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From Traders to Traitors? The Armijo Brothers Through the Nineteenth Century

SUSAN V. RICHARDS

Exuding power, his clothing a testimony to wealth, he strolled across the sun-drenched plaza with the confident gait of one born to the manor, prepared to conclude a most auspicious deal. The crisp, clean air of the February morning added to the excitement Rafael Armijo felt as he anticipated the culmination of this deal. The deal was not unusual; an exchange of goods for money, with credit terms to the debtor. It was not unusual even in the provision for debt peonage of one of the debtors, a common practice in New Mexico from the earliest colonial days. The extraordinary aspect of this transaction was its transfer of indebtedness from husband to wife, who would bear full responsibility for repayment of the debt with "her personal services" to Don Rafael.¹

This agreement would have appeared extraordinary to most New Mexican men of wealth, power, and position in 1855, the year of its fabrication. *Los ricos*, a societal class of men who controlled politics and exerted the most influence on the commerce of New Mexico, had no need of formalized commercial or legal transactions to obtain sexual favors outside of marriage, or to insure service from *los pobres*. These activities were governed by time-honored traditions established with the first Spaniards who settled New Mexico in 1598. Spanish traditions became entrenched in the life of New Mexico through the long colonial period, and remained rooted during the Mexican period, which commenced with Mexico's independence from Spain. The Spanish-derived population of the state functioned under the traditions, mores, laws, regulations, and religious beliefs that were understood, if not accepted, by everyone.

Susan V. Richards received a masters degree from the Latin American Institute of the University of New Mexico and is currently a doctoral student in history at UNM.

The greatest threat to the *rico* way of life came not from the roving Indians, whose regular attacks and raids gave everyone, including the Pueblo Indians, daily cause for vigilance, but from the North Americans, that eager, forceful band of men whose ambition seemed to have no bounds. It was the North Americans who challenged the establishment of New Mexico, with their new laws and ideas, their inventions and attitudes.

The North Americans as anathema was an attitude cultivated by Spain through the officials of the Viceroyalty of New Spain in Mexico City. The continuation of Spain's colonial empire as a cash cow to the crown depended on severe trade restrictions between the colonies and foreign interests. In the Viceroyalty of New Spain, this translated to a virtual isolation of commercial interests, wherein trade was a domestic function of the viceroyalty. Whatever New Mexico did not produce it acquired from Mexico, and those acquisitions were not plentiful, varied, timely, or inexpensive. Such was the state of affairs from the days of the supply service to the New Mexico missions by the Franciscan priests during the seventeenth century, with little improvement apparent following the commercialization of the transportation system.² A coalition of merchants in Chihuahua became the monopolists of the trade with New Mexico, exercising tyrannical control over prices, credit, supply, and specie.³ To the colonists of the northern frontier of New Spain, the independence of Mexico from Spain in 1821 brought welcome and tangible relief to their meager and strenuous lives. Shortly after the Mexican government lifted restrictions against international commerce, the Americans penetrated New Mexico via the Santa Fe Trail and found an enthusiastic market for their goods. New Mexicans encouraged the trade; in addition to providing a more affordable variety of goods than Chihuahua offered, the trade endowed government coffers with a much needed infusion of cash through tariffs and taxes.⁴ The territory did not lack for its own entrepreneurs, and New Mexicans took part in the trade as soon as wagons, heretofore unavailable, could be procured cheaply.⁵ The volume of trade increased dramatically each year, as traders from both countries experienced market growth and satisfactory business relationships with each other. That satisfaction was short-lived as New Mexicans became suspicious of the Anglos, whose trappers eluded license fees and customs duties. The Americans, on the other hand, were incensed by protectionist policies on land ownership and tariffs. By 1827, the mutually agreeable relationship had disintegrated to mutual exploitation.⁶

The American traders witnessed the saturation of New Mexico with their goods by 1825, and turned their sights southward to Mexico, especially Chihuahua. This market was more lucrative than New Mexico's, but it required access via the Camino Real, and so assured further con-

tact with New Mexicans, with whom the Anglos began to intermarry. The assumption of Mexican citizenship along with intermarriage produced a class of Anglo men who were able to enjoy the benefits of land ownership and reduced taxation. Many of these men retained loyalty to the United States and became the political underpinnings on which the territory became American in 1846 and adopted the Union cause during the Civil War.

During the nineteenth century in New Mexico, profound social, political, and economic changes occurred. From the isolation of the Spanish period to a target of America's manifest destiny in less than fifty years, New Mexicans living through the period must have been reeling in amazement. There was no time to digest it all, though, because the next fifty years continued to produce far-reaching events of equally dramatic import. New Mexico men of the nineteenth century saw their world turned upside down during their lifetimes. Men like Rafael and Manuel Armijo, whose lives from the moment of their births during the Spanish period were interwoven with the political, economic, and social fabric of New Mexico, witnessed the total abrogation of their world order before their deaths during the American territorial period.

Individual men attempting to keep pace with the changes of the nineteenth century faced an era of dilemmas, one requiring continual choosing between options that challenged the status quo, with the consequences not always immediately apparent. The sheer number of choices to be made as the New Mexico world order shifted was daunting, and suggested the mathematical improbability of making all choices to the best advantage. Because Rafael and Manuel Armijo did not always make their choices in step with the New Mexicans of power, position, and wealth, they endured a different set of personal consequences than their peers, while subsisting with the identical societal consequences of the communal choices.

The Armijo family is steeped in the tradition of trading. The will of the first New Mexican Armijo, Vicente Ferrer Durán de Armijo, is dated 1743 and includes a list of assets such as fifteen mules and sixteen pack saddles "with all necessary equipment," undoubtedly used for trading on the Chihuahuá trail. Vicente's will is also a settlement of accounts with various creditors, such as one Pedro de Almoyna, a merchant of Chihuahua, to whom he owed 345 pesos, and debtors of goods and currency.⁷ His father, José de Armijo, was from Zacatecas, which Vicente considered his native place throughout his life. During his life in Santa Fe, he married María de Apodaca and raised three sons, all named Salvador Manuel, and who were differentiated by their birth order as *el primero*, *el segundo*, and *el tercero*.

It was Salvador Manuel, *el segundo*, who founded the Albuquerque branch of the family with his twelve children by Francisca Alfonsa Lucero de Godoy and accumulated the first Armijo wealth. Their eldest, Vicente Ferrer broke the class barrier constructed of a mestizo bloodline with his marriage to Barbara Casilda Durán y Chávez, of the wealthy and important Chávez clan. The issue of their marriage, numbering fifteen, became the basis for the ubiquitous Armijo presence in politics and society throughout the nineteenth century and beyond.

Sons of Vicente and Barbara served Albuquerque as alcalde, participated in trade over the Santa Fe and Chihuahua trails, and held titles as officers in the militia.⁸ The most famous son, Manuel, claimed the office of governor of New Mexico three times. An older brother of Manuel, José Francisco, was the father of Rafael and Manuel, the two subjects of this investigation, through his rocky marriage to Rosalia Mestas in 1801.⁹ Known as "El Colorado,"¹⁰ José Francisco served as commander of the Second Squadron of the militia of Albuquerque in 1819, a cavalry corps controlled by rico officers.¹¹ Manuel's birth in 1810 was about five years earlier than Rafael's, and although there were other siblings between them, these two developed a personal and business relationship that would last their lifetimes.¹² The Albuquerque community referred to them as "Los Lillos," and considered them a unit for the most part.¹³ Growing up in the early years of the Mexican period, they saw the vast potential of trading with the Americans, while having experienced the material advantages of their class by trading with Chihuahua. As ricos, such goods as metal and leatherwork, laces, silks, and other fine fabrics, and painted furniture were affordable and available through the Mexican trade network.¹⁴ Rafael and Manuel became full-fledged mercantile capitalists, successful to the extent of having the largest store of goods in Albuquerque during the 1850s.¹⁵

Albuquerque was not their only venue; however, they expanded their business to Doña Ana County with stores at La Mesilla and Las Cruces. Rafael preferred Doña Ana County; he was a resident there from 1852–1859, and again from 1867–1881. During those years, he left the management of the Albuquerque business to Manuel.¹⁶ His eight-year absence from southern New Mexico had two catalysts: the first, the influence his mother, Rosalia, brought to bear on Rafael's wife, Gregoria Trujillo, to whom Rosalia offered ownership of her own Albuquerque house and land, if only she and Rafael would "take up their residence in Albuquerque" and second, the consequence of choosing to support the Confederates during the Civil War.¹⁷

As men of wealth, their fortunes did not lie solely in merchandise. Manuel and Rafael had extensive landholdings for their stores, crops, and herds, including the Sitio de Navajo land grant of 100,000 acres, which they purchased in 1850 for twenty-five thousand dollars.¹⁸ Such

a huge piece of property would have been valuable for grazing their herds. Sheep herding had long been a lucrative occupation, due to the intrinsic value of the animals themselves and of the wool as barter. Los Lillos owned houses in Bernalillo and Doña Ana Counties for themselves and their families, as well as rental properties. They made identical declarations of assets to the census taker in 1860, each claiming fourteen thousand dollars in real estate and sixty thousand dollars in personal property. Rafael also listed an extensive household, including twenty-two servants, seven of them Indian.¹⁹

The only poverty experienced by the brothers was that of progeny. Late in life, Manuel, with his wife María Luz López, adopted three children; the first, Pedro, was born in 1862.²⁰ In a curious twist of fate, Rafael and Gregoria each produced offspring, but they produced none together.²¹ Heirs to his estate were Gregoria and Juana Armijo de Hill, his adopted daughter.²²

Like most men of the Spanish upper class, Manuel and Rafael took seriously their civic responsibilities as active politicians. Manuel represented Bernalillo County at the Territorial convention in 1849²³ and was part of the 1874 Democratic committee from the county to elect delegates to the party convention.²⁴ Bernalillo County was represented in Santa Fe in the legislature by Rafael during 1847 and 1853. He also served as the county's probate judge in 1853²⁵ and regained the position in 1861 following a hotly contested election in October 1859.²⁶ During the years 1848–1850, Rafael exercised his influence in local politics, writing to Governor Donaciano Vigil regarding the elections of *alcaldes* in 1850, legal action taken by a particular *alcalde*, and a recommendation for the Valencia *alcalde*.²⁷

New Mexicans were accustomed to remote supervision. Having been ruled by the Spanish crown through Mexico City and later by Mexico City itself, the shift of authority to Washington, D.C. maintained the same safe distance from the watchful eyes of a central government New Mexicans had always enjoyed. The tasks of governance had been adapted to the idiosyncracies of the people and the place; whatever support of regulatory directives were lacking, New Mexicans devised a method to sustain political and social order. On a day-to-day basis, a New Mexican's most important extra-familial relationship was that with the local government, followed by the state.

As *ricos*, Manuel and Rafael had learned the system from the cradle and participated in it as suited their station in life. They were certainly aware of political developments beyond New Mexico, but the remoteness of those developments, and their true vocations as merchants created a buffer for the impact of most national decisions. Not even the

Armijo brothers could ignore or escape the national crisis of the Civil War. As with all Americans of the time, the Civil War came home to Los Lillos, to live with them and to transform their way of life.

The Civil War came to New Mexico in the person of General Henry Hopkins Sibley in 1862 at the battle of Valverde. The Union had been recruiting New Mexicans for about a year prior to Sibley's march up from Texas under the Confederate flag, and had succeeded in enlisting 2,800 New Mexicans.²⁸ The task of recruiting volunteers was made difficult by the lack of money, supplies, and ammunition, and citizens were required to place their arms, ammunition, and food supplies at the disposal of the officers. Any refusal to sell at the Army's price resulted in confiscation.²⁹ The Union's Colonel Edward R.S. Canby, aware that Confederate troops loomed ever closer, pressured men into service beginning in February 1862. One of the draftees, Manuel Armijo, fought the battle of Valverde under the Union flag.³⁰

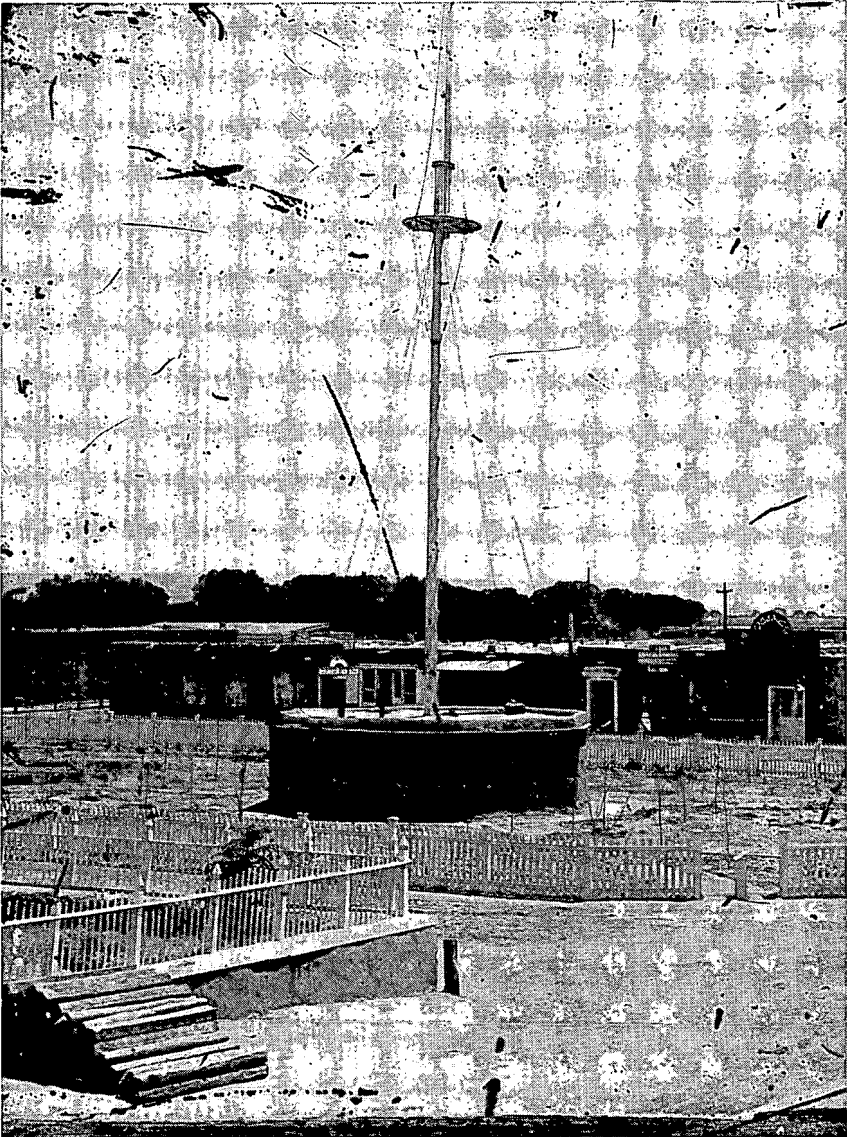
That experience was sufficient to convince Manuel, with his brother, Rafael, to adopt the Confederate cause. When Sibley, flushed with victory, rode into Albuquerque, it was alleged that Los Lillos

engaged in aiding and abetting said armed rebellion by buying, selling, giving, trading and trafficking to and with, and by furnishing counsel, personal service, and supplies of all kinds to the persons therein engaged.³¹

The Confederates enjoyed the bounty of the best stocked mercantile in Albuquerque, while General Sibley enjoyed the comforts of Rafael's home.³² Their experience of the good life was short-lived, however, as successive defeats caused Sibley to retreat from New Mexico two months later, with his civilian supporters as company. Manuel and Rafael left behind the businesses they had cultivated, the land they had cherished, and the power and respect they had commanded, taking only their families and a few personal possessions to safety. The land of Texas, a contemptible place to most New Mexicans, became home to Rafael, and Manuel reportedly set out for Richmond.

Rafael remained in San Antonio for four years where he is reputed to have made and lost another fortune in property and a treasure of "\$40,000 in gold coin and three large demijohns filled with gold dust, estimated to be worth a great deal of money."³³ Manuel's whereabouts and activities during the exile years remain unknown.

The United States Marshal, Abraham Cutler, began seizing the property of Southern sympathizers³⁴ with diligence and haste, and in the case of the Armijo brothers, before arrest warrants were even issued.³⁵ A long series of lawsuits against their property ensued; their creditors claims were published in the *Rio Abajo Weekly*. Such claimants included



Old town plaza guardhouse with 121-foot high flagpole, erected 1860s by the United States Army, torn down 1900, c. 1880. Cobb Studio collection, photo courtesy Albuquerque Museum. Negative number 1990.013-043.

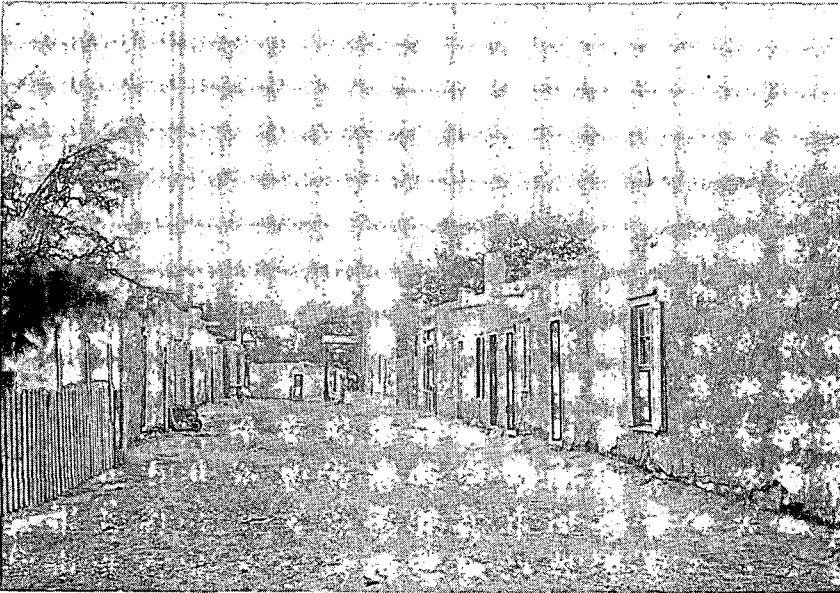
Lipman Meyer (\$4,050.10), Luis Baca (\$9,061.47), and William Vau (\$343.75 and \$1,044.75). Anger against the brothers came from all quarters; their cousins Cristóbal and Ambrosio Armijo posted securities for the plaintiffs in two of those cases and Salvador Armijo agreed to testify for the government at the treason trials.³⁶

The first Armijo property to reach the auction block was Rafael's holdings in Doña Ana County on 13 April 1863. The marshal posted for sale that day a store, four houses, five lots, one with a mortgage of one-hundred sixty dollars, and "certain goods, wares, merchandise, and effects."³⁷ The auction of their Albuquerque property, including two stores, two houses, nine tracts of land, some with fences or corrals, and one with a flour mill, followed much later, in June 1864. This auction produced some reluctance on the part of the bidders and the judge due to family connections, and some property remained unsold.³⁸

This property retribution was followed, one year later, by the cessation of the Civil War, with the Union as victor. Texas was no longer safe haven for Southern sympathizers; one was better off near powerful family and influential friends. Rafael and Manuel Armijo returned to the Territory of New Mexico in June 1866,³⁹ having taken the oath of allegiance to the United States in April.⁴⁰ The only threat remaining was the standing indictment for treason against the United States. Like most of the other cases, these were withdrawn; the prosecutor citing lack of evidence.⁴¹

So began the reintegration of Rafael and Manuel Armijo. Rafael re-established his residence in Doña Ana County; Manuel returned to Albuquerque. The next several years were filled with rebuilding their businesses and relationships and were replete with lawsuits to recover their property and wealth. One such suit, filed in June 1867 in Doña Ana County, sought compensation from Reyes Escontrías, an agent/employee who was paid fifty dollars per month.⁴² The brothers charged that Escontrías, most likely a livestock agent, had absconded with a sizeable amount of Armijo property. Six years later, a jury decided in favor of the Armijos and assessed damages at \$178,201.38.⁴³

Letters between the brothers during the 1870s indicate that Manuel was spearheading their recovery. Manuel sent a power of attorney document to Rafael in Las Cruces, suggesting he sign it, and in an enclosed letter updated him on negotiations to obtain certain documents of importance to them, and that one of their intermediaries was demanding three thousand pesos to surrender the documents.⁴⁴ In 1880, Rafael failed to keep an appointment in Albuquerque on a similar matter, and wrote to his brother of his illnesses and those of his wife. He requested that Manuel send him five-hundred pesos to pay the doctor and have patience with him.⁴⁵



Street in Old Albuquerque, c. 1890. Cobbs Studio. Photo courtesy Center for Southwest Research, General Library, University of New Mexico. Negative number 000-119-0586.

Having regained his health by the time of Manuel's death in 1881, Rafael undertook the management of the business in Albuquerque. He discovered his nephew, Francisco Armijo y Otero using a large tract of land bought by Los Lillos in the 1850s, and apparently not auctioned off in 1864. Francisco was in the process of selling lots from this property, in cooperation with his cousin, Perfecto Armijo, after whom the subdivision was named. Rafael took this matter to the courts, claiming that the property belonged to him following his brother's death. Francisco responded by producing a document signed by Manuel Armijo and his wife, Luz, which transferred their interest in the property to him, and dated 25 March 1857. Rafael attacked with charges of forgery; Francisco responded with charges of fiduciary incompetence and irresponsibility in the matter of his father's estate, of which Rafael was the administrator. He charged that as guardian, Rafael "wasted, squandered and misappropriated" the considerable wealth of Vicente Armijo, and never provided the requisite accounting. The court found the whole case distasteful and the legal issues murky, and to avoid any further familial repercussions, awarded half of the lot sale proceeds to Rafael—\$4,790.⁴⁶

The refurbishing of Los Lillos' image was complete in August 1883 when the *Santa Fe New Mexican Review* published an article reporting on the suit Rafael Armijo had just filed against the United States for property lost during the Civil War. The writer smoothed over the brothers' contributions to the rebels as being required, and they, without alternative. It sadly recounts their inability to collect bills from the Con-

federacy, and Rafael's tragic loss of fortune in San Antonio at the hands of a thief. It is a first-rate article of reconciliation, one no doubt welcomed most gratefully by Rafael, who was a Southern sympathizer not out of threat or requirement, but out of a lifelong entrenchment in a society of haves and have-nots.

The have-nots of New Mexico included the vast group of landless poor who provided labor and services to the gentry. These peones took their remuneration in cash or goods, frequently in advance of performing the agreed-upon work. More often than not, this created a debt situation for the peon, in which more labor had been paid than delivered, necessitating a continuing cycle of labor for debt. Although an individual was not institutionally condemned to debt peonage and could retire the debt or move to another employer, at least theoretically, the peon had very little opportunity to improve the economic reality of life. This class of labor was never scarce, making the privileged life of the ricos possible. After Rafael lost his New Mexico property, fortune, and peons, he sought to re-create that life in San Antonio. Along with property, Rafael needed cheap labor to realize that lost way of life. The availability of slaves in San Antonio contributed to Rafael's reemergence during his four-year exile. He purchased slaves as his needs grew: in March 1864, a family of five; in April 1865, a family of four, and two other black slaves in separate transactions.⁴⁷

Rafael had no affinity for the Americans; he preferred his Spanish heritage as expressed in New Mexico and declared that preference by choosing to live most of his adult life near the Mexican border in Las Cruces and by backing the wrong side during the Civil War.

The social history of the New Mexican people, both rich and poor, during the nineteenth century remains open for much more research. It offers a fascinating milieu to the researcher interested in the cultural adaptation process during periods of profound and rapid change.

The Mexican period is especially ripe for the interpretations of historians. Little is written about that period in New Mexico or about the social and political connections between Mexico and her northern territory, although it is engrossing to speculate on relationships in a time when there was no international border between them.⁴⁸ Some members of the Armijo family owned residences in and around Chihuahua and travelled frequently between New Mexico's towns and Mexico during both the Mexican period and the American territorial period.

As for the Armijo brothers, there is more to be known about their lives in exile and how their experience compares to the circumstances of the other Southern sympathizers from New Mexico. Did they all make such spectacular recoveries after the war? And how do their legal claims and results stack up against those of rebels from other states? For now, only the archives know.

NOTES

1. *Dolores Gallegos v. Rafael Armijo*. U.S. Territorial District Court, Valencia County, 1859, New Mexico. New Mexico State Records Center and Archives, Santa Fe, New Mexico (hereafter cited as NMSRCA). Gregoria Trujillo also obtained a salary of five hundred pesos per month and "the clothes of a señora" in this agreement. Rafael Armijo received, in addition to Gregoria's personal services, a house and property valued a six hundred pesos and 3,516 pesos in cash. The remaining debt assumed by Gregoria totalled 12,295 pesos. When Dolores Gallegos petitioned the court for divorce from Gregoria nine months after this agreement was made, he was free of debt to Rafael Armijo, but remained his employee in Las Cruces. Gregoria Trujillo married Rafael Armijo in 1857, an arrangement with obvious financial and social advantages. The considerable debt accrued by Dolores Gallegos was possible as the result of the common practice in which certain work was contracted by an employer, who paid the worker in advance for the job. By either not completing the job as agreed upon or by "borrowing" additional funds or goods from the employer, the worker was disposed toward spiraling debt.

2. France V. Scholes, "The Supply Service of the New Mexican Missions in the Seventeenth Century," *New Mexico Historical Review* 5 (1930), 93-115, 186-210, 386-404.

3. Marc Simmons, trans. and ed., *Father Juan Agustin de Morfi's Account of Disorders in New Mexico, 1778* (Isleta Pueblo, New Mexico: Historical Society of New Mexico, 1977), 18-19. A fond familial portrait of trade and service-oriented career tracks appears in Edmundo Delgado, "A Spanish Ranker in New Mexico: Captain Manuel Delgado of Santa Fe, 1738-1815," *New Mexico Historical Review* 66 (1991), 1-13.

4. Daniel Tyler, "Anglo-American Penetration of the Southwest: The View from New Mexico," *Southwestern Historical Quarterly* 75 (1971-72), 330.

5. Byron A. Johnson, "El Camino Real and the Santa Fe Trail" (manuscript, Albuquerque Museum, Albuquerque, New Mexico, 1981), 13.

6. Tyler, "Anglo-American Penetration," 331.

7. The will of Vicente Ferrer Durán de Armijo, Santa Fe, 1743, Spanish Archives of New Mexico Series I, reel 1, frames 246-51 (hereafter cited as SANM), NMSRCA.

8. Marc Simmons, *Albuquerque: A Narrative History* (Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 1982), 133. Familial participation in mercantile, military, and political activities was a regular feature of colonial life. Captain Manuel Delgado's distinguished military career was the primary occupation that set in motion mercantile and political activities for himself and his offspring in New Mexico. See Delgado, "A Spanish Ranker in New Mexico."

9. Case Against Francisco Armijo, SANM Series I, reel 18, frames 579-604. This legal case relates a story involving Rosalia Mestas, José Francisco Armijo y Otero and his mother-in-law, Maria Antonia Durán, and a night of domestic violence involving a sabre, a knife, and "*malas palabras*." The cause of the row was Francisco's misinterpretation of an innocent act of kindness by another man toward Rosalia, and resulted in an investigation by the alcalde, who extracted an apology from José Francisco.

10. Family Genealogy, Colligan Family Collection, Julian, California.

11. Simmons, *Albuquerque*, 133.

12. One of their siblings, Vicente Armijo, would father Francisco Armijo y Otero, who would become Rafael's ward and nemesis later in life.

13. Most likely an adaptation of "lio," it can be interpreted as a nickname for the brothers related to their occupation as merchants, and the handling of bundles. Further possibilities include liaison, conspiracy, and intrigue.

14. Erna Fergusson, *Erna Fergusson's Albuquerque* (Albuquerque, New Mexico: Merle Armitage Editions, 1947), 15.

15. Lewis E. Atherton, "The Santa Fe Trader as Mercantile Capitalist," *Missouri Historical Review* 77 (1982), 11. Atherton provides these characteristics of the mercantile capitalist: (1) one who traded in a wide variety of goods, both retail and wholesale, (2) formed partnerships for financial protection against unforeseen circumstances, (3) in the absence of a national transportation system, provided his own, or leased it from others, (4) engaged in the credit and exchange issues of the day, (5) participated in the mutually dependent relationship with governments, i.e., Indian attacks, government troop movements, and customs duties levels.

16. *Rafael Armijo v. Francisco Armijo y Otero*. Territory of New Mexico Supreme Court Case 344, 1888, NMSRCA.

17. *Armijo v. Armijo*, *New Mexico Reports: Report of Cases Determined in the Supreme Court of the Territory of New Mexico*, 119 vols. (Columbia, Missouri: E.W. Stephens, 1896), 9:60. Although Rosalia kept her promise to the couple, she issued the deed to Rafael instead of Gregoria Trujillo. Rafael corrected the matter the following day, by making out a deed to his wife.

18. Land Records of New Mexico, Special Collections, Zimmerman Library, University of New Mexico, (hereafter cited as UNM Special Collections), file 195, reel 31, frames 870-73. Although this petition describes the grant as being 100,000 acres, it is likely a rounded number, as later court cases indicate the size as 144,000 acres.

19. United States Department of the Interior, *Eighth Census of the United States, 1860: Population*, Microfilm Collection, UNM Special Collections.

20. United States Department of the Interior, *Tenth Census of the United States, 1880: Population*, Microfilm Collection, UNM Special Collections.

21. Rafael admitted publicly to fathering a child named Gerónimo Armijo with Ramona Armijo de Baca. She, the heir of Governor Manuel Armijo, and her husband Luis Baca successfully sought custody of the child. (*Ramona Armijo de Baca & Luis Baca v. Rafael Armijo*, District Court, Valencia County, 1854, NMSRCA). In 1847, Gregoria bore a child with Dolores Gallegos, for whom she sought custody in 1855, the same year she became part of Rafael's household, and her husband filed a petition for divorce, citing her adulterous behavior in both cases. (*Dolores Gallegos v. Gregoria Trujillo*, District Court, Doña Ana County, 1855, NMSRCA.)

22. Bernalillo County Probate Records, Probate of the Estate of Rafael Armijo, file 1222, Bernalillo County Clerk's Office, Albuquerque, New Mexico.

23. In addition to agreeing on the conferral of rights of citizenship on all "free white male inhabitants residing within the limits of this territory, not already citizens of the United States, but who, on the first day of February 1848 were residents within the territory of New Mexico," the convention delegates secured the debt peonage system with confirmation of the master/servant contract, as quoted in Robert W. Larson, *New Mexico's Quest for Statehood 1846-1912* (Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 1968), 18-19.

24. *Albuquerque Review*, 2 September 1874. This convention post-dates the brothers' Civil War debacle and suggests some serious fence mending on Manuel's part, including making amends with family members such as José Francisco Armijo y Otero, the committee chairman.

25. Bernalillo County Records, Oaths and Bonds of County Officers, 1853-1877, NMSRCA.

26. *Serafin Ramirez v. Rafael Armijo*, District Court, Bernalillo County Civil Case 202, 1859, NMSRCA. Through his attorneys, Serafin Ramirez contended that the election was marred by extensive voter fraud and subpoenaed virtually every voter in the county, precinct by precinct, no doubt to hold a referendum in court. The office of the probate judge was highly coveted due to the power the office holder wielded. He not only presided over the distribution of estates, he held sway over custody disputes, adoptions, master/apprentice agreements, etc.

27. Donaciano Vigil Collection, Letters Received, 1848, 1849, 1850, NMSRCA. The salutations of Rafael's letters to the governor bear mentioning here: "*Amado primo y señor*" and "*Mi querido primo y amigo*."

28. See Darlis A. Miller, "Hispanos and the Civil War in New Mexico: A Reconsideration," *New Mexico Historical Review* 54 (1979), 119 for a discussion of the discrepancies in volunteer enumeration.

29. *Ibid.*, 111.

30. Manuel Armijo's presence at Valverde has caused confusion for some historians, such as Martin H. Hall and Edward D. Tittmann who believe him to have been Governor Manuel Armijo, who was deceased in 1853, and the uncle of Manuel and Rafael Armijo. See Martin H. Hall, *The Army of New Mexico: Sibley's Campaign of 1862*, Diss., Louisiana State University, 1957, and Edward D. Tittmann, "The Exploitation of Treason," *New Mexico Historical Review* (1929), 138.

31. *United States v. Property of Rafael Armijo, et al.*, Territory of New Mexico Supreme Court Case 52, 1864, NMSRCA.

32. Simmons, *Albuquerque*, 183.

33. *Santa Fe New Mexican Review*, 24 August 1883, p.4.

34. Other New Mexicans who chose the Confederate cause: José M. Chávez, Spruce M. Baird, Julián Tenorio, Samuel G. Bean, Roy Bean, George Akenback, George H. Lucas, Aaron Barnes, George Hayward, William McGrorty, and John R. Baylor. These names were drawn from a listing of the U.S. Marshal's record of property receipts shown in the U.S. District Court Cases, Civil War confiscation cases, NMSRCA.

35. *Ibid.* Arrest warrants for treason against Rafael and Manuel were issued in October 1862, five months after Cutler's report of May 1862 showing \$30,758.72 in receipts from the property of the brothers.

36. *Ibid.* John O. Baxter provides a biographical sketch of Salvador Armijo, a Union loyalist, in "Salvador Armijo: Citizen of Albuquerque 1823-1879," *New Mexico Historical Review* 53 (1978), 217-37.

37. *Rio Abajo Weekly*, 17 March 1863.

38. *Rio Abajo Weekly*, 7 June 1864.

39. *Rafael Armijo v. Francisco Armijo y Otero*, Territory of New Mexico Supreme Court Case 344, 1888, NMSRCA.

40. John L. Gay Collection, UNM Special Collections (hereafter Gay Collection).

41. Gay Collection.

42. Gay Collection.

43. *Doña Ana County Civil and Criminal Record Book*, 274, NMSRCA.

44. Gay Collection. It is of interest that Manuel stated the fee of the intermediary in pesos, while noting the value of the documents in dollars (\$9,440.90). A later letter suggests pesos may have been Rafael's preferred currency, using dollars only when necessary.

45. Gay Collection.

46. *Rafael Armijo v. Francisco Armijo y Otero*. Rafael's attorneys in this matter, McComas, Catron, and Thornton, charged a whopping fifty percent fee.

47. Gay Collection.

48. The most notable work on the period is David J. Weber, *The Mexican Frontier, 1821-1846: The American Southwest Under Mexico* (Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 1982).

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Dr. Joseph P. Sánchez, Editor
COLONIAL LATIN AMERICAN HISTORICAL REVIEW
Spanish Colonial Research Center,
Zimmerman Library, University of New Mexico,
Albuquerque, NM 87131 USA
Telephone (505)766-8743 / Fax (505)277-4603