that other Valdés siblings and their offspring have played in the extended Magoffin family.

Tomás Valdés de Castañeda

Tomás Valdés, the man known as the father of both of James Wiley Magoffin's wives—Gertrudis and her younger sister, Dolores—grew up in the shadow of a frontier presidio in present-day Coahuila in northeastern Mexico in a family with a strong military tradition. Soldiers who were members of the extended Valdés family were present at the founding of Santiago de la Monclova (in present-day Coahuila) in 1689 and formed part of the initial local government structure.³ They also participated in the general military occupation of what was then northeastern New Spain that began in 1716.⁴ Over the course of the next half century, numerous presidios were established in the area, and numerous Valdés men served in them. Initially, the occupation of the region came as a response to threats from the French, which continued off and on until the United States acquired the Louisiana territory in 1803. The nearly constant warfare with Mescalero and Lipan Apaches and other hostile Indians, however, proved to be the more serious challenge and fully occupied the garrisons of most presidios most of the time.

Tomás Valdés was the son of Francisco Valdés and María Francisca Castañeda.⁵ Francisco was twenty years old when he enlisted in the presidial company of San Antonio Bucareli de la Babia (present-day La Babia, Múzquiz, Coahuila) in 1773. He rose to the rank of corporal in 1783 and sergeant in 1791. During his years of service, he participated in eighteen engagements, all with enemy Indians.

Tomás Valdés was born in Valle de Santa Rosa, in Coahuila in 1785.⁶ Nothing is known of his childhood, but on 16 September 1798 he joined the Spanish army at the presidio of La Babia, where his father was still serving.⁷ Valdés's enlistment papers describe the thirteen-year-old with black hair and eyebrows, brown eyes, light brown skin color, a round face with a normal nose, and a scar over his right eye. Valdés was the presidial drummer, and official inspection reports occasionally mentioned him by name. He was not present for inspection in March 1800 but was reported as having been "instructed in his duties." In August 1801 the inspector noted that "the drummer is well informed of his duties and carries them out completely." As far as the military was concerned, Valdés's official service record began on 16 September 1801 when he turned sixteen.⁸ Sometime in the next four years he met his future wife, María Josefa Amondarain.

María Josefa Amondarain

María Josefa Amondarain was a product of her mother María Josefa de la Encarnación Granados's second marriage. Granados's first husband was Fernando de Veramendi, a wealthy native of Pamplona, Spain, with business ties to the presidio of La Bahía del Espíritu Santo and the community that grew around it (present-day Goliad, Texas) and Béxar (present-day San Antonio, Texas). In Béxar he operated a large mercantile business and owned a spacious home that became known as the Veramendi Palace, located about a block north of the plaza. The union produced as many as six children.⁹ Granados and her children inherited Veramendi's assets when Indians killed him near the presidio of San Juan Bautista del Río Grande (near Guerrero, Coahuila) while he was on a business trip to Mexico City in 1783.

Not quite three years later Granados married Juan Martín Amondarain, a native of Elduayen, Guipúzcoa.¹⁰ Amondarain apparently worked as a merchant and rancher, raising and transporting livestock on the vast rangelands between Béxar and Monclova. His brother, José Martín de Amondarain, was a merchant living in Guanajuato.¹¹ By early 1790 Juan Martín was serving as lieutenant governor of Tejas.¹²

The Amondarain-Granados marriage apparently did not take place in her native Béxar, and no record of this marriage has been located. When she wed, she brought nine thousand pesos to the marriage.¹³ María Josefa Amondarain was Granados and Amondarain's only child.¹⁴ When María Josefa was three months old, her mother died, leaving Amondarain to care for a baby and several children from Granados's first marriage. Granados's will—prepared in 1787, just before her death—provides an extensive description of her estate, much of

which came from her first marriage. Granados stated that Amondarain did not bring any wealth to their marriage. According to the will, her estate was valued at approximately 8,000 pesos and each of her four surviving heirs was to receive 1,830 pesos 7 reales 3 5/8 granos.¹⁵

Amondarain became the administrator of his late wife's estate, which included the assets of the Veramendi estate, on behalf of his three Veramendi stepsons, who ranged in age from five to ten years old.¹⁶ In October 1790, almost four years after Granados's death, the co-executors of the Granados-Veramendi estate, Francisco Bueno and Juan José de la Santa, brought suit against Amondarain because of his unwillingness to provide an accounting of the goods in his possession belonging to Fernando Veramendi's minor heirs. They also considered him unsuitable as the children's guardian. Arguing that the matter was complicated, and there were no trained lawyers in the area, Amondarain asked for a delay so that he could seek legal counsel. Although his request was granted, it seems clear that this was nothing more than a delaying tactic. On 16 November an order for Amondarain's arrest was issued because of his refusal to provide the accounting. He wrote a lengthy letter to Jacobo Ugarte y Loyola on 29 November. Ugarte y Loyola, formerly governor of Coahuila and commandant general of the Provincias Internas, was in Monclova on assignment from the Viceroy of New Spain, the Conde de Revillagigedo, to arrange peace with the Lipan Apaches.¹⁷ Amondarain defended his actions on behalf of his stepsons. He believed he had acted honorably and could not understand why, four years after his wife's death, the other executors were alleging that he had handled the possessions of the minor heirs improperly.¹⁸

Lt. Bernardo Fernández, of the presidio of San Antonio de Béxar, informed Tejas governor Manuel Muñoz that, according to Bueno's account, Amondarain had become a fugitive on the night of 19 December 1790. Bueno had asked for assistance in going after Amondarain, and Fernández had complied by sending four soldiers to accompany Bueno in his pursuit.¹⁹ Fernández informed Governor Muñoz that on 3 January 1791 Bueno arrived in Béxar with the three soldiers who pursued Amondarain as far as the presidio of San Juan Bautista del Río Grande (present-day Guerrero) where they caught up with him.²⁰

The case came to the attention of Viceroy Revillagigedo in Mexico City, who informed Governor Muñoz in August 1792 that he was forwarding the case against Amondarain to the commandant general of the Provincias Internas, Ramón de Castro. By so doing, the viceroy sent the case to a lower regional jurisdiction, since the Provincias Internas had been brought back under viceregal authority in 1786 after a decade as an independent entity. Castro was to order Amondarain to appear before him and promptly produce an accounting of the goods in his possession that belonged to Veramendi's minor heirs.²¹

Amondarain finally complied and on 7 January 1793 submitted his accounting of the possessions belonging to the minor heirs. The value of the goods, according to Amondarain, came to 12,332 pesos 2 reales 2 granos. The executors and Amondarain squabbled over the valuation; they claimed he inflated it so that he would appear to have been a good steward of the heirs' possessions. The haggling was still dragging on as of 4 June 1793.²²

In the summer of 1793, Governor Muñoz sent a master mason and master carpenter to examine the former house of Fernando Veramendi (the Veramendi Palace in San Antonio), which Amondarain was then occupying. The craftsmen determined that the house required only minor repairs to be put right. Amondarain stated that the house was in the same condition when he married Granados eight years earlier but that he was willing to make the needed repairs. The governor further directed that two local merchants be named to examine and assign values to the items left from Veramendi's estate so that a thorough accounting could be provided for the minor heirs. The merchants determined that the goods in Amondarain's possession belonging to the heirs came to only 116 pesos 7 reales 8 granos, thus substantiating the accusation that Amondarain had exaggerated the value of goods he was holding for Veramendi's heirs.²³

Pedro de Nava, commandant general of the Provincias Internas, wrote to Muñoz in December 1793 to tell him that an important person in Mexico City had informed Nava that Amondarain wanted very much to move his family to Guanajuato.²⁴ For that reason, Nava wanted the matter of the Veramendi estate brought to a swift conclusion.²⁵ Nava wrote to Muñoz again in January 1795 stating that the Conde de Revillagigedo wanted to see the case resolved.²⁶

During this period, Amondarain relocated frequently. The census of 1790 for La Bahía lists a thirty-year-old Amondarain caring for his daughter, María Josefa, three stepsons, two other family members (one, José Granados, might have been María Josefa's brother), and seven servants and their children.²⁷ The census of 1792 has them living in San Fernando de Austria (present-day Zaragoza, Chihuahua), although court records indicate Amondarain was back in Béxar by early 1793. At some point after this, however, Amondarain left his daughter behind in La Bahía and moved on. When he made out his will, he noted that María Josefa was living in the home of Manuel de la Concha at the presidio of La Bahía.²⁸

Amondarain died in February 1802 near Saltillo, where he was buried.²⁹ His fifteen-year-old daughter María Josefa Amondarain was his sole heir. His will stated that he had distributed the nine thousand pesos his first wife had brought to the marriage to the Veramendi children. His own child did not fare as well—she was to receive whatever remained of his estate after his debts were settled. In addition, some small items—unspecified as to their nature—were left for her.³⁰

Valdés-Amondarain Marriage

It is not known when or where Tomás Valdés met or married María Josefa Amondarain. Although their first child was born in Béxar,³¹ a thorough search of church records indicates that the marriage did not take place there.³² No record of their union has been found in Monclova, where subsequent children were born, which suggests that the wedding might have taken place in La Babia, where Valdés was stationed, or La Bahía, where María Josefa had been living when her father died in 1802.

The couple's first child, María Gertrudis de los Santos, was born in Béxar on 31 October 1806 and baptized on 10 November.³³ It seems unlikely that Valdés was present, as he was still in the army. Although we cannot be sure, perhaps María Josefa Amondarain was with her Veramendi stepbrothers or other relatives. Valdés was still in La Babia in September 1808 when he was being considered to fill a vacancy at the presidio of La Bahía.³⁴ Evidently Valdés, who was still the presidio's drummer, had been soliciting such a transfer for some time. After relocating to La Bahía on 14 October 1808, Valdés requested permission to return to La Babia to get his widowed mother and sister in order to take them to La Bahía.³⁵ There was no mention of María Josefa nor his daughter, so presumably they were already in La Bahía. Later, Father José Clemente Arocha (of La Bahía) requested that Valdés be summoned so that the priest could attend to some unstated matter. Father Arocha referred to Valdés as a musician who played the flute, so it appears that his musical talents went beyond drumming.³⁶

In November 1810 Valdés was charged and found guilty of being incorrigible and unfit to serve among honorable soldiers. At the time of his trial, Valdés was being held in solitary confinement in shackles. He had been caught running a scam whereby he had someone pass off pieces of paper to a local store in exchange for goods. The papers, presumably a promise to pay, were false. Valdés confessed to his involvement in the crime and was sentenced to be cashiered from the service.³⁷ Before the year 1810 was out, Valdés and his wife and daughter moved to Monclova. The family lived in Monclova or the immediate area for the better part of the next two decades.³⁸ Tomás Valdés and María Josefa Amondarain had numerous children after the family moved to Monclova. María Gertrudis and Dolores are generally considered to be their offspring (although there is some question about Dolores's paternity), and both eventually married James Wiley Magoffin.

During this same period, María Josefa's stepsiblings, the Veramendis, were becoming as politically significant and powerful as their father. Magoffin family folklore has always maintained there was very close and direct connections to the Veramendis. In 1926 when Annette Magoffin Dwyer, one of James Wiley

Magoffin's and María Gertrudis Valdés's daughters, died, her son Joseph supplied the name of Annette's mother (his maternal grandmother) for the death certificate as "Marie Vermendia."³⁹ As long-time residents of San Antonio, the Veramendi connection would have been important to the Dwyers.

In fact, the relationship to the Veramendis is often cited as the basis for James Wiley Magoffin's political influence and connections. In his biography of James Wiley Magoffin published in 1999, W. H. Timmons stated that "[Magoffin's] marriage in 1834 to María Gertrudis de los Santos Valdez de Veramendi, daughter of the prominent and influential family of San Antonio de Béjar, gave him additional status." The source of much of this confusion is Rex Strickland's patently erroneous statement in *Six Who Came to El Paso: Pioneers of the 1840s* (1963) that Magoffin married "María Gertrudis de los Santos Valdés de Veramendi . . . [who] was married the first time to a cadet member of the Varamendi family a surmise that opens an intriguing possibility, for her first husband might have been a younger brother of Governor Veramendi, in which case María Gertrudis Valdez was an aunt by marriage of Ursula Veramendi de Bowie."⁴⁰

As noted earlier, much of the wealth and influence passed via Juan Martín Amondarain to the three Veramendi sons. The oldest, Juan Martín del Carmen de Veramendi (1778–1833), became a very prominent politician. He was the alcalde of Béxar in 1824–1825 and was later elected vice governor (1830–1832) and then governor (1832–1833) of Coahuila y Tejas (the Mexican state that today is the State of Texas and the modern Mexican state of Coahuila). He also came to own as much as sixteen leagues of land (about seventy thousand acres) southeast of Béxar. When he became vice governor, Veramendi moved his family to Saltillo and on to Monclova when the state capital was moved.⁴¹

In addition to the prominence of being a Veramendi, the young governor gained additional prestige from his marriage to María Josefa Cándida Navarro de Ruiz around 1810. She was the older sister of the future Texas patriot, José Antonio Navarro.⁴² By the 1850s, James Wiley Magoffin and his in-laws had numerous business activities in San Antonio with the Navarro family. Some of their familiarity with the Navarros may well have come from the Veramendi-Navarro marriage.

The couple had at least ten children (all half-first cousins to the Valdés children that include María Gertrudis and Dolores),⁴³ but their best known child was Úrsula, who in 1831 married Jim Bowie, the future hero of the Texas Revolution who died at the Battle of the Alamo.⁴⁴ It seems likely that the Valdés children knew their Veramendi half-cousins well, since they were all living in either Monclova or Béxar. One source implies that Valdés was on Governor Veramendi's staff (which is to say, he worked for his half-brother-in-law).⁴⁵

By the 1820s, the Valdés-Amondarain family was residing in Monclova on one of the streets leading off from the *plazuela*, a small plaza near the large central plaza where the church was located.⁴⁶ The elites of Monclova had their city homes clustered around the *plazuela* rather than the main plaza, which indicates that although Valdés might not have been personally wealthy, he enjoyed some measure of prestige. Valdés made his living as an *escribano* (scribe), and in that capacity he signed his name “Tomás Valdés de Castañeda.” On all other occasions, he signed himself simply “Tomás Valdés.” As an *escribano*, Valdés would not have earned much income. He was sufficiently well thought of, however, to have been elected to the *ayuntamiento* (town council) in 1823.⁴⁷ He resigned that post on 22 January 1824 to accept a position as a teacher in the local school at an annual salary of forty pesos.⁴⁸

Valdés wrote to Melchor Sánchez Navarro, a one-time neighbor in Monclova in 1825.⁴⁹ In the letter Valdés stated that he was ill and that his family was so impoverished that it was in dire need; he asked Sánchez Navarro for any assistance he could provide. A short time later, Valdés died of tuberculosis at the age of forty.⁵⁰

Following the death of her husband Tomás, María Josefa Amondarain and eight of her children relocated, along with two household servants.⁵¹ The census of 1827 for Monclova indicated that they were living in the household of a woman named María Ignacia Neira. By the next year, they were no longer in Monclova. As a widow with numerous children and no visible means of support, María Josefa might have joined the extended household of her half-brother, Gov. Juan Martín de Veramendi. María Josefa Amondarain (identified in the church records as “María de Veramendi, widow of Tomás Valdés”) died in 1833 during the large cholera epidemic around Monclova that also took the lives of Governor Veramendi, his wife, and his daughter Úrsula Veramendi Bowie.⁵² By that time, the oldest Valdés daughter had already left and started her own family.

Gertrudis Valdés’s First Marriage

In May 1826, twenty-year-old Gertrudis Valdés married her first husband, Marcos Farías, in the parish church at Monclova. During the prenuptial investigation, an impediment to their marriage arose, and the couple appealed to the governor of the Diocese of Linares in Monterrey for a dispensation.⁵³ They requested that the banns, the public announcement that a couple was planning to wed in order to uncover any impediments to the marriage, not be proclaimed on the grounds that some indiscretion one or both of them had committed would prove embarrassing to Valdés should it be made public. Their dispensation

approved, the couple married at the Santiago Apóstol church in Monclova on 18 May 1826.⁵⁴

The family history of Marcos Farías is of particular interest because of the possibility that he might have fathered some of the children usually considered the offspring of Magoffin and Valdés. Even if that does not prove to be the case, discovering the fate of the children who were the result of the union between Valdés and Farías is one goal of the exploration of the Mexican side of the Magoffin family.

In Farías's request for a dispensation, he stated that he was a native of Saltillo, the son of Javier Farías and Dolores Ramos, although his baptismal record has not come to light.⁵⁵ His principal occupation was as an itinerant trader or merchant.⁵⁶ He was also a member of the ayuntamiento of Monclova, serving a one-year term in 1827.⁵⁷ On 17 June 1829, in Monclova, Farías requested a grant of land, located about 21.5 miles to the south-southeast, under the terms of the Colonization Law of the State of Coahuila y Tejas, stating that he needed land for his animals so that he could support his family.⁵⁸

Farías and Valdés apparently had at least four children together, or who at least bore the Farías surname.⁵⁹ It seems likely that Farías and Valdés crossed paths with Magoffin for the first time in Coahuila, perhaps in Cuatrociénegas, fifty-three miles west of Monclova. Magoffin was living there in late spring 1827, having established himself as a trader in Matamoros in the 1820s.⁶⁰ Farías was involved in business in Cuatrociénegas in 1830 and, given the small size of the community, the two would certainly have met if they were there at the same time.⁶¹

For unknown reasons, Farías and Valdés separated sometime prior to his being killed by Apaches on 5 July 1838.⁶² There is good evidence to indicate that Valdés was living with Magoffin as early as 1832—about six years before her husband's death. In a December 1832 letter to his brother Samuel, Magoffin referred to "Josefita & Manuelito a Boy who is 4 m^o old he is a hell of a fellow," who are almost certainly the children baptized as María Josefa Farías Valdés (1829) and José Manuel Romano Fortín Fernando de Jesús Farías Valdés (1832).⁶³ Whether there were other Farías children born between 1832 and 1838 is presently unknown, as is whether any of the "Magoffin children" (including Joseph and Josephine) were Faríases, or born out of wedlock to a married woman (Valdés) having illicit relations with another man (Magoffin). How such an arrangement functioned in a society so steeped in a culture of honor remains something of a mystery.

If the three Farías children—María Josefa, José de Jesús Pascual, and José Manuel Romano—survived, custom would suggest they would have stayed with their mother, although they might have remained with their father's or mother's relatives. To date, nothing more is known of them.

On 5 March 1839, don Santiago (James) Magoffin and Gertrudis Valdés appeared before the curate and vicar *in capite* (in charge) of Chihuahua, Father Juan José Baca, and the notary public, Juan José Rodela, and asked to be married.⁶⁴ Magoffin spoke for himself and his intended, stating that he was a native of Harrodsburg, Kentucky. He wished to wed María Gertrudis Valdés, a native of Béxar who had lived in Chihuahua for six years and was widowed from her first husband, Marcos Farías. Magoffin asked that he and Valdés be excused from the proclamation of the banns. Magoffin stated that he and his intended lived great distances from their places of birth, which would make it difficult to get proof that they were free to marry, and both were members of distinguished and honorable families. Magoffin confessed that he and Valdés had carried on an illicit relationship for a long time, which had caused a public scandal because so many people knew of their situation. Publically proclaiming the banns would be embarrassing to them both, especially to Magoffin since he was an honorary consul of the United States. Magoffin added that he wanted to be baptized before marrying.⁶⁵ He concluded his petition by stating that his prospective bride was poor, but he was wealthy and that he wanted to protect her as a way of demonstrating their love for one another.⁶⁶

The couple presented a document prepared by fray Juan José Pérez, a Franciscan priest serving at Nuestra Señora del Pilar de Conchos, the present-day municipality of Valle de Zaragoza, Chihuahua. On 3 March 1839, the priest attested to the fact that on 11 July 1838 he had buried José Marcos Farías. The couple submitted documents with their petition that proved that Valdés was married to Farías until his death in July 1838. Then, six months to the day after Farías's death, only half of the traditional year-long period of mourning for a deceased spouse, Magoffin and Valdés submitted their request to wed.⁶⁷

Magoffin stated that he was thirty-nine years old and the son of don Bereah [Beriah] Magoffin and doña Juana McAafa [McAfee].⁶⁸ He had been a resident and merchant of Chihuahua for six years but had known his intended for thirteen years. Magoffin gave his intended's name as María Gertrudis and her age as twenty-six, even though she was really thirty-three. He confirmed that her parents were don Tomás Valdés and doña Josefa Amondarain.⁶⁹ Interestingly, there was no mention (correctly) of the surname Veramendi. Gertrudis had also been a resident of Chihuahua for six years.⁷⁰ The couple had apparently met by 1826—the same year Valdés married Farías—although the location of their meeting was not stated and is currently unknown.

Three witnesses testified about the couple's fitness to marry. José Blanco [Joseph White], was a native of Natchez, Mississippi, who had met Magoffin in the United States and had known Valdés for six years.⁷¹ Carlos Macrey [Charles

McCray], a native of San Francisco (probably St. Francisville, in West Feliciana Parish), Louisiana, who had been living in Chihuahua for six years, had met Magoffin in the United States, and had known Valdés for four years.⁷² Juan [John] Patton, a native of Nashville, Tennessee, had known Magoffin for a long time and knew that he was from a distinguished family.⁷³ He had known Valdés for four years. None of the witnesses knew of any impediment to the marriage.

Father Baca informed his superiors at the diocesan headquarters in Durango, Mexico, that he believed the testimony of the couple and the witnesses.⁷⁴ He knew the couple personally and believed that their comportment in public was beyond reproach. He also knew that in private they performed religious devotions every day. They made no secret of their illicit relationship, but Baca believed they merited the bishop's pity and the dispensation they were seeking. Until a reply came from Durango and the marriage could be celebrated, Baca required the couple to live apart.

Authorities of the Diocese of Durango granted the dispensation to wed without having the banns proclaimed in March 1839.⁷⁵ Before the marriage could take place, however, Magoffin had to renounce any Protestant faith to which he might belong and be baptized a Roman Catholic. Valdés was required to perform certain acts of penance. No record of the marriage has come to light, but it could not have taken place before 31 March because Magoffin was baptized a Roman Catholic on that date in the parish church in Chihuahua.⁷⁶

The first child born to Magoffin and Valdés, as husband and wife (and the first child for whom a baptismal record has been found), Santiago Agapito Cosme Magoffin Valdés, was christened in Chihuahua on 27 September 1840, having been born on the twentieth.⁷⁷ The stature of the child's godparents, the commandant general and governor of the Department of Chihuahua, Francisco García Conde, and his wife, Concepción Humana, attested to Magoffin's position in the community. A daughter, María Gertrudis Petra de Jesús, was born on 23 October 1842 and baptized in Chihuahua on the twenty-seventh with Gov. García Conde and his wife again standing as godparents.⁷⁸

Magoffin family tradition held that Magoffin and Valdés married in 1834. Therefore, it seems plausible that Magoffin and Valdés had begun to live together by that date, if not before. Magoffin and Valdés indicated that they arrived in Chihuahua during the same year, which suggests they may have arrived together and set up their household. Their desire to keep their church wedding secret may have been motivated as much by the fear of scandalizing those who knew they were not married as by a wish to keep alive the pretense that they were already married. Valdés and Fariás must have been estranged for years. It seems inconceivable that Magoffin and Valdés could have carried on a love affair that resulted in the birth of numerous offspring had she been living with her husband. Cultural

mores of the time and place would have made such a situation impossible. That Valdés was described as poor suggests that she had taken nothing or had little left in the way of financial resources from her union with Farías.

The marriage of Magoffin and Valdés took place several years after the accepted birth date of most of the Magoffin children—hence the reason to question whether Farías rather than Magoffin was the father of any of the children taken to be the offspring of Valdés and Magoffin. Interestingly enough, no baptismal records for Magoffin children born before the 1839 marriage have been found. The generally accepted dates for the birth of the other children of Magoffin and Valdés are impossible to corroborate in the documentary record.⁷⁹ The traditional, approximate date of birth for the eldest, Samuel, is 1835.⁸⁰ Then came five children, presumably born in Chihuahua on the approximate dates given: Josephine (1836), Joseph (1837), Ursula (no date), Annette (1838), and Angela (1839). The last two children, born after the church marriage, Santiago Agapito Cosme (1840) and Gertrudis (1842), apparently did not survive infancy, although no death record has yet been found.

In 1844, for unknown reasons, Valdés and Magoffin—probably in the company of six of their children—three sister-in-laws (Dolores, Carmen, and María), and his brother-in-law Gabriel, moved from Chihuahua to a farm near Independence, Missouri.⁸¹ Shortly after they arrived, Valdés died, leaving Magoffin a widower.⁸² The boys, Samuel and Joseph, were placed in a school in Kentucky. The younger girls—Annette, Angela, and Ursula—were placed in the care of their maternal aunts and subsequently attended a convent school in St. Louis.⁸³

James Wiley Magoffin's Marriage to Dolores Valdés

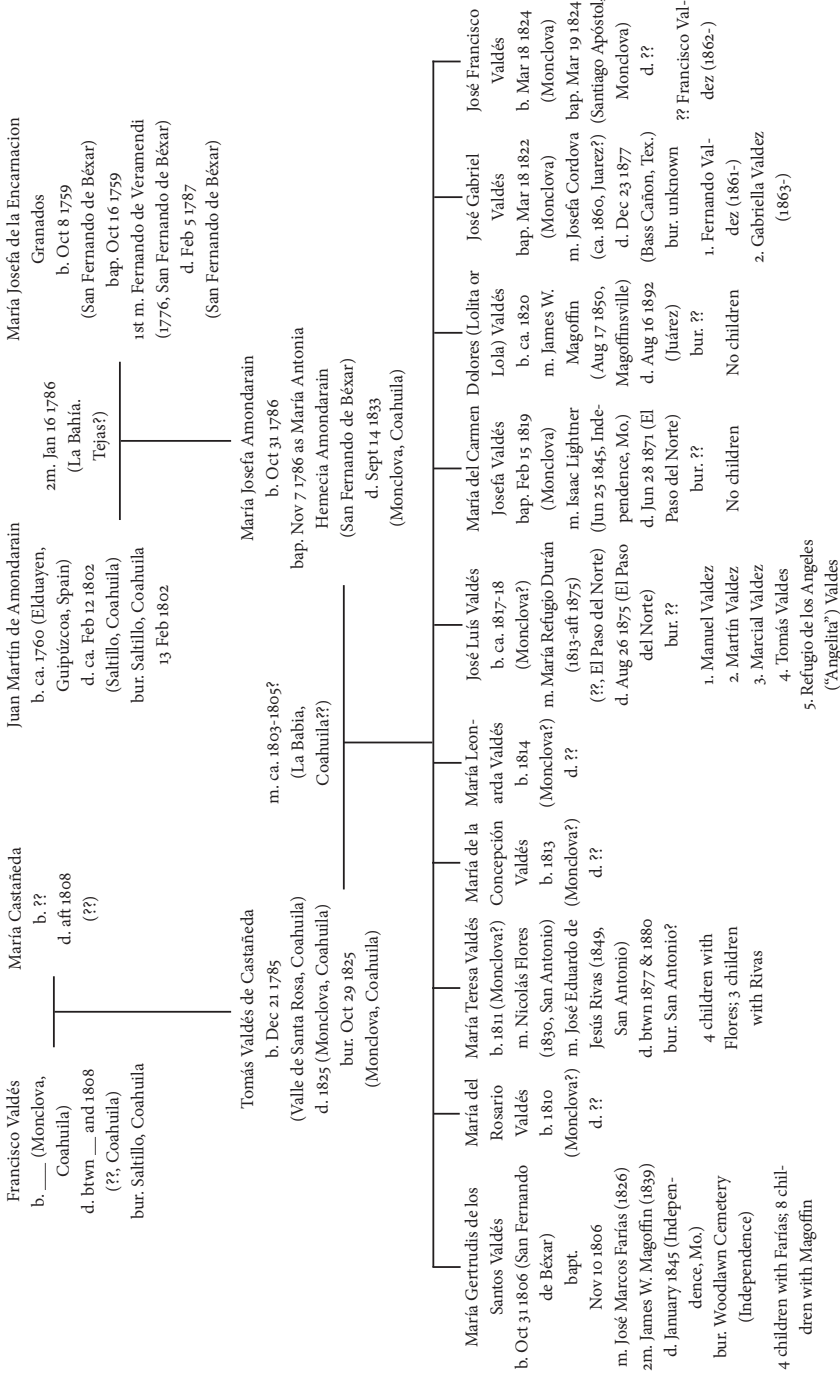
Sometime in the late 1840s, following Magoffin's adventures during the war with Mexico (including a period of incarceration), Dolores (or Lolita, as she was known) Valdés joined Magoffin in the area of present-day El Paso. Magoffin had come to the area with a caravan he had organized in Independence, Missouri, that was on its way to Chihuahua.⁸⁴ When he arrived in the Mexican border town of El Paso del Norte in April 1849, Magoffin learned that duties and import fees had risen substantially. Instead of continuing into Mexico, he set up a hacienda and trading operation on the U.S. side of the Rio Grande, opposite El Paso del Norte. From this location he was able to engage in commerce with the small local population and the sudden flood of people traveling from the eastern United States to the California gold fields. At his newly established headquarters, in June 1849, he established Magoffinsville, one of five settlements on the U.S. side of the Rio Grande opposite El Paso del Norte. He erected a gristmill and laid out

a plaza surrounded by stores and warehouses. Next, he constructed “a magnificent mansion of hacienda proportions,”⁸⁵ which was the scene of a celebration held in honor of his marriage to his sister-in-law. The event was mentioned in the 19 September 1850 issue of the *Western Texan*, a San Antonio newspaper: “[James] McGuffin [sic], the well-known Santa Fe [trader . . .] was married to Miss Dolores Valdes, . . . 17th August by Chief Justice Hoppin, . . . a very elegant entertainment given to his [bri]de at his fine new house.”⁸⁶ Chief Justice Charles Hoppin apparently married the couple in a civil ceremony in their newly constructed home in Magoffinsville, although no official record of the marriage survives.

Although Dolores Valdés is usually identified as a full sister of María Gertrudis Valdés, it is possible that she might not have been a child of Tomás Valdés and María Josefa Amondarain. She does not appear in any listing of the family before Tomás’s death when he was still the head of the household. Likewise, she is not on any list after his death when María Josefa became the head of household. This suggests the possibility that Dolores was a half-sister to Gertrudis Valdés, or an adopted child. Based on the age listed in the census of 1860 (the only U.S. census in which she appears), Dolores Valdés was born sometime around 1820. This would mean that Dolores was about fourteen years younger than María Gertrudis and twenty-two years younger than Magoffin.

If Dolores Valdés was the sister of Gertrudis, as has been assumed, by Canon Law of the Roman Catholic Church, she and Magoffin were related by first-degree affinity, which constituted a *diriment impediment* making their marriage void.⁸⁷ In addition, they had undergone a civil wedding and presumably consummated the marriage. In the eyes of the church, Magoffin and Dolores were not married. To obtain a dispensation to marry in the church, someone had to make a petition called a *supplica* that was forwarded through the Bishop of Durango to the Congregation of Propaganda Fide in Rome.⁸⁸ Father Ramón Ortiz, curate of El Paso, probably solicited a dispensation on Magoffin’s and Dolores’s behalf through Bishop José Antonio Zubiría in Durango. The petition to Rome dated 22 April 1853 in Durango—almost three years after the civil ceremony—requested a dispensation from an impediment in the first degree of affinity for Jacobus Magoffin, an Anglo American living in El Paso who was baptized a Catholic and married in his first marriage according to the Rites of the Catholic Church.⁸⁹ The *supplica* did not mention Dolores but stated that Magoffin intended to marry an individual to whom he was related in a prohibited degree. In an audience on 19 June 1853, Pope Pius IX granted Magoffin a dispensation to marry. It took the paperwork almost a year to arrive from the Vatican by way of Durango. On 11 May 1854, Father Ortiz acknowledged receipt of Magoffin’s dispensation.⁹⁰

The Amondarain/Valdés Family



Francisco Valdés
b. ___ (Monclova, Coahuila)
d. btwn ___ and 1808
(??; Coahuila)
bur. Saltillo, Coahuila

María Castañeda
b. ??
d. aft 1808
(??)

Juan Martín de Amondarain
b. ca. 1760 (Elduayen, Guipúzcoa, Spain)
d. ca. Feb 12 1802 (Saltillo, Coahuila)
bur. Saltillo, Coahuila
13 Feb 1802

María Josefa de la Encarnación Granados
b. Oct 8 1759 (San Fernando de Béxar)
bur. Oct 16 1759
1st. m. Fernando de Veramendi (1776, San Fernando de Béxar)
d. Feb 5 1787 (San Fernando de Béxar)

Tomás Valdés de Castañeda
b. Dec 21 1785 (Valle de Santa Rosa, Coahuila)
d. 1825 (Monclova, Coahuila)
bur. Oct 29 1825 (Monclova, Coahuila)

María Josefa Amondarain
b. Oct 31 1786
bur. Nov 7 1786 as María Antonia Hemecia Amondarain (San Fernando de Béxar)
d. Sept 14 1833 (Monclova, Coahuila)

María Gertrudis de los Santos Valdés
b. Oct 31 1806 (San Fernando de Béxar)
bapt. Nov 10 1806
m. José Marcos Farías (1826)
2m. James W. Magoffin (1839)
d. January 1845 (Independence, Mo.)
bur. Woodlawn Cemetery (Independence)
4 children with Farías; 8 children with Magoffin

María del Rosario Valdés
b. 1810 (Monclova?)
d. ??
m. Nicolás Flores (1830, San Antonio)
m. José Eduardo de (Monclova?)
d. ??

María Leon-arda Valdés
b. 1814 (Monclova?)
d. ??
m. María Refugio Durán (1813-aft 1875)
(?; El Paso del Norte)
d. Aug 26 1875 (El Paso del Norte)
bur. ??

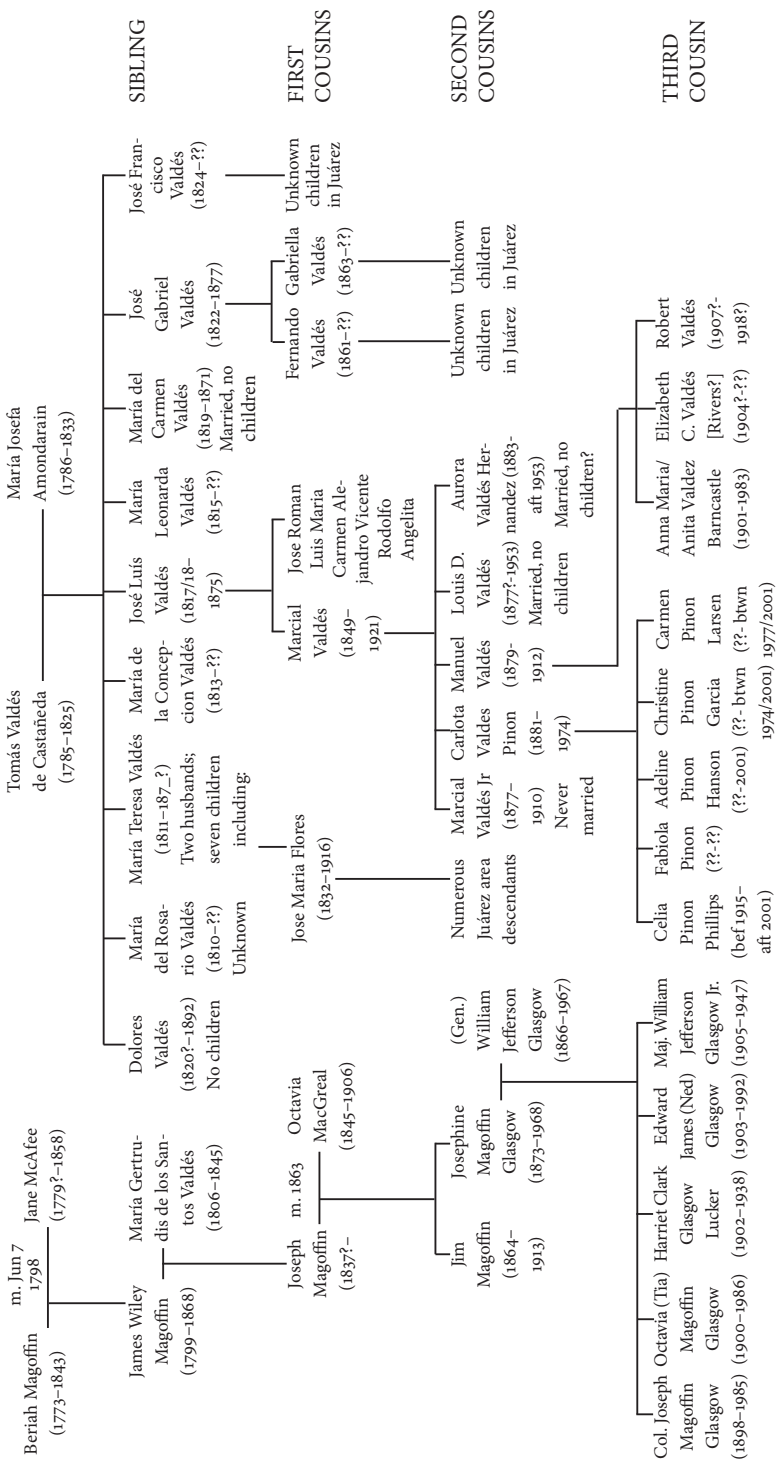
Josefa Valdés
bap. Feb 15 1819 (Monclova)
m. Isaac Lightner Magoffin (Aug 17 1850, Independence, Mo.)
d. Jun 28 1871 (El Paso del Norte)
bur. ??

Dolores (Lolita or Lola) Valdés
b. ca. 1820 (Monclova)
m. James W. Magoffin (Aug 17 1850, Independence, Mo.)
d. Aug 16 1892 (Juárez)
bur. ??

José Gabriel Valdés
bap. Mar 18 1822 (Monclova)
m. Josefa Cortova (ca. 1860, Juárez?)
d. Dec 23 1877 (Bass Cañon, Tex.)
bur. unknown
1. Fernando Valdez (1861-)
2. Gabriella Valdez (1863-)

José Francisco Valdés
b. Mar 18 1824 (Monclova)
bur. Mar 19 1824 (Santiago Apóstol, Monclova)
d. ??
bur. unknown
1. Fernando Valdez (1861-)
2. Gabriella Valdez (1863-)

Magoffin and Valdés Extended Family Trees



In 1854 there was no Catholic church in what would become present-day El Paso.⁹¹ There is no proof the marriage was celebrated at churches in Socorro, Ysleta, or San Elizario.⁹² No record for their marriage exists in the records of the church of Nuestra Señora de Guadalupe in Juárez. From all appearances, the records for Magoffin's second marriage met a similar fate as his first. The wedding of Magoffin and Gertrudis Valdés in 1839 was not recorded in the church in Chihuahua. Presumably Magoffin and Dolores Valdés wed in a private ceremony in 1854 with church sanction because their marriage was not recorded in any of the area churches.

During the American Civil War, Dolores Valdés did not accompany her husband when the Magoffin males (James Wiley, Samuel, and Joseph) retreated to San Antonio with Gen. Henry Hopkins Sibley's Confederate forces in May 1862.⁹³ Instead, she stayed across the river in El Paso del Norte, Mexico, possibly with her one of her brothers, Gabriel or Luis, or with her sister Carmen Valdés Lightner. Joseph Magoffin recalled that he personally took his "mother" across the river just before they left El Paso. Dolores Valdés and Magoffin never lived together again, and the nature of their relationship remains a mystery after their separation and during the ensuing six years. In 1868, when a deathly ill Magoffin sold his land interests to his son Joseph, he held back a two-hundred-acre homestead for Dolores Valdés. She did not wish to keep the property, however, and signed over her interest in the land to Joseph in 1872.⁹⁴

Dolores Valdés apparently continued to live in El Paso del Norte. In 1880 a report of landholdings indicated that she owned two parcels of land totaling about 90,000 square varas (16.2 acres) in the Mejía and Juárez districts. Señora Dolores Magoffin issued an invitation to a casual evening party at her home in El Paso del Norte in August 1882. Little has come to light in letters and materials from the Magoffin Home, other than occasional references to Aunt Lola (or Lolita). A letter from Jim Magoffin to Josephine Magoffin in 1890 mentions that an aunt and uncle across the river are well but does not name them. The aunt in question was probably Dolores Valdés.⁹⁵ Several letters in the Magoffin Papers suggest that Octavia Magoffin and Dolores Valdés Magoffin shopped and attended church together.

At nine o'clock in the morning of 14 August 1892, in the Juárez district of Ciudad Juárez, thirty-year-old Francisco Valdés reported to city authorities that Dolores Valdés de Magoffin had died at her home at two o'clock of the same morning of gastric fever (probably gastroenteritis), which was certified by Dr. Mariano Samaniego. At the time of her death, Valdés was seventy-two. The entry noted that she and her late husband, James W. Magoffin, had not had any children.⁹⁶ She apparently was the last child of Tomás Valdés and María Josefa Amondarain to pass away.

Just as little had been known or interpreted about Gertrudis and Dolores Valdés at the Magoffin Home, almost nothing was known about the other Valdés siblings. A closer examination of the records, however, reveals mentions of several of these family members and shows that they were important partners of James Wiley Magoffin or were known to his son, Joseph, during the development of El Paso in the late nineteenth century. Thus, another goal of our research was to develop more details about the Valdés siblings and their families.

José Gabriel Valdés was baptized on 18 March 1822 in Monclova. His godparents were Jacobo and Vicenta Sánchez Navarro, members of the wealthiest and most powerful family in northeastern New Spain, who were neighbors and acquaintances of the Valdés-Amendarain family in Monclova (to whom Tomás wrote just before he died). Gabriel was a trader and wagon master who regularly worked with James Wiley Magoffin. The earliest references to him appear in connection with Magoffin's farm in Independence and the Santa Fe Trail trade in the 1840s. He and William Magoffin (probably James Wiley's younger brother) were part of the trade caravan to New Mexico in 1846–1847 that included Samuel Magoffin and his wife, Susan. In the census of 1860, Gabriel appears as a resident of Magoffinsville in a group of teamsters. His profession was given as freighter and wagon master, and his personal estate was valued at \$3,000, including \$500 in real estate.⁹⁷ In addition to his activity on the Santa Fe Trail, Gabriel was a freighter in the Trans-Pecos region and a guide at Fort Davis.⁹⁸

During the Civil War period, Gabriel moved freight for both the Union and the Confederacy. He and Samuel Magoffin transported Union freight to San Antonio on one occasion. He also delivered salt to the Confederates at Fort Bliss and freighted supplies and provided livestock for the Confederates at Fort Fillmore and Mesilla while in the employ of J. W. Magoffin & Co. He apparently accompanied Sibley's Confederate Brigade on its New Mexico campaign and on its retreat to El Paso.⁹⁹

After the war and Magoffin's death, Gabriel continued in the trade business. He found employment with Ben Ficklin's stage line, which ran freight and mail between San Antonio and El Paso. He died while working as the road agent for the portion of the line between El Paso and Fort Davis. On 23 December 1877, Indians killed Gabriel and a black man named Thompson in Bass Canyon as they were taking a water wagon from Van Horn to Eagle Springs.¹⁰⁰ Gabriel was married to Josefa Córdoba. She does not appear on the census with Gabriel in Magoffinsville, suggesting that their marriage must have taken place in late 1860 or early 1861.¹⁰¹ They had at least two children.¹⁰²

Carmen Valdés was born in Monclova in 1819. She was one of the aunts who accompanied Magoffin and Gertrudis Valdés to Independence in 1844. She subsequently married another trader, Isaac Lightner, the following year at the Magoffin farm.¹⁰³ Her husband operated a mercantile store in El Paso in the early 1850s. He sold all his merchandise to Magoffin and closed his store in 1854.¹⁰⁴ Luis Valdés reported to civil authorities that his sister Carmen had died of diarrhea in Ciudad Juárez at seven o'clock in the morning of 28 June 1871 at her home in the Juárez district of town. The entry noted that she was widowed of Lightner at the time of her death.¹⁰⁵

María Teresa Valdés was probably born in Monclova around 1811, but she married and lived in Béxar. She had four children with her first husband, Nicolás Flores, and three with her second husband José Rivas.¹⁰⁶ One child, José María Flores, resided in El Paso. One of his aunts, most likely Carmen Valdés Lightner, brought José from San Antonio to El Paso around 1852, shortly after his mother remarried. José María Flores worked at several mercantile establishments in El Paso over the next couple of years, probably including those of Magoffin and Lightner. His last apparent employer was Hugh Stephenson of nearby Concordia. In 1858 he married Stephenson's daughter, Margarita Stephenson Ascárate, and their children married into other prominent El Paso and Juárez families such as the Samiengos and the Dagurres. José María Flores became one of the prominent merchants and leading citizens of both El Paso and Ciudad Juárez.¹⁰⁷

Little is known about Luis Valdés. He was probably born in 1817 and apparently resided in Chihuahua through most of the 1850s. By the 1860s, he was living in El Paso del Norte.¹⁰⁸ Dolores Valdés wrote to her brother Luis in July 1862 about her home in Magoffinsville/Fort Bliss being pillaged of its doors, windows, and other materials, shortly after the Magoffins and the Confederate army had decamped to San Antonio.¹⁰⁹ Luis subsequently contacted Magoffin in San Antonio, offering to try to retrieve the materials and prosecute the thieves. Luis died of diarrhea in El Paso del Norte in 1875, leaving a widow, María Refugio Durán, and five children.¹¹⁰ Their son, Marcial, moved to Las Cruces, New Mexico, as a young man and became a United States citizen.¹¹¹

Marcial married Carlota Lucero on 18 April 1875.¹¹² He and his five children usually spelled their surname "Valdez."¹¹³ Active in the Republican Party throughout his adult life, Marcial Valdez served as a probate judge in Doña Ana County, as a member of the New Mexico territorial legislature, and for thirty years as a justice of the peace.¹¹⁴ He was also an editor and publisher of the Spanish-language newspaper *El Tiempo*, and briefly of its English counterpart, the *Las Cruces (N.Mex.) Daily Times*.¹¹⁵ He died on 30 August 1921.¹¹⁶ Several members of this family still reside in the El Paso–Las Cruces area.

Conclusion

James Wiley Magoffin, Gertrudis and Dolores Valdés, and their forebears and descendants, formed a remarkable bicultural and binational family. Magoffin apparently found something so special about the Valdés women that he risked public scandal and Catholic Church disapproval to be with the women he loved. Those women had family roots reaching deep into the soil of northeastern Mexico, south Texas, and Spain. Magoffin was perhaps the leading El Paso pioneer. As Timmons expressed it:

For more than a decade and a half James Magoffin was the most powerful and influential individual in the El Paso area, his leadership and the respect he commanded were unquestioned and unchallenged during the Magoffinsville years. . . . Fluent in both languages of the El Paso area, Don Santiago was admired by Americans and Mexicans alike during his entire adult life, whether in Matamoros, Chihuahua, or El Paso.¹⁷

James Wiley Magoffin's son, Joseph Magoffin became one of the leading figures in the community, serving four terms as mayor, occupying a number of other important city and county offices over the years, and founding the State National Bank of which he was president for forty years.¹⁸ As the years went by, the facts surrounding how James Wiley Magoffin and Gertrudis Valdés met and married, the true story of their love and life, and their extended family members became lost or shrouded in family myth and culturally biased interpretation. It is now abundantly clear that, at least during their lifetimes, Magoffin and Valdés's children were aware of their Mexican heritage. We know that the extended Magoffin-Valdés family, including aunts, uncles, and cousins, moved freely between Mexico and the United States and occupied homes on both sides of the international border separating the two nations. This new information about the Mexican side of the Magoffin family helps inform a new interpretative approach at the Magoffin Home State Historic Site in El Paso, Texas, that enables visitors to more fully appreciate the nature of life on the border in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries.

Notes

1. W. H. Timmons, *James Wiley Magoffin: Don Santiago—El Paso Pioneer* (El Paso: Texas Western Press, 1999), 51–52.
2. Rick Hendricks, "The Marriages of James Wiley Magoffin," *Password* 50 (summer 2005): 65–79.
3. María Elena Santoscoy, Laura Gutiérrez, Martha Rodríguez, and Francisco Cepeda, *Breve historia de Coahuila* (Mexico City: El Colegio de México, Fideicomiso Historia de las Américas, Fondo de Cultura Económica, 2000), 55.

4. Max Moorehead, *The Presidio: Bastion of the Spanish Borderlands* (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1991), 29–31.

5. Francisco Valdés, enlistment papers, Valle de Santa Rosa, 2 September 1793, Archivo General de Simancas [hereafter AGS], 7048, 4, Simancas, Spain; and Inspection Report, Presidio of La Babia, Valle de Santa Rosa, 2 September 1793, AGS, Guerra Moderna, 7048, 4. Francisco was born in Valle de Santa Rosa (present-day Ciudad Melchor Múzquiz, Coahuila) to Manuel Valdés and María Gerónima Menchaca around 1753.

6. Tomás Valdés, enlistment papers, Presidio de la Babia, 7 December 1803, r. 47, fr. 322, microfilm, Béxar Archives, Dolph Briscoe Center for American History, University of Texas at Austin [hereafter BA]. The baptismal records of 1785 for Valle de Santa Rosa are incomplete. Tomás's sister, María Antonia, was baptized in Valle de Santa Rosa, since the presidio did not have its own chapel. Baptism of María Antonia Valdés Castañeda, 24 October 1788, *FamilySearch* (<https://familysearch.org/pal:/MM9.3.1/TH-266-11847-67707-48?cc=1502401>), Melchor Múzquiz, Santa Rosa de Lima, Bautismos, 1788–1823. His sister, María Francisca Leandra, was baptized in the parish church in Valle de Santa Rosa. Baptism of Juana María Leandra Valdés Castañeda, 20 March 1791, *ibid* (<https://familysearch.org/pal:/MM9.3.1/TH-266-11847-69069-81?cc=1502401>), Melchor Múzquiz, Santa Rosa de Lima, Bautismos, 1788–1823. Another sister, Juana María Francisca, was baptized on 8 July 1793. Baptism of Juana María Francisca Valdés Castañeda, 8 July 1793, *ibid* (<https://familysearch.org/pal:/MM9.3.1/TH-266-11847-68116-71?cc=1502401>), Melchor Múzquiz, Santa Rosa de Lima, Bautismos, 1788–1823. She wed in Monclova in 1815. Marriage of José María de Cárdenas and María Francisca Valdés y Castañeda, 25 November 1815, *ibid* (<https://familysearch.org/pal:/MM9.3.1/TH-266-11032-203200-54?cc=1502401>), Monclova, Santiago Apóstol, Matrimonios, 1812–1882. Tomás had another sister, Juana Margarita, whose date of birth is unknown.

7. Tomás Valdés, enlistment papers, Presidio de la Babia, r. 47, fr. 322, BA; and Solveig A. Turpin and Herbert H. Eling Jr., “Aguaverde: A Forgotten Presidio of the Line, 1773–1781,” *The Journal of Big Bend Studies* 16 (2004): 101. La Babia was relocated from its original location to Santa Rosa in 1781.

8. On 22 November 1810, Valdés gave his age as twenty-four years, eleven months and one day, which would mean he was born on 21 December 1785. His enlistment papers and service record indicate that he was born on 16 September 1785. Case against Tomás Valdés, accused of being incorrigible, San Fernando de Béxar, 21 November–23 December 1810, r. 47, fr. 319–31, BA; Lt. Col. Antonio Cordero (Governor of Coahuila), Inspection Report, Presidio of La Babia, Valle de Santa Rosa, 22 March 1800, AGS, Guerra Moderna, 7047, 17; and Lt. Col. Antonio Cordero, Inspection Report, Presidio of La Babia, Valle de Santa Rosa, 14 August 1801, AGS, Guerra Moderna, 7047, 19.

9. “Fernando Veramendi,” Handbook of Texas Online, (www.tshaonline.org/handbook). There were at least five children. The two daughters were María Josefa Vicenta Veramendi (b. 1780) and María Josefa de los Dolores Veramendi (b. 1784), half-sisters to the only child from the second marriage, baptized María Antonia Hemecia but who went by the name María Josefa Amondarain.

10. Juan Martín de Amondarain, will. Juan Martín was born to Juan Antonio Amondarain and María Manuela Arriolala in 1760.

11. Juan Martín de Amondarain, will.

12. Petition from citizens of Béxar, Béxar, 1 March 1790, r. 20, fr. 205–16, BA.

13. Juan Martín de Amondarain, will.
14. Amondarain baptismal record, San Fernando de Béxar church baptismal volume B3, p. 1380, as cited by Yolanda Patino, *Index to the San Fernando Church Baptismal Records, 1742–1850* (San Antonio, Tex.: Los Bexaranos Genealogical Society, 2003).
15. María Josefa Granados, will and estate settlement, San Antonio de Béxar, 9 January 1787, file WE-9, Bexar County Spanish Archives, Bexar County Courthouse, San Antonio, Texas.
16. *Ibid.* The three stepsons were José María, Juan Martín, and Fernando Ramón.
17. Donald E. Chipman, “Ugarte y Loyola, Jacobo de,” Handbook of Texas Online (www.tshaonline.org/handbook/online/articles/fugo4).
18. *Juan José de la Santa and Francisco Bueno v. Juan Martín Amondarain*, Villa de San Fernando and Presidio de San Antonio de Béxar, 18 October 1790, r. 20, fr. 733–806, BA.
19. Bernardo Fernández to Manuel Muñoz, San Antonio de Béxar, 20 December 1790, r. 21, fr. 12, BA.
20. Bernardo Fernández to Manuel Muñoz, San Antonio de Béxar, 6 January 1791, r. 21, fr. 98–100, BA.
21. The Conde de Revillagigedo to Manuel Muñoz, Mexico City, 7 August 1792, r. 22, fr. 578, BA.
22. *Juan José de la Santa and Francisco Bueno v. Juan Martín Amondarain*.
23. Manuel Muñoz, proceedings, Villa de San Fernando and Presidio de San Antonio de Béxar, 6 June–21 August 1793, r. 23, fr. 529–35, BA.
24. Pedro de Nava to Manuel Muñoz, Chihuahua, 18 December 1793, r. 24, fr. 118–19, BA.
25. Pedro de Nava to Manuel Muñoz, Chihuahua, 23 October 1794, r. 24, fr. 1012–13, BA.
26. Pedro de Nava to Manuel Muñoz, Chihuahua, 2 January 1795, r. 25, fr. 132–33, BA.
27. *Residents of Texas, 1782–1836* (San Antonio: University of Texas Institute of Texan Cultures, 1984), 1: 65, 82, 122, 241.
28. Juan Martín de Amondarain, will, Saltillo, 11 February 1802, Archivo Municipal de Saltillo [hereafter AMS], Protocolos, Caja 12, Legajo 9, Expediente 2, fojas 3, Saltillo, Mexico.
29. Burial of Juan Martín Amondarain, 13 February 1802, *FamilySearch* (<https://familysearch.org/pal:/MM9.3.1/TH-266-11840-52990-23?cc=1502401>), Saltillo, Sagrario, Defunciones, 1785–1802.
30. Juan Martín Amondarain, will.
31. Some confusion exists over the names of the villages that came together to form the present-day city of San Antonio, Texas. The presidio of San Antonio de Béxar and the mission of San Antonio de Valero were established in 1718. In 1731 families from the Canary Islands founded a new town called San Fernando de Béxar, which became a chartered municipalilty or villa. San Fernando eventually absorbed much of the land that had originally belonged to the settlement associated with the presidio. Jesús F. de la Teja and John Wheat, “Béxar: Profile of a Tejano Community, 1820–1832,” in *Tejano Origins in Eighteenth-Century San Antonio*, ed. Gerald E. Poyo and Gilberto M. Hinojosa (Austin: University of Texas Press for the University of Texas Institute of Texan Cultures at San Antonio, 1991), 2–3; and Jesús F. de la Teja, *San Antonio de Béxar: A Community of New Spain’s Northern Frontier* (Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 1995), 8, 12. Following San Antonio historians Poyo, Hinojosa, and De la Teja, I employ the term “Béxar” to refer to the area in the text. References to specific places cited in the notes have been retained as they appear in the original.

32. Since Juan Martín de Amondarain did not say in his will that his daughter María Josefa was married and because he died in February 1802, it would follow that the marriage took place between that time and about April 1805, nine months before the birth of María Gertrudis Valdés in Béxar.

33. Baptismal record of María Gertrudis Valdés, San Fernando de Béxar parish church baptismal records for 1793–1812, no. 807, 10 November 1806, San Fernando Cathedral, San Antonio, Texas; and Leslie Bergloff, Rick Hendricks, and Cameron L. Saffell, “The Amondarain/Valdés Family” (unpublished manuscript, 14 January 2014).

34. Mariano Varela to Antonio Cordero, Béxar, 29 September 1808, r. 38, fr. 741, BA.

35. Case against Tomás Valdés, accused of being incorrigible; and Tomás Valdés, petition, Béxar, 27 June 1809, r. 38, fr. 455, BA.

36. Bachiller José Clemente Arocha to Manuel de Salcedo, Béxar, 31 August 1809, r. 42, fr. 755–56, BA.

37. Case against Tomás Valdés, accused of being incorrigible.

38. The children were María del Rosario, María Teresa, María de la Concepción, María Leonarda, José Luis, María del Carmen Josefa, José Gabriel, José Francisco, and Dolores (Lolita).

39. Bergloff, Hendricks, and Saffell, “The Amondarain/Valdés Family.”

40. Rex Strickland, *Six Who Came to El Paso: Pioneers of the 1840s* (El Paso: Texas Western Press, 1963), 44 n. 49.

41. “Veramendi, Juan Martín de” and “Coahuila and Texas,” Handbook of Texas Online.

42. David McDonald, *José Antonio Navarro: In Search of the American Dream in Nineteenth-Century Texas* (Denton, Tex.: Texas State Historical Association, 2010), 18. José Antonio Navarro was the builder of the home today known as the Casa Navarro State Historic Site in San Antonio, Texas. James Wiley Magoffin and his daughter Annette Magoffin Dwyer were godparents to several of Navarro’s children. Angie Gerdes, ed., “A Navarro Family Heritage: Their Kith and Kin” (San Antonio, Tex.: privately printed, 1997).

43. Although the term “half cousin” enjoys no standing legally, in Roman Catholic canon law, or for many genealogists, it is a useful way of referring to individuals who share one common grandparent.

44. Steve Gibson, “Descendants of Martin de Veramendi” (2006) (bexargenealogy.com/archives/familyfiles/veramend).

45. Frederick C. Chabot, *With the Makers of San Antonio: Genealogies of the Early Latin, Anglo-American, and German Families . . .* (San Antonio, Tex.: Artes Gráficas, 1937), 54–55.

46. Census of Monclova, Archivo Municipal de Monclova [hereafter AMM], Fondo de Censos, Caja 2 (Censos no capturados), 1823, folio 5, Monclova, Mexico.

47. Lucas Martínez Sánchez, *Alcaldes y cabildos de Monclova, 1585–2007* (Saltillo: Gobinero de Estado de Coahuila, Consejo Editorial del Estado, 2007), 51.

48. Tomás Valdés to Cayetano Villarel, receipt, 1 February 1824, AMM, Siglo XIX, Caja 1 (1822–1824), folder 6; and Sánchez, *Alcaldes y cabildos*, 55.

49. Beginning around the middle of the eighteenth century the Sánchez Navarro family began to acquire property in Coahuila, eventually becoming the largest landholders in Mexico, with more than sixteen million acres. “Sánchez Navarro Collection” (www.lib.utexas.edu/taro/utlac/00076/lac-00076p1).

50. Tomás Valdés to Melchor Sánchez, [Monclova, 1825], box 1, item 3241, Sánchez Navarro Family Papers, 1821–1825, Benson Latin American Collection, University of Texas at Austin General Libraries; and Burial of Tomás Valdés, Monclova, 29 October 1825, *FamilySearch* (<https://familysearch.org/pal:/MM9.3.1/TH-267-11772-22203-14?cc=1502401>), Monclova, Santiago Apóstol, Defunciones, 1814–1842.

51. *Censos de Monclova y Haciendas, San Francisco y San Miguel, San José de Ciénegas de los años 1827, 1828, 1831* (Monclova: Archivo Municipal de Monclova, 2008), 3.

52. List of deaths in cholera epidemic, September 1833, *FamilySearch* (<https://familysearch.org/pal:/MM9.3.1/TH-267-11772-22735-11?cc=1502401>), Monclova, Santiago Apóstol, Defunciones, 1814–1842; and “Bowie, James,” Handbook of Texas Online. Úrsula Bowie died four days before her half-aunt María Josefa Amondarain Valdés.

53. Dr. José León Lobo Guerrero, dispensation, Monterrey, 8 May 1826, Expediente 1758, xix, Parroquia de Santiago Apóstol, Monclova, Coahuila.

54. Marriage of Gertrudis Valdés and Marcos Farías, 18 May 1826, *FamilySearch* (<https://familysearch.org/pal:/MM9.3.1/TH-266-12332-145978-68?cc=1502401>), Monclova, Santiago Apóstol, Matrimonios, 1799–1851. The nature of the impediment remains a mystery.

55. Marriage of Francisco Javier Farías and María Rosa Guajardo, 23 July 1760, *FamilySearch* (<https://familysearch.org/pal:/MM9.3.1/TH-267-11847-92250-52?cc=1502401>), Saltillo, Sagrario, Matrimonios, 1757–1788; and marriage of Francisco Javier Farías and María de los Dolores Ramos, 15 October 1791, *ibid* (<https://familysearch.org/pal:/MM9.3.1/TH-267-11084-111967-16?cc=1502401>), Saltillo, Sagrario, Matrimonios, 1788–1826. The entry incorrectly records Farías’s first wife’s surname as Guzmán. Francisco Javier Farías was the widower of María Rosa Guajardo (whom he married in Saltillo in 1760) when he wed María de los Dolores Ramos in 1791.

56. James Wiley Magoffin and Gertrudis Valdés, 5–19 March 1839, prenuptial investigation, Chihuahua and Durango, r. 313, fr. 606–44, microfilm (Archivos Históricos del Arzobispado de Durango, Mexico); and Marriage investigations of Santiago Magoffin and Gertrudis Valdés, Chihuahua and Durango, 5–19 March 1839, Archives and Special Collections Department, New Mexico State University Library, Las Cruces, New Mexico [hereafter AHAD, NMSU].

57. Sánchez, *Alcaldes y cabildos*, 56.

58. Marcos Farías to the governor of Coahuila y Tejas, Monclova, 17 June 1829, Archivo General del Estado de Coahuila [hereafter AGECE], Fondo Siglo XIX, Caja 6, Follejo 8, Expediente 14, 2 fojas.

59. Baptism of José de Jesús Filomeno Farías Valdés, 5 July 1827, *FamilySearch* (<https://familysearch.org/pal:/MM9.3.1/TH-267-12044-65701-64?cc=1502401>), Monclova, Santiago Apóstol, Bautismos, 1811–1829; Burial of José de Jesús Filomeno Farías Valdés, 8 July 1827, *ibid* (<https://familysearch.org/pal:/MM9.3.1/TH-267-11772-21451-36?cc=1502401>), Monclova, Santiago Apóstol, Defunciones, 1814–1842; Baptism of María Josefa Farías Valdés, 12 January 1829, *ibid* (<https://familysearch.org/pal:/MM9.3.1/TH-266-12043-157097-92?cc=1502401>), Monclova, Santiago Apóstol, Bautismos, 1819–1842; Baptism of José de Jesús Pascual Farías Valdés, 18 May 1830, *ibid* (<https://familysearch.org/pal:/MM9.3.1/TH-266-12043-159139-95?cc=1502401>), Monclova, Santiago Apóstol, Bautismos, 1819–1842; and Baptism of José Manuel Romano Fortín Fernando de Jesús Farías Valdés, 12 August 1832, *ibid* (<https://familysearch.org/pal:/MM9.3.1/TH-266-11593-8345-96?cc=1521780>) Chihuahua, Sagrario, Bautismos, 1827–1836. José de Jesús Filomeno was

born in Monclova on 4 July 1827, baptized the following day, and buried on 8 July. María Josefa was born in Monclova on 10 January 1829 and baptized two days later. José de Jesús Pascual was baptized in Monclova on 18 May 1830. José Manuel Romano Fortín Fernando de Jesús was born on 8 August 1832 in Chihuahua and baptized four days later.

60. Santiago Magoffin, list of personal property, Cuatrociénegas, 16 April 1827; Juan Nepomuceno de la Garza to the governor of Coahuila y Tejas, Cuatrociénegas, 12 May 1827, AGEC, Fondo Siglo XIX, Caja3, Follejo 7, Expediente 11, 4 fojas; and Timmons, *James Wiley Magoffin*, 11–12.

61. J. Antonio Tijerine, report, Cuatrociénegas, 24 March 1830, AMM, Tabacos (1822–1837), Caja 7, Folder 3.

62. James Wiley Magoffin to Samuel Magoffin, 3 December 1832, Magoffin Papers, Magoffin Home State Historic Site, El Paso, Texas [hereafter MP] (transcript printed in Timmons, *James Wiley Magoffin*, 96–97); and James Wiley Magoffin and Gertrudis Valdés, prenuptial investigation.

63. . James Wiley Magoffin to Samuel Magoffin, 3 December 1832, cited in Timmons, *James Wiley Magoffin*, 29.

64. Hendricks, “The Marriages of James Wiley Magoffin,” 65–79; and Santiago Magoffin and Gertrudis Valdés, 5 March 1839, Petition, Chihuahua, r. 397, fr. 257, AHAD, NMSU. Robert D. Martinez, assistant state historian of New Mexico, kindly provided assistance with the sacramental records from Catholic Church sources.

65. Magoffin gave false testimony that he was a Roman Catholic in 1837 when he was a witness during the premarital investigations of Francisco Hauffen, a professor of medicine and native of Prussia, and María Amada Moulia, a native of the island Santo Domingo. Marriage investigation of Francisco Hauffen and María Amada Moulia, Chihuahua, 28 October 1837, AHAD, r. 531, fr. 253–54.

66. *Ibid.*

67. Hendricks, “Marriages of James Wiley Magoffin,” 69–70.

68. Santiago Magoffin, statement, Chihuahua, 5 March 1839, AHAD, r. 397, fr. 258.

69. Gertrudis Valdés, statement, Chihuahua, 5 March 1839, AHAD, r. 397, fr. 258.

70. *Ibid.*

71. José Blanco, statement, Chihuahua, 5 March 1839, AHAD, r. 397, fr. 258.

72. Carlos Macrey, statement, Chihuahua, 5 March 1839, AHAD, r. 397, fr. 258–59.

73. Juan Patton, statement, Chihuahua, 5 March 1839, AHAD, r. 397, fr. 259.

74. Juan José Baca, report, Chihuahua, 5 March 1839, AHAD, r. 397, fr. 259–60.

75. José Tomás Rivera and Juan Rafael Rascón, dispensations, Durango, 18 March 1839, AHAD, r. 397, fr. 260–62.

76. Baptism of Santiago Magoffin, 31 March 1839, *FamilySearch* (<https://familysearch.org/pal:/MM9.3.1/TH-266-12568-53161-95?cc=1521780>), Chihuahua, Sagrario, Bautismos, 1836–1843.

77. Baptism of Santiago Agapito Cosme Magoffin Valdés, Chihuahua, 27 September 1840, *ibid* (<https://familysearch.org/pal:/MM9.3.1/TH-266-12568-51705-89?cc=1521780>), Chihuahua, Sagrario, Bautismos, 1836–1843.

78. Baptism of María Gertrudis Petra de Jesús Magoffin Valdés, Chihuahua, 27 October 1842, *ibid* (<https://familysearch.org/pal:/MM9.3.1/TH-266-12568-52677-72?cc=1521780>), Chihuahua, Sagrario, Bautismos, 1836–1843.

79. Handbook of Texas Online, s.v. “Magoffin, Joseph,” (<http://www.tsha.utexas.edu/handbook/online/articles/view/MM/fma14.html>); and www.tpwd.state.tx.us/park/magoffin/).

80. Mary Kay Shannon, Site Manager the Magoffin Home State Historic Site, personal communication, 22 February 2005.

81. Bergloff, Hendricks, and Saffell, “Amondarain/Valdés Family.”

82. Timmons, *James Wiley Magoffin*, 29.

83. *Ibid.*

84. *Ibid.*, 45.

85. *Ibid.*, 49.

86. The copy is torn. Unsigned column, page 2, column 2, (*San Antonio*) *Western Texan*, 19 September 1850, Barker Collection, University of Texas Libraries, The University of Texas at Austin. Thanks to Adán Benavides for kindly providing a copy of this item. Charles A. Hoppin was elected chief justice of El Paso County on 4 March 1850. On 20 August 1850, just three days after he married James Wiley and Dolores, Hoppin was replaced as chief justice, a position later called county judge. W. H. Timmons, *El Paso: A Borderlands History*, 2d ed. (El Paso: Texas Western Press, 2004), 141–42.

87. Catholic Encyclopedia, s.v. Affinity (in Canon Law) (www.newadvent.org/cathen/).

88. Catholic Encyclopedia, s.v. Dispensations, www.newadvent.org/cathen/.

89. Draft of a supplica on behalf of Jacobus Magoffin, Durango, 22 April 1853, AHAD, r. 313, fr. 606–607.

90. Ramón Ortiz to Dr. José Antonio Zubiría, El Paso, 11 May 1854, AHAD, r. 315, fr. 277–81.

91. Handbook of Texas Online, s.v. “El Paso, Catholic Diocese of” (<http://www.tsha.utexas.edu/handbook/online/articles/view/EE/ice1.html>).

92. Socorro, Parish Registers, 1840–1862, LDS microfilm, 0025372; San Elizario Marriages, 1845–1956, LDS microfilm, 0025370; and Ysleta Baptisms, marriages, and burials, 1845–1858, LDS microfilm, 0025532.

93. Bergloff, Hendricks, and Saffell, “Amondarain/Valdés Family.”

94. Dolores V. de Magoffin to don Luis Valdés, El Paso del Norte, 14 July 1862, r. 64, fr. 2–3 microfilm, Archivos del Ayuntamiento del Ciudad Juárez, MF495, C. L. Sonnichsen Special Collections Department, University of Texas at El Paso, El Paso, Texas [hereafter UTEP]; Timmons, *James Wiley Magoffin*, 82–83; Chamizal Arbitration: Appendix to the Case of the United States Before the International Boundary Commission, vol. 1 (Washington, D.C.: GPO, 1911), 126; James W. Magoffin to Joseph Magoffin, Deed Book C, P 476 (Transcribed Deed Book B, P 317); and Dolores Magoffin to Joseph Magoffin, Deed Book E, P 59, El Paso County Clerk’s Office, El Paso, Texas.

95. Frank Louis Halla Jr., “El Paso, Texas, and Juárez, Mexico: A Study of a Bi-Ethnic Community, 1846–1881” (PhD diss., University of Texas at Austin, 1978), 327–29; Edwina Antonia Clark, “Rails to Chihuahua: A Letter from Edwin Lyon Dean, September 22, 1882,” *Southwestern Historical Quarterly* 107, no. 1 (2003): 98–99; and Jim Magoffin to Josephine Magoffin, 27 April 1890, MP.

96. Death record for Dolores Valdés de Magoffin, 16 August 1892, *FamilySearch* (<https://familysearch.org/pal:/MM9.3.1/TH-1942-21812-31822-62?cc=1922462>), Juárez, Chihuahua, Mexico, Civil Registration, Juárez, Defunciones, 1868–1894.

97. Timmons, *James Wiley Magoffin*, 31; and 1860 Census, Magoffinsville, El Paso County, Texas.

98. Zenas R. Bliss, *The Reminiscences of Major General Zenas R. Bliss, 1854–1876: From the Texas Frontier to the Civil War and Back Again* (Austin: Texas State Historical Association, 2007), 146, 185–86; and Bergloff, Hendricks, and Saffell, “Amondarain/Valdés Family.”

99. Bliss, *Reminiscences*, 230; Gabriel Valdés file, Confederate Papers Relating to Citizens or Business Firms, 1861–65, Microfilm 346, Record Group 109, National Archives and Records Administration, Washington, D.C. [hereafter NA]; and News item on Death of Gabriel Valdés, *Denison (Tex.) Daily News*, 6 January 1878.

100. *Denison (Tex.) Daily News*, 6 January 1878; “Murder of Gabriel Valdés by Indians,” *Mesilla Valley (Mesilla, N.Mex.) Independent*, 29 December 1877; and “Hostile Actions—A Complete List Recorded 1854–1891 by the U.S. Army at Fort Davis, Texas,” (<https://www.nps.gov/search/?affiliate=nps&query=hostile+actions&sitelimit=nps.gov%2Ffoda>). Bass Canyon is on the road west of Van Horn’s Well to Sierra Blanca; the site is about fifteen or twenty miles southwest of present-day Van Horn, Texas.

101. Magoffinsville, El Paso County, Texas, Federal Census, 13 June 1860, r. 1293, microfilm, (Washington, D.C.: National Archives and Record Service, 1867), *Eighth Census of the United States*, microcopy 653, National Archives Microfilm Publications, Records of the Bureau of the Census, RG 29, NA.

102. Baptism of Fernando Valdés, 15 October 1861, *FamilySearch* (<https://familysearch.org/pal:/MM9.3.1/TH-267-12166-14685-19?cc=1521780>), Juárez, Nuestra Señora de Guadalupe, Bautismos, 1861–1875; and Baptism of Gabriela Valdés, 24 January 1863, *ibid* (<https://familysearch.org/pal:/MM9.3.1/TH-267-12166-13007-49?cc=1521780>), Juárez, Nuestra Señora de Guadalupe, Bautismos, 1861–1875. Fernando was baptized on 15 October 1861 (having been born eleven days earlier), and Gabriela was baptized on 24 January 1863. Death record for Gabriel Valdés, 26 March 1878, *ibid* (<https://familysearch.org/pal:/MM9.3.1/TH-1951-21812-27826-82?cc=1922462>), Chihuahua, Civil Registration, Juárez, Defunciones, 1868–1894. Gabriel’s death record stated that he had two sons, ages seventeen and fourteen, but this is probably an error.

103. *Lexington (Mo.) Express*, 15 July 1845. The wedding took place on 15 July 1845.

104. Rex W. Strickland, *El Paso in 1854* (El Paso: Texas Western Press, 1969), 11.

105. Death record for Carmen Valdés de Layton [*sic*], 28 June 1871, *FamilySearch* (<https://familysearch.org/pal:/MM9.3.1/TH-1942-21812-29202-23?cc=1922462>), Chihuahua, Civil Registration, Juárez, Defunciones, 1868–1994.

106. Bergloff, Hendricks, and Saffell, “Amondarain/Valdés Family”; Laura Hollingshead, “Guide to MS 341 Stephenson-Flores Family Papers,” UTEP Special Collections, 2009; Hilda Kern (donor of the UTEP collection) to Leslie Bergloff and Cameron L. Saffell, personal communication, June 2010; and Cecilo Napoles, untitled and undated newspaper clipping from *El Paso (Tex.) Times* (ca. 1905) and José María Flores obituary, [*El Paso (Tex.) Times*], 23 September 1916, Box 4, Folder 20, Stephenson-Flores Family Papers, MS 341, UTEP.

107. Hollingshead, “Guide to MS 341 Stephenson-Flores Family Papers”; Hilda Kern (donor of the UTEP collection) to Leslie Bergloff and Cameron L. Saffell, personal communication, June 2010; and Cecilo Napoles, untitled and undated newspaper clipping from *El Paso (Tex.) Times* (ca. 1905) and José María Flores obituary, [*El Paso (Tex.) Times*], 23 September 1916, Box 4, Folder 20, Stephenson-Flores Family Papers, MS 341, UTEP.

108. Bergloff, Hendricks, and Saffell, "Amondarain/Valdés Family."
109. Timmons, *James Wiley Magoffin*, 82–83.
110. Death record for Luis Valdés, 26 August 1875, *FamilySearch* (<https://familysearch.org/pal:/MM9.3.1/TH-1942-21812-28037-64?cc=1922462>), Chihuahua, Civil Registration, 1861–1997; Juárez, Defunciones, 1868–1894. When Luis Valdés died on 15 August 1875, his age was given as fifty-seven. The surviving children as listed were: Manuel, thirty-five; Martín, twenty-five; Marcial, twenty-three; Tomás, seventeen; and Angelita, eleven.
111. "Hon. M. Valdez," *Rio Grande (Las Cruces, N.Mex.) Republican*, 1 September 1912.
112. Doña Ana County, New Mexico Early Marriages (genealogytrails.com/newmex/donaana/early_marriages).
113. The children were: Marcial Jr, Manuel, Luis, Carlota, Aurora, and Anita. Doña Ana County, New Mexico, Precinct 3, 6 October 1920, Federal Census.
114. "Hon. M. Valdez," *Rio Grande (Las Cruces, N.Mex.) Republican*, 1 September 1912.
115. A. Gabriel Meléndez, "Contesting Social and Historical Erasure: Membership in La Prensa Asociada Hispano Americana," in *Nuevomexicano Cultural Legacy: Forms, Agencies, and Discourse*, eds. Francisco A. Lomelí, Victor A. Sorell, and Genaro M. Padilla (Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 2012), 29; and *Daily Times* (Las Cruces, N.Mex.), (chroniclingamerica.loc.gov/lccn/sn87056972).
116. "Hon. M. Valdez," *Rio Grande (Las Cruces, N.Mex.) Republican*, 1 September 1921.
117. Timmons, *James Wiley Magoffin*, 49–50.
118. Handbook of Texas Online, s.v. "Magoffin, Joseph."

